

Asset based community development towards sustainable citizen initiatives



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I Preface

Urban deprived neighbourhoods evoke images of poor people, poor housing and denial of opportunities. This negative image is persistent and for many the only view they have on urban deprived neighbourhoods. From my positive stance in life I have the tendency to search for the good things in everything. This is why I wanted to work with a theory that looked at the opportunities for making a positive change instead of focussing on the problems. I found this in asset based community development. A hopeful movement that sees the best in all individuals and finds the solution for problems in urban deprived neighbourhoods in connecting different individuals on the basis of their talents. This is the starting point of this thesis that I wrote in my master year at the Radboud University.

I could not have done this without the support of many inspiring people. First I would like to thank Jackie van de Walle, for your enthusiasm, help and open attitude. Sikko Cleveringa, thanks for your feedback, view on the practice and a look behind the scenes of CAL-XL. All the interviewees I had the fortune to meet and interview thank you for your enthusiasm and passion. Last but not least I would like to thank my family and friends for the confidence you gave me.

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Susan Verbeij

II Executive Summary

The topic of this thesis is the sustainability of social artistic practices aimed at neighbourhood change where citizens have the position of initiator. This thesis takes on the vision of asset based community development. In this approach the capacities of inhabitants of neighbourhoods are the starting point and by developing these individual capacities and linking people in neighbourhoods a level of self-help can be achieved.

The central question of this thesis is:

What factors from the source group and the relevant institutions contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing sustainable citizen initiatives for social artistic practices that contribute to neighbourhood development?

The two sub questions that are set to answer this question are:

- 1) What factors from the source group contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing sustainable citizen initiatives for social artistic practices that contribute to neighbourhood development?
- 2) What factors from the relevant institutions contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing sustainable citizen initiatives for social artistic practices that contribute to neighbourhood development?

Developing individual capacities and linking people can be done by participatory projects. Participation has been developed from the formal right to participate to citizen initiatives and has the most effect when people feel ownership towards the project. There are many kinds of participatory projects. In this thesis social artistic practices are chosen, because of the power that art and culture have on enabling neighbourhood change. Art and culture in neighbourhoods can promote personal development, social cohesion, public perception and liveability. The CLEAR model explains the factors that contribute to citizen participation. Citizen participation in this model depends on the resources participants have (Can do), the extent to which they feel engaged in a wider community (Like to), whether they are helped to and mobilized to participate by supportive organisations (Asked to) and if they experience or anticipate a response (Responded to). The feministic geographical approach will serve as a lens in this research as it fits with bottom-up research and focuses on inclusiveness.

The societal relevance of this thesis can be found in the contribution to sustainable solutions for residents of urban deprived neighbourhoods and for social (artistic) organisations that invest in

these neighbourhoods. This thesis gains scientific relevance by bridging theories of urban deprived neighbourhoods, bottom up approaches, asset based community development and citizen participation in a gender specific way.

A qualitative case study method is applied. Five cases are selected that meet the requirements of based in an urban deprived neighbourhood, high level of sustainability and a high level of self-organisation. The five cases are Malberg op de Planken from Maastricht, Welkom Thuis, Verwonderstraat, Masterchefs Hambaken from Den Bosch and Het Geheugen van West from Amsterdam. These cases are analyzed with the CLEAR model for explaining citizen participation, the barriers to asset based community development, artistic quality, the extended PDAC cycle and the feminist approach to asset based community development.

There are multiple factors that contribute the inspiration, mobilisation, valuation and further development of sustainable citizen initiatives for social artistic practices that contribute to neighbourhood development. The factors came out of the analysis with the CLEAR model.

The capacities that are needed should be balanced with the capacities that are present in the source group. When capacities are missing in the source group, these can be compensated by professionals. Unbalanced capacities threaten the sustainability of social artistic practices, while investments in the development of the capacities contribute to the sustainability of practices. Financial resources are always necessary for social-artistic projects. Large savings, in the case of Malberg op de Planken or the ability to apply for subsidy, in the cases of Welkom Thuis, Verwonderstraat and Het Geheugen van West contribute to the sustainability of these projects.

The participants need to feel part of the source group and feel responsible for this group and the environment of this group. The social capital of the source group is related to this. When the source group has more meaningful relations, there are more resources that the group has access to, which enables them to help themselves and each other better, and makes them stand stronger in life. During the projects investments in feelings of responsibility and social capital can be made, this contributes to the sustainability of the project.

For all the projects networks and groups are necessary to support the participant group. The enabled factor looks at the contribution or demolition that the civic infrastructure makes to the sustainability of social-artistic practices. Although the cases were selected because of their level of self-organisation, all the projects needed support from professional social or artistic organisations. Projects where more capacities are needed for the execution, for instance in Malberg op de Planken, need more support from professionals. This makes them more dependent on organisations, which threatens the sustainability of the project.

People are more willing to participate and keep participating if they are asked and the question is easy to fulfil. In the case of Malbergen the participation asked is more demanding than in the other projects. This might lead to the exclusion of neighbours that are not able to comply to the question. In all the projects the participants could decide themselves how to participate and what to bring. They all brought their various talents with which they contribute to the different projects. By asking the participants to contribute what they can the participants are willing to start and continue to participate.

Strong ownership or a high level of participation also leads to feelings of responsibility which makes people willing to start and keep participating. This is also found in the five cases. When the participants have a lot of responsibilities and strong ownership over the project they feel responsible for it and start and keep participating.

All social artistic practices are threatened by individual, associational and institutional barriers. By removing these barriers the organisations enabled the participants to reach a high level of self-organisations. All organisations dealt with these barriers in different ways, but all barriers were broken down. This is the contribution the relevant institutions made to the inspiration, mobilisation, valuing and further development of these projects. The Subversive auto-relational quality of social artistic projects contributes to breaking down these barriers, while digestive auto-relational projects strengthen the institutional barrier.

The feminist approach to asset based community development focuses on marginalisation and making participation bottom-up. The question here is who participates and who benefits from the social-artistic practices aimed at neighbourhood development. Three of the five cases have a source group that is formed on the level of a street, complex or circle of acquaintances. Malberg op de Planken works on the neighbourhood level and Het Geheugen van West works on the level of a city district. All these project work with a relatively small group of active participants and the embedding in the wider community is problematic. This means that one group in a local society has the chance to contribute and also only one group benefits most. Gender differences also may constrain the inspiration, mobilisation valuing and further development of social artistic practices. By enabling both men and women to take on all tasks this restraint is removed.

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1. Introduction

Governments all over the world have been working on the issue of urban deprived areas for decades. People living in urban deprived areas are less able to meet their needs in comparison with residents of other neighbourhoods; this is caused by a lack of access to resources of all kinds (Lad, 2011). Governments constantly have to invest in people and places to redistribute public resources (Winnick, 1966; Arefi, 2003), this makes these areas become dependent on government support. For most years the redistributing of public resources has been done with a needs based approach. The problems and needs of urban deprived neighbourhoods are central in this approach. The application approach has proved to have weaknesses. Over time the inhabitants of urban deprived neighbourhoods came to feel reliant on the institutions for their wellbeing and did not receive incentives to become self-producers (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). Needs based policies have led to communities that do not have the expertise and skills required to help themselves. The results of this approach to community development are thus mixed (UN-HABITAT, 2008). An opposite approach is the asset based approach to community development (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). This approach focuses on the assets that already exist within neighbourhoods and on developing these and connect people so that inhabitants in neighbourhoods can help each other and themselves. The glass is half full instead of half empty. In this thesis asset based community development is central. Attempts of using asset based community development to create sustainable cultural citizen initiatives are analyzed.

In the contemporary world the government withdraws itself continuously from the society (van der Heijden, van Dam, van Noortwijk, Salverda & van Zanten, 2011). Citizens are expected to take over a part of the government tasks, and the responsibilities shift from the government to citizens or the market. The initiatives in the public domain are more and more from citizens than from the government (van der Heijden, van Dam, van Noortwijk, Salverda & van Zanten, 2011). One way of combining asset based community development with citizen initiatives is through social-artistic practices. In these practices the citizen participants have the initiating role. These projects can encourage personal development, social capital, public image and physical liveability in urban deprived neighbourhoods (Cleveringa, 2012). Research also showed that in urban deprived neighbourhoods with art and culture projects the house value increased more than in neighbourhoods without cultural interventions (Nicis institute, 2011). Culture thus has interesting effects on neighbourhoods and in developing assets. Social-artistic practices aimed at neighbourhood development are the research objects of this thesis.

There are many social-cultural organisations active in the Netherlands that work with the asset based community and deploy social-artistic practices to achieve neighbourhood change. They

invest in programmes and work with source groups, consisting of local citizen participants, to enhance the neighbourhood but face temporality problems. When the program ends and the cultural organisation pulls back from the neighbourhood the positive influence stops and neighbourhood slides back to the initial situation. These organisations are looking for ways to make their change more sustainable by creating sustainable citizen initiatives and citizen participation (Vanraes, n.d.; ZID theater, 2013).

Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker (2006) developed a model to explain citizen participation: The CLEAR model. In this model factors can be found for explaining participation for both citizens and institutions. Citizen participation in this model depends on the resources participants have (Can do), the extent to which they feel engaged in a wider community (Like to), whether they are helped to and mobilized to participate by supportive organisations (Asked to) and if they experience or anticipate a response (Responded to) (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). These categories will be operationalized further and explained in more detail. In this model the possible factors for explaining the development of sustainable citizen initiatives can be found. Five social artistic practices that use the logics of asset based community development will be analyzed with the CLEAR model in this research. The analyzed practices contribute to neighbourhood development, have been working for several years and have a high level of self-organisation whereby the citizens are the initiators.

Both CLEAR and asset based community development look at the process of involving citizens in community development from the bottom up. This fits well with the feministic geographical approach. This approach focuses on inclusiveness and citizen participation. The questions who invest, who participate and who benefit from social-artistic practices are asked. This makes this approach more egalitarian (Silverman, 2003). The leadership of women in community development increases the role of residents in the process (Stall & Stoecker, 1998). The feminist geographic approach therefore fits well with this research topic and will form the theoretical lens.

1.1 Research objective

The goal of this research is to identify the factors from the source group and the relevant institutions that contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing sustainable citizen initiatives for social artistic practices that contribute to neighbourhood development, by comparing five social artistic practices that contribute to neighbourhood development and that have a high level of sustainability and a high level of self-organisation.

1.2 Research question

The research question I will address in my thesis is the following:

What factors from the source group and the relevant institutions contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing sustainable citizen initiatives for social artistic practices that contribute to neighbourhood development?

Sustainable citizen initiatives: Many social artistic practices have a starting date and a finishing date. Sustainable citizen initiatives are more durable as new initiatives are created out of the old to obtain a positive spiral of development. A high degree of self-organisation makes initiatives more sustainable because this minimizes the dependency on other organisations.

Social artistic practices that contribute to neighbourhood development: These are artistic projects that respond to a social deficit and with the use of both concerned citizens and professionals value is added with imagination (Cleveringa, 2012).

The factors that play a role in this research question will stem from combining the theories of asset based community development and the CLEAR model for participation. These two concepts can be found in the conceptual framework in chapter three. For this research a feministic philosophical approach will serve as lens. It provides the way the world is seen in this thesis. Also this lens involves looking at gender differences in this research. This will be explained further in chapter two.

Sub questions:

- What factors from the source group contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing sustainable citizen initiatives for social artistic practices that contribute to neighbourhood development?
 - What are the implications from a feminist approach to asset based community development?
- What factors from the relevant institutions contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing sustainable citizen initiatives for social artistic practices that contribute to neighbourhood development?
 - What are the implications from a feminist approach to asset based community development?

1.3 Societal relevance

Even in a developed country as the Netherlands poverty still exists. There is social inequality and social exclusion. The excluded people have fewer chances to get ahead in life. The urban least affluent and most excluded are for a big part living in urban deprived neighbourhoods (Wittebrood & Permentier, 2011). People living here experience this and the negative image that comes with this every day. There are many theories on how urban neighbourhoods become deprived and what problems these neighbourhoods face. This does not help the people living here and only contributes to the negative image. The municipalities in which these neighbourhoods exist have not been able to solve the problems with these theories, but made residents of urban deprived neighbourhoods feel dependent on them for their wellbeing. By bridging theories of asset based community development, citizen initiatives and participation, a positive contribution can be made for the possibilities and capacities of people in urban deprived neighbourhoods. Sustainable ways for them to deploy their own assets in a creative way and improve their lives with this become possible. This increases the chances they have to get ahead in life and makes them stronger, more self-sufficient citizens.

One of the consulting firms in the Netherlands that is working in this area is CAL-XL, a national laboratory for art and society. It is a network organisation with a large number of frontrunners in the field with a common goal: to work on an optimal production environment for community arts. Within this organisation the internship required for this thesis, for a period of five months, was completed.

For neighbourhood cultural funds and organisations this thesis can provide a way to cope with budget cuts and to provide financiers a long term plan. There are many social-artistic organisations in the Netherlands that are able and willing to invest in social artistic practices aimed at neighbourhood development, but they cannot invest in every project and need clear defined plans to be able to apply for grants (Vanraes, n.d.; ZID theater, 2013). The demands from the subsidy providers are increasingly focussed on long term effects of social artistic practices. Social artistic organisations are looking for ways to be able to achieve long term neighbourhood changes and to be able to make the participants the initiating and leading party that takes over the project. By identifying the factors that contribute to the sustainability of social artistic practices the organisations are more able to set up projects aimed at long term effects, with which they can claim more subsidies. This research can thus contribute to a sustainable solution for residents of urban deprived neighbourhoods as well as for cultural organisations.

1.4 Scientific relevance

This research could contribute to a number of current scientific debates in Human Geography. As first there is a debate in the academic world whether a top down strategy or a bottom up strategy for developing policy is the most effective in solving problems (UN-HABITAT, 2008). Historically governments have used top down policies in the field of urban deprived neighbourhoods. This is also the case for the Netherlands, where most policies have been developed by the national government and implemented in the different urban deprived neighbourhoods in the same way (Wittebrood & Permentier, 2011). In recent years bottom up approaches to developing policy have gained popularity. The benefits of this approach have been known in the academic world for a longer time but only recently have governments implemented this. This thesis can contribute to this debate by evaluating the bottom up approaches in a specific setting.

Another scientific debate this thesis can contribute to is the debate on asset based community development. This particular kind of community development fits within bottom up approaches and looks at the assets that exist within a neighbourhood instead of the needs (UN-HABITAT, 2008). The popularity of this new way of looking at community development is growing in the scientific world. This thesis can contribute to the scientific debate by looking at the assets that contribute to (cultural) citizen initiatives in a neighbourhood. The meaning of the concept citizen participation is changing (Van Zuylen, 2010). Where it used to mean only consulting we can now speak of citizen participation 3.0 whereby citizens are actively invited to do as much as they can themselves to improve their neighbourhoods. This is the highest ring of the ladder of participation, citizens themselves decide here supported by the government or other organisations (Van Zuylen, 2010).

There have been feminist researches on the topic of gender and citizenship as well as on the topic of feministic asset based community development. The combination of asset based development and participation is relatively new, there have thus not been extensive researches on this topic with a gender perspective.

This thesis gains scientific relevance by bridging theories of urban deprived neighbourhoods, bottom up approaches, asset based community development and citizen participation in a gender specific way.

1.5 Outline

This thesis is divided in three parts which consist of different chapters: The foundation, the analysis and the concluding part. First the foundation for this thesis is build. This involves the theoretical perspective of feminism in chapter two, the conceptual framework around the concepts asset based

community development, the power of culture, citizen initiative 3.0 and the CLEAR model for participation in chapter three and the methodology in chapter four. After this foundation the cases will be described and analyzed in chapter five to ten. First each case will be analyzed from the viewpoint of the participants in separate chapters, after this the cases will be analyzed from the viewpoint of the institutions in one chapter. For each case the goals, achievements and artistic quality are assessed in the case description. The case is then analyzed with the CLEAR model explained in chapter three. The implications from the feminist geographic approach are analyzed and this is followed by a conclusion that determines the factors that contribute or have contributed to the sustainability of that case. The third part of this thesis is the concluding part. Here the interrelated contribution of the participants, institutions and artistic quality are linked for each case and a comparison is made of the cases. Recommendations for sustainable social artistic practices are part of the concluding chapter as well as recommendations for further research. This is followed by a reflection in chapter 12.

2. Feministic philosophical approach

In this chapter the feminist movement within geography will be explained, with emphasis on the gender as difference approach that will be used in this thesis. The choice for this approach will also be discussed.

All researchers have a background that forms their research. This has influence on the theory that is used, how the theory is perceived and used and the results of the research. Research questions are always based on assumptions and choices between different ways of knowing (Aitken & Valentine, 2006). For this thesis the feministic geographical approach is chosen for two reasons. First asset based community development works bottom-up, which means that the theoretical approach also has to work bottom-up. Second, this thesis wants to take a step further and not just describe what happens, but be critical to this. The geographical approach that combines this is feminism. This approach affects the concepts and methodology; therefore the approach will be explained first and in other chapters there will be references to this.

The feminist approach in human geography focuses on how gender and geographies are produced and transformed, the way this is incorporated in social life and the way this is interwoven with and naturalizes other categorical distinctions (Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, Watts, & Whatmore, 2009). Feminism started in the 1970s, following the women's movements of the 1960s. In these days was the academic world highly exclusionary on the basis of gender and race (Dixon & Jones, 2006). Early universities were dominated by upper class white man and this is still the case for the highest tiers. Women were seen as not capable to achieve this intellectual level, also due to their physical capacity. From this setting the feminist approaches emerged.

The umbrella heading of feminist perspectives contains many approaches that differ substantially. There are also some similarities to be found in all these approaches Gregory et al. (2009) identified these. As first feminist perspectives are not just critical to gender and heteronormativity in society but also to the ways they are displayed in geographical knowledge. Secondly, sexism and racism in geography and geographical institutions are major issues. Thirdly, feminist geography goes beyond borders of sub disciplines by tracing interconnections between all aspects of life. Different scales are crossed in the same way. As forth, feminist geographers reject universalism and see interpretations as context bound and partial. The fifth shared aspect of feminist geography is the emphasis on processes in particular places. This is a critique on the

Universalist masculine knowledge claims and a commitment to agency and an open, transformable future. The last shared aspect is the view of the production of knowledge as aligned with a political commitment to social transformation.

The most important part of feminist approaches is the critique to masculine ways of thinking which is based on universalism and compartmentalization (use of rigidly fixed boundaries to comprehend phenomena) (Dixon & Jones, 2006).. Despite the similarities and shared aspects there are also many differences between the lines of feministic research. There are three main lines of feministic research in geography (Dixon & Jones, 2006): Gender as difference, gender as social relation and gender as social construction. Gender as difference is an approach that addresses the spatial dimensions of the different life experiences of men and women. The gender as social relation analysis have an emphasis on understanding the social relations that link men and women and form a social structure that works to dominate women and children. The gender as social construction examines the ways in which gender has been assigned different meanings.

For this thesis the gender as difference approach will be used. The gender as difference approach takes a bottom up view of research and analyzes from the micro level. This makes this perspective well applicable for this research as it takes the micro level as main level of study. The organizers of social-cultural projects and the participants of these projects will be questioned about gender differences in interviews and gender differences will form an integral part of the observations.

2.1 Gender as difference

The gender as difference perspective focuses on the difference that gender makes on a host of social processes (Dixon & Jones, 2006). Feminist geographers analyze the differences between men's and women's spatial experiences. These spatial experiences may not be the same for all women. The term place context refers to the combination of cultural, economic, political and environmental dimensions that give character to a particular setting. The place context can then explain the differences in experiences for women. Feminist geographers of difference have made two significant contributions the framework of geographical concepts (Dixon & Jones, 2006): The work of women in de economy has been brought to light and feminist geographers have expanded substantive domains including new research on women's roles in neighbourhood associations, household survival strategies in Third World countries, inequalities in de provision of day-care facilities, and efforts to eliminate environmental pollution and toxic waste hazards through grassroots organizing. This approach not only looks at the differences between men and women, but as differences between social-economic groups such as highly versus less educated groups or

different ethnic groups. There is also a feminist perspective on asset based community development which will be explained in paragraph 3.3. This approach is eminently bottom up and uses micro level analysis in researches.

The search for differences between man and women in explaining phenomena and the important role of place context as well as the bottom up micro level analysis fits within this thesis. Now that the theoretical perspective is determined, the following chapter will be the explanation of the conceptual framework.

3. Conceptual framework

This chapter will elaborate on the most important concepts for this thesis. The first will be needs based community development. Then asset based community development will follow as well as the power of culture, citizen initiative 3.0 and the CLEAR model for explaining citizen participation. The theory behind each of these concepts will be explained. As last the main concepts that are used to analyze the data in this thesis will be connected in a conceptual model.

3.1 Needs based community development

In the history of welfare states needs based community development has been used by many to try to enhance welfare in deprived neighbourhoods. In this approach the deficits of people or places are calculated to quantify the needs of a community (UN-HABITAT, 2008) by outside evaluation (Keeble, 2006). This is the first step in breaking the circle of poverty and dependency to achieve self-sufficiency. Examples of this are urban renewal, sum clearance and gentrification. These projects were assisted by technical top-down policies to ensure success. The consequence of the application of top down needs based community development is the overdependence of urban deprived areas on service providers (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). Inhabitants of urban deprived neighbourhoods believe that their welfare depends on the supply of services (UN-HABITAT, 2008). They see themselves as owners of problems that can only be solved by outsiders. They act as victims of their lives and do not feel responsible or able to solve the problems themselves (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). They see themselves and their neighbours as unable to be responsible for the future of their neighbourhood. They are users of the services and receive no incentive to become self producers (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993; Keeble, 2006). Needs-based community development may accurately profile an area but it generally undervalues potential building blocks and thus may discourage civil action (Walker, 2006).

3.2 Asset based community development

An alternative for the failings of needs based community development has been developed in the form of asset based community development (UN-HABITAT, 2008). This approach does not look at the world as a half empty but as a half full glass of water. This approach is not new; it evolved out of the 1970's research in Chicago communities (Walker, 2006). Asset based community development starts with what exists within a community, for example the capacities and assets of local individuals, associations and institutions (Keeble, 2006). Through the identification of local community assets and resources and then mobilizing them a community can be empowered to work

together in order to promote change (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). This approach thus starts at the micro level of individuals and then works up to the neighbourhood level where the change is needed. Community assets are not only social assets but also physical capital and infrastructure; financial an economic capital and political capital. These kinds of capital are mapped within a certain neighbourhood to be able to locate them. By linking these local assets residents can develop their neighbourhood effectively (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). This linking and connecting plays a major part in asset based community development but is not its main goal. The main goals of this approach are positively changing the mindset of residents of urban deprived neighbourhoods and encourage an attitude favourable to change and capacity building (UN-HABITAT, 2008). People need to have the ability to view their communities as places of opportunity rather than as places of problems (Jourdain, 2005).

Two concepts that play the main role in asset based community development are social capital and empowerment. The conceptualisation of these terms will follow. After this the barriers to asset based community development will be elaborated.

3.2.1 Social capital

Social capital is a key concept in asset based community development because it is through social capital that links between assets can be made (Keeble, 2006).

The emergence of the concept social capital is due to the cultural turn in human geography and related disciplines such as sociology. After this turn culture is seen as the basis in geographic analysis. To make culture sensible to economics and politicians, the concept social capital was developed (Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, Watts, & Whatmore, 2009; Gidwani, 2002). This concept has become popular in politics and local policy due to two things (Portes, 1998). First the concept of social capital focuses on positive effects of being social while ignoring its more negative features. Secondly it places these positive effects in the framework the understanding of capital and highlights how such non-monetary forms can be vital sources of power and influence. Also in organizational studies is the concept of social capital gained influence. The use of the concept of social capital proved to be successful in explaining the relative success of actors. (Adler & Kwon, 2002). Although the popularity of social capital is more recent, the idea behind it has long been established in sociology (Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, Watts, & Whatmore, 2009). Access to and participation in groups can benefit individuals and communities, which is the core of social capital. This idea can be found in works of Emile Durkheim (1984), focusing on group life as the solution for anomie and self-destruction, and Karl Marx (1967), in his distinction between an atomized class-in-itself and a mobilized and effective class-for-itself (Portes, 1998).

Definitions of social capital differ slightly in the literature. The starting point is clear. The definition of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu:

Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word - Bourdieu. (1986, p. 51)

The next major contribution comes from Robert Putnam (1993). He was the first to make a distinction between different forms of social capital. He distinguishes bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital works within a more or less homogenized group. This inward looking social capital works exclusive (Blackshaw & Long, 2005). Bridging capital on the other hand works between different groups, it is outward looking and inclusive. Bonding social capital is needed to be part of a group and bridging social capital is needed to get further in life.

There are three basic functions of social capital that create positive effects (Portes, 1998): as a source of social control; as a source of family support and as a source of benefits through extra familial networks. Social capital as social control is an efficient way for rule enforcement. Parents, teachers and police authorities have the power to exclude people from their social group. They can enforce rules and with this create discipline and compliance. Familial support is an important resource for children whose education and personality development are enriched by the social capital of their parents. This means that children with two parents have more social capital than children with one parent. Bourdieu sees this function not as social capital, but as cultural capital (Portes, 1998). The third function is the most common function of social capital. Being part of a network beyond the immediate family benefits the individual, by increasing the individual mobility. It gives access to employment, mobility through occupational ladders and explains entrepreneurial success (Portes, 1998).

Despite these positive effects of social capital that have been verified in many researches (Zhouh & Bankston, 1996; Coleman, 1988; Granovetter, 1974), there are also negative effects of social capital. Four main negative effects can be found (Portes, 1998). The first refers to the exclusionary aspect of social capital. If one social group claims the access to a certain resource others are barred from access. The second negative effect entails the prevention of success of business initiatives by members of their own group. If members of a social group are constantly looking for their own success this can prevent other members of the same group to gain success for

themselves. The third negative outcome of social capital states that the level of social control can restrict the personal freedom of members of a social group. The last of these negative outcomes revolves around downward leveling norms. If a group is bounded by a common experience of hardship and disagreement to mainstream society, individual success stories weaken group cohesion because this success is seen as impossible for members of this group. This results in downward leveling norms by which members are discouraged to gain success and more ambitious members are forced to escape from the group.

Building social capital can be done in many ways (Keeble, 2006). One of these ways is through social artistic practices. This will be discussed in paragraph 3.4.

3.2.2 Empowerment

Empowerment is a key concept in asset based community development because it is the starting point of action and change (Keeble, 2006). For asset based community development to work the power of the individuals must be released and communities activated. This all starts with empowerment.

Empowerment is the result of citizen participation that leads to control and citizen power (Peterman, 2000). Empowerment has three major components: organising, access to resources, seeking external help (UN-HABITAT,2008). Asset based approaches aim to empower residents through collective organization, political access and control over local resources. Increased social capital thus contributes to the empowerment of a community (UN-HABITAT, 2008). Two types of empowerment can be distinguished: collective empowerment and individual empowerment. Individual empowerment is reached when an individual is more capable of taking care of his or herself. Collective empowerment is achieved when community members become responsible for the well-being of each other as well as for the well being of the entire community. Empowerment thus also leads to increased social capital (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993; Putnam, 2000).

3.2.3 Barriers to asset based community development

Asset based community development does not just happen when focussing on strengths of a community. Research has shown three different kinds of barriers that communities face when capitalizing their assets: individual, associational and institutional barriers (UN-HABITAT, 2008). Individual, associational and institutional barriers all work on a different scale.

The individual barriers are caused by low stocks of human capital. Individuals of poor neighbourhoods often have low educational levels and rely on expert knowledge for human capital. Expert knowledge rarely considers local knowledge as inspiration or input, this results in a rift between expert prescriptions and communities visions. This leads to a low level of human capital which decreased the ability for individuals to help themselves.

Associational barriers are caused by low stocks of bridging social capital that poor communities often feature this (UN-HABITAT, 2008). As explained above, bridging social capital is needed to get ahead and not just get by. Urban deprived neighbourhoods could get marginalized as they become socially, culturally, economically, politically and geographically isolated. The lack of formal and informal associations linking individuals with others outside the community causes the barrier.

At the institutional level another barrier to asset based community development exists. The local institutions in urban deprived neighbourhoods (religious, cultural, social, financial, educational, and political) are often isolated and detached from those of mainstream society and generally less willing or capable to reach consensus or resolve conflicts (UN-HABITAT, 2008). The institutions are thus not strong enough and do not have sufficient external ties to work on assets in a community.

3.3 Feminist approach to asset based community development

A woman centred approach fits well with asset based community development. In the lifeworld of individuals the public sphere and the private sphere can be distinguished (Dixon & Jones, 2006). The public sphere is characterized by the formal economy and the government. The community and home are properties of the private sphere. In women centred approaches to community development the private sphere has been enlarged to also include the neighbourhood (Stall & Stoecker, 1998). The work done in the public sphere is done mostly by men and in the private sphere the work is mostly done by women. The private and the public spheres have always influenced one another but it was believed that they have been organized with different cultures around different logics (Stall & Stoecker, 1998). Feminism has been able to break through the private/public divide by showing that the individual is political (Ledwith, 2005)

The woman centred approach to community development has been organized with this new and different logic. It tries to dissolve the boundaries between public and private life, between household and civil society (Stall & Stoecker, 1998). This approach also often requires bridging a gap between the community's needs and its resources, mobilizing to demand necessary state resources and/or to engage in institutional transformation (Stall & Stoecker, 1998). It thus involves community building, collectivism, caring, mutual respect and self transformation; aspects that are also present in asset based community development. The contribution of the women centred approach is the understanding of community development as coming from the private sphere, with often women in the role of the leader of an organisation.

The gender movement in participatory development focuses on marginalisation and making participation bottom-up (Cornwall, 2003). They question who participates and who benefits in

participatory projects. Marginal voices are often not raised and heard, and participation does not always benefit all participants. Difference between participants (not only gender differences) can turn into hierarchy which is a common thread to both feminist and participatory practitioners. Strategies and tactics are needed that take account of the power effects of differences, people must be enabled to recognize and use their agency (Cornwall, 2003). Agency is the ability of people to act, this is emerging from intentions and results in observable effects in the human world (Gregory et al., 2009). The feminist approach to asset based community development and to participation thus fit well together.

3.4 The power of art and culture

Cultural projects have proved to be more than just artistic expressions. The main motives for, and intended effects of, art in the neighbourhood are to promote personal development, social cohesion, public perception and physical liveability (Cleveringa, 2012). In 2009 the Community of Practice culture impulse in Urban Development started as a foundation to research the needs for a culture impulse and the effects of cultural impulses on the city and the neighbourhood level (Brouwer, 2012). This research resulted in the NICIS publication *The Power of Culture (De Kracht van Cultuur, 2011)*. On the neighbourhood level the effects of cultural impulses are mainly social. The social status of a neighbourhood is determined by the combination of income, education and job participation. This indicator is growing slowly and there are differences between neighbourhoods with and neighbourhoods without a cultural impulse. In neighbourhoods with a cultural impulse this indicator grows more than average and in neighbourhoods without an impulse this indicator decreases (Nicis, 2011). Also the valuation of the liveability of neighbourhoods with a cultural impulse grew stronger than in neighbourhoods without impulse. Liveability has an effect on house value (Brouwer, 2012). The research (Nicis, 2011) also showed that the house value in neighbourhoods with a culture impulse grew more than in neighbourhoods without an impulse.

Four effect areas of societal development can be distinguished: Personal development, Social cohesion, Public perception and Physical liveability (Cleveringa, 2012). On all these areas research has shown that cultural interventions have effects. The field of personal development involves the strengthening of personal development of active participants. This can be social, cultural and economic competences, empowerment, giving meaning and identity. Creative Partnerships (2007) showed that active cultural participation contributes to empowerment and social and creative abilities of children and creative abilities of educators and creative professionals. Research by Van der Geest, Ranshuysen & Trienekens (2011) revealed that in the case of Music Matters in Rotterdam, cultural intervention resulted in a sense of appreciation and support of

cultural growth of the participants. Another research in Rotterdam proved effects of a theatre project on sense of recognition, confidence and the participants felt heard (KaaP geode hoop, 2010). Through theatre the participants learnt more about the Dutch language, and social skills.

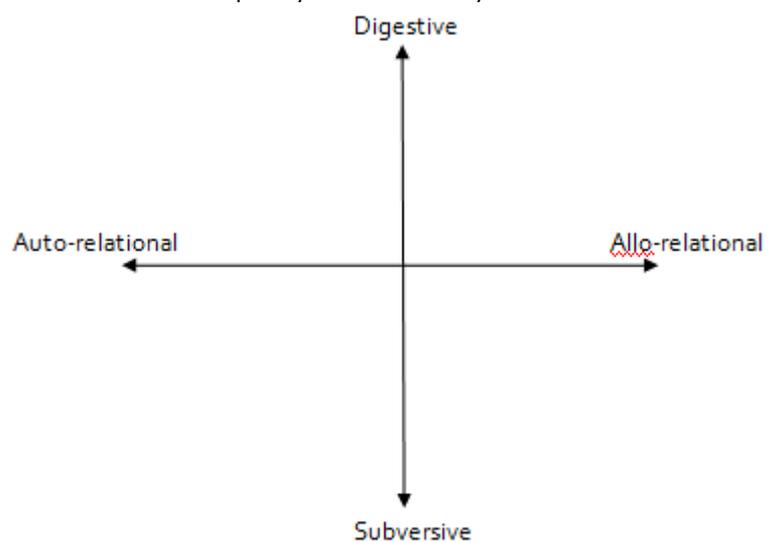
In the effect area of social cohesion the bonds between active participants and their direct social environment are assessed. Qualities such as social security, bonding and bridging are part of this area. Kunstenaars & Co (2008), Trienekens (2006) and Trienekens, Dorresteyn & Postma (2011) all showed that cultural interventions lead to new and more intensive connections between participants. This results in a more positive valuation of the social situation in their neighbourhoods.

The area of public perception concerns the improvement of the perception of participant groups, third parties and themselves (Cleveringa, 2012). Trienekens (2011) showed that four community art projects in Rotterdam had positive influences on the perception of participant groups. Cleveringa, Deuten & Trienekens (2011) proved that Festival Paradie Overschie positively influenced the perception of the neighbourhood Overschie of direct and indirect participants.

The physical liveability implies achieving a higher quality of the physical environment for participants. An international study proves that creative practices lead to improvements in physical liveability (Miles, 2005). In this study neighbourhoods in Liverpool, Newcastle and Barcelona are compared. On the Dutch scale VROM (2007) has shown that cultural and creative clusters have a positive effect on revitalizing neighbourhoods in a research that compares neighbourhoods in Venlo, Tilburg and Den Haag.

Art and culture thus have the power to positively change the neighbourhood. But the extent to which this is achieved depends on artistic quality, the active involvement of citizens and the synergy between these two (Cleveringa, 2012). But the quality of the art involved in social-artistic practices can be varying. To be able to ascertain the artistic quality of community arts Gielen (2011)

developed a model. The artistic quality of a (community) art project can be mapped on two axes, which can be seen in Figure 1. One axe starts with auto-relational on the right side and on the other side of the axe is allo-relational. Auto-relational community art projects confirm the identity of the artist while allo-relational projects go against the identity of the artist. This does not say



anything about the art in relation to the identity of the source group, which is at stake here and the focus of this thesis. This concept thus

Figure 1: Mapping the quality of community art (Gielen, 2011)

does not add to the explanation of social artistic practices. For this reason the meaning of auto- and allo-relational are changed to the perspective of the source group. This means that auto-relational social artistic practices confirm the identity of the source group and auto-relational social artistic practices go against this identity. Sikko Cleveringa (personal communication, June 26, 2013) has used the model of Gielen (2011) in this way in his work and has found this workable. In this thesis the use of the concepts auto- and allo-relational are thus used from the perspective of the source group.

The second axe has digestive on the one side and subversive on the other. Digestive community art helps to integrate social groups into society; it conforms to the rules that are already in place in this society (Gielen, 2011). Values, norms and habits are not questioned here. Subversive community art challenges the norms and rules of the community. Also Van Maanen (2009) made such a distinction, only he uses challenging and confirming to describe digestive and subversive art projects. Confirming art projects reproduce the old images the source group already has. Challenging art projects supply new images to the source group that do not comply with the images they already had. It challenges them to look at the world around them in a new way. This can be true for the source group, but also for the wider public that views the art of the source group.

3.5 Citizen participation 3.0

Citizen influence in government tasks in the Netherlands is not new. The first generation of citizen participation was a consequence of the democratization movement of the 60s en 70s (van Zuylen, 2010). In this period the welfare state was built and solidarity was the starting point for organizing facilities. This first generation of citizen participation is the legal right to participate that citizens have (van der Heijden, van Dam, van Noortwijk, Salverda & van Zanten, 2011). In the last two decennia of the twentieth century the role of government changed due to budget cuts and non-nonsense policy. The government opted for a business strategy and pulled back. The facilities developed in the first generation remained, but self-reliance and personal responsibility became more important (van Zuylen, 2010). The second generation citizen participation fits with these ideas and involves citizens talking and thinking about proposal of the government. This approach to citizen participation is interactive policy making (van der Heijden, van Dam, van Noortwijk, Salverda & van Zanten, 2011). In the third generation of citizen participation the civilian takes the initiative and the government can participate (van Zuylen, 2010). A government pulling back resulted in uneven development in society. This new generation of citizen participation combines a stronger and more active government with active citizenship. The primacy no longer always lies with the government, citizen initiatives are also expected. The third generation of citizen participation is citizen initiative. The asset based community development strategy can be used to focus the

facilitation of citizen initiatives. Another concept that is related to citizen initiatives is co-creation. The civilians, the government and other organisations can start an initiative, but the project needs partners to be successful. This requires a horizontal organisational structure (Oelkers, 2011).

This whole development from the formal right to participate to co-creation can be visualized in the participation ladder (Edelenbos & Monnikhof 2001). This is pictured in Figure This shows the steps of increasing citizen participation and the implications this has for organizing projects and processes. On the lowest level of participation is the step of informing. This fits with a representative democracy whereby the participants fulfil the role of listeners. The next step on the ladder is consulting. This step fits with a participatory democracy and the civil participants are here counsellors. The step above consulting is advising. The ideas of the participants are taken into the decision making. The step above this is coproducing/co-creating which falls under an interactive democracy. The participants are partners at this level of participation. The highest step is self management. This level of participation can be seen in a direct democracy whereby the civilians are the deciders. In



Figure 2: Ladder of Participation (Edelenbos & Monnikhof, 2001)

social artistic practices the ideal level is co-creation as there is input needed from civilians as well as from artists and supporting institutions and they all have to feel owner of the project(Cleveringa, 2012).

3.6 CLEAR model for explaining citizen participation

As stated before, participation has changed from a formal right to speak to co-creation. The CLEAR model is a diagnostic tool. It helps to identify the strengths and problems in local participation and helps consider more comprehensive strategies for enhancing public participation (CDLR, 2008). The tool is based on the argument that citizens engagement depends upon the resources they have access to, the extent to which they feel engaged in a wider community, whether they are helped to participate by supportive organisations, if they are mobilized and if they experience (or anticipate) a response (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). It thus emphasises the citizen's perspective and is a bottom-up tool. This makes the tool well fitting in this thesis.

The view of development of urban deprived neighbourhoods has changed from a needs based approach to an asset based approach. The same kind of change happened within the view on democracy. The narrow view of democracy did not look further at participation than voting. But this narrative has changed as citizens engagement grew. A more positive view of citizens and what they can do emerged. This leads to a stronger commitment to participation (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). A properly organised democracy increases the capacity to address fundamental social problems ourselves. Engagement in modern democracy facilitates exchange between governors and governed. In this way we can learn from each other and this helps to provide solutions.

Table 1 provides a summary of the CLEAR model for explaining citizen participation. The Can do factor refers to the social-economic arguments (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). When people have the appropriate skills and resources they are more able to participate. These skills include the ability and confidence to write and speak in public and the capacity to organise events.

Key factor	How it works	Policy targets
Can do	The individual resources that people have to mobilise and organise (speaking, writing and technical skills, and the confidence to use them) make a difference	Capacity building, training and support of volunteers, mentoring, leadership development
Like to	To commit to participation requires an identification with the public entity that is the focus of engagement	Civil renewal, citizenship, community development, neighbourhood governance, social capital
Enabled to	The civic infrastructure of groups and umbrella organisations makes a difference because it creates or blocks an opportunity structure for participation	Investing in civic infrastructure and community networks, improving channels of communication via compacts
Asked to	Mobilising people into participation by asking for their input can make a big difference	Public participation schemes that are diverse and reflexive
Responded to	When asked people say they will participate if they are listened to (not necessarily agreed with) and able to see a response	A public policy system that shows a capacity to respond – through specific outcomes, ongoing learning and feedback

Table 1: Factors Promoting Participation: It's Clear (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006)

The resources that are needed to facilitate the activities are also part of this factor. These skills and resources are more present among better educated and employed people. This explains why the lowest level of participation tends to be in the most deprived areas. Skills and resources are individual assets and community assets. Capacity building in asset based community development

can lead more skills and resources needed for participation which increases the engagement of individuals.

The Like to factor refers to the importance of people's sense of community as basis for engagement (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). If you are part of something you are more willing to engage. Social capital (as networks of formal and informal sociability) is seen as creating norms of trust, mutuality and reciprocity. This enables people to work together and cooperate effectively. Raising people's feelings about belonging in a community and raising social capital can give incentives for people to participate. Even if people are engaged with a community they still may choose not to participate. They may let others do the participation for them or feel that the elected representatives are doing a good job. The choice whether to participate or not remains with the individual citizen.

Enabled to, is a factor that stems from the fact that participation is mostly facilitated through groups or organisations (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). The vibrancy of participation is highly dependent on the existence of networks and groups that can support participation and provide a communication route to decision makers. No one body can be representative of civil society as a whole. There is a need for specialist community networks that engage marginalised groups.

The Asked to factor refers to the fact that people tend to become engaged more often and more regularly when they are asked to engage (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). The most powerful way to improve engagement within this factor is when the group that is responsible for decision making asks people to participate. The group seeking participation needs to have a broad repertoire of approaches to reach different citizen groups as people have preferences in participation options for engagement such as public meetings or on-line discussions. Participation can be mobilized by the use of incentives, establishing a sense of obligation or by offering bargains/exchanges. It is important to know why you ask someone to participate and what's in it for them. There is a difference between expert citizens and 'ordinary' citizens. People have different motives to participate. They can do this from this sense of belonging but can also be looking for personal development or commitment to societal change.

Responded to, refers to the fact that people have to believe that their involvement makes a difference (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). People must have the feeling that their view is taken into account to choose to participate. Decision making must be opened up to influences of others. Citizens' confidence in the participation process depends on the idea of natural justice. It is necessary to ensure that citizens get heard and receive impartial judgement.

The CLEAR model is a practical analysis tool for citizen participation and works well with asset based community development. In the face of cultural project this tool has some limits. The

interpretation of the factor Responded to of the CLEAR model in the table differs from the explanation in the theory. In the table the interpretation is very narrow; in the theory the wider success experience of the participant is also included. This thesis will use the latter interpretation. The CLEAR model is unable to grasp the contribution that the cultural or creative aspect of the project makes to the participation of citizens. The CLEAR model is limited in this way. This is why the theories of the power of art and culture are added to the conceptual framework of this chapter. This makes it possible to identify all factors that contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and the further development of sustainable social artistic practices. This CLEAR model is also written from the perspective of organisations and forms a kind of checklist that organisations must comply with if they want to achieve the right participation. From another perspective a different model could be developed.

3.7 Conceptual model

The main concepts explained in this chapter have an interconnectedness that can be traced by using the Plan-Do-Check-Act cycle (PDCA cycle) extended with a circle on the human scale. This model is presented in Figure 3. The PDCA cycle is a tool to give guidance to processes of change, by ensuring that each step is taken in the right order (Hardjono & Stassen, n.d.). This cycle is made complete by adding the human scale: Inspiring, Mobilising, Valuing and Reflecting. Through these concepts the other concepts presented in this chapter are linked. The conceptual model is shown in Figure 4.

Inspiring is the generation of new ideas, creating a sense of commitment and challenge (INK, 2013). This involves making people excited for the organisation, group or project. This fits well with the Can do and Like to factor of the clear model. When people have the right capacities and resources, a sense of community and sufficient social capital they, feel able to make a valuable contribution, which makes them inspired to participate (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006).

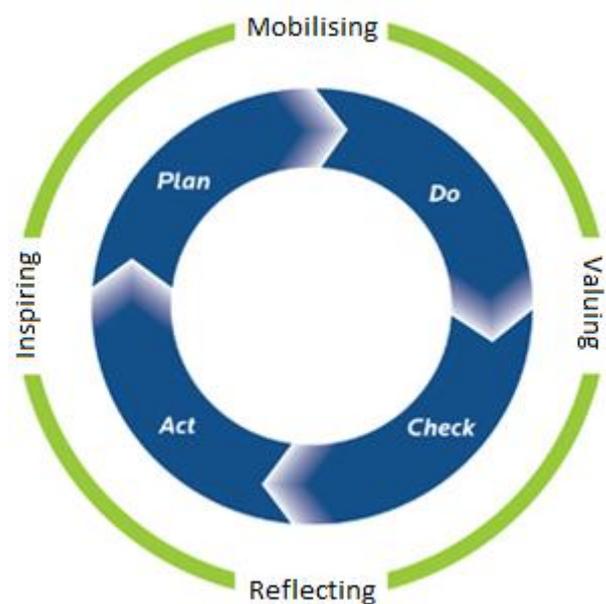


Figure 3: Extended PDCA cycle (Hardjono & Stassen, n.d.)

The individual barriers stand between the Can do factor and inspiring the source group (UN-HABITAT, 2008). The rift between expert knowledge and the vision of the source group needs to be overcome to be able to inspire the source group. The associational barrier stands between Like to

and inspiring. A low level of bridging social capital stops individuals from getting ahead in life. Therefore the associational barrier divides Like to and inspiring.

Mobilising is utilizing the inspiration, the use and development of capacities and qualities of everyone involved in the social artistic practice (INK, 2013). This is the step where all participants, organisations and professionals come together and jointly start working. The Like to, Enabled to, Asked to and Responded to factors of the CLEAR model all contribute to mobilising (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). The Like to factor motivates the participants and brings them together as a source group. The professionals and organisations enable the participants to work within an opportunity structure of participants and professionals whereby the participants and professionals can connect on a basis of equality. The Asked to factor contributes to the mobilisation by reaching the right participant group with the right question and the right incentives. The motivation of the participants can be analyzed and this is the basis for the right question. The Responded to factor contributes by making people believe that their involvement makes a change and therefore motivates them to participate, this thus contributes to mobilisation.

Associational and institutional barriers can constrain the mobilisation of the source group and relevant organisations (UN-HABITAT, 2008). Associational barriers divide Like to, Enabled to and mobilisation. A low level of engagement in the community for both the source group and relevant institutions keeps them apart and undermines their motivation. A low level of bonding social capital blocks the group formation and a low level of bridging social capital constrains the participants and professionals to connect with individuals which get them further in life. Institutional barriers also constrain the contribution of the Enabled to, Asked to and Responded to factors to mobilisation of social artistic practices. The institutions need to cooperate with other institutions and professionals to be able to reach valuable changes in society. This cooperation can be blocked by institutions not willing to cooperate or following their own aims instead of the goals of the project.

Valuing is the determining of the value of the project in the light of its mission and vision (INK, 2013). The valuing of contributions of all the different stakeholders is also part of this step. The Enabled to, Asked to and Responded to factor contribute to valuing (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). By creating a structure of opportunity for the participants, the Enabled to factor, the participants are able to create value for themselves and their neighbourhood. The question asked determines the expectations the participants have of the project. The valuation of the project is based on this, a question that is reachable but also challenging leads to the highest valuation when outcomes are judged. The Responded to factor looks at the difference that the involvement of the different

participants. Systems that ensure the involvement of the participants is taken into account, like a high level of participation on the participation ladder, contribute to the valuation of the project if they are followed and the participants share the belief that their involvement makes a change.

Institutional barriers block the contribution of the Enabled to, Asked to and Responded to factors to valuing (UN-HABITAT, 2008). Institutions need to be able to deal with the input from the participants, take them into account and reach to other professionals and institutions to make a change possible for the participants and the neighbourhood.

Reflecting means taking time to look at the accomplished results and the way they were achieved (INK, 2013). The goal of this is to learn from the past experience and use this new knowledge to develop the practices further. The Responded to factor of the CLEAR model contributes to the further development of social artistic practices (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). The insurance that the involvement of participants makes a difference enables participants, organisations and professionals to contemplate on their contribution to the project. In this way these groups can change their future involvement, which contributes to the further development of the project.

So far this model can be applied to all participatory projects. This thesis however focuses on social-artistic participatory projects. The influence of art and culture on this model can be mapped with two factors that are related to the artistic quality of social-artistic projects: the axe of auto- and allo-relational art and the axe of digestive and subversive art (Gielen, 2011). The quality of the art in the projects can help break through the barriers or further constrain the effects.

Auto-relational artworks confirm the identity of the source group, and thus needs both local knowledge and expert knowledge. In this way it breaks through the individual barrier. Allo-relational art work does not stick to the identity of the source group and thus contributes to the individual barrier instead of breaking it. Auto-relational art finds the identity that is shared by the participants, this contributes to breaking through the associational barrier as participants are able to connect around this relatively easy. Around allo-relational art it is more difficult to connect participants, as they do not share the basis of the art project and there will be proponents and opponents, this thus contributes to the associational barrier. Allo-relational art contributes to breaking through institutional barriers. This artwork is not bases on the identity of the participants and can therefore be closer to the identity of the organisations and professionals. This makes it easier for them to add this project to their daily business. Auto-relational art makes it more difficult for organisations to contribute to and align this with their own goals. This thus strengthens the institutional barrier.

Digestive artwork contributes to integrating groups in society. It conforms to the rules and habits that are already in place in a certain society. Digestive art is thus close to the ideas of the

participants and usually matches the knowledge and capacities of the source group. In this way the individual barrier is broken through. The contribution to the breaking of the associational barrier is integrating groups in society. Digestive artwork conforms to the rules, which makes it easy for participants to connect. Subversive artwork challenges the perspectives of the participants and the public, which makes it harder for them to connect. This strengthens the associational barrier. Subversive artwork requires expert skills and knowledge, instead of local knowledge. Here lies the danger of a rift between experts and participants which strengthens the individual barrier. Subversive artwork challenges the public, with this artwork a change in perception is made. Institutions working on social artistic practices have aims at making a change. Subversive art is more aligned with their own goals, which makes it easier for them to work on these as well as easier to find cooperating organisations and professionals that also want to make a change. This thus breaks the institutional barrier. Digestive artwork sticks to the status quo. This makes it more difficult for organisations, with aims at making a change, to connect this project to the aims of their organisation. This thus strengthens the institutional barrier. Figure 4 pictures the total conceptual model with all the connections.

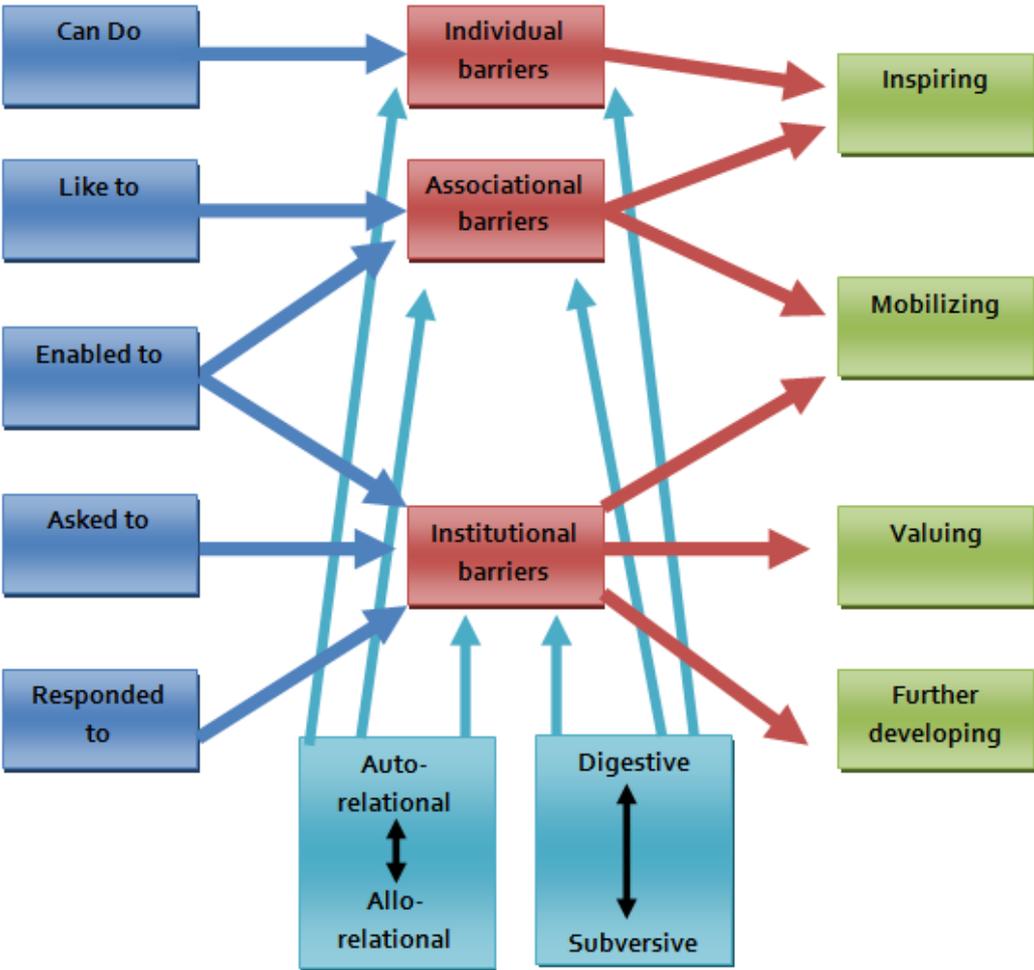


Figure 4: Conceptual model

4. Research Methods

This chapter will elaborate on the research methods that will be used in this thesis. The research methods entail a qualitative collective case study. The cases will be Malberg op de Planken in Maastricht, Welkom Thuis, Masterchefs Hambaken and Verwonderstraat from Den Bosch and Het Geheugen van West in Amsterdam West. For each of these projects qualitative semi-structured interviews will be held with participants and expert interviews with the organisations or supervisors. The reasons for these choices will be explained below.

4.1 Qualitative collective case study

The main research method for this thesis is a qualitative collective case study. In this relatively short research this method works best. It also fits well with the feministic geographical approach as this approach calls for bottom-up qualitative research. To be able to answer the main question an in depth research is necessary whereby multiple data resources are combined in an interpretive way. This thus excludes quantitative forms of research. The researcher is here the instrument as the interviews and observations are done and documents are analyzed by the researcher. This all is part of qualitative research. Within this research theory the comparable case study approach will be used. To get a complete understanding of the factors that play a role here multiple cases need to be studied. The projects that (try to) become sustainable are the cases which will be compared to identify the factors that cause this. In a collective case study the one issue or concern is selected and the researcher selects multiple case studies to illustrate the issue (Creswell, 2007). This approach uses the logic of replication; the researcher replicates the procedures for each case. First there will be a within-case analysis of each of the cases separately after this a cross-case analysis will follow of the themes that were studied within the cases.

4.2 Data collection and analysis

The data collection for this case study will involve an analysis of documents, observations and interviews. These interviews will be qualitative semi-structured or expert interviews with superiors or organizers of social artistic practices that contribute to neighbourhood development and with participants of social artistic projects. This fits with the research methods and allows for a structured set up with openings for unsuspected matters. The organisers are here the directors of Typisch Den Bosch, the organiser of Trajekt in Maastricht and the chairman of Het Geheugen van West. In Table 2 the interviewed are displayed.

In the CLEAR model all approaches and factors come together. This model which has been presented in the conceptual model will serve as a tool to collect the data. In the appendix a Dutch interview guide can be found. This interview guide is followed for both the participants and the organisers/supervisors.

Interviewed	Gender	Function
Mart Mooren	Male	Project leader Malberg op de Planken within welfare organisation Trajekt
Jan van Ast	Male	Chairman and participant Malberg op de Planken
Nol Voorst	Male	Participant and (co)initiator Malberg op de Planken
Elly Hollanders	Female	Participant Malberg op de Planken
Meggy Althuisen	Female	Manager Typisch Den Bosch
Hanneke Matthijssen	Female	Manager Tyisch Den Bosch
Will Langeweg	Female	Participant Masterchefs Hambaken
André Houtman	Male	Supervisor and participant Verwonderstraat
Margreet Dielissen	Female	Supervisor and participant Welkom Thuis
Joke Hilverda	Female	Chairman and participant Het Geheugen van West

Table 2: Interviewed individuals

For the analysis of the participant interviews a coding method will be used to be able to compare the interviews of different projects in different cities and neighbourhoods. Colour coding is used to code the different interview, whereby a colour stands for a category of Clear that comes back in that part of the interview. The green code refers to the can do factor. In these parts the respondents talked about resources, finances, knowledge and skills. The yellow code refers to parts of the transcript that are related to the like to factor. Central in this factor are social capital and the engagement in the community. The parts of the interviews that are linked to the enabled to factor are coded with purple markings. In this category the supporting organisations and their role are central. Asked to and responded to, as the last two factors of CLEAR, are coded together with red markings. The aspects that belong to this factor are often mentioned together in the interviews and are closely connected. The aspects that belong to this code are the questions that are asked, the incentives, ownership, level of participation and response to the participants. For the analysis of the expert interviews this is not necessary as the information from these is clearer and less open to different interpretations, experts are familiar with the different concepts that come up in the interview and need less guiding to get the right information. These are also less numerous which

makes it easier to compare them without coding. The transcripts and coded transcripts of all the interviews can be found on the CD.

The interviews are combined with as much other data as possible. As there has not been much research on these projects yet this consists of policy documents and progress documents of the organisations.

4.3 Reliability, validity and generalizability

Qualitative validity implies that the researcher checks for the accuracy of the findings by employing certain procedures, while qualitative reliability means that the researcher's approach is consistent across different researches and different projects (Creswell, 2007).

There are several validity strategies that are used. Different data will be triangulated by combining the analysis of documents, observations and interviews. Member checking will occur by participants reading the final report. Rich thick descriptions will be used to convey the findings. Negative or discrepant information that runs counter to the themes will also be presented. A prolonged time will be spent in the field. Peer debriefing will be used to enhance the accuracy of the findings by a fellow student at Radboud University. And an external auditor will review the entire project. In this way the validity of this research is maximized.

Qualitative generalization is limitedly used in qualitative studies as the intent of this research is not to generalize findings to individuals, sites or places that are not under study. The value of qualitative research lies in the description of the themes in the context of a specific site (Creswell, 2009). Qualitative case study results can be generalized to some broader theory. The replication logic is used when new cases are added and findings are generalized to new cases. This requires a good documentation of qualitative procedures and the development of a thorough case study database (Creswell, 2009).

Interviewing participants has some implications for the reliability of the research as they may not understand and be able to answer all the questions. For this reason the aim is to interview multiple participants of the different projects as well as the organisers of these projects. This number can be increased as needed to get multiple answers to the different questions.

Gender is an important part of this inquiry. In the interview guide are direct questions about gender differences included. This may lead to political desired answers to direct questions about gender. There is no data available on gender division in the different projects, asking direct questions is thus the best option. By creating a casual, open atmosphere during the interviews this can be avoided as far as possible. The gender questions are also accompanied with other

differentiating questions on income and education. In this way gender does not stand out and is only part of the question which enables the respondents to answer them as honest as possible.

4.4 Case selection

As an intern at CAL-XL I am bounded to the cases that they work on in their own research. Together cases were found that fit well within this research. This research is focused on the factors that contribute to sustainable, self organising practices in urban deprived areas. The cases thus have to meet the following requirements:

- Based in an urban deprived area
- Can be called sustainable, thus have to be in existence for multiple years
- Have a high level of self organisation, meaning that the power lies with the source group

Typisch Den Bosch is a good example of an organisation that has seems to succeed in creating sustainable citizen initiatives. They created an online network that connects citizens with professionals on a project base. After first contact with this organisation and an overview of the projects supported by Typisch Den Bosch three projects were chosen to investigate. Masterchefs Hambaken, Verwonderstraat en Welkom Thuis were the chosen projects that met the requirements. Also in Amsterdam and Maastricht there are projects that seem to have reached a high level of sustainability and a high level of self-organisation. In Amsterdam West the project Het Geheugen van West is selected an in the neighbourhood Malberg in Maastricht the project Malberg op de Planken will be a case in for this thesis. All these cases are selected on the basis of the requirements of sustainability and self-organisation. The description and further explanation of the cases is part of the research and involves studying documents, observations and interviews as explained above.

The research methods have been determined in this chapter. In the next chapter the first case, Malberg op de Planken, will be described and analyzed.

5. Malberg op de Planken

The first social-artistic practice that contributes to neighbourhood change that will be analyzed in this thesis is Malberg op de Planken, which takes place in the neighbourhood Malberg in Maastricht. This is the green coloured neighbourhood in Figure 5. At core this project is a community art theatre group that performs neighbourhood related plays. This practice is already working for ten years as it started in 2003, which makes this project sustainable. Malberg op de Planken is now an association with members

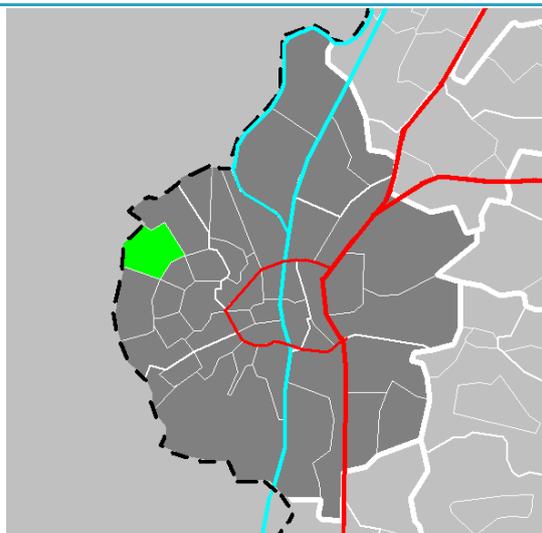


Figure 5: Malberg (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2013)

and a board that is responsible. This makes the level of self-organisation of this project high. In this chapter the main questions are: *What factors from the source group and the relevant institutions contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing Malberg op de Planken as sustainable citizen initiative for social artistic practices that contributes to neighbourhood development? And: What are the implications from a feminist approach to asset based community development?*

There are different steps to be taken in analyzing this case. First a case description is given as well as the factors that make Malberg an urban deprived neighbourhood. After these descriptions the case will be analyzed with the CLEAR model. Under the header of Can do the capacities, resources, skills and knowledge of the source group are elaborated and the contribution these make to the sustainability of the project. The next paragraph goes into the Like to factor of the CLEAR model. This factor goes into the engagement in the community with sense of community and social capital as main parts. The contribution of the engagement in the community to the sustainability of this project is also analyzed. The Enabled to paragraph analyzes the mobilisation and collaboration of this project, which are the roles of the different organisations and professionals, and the contribution this makes to the sustainability of the project. In the next paragraph, Asked to, the motivation and incentives are explained. In the last paragraph, Responded to, the influence on the results by and the response to the participants are explained. Here also the ownership over the project of the participants is analyzed as well as contribution of these factors to the sustainability of the project. After this CLEAR analysis the implications from a feminist approach to asset based community development will be described. This all will be followed by a conclusion.

5.1 Case description

In this paragraph the start and development of the project, the goals and the goal achievement and the artistic quality of the project will be discussed.

Malberg op de Planken started in 2003 as initiative from the welfare institute Trajekt in Maastricht (Mart, Personal Communication, March 20, 2013). The neighbourhood was given a new development plan as part of the urban renewal plans of Maastricht. The welfare institute Trajekt was asked to form a plan to raise the social cohesion after demolitions in the neighbourhoods. Trajekt and Buurtwerk, a social organisation placed in this neighbourhood, wanted to combine the raising of the social cohesion with the celebration of the anniversary of Buurtwerk with a big neighbourhood party. To make this more festive they wanted to organize a play that was based on the stories of and that was acted by the people living in the neighbourhood. Trajekt and Buurtwerk together organised the first production *It Lives Here* (t Leeft hier). For this production they searched for participants, arranged a producer and two professional actors. Also the rehearsal and performing location and other organisational matters were taken care of by these two organisations. They also were financially responsible for the whole project. This project was a success and was followed by a second production that was also led by Trajekt named *Cumulonimbus* (Stapelwolken). After budget cuts the project was let loose by Trajekt and the group became an association (Mart, Personal Communication, March 20, 2013). The association is fully responsible for the project Malberg op de Planken. For the first play the story of the older members was used, it was the story of how they came to live in Malberg (Nol, personal communication, April 16, 2013). For another play the stories around a retirement home in the neighbourhood were used. In 2010 Malberg op de Planken has won the Apples of Orange (Appeltjes van Oranje) a price from the Oranjefonds. This is a fund for social initiatives and promotes involvement in society (Oranjefonds, 2013). Through this support people meet each other or find a new place in society. Once a year the best social citizen initiative wins the Apples of Orange prize, which is a prize of €2500 (Jan, personal communication, April 16, 2013). In the third and first production as association, the group moved from community art to an improvisation play which lacked impact on the neighbourhood. Trajekt has chosen to take the project back under, as minimal as possible, guidance. Each of these productions has been supported by a professional producer.

The main goal of this project, creating new bonds, falls in the effect area of social cohesion. The neighbourhood Malberg has faced urban renewal projects whereby old residential blocks were demolished and new were build. This broke bonds between neighbours and no new links were formed. The project of Malberg op de Planken has contributed to the increase of social cohesion in Malberg (Elly, personal communication, April 16, 2013). The direct participants of the theatre group

became friends and the public that watches the plays gets more connected to the neighbourhood through the stories and meets neighbours during the performances.

In the effect area of personal development no goals have been set. Nevertheless the participant group has achieved personal development. Their theatre skills and confidence has grown due to Malberg op de Planken (NoI, personal communication, April 16, 2013). By becoming an association the board members had to learn to manage an association. This has also contributed to their personal development.

There have been changes in the effect area of public perception. The neighbourhood Malberg was seen as a neighbourhood full of problems and nobody wanted to live here. The urban renewal in combination with social projects and Malberg op de Planken have resulted in a better neighbourhood and this has changed the image of this neighbourhood. Malberg op de Planken is a long running project and also other neighbourhoods in Maastricht like to take this as example for their own project (Mart, personal communication, March 20, 2013). The positive way of dealing with a low social cohesion has inspired others to do the same. The widespread success story of Malberg op de Planken has contributed to the public perception of Malberg.

This project does not change the physical environment. There are thus no goals in this effect area and also no achievements.

The art in the project Malberg op de planken are the plays that they perform. The story for this play is provided by the source group and the producer determines how this is visualized. Both the source group and the artist contribute from their own identity and stay close to this. The artists that contribute to this project always had a link with community art and this fits with their identity. The artistic quality of this project can thus be described as auto-relational, as the plays fit with the identity of the source group.

The plays of Malberg op de planken tell the stories of the inhabitants of Malberg. Some of the public might not be familiar with this, but the participant group is. For them the stories comply with their norms and values as it tells their own life history. The plays can thus be characterized as digestive or comfortable. There are no changes in the way the participant group perceives (part of) the world.

5.2 Malberg

In this paragraph the available data on the liveability of the neighbourhood Malberg is discussed, de deprivation of the neighbourhood and a comparison of the situation before and after Malberg op de Planken.

The neighbourhood Malberg lies in the north east of Maastricht and has 5647 inhabitants (Hinssen, 2011). Compared with other neighbourhoods in Maastricht there are some indicators for the deprivation of Malburg. There is a relatively large group of people aged 65 years and older in this neighbourhood (24% in Malberg, 18% in Maastricht (Hinssen, 2011)). Also the group of non-western immigrants is relatively large (12% in Malberg, 8% in Maastricht (Hinssen, 2011)). The percentage of older people is growing, while the percentage of non-western immigrants is stable over the years. The economical situation of the residents of Malberg is worse than the mean of Maastricht. The unemployment for instance is relatively high (16% in Malberg, 10.2% in Maastricht (Hinssen, 2011)) and a large group in this neighbourhood has a low income (42% in Malberg, 25% in Maastricht (Hinssen, 2011)). This is the second highest percentage of low income measured in a neighbourhood in Maastricht. Also the percentage of low educated resident is the second highest in Maastricht (52% in Malberg, 29% in Maastricht. These numbers indicate the deprivation of Malberg.

The scores of Malberg in comparison with the rest of the Netherlands on housing, public space, level of facilities, population composition, social cohesion and safety before Malberg op de Planken and after are shown in Table 3. These are all measured by the liveability measurer (Leefbarometer) of the Dutch ministry of Internal Affairs and Kingdom Relations (Leefbarometer, 2012). As shown in the table the most scores are below zero.

	Before project 2003	2012
Score housing (national mean =0)	-35	-25
Score public space (national mean =0)	6	-1
Score facilities level (national mean =0)	-1	-17
Score population composition (national mean =0)	-23	-12
Social cohesion (national mean =0)	-8	11
Safety (national mean =0)	-25	-32

Table 3: Liveability Malberg (Leefbarometer, 2012)

This means that the housing in Malberg is worse than the mean of the Netherlands, as well as the facilities level, population composition, social cohesion and safety. These scores are very low, which indicates that Malberg was an urban deprived area before the start of Malberg op de Planken and still is. The biggest improvements in the liveability of Malberg during Malberg op de Planken are the social cohesion, population composition and housing scores. There have been many investments in this neighbourhood during this period, coupled by the Manjefiek Malberg program (Manjefiek Malberg, 2011). In this program restructuring is linked with education and social measures, Malberg op de Planken being one of them. The increase in the liveability can thus not be subscribed to this project alone, but to the whole program Manjefiek Malberg.

5.3 CLEAR

The first two paragraphs described the project and the neighbourhoods it is based in and aimed at. Now this project will be analyzed according to the CLEAR model that can be found in paragraph 3.6. The clear model consists of the factors Can do, Like to, Enabled to, Asked to and Responded to, that all add to an explanation of citizen participation and sustainability of social-artistic projects.

5.3.1 Can do

The Can do factor is the first factor of the CLEAR model. When people have the appropriate skills and resources they are more able to participate (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). The Can do factor plays a central role in asset based community development. The skills, knowledge and resources of people, or in short their assets, are employed to achieve neighbourhood development (Kretzmann & MacKnight, 1993). This paragraph focuses on the contribution of the employment of local assets to the sustainability of Malberg op de Planken.

The (financial) resources the source group has access to, the skills and the knowledge of the source group are explained in this paragraph. The changes over time are analyzed as well as the contribution this has made to the sustainability of the project.

The financial resources the association has access to are relatively high. They have their own bank account on which money is saved from tickets sold for the productions. With winning the 'Appeltjes van Oranje' the group received € 2500,-. At the start of the project the group did not have money of their own; it was then a project from Trajekt and Buurtwerk who arranged the financial support within their organisation. Buurtwerk has subsidized the project for a long time and this year will be the last. The association can apply for subsidies, but knowledge is lacking which subsidies they qualify for, where to apply and how an application should be filed (Nol, personal communication, April 16, 2013). Mart Mooren, from Trajekt, helps with this. He was responsible for the project when it was still a project from Trajekt and knows the ways to get subsidies. As it is now an association the members have to pay contribution, this also makes the project financially stable. But this contribution may be a barrier for new participants as not everyone is willing and able to pay this.

When Trajekt and Buurtwerk were looking for participants the only capacity that was asked was their willingness to work on stage. No other capacities were needed as the organisations were responsible for all the other tasks. The confidence to perform on stage was most important, it was not necessary to have a history of performing; they needed to be interested in it (Nol, personal communication, April 16, 2013). Together with a producer the first group worked on the first production. In this project they learnt to perform better and theatre capacities were increased. The

willingness to perform on stage is still the only capacity that the participants need. The theatre capacities of the group increase as they work with a professional producer on a play. Within the group there is a decor builder who has the knowledge and skills to make even complex decors (Jan, personal communication, April 16, 2013). Almost all of the participants have the capacity to learn their lines and to perform them. They also have the capacities to think of stories they want to use in their play. To be able to transform the stories and anecdotes from the group into a play producers are necessary. In the ten years the group has changed, people have joined and others have dropped out. The group is still popular as there is now a waiting list of people who want to join. Even after these changes a producer is still needed, the participant group knows this, but a producer is very expensive. They would like to do this on their own too, but know that the quality would then be less. When they are going to work on a new play there will be a producer hired. This has to be someone who can handle community art and is thus open to the ideas and stories of the group (Elly, personal communication, April 16, 2013).

When the funding from the organisations stopped, the group became an association. In this association there is a chairman, a treasurer and a secretary, they have taken over the tasks of the organisations. Jan is the chairman of the association. He organizes all the activities and all problems come to him. He was a leader in the military and has thus leadership capacities; the participants are dependent on him. He has good people skills and dares to go to other organisations to get things done. He can be strict to the group and makes sure that the group really works. The group is a sociable whole who like to chat and have fun. Jan makes sure that they work on whatever project they have. It is not possible for Jan to do everything on his own, he delegates the tasks he can.

The group has enough organising capacities to organize the rehearsals and bring ideas and stories for the play. The greater organisation for the production, which communication to the public etcetera, is more problematic. Here they need the help of a producer and Mart from Trajekt can play a role here in finding ways to get funding. The missing capacities threaten the sustainability of this project, but the healthy financial situation and links to professionals contribute to this project.

5.3.2 Like to

The Like to factor refers to the conception that commitment to participation requires and identification with the community that is the focus of the project and rising social capital gives incentives for people to participate (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006) and keep participating. In asset based community development the like to factor plays a role. Through engagement in the community and social capital the different assets of individuals can be linked and in this way make them work. This paragraph focuses on the contribution that the engagement in the community and the social capital of the source group make to the sustainability of Malberg op de Planken.

The group of participants of Malberg op the Planken did not know each other before the project. They all have lived in Malberg for some time and have seen each other on the street but they never formed a group. Though at the first instance the participants joined to make theatre, they all want to change the neighbourhood too (Nol, personal communication, April 16, 2013). With their stories and their ideas they want to tell the neighbours their stories and make bonds between them. Also bringing culture to the neighbours is important to them. They feel responsible for the neighbourhood and want to change this (Jan, personal communication, April 16, 2013). For some people this goes further than this one project. Jan is also a volunteer for the neighbourhood Platform and the sport park of the neighbourhood (Jan, personal communication, April 16, 2013). For this project people who had a bond with the neighbourhood were asked to participate, this were the people who lived here for a long time or were active in other voluntary work. Through the project the participants got to know the stories of their neighbours and also the neighbourhood got to know the stories that were enacted. It is a community art theatre group so the plays they perform are always as close as possible to the lives of the people living in Malberg. This has created an increase in the sense of community. The group really forms a group and everyone is proud to be part of it. They became friends and like being part of the group almost as much as acting (Elly, personal communication, April 16, 2013).

The social capital of the participants of this project, being the aggregate of actual and potential resources linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu, 1968), grew as they got to know each other and became friends. The number of relations grew as well as the intensity of their relations. The group consists mainly of middle aged people and some younger people. The age group of around 65 years is highly represented in the neighbourhood as well as in the group. Some younger people are asked to come to the group and join (Nol, personal communication, April 16, 2013). In this way old and young inhabitants of Malberg are bonded.

5.3.3 Enabled to

Participation is mostly facilitated through groups or organisations (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). This civic infrastructure can create or block an opportunity structure for participation. In asset based community development this factor comes back in linking the individuals with assets and increasing the assets of the participant group. The organisations have knowledge and a network of connections to other organisations. This paragraph focuses on the contribution the different supporting organisations and professionals make to the sustainability of Malberg op de Planken.

For this project multiple social and cultural organisations and professionals supported and led the participants. At the start of the project Trajekt and Buurtwerk arranged all organisational matters and hired a producer (Jan, personal communication, April 16, 2013). This producer is affiliated with Kumulus, a theatre organisation in Maastricht. From this organisation theatre groups can hire a producer when they need one. Producers that work via Kumulus have to be highly trained. Hiring via Kumulus thus stands for a quality producer. There were also two professional actors from Toneelgroep Maastricht who participated in the first play. Their role was to assist the neighbourhood actors and perform themselves.

At the start, Trajekt and Buurtwerk were responsible for both the social quality of the group and the artistic quality of the play. Now that the group formed an association the social quality is wholly the responsibility of the group of neighbourhood actors and the responsibility for the quality of the play can be shared with a producer. To be able to take over these responsibilities the group has learnt how to become an association. Especially Mart Mooren from Trajekt has transferred much knowledge and skills that he had on to the group. He felt responsible for doing this as he, amongst others, set up the group in the first place (Mart, personal communication, March 20, 2013). He gave Jan, the chairman of the association, all the information he could give him and is still available if there are problems. When the third production was not the success the association hoped for Mart stepped back to the group to give them some guidance. For the success of plays of this group it is necessary to keep the topics as close to the neighbourhood as possible (Mart, personal communication, March 20, 2013). The support of Trajekt, via Mart, also means that the group has to meet this requirement (Elly, personal communication, April 16, 2013). This is no problem for the group as it is also their wish to make community art.

Malberg op de planken is thus not independent as they are still helped by the welfare organisation Trajekt. They do however have the leading role; the board of the association makes the decisions. Links to capable professional organisations contribute to the sustainability of this project.

5.3.4 Asked to

When people are asked to engage they tend to become more engaged and more regularly (Lowdnes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). People do not tend to go look for ways to apply their assets themselves. The need of people to make a contribution may also be latent. Therefore it is important that people are asked to participate. It is important to know what motivation the organisation looking for participants asks and what is in it for the participants (Lowdnes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). This paragraph focuses on the contribution the mobilisation of participants makes to the sustainability of Malberg op de Planken.

The question contribution of people living in Malberg at the start of the project was simple; they were asked to bring their life stories and to perform on stage. Everybody who was interested in this could come to the first meeting and from here a group was formed of participants who wanted to work with professionals on the first play (Elly, personal communication, April 16, 2013). Nol (personal communication, April 16, 2013) already knew many people in the neighbourhood as part of his job at Buurtwerk. They actively searched for and contacted people they already knew from that they liked theatre. Acting and improving the acting skills was in the beginning the most important motivation for people to participate in the project. Malberg was a severely deprived neighbourhood then and a part of the motivation for the participants was to change this and contribute to the neighbourhood in a positive way (Nol, personal communication, April 16, 2013). When new participants are asked to join their willingness to bring their stories and perform on stage are still the main motives sought. This realivly open question makes it easy for people to participate. There is now even a waiting list (Jan, personal communication, April 16, 2013).

5.3.5 Responded to

The last letter of CLEAR refers to the Responded to factor. This factor is based on the fact that people have to believe that their involvement makes a difference (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006) otherwise they would not start or stop participating. A higher level of ownership leads to stronger ownership over the project by the participants which contribute to the sustainability of the project. A high level of participation means that the view of the participants is taken into account and the response to ideas and opinions of participants receive impartial judgement (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). This paragraph focuses on the contribution the ownership over the project and the response to the participant make to the sustainability of Malberg op de Planken.

The ownership of the project for the participants developed over time. At the start the project was from Buurtwerk and Trajekt and in a large part led by professionals (producer and two actors), but the participants made major contributions in telling their stories and acting them out. They really felt that it was their play, as it was their story that was told (Nol, personal communication, April 16, 2013). The project was such a success that the participants did not want to quit. They wanted to keep enacting the stories of the neighbourhood. When the guidance of Trajekt and Buurtwerk stopped, due to budget cuts, the solution was found in becoming an association. From this point the motivation that was asked from the participants was not only to act and contribute with life stories, but also to contribute to the association in various roles. A chairman was needed as well as a secretary and a treasurer. These were all found within the participant group. For some part they had to learn new skills and develop new knowledge to be able to be a good board. Also this was asked

from the participant group. Now they form an association they are responsible and they have the ownership over the project.

The opinion of the participant group always mattered, but now what they think is what counts. They can ask help from professionals and hire them to help them, but they are always in the initiating and leading role. This high level of ownership, participation and automatic response makes participants feel responsible for this project and willing to keep participating. This contributes to the sustainability of this project.

5.4 Feminist approach to asset based community development

Now that the first question is answered the gender question comes into play. The feminist approach to asset based community development focuses on marginalisation and making participation bottom-up (Cornwall, 2003). The question here is who participates and who benefits from this project.

The participant group mainly consist of middle aged people with a Dutch background. There are some young Dutch participants and one middle aged individual with an Antillean background. The neighbourhood Malberg can be characterized by a high percentage of older people, which are represented in the group, and a high percentage of immigrants, which are not represented in the participant group. The group that invests is thus relatively homogenised and this is also the group that benefits most. Malberg op de Planken is an association where the members have to pay contribution to be able to join. In this way less affluent neighbourhs that are able and willing to participate may be excluded. The confidence needed to perform on stage is an other excluding factor of the association. Neighbours that are willing to make a contribution to the neighbourhood are unable to do this via Malberg op de Planken if they do not have the confidence to perform on stage. In addition to the participant group there is also the public of the plays, mainly residents of Malberg, that benefit from this project directly, through enrichment of their life through the experience of culture, and indirectly, through the neighbourhood development.

There are more women in the participant group than men and there are some gender differences found. Both the men and the women have the same capacities, but differ in the utilization of existing capacities. There are both men and women who dare a lot and take on the most challenging roles, but when it comes to the organisation the men take care of this (Elly, personal communication, April 16, 2013). Men take on more jobs and are less picky in this association. Women tend to think things through and are more hesitant to take on jobs. Men and women both enlarged their social capital in the same way; they all met new people and made bonds

of friendship by working together on the same project. Men tend to feel more responsible for the neighbourhood (Nol, personal communication, April 16, 2013).

There are some differences between men and women in motivation for or ownership over the project. More women in the neighbourhood are willing to participate; the association has significantly more women than men. There were fewer men in the neighbourhood who were willing to act and be part of the association. Within the group men take on more (board) jobs than women. They feel more responsible to do this and being a leader of the association plays a role in their motivation. Both men and women feel that the board jobs are more a responsibility of the men and men are more able to do this. These are gender differences that are embedded in the habits and culture of these relatively older Dutch participants. This could block the sustainability of Malberg op de Planken as the association is heavily dependent on a few men, while there are more women participants. The organising capacities of the women remain unused.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the main questions are: *What factors from the source group and the relevant institutions contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing Malberg op de Planken as sustainable citizen initiative for social artistic practices that contributes to neighbourhood development? And: What are the implications from a feminist approach to asset based community development?*

In this case a project led by welfare organisations developed to a sustainable self-organisation. It is really interesting to see this development and to be able to point out the factors that contributed to this. Although the group still needs some guidance they are quite successful as an association, even as they take on the difficult task of making community art.

The capacities of the participant group developed much. They did not only learn to act better or to make good stories, but they also learnt to become an association and organise rehearsals and contact with professionals themselves. They do not have complete knowledge and skills to become a professional theatre association, but they have enough to arrange what they need. For the bigger productions as a whole play they still need the capacities of social and artistic professionals. A transfer of knowledge and skills from the professionals to the participant group contributed to the ability of the group to become self organising and sustainable.

The project has an engagement in the community. The participants feel responsible for their neighbourhood and want to contribute in a positive way. Part of the project is to link the older inhabitants of Malberg, which are a significant part of the inhabitants, with younger people living in Malberg. They do this by searching for a mix between old and young participants and in their plays,

which are watched by both old and young, they tell each other the stories of their lives. This leads to a better understanding of each other. The social capital of the group grew due to this project. They did not know each other before this and developed meaningful relationships as they became friends. The group process working so well and the people even becoming friends contributed to the success of this project and made it easier for them to turn into a self-organising and sustainable project, but this also contributed to the personal lives of the participants. By having more friends and relatives to rely on the ability of the participants to deal with life increased.

Professionals and neighbours worked together from the start to make the project successful. They all had their own responsibilities and worked together well. The responsibilities shifted from professionals to neighbours, but also this went smooth as they all were committed to make the participants able to take over the project. Receiving support from an organisation has consequences for the group. They now receive help from Trajekt but in return have to stick to community art. This constant opportunity for support helps the group to deal with the problems they might face. In this way problems can be solved even if the group itself is not able to do it. This thus contributes to the sustainability of the project but makes it less self-organising.

The project started with a simple, easy to comply with, question. As the project furthered the question asked became more difficult and more demanding. The opinion of the participants always mattered and was always taken into account. Here also a development is visible as the opinion of the participants became more important. Now they lead their own association and their opinion is what counts. The simple question and success of the first play made people willing to start and keep participating. When success was achieved the question expanded. Also the view of the participants is always taken into account. This contributed to the sustainability of the project and motivated the group to become self-organising.

The participant group is relatively homogenized, which means that only one group in the community of Malberg invests most and benefits most from this project. This is the group of middle aged and older people with a Dutch background. In this project there are differences between men and women. Women form a bigger proportion of the group, but are not the most active participants. The capacities between men and women do not differ much, but they differ in how they apply these capacities. Men take on more of the board jobs; the whole board consists of men. The men in the group are thought to be more able and more responsible for the board jobs. This is part of the habits and culture of the older Dutch participants.

The same theory led analysis that has been done in this chapter on Malberg op de Planken will follow in the next chapter for the case Welkom Thuis.

6. Welkom Thuis

Typisch Den Bosch, an organisation in Den Bosch facilitates citizen initiatives and is quite successful in this. Three social artistic projects that influence neighbourhood development and that have achieved a high level of sustainability and a high level of self organisation are analyzed in this thesis. One of these is Welkom Thuis, which is based in Den Bosch City Centre, see Figure 5. This project is running since 2010, which makes it relatively sustainable, they are

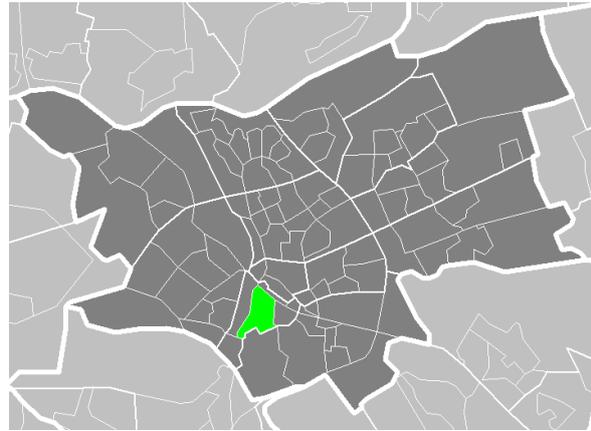


Figure 6: Den Bosch City Centre (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2013)

still under the supervision of Typisch Den Bosch but need this less and less. They do most projects on their own and only seek help from Typisch Den Bosch when they run into problems they cannot solve on their own. This project thus has a high level of self-organisation. In this chapter the main questions are: *What factors from the source group and the relevant institutions contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing Welkom Thuis as sustainable citizen initiative for social artistic practices that contributes to neighbourhood development? And: What are the implications from a feminist approach to asset based community development?*

First a case description is given as well as the factors that make Den Bosch City centre an urban deprived neighbourhood. After these descriptions the case will be analyzed with the CLEAR model. Under the header of Can do the capacities, resources, skills and knowledge of the source group are elaborated and the contribution these make to the sustainability of the project. The next paragraph goes into the Like to factor of the CLEAR model. This factor goes into the engagement in the community with sense of community and social capital as main parts. The contribution of the engagement in the community to the sustainability of this project is also analyzed. The Enabled to paragraph analyzes the mobilisation and collaboration of this project, which are the roles of the different organisations and professionals, and the contribution this makes to the sustainability of the project. In the next paragraph, Asked to, the motivation and incentives are explained. In the last paragraph, Responded to, the influence on the results by and the response to the participants are explained. Here also the ownership over the project of the participants is analyzed as well as contribution of these factors to the sustainability of the project. After this CLEAR analysis the implications from a feminist approach to asset based community development will be described. This all will be followed by a conclusion.

6.1 Case description

In this paragraph the start and development of the project, the goals and the goal achievement and the artistic quality of the project will be discussed.

In 2010 the caravan of Typisch Den Bosch was stationed at the Tolbrug complex. They already knew that there was a dream shared by many of the residents: to get greater mutual acquaintance and to live more together (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). Typisch Den Bosch went to work with the residents to achieve this goal in a creative way. Art is used to bridge the distances between neighbours and floors. Together with Marieke Verlangen, Jan van Sigt and Marianne van Heeswijk the resident group designed and realised their own collapsible living room (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). This is set up once a week on a standard evening. On this evening the Tolbrug residents come out of their houses and meet each other around a cup of coffee. They speak about living in the complex and how to make this better in a creative way. The living room is still active as a collapsible meeting place where new creative ideas are originated. The housing association has now given the participant group the opportunity to change the hall into a permanent living room.

The first new initiative that originated in the collapsible living room is the Tolbrug Serenade whereby the balconies of the complex were turned into stages (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). From these stages a production was played. The residents made this production themselves including the arrangements, texts, decor, catering and the logistics around this. They were supported musically by Ivo van Dijk and expressive support came from Marianne van Heeswijk. 25 residents of the Tolbrug complex actively participated in this project and around 60 people visited the production (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013).

The second creative initiative that originated from the Tolbrug living room was a photo project (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). Six residents learnt to photograph and went into the nature of Den Bosch under the guidance of photographer Peer Reede. The photos made here are used to brighten the inner court of the Tolbrug complex. With this project the participants got to know each other better, learnt to photograph and enlivened their own living environment (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013).

The main goal of Welkom Thuis for the participants is part of the effect area of social cohesion. The participants wanted to get to know each other better and live more together. There were very limited bonds between people and they wanted more and more intense bonds. Through the meetings at the living room and the different projects that have come out of this, the participants have got to know each other better. New meaningful relationships have formed and old relationships have strengthened. The social cohesion has thus increased in the Tolbrug complex due to Welkom Thuis, which made the participants equipped with more social capital. This in turn made

them more able to deal with everyday problems on their own and able to reach more together than they could individually. This has made them stronger in life.

On the effect area of physical liveability there are also changes due to Welkom Thuis. This was also a goal as the participants wanted to create a physical meeting place. The collapsible living room changes the physical state of the hall temporarily but the photos made by the participants have a permanent effect on the complex. Now the living room is in the process of becoming permanent the physical liveability of the complex also gets a permanent increase in the physical liveability.

The effect areas of public perception and personal development were not taken into the goals of this project. But as the participants are reaching out of this complex to others in the neighbourhood the perception of this project for the neighbourhood has changed positively. There are also changes in the effect area of personal development. The participants of the photo project learnt new photographing skills and all the participants have learnt how they can realise their ideas for the improvement of the complex.

The artistic quality of this project can be ascertained with the theory of Van Maanen (2009) and Gielen (2011). This model can be found in the conceptual framework in paragraph 3.4. There are multiple art products in the project Welkom Thuis. The most important is the living room that forms the backbone of the project. This living room is designed by the source group; the artist only worked out the ideas of this group and supported the implementation. For the photo project and the serenade the artists also played a supportive and not a leading role. This resulted in art products that are as close to the ideas of the participants as possible. Their ideas did not deviate from their identity which makes the art of this project auto-relational.

On the axe of digestive/subversive or comfortable/challenging the project can be classified as digestive or comfortable for the participant group as the norms and values of the source group have been confirmed and strengthened. Their ideas about the living room and about what living together means have been realised, this concept has not been challenged during this realisation process. For the public or the wider community this project can be classified as subversive. Their ideas of a living room are challenged by the emergence of this collapsible living room in the hall of the complex. It is not always there, it is an unexpected change from the normal situation.

6.2 Den Bosch City Centre

The city centre of Den Bosch cannot be called a classically deprived neighbourhood, but there are definitely problems that can be addressed with social-artistic projects. In this paragraph the

available data on the liveability of the neighbourhood City Centre in Den Bosch is discussed, the deprivation of the neighbourhood and a comparison of the situation before and after Welkom Thuis.

In 2010 research and statistic department of the municipality of Den Bosch made an analysis of the social situation of the neighbourhoods of Den Bosch and compared the different neighbourhoods (O&S, 2010). The city centre of Den Bosch has 5784 inhabitants (GBA, 2013), this neighbourhood scores weak on the indicators living environment and living together in comparison with other neighbourhoods of Den Bosch (O&S, 2010). Especially the facilities score very weak under the indicator living together. There are not much play opportunities for kids and facilities for elderly people. Also the binding scores weak, one reason for this is the high residential mobility (O&S, 2010). The biggest problem under the indicator living environment is the low safety. The safety index of the city centre is the lowest of all neighbourhoods of Den Bosch (O&S, 2010). Public spaces in the city centre are valued low by the residents of the city centre and they are less satisfied with the public green spaces (O&S, 2010).

The scores of Den Bosch City Centre in comparison with the rest of the Netherlands are shown in Table 4. There is a difference between this and the research done by the municipality of Den Bosch in the indicator facilities. The municipality of Den Bosch looked at facilities for different target groups and here there are insufficient facilities for kids and elderly people (O&S, 2010). The Liveability measurer looked at all the possibilities without making a distinction

	Before project 2010	2012
Score housing (national mean =0)	-23	-22
Score public space (national mean =0)	10	8
Score facilities level (national mean =0)	44	42
Score population composition (national mean =0)	24	23
Social cohesion (national mean =0)	-18	-10
Safety (national mean =0)	-36	-33

Table 4: Liveability City Centre (Leefbarometer, 2012)

between target groups (Leefbarometer, 2012). Therefore the level of facilities measured here is relatively high. In comparison with the rest of the Netherlands the most problems arise in the indicator of social cohesion and safety (Leefbarometer, 2012), which is the same as in comparison with the other neighbourhoods of Den Bosch. During the project Welkom Thuis these have improved, but this cannot be subscribed to this project alone. Welkom Thuis works on a small scale, the neighbourhood is much bigger and there are more forces working on the social cohesion and safety in this neighbourhood.

6.3 CLEAR

The first two paragraphs described the project and the neighbourhoods it is based in and aimed at. Now this project will be analyzed according to the CLEAR model that can be found in paragraph 3.6. The clear model consists of the factors Can do, Like to, Enabled to, Asked to and Responded to, that all add to an explanation of citizen participation and sustainability of social-artistic projects.

6.3.1 Can do

The Can do factor is the first factor of the CLEAR model. When people have the appropriate skills and resources they are more able to participate (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). The Can do factor plays a central role in asset based community development. The skills, knowledge and resources of people, or in short their assets, are employed to achieve neighbourhood development (Kretzmann & MacKnight, 1993). This paragraph focuses on the contribution that the employment of local assets makes to the sustainability of Welkom Thuis.

In this paragraph the (financial) resources the source group has access to, the skills and the knowledge of the source group are explained. The changes over time are also analyzed as well as the contribution this has made to the sustainability of the project.

For small projects that arise in the living room no enormous budgets are needed. Margreet and Piet contributed financially to the start of this project themselves as they wanted to invest in a better living environment. From this money they made a nice pen and a bottle of wine with logos of Welkom Thuis. Every new inhabitant gets this with a conversation on what is done in the complex. In this way new people are invited to participate. Other financial sources are Typisch Den Bosch, who financed the first living room and help to make the living room permanent. Other financial sources that the participant group uses are Woonzorg, the housing corporation and BIG, a subsidy for citizen initiatives from the municipality of Den Bosch. With Woonzorg they have an agreement that they get €500,- each year to fill flowerboxes with plants. The BIG is applied for each project that is not supported by Typisch Den Bosch (Margreet, personal communication, April 24, 2013). In this application the participant group has to make clear what the money is used for and there are strict guidelines to what they get subsidy for. Also entrepreneurs from the neighbourhood sometimes contribute. The local bakery for instance delivers donut balls every year between Christmas and New Year so that the residents of the Tolbrug complex can have a special evening in the living room.

For the participants of Welkom Thuis not many capacities are needed to be able to participate in the living room or other small projects that have emerged from this. The goal of these projects is always to do something together so it is important to be social and willing to give to others. For the living

room creative support was arranged and they made the design of the living room based on the ideas of the participant group (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). The group had creative ideas enough and the professionals only had to convert these into a makeable design for the living room. Even though not many capacities are needed, there are many people living in the complex whose capacities can contribute to the project. The three (unofficial) leaders of the project are Margreet, Piet and Johan (Margreet, personal communication, April 24, 2013). Margreet has a history of working in the healthcare sector and is a caring person who brings these capacities to the project. Piet has a history as carpenter and brings his handiness to the project. Johan is very creative and thus brings creativity to the project. Together these three people are able to set up the different small ideas that emerge from the living room (Margreet, personal communication, April 24, 2013). Margreet is also the hostess for this living room; she is coached by Typisch Den Bosch to be a good leader for this project (Typisch Den Bosch, personal communication, April 25, 2013).

For some projects specific capacities are needed. For instance for the Tolbrug Serenade, musical capacities were needed. Other projects are aimed at expanding the already existing capacities of the participants. An example of this is the photo project whereby participants learnt to make better photos and these were used to enliven the courtyard. Also other participants have capacities that can be used in projects of this group. There is for instance a professional painter who could arrange concrete paint from his employer that the group could use for free. Another resident works for the local broadcaster and makes movie clips from the activities of the group. When a new idea for a project arises from the living room, first it is checked what they can do themselves to make this project successful. Their capacities that already exist in this group are applied first and for what they cannot do themselves a professional is asked.

At the start of the project Typisch Den Bosch coordinated the different capacities from the participant group and set up the project in a specific way where everybody could contribute with their capacities. It was set up as a project of this complex that should be made by this complex. When Margreet, Piet and Johan took the lead from Typisch Den Bosch they also used this strategy to make the project successful. They were also coached by Typisch Den Bosch in how to use everyone in their talent.

The assets of the participants of this group have been deployed during this project. These have also been further developed by the different smaller projects. For assets that are not present in the participant group, skills, knowledge and financially, these are searched for elsewhere. Typisch Den Bosch has set up the relations through which the right people can be found and developed capacities to write grant applications. In this way the assets of the source group have contributed to the sustainability of the project.

6.3.2 Like to

The Like to factor refers to the conception that commitment to participation requires and identification with the community that is the focus of the project and rising social capital gives incentives for people to participate (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006) and keep participating. In asset based community development the Like to factor plays a role. Through engagement in the community and social capital the different assets of individuals can be linked and in this way make them work. This paragraph focuses on the contribution that engagement in the community and social capital make to the sustainability of Welkom Thuis

The residents of the Tolbrug complex thus did not know each other; neither did they feel responsible for their living environment. After the living room was set up, people met each other and got to know each other. They are now even willing to give others the help they can give (Margreet, personal communication, April 24, 2013). All participants are looking out for each other. Speaking in terms of social capital this means that the participants created a wider network of relationships and that the quality of these relationships is high. The participant group keeps investing in these relationships as they continue with projects. There is also a continuation in expanding the network as new residents are sent the welcoming package and are invited to join.

This project actively works on a small scale, the Tolbrug complex is the main focus, but they are reaching out to other complexes in the neighbourhood. They shared their ideas for the welcoming package and flier in the other complexes when there is a special event like neighbours day. They are not getting much response from the other complexes. There are some individuals who come to check out the living room and participate in other projects but no groups form in the other complexes.

The group has now developed to a level where they offer to help each other as much as possible and are able to ask for help when they need it. This mostly happens on a practical and small scale level. This is not the finish line for Margreet (personal communication, April 24, 2013). Her dream is to develop this even further to create a self-caring complex where even sick people could get healthcare from others and are in this way able to continue living in the complex. There is still a way to go to be able to achieve this, both financially as healthcare is expensive and takes a much time as well as in the trust that people have in each other. Much trust is necessary to let someone care for you on this level.

As an experienced hostess Margreet also contributes to other projects of Typisch Den Bosch. She arranged the participation of multiple residents of the Tolbrug complex in the Silent diner project. The living room being collapsible is also used in different ways for Typisch Den Bosch, for

instance as example for another complex. This made Margreet's social capital increase over the boundaries of the project.

Because the residents of the Tolbrug complex got to know each other and the social cohesion increased, they acquired more social capital, being the aggregate of actual and potential resources linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu, 1968). This has led to a level of self-help where the participants can rely on each other for help and this enables them to reach more goals than they could have done individually. It has also led to a mentality change; they do not feel reliant on organisations anymore but see their own potential for improving their own well-being. This has made them stronger in life.

6.3.3 Enabled to

Participation is mostly facilitated through groups or organisations (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). This civic infrastructure can create or block an opportunity structure for participation. In asset based community development this factor comes back in linking the individuals with assets and increasing the assets of the participant group. This is called the Enabled to factor. The organisations have knowledge and a network of connections to other organisations. This paragraph focuses on the contribution of supporting organisations and professionals to the sustainability of Welkom Thuis.

This project has been supported by various artistic professionals and is set up by Typisch Den Bosch. The participants have always played the initiating role. Their ideas, wishes and dreams are the basis of all projects. They do as much as they can on their own but are also in some projects in need of artistic professionals. These professionals are able to supply the capacities that are lacking and to raise the quality of the projects. At the start Typisch Den Bosch arranged the right artistic professionals for the projects. For instance Marieke Verlangen, Jan Sigt and Marianne van Heeswijk helped develop the ideas for the collapsible living room and together with the participants realised this. Their role was mostly supportive, the ideas of the participants were central and the professionals let them see the possibilities for this room and the implications this had on the realisation. For the Tolbrug Serenade Ivo van Dijk and Marianne van Heeswijk supported the participant group as professionals. Also here they had the supportive role, the participants came with ideas of what they wanted to show the viewers and the professionals taught them how to do this. With the photo project the professional had a more leading role as he set up the lesson day and decided what to learn the participants.

As the project furthered Typisch Den Bosch no longer coupled professionals to every project, but the participant group had to do this on their own. They know the way to different institutions and are not hesitant in asking them for their help or support. There was for instance a residence of the complex who was heavily addicted to alcohol and the participant group decided to call upon Bemoeizorg to help them. This is an organisation that helps rehabilitate addicted people. This resident fully recovered and is now a regular visitor of the living room. There is also a tight connection with Woonzorg, the housing corporation. They can call upon them when they face issues in the complex, both social and physical and together they decide what actions can be taken. By being the eyes and ears of Woonzorg the participant group helps to prevent problems for this corporation.

The contribution of the social and artistic professionals and organisations to the sustainability of Welkom Thuis can be found in the rise of the quality of the project and the support on critical moments. This has enabled the participants to work and keep working on creative and successful projects. The participants were also enabled to become more self organising as the professionals and organisations transferred their knowledge to the participant group.

6.3.4. Asked to

When people are asked to engage they tend to become more engaged and more regularly (Lowdnes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). People do not tend to go look for ways to apply their assets themselves. The need of people to make a contribution may also be latent. Therefore it is important that people are asked to participate. It is important to know what motivation the organisation looking for participants asks and what is in it for the participants (Lowdnes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). This paragraph focuses on the contribution of the mobilisation of participants to the sustainability of Welkom Thuis.

The first question asked came from Typisch Den Bosch who visited the complex in their caravan. They wanted to know what the residents of the Tolbrug complex dreamed of and wished for. They were open to all ideas and as multiple participants voiced the dream to get to know the others in the complex better and live more together, the participants and Typisch Den Bosch decided to work further with this idea (Margreet, personal communication, April 24, 2013). Together with professionals they designed and built the collapsible living room (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). This physical project gave the participants a topic to talk about and in this way they started to get to know each other better. After the living room was realized and the meetings in this room once a week were established more ideas came to the foreground. Margreet, Piet and Johan found these

too valuable to let go and decided that new projects could be realized within the complex (Margreet, personal communication, April 24, 2013).

The leaders of Welkom Thuis have an active strategy for connecting with residents of the Tolbrug complex. When new ideas are formed in the living room usually Margreet (personal communication, April 24, 2013) goes from door to door to invite people to participate in this project. They do not only ask input at the living room meetings but also ask all residents via their leaflet that is delivered three times a year. In this little book the participants can indicate what they would like to do.

By starting with an open question and making this more concrete after the first ideas have sprouted different participants could join on the moment they wanted themselves. Also by the leaflet for the complex and thus keep asking for new ideas the participant group always has something to work on. This contributes to the sustainability of Welkom Thuis.

6.3.5 Responded to

The last letter of CLEAR refers to the Responded to factor. This factor is based on the fact that people have to believe that their involvement makes a difference (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006) otherwise they would not start or stop participating. A higher level of participation leads to stronger ownership over the project by the participants which contribute to the sustainability of the project. A high level of participation means that the view of the participants is taken into account and the response to ideas and opinions of participants receive impartial judgement (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). This paragraph focuses on the contribution that the level of ownership over the project and the response to the participants make to the sustainability of Welkom Thuis.

Typisch Den Bosch was the booster of this project, but the participant group initiated it by voicing their dreams (Matthijssen & Althuizen, 2013). They also took a large proportion of the executing tasks on them for the first project of making the living room. For the next projects the initiating role shifted completely to the participants. They did not need Typisch Den Bosch any more to start the conversation but were able to come up with ideas on their own (Margreet, personal communication, April 24, 2013). The level of ownership the participants have over this project is thus high. This also means that they feel responsible for the project. It is their project and they need to continue it. This contributes to the sustainability of Welkom Thuis.

Another consequence from the high level of ownership of the participants is that the view of the participants is automatically taken into account. They make the most decisions and it is their involvement that makes a change (Margreet, personal communication, April 24, 2013). This was

strong at the beginning of the project and has evolved. As the participant group learnt more and got more skills they were able to make more decisions themselves and thus their view was more taken into account. This contributed to the sustainability of Welkom Thuis.

6.4 Feminist approach to asset based community development

The feminist approach to asset based community development focuses on marginalisation and making participation bottom-up (Cornwall, 2003). The question here is who participates and who benefits from this project. The project Welkom Thuis works on a small scale, one complex, and the investment and benefits of this project largely come from and go to this complex. In this complex mainly live middle aged and elderly people with a Dutch background (Margreet, personal communication, April 24, 2013). On age, ethnical background and income the participant group is relatively homogenized. There are gender differences as both men and women participate in this project.

There are a few differences between men and women in their capacities. Overseeing the whole of this group, men tend to have more practical and handy capacities and women more caring and sociable capacities (Margreet, personal communication, April 24, 2013). Both are needed for every project and are equally important. There are both in the more active group and in the more passive group contributions from men and women. The participant group does not see gender as an important issue. The participants are valued on the basis of the enthusiasm they bring to the projects, not on their gender (Margreet, personal communication, April 24, 2013). In engagement in community the same slight differences between men and women are found. Women tend to be more caring and thus more engaged in the community in a caring way. They like to care for others while the men would rather build or make something for others. These differences are slight and there are exceptions where men are caring and women more practical. The combination of both caring for and giving practical solutions to each other make this project successful. There are both female and male leaders and there are no gender differences in motivation or ownership over the project. All participants shared the wish to live more together and their motivation was based on this wish. Though the contributions of participants are different they all feel it is their project and their opportunity to make a difference.

There are thus differences in the contribution and benefits between men and women, but these are minor and do not threaten the project. The small base of the project, the complex, further stabilizes this project as this is a workable scale. The participants try to reach out to other complexes in the neighbourhood but this has not been successful yet (Margreet, personal communication, April 24,

2013). There is no need found in the surrounding complexes for more contact or contact with the collapsible living room.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the main questions are: *What factors from the source group and the relevant institutions contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing Welkom Thuis as sustainable citizen initiative for social artistic practices that contributes to neighbourhood development? And: What are the implications from a feminist approach to asset based community development?*

The Welkom Thuis project goes further than sitting around a table in the collapsible living room. Even within one complex there are many different people with different capacities. Together with Typisch Den Bosch this project started to use these different capacities to make improvements in the social and physical situation of the complex. Capacities were further developed as projects were aimed at learning. The leaders of Welkom Thuis learnt to manage all these different people with different capacities from Typisch Den Bosch. To have this capacity to manage these is essential for the sustainability and self-organisation of this project. People should be valued and they feel valued when they can use their capacities to contribute to a project. This makes projects successful and the experience of success makes people want to contribute to new projects.

At the start of the project the residents of the Tolbrug complex were not engaged in the community. They did not know each other and did not feel responsible for the situation in the complex. Through getting to know each other they started to understand and help each other. This made them more engaged in the community and made them feel more responsible. The project works on a small scale, but tries to enlarge this by reaching out to neighbouring complexes. This does not lead to much response. The Tolbrug complex is still the only one where a group like this exists in this neighbourhood. The small scale may be a factor that contributes to the success and sustainability of this project. It is easier to connect people that live in the same complex as they have at least one thing in common. Linking to other complexes may be difficult as different complexes can have conflicting interests.

The professionals and the participant group worked well together. Typisch Den Bosch made a major contribution here as they streamlined the contact and made sure the right persons were asked the right questions. They went a step further and learnt the leaders of Welkom Thuis how to do this themselves. In this way the participant group is able to ask professional help when they need it. This makes this project more sustainable and more self-organising.

The question asked at the beginning of this project by Typisch Den Bosch was as open as possible. From this point on the ideas and inputs from the participants were central. What results were reached depended on the ideas and enthusiasm of the participants. The physical project bonded the participants and from here they could work further themselves. This contributed to the sustainability of this project.

In this case there are multiple minor differences between men and women found. Overseeing the whole of this group, men tend to have more practical and handy capacities and women more caring and sociable capacities. This also led to different motivations whereby the engagement in the community of women was more focused on caring and of men on practical solutions. For the professionals gender did not matter in their cooperation, but for the participant group the femininity of Typisch Den Bosch contributes to their success. They valued the contribution of Typisch Den Bosch on the basis of their persistence and anticipation ability that they credit to femininity. There are no gender differences in ownership over the project. All participants shared the wish to live more together and their motivation was based on this wish. Though the contributions of participants are different they all feel it is their project and their opportunity to make a difference. This project is aimed at one complex at core. Within this complex live mainly older people with a Dutch background. On age, ethnical background and income the participant group is relatively homogenized. It is the group that actively participates and invests in this project which benefits from this project.

The same theory led analysis that has been done in this chapter on Welkom Thuis will follow in the next chapter for the case Verwonderstraat.

7. Verwonderstraat

Another successful project of Typisch Den Bosch is the Verwonderstraat. The neighbours of the 1e Reitse dreef changed their street into a Verwonderstraat where people are encouraged to wonder. The 1e Reitse dreef lies in the neighbourhood De Reit in Den Bosch. This is the green coloured neighbourhood in Figure 7: De Reit (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2013)

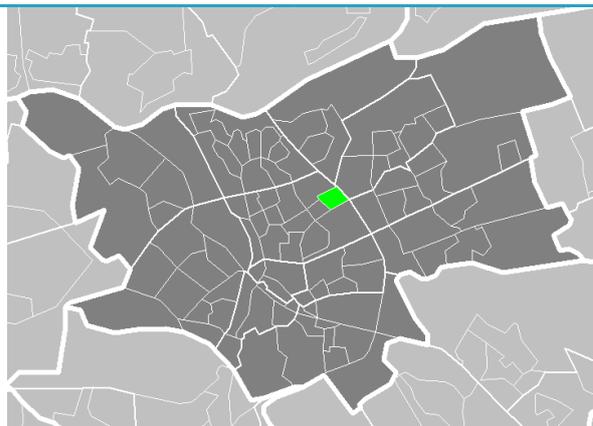


Figure 7: De Reit (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2013)

This project started in the beginning of 2010 (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013) and can thus be called sustainable. The participants have taken the leading role from the beginning and the project thus has a high level of self-organisation. In this chapter the main questions are: *What factors from the source group and the relevant institutions contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing the Verwonderstraat as sustainable citizen initiative for social artistic practices that contributes to neighbourhood development? And: What are the implications from a feminist approach to asset based community development?*

First a case description is given as well as the factors that make De Reit an urban deprived neighbourhood. After these descriptions the case will be analyzed with the CLEAR model. Under the header of Can do the capacities, resources, skills and knowledge of the source group are elaborated and the contribution these make to the sustainability of the project. The next paragraph goes into the Like to factor of the CLEAR model. This factor goes into the engagement in the community with sense of community and social capital as main parts. The contribution of the engagement in the community to the sustainability of this project is also analyzed in this paragraph. The Enabled to paragraph analyzes the mobilisation and collaboration of this project, which are the roles of the different organisations and professionals, and the contribution this makes to the sustainability of the project. In the next paragraph, Asked to, the motivation and incentives are explained. In the last paragraph, Responded to, the influence on the results by and the response to the participants are explained. Here also the ownership over the project of the participants is analyzed as well as contribution of these factors to the sustainability of the project. After this CLEAR analysis the implications from a feminist approach to asset based community development will be described. This all will be followed by a conclusion.

7.1 Case Description

This paragraph discusses the start and development of the project, the goals and the goal achievement and the artistic quality of the project.

The caravan of Typisch Den Bosch was parked at the little square of the Eerste Reitse Dreef on the advice of residents of this neighbourhood (Andre, personal communication, April 25, 2013). One neighbour was curious and went to visit the caravan, where Typisch Den Bosch was looking for dreams and wishes of the neighbourhood. He rounded up a group of neighbours that he already knew a little bit. Together they voiced the wish to ask more attention for the quality of the living environment where people could meet and stay (Andre, personal communication, April 25, 2013). The residents of the street experienced noise pollution and were unsatisfied with the safety of the street (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). The busy traffic in the street made it unsafe for playing children. Together with Typisch Den Bosch the participant group has found a solution for these problems in realising a Verwonderstraat. This is a street where you can wonder where you are and become astonished (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). The residents themselves came with ideas how to make their street into a Verwonderstraat. In brainstorm sessions the residents came with ideas on how to do this and the best ideas were chosen (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). The theme nature was chosen and a zebra crossing was part of their idea. A zebra was painted on the street to let the car drivers slow down. Students from the Hervion College in Den Bosch, a local high school, helped the street by making enormous bird nests that were placed on the street (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). This makes the street smaller and makes drivers slow down. Birdhouses were placed in light poles covered with plants along the street that make bird noises when you cross them. The alderman of Den Bosch came to open the street (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013).

For the participants the goal of this project was double sided, the residents got to change their street in a positive way and the municipality was awakened about the traffic safety problems of the street (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013). Typisch Den Bosch works on more goals in their projects but these may not be immediately clear for the participants. In the objectives this organisation has come back in every project. They are cultural participation, culture education and coaching and folk culture (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). With cultural participation they want to make culture accessible for every inhabitant of Den Bosch with the lowest threshold possible. Inhabitants are stimulated to engage in cultural projects and these projects are anchored in society. With folk culture the projects stay as close to the identity of the participants as possible. They work from the individual to the group and connect people in this way. The talents of people are recognized and together with other people and their talents results become possible (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). In the conceptual framework four effect areas of neighbourhood development

influenced by social-artistic projects are distinguished: personal development, social cohesion, public perception and physical liveability (Cleveringa, 2012).

The first effect was a change in the physical liveability of the street. With the Verwonderstraat the participant group wanted to make the car drivers slow down and wonder about their surroundings. This made the street a more liveable place. The physical liveability thus increased due to this project, but the results may be temporal. The bird nests are no longer there and the zebra crossing is fading. Only the bird houses in the lightning poles covered with plants and the street sign are reminders of the Verwonderstraat. The physical liveability thus changed but this change is for the most applications only temporal. A second phase of the change in the physical liveability has now started. The municipality of Den Bosch was very pleased with the way the street was made more liveable. They like to cheer this initiative on and have invited the street to make plans for a permanent change in the street (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). The residents are now working on this. But making a permanent physical change is not their main goal now. Through this project they have got to know each other (see the effect area of social cohesion) and they solve their daily problems with each other (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013). The need for a physical change has lessened.

Another effect can be seen in the effect area of social cohesion. The participants worked together to create a more liveable street and this resulted in new meaningful relations between the neighbours (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). They have all used their personal talents to contribute to the project and are now known to have these talents (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013). Due to the combination of these new relationships and the known talents the participants are able to ask their neighbours for help and offer their help to neighbours. Other smaller projects are organised within this street, like a Santa Claus party for all the kids in the street (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013). This has increased the social cohesion in the neighbourhood which made the participants equipped with more social capital. This in turn made them more able to deal with everyday problems on their own and able to achieve more with each other than they could have accomplished individually. This has made them stronger in life.

In the effect area of public perception small changes have occurred. The street has become more social and thus the perception of the street by the individual neighbours has changed. Also the other parts of the neighbourhood De Reit have this change in perception. They often ride through the street and notice the physical change (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013). Typisch Den Bosch has used the format of the 'Verwonderstraat' in more streets in Den Bosch (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). And thus also other parts of Den Bosch have engaged with the concept. Professionals from other cities also have come to see this first Verwonderstraat. Although the public

perception of this individual street may not have changed on a large scale, many people have become familiar with the concept and have a positive perception of this.

The effect area of personal development has not been part of the goals of this project, though individuals have developed themselves. The participants share their talents and this makes people learn new things from each other. Also artists and professionals have influenced the project to ensure a high artistic quality. The participants have also learnt new skills from them.

The artistic quality of this project can be ascertained with the theory of Van Maanen (2009) and Gielen (2011). This model can be found in the conceptual framework in paragraph 3.4. In the art in the project Verwonderstraat is the new design of the physical environment. The design is based on their wishes to make the street more green and liveable and all the ideas for this come from the source group (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). The artists that assisted the group developed the ideas of the source group, to improve the quality, but did not contribute with their own ideas. It is thus not an expression of the identity of the artists, but an expression of the identity of the source group. The art can thus be called auto-relational.

On the axe of digestive/subversive or comfortable/challenging the project can be classified as subversive or challenging as the norms and values of the source group have been challenged. The concept of Verwonderstraat is new and innovative and challenges the ways the source group and the public thinks about bringing nature in the street. Their ideas about what a green liveable street looks like have changed as they implemented new ideas.

7.2 De Reit

In this paragraph the available data on the liveability of the neighbourhood De Reit is discussed, the deprivation of the neighbourhood and a comparison of the situation before and after the Verwonderstraat.

The neighbourhood De Reit has 1631 inhabitants (GBA, 2013). In 2010 the statistical department of the municipality of Den Bosch has made a comparison with other neighbourhoods in Den Bosch (O&S, 2010). In the research of the municipality of Den Bosch (O&S, 2010) this neighbourhood is combined with the neighbourhoods de Haren and de Donk to form a neighbourhood that is in size comparable with the other neighbourhoods. This neighbourhood scores weak on all six indicators: living environment, inhabitants, living together, active, learning and care (O&S, 2010). These scores are now further explained. In the indicator living environment the biggest problem is the score on their own house (O&S, 2010). This is valued low by the inhabitants of this neighbourhood. In the indicator living together the low binding people have with each other causes the weakness (O&S, 2010). The extreme weak characteristics of this

neighbourhood are the low engagement in sport and culture which is part of the indicator active (O&S, 2010). This lack of activism reflects the dependency on social and other organisations that inhabitants of urban deprived neighbourhoods have. They do not take control themselves but wait and see. Other extreme weak characteristics of this neighbourhood are the high percentage of early school leavers and the high percentage of young people without start qualifications, which is part of the indicator learning (O&S, 2010). Also health is valued low by the inhabitants of this neighbourhood which causes the weakness on the indicator care (O&S, 2010). The low scores on all indicators make this neighbourhood deprived in comparison to other neighbourhoods in Den Bosch.

The scores of De Reit in comparison with the rest of the Netherlands on housing, public space, level of facilities, population composition, social cohesion and safety before the Verwonderstraat and after are shown in Table 5. These are all measured by the liveability measurer (Leefbarometer) of the Dutch ministry of Internal Affairs and Kingdom Relations (Leefbarometer, 2012). As shown in Table 5, most scores are below zero. Only the score of the public

	Before project 2010	2012
Score housing (national mean =0)	-34	-34
Score public space (national mean =0)	24	24
Score facilities level (national mean =0)	-28	-16
Score population composition (national mean =0)	-9	-1
Social cohesion (national mean =0)	-1	4
Safety (national mean =0)	-28	-23

Table 5: Liveability De Reit (Leefbarometer, 2012)

space and the social cohesion in 2012 is above the national mean. This indicates the deprivation of De Reit in comparison with other neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. In the two years that the project Verwonderstraat is running there are (slight) increases in almost all indicators (Leefbarometer, 2012). This however cannot be totally subscribed to this project, as this project works on a small scale and there are more forces that work on the liveability of De Reit as whole.

7.3 CLEAR

The first two paragraphs described the project and the neighbourhoods it is based in and aimed at. Now this project will be analyzed according to the CLEAR model that can be found in paragraph 3.6. The clear model consists of the factors Can do, Like to, Enabled to, Asked to and Responded to, that all add to an explanation of citizen participation and sustainability of social-artistic projects.

7.3.1 Can do

The Can do factor is the first factor of the CLEAR model. When people have the appropriate skills and resources they are more able to participate (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). The Can do factor plays a central role in asset based community development. The skills, knowledge and

resources of people, or in short their assets, are employed to achieve neighbourhood development (Kretzmann & MacKnight, 1993). This paragraph focuses on the contribution that the employment of local assets makes to the sustainability of the Verwonderstraat.

In this paragraph the (financial) resources the source group has access to, the skills and the knowledge of the source group are explained. The changes over time are also analyzed as well as the contribution this has made to the sustainability of the project.

The participant group of the project Verwonderstraat is a heterogeneous group. They differ in age, income and socio-economical status. On one side of the street live mainly older people in social housing, the other side of the street has been built relatively recent and younger people with kids live here (André, personal communication April 25, 2013). The ethnical backgrounds of the participants are also different. There are among others, people with a Swiss, Antillean, Brazilian, Moroccan background. These are all individual households. The major part of the households in this part of the street has a Dutch background. Also the occupations and former occupations of the participants differ. Because of this heterogeneity there are many different capacities present in the group, which all could be deployed in this project. Also the resources they have access to, are different. The more affluent participants have more access to financial resources while the retired participants have more time to work on the project (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013). The group thus has access to different resources and has different capacities. Because of this they are able to do much work themselves. They are able to come up with the ideas that are necessary and only need professionals to help develop these ideas to the highest quality possible. They mostly helped with the technical execution of the ideas that the participants had, for instance with the sensors and boxes that are coupled so that when a car drives down the street you can hear bird sounds through the boxes (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013).

The participant group took the lead from the beginning (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013). Contact with Typisch Den Bosch was facilitated by André Houtman, he took the lead for the participant group. He is highly educated and already has capacities needed for this leadership. He was coached and helped by Typisch Den Bosch to do this in the best way possible. His people skills and knowledge of landscape architecture make him a good leader for this project.

The capacities of the source group have increased as they learnt from each other and from the professionals. They have also gained confidence as they got to know each other (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013). They now have the confidence to ask others for help and the confidence to offer help to others. The participants noticed that there are a lot of assets in the neighbourhood that others are looking for, for instance the time and skill to clean or iron. Some households were looking for a person to clean their house or do their ironing work while they were

at work. Others were looking for these jobs. By getting to know each other they now have been able to make arrangements where both parties gain something (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013).

There have thus been enough capacities to start this project and these have grown over the project, which has contributed to the sustainability of the project. The professionals were needed for the starting moment and to keep the energy of the group running. Also technical skills that did not exist in the participant group were needed from the professionals. Being part of the network of Typisch Den Bosch makes the participant group able to make contact with different professionals and to ask for their help when needed. This also contributes to the sustainability of this project.

7.3.2 Like to

The Like to factor refers to the conception that commitment to participation requires and identification with the community that is the focus of the project and rising social capital gives incentives for people to participate (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006) and keep participating. In asset based community development the Like to factor plays a role. Through engagement in the community and social capital the different assets of individuals can be linked and in this way make them work. This paragraph focuses on the contribution that engagement in the community and social capital make to the sustainability of the Verwonderstraat.

Within the street there was already some minor contact. Kids would play together and people would meet in passing (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013). All contact was fleeting and no relationships developed. More people wanted to make more contacts in the street (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013), but did not know how to. There was no shared goal or problem that made them cooperate. This shared goal emerged as Typisch Den Bosch came in with their caravan. Together they worked out a plan to make the street a Verwonderstraat.

The project works on a small scale. The street, 1e Reitse Dreef, is a long winding street that connects the neighbourhood De Reit. Not the whole street is part of this project, only a small part that shares a small square. There is not much connection to the rest of the street or the neighbourhood as a whole. The whole neighbourhood can experience the Verwonderstraat, but they were not taken into the process and there have thus not been changes in the whole community. This small scale may be a reason for the success of the project. It is easier to bond people on a smaller scale, which makes it more likely that the project is successful. A successful project is more likely to be sustainable as it is easier to work from success than from failure.

The social capital of the participants of this group has grown in both quantity and quality. People got to know more people and deepened the relations they already had (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013). This increase of social capital, being the aggregate of actual and potential resources linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu, 1968), has been the most important success of this project. From Typisch Den Bosch an increasing social capital is one of their goals for all projects, but for the participants themselves this is not a direct goal. Their goal is to make their street more liveable. They were bonded by the physical project, but the lines of the zebra path are fading and barely visible. The bird nests were there only for the opening and only the light poles that are covered with plants and birds houses are still intact. This does not matter much to the participants, they now know each other and have the confidence to ask each other for help, how big or small this may be. This is what makes the project a success for them (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013). Through the increase of social capital the residents of the 1e Reitse dreef have become stronger in life. They can deal with more together than individually and can find solutions for big and small problems. These are ranging from installing an app on a Smartphone to helping out when someone is ill. They now really work together in everyday life and all benefit from this.

The social capital goes further than this one project. Participants of this project were deployed in other projects where their talent was needed (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013). Typisch Den Bosch has a whole network full of participants and professionals that have their own skills; they do not look at single projects but look at the whole network of projects. Participants are asked to contribute to other projects when their skills or knowledge is needed.

The deepened engagement in the community and the increase in social capital made the participants able and willing to continue working together on whatever interesting project emerged. The social capital of the participants has grown as they got to know more people in the neighbourhood and worked with them. This has resulted in more individual mobility and a stronger position in life. The engagement in the community and increase of social capital thus contribute to the sustainability of this project by motivating the participant group and making them stronger in life.

7.3.3 Enabled to

Participation is mostly facilitated through groups or organisations (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). This civic infrastructure can create or block an opportunity structure for participation. In asset based community development this factor comes back in linking the individuals with assets and

increasing the assets of the participant group. This is called the Enabled to factor. The organisations have knowledge and a network of connections to other organisations. This paragraph focuses on the contribution the different supporting organisations and professionals make to the sustainability of the Verwonderstraat.

For this project professional artist made contributions and Typisch Den Bosch was a starter, connector and stable basis. The participants have done the most work themselves, for the execution they were supported by professionals and Typisch Den Bosch made this link to the professionals. The professionals came with more ideas, but the participant group chose to imply their own ideas (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013). The participant group had the decision-making position from the beginning.

From the local high school Hervion a couple of students helped under the guidance of a professional (Andre, personal communication, April 25, 2013). They learnt to weave giant baskets and made these into giant bird nests. The request to do this was given from the participant group and the professional and students worked commissioned by the participant group. They all liked to contribute to the project and some of them were present at the opening of the street and liked to do more for the street.

For other technical applications the help of professional was needed. Also here the participant group played a leading role. They did not have enough knowledge and skills to execute their ideas on their own and Typisch Den Bosch arranged the contacts with the professionals who could. The participants asked them directly what they wanted to achieve and the professionals found ways to do this. When there were multiple solutions possible the participant group made the decisions.

Artists were searched for by Typisch Den Bosch and these contributed by giving their own ideas and bringing the ideas of the participant group further (Andre, personal communication, April 25, 2013). Although the artists had new ideas the group decided not to imply these. They were capable to come up with ideas on their own and did not need ideas from professionals. This process was guided by Hanneke Matthijssen who emphasised the point that the ideas of the participant were the ideas closest to the group and this was what they wanted. The professional artists were there to support the group, not to lead them.

Over time the participant group matured and less and less coaching was necessary from Typisch Den Bosch and support from professionals. Also the demand from the participant group changed (Andre, personal communication, April 25, 2013). First they needed this physical change in the street to be able to have more contact and were bonded by the project. Now they stay bonded, even though there is no project to work on. The neighbours are glad that they got to know each

other better, but did not see this as goal at the start (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013). Because there is more contact on a practical everyday basis there is no need for a physical project. This also has as a consequence that there are no professionals needed. The group got the chance to make the physical change in the street permanent by the municipality of Den Bosch they are still working on this but with a lower priority (Andre, personal communication, April 25, 2013). Typisch Den Bosch arranges the communication with the municipality as they know who to talk to and are part of the municipal organisation themselves.

The mobilisation and collaboration was coached by Typisch Den Bosch. They linked the right organisations and professionals to the project based on the needs of the participant group. With the project developing the professionals withdrew more and more from the project as their involvement was less and less needed. Through encouragement to do the most work by themselves the self-organisation of the project increased over time. This combined with the connection to the professionals when needed contributed to the sustainability of this project.

7.3.4 Asked to

When people are asked to engage they tend to become more engaged and more regularly (Lowdnes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). People do not tend to go look for ways to apply their assets themselves. The need of people to make a contribution may also be latent. Therefore it is important that people are asked to participate. It is important to know what motivation the organisation looking for participants asks and what is in it for the participants (Lowdnes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). This paragraph focuses on the contribution of the mobilisation of participants to the sustainability of the Verwonderstraat.

This project started with an open question to a neighbourhood: What are your dreams and wishes. The wish was voiced to make the street more liveable, a place where people could meet and stay instead of the place for cars to speed up (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013). A small group of neighbours started with this as they came in to the caravan of Typisch Den Bosch. They rounded up others living in the street and these others were asked to make a contribution to the liveability of the street (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). The question thus started open, but when an idea was developed the question turned more concrete. The first question was asked to a small group while the whole street was asked the concrete question. This enabled people to choose to participate when they wanted. For some the dreams and wishes were too fuzzy and they chose to participate when the ideas became concrete.

The physical change in the street was the goal of the project and making a contribution to this was the main motivation for people to participate. Enhancing the social cohesion was a silent

goal. People are not going to participate if they are asked to raise the social cohesion or get to know each other better. A physical project is necessary on which they can work together and which bonds them. Through this physical project the social cohesion increased and this was the lasting result that the participant group is content with even though the physical interventions, like the zebra path, are fading.

7.3.5 Responded to

The last letter of CLEAR refers to the Responded to factor. This factor is based on the fact that people have to believe that their involvement makes a difference (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006) otherwise they would not start or stop participating. A higher level of participation leads to stronger ownership over the project by the participants which contribute to the sustainability of the project. A high level of participation means that the view of the participants is taken into account and the response to ideas and opinions of participants receive impartial judgement (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). This paragraph focuses on the contribution that the level of ownership over the project and the response to the participant make to the sustainability of the Verwonderstraat.

As said in the paragraph on the enabled to factor the participant group had the leading role from the start. It was their project and they thus felt a great deal of ownership over the project. Another consequence of this leading role for the participant group is that their view was automatically taken into account and their involvement made a change. They decided what ideas to work on and how this was realized (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013). This was from the start and the participants learnt a great deal from working together. As the project furthered they were able to do more themselves and thus reinforced and strengthened their leading and decision making role. They were able to keep the project as close as possible to their own ideas. Because they kept the leading role and were able to generate ideas on their own no outsiders were necessary who would make their own marks on the project. This further stabilized the decision making role of the participant group.

7.4 Feminist approach to asset based community development

Now that the first question is answered the gender question comes into play. The feminist approach to asset based community development focuses on marginalisation and making participation bottom-up (Cornwall, 2003). The question here is who participates and who benefits from this project. The participants of this project are mainly households whereby both the men and the women participate in the project (Mattijssen & Althuizen, 2013). The street consists of recently build owner-occupant homes at one side of the street and rental housing on the other side. There is thus a

mix of people with higher and lower incomes that worked together in this project (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013). Also the ethnical backgrounds of these people differed. An interesting mix of people with different skills and different knowledge emerged. They worked together for a shared cause. The group had more active and less active participants, people who invest much in it and people who stand by and watch. Being a man or a woman or the background of people does not matter in this (André personal communication, April 25, 2013). Both in the active and in the less active group there are men and women with different backgrounds. And also in both groups there are men and women with much skills and men and women with less skills and knowledge. The motivation for the whole group was based on the wish to make a change in their street and for this they all contributed to the project in their own way. Everybody can do something; this is a result of the individual life they have lived, not of gender, ethnical background or income.. For the project many different skills were needed, this ranged from being able to organise the group to making bird houses. For the necessary skills that were not present in the street and to raise the artistic quality professionals were asked to help, but first the participants looked at what they could do themselves. There were people who felt more responsible for the street and the community and in this group were both men and women (Andre, personal communication, April 25, 2013). Also the social capital of the whole street was different at the beginning. There were men and women who had an extended network of relations and men and women who had a smaller network. For both groups the social capital increased without differences between men and women. The group that invested in this project was also the group that benefited. They got to know each other better and their mutual trust increased making their social capital enlarged. Also their street became more liveable.

7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the main questions are: *What factors from the source group and the relevant institutions contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing the Verwonderstraat as sustainable citizen initiative for social artistic practices that contributes to neighbourhood development? And: What are the implications from a feminist approach to asset based community development?*

The factors that could contribute are divided with the CLEAR model which consists of the factors Can do, Like to, Enabled to, Asked to and Responded to. The Verwonderstraat is a good example of positive effects that a cultural project can have on the social capital of a neighbourhood. This increased social capital made the participants stronger in life as they can now benefit from their contacts on the practical level but also in increased job opportunities. From the beginning there were enough capacities to deal with the project. A spark was needed to start the project and

connections with professionals were needed to be able to make physical changes in the street. Over the project the capacities of the participant group enhanced, they learnt how to put up a creative project and to work together. The already existing and growing capacities have contributed to the sustainability and high level of self organisation of the Verwonderstraat.

People in the Eerste Reitse Dreef felt responsible for their part of the street. The social capital of the participants increased and as the whole source group was participating, in different forms, in this project the social capital of the whole source group grew. But the project has a small scale and not even the whole Eerste Reitse Dreef is part of the source group. There is thus great engagement in the community on this small scale but on a wider, street or neighbourhood wide level this is remarkably lower.

The mobilisation and collaboration of professionals went well. Typisch Den Bosch searched for the right professionals to support the participants and only support was necessary of the success of the project. This is connected to the ownership over the project. The participants took ownership over the project from the start, and were coached in doing it on their own by Typisch Den Bosch. Typisch Den Bosch kept the overview and made sure that problems were prevented or solved. The motivation of the participants was based on the visible goal of the project, to make a visible physical change in the street which reduced the nuisance from speeding cars. The underlying social goal was not visible, but also achieved and the reaching of this goal was eventually more important for the participants than the physical change.

The group that invested in this project was heterogeneous in ethnical background, income and gender. All participants of this group have contributed to the project in their own way; their contribution may be large or small and was based on their capacities and motivation. The same group benefited from this project with an increased social capital and a more liveable street. The differences in participation and motivation cannot be attributed to gender, income or ethnical background as in both active and highly motivated and less active and less motivated groups both genders, different incomes and different ethnical backgrounds can be found. There was a balance found where all the participants could contribute in their own way and this project was made a success from which all participants benefited.

The same theory led analysis that has been done in this chapter on the Verwonderstraat will follow in the next chapter for the case Masterchefs Hambaken.

8. Masterchefs Hambaken

The third project from Typisch Den Bosch that will be analyzed is Masterchefs Hambaken. This project is at the core a cooking course of seven women that live in or near the neighbourhood Hambaken in Den Bosch, the green neighbourhood in Figure 7. This project originated in 2010 and can thus be called sustainable. Masterchefs is a realisation of a dream with and for the seven women. They thus

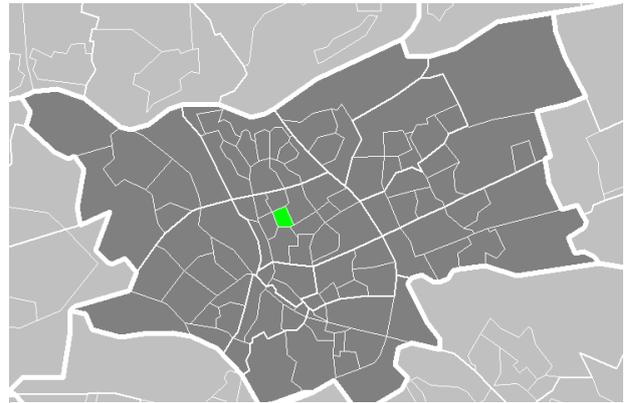


Figure 8: Hambaken (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2013)

have a reasonable high level of self-organisation. In this chapter the main questions are: *What factors from the source group and the relevant institutions contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing Het Geheugen van West as sustainable citizen initiative for social artistic practices that contributes to neighbourhood development? And: What are the implications from a feminist approach to asset based community development?*

First a case description is given as well as the factors that make Hambaken an urban deprived neighbourhood. After these descriptions the case will be analyzed with the CLEAR model. Under the header of Can do the capacities, resources, skills and knowledge of the source group are elaborated and the contribution these make to the sustainability of the project. The next paragraph goes into the Like to factor of the CLEAR model. This factor goes into the engagement in the community with sense of community and social capital as main parts. The contribution of the engagement in the community to the sustainability of this project is also analyzed in this paragraph. The Enabled to paragraph analyzes the mobilisation and collaboration of this project, which are the roles of the different organisations and professionals, and the contribution this makes to the sustainability of the project. In the next paragraph, Asked to, the motivation and incentives are explained. In the last paragraph, Responded to, the influence on the results by and the response to the participants are explained. Here also the ownership over the project of the participants is analyzed as well as contribution of these factors to the sustainability of the project. After this CLEAR analysis the implications from a feminist approach to asset based community development will be described. This all will be followed by a conclusion.

8.1 Case description

In this paragraph the start and development of the project, the goals and the goal achievement and the artistic quality of the project will be discussed.

In October 2010 the caravan of Typisch Den Bosch parked at the Zirkook, a street in Hambaken, for a week (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). Will, a participant of this project got curious and together with some neighbours she decided to find out what the caravan was doing there (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). Inside she found Typisch Den Bosch who was looking for wishes, dreams and ideas from the inhabitants of Hambaken. They asked them what they wanted and here the wish for a cooking course was voiced. In the project Masterchefs seven women were turned into master chefs by master chef Peter van der Crujisen (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). Typisch Den Bosch made this connection between the professional and residents of Hambaken. The Masterchefs project has two different phases. First the participants learnt to cook (even better) and became master chefs and in the second phase there is a broadening of kitchen techniques and a deepening through a knowledge transfer to others in the neighbourhood.

In the first phase Peter van der Crujisen writes a course program with the input of the seven women (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). The participants take the lead and organise as much as possible themselves. The chef raises their level of cooking, lets them play with flavours and learns them that good food does not have to be expensive. Once a week the group comes together in the kitchen of the Koning Willem 1 College, where they can cook and can use two chefs in training (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). The finish of the first phase was a delicious meal cooked by the Masterchefs for the 120 residents of the Hooghe Clock (a residential care centre) and the neighbours from the Hambaken (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). This was such a success for both the Masterchefs and the residents that the project was continued in a second phase.

In this second phase the residents of Hambaken played a more central role. The newly educated Masterchefs transfer their knowledge to others in the Hambaken neighbourhood (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). Once every quarter the Masterchefs cook for the residents of the Hooghe Clock, a living centre for elderly people, and they also teach professionals and residents of the resident care centre Vivent. They are also approachable for the provision of modest catering in the neighbourhood. Parallel to this knowledge transfer the seven Masterchefs also keep learning themselves. The kitchen of the Hervion College is the location for this learning process once a week where the Masterchefs work together with Peter van der Crujisen to broaden their cooking skills (Matthijssen & Althuisen, 2013). In this second phase the seven women have taken the lead more completely and they do not need input from Typisch Den Bosch. As part of this second phase the participant group has also competed in the Bosch Diner (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). This is a competition between cooking teams that represent neighbourhoods of Den Bosch and takes place on the main market. The group initiated this project themselves and with coaching from Peter van der Crujisen and a chef from the Bosch Diner they developed the dishes they made.

For the participants the main goal of this project was to realise this cooking course (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013) but also the goals of Typisch Den Bosch were included in this project. These are cultural participation, culture education and coaching and folk culture (Mattijsen & Althuizen, 2013) and have been explained in the previous chapter. In the conceptual framework four effect areas of neighbourhood development influenced by social-artistic projects are distinguished: personal development, social cohesion, public perception and physical liveability (Cleveringa, 2012).

The main goal for the participants can be placed in the effect area of personal development. The participants wanted to develop their knowledge about and skills in cooking. The whole project is aimed at this. This goal has also been reached. All the participants have expanded their knowledge and skills on cooking but have also learnt to work together as a team.

On the effect area of social cohesion goals have been set from Typisch Den Bosch. By working together on a project new connections are made between neighbours and mutual trust increases. For this project this goal was only partly achieved. The participants were all acquaintances of each other so no new relations were made. As the project was intensive and the participants have worked together on a regular basis the mutual trust did increase. But this was only on the small level of the participants and not on the neighbourhood level.

There were no goals set on the effect areas of public perception and physical liveability. The project has not generated a lot of publicity and is not known by most of the inhabitants of Hambaken and even less of the inhabitants of the other neighbourhoods of Den Bosch know the project. The public perception of the neighbourhood or participant group thus has not changed. As the project does not entail measures in the physical structure of the neighbourhood there have not been goals or achievements in this area.

The art in the project Masterchefs Hambaken are the cook books and the dishes they make. The artists, in this case chef, contributes by making suggestions on what to make but the source group decides. They want to learn more about regular dishes and every day cooking (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). The chef makes the recipes for the dishes the source group chooses. The art thus confirms the identity of the participants. This makes this project auto-relational.

The cook books and dishes of Masterchefs Hambaken are digestive or comfortable as they do not challenge the norms and values of the source group but complies with them. Their idea of cooking and dishes is realized as the ideas of the source group are leading for the art that the group makes. The art thus follows the norms, values and habits of the source group.

8.2 Hambaken

In this paragraph the available data on the liveability of the neighbourhood Hambaken is discussed, the deprivation of this neighbourhood and a comparison of the situation before and after Masterchefs Hambaken.

The neighbourhood Hambaken is an attention area in the North of Den Bosch. Hambaken contains four smaller neighbourhoods, namely: Hambaken, Muziekinstrumentenbuurt, Sprookjesbuurt and Edelstenenbuur (O&S, 2010). Hambaken scores 'weak', comparing with other neighbourhoods in Den Bosch, on four of the six social indicators, being care, education, active and living together. Habaken scores 'very weak' on the other two: living environment and residents (O&S, 2010). The most negative parts of Hambaken are the 'very weak' scores on all three aspects that measure the indicator living environment. The homes, public spaces and the safety are valued as very week in this neighbourhood. This can be ascribed to the fact that there are relatively many cheap rent houses and a high level of degradation. This also causes trouble for the experienced safety and the valuation of the public spaces (O&S, 2010). The incomes of the residents of this neighbourhood are relatively low, there are many jobseekers and relatively many residents that get financial support from the government. Also the diversity of the residents in Hambaken scores 'weak'. In the indicator living together the factor interaction in the neighbourhood scores 'weak', relatively few residents find that residents interact in a pleasant way with each other (O&S, 2010). The valuation of facilities under the indicator of living together scores 'average'. The residents of Hambaken are less active in sports and culture compared to the other neighbourhoods of Den Bosch (O&S, 2010). This lack of activism reflects the dependency seen in many urban deprived neighbourhoods. Residents of this neighbourhood feel dependent on (social) organisations and do not take control themselves. Also the indicator Education scores 'weak'. There is a high educational absence in high school and a relatively large group of dropouts (O&S, 2010). As last the health of the inhabitants of Hambaken is weaker compared with the average of Den Bosch (O&S, 2010). The 'weak' scores on four indicators and the 'very weak' scores of two indicators make this neighbourhood deprived compared to other neighbourhoods in Den Bosch.

	Before project 2010	2012
Score housing (national mean =0)	-34	-33
Score public space (national mean =0)	5	3
Score facilities level (national mean =0)	-14	1
Score population composition (national mean =0)	-19	-18
Social cohesion (national mean =0)	8	7
Safety (national mean =0)	-31	-35

The scores of Hambaken in

Table 6: Liveability De Reit (Leefbarometer, 2012)

comparison with the rest of the Netherlands on housing, public space, level of facilities, population composition, social cohesion and safety before the Verwonderstraat and after are shown in Table 5. These are all measured by the liveability measurer (Leefbarometer) of the Dutch ministry of Internal Affairs and Kingdom Relations (Leefbarometer, 2012). As shown in Table 6, the scores are below zero or slightly above. This indicates the deprivation of Hambaken in comparison with other neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. In the two years that the project Masterchefs Hambaken is running there are only very slight differences the indicators (Leefbarometer, 2012). As the project works on a very small scale and there are both positive and negative changes in the liveability of Hambaken the contribution of Masterchefs Hambaken is insignificant and cannot be determined.

8.3 CLEAR

The first two paragraphs described the project and the neighbourhoods it is based in and aimed at. Now this project will be analyzed according to the CLEAR model that can be found in paragraph 3.6. The clear model consists of the factors Can do, Like to, Enabled to, Asked to and Responded to, that all add to an explanation of citizen participation and sustainability of social-artistic projects.

8.3.1 Can do

The Can do factor is the first factor of the CLEAR model. When people have the appropriate skills and resources they are more able to participate (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). The Can do factor plays a central role in asset based community development. The skills, knowledge and resources of people, or in short their assets, are employed to achieve neighbourhood development (Kretzmann & MacKnight, 1993). This paragraph focuses on the contribution that the employment of local assets makes to the sustainability of Masterchefs Hambaken.

In this section the (financial) resources the source group has access to, the skills and the knowledge of the source group are explained. The changes over time are also analyzed as well as the contribution this has made to the sustainability of the project.

The group of Masterchefs consists of seven housewives that work and run a household (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). They all have a relatively low income and the economic crisis has made their position more fragile as incomes stayed the same and expenses grew caused by inflation (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). The resources they have access to are thus limited, but the financial situation differs slightly between the participants. Some have a little more to spent or have a little less fixed costs. The participants have on average enjoyed a low level of education. Many only have a diploma from the domestic science school in possession (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). Their relatively low income and low level of education mean that the

resources they have access to are less than average in the Netherlands and their financial situations are more fragile than the mean of the Netherlands.

The (cooking) skills of the participants are central in this project. The starting level of the participants was on the level of everyday cooking in a household. All the women used to cook every day for their family and were interested in ways to make this more creative and learn more about cooking. Through the course both the cooking skills as the confidence in cooking of the participants increased (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). They dare to experiment with ingredients and have also learnt to work together. The chef that teaches the participants is Peter van der Crujssen. They need his cooking knowledge and skills and teachers skills to learn more themselves. In the original plan the participants would transfer their learnt skills to others in the neighbourhood but this is not yet happening (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). This is not caused by a deficiency in skills, the participants know enough and made a cookbook already. The project is not embedded enough in the neighbourhood to engage others in this project. More about this is in the next paragraph about the community.

The participant group does not have enough organisation skills to set up the project themselves (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). They lack knowledge on who to reach for what question. For their project they use large kitchens from cooking schools, they do not know how to arrange these workspaces. Typisch Den Bosch as supporting organisation does know who to call and how to arrange this as they already have many contacts throughout Den Bosch. They have not learnt these organisation skills but this deficiency has been compensated by Typisch Den Bosch. The professional needs to be paid and a location is needed for the classes. The group needs Typisch Den Bosch to arrange this for them as they are not able to do this themselves, both financially and organisationally.

The Masterchefs thus do not have enough capacities on their own to accomplish the course on their own. They depend on professionals for their course but can reach more outside this course, like the Bosch Diner, themselves. Though the capacities have grown over the project they have not yet reached the level that makes the self-organisation of this project possible. Especially organisational skills are lacking, they do not know who to turn to for the things they need. In this project it is clear that for sustainability and self organisation not only capacities to participate are needed but also organisation and communication skills. Otherwise the project keeps depending on organisations, that are depended on subsidies and these may be ended. This threatens the sustainability of this project.

8.3.2 Like to

The Like to factor refers to the conception that commitment to participation requires and identification with the community that is the focus of the project and rising social capital gives incentives for people to participate (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006) and keep participating. In asset based community development the Like to factor plays a role. Through engagement in the community and social capital the different assets of individuals can be linked and in this way make them work. This paragraph focuses on the contribution the engagement in the community and social capital of the source group makes to the sustainability of the project.

The project Masterchefs Hambaken started with a participant group that were already acquaintances of each other (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). They did not reach out to other neighbours and did not ask participation from them. The neighbours of Hambaken also did not seem interested in the project as nobody asked if they could join. Most of the neighbours do not know that the project exists (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). This project did not contribute much to the sense of community of the neighbourhood. There is still the belief that the project is for this group of women and others are not interested or asked to participate. As seen in the sketch of the Neighbourhood Hambaken the inhabitants of this neighbourhood are relatively inactive. This can also be seen in the fact that not much people visited the caravan of Typisch Den Bosch when it was parked in the neighbourhood only a small number of people visited here (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). The other side of the story is the current group of Masterchefs. They are satisfied with this group and like to continue working with this group. When new people come to the group the group dynamics change and this is not wanted right now. When a new course starts and participants are needed, when others quit, these will be searched for in the immediate circle of acquaintances of the current participants (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). This is based on the belief that participating with others in the neighbourhood will not work. It is not that they are so much different from the current participants, but the participants believe that they are not interested in the project. There is thus a minor embedding in the community and the sense of community barely exists. This did not change over the project.

The social capital of the participants of this project has not changed much due to this project. The Masterchefs knew each other before the project so there are no new participants and connections (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). The group already existed as a loose circle of friends where some knew each other better than others. There are new connections to Typisch Den Bosch and Divers. These are not only made at the start but continue to exist as Typisch Den Bosch still supports this project a great deal and also invites the Masterchefs to cook for their occasions. The

quality of the relations that already existed between the participants has become stronger as the mutual trust increased. By cooking together you have to rely on the others to do their parts well and to help you when you need it. They learnt to work together and to trust each other.

The Masterchefs cooked for the inhabitants of the Hooghe Clock. These people got to know the Masterchefs, but no new meaningful relations have sprung from this event. There have thus been only minor positive changes in the social capital of the participants and no changes in the remainder of the neighbourhood.

Since both the sense of community and the social capital were relatively low and have not changed much, the engagement in the community does not add much to the explanation of the sustainability of this project. The sustainability of this project could be made better with a better embedding of this project in the neighbourhood. This makes it easier for the project to keep existing if participants decide to quit. With a better embedding the project also could have more effects on the social capital of this neighbourhood.

8.3.3 Enabled to

Participation is mostly facilitated through groups or organisations (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). This civic infrastructure can create or block an opportunity structure for participation. In asset based community development this factor comes back in linking the individuals with assets and increasing the assets of the participant group. This is called the Enabled to factor. The organisations have knowledge and a network of connections to other organisations. This paragraph focuses on the contribution the different supporting organisations and professionals make to the sustainability of Masterchefs Hambaken.

The project Masterchefs is supported by multiple organisations and professionals. The school they use for their classes, Typisch Den Bosch, Kroon op je wijk (a project from Divers) and Peter van der Crujjsen. Typisch Den Bosch is the leading organisation and will be discussed in chapter eleven. Divers is a welfare company that works in Den Bosch. They give advice, support and facilities to residents who want to invest in themselves and in a better social environment (Divers, n.d.). They subsidise this project via their project Kroon op je wijk. The goal of Kroon op je Wijk is to support citizen initiatives aimed at the neighbourhood. They help to set them up and give financial aid. Peter van der Crujjsen is the creative professional who makes the course outline together with the participants (Matthijssen & Althuizen, 2013). The schools provide the location for the cooking classes. For the first part of the project this was the Koning Willem 1 College and for the second this was Hervion. Both schools have teaching kitchens where students learn to become a chef. Typisch

Den Bosch made the contacts between the participants, the schools, Divers and the chef. Also for the second part Typisch Den Bosch arranged the location and the contacts. The organisations work together well. More about what factors are important for organisations will follow in chapter eleven.

8.3.4 Asked to

When people are asked to engage they tend to become more engaged and more regularly (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). People do not tend to go look for ways to apply their assets themselves. The need of people to make a contribution may also be latent. Therefore it is important that people are asked to participate. It is important to know what motivation the organisation looking for participants asks and what is in it for the participants (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). This paragraph focuses on the contribution of the mobilisations of the participants to the sustainability of Masterchefs Hambaken.

The question to the participants was open at the start. Typisch Den Bosch asked for the dreams and wishes. This was turned into a cooking course that was asked by the participants (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). They rounded up some more participants that wanted to take part in this cooking course. To them the question was closed, they wanted to take part or did not. For Will and some of the other participants the cooking course was a recurring idea. They were looking for cooking classes for some time but could not find an affordable one (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). The incentive given to this group is thus the affordable cooking class. The motivation for the participants is also based on this. They were motivated to improve their cooking skills, but improving the community is not their motivation to participate in this project. The question evolved from very broad to specific and this allowed the participants choose to what they wanted to contribute. This contributes to the sustainability of the project. The motivation of the participants is only aimed at improving their own skills, making neighbourhood change possible is not important for them. This contributes to the failure of reaching further neighbourhood development.

8.3.5 Responded to

The last letter of CLEAR refers to the Responded to factor. This factor is based on the fact that people have to believe that their involvement makes a difference (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006) otherwise they would not start or stop participating. A higher level of participation leads to stronger ownership over the project by the participants which contribute to the sustainability of the project. A high level of participation means that the view of the participants is taken into account and the response to ideas and opinions of participants receive impartial judgement (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). This paragraph focuses on the contribution the level of ownership over the project and the response to the participants make to the sustainability of Masterchefs Hambaken.

The participants were involved greatly at the start of the project. Without their input this project would not have started. The decisions were made as close as possible to the participants. They were asked what they specifically wanted from the cooking course and this was realized (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). The group was involved by every decision and were possible made this decision themselves. This is mostly done on a practical level. What they wanted to cook and when they wanted to do this was asked from the participants. How they learnt this was determined by the professional cook, who has insights in how to teach. The participants view is taken into account and their involvement makes a difference. They feel a lot of ownership over the project. It is their cooking course (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). They decide what road the course takes and their involvement determines the results of the project to a large extent. But there are limits to this; the group does not have enough organisational capacities to do the cooking course on their own. Also the financial resources are not sufficient for the course. They can only participate in projects where there is already funding available. They are not able to apply for funding themselves. Although the project has been in progress for more than two years now this has not changed. The response to the participants and level of ownership has thus contributed to the sustainability of the project but there are improvements possible.

8.4 Feminist approach to asset based community development

The feminist approach to asset based community development focuses on marginalisation and making participation bottom-up (Cornwall, 2003). The question here is who participates and who benefits from this project. The participants of this project are all women so there are no gender differences in this project. The participant group is homogeneous as all women have a low level of education, a relatively low income and share an interest in cooking (Will, personal communication, May 1, 2013). The participants invested time and money in this project and were also the group that benefited the most. The inhabitants of the Hooghe Clock also benefited from this project, but only marginally. The Masterchefs have cooked for them, but no new meaningful relationships have come out of this. The project works on a very small scale; only seven women participate and benefit directly from this project. The neighbourhood Hambaken, which the project is aimed at, does not benefit directly but only marginally.

8.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the main questions are: *What factors from the source group and the relevant institutions contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing the Verwonderstraat as*

sustainable citizen initiative for social artistic practices that contributes to neighbourhood development?
And: What are the implications from a feminist approach to asset based community development?

This case is relatively simple. Typisch Den Bosch was looking for creative solutions for neighbourhoods and the participants were looking for a cooking course. Together they achieved the project Masterchefs Hambaken. Project does not contribute much to neighbourhood development. The participants themselves developed quite a lot, but only this group and in a minor part the inhabitants of the Hooghe Clock benefitted from this project.

The participant group does not have enough organisational capacities to be able to self organise the whole project. They do have enough capacities to work together and to work, these have become stronger in the project. But the capacities did not contribute much to the sustainability or self-organisation of this project.

The engagement in the community is weak. There is no connection to the wider neighbourhood en development of this neighbourhood. Many people living in Hambaken do not know that the project exists and the project is not open to new meaningful relations. This factor also did not contribute much to the self organisation and sustainability of the project.

There are two organisations, two schools and a professional cook who contribute to this project. They work together and the contact between these organisations and the project group goes well. The project group can depend on them and this contributes to the sustainability and self-organisation of this project.

The question and response factors contributed the most to this project. The participants had ownership over the project from the beginning. Their influence is wanted and their opinion counts to a large extent. This motivates the participants much and makes them willing to continue.

As the project works on a small scale with a homogenous group the effects remain within this group and the wider neighbourhood does not benefit. This is the critique from the feminist approach to asset based community development. The assets of the participants are deployed, but the neighbourhood as a whole does not benefit from it and the residents of this neighbourhood are not given the chance to contribute.

The same theory led analysis that has been done in this chapter on the case of Masterchefs Hambaken will follow in the next chapter for the case Het Geheugen van West.

9. Het Geheugen van West

In this chapter the case of Het Geheugen van West will be analyzed. This project is at core a website that collects and publishes the stories of the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods Amsterdam West and Nieuw-West. In Figure 8 these are the green neighbourhoods. The left neighbourhood is Nieuw-West and the right neighbourhood is West. The project can be called sustainable as it already exists since 2004 (Geheugen van West, 2012). The project started

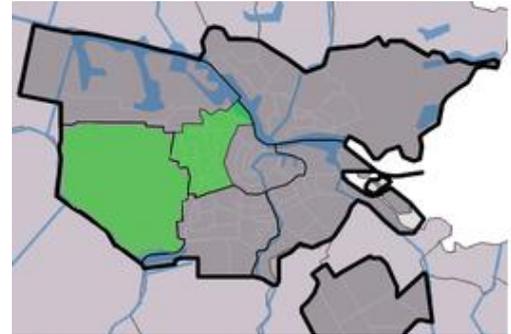


Figure 9: Amsterdam West (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2013)

from a city district but is now completely in the hands of civilians who work on a voluntary basis (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). There is thus also a high level of self-organisation. In this chapter the main questions are: *What factors from the source group and the relevant institutions contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing Het Geheugen van West as sustainable citizen initiative for social artistic practices that contributes to neighbourhood development? And: What are the implications from a feminist approach to asset based community development?*

First a case description is given as well as the factors that make West and Nieuw-West urban deprived neighbourhoods. After these descriptions the case will be analyzed with the CLEAR model. Under the header of Can do the capacities, resources, skills and knowledge of the source group are elaborated and the contribution these make to the sustainability of the project. The next paragraph goes into the Like to factor of the CLEAR model. This factor goes into the engagement in the community with sense of community and social capital as main parts. The contribution of the engagement in the community to the sustainability of this project is also analyzed in this paragraph. The Enabled to paragraph analyzes the mobilisation and collaboration of this project, which are the roles of the different organisations and professionals, and the contribution this makes to the sustainability of the project. In the next paragraph, Asked to, the motivation and incentives are explained. In the last paragraph, Responded to, the influence on the results by and the response to the participants are explained. Here also the ownership over the project of the participants is analyzed as well as contribution of these factors to the sustainability of the project. After this CLEAR analysis the implications from a feminist approach to asset based community development will be described. This all will be followed by a conclusion.

9.1 Case Description

In this paragraph the start and development of the project, the goals and the the goal achievement and the artistic quality of the project will be discussed.

Het Geheugen van West takes place in the neighbourhood West in Amsterdam. Translated this project is called The Memory of West. It is organised as a foundation since 2007 (Geheugen van West, 2012). The official start of the project was in 2004. In this year the city district Geuzenveld-Slotermeer, now part of Nieuw-West, started the website. On this site stories and photos of Geuzenveld-Slotermeer were documented and displayed. Over time the site became broader and was not just looking for stories and photos of Geuzenveld-Slotermeer, but also of the whole of Amsterdam West, including West and Nieuw-West (Geheugen van West, 2012). In the first years of the project was completely under the guidance of the city district. In 2005 the foundation De Brug, with full subsidy from the city district, took over the project. This foundation has run the project for two years, but decided that Het Geheugen van West could do better on its own, which is why in 2007 the foundation Het Geheugen van West was established (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). Also this new foundation received subsidy from the city district. In 2009 a new initiative from the municipality of Amsterdam started: Koers Nieuw-West. This was a program aimed at professionalizing and linking innovative and important projects for the western part of the city (Hilverda & Bekker, 2009). Het Geheugen van West was part of this program and a project leader was appointed for this Project. Lotte Bekker took this job, professionalized this project and linked it with other organisations. In this way more people living in the west of Amsterdam got to know the project. In 2010 the city districts of the municipality of Amsterdam were reorganized (Geheugen van West, 2012). All the subsidy relations of the former districts were ended and not with all former receivers of subsidy new relationships were made. For Het Geheugen van West this meant that they no longer received subsidy from the city district and had to find new ways to finance the project. A solution was found with the Amsterdam Museum, as an historical museum they valued the local histories that were collected by Het Geheugen van West and did not want to lose these (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). From 2011 on they fund the hosting costs of the site. From 2004 a core group of eight to ten volunteers writes stories, interviews others and collects stories from others. The composition of this group changes over time but keeps approximately the same size. This group regularly meets at the Brug at the Aalbersestraat in Geuzeveld (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). Around this core there is a bigger group that regularly submit their own written stories.

The project started with the goal to raise the social cohesion in Amsterdam west (Geheugen van West, 2012). This has not changed when the project became led by citizens or when it became a foundation. They want to pull the residents out of their (social)isolation, to improve the memory of older residents and to create more tolerance between young and old residents by knowing and understanding each other's past (Geheugen van West, 2012). The foundation does this by publishing

stories and pictures from the past and now and from and for everyone who feels involved in Amsterdam-West and Amsterdam Nieuw-West. In the conceptual framework four effect areas of neighbourhood development influenced by social-artistic projects are distinguished: personal development, social cohesion, public perception and physical liveability (Cleveringa, 2012).

The main part of the goal of this project is an increase in social cohesion. By writing and reading the stories of neighbours the inhabitants of Amsterdam West feel more connected to their neighbourhood (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). They respond to each other's stories and photo's online and in this way get into a conversation. The physical contact is limited. The volunteers that write the stories and take the pictures meet approximately once a month and get to know each other during these meetings. There has been one other moment of physical meeting in the format of a telling festival (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). For this the neighbours that were interested learnt to write a story and how to tell these on stage. A group of neighbours engaged in writing and telling these stories and around a hundred neighbours came to hear them. There is thus an increase of social capital on the personal level as individual people get into conversation online. There is also an increase of social capital on a group level, seen in the participant group that meets monthly. A wider neighbourhood level increase of social cohesion cannot be seen as result of this project. More about this will follow in paragraph 9.4.

The effect area of public perception comes back in a small way in the goal of Het Geheugen van West. The project aims to raise the tolerance of the inhabitants of the western part of Amsterdam by increasing the understanding they have of each other. The goal is thus to change the perception that the inhabitants have of their neighbours. It is difficult to tell how much of this is achieved (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). People mainly read and react to stories where they recognize their own memories. This means that old perceptions stay and public perception does not increase.

The effect area of personal development does not come back in the objective of the project. Nevertheless there is a great deal of attention aimed at personal development. The writers group meets approximately once a month, the organisation strives to combine these meetings with a course (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). In these courses the participants learn to write more creatively, write for internet or interview. There are also trips to the Amsterdam historic museum or the city archive. In this way the participant group develops their personal skills and knowledge on writing for Het Geheugen van West.

The fourth effect area of physical liveability has not changed due to this project as a website cannot change the quality of the physical environment of a neighbourhood. The virtual environment of individuals has become better as the stories and pictures have enlivened this.

The artistic quality of this project can be ascertained with the theory of Van Maanen (2009) and Gielen (2011). This model can be found in the conceptual framework in paragraph 3.4. The art in the project Het Geheugen van West are the stories and photos that are published on the website (Geheugen van West, 2012). As these stories and photos are all about the lives and anecdotes of the inhabitants of the western part of Amsterdam, they all confirm the identity of the participant group and are thus auto-relational. The stories that are published explain how the source group has grown into the identity they now have. The artists contributed in writing or photographing courses to enhance the capacities of the source group but did not directly influence the published stories and photographs.

The stories and pictures are comfortable or digressive of character. The source group knows the history of Amsterdam West and Nieuw-West, because they have lived a part of this history. The stories and pictures thus do not have new images for them that challenge their norms, values and habits.

9.2 Amsterdam West

Now that the development, the goals and the achievements of the project have been described the next step is to identify the factors that make Amsterdam West and Amsterdam Nieuw-West and urban deprived neighbourhood, and to make a comparison of the situation before Het Geheugen van West and after this project. First we look at the inhabitants. Amsterdam West has 135083 inhabitants with a population density of 15527 residents per square kilometre (Bureau Onderzoek en Statistiek Amsterdam, 2012). For Amsterdam new west the population density is much lower. There are 139886 people living in Amsterdam Nieuw-West but the population density is 4850 residents per square kilometre (Bureau Onderzoek en Statistiek Amsterdam, 2012). Both the population densities are significantly higher than the mean of Amsterdam, which is 4791 residents per square kilometre. 48.8 percent of the residents of West and 62.0 percent of the residents of Nieuw-West are immigrant (Bureau Onderzoek en Statistiek Amsterdam, 2012). The percentage of West is lower than the mean of Amsterdam, 50.5 percent, but the percentage of Nieuw-West is higher. More than half of the housing in Nieuw-West (55%) is social rent, in West this is less than half of the housing but still a large part (44%) (Bureau Onderzoek en Statistiek Amsterdam, 2012). The unemployment rates in West and Nieuw-West are both higher than the mean of Amsterdam (Bureau Onderzoek en Statistiek Amsterdam, 2012), Nieuw-West has an unemployment rate of 6.5% and West 6.7%, the mean of Amsterdam is 6.3%. Both the objective safety and the subjective safety of West and Nieuw-West are getting better scores. They used to score close to weak in 2003 but are now closer to very good in 2011 (Bureau Onderzoek en Statistiek Amsterdam, 2012). The neighbourhood safety score

of West is with a 6.6 the same as the mean of Amsterdam and higher than of Nieuw-West, which scores a 5.9 (Buurtcijfers, 2012).

The scores of Amsterdam West and Nieuw-West in comparison with other neighbourhoods in the Netherlands on housing, public space, level of facilities, population composition, social cohesion and safety are shown in Table 7 and 8.

These are all measured by the liveability measurer (Leefbarometer, 2012). These neighbourhoods score relatively high on public space and level of facilities, but the scores on housing, population composition, social cohesion and safety are very low. The liveability measurer has comparable results as the research of the municipality of Amsterdam. All these low scores indicate the problems in these neighbourhoods that qualify them as urban deprived neighbourhoods. There are changes visible between the situation

	Before project 2002	2012
Score housing (national mean =0)	-44	-41
Score public space (national mean =0)	27	40
Score facilities level (national mean =0)	42	37
Score population composition (national mean =0)	-39	-15
Social cohesion (national mean =0)	-23	-15
Safety (national mean =0)	-48	-34

Table 7: Liveability Amsterdam West (Leefbarometer, 2012)

	Before project 2002	2012
Score housing (national mean =0)	-45	-40
Score public space (national mean =0)	16	27
Score facilities level (national mean =0)	15	16
Score population composition (national mean =0)	-41	-39
Social cohesion (national mean =0)	7	-7
Safety (national mean =0)	-46	-44

Table 8: Liveability Amsterdam Nieuw-West (Leefbarometer, 2012)

before the start of Het Geheugen van West and the situation now. Almost all indicators have improved and some have improved much. This however cannot be subscribed to Het Geheugen van West alone. The municipality of Amsterdam has been continually investing in these neighbourhoods with a neighbourhood based approach (Wijkaanpak, 2013).

9.3 CLEAR

The first two paragraphs described the project and the neighbourhoods it is based in and aimed at. Now this project will be analyzed according to the CLEAR model that can be found in paragraph 3.6. The clear model consists of the factors Can do, Like to, Enabled to, Asked to and Responded to, that all add to an explanation of citizen participation and sustainability of social-artistic projects.

9.3.1 Can do

The first letter of CLEAR refers to the Can do factor. When people have the appropriate skills and resources they are more able to participate (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). The Can do factor plays a fundamental role in asset based community development. The skills, knowledge and resources of people, or in short their assets, are employed to achieve neighbourhood development (Kretzmann & MacKnight, 1993). This paragraph focuses on the contribution the employment of local assets makes to the sustainability of Het Geheugen van West.

In this paragraph the (financial) resources the source group has access to, the skills and the knowledge of the source group are explained. The changes over time are also analyzed as well as the contribution this has made to the sustainability of the project.

Financially the project has changed much. In the beginning the financial resources the project used came from the city district (Geheugen van West, 2012). Also when the project was taken over by foundation De Brug the financial resources came from this city district. In 2004 the foundation Het Geheugen van West was started and took over the organising tasks of foundation de Brug but still the financial resources came from the city district (Geheugen van West, 2012). The city of Amsterdam started in 2007 with the project Koers Nieuw-West and Het Geheugen van West was subsidized via this project (Hilverda & Bekker, 2009). This funding was not done directly. Het Geheugen van West was given a project leader that would help the project to become more professional and establish relationships with other projects. In 2010 the city districts of Amsterdam were reorganised and all subsidy relations were stopped (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). For Het Geheugen van West this meant that in 2011 they did not get any funding from the municipality any more. The project was on the verge of stopping as money was needed to be able to continue. The Amsterdam museum stepped in. From 2011 on they fund the hosting costs of the site. The Amsterdam museum also has a small amount of funding for the courses for the participants. The other tasks of the foundation are done on a voluntary base.

For a website as a project financial resources are always necessary as there are always financial costs. When funding got lower, volunteers took over tasks that were formerly paid jobs. For Joke Hilverda (chairman) and Jan van Zijp (web editor) it was possible to take over these tasks as volunteer as they both have done these professionally before (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). But the hosting costs cannot be replaced by volunteers. When the funding of the city district stopped these costs still had to be paid. The project would have ceased to exist if these were not taken over by the Amsterdam museum (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). The financial resources the source group has access to, are thus essential for the sustainability of the project as it cannot exist without them.

The subject of personal skills and knowledge has been briefly touched in the case description and of Jan and Joke. They both had the skills and knowledge necessary for their function in the project from earlier (professional) education and experience. Together with a volunteer coordinator, Jan and Joke are the core of the organisation. Their assets are needed and thus employed in the project. Especially the web editor Jan van Zijp is much needed as he manages the site on a daily basis (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). His capacity to do this and his reliability in doing this make him the right man for the job. Joke Hilverda is another indispensable partner, she is the chairman of the foundation and takes the task of overseeing the project and helping out where needed on her (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). To be able to continue the project the chairman has to have contacts in the city district with direct contact with politicians and officials (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). The chairman also has to be able to write grant proposals. Joke already had the basic capacities to do this, but improved these by following a clinic of the Oranjefonds on this topic. In addition to these two citizen participants that have leading and organising task a volunteer coordinator is necessary to manage the group of participants. This volunteer coordinator arranges the contacts with the different writers solve problems here and to enthuse the writers to keep writing stories (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). The assets necessary from the leading group for the survival of this project are thus to maintain the website, arrange political contacts, apply for grants and manage the volunteer group.

A site was started to document the history of this part of the city and of the people who live here. From the citizen participants stories and photos were asked that could contribute to this (Geheugen van West, 2012). Experience in writing or photographing was not needed, it was important to tell live stories or anecdotes about the neighbourhood. The skills and knowledge to do this were improved by courses the participants could take once a month. In these courses they could learn creative writing, writing for internet, interview or photography (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). Also after the project was taken over by foundation De Brug and after the project became a foundation on their own these courses remained part of the project. As the participant group changes, new people learn new skills. It is important to keep investing in the capacities of new and continuing participants to be able to keep a high quality of stories and photos and to be able to keep getting new stories and photos (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). The website cannot continue without this. The organisation works on keeping a steady group of around ten writers. Most participants are part of this project for approximately four years. When a participant indicates to want to quit an advertisement is set in the neighbourhood newspaper *Westerpost*, on the Website of *Het Geheugen van West* or at the volunteer centre of Amsterdam (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013).

The assets needed from the participants are thus stories and photos and the ability to make these while at the same time the project invests in improving these assets. In this way the project keeps itself sustainable.

9.3.2 Like to

The Like to factor refers to the conception that commitment to participation requires and identification with the community that is the focus of the project and rising social capital gives incentives for people to participate (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006) and keep participating. In asset based community development the Like to factor plays a role. Through engagement in the community and social capital the different assets of individuals can be linked and in this way make them work. This paragraph focuses on the contribution that the engagement in the community and the social capital of the source group make to the sustainability of Het Geheugen van West.

The participant group of Het Geheugen van West all live in different parts of Amsterdam West and Amsterdam Nieuw-West (Geheugen van West, 2012). As the project works on this large scale of the West of Amsterdam it is not one community that the participants are part of. The participants all share the property of having an Amsterdam background. They have been living in Amsterdam their whole life and in their neighbourhood for many years. This makes them able to tell the history of this neighbourhood and of the city and makes them feel entitled to do this (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). They feel their history and the history of their neighbours is worth preserving. As they and others read the stories of the neighbourhood they live in the engagement in the community increases. By reading these stories and seeing the photos they feel more connected to their neighbourhood (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). This is an incentive for new and continuing participants to write new stories and take new photographs.

The participants did not know each other before the website started (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). They became acquainted with each other and the project through the neighbourhood newspaper, the website or the volunteer centre of Amsterdam. They all share the Amsterdam background, and this makes it easy for them to connect. The social capital of the participants, the aggregate of actual and potential resources linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu, 1968), increased as they got to know more people and worked with them in courses and fieldtrips. The participant group also interviews other neighbours in Amsterdam West to be able to collect more stories (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). Also these relationships contribute to the increase of social capital of the source group. This increase of social capital makes the participants stronger in life. Being part of a network beyond the immediate family increases the

individual mobility (Portes, 1998); in this way assets from others of the source group can benefit individuals of the group. Individuals gain access to small everyday services as taking care of the post when one is at holiday but also larger benefits are possible as access to employment. Having more social capital makes one more able to take care of himself. Problems are noticed sooner and solutions can be found without institutional interference.

The participants of Het Geheugen van West already felt engaged in the community as they have lived in Amsterdam their whole lives and in their neighbourhood for years. This engagement has become stronger through this project and is for many a reason to participate. The social capital of the participants has grown as they got to know more people in the neighbourhood and worked with them. This has resulted in more individual mobility and a stronger position in life. The engagement in the community and increase of social capital thus contribute to the sustainability of this project by motivating the participant group and making them stronger in life.

9.3.3 Enabled to

Participation is mostly facilitated through groups or organisations (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). This civic infrastructure can create or block an opportunity structure for participation. In asset based community development this factor comes back in linking the individuals with assets and increasing the assets of the participant group. The organisations have knowledge and a network of connections to other organisations. This paragraph focuses on the contribution the different supporting organisations and professionals make to the sustainability of Het Geheugen van West.

Het Geheugen van West only receives support from the Amsterdam museum. This organisation contributes financially as it pays the hosting costs of the website and the courses for the participant group. The museum also contributes in motivating the participants. Twice a year the Amsterdam museum organises a day for the volunteers. The participants from Het Geheugen van West are also invited to this. The participants like that they can be part of this and of the large organisation as the Amsterdam museum (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). The contribution of the Amsterdam museum to the sustainability of the project is the continuing financial support that ensures the functioning of the website and motivating the participants.

Each month the participant group meets in the building of foundation De Brug. This foundation provides room for the meetings and courses. The courses are given by professional writers and journalists to train the participants in writing and interviewing. All these professionals have experience in teaching others (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). They are paid from the subsidy of the Amsterdam museum and contribute to the project by sharing their

knowledge, skills and experiences with the participant group. None of the participants has experience as a professional writer or photographer. The professionals contribute to the sustainability of the project by transferring skills and knowledge that are needed by the participant group to increase the quality of their stories and photographs.

For different projects the foundation Het Geheugen van West can apply for grants and in this way is supported financially on projects by different organisations. They did this for instance with the telling festival. They applied to the Skanfonds for this and got a grant to realise the festival (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). This link to other organisations is weak and it is hard for the foundation to get subsidies. The sustainability of the project could increase more if lasting relationships with granting organisations are made.

9.3.4 Asked to

When people are asked to engage they tend to become more engaged and more regularly (Lowdnes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). People do not tend to go look for ways to apply their assets themselves. The need of people to make a contribution may also be latent. Therefore it is important that people are asked to participate. It is important to know what motivation the organisation looking for participants asks and what is in it for the participants (Lowdnes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). This paragraph focuses on the contribution of the mobilisation of the participants to the sustainability of Het Geheugen van West.

The first contact of the participants with the project was through a message in the neighbourhood newspaper in 2004 that was calling for volunteers. They were asked to share their stories and write them down to publish online. It was not necessary to have experience in writing. Still experience in writing at the start of participation is not necessary. The writing skills are developed through courses that come with participation. The motivation of the participants is also based on this. They want to capture their life history and want to engage in writing stories (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). For them it plays a minor role that they contribute to the neighbourhood development. Being part of a group is also important for the current participants (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). They feel part of something bigger; especially the volunteer days of the Amsterdam museum contribute to this.

The project is continuously looking for new participants to write and photograph for the website (Geheugen van West, 2012). They do this by asking for stories in the neighbourhood newspaper, on the website and via the volunteer centre of Amsterdam. The participants are only asked to participate; contributing to the organisation of the project is not asked (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). At the time both Joke, Jan and the volunteer coordinator are able to accomplish the organisational tasks. When they need to be replaced they do not select the new

board member from the current participant group. The participants of this group do not have the right capacities to take over organising tasks. They are also motivated to write and share their stories, not to organise the project.

The participants of Het Geheugen van West are motivated to share their stories, write them down and collect stories of neighbours (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). The continuous search for new participants and the simple motivation asked from the participants results in a sustainable motivated group of writers. The organisation of the project depends heavily on three civilians who do this on a voluntary base. For them no sustainable future is planned. They do not look for substitutes for when they no longer can take on the organising tasks. This may threaten the sustainability of the project.

9.3.5 Responded to

The last letter of CLEAR refers to the Responded to factor. This factor is based on the fact that people have to believe that their involvement makes a difference (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006) otherwise they would not start or stop participating. A higher level of participation leads to stronger ownership over the project by the participants which contribute to the sustainability of the project. A high level of participation means that the view of the participants is taken into account and the response to ideas and opinions of participants receive impartial judgement (Lowndes, Pratchett & Stoker, 2006). This paragraph focuses on the contribution the level of ownership over the project and the response to the participants make to the sustainability of Het Geheugen van West.

The project started with a very low level of participation. The civil participants only contributed by writing their stories and stories of neighbours. In the current state some of the civil participants are in the leading role but the most still only contribute in writing stories. Participants are free to write whatever they want as long as it happened with people from or within the western neighbourhoods of Amsterdam. They do not have ownership over the project but are merely participants. Only the three board members have ownership over the project and this has been developed when the foundation Het Geheugen van West was established. They now feel responsible for the project (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). These feelings of responsibility lead to the continuing dedication of the board members which contributes to the sustainability of the project.

The participants work within the framework of the website. They are free to write stories about the western part of Amsterdam that are no longer than 300 words (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). When they have questions or face problems they can go to Joke Hilverda, the chairman or the volunteer coordinator. They do everything they can to find a solution. In the history of the project there have not been much or difficult problems. The participants have

been able to contribute what they wanted. They see immediate response, when they hand in a story it is published as soon as possible by the web editor Jan van Zijp. He works on the website every day and responds to questions asked at the site. The quick reaction to both the stories that handed in and problems that occur keep the participants willing to keep contributing. This thus contributes to the sustainability of the project.

9.4 Feminist approach to asset based community development

Now that the first question is answered the gender question comes into play. The feminist approach to asset based community development focuses on marginalisation and making participation bottom-up (Cornwall, 2003). The question here is who participates and who benefits from this project. Het Geheugen van West is lead by a mix of two men and one woman, all with a Dutch background. They put in the most time and work. The writers and photographers group is a homogenous group aged between 50 and 70 with a Dutch and Amsterdam background (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). They all have a low level of education and a low income. Approximately half of the group is women and the other half men (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). This fluctuates as the composition of the group changes from time to time. The website is freely accessible thus everyone interested in stories and photos about the western part of Amsterdam is able to benefit from this project. The writers and photographer group benefits more from this project as their skills and knowledge is enlarged by the different courses and fieldtrips. The both the neighbourhoods West and Nieuw-West have a large percentage of immigrants (Bureau Onderzoek en Statistiek Amsterdam, 2012). These are not represented in the participants and thus do not profit from this project. It is a wish of Het Geheugen van West to get contact with immigrants who are interested in sharing their stories in Amsterdam West and Nieuw-West (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). The new volunteer coordinator has been given the task to develop a strategy to do this.

The gender differences in this project are most clearly in the utilisation of capacities. Men and women both have (approximately) the same capacities in writing and photographing. These are also developed in the same way as they follow the courses as a group (Geheugen van West, 2012). The difference is that men mainly write their own life histories and women work more on interviewing neighbours besides writing their own stories (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). This also leads to gender differences in the increase of social capital due to this project. Women tend to interview more neighbours and engage more with others in their community. As interviewing others results in more relations the social capital of the women, the aggregate of actual and potential resources linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized

relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu, 1968), increased more than the social capital of the men. This makes the women gain more ability to deal with everyday problems and makes them stand stronger in life.

9.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the main questions are: *What factors from the source group and the relevant institutions contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing Het Geheugen van West as sustainable citizen initiative for social artistic practices that contributes to neighbourhood development? And: What are the implications from a feminist approach to asset based community development?*

The factors that could contribute are divided with the CLEAR model which consists of the factors Can do, Like to, Enabled to, Asked to and Responded to. Het Geheugen van West has developed from a project initiated and led by a city district to a foundation that is led by citizens. The foundation is capable to take over the entire organisation of the project and no organisational efforts are needed from other organisations.

The project always needs a financial input as there are continuing hosting costs for the website. The Amsterdam museum taking over these costs thus contributed substantially to the sustainability of the project. The participants do not need many capacities to be able to contribute to this project. Their writing and photographing capacities are further developed in the project. The board of the foundation does need extra organisational capacities. All board members had developed these capacities earlier in their (professional) life.

The participants feel engaged in the western neighbourhoods of Amsterdam. They have lived in Amsterdam their whole life and feel entitled to write down their history as typical for their neighbourhoods. By getting to know each other and each other's stories the engagement in the community increased even more. Also by getting to know each other and working together the social capital of all participants grew which made them more self-caring and stronger in life.

In the history of the project many organisations have enabled participants to participate. The city district was the starting organisation and now the main support comes from the Amsterdam museum. Also professional writers, journalists and photographers have made a contribution to the enabling of the participants for this project. The collaboration between organisations and professionals has not faced problems. All organisations had to economize and this was the reason the project became a foundation on its own. Although now there is now enough support to let the project continue it could do much more and would be much more sustainable if lasting relationships with granting organisations are made.

The question the organisations asked to the participants was to share their stories. Both the city district asked this, the foundation De Brug and now the foundation Het Geheugen van West. This small question makes it easy for participants to contribute to the project, which contributes to the sustainability of the project. There are no organisational contributions asked from the participants. The organisation consists of only three volunteers, for whom no sustainable future is planned. There are not substitutes for when they no longer take on the organising tasks. This may threaten the sustainability of the project.

The participants do not have much ownership over the project which makes them feel less responsible for the project. The board does have complete ownership over the project and they are responsible. These feelings of responsibility lead to the continuing dedication of the board members which contributes to the sustainability of the project. The web editor reacts daily to reactions and problems that occur online. Also the chairman and volunteer coordinator are easily reachable. The response to the participants is thus works well. This contributes to the sustainability of the project.

The input for and benefits of this project come from and go to the group of Amsterdam people between 50 and 70 years old that have been living in the western part of Amsterdam for years. There is a large group of immigrants living in these neighbourhoods who do not contribute or benefit from this project. The organisation of the foundation is aware of this and wants to change this in the future. The gender differences in this project are in the utilisation of capacities. Men and women have comparable capacities that are also developed in the same way through this project. The difference is that men mainly write their own life histories and women work more on interviewing neighbours besides writing their own stories. As interviewing others results in more relations the social capital of the women increased more than the social capital of the men. This makes the women gain more ability to deal with everyday problems and makes them stand stronger in life. The abilities of women grow more than the abilities of men.

With this chapter the analysis of the cases from the viewpoint of the participants has been finished. The next chapter will focus on the viewpoint of the organisations.

10. Organisations

In the former chapters the factors that contribute to the development of sustainable citizen initiatives have been analyzed from the point of view of the participants. However in all of the cases the projects have been supported, in variable degrees, by organisations. In this chapter the viewpoint of these organisations is central. The central question in this chapter is: *what factors from the relevant institutions contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing sustainable citizen initiatives for social artistic practices that contribute to neighbourhood development?*

In social artistic practices the source group is central. The organisations involved in this thus have to be able to deal with all the factors that came out as contributing from the viewpoint of the participants. In addition to this they have to be able to deal with the barriers to asset based community development (UN-HABITAT, 2008). The three categories of barriers, being individual, associational and institutional, will be discussed

10.1 Individual barriers

Residents of urban deprived neighbourhoods often have a low level of education, which means they rely on expert knowledge. Experts rarely consider local knowledge as input which results in a rift between expert prescriptions and communities' visions (UN-HABITAT, 2008). This leads to a low level of human capital which decreased the ability for individuals to help themselves. To overcome this barrier the institutions thus have to make connections between the experts and the participants on the basis of equality.

Typisch Den Bosch is able to overcome the rift between participants and individuals by making the position of the participants as strong as possible. They take over the power of the experts and direct them instead of the other way around. In this way the individual barrier stops to exist. In Malberg op de Planken we see a more defined distinction between the experts and the participant group. The experts keep having a directive role, which makes it harder for participants to take over the skills and capacities of the experts. As the director is hired by the association, the participants are strengthened in their position and the expert is forced to take the communities visions into account. The distinction between experts and participants is most clear in the project Het Geheugen van West. When experts come into play they are the teachers and the participants are the students. The experts do not take the communities view in their own work, but this is not central to the project. The stories of the participants are, and these are only strengthened by the

prescriptions of the experts. In teaching a group of community writers the experts are forced to take the view of the participants into account in the lessons.

10.2 Associational barriers

The second type of barriers to asset based community development is associational barriers (UN-HABITAT, 2008). These are caused by low stocks of bridging social capital that poor communities often face. Bridging social capital is needed to get ahead and not just get by (Putnam, 1993). People in urban deprived neighbourhoods could get marginalized by the lack of formal and informal associations linking individuals with others outside the community causes the barrier (UN-HABITAT, 2008). The individual projects may stand strong in the particular neighbourhoods, but links to others outside this neighbourhood are necessary to create bridging social capital. This is a difficult task as social-artistic projects are practically always aimed at one community and one neighbourhood.

Typisch Den Bosch actively searches for links between projects. They utilize (the talents of) people they found in one project in other projects (André, personal communication, April 25, 2013). In this way people living in different neighbourhoods and different communities are linked. Malberg op de Planken does not have an active strategy for linking people inside the project of Malberg op de Planken to people living in other neighbourhoods (Mart, personal communication, March 20, 2013). Nevertheless the project has become an example for other neighbourhoods in Maastricht and other cities in the Netherlands. The participants of this project meet the organisers of other projects, but no new meaningful relationships have come from this (Jan, personal communication, April 16, 2013). Het Geheugen van West already works in two large neighbourhoods where different communities live (Geheugen van West, 2012). Individuals of these communities are linked through the writers group (Joke, personal communication, May 6, 2013). In this way the participants are able to raise their bridging social capital.

10.3 Institutional barriers

The last category is institutional barriers. These are the consequence of weak organisations that do not have sufficient external ties to work on assets in a community (UN-HABITAT, 2008). Local institutions can be isolated and detached from those of mainstream society. The organisations of social-artistic projects thus not only need to be close to the neighbourhood, but also need external ties to organisations in mainstream society to become strong enough and have sufficient external ties to work on assets in a community. This also works the other way around. Municipal wide organisations need to be close to the neighbourhood and work with district focus procedures. In many cases social artistic organisations need to work together with other social and artistic

organisations that work on different scales. Tensions can arise when different organisations strive for their own goals.

Typisch Den Bosch is a municipality wide organisation. It is thus not isolated or detached from mainstream society. Typisch Den Bosch is an intermediary between the municipality of Den Bosch and the local civil initiators. There is a large gap between the municipality and the local civil initiators in knowledge and way of thinking, they are both necessary to make a social artistic practice work. Typisch Den Bosch faces many struggles as they need to create a workable relationship with both these parties. Malberg op de Planken has links with Theatergroep Maastricht, Trajekt and Kumulus. These are professional mainstream organisations. Ties to these organisations make Malberg op de Planken, as association, stand stronger. They can hire a professional from Kumulus or ask for help from Theatergroep Maastricht. Also the links with welfare organisation Trajekt gives them a link to help when needed. These organisations do not have a neighbourhood based approach. This has not caused problems for Malberg op de Planken but could cause problems for other neighbourhood based projects that do not fit in the general objectives of these organisations. The other links to mainstream organisations are on the basis of subsidy. Malberg op de Planken has got or gets subsidy from multiple foundations. This also makes them a stronger organisation. Het Geheugen van West is part of the Amsterdam museum and has contacts with this mainstream organisation. There is also a sister organisation called Het Geheugen van Oost which basically does the same for the eastern neighbourhoods of Amsterdam. The institutional barriers are thus broken through by working together with other (mainstream) organisations.

10.4 Conclusion

The central question in this chapter is: *what factors from the relevant institutions contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing sustainable citizen initiatives for social artistic practices that contribute to neighbourhood development?*

By removing the individual, associational and institutional barriers the organisations enable participants to reach more on their own. All organisations faced these barriers in a different way and all found different solutions for breaking through them. This is their contribution to the sustainability of the projects.

This chapter finishes the analysis of the cases. The next chapter will bring about the conclusions and recommendations.

11. Conclusion and recommendations

In the previous chapters the results of the case analysis have been elaborated. These results lead to the conclusion and recommendations. The conclusion will answer the main question of this research as posed in chapter one. After this the recommendations for achieving sustainable social-artistic practices are explained as well as the recommendations for further research.

11.1 Conclusion

The research question of this thesis was defined as followed:

What factors from the source group and the relevant institutions contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing sustainable citizen initiatives for social artistic practices that contribute to neighbourhood development?

The two sub questions that are set to answer this question are:

- 1) What factors from the source group contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing sustainable citizen initiatives for social artistic practices that contribute to neighbourhood development?
- 2) What factors from the relevant institutions contribute to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing sustainable citizen initiatives for social artistic practices that contribute to neighbourhood development?

In order to answer the research question and meet the research goal, which have been explained in the first chapter, the philosophical viewpoint of feminism has been chosen and a conceptual framework is established around the concepts asset based community development, social capital, empowerment and the power of art and culture. Together with the CLEAR-model for explaining citizen participation this forms the framework within which the answer can be found to what makes projects with citizens in the initiating role sustainable.

It is important to be aware of the worldview that is used in a research. Therefore one viewpoint has been chosen: the feministic geographic approach. This approach focuses on bottom-up processes and starts the investigation at the level of the individual. Themes as marginalisation and (gender) differences are central in this approach. As this thesis uses a feministic geographical

worldview for each of these questions the implications from a feminist approach to asset based community development are also questioned.

Asset based community development is the central theory of this thesis. This theory looks at the positive instead of the negative and works bottom up. The assets of people are central in this theory. Every individual has a unique combination of assets. By linking people and thus creating more bonding and bridging social capital people are more able to solve problems together without the need of institutions. This makes them stand stronger in life. The achievements of the social-artistic practices can be assessed with the effect areas of personal development, social cohesion, public perception and physical liveability. The inspiration, mobilisation, valuation and further development of social artistic practices is depending on a number of different factors. The CLEAR model distinguishes five factors: the Can do, Like to, Enabled to, Asked to and Responded to factor. The effect of these factors on the inspiration, mobilisation, valuation and further development of social artistic practices is mediated by three different barriers: the individual, associational and institutional barriers. Organisations have to be able to deal with these and break through the barriers. The artistic quality of social artistic practices can help break through the barriers or further constrain the effects. The artistic quality is measured by two axes. One is ranging from digestive to subversive and the other from allo-relational to auto-relational.

This research is a qualitative case study with five cases that are social-artistic practices that contribute to neighbourhood development, have a high level of sustainability and a high level of self organisation: Malberg op de Planken, Welkom Thuis, Verwonderstraat, Masterchefs Hambaken and Het Geheugen van West. The first project takes place in Maastricht and the last in Amsterdam; the others take place in Den Bosch. These cases differ in the effects they have on neighbourhood development. They differ in all the effect areas: personal development, social cohesion, physical liveability and public perception.

From the viewpoint of the participants the factors of the CLEAR model are most important, the organisations have to be able to support these and in addition handle the three barriers. The cultural quality is important for both the source group and the professionals. These all thus interrelated, which comes together in inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing sustainable citizen initiatives. For this reason the conclusion of this thesis is divided in the five cases, as this makes the interrelatedness visible. After this the cases are compared and the implications from the feministic philosophical view are presented.

11.1.1 Malberg op de Planken

The first analyzed case is Malberg op de Planken, a theatre association whereby next to theatre knowledge and skills organisational skills and knowledge are also necessary. Especially the confidence to perform on stage is a capacity needed for the Can do factor of CLEAR. Within this project investments are made to develop theatre and organisational skills. The organisational skills of the participant group are not sufficient to become self-organising. Support from social and artistic organisations is needed. This constrains the inspiration of the participants. The participant group is relatively homogenized and has become a group of friends. They feel responsible to the neighbourhood to some extent, but it is more important to make theatre with a group of friends. This is why in the Like to factor increases in bonding social capital are seen, but very little increases in bridging social capital. This constrains the inspiration and mobilisation of the participants. Malberg op de Planken is supported by Trajekt and still relies on this organisation. The many links to professional social or artistic organisations provide a positive image in the Enabled to factor. Nevertheless this project is very dependent on them and therefore not completely self-organising. The question from the organisation to the participants, the Asked to factor, has always been relatively closed. They were asked to contribute to the theatre based on the stories of the community. Only the confidence to perform on stage was asked, other skills and knowledge are developed during the project. The participant group is officially an association and they are thus able to make their own decisions and have a high level of ownership. Due to the necessary support however, the choices of the association are constrained. This forms the Responded to factor. The combination of the motivation, the enabling, the question and the response lead to the motivation of the participants. The combination of enabling, the question and the response lead to the valuing and further development of this project. The individual barrier is strong in this case; there is a disparity between the source group and the professionals, for instance the director. In this case the director acts as teacher and the participant group act as students. Also the associational barriers are strong; there are not many links to individuals and groups in other neighbourhoods, thus not much increase in bridging social capital. The links that are made are with artistic or social professionals. The supporting institutions do not work with a neighbourhood based approach. This could cause problems of the institutional barriers. For this project there have been no problems due to this. This project has a digestive auto-relational artistic quality. By sticking to the stories of the participants a binding factor for the source group is found and local knowledge has to be used. This thus helps breaking the individual and associational barrier, but makes it harder for institutions to work on this together. The institutional barrier is thus strengthened. The participant group is thus inspired and mobilized, but there are improvements possible in valuing and further developing. The societal impact of this project is relatively small. This is also not an important aim for the source group.

11.1.2 Welkom Thuis

This project is a group of people organized around a collapsible living room in the Tolbrug complex in Den Bosch. For this project very little capacities and resources are needed and these are all present in the source group. There is thus a balance in the Can do factor, which contributes to the inspiration of the participants. The leaders of this group feel responsible for the complex and the neighbourhood, the source group is homogenized but reaching out to the neighbourhood. The increase in social capital is thus mainly in bonding social capital. This forms the Like to factor. This contributes to inspiring and mobilizing the source group. The Enabled to factor consists of Typisch Den Bosch and artistic professionals that support the project. This project does not rely on these organisations much, is able to work out the most problems themselves and ask direct help questions to professionals when needed. The questions asked in this project have always been and still are very open. People can participate in the projects in a way that suits them. This is easy to comply with and forms the Asked to factor. The Responded to factor in this case has a high level of ownership, the leaders feel responsible and their ideas are central. They continuously ask input from the participants and work on their ideas. The combination of the Like to, Enabled to, Asked to and Responded to factors contribute to the mobilisation of this project. The Enabled to, Asked to and Responded to factors contribute to valuing and further development of this project. The individual barriers are low, the projects are devised by the participants and their local knowledge is thus directly part of the projects. Expert knowledge is used as contributing to the projects but has no decisive role. The associational barrier exists in this project. There are efforts to reach to other groups and individuals in the neighbourhood, but only small amounts of bridging social capital have been assembled. The institutional barriers have been struggled with outside the view of this project. Typisch Den Bosch and the other artistic professionals have to work with a range of different organisations to make their contribution work. The participants of this project have not noticed this. This project has auto-relational subversive quality. The auto-relational aspect contributes to breaking through the individual and associational barrier, but strengthens the institutional barrier. The subversive aspect of this project makes it fit easier with the aims of the organisations and thus contributes to breaking down the institutional barrier. For the source group it is more a challenge to work on the project, the subversive aspect thus contributes to the associational and institutional barriers. There are societal impacts of this project, this is in alliance with the aim of the citizen leaders of this project.

11.1.3 Verwonderstraat

The project Verwonderstraat is a creative solution to better the liveability of a street. There is a balance between the capacities and resources that are needed and the capacities that are present in

the participant group. There is thus a balance in the Can do factor, which contributes to the inspiration of the participants. This group feels responsible for their environment and want to change this positively. The source group is homogenized and different people from different groups are connected through this project. There is thus an increase of bridging social capital. The responsibility and bridging social capital form the Like to factor, which contributes to inspiring and mobilizing. The source group is supported by Typisch Den Bosch and social and artistic professionals who support the project and help them become self organising. This is the Enabled to factor. The question from Typisch Den Bosch was very open and thus easy to comply with; the neighbours were asked a more closed question to give them a more concrete project to participate on. The participants and their opinion were always central and still are in this project. The organisations and professionals only support when they are needed and asked. The participants thus have a high ownership over the project and their view is followed. This is the Responded to factor. The combination of the Like to, Enabled to, Asked to and Responded to factor determines the mobilisation of this project. The combination of the Enabled to Asked to and Responded to factor determine the valuing and further developing of this project. The individual barriers do not exist in this project. The participants and professionals work on the same local project where local knowledge and expert knowledge is combined. The associational barrier is overcome by working with different people from different groups with different backgrounds. In this way bridging social capital is accumulated. The institutional barriers have been struggled with outside the view of this project. Typisch Den Bosch and the other artistic professionals have to work with a range of different organisations to make their contribution work. The participants of this project do not notice this. This project has auto-relational subversive quality. The auto-relational aspect contributes to breaking through the individual and associational barrier, but strengthens the institutional barrier. The subversive aspect of this project makes it easier for organisations to fit this project with their general aims thus contributes to breaking down the institutional barrier. For the source group it is more a challenge to work on the project, the subversive aspect thus contributes to the associational and institutional barriers. This project contributes to the development of the wider community; this is in alliance with the aim of the participants of this project.

11.1.4 Masterchefs Hambaken

At core, Masterchefs Hambaken is a cooking course for seven women. They did not need skills or knowledge before the start and the project is subsidized via Typisch Den Bosch which means that only a small amount of financial contribution is asked. A large part of this project is aimed at developing the capacities of the source group. There is thus a balance in the Can do factor, which contributes to the inspiration of the participants. The participant group does not feel responsible for

the neighbourhood and no bridging social capital is accumulated. The contribution of the Like to factor is thus small. And this does not contribute much to the inspiration and mobilisation of the participants. The Enabled to factor consists of Typisch Den Bosch, the chef and the school where the cooking classes take place. They need all these organisations to be able to organise the cooking class. These organisations contribute the most to the mobilizing of the participants. The question of the Asked to factor that was asked from the participants was really open at the start, but now only acquaintances are asked to join the cooking course so the question now is relatively closed. This excludes participants who are not acquaintances and who do not want to cook but do want to contribute to the neighbourhood. In the Responded to factor much ownership over the project can be seen from the participants. It is their project and they decide, but they are constrained in their options by the guidance and support they need from the organisations and professionals. The Like to, Asked to, Enabled to and Responded to factor combined form the mobilisation of the participants. The mobilisation is weak and this is caused by weak filling in of the factors. The individual barriers constrain the inspiration of the participants. There is a gap between the professionals, being teachers, and the participants, who are the students. This constrains the inspiration of the participants. The associational barriers constrain the inspiration and mobilisation of the participants as no bridging social capital is accumulated. Typisch Den Bosch has to work with different organisations to make this project work, for instance to find a suitable location for the classes. This constrains the mobilisation, valuation and further development of the project. This project has a auto-relational digestive artistic quality. By sticking to the identity of the participants local knowledge is necessarily used. This thus helps breaking the individual and associational barrier, but makes it harder for institutions to work on this together. The institutional barrier is thus strengthened. The artistic quality thus helps inspiring and mobilizing the project but makes it harder to value and further develop Masterchefs Hambaken.

11.1.5 Het Geheugen van West

Het Geheugen van West is a website where stories of inhabitants of the western part of Amsterdam are collected. Financial resources are continuously needed to keep the website online and keep the project working. The writers need to be able to write in Dutch, but no additional capacities are necessary for the Can do factor of CLEAR. Investments are made in this factor by writing and interviewing workshops. This contributes to the inspiration of the participants. The participant group is relatively homogenized. They feel responsible for their neighbourhood to some extent, but it is more important for them to write down and publish their history and the history of their neighbours. This is why in the Like to factor increases in bonding social capital are seen but very little increases in bridging social capital. This constrains the inspiration and mobilisation. Het Geheugen

van West is supported by the Amsterdam Museum and professionals, which form the Enabled to factor. These organisations make this project possible, without them it would not exist. The question from the organisation, the Asked to factor is relatively open. Contributions are asked for the website on the topic of the history of the western parts of Amsterdam. The participants are able to determine the contents of this. The leaders of this project have a high level of ownership over the project, for the other participants this is less. They are depending on the leaders. There are no strict selection rules for the stories and photos, the participants thus directly influence the result. The leaders react to all problems that arise. The Responded to factor is thus positive in this case. The combination of the Like to, Enabled to, Asked to and Responded to factors contributes to the mobilisation in this case. The Enabled to, Asked to and Responded to factors contribute to valuing and further development of this project. The individual barriers exist in this case. There is a gap between experts and locals who both use different knowledge. The experts take on the role of the teachers in the workshops and the participants are the students here. This project works with a homogenous group and therefore the accumulation of social capital is mainly focused on bonding social capital. This strengthens the associational barrier, which constrains the inspiring and mobilizing for this case. For Het Geheugen van West there are struggles with other institutions that are needed to survive. The municipality stopped investing in this project and it is thus reliant on sponsors. This forms an institutional barrier, which constrains the mobilisation, valuing and further development of this project. Het Geheugen van West has a digestive auto-relational artistic quality. The identity of the participants is followed; the stories and photos depict this. This helps breaking through the individual and associational barrier, but makes it harder for institutions to work on this together. This strengthens the institutional barrier. The artistic quality of Het Geheugen van West thus helps inspiring and mobilizing the project but makes it harder to value and further develop the project.

11.1.6 Case comparison

The factors of CLEAR explain the contribution of different factors to the inspiration, mobilisation, valuing and further development of social artistic practices from the viewpoint of the participant. The cases have shown that the best inspiration, mobilisation, valuing and further development are reached when there is balance in all the factors. The (financial) resources and capacities needed should match the (financial) resources and capacities present in the source group. When there is no balance this can be solved by developing the capacities or hiring an expert. But this can cause conflicts or make the project exclusionary. Balance in the Like to factor makes people come together, when they feel responsible for the group at stake. The professional organisational structure enables the source group by giving them the support they need and at the same time

giving the group the ability to do as much as possible themselves. This should thus be balanced. This is also true for the Asked to factor. A challenging question makes the participants enthusiastic for ambitious goals, but the source group must feel that they are able to reach it, otherwise they become discouraged. The response to the participants achieves the best results if it is documented before the start of the project. It must be clear what the contribution is of the participant and this should be as much as possible. By giving the participants the responsibilities they can handle the ownership of the participants is high, which makes them motivated, value the project and able to develop it further in the way they want. In this way balance results in the best inspiration, mobilisation, valuing and further development of sustainable social artistic practices aimed at neighbourhood change.

The contribution of the professionals and organisations lies in the breaking through of the barriers that constrain the CLEAR factors from directly contributing to inspiration, mobilisation, valuing and further developing the projects. The artistic quality could further constrain the barriers or help breaking through them. Auto-relational digestive projects help breaking through the individual barrier as in these projects local knowledge is always combined with expert knowledge. It also helps breaking through the associational barrier as (professional) individuals are needed from inside and outside the neighbourhood. The institutional barrier is strengthened in these cases as it is harder for institutions to align these projects with their own general aims. The inspiration and mobilisation are improved by this artistic quality while the mobilisation, valuing and further development are constrained. Auto-relational subversive projects help break through the individual and associational barriers with the auto-relational aspect and help break through the institutional barrier with the subversive aspect. In this way the inspiration, mobilisation, valuing and further development are improved.

From the theory of asset based community development the goal of these projects is to make groups and individuals more able to take care of themselves and each other. Bonding social capital contributes to this, but bridging social capital can make more changes for both the individuals and the wider society. This is confirmed by the cases. When bridging social capital is accumulated, for instance in the case the Verwonderstraat, the social gains are larger and make the biggest change for the street and their environment. Cases with a subversive artistic quality have more impact on society. The impact of digestive projects remains focussed on the personal development of the participants. This is no problem for cases that do not want to make this larger change, but could become problematic if they do aim for this.

11.1.2 Consequences from the feministic philosophical approach

In this thesis the feminist philosophical view has been developed to a feminist approach to asset based community development. This approach focuses on marginalisation and making participation bottom-up. The question here is who participates and who benefits from the social-artistic practices aimed at neighbourhood development.

Four of the five cases investigated work with homogenized groups. This means that only one group in a local society has the chance to contribute and also only one group benefits most. Only the project Verwonderstraat works with a heterogeneous group. This is not only more in accordance with the feminist approach to asset based community development, but also results in a bigger increase in social capital. This is related to the embedment of the practices in the wider community. The embedding differs between the projects. Projects that have better embedding in the wider community have more influence on neighbourhood change as more individuals and groups are affected. This success contributes to the sustainability of the project.

Social artistic practices use the input of the participant group. Having a homogenized group also means that the life stories and experiences that form the input for the project are also unilateral. A heterogeneous group is thus not only beneficiary for the neighbourhood development, but also for the quality of the project itself.

These projects all work with active citizens, the less active or marginalized are not taken into account. The project relies heavily on the citizens and dedication from their side is necessary to make the projects a success and sustainable. The projects are made as open and accessible as possible for people to participate, nevertheless more active citizens are participate sooner and contribute more, which means that they also benefit most.

There are also gender differences in social-artistic practices aimed at neighbourhood change. Men and women do not differ in capacities, but in how they use them. In Malberg op de Planken men were the minority, but they took on most of the board jobs. In the project Welkom Thuis, women take on the caring part of the project, while men work on the more practical sides. In the project Het Geheugen van West the women tend to engage more in the interviewing and recording the life stories of others, while men stick to their own stories. In the cases Verwonderstraat en Masterchefs Hambaken no gender differences were found. For Masterchefs Hambaken this caused by the fact that all participants are female.

Enabling both men and women to take on all jobs further contributes to inspiring, mobilizing, valuing and further developing social artistic practices.

11.2 Recommendations

The recommendations paragraph is divided in two parts. First there will be recommendations for the desired design for social-artistic practices aimed at neighbourhood change, second there will be attention given to further research.

Participants need to feel engaged in the community and the project should invest in increasing this. When people are engaged they feel responsible for their community which makes them willing to start and keep participating. It is thus recommended to start with a participant group that are engaged in the community and invest in increasing this. To be able to do participate capacities are necessary. Projects that start with little capacities necessary to participate, but invest in developing these give people the opportunity to start participating and give them incentives to do so. This is thus recommended for social-artistic practices aimed at neighbourhood change. As money is always necessary the project group needs savings or the ability to apply for grants. Savings are easier as they cannot be denied but the ability to apply for grants give the participant group the opportunity to stay financially viable in the future. Making the participant group as self-organising as possible makes them feel that their involvement makes a change. Combined with the power to make decisions this makes the participant group have strong ownership over the project. Strong ownership or a high level of participation also leads to feelings of responsibility which makes people willing to start and keep participating. It is thus recommended to start with a high level of participation and strong ownership on the side of the participants. This can be done by letting the participants make most of the decisions and not impose an opinion on them but only show the possibilities.

In the researched cases one or a small number of people took on the leadership function. These leaders are people with good communication skills who can enthuse the source group and handle the contact with the organisations. They are the most important individuals in the source group. The researched social artistic practices started and continue with their ideas and motivations. It is therefore of importance that the goal of these individuals corresponds with the goal of the supporting organisations. The supporting organisations in the cases of this thesis aimed at neighbourhood change. The most effects on the neighbourhood are reached with a subversive quality. The leaders in the source group have to support these goals and make them the main goals of the project. Otherwise the benefits of a project will stay at one group and the wider neighbourhood will not be reached. When searching for a start of a new project it is thus recommended to search for individuals capable of enthusing a heterogeneous group, connecting with organisations and who support the same neighbourhood based goals and the subversive quality of the art in the project.

All the projects were based on a small amount of people of the neighbourhood. The binding with the whole neighbourhood was only achieved in Malberg op de Planken. The other projects stay with their participants. The most bounded project is Masterchefs Hambaken. Projects that work on a smaller scale need fewer investments in time and money. They are easier to start and continue than projects that work on a large scale. But more binding with the community is possible for (almost) all projects. In this way the whole community can benefit more and the current participants enlarge their networks of relations, which causes an increase in social capital. It is thus recommended to start with a small scale but integrate the project in the wider community, for instance by making them the public.

Gender differences can cause blockages for the realisation of sustainable social artistic practices. When women stay behind in the fulfilling of tasks their potential is not used to the fullest extent. It is thus recommended to make both men and women able to take on all the jobs. This ensures that if a person stops participating another is able to take over his or her tasks and the project can continue.

In addition to the recommendations for the design of sustainable social artistic practices, there are also a number of recommendations for further research that have emerged from this thesis. First, social artistic practices aimed at neighbourhood change with citizens in the initiating role have not been researched much yet. These practices are upcoming and growing in the Netherlands. The cases that were researched have reached a level of sustainability of multiple years, ranging from 10 to 3 years of existence, but this is still all medium term. There were no practices found with a long term sustainability of over ten years. In the future this will become possible and necessary research. Secondly, this research was qualitative and thus can only make conclusions about the circumstances of these cases. More research is necessary in other cases to validate the results of this thesis. The focus of this thesis lies on the perspective of the participants, which logically followed from the feminist geographical view and the asset based approach to community development which are both bottom-up approaches. For further researches it is important to focus on the organisations and municipalities and how these can contribute to the sustainability and self organisation of social-artistic practices. In this way a more complete image of social artistic practices aimed at neighbourhood development with participants in the initiating role is reached.

This chapter formed the conclusions and recommendations of this thesis. The next chapter will be a critical reflection on the course of the investigation of this research and the methodological issues.

12. Reflection

Every research has its limits. In this chapter a critical reflection on the course of the investigation and on the methodological issues raised in chapter four are presented.

12.1 Course of the investigation

Passionate respondents made the interviews easy. They were very open and able and willing to answer all my questions. Also the organisations gave me the time I needed, were open and gave me an impression of their work. This research started with the expectation to research six cases. The sixth selected case Nisa For Nisa, an independent women's organisation, did not have the time to receive me as researcher in the time that I had for the data collection. There were no other projects in Amsterdam West or Nieuw-West that have a high level of sustainability and self organisation. Also the five cases had many differences. There was sufficient richness in cases to draw conclusions.

12.2 Methodological issues

There are some critiques on this research that relate to the methodological issues mentioned in chapter four. The reliability, validity and generalizability of this research will be assessed.

The reliability of this research is made as high as possible by making all steps of analysis transparent. On the CD that is added to this thesis all data is gathered and in the methodological chapter all the analysis is explained. It is thus made as easy as possible to repeat this research and attain the same conclusions.

The internal validity of this research is has been guaranteed by data triangulation. For all the cases documents were available and interviews were conducted. Also member checking occurred as the respondents all received the first version of this thesis and were invited to give their opinion on this. In this way the conclusions and findings of this thesis are verified by the people of the projects that form the basis of this thesis. Not all the respondents were able to read the English text and therefore only responded to the Dutch summary that was sent to them. A critical point in relation to the internal validity of this thesis is the number of respondents. Not for all the projects more participants were able and willing to participate. For the project Welkom Thuis, Masterchefs Hambaken and Verwonderstraat the main results of the interview with one respondent were discussed and adjusted with other participants of the project. This was not possible for the project Het Geheugen van West which means that the information for this project was supplied by one person, but this was supplemented with information from the website and other documents.

Generalizability or external validity of qualitative research is always problematic. The conclusions of this research are based on a small amount of cases and only for these cases the validity is ensured. The value of this research is the description of the theme in the context of specific sites. It is not a goal of this research to be able to generalize these findings directly to other cases. Qualitative cases studies can be generalized in more broad theories. This is done by using the replication logic. When cases were added the analysis was done in the same way and findings from the former case were laid over the next case which made generalizeability for these cases possible.

In this thesis contributions to the sustainability of projects are identified, but no causal relations can be identified. Only the fact that a factor contributes or not can be ascertained, the extent to which a factor contributes cannot be determined.

The open situation and willingness of the participants to answer my questions combined with the embedding of the gender questions in a section with other differentiating question lead to honest, non-political desired answers. Politically desired answers however can never be completely ruled out.

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Appendix: Dutch interview guide

Basisgegevens

Leeftijd

Geslacht

Hoogst voltooide opleiding

Etniciteit

Start van het project

- Hoe bent u bekend geraakt met dit project?
- Wanneer heeft u voor het eerst deelgenomen aan dit project?
 - Gevraagd of uit zichzelf?
 - Welke inzet/motivatie werd er gevraagd (maatschappelijke of persoonlijke ontwikkeling)
 - Zijn er stimulansen gegeven (welke?)
- Wat was de belangrijkste reden om deel te nemen aan dit project?
 - Voelt u zich verantwoordelijk voor de wijk?
 - Is er sprake van persoonlijke ontwikkeling in dit project?
 - Is er sprake van een groepsgevoel?
- Is dit veranderd door de tijd of hetzelfde gebleven?

Doelen van het project

- Wat was het doel van dit project bij de start?
- Was cultuur hier middel of doel?
- Zijn er ook doelen opgesteld met betrekking tot:
 - Sociale cohesie
 - Publieke beeldvorming
 - Fysieke leefbaarheid
 - Persoonlijke ontwikkeling
- Zijn de doelen van dit project veranderd door de tijd of hetzelfde gebleven?
- Welke impact heeft het project gehad op deze effectgebieden?
 - Sociale cohesie (zijn er individuen/groepen/wijk meer in contact gekomen? Welke? Hoe?)
 - Publieke beeldvorming (Is het beeld van individuen/groepen/wijk veranderd? Voor wie? Hoe?)
 - Fysieke leefbaarheid (Zijn er fysieke veranderingen in voor individuen/groepen/wijk? Welke? Voor wie? Hoe?)
 - Persoonlijke ontwikkeling (Zijn de individuele/groeps/wijk capaciteiten verbeterd? Hoe van wie?)

Ontwikkeling in de sociale arena

Bij de start van dit project is er ondersteuning geweest vanuit verschillende organisaties en professionals.

- Welke maatschappelijke/sociale organisaties en professionals waren dit?
- Welke creatieve/culturele organisaties waren dit?
- Wat was hun rol en verantwoordelijkheid?
- Wat was uw rol als deelnemer? (Consumptief, uitvoerend, organisatorisch, leidinggevend of beslissend)
- In welke mate heeft u invloed op het eindproduct van dit project?
- Wie was verantwoordelijk voor de kwaliteit van het eindresultaat?
- Hoe werden de meningen van u afgewogen tegen de adviezen van de professionals (zoals de regisseur) met name wanneer zij afwijken? Zijn hier procedures voor opgenomen?

- Welke maatschappelijke en artistieke organisaties en professionals zijn er nu bij het project betrokken?
- Wat is hun rol en verantwoordelijkheid?
- Wat is uw rol als deelnemer? (Consumptief, uitvoerend, organisatorisch, leidinggevend of beslissend)
- Wie is verantwoordelijk voor de kwaliteit van het eindresultaat?
- Hoe worden de meningen van u afgewogen tegen de adviezen van de professionals (zoals de regisseur) met name wanneer zij afwijken? Zijn hier procedures voor opgenomen?

Capaciteiten ontwikkeling

- Had u bij de start genoeg capaciteiten om deel te nemen?
 - Voldoende kennis van de Nederlandse taal?
 - Kennis over toneelspelen?
 - Vertrouwen om deze in te zetten?
- Zijn deze capaciteiten verder ontwikkeld tijdens dit project (wat heeft u bijgeleerd)?

Uw rol als deelnemer is veranderd, u hebt taken van organisaties overgenomen. Hier is kennis voor nodig.

- Welke taken van welke organisaties heeft u overgenomen?
- Hoe heeft de kennisoverdracht plaatsgevonden?

- Verricht u nu een speciale functie bij dit project? (welke?)
- Welke extra vaardigheden zijn daarvoor nodig?
- Had u deze al bij de start van dit project of zijn deze geleerd tijdens het project? (Door wie en Hoe?)

- Welke rol speelt leeftijd, etniciteit, opleidingsniveau, sociaal-economisch niveau en geslacht in uw functioneren?
- Met andere woorden welke verschillen zou het opleveren als een jong/oud, Nederlands/allochtoon, hoog/laag opgeleid, rijk/arm of mannelijk/vrouwelijk persoon uw functie zou overnemen of als u deze eigenschappen zou hebben?

Extra vragen voor leidinggevenden/initiatiefnemers

- Hoeveel deelnemers heeft dit project?
- Waar komen deze deelnemers vandaan?

- Hoe wordt er gezorgd voor voldoende financiële middelen?
- Is er ondersteuning vanuit de gemeente?
 - Financieel
 - Ondersteuning vanuit personeel
 - Gebruik van gemeentelijke faciliteiten
 - Toegang tot andere gemeentelijke resources
 - Toegang tot besluitnemers
- Wat zijn de grootste zwakheden van deze organisatie en de gemeenschapssector in de wijk?