Working for the people

Research into resident participation in urban restructuring for Bijlmer-Oost,

a case study of G-buurt Noord

Jongsma, E.D.

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Nijmegen School of Management

Radboud University

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Summary

Against a background of large-scale regenerations of the built environment, the municipality of Amsterdam is attempting to increase the participative democracy in planning. In some neighbourhoods this goes rather easy, in others civil servants and residents are struggling in how to shape these participation processes. This thesis for the specialisation of *Strategic Spatial Planning* tries to answer the question "*How are local residents participating in the planning processes related to urban restructuring of Bijlmer-Oost and what could improve according to civil servants and residents?*". The research focussed on the case of G-buurt Noord, in connection to the future E-buurt Oost in Amsterdam Zuidoost. The aim of the research was to find out in which ways the residents and civil servants work together in participation and what the main bottlenecks in these processes are. Through qualitative analysis of brief desk research and 15 in-depth semi-structured interviews, an analysis was done on the ways in which the theories of participatory planning, community building and intercultural planning are applicable in the case study. The programme Atlas.TI was used for the open and axial coding of the transcribed interviews. The data was analysed using the conceptual framework whilst answering the sub questions. The main conclusion of the research is that solutions on friction in participation in urban restructuring processes should be sought in increasing the cultural literacy of civil servants and encouraging asset-based community development. The cultural literacy is to be connected to a growing awareness and understanding of cultural diversity. Getting to know the world of the residents could help improve the relationship between the civil servants and the residents. By building a broader community and having an intercultural approach to policy making, resident participation in urban restructuring can take place, instead of the current processes of consultation through a needs-based approach to community building. The main limitation of this research is found in the selection of the residents, which was done through contacts at the municipality, reaching only residents already in contact with the municipality. The most important research, and in some sense practical, implication of the research is therefore to find the residents with which the civil servants do not have contact yet, to find the stille Amsterdammer.

Preface

Dear reader,

In front of you lies the master thesis titled "Working for the people". This thesis is the final project for the master's degree of Strategic Spatial Planning at Nijmegen School of Management, part of Radboud University Nijmegen. After obtaining my master's degree in Public Administration, I wanted to deepen my knowledge in the construction of the built environment, which led to my choice to start a second master in Spatial Planning. The research for the master thesis was conducted for the Municipality of Amsterdam, during a 5.5-month internship in which I got to know the organisation and the municipality better. For this opportunity I am grateful. Whilst sometimes proven challenging, the research was conducted to my own satisfaction and eventually I was able to answer the research question.

Writing a thesis is never done alone, and I am grateful for the help I received from many different people in this process. First and foremost, I want to thank the respondents of my interviews, without you no thesis could have been written and speaking to you gave different and more insights than expected beforehand. I would also like to thank my colleagues of city district Zuidoost for allowing me to take a look into their organisation and welcoming me with open arms. The ways in which I was taken along in processes improved my understanding of working at a municipal organisation. Next to this, I would greatly like to thank my fellow students, friends and family for listening to me time and again during the processes leading towards the completion of the thesis and giving me advise when necessary or distracting me when need be. A special thanks goes out to my sisters for proof-reading the final version of my thesis. My gratitude also goes to Dr. F. Wassenberg for giving me feedback on my draft version and helping me out greatly with getting to know the history of the Bijlmer better. I also want to thank my internship supervisor, F. Vlietman, for welcoming me in the municipality with ever-great enthusiasm for democratisation and providing me with a place to conduct my research. Finally, I want to thank my thesis supervisor, Dr. P. Beckers, who knew how to redirect my thoughts to the core assignment at hand and deepen my interest and enthusiasm for cultural diversity in spatial planning.

I hope you enjoy the read!

Eva Jongsma

Nijmegen, August 17, 2019

Contents

1. Introduction

From participating in social events in the neighbourhood to going to public citizens' platforms, resident participation is a growing concern of local governments in the Netherlands. This goes beyond window-dressing: mayors and city councils do not only appear to take the feelings and experiences of their residents into consideration, they are actively working on doing so (Paardekam, 2019; Plekkenpol & Simmelink, 2019; Puttens Weekblad, 2019). The struggle in this ambition lies in shaping the participation process. For decades, there have been official options for residents to voice concerns and call attention to problems and opportunities in neighbourhoods. Civil servants at city district Zuidoost said that the people participating are the people who are willing and feel able to and are aware of the procedures of the municipality. The major problem for the municipality of Amsterdam lies in reaching those who are harder to reach or (seem) unreachable for the civil servants. Language differences have consistently shown to be a barrier, but also cultural differences and feelings of not making a difference supposedly keep people from participating. Next to this, residents may foster resentment towards government institutions or have personal problems and cannot be bothered with also participating in solving bigger issues. It is also possible that people just "don't care" about what is going on in their direct living environment. For feelings of belonging in a neighbourhood and community building, it is essential that residents bond and participate in the planning processes. Zuidoost is a city district trying to reform its participation processes, this also the case for Bijlmer-Oost, part of the city district. These participation processes are on a social level, participating on for example struggles around safety and littering. These participation processes are also on the more physical level, handling the restructuring of some parts of the built environment and public space. Before going more into depth on the participation processes, a short context of the area of research is needed.

Amsterdam has always profiled itself as a tolerant, inclusive and diverse city. The city has been a refuge ever since the 17th century and halfway through the last century became a real migration city (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.d). This shows in numbers: Amsterdam has 206 different migration backgrounds[1] in 2019 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019a), with 84 per cent holding Dutch nationality in 2018 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018c). Specifically, Bijlmer-Oost has a large share of non-Western inhabitants at 68.1 per cent (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018d), and has a percentage of 38.8 of low-income households (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018e). In the second quarter of 2019, it was the case for the Netherlands that people with a non-Western migration background have a lower *highest level of education achieved* (Dutch: hoogst behaalde onderwijsniveau) compared to people with a Dutch background or a Western migration background (Centraal Bureau voor de

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[1] A person has a migration background when the person themselves or either of their parents was born outside of the Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2016)

Statistiek, 2019). The large share of non-Western inhabitants and low-income households has not only created a stigma for the Bijlmer, but influenced life chances for its inhabitants. Struggles with segregation are not just an issue for Amsterdam. Globally, examples in Bradford (United Kingdom) and Toronto (Canada) show similar struggles. Large race riots in Bradford in 2001 were according to Ted Cantle (British Broadcasting Company, 2011) caused by a "lack of integration in communities and schools" and these riots showing the racial segregation in this city. According to Contenta (2018), Toronto is also a "strikingly segregated city, with visible minorities concentrated in low-income neighbourhoods and white residents dominating affluent areas in numbers far higher than their share of the population". The previous statistics of Bijlmer-Oost stand out compared to the city-wide percentages and mixed with its continuing social problems, the city district continues to need attention for its concentration of problems.

The Bijlmermeer, mainly known as the Bijlmer, was newly built in the 1960's and imagined as a place for large numbers of people to live together within an abundance of green space. After World War II, there was a housing shortage and due to new construction techniques, high-rise building could be built quickly (Wassenberg, 2013). The Bijlmer was meant for people in low- and middle-income groups and the city centre of Amsterdam was easily reachable by car, bike and public transport (Bolte & Meijer, 1981, 246-47). All the dwellings were social-rent and rent allowances were planned to be implemented, making it more affordable to live there. Consequently, living in the Bijlmer was made accessible to people with a lower economic status and labour migrants coming to the Netherlands. Social functions (schools, day care) were present, though economical and recreational functions had to be sought elsewhere (van der Maesen, 1970, p. 14). Construction started on December 13th, 1966 (Kuiper, 2016) and the municipality was optimistic, however the district never developed as hoped (Kuiper, 2016; Truijens, 2017). The idealistic ideas underlying the construction of the Bijlmer did not plan out and it developed to be an expensive eyesore for the municipality. White Dutch people often did not want to live in the district since many immigrants lived there, criminality rates were high, and the liveability was low. In October 4th, 1992 a Boeing crashed through flats Groeneveen and Kruitberg, strengthening the sentiment that this city district and its inhabitants needed extra attention.

Whilst large restructurings of neighbourhoods are taking place with participation of residents in the planning processes, along with the city districts aims (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018e[2]), resident participation in Bijlmer-Oost is not where the municipality and resident want it to be. For example, attempts in the K-buurt have led to a public uprising of residents against the local government in which they demanded a do-over of the participation process. The municipality had

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[2] Internal memo of team Zuidoost/Ouder-Amstel, not available outside the organisation

plans for the public square in their neighbourhood, but this was against what the residents wanted for that square (AT5, 2018). The municipality is keen on succeeding in the co-creation of projects together with residents but are struggling to think of ways to do this. New initiatives with neighbourhood budgets getting directly to the residents are being prototyped and tested, but it is all still in its infancy.

To contribute to finding ways to improve participation processes for the municipality, the main research question for this thesis research is formulated as:

> *How are local residents participating in the planning processes related to urban restructuring of Bijlmer-Oost and what could improve according to civil servants and residents?*

1.1 Societal relevance

The Bijlmer houses a mostly low-income population and social and economic problems continue to be present. Social problems are throughout this thesis seen as problems concerning criminality, safety, and feelings of safety. A lack of social cohesion is seen as a social problem, since this means a disconnection between residents personally and their built environment. Economic problems are visible in the high rates of unemployment and people living of government benefits. Through processes of resident participation, the municipality tries to involve the residents of the Bijlmer in their planning processes regarding urban regeneration, but they are struggling to reach all residents, especially harder-to-reach groups, for example the youths or people who are illiterate. Civil servants aim to incorporate residents' preferences into their planning, whilst deciding on at times competing priorities from city-wide initiatives. According to colleagues at the city district, the residents of the Bijlmer are often focussed on surviving and less inclined to participate, since they have enough troubles of their own to be concerned with. However, efforts in for example the K-buurt and G-buurt show that residents do have specific wishes and are willing to participate and take initiative. The municipality wants to increase involvement of residents but are concerned that traditional ways of participation might not suffice. Through detailing perceptions of civil servants and residents, this research attempts to find the mismatch between the method of the municipality and the wishes of the residents of Bijlmer-Oost. The civil servants are trying to get closer to the wishes of the residents, without letting go of their own administrative assignment and are struggling with keeping everyone satisfied. Increasing participative democracy would mean giving more power to the residents, and this is now done in some small-scale projects. Having the expertise on urban regeneration and planning, the municipality drafts the urban plans, after which they consult the residents on their opinions. As is elaborated on in the literature discussion in chapter 2,

consultation is just one way of participation. By describing improvements and giving implications for policy and action, this thesis aims to show what contributes to the improvements in participation processes regarding urban regeneration.

1.2 Scientific relevance

As Permentier, Kullberg and van Noije (2013) stress in their evaluation report for the Social and Cultural Planning Office (Dutch: *Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau*), the interventions by the government in Vogelaar's problematic city districts approach of 2007 were successful in some respects and less in others. The Bijlmer in general was seen as one of the problematic city districts. In the realm of participation, the difficult or impossible to reach residents were still not reached through the approach. Also, many residents did not want to be reached (Permentier et al., 2013, p. 20), which might also be the case for the G-buurt Noord. There are many different steps in citizen participation, as Arnstein's (1969) ladder shows (see chapter 2), showing that there is not one way of participation, but different ways of shaping it. Also, in chapter 2, the difference between a needs-based and asset-based community development approach is explained in more detail (Nel, 2018). According to the latter, a sufficiently working community only forms when it is built on the strengths of the participants, and the residents are empowered in their willingness to make a change. Resident participation in urban restructuring often still lies in the more needs-based approach, where the municipality funds people in need, only asking for participation in planning based on consultations (Hall & Hickman, 2011), when for example upgrading buildings. Taking such an approach to resident participation does not truly empower residents or give them the feeling their opinion matters, reflecting its' low position on Arnstein's (1969) ladder. In this thesis, the theory on participatory planning and community building is combined with theory on an intercultural approach to policymaking and participation, through the case study of the G-buurt Noord. Improving cultural literacy in civil servants is seen as the corner stone of change. Here, the theory of interculturality by Wood and Landry is used as the underlying theory. When the municipality would be more culturally literate, aware of diversity in the population and open to less traditional ways of participation more improvement might be made possible.

1.3 Aims and questions

The aim of this thesis was to detail how the city district Zuidoost allows residents to participate in the planning processes on the restructuring of their living environment. Along with this aim came the curiosity to find out what the bottlenecks are in these processes, looking to improve the process in general. The aim was reached through action research into a case study, whilst doing an internship at the team of Amsterdam Zuidoost. This internship was done at team *Democratisering*

(democratisation), working most directly with colleagues from the *Projectmanagementbureau* (Bureau for project management). The focus of the internship was to participate as a team member to experience how the municipality puts their ideas of participation into action and use the contacts to find respondents for interviews.

To answer the main research question, the following sub questions are to be answered first:

1. What is the urban policy and planning regarding restructuring of Bijlmer-Oost?
2. What is the city district's approach towards resident participation for residents in its urban restructuring planning processes?
3. What are the perspectives of residents on their current participation in the urban restructuring planning processes?
4. What wishes do the civil servants and residents have for future participation processes in urban restructuring?

The research conducted to answer the research question and the sub questions was a short content analysis of policy documents and data, together with an analysis of data gathered during in-depth interviews with civil servants, residents and other stakeholders. With the combination of these two methods, a context was sketched, and the case of the G-buurt Noord was illustrated.

1.4 Outline

This thesis is divided into seven chapters, this introductory chapter being chapter one. In the second chapter the different theoretical notions are explained, elaborated and linked to the case at hand. In chapter 3, the methodology of the conducted research is explained and chapter 4 elaborates on the context of the research. Chapter 5 discusses the results of the analyses done and answers the sub questions. Chapter 6, conclusions and discussion, provides the answer to the main research question and reflects on the research and its implications.

2. Literature discussion

This chapter details the thesis' theoretical framework, starting with relevant literature on urban restructuring in general, followed by a general account on participatory planning. In section 2.3, the theory of intercultural planning is elaborated on and in section 2.4, the three different strands of literature are brought together in the conceptual framework.

2.1 Urban restructuring

There is a growing need for urban restructuring to house the increasing number of people moving to larger cities to work and live. Cities are facing the difficult task of housing increasing amounts of people with decreasing amounts of available space. New housing must be built sustainably, in line with current building regulations, a sufficient number of affordable homes has to be provided, and different stakeholders' opinions are to be taken into account. Inner cities are home to most resources and employment opportunities and therefore in demand to live in and more expensive when it comes to housing. Residents with a lower socio-economic status are less likely to be able to afford a house in inner cities and are often restricted to the suburbs, where housing is generally more affordable. Knox and Marston (2014) illustrate that the central business district, in the city centre, "usually is surrounded by a zone of mixed land uses [...] Beyond this zone are residential neighbourhoods, suburbs of various ages and different social and ethnic composition. Just as different categories of land use attract and repel one another, so do different social and ethnic groups" (p. 415). This means that there is segregation on income level, but also often ethnicity (Castles & Miller, 2003, 209). As shown in chapter one, people with a non-Western migration background generally have lower academic levels than Western migrants or Dutch people and therefore have lower income levels. As Richard Florida put it in his book *The New Urban Crisis* in 2017, "race continues to play a substantial role, alongside class, in how people and neighbourhoods are divided. [...] Ironically – and troublingly – cities and metropolitan areas can be both more diverse and more segregated at the same time" (p. 128).

The Dutch context

Urban restructuring happens when there could be a more efficient way of using the land available and the municipality is willing to support this. However, different people have different ideas on what *good* urban restructuring is for different neighbourhoods. For example, big social housing corporations might want to build more single-family homes whilst private investors might intend on building a new business park. The role of the municipal government in this is to adjudicate in

these competing plans by designing an overall spatial plan and allocating building permits accordingly.

As shortly illustrated in section 1.2, in 2007, the Minister of *Wonen, Wijken en Integratie* (living and integration), Ella Vogelaar, appointed forty city districts as being problematic in the sense that there was an abundance of social, economic and physical problems. In the years following, there was a multitude of investments into improving these districts, one of the districts being the Bijlmer. However, the financial crisis, starting in 2008, "affected many European and North America cities in terms of growing unemployment levels and rising poverty in concentrated areas" (Zwiers, Bolt, van Ham & van Kempen, 2016). Not only did poverty rise, due to the global financial crisis, austerity measures were implemented by the Dutch national government. Because of these austerity measures, the Cabinet of Rutte I (2010-2012) shut down the funding for the district approach (Kleinhans, 2012). This meant that ongoing processes faced a complete funding shortfall, with many shut down, including processes of building restructuring. Zwiers et al. (2016) emphasize that the financial crisis had led to more inequality in income and housing and are concerned with "increased social segregation, increased spatial concentration of low-income groups, and negative neighborhood effects" (p. 3).

Urban restructuring in Bijlmer-Oost

There is a large share of social housing in Bijlmer-Oost, also in the case at hand, G-buurt Noord. This type of housing gives a home to people whom are not earning enough money to rent privately and need government funding. In Bijlmer-Oost, large restructurings were happening to make it a more lively, liveable and integral part of the city, whilst not pricing out current inhabitants. The financial crisis put a hold on the plans, but budgets are recovering since the economy is growing again and more funds are available. The damage might already have been done though: physical conditions have already worsened, and the liveability is low. In 2017, the municipality of Amsterdam appointed 32 "development neighbourhoods" (NL: *ontwikkelbuurten*) requiring more attention and budget for their regeneration. Here the municipality works together with resident platforms and housing associations to create a safer and more liveable city (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.b). Councillor Ivens of the Socialist Party (SP) is pushing for a different division of newly built housing in terms of social, mid-cost and high cost to fly with developments in the existing housing stock and population composition (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.b.d). The new division would be 40 per cent social rent, 40 per cent mid-cost rental or owner-occupied housing and 20 per cent high-cost rental or owner-occupied housing. When proposed building programmes differ from this, they must be providing evidence how still serves the needs of citizens. This can for instance be decided when this follows from meetings with residents.

2.2 Participatory planning

As most of the work of the Dutch government has been decentralised, resident participation happens at the local level (Rijksoverheid, n.d.a). *Participatory planning* is therefore increasingly important in the works of municipalities. The first relevant question is, however, what *is* participation? In Dutch society, participation is often seen as participation in society itself. This means having a job, being socially active and in general being a contribution to the *participation society* (Dutch: participatiesamenleving). This term was used by King Willem-Alexander in his yearly speech where he stated that "Those who can are asked to take responsibility for his or her own life"[3] (NOS, 2013). Another term used for participation society is the *do-democracy* and even though this comes across as accessible, many feel this utopian idea is only for the better-off citizens (de Vries & Oostveen, 2017). Hall and Hickman (2011) define two types of citizen participation. The first is defined as "action", being "citizen participation in the social life of a neighbourhood through, for example, cultural and leisure activities, but also collective efforts to improve the quality of life such as neighbourhood management" (Hall & Hickman, 2011, p. 828). In the context of this research, this type of participation is less relevant, since there is a focus on the second type of citizen participation, "decision", defined as "the group of actions organised and financed with the goal of linking the persons most directly affected to the conception of realisation of a complex project" (2011, p. 828). This is the definition from the government side of the spectrum, the resident's side is found in Wilson's (1963) definition: "not just a passive acceptance of what is being done, but the active utilization of local leadership and organisation which can profitably assist in the community's efforts" (p. 243).

Throughout this thesis, resident participation is seen as the combination of Hall and Hickman's (2011) definition of decision and Wilson's definition of citizen participation: active local leadership of residents, combined with an attitude of local government that allows, supports and facilitates this. Where academics and civil servants often use the word *citizen* (Dutch: burger), the term *resident* (Dutch: *bewoner*) is used throughout this thesis. The reasoning behind this is that the term citizen displays the classic citizen-government opposition or contrast, which for many people has a negative connotation. The term resident is more neutral and emphasizes that the planning is about the people who live in that specific place, have generally have a connection with it and are not Dutch or Amsterdam citizens in general. As most research uses citizen participation instead of resident participation, the term is still used in the rest of the literature discussion.

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3 Dutch: "Van iedereen die dat kan, wordt gevraagd verantwoordelijkheid te nemen voor zijn of haar eigen leven"

2.2.1 A ladder of citizen participation

In 1969, Sherry Arnstein introduced the *ladder of citizen participation* (see figure 1), signalling eight levels of citizen participation going from manipulation by the government to citizen control. She states that citizen participation is "a categorical term for citizen power" (p. 216), as it is one of the steps on the ladder upwards.
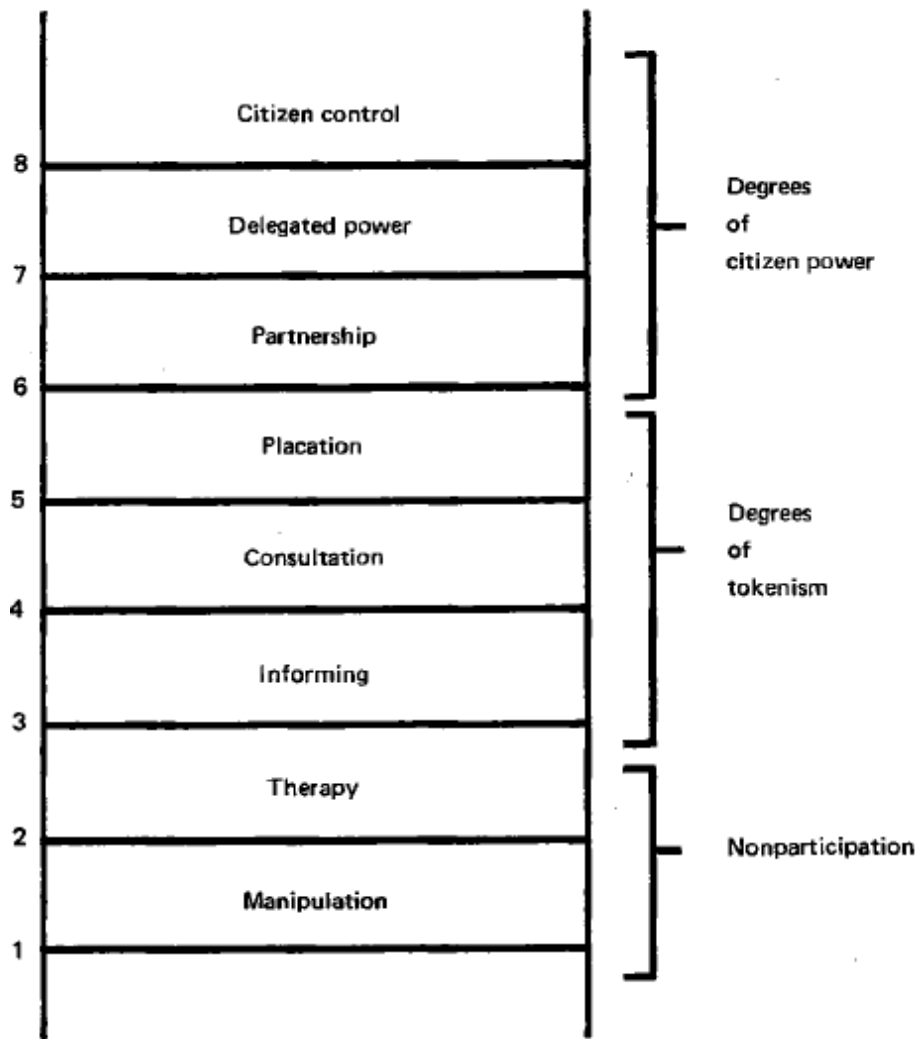
Figure 1. Eight Rungs on a Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein, 1969, p.217)

Though Arnstein's typology is half a century old, its theoretical underpinnings on citizen control are still relevant in the case at hand. The different steps on the ladder, or levels, of citizen participation indicate a different degree of power by *the people* instead of government agencies. The municipality of Amsterdam is trying to reach participation, by giving more power to the citizens, but have not found the way to do this yet. The first step on the ladder is manipulation, here "people are placed on rubberstamp advisory committees or advisory boards for the express purpose of "educating" them or engineering their support" (Arnstein, 1969, p. 218). However, this is just a façade by the government behind which they decide everything for themselves. The eight step on the ladder is

citizen control, where "people are simply demanding that degree of power (or control) which guarantees that participants or residents can govern a program or an institution, be in full charge of policy an managerial aspects, and be able to negotiate the conditions under which "outsiders" may change them" (Arnstein, 1969, p. 223). Whereas on the first step the power is with the government, on the eight step the power is with the citizens. These eight steps are divided into three stages: the first two steps together can be considered "non-participation", the third, fourth, and fifth together "degrees of tokenism" and the last three together "degrees of citizen power". Only in this last stage citizen power dominates, in the first two it is still about what the government wants. Though the ladder is seen by a wide pool of academics and civil servants as out-dated, the two different sides of the spectrum show the contradistinction that different groups of people, for example government employees and local citizens, experience participation differently.

The ladder in later years

Arnstein's ladder (1969) has since its publication been used and adapted. In his research, Nick Tyler (2003) differentiates between public *consultation* and public *participation*. With the former he means "a process in which members of the public are asked for their opinions and comments on a proposal [...] during the course of the process by which a decision is made about whether or not the proposed development should be allowed to proceed" (p. 255). With public participation he means "a process whereby the public are approached at a point where the options are still open and before any decision is made" (p. 257). In both cases, the public is asked on their input and opinion, but in a different stadium of the planning process. Public consultation is the fourth step on Arnstein's ladder (1969, p. 217) and is still in the tokenism strand of the ladder. Wilson (1963), in his earlier research into citizen participation in urban renewal, emphasised that "new-style mayors" try to "build up new neighbourhood associations and enter into relationships with old ones in order to provide themselves with a way of reaching the average voter and of commanding his support" (Wilson, 1963, 248). This points to the sentiment of government employees using resident participation as a way of gaining votes without the underlying motivation to implement this, not allowing for legitimate participation. With this, Wilson signals a phenomenon relevant today: the alienation of local government from their residents. This is also found in Hall and Hickman (2011) on cases of resident participation in housing regeneration in France. Residents felt that participation was "primarily concerned with *consulting* residents and providing them with *information*, and not about *empowering* them in decision-making processes" (Hall & Hickman, 2011, p.835), not reflecting a genuine relationship between local authorities and residents, but merely consultation of thought-out plans. Consultation disguised as participation might also come back in the processes researched for this thesis.

An example of true public participation can be found in Tyler's (2003) research, where he elaborates on the design and implementation of a bus service in a remote rural area in the north of England (p.265-266), through processes of participation with residents. As is expressed in the conclusion "often, the process appears fine on paper but the reality is that the only people able to have an influence on the process are often the developers who have the financial incentive and resources to enter into the process" (Tyler, 2003, p. 268). Governmental organs can use consultation to give residents the feeling that they take participation seriously, without actually doing so. As one can find in Arnstein's ladder (1969, figure 1), participation does not lie in consultation. With consultation, residents are just given one or multiple options, not being completely free to choose themselves what happens in their neighbourhood. Hopeless as this first conclusion may seem for participation, Tyler also expresses that "public participation is a practical possibility when well designed and incorporated properly in the decision process" (2003, p. 269). Participation and consultation of residents is required in making new urban plans in Amsterdam (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018b). Every new plan must have a separate section on how the participation of the residents was secured. However, when this would only be done to reach the goal of resident participation on paper, without the intrinsic motivation to make a change in the neighbourhood, this can lead to a low level of *collective efficacy* for the residents. To grasp the concept of collective efficacy, the concept of individual or self-efficacy must be explained first.

Self-efficacy and collective efficacy

Self-efficacy is conceptualised as the perception of how an individual can reach their goals and how independently they can do so: it is concerned with personal capabilities. High levels of self-efficacy are present when people sense they can change a situation themselves, without necessarily needing much support from others or a government organ. Collective efficacy "represents a group's shared belief in its conjoint capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given levels of attainments" (Bandura, 1997, 477, as described in Watson, Chemers & Preiser, 2001). This means that the feeling of being capable of achieving change as a group are important in making the change itself. As Watson et al. (2001) emphasize, collective efficacy is not "simply the sum of individual group member's self-efficacy perceptions" (p. 1058). There are individual level and group level influences on collective efficacy, with particular importance for the role of leadership (Watson et al., 2001). Their research shows that "personality (optimism) and self-efficacy played more of a role in shaping collective efficacy beliefs at the beginning […] than did group composition and previous performance" (p. 1065). Therefore, for collective efficacy to grow and the belief to maintain, self-efficacy plays a role. This means that strong leadership was "crucial in developing early collective efficacy and, later, for sustaining those beliefs" (Watson et al., 2001, p. 1066).

Collective efficacy is inherently linked to the building of a community which in turn is necessary for active resident participation.

2.2.2 Needs-based versus asset-based community development

In order to understand how communities are build, the first question to answer is 'what is community development?'. In this thesis, the definition of Schenk, Nel, and Louw (2006, p. 6) is used: "a people-centred change process facilitated with a community of people to take action to increasingly actualise their fundamental human needs to enhance the quality of their own lives and those of the wider community that they are part of". There are two approaches to community development or building (Nel, 2018, 35). The first approach is a *needs-based approach*, where the power lies mostly with the institutions present to help the residents in need. The residents have a need for a service and turn to institutions to fulfil this need. The focus is on the present problems and ways to solve these (Nel, 2018). Much of Dutch health and social care is based on a needs-based approach as to not 'waste' money on unnecessary care. *Asset-based community development* (or ABCD) is seen by Mathie and Cunningham (2003) as an alternative to needs-based approaches of development. In ABCD, the community is built around the strengths the residents already have. Solving the problems is not with institutions, but within the residents' power and perseverance to change and help each other. The preference of the authors is expressed in the following: "ABCD rests on the principle that a recognition of strengths and assets is more likely to inspire positive action for change in a community than is an exclusive focus on needs and problems" (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003, 477).

A large share of governmental work is still focused on a service question: many institutions cannot do anything without such a demand (Segberts, 2007). Through a needs-based approach to community development, the community becomes a dependant of the governmental institutions, on Arnstein's ladder it scores more to the side of government power, probably in the ranks of non-participation. Through ABCD, the community becomes a more self-sufficient community and works more from its own strengths. ABCD is however harder to mobilize since its success is critically dependant on people's willingness to make a change and help others in their community, so their collective efficacy must be higher. With a strong community present, the participation process can be substantially influenced by the residents. As Martínez (2010) emphasizes in his comparison between the cities of Vigo and Porto (in Portugal), "the political arena in which the movements, planners and local authorities interact is formed by many other social power relations that are often the main obstacle facing participative dynamics" (p. 163). Even though plans can seem superb through the lens of planners and local authorities, if residents are not adequately asked for their participation in the planning processes, their wishes are less likely to be reflected and therefore

plans might not have the intended outcome. When there is strong asset-based community development, the levels of collective efficacy are high and participatory planning will ideally start from resident *participation* instead of a consultation. However, if this were the case, how come that there still seems to be a missing link between civil servants and residents? In the next section, the theory of intercultural planning is introduced as the missing link in the process of resident participation and urban restructuring.

2.3 Intercultural planning

Wood and Landry (2008) see the modern city through an intercultural lens. This lens is hereafter used throughout this thesis and seen as the missing link in resident participation in the restructuring of Bijlmer-Oost. The starting point of the lens is the belief that "cities are, in part, formed and reformed by the interplay of different groups and interests – politicians and policy-makers, practitioners and professionals, and residents who all act in their own way as place-makers – as well as economic forces. As such, the knowledge each group of interest has, and the interpretation that they place upon it, can become extremely influential on the way in which the city develops" (Wood & Landry, 2008, p. 244). The intercultural approach is about considering the interplay between different groups shaping society and the city where they live. It is also about acknowledging the different perceptions of the world people have, and without judging these perceptions, trying to take these into account in policy making. The intercultural lens is different from other lenses on policy, described by Koopmans and Statham (2002) in their analysis on citizenship as assimilation, segregation, universalist and multiculturalism. With assimilation, only one type of citizenship is allowed, and people who differ from this picture must adjust to it. In the interplay of resident participation this would mean that the government holds the authority on what the relevant lens is and therefore imposes its views on the residents. Segregation allows for other types of citizenship, but mixing of different cultures is not allowed, as the term already signals. Therefore, policy is shaped to preserve these boundaries and to keep different groups separated. For resident participation this would essentially mean the same thing as it does for assimilation: power with the government who impose their views. Multiculturalism and universalism both allow for the presence of different cultures. Multiculturalism focusses clearly on differentiation between groups, for example through target-group policy. This means that the government has different approaches and policy for different (ethnic) groups in society. Universalism, as the name suggests, targets the population without specifically targeting subgroups. In both types, the resident participation would still be done selectively and mostly through the perspective of the government, but with more cultural literacy (see below) or awareness than in assimilation or segregation policy types. With multiculturalism, people are still compartmentalised according to their ethnic background, often

the origin of their parents or grandparents. In contrast, with a universalist approach to citizen participation, different cultural backgrounds, sentiments and feelings are not seen as dividing grounds to characterise people. Interculturalism is different in the sense that it acknowledges the fact that there is a diversity in cultural backgrounds of people, without compartmentalising these. Whilst with the other types of policy the diversity in cultural backgrounds are ignored or set aside as differences in cultural backgrounds, in interculturalism these differences are embraced and an important part of policy.

A large and diverse city as Amsterdam holds a diversity in nationalities, migration backgrounds and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, a uniform and static policy approach to resident participation does not suffice. To adequately make policy, authorities must work with residents to shape this, as is one of the goals of the Amsterdam municipality. However, the first problem that might rise, is the lack of knowledge of the different backgrounds present. The mismatch between residents and government employees mentioned earlier comes back here: the two groups do not have the same understanding of reality and on the issue and therefore are misinterpreting each other. Since in modern urban society the population is super-diverse (Vertovec, 2007), it seems impossible to understand where everyone is coming from, literally and figuratively. Where in the past, policy was targeted towards different groups in society, this is "not done" in current policy, since people are not to be captured by a single label. The accusation is sometimes still thrown at civil servants that they work from their personal perspective in life and on society and are not adequately taking the residents' opinions and experiences into account. This is done by for example the aforementioned universalist approach to policy making.

Cultural literacy

To adequately form policy in cities with high cultural diversity, *cultural literacy* is required (Wood & Landry, 2008). People filter any information coming in through their own cultural filters and cultural literacy is "the ability to read, understand and find the significance of diverse cultures and, as a consequence, to be able to evaluate, compare and decode the varied cultures that are interwoven in a place" (Wood & Landry, 2008, 250). This form of cultural capital is seen by the authors as a necessity to be able to "act sensitively and effectively in a world of differences" (Wood & Landry, 2008, 250) and would thus be required for policymakers to adequately shape planning. The social construction of reality is different for different people but is partly grouped in communities of belonging. When the community of belonging for residents is different to that of the civil servants, this can lead to misunderstanding. With ignorance of other cultures (a lack of cultural literacy) resident participation will not reach its attempted goals.

Planning and participation of residents is seen as "disconnected from the complex intercultural relations that actually exist between people" (Wood & Landry, 2008, 252). Even though different socio-economic groups are often targeted differently through policy and language use, government agencies often struggle to reach different cultural groups. The Netherlands has had a tradition of target policies for ethnic groups but has been making a shift towards more holistic national policies, being translated into localist policies (Dekker, Emilsson, Krieger & Scholten, 2015). This means that, since the national government is working on decentralisation of government work, the care for its residents now falls under municipal responsibilities. With applying a holistic, or universalist, approach to policy, one perspective is created in the policy. It is likely that this perspective is one of the civil servants: a different perspective than residents may have.

Social inequality

Tubadji, Gheasi and Nijkamp (2016) show through a quantitative analysis that in the Netherlands an immigrant background status means a lower likeliness of entering high-quality schools, "which seems to be the core link between the individual and local cultural impact on the immigrants' socio-economic success" (p. 725). As described in the introduction, having a non-Western immigration background is connected to lower levels of education and therefore income. When there is a large group of people with a low socio-economic status clustered together, this can lead to a concentration of economic problems, and consequently social problems. The high cultural diversity in Bijlmer-Oost and the low socio-economic status of the residents enhances social problems and mixed with a governmental approach that is not culturally literate enough, may cause reinforcing problems. For civil servants, it is harder to reach residents who seemingly do not want to be reached. The residents might not care what happens to their building in terms of restructuring, as long as they can keep their residence. When the civil servants also do not speak the language of the residents, literally and figuratively, this leads to friction at both sides. A lack of contact between residents and civil servants can also be the result of negative past experiences. No or little connection with civil servants can for residents reinforce feelings of low individual and collective efficacy. Even when the civil servants want to work together with the residents to create new plans, they might not know how to do so: how to reach the residents, how to open dialogue or how to step out of their own bubble. A mismatch is suspected between the residents and the civil servants in planning processes on urban restructuring in Bijlmer-Oost. This thesis aims to find out where the root of this suspected mismatch lies, to ensure better future co-operations between residents and civil servants for the future.

2.4 Coming together in planning

In this thesis, a connection is sought between theories on urban restructuring, participatory planning, and intercultural planning. The link between urban restructuring and participatory planning is evident: civil servants are mandated by the municipal government to include residents in their planning processes. As struggles in these processes show room for improvement, the theory of intercultural planning has been introduced. Figure 2 (next page) shows the conceptual framework used for this research. The central concept of the conceptual framework is resident participation in urban restructuring. Resident participation is expected to rest on the principles of community building and the intercultural approach. Both the concepts have different underpinnings or conditions, reflected in the surrounding concepts, elaborated on in the previous sections. As can be read in the following chapter, this conceptual framework is the basis for the interview guide and the analysis of gathered data.
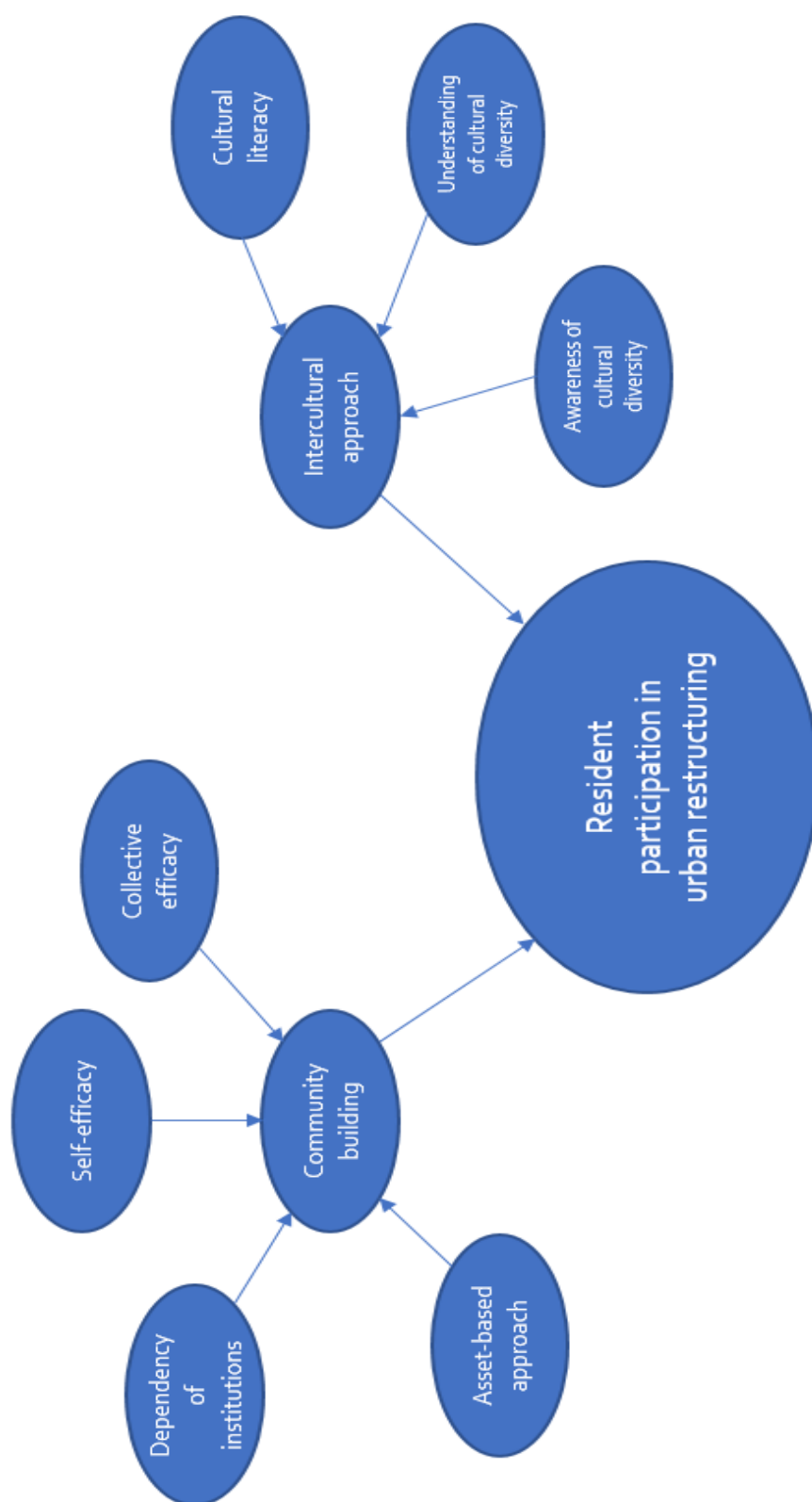
Figure 2. Conceptual framework (own image)

3. Methodology

This chapter elaborates on the methodological grounds behind the thesis research. In section 3.1 the research philosophy, approach and strategy are laid out, explaining *why* the research was done in this way. In section 3.2 the data collection and analysis are explained, on *how* the research was conducted and further analysed. Lastly, in section 3.3 it is explained how objectivity was dealt with and how any potential ethical concerns are alleviated.

3.1 Research philosophy, approach and strategy

Philosophy

This research goes from a philosophy of *constructivism*, since there is a struggle over definitions of what resident participation should look like and how to implement intercultural planning. There is a discrepancy between the definitions of participation by different groups of stakeholders in the process. Hershberg (2014) formulates constructivism as that it "reflects a set of beliefs about the world and how it can be understood and suggests various approaches to the study of human phenomena based on these beliefs" (p. 183). Reality in this perspective is a social construct formed by people's experiences and beliefs. A narrative more notably applicable is *hermeneutic constructivism*, since it is defined as "there simply is no external reality separate from that which is constructed and perceived by human beings. [...] For hermeneutic constructivists, knowledge is a product of language and meanings developed through activity within a community, group, culture and/or society" (Hershberg, 2014, 185). This, according to the author, also means that "there are likely as many systems of knowledge as there are groups constructing and utilizing them through language, discourse and other socially constructed means" (p. 185). The bottom line is that everyone constructs their own image of reality, and not one reality is true or correct. Knowledge is produced through interpretation and this is specific to different contexts. When one does not consider other people's context, categorizes them or unifies them as all the same, the essence of these contexts is missed, and misunderstandings are likely to occur. People can feel that there is a prejudice against them based on their background, name or the way they look. In this case, it is not just about civil servants being biased about residents, but also the other way around. The analysis was done through the philosophy of hermeneutic constructivism: the lens is used throughout the research as an underlying viewpoint. It is strongly connected to the theoretical framework in the sense that it supports the call for cultural literacy and rejects the idea of labelling people, as it is focussed on the diversity in perceptions of reality.

Approach

The approach to research here is qualitative. As described in the previous section, this research focuses on "exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (Creswell, 2014, p. 4). Meaning and construction of meaning cannot be tested by means of quantitative research, since this would miss the point of differentiation in opinions and experiences. As the theory stems from a tradition of constructivism, it stresses four aspects according to Creswell (2014): understanding, multiple participant meaning, social and historical construction, and theory generation. These four aspects are adhered to by qualitative research, since the understanding of people's experiences and meaning is done by talking about it. Besides this, interviews were held with multiple different participants and multiple participant meaning is registered. The social and historical construction is done by sketching the context of the case. Theory generation is done by having an abductive approach to the research. This approach is defined as that it "constitutes a qualitative data analysis approach aimed at theory construction. This approach rests on the cultivation of anomalous and surprising empirical findings against a background of multiple existing [...] theories and through systemic methodological analysis" (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012, p. 169). Even though a conceptual model is adhered during the research, and there is an idea of what the theory will look like, the approach is still open to different interpretations. The theories discussed in the theory chapter are brought together in this research and the new proposed mix of theories is tested.

Strategy

The strategy used in this qualitative research is that of action research. According to Reason and Bradbury (2001, as described in Brydon-Miller, Greenwood & Maguire, 2003), action research is "a participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowledge in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, grounded in a participatory worldview which we believe is emerging at this historical moment. It seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with other, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities" (p. 10-11). Action research is a way of getting to know the *area of expertise* by means of participating in the process. It is often seen as a driver for change (Raelin, 1999). The case of Bijlmer-Oost requires an action research approach since there is a discrepancy between the current situation of resident participation and the ideal situation. Therefore, it is necessary to be part of the process to understand it, and to be able to affect change in it. Part of the issue is that both the municipality and the residents have, not yet, given an image of the ideal situation.

The municipality is trying to work with the residents on improving the quality and increasing the quantity of the participation but lacks a blueprint on how to do this. Participation falls under the header of democratisation, a department within the city district set up just a few months ago. Participation does however run through numerous different departments, with different perspectives on the importance and the process of participation. There is a lack of clarity, people are dissatisfied and there is a general desire for change.

Action research as a strategy to qualitative research however also has some shortcomings. One of the weaknesses expressed by Brydon-Miller et al. (2003) is "its localism and the difficulty we fin in intervening in large-scale social change efforts. The bulk of action research takes place on a case by case basis, often doing great good in a local situation but then failing to extend beyond that local context" (p. 25). Therefore, there is a risk of a lack of generalisability, which would not be translatable outside the context of Bijlmer-Oost. Besides this, the potential influence by co-workers is seen as a shortcoming of the strategy. This might influence the objectivity of the research, but also the case and respondent selection, since this was done in collaboration with colleagues at the city district office. The problem with objectivity is however not a threat to just action research, but to qualitative research in general. The largest limitation to the strategy of action research is seen in the selection of the respondents. This led to the resident respondents being mainly residents in positive connection to the municipality and being the more visible and active residents. The selection of the respondents in this research lead to discussing the participation processes with those who are present in the current processes, not detailing all struggles in the participation processes.

3.2 Selection, collection and analysis

Case selection

The research is focussed on two case studies in relation to each other: G-buurt Noord and E-buurt Oost, two neighbourhoods located in Bijlmer-Oost. Figure 2 illustrates the placement of Bijlmer-Oost on a city-wide map, figure 3 illustrates the two neighbourhoods, the green marking is the G-buurt Noord, and the orange is the E-buurt Oost. The G-buurt Noord holds the only two remaining traditional honeycomb flats of the Bijlmer. E-buurt Oost is a neighbourhood that does not exist yet, the municipality has developed urban plans on the construction for this neighbourhood. Since the E-buurt Oost is non-existent, the analysis of data on this case is lacking, the focus is therefore on the G-buurt Noord.
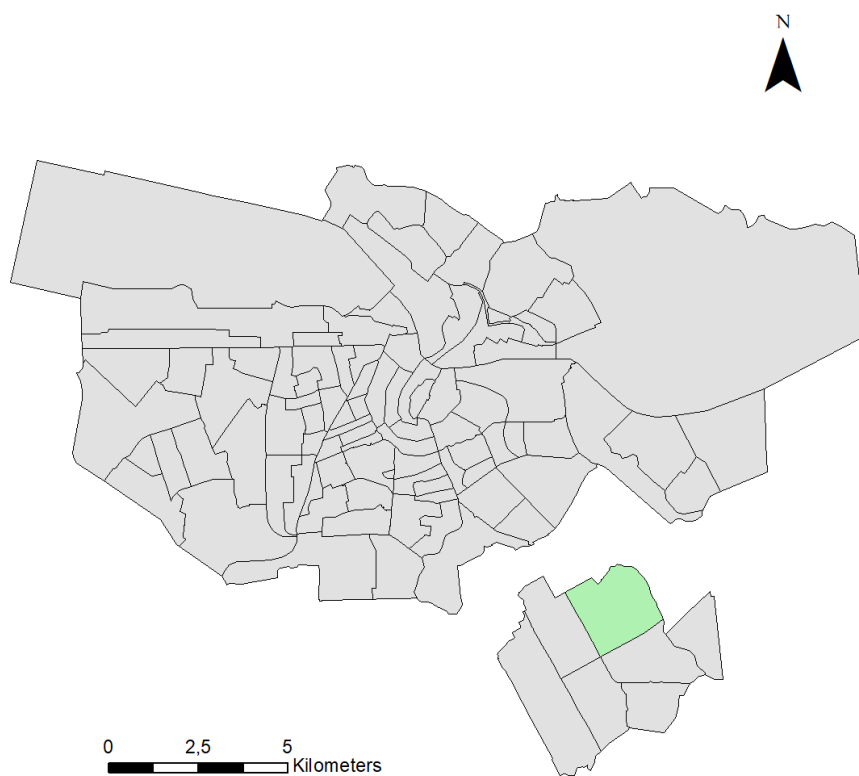
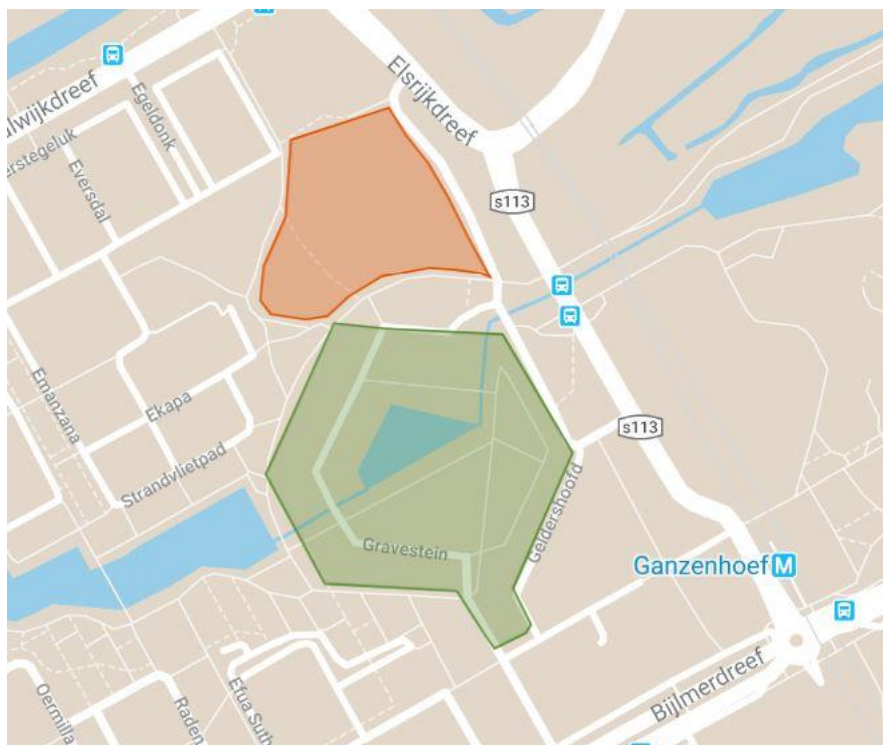*Figure 3*. Area map Amsterdam, adapted from Gemeente Amsterdam (2017)

Figure 4. E-buurt Oost and G-buurt Noord (Google, n.d)

In the Bijlmer large reconstructions are taking place to house increasing numbers of people and to improve the liveability of that part of Amsterdam. Urban plans are to be made in participation with residents, and the municipality is focussing on enlarging the share of residents in the planning processes but are struggling on how to do this. The Bijlmer, with that the G-buurt Noord, houses a large diversity of residents, with differing ideas and opinions. The two cases were chosen as subjects for the study since the G-buurt Noord has been appointed as a *development neighbourhood* and is in need for more attention, socially and physically. The municipality is finding ways to improve the neighbourhood together with residents. E-buurt Oost was chosen as a case since plans are being developed for the construction and the participation went through official processes. These two cases show different stages and projects in participation but are vastly connected to each other.

Data collection

1 Policy documents and data

A brief content analysis was done, to gain more insight in the situation of the case and how it came to be. The results of this content analysis can be found in chapter 4 on context. The situation at the time of the research is described, as well as how this had come to be. There is a description on the participation process up to that point. The living situations and demographic features of the neighbourhood are described, as well as ongoing projects. In chapter 4, an overall view of Bijlmer-Oost and the two neighbourhoods is provided, as well as how these neighbourhoods relate to each other and the wider Bijlmer-Oost area. For the content analysis, policy documents and data about the cases were analysed. Policy documents from the central city were used, as well as action plans for the neighbourhoods, the draft urban plan for the E-buurt Oost and data from the *research, data and statistics* (Dutch: onderzoek, data en statistiek, OIS) Amsterdam. In the databases of the OIS, numbers and figures were sought about the living situation of the residents of the neighbourhoods. In the policy documents it was sought how the democratisation and participation was supposed to be practised. A specified list of the used literature and data can be found in appendix I. The historical analysis was supplemented by studying books about the construction of the Bijlmermeer and the later problems it faced.

2 Interviews

The respondents were found through contacts at the city districts office. The respondents were e-mailed or called about participation with a brief explanation about the research. Initially, 20 people were approached, of which 15 were interviewed. The others did not respond or were a no-show at the meeting. The in-depth interviews were conducted with civil servants of Zuidoost and active residents of the neighbourhoods. Three employees of related institutions were interviewed as well.

A total of seven civil servants was interviewed, these were respondents 2, 5, 6, 8, 12, 15 and 17. The positions within the municipal organisation differed: assistant project manager, project manager, neighbourhood broker, communication advisor, area manager and programme manager of democratisation. There was a variety in the respondent group when it came to gender and ethnic background, the respondents fell in the age category 35-50 years. This variety in positions within the organisation was considered an adequate representation of differing experiences and opinions within the organisation. In total six residents were interviewed, these were respondents 1, 7, 9, 10, 13, and 14.The selection of the respondents was done through the contacts co-workers at the municipality had. One respondent was not a known resident to the civil servants but was contacted as a consequence of an earlier meeting at a walk-in evening on the presentation of the draft urban plan for the E-buurt Oost. Respondents 10 and 14 were interviewed simultaneously, since it was their personal preference. All but one respondent lived in either of the two G-flats, respondent 1 lived elsewhere in the G-buurt. The ages of the respondents differed, as well as the gender and their household mix. Unfortunately, no invisible residents were being reached, but the more active residents were interviewed. Besides these respondents, three other relevant stakeholders in the participation process were interviewed. These were employees from foundation !Woon, foundation PoZo and housing corporation Rochdale. In the analysis, these three respondents were taken up as a separate group, "other stakeholders".

The interviews were semi-structured in-depth interviews, leaving space for deviating opinions. The interview guides can be found in appendices II and III, along with the topic list in appendix IV. The interviews were of a hermeneutic nature (Roulston & Choi, 2018), described as "researchers and participants as co-inquirers engage in a share dialog that evolves through questions and responses" (p. 236), meaning that the interviews were rather conversations on the topics then strictly a question-answer set-up. Even though the first focus was on answering the questions set up in the interview guide and getting into the resident participation in depth, when it was signalled that the respondent wished to elaborate more on a certain theme then on first-hand imagined, this was also appreciated, and follow-up questions were asked to facilitate this. Due to the extensive nature of the interview guide, not all questions were asked to every respondent and there was not a fixed sequence in the interviews. As can be seen in appendices II and III, for the different respondent groups, different interview guides were set up. This was due to the different context and focus of the interviews. Where the residents were discussing their relationship with their fellow residents and the municipality as an outside organisation, the civil servants were observing the neighbourhood and its residents from the outside and the municipality from the inside. The interviews with the other three relevant respondents stuck to the topic list of appendix IV.

Interviews followed the following approximate structure: residents were first asked about their daily lives, their jobs, their bond with their fellow residents and their bond with the civil servants. The civil servants in turn were first asked about their role within the municipality and their bond with the residents. Secondly, both the respondent groups were asked about the contact between the residents and civil servants: what kind of contact there was, what the contact mainly was about and what kind of a relationship this was. This was followed by questions on the dependency of institutions by residents and the presence of leaders in the neighbourhood. After this, respondents were asked about the levels and perceived levels of self-efficacy and collective efficacy of the residents. Then the focus was shifted towards the participation of residents in planning processes regarding physical interventions. This was followed by discussing the awareness of civil servants of the differentiation in cultural background of residents and how this is handled by the civil servants. As a final and concluding question, respondents were asked if they, at that moment, had any suggestions or ideas for the current forms of participation.

Data analysis

1 Content analysis

The collected policy documents and literature were read, and relevant passages were used to fill up gaps in knowledge on the context of the neighbourhoods. For the content analysis, no extensive coding was done by use of any programmes, since this was not the main source of data for the research and answering the research questions. The chapter on context was send to colleagues and Dr. Wassenberg to check for any missing links after the draft version of the thesis was submitted. Being an experienced researcher in the field of urban regeneration and specifically having written his dissertation on the Bijlmermeer, his expertise was greatly appreciated and taken into consideration when finishing chapter 4. In the databases of the OIS, numbers and figures were sought about the living situation of the residents of the neighbourhoods. In the policy documents it was sought how the democratisation and participation was supposed to be practised.

2 In-depth interviews

Using the website otranscribe.com, all interviews were transcribed directly. Small talk was cut out of the transcriptions, since it did not concern the topic of the thesis. After transcription, the data of the interviews was codes by means of the programme Atlas.TI. Since the approach to the research was not inductive or deductive, but abductive, it was proven difficult to pick a method for data coding. Before starting the coding of the data, the code categories were formulated, therefore open coding would not have been useful. Axial coding is by Maxwell & Chmiel (in Flick, 2014) defined as "making connections amongst categories, developing a 'story line' about the central phenomena of

the study, and identifying 'conditional paths' that link actions with conditions and consequences". Axial coding was done in the sense the quotations could be brought under different sub codes, and in the analysis the relations between the different codes are often projected. A list of code is found in appendix V. The coding and analysis were done by the use of the three different respondent groups: residents, civil servants and other stakeholders. As the codebook in appendix V describes, five overarching code groups were used: perceptions neighbourhood, perceptions municipal organisation, participation, community building and intercultural approach. The first two code groups were mainly used to form an image on the relationships between residents and civil servants. The third code group was used to describe the ways of participation, but also to get the opinions of the different respondents. The code groups on community building and intercultural approach were mostly testing the conceptual framework and the theory and were therefore discussed last in the analysis chapter. In writing chapter 5 on results, the code groups are discussed in different sections. Per section, sub sections are given for the three different respondent groups: residents, civil servants and other stakeholders. The different sub codes for the main codes are discusses in the sections overarching them. To give a just and grounded image of the participation process, the results for the perceptions of the living environment are discussed first. This is followed by the perceptions on the municipal organisation. After this, the current participation processes, the struggles and wishes for the future from the respondents is discussed. This section is followed by a section on the analysis of community building and lastly the perceptions of the municipal approach to cultural diversity. In the process of analysis, the sub questions were answered, the answers are given throughout chapter 5. The quotations used for the explanation of the results were originally all in Dutch and were translated into English for use in this thesis only. The first-hand data was all in Dutch. In chapter 5, the relevant quotations to support certain claims can be found in the footnotes. These quotations were not provided in an appendix as this would seem excessive. The footnotes are used to demonstrate which and how many respondents supported claims.

3.3 Objectivity and ethics

Kirk and Miller (1986) describe the two components of objectivity to be validity and reliability, with the former being "the extent to which a measurement procedure yields the same answer however and whenever it is carried out" (p. 19) and the latter being " the extent to which it gives the correct answer" (p. 19). For qualitative research, this can be hard, since every researcher, or team of researchers, brings their experiences and prejudices with them, often unknowingly. Validity in the context of this research lies in the systematic analysis of the cases and the transparency of the process. The reliability of this thesis research lies in a well-constructed theoretical framework and clear grid as to what was researched. Concepts as validity and reliability are harder to ensure in qualitative than in quantitative research, since in qualitative research the kinds of data are different

and more open to interpretation. Doing this research, it is being considered that action research is a driver for change and a hermeneutic constructivist approach goes specifically from the idea of human-made constructions of reality and therefore objectivity or value-freeness is impossible.

The context of this research has shown to be rather sensitive: the residents, civil servants and the other stakeholders did not all agree on each topic and sometimes had a negative image of each other. The role of the researcher is to remain as neutral as possible, even though being employed by the municipality, this proved to be hard. Even though slightly expected beforehand, the residents did not have a hostile attitude towards me whatsoever. Before each interview, it was briefly explained that this research was done for the purpose of my master's thesis. This meant that, even though the results will be shared with the municipality, it was not the case that it was not a direct assignment from them to me. All respondents understood this, and it did not seem that the respondents held back opinions, this goes for all respondents. Beforehand the respondents were also informed that all interviews would be anonymised and were asked whether they had any objections to the being recorded. None of the respondents had any objections to this.

During the interviews, Resnik's (2011) principle of ethics were considered, which are integrity, carefulness and confidentiality, as well as non-discrimination. As said, the start of each interview it was explained that the opinions expressed during that interview would be anonymised and were for the use of the research only. Again, there were no experiences of respondents holding back their opinions. The principles of ethics meant that as the interviewer, it was a task to not conflict with the respondents on their opinions, even though it would sometimes go into personal opinions. Past experiences with interviewing and having already met most of the respondents beforehand facilitated easy building of rapport and led to the feeling of a trusted relationship from both sides. After the interviews were held and the draft version of the thesis was handed in, the respondents received a copy of the relevant parts of the draft thesis with the question if they had any remarks on this. None of the respondents replied to this e-mail.

4. Context

To cover the context of the G-buurt Noord and E-buurt Oost, a brief content analysis was done as described in the previous chapter. In section 4.1 the context of the Bijlmer in general is elaborated upon. In section 4.2 the situation in G-buurt Noord is described, followed by the plans for the E-buurt Oost in section 4.3. Please notice that for the E-buurt Oost the context provided is mainly based on the draft plan for the E-buurt Oost and therefore in the future these plans may not have been executed as such. The discussion of the context of the two neighbourhoods is somewhat different, since the G-buurt Noord is an existing neighbourhood, whilst the E-buurt Oost is the construction of a neighbourhood on the grounds of a previous part of the Bijlmer. More explanation on that will follow in the following sections.

4.1 The Bijlmer

The Bijlmer Utopia

The construction of the Bijlmermeer (see figure 4) was seen as the solution to the problem of "enormous housing shortage in the Netherlands as a whole and Amsterdam in particular" (Helleman & Wassenberg, 2004, p. 5). The idea was to "create a city district as big as the city of Groningen, in which the complete complicated package of philosophical and neutral, functional and categorical service organisation, limited companies, foundations, unions of commercial and idealistic nature are present" (own translation, from van der Maesen, 1970, p. 12), to house middle-class and higher working-class families (Wassenberg, 2013). The scale model of the Bijlmermeer in figure 4 was how it was intended to work out during a fast process of building with new construction methods.
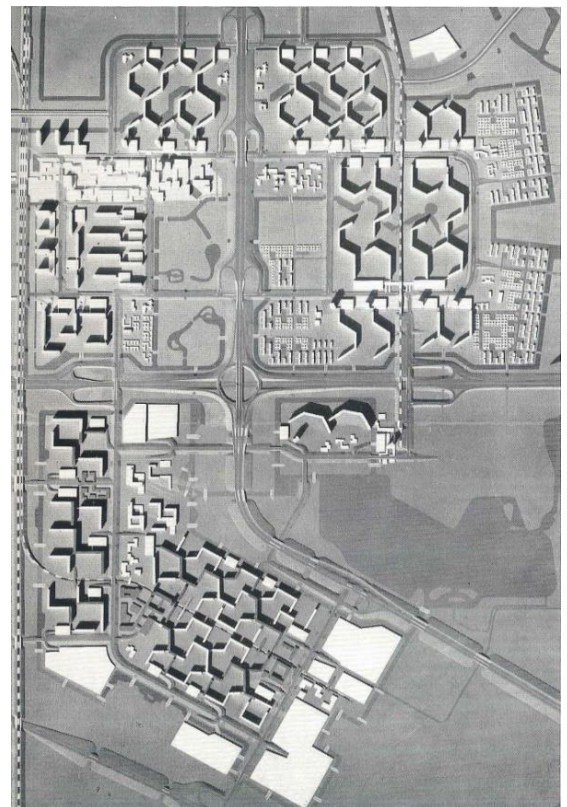
Figure 5. Maquette Bijlmermeer (van der Maesen, 1970, p. 13)

The Bijlmermeer was built as a new part of the city, enclosed by other municipalities (Bolte & Meijer, 1981). To create a new city district that was well connected to the rest of the city, an elaborate transport system was designed. There were three modes of transport included: car, public transportation and a system of pedestrian and bike paths (Bolte & Meijer, p. 254). The high-rise buildings in honeycomb construction would ensure meeting places and connection, whilst the roads would be higher, as not to run through these meeting places and create unsafe situations. The final

design was presented in June 1965 by Major Van Hall and with the realisation of the Bijlmer, "Amsterdam would again, now as a 'Mecca for urban design', become an example for the entire world" (own translation, Bolte & Meijer, 1981, p. 278).

First plan changes for the Bijlmer

The first building in the Bijlmer was built in 1968 and construction was completed in `975 (Wassenberg, 2013), feeding into the need for housing. As the research by Goethals and van der Maesen (1983) shows, the reality of the Bijlmer was not as rosy as imagined. The walking distances to services were too long, signage was lacking, there were inadequate play facilities for children and there was no supervision for the youths (p. 21). The residents of the high-rise flats generally had a low socio-economic status, with high unemployment rates, leading to social problems, also between different ethnical groups (Goethals & van der Maesen, 1983, p. 24). Even though the idea behind the Bijlmer was to make it a workers' district, the amount of children grew over the years, which led to more liveliness in the neighbourhoods, but also more relocations, "for most, the Bijlmermeer is a transit house" (own translation, Goethals & van der Maesen, 1983, p. 24). As Wassenberg (2013) put it, "the middle-class and higher working-class families with children from the old inner city did not arrive, as they had the alternative choice of low-rise housing in the suburbs" (p. 238). Furthermore, rents were rising faster than inflation in the 1990s. Many other problems were present, for example the pollution and destruction of public space, the stigma resting on the Bijlmer and the lacking maintenance of the flats by the housing corporations. The accessibility by public transport did not plan out either in the first years of the Bijlmer, since even though the first building were occupied between 1968-1970, the first metro only rode from the beginning of the 1980's (Wassenberg & Hellman, 2004). Due to the height of the roads, the Bijlmer was safe in terms of traffic; cars were separated from pedestrians and cyclists. Overall, the Bijlmer did not develop as expected, and large-scale vacancies and squatting were consequences. The three main groups of issues according to Helleman and Wassenberg (2004) were the unfinished character of the district, the liveability-problems and the housing market.

Acknowledging the problems, the municipality wrote a rehabilitation programme in 1983, with the aim to "adapt and to improve the existing spatial concept" (Helleman & Wassenberg, 2004, p. 6). Not only were there improvements in the existing built environment, the plans to build more high-rise in Bijlmer-Zuid were not executed. This was not enough, since in 1985 "around 25% of the apartments were unoccupied. These high turnover rates and the level of vacancy led to a critical financial situation of the housing association. It also destroyed or even prevented the existence of sustainable social structures" (Helleman & Wassenberg, 2004, p. 7). People started admitting that the idea of the high-rise, massive Bijlmer had failed, and structural improvements were necessary

to increase the population and to improve the living situation for residents. Ever since 1992, demolition of parts of the Bijlmer started, along with selling part of the housing stock and renovating the rest. This led to the relocation of some of the residents of the Bijlmer, either within the rest of the city district, the city or outside of the municipality.

Renovating the Bijlmer

Wassenberg's (2011) analysis of the demolition of the Bijlmermeer provides a brief timeline of the changes in the Bijlmer until 2011. According to his analysis, there were three phases in the urban restructuring approach of the Bijlmer. First, a plan was made in 1992, called the First Request for Reorganization (Dutch: *Eerste Saneringsaanvraag*). On 4 October 1992, the Bijlmer disaster happened, in which an El Al airplane crashed through a block of flats, "a disaster that caused 43 casualties, while 221 dwelling were immediately destroyed or had to be demolished afterwards" (Wassenberg, 2011, p. 372). Due to the first request for reorganization, two flat blocks were demolished and shopping centre Ganzenhoef and one block were refurbished. In 1995, the Second Request for Reorganization (Dutch: *Tweede Saneringsaanvraag*) was published and ten flat blocks were added to the area of impact, as well as parking garages. The third phase consisted of the proposal Finishing the Renewal (Dutch: *De vernieuwing voltooien*), proposing "to provide more opportunity for demolition" (Wassenberg, 2011, p. 373). In early 2001, the Final Plan of Action was presented for the rest of the 14 blocks, holding almost 6,000 dwellings. According to Wassenberg (2001) "between 2001 and 2004, 2363 households were affected: 27% returned into another high-rise flat, 29% went to existing nearby low-rise housing, 8% moved into newly constructed housing. The remaining 36% moved to another part of Amsterdam or outside Amsterdam altogether" (p. 375). These demolitions and relocations were results of the plans of the municipality, in participation with the residents, considering their wishes for demolition and replacement. The reconstruction of the Bijlmer was supposed to continue, but the financial crisis, which started around 2008, slowed the processes down. The research of Wassenberg (2011) shows that "a total of 7000 dwellings have been demolished; 4000 new dwellings have been constructed, another 800 are under construction, next to another 3000 in the planning stage; all but two blocks (of 16) have been renovated; 3 km of the elevated roads have been lowered to street level; nine car parks have been demolished; two new shopping centres have been built; and several business units have been created" (p. 376). The global financial crisis put the realisation of the plans of the municipality for the upgrading of the Bijlmer in 2010 on hold. In the past few years, the urban restructuring has gained more attention due to for example the neighbourhood of Kleiburg (also in Bijlmer). Here, housing corporation Rochdale announced in 2010 that they were planning to demolish the flats, but eventually together with Consortium DeFlat made it into do-it-yourself flats in which residents could buy renovation packages to renovate their apartment (Bijlmermuseum, n.d.).

The future for the Bijlmer

The district plan Bijlmer Oost 2019 (Dutch: *Gebiedsplan Bijlmer Oost 2019*) holds the plan for 2019. This is part of the overarching district agenda 2019-2022 (Dutch: *Gebiedsagenda 2019-2022*), a document not published yet. Many of the interventions explained in the plan are of a social nature: improving the development chances of youths, improving safety, improving the positions of vulnerable residents, et cetera. Another priority is the improvement and preservation of the living climate, where the social and physical domain come together more, but the focus is more on social interventions. Multiple of these interventions are being done in the G-buurt Noord, for example attempting to improve the feelings of safety of residents and improving the situation around littering and garbage. The economy is stabilising, and more budget is available for spatial interventions, but this time the municipality wants to handle this differently.

Participation and democratisation in Amsterdam

In the coalition agreement of Groenlinks, D66, PvdA and SP (2018) one of the goals is to be a democratic city. It is described as follows:

> "*There is a big task for the municipal board to improve the relationship between civilians, entrepreneurs and government. Residents have just as good, if not better, ideas than the city administration. We strive for an open and transparent administration, an outwards directed organization which is open to social and neighbourhood-oriented initiative. We feel it as our responsibility to enlarge the say of the residents. Not by rigging up new systems but by talking with the city and entering debate about how this can and should be. Amsterdammers often and in many places show that they can arrange for lots of things themselves. In this the government should be supportive and not steering*" (own translation, Coalition Groenlinks et al., 2018, p. 6).

This is done by means of the formulation of the agenda for democratisation, "in which we research how we can renew, strengthen and elaborate the participative and representative democracy" (own translation, Coalition Groenlinks et al., 2018, p. 58). The formulation of the agenda for 2019-2022 has started in the first quarter of 2019 (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.c), but has not been published yet. Besides the agenda, each new policy document must hold a separate section on participation, showing how the residents of Amsterdam have been involved in the process and what was done with this input. In addition to asking for input, more freedoms will be provided for planning, with the introduction of neighbourhood estimates (Dutch: *buurtbegroten*) and neighbourhood budgets (Dutch: *buurtbudget*). There will be more space for neighbourhood initiatives and each city district office will create co-creation places. With their democratisation ambitions, the municipality connects to the Fearless Cities Network: "an international covenant of municipalities that feel part

of the international 'municipalistic' movement" (Coalition Groenlinks et al., 2018, p. 59). In connection to this the city will organise the annual Fearless City conference in 2020. These are however policy goals not shifted to specific actions yet.

To "strengthen control and autonomy in the neighbourhood" (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.c., p. xx), two pilots projects started in the second quarter of 2019 with neighbourhood budgets. One of these neighbourhoods is the G-buurt. The core team of the resident platform has, in consultation with the platform, written a document titled "Buurtplan G-buurt Amsterdam Zuidoost 2019-2022" (2019), the next section will go more into depth of the contents of this neighbourhood plan. This is part of the broader democratization approach of the central city, for which the team democratization is employed in the city district.

4.2 G-buurt Noord

Figure 6. G-buurt Noord. Photo taken during helicopter flight of colleague J. Coullier in July 2019

Housing in G-buurt Noord

The G-buurt Noord used to be known as the flats Gliphoeve I and Gliphoeve II, but changed name to Gravestein and Geldershoofd in 1984 due to image problems. The neighbourhood consists of these two flats, the petting zoo and a district centre (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018f). Important for the neighbourhood is the development of the E-buurt Oost, elaborated on in section 4.3, and the small-scale shopping area Ganzenpoort. In terms of urban development and living, most data from

OIS Amsterdam (n.d.) is available for 2016, providing mostly percentages as opposed to concrete numbers. In this year, the residents of the G-buurt Noord gave the neighbourhood a 6.3 on a scale of 1-10, the same appreciation was given for their dwellings. This brings the G-buurt Noord at rank 298 of 315 neighbourhoods of Amsterdam. All the housing is corporation-owned, and the neighbourhood contains 952 dwellings. In 2019, 23.6 per cent of the dwellings is 0-40 square meters big, 39.6 per cent is between 40 and 60 square meters, 1.2 per cent between 60 and 80 square meters, 31.5 per cent between 80 and 100 square meters and 4 per cent is bigger than a 100 square meters. None of the dwellings are purposely designed for the elderly. The data collected by OIS Amsterdam for 2015 and 2017 showed that the appreciation for traffic and public space deteriorated in that period. The appreciation of maintenance of streets and curbs and green dropped from a 7.1 to a 6.2, but the appreciation of play services rose slightly from a 6.2 to a 6.4. The appreciation of the parking possibilities dropped from a 7.2 to a 6.6, as well as the public transport offer, from a 8.3 to a 7.3. The data on public space and traffic however was somewhat incomplete, not all elements had scores for each year, so comparing is rather difficult.

The people of G-buurt Noord

OIS Amsterdam's database shows that 1.778 people live in the G-buurt Noord, divided over 952 dwellings. See tables 1 and 2 below for an overview of the following described data. The online databank of OIS Amsterdam shows that at the beginning of 2019, 22.7 per cent of the residents was in under the age of 18 and 6.4 per cent was over the age of 65. The percentage of under 18 is higher than the city's average of 17.2 per cent, and the percentage of over-65 is lower in G-buurt Noord (Amsterdam-wide percentage: 15.2 per cent). There are considerable disparities household composition: for the G-buurt Noord the number of households consisting of two adults with children is 7.1 per cent, the Amsterdam average is 15.9. One-parent households comprise 20.2 per cent of households in the G-buurt Noord, compared with 8.7 in Amsterdam in general. One-person households are 63.5 per cent for the neighbourhood, 53.1 for Amsterdam. The number of residents has stayed rather steady since 2008, this is likely due to the absence of interventions in the buildings. In the G-buurt Noord, around 90 per cent of the inhabitants have a migration background, of which 4.6 per cent is Western. The dominant migrant groups in the resident population are Surinam (35.3 per cent) and Antillean (7.2 per cent), signalling much ethnic diversity.

		AMSTERDAM	G-BUURT NOORD
PEOPLE	Number of inhabitants	826.987	1.778
	Age 0-17 (%)	17.2%	22.7%
	Age 65+ (%)	12.5%	6.0%
	Age 80+ (%)	2.7%	0.4%
HOUSEHOLDS	Total	467.208	1.051
	% couple with children	15.9%	7.1%
	% single-parent	8.7%	20.2%
	% single-person	53.1%	63.5%

Table 1. Population Amsterdam and G-buurt Noord (OIS Amsterdam, n.d.a; OIS, n.d.b).

		AMSTERDAM	G-BUURT NOORD
MIGRATION BACKGROUND	Surinam (%)	7.5%	35.3%
	Antillean (%)	1.4%	7.2%
	Turkish (%)	5.1%	0.4%
	Moroccan (%)	8.9%	2.0%
	Other non-Western (%)	12.9%	41.5%
	Western (%)	18.6%	4.6%
	Dutch (%)	45.6%	9.1%

Table 2. Migration background Amsterdam and G-buurt Noord (OIS, n.d.a; OIS, n.d.b)

The differences in numbers on employment of G-buurt Noord compared to the city-wide score are large, the data can be found in table 3 and will be shortly elaborated on here. In 2018, 34.6 per cent of the residents of G-buurt Noord was unemployed, in Amsterdam this was 11.0 per cent. In 2019 25.9 per cent of the residents of G-buurt Noord were living of assistance benefits (Dutch: *de bijstand)*, this compares to the city's averages of 6.0 per cent. This puts the G-buurt Noord on place 323 of 324 neighbourhoods measured. No data about educational level was available for the neighbourhood after 2016, but at that time the percentage of residents with a low level of education was 60 per cent for the G-buurt Noord and 24 per cent for the city. In terms of education, youth and

diversity, data was lacking on multiple of the aspects. Noticeable was the score on the advice for high school level: in the G-buurt Noord, this was 73 per cent for preparatory secondary vocational education (Dutch: *VMBO*), whilst this was 27.2 per cent on city average. The percentage of low-educated school-leavers dropped from 15.4 per cent in 2015, to 9.6 per cent in 2018, close to the city's average of 8 per cent. In general, the social-economic status of the residents of the G-buurt Noord was noticeably lower than the average score for the city in 2017. 62 per cent of residents of the G-buurt Noord had a low socio-economic status, this was especially present in the groups 0-17 years, 27-65 years and 66+. The social cohesion scored a 5.3 on a scale of 1-10 in 2018, not differing much from the city average of 5.6. Social cohesion was measured through questions on feeling at home and social interaction.

		AMSTERDAM	G-BUURT NOORD
EMPLOYMENT	Registered unemployment (%) (2018)	11.0%	34.6 %
INCOME	Assistance benefits (%)	6.0%	25.9%
EDUCATION	Primary school advice VMBO (2016)	27.2%	73.0%

Table 3. Employment, income and education Amsterdam and G-buurt Noord (OIS, n.d.a; OIS, n.d.b)

Problems and future of G-buurt Noord

The central office of the city did at first not acknowledge G-buurt Noord as a development neighbourhood. The responsible project manager for this area found this an absolute necessity, since "the neighbourhood scores low on all indicators for development neighbourhoods: state and appreciation of dwelling, state and appreciations of living environment and social-economic position and health of residents" (own translation, Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018f, p. 4: see previous section). To be regarded as a development neighbourhood, the neighbourhood also has to offer chances to improve the housing stock and living environment (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018f). These chances can be seen in figure 7; it shows in different colours and numbers places where the municipality believes they have the means to improve the situation. Number five of the map are the single-flats of Geldershoofd and Gravestein, number one is the to be built E-buurt Oost.

Legenda kansenkaart

1) E-buurt Oost
2) Garage Gouden Leeuw
3) Garage Groenhoven
4) Nieuwbouw Garstkamp
5) Geldershoofd en Gravenstein
6) Kavel Geldershoofd
7) Buurtboerderij
8) Annie Romeinplein en markt
9) Route Holland Park – Ganzenpoort
10) Versterking centrumgebied

Figure 7. Chance map EG-neighbourhood (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018f, p. 9)

The municipality expects that, without interventions, the G-buurt Noord would develop as "a closed off residential block for the disadvantaged and people who have to or want to be under the radar" (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018f, p. 10). This is the case for the flats itself and the shopping area of Ganzenpoort. Therefore, the municipality is looking to adhere to four goals. First, it wants to improve the dwellings and services in the neighbourhood. Second, it wants to improve the liveability, safety and maintenance. Third, the social-economic programme and basic provisions need to be improved. Lastly, the spatial economic structure needs improvement as well. In general, the municipality has the goal to include the residents more in their planning, and they pursue to do this more structurally than has hitherto been the case (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018f). Each of the four main goals has its own assignment attached to it, with differing planning and responsible team.

The housing corporation of the flats Geldershoofd and Gravestein has not officially published plans on structural changes to the flats. However, the residents of these flats have received a letter about possible reconstructions and an article in newspaper Parool (Meershoek, 2018) also spread confusion about the future plans. There is a sentiment amongst the residents that they will be evicted soon and that their housing problem is to be solved through the construction of

120 dwellings in the E-buurt Oost, which by far does not cover the amount of residents living the flats in G-buurt Noord. The plans for the construction of the E-buurt Oost might have consequences for the living situation of the residents of the G-buurt Noord. The past and future of the E-buurt Oost are discussed in section 4.3 below.

Democratization in the G-buurt Noord

With their planning in using the chances in figure 5, the municipality works together with multiple stakeholders including residents to generate ideas on using these chances. An example of this was given in the last section about the Buurtbudget, in which the residents get a budget to execute their own plans. In the course of 2018 and 2019, a task force was created to develop a persona tool for the G-buurt Noord. Through discussions with residents and institutions present in the neighbourhood on who the residents of the G-buurt Noord are and how to get to know these residents better. The personas reflections of the residents living in the neighbourhood, also trying to reach more hidden residents. Unfortunately, no practical implications have followed from these meetings. Team Democratisation together with colleagues at the city district are continuously looking for ways in which they can increase the visibility of different types of residents, for example an increased focus on the youth of the city district. Another example in which the municipality tried to take the opinions of the residents into consideration, was the design of the inner garden of the flats. This was done by hiring an external designer who in collaboration with the residents and a group of children from the neighbourhood made a first design which took the preferences of the residents into account and planned the placement of a picnic bench in the shape of the two flats.

4.3 E-buurt Oost

Figure 8. Single-flat Egeldonk (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2006).

The start of something new

As part of the high-rise ideology of the Bijlmer, the E-buurt Oost used to hold the single-flat Egeldonk (see figure 8). During the reconstruction into the New Bijlmer, these were demolished in the 2000's. Now a fallow grass field with an, until recently, unused day care centre and kitchen garden, the E-buurt Oost is a neighbourhood in construction, and statistics as presented for G-buurt Noord are not available. It borders the G-buurt Noord and the new residential area of E-buurt. In September 2019, the official opening of so-called breeding ground Lola Buitenpost (Dutch: *broedplaats LoLa buitenpost*) will take place in the old day care centre. Residents from the G-buurt felt it was a waste to not put the place to use, since it is only scheduled to be demolished in 2022, when the construction of the E-buurt Oost will take place. The municipality envisioned a "durable, lively and green city borough" (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019b, p. 4). Planning is as follows, in 2019 the plan has to be finalised, in 2020 the definitive plan together with the constructer is to be presented and in the period from 2020 to 2024 the realization of the plans is to take place (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.a). During a 6-week period in April through June 2019, residents of adjacent neighbourhoods or other interested people or parties could react in a formal way through a participation response (Dutch: *inspraakreactie*). At the time of writing, these responses are being handled and an official answer from the municipality is being formulated and prepared. The urban

plan did not just come from the ideas of the municipality, the residents of the adjacent neighbourhood were asked for their input in the planning process of the E-buurt Oost. The next section elaborates on how that was done.

Figure 9. Draft image of E-buurt Oost (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.a)

Future housing in E-buurt Oost

The residents of the existent E-buurt have been asked for their input on the draft urban plan (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019b), but not the residents of the G-buurt Noord. There were eight main aspects that the residents of the E-buurt emphasised, these are discussed in the draft urban plan (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019b, p. 8) and briefly here. First, there is a wish for the conservation of the green and car-free character of the neighbourhood. Second, there should be spacious, affordable owner-occupied housing. Third, the temporary kitchen garden should get a definitive spot in the neighbourhood. Fourth, more liveliness would be created by more services. Fifth, "socially safe bike- and walking routes to stations and the shopping mall" (own translation, Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019b, p. 8) are needed. Sixth, the new dwellings should not cause more pressure on parking or create more traffic bottlenecks. Seventh, the high-rise buildings should not cause liveability or maintenance problems. Last, the residents want to be involved in the design of the public space and the architectonic appearance of the building blocks. As the municipality put it "unfortunately not all wishes could be implemented in the plan. The much-heard objection to high-

rise and densification is for example incompatible with the city-wide assignment to realise affordable housing and densification" (own translation, Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019b, p. 8). The input of the residents did however for a large part shape the blueprint of the plan, which wishes would come back where exactly is not defined. For the future, the municipality wants to work with the residents, again not elaborating on how this will be done.

Considering the comments of the residents where possible has led to the formulation of the draft Urban Plan for E-buurt Oost. In this plan, 20 per cent social rent, 53 per cent middle cost rent and owner-occupied, 27 per cent owner-occupied/free market sector and 5 per cent CPO. The latter stands for collective private commissioning (Collectief Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap). This division of 20-53-27 does not fall in line with the 40-40-20 division required by the municipality. However, the city district office believes this to be in the best interest of the residents of this part of Bijlmer-Oost and with this considers an advice given by the managing board of team "living" of the municipality. With already an abundance of social rent in the G-buurt, the municipality wants to build a bridge to the rest of the E-buurt by giving more space for the middle segment of the housing market. During the official period of participation, 42 responses came to the municipality. At the time of writing, a municipal response to these is being formulated.

Democratization in E-buurt Oost

As described in the previous sub section, residents were consulted in drawing up the initial plans for the E-buurt Oost and those interested were welcome to leave an official public participation response. Many did so, and therefore the municipality will publish an official answer to this. In the planning of the public space, an external bureau will likely by hired to shape the planning processes together with the residents of the surrounding neighbourhood. This was one of the wishes arising from the official public participation.

5. Results

This chapter details the results of this research and the reflection in connection to the theoretical framework. Where possible, the G-buurt Noord and E-buurt Oost are connected and compared. Since the latter neighbourhood is not yet in existence, more can be said about the G-buurt Noord than the E-buurt Oost. As described in chapter 3, most data was gathered from the interviews held, but the brief content analysis was done to answer the first sub question. The basic idea beforehand was to make use of a comparative case study: to compare the situation in the participation processes of the G-buurt Noord and the non-existent E-buurt Oost. For some aspects of the research this was easily done, for example sketching the background and context of both the neighbourhoods. However, for opinions of residents a problem occurred, since there are no residents in the E-buurt Oost yet. The presupposed character of a comparative case-study was therefore not completely reached and therefore the main focus lies on the G-buurt Noord as is, and where possible the plans for the E-buurt Oost.

Urban policy and planning of Bijlmer-Oost

The first sub question posed was *what is the urban policy and planning regarding restructuring of Bijlmer-Oost?* This question was mainly answered in section 4.1, but a short recap will be provided here, also going into more depth on the situation in the G-buurt Noord. The urban policy and planning regarding the restructuring of Bijlmer-Oost is an approach to create more spaces for all Amsterdam residents, to live. To give everyone a place in society, from poor to rich. This is done by for example building 7,500 dwellings per year, of which 2,500 have to be social housing corporation dwellings (Coalition Groenlinks et al., 2018, p. 32). The percentage of social housing for new construction, from corporations or private, has to be at least 45 and the target percentage for the middle segment is 10. Next to this, the municipality will work with the corporations on "exploring the possibilities for a more just allocation system, in which flow is stimulated and the housing wishes of home seekers connect better with the dwellings" (Coalition Groenlinks et al., 2018, p. 33). Whilst these ambitions sound positive for all Amsterdammers, these are ambitions. The results of these ambitions have yet to unfold. How these ambitions until the time of research have unfolded is reflected in the following sections. For the E-buurt Oost, the plans are to have 23 per cent social housing, 47 per cent middle segment and 25 per cent higher segment, to create more balance in the overall division in Bijlmer-Oost. As explained before, these are supposed to be 40-40-20 overall, including existing and new buildings.

5.1 Living environment

Before examining participation in the neighbourhoods, the context was laid out in chapter 4. However, numbers and policy can differ from real-life experience. Thus, it is important to discuss the perceptions of the different respondent groups on the living environment of the neighbourhood. Since the E-buurt Oost is not in existence yet, this section is mainly concerned with the G-buurt Noord.

5.1.1 Perceptions of residents

Perceptions on fellow residents

The perceptions of the residents of the G-buurt on their fellow residents differed. The low social-economic status of the residents[4] was pointed out multiple times and the lack of literacy of the Dutch language[5] was addressed. The contact between neighbours was mainly sporadic, but friendly[6]. Respondent 10, a single mother of two, stated that this was in her case due to lacking time to socialize with neighbours due to working hours and caring for kids (personal communication, 23 May 2019). Most resident respondents signalled that they had suffered nuisance from time to time by their fellow residents[7], but the overall feeling was positive towards their neighbours. Respondent 10 addressed the issue of a few rotten apples in the flat ruining the reputation for the rest of the residents by demolishing public properties (personal communication, 23 May 2019). An elderly respondent, respondent 9, saw the deterioration of the neighbourhood, with the influx of more African residents, who in her experience "don't even greet you" (personal communication, 23 May 2019). An overarching trend in the sentiment of the residents is the fear of being expelled from their home[8] and feelings of being disadvantaged due to the colour of their skin[9]. The latter will be discussed more elaborate in section 5.5. The perceptions on their fellow residents appeared to demonstrate superficially friendly relations, lacking in deeper connections.

Perceptions on the neighbourhood

The resident respondents who live in G-buurt Noord are generally negative about the quality of their housing, or as respondent 10 put it "this flat is as rotten as it can be" (personal communication, 23 May 2019). Although the quality was lacking, the residents were positive about the location of the flats in proximity to services[10]. "Everything is close, every Saturday there is a market. You find real

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[4] 1:20, 7:28, 9:32
[5] 9:29, 10:53
[6] 7:2, 9:6, 10:8
[7] 9:36, 10:12, 10:14
[8] 9:19
[9] 10:38
[10] 7:1, 9:3, 10:7

Surinam products, which are way more expensive than Dutch products, but well, if you feel like it you buy it sometimes. [...] If you need anything. There is a night bus that stops here, there's a metro, there are other line busses" (Resident 5, personal communication, 23 May 2019). Respondents had some difficulties with nuisance complaints but emphasize that they enjoy living there. The resident respondents were clear: they are content about living in the G-buurt Noord.

Perceptions on the city district

Discussing the city district more in general, the respondents stressed the changes the Bijlmer has been through[11] and how this has affected the neighbourhood in specific[12]. One respondent stood out, respondent 1, who is not living in the G-buurt Noord, but elsewhere in the G-buurt. He stressed the concentration of problems in the flats, the lack of mixing between different parts of the general neighbourhood, the fear of the "big city" coming to the Bijlmer and the fear of higher educated people by respondents in the G-buurt Noord (personal communication, 20 May 2019). In contrast, respondent 7, a young entrepreneur, stresses that people in the Bijlmer have complained too much, which has led to a negative mind set (personal communication, 16 May 2019). He calls for action to "take matters into own hands" (personal communication, 16 May 2019) and clean up the mess made. The clear difference between the response from residents living in the G-buurt Noord and elsewhere in the neighbourhood describe a wider contrast: the difference in perceptions of the neighbourhood seen from the inside or the outside. There is a fear with some of the residents that with the construction of the E-buurt Oost the G-buurt Noord will get isolated as a social rent area without much connection to the rest of the neighbourhood. This could in time lead to a distance between neighbourhoods and a lack of social cohesion.

5.1.2 Perceptions of civil servants

Perceptions on residents

The civil servants working at city district Zuidoost hold different views on the residents of the G-buurt Noord. Generally, the civil servants signal low levels of education and language proficiency in the residents of the G-buurt Noord[13]. The distinction between the residents of the G-buurt Noord and the E-buurt is often made[14], where the residents of the E-buurt are seen as the higher educated residents and the G-buurt Noord as the lower educated. This is combined with signalling that the residents of the G-buurt Noord tend to shift into a victim role[15] from time to time, which leads to

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[11] 1:38, 7:30, 9:1
[12] 9:1, 9:39
[13] 6:12, 8:8, 15:14
[14] 8:5, 8:17, 17:33
[15] 8:5, 8:23, 17:48

friction between residents and civil servants. An abundance of social problems is also signalled in the G-flats, where the residents are living in a 'survival mode'[16]. Multiple respondents do however stress that there is not a unified group of residents[17], but this is contrasted by giving general statements about differences between residents of the E-buurt and G-buurt Noord and types of people that live there[18]. Overall, most of the municipal respondents signal that the residents living in G-buurt Noord have a dependent attitude towards the municipality (see section 5.3).

Perceptions on the neighbourhood and city district

About the neighbourhood and Bijlmer-Oost in general, the civil servants mainly stress the place of the G-buurt Noord in the city district, the type of housing and its problems. The placement of the neighbourhood is next to the E-buurt and within the larger G-buurt, which is of large impact on the development of plans. The type of housing is all social rent and problems are mainly social problems[19], more specifically liveability. The general sentiment of the civil servants is that people would not want to live in the G-buurt Noord, but are living there since they cannot afford better quality housing. The plans for the development of the E-buurt Oost are still in progress, but the municipality wishes to connect the G-buurt Noord more to the E-buurt and through the construction of the E-buurt Oost improve the live chances of the residents of the G-buurt Noord.

5.1.3 Perceptions of other stakeholders

The opinions and experiences of the other involved stakeholders differed substantially. Respondent 3 and 4, working for social foundations, were predominantly positive about the residents and their assets. Respondent 11, employee of the social housing company, was more outspoken about the negative aspects of the resident group living in the neighbourhood[20]. Looking more broadly at the neighbourhood and Bijlmer-Oost in general, respondent 3, an ex-resident of the G-neighbourhood, was more positive and emphasizing the possibilities in the neighbourhood[21]. Respondents 4 and 11 were more worried about the state of the neighbourhood and the people living in it and were stressing difficulties[22].

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[16] 5:25, 8:24, 17:49
[17] 2:19, 2:6, 6:10, 15:2
[18] 5:38, 8:5, 8:17, 17:17, 17:33
[19] 8:26, 8:44
[20] 11:4, 11:7, 11:12, 11:22, 11:25, 11:41, 11:45
[21] 3:27, 3:35
[22] 4:10, 11:3, 11:24

5.1.4 Comparing perceptions of the living environment

There seems to be a mismatch between the ideas that residents of the G-buurt Noord have about the living environment and those of non-residents. Residents of the G-buurt Noord are content living there, whilst some improvements can be made. Most non-residents on the other hand reflect the sentiment that the residents want to move elsewhere. The civil servants connected to the neighbourhood seem to have a problem attitude, instead of an opportunity one and frequently stressing the low qualities of the neighbourhood instead of its richness in possibilities, creating a predominantly negative image of the neighbourhood.

5.2 Municipal organisation

Not only are the perceptions of the living environment of the residents relevant when looking at the participation processes, but also the perceptions on the organisation of the civil servants. This section discusses the perceptions of the different respondent groups on the role that the municipality has and should have and how they experience the internal workings of the organisation.

5.2.1 Perceptions of residents

Role municipality

Discussing the role of the municipality with residents, two themes emerged: what the municipality is currently doing and should continue to do, and what the municipality should change. What the municipality is currently doing (right) is justifying their actions, making sure everybody is heard and being accessible for residents[23]. The sentiment is that in general the municipality is trying hard enough to take all opinions of the residents into account when taking decisions. What the municipality could improve in the eyes of the residents is to provide a basic level of certainties in terms of social security (respondent 7, personal communication, 16 May 2019), think more realistically[24], talk more directly to residents and make policy easier to understand. "They are all busy making money. It is about solar panels, sustainable, that isn't realistic. It's a very expensive programme about things people can't afford and you come with so many difficult terms about green energy and such. Then I think, please guys, make it more understandable and accessible" (respondent 7, personal communication, 16 May 2019). This means that, despite positive intentions, civil servants don't always succeed, and should increase efforts to better translate the policy context

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[23] 10:20, 13:25, 13:28, 13:32
[24] 7:31, 10:68

to the local context of the residents. Civil servants are used to talking administrative jargon, but should try harder to translate this into more practical terms for those unfamiliar with said jargon.

Internal organisation

Considering the municipality, the residents were generally negative: the municipality is stuck in its ways[25]: "they don't come out of these structures and you can't blame them for it" (respondent 7, personal communication, 16 May 2019). This perception of an inability to easily make changes can lead to lower levels of efficacy amongst residents trying to pitch ideas (see section 5.4). Other respondents emphasize the absence of a bond between the civil servants and the neighbourhood[26]. This sentiment appears repeatedly and is seen here as vastly important since the municipality holds the ambition to look for opportunities together with residents but at the same time fails to find a connection with the residents. The respondents felt that the civil servants were willing to try to develop a bond with the residents, but simply did not have the space within the organisation to do so. Besides this, the internal processes are complex and move slowly[27], and civil servants are unaware of the living situations of the residents. "Then I think that the people who give out permits should also go to the places from time to time, what am I permitting? Instead of just the paper document" (respondent 13, personal communication, 27 May 2019). This again shows the distance between the civil servants and the residents of the G-buurt Noord.

5.2.2 Perceptions of civil servants

Role municipality

The working for the municipality saw four clear roles for the municipality. First, the municipality carries the responsibility to inform residents in a way that is understandable for them[28], communicate to them[29] and have contact with them[30], "It is our job to make it understandable, to develop a different language so that people understand it" (respondent 6, personal communication, 15 May 2019). The municipality also should empower[31] and include residents[32], "I think you should let it go and include them from the beginning" (respondent 2, personal communication, 15 May 2019). Third, the municipality should support residents where needed in their participation[33]. Last, the municipality should be able to weigh the interests of the residents to that of the broader

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[25] 1:43, 7:16, 7:36, 10:24, 10:25, 10:31
[26] 7:11, 7:43, 9:51
[27] 7:9, 10:72, 13:21
[28] 2:23, 6:13, 17:12, 17:43
[29] 2:20, 2:44, 8:35, 12:18, 12:43
[30] 5:11, 8:1, 8:30, 8:42, 12:6, 12:15
[31] 5:9, 8:27
[32] 2:24, 6:7, 15:28
[33] 5:15, 5:17, 6:14, 8:6, 8:8, 8:9

society[34]. Whilst these roles are essential and feed the actions of the civil servants, civil servants themselves are critical on how they are succeeding in fulfilling these roles. This is inherently connected to the internal organisation of the municipality.

Internal organisation

The internal organisation of the municipality is widely criticised by the civil servants. Internal communication is lacking[35], the division of tasks is blurry[36] and change too slow[37]. Respondent 12 said "you ask residents to give input, you get into the organisation. Then they say that there is no money for it, or there is no priority for it. In my eyes you should, as an organisation, be more focussed on what you're doing in the neighbourhood" (personal communication, 13 May 2019). Respondent 17 called out the blurry division of tasks: "I now get all these ideas from people for a cook-out, an open-air cinema. That's hard for me, since I'm from the physical domain. They want to solve things outside of the plan area, but then the people live in the plan area. I get quite some ideas that I can't really use" (personal communication, 6 June 2019). Respondent 2 was concerned with the corporate way of working of the municipality, since many civil servants do not have a strong connection with the neighbourhood they live in. The municipality is stuck on the wrong path, and a culture shift is needed[38] to improve the effectivity of the work of the civil servants and to adhere to the roles the municipality should take on.

5.2.3 Perceptions of other stakeholders

The remaining stakeholders define he role of the municipality as one to understand residents and have informal contact with them. Respondent 11 felt that it was not the role of the municipality to participate involve residents in all decision-making processes, "you can participate about a lot of things [...] But if you're talking about social programmes or problems, I don't think you should solve this with the residents" (personal communication, 21 May 2019). Respondent 3 signalled the struggle of civil servants with the low bureaucratic literacy of the residents and that the laws in place prohibit actions of civil servants. Respondent 11 raised clear concerns about the social domain within the municipality and the speed in which the municipality works. Besides these statements, the other stakeholders said little about the municipal organisation.

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[34] 8:33, 12:17, 12:37
[35] 12:44, 12:45, 17:45
[36] 8:47, 17:10
[37] 8:49, 12:27
[38] 6:1, 6:9, 6:15, 6:34

5.2.4 Comparing perceptions of the municipal organisation

The municipality is currently failing in fulfilling their basic role of serving the residents in their needs. Respondents feel that the internal workings of the organisation are ineffective and inefficient: the actions currently taken are not having the intended outcomes and the residents are not being heard sufficiently. Though the municipal system is mostly blamed for this, the distance between residents and civil servants is important. Such struggles with participation between civil servants and residents are not new, as will be discussed in the next section.

5.3 Participation

Central to this research are the perceptions of the respondents on the processes of participation. What is the current situation? What is going wrong in the current situation? And what are wishes for the future? These three questions will be answered in the following section, again along the lines of the different groups of residents.

5.3.1 Perceptions of residents

Current situation

The residents explained the different ways of their participation in the planning processes. There is an active neighbourhood platform, concerned with the entire G-buurt[39] and there is a core team consisting of four people within that platform. Both blocks of single flats have a resident committee, the one of Geldershoofd being in existence longer[40] and the one of Gravestein still in its infancy. Besides these ways of grouping, there are also multiple WhatsApp groups in which residents share events or concerns about their living environment or neighbours[41]. The bond between the municipality and residents is seen as one in which the municipality approaches the residents or comes in times of trouble. Respondent 7 said "I'm being approached 80 per cent of the time, 20 per cent is the other way around" (personal communication, 16 May 2019). Platforms to participate are mainly organised by the municipality[42], but there are also instances worth mentioning in which the initiative comes from the residents[43], and where residents and civil servants work together[44]. Examples are the event for Mother's Day or the (still to take place) Men's cookout. Such activities are financed through the aforementioned neighbourhood budget or separate grants are requested for the organisation of such events.

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[39] 9:10, 9:12, 10:76
[40] 10:02, 13:23
[41] 9:10, 13:23
[42] 7:7, 9:26, 10:27, 10:51
[43] 10:23, 10:76
[44] 10:69, 13:23, 13:24

Struggles in current situation

. Most residents consider the root of participation problems stemming from civil servants and/or the structures of the municipality, whilst a few signal it in the residents. The residents feel that the ways in which participation is done are not transparent or effective enough[45], the programmes are too expensive for residents and the internal organisation should be improved. The respondents experienced a distance between the municipality and the residents, resulting in dissatisfaction with their participation[46] (as already mentioned in section XYZ). The resident respondents were also critical towards their own behaviour and that of their fellow residents. Respondent 9 stated "I would like to be informed, but I'm not sure if I can join in on everything. I'm not 20 anymore" (personal communication, 23 May 2019). Respondent 10 said "I used to be one of those people who would come out of work dead-tired and ignore flyers" (personal communication, 23 May 2019). Respondent 13, active member of the platform, called out the lack of knowledge about the municipal procedures and the anonymity of the residents. However, most of the struggles in participation are seen in the ways in which the municipality allows for participation by residents. An example of this struggle was given by respondent 10 when she talked about how the city district often arranges meetings during business hours. As logical as this is to fit the working hours of the civil servants, this means meetings are hard to attend for residents who are themselves working or in education.

Wishes for the future

The main improvements in participations are possible within the municipality, according to residents. More active contact with residents[47], more empowerment of the residents[48], more transparency and better organisation and lobbying should make a change. There should be more power to the people and a better representation of the population in the core group. Respondent 9 said "if we don't make a fist, they'll do what they want. Now they know [...] that we fight for our rights" (personal communication, 23 May 2019). Even though the residents want to have more influence on the developments in their living environment, they are generally hesitant taking the first steps in this. This hesitation and insecurity could be linked to a general mistrust of the government and the effectiveness of their actions. Most residents would like to see plans working out more quickly, which would lead to more trust in the future.

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[45] 1:24, 10:70, 10:72
[46] 7:11, 7:16, 7:21, 10:31, 13:6, 13:26
[47] 7:43, 7:45
[48] 13:10, 13:18, 13:47

5.3.2 Perceptions of civil servants

Current situation

Civil servants generally considered being allowed to give input during resident evenings[49] and taking part in one of the previously mentioned forms of resident grouping (platform, core group, resident committees) as practical ways for residents to participate in decision-making. Participation was characterised as mostly formal, since it was generally through processes of official public participation in reaction to plans made by the municipality[50]. Respondent two and six, explicitly stated that the type of participation for residents was consultation[51], which is different from participation. These respondents said that it was about testing out thought-out plans with the opinions of residents. The contact with the residents is mainly via neighbourhood brokers (Dutch: *buurtmakelaars*). The initiative for meetings differed and the residents were taken seriously[52] according to the civil servants. The attitude of the residents and the sort of participation, needing help or organising events, differed per neighbourhood[53]. The current participation processes were mostly in the hands of the municipality, but changes are being made to shift this more to residents, by implementing programmes on neighbourhood budgeting and democratization. The current situation is a work in progress, and associated struggles are discussed next.

Struggles in current situation

According to the civil servants, most of the struggles in participation were due to the municipal organisation. The respondents experienced a lack of information the residents were getting from the municipality[54], and the way in which the information was communicated was inadequate[55]. There was a lack of space for residents to influence the process and the representation of different residents was seen as lacking as well[56]. Once again, respondents called out the need for improvement of the internal organisation, but responsibility was mainly assigned to higher levels in the organisation, with minimal reflection on interviewees' own actions. Procedures were in the way of practice, slowing processes down unnecessarily[57], the communication between departments should improve[58] and the attitudes of the civil servants towards participation should change. The latter could be done by getting to know the residents better (respondent 2, personal communication, 15 May 2019). Respondent 8 said "I think that for many residents, especially in the

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[49] 6:16, 12:3
[50] 6:16, 8:1, 15:1
[51] 2:12, 6:16
[52] 8:32, 12:16
[53] 2:6, 8:5, 8:17, 17:33.
[54] 2:23, 12:18, 12:19, 17:43
[55] 5:19, 5:29, 5:30, 6:13
[56] 6:32, 8:10, 12:13, 15:25
[57] 6:20, 6:22, 8:50, 12:23, 12:27
[58] 2:44, 17:10

G-flats, the trust in government is low" (personal communication, 15 May 2019), due to the slow progress made by the municipality and feelings of being disadvantaged by the government. Other respondents witnessed problems with the level of education of residents[59], which led to lower capacities to understand the municipal language. Civil servants felt that residents should improve their literacy instead of the municipality making the processes easier to understand for the residents or invest in improving educational opportunities for residents to do so.

Wishes for the future

The wishes for participation by the respondents of the municipality were mainly focussed on matters that should change within the organisation. Better, more easily understandable, communication with residents[60] is necessary to improve residents' understanding of current affairs and ability to participate in them. The starting point should be the wishes of residents[61] and the civil servants should be more involved with the residents[62]. Again, the burden of internal administrative struggles[63] comes back and it was suggested to specify the participation process per project beforehand. Respondent 12 stated that the current way of participation only "feeds frustration" and "the executive board keeps emphasizing participation and democratisation, but that mainly takes place outdoors with residents" (personal communication, 13 May 2019), meaning civil servants should go to the places where residents come together. Respondent 8, a project manager, said "I sometimes get the feeling that participation is seen as a bandage on everything. It is not. For very large groups things have to be arranged, taken out of their hands, organised well, show as a government that you find these groups important" (personal communication, 15 May 2019). Respondent 8 and 12 thus differ substantially in their preferences regarding participation and illustrate the differences between co-workers.

5.3.3 Perceptions of other stakeholders

The respondents in this group described their own roles in the participation process between the municipality and the residents[64]. The three organisations have a different role in this process, but all actively contribute to relations. Respondent 3 signalled few problems besides the lack of bureaucratic literacy by residents and was mostly focussed on trying new things in the realm of participation[65]. The positive attitude this respondent has is focused on using the strengths of the

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[59] 8:44, 12:40, 15:14, 17:55
[60] 2:40, 5:36, 17:43
[61] 2:24, 2:41, 2;42, 6:23
[62] 8:43, 12:15, 17:53
[63] 12:49, 12:50
[64] 3:2, 3:4, 4:1, 4:2, 11:10, 11:11
[65] 3:22, 3:28, 3:29, 3:32

neighbourhood and going from opportunities instead of looking at problems. He stated, "In the G-buurt I only see chances, I don't see trees in the way" (personal communication, 23 May 2019). Respondent 4 mainly called out the difficulties in getting residents to participate[66] and felt that the shopping mall Ganzenhoef should have more attention in politics. However, this respondent was mostly focussed on the social side of participation and labour-market participation. Respondent 4 did not give clear wishes for the future. Respondent 11 was mostly concerned with the resident committees of the G-flats. The respondent, representing the housing corporation, felt that these committees do not represent the population[67]. "It's really hard, since you quickly hear four or five people who have an opinion on everything. If this group really has large support, then it's fine, but otherwise it isn't realistic to go from their opinion. We're struggling with getting the voice of the majority of the residents" (respondent 11, personal communication, 21 May 2019). Respondent 11 called out the need for a strong social programme of the municipality together with the housing corporation but did not want to enlarge the participation by residents. Respondent 11 mainly wanted a stronger government presence and interventions by professionals, not necessarily taking into account the preferences of the residents.

5.3.4 Comparing perceptions of participation

The second sub question was w*hat is the city's approach towards resident participation for residents in its urban restructuring planning processes?* This question is answered through both the study of policy documents and through primary data collection (interviews). The coalition agreement was written in accordance with an open and inclusive approach to working together with citizens for writing and realising plans in the city. The coalition describes the residents of Amsterdam to be "a colourful collection of people, groups and cultures that together make the city. Together it forms a whole that transcends individual differences. One Amsterdam identity that defines us all" (own translation, Coalition Groenlinks et al., 2018, p. 4). This signals that the municipality is open to all identities, opinions and cultures, an idea that is explicitly endorsed later in the agreement. Multiple civil servants defined resident participation purely as consultation, whilst a move up Arnstein's ladder is preferred. How to do this remains something to unfold in the future. The approach of the municipality is to increase the democratisation in the planning processes by giving more autonomy to residents in small-scale projects and to raise the level of input on large-scale planning.

In the case of G-buurt Noord, discussions on the neighbourhood budget are ongoing. At the time of writing, a budget has been made available for the foundation of the platform of the G-buurt. This budget is provided to residents to realise their plans in the Buurtplan G-buurt, written by the

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[66] 4:8, 4:11
[67] 11:12, 11:13

Core Group G-buurt (Dutch: *Kerngroep G-buurt*) and the Resident Platform G-buurt (Dutch: *Bewonersplatform G-buurt*). This Buurtplan focuses on a multitude of problems in different domains. This budget pilot this is a way of experimenting with democratisation for the municipality and is yet to be evaluated formally.

The current approach of the municipality is based on consultation, giving residents room for influence through official ways of participation, but in reality sticks to consultation. The differences between personal opinions and preferences of different civil servants and also other stakeholders were interesting. As participation is a process involving many different parties, this is to be expected, but one would expect that the ideas about participation within one team would at least be the same since they work from the same administrative task. This was not the case for the G-buurt Noord or E-buurt Oost. For both neighbourhoods, some civil servants felt the need to enlarge the influence of residents, whilst others did not see the use of this.

To answer the third sub question, w*hat are the perceptions of residents on their current participation in the urban restructuring planning processes?*, the insights gained during the analysis of the interviews are used. The efforts made with regards to participation are generally appreciated by the residents, though accompanied by critical notes. The residents knew exactly which civil servants were more involved than others. The residents also much appreciate the ways the budgeting of the Buurtplan is done and how the active residents are taken along in these processes. Whilst discussing what was lacking most in the participation of the residents, the residents themselves focused on the distance between the municipality and the residents. Most civil servants are at a physical distance to the residents, they live somewhere else in the city or in different cities. Moreover, residents signal a more personal or emotional distance between the municipality and the residents: the civil servants are unaware of the lives of the residents, have a stigma about the residents and in general are not present in the neighbourhood enough, exceptions aside. Residents don't just "blame" the municipality and its structures, they are aware of how they themselves could improve their attitude towards the municipality and the organised forms of participation. The suggestions on improvements by the residents are mostly on the ways in which the municipality should change its internal structures and pace at which plans are put into action. Civil servants generally agree with the sentiments expressed by residents: they wished for a better internal organisation and involving the residents more in their planning processes, and the residents in turn sensed this. It is therefore not an unwillingness of civil servants when it comes to participation, the practical implementation of policy goals is however harder than it might seem in the coalition agreement. In short, the residents are hopeful for the future for their participation and sense the willingness to make changes but would like to see changes move faster.

5.4 Community building

The conceptual framework presented in chapter 2 demonstrated two concepts underlying resident participation: community building and the intercultural approach. The first concept is discussed in this section. By looking at the approach to community building, the experience on level of dependency of residents and the self- and collective efficacy this concept is explored. To shortly recap what is meant by community building (or development): this concept illustrates the ways civil servants and residents work (or do not) work together to build a community of residents in which the residents help each other and are reliant on other residents.

5.4.1 Perceptions of residents

Approach by the municipality

Residents did not endorse either of the two approaches to community building more than the other, the choices being a need-based or an asset-based approach to community development. Some signalled a clear need-based approach, where the focus is on the municipality helping them with trouble[68], as one of the respondents put it "why should I go to them? With problems they come, besides that we don't need them" (respondent 9, personal communication, 23 May 2019). Residents however generally felt supported with a focus on strengths of residents instead of the need for assistance by the municipality[69], though with room for improvement. In the dichotomy of consultation versus participation, most residents express the experience of participation[70]. Even though the residents called this participation, in academic literature this would more commonly be considered consultation, for example formally reacting to the new urban plan for the E-buurt Oost. Respondent 13, member of the neighbourhood platform, said "I find it important that there is active participation" (personal communication, 27 May 2019), but that the municipality should be more patient with the ways in which this process of improvement is taking place. "I see that things are getting started slowly, but you have to be lucky" (respondent 13, personal communication, 27 May 2019). Critical remarks on the participation processes were detailed in section 5.3.1.

Abilities of the residents

Some residents doubted the leadership of their resident groups. Respondent 1 said that people vote every few years, so direct participation should not be necessary, but also said that "sometimes you just have to show some resistance" (personal communication, 20 May 2019) when you disagree with

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[68] 9:16, 10:1
[69] 1:42, 7:7, 10:26
[70] 1:42, 7:7, 9:12, 9:50

the actions of the municipality. Respondent 7 said "money is the underlying motivation goal" (personal communication, 16 May 2019), signalling a sentiment of doubting truthful intentions of leaders. The general tendency was positive about the leadership roles taken up in the G-buurt Noord, which might reflect sampling bias: mainly I interviewed mainly community leaders. The level of self-efficacy differed per respondent, only respondent 13 was completely positive about it[71], "I have a background in social work and basically everything to do with mentoring. It is really in my blood that I know exactly how to handle things and I have a reasonable vision on how thing can change and what the problems are in the neighbourhood" (personal communication, 27 May 2019). Other respondents signalled a willingness to participate[72], reasons to not do so were partly given in section 5.3.1. Generally, the resident respondents felt uncertain about the ability to affect change as a single individual in the planning processes. Residents felt more confident their collective efficacy. Respondent 14 focussed on the successes by the resident platform, committee and core group, "we were approached to write the action plan, we were free in that. We wrote it, people thought it was a great piece" (respondent 14, personal communication, 23 May 2019). This example was often cited when the respondents were asked about their collective efficacy. They felt that as a group they were more likely to effect change, but that this effectiveness was still dependent on the influence allowed by the municipality.

5.4.2 Perceptions of civil servants

Approach by the municipality

Civil servants characterise their attitude towards residents as predominantly asset-based. Residents would ideally take action to organise events or write plans, and the municipality would assist them where necessary[73]. Most civil servants were focussed on the assets of the residents and involving them from the start of the process of participation. Contrasting their preferences, the civil servants responded that this was hard to put into practice, mainly blaming the municipal system for this. Civil servants differed in their opinions on whether the role of the municipality should be assisting residents or going from their strengths, mostly connected to the specific topic. Respondent 15, district manager stood out most, stating "that's how many people think: the civil servants are good. They have expertise. For living and physical you have to have expertise. What residents can signal is that they want more room to play, and you can take this into account" (personal communication, 27 May 2019). With "living and physical", the two different domains within the municipality are meant. These two domains have separate managements and employees, but often work together for projects. Residents could use their strengths in participation about the "fun stuff" (respondent 8,

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[71] 13:1, 13:3, 13:4, 13:5, 13:14, 13:27
[72] 1:40, 7:8, 10:26
[73] 5:17, 8:7, 8:9, 17:15

personal communication, 15 May 2019) and organising events themselves. Residents needed assistance when it came to funding and the internal trajectories within the municipal organisation. The need for assistance here was seen as logical, since the civil service system is hard to understand (respondent 12, personal communication, 13 May 2019). The civil servants saw their approach as a participation one[74] instead of a consultation one, with a few clearly stated exceptions[75], "if you're talking about participation, it's mainly consultation" (respondent 2, personal communication, 15 May 2019). Respondent 8 said "they do not know how to get from idea to plan, but they do have ideas. In that we, as a city district, have to take initiative and organise it for them" (personal communication, 15 May 2019), this shows what the civil servant thought about the abilities of the residents to execute ideas themselves.

Perceived abilities of the residents

Respondent 2 said there is a wide variety of residents and the ways in which they want to participate, "it depends, you know, we don't have one sort of resident" (personal communication, 15 May 2019). Whether residents were seen as more reliant on institutions or showing more leadership qualities depended mainly on neighbourhood. Residents of the G-flats were seen as more reliant[76], whereas the residents of the E-neighbourhood were seen as more independent. "I think it is in a sort of attitude, I'm very much generalising, but that the people in E-buurt have more the capacities to think more in possibilities and chances. The residents in the G-buurt have a much more dependent attitude towards the city district of the municipality" (respondent 8, personal communication, 15 May 2019). The way in which residents were more reliant on institutions were mainly that they were dependent on what the municipality would offer them to participate on and the funding by the municipality. This was seen as the unwillingness of residents to organise activities themselves, but as the logical consequence of the complicated administrative regulations. The difference between the residents of the E- and G-neighbourhood was also expressed when discussing the levels of collective efficacy of residents[77]. Respondent 17, project manager, said "in the E-buurt it's a bit less, there you also have strong residents, but they are much more individual, not really involved with each other" (personal communication, 6 June 2019), whilst the residents of the G-buurt were more busy helping each other. The levels of collective efficacy in the G-buurt Noord were perceived by the civil servants as high[78], relying on key figures for taking action: "more as a group. Because they do come, but they are reliant on the core group that does it for them" (respondent 5, personal

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[74] 5:33, 12:31, 17:34
[75] 2:12, 6:16, 15:18
[76] 5:24, 17:18
[77] 8:5, 8:16, 17:14, 17:17, 17:31
[78] 2:11, 5:23, 5:24, 8:10, 8:14, 17:23

communication, 13 May 2019). Whereas there is high self-efficacy in the E-buurt, this is contrasted by high collective efficacy in the G-buurt Noord.

5.4.3 Perceptions of other stakeholders

The other three stakeholders interviewed were similar in their answers that the municipality holds a more needs-based approach towards the resident group[79]. This has to be seen in the context of the role of these the three respondents in their companies, being in contact with residents and helping them with problems. Respondent 3 was significantly more positive towards the strengths of the residents, signalling a clear belief in the capacities of the residents, "The people that are visible have very strong own powers and can get a lot done" (personal communication, 23 May 2019). Meanwhile, respondents 4 and 11 were signalling lower levels of self-efficacy. Respondent 11 said "we house a target group in which many people feel sorry for themselves and that the responsibility to better the situation is with others, not with them" (personal communication, 21 May 2019). Whilst respondents 3 and 4 were more positive on the levels of collective efficacy of the residents, respondent 11 was not convinced about this, especially doubting the legitimacy of the resident committees. Where respondents 3 and 4 go more from a more asset-based approach, respondent 11 goes from a needs-based approach, but this is partly due to the job type.

5.4.4 Comparing perceptions of community building

Though the civil servants profess to adhere an asset-based approach to community building focussing on the strengths of the residents, the resident respondents did not experience this to be true and signalled a needs-based approach focussing on problems. There is a difference between the ideology in policy of the municipality and the reality of this concerning participation for residents. A large dependency of institutions is present, but this is mostly due to the existing systems, since high levels of collective efficacy are noted as well. Even the residents of the G-buurt Noord have lower levels of self-efficacy than their neighbours in the E-buurt, they do group themselves and take action together.

5.5 Municipal approach to cultural diversity

The intercultural approach was introduced as another concept connecting to resident participation, with a focus on the approach the municipality held in their relationship with residents on the variety of cultures of residents. The intercultural approach looks different than other approaches to

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[79] 3:33, 11:34

diversity in residents: the approach appreciates the diversity and allows people to keep this diversity.

5.5.1 Perceptions of residents

Residents' views on the approach of the municipality to cultural diversity differed substantially. Some residents saw the civil servants as villains[80], not being aware of the worlds of the residents (respondent 7, personal communication, 16 May 2019). Respondent 7 also said that the civil servants understood the residents and enough was being done in terms of awareness of different cultures, but that the problem in participation lies in the culture of the municipal organisation. Respondent 10 felt misunderstood by civil servants. "They have a distorted image of the people from the Bijlmer, especially people of colour from the Bijlmer. [...] People seriously have the idea that, we as black people don't work, don't go to school, that we're all single parents, drop-outs, and who knows more negativity. While that is simply not the case" (personal communication, 23 May 2019). The ignorance of the civil servants about the living situation and cultural backgrounds of the residents stood in the way of equivalent relationships. Respondent 13 did not strongly express a negative or positive opinion on this, more that the process of participation takes time to get started. When discussing awareness of different cultural backgrounds, respondents answered positively, but were dissatisfied about the practical execution of it[81]. The residents felt the civil servants did not sufficiently connect to the world of residents and therefore were unaware of the variation in cultural backgrounds and lacked cultural literacy. The blame for this was however assigned to the institution of the municipality, not necessarily the civil servants at work for the neighbourhood.

5.5.2 Perceptions of civil servants

Own behaviour

Most of the civil servant respondents were prone to thinking in target-groups[82], but in most cases were aware of doing this, "it is a very bold statement, but I think that we, as Dutch people, have it in us to place people in boxes" (respondent 2, personal communication, 15 May 2019). Respondent 15, while acknowledging target-group thinking, saw this as the right approach and a signal of awareness of different cultural groups[83]. This respondent said "Bijlmer-Oost has 179 nationalities, but there are five target groups that form 86%: Dutch, Surinam, Spanish speaking, Africans (especially Ghanaian). So, if you talk to these target groups, you have spoken to Bijlmer-Oost" (respondent 15, personal communication, 27 May 2019). Statements like these show ignorance of

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[80] 7:47, 9:51
[81] 7:17, 7:43, 13:6
[82] 2:32, 5:37, 8:5, 12:34
[83] 15:2, 15:11, 15:12, 15:26, 15:29

diversity in cultural backgrounds and the presence of target group thinking about groups of people, not allowing for intersectionality and assuming all people from a particular broad ethnic group are the same Though this is the opinion of one civil servant interviewed, this view is important considering the seniority of this participant and their influence in the planning process. The response of respondent 17 contained the sentiments of most other civil servants "I am aware [of cultural differences], but it's not always easy to handle it" (personal communication, 6 June 2019).

Behaviour of colleagues

When reflecting on the level of cultural literacy, most civil servant respondents were critical, acknowledging that this should improve[84]. Respondent 12 said that civil servants are used to seeing reality from their own perspective, but that they should be professional enough to get all opinions on the table. This links back to the roles of the municipality discussed in section 5.2.2 and the basic premise of civil servants working for the people and doing what is best for residents. Respondent 6 said "I know that they [colleagues] are aware of the diversity in an area, so also in terms of ethnical background and thus culture" (personal communication, 15 May 2019), but there are struggles on how to improve the practical relations between residents and civil servants in this respect.

5.5.3 Perceptions of other stakeholders

On the intercultural approach, respondents 3 and 4 were positive about the approach the municipality has towards the residents[85]. Respondent 3 and 4 acknowledge there are difficulties, but civil servants try their best to fix them. Respondent 11 signals the need for target-group policy and in responses such "you just have to put a nice Antillean or Surinamese in that position" signalled a lack of cultural literacy. Even though this respondent was not working for the municipality directly, the housing corporation does have close ties with the municipality in social housing. In the case of G-buurt Noord and E-buurt Oost the housing corporation is inherently connected to the residents, since 100 per cent of the G-buurt Noord is social housing and approximately 20 per cent of E-buurt Oost will be social housing. A lack of cultural literacy with the employees of the housing corporation might thus provide a problem with the residents and their participation for the future.

5.5.4 Comparing perceptions of the municipal approach to cultural diversity

The missing link in participation between residents and civil servants on planning processes on urban restructuring in the case study was sought in the approach to cultural diversity by the

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[84] 2:35, 5:29, 8:43
[85] 3:14, 4:24

municipality. Overall, civil servants signalled a lack of cultural literacy, only a general and basic awareness and lack of knowledge on the diversity in the resident population. There is a seeming mismatch between the world of residents and the image the civil servants have of this world. Even though the municipality claims to be open to all cultures, this is not experienced by residents spoken to of the G-buurt Noord.

The last sub question to answer before proceeding to the conclusions was formulated as *what wishes do the civil servants and residents have for the participation processes in urban restructuring?* The responses to this question differed greatly but centre around four main subjects. First, both the residents and civil servants felt that the communication between the residents and municipality should improve. Not only were they critical on the amount of communication, also the clarity, consistency and the use of language. Civil servants should use less jargon and be more aware of the different, and sometimes lower, levels of language proficiency of the residents and try their best to help residents in understanding the ongoing processes. Second, all of the residents should be included and there should be more and better attempts into getting to know the opinions of people who are masked as 'unreachable' now. This is inherently linked to a shift to intercultural planning where civil servants are more aware and understanding of the diversity and cultures. A good start on this was made through the construction of personas, but the effects of the formulation of these personas is not visible or worked out yet. Third, an often-heard sentiment from residents was that they felt the civil servants should be more involved in the neighbourhood, including physically being more present in the neighbourhood. In that way the relations between civil servants and residents might improve, which could lead to a better understanding of one another. Lastly, both residents and civil servants felt that more should be done to empower of residents. The capacities and willingness to make a change are mostly present, but there should be more and easier facilitation from the municipality for the practical implementation. Therefore, the wish for a more asset-based approach to community development is present, no concrete knowledge on how to facilitate this.

6. Conclusion & discussion

The research presented in this thesis was conducted to answer the question *how are local residents participating in the planning processes related to urban restructuring of Bijlmer-Oost and what could improve according to civil servants and residents?* through of a brief content analysis and semi-structured in-depth interviews with residents, civil servants and three other stakeholders in the participation process. The research was focussed on the case study in Bijlmer-Oost, the G-buurt Noord, in combination with the plans for the construction of the E-buurt Oost.

6.1 Answering the question

The policy lens of Koopmans and Statham (2002, see section 2.3) that fits the approach of the municipality best is a combination of a multiculturalist one and universalist. It is multiculturalist in the sense that cultural diversity is acknowledged, and civil servants often still think in target-groups. It is universalist in the sense that in its policy it is mainly makes no explicit reference to ethnicity. The approach of the municipality towards participation is one of consultation, the fourth step on the ladder of citizen participation by Sherry Arnstein (1969). This is in line with Hall and Hickman's (2011) claim that local governments disguise consultation as participation. The consultation step still falls in the sub category of tokenism on the ladder of Arnstein, where there is limited actual citizen power and most of the power is still with the government. To go to actual participation and improve the participative democracy across the municipality, changes are necessary according to respondents in this research. In the current processes, the residents are mostly asked about their opinions in depth when plans have been formed and certain plan decision have already been taken. The improvements of the processes of resident participation in the planning processes of urban restructuring in Bijlmer-Oost mainly lie in increasing the frequency at earlier stages in planning processes of participation, as well as the quality and depth of the relationship between the residents and civil servants. An overarching sentiment remains that the civil servants are at physical and personal distance from residents and are unaware of 'their world'. More time and effort should therefore be invested in the bond between the residents and the civil servants. Even though the municipality focusses widely on democratisation and participation on a policy level, practical implementations are lagging behind. The administrative systems in place at the municipality hamper plans, to some extent the municipality seems its own enemy in participation.

Looking back at the conceptual framework of chapter two, this research shows that the municipality should make more efforts to help residents with the building of their own community. The residents that signal adequate levels of collective efficacy are mainly residents who are already involved in processes of participation. The question now remains, how will the municipality help

residents with gaining more control over the participation regarding their own living environment? The research also endorses the theory of interculturalism: the main problem in the participation processes around the urban restructuring of the case study were found in the ignorance of the civil servants about the world of the residents. Residents of the flats in the G-buurt Noord still feel compartmentalised and this is reinforced by the sentiments expressed by civils servants. Overall cultural literacy is lacking in terms of communication and information provision, also connected to the ways in which participation is done. Participation, or consultation, is done through traditional formats of the municipality, whereas this does not connect to the world of the residents, nor their working hours.

6.2 Reflection and limitations

Looking back at the process for the research of this master thesis, there are a few things that would have been good to know beforehand and are seen as limitations to the research. Being part of the organisation being researched influences the results, which was one of the expected limitations in doing action research. Overall, the internship gave me more opportunities than it caused negative influence on the research. The case was selected in accordance with colleagues, and even though the G-buurt Noord proved to be an interesting case when it comes to participation in planning processes, the E-buurt Oost was less useful. Towards the end it became clear that it might have been more interesting to make more of a comparison between the G-buurt Noord and the E-buurt in general or the rest of the G-buurt. Interviewees were selected and approached through the contacts of colleagues at the municipality and even though this eased my search for respondents, it also influenced the respondent selection. This approach led to the selection of respondents that were in contact with the municipality and therefore the opinions presented here are unlikely to be representative of all residents or reflecting more negative opinions, and therefore this selection effect did influence the research outcomes. The research focussed on the participation processes in an administrative planning process, which from time to time led to some confusion, since some respondents or people being informed about the research thought the research was on social participation.

During the analysis it became clear that there was a lack of knowledge on the analysis programme Atlas.TI, which resulted in doing part of the analysis by hand eventually, due to time constraints. During the analysis it also became clear that some concepts were double-coded or were insignificant, since hardly any quotations were connected to it. This was then solved with leaving out the codes when writing out the results. This could probably have been averted with more thorough interview preparation or conducting pilot interviews and updating the coding scheme after pilots were completed. Next to this, another limitation of this research is that there was such

a strong fixation on the beforehand formulated theory that the results of the problems with communication and contact came as a bigger surprise than initially expected. This tunnel vision is of influence on the results, if this had not been the case, other topics might have been elaborated on in the interviews.

6.3 Theoretical implications and suggestions for future research

The conceptual framework (see figure 2, page 17) set out for this research put the resident participation in urban restructuring at its centre. It did not say anything about the level of effectiveness of satisfaction with the participation, as the municipality in its coalition agreement lacks a definition on this. The resident participation was hypothesised to be mainly influenced by two concepts: community building and the intercultural approach.

Community building

The literature discussion in chapter 2 and the accompanied conceptual framework set out that a community is built through an asset-based approach, the level of dependency of institutions by the residents, the level of self-efficacy and the level of collective efficacy. This research shows that the municipality still holds a mainly needs-based approach to community building, in which the residents are mostly dependent of the municipality for their participation. Levels of collective efficacy were higher than levels of self-efficacy in the G-buurt Noord. The empowerment and confidence often needed for strong leadership roles were lacking for most of the residents, whilst this is an important pre-condition for effectuating change. A suggestion for future research would be to see how increasing levels of self-efficacy influence the collective efficacy. Another suggestion would be to compare different cities (and perhaps countries) on the level of resident dependency of the local government. It would also be interesting for the municipality to set up trajectories for its residents to boost their self-efficacy.

The intercultural approach

The underlying sub concepts of the intercultural approach adhered in the research were cultural literacy, awareness and understanding of cultural diversity. Some residents clearly signalled the lack of an intercultural approach, but did not inherently link this to civil servants, but to a broader societal problem of institutionalised racism. The civil servants signalled that they were aware of different cultural backgrounds and acknowledged that they sometimes lacked awareness or understanding and were working on improving this. Most civil servant respondents did still speak about groups of residents, therefore signalling target-group thinking. The lack of cultural literacy was mostly in the

ignorance of the civil servants about the world of the residents and the failure to translate official administrative language to understandable language for the residents. This gave the residents the feeling of distance, elaborated on multiple times in the results chapter. There seems to be a physical, emotional and cultural distance between the civil servants and the residents, which is to be eliminated through rapprochement of civil servants. Being more physically present in the neighbourhood as well as emotionally connected would in time diminish the perceived cultural distance. This research is a more explorative case study of the intercultural approach in participation on planning processes in urban restructuring, and therefore a more in-depth research on this topic is suggested. This could for example be done by comparing multiple neighbourhoods, different cities or neighbourhoods with differences in their cultural diversity.

6.4 Recommendations for policy

Even though this is already attempted by the municipality, more should and could be done to reach the *stille Amsterdammer*. When trying to effectuate participative democracy and giving a voice to all residents of the city, this should also include groups that are harder to reach. The construction of the persona tool was a first step in that direction, unfortunately nothing is done with the tool yet. Putting more effort into reaching residents instead of brushing people off as 'unreachable' would be wise. It would also be interesting for the municipality to do research into the implementation of the coalition agreement. The ambitions in the coalition agreement seem progressive though infeasible. For the ambitions of democratisation, it is not detailed how these could be measured evaluated formally, this should be added. Besides this, doing more for cultural diversity could for example be improved by joining the Council of Europe's network for intercultural cities (Council of Europe, 2019).

The main recommendation for the city of Amsterdam would be to listen better to its residents. Even though rather cliché, the distance between the civil servants and the residents they are serving is the most important obstacle in the participation process. Most residents want to be involved in the planning processes of their living environment, discussing smaller project such as the gardens between flats. Residents generally also wish to have a clearer say when larger project are taken place, since these have more influence on their living environment. Expertise on urban planning may be at the municipality, but the process around the planning should be controlled by the government, at least not in a city striving for democratisation. As one respondent put it: 'It is time for government participation, not citizen participation' (personal communication, 15 May 2019). This means that the residents are the main determiner of what happens in the living environment, being empowered by the civil servants in this and creating a more liveable neighbourhood.

7. References

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8. Appendixes

8.1 Appendix I. Overview of data and literature used for content analysis

Data bases

- OIS Amsterdam's *Gebied in beeld* for Amsterdam and G-buurt Noord

Policy documents

- Gemeente Amsterdam, Area plan: *Gebiedsplan 2019 Bijlmer Oost*
- Gemeente Amsterdam, Coalition agreement : *Een nieuwe lente en een nieuw geluid*
- Gemeente Amsterdam, Draft plan E-buurt Oost
- Gemeente Amsterdam, Plan of Action: *Plan van aanpak Ontwikkelbuurt EG-buurt Noord*
- Gemeente Amsterdam, Webpage on policy: *Volg het beleid; Uitvoeringsagenda: Participatief en digitaal*
- Gemeente Amsterdam, Webpage on policy: *Volg het beleid: Wonen*
- Kerngroep G-buurt Amsterdam Zuidoost & Bewonersplatform G-buurt Amsterdam Zuidoost: *Buurtplan G-buurt; Amsterdam Zuidoost 2019-2022*

Literature documents or websites

Web pages:

- Bijlmermuseum

Books:

- Bolte & Meijer (1981): *Van Berlage tot Bijlmer*
- Goethals & van der Maesen (1983): *De Bijlmermeer, om de nieuwe toekomst van 100.000 Amsterdammers*
- Van der Maesen (1970): *Bijlmer, een modelstad voor inspraak? De SCAB in opbouw, een experiment voor planning, opbouw en inspraak.*
- Wassenberg (2013): *Large housing estates: ideas, rise, fall and recovery. The Bijlmermeer and beyond* (dissertation)
- Wassenberg (1990): *De bewoners over de toekomst van de Bijlmermeer*
- Zandvliet (2011): *De Bijlmer: Een uitdagende stad binnen een stad* (master thesis)

Articles:

- Helleman & Wassenberg (2004): *The Renewal of what was tommorow's idealistic city*
- Wassenberg (2011): *Demolition in the Bijlmermeer: lessons from transforming a large housing estate*

8.2 Appendix II. Interview guide residents

Allereerst wil ik u erg bedanken dat u de tijd hebt genomen om door mij geïnterviewd te worden. Dit interview is anoniem, uw naam zal dus niet terug te vinden zijn in het onderzoek. Wel wil ik u vragen of ik het interview op mag nemen, dit om het terug te kunnen luisteren en mijn uitwerkingen precies te doen.

Vindt u dit goed? Ja/nee

Dan lijkt het me handig dat ik nog even kort uitleg wat ik doe en waar dit interview over zal gaan. Ik studeer in Nijmegen en doe daar een master Planologie. Voor mijn afstudeeronderzoek kijk ik naar de bewonersparticipatie bij stedelijke vernieuwing; dus hoe worden de bewoners in en rondom een gebied gevraagd om mee te denken bij het ontwikkelen van nieuwbouw en het verbouwen van bestaande bouw. Dat is een heel breed onderwerp, en ik kijk specifiek naar ontwikkelbuurten in Amsterdam Zuidoost; de G-buurt Noord en de (nog te bouwen) E-buurt Oost. Uw input voor het onderzoek is belangrijk om een beeld te krijgen hoe bewoners denken over deze participatie; wat gaat er goed, wat kan er beter. Naast bewoners interview ik ook medewerkers van de gemeente die in contact staan met de bewoners en medewerkers van andere belangrijke organisaties. Als u zich niet comfortabel voelt bij het beantwoorden van bepaalde vragen mag u natuurlijk altijd weigeren om antwoord te geven

Q1. Allereerst zou ik u willen vragen of iets meer te vertellen over uw dagelijkse bezigheden?

Q1.1 Wat doet u qua opleiding?

Q1.2 Werkt u? Zo ja, wat voor werk doet u?

Q1.3 Waar woont u?

Q1.3.1 Hoe woont u?

Q1.3.2 Met wie woont u?

Q1.3.3 Ben je gelukkig waar u nu woont?

Q1.3.3.1 Zou u willen verhuizen?

Q1.3.3.2 Waarom wel/niet?

Q1.4 Wat voor band hebt u met uw medebewoners?

Q1.4.1 Wat voor contact hebt u met ze?

Q 1.5 Wat is uw band met de medewerkers van de gemeente Amsterdam?

Q1.5.1 Wat voor soort contact hebt u met ze?

Q1.6 Heeft u contact met de medewerkers van de gemeente Amsterdam naast de georganiseerde evenementen zoals bewonersavonden?

Q2.1 Als u contact hebt met de medewerkers van de gemeente, hoe gebeurt dat dan?

Q2.1.1 Komen zij naar u toe of zoekt u hen op?

Q2.1.2 Wie initieert het contact?

Q2.2 Heeft u het gevoel dat het een gelijkwaardige relatie is tussen u en de medewerkers van de gemeente?

Q2.3 Als u naar de medewerkers van de gemeente toe stapt, over wat voor onderwerpen gaat het dan?

Q2.3.1 Is het dan vaak het geval dat u hulp nodig hebt van de medewerkers van de gemeente?

Q2.4 Heeft u het gevoel dat u vrij bent om zelf dingen te organiseren?

Q2.4.1 Heeft u het gevoel dat als u zelf, of als groep bewoners, dingen organiseert, dat de gemeente daar wil helpen?

Q2.5 Wat is over het algemeen je mening over de organisatie gemeente Amsterdam?

Q2.5.1 Vind je het behulpzame mensen? Vriendelijk?

In mijn onderzoek kijk ik ook nadrukkelijk naar de bewoners van Bijlmer-Oost

Q3. Heeft u het gevoel dat er mensen zijn binnen de grote groep bewoners in uw buurt die echt leiderschap tonen namens de buurtbewoners?

Q3.1 Waarin ziet u dit?

Q3.2 Heeft u het gevoel dat deze groep afhankelijk is van instanties zoals de gemeente, maar ook partijen als Woon en Pozo voor hun participatie?

Q3.2.1 Waar maakt u dat uit op?

Q3.3 Hoe zou u dit graag anders zien?

Q4. Heeft u het gevoel dat u zelf het verschil kan maken in de plannen die de gemeente maakt?

Q4.1 Waar maakt u dat uit op?

Q4.2 Waar denkt u dat dat door komt?

Q4.3 Denkt u dat dit hetzelfde is voor de rest van de bewoners?

Q5. Heeft u het gevoel dat u, binnen een groep bewoners, met z'n allen een verschil kan maken in de plannen die de gemeente maakt?

Q5.1 Waar maakt u dat uit op?

Q5.2 Waar denkt u dat dat door komt?

Q5.3 Denkt u dat de andere bewoners dit gevoel ook hebben?

Ik zou nu graag een paar vragen stellen over het maken van plannen rondom de vernieuwing van woningen, nieuwbouw en de verbetering van de buitenruimte. Voorbeelden hiervan zijn het concept plan voor de E-buurt Oost, maar ook de verbetering van de binnentuin tussen de flats Gravestein/Geldershoofd.

Q6. Hoe wordt u, als bewoner, betrokken bij deze participatie?

Q6.1 Heb je het gevoel dat je op de hoogte wordt gesteld van deze plannen?

Q6.2 Op wat voor manier wordt de participatie dit gedaan?

Q6.2.1 Doet u hier zelf ook actief aan mee?

Q6.3 Wat denkt u dat de gemeente doet met uw feedback?

Q6.4 Vindt u dat de feedback en input die jullie als bewoners leveren serieus genomen wordt?

Q6.5.1 Waarom wel of niet?

Q6.5.2 Hoe zou dit in uw ogen verbeterd kunnen worden?

Q7. Hoe ervaart u dat de gemeente omgaat met de verschillende culturele achtergronden die aanwezig zijn in de buurt?

Q7.1 Zijn ze zich bewust van verschillende culturele achtergronden?

Q7.1.1 Waar maakt u dit uit op?

Q7.2 Plaatsen ze groepen bewoners in hokjes?

Q7.2.1 Waar maakt u dit uit op?

Q7.3 Wordt er duidelijk anders omgegaan met verschillende 'groepen' bewoners?

Q7.3.1 Waar maakt u dit uit op?

Q8. Denkt u dat de gemeente vooroordelen heeft over bepaalde bewoners of groepen bewoners?

Q8.1 [Indien ja op Q8] Hoe uit zich dit?

Q8.2 Waarom denkt u dat dit wel/niet zo is?

Q8.3 Heeft u het gevoel dat de medewerkers van de gemeente goed omgaan met verschillende bewoners?

Q8.3.1 Waarom wel/niet?

Q8.3.2 Denkt u dat uw medebewoners dit ook zo ervaren?

Q8.4 Voelt u zich begrepen over het algemeen?

Q8.4 Merkt u een afstand tussen u en de medewerkers van de gemeente?

Q9. Als laatste nog even terugkomend op de participatie bij de stedelijke vernieuwing. Heeft u nog wensen of ideeën die u anders zo willen op de manier hoe er wordt geparticipeerd?

Q9.1 Waarom deze manieren/suggesties?

Q9.2 Hoe ziet u zich dit praktisch voor u?

Dan wil ik u ten slotte nogmaals hartelijk bedanken voor uw deelname aan mijn onderzoek, de uitkomsten zullen aan het einde met u gedeeld worden en u kunt er dan nog op reageren als u ervaart dat uw input verkeerd gebruikt is.

8.3 Appendix III. Interview guide civil servants

Zoals u weet ben ik sinds maart stagiaire bij team Zuidoost en val ik onder team *Democratisering*. Naast meewerken aan projecten voer ik ook mijn onderzoek uit voor mijn afstudeerscriptie. Mijn onderwerp is bewonersparticipatie bij stedelijke herstructurering in ontwikkelbuurten in Amsterdam Zuidoost. Via de casestudies van de G-buurt Noord en E-buurt Oost probeer ik antwoord te geven op mijn onderzoeksvraag die luidt "Hoe participeren bewoners in het planproces van stedelijke herstructurering in Bijlmer-Oost en wat zou verbeterd kunnen worden?". Binnen mijn onderzoek kijk ik naar de perspectieven van medewerkers van de gemeente en bewoners van de buurten.

Dit interview is bedoeld om input te leveren voor mijn hoofdstuk van de context rondom de cases en de dataverzameling van de inhoud van de cases. Ik wil u daarom een aantal vragen stellen over onderwerpen die ik denk dat belangrijk zijn bij dit onderzoek en die invulling geven aan de uitwerking van de theorie. Van tevoren wil ook melden dat de deelname volledig geanonimiseerd wordt en dat uw naam niet terug zal zijn te vinden in het onderzoek. Voordat we beginnen wil ik u nog wel de vraag stellen of ik dit gesprek mag opnemen, zodat ik het goed kan uitwerken naderhand.

Q1. Wat is uw rol binnen de gemeente Zuidoost?

Q1.1 Op welke manier bent u met de bewoners betrokken?

Q1.1.1 Wat voor contact hebt u met ze?

Q1.1.1.1 Heeft u contact met bewoners buiten de georganiseerde evenementen van de gemeente als bewonersavonden etc.?

Q2. Wanneer u contact hebt met de bewoners, hoe gebeurt dat dan?

Q2.1 Komen zij naar u toe of zoek u hen op?

Q2.2 Wie initieert het contact?

Q2.2.1 Wanneer de bewoners dit initieert, wat voor soort onderwerpen snijden zij dan aan en op welke manier?

Q2.2.2 Gaat het hier meer om hulpvragen rondom problemen of mogelijkheden?

Q2.2.2.1 Wat voor soort hulp biedt u hierbij?

Q2.3 Is het een gelijkwaardige relatie tussen u en de bewoners?

Q2.4 In welke mate worden de bewoners vrijgelaten om zelf dingen te organiseren?

Q2.4.1 Op welke manier help de gemeente hierbij? [Wil de gemeente zelf invulling geven of is dit vrijer?]

Q3. Ziet u sterk leiderschap op het vlak van participatie binnen de groep bewoners van de G-buurt Noord en de E-buurt?

Q3.1 Hoe manifesteert zich dit?

Q3.2 Heeft u het gevoel dat deze groep erg afhankelijk is van instanties voor hun participatie?

Q3.2.1 Hoe manifesteert zich dit?

Q3.3 Hoe zou u dit graag anders zien?

Q4. Denkt u over het algemeen dat de bewoners het idee hebben dat ze individueel een verschil kunnen maken?

Q4.1 Waar maakt u dat uit op?

Q4.2 Waardoor denkt u dat dat komt?

Q4.3 Denkt u dat de bewoners dit idee zelf ook hebben?

Q5. Denkt u dat de bewoners als groep het idee hebben dat ze een verschil kunnen maken?

Q5.1 Waar maakt u dat uit op?

Q5.2 Waardoor denkt u dat dat komt?

Q5.3 Denkt u dat de bewoners dit idee zelf ook hebben?

Q6. Bij het maken van plannen, hoe wordt de participatie van bewoners over het algemeen gedaan?

Q6.1 Welke manier van participeren wordt gehanteerd?

Q6.1.1 Welke vormen van participeren worden gehanteerd?

Q6.2 Wat wordt er met de feedback van bewoners op plannen gedaan?

Q6.3 Vind u dat de feedback en input van bewoners serieus wordt genomen?

Q6.3.1 Waarom wel of niet?

Q6.3.2 Hoe zou dit in uw ogen verbeterd kunnen worden?

Q7. Bent u bewust van de verschillende culturele achtergronden van de groep bewoners?

Q7.1 Waaruit blijkt dit bewustzijn?

Q7.2 Zijn er duidelijke categorieën bewoners, gebaseerd op hun culturele achtergrond?

Q7.3 Gaat u anders om met verschillende 'groepen' bewoners?

Q7.3.1 [Indien ja op Q7.3] Hoe doet u dit?

Q7.3.2 Waarom doet u dit wel/niet?

Q8. Denkt u dat u vooroordelen heeft over bepaalde bewoners of bewonersgroepen?

Q8.1 [Indien ja op Q8] Hoe uit zich dit?

Q8.2 Waarom denkt u dat dit wel/niet zo is?

Q8.3 Heeft u het gevoel dat u goed om kunt gaan met de verschillende bewoners?

Q8.3.1 Waarom wel/niet?

Q8.3.2 Denkt u dat dit ook zo overkomt op de bewoners?

Q8.3.2.1 Waarom denkt u dit?

Q9. Nog weer terugkomend op de kern van mijn onderzoek; de participatie. Heeft u nog ideeën of wensen die u anders zou willen in de huidige vormen van participatie?

Q9.1 Waarom deze?

Q9.2 Hoe ziet u dit praktisch voor u?

Hartelijk bedankt voor het de tijd nemen voor dit interview, de uitkomsten zullen te zijner tijd met u gedeeld worden en u kunt er dan nog op reageren als u vindt dat uw input verkeerd gebruikt is.

8.4 Appendix IV. Topic list interviews

1. Algemeen en binding buurt/bewoners/gemeente
2. Contact en onderwerpen
3. Leiderschap
4. Self-efficacy
5. Collective efficacy
6. Participatie; soorten
7. Bewustzijn culturele achtergronden
8. Omgaan culturele achtergronden
9. Suggesties participatie

8.5 Appendix V. Codebook

CODE GROUP	CODE	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE
PERCEPTIONS NEIGHBOURHOOD	Cha1: Residents	Perceptions respondent has of residents of G-buurt Noord	"Er is ook een soort angst naar hoger opgeleiden. Met alleen nee roepen kan je de toekomst niet bouwen."
	Cha2: Neighbourhood general	Perception respondent has of the neighbourhood in general	"Deze flat is zo verrot als het maar zijn kan."
	Cha3: Bijlmer-Oost	Perception respondent has of Bijlmer-Oost	"Ja, heel veel. Toen ik hier kwam wonen waren alle flats er nog, daar alles wat hier afgebroken is was flat. Dit is er allemaal nieuw bij gekomen. Alleen het water en deze flat is gebleven. Er is wel veel vernieuwd, je had eerst een binnenstraat. Alles is afgesproken. Alleen deze flat en Geldershoofd is in deze wijk blijven staan, in de K-buurt staat ook nog een flat. Die mensen hebben geprotesteerd en toen hebben ze het laten staan, maar aan deze kant is er echt flink gesloopt. Ik ben blij dat deze flat is blijven staan."
PERCEPTION MUNICIPAL ORGANISATION	Mun1: Role municipality	Perception respondent has on what role the municipality has and/or should have	"Maar het moet niet zo zijn dat één stem andere stemmen overstemt. Dat is ook de rol van de gemeente om dat te waarborgen."

	Mun2: Internal organisation	Perception respondent has on the internal organisation of the municipality	"Ik vind dat heel veel groepen, zoals in de G-flats, de afgelopen jaren verwaarloosd zijn en dat het ons niet lukt als gemeente en als overheid om daar een goede, gezamenlijke aanpak op los te laten. Want een bewoner heeft daar helemaal geen boodschap aan, aan wat wij intern allemaal. Dat zicht raken wij volgens mij kwijt binnen de gemeente Amsterdam. We zijn heel erg bezig om intern te organiseren, om via kolommen, matrixen, weet ik veel, gebiedsgericht, meeste bewoners hebben daar geen boodschap aan en willen gewoon dat het geregeld wordt."
PARTICIPATION	Par1: Current forms of participation	Perceived ways of participation	"Ja, meer consultatie en daarna inspraak. Het is meer informeren, inspraak, consultatie dan dat het richting co-creatie gaat of het zelf schrijven van het plan."
	Par2: Struggles in current forms of participation	Perceived struggles in participation	"Dus het is aan ons ook om het begrijpelijk te maken, om andere taal te ontwikkelen zodat die mensen het ook begrijpen."
	Par3: Wishes for participation	Wishes respondent has for future participation	"Het belangrijkste is nu gewoon dat eerst de problemen die bewoners ervaren, dat die goed in beeld worden gebracht."
COMMUNITY BUILDING	Com1: needs- or asset-based approach	Perception on the way of community building	"Het is meer dingen organiseren, want bij hulpvragen kan ik ze sowieso niet helpen."

	Com2: relationship residents-civil servants in community building	Perception of relationship between residents and civil servants	"De paar mensen die dat wel doen, ook al zijn ze af en toe negatief, moet je op allerlei manieren daarbij faciliteren en toejuichen vind ik."
	Com3: form of participation	Perception of the way of participation	"Dat gaat vrij klassiek volgens mij, er wordt een bewonersavond georganiseerd."
	Com4: dependency of institutions by residents	Perceived dependency of residents	"Ja, sommige wel. Dan is bij alles het de gemeente, dan denk ik nee, hef in eigen handen en regel je zaken."
	Com5: self-efficacy of residents	Perception of self-efficacy of residents	"Ja, er zijn een paar die een beetje capabel zijn, die wat praten."
	Com6: collective efficacy of residents	Perception of collective efficacy of residents	"Ik denk niet als eenling, ik denk wel dat ze als groepje denken dat ze verschil kunnen maken."
INTERCULTURAL APPROACH	Int1: cultural literacy	Perception of cultural literacy of civil servants	"Ik hoor wel eens opmerkingen waarvan ik denk, ja ik begrijp dat je dat denkt of waarom je dit vertelt of zegt. Mensen doen wel heel erg hun best hoor om niet in stereotypen en vooroordelen te verzanden, maar dat lukt niet altijd. "

	Int2: awareness of different cultural backgrounds	Perception of awareness of different cultural background by civil servants	"Ik denk dat we ons daar wel bewust van zijn, maar dat we er niet naar handelen."
	Int3: understanding different cultural backgrounds	Perception of awareness of different cultural background by civil servants	"Er worden allerlei aannames gedaan."