

Inside, outside, and inside out

A qualitative case study research into the self-management process of community centre Archipel in the Makassar square neighbourhood in Amsterdam-East from a home-making perspective



Manon van der Meer

December 2015

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Master thesis Human Geography: Globalization, Migration and Development
Radboud University Nijmegen, Nijmegen School of Management

December 2015

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Photos on front page are own photos



**Radboud
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Nijmegen**



ARchipel

*There's no starting over, no new beginnings, time races on
And you've just gotta keep on keeping on
Gotta keep on going, looking straight out on the road
Can't worry 'bout what's behind you or what's coming for you further up the road
I try not to hold on to what is gone, I try to do right what is wrong
I try to keep on keeping on
Yeah I just keep on keeping on*

- My Silver Lining, First Aid Kit (2014)



The official moment of opening of community centre Archipel, 29 August 2015 (source: Ramona Falkenreck)

The moment has finally arrived: I have finished my master thesis! It feels quite unbelievable, after having worked on it so intensively for the last nine months (indeed, it is my baby in a way!). I can safely say this research has been one of the most intensive periods in my study career. Doing fieldwork for a little over four months is no joke, although it is special to have had so much time for collecting data. I have been intensively involved in the self-management process of community centre Archipel, attending all meetings of the group of people responsible for the self-management (core group), walking around in the neighbourhood, approaching residents, talking to residents, observing the Makassar square, talking to square users... Indeed, the front page of this master thesis exactly shows the way I have approached the case: studying it from both the outside and inside, also being both an insider and outsider to the process. I have really grown to love the Indische neighbourhood and I am very grateful for meeting and getting to know the people who have worked so hard to get the community centre running.

This research goes into home and belonging, themes I have become interested in especially since my bachelor thesis research, which was also situated in a neighbourhood in Amsterdam-East. That I dove into the concepts of home and belonging once more is all because of dr. Peer Smets, a former teacher of mine at VU University. Thank you, Peer, for letting me see the link between home and self-management. Throughout my fieldwork period I myself experienced how it felt to gradually feel at home somewhere. I got familiar with the surroundings, could recognize some people's faces. Once when I was working out notes, one resident even came over to me to greet me and to ask how me and my research were doing. Moreover, I became increasingly comfortable with my position within the core group and process.

This brings me to the first people I would like to thank: the core group members. I am so grateful that you all have accepted me within your "inner circle." You gave me the special opportunity to see and learn how self-management works and what kinds of issues surface. Thank you so much for your openness and trust and for making me feel at home. You made my fieldwork personally very rewarding.

I would never have got the opportunity for this research if you, Rob, had not reacted so enthusiastically on my e-mail to ask for a research possibility in Amsterdam-East. Without hesitation and without even knowing exactly who I was, you suggested the case of Archipel for me to do research on. I find this very special and want to thank you for your trust. Moreover, during my

fieldwork you have supported me and given me advice on how to deal with neighbourhood politics and associated issues. I just want to say I think you are a very special and strong person, who has lots of knowledge and social sensitivity. I now know why you are so loved by so many people within the neighbourhood and municipality.

My expressions of gratitude are not over yet, since I still have to thank all the people who have been willing to share their (sometimes quite personal) stories with me. Because of you, this thesis is the way it is now. To the residents: thank you for opening the door and talking to a random stranger who just rang your doorbell and asked whether you wanted to participate in their study. For me it tells something about society.

Jackie, thank you very much as well for your continuous guidance and personal support from the very beginning onwards and for not making me lose my mind at times. You have always listened patiently to my thoughts and worry and have kept me focused and realistic.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family and friends for their support and for thinking along with me. Without the support of my family I would have never moved to Nijmegen to study Human Geography, a discipline not totally unrelated to sociology but still different enough to make this master's year an exciting journey. Although I am still a bit hesitant to say I am a fully-fledged human geographer, I can safely conclude that this master has enriched me in a way I could not have imagined. I have definitely developed a more geographically sensitive way of looking at and understanding the world around me. Everything takes place somewhere.

Enjoy reading this master thesis, on which I have worked with a lot of dedication, thereby hopefully doing justice to everyone involved.

Manon van der Meer

December 2015

Within the social domain, the self-management of community centres has been quite a hot topic since recent years. Indeed, policy-makers have put more emphasis on people's self-reliance and own responsibility within the framework of the "participation society." Lively debates are going on within both policy and scientific circles, debates this research links up to.

Between March and the beginning of July 2015 a qualitative case study was done on community centre Archipel in the Makassar square neighbourhood, one of the quadrants of the Indische neighbourhood in Amsterdam-East. This multi-ethnic and lively neighbourhood is becoming increasingly gentrified at the same time that it still deals with quite some (social) problems. The self-management of Archipel was actively stimulated and facilitated by the municipality of Amsterdam. The goal of this research was to get a holistic understanding of the process of self-management in this specific case, approaching it from a home perspective and thus drawing upon the literature on home and belonging. This literature was combined with theory on participation and citizen or neighbourhood initiatives. The specific and unique approach chosen, combined with a geographic lens, meant that power relations were central. Especially the relationship between the core group and community centre and the residents living around the square was focused upon.

To be able to answer the main research question, sixty interviews were held with the various people involved in the self-management: the core group responsible for the self-management, a board member of Archipel, residents living around the Makassar square, square users and people working at the municipality of Amsterdam. Moreover, core group meetings were attended and observations were made during the four months of fieldwork.

What the data show is that virtually all residents feel at home in their houses and in the neighbourhood. Several elements or ingredients of home can be distinguished, such as recognition and acknowledgement, knowledge of one's environment, clarity, safety, freedom, openness, feelings of ownership and identity and identification. Social and material dimensions combine to make people feel at home. In contrast, residents do not feel connected to Archipel and hardly have knowledge on the plans surrounding the self-management. With the exception of some involved critical residents, hardly anyone actively took the few opportunities made by the core group to become involved. On the other hand, the core group was hesitant to involve residents thoroughly and was pre-occupied by other things to be arranged which were thought to have more priority.

Indeed, self-management requires a lot of time and energy. The process in this specific case can be characterized as 'loose sand' and has its own dynamics related to the combination of work load and the mainly voluntary basis on which the work is done. The dominant role of the process

manager, which has supported the core group in its functioning in a directive and steering way, is also a factor in creating the specific dynamics. The role of the municipality can be characterized more as distanced and facilitating, although it has provided a framework of criteria for the core group in order to receive subsidy.

What this research shows is that looking at community centres in self-management from a more socio-spatial perspective and combining theories on home and participation provides interesting insights into the process of self-management and deepens our understanding of it. Important is to not only look at community centres as entities on themselves, but take into account the interplays with their environment.

In het sociale domein hebben buurthuizen in zelfbeheer de afgelopen jaren veel aandacht gekregen. Beleidsmakers leggen in toenemende mate de nadruk op zelfredzaamheid en eigen verantwoordelijkheid binnen het kader van “de participatiesamenleving.” In zowel beleids- als wetenschappelijke kringen zijn er levendige debatten waar dit onderzoek direct op inhaakt.

Tussen maart en de eerste twee weken van juli 2015 vormde buurthuis Archipel in de Makassarpleinbuurt in de Indische buurt in Amsterdam-Oost de case van de kwalitatieve case study die in deze maanden is uitgevoerd. De Indische buurt, een levendige en multi-etnische buurt, zit volop in het proces van *gentrification* en heeft tegelijkertijd nog veel (sociale) problemen. Het zelfbeheer van Archipel is actief gestimuleerd en gefaciliteerd door de Gemeente Amsterdam (Stadsdeel Oost). Het doel van dit onderzoek was om een holistisch begrip te krijgen van het proces van zelfbeheer in deze specifieke case, benaderd van het perspectief van thuis en thuisgevoel en dus gebruikmakend van de literatuur over deze concepten. Deze literatuur is gecombineerd met theorie over participatie en burger/buurtinitiatieven. De specifieke en unieke benadering gekozen, in combinatie met een sociaalgeografische blik, betekende dat machtsrelaties centraal stonden. In het speciaal lag de focus op de relatie tussen de kerngroep en het buurthuis aan de ene kant en de bewoners aan het Makassarplein aan de andere.

Om de hoofdvraag te kunnen beantwoorden zijn zestig interviews gehouden met de verschillende mensen betrokken bij het proces van zelfbeheer: de kerngroep verantwoordelijk voor het zelfbeheer, een bestuurslid van het buurthuis, bewoners wonend aan het plein, pleingebruikers, en mensen van het stadsdeel. Daarnaast zijn vergaderingen van de kerngroep bijgewoond en zijn verschillende observaties gedaan.

Wat de data laten zien is dat vrijwel alle bewoners zich thuis voelen in hun huis en in de buurt. Een heel aantal elementen of ingrediënten van thuis en thuisgevoel kunnen worden onderscheiden, zoals herkenning en erkenning, kennis van de omgeving, duidelijkheid, veiligheid, vrijheid, openheid, gevoelens van eigenaarschap en identiteit en identificatie. De sociale en materiële dimensie zorgen samen voor een thuisgevoel bij mensen. In tegenstelling tot deze bevinding, voelen bewoners geen connectie met buurthuis Archipel en zijn helemaal niet op de hoogte van de plannen omtrent het zelfbeheer. Met uitzondering van een paar betrokken maar kritische bewoners participeerde vrijwel niemand actief in de paar mogelijkheden gecreëerd door de kerngroep. Aan de andere kant was de kerngroep terughoudend in het diepgaand betrekken van bewoners en werd de aandacht opgeslokt voor het in orde maken van andere dingen die meer prioriteit toegekend werden.

Inderdaad, in het algemeen vergt het proces van zelfbeheer veel tijd en energie. In deze specifieke case kan de structuur ervan gekarakteriseerd worden als “los zand” welke zijn eigen dynamiek heeft gerelateerd aan de combinatie van werklast en de voornamelijk vrijwillige basis waarop het werk wordt gedaan. De rol van de procesbegeleider die de kerngroep heeft ondersteund op een regisserende en sturende manier kan ook worden gezien als factor die heeft bijgedragen aan de specifieke dynamiek. De rol van het stadsdeel kan meer worden gekarakteriseerd als faciliterend van een afstand, hoewel het een kader heeft opgesteld van criteria waaraan de kerngroep zich moet houden om subsidie te kunnen ontvangen.

Wat dit onderzoek laat zien is dat het bestuderen van buurthuizen in zelfbeheer van een meer sociaalgeografisch perspectief waarbij theorieën over thuis en thuisgevoel en participatie worden gecombineerd, leidt tot interessante inzichten en begrip erover verdiept. Het is belangrijk om buurthuizen in zelfbeheer niet te benaderen als op zichzelf staande entiteiten, maar om ook de wisselwerking met de omgeving in acht te nemen.

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ARCHIPEL

Opening 29-8-2015

1.1 Introduction

"Monday 15 June our community centre Archipel opens her doors for the first time, especially for all residents living around the Makassar square and the possible users of the building. Therefore, you are very much invited, not only to become more acquainted, but also to put the shoulder to the wheel. We think it is nice and important to also undertake many things together. All of us together make the neighbourhood, the square and the community centre even more beautiful! Children are also welcome and... take your neighbours with you, see you then!" (Invitation for the opening of Archipel)

This research will focus on community centre Archipel in the Makassar square neighbourhood in Amsterdam-East, a multi-ethnic and predominantly low-income neighbourhood (Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsdeel Oost, 2013). Archipel is in the process of becoming self-managed by active residents and neighbourhood initiatives, combined in a so-called core group. Although many community centres are disappearing because of budget cuts (Tonkens, 2014b), the ownership of many others has moved from welfare organizations to neighbourhood residents, however not without struggles (Huygen, 2014a). Indeed, to run a community centre requires quite some skills and effort. Furthermore, financial independence is a big issue (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015).

Community centres are a part of the neighbourhood social infrastructure and act as meeting places which can facilitate familiarity between residents and help develop collective efficacy (Van der Zwaard & Specht, 2013). Moreover, they are commonly seen as a "living room" of the neighbourhood. The same is the case for Archipel (De Ruijter, 2014). Interestingly, the literal English translation of the Dutch *buurthuis* is "neighbourhood home." In the light of this, this research will study the process of self-management of community centre Archipel from a home perspective. It will especially focus on the relationship between the core group and neighbourhood residents living around the Makassar square.

Although citizen initiatives, such as the self-management of Archipel, have existed for many years (Oude Vrielink & Verhoeven, 2011), Dutch society is arguably transforming into a "participation society" wherein the ideal of "active citizenship" is revived and celebrated (Tonkens, 2014a). Policy makers increasingly emphasize citizens' duties to take more responsibility and be more self-reliant, which are seen as virtues (Tonkens, 2008). Indeed, as Van der Zwaard and Specht (2013, p. 3) note, discussions about the way to go in social policies increasingly make use of concepts such as 'collective efficacy,' 'own responsibility' or 'citizen power.' Hence, the relationships between the government, citizens and welfare organizations are fundamentally changing (Huygen, 2014a) and the emphasis is more on governance instead of government (e.g. Van Marissing, 2008). In the

Indische neighbourhood, the wider neighbourhood to which the Makassar square neighbourhood belongs, this is clearly noticeable (Werkgroep Maatschappelijk Aanbesteden Amsterdam-Oost, 2014) and the so-called co-creation of Archipel can be seen as an example of this.

The emphasis on citizen initiatives cannot be seen in isolation from bigger developments, such as globalisation, individualisation and delegitimisation (Hurenkamp & Tonkens, 2011). Social cohesion has arguably declined, worries exist about social exclusion and asocial behaviour and policy makers note a gap between government and citizen (Tonkens, 2008). Citizenship is seen as a way to 'keep everything together' (Hurenkamp & Tonkens, 2011, p. 7). However, it is not so much that involvement has declined: it has simply been changing (Hurenkamp & Tonkens, 2011). Moreover, important to keep in mind is that the "participation society" is not only a nice story celebrating citizens doing things together and helping each other out (see Tonkens, 2014a for five misunderstandings about the "participation society"). The politics around the participation society and the government's agenda are well under debate (Van der Zwaard & Specht, 2013).

For example, Van der Veen and Duyvendak (2014) argue that the government has a certain conception of citizens, which only allows for them to do what the government wants them to do under conditions set by the government. Moreover, they point to the fact that many (weaker) citizens are not capable of empowering themselves and argue that the government cannot expect them to become "active citizens" such as the middle class. Embrechts (2014) argues this as well and adds that in this way inequalities between those who can participate successfully and those who cannot are strengthened (cf. Tonkens, 2014a; Uitermark, 2014ab). In this regard, Tonkens (2014a) notices a move towards more informalization and attendant inequality and exclusion when public facilities, such as community centres, are self-managed.

Recently, regarding the relationship between the government and active citizens, a polemic unfolded between Rotmans and Tonkens and Duyvendak (see *Sociale Vraagstukken*, 2015). Whereas Rotmans (2014), who uses a new vocabulary including "titlter," "connector" and "leader,"¹ argues a transition is going on and a true bottom-up movement is taking place, Tonkens and Duyvendak (2015) note that no such thing as "immaculate citizenship" exists: in many cases governments initiate certain initiatives, thereby making them also top-down to a certain degree (cf. Oude Vrielink & Verhoeven, 2011). Moreover, according to them many citizen initiatives are carried out by the self-employed (*ZZZP-ers*) who try to make a living and are virtually exploited. In general, citizen initiatives still very much struggle with finances, which makes the assumption of them being a third way between government and market an incorrect one (Ham & Van der Meer, 2015). Lastly, in a recent article by Duyvendak (2015) sociologists and other social scientists are encouraged to

¹ See www.nederlandkantelt.nl.

critically research developments within the social domain, thereby escaping ideology and dogmatism and making sure social policy is more empirically-grounded. All of the previous shows that the debate about participation is very much alive and makes research such as this one very interesting, topical and above all, important.

Regarding home and home feelings, why would it be interesting to study these? First of all, in the light of the participation society, belonging (especially to the neighbourhood) is regarded as an important factor for neighbourhood participation and becoming active in the neighbourhood (Leidemeijer, 2012; Van Stokkum & Toenders, 2010; Van de Wijdeven, 2012). Furthermore, community institutions, such as community centres, are seen as important for feelings of belonging (e.g. Witten, McCreanor & Kearns, 2007). More fundamentally, as can be read in Duyvendak (2011, p. 106), belonging is an 'existential need and [...] "home" is meaningful to everyone in one way or another.' According to some, this is even more so in the current era of globalization and mobility (Massey in Fenster & Vizel, 2006), whereas others (Van der Veen and Duyvendak, 2014) point to the process of globalisation to question residents' local bonds and solidarity with fellow residents.

1.2 Research objectives and research questions

This research will have as its main objective to provide more insight into how a community centre is constructed as a home and how the self-management process can be understood. This first objective will form the basis for the second one, which will be to provide recommendations to the core group of community centre Archipel and the municipality of Amsterdam on how the self-management of the community centre can be improved.

To achieve the above formulated objectives, the main research question has been formulated as follows: *How can the process of self-management of community centre Archipel in the Makassar square neighbourhood in Amsterdam East be understood from a home-making perspective, thereby looking at the relationship between the core group of Archipel and neighbourhood residents directly living around the Makassar square?*

The following sub-questions will aid in answering this main research question:

1. *How do neighbourhood residents living around the Makassar square give meaning to their feelings of home?*
2. *What meaning is given to the Makassar square by residents and users of the square?*
3. *What ideas do the residents in the core group have about Archipel as a home and about the involvement of neighbourhood residents in the processes of self-management and home-making?*

4. *In what way are neighbourhood residents involved in the self-management and home-making processes and how do the neighbourhood residents and the core group reflect on this?*
5. *How does the process of self-management proceed?*
6. *How is Archipel made into a home and how does function as a home once it is opened?*

Regarding these research questions, an important element of this research is the interplay between the community centre, the square and the residents living around the square. For example, because the community centre is located on the square, the dynamics of the square arguably influence the functioning and daily practice of the community centre. As will be elaborated in the theory (chapter 3), a home is not cut off from wider developments but is always influenced by them. Thus, a holistic approach is taken. Because of this, residents' home feelings (sub-question 1) will be researched as well, also to get more grips on the concept of home.

As could already be read in the main question, the concepts of home and home-making will be used to approach and understand the self-management process. As the theoretical framework (chapter 3) will show, the literature on home is useful for this, since the home is a controlled space permeated by power relations and functions through solidarity and coordination. Moreover, the question of who decides or controls what comes up, which is the reason why the relationship between the residents living around the square and the core group will be studied. Besides using the home and home-making literature as analytical tool, how Archipel is given meaning to as a home (sub-question 3), is also an important part self-management, since the latter process is essentially all about finding out how to shape a community centre as a place.

1.3 The importance of this research for society

This research will provide valuable information for the core group of the community centre. Because of the case study design (see chapter 4), more insight will be gained in processes within the community centre, which the core group can use in its plans and daily operations. This is all the more the case because the research topic and questions have been partly co-determined by the core group. Additionally, this research can provide more information to the core group about the neighbourhood residents living around the square. The outcomes of this research can also be useful for other self-managed community centres or active resident groups which would like to take up the challenge of self-managing a community centre.

Furthermore, the insights of this research can aid the municipality of Amsterdam by giving more clarity on what neighbourhood residents think of the community centre and whether they feel they are involved. In addition, since the municipality has given more room (and funding) for self-management of public facilities in its policy, it is important to know what struggles arise in processes

of self-management. Lastly, the knowledge gained by this research may help the municipality to decide on its own role in the self-management of public facilities, for example in how to better facilitate or support certain processes.

In a more general sense, the insights gained by this research are important in the light of the move towards more participation in society. As Tonkens (2014b) states, devolvement of tasks to citizens brings more informalization and with that possibly more social inequality and exclusion of social groups. This is especially relevant when considering a community centre as a place which can become “claimed” by certain groups of residents (see Van Bochove, 2014). The development of society into a “participation society” is still very much going on and many challenges are still ahead.

1.4 Why this research is scientifically relevant

Besides a societal relevance, it is important to contribute in some way to science. First of all, with this research an attempt is made to provide further knowledge in the debate on home, belonging and home-making. Firstly, it is tried to provide additional insight into what feeling at home actually means, since this feeling often is spoken of in an unreflective way (Duyvendak, 2011) and is ‘intuitive and common sensic’ (Antonisch, 2010, p. 644). Moreover, it is tried to provide more evidence on how more unconventional homes, in this research a community centre, are constructed. In the literature on home (e.g. see Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Easthope, 2004; Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000) no studies could be found which were specifically looking at community centres or other neighbourhood institutions. Instead, most of the literature centres on people’s residences (e.g. Baker, 2013), on migrant or transnational homes (e.g. Ahmed, 1999; Tolia-Kelly, 2004) or on home, citizenship and the nation (e.g. Duyvendak, 2011). Therefore, research on how a community centre is constructed as a home may provide a welcome addition to the already existing knowledge.

The insights gained through this research can also be a contribution to the literature on active citizenship and participation, since feelings of home and belonging are also present in that literature (e.g. Van de Wijdeven, 2012). This research will dive more in-depth into home and feelings of home and belonging, making them the centre of attention instead of treating them in a more instrumental way. Home will be approached as continually in process through the use of the concept of home-making (see Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Moreover, within the field of active citizenship and the “participation society,” so far attention has been paid to the relationship between governments or municipalities and residents. Also in the scarce amount of studies on the self-management of community centres (e.g. Huygen, 2014a), the focus is less on how much a community centre is supported by neighbourhood residents. This research will give more attention to this, by looking at the relationship between the core group and neighbourhood residents living around the Makassar square. Furthermore, the focus of this research will be on the preliminary stage of self-management

(before the community centre opens its doors), while earlier research (e.g. Huygen, 2014) has mainly focused on the processes after opening.

Another possible contribution to scientific knowledge may lie in the fact that the theoretical framework (chapter 3) of this research draws links between several literatures and debates, such as those one on home, belonging, participation, psychological ownership, place attachment and (interethnic) social contact and encounters. In this way, the theoretical framework is a unique combination of theories that together frame the conceptualisation of this research. Moreover, as mentioned before, the literature on home provides interesting clues for better understanding the process of self-management of community centre Archipel. As far as known, this approach has not been employed yet in research on the self-management of community centres.

1.5 What to expect

This thesis consists of several chapters. In the next chapter, the context and specific case of this research will be discussed. To provide background knowledge and to already place the theory into a concrete context, this will be done before explaining all and theories connected to this research. This aids in understanding the theories better as well. The theoretical framework (chapter 3) consists of the literature on home and on participation and citizen initiatives. After the case description and the theoretical framework, which form the more conceptual part of this thesis, chapter four explains the methods used in this research. Thereby the move is made from theory to practice.

Chapters five, six and seven are the empirical heart of this thesis. The first of the three is a more introductory chapter and puts neighbourhood residents' homes and home feelings central. An attempt is made to better understand feelings of home. Moreover, the functioning of the Makassar square is explored. Chapter six focuses on community centre Archipel and all processes surrounding it: the controversial past of the community centre, the meaning given to it by residents and the core group members and issues surfacing during the self-management process. An exploration of the first weeks of Archipel being open closes the empirical part of this thesis. In the last chapter, chapter eight, all research questions will be answered and the results will be discussed in the light of the theory of chapter three and wider societal debates. The thesis closes with recommendations to the core group of Archipel and the municipality of Amsterdam.



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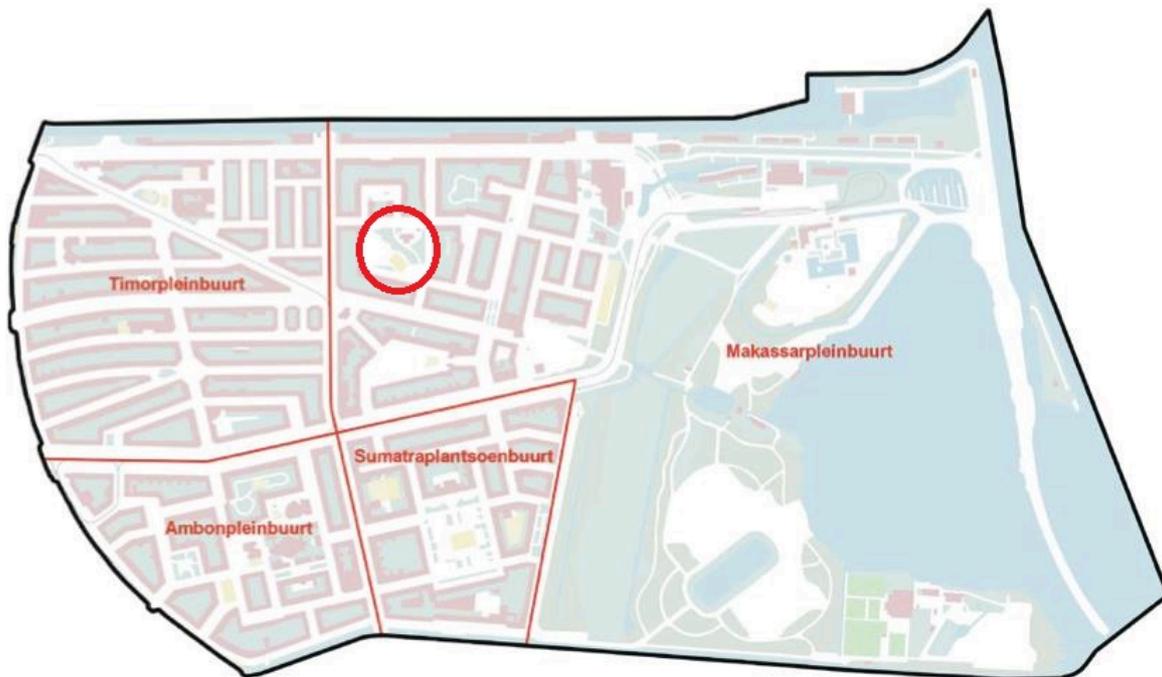
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SUMMER
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2. Getting to know the context

In this chapter, the case of this research will be discussed. This means a closer look will be taken at the Indische neighbourhood, the Makassar square neighbourhood (which is one of the quadrants) and community centre Archipel. After some information on the history and urban renewal of the Indische neighbourhood, attention will be given to participation and governance within the neighbourhood. Subsequently, some statistics will be discussed, as well as the history of the Makassar square and some basic information about community centre Archipel.

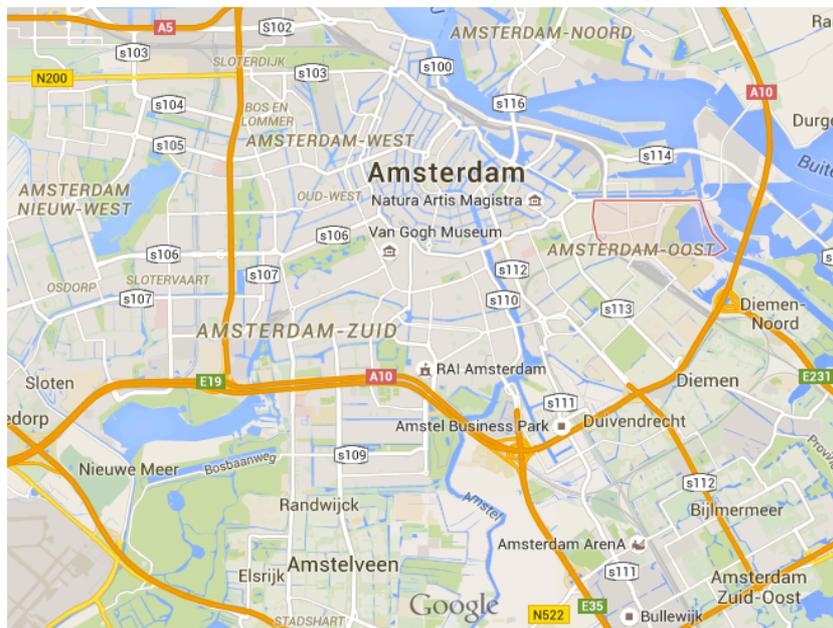
2.1 The Indische neighbourhood: a short history



Picture 1: a map of the Indische neighbourhood and its quadrants (the circle indicates the Makassar square) (source: Gemeente Amsterdam Oost, 2014)

The Makassar square neighbourhood is one of the quadrants of the Indische neighbourhood, a neighbourhood in Amsterdam East (see pictures 1 and 2). The early 20th century marks the beginning of its quick development (Alleblas, 2013). The houses were built for the lower middle class. This constitutes the Old Indische neighbourhood, which is now called the Timor square neighbourhood, and is characterized by private ownership, narrow streets and small lots. The New Indische neighbourhood was built about two decades later to accommodate the labourers working at the nearby harbour (Alleblas, 2013; cf. Samen Indische Buurt, 2009). This part of the Indische

neighbourhood has a different architecture: more block-like housing with more space for inner gardens and big squares, such as the Makassar square (Samen Indische Buurt, 2009).



Picture 2: a map showing the location of the Indische buurt in Amsterdam (source: Google Maps)

Because no time was given for the reclaimed land (*polder*) to sink, many houses did so after only a few years. Moreover, the overall quality of the housing was poor (Dukes, 2011; R. van Veelen, personal communication, 4 March 2015). This, in combination with the closing of the harbour in the 1960s, made the Indische neighbourhood an isolated area (Alleblas, 2013; Dukes, 2011).

In the 1970s and 1980s urban renewal of predominantly the New Indische neighbourhood took place. Many houses were demolished and new ones constructed. In this time period, the neighbourhood was a desolate place, according to Alleblas (2013). Important is that almost all newly constructed housing was public housing (Alleblas, 2013; Dukes, 2011). Many former labourers moved away, while many migrants with a weak social-economic background took their place. The neighbourhood transformed into one of the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods of Amsterdam with many social problems (Dukes, 2011).

At the beginning of the 21st century, again urban renewal took place (Alleblas, 2013; Dukes, 2011). Much of the housing was sold to the municipality of Amsterdam and transferred to housing corporations. In 2007, the already existing plan by one corporation to not only improve housing, but also look at public space, the local economy and social issues, was expanded into a covenant. The municipality and two other housing corporations joined and the goal was to differentiate the housing stock. This collaboration reflects an integral and area-based approach (Samen Indische Buurt, 2009). Simultaneously, also at the national level, budget was released for extra investments in forty disadvantaged neighbourhoods, one of them being the Indische neighbourhood.

The large-scale urban renewal has improved both the quality of housing and the liveability within the neighbourhood (Alleblas, 2013), although it has also set in motion the process of gentrification (Dukes, 2011). In recent years, the Indische neighbourhood has become a trendy neighbourhood, although this is mostly the case for the Timor square neighbourhood (R. van Veelen, personal communication, 4 March 2015). Sometimes the neighbourhood is seen as the “new Pijp,” but that is not the case yet (Alleblas, 2013; Dukes, 2011). What can be concluded is that whereas the Indische neighbourhood used to be “far away,” now it is a central part of Amsterdam (Alleblas, 2013). The Java street, situated in the Timor square neighbourhood, has undergone a facelift and has grown more diverse in shops. For example, not long ago a cake shop opened (School, 2015). Nevertheless, according to Vugts (2015) the success of the street differs from time to time. In two years time, five shops have been boarded up.

2.2 Neighbourhood communities and urban governance

Nowadays, an important characteristic of the Indische neighbourhood is the active involvement of residents in the liveability of the neighbourhood, which has resulted in many neighbourhood initiatives and strong social networks (Gemeente Amsterdam Oost, 2014). These social networks are in fact the so-called communities, which are ‘open, active and variable networks of residents, entrepreneurs, artists and neighbourhood organizations’ (Werkgroep Maatschappelijk Aanbesteden Amsterdam-Oost, 2014, p. 6). They are often centred on a certain ‘theme, interest or physical asset’ (Smets & Azarhoosh, 2013, p. 9) and should be seen as a ‘warm nest’ which offers a meeting place to develop and exchange knowledge (Smets & Azarhoosh, 2013, p. 7), to tackle problems or create innovative ideas and initiatives. Communities can be seen within the wider development from a more solidly structured society to a more liquid one (Baumann in Smets & Azarhoosh, 2013). Although they are variable in their composition, every community has a core of a few persons who are key figures and spokespersons for the community (Smets & Azarhoosh, 2013).

In 2008, the Timor square community was the first community to be established (R. van Veelen, personal communication, 4 March 2015). Another community is the Karrewiel community, which was the first community to self-manage a community centre. In 2010 the Makassar square community came into being, which wanted to improve the liveability on the square (Smets & Azarhoosh, 2013). According to Smets and Azarhoosh (2013), the community became very project-focused and more tightly structured, thereby undermining its community-like character. Besides the communities mentioned here, there are many more communities who have been or were active in the neighbourhood (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2014). For example, De Meevaart community consists of all people involved in the self-management of the well-known community centre De Meevaart

(Smets & Azarhoosh, 2013). The overarching community, in which all communities are united, is the Indische Buurt Community (IBC) (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2014).

Although the so-called neighbourhood communities were very active in the past years, right now they are less so (R. van Veelen, personal communication, 4 March 2015). New kinds of coalitions and collaborations are emerging, more like a 'flock of sparrows.' However, a few important key figures who used to be active in the communities are still today and they constitute an important partner in urban policy-making and execution under the name of the IBC. Within the policy cycle of area analysis, area agenda and area plan, the IBC has developed its own agenda (*Burger Perspectievennota*) in 2012 and 2013. In 2014, the key figures followed a course on budget monitoring and developed their own budget (*Burger Buurtbegroting*).² This clearly shows the move from government to governance and fits within the focus on participation and active citizenship (cf. Smets & Azarhoosh, 2013). Indeed, as was stated before, a move from representative to more participatory democracy is occurring (R. van Veelen, personal communication, 4 March 2015).

2.3 Facts and figures

In general, the conclusion can be drawn that the Indische neighbourhood is a neighbourhood still in full development, also because housing renewal is still ongoing to further differentiate the housing stock (Gemeente Amsterdam Oost, 2014). The Indische neighbourhood is still characterized by much poverty and joblessness and another area of concern is youth and their educational opportunities. The reason for this concern is that many children and young people grow up in a minimum household (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2014). Moreover, residents report nuisance from physical neglect and deprivation and the level of social cohesion is deemed insufficient (Gemeente Amsterdam Oost, 2014).

In general, when compared to other neighbourhoods in Amsterdam East, such as Weesperzijde, the Oosterpark neighbourhood and the Dapper neighbourhood, the Indische neighbourhood scores worst based on municipal statistics from the last few years (Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsdeel Oost, 2014; cf. Gemeente Amsterdam, 2014). In general, the Timor square neighbourhood is scoring the best in the statistics, which makes the average scores of the Indische neighbourhood somewhat better, except for some statistics. First of all, when looking at the housing stock, one can notice that public housing is still the predominant form of ownership: about 70% of the total, compared to only about 18% owner-occupied and 21% free sector rent housing. The Indische neighbourhood as a whole has somewhat more owner-occupied and free sector rent housing, which also counts for the averages of Amsterdam East and Amsterdam.

² For more information on this, see Centrum voor budgetmonitoring en burgerparticipatie (2014).

Statistics on the Makassar square neighbourhood roughly tell the same story. More than half of the residents of the Makassar square neighbourhood are of a non-Dutch ethnic background (Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsdeel Oost, 2013) (see table 1 in Appendix 1). This is well above the percentage in Amsterdam East generally and Amsterdam as a whole. As can be seen in the table, the biggest group of non-western Dutch residents is Moroccan-Dutch. Moreover, the social-economic position of residents is weak: many of them rely on social assistance and unemployment is relatively high when compared to Amsterdam East and Amsterdam as a whole (Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsdeel Oost, 2013). The unemployment among non-Western Dutch residents rate is about two percent points higher than the Amsterdam East and Amsterdam averages. A little over a quarter of all households is a minimum one. Also quite a difference can be noted between the percentages of people on social support of the Makassar square neighbourhood and the whole of Amsterdam: 9.9% compared to 6.2%. Also the liveability statistics of the Makassar square neighbourhood are worse than those of Amsterdam as a whole. The neighbourhood still has problems with nuisance caused by groups of youth and youth criminality: 36% of the residents researched reported having experienced nuisance in 2013, which is seven per cent higher than the Indische neighbourhood as a whole and even double as much as in Amsterdam East and Amsterdam as wholes. For more statistics, see table 1 in Appendix 1.

Nevertheless, when looked at the Makassar square neighbourhood throughout the years, once can see that almost all statistics have improved (Buurtmonitor Stadsdeel Oost, 2015). For example, contentment with the neighbourhood has increased and people feel safer generally and in the evening. Moreover, in 2011 the percentage of joblessness, of the number of minimum households and of the number of young people growing up in minimum households had dropped in comparison to previous years. However, the percentage of people on social support has risen between 2011 and 2013. Lastly, the policy to decrease the amount of public housing has had effect: in the last decade, the percentage has steadily decreased.

2.4 Understanding the Makassar square

Since the Makassar square (see photo 1) is an important context within this research, it is important to have some background knowledge on it. It is a big square in the centre of the Makassar square neighbourhood and gives the quadrant its name. In 2013, the square was completely renovated. The design of the square has been developed through consultation with neighbourhood residents and square users (Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsdeel Oost & Samen Indische Buurt, 2012). The renovation is part of the so-called Square Approach (*Pleinenaanpak*) to greatly improve the physical appearance of the squares in the Indische neighbourhood, as well as developing social programmes that focus on target groups such as youth and vulnerable households and that put more emphasis on the

squares as meeting places (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2014). The current Makassar square has more lighting, green with a greater experiential and user worth and more and robust playing equipment. More effort is made to keep the square clean (through municipal cleaning services) and the eventual



Photo 1: the renovated Makassar square (source: resident)

goal is to make the square the 'living room of the neighbourhood' (Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsdeel Oost & Samen Indische Buurt, 2012).

One of the core group members' research agency did research on the use of the square before the renovation (Bureau Wijkwiskunde, 2011) to inform the municipality on renovation of the square (see photo 2 for the square

before renovation). Several groups of users and non-users were identified and asked about their use of the square, their experiences and their wishes. The most important finding was that the square was not a comfortable place. Firstly, people reported dog poo, glass and other kinds of litter could be found on the square. Moreover, certain groups of people were less appreciated, such as loitering youth, customers from the coffee shop (which is not there anymore) and other more obscure types of people smoking weed and drinking alcohol.

Together with the busy traffic in the surrounding streets, all the just mentioned characteristics caused people to feel unsafe, for example children and mothers (Bureau Wijkwiskunde, 2011). This was especially the case in the evening. However, the latter groups are the ones who use the square the most and the square was generally seen as a square for children. Some people did not use the square because of earlier negative experiences with loitering youth. Furthermore, a big part of the square was not used and



Photo 2: the Makassar square before renovation (source: Bureau Wijkwiskunde)

little coherence existed between the different elements of the square, such as the walls, hills and big stones. A last finding is that most residents living around the square did not use it.

What the interviewed residents and users wanted to see were more playground equipment and a toilet, more activities on the square and in the community centre residing on it and more opportunity to sit down (Wijkwiskunde, 2011). The latter wish forms a precondition for the square being a place where people (for example parents) are able to comfortably stay for a while, thereby enhancing the potential of the square to be more of a home to its users. Because of the holistic approach of this research, also some attention was given to how the square is currently experienced by its users.

2.5 Community centre Archipel

The self-management of community centre Archipel (see photo 3) can be seen within the context of the wider development of co-creation between the central government, the municipality of Amsterdam, the district of Amsterdam East and several partners in the neighbourhood to look at possibilities for delegating certain tasks to neighbourhood organizations (*maatschappelijk aanbesteden* or *buurtbesteden*) (Gemeente Amsterdam Oost, 2014, p. 3; Werkgroep Maatschappelijk Aanbesteden Amsterdam-Oost, 2014). The self-management of Archipel is one of the pilots of experimenting with this new kind of collaboration between municipality and societal actors.

Community centre Archipel is situated on the recently renovated Makassar square, the central square of the quadrant. It is seen as one of the cases of a pilot on the earlier mentioned policy of *buurtbesteden* and has quite a politicized history (an elaboration of the discussion below will be given in chapter 7). First of all, the renovations were controversial, since one of the old users



Photo 3: Archipel on its unofficial opening day, 15 June 2015 (source: core group)

of the community centre was of the opinion that it was too expensive (Oost-Online, 2014). Archipel used to be run by welfare organization Civic. At that time it was still called Rumah Kami (Indonesian for “our home”). The decision for self-management has been partly informed by the fact that it was only used by limited group of residents and had a “closed” appearance (Werkgroep Maatschappelijk Aanbesteden Amsterdam-Oost, 2014).

The Werkgroep Maatschappelijk Aanbesteden Amsterdam-Oost (2014) notes that the municipality initiated a meeting to set in motion a process of neighbourhood residents developing a plan for the self-management of Archipel, in the hopes of overcoming antagonisms in the neighbourhood. However, the Makassar square Community had lost its active core of residents. On the contrary, Smets and Azarhoosh (2013, p. 11) state that some time before, the municipality was very hesitant with regards to the process of co-creation and thought the Makassar square community was 'too enthusiastic.' So, the municipality changed opinion in about a year time on the issue of self-management and in the meantime, the community had disintegrated.

A subsequent attempt by another resident group to make a management plan failed and the group fell apart in smaller rivalling groups (The Werkgroep Maatschappelijk Aanbesteden Amsterdam-Oost, 2014). On request of neighbourhood residents, a process manager was assigned the task to break the impasse. He formed a new resident group, the core group of Archipel. All members are in one way or another active in the neighbourhood. Three are the heads of neighbourhood organisations and all are self-employed (*ZZP-ers*). Regarding ethnicity, the group is diverse. During the research period, the composition of the core group changed: one of the members left the group and one joined. Moreover, two of the members have been in the core group since September 2014, while others had joined earlier. Besides a core group, the foundation of Archipel also consists of three board members, who explicitly want to function at a distance from the management and daily practice. A third important component of the organisation structure is the neighbourhood or resident council, which is still to be developed in order for residents to evaluate and influence the functioning of Archipel.

All members, except for two, have a personal project which is to be executed under the wings of Archipel. The projects are the four-season festival, a project to tackle youth unemployment, a project using music to connect groups of people with different backgrounds and a project concerning tutoring of youth in secondary and tertiary education. One of the projects will be done externally but will collaborate with Archipel. It is about crafting products from local materials and "do-it-yourself." The target groups of the projects and of Archipel in general are both vulnerable and more resilient neighbourhood residents, as well as people from outside the neighbourhood.

The daily practice management of Archipel falls into two categories: general management and kitchen/bar management, each with their own coordinator. Regarding finances, the community centre receives a subsidy from the municipality, of which half goes to rent and fixed costs. From the other half, the coordinators of the daily management are paid, who are contracted on the basis of being self-employed. Some other big tasks, such as the inventory of the community centre and the marketing and communication (both executed by core group members), respectively were and are also paid under the same self-employed construction.



3. A theoretical perspective on participation and home

In this part, the theory used for this research will be explained. Firstly, an introduction will be given to participation. Participation processes and issues play an important role in this research: do neighbourhood residents feel involved and how are they involved by the core group in making Archipel a self-managed home? After this, an overview of the literature on home will be discussed. With help from the related literatures on belonging, place attachment and geographies of encounter, attention will be given to how community centre Archipel can be seen as a home. Lastly, the attention will shift once more to participation, focusing on levels of participation, and issues with and explanations for participation. This chapter will close with some research findings on community centres in self-management.

3.1 An introduction to citizen participation: "the" transition?

As already became clear in the introduction of this thesis, democracy, active citizenship and citizen participation and initiatives have become hot topics or "buzzwords" in policies and the societies of many countries (Van Houwelingen et al., 2014; Silver, Scott & Kazepov, 2010; Tonkens, 2009; Van Twist, Chin-A-Fat & Van der Steen, 2014a; Van de Wijdeven, 2012; Van de Wijdeven & Hendriks, 2010). On the one hand, in response to a crisis of representative democracy (Lowndes, Prachett & Stoker, 2006; Michels & De Graaf, 2010; Silver et al., 2010; Specht, 2012; Tonkens, 2008), more participative answers have been formulated and many local experiments have been conducted to give citizens more influence on policy (Van Houwelingen et al., 2014; Van Marissing, 2008; Specht, 2012; Van de Wijdeven & Hendriks, 2010). Participation is indeed about 'all kinds of forms citizens' partaking in decision-making, varying from a very marginal to a very big influence' (Nelissen in Van Marissing, 2008, p. 34). In the Indische neighbourhood, the move to a local participatory democracy is developing (R. van Veelen, personal communication, 4 March 2015).

Generally, participation is seen as essential to democracy (Blanc & Beaumont, 2005; Michels, 2006; Michels & De Graaf, 2010; Van Marissing, 2008), a viewpoint which is based on thinkers such as Rousseau and Mills. In the literature several arguments can be found in favour of participatory democracy (for an explanation of these see e.g. Day, 1997; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Ministerie van BZK, 2013; Nienhuis, 2014; Tonkens, 2009). In this research, different kinds of participation will be distinguished. First of all, the self-management of Archipel by the core group is a form of participation, which points to relations between the local government (the municipality of Amsterdam) and the residents within the core group. Secondly, the core group wants to involve the neighbourhood residents in decision-making about Archipel. Lastly, using and visiting the community centre once it is opened can also be regarded as a form of (social) participation

(Leidelmeijer, 2012). This will also get attention in the light of home-making, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

3.2 The participation society and three generations of citizen participation

Besides the just mentioned local experiments, increasingly responsibilities and tasks have been assigned to citizens to make them “more active citizens” (Van Marissing, 2008; Tonkens, 2008; Verhoeven & Tonkens, 2011; Van de Wijdeven, 2012). This relates to the way the traditional welfare state is being remodelled in response to the economic crisis (Huygen & Van Marissing, 2013). Critical voices (see Van Twist et al., 2014b; e.g. Bregman, 2014; Reijndorp, 2014) emphasize the political side of this and see “the participation society” as a cloak for budget cuts. They see a strong top-down political agenda behind it, which makes citizens just the executors of government policy (cf. Oude Vrielink & Verhoeven, 2011; Peeters & Drosterij, 2011). This would mean that the government is perhaps not really pulling itself back from regulation, but is instead driving a ‘responsabilisation movement’ (Schinkel & Van Houdt in Oude Vrielink & Verhoeven, 2011, p. 385). Government publications, also the one on the devolvement of public tasks to society (Ministerie van BZK, 2013), are regarded as technical and instrumental, not acknowledging political issues (Uitermark, 2014a). For example, the information brochure by the Ministry of BZK (2013, p. 3, italics added) speaks of a transition and an ‘*inescapable process* in which the strength and power of society manifests itself in a new way.’ Moreover, Uitermark (2012; 2014ab) points out that only success stories get attention and that the increasing emphasis on local self-reliance creates segregation and inequality, the last of which was already mentioned in the introduction of this thesis. However, according to Van Twist et al. (2014b), the debate is too polarized and needs more nuances, which would give room for doubts and questioning of assumptions.

Three generations of citizen participation can be distinguished (Oude Vrielink & Van de Wijdeven, 2008; Van de Wijdeven, 2012). The first is geared towards formal participation in the form of voice and the second-generation focuses on interactive policy-making and co-production. The difference is that within the second citizens can exert influence before decisions are made (Van Houwelingen et al., 2014). The third consists of citizens organising themselves from the bottom up within the framework of a facilitating government (Oude Vrielink & Van de Wijdeven, 2008; Van de Wijdeven, 2012). This bigger focus on citizen initiatives coincides with one on the neighbourhood as a framework for policy making (cf. Reijndorp, 2014; Van Marissing, 2008). Van de Wijdeven (2012) speaks of the participative “do-democracy,” in which it is more about taking action than deliberating (cf. Van de Wijdeven & Hendriks, 2010). The self-management of community centre Archipel arguably fits within the third generation, whereas the involvement of neighbourhood residents can be considered to fit within the first and second generations.

As Verhoeven and Tonkens (2011) make clear, citizen initiatives are seen as means to improve the quality of life and liveability of neighbourhoods. They can be described as collective activities owned by citizens themselves and undertaken in a voluntary manner (Denters, Tonkens, Verhoeven & Bakker, 2013). Mijde and Daru (in Van Houwelingen et al., 2014) see them as a form of self-organisation, a concept derived from natural sciences which points to people collaborating outside the framework of the state or to a market or a bottom-up creation of society (Uitermark, 2014a). No external control or central regulation exists (Nienhuis, 2014). The self-management of Archipel is arguably not an example of self-organisation when defined in this way, since the municipality of Amsterdam has initiated the process (Werkgroep Maatschappelijk Aanbesteden Amsterdam-Oost, 2014). Nevertheless, a self-organising system needs to be both organised and flexible or adaptive (Nienhuis, 2014), characteristics a home shared by many people must also have if it wants to remain open to everyone (cf. van de Wijdeven & Hendriks, 2010).

All the above means that relations between government and citizens have been transforming (e.g. Van de Wijdeven, De Graaf & Hendriks, 2013). This fits within a broader shift from government to (urban) governance (Van Marissing, 2008; Silver et al., 2010; Specht, 2012), which is analogous to the shift from a representative to a participatory democracy (Van Marissing, 2008). As Silver et al. (2010, p. 461) explain, governance means that regulation is not solely in the hands of the state, but comes into being through 'consensus among multiple actors,' among them citizens. This means that collaboration, 'partnership and negotiation' (Silver et al., 2010, p. 461; cf. Van Marissing, 2008) are put central and system and life world meet each other (WRR, 2012). Van Marissing (2008) adds other characteristics: the just mentioned spatial focus, a focus on empowerment of city dwellers and neighbourhood residents and a move towards a more integral approach. These latter characteristics are the same those of the devolvement of public tasks to society (*maatschappelijk aanbesteden*) (Ministerie van BZK, 2013). Creating societal value and feelings of ownership and putting the lifeworld central are other related characteristics (Ministerie van BZK, 2013).

The move from government to governance reflects a society structured more in terms of networks than rigid and hierarchical top-down structures (Castells, 2010; Huygen, Van Marissing & Bouttelier, 2012; Huygen & Van Marissing, 2013; Reijndorp, 2014; Benington in ROB, 2012). Roles and responsibilities are no longer set in stone or predictable but are constantly shifting. In this regard, Bouttelier (in Huygen, Van Marissing & Bouttelier, 2012) speaks of "the improvisation society" which is characterised by both organisation and freedom. Trust, reciprocity and collaboration are key words, which are part of the concept of social capital (Putnam, Leonardo & Nanetti, 1993). However, recently more attention has been given to 'government within governance' (Hendriks & Van de Wijdeven, 2014, p. 152), which points to the still important role of the government.

3.3 Home and home-making

The concept of home has been a research topic for many years in various disciplines, one of them being human geography (e.g. Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Mallett, 2004; Porteous & Smith, 2001; Reinders & Van der Land, 2008). All of the literature suggests home is more than just a physical or material place and some, among them phenomenologists (Mallett, 2004), even note that home is not necessarily a physical place (e.g. Morley, 2001) but 'a way of being in the world' (Manzo, 2003, p. 56). Moreover, the literature on home and migration shows that people can have multiple homes and home is not connected to a fixed place (e.g. Nowicka, 2007). Furthermore, it should not be equated with household or house (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Douglas, 1991) and should be seen as a complex multi-dimensional and multi-layered concept (Easthope, 2004; Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Mallett, 2004; Moore, 2000). Its meaning is thus continually in process (Dowling & Mee, 2007).

Indeed, home is continually made through home-making practices (Blunt & Dowling, 2006), which not only include everyday activities, routines and social relations (Baker, 2013; Douglas, 1991; Dowling & Mee, 2007; Young, 2005), but also create material structures (Blunt & Dowling, 2006) and include personalizing material environments (Baker, 2013). These respectively constitute social and material home-making (Baker, 2013). As Blunt and Dowling (2006, p. 23) say: 'Home is lived.' Young (2005, p. 142) talks of 'the activities of endowing things with living meaning, arranging them in space in order to facilitate the life activities of those to whom they belong, and preserving them, along with their meaning.' These activities supports one's identity which is constantly changing (Young, 2005; cf. Van der Graaf & Duyvendak, 2009). Blunt (2003) also talks of memories and emotions which shape the meaning of home (cf. Mallett, 2004). Besides conscious or affective processes, various scholars (e.g. Dovey, 1985; Manzo, 2003; Scannell & Gifford, 2010) point to cognitive ones associated with home, since familiarity is often associated with the home.

3.3.1 Approaches to and the meaning of home

Easthope (2004) distinguishes several approaches to home. Firstly, she identifies Saunders and Williams's (1988) social-constructionist model with home as a socio-spatial entity. It is based on Anthony Giddens's concept of locale (in Saunders & Williams, 1988, p. 82), which is the 'spatial context of action' and thus informs social interaction (cf. Gieryn, 2000). As Mallett (2004) notes, this model has been criticized by Somerville (1989), who argued that home is not necessarily a fusion of house and household. This is a relevant criticism in the light of this research, since a community centre is not really a house and neither a household (but can still be approached as a home).

The second approach is the so-called psycho-social approach (Easthope, 2004) which focuses on the psychological experiences and is based on Porteous (1976), who argues that home provides people with identity, security and stimulation. These come into being because of the control of

physical space. As Pierce, Jussila, and Cummings (2009, p. 481) state, personalization can provide psychological ownership, defined as 'the state of personal feelings of "mine-ness" and/or "our-ness."' Indeed, home is often associated with ownership (e.g. Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Lewicka, 2011; Porteous & Smith, 2001). In the organizational literature, being at home is seen as 'being in the world' (Heidegger in Pierce et al., 2008).

The third approach concerns emotions, whereby the home is seen as an 'emotional warehouse' (Gurney in Easthope, 2004, p. 134). It mainly looks at the kinds of emotions connected to home. Somerville (1997; in Easthope, 2004; in Mallett, 2004) put the above approaches into one model. Although Easthope (2004) is not critical of it, Mallett (2004, p. 82) finds such an all-encompassing mode a weakness which does not allow 'creative tensions' between phenomenological and social constructivist approaches (for a discussion see Cresswell, 2004). Nevertheless, Easthope (2004) does say in the end that neither of the approaches is able to always explain home. Indeed, it is important not to have a too rigid perspective on home, since it is a complex and multi-dimensional concept.

Until now the meaning of home itself has not been addressed yet. As Mallett (2004) rightly concludes, both the experience and study of home are value-laden. According to Moore (2000), Brickell (2012) and Blunt and Dowling (2006), humanist geographers (e.g. Dovey, 1985; Tuan, 1975) have been important for dominant conceptions of home. They mainly focused on the relationship between home and identity (Blunt, 2003), according to Blunt (2003, p. 73) still a 'key theme' within research on home. This can be connected to the concept of place identity (Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Easthope, 2004; Moore, 2000). The home was seen as a special and authentic place full of meaning for individuals (Blunt, 2003; Blunt & Dowling, 2006). As Blunt & Dowling (2006) stress, their work was not just about place attachment but they truly saw the home as a central place for people's identity. The home was a hearth (Blunt & Dowling, 2006), which 'offers security, familiarity and nurture' (Blunt, 2005, p. 506). The connection between home and self-identity can be linked to psychological ownership, in the sense that the home as a possession can be seen as a symbolic expression of the self (Pierce, Kostova & Dirks, 2001).

3.3.2 The house as a haven and critical geographies of home

Much research has conjured up lists of meanings of home, whereby it was narrowly conceived as residence instead of a metaphor for other places, as well as a way of "being in the world" (Manzo, 2003). According to Putnam and Newton (in Moore, 2000, p. 210) the lists featured values such as 'privacy, security, family, intimacy, comfort and control' (e.g. Desprès, 1991; Rybczynski, 1986; Sixsmith, 1986). It is about order, rootedness and ownership as well (Lewicka, 2011). Home is thus seen a refuge or a haven only associated with positive characteristics, which Brickell (2012, p. 225)

calls the 'house as haven thesis.'

Another aspect of the house as haven thesis is its binary thinking, which separates the home from wider society (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Mallett, 2004). Ideas about home are instead historically and culturally contingent (e.g. Mallett, 2004). This does not mean that it is not possible for people to see their homes as havens – Duyvendak (2011, p. 24) calls them 'defensive localists' – but power relations must be acknowledged. Although Reiners and Van der Land (2008) mention the same criticisms, they wrongly direct them to phenomenologists. As Blunt and Dowling (2006) and Mallett (2004) show, also phenomenologists issued the critiques on conventional ideas on home.

In response to normative ideal images, Blunt and Dowling (2006) propose a "critical geography of home" with spatialized and politicized understandings of home. Indeed, regarding belonging, Antonisch (2010) notes that belonging somewhere is also social in the sense that discourses and practices of socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion always condition it. Blunt and Dowling (2006) see the home as both material and imaginative, which means that 'home is the fusion of a feeling of "at home," sense of comfort, belonging, with a particular place' (Blunt & Dowling, 2006, p. 22). These mutually inform each other. Scannell and Gifford's (2010) model of place attachment (people, place and process) resembles this distinction.

Nevertheless, it is important that arguably place attachment is not exactly the same as feelings of home, since the latter do not have to be that "rooted" in a place.³ Indeed, the development of place attachment takes time (Lewicka, 2011), although the same is arguably to a certain extent also the case for feelings of home. Interesting is that community centre Archipel had already existed before it was closed for renovation, which means residents may already have ideas about the place or feel attachment to it because of earlier visits.

A second element of a critical geography of home is 'the nexus between home, power and identity' (Blunt & Dowling, 2006, p. 22) which means the home is seen as a place containing a 'power geometry' (Massey in Blunt & Dowling, 2006, p. 25; Massey, 1994). People experience "home" differently based on their specific identities. As Massey (1994, p. 167) notes: 'There is, then, an issue of whose identity we are referring to when we talk of a place called home and of the supports it may provide of stability, oneness and security.' Power relations and wider social structures always play a role (see also Brickell, 2012; Mallett, 2004; Manzo, 2003). As Reinders and Van der Land (2008, p. 5) sharply say:

'Home-places thus can be ridden with tension, often produced in a dialectic between what belongs to the home-place and what does not, what is mentally near and what is mentally

³ However, Van der Graaf and Duyvendak (2009) conceptualize home feelings through the concept of place attachment.

distant, what feels like “inside” and what feels like “outside”, who we call “we” and who we call “others.””

Similarly, Manzo (2003, p. 55) states: ‘Significant places, particularly if they are outside the residence and shared by various members of a community, can be the site of contestation over rights and the use of space, particularly when ideologies regarding who ‘belongs’ where clash.’ Identities of places are thus always contested (Massey, 1994). Indeed, Cresswell (in Manzo, 2003, p. 55; cf. Mee, 2009) states: ‘[the word ‘place’] implies a sense of the proper, of something ‘belonging’ in one place but not in another.’ This can be linked to the politics of belonging (e.g. Yuval-Davis, 2006). You have ‘to be accepted, welcomed or, at least, tolerated.’ The place attachment literature also pays attention to power relations (e.g. see Manzo, 2003), although in her overview Lewicka (2011) still espouses the ‘benign’ vision on home. Applying the previous to this research, it underscores the importance of looking at power relations and decision-making about Archipel during the self-management process. Here the parallels with the participation literature are evident.

The last component is the view of home as multi-scalar and open. Here inspiration is also drawn from Massey (1994), since home is seen as ‘a porous, open, intersection of social relations and emotions’ (Blunt & Dowling, 2006, p. 27). Massey (1994) warns against the dangers of seeing places as bounded and stable. The social constructionist approach is clearly present: ‘[...] given that multiple social processes intersect in and constitute home, then it also follows that through home, multiple identities – of gender, race, class, age and sexuality – are reproduced and contested’ (Blunt & Dowling, 2006, p. 27). In contrast to a social constructionist approach, recent research on home has also begun to look more at sensory experiences connected to homes, reflecting a more embodied turn (e.g. Duffy & Waitt, 2013; Longhurst, Johnston & Ho, 2009).

When looking at Archipel, a paradox can be seen: on the one hand, the core group wants Archipel to be a haven for people, but on the other hand it deliberately wants to keep it open for everyone (De Ruijter, 2014). This is even materially expressed with the construction of a glass façade (Werkgroep Maatschappelijk Aanbesteden Amsterdam-Oost, 2014). So, the question is what kind of balance will be struck. In this regard, Duyvendak (2011) notes the importance of an inclusive home in which people’s right to feel at home needs to be accompanied by the moral duty to help others to also feel at home.

The contestation around the concept of home also comes forward in the idea of elective belonging developed by Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2005). Elective belonging points to the phenomenon of people choosing where to belong based on their personal identity and biographical narrative. Savage et al. (2005) base themselves on Bourdieu’s embodied sociology: people feel comfortable in a place when people’s dispositions (habitus) and their social surroundings (field)

correspond. Elective belonging is arguably increasingly the case with the ongoing restructuring of the Indische neighbourhood, through which the neighbourhood attracts young people who like to live in a diverse neighbourhood. In this way, place becomes more of a commodity (Bennett, 2014). The concept of elective belonging is linked to globalisation and increasing mobility: because people's places of residence can be increasingly chosen and are not necessarily "natural," reflexivity is heightened. An important implication is 'the tension between the mobility of the powerful and the fixedness of the disadvantaged,' whereby the latter can be seen as nostalgia (Savage, 2010). In reaction to the concept of elective belonging, Watt (2006) developed the idea of selective belonging, pointing to people feeling belonging towards only a part of the neighbourhood.

3.3.3 Archipel as a home

How can places such as a community centre be understood as homes? Young (2005, p. 145) states that, among other institutions, neighbourhood organizations can be continually created as homes through 'collective preservative activities,' which are a type of home-making activities. Besides home-making activities specific to institutions, other ones are also relevant, such as cooking, eating and socializing. These activities can also take place in a community centre. Furthermore, Valentine (2008, p. 331, emphasis in original) notes that community centres, which are called "micro-publics" by Amin (2002), 'are spaces which emphasize *recognition*. Social encounters in these spaces are relatively informal and can quickly become familiar or home-like through repeated visits.'

The work by anthropologist Douglas (1991) provides an interesting perspective on home which can be applied to the functioning of the core group of Archipel. According to Douglas (1991, p. 289), 'home starts by bringing some space under control.' Moreover, she states that the home can be seen as an 'embryonic community' (Douglas, 1991, p. 288). Solidarity is required to protect the fragile and easily subverted home, which she regards as a collective good. Coordination is a means to achieve this. This can be done by 'maintain[ing] open, constant communication about fair access to resources' (Douglas, 1991, p. 300). In Douglas's (1991, p. 299) words: 'Coordination facilitates public monitoring and a high degree of visibility.' This is especially important for Archipel, since it is envisioned as a home for a diverse range of residents. Coordination is achieved through rotation, which means no one is able to 'monopolize' certain spaces (Douglas, 1991, p. 300). Furthermore, order is 'the infrastructure of the community' (Douglas, 1991, p. 301) which makes sure everyone knows what everyone is doing. Interestingly, according to Putnam et al. (1993), social capital makes coordination possible. This shows the social relations are central to home.

In the light of this rigid and thorough coordination, on the basis of which a home is to function, Douglas (1991) calls the home a form of tyranny. This is the case because it has to accommodate for everyone. An important question regarding Archipel would be: is such a

community, wherein everyone takes each other into account, possible? Who sets what kind of rules? Especially with a community centre shared by many people, it is important to have solidarity and one set of rules. Moreover, the rules must be more explicit than in 'conventional' homes. Douglas (1991) shows the importance of transparency, mutual consultation and working together for the well functioning of a home and also for successful self-management of a community centre. Thus, the literature on home is fruitful for analyzing self-management processes.

Because the core group was given the freedom to develop its own plan for Archipel and also wants to more actively involve neighbourhood residents in this, psychological ownership may more easily be developed. This is also the case because Archipel will be renovated and furnished differently, of which the latter is the core group's responsibility (cf. Huygen, 2014a). Of course, it is important that enough room is given for this. Having more control also strengthens feelings of belonging:

'[...] the more people are involved in the decision-making about "the order of functions" in their own street, neighborhood, or even city center, the deeper the sense of belonging they develop to these environments.' (Fenster, 2007, p. 254)

Shared ownership is more problematic, however: because Archipel has to become a shared home, residents cannot completely personalize the community centre according to individual preferences. In this regard it is important that individual psychological ownership is developed into collective psychological ownership, for which a group identity is needed (Pierce & Jussila, 2010). For individual psychological ownership to develop, 'control over the target of ownership, coming to know the target intimately, and/or through investment of the self in the target' are important (Pierce & Jussila, 2010, p. 818). When these are shared and a collective recognition of this exists, collective psychological ownership can be developed (Pierce & Jussila, 2010). Pierce and Jussila (2010) argue that 'simply claiming or marking a target as ours' should not be conflated with collective psychological ownership. The fact that a 'we' always means there is a 'they,' makes the creation of a home shared by all residents very problematic.

Lastly, some other studies may also be helpful in framing this research theoretically. As Mee (2009) notes, earlier studies (e.g. Witten, McCreanor & Kearns, 2007) have documented the importance of community institutions for feelings of belonging. Similarly, Hall (2009) describes the role of a café in London in feelings of belonging and understandings of home. Other studies (e.g. Blokland, 2008 & 2009; Blokland & Nast, 2014; Curley, 2008; Van Eijk & Schreuders, 2011) have shown the importance of neighbourhood facilities for the development of public familiarity, which holds that through repetitive encounters, residents will begin to recognize each other and know

what to expect. A basic level of trust can develop in this way. This is conducive to home feelings, since it enhances predictability and security (Blokland, 2008 & 2009; Henning & Lieberg, 1996). Social control is facilitated as well (Blokland, 2009). Important is that there is a certain consensus on norms (Blokland, 2009). To enhance the potential of the development of public familiarity and social control, it is important that public space and the built environment are clean, are in a good state and do not have a dubious image (Blokland, 2009; Van Eijk & Schreuders, 2010). Moreover, Van der Graaf and Duyvendak (2009) found that in the Netherlands social involvement, as well as good quality public transport and enough facilities are related to feelings of home.

The above discussion points to the role of social capital in creating home feelings (cf. Oude Vrielink & Van de Wijdeven, 2008). The concept has been made popular by Robert Putnam. When Putnam's definition is followed, social capital consists of trust, norms and social networks (Putnam et al., 1993). The first two elements are regarded as the attitudinal side of social capital and the networks are the structural side (Bolt & Ter Maat, 2005). There is still debate on whether the resources that flow from these should also be regarded as social capital (Kleinhans, 2005). Quite some critiques have been put forward, for example regarding tautological reasoning (for an overview see Kleinhans, 2005) and the exclusionary side to social capital, as well as its effect of increasing inequality (e.g. Uitermark, 2014ab). Indeed, not every citizen has access to networks of participation. This has to do with the distinction between bridging and bonding social capital: while bonding social capital flows from strong ties between people *within* certain groups, bridging points to weak social ties which are developed *between* groups (Putnam, 2007). Ties between ethnic groups are often seen as bridging ties. In general, bridging ties are hard to establish, which relates to the homophily principle (Laumann, 1966): people like to socialize with similar people.

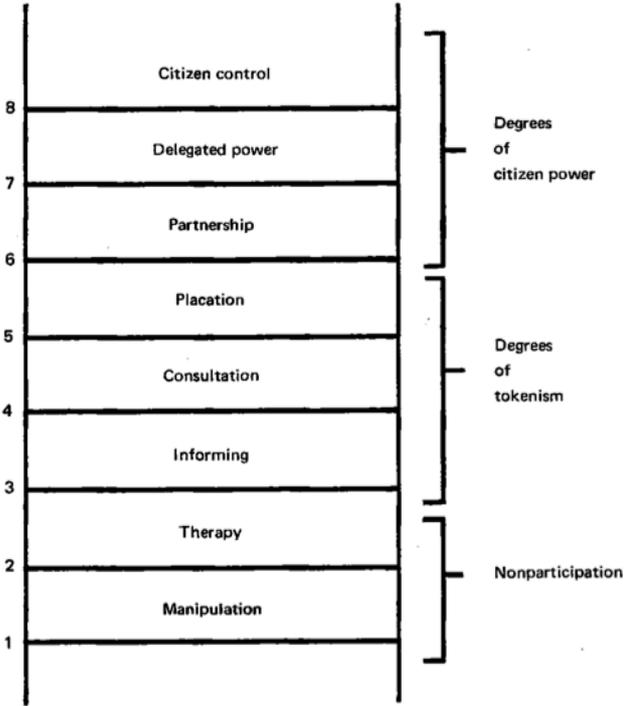
Regarding micro-publics, Matejskova and Leitner (2011, p. 730), who studied (interethnic) social contact and integration in community centres in Marzahn (Berlin), note that the residents from different ethnic backgrounds could interact 'in a more intimate manner' when they worked on a joint project. Although prejudices remained, this shows how community centres may become home-places. On the contrary, the self-managed community centres in Van Bochove's (2014) research were not places of bridging social contact between ethnic groups. She notes that, rather than asking how bridging social contact can be established, a more important question to ask is how it can be prevented that certain groups claim the community centre as "theirs" (Van Bochove, 2014). According to her, professionals play a key role in this.

In this research, it will not be possible to look thoroughly at how Archipel functions as a home once it is opened, by looking at the cooperation between users and the development of new forms

of public familiarity for example.⁴ Only some first exploratory impressions can be sketched. The reason for this is that the community centre will be open for only three weeks during the research period. Nevertheless, the home framework can be applied to the functioning of the core group and the dynamics between the core group and the residents living around the square. Moreover, before opening, Archipel has certainly occupied an imaginary space for both the core group and residents.

3.4 Levels of participation

The involvement of the residents not belonging to the core group in the running of the community centre can be analysed with the participation ladder as developed by Arnstein (1969) (see picture 3). This ladder has become an important reference in the participation literature, although it is important to note that it is a simplification of reality (e.g. Cornwall, 2008). Nevertheless, it shows that there are different levels and extents of participation (Nienhuis, 2014).



Picture 3: The participation ladder (source: Arnstein, 1969)

Arnstein (1969) links participation strongly to power by claiming that citizen participation is citizen power. She puts emphasis on the capability of the “have-nots” to achieve social reform. The higher one gets on the ladder, the more real transformatory power citizens have (Arnstein, 1969). The two lowest rungs are not real participation, but are just symbolic rituals. Citizens are not informed well enough and are seen as incompetent and to be educated (Nienhuis, 2014). The next rungs allow citizens to voice their viewpoints, but the power still lies with – in this research – the core group. Only from the sixth rung on do citizens share in the power or have total power over decision-making and are seen as equals (Nienhuis, 2014). Other scholars have developed adaptations to Arnstein’s (1969) ladder (see e.g. Edelenbos & Monnikhof, 1998). Citizen initiatives are arguably at the highest rung. However, Huygen, Van Marissing and Boutellier (2012) argue Arnstein’s ladder is inapplicable to the third generation of citizen participation. It would be better to

⁴ Nevertheless, the idea of public familiarity can be used to understand residents’ home feelings in the neighbourhood and on the square.

speak of government participation with an attendant ladder (ROB, 2012). This ladder will be discussed later.

It can be concluded that the participation ladders incorporate all three previously mentioned participation generations. Important about the ladders is that they incorrectly make it seem as if top-down is bad and bottom-up is good (Blanc & Beaumont, 2005). In addition to participation ladders, participation can also be analysed by looking at the depth and breadth of participation (Farrington & Bebbington in Cornwall, 2008): questions are then how thoroughly people are involved, who are involved and how many people.

3.5 Issues with participation

The just discussed participation ladders hint at potential issues with participation, which will be elaborated upon in this section. Participation 'constitutes a terrain of contestation, in which relations of power between different actors [...] shape and reshape the boundaries of action' (Cornwall, 2008, p. 276). The parallels with the critical geography of home (Blunt & Dowling, 2006) are evident. A first issue that is important regarding power relations is that of representation. Many scholars point out that participation is always selective (e.g. Blanc & Beaumont, 2005; Fung, 2006; Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Silver et al., 2010; Tonkens, 2009) because of different capacities (e.g. Lowndes et al., 2006). Especially in this research, representation is important, since the self-management of Archipel touches upon the general interest of the neighbourhood (Tonkens, 2009).

Nevertheless, there are different kinds of representation (Pitkin in Tonkens, 2009; Bakker, Denters & Klok, 2011), which may make the selection bias less severe. A selective group of participants may be symbolically representative because of similar agendas, interests and viewpoints as those not participating. Research (Bakker et al., 2011) has shown the participants and non-participants do not differ significantly. However, for this it is important that also more capable residents live in the neighbourhood instead of only vulnerable ones, since a critical mass is needed to tackle problems. Fortunately, this may be the case in the gentrifying Indische neighbourhood (Dukes, 2011), although concentrations of vulnerable people are not that severe in the Netherlands in general (Bakker et al., 2011). Research by Verhoeven and Tonkens (2011) shows that initiatives are not always being undertaken by the typically highly educated elderly white male.

Another issue links up with the form of participation and under what conditions it takes place. Arnstein (1969) shows that some forms cannot be considered as "true participation," since according to Blanc and Beaumont (2005, p. 413) 'participation requires the capacity to influence the final decision.' Participation 'can be used as a cloak of words to disguise business as usual' and hide power inequalities for example (Eversole, 2006, p. 30). Citizens or residents should not merely be

seen as customers (Blanc & Beaumont, 2005; Specht, 2012). Thus, participation should not become a symbolic instrument of manipulation or control by the more powerful over the more powerless.

Cornwall's (2004; 2008) distinction between invited space and popular space, which belongs to the school of radical pluralist democracy (Silver et al., 2010) comes back in quite some other publications (e.g. Blanc & Beaumont, 2005; Eversole, 2006; Specht, 2012). It goes against the Habermasian view of deliberative participatory democracy, which believes in consensus based on fair procedures and rational deliberation, as well as the possibility of the bracketing out of power (Cornwall, 2004; Silver et al., 2010). The distinction resembles the one between system and life world (WRR, 2012) and shows that different kinds of spaces provide differential possibilities for effective participation. Invited spaces are those initiated by the government and 'are structured and owned by those who provide them, no matter how participatory they seek to be' (Cornwall, 2008, p. 275; cf. Tonkens, 2009). Popular spaces are those 'people create for themselves,' such as 'networks of neighbours or people who work together' (Cornwall, 2008, p. 275). Eversole (2006) and Blanc and Beaumont (2005) call for practices of translation between the two (cf. Oude Vrielink & Van de Wijdeven, 2011). Applying this to this research, the process manager of the core group may act as translator between the invited space of the municipality of Amsterdam and the core group. These same dynamics may also fit the relationship between the core group and the residents. Important to also keep in mind here is that groups of people – such as neighbourhood residents – are often incorrectly seen as unproblematic and bounded wholes (Cornwall, 2008).

Specht (2012, p. 157) provides interesting guidelines on how to shape participatory spaces. When organised in a wrong way, "organised frustration" (cf. Blanc & Beaumont, 2005) may emerge which is not conducive to effective participation. Specht (2012) emphasizes the importance of spaces in which people feel welcome (cf. Blanc & Beaumont, 2005; Cornwall, 2008). This shows the importance of (studying) home-making processes. The regularity, timing and duration of meetings also play a role and food and drinks can be an incentive for participation. They can also connect people (cf. Johnston & Longhurst, 2012). According to Specht (2012), the best way is to invite people in a personal way: face-to-face. Furthermore, announcements should be placed at regularly visited locations. Also important for the kinds of interactions is how the actual place is designed in terms of the types and placement of furniture (Specht, 2012). Lastly, purely technical things (such as acoustics) are crucial to effectively facilitate participation. It will be interesting to see if and how the meetings with neighbourhood residents will be organised and designed.

3.6 Participation explained

In his dissertation, Van de Wijdeven (2012, p. 122) outlines several approaches which provide an explanation for participation in general: the cognitive engagement theory, the general incentives

theory, the civic voluntarism model (cf. Van de Wijdeven et al., 2013), the equity fairness theory and the social capital model (for an explanation see Van de Wijdeven, 2012).

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

Picture 4: The CLEAR-framework (source: Lowndes et al., 2006)

Lowndes et al. (2006) have developed a framework based on all theories or models: the CLEAR-framework (see picture 4). It is applicable to both the initiative of self-management itself and the involvement of the neighbourhood residents in it. The reason for choosing this framework is that it has more explanatory power because of the incorporation of several models into one.

The first element, “can do,” refers to capacities and resources to participate, which are connected to socio-economic status (Lowndes et al., 2006). Higher educated people generally have better-developed interpersonal skills as well as access to institutions (Van de Wijdeven et al., 2013). Nevertheless, it is not always the case that only the highly educated are involved in citizen initiatives (Hurenkamp, Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2006; Van de Wijdeven & Hendriks, 2010; Verhoeven & Tonkens, 2011). As Van der Zwaard and Specht (2013) point out, all kinds of competences can be helpful: enterprising, social, self-reflexive, and bureaucratic ones. Enterprising competences have to do with assertiveness for example. Social competences include being able to collaborate and make others enthusiastic, whereas self-reflexive ones point to being able to reflect on yourself and your behaviour and the effect of this (Van der Zwaard & Specht, 2013). Lastly, bureaucratic competences are for example about requesting subsidy. Important as well is a sufficient knowledge of the Dutch language (Hendriks in Van de Wijdeven et al., 2013). These competences can be linked to individuals’ roles within initiatives: while some individuals may be more practically oriented, others are more focused on deliberation, institutions and decision-making processes (Van de Wijdeven & Hendriks,

2010; cf. Van de Wijdeven, 2012). Another distinction has been made by the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR, 2012) between “pullers” and “connectors.” While the first are those who take the lead, are venturesome and take initiative, the second are able to move between the system and life world or different kinds of social networks (Van de Wijdeven et al., 2013).

As the previous paragraph makes clear, social relations form the basis of every citizen initiative (e.g. Engbersen & Rensen, 2014; Nienhuis, 2014; Uitermark, 2014ab). As Nienhuis (2014) documents, social capital is one of the three resources to enable self-organisation, since it facilitates coordination between people. Linking social capital is also important, which can be defined as connections with neighbourhood or other institutions (Denters et al., 2013).

Besides social capital, Nienhuis (2014) also lists cultural and economic capital as necessary resources for self-organisation. With cultural capital several things are meant: shared norms and values, knowledge, or the specific ‘neighbourhood culture’ (Nienhuis, 2014, p. 108) which consists of attitudes and behaviours considered as “normal” among residents. Certain unwritten and shared rules exist which make the neighbourhood more familiar, safer and more liveable (Nienhuis, 2014). The exercise of social control is based on these norms or rules. This argument can be linked to the earlier discussion of public familiarity and feelings of home. Lastly, Nienhuis (2014) lists economic capital as important for self-organisation, with which he means possessions and income.

The second factor in the CLEAR-framework is “like to,” which is especially relevant in this research. It refers to ‘people’s felt sense of community as a basis for engagement’ (Lowndes et al., 2006, p. 287). Lowndes et al. (2006) link it to participation through the use of the concept of social capital (cf. Bakker, Denters & Klok, 2011). Numerous other studies (e.g. Bolt, & Ter Maat 2005; Huygen, Van Marissing & Boutellier, 2012; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Van Stokkom & Toenders, 2010; Verhoeven & Tonkens, 2011) show the positive relationship between neighbourhood attachment and participation. Bolt and Ter Maat’s (2005) found neighbourhood attachment to be the strongest predictor. On the contrary, social capital is seen as less important (see also Van de Wijdeven, 2012), although the amount of social capital active individuals possess distinguishes them from the less active (Oude Vrielink & Verhoeven, 2011; Verhoeven & Tonkens, 2011).⁵ Moreover, it is an important precondition for self-organisation, as has been just explained (e.g. Nienhuis, 2014). Generally, as was stated before, it is important to keep in mind that it is wise to distinguish between home feelings and feelings of belonging to a group or really identifying with a neighbourhood. This also relates to people possibly identifying less as “neighbourhood residents” because of increasing mobility, which has arguably caused a decreasing importance of the neighbourhood as a meaningful framework for people’s lives (Blokland & Rae, 2008; Kleinhans, 2005; Leidelmeijer, 2012).

⁵ Moreover, participation in initiatives leads to the development of social capital (e.g. Oude Vrielink & Verhoeven, 2011; Verhoeven & Tonkens, 2011).

The next component is called "enabled to." Lowndes et al. (2006, p. 288) explain: 'Most participation is facilitated through groups or organisations' (cf. Van Stokkom & Toenders, 2010; Uitermark, 2014a; Van der Zwaard & Specht, 2013). Van der Zwaard and Specht (2013) call it the social and physical infrastructure, which is deemed important for public familiarity. People are then able to know with whom they may work together to achieve something. Moreover, people having connections with organisations and institutions is important (linking social capital). Moreover, if people have more ownership over these facilities, such as in cases of self-management, feelings of responsibility will grow and people will take more initiative (Van Xanten et al. & Blond in Van Houweligen et al., 2014; Lagas et al., Van der Zwaard & Kreuk in Van der Zwaard & Specht, 2013).

"Asked to" is the fourth element of the CLEAR-framework and points to mobilisation: people need to be asked to participate (Lowndes et al., 2006). The way of asking, who is asked and for which participation options all play a role, as well as for what reason people are asked to participate. When those responsible for decision-making ask others to get involved in this process, chances of participation are highest (Lowndes et al., 2006).

The last component is "responded to." This means that people are more likely to participate when they 'believe that their involvement is making a difference' (Lowndes et al., 2006, p. 289; cf. Van de Wijdeven, 2012; Van der Zwaard & Specht, 2013). This relates to the importance for people that they feel they are being listened to (Hurenkamp et al., 2006). To enhance transparency, those in charge of decision-making should give feedback on the role of participation within the decision-making procedure. In correspondence to this, Bolt and Ter Maat (2005) found that the feeling of having an influence on policy, besides neighbourhood attachment, is an important predictor of participation.

3.7 Relationships between professionals, the local government and citizens

As already became clear, the roles of the government and professionals are under debate. Van de Wijdeven et al. (2013) note that two extreme viewpoints can be found: a complete pulling back by the government or stimulation as the way to go. Oude Vrielink and Verhoeven (2011) distinguish between generic and specific policy approaches. In the first the government primarily has a serving role in which it complements rather than takes over the initiative. Indeed, the words "trust" and "letting go" are central words (Van de Wijdeven et al., 2013; e.g. Ministerie van BZK, 2013). Regarding this, Hurenkamp et al. (2006) argue strongly for an inviting and involved government which offers explicit possibilities for active citizenship. If this is not the case, inequality may be the result, since more vulnerable citizens will not be able to come along (cf. Uitermark, 2014ab).

The specific policy approach identified by Oude Vrielink and Verhoeven (2011) focuses on disadvantaged neighbourhoods in which the government has a more stimulating role (cf. Denters et

al., 2013). However, this does not mean that the government takes over: it should take away bureaucratic barriers and give enough room to develop the initiative (Oude Vrielink & Verhoeven, 2011). Indeed, residents are to remain the owners of their ideas (Oude Vrielink & Van de Wijdeven, 2008; Van de Wijdeven & Hendriks, 2010). It thus becomes clear that the government constantly has to balance between distance and proximity (Oude Vrielink and Van de Wijdeven, 2008). Hendriks and Van de Wijdeven (2014, p. 151) have developed an oxymoron to describe this: *loshouden* ("holding loosely").

In general, according to Oude Vrielink and Verhoeven (2011), partnership and collaboration are central to the new relationship between the government and citizens (cf. Verhoeven & Tonkens, 2011). This makes initiatives 'shared practices,' which take shape through interactions between government and citizens (Oude Vrielink & Verhoeven, 2011, p. 378). Verhoeven and Tonkens (2011, p. 430) speak of 'social warming' (*sociale opwarming*) between them, which heightens citizens' expectations in terms of appreciation and understanding, amongst other things. In partnerships the government facilitates and supports, which helps residents in creating public value (Oude Vrielink & Verhoeven, 2011). This resembles the co-creation approach as outlined by Denters et al. (2013), wherein the government has an interest in the initiatives: they help further policy goals. This is also the case with the devolvement of public tasks to society: the idea is that society can arrange things either better or cheaper or both (Ministerie van BZK, 2013).

It is important that the initiative is not sucked too much into the bureaucratic system (Uitermark, 2014b). Many studies (e.g. Denters et al., 2013; Hendriks & Van de Wijdeven, 2014; Huygen & Van Marissing, 2013; Oude Vrielink & Van de Wijdeven, 2011; Verhoeven & Tonkens, 2011) caution against the fatal consequences of bureaucratic procedures and obstacles, as well as too rigid frameworks. Uitermark (2014b) makes an important point by stating that the government is not well-equipped to be inviting, flexible, supportive and empathetic, precisely because it is a bureaucratic organisation. Nevertheless, specific civil servants or professionals can employ a more personal approach (Hendriks & Van de Wijdeven, 2014; Oude Vrielink & Van de Wijdeven, 2008 & 2011; Van de Wijdeven & Hendriks, 2010; Van der Zwaard & Specht, 2013). Key words are recognition, appreciation, listening and understanding. Many pieces of advice have been developed, although no blueprints exist (Oude Vrielink & Van de Wijdeven, 2011; Van de Wijdeven et al., 2013).

Regarding the role of professionals, Oude Vrielink & Van de Wijdeven (2011) argue that thus far most attention has still gone to a more instrumental approach, while a personal approach is crucial for the success of initiatives. By connecting to residents' life world, residents stay intrinsically motivated and feel listened to and supported, which also helps their self-confidence. This relates to Huygen and Van Marissing's (2013) advice, which dictates that policy makers should be responsive to citizens and their initiatives. Here translation comes back again, since the professional is also

connected to the system. Moreover, by taking residents' abilities as a starting point, the chances are smaller that residents get overloaded (Oude Vrielink & Van de Wijdeven, 2011).

Besides being present by giving personal attention to residents, being physically present at important moments is also deemed important (Hendriks & Van de Wijdeven, 2010; Huygen & Van Marissing, 2013; Oude Vrielink & Van de Wijdeven, 2008). Simultaneously distance is required in relation to neighbourhood institutions, which gives the professional enough flexibility and the possibility to criticise (Oude Vrielink & Van de Wijdeven, 2011). A last important function for both the professional and policy makers (e.g. civil servants) is to give backing or protection if necessary (Hendriks & Van de Wijdeven, 2010).

Lastly, the Council for Public Administration (ROB, 2012) published the government participation stairs, which features regulating, directing, stimulating, facilitating and letting go. This stairs show that within the third generation of citizen participation the emphasis is on residents. Hendriks and Van de Wijdeven (2014) conclude that all steps of the stairs can be found, also in combinations. In many cases, the dominant image and rhetoric deviate from reality. In most cases municipalities still hold on quite tight to initiatives instead of letting go.

Nevertheless, Hendriks and Van de Wijdeven (2014) point out that municipalities can still play a central co-producing role. Similar to *loshouden*, the combination of a personal approach and a co-producing role are caught in the newly created term *meemaken* ("co-engaging") (Hendriks & Van de Wijdeven, 2014, p. 152). Finally, important points that are made are that an explicit mutual understanding and expectations of roles is a key factor, as well as open and honest communication (Hendriks & Van de Wijdeven, 2014; Huygen & Van Marissing, 2013; Ministerie van BZK, 2013). It is still very much searching for the right kind of collaboration.

3.8 Self-management of community centres

Not much research exists on self-managed community centres. Huygen's (2011; 2014a) research was the only more thorough research found. In her 2011 research she studied the process of self-management of community centre the Nieuwe Jutter in Utrecht. The community centre is seen as one of the pioneers of self-managed community centres. Huygen (2011) found that frictions may arise because of different cultural backgrounds. Issues may be on trust and distrust, gender, responsibilities and different ways of organizing things. Mutual alignment is necessary and trial and error are part of daily practice. Huygen (2011) notes the importance of collaboration within community centres. This connects to Douglas's (1991) view on the home. What clearly comes forward is that the daily practices are organised more organically and things are not immediately or beforehand documented on paper. The organisation structure of the community centre was not developed beforehand. Another important finding is the role of the neighbourhood pastor (Huygen,

2011). He is deemed as playing a crucial connective role. He gives professional support without taking over, by giving attention to people and their worth and acting out of trust and authenticity. He makes hidden things collective and discussable.

In her 2014 research, in which she studied the Nieuwe Jutter and three other community centres in Krommenie, Tilburg and Roosendaal, Huygen (2014a) notes that volunteers have strong feelings of ownership and responsibility. Huygen (2014a) finds that it is important to have a good mix of different types of volunteers. Moreover, volunteers feel a need for paid people to carry more responsibility and coordinate the daily affairs. Nevertheless, clear distinctions between professionals and volunteers blur. Volunteers and others involved are still searching for

the right balance between who carries what responsibilities. This discussion shows the connections with the home literature, especially Douglas's (1991) view on the home. Regarding finances, two of the four centres do not receive subsidy from the municipality anymore (Huygen, 2014a). In general, having enough money is always an issue of insecurity and every year it is a challenge to have enough budget. In relation to this, a shift is occurring to more enterprising activities to generate income.

In contrast to what Van Bochove (2014) found, bridging contacts emerge and the community centres thus function as meeting places which connect people of various backgrounds. Struggles Huygen (2014a) observes are those around the system (procedures, rules and ways of working within municipalities), changing relationships between volunteers and welfare institutions and tensions and conflicts among volunteers. Additionally, Tonkens and Van Bochove (2014) note that volunteers have issues with the acknowledgment of their authority. In the last chapter of her research report, Huygen (2014a) outlines several ingredients or qualities for successful self-management (see Box 1).

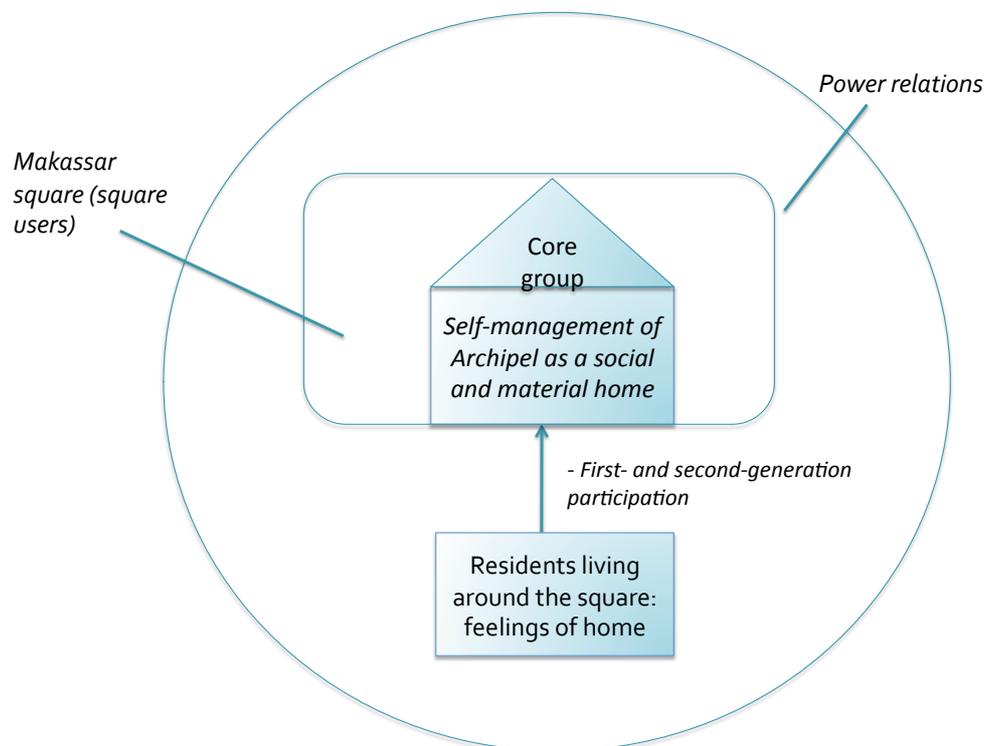
Box 1: Needed qualities for successful self-management of community centres (source: Huygen, 2014a, p. 42-43; cf. Huygen, 2014b)

Needed qualities for successful self-management of community centres:

1. Time and space to organise, build relationships and experiment
2. Openness: approachable and welcome place, as well as openness in the process
3. The ability to deal with variety, in the sense of people with different backgrounds, ways of doing, motivations and viewpoints and networks.
4. Participants' own initiative is leading: creating feelings of responsibility and involvement
5. Trust: in other people and in one's activities
6. Dedication: having heart for the business, durability in involvement
7. Alignment: developing connections and relationships between people
8. Organising abilities: arranging administration, planning and organisation issues
9. Enterprising abilities: generating own income instead of only relying on budget provided by the municipality
10. Reflexive power: the ability to reflect on the whole process and whether the needed abilities are present sufficiently and are sufficiently

3.9 Summary

In this chapter, the focus was on two themes: home and belonging and participation and self-organisation. What can be concluded is that the two themes are very interrelated. Social capital is important both within the home and for participation. In a home, people have to take each other into account. Regarding participation, the existence of a social fabric within a neighbourhood is one of the backbones of organising initiatives. Relating to this, a community centre functions is also part of the social infrastructure of a neighbourhood. Feelings of home and belonging are themselves explanatory factors for participation. Power relations are central to both home-making and participation. Another important theme is the relationship and balance between system (order) and lifeworld (flexibility) and ways to navigate these two. For a home to function and for self-organisation to flourish, both are needed. The distinction also comes back within the debate on participation, for example regarding invited and popular spaces. Another concept which can be linked to all the previous is the concept of ownership: it is central to a home, as well as to successful participation. Below the conceptual model of this research is displayed, which provides a schematic overview of the discussed main concepts and reflects the research questions of this research.



Picture 5: the conceptual model of this research.



Alcoholverbod
uitgezonderd terras
Art. 2.8 lid 1 A.P.V.



4. Researching the Makassar square and Archipel

In this chapter, the methodological foundation of this research will be outlined. Some literature on the case study approach will be presented and applied to this research. Thereafter, the used methods, interviewing and observing, will be elaborated upon. A detailed description will be given of how the data were gathered. Lastly, the analysis will be given some attention.

4.1 Case study approach

The case study approach was chosen for this research, since the latter was carried out in a specific neighbourhood and focused on a specific community centre. As Berg (2012) notes, the case study approach is interpreted by scholars in different ways and can accommodate a variety of research types in various disciplines (cf. Yin, 2003). Whereas Stake (in Berg, 2012) sees a case study not as a particular method or approach, most of the definitions have in common that it is about gathering in-depth data on a setting, person, group, event or a set of related events to gain a full understanding of it. In this regard, Berg (2012) states this is similar to 'thick description,' a notion elaborated upon by Geertz (in Berg, 2012, p. 454).

Within the case study approach, processes and relationships are central (Denscombe, 2010). Yin (2003, p. 13) states it involves researching 'a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident' (cf. Denscombe, 2010; Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010). Moreover, a case study is about collecting in-depth data whereby more than one source of data is used (Creswell, 2003; Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010). This is understood as triangulation, a strategy to enhance the validity of research (Denscombe, 2010; Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2009; Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010; Yin, 2003). Verschuren and Doorewaard (2010) point out that it is especially important in single case study research, such as this one. In this research, both interviewing and observing were data collection methods. Although some scholars (e.g. Creswell, 2007; Hagan in Berg, 2012; Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010) link case study research to qualitative methods only, Yin (2003) argues both qualitative and quantitative methods can be used.

One of the main goals of this research was to get more insight into a particular process, namely that of the self-management of a community centre in a specific context, which is the Makassar square neighbourhood in Amsterdam East. One of the "participation brokers" (*participatiemakelaars*) of the municipality of Amsterdam⁶ suggested this case, which fulfils the criterion of it being a community centre in the process of self-management. However, it is also

⁶ Someone from the municipality who can be approached by residents who want to become active in the neighbourhood and who maintains contact with all neighbourhood initiatives.

selected because of its availability, which is a practical reason (Denscombe, 2010). This research is a single case study research, as opposed to a multiple case study one. It tries to gain a holistic understanding of community centre Archipel and the Makassar square, as well as the residents who live around the square. These three arguably influence each other and to be able to reach conclusions, it is important to take all three into account. Moreover, the home itself should also be seen as a holistic entity (Rybczynski in Moore, 2000).

As Descombe (2010) notes, a case study lends itself to small-scale research that can uncover complexities and can test or build theory. It lends itself to multiple methods and data sources, which is also a strength. However, it has also been criticized (Berg, 2012; Flyvbjerg, 2005; Yin, 2003). One of the criticisms is that case studies are scientifically inferior because of their limited ability to generalize. However, Flyvbjerg (2005) argues that scientific generalization is not necessary for scientific development. Similarly, Yin (2003) states findings from case studies can be analytically generalized, which means that the findings of a case study are being connected to theory.

Lastly, it should be remarked here that in this research also elements from other approaches have been used. Although ethnography is not chosen as a main strategy, mainly because it focuses more on the workings of a group of people and their culture (Creswell, 2007), this research has drawn quite heavily on its anthropological foundations by actively participating in the process. Thus, an insider's perspective could be gained on the self-management process of Archipel. The concrete anthropological method used was participant observation. Besides the ethnographic approach, the phenomenological approach also came back, in the sense that people's experiences and constructions of reality (see Descombe, 2010) were examined through interviews. However, it was not chosen as the main strategy because this research not only approached the home from a phenomenological perspective, but also from a more social constructivist one. Moreover, especially given the earlier theoretical framework, the objective was not to establish "the essence" of home.

Lastly, some elements from action research will be incorporated. This research can be partly seen as a collaborative effort in which research results were already communicated to the core group during the research period, so the group could inform further actions. Moreover, as a researcher I made suggestions during meetings and helped organizing the opening day of the community centre. It means a balance had to be stricken between helping the community centre in establishing a good relationship with neighbourhood residents and trying to simultaneously research this relationship.

4.2 Methods

In this subsection, the methods of this research will be discussed. Because multiple qualitative methods will be used, this research can be characterized as a multi-methods research (e.g.

Longhurst, 2010; Saunders et al., 2009). In addition to using qualitative methods, the former and new website of the Makassar square and community centre Archipel were used for the results chapter to support and strengthen the arguments made. This also counts for various confidential documents and the e-mail traffic between the core group members.

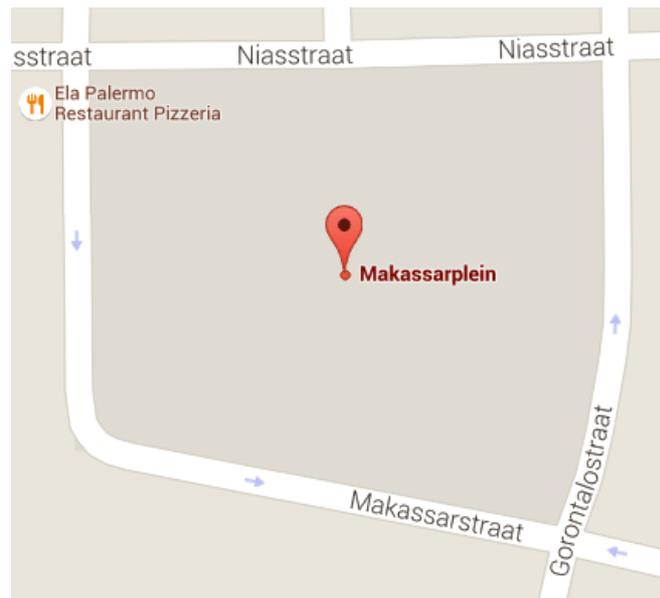
4.2.1 Interviews

The interviews held in this research were semi-structured. Semi-structured is a mixture of structured and unstructured interviews, which implies some order but leaves enough room for flexibility (Denscombe, 2010; Longhurst, 2010; O'Reilly, 2012). Between March and the first week of July 2015, sixty interviews were held. Interviews were held with residents living around the square, the core group members, square users, a board member and two civil servants of the municipality of Amsterdam. To enhance validity, extra conversations were held with the core group members for clarification. See tables 2, 3, 4 and 5 in Appendix 2 for an overview. Most interviews lasted for about one hour, but also shorter conversations were held with square visitors. During two interviews, Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch residents' children acted as interpreters. These interviews plus a few others were held with more than one person of the household. During the transcribing process, attention was given to silences, non-verbal communication, laughter and tone and volume of voice. Because of capacity issues, the shorter conversations were not transcribed (only notes were made).

The context of an interview influences the data gathered (Denscombe, 2010). The interviews with neighbourhood residents were held at their homes, which were places where they arguably felt comfortable. Moreover, it gave the opportunity to directly ask about the interior of their homes. The interviews with the core group members were held either at De Meevaart, another community centre in self-management in the neighbourhood, a café, or at the locations of their own organisations. These are all familiar or in the latter case even home places for the core group members, which also means they probably felt comfortable while talking.

The reason for having chosen interviews as one of the methods is that they are a good way to gain insight into how people give meaning to and construct their world (Denscombe, 2010). Concepts such as home and belonging are differentially imbued with meaning. As Easthope (2004, p. 135) notes: 'Detailed conceptions of the meaning of 'home' should not be developed *a priori*' (emphasis in original). This is also why the main concepts of this research will be seen as sensitizing concepts (Blumer, 1954). These do not have a clear definition yet, but only give a general direction.

For sampling interviewees, purposive sampling was used, which means that interviewees were chosen on the basis of who will best enable to answer the research questions (Saunders et al., 2009). Indeed, Longhurst (2010, p. 108) points out that interviewees are mostly chosen because of 'their experience related to the research topic.' Only the square users were sampled through convenience sampling (see Saunders et al., 2009): some of the people who were simply



Picture 6: a map of the Makassar square and the surrounding streets (source: Google Maps)

present at the square during observations were approached, whereby enough sample variety was kept in mind. Before approaching the residents living around the square, a small note was delivered at every mailbox in the streets directly surrounding the square (see picture 6 for a map of the Makassar square and the surrounding streets), preparing residents for my visit (for the note see Appendix 3).

The purpose of the sample was for it to be a reflection of the population of the Makassar square neighbourhood when looked at ethnicity. For other characteristics, such as sex, age and household composition, the goal was to have enough variety. Moreover, it was tried to get residents from all surrounding streets, thereby taking into account the share of the number of households in each street in the total number of households. At first it was computed how many households had to be in the sample from each side of the square. Moreover, with help of an online tool households were sampled. However, this did not work, since many residents and their neighbours were repeatedly not at home. Therefore, doorbells were randomly rung, thereby keeping in mind the sample demands. In the end, the majority of the households were approached, of them nearly all those with a seemingly non-Dutch name (some residents were repeatedly not at home at different days and times), but not all Dutch households or bells without nameplates. The latter would have probably led to an overrepresentation of Dutch residents in the sample, since Dutch residents were more willing to participate. The interviews were held with the residents who opened the door. In the end, the sample of interviewed residents (see table 3 in Appendix 2) was sufficiently representative, although slightly more ethnically Dutch have been interviewed. The sample was sufficiently heterogeneous with regards to the other characteristics.

Different topic lists were used for different kinds of interviews (see Appendix 4). Those for the first interview with the project leader from the municipality, the residents living around the square, the core group members and the volunteers of Archipel were developed on the basis of the theory as outlined in the previous chapter. Throughout the interviewing process, the topic lists were continuously adapted. The topic lists for interviews with other involved persons were developed on the basis of earlier obtained insights. Lastly, those for the short talks with the users of the square was based on that of earlier research done on the square by one of the core group members.

Important to keep in mind is that the interviewer has influence on the course of the interviews and the nature of the data gathered because of their positionality based on identity characteristics (Valentine in Longhurst, 2010). Similarly, Descombes (2010) speaks of the interviewer effect. It is important to be reflective of this, especially since the majority of the residents of the Makassar square neighbourhood do not have a Dutch ethnic background. In this case, I am an ethnic Dutch student, during the fieldwork period most of the time wearing Dr. Martens, a sporty backpack and “trendy” big glasses. This made me appear as a bit of a “hipster” student who may be seen as one of the many increasingly moving into the neighbourhood. In sum, the interviewer’s identity and the specific context of the interviews make all interviews to a certain extent unique, which have a negative impact on reliability (Denscombe, 2010). To increase the reliability of this research, roughly the same questions were asked to each interviewee.

4.2.2 Participant observation

It is important to not only research what people say, but also what they do. Especially in this research this was interesting, since home and home-making also have a material dimension and the latter is done by certain practices (e.g. Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Saunders et al. (2009, p. 293) distinguish between four roles in observation: complete observer, complete participant, participant as observer and observer as participant. The first two involve concealment of the identity of the researcher. Because of ethical considerations and practical impossibility, the first two roles are eliminated. Moreover, because the intent is to actively help the resident organization and be involved in the processes going on, the role of participant as observer was chosen.

Numerous observations were conducted. Besides more arranged observations at the square and the community centre, also casual observations were done during walks to and from the square. During every visit to the neighbourhood, observations were made. The more arranged observations included the meetings of the core group once every two weeks and the observations at the square and in the community centre. In total, thirteen meetings were attended, two public events and three times the Makassar square was the site of observation (besides the numerous fleeting observations). All observations were written down and subsequently analyzed. During the meetings of the core

group, a more distanced role was adopted to avoid interrupting the group process and influencing the conversations substantively.

The square was mainly observed during daytime, especially in the afternoons and in the weekends, since at those moments the square was used most intensely. In the last two weeks of June and the first two of July 2015, when the community centre was open for public, it was visited nine times. During the weeks of cleaning, fixing second-hand furniture and decorating the community centre, observations were also made, thus being participant as observer (see Saunders et al., 2009). During the observations on the square, the focus was more on the role of observer. The observation matrix (see Appendix 5) developed by Spradley (1980) was a helpful tool in focusing the observations, for example by looking at events, activities, space and objects.

As Descombe (2010) rightly points out, participant observation is far from neutral or objective, but is instead very much influenced by the researcher and their identity, as well as their presence. O'Reilly (2012, p. 93) mentions the so-called Hawthorne effect, which points to 'the effect that new conditions will have on behaviour.' By taking enough time in the field, the influence of this effect can be eliminated. In this four-month research, this was arguably the case. This also allowed for trust to be developed with all people involved, something which is important in doing research. Besides the Hawthorne effect, the specific identity of the researcher influences what observations are made and how they are interpreted. Therefore, throughout the research process enough time was made to reflect on this.

Although four months may be enough to gain trust, a downside is that the creation of a home likely takes longer than four months. A last issue is the one of "going ethnically," which happens when the researcher gets too involved and thereby forgets about the research (Descombe, 2010). It points to the importance of keeping a balance between involvement and keeping a certain distance as a researcher. Especially in this research, this was a challenge (see chapter 8 for a reflection).

4.3 Analysis

During the period of data collection, already analytical thoughts and reflections on the gathered data were written down. The analysis itself was loosely based on Grounded Theory, since it provides a clear step-wise process for analysing data (see Strauss & Corbin, 1990; cf. O'Reilly, 2012, Saunders et al., 2009). Firstly, all data (both interview transcripts and observations) were coded through open coding, which means that codes were connected to parts of interview data while staying as open as possible for surprises in the data. For example, examples of codes related to home feelings were 'social contact,' 'recognition,' 'freedom' and 'safety.' Open coding is based on what emerges from

the data. Although Grounded Theory is a fully inductive approach for analysis, in this research also codes were used which were developed on the basis of the theoretical framework.

The next phase is axial coding, which is understood to be looking at relationships between codes and developing categories and groups to keep an overview of the data. Categories used were 'home feelings,' 'engagement/participation' and 'community centre.' During the last phase, selective coding, efforts are made to bring all the previous together into a coherent story. It is about finding a core theme, although the focus in this research was on a coherent story to be told. This story can be read in the next three chapters. Throughout the analysis close attention was paid to the used terminology by all research participants and what kinds of answers were given to certain questions. Moreover, time was made to reflect on what was not said during interviews, since this may also provide interesting information. Lastly, attention was paid to patterns regarding differences in answers when looked at for example interviewees' age or ethnic background.



5. Understanding home and feelings of home

In this first empirical chapter, a closer look is taken at the residents living around the Makassar square. The focus will be on residents' homes and feelings of home in their homes, and in the neighbourhood. It will be shown that home and home feelings have many elements to them, such as freedom, space, ownership, knowledge, identification and recognition. The last part of the chapter moves more explicitly to the square, looking at how it functions and what experiences both residents and users have with it.

5.1 Home sweet home: an introduction

As could be read in chapter 2, the Indische neighbourhood is dynamic and in constant development (see Box 2 for a description of the residents of the neighbourhood). The change the neighbourhood has undergone throughout the years, making it safer and a physically nicer place to live, has had a positive impact on residents' home feelings. Another important reason lies in the perceived diversity of the neighbourhood, with which both diversity in the sense of ethnicity and social-economic status (linked to the process of gentrification), and diversity in shops and other facilities are meant. Regarding the first, the dominant opinion is that a neighbourhood inhabited by a homogenous group of residents is less desirable. More homogeneity is seen as less exciting or it makes residents feel less at home because they would stand out more (see later when Jasper talks about the neighbourhood being hospitable and Abdul when explaining how he defines "home").

Regarding the second form of diversity, residents like the diversity in shops and facilities, which makes the neighbourhood livelier, although for some residents it can also feel restless.

Box 2: a description of the residents of the Indische neighbourhood

The Indische neighbourhood is a lively neighbourhood, something which all residents think as well (some even find it too busy). There are always people in the streets. Especially with warm and sunny weather, the terrace of the popular Badhuis is filled with predominantly white people enjoying drinks. The residents living and in the Indische neighbourhood form an eclectic mix of different types of people. One can find the shabby people wearing jogging pants, having tousled hair and who carry a trolley with them filled with groceries. Elderly Moroccan-Dutch men in more traditional clothes regularly pass you by. You can also find more modern dressed Muslimas, who wear high heels and fancy handbags in addition to their headscarves. Turkish-Dutch or Moroccan-Dutch boys hanging on the phone or walking on the sidewalk in small groups, students with their trendy Herschel or Fjällräven Kanken backpacks cycling by on their second-hand race bikes and the young urban professionals, using the popular cargo bikes (*bakfietsen*) to bring their young children to school, are also groups of residents one can distinguish. Although clearly gentrifying, the Indische neighbourhood has not lost its raw edge (yet): the Coffee Company and popular restaurants such as Vijf Nul Vijf and Wilde Zwijnen mix with shisha shops, drycleaners, Moroccan or Turkish greengrocers and hairdressers. Moreover, the vibe of the Java square is harder to feel when one walks to the streets behind the Makassar square (which is also pointed out by one of the residents).

Residents all answer that 'everything is nearby' to the question why they feel at home. Related to this, when asked why they feel at home in the neighbourhood or why they like to live there, residents almost immediately said that "everything is nearby." The good connections with public transport are mentioned in this regard. Instead of having the feeling one lives far away from everything, the position of the neighbourhood is perceived as being very central.

5.2 Diving deeper into home feelings

This paragraph will go through the main elements of residents' home feelings. Because they are all connected to each other, it will be tried to approach them in an integrated manner by showing how they are connected. As mentioned in the previous chapter, table 3 in Appendix 2 provides an overview of all interviewed residents. In Appendix 7, the original quotes can be found (see the numbers behind the quotes).

First, social contacts are very important and are mentioned by residents almost immediately when asked about home feelings. Especially non-ethnic Dutch residents think it is very important to have good relations with your neighbours and to get acquainted with people (*kennissen* and *kennis maken*). For example, Amar, an adolescent living with his parents, declares he and especially his parents 'know everyone in the neighbourhood.' Also Soraya, a Moroccan-Dutch living with husband and children, says that 'everyone knows everyone.' In the same light, Rudy, a 56-year old Surinamese-Dutch who has worked in the Pijp for years, explains that he feels more at home there because everyone knows him and vice versa. Interestingly, he calls it 'my domain,' thus establishing a link with feelings of ownership. These contacts can be regarded as 'light contacts,' since they do not involve very strong and personal contact, but are instead more of a fleeting character.

Neighbourhood facilities are places where such encounters take place. For example, Mrs. Grimbergen, an ethnically Dutch who walks her dog in the Flevopark, frequently meets an older woman who also walks her dogs. Another example greengrocer Mustapha, who always asks Willemijn if everything is going well. Willemijn is also an ethnically Dutch in her thirties, living together with her partner and baby girl. Interestingly, both Jos, an ethnically Dutch retired journalist and Jasper, an ethnically Dutch in the end of his twenties, say that the owner of the pizzeria at the corner of the Makassar square calls them 'neighbour' and frequently says hello. According to Jasper, the owner watches everything that is happening at the square and he also immediately knew when Jasper had just moved to his new apartment. For Willemijn, neighbourhood facilities such as Bar Joost give her a 'neighbourhood feeling,' because people talk about the neighbourhood and the weird types of people living there and about 'where to find good roti.'

Bart, a young ethnically Dutch man living together with his girlfriend, has good memories of the neighbourhood pub where he used to work. He had his apartment right above the pub and

regarded the pub as his second home: 'The whole street came in that pub. So I knew everyone from the street.' Mutual help relationships existed among the visitors and the pub functioned as a local post office. A last example is provided by Jasper, who built his own front bench out of pallet wood and consequently meets 'all kinds of people who pass by and say "hello" you and with whom you make small talk.' He directly links this to his living pleasure in the neighbourhood.

For Sheila, a 33-year old living by herself, such short but repeating encounters make the neighbourhood a village for her. Interestingly, she explicitly links this to ownership: she states that the social contacts make the environment part of herself. Certain routines of neighbourhood use, such as doing grocery shopping every Saturday morning, drinking a beer at Bar Joost or buying flowers from the flower kiosk contribute to this as well. 'I just know the way and know some people. [...] that also just makes it part of me. [makes it] familiar and just home.' Her use of "just" indicates how taken for granted, "natural" or unconscious perceptions of the environment and home are.

The above example points to a fundamental element of feelings of home that stands in close connection with others, namely the ability to navigate the environment. In order to do that, knowledge is needed to create a so-called mental map. This knowledge can be obtained by actively and repeatedly using the environment, such as the above example shows. Moreover, many of the social contacts consist of repeated encounters, which make the surroundings more familiar, trusted and predictable. What Ibrahim, a Moroccan-Dutch husband and father, says, is significant:

[...] we do have very good contact. Yes. Yes. Because when we see each other, then you see that smile, you also see [them] a lot in the street, the Java street, the Dapper market, by chance he passes by on his bicycle: "Hey neighbour! Hello!" Yes! [...] That's very nice. [...] So we do have contact, yes. **That makes it, life a bit clear [duidelijk]**, and then, getting to know each other. That is very important, I think, yes. [5.1]

As was mentioned earlier, residents with a non-Dutch ethnic background see good contacts with neighbours and making acquaintances as important. Similarly, Soraya talks about knowing who is who and who lives where. In this way, literally translated from Dutch, one could say she is able to place people [*mensen kunnen plaatsen*]. The terminology of this saying is interesting and is probably based in this fundamental process of getting to know an environment.

And you also know faces, [...] that women has a little shop there and there. That – you know? Or she lives there and there. Or those and those are her daughters. Even though you don't have to know here, though you don't even know her name, but you do know: she lives there or she lives there. So, that's it. [5.2]

What the quote also shows, is that it is not about knowing the other person in a personal way (or inviting them for coffee), but about being able to recognize and assess this person. Similarly, Joop, a retired ethnically Dutch who has lived in the neighbourhood since the 1980s, says that he gets 'sweaty and stinky' from being too close. This is the essence of public familiarity. Soraya says her knowing many people in the neighbourhood makes her feel safe, since she knows these people are willing to help her if necessary. Besides linking it to safety, a little further in the interview she explicitly connects it to the Indische neighbourhood as her home. So, knowing people, feeling safe and feeling at home all have to do with each other:

[..] and if you feel at home, and you feel safe – that is also the most important thing, right? That you just feel safe. I think that, that's number 1. And [..] if you feel safe, you also feel at home. [5:3]

The connection between social contacts and feeling safe is also made by others. Mrs. Amrani's son says: 'There [in another place] you cannot feel safe, for example if you ring other people's doorbells, they – maybe she needs something or she gets sick, she rings people's doorbells, but they don't know her.' Mrs. Amrani is a Moroccan-Dutch who now lives alone. Similarly, Jasper notes that even though he does not know his neighbours very well, because he sometimes makes small talk with them, he has the feeling that they watch his house when he and his girlfriend are away. Therefore, he states he feels very safe. Indeed, many residents note a discrepancy between the still quite bad reputation of the neighbourhood and their daily experiences. Soraya says jokingly, thereby expressing ownership: 'I would never ever leave this place, even if it is a ghetto. It is my ghetto!'

A resident who does not conform to this finding is Suzie, 48-year old ethnically Dutch living with her daughter. Because she approached café *Plan B* about noise nuisance, she has become a known face for the somewhat shady guests there, making her feel uncomfortable. She has been threatened by one of them. Moreover, she feels other residents' norms and values are different from hers. Although for her this is a source of not feeling at home, this does not count for Jos, who says he cannot stand his neighbours' more conservative norms and values.

What can be concluded is that the environment is appropriated in a way and thereby made personal. Thus, space is always actively produced and transformed into a meaningful place, which provides the possibility for people to feel at home there. By making the environment your own, it feels closer to you. Indeed, before he came to live in the neighbourhood, Bart always had the feeling that 'East is too far away!' Another funny example is given by Sheila, who admits she uses GPS to cycle to Amsterdam-West. She does not have her own mental map. "I always get lost there. [..] I also cycle for a very long time to go from East to West, because every time I happen to cycle a touristic route." Interestingly, more residents contrast a place where they feel at home with a place where

they do not. Another important conclusion is that home cannot be equated with house. As Sheila says: 'Home is that you can just feel comfortable where you are, whether it is at Bar Joost or while walking in the street.' Similarly, Abdul, a Moroccan-Dutch husband and father, says: 'Feeling at home has nothing to do with a house. It can also be in a tent, or [...] whatever.'

In contrast to what has been discussed above, some residents feel they are less able to predict, assess or judge other people's behaviours. Joop struggles with the ethnic diversity existent in the neighbourhood. He especially finds communication an issue, because of the language barrier. Moreover, during his interview he keeps emphasizing cultural differences and criminal behaviour of young non-Dutch ethnic boys. Interestingly, he draws on developments on a higher level of scale to make clear he trusts other people to a lesser extent nowadays:

I find it really, really hard. Because you already see it around you, then you're talking about the neighbourhood, but if you're going to see it internationally: IS. Because I know it doesn't have to do with this, but you don't know what's coming at you, right, in the long term. Because how can someone radicalize, because he can't get express himself, I don't know what lives next to me. [*whispers*] [...] You don't know. You don't know. That's the problem. [...] But it could also be that we're here talking and all of a sudden it's *boom*. No idea. [5.4]

Home is thus linked to multiple levels of scale. Joop feels nostalgic when he recalls the times when predominantly ethnically Dutch still lived in the neighbourhood and when he experienced more solidarity, for example during football matches. 'We were all orange, it was [...] much fun. [...] But that's all totally gone now. [...] And that's a pity.'

What is also important to keep in mind is that a logical consequence of people producing familiar and personal places out of space is belonging being selective (see Watt, 2006). No resident experiences or uses the neighbourhood in the same way. Indeed, throughout his life, Joop has hardly used the neighbourhood intensively because of his full-time job. That is also the reason why he states he does not feel a close bond with it. The young higher-educated white residents also have a full-time job, but they do feel a more positive connection with the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, the selective belonging means they mostly only feel belonging towards a part of the neighbourhood, especially the two upper quadrants. A remarkable finding is that these young residents all think the lower two quadrants are 'ugly.' They neither come in those areas of the neighbourhood. The built, material environment thus plays an important role in these residents' home feelings.

This points to the issue of identity. Selective belonging itself presupposes certain identification. Belonging means you feel affinity with a certain environment, which you make familiar through using it in your own way. Indeed, for Nadia, a 28-year old Dutch living together with

her boyfriend, feeling at home is about the environment and yourself fitting together. In this way, the appreciation for the diversity of the neighbourhood can also be understood, because it fits these young residents' identities. Nevertheless, their own social networks are not ethnically diverse. Important to note here is that these residents did not come to the Indische neighbourhood because they specifically wanted to live there. Instead, affordability of the apartments and the fact that the apartments fulfilled their housing wishes were the most important reasons. In contrast to these more rational reasons for moving, Rudy claims his house chose him: 'When I came in, the very first time, [...] I looked at the wooden wall, and the wall said to me: "This will be your house."' Another example of an identity-related issue is given by Jos, who rather identifies with Amsterdam-East in general. This has to do with his working and housing past and with his social contacts.

When it comes to residents' houses, one can see how the environment is a material expression of identity. For example, residents' religious and cultural identities are very visible. All Moroccan-Dutch residents' houses have religious texts hanging on the walls and there is a clear separation between the kitchen and the living room. In two houses the living room has both a 'Dutch part' and a 'Moroccan' part with Moroccan-style couches and coffee tables. Soraya's and her family's house is such a hybrid house. She also claims that she has a hybrid identity. The same counts for the food that is prepared for dinner everyday. In contrast, Mrs. Amrani has a fully Moroccan interior. When you walk into her house, you enter a different world. It has many carpets, delicately decorated white half see-through curtains, dark wooden round tables with transparent plastic table covers and typically Moroccan-style couches with bright colours, such as purple, combined with gold. The house is really clean. During the interview, Mrs. Amrani served a plate with cookies and juice from a fancy glass. These descriptions show that norms such as cleanliness and hospitality are important within Moroccan-Dutch households.

Ethnically Dutch residents' house interiors are more diverse. An insightful example is Mrs. Grimbergen's house. There, selective belonging takes place at the micro-level: Mrs. Grimbergen hardly ever uses her living room. Instead, most of the time she is in her kitchen. This is also evident when looking at the interiors of the rooms and feeling the atmospheres in both rooms. The kitchen is much more crowded with things and looks messier than the living room. The latter almost feels sterile and one can feel it does not have any soul. This again, but in a different way, shows that a space is only really made into a home when it is used. A difference with non-Dutch ethnic residents' houses is that many of the ethnically Dutch have one or more pets (mainly cats), which make them feel at home as well. A last example regarding home and identity is Jos's reflection on the interior of his house (see Box 3), in which feelings of ownership come forward.

An interesting finding is that most residents had difficulties with answering questions about their interior. It seems that people are less conscious of the materiality of their houses and

decorating your house is more of a natural process. This is quite logical, since the interior of a house derives from someone's identity, on which most people do not consciously reflect every day. What also comes forward in the interviews is that the interiors are subject to change: some residents

Box 3: Jos's reflection on the interior of his apartment and his identity

"Those bookcases, those books are all mine, I have read all myself. Holiday things, whatever, cookbooks. Right, so those are all things I use and yes, your bed, my laptop [...] they are just things that carry with them your own history. So, I mean, I'm 68, I have a whole life behind me. And to an important extent as a journalist. [...] So yes, you just carry those kinds of things with you. Those books are all just a display of what has been meaningful in my life, you know? And for example, those dictionaries are there because I use them a lot." He also talks about the paintings hanging in his living room. One of them used to hang in his mother's house. There is also a painting made by his daughter, a self-portrait, and another painting of his daughter made by someone else. "So, those are all things that just belong to the home feeling, you know, those are all things of your life, your history." He also shows a cupboard with all kinds of self-made pottery. "[Because of those things] you are who you are. And that just ensures you feel at home somewhere. It is just a place from which everything happens and from [...] which you derive your worth." [5.5]

report that they frequently change the interiors of their houses, which makes home-making an ongoing process. Besides changing the interior, what makes some residents feel at home is cooking and baking: Jos loves to bake cakes and Bart really enjoys cooking Italian when he comes back from being away for several months (because of his work). Besides being a place where people undertake activities, two residents (Jos and Rudy) say their house functions as a basis for undertaking activities elsewhere. Jos says he "operates" from his house: "[...] I do a lot with my laptop. And my phone as well of course. [...] So, I'm very connected to the world, the news, I'm still a journalist of course. But you still do it from a certain place where you feel familiar [...]" So, the home is some sort of hub, connected with wider developments. In this quote the link with identity is also noticeable.

What the interiors also show is that the house as home provides its inhabitant(s) the full possibility to express themselves. This is because people's houses are exclusive and private. Moreover, residents generally feel strong ownership. Residents describe their houses as places of comfort where they can be themselves and do what they want. Furthermore, temperature plays a role in the sense that the home is seen as a "warm" place, in contrast to "cold" places where they do not feel at home. An example of the home as a comfortable place is given by Mrs. Grimbergen, who says she can wear her jogging clothes and get something to eat from the fridge if she wants to. Similarly, Amar's mother says that only at home she can sit exactly the way she wants. At the same time, Joop makes clear that he feels vulnerable when other people visit his house, because he knows they think it is messy and not too clean. This is probably exactly because the house as home is so personal and private. It holds many memories. For example, Joop's wife passed away in his home. Memories and the stories told about homes produce and reproduce the home and with that

someone's identity. Another sign of privacy was the fact that one resident shortly spoken to did not want to show his house but preferred the corridor outside his front door.

Although it can be concluded that the home as a safe and comfortable place generally gives people a certain (feeling of) freedom, this is not the case for all. Take Hatice, a Turkish-Dutch woman living with her family (husband and three children) on forty square metres, which is too small for a family. On top of this, Hatice has problems with the apartment owner, because he is not willing to do any maintenance. In short, Hatice is not able to feel free in her own home, a feeling strengthened because moving is no option. In contrast, many other residents feel even more at home because of renovations done, which have made their houses more comfortable places.

The concept of freedom is also applicable within the wider neighbourhood. Abdul's definition of home is telling and clearly incorporates geographical elements:

Feeling at home is [...] when you have the feeling you're free. And that you are yourself. [...] that you are accepted the way you are. [...] that's why I said "I like to live among different groups of people," because you automatically have your own place. [...] If you end up somewhere where you stand out, then I'm being looked at. [5.6]

Here, the existence of power relations is evident as well: whether you are accepted or not, depends on other people. In a similar vein, Jasper talks about some of his Muslim Indonesian friends, who came to visit him in the Indische neighbourhood and were pleasantly surprised that 'they were received so hospitably and that virtually no one, that nowhere they had the feeling that they weren't welcome or that people looked at them weirdly, or that there was something weird.' Jasper concludes from this that he thinks the Indische neighbourhood is a very hospitable neighbourhood.

Lastly, related to freedom is openness: the experience of having enough space. Many residents appreciate the fact that the Indische neighbourhood is at the edge of Amsterdam. They do not feel "locked up" in the city. For example, Bart likes it that the Indische neighbourhood is a more open area for running, compared to Amsterdam-West. Many residents like green areas, such as the Flevopark, and those residents who have their own gardens are really happy with them. Jasper says it is very important for him feeling at home. He even calls the Makassar square a 'big front garden.' In his own little garden he likes to do some gardening, as well as just relaxing in the sunshine, which he regards as 'luxurious' in Amsterdam. Openness is also linked to residents' feelings of home because nearly all residents report they love the wide view over the square from their windows.

In conclusion, people can feel when they are at home, they see an environment with which they are familiar and which they like to look at, they hear familiar sounds and lastly, certain smells

may remind people of home (think of cooking smells). Home is when all senses are activated. It is also about actively doing. Thus, home is both sensory and embodied.

5.3 An exploration of the Makassar square

Box 4: basic facts and observations

- I. Residents are quite happy with the design generally: some would have liked it more organic and greener, while another resident resents the “stony” character because of noise nuisance with reduced home feeling as a consequence
- II. The square has become a safer place partly because of police cameras and enhanced lighting
- III. The square is still not totally free from loitering youth. Moreover, territorial and claiming behaviour among children is less common because of an increase in playing possibilities
- IV. It is seen as a children’s playground. Because it has many playing possibilities, the square also attracts visitors from outside the Indische neighbourhood. Because of this ascribed identity, many interviewed residents do not identify with and use the square that often
- V. The square is used most during the weekends and on Wednesday afternoons. ethnically Dutch residents use it in the mornings, families and children with non-Dutch ethnic background in the afternoons
- VI. Frequency of use varies from multiple times a week to once every few months
- VII. People like to stay on the square for a while: it is experienced as a comfortable place to stay. Especially Moroccan- and Turkish-Dutch women are frequently sitting at the picnic table, according to one resident even celebrating birthday parties there. The square is a meeting point for them; many Moroccan- or Turkish-Dutch residents know each other, sometimes personally
- VIII. Not all users would point children and loitering youth to undesirable behaviour, afraid of reactions or because they know it will not help
- IX. There is a certain extent of social control: parents also watch other children and ethnically Dutch sometimes worry about children of non-Dutch ethnic background families being “dumped” on the square

The points in Box 4 already point to the conclusion that the renovation of the Makassar square has had the effect of enhancing the potential of the square being a place where its users can feel at home. Interesting to highlight here is that Soraya emphasises shared responsibility and feelings of ownership over the square to keep it liveable, especially for children:

Because we live here, [...] the square is also yours. You have to make sure children can play safely. [...] that you approach people who let their dogs shit there, that you say something like ‘Hey! This is a place for children, go somewhere else with your dog.’ Because you live here. And you want to keep living here. And it is for our children, so you want to keep it safe. [5.7]

Here, Soraya makes clear who does and does not belong to the square, in which cultural views on dogs play a role. Moreover, a responsibility for feeling ownership strongly comes back. Nevertheless, putting feelings of ownership into practice is something else, especially regarding waste. During observations, regularly waste could be seen scattered around the square. One of the core group members said that on Sunday mornings the square is full with waste. This clearly shows

people do not feel ownership and a sense of responsibility to clean up when they leave. That the square looks quite clean most of the time is mainly because of the municipal waste service.

Nevertheless, because the square is so strongly identified as being a playground, many interviewed residents do not really identify with or use it. Moreover, a tension in use between playing children and elderly (who may like to sit on one of the benches) exists, since playing children do not take elderly into account. According to Joop, the square is not really a "living room for all," although this is something the municipality of Amsterdam has declared. That some residents do experience noise nuisance to different degrees while others only like the sounds playing children and events produce because it adds liveliness to the square, adds to Joop's statement. Indeed, what this shows is that residents with diverse backgrounds and lifestyles have different views on the identity and use of the Makassar square as a public space.



6. Before opening: community centre Archipel in self-management

Whereas the previous chapter focused on the concepts of home and feelings of home, this chapter will look more closely at community centre Archipel. In the first part, the controversial and politicized history of the centre will be shortly displayed. Secondly, both core group members' and residents' visions on the community centre will be outlined. After this, the issue of residents' involvement in the self-management of Archipel will be discussed, thereby giving attention to their actual involvement and how both residents and core group members reflect on this. The issue of involvement forms the prelude of discussing other issues and characteristics of the self-management process, approached from a home-making perspective.

6.1 Contestations over the use of (a complex) place

As could already have been read in the case description, the community centre was perceived as very closed and only catering to predominantly Moroccan-Dutch residents. This is also the dominant image that the interviewed residents put forward. For example, Rudy says:

And eh, I saw many Moroccan people back then, that I thought, hey, they haven't taken over here, have they? Because I only see them! What happens with the other people? But I've never asked or got an answer to it. So eh, I think they get better from it, I don't know. [6.1]

The last sentence quote already shows the political dimension, since it points to interests and agendas. Nadia thought the centre was a specifically Moroccan centre, because of 'the men I always saw walking there, from the window. So, men with dresses and caps on.' For Sheila, it was a 'little dark hole.' One of the core group members expresses what experience she had with how the community centre functioned. Women were intimidated and could not feel safe. Changing this and creating a more inclusive community centre is the main reason for participation in the core group.

Instead of the above described centre, the municipality aimed for an 'open and multifunctional' one, in the words of the project leader of the municipality. This was in line with the agenda of the Makassar square community. Because the municipality believed that the community wanted to manage the centre, it ended its contract with welfare organization Civic and held a first meeting to discuss self-management. However, no consensus among the community members existed anymore, so the community as a whole did not step forward to take on the job. The project leader says: 'It took a long time before a bit of ownership developed.' Meetings were held to discuss the future of the community centre, where many residents, the old users and other neighbourhood initiatives were present, as well as people from the municipality. Leo offered to lead and mediate the discussions, which triggered severe conflicts because of opposing interests relating to the centre. The old users did not want to lose their place in the community centre and argued 'full is full.'

According to the participation broker, certain initiatives just claim space to prevent others from using it. Moreover, it was a 'just a plain struggle for power,' in this case to control and be "the boss" of a place. The old users felt they were being "thrown out" and also lobbied among neighbourhood residents. Jos says he heard from one of these neighbourhood organizations that a political party he sympathises with wanted to "get rid of them," something he found very implausible. The users were also against the renovation because of the too large amount of money relative to the benefits the renovation would bring. Other initiatives argued against how closed the centre was towards other initiatives and activities. The participation broker was involved in the meetings and he does not have fond memories of them:

I really found it horrible meetings. [...] on Sunday, Sunday afternoon. Without any atmosphere. [...] just a boring meeting-setting. Not even other working methods, or something. And above all plenary. So people who have their mouth with them, have a big mouth, they always – they enjoy it very much right, because they have the floor then, they set the tone. Yes, then there are two or three people deciding the whole afternoon. I also saw people walking away, especially during the break. They didn't feel like spending their afternoon in a kind of fight atmosphere. [6.2]

Similarly, Sheila stopped attending the meetings for roughly the same reasons. During the interview she read from notes that were made: 'Whispers, distrust and unrest about who will have the power to decide in the future and for whom there will or will not be a place.' Instead of plenary meetings, the broker prefers what he calls 'informal meetings' whereby people informally talk to each other and work together. Moderators walk around to connect people to each other and to plenary summarize the discussions.

The meetings only led to more fighting, instead of achieving more positive results. This is the point where the process manager of the current core group enters the story: April 2014. He was hired by the municipality to try to see what different parties wanted and how conflicts could be resolved, so a group of people could be formed which would be able to truly start the process of self-management. The municipality wanted a coalition of neighbourhood residents and initiatives to get a broader support base in the neighbourhood.

According to the process manager, there were several groups, one of them consisting of active residents and other organizations who were fed up with the fighting. Some of them were also members of the Makassar square community. He talked to all groups and all were invited to develop a plan for the community centre. According to the process manager, on the basis of their plans the other groups were not convincing enough to take the community centre into self-management. That is why he decided to go on with the group of like-minded, asking them if they wanted to join.

'These people wanted to make a new start.' When the core group members think back to that time, they all say it was quite an opaque process about which they did not know everything either. The conversations were held in secret, according to Leo.

Almost all of the participants were people whom the process manager already knew or who had been actively involved in the meetings. For the old users, alternative accommodation was arranged, since they did not want to make compromises or collaborate with others. Both the participation broker and Leo say they let themselves being 'outplayed.' The municipality was content with the group formed by the process manager and spoke out trust in the group.

Also after the core group was formed, unrest remained. According to one of the core group members, the group has never been stable. For example, one neighbourhood initiative left the group after a conflict with another. During the summer of 2014 the first offered to manage the centre and to make a summer programme, executed together with the other organization. Already in the first week, a conflict occurred about stolen things. Moreover, the initiative responsible for the management did not obey by the agreement not to use the centre in the evening. The activities held in the evening were loud and caused noise nuisance, which led to complaints by some residents.

All of the previous should be understood within the context of the neighbourhood culture. Money, subsidies, competition over these, own interests, hidden political agendas and gossiping are important elements of this. According to the process manager, money and getting big subsidies give people a certain authority and with that status and self-worth within the neighbourhood. Moreover, there is a difference between saying and doing: Leo notes how initiatives pat each other on the back with their achievements, but simultaneously sometimes do not want to collaborate. It is a very small world, according to multiple people talked to. Nevertheless, of course it is not the case that there are not good relationships or collaboration between initiatives or other active people. It is a constant interplay of competition and collaboration. Moreover, there are always two sides to a story. What can be concluded though is that the past of community centre Archipel is a very politicized and thereby sensitive one⁷, which could also be noticed when looking at the terminology used during the interviews. Nevertheless, it is very important to take it into account in order to understand the current processes. As the participation broker says: 'This thing doesn't exist in a vacuum. Its history determines how people view it and what references they have.'

6.2 Thoughts on community centre Archipel and making it into a home

As was explained in the theory (chapter 3), a home is continually created through home-making processes. An important aspect of these is the act of giving meaning to home: by thinking about

⁷ Indeed, one of the core group member said she was not informed about this all until she found out herself when visiting welfare organization Civic.

how a certain place can be and function as a home, home-making processes are already implicated. This paragraph will give attention to this kind of home-making and looks at what different people see as a community centre. The next sections will focus on the self-management process itself, using home-making more as an analytical tool rather than looking at the substantive meaning of Archipel as a home.

6.2.1 Core group members

What is remarkable is that many elements of home mentioned by the core group members coincide with those identified in the previous chapter. What comes forward is that all members have certain ideals or visions on what the community centre should be like. They really want to achieve something with the community centre, instead of it being like all others or falling back into what character it used to have. An important element for all is that the community centre is open, approachable and welcoming to everyone and has a positive atmosphere, something which is achieved by having the right hosts and making sure the community centre will not become too commercial (although income is needed to survive). In the words of one of the group members, the community centre should become the 'hanging place of the neighbourhood, where people can be in togetherness despite being different.' The follow quote illustrates the previous:

[..] when someone walks into a community centre, that he also feels welcome and does not think like "I have to get out of here as soon as possible, just quickly do my activity and then go away as soon as possible." The feeling that he just wants to stay in the canteen, has to be there. And that can only be the case when you create a good atmosphere. No fighting, no closeness, clarity, yes, then you get the warm feeling automatically. When everything works transparently, it will have to work out. [6.3]

Note the temperature element in the first quote, as well as the emphasis of clarity. The core group member responsible for the interior of Archipel notes how positivity and openness can be created through the environment, thereby making a direct link between the social side and physical or material side of home. He talks about his ideas on this:

When attention has been given to something, and something does not only stand somewhere just because of functionality, you can see it. Then it is more than a chair, [..] like, hey, how funny, that chair has been painted by a neighbourhood resident, to say something. [..] no IKEA shit. Then you already bring in an identity, because such a chair already has a character because it has already, yes, I don't exactly know how to explain [..] [the interior] just has to be changed and be open to change, that's something I find especially important, that you don't set everything in stone. [6.4]

He contrasts his ideas for the interior of Archipel with that of De Meevaart, another well-known community centre in self-management in the neighbourhood. He describes the interior of the latter as more office- and business-like, with more standard tables and chairs and few decorations. 'I notice that when I come there, I immediately have to think of work. While I don't want that, but just want to go there for fun.' Although some of the other members would like new and arguably more basic furniture, they do share the same values of light, openness and enough space for a multifunctional and flexible interior. Also related to home feelings is that the responsible core group member finds it important to have unity in the furniture because of the differences in the pieces of furniture. This creates clarity and stability, both important for feeling at home.

Besides the two senses of feeling (whether you are welcome) and seeing (the interior of the community centre), smelling and tasting is also part of home for one of the core group members: once, he talked about how the community centre would smell lovely when a cake was baked, for example. Another member would like good coffee to be served with something home-made accompanying it: 'Then you instantly get another dynamic in that place.' He also thinks a kitchen is crucial, since it is 'the beating heart' of a home. Lastly, during one of the meetings the core group talked about radio music in the community centre. Thus, home is clearly associated with all senses, which makes it an embodied experience.

Important to note in the above quote is flexibility, something that was also mentioned in the previous chapter. Besides the interior being flexible, flexibility (as well as diversity) in the programme of the community centre is deemed important to accommodate different wishes. Indeed, related to the above, the core group wants Archipel to be a home where different ethnic and socio-economic groups can feel comfortable. One of the members notes that non-Dutch ethnic groups cannot recognize themselves in the national media, which is a serious problem.⁸ It may be at the local level that bridges between groups can be built. Moreover, through the programme, one of the core group members wants to design or plan meetings to stimulate collaboration. For example, initiatives that use the centre are kindly requested to simultaneously take a break in the restaurant. The earlier examples about food are also thought to connect different ethnic groups.

Stimulating connections between different groups of people is also seen as important because of mutual learning processes. A core group member speaks of exchanging cooking skills and recipes and of creating social networks of mutual help. In order for the latter to develop, feelings of safety are needed, which form one of the elements of home. One of the members would like to see the community centre function to transform the anonymous city life into a more village-like structure. It should be an innovative place where people can broaden their horizons. The same

⁸ As can be read in the previous chapter, recognition is also an important element of feeling at home.

member describes it as a 'pilot' and another says the centre should become an example for others, especially because of the goal of encouraging social entrepreneurship. Two of the members have a more "green" vision in this regard: they see sustainability as an important element, which they link to the vegetable garden. Another core group member says it is important that Archipel educates people and helping them forward in their lives by hiring them as volunteers. He also has more radical thoughts on resident involvement, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Although the dream about Archipel as a home shared by multiple ethnic, socio-economic and age groups certainly exists, simultaneously core group members realize that this always involves a balancing act and mutual adjustment. In two core group members' words:

I think it is very hard to create a feeling of home for everyone. But what I would really want in the community centre is that as many people as possible will see it as their own home – feel comfortable. So that you take each other into account. That is already a very important one, so that you [pause] make sure that the groups relate well to each other [...] I would really find it beautiful if different cultures would mingle. That is also truly an approach for me, of a community centre, that you don't do everything just for your own group. [...] that you also ask [groups of people] like "But what can you do as a group for the community centre as well, to – in what way can you come out as a group?" [...] I'm not sure whether you would instantly create a feeling of home with that, because you essentially ask people to come out of their comfort zones and allow people into a certain circle, or to a certain – yes, home feeling, I would say. [...] even if it is important that everyone in your home puts off their shoes, that you still let the person who comes in with shoes on, feel welcome. And that that person will feel at home as well. So that, that's very difficult I think. [6.5]

In the quote, the core group member talks about users of Archipel to do something back for the centre. This is what was discussed during one of the meetings: the process manager emphasised that 'as a counter offer, we shouldn't also have a closed attitude. If something really shouldn't happen then we should not say how it should happen, because that won't work. Then these two will only negatively strengthen each other.'

The core group member of who is the last quote says that with a good atmosphere mutual adjustment can be achieved to a certain extent, instead of creating house rules about mutual respect, for example. What the above quotes in the previous paragraph make clear is that it will require quite some time and energy to make community centre Archipel into a shared home.

6.2.2 Residents

When looking at how the residents view Archipel as a home and what ideas they have about it, many similarities can be seen with the core group. Many residents also view a community centre as

a non-commercial place 'where everyone can find their place' (Joop) and where various activities are organized. Activities residents would like, include bingo, sport activities, sewing lessons, homework classes or computer courses. Jasper's description of a community centre is that it is for the neighbourhood, or for a community. Interestingly, he is the only resident who says that a community centre should be run by residents themselves. In a similar vein, Leo thinks the most important thing is that a community centre has support among residents, since they essentially own it. He thinks a welcoming place is created when it is clear what you can do, with whom, how much money is available and who decides upon that. When thinking about her ideal community centre, Willemijn immediately has to think of community centre the Havelaar in Old-West:

[..] I know that for many people it's truly a place where all kinds of people still want to come very badly and where they feel totally at ease. And I think that's because very funny and fun things are being organized, such as Donkey Day or Doggy Racing. A bit crazy, but for all kinds of people, and with a band, music, and bbq. That's its all a bit open-minded, and the fact that things are run by, yes, I don't know, ex-psychiatric patients or something like that, that everything and everyone just participates. [...] when you came there, you really had that feeling of, yes, a bit a living room feeling, like: be welcome. [6.6]

Soraya has great memories about the community centre she used to visit when she was a young girl. It was a home-place for her, something that can be deduced from the bold part of the quote:

When you already came in it was just so cosy [*gezellig*]. Music, you know, children, who were just spontaneously dancing. There were so many activities. You know? And that's what I know of a community centre. [...] all children and nice people, laughing, playing, **that you're just yourself**. And that you just immediately could play with children you didn't know, and all kinds of activities and such, and you were just one whole. [6.7]

Jos emphasises that ideally the visitors and users of a community centre should be a good representation of the population of the neighbourhood, which makes everyone feeling welcome an important precondition: 'So, there must be something in that community centre that's recognizable for different groups of people.' This is why he, and also many other residents, like the plans for the restaurant, since meals can be served from various (food) cultures. Some residents talk of "food parties" where everyone brings their own food. Amar describes a community centre as the 'chill spot' of the neighbourhood, where people can play games, talk, or drink coffee together. Indeed, both Jasper and Leo think a community centre is a good way to strengthen social cohesion in a neighbourhood. According to Ibrahim, social contact can erode stereotypes, because people will get

acquainted with each other and will talk to each other. Thus, the social side to a community centre is seen as very important by all residents. Important for this function of a community centre are the daily managers [*beheerders*] who are mentioned by quite some residents, among them Amar and Meryem. When they were young, they used to visit the community centre, which was a kind of toy lending service [*speelothek*]. Both have good memories of it. The two daily managers took care of the children, exercised social control and gave the children free lemonade. Meryem: 'You really felt it was a family atmosphere, let's say it that way.'

Abdul would like to see such a toy lending service again. He has a very outspoken view on the community centre: it should be in service of the square, which means that the community centre should be totally designed for children, providing lessons and homework support. He sees it as an investment in the future. The community centre should have toilets and should be able to receive children in case of bad weather. Adults have enough possibilities to go elsewhere, for example to De Meevaart. Together with quite some other residents, children (besides elderly, who are also mentioned by quite some) are thus seen as an important target group of the community centre.

Another dimension of the social side to a community centre is that it is of use to residents and can help them if they have problems. In this regard, Soraya speaks of a safe place for more vulnerable people. This is also Suzie's view: an approachable place with affordable activities. Ibrahim has really high expectations of the community centre (using 'we') and does not want it to be just 'coffee, cookies, a bit of blabla and some activities. [...] but it would also be great if the community centre, **our community centre**, is powerful to go some further.' Ibrahim is especially focused on the combating of youth unemployment. It is interesting that he uses 'we' and expresses feelings of ownership. In general, what shows in the interviews is that Moroccan- or Turkish-Dutch are more collectively oriented and at least verbally express common responsibilities.

Of course, for a community centre to have social and educative functions, people must feel like visiting and using it. The atmosphere and appearance are important for giving people the feeling that they are welcome. Many residents mention an open atmosphere. Specifically, Soraya talks of a happy and cosy [*gezellige en vrolijke*] one. Many residents appreciate the glass façade of the community centre, which they perceive as very inviting and open. They like it that the entrance of the centre is now on the square, instead of on the Nias street. To illustrate the right kind of atmosphere and appearance, Meryem contrasts the interior of community centre De Meevaart used to have and now has, after renovations. She also contrasts it with the Makassar square:

[...] it has changed a lot. It was really not a pleasant.. you didn't get a comfortable feeling when you were there. Was so closed, and dark. And you didn't have that here on the Makassar square. [...] when you come in there for the first time, and someone approaches you in an unpleasant way, then you

don't feel welcome anymore very fast. [...] And secondly, the environment, the atmosphere you get. You need to design a community centre in such a way that you feel at home there and not that you think like, "Oh, where have I ended up now?" You know? That's very important. [M: how do you create that?] Yes, the interior. [...] Don't furnish it too darkly. Because it was very dark there. [...] Here, the door was always open. [...] you didn't have to knock or ask whether you could come in. There you had to. [6.8]

Regarding the interior, Willemijn says she likes it when there are some 'old chairs, and that it's not totally [makes a flashy sound] neat, and that you don't have the feeling like, "Oeh, you cannot put anything there, because it will become dirty." [...] but just that one can live there a bit [...] and that everything is sturdy.' She gives the example of old leather couches.

Residents were asked to reflect on the possibility of Archipel being a place shared by different ethnic and/or cultural groups. Many residents do not necessarily see any big problems arising. Both Bart and Jasper think universal things, such as food, music and sports, will bring different groups together. Jos, although he is optimistic, says that it will not 'function for 100 per cent,' because of the sheer diversity of people living around the square. Joop and Mrs. Grimbergen are the two residents who have the greatest doubts about the possibility of Archipel being a shared home. This can possibly be attributed to them living in a multi-ethnic environment for a very long time, as well as their age. Especially Mrs. Grimbergen has a well-developed insight into this, also because she knows the Islamic culture somewhat better because of Tunisian godchild. She explains that it is very much a gender question: women are not allowed to be in the same room as (ethnically Dutch) men or unknown men. Indeed, someone like Mrs. Amrani would not come to the community centre if other men would be there; her son says she would prefer doing activities with only other women. Similarly, Ibrahim says he would not dance when other women besides his wife are present. But: other women dancing would not be a reason to not visit Archipel.

Moreover, the issue of alcohol plays a role. According to Mrs. Grimbergen, ethnically Dutch stay away because it will not be served for religious reasons: 'You get "either-or" situations.' It is interesting that she already assumes no alcohol will be served, thereby showing power relations: in the interview she also says that 'foreigners' or 'headscarves' are the majority in the neighbourhood. Moreover, according to her you cannot organize a bingo just for ethnically Dutch people. If you would do that, you implicitly signal that others cannot come in. Questions of exclusion thus also play a role. Interestingly, the core group feels the opposite about serving alcohol. Because Mrs. Grimbergen only has little knowledge about the plans for Archipel (see the next section of this chapter) misunderstandings may arise.

Nevertheless, Soraya only says she would not *serve* alcohol, not saying anything about her visiting the centre or not. Similarly, Ibrahim says:

But I'm not going to say: yes, you're drinking alcohol, you're nothing to me. No, that's discri- that's not good. The Islam does not approve of that at all. Because I see you as my neighbour, that's **our community centre**, we all come there, but I'm not going to say: if there's alcohol being drunk, I'm not coming. No. I come. But I'm not touching alcohol. I neither will drink alcohol, I will drink coke or an orange juice. [6.9]

Some residents, for example Jasper, see openness as important for achieving a shared home and Sheila mentions clarity, in the sense of having a clear vision, function and rules and procedures. Leo thinks openness can clash with views of certain cultures, because some people do not like to be in a 'display window,' but like activities to be more private.

Lastly, some residents find it more difficult to explain what they see as and can expect from a community centre. This is because they have never been to a community centre and have not lived in places where there was one. This is to various extents the case for Bart, Nadia, Nick and Sheila, for example. They all admit they do not really have specific ideas on what a community centre should be. A last important point to make is that although people may feel at home in a community centre, it will always be a different kind of home feeling. What the previous shows is that feeling at home in a community centre means that people feel comfortable, at ease and able to be themselves, but not totally, since it is not a private space but a (potentially) shared one.

6.3 Involvement and feelings of involvement

6.3.1 What happened

As was explained in the theoretical framework of this thesis (chapter 3), a home is always surrounded by power relations, which makes it important to look at who is able to decide what in home-making processes. In this research, involvement includes feelings of connection, organizing an activity or co-deciding on the programme or other aspects of the centre. Moreover, the focus is on the core group vis-à-vis the residents. To have a framework for understanding both sides to the story, first an account will be given of events whereby it was tried to involve residents, on the basis of observations made.

First of all, on 31 January 2015 a meeting was organized on the square, to present the core group's ideas and to collect residents' ideas. Moreover, residents were invited to come up with a new name for the community centre. In total, about thirty people were present, mostly white. From the interviewed residents, no one besides Amar's parents was present, although quite some

residents knew about the event. After the new name of the community centre was publicly announced, the core group published a blog on the website about the criteria they chose for evaluating all contributions and why they chose the name the centre now has. As far as could be observed, no feedback was given on the ideas residents put forward.

Besides 31 January, during the meetings plans were voiced to organize an event on 5 May, when other activities would take place on the square as well. Nevertheless, this never happened. Moreover, the idea was to involve residents in decorating Archipel to have them develop feelings of ownership. A so-called *Klusdag* was announced on the website to invite residents to help with cleaning and making all the second-hand furniture ready. Some volunteers of Archipel came to help, as well people from other neighbourhood initiatives. No residents came. The last event was the unofficial opening on the 15th of June. To invite residents, flyers were spread in the vicinity of the square. Moreover, many of the interviewed residents were approached personally via Whatsapp and e-mail. Many (fifty or more) residents and others who had heard of the opening, came. Only about a fourth of the personally invited residents came. In the light of resident involvement, residents could write down ideas about the programme, what they wanted to undertake and ideas about the neighbourhood consultation. At the end of the opening, no one had written down ideas about the neighbourhood consultation. How the opening was organized will be discussed later in this chapter.

6.3.2 Residents

From the previous paragraph it becomes clear that residents have not actively participated in opportunities for involvement. A likely reason why is related to identification. What ideas residents have about a community centre is important for the way they personally identify with such a place. If they do not have clear or specific ideas, they arguably do not have a solid basis for identification. In addition, although some residents may have certain (vague) conceptions about what a community centre is, they do not necessarily see themselves as the target group of it.⁹ For example, this is strongly the case for Mrs. Grimbergen. She associates the visitors of a community centre with old people, looking shabby and sitting together talking about trivial things. She, together with Suzie, does not see herself as a 'clubhouse type' and is generally not someone who decides to sit with people she does not know. The same counts for Rudy, who says he never went to activities on the square because no one he knew was there, which would have made him feel like a stranger. Lastly, Bart and Jasper both say they do not feel they have to do something with or want or need something from the community centre. This shows that feeling involved requires that a community centre must offer relevant things for people, which has to do with people's identities. Indeed,

⁹ Of course, ideas about what a community centre is arguably also include the target group(s) of it. Here, they are separated for analytical reasons.

residents can choose whether or not to identify with Archipel, thereby performing a form of elective belonging (see Savage et al., 2005). Here, the links between home and belonging and identification become clear again. Thus, residents do not express a strong identification with Archipel. This may also have its roots in the little use residents made before the renovation and the image of it being a community centre with mainly Moroccan-Dutch users and visitors.

Another factor that plays a role is limited knowledge about what is actually happening, thus making Archipel a sort of "black box." Nick, an ethnically Dutch in his thirties, says: 'It is actually quite funny, that thing is right in front of your door and you actually know hardly anything of what happens there. It is a kind of little mystery.' This arguably is a source of limited identification as well. Virtually all residents say they do not really know what has been going on with the community centre, although quite some others know that the renovation plans existed. The amount of information people have differs from nothing to quite some, although it remains basic. Sheila has some more knowledge because she has a plot in the vegetable garden on the square. One of the core group members also has a plot there, so Sheila is part of that member's social network. This shows that being part of a social network provides resources such as information.

The majority of the residents say they have received written information, but they have not read it carefully or have forgotten about it. In many instances, flyers get lost in the pile of other post or are immediately thrown away as advertisement. One of the core group members says: 'I even throw all the flyers away at home!' This way of providing information is thus very fleeting: '[..] with such a flyer in the mailbox, [...] you look at it for a moment, you think, "oh, nice," and then you put it away again,' Jasper says. Besides printed post, few residents know about the website and no one knows about the (newly created) Facebook page. Nadia, who sometimes looked on the website, says that it was not substantively updated regularly. Indeed, when looking at the website, during the research period no substantive updates were posted on the website.

Instead, more personal face-to-face contact would help according to Jasper: 'I think for people like me, when I'm being directly approached to ask whether I like it or want to become involved, I tend to do something with it more quickly.' Indeed, during many of the interviews, residents became enthusiastic when they were provided with information. Moreover, residents with a limited knowledge of the Dutch language, such as Hatice, prefer face-to-face communication.

What can be concluded is that residents can be regarded more as onlookers or bystanders (something literally said by Leo), the majority being open to the developments and curious toward what is to come. Soraya even considers becoming a volunteer herself. Strikingly, many residents say that they will come and "take a look." So, there is quite a big difference between actual and perceived distance. The earlier quote by Nick is illustrative of this. The fact that virtually none of the residents had used the centre before it closed for renovation, contributes to the feeling of distance,

as well as the fact that the community centre was not open yet during the period of interviewing. So, many residents prefer to wait and see. In this light, many said that their visit will depend on what Archipel has to offer. This shows that an actual and concrete place to go to is important to feel a connection to it, which can be regarded as the basis for involvement. Important to take account here is that the renovations of Archipel took much longer than planned. Another important point that flows from this analysis is that residents in general do not feel much ownership over Archipel.

However, the question remains how residents evaluate their involvement. From the interviews it becomes clear that residents do not care so much about their active involvement. They do not see it as a problem that they are not well informed about the processes around the community centre. Many say that it is because of themselves, being busy with their work and family. Nick says that, besides having a full-time job, it is because of his personality that he would not go to an activity spontaneously. He also says that most activities are during the day, when he is not at home. Interestingly enough, Jasper thinks many residents in the neighbourhood are quite active and take initiative. In contrast, Mrs. Grimbergen says she does not identify herself as such “an active neighbourhood resident” who participates in discussions for example, which shows the importance of identification once more. Others, such as Nick and Jasper, feel that they do not have the right to voice or participation, since they do not feel or are involved and have not been active within the community centre. Lastly, Joop explains he has pulled back from involvement, because of negative experiences many years ago in which his opinion was not listened to and he was not taken seriously.

In contrast to the majority of the residents, some residents are more critical. They are involved, but in a more negative way. Both Suzie, who says she felt like Sherlock Holmes when diving into the history of Archipel, and Abdul feel that they are not being listened to and taken seriously and have not been informed and involved enough. Here, the home elements of acknowledgement and recognition come back. What these residents’ arguments boil down to is that the core group (although Abdul thinks the municipality is the main actor responsible for Archipel) has not taken into account neighbourhood residents sufficiently. While Abdul emphasises that private actors increasingly transforming city spaces in private ones and thereby excluding others, Suzie speaks of gentrification at the micro-level with a “hip and unprofessional” group of people who only want to make sure their plans get executed at the cost of the liveability of the Makassar square (loud festivals and events). According to Suzie, other residents are hesitant to complain, ‘but this does not mean plans can be executed like that.’ Moreover, she feels placated and put away as a “complainer, only to complain,” while this is not the case for her. Nevertheless, on the other hand the municipality has taken her and her viewpoints seriously and really tried to accommodate her by having personal conversations, according to the participation broker. Moreover, a loud three-day Turkish festival, which used to be held at the Makassar square, has been relocated.

Both Suzie and Abdul have the feeling they cannot really do anything about the way Archipel is given shape, which relates to freedom, an important element of feeling at home. Abdul only mentions that he and his family will 'boycot' the activities organized at the centre, showing the political nature of involvement. Indeed, in both Abdul's and Suzie's accounts, power, own interests and agendas and wanting certain semi-commercial plans to be executed come forward. Suzie says:

But that I'm thinking like: hold on for a second! It won't just happen that something is shoved down our throats. That's what's already happening way too many times in national politics! [...] I want to be seen. In the sense of, that there's a block of apartments here and that people think: we're here on a square, we take these people into account. [6.10]

In this quote, note how she draws on developments on a higher level of scale. Having the feeling of being listened to has powerful effects: when during the interview, in which he could express what he had on his mind, Joop got to know about the new plans and that the community centre was to be named Archipel, he immediately became enthusiastic and wanted to learn more. This shows how important the way of approaching people is: doing this with appreciation, acceptance and acknowledgment of someone's viewpoints is crucial. Moreover, the feeling of being given attention to relates to this. For example, Bart mentions he really appreciated the photo project around the renovations of the apartment building in which he lives, since he was 'immediately involved' in something. It helped him in "feeling in place" [*op mijn plek voelen*]. This shows the connection between home feelings and involvement, since someone is made to feel they belong.

Lastly, Leo has a similar opinion. He also thinks that the process has been too opaque and closed: residents have not been actively involved in developing the concrete plans. The different jobs have been divided within a small group of people, claiming to speak for "the neighbourhood" and who are 'the bosses' and 'can decide on that.' Leo connects the limited involvement of residents to politicized history of the centre. Because of this, the core group has not opened up that much. Furthermore, the dominant thought is that

"Ah, whatever you organize, no one will come anyways." So, [he makes disapproving sounds] on the other hand, I think, well, if you'd organize it differently, then you may have the chance of new people – so that's a kind of tension. [6.11]

Because Leo's vision (especially on finances) did not match those of other core group members, he exited the core group a while ago. According to the process manager, while Leo had more idealistic

thoughts, the other core group members were more business-like and wanted to keep speed in the process instead of continually consulting “the neighbourhood.”

It is interesting to note the difference between the critical but involved residents and the majority of residents: the first clearly feel an interest in becoming involved, in contrast to the others. Indeed, Nadia says she will only go to a consultation if she wants to voice a complaint. This is exactly what the interviewed board member of Archipel mentions as well. What also becomes clear, is that the neighbourhood is made up of different spaces which for the most part do not really meet: a space of initiatives and a residential space. Indeed, as one of the former core group members who was “new” in the neighbourhood, says, she feels it is just like a village. ‘It is almost some sort of closed happening.’ Here, one can see the excluding nature of social networks, although this is not intentional as the next sections will show. In conclusion, despite the open appearance of Archipel, with the glass façade, for residents it is not entirely clear what is exactly happening. The next section will focus on the core group’s point of view, which shows the complex nature of involvement about which no easy statements can be made.

6.3.3 Core group members

The core group members all think involvement of neighbourhood residents, as well as transparency in the functioning of Archipel, are important. One of them has more radical ideas about it. This member thinks a fixed meeting with or consultation of residents is not enough and will not lead to broad and structural engagement. Instead, the idea of stakeholders is proposed:

That every resident here in the neighbourhood, just gets a certificate, like: you’re a stakeholder. [...] That’s the – then you’re attracting people. [...] a neighbourhood consultation is fun and nice, but you really have to give people a feeling of responsibility. Saying, hey, I feel responsible, you know, or, I’m stakeholder. Really. I have experience with stakeholders, people want to be kept up to date about what’s going on. But then you also have people’s data, so you can e-mail them. [6.12]

Flexibility is an important element of this argument: residents should be able to also become active if they have good ideas, instead of having a fixed division of jobs and tasks. Moreover, the core group member feels it is very important to approach residents in a personal, face-to-face manner. A last important element is ownership. The member finds the term “house of the neighbourhood” [*huis van de wijk*] a very problematic one: what does it exactly mean? Who is “the neighbourhood”? Issues of ownership thus play a role here, something explicitly mentioned by the member. By making residents stakeholders through a face-to-face approach, the idea is to give them direct ownership over Archipel, thus enhancing involvement.

Nevertheless, during the research period these ideas were not put into practice, which arguably related to the specific organization and structure of the process of self-management (see next section). No other concrete ideas were thought out, although in general the emphasis was put on residents becoming active by themselves. Whereas the process manager proposed to hold a neighbourhood consultation before opening, this never happened. Moreover, when residents had to be invited for the unofficial opening of Archipel, besides one core group member, no one of the other members distributed flyers or rang doorbells. Several reasons for the above behaviour can be put forward. First of all, in relation to the consultation, an important factor playing here was that the opening date of Archipel was unclear for a long time. First, it was agreed that resident involvement was not regarded as a top priority, since many other things still had to be arranged. As the board member says, involving residents in a serious way requires a lot of skills, time and investment, making it in this case 'wishful thinking':

I believe it is enormously difficult to let a big group of people think about the community centre when you yourself still have to think about so many things. [...] You have to canalize people's opinions and be able to do something with them. [6.13]

Indeed, one of the core group members says they do not have the manpower or time to organize involvement. Related to this is that for quite some time uncertainty existed about the renovation and opening date of Archipel (discussed earlier). Moreover, there have been opportunities to think along about the community centre (the first meetings that were held in 2013-2014). The project leader of the municipality says that it was deliberately decided to keep the core group closed and to involve other residents after establishing everything, so steps could be made from a solid basis.

The core group members already have quite some (professional) experience with involving residents. What was often said during meetings was that 'residents don't read!' In addition, according to two members, when you ask residents to translate their ideas into concrete actions, they quit. Moreover, always the same people come to meetings. Indeed, during the meetings a certain hesitancy or fear could be sensed about involving residents. One of the core group members says that residents can advise and have a say. But: 'We may get a totally different community centre!' Moreover, another member, who has quite a strong opinion on this issue, said that residents should only advise. This member would prefer more of a distance between the core group and the residents of the resident consultation, because of anxiety about people 'pointing fingers' and we-they configurations. The wish is to get residents active themselves, thereby creating a positive energy. So, involvement means organizing an activity or advising on certain topics, such as the programme. The core group is more hesitant to share (detailed) information on the budget.

The neighbourhood culture is arguably one of the reasons why resident involvement is approached in a more hesitant way by some core group members. In general, the core group wants to build in buffers to protect itself from critical residents and initiatives who would only bring negative energy. Therefore, involvement is very much about 'managing expectations,' as it was put by a board members during a meeting. Nevertheless, what is interesting is that the board is less influenced by earlier negative experiences and found the formulations on the neighbourhood consultation in the internal rules of procedure [*huishoudelijk reglement*] too formal and should be more informal. The thought is that this will positively influence the relationship with neighbourhood residents.

On top of the hesitancy and fear, that most residents are seen to not be that involved – one of the core group members sees the Indische neighbourhood as a 'silent neighbourhood' and another says that residents have enough problems on their mind – strengthens this dynamic. Moreover, the dominant thought is that resident involvement in every stage of the process is inefficient and stalls the process. This is also one of the reasons why Leo, with his more radical ideas on involvement, at some point left the group.

In sum, what becomes apparent is that resident involvement is a sensitive and difficult topic. What can be seen is that core group takes virtually all decisions and that there is an amount of distrust between the core group and critical residents. One can say that there is some sort of "playing the blame game" going on: both sides see the other as the main one responsible for involvement. According to the residents, the core group is closed and hardly does anything to seriously involve residents, while according to the core group residents do not read any information and feels they should become active by themselves. Nevertheless, an important point to make is that involvement is a two-way process in the end, requiring effort from both sides. In contrast to the more critical residents, less frictions are apparent between the majority of the residents and the core group. The next section will provide an attempt to shed light on the interesting gap between ideals and practices within the core group regarding resident involvement.

6.4 Understanding the process of self-management: 'no hurry, no worry'?

6.4.1 Organization of the process

Involving neighbourhood residents is one of the issues that surfaces during the self-management process. Nevertheless, thoroughly involving residents was not the case, which can arguably also partly be attributed to the self-management far from being an easy one. Indeed, only the internal things that need to be taken care of, have taken up much of the core group's time and energy.

Before moving on to some important insights on the self-management process, the organization structure of the self-management process will be explained. As the process manager explains, every core group member has their own task and project (see chapter 2). This ensures

everyone can feel responsibility for something and have an own place in the process. Together, the members form a so called “management team” which, supported and monitored by a board, is on a higher level than daily execution and thinks about longer term policies and strategies. Archipel thus exists of two branches: the daily management, whereby the centre is a programmed space, and the core group members’ bigger projects, which may make Archipel simply an office. The process manager explains:

Whereby you also serve the interest of being bigger than the Makassar square, and also create the space to perhaps formulate a commission as a self-employed. So you can feel connected both personally and commercially and simultaneously can give the building a bigger radius than just a community centre. That’s essentially the structure behind it. [6.14]

Important to note about the quote is that the core group members thus have the opportunity to earn something with their membership, making them not just residents self-managing Archipel. Moreover, some of the members are representatives of their (neighbourhood) organizations, two of whom explain that in the end they are in the core group to further the interests of their organizations or the target groups of these organizations. This is something Leo was not totally comfortable with, pointing to conflicts of interest and wearing different hats, and stands in relation to him leaving the core group.

To move to a more concrete level, the above structure translates itself into agenda-based meetings, which are held every two weeks. These are the moments when members, together with the process manager, can discuss the progress they have made with their projects, decide on issues such as how to hire volunteers and what to put on the menu of the restaurant, and discuss what still needs to be done. These meetings can be regarded as fixed moments of coordination in which it is tried to get everyone on the same page again. In general, the atmosphere during the meetings was easy-going and convivial. Many jokes were made. One of the members says everyone is open and honest towards each other. Besides meetings, a Google Groups account was created with a common e-mail address, also to get a better coordination. Outside of the meetings, the core group members have contact with each other in subgroups or one-on-one, as well as individually with the process manager.

6.4.2 ‘Loose sand’

6.4.2.1 Collaboration: mutual adjustment and coordination

The experience that it was hard to get a grip on the dynamics of collaboration and contact among the core group members arguably is an important sign: one of the former core group members, who

had the same difficulties, describes the structure as 'loose sand': 'everyone had their thing, and everyone really went for it, but yes, I didn't think it was totally one yet.' She notes how she sometimes missed the 'team spirit' or energy. 'And then I think, yes when you go for something together, you also have to really do it together.' An example of the sometimes lacking team spirit and low energy was that although one of the core group members repeatedly asked for content for the website or other input, no real reaction came from other members. The process manager ironically describes the structure of the self-management as being 'a true archipelago,' which is similar to 'loose sand.' The self-management process was at times quite instable, partly because one of the core group members announced he wanted to leave the group twice. A more external factor is that the process of renovations stalled for a time period due to certain difficulties, which also meant uncertainty within the process of self-management. As a consequence, the core group's energy got drained as well.

It is interesting to see that this structure of 'loose sand' is arguably a reflection on the micro-level of the wider neighbourhood, especially the loose community structures, ad hoc involvement and fragmentation. In e-mails to the group both the process manager and one core group member called for the core group to work on being a team, instead of remaining several strong and skilled individuals. The core group member who is responsible for the 4-season festival (one of the bigger projects) also said during one of the meetings, thereby pointing to collective ownership: 'We also really have to see it as our festival.'

Thinking and acting in a collective manner have to do with mutual adjustment and keeping each other up to date (coordination), thus openly communicating. An important element underlying these two is clarity, which is related to feeling at home as chapter 5 has shown. Moreover, coordination is also about who does what, so about the different tasks and responsibilities of the parties or actors involved in the self-management process. A core group member explains that the boundaries between different parties get blurred. For example, the core group would like to have more influence on the management of the square, which is originally a municipal task. As the member rightly notes: 'If we are not very clear [in our role], then it is also some sort of riddle of what we're going to do and what not.'

When going back to the previously mentioned two aspects of collaboration, a double picture emerges. On the one hand, as the former core group member mentions, some members were differentially present at meetings: sometimes they were, sometimes they were not. Furthermore, regularly no date could be found at which everyone was available. Moreover, some members did not actively participate in the several organized days of doing chores at the community centre. On the other hand, also examples exist of members adjusting to each other. An example is that a core group member gave up his 'holy Sunday' to do chores at the community centre. Moreover, although

one of the core group members was afraid of the community centre becoming a 'jungle,' she said she had to trust the member responsible for the inventory and furnishing of Archipel. Related to adjustment is solidarity, which could also be observed: during meetings members explicitly asked for others' opinions or were protective over other members with regard to intensive negotiations with neighbourhood initiatives.

The second aspect mentioned concerns coordination and keeping each other up to date. During one of the meetings, the process manager emphasized how important this is as a basis for collaboration and trust. This also proved to be an issue sometimes. The former core group member mentions the programme, the responsibility of another member. She, but also others, would have liked more transparency in it, especially because it is an important determinant of the identity of Archipel. A last example is the unofficial opening of Archipel on 15 June (see Box 5).

Box 5: a personal reflection on the unofficial opening of Archipel

The idea was to prepare and have dinner together with the residents living around the square, something which was also communicated in one of the meetings. Some of the members were hesitant about the preparing, because of possible chaos. This is why me and two other members – I helped them with organizing – decided to keep it small and also think of other ways to actively involve residents (for example, children could make menu cards). I had contact with the member in charge of the cooking groups, but I cannot remember whether we also talked about making soup instead of only small bites. I also did not ask whether the cooking groups would make the bites in Archipel or beforehand. This shows how easily misunderstandings can arise. Although the ideas were put on the invitation, which was sent a week in advance, in the end the opening did not go as planned. There was no soup, but only the food. Moreover, the latter was being served immediately, instead of at the times indicated at the invitation. Another point of confusion was the end time of the opening. It was communicated to residents that it was until 20 o'clock, but one of the other core group members thought it was 17 o'clock. When I got my laptop to show the invitation, again another core group member had not even seen the invitation before and did not know about the common dining. So, what can be concluded is that there was a lack of coordination and clear communication.

6.4.2.2 Decision-making

What the just mentioned examples show is that the aspect of coordination is related to decision-making: in many cases, some core group members may not be aware of decisions taken by someone else. Decision-making can be regarded as an important issue within the process of self-management. Core group members find it important, since 'you have to take decisions to progress. [...] I don't have that much time to only come to talk every week.' In this case, all decisions were taken by the core group or process manager: 'Here things are decided, that's the strength of our story' (process manager). The core group members relate the fact that they are the 'owners' of the community centre to their decision-making power.

What could be observed during the meetings, and which was also said by one of the core group members, is that the core group members regard each other as equals: everyone's opinion

counts when taking decisions. The task division among the core group members means that they all have a degree of independence in taking decisions regarding their own task. The general opinion among members is that a degree of autonomy in decision-making contributes to efficiency. This counts especially also with regards to the daily decision-making.

According to the process manager, the decision-making has not followed a fixed structure, which has less clarity and bad management as its consequences. One of the events he may refer to is the announcement made by one of the core group members on leaving the group. This was done one time through e-mail and the other in the WhatsApp group. Another interesting insight is that decisions on some harder issues were postponed and to be discussed in a next meeting. An example is disagreement on whether or not to offer soda and snacks such as crisps, in the light of the idea to stimulate healthy eating lifestyles. It boils down to the tension between commercial and societal goals or interests. Because no agreement could be reached, the issue remained.

Nevertheless, besides the core group members, the process manager was also responsible for certain opaque decisions. An example is the formation of the board, an already sensitive issue because of a general distrust in boards among core group members ('The board still always has most of the power'). One of the core group members talks about a potential candidate who, in the end, was not selected:

I still don't exactly know how it went. [...] a mail was sent about that as well and the [the candidate] reacted on that herself, that she found it very disappointing that the core team had decided that way, even though, the core group hadn't decided anything! The core group didn't know of anything. [6.15]

The process manager admits he 'did not apply that much democracy on that.' Another example is about the appointment of a new core group member, one of the daily managers of Archipel. No formal decision was made on this, whereas the core group did not agree internally. The process manager talked individually to everyone and thought everyone had agreed. Looking back, he says he would not do something like that again.

Decision-making is part of the dynamics of the process of self-management. When looking at the dynamics, other interesting insights are worth to highlight. First of all, related to the postponing of decision-making on certain issues, the process manager notes the following:

So what I noticed is that [...] when something is not a reality yet, one is relatively easy-going regarding the planning. And one only takes it seriously, such an issue, when it presents itself, but of course then you're mostly too late in almost all cases. So that relation between ideals and practical execution has

a lot to do with that. So that one only begins dealing with something when one stands in front of the shelves in the Makro, what am I going to buy actually? [6.16]

The same is said by the board member, who argues that the self-management 'really has to be taken up in practice' and the core group consists of people who 'have to experience it,' since things 'didn't "live" yet' before the opening of the community centre. So, during the research period, Archipel as a home was not really concrete yet, making it more of an imaginary home. When no decision could be made on the addition of a core group member to the group, one of the members said 'No hurry, no worry,' a phrase that gets extra meaning in this context.

6.4.2.3 A demanding process

An important characteristic of the process of self-management as observed was that it is demanding for the core group members. One of the factors that contributed to this is the fact that work and private life are not strictly separated, but blur: members do not simply go to their work and go back home, but work and personal and social life are constantly interrelated. Self-management is experienced as a very insecure process: the members have never done something like this before. 'We all thought it was a piece of cake!' This relates well to the earlier quote by the board member, who said the members really have to experience it. Although they already possess many skills needed (such as having a feeling of what happens in the neighbourhood, having social skills, being flexible, knowing how to organize, knowing how to deal with the municipality), self-management remains a tough process.

For another member, the process is at times very frightening. It gives her headaches and keeps her up at night. She is very hesitant in being proud of what she has achieved already and 'cannot cheer yet.' Her fear partly relates to the neighbourhood culture: according to her, certain residents and initiatives are waiting for the group to fail or will try to grasp an opportunity to make them fail. She says that other residents now see her as a threat or danger, because they think she has a lot of money. It makes her feel unsafe.

The neighbourhood culture also resurfaces in the negotiations between the core group and the initiatives that want to hold their activities in the centre. The responsible member explains that the conversations were very difficult and that you need a long breath for them. Somewhere in June, the process manager said that the initiatives were still negotiating about rental prices. He emphasised the importance for the core group to keep calling the shots, so the 'old situation' does not come back. Difficulties the core group member has encountered are that initiatives want a space for whole days, that people do not show up at appointments, that she sees someone else all of a

sudden or that she keeps being forwarded to other people. Lastly, from one of the meetings it became clear that initiatives repeatedly did not show up to sign the lease.

Another crucial characteristic of the process is that it occurred at a high speed: core group members have the feeling they have raced through it in the form of following checklists. Many of the core group members felt a big pressure to deliver, also partly because members get paid for some of the tasks they do. This has resulted in fewer moments of reflection, less energy and for some it has made the experience less rewarding, since less space existed to experiment or come up with out-of-the-box ideas. As a result, one of the core group members does not feel ownership over Archipel: 'I don't feel it yet. [...] It is not only about having to do things, but also about a vision and following your heart.' For others it also still needs to grow more. This points to the role played by enthusiasm and intrinsic motivation in self-managing a community centre.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that the core group members did not feel involved or engaged, since this could be observed as well. One member said he made adaptations to the website at two in the morning, while another gave up swimming lessons to attend the meetings. Furthermore, during the period of renovation of Archipel one of the core group members had a clash with the contractor about the amount and placement of electric sockets. In contrast to the general finding on feelings of ownership, in this example, clearly feelings of ownership over the community centre are involved, which are linked to feelings of responsibility:

I am also just surprised, like, "Guys, haven't you thought about that?" [...] Well, essentially I'm also a volunteer, right, [...] it's actually idiotic that I let it get to me like that, I shouldn't allow that you know, regarding those kinds of things. [6.17]

The above quote is very insightful: it shows how he and other members reflect on their identity. What came forward in the analysis is that when the more intensive sides to the process of self-management are described, as well as when admiration is expressed, the identity of neighbourhood resident or volunteer is used (instead of representative of an organization or a self-employed). It seems to be a coping mechanism, to try to distance oneself when the process is perceived as being too demanding and when the amount of responsibility is disproportional to what can be expected from the members or to what they are paid ('I get 3000, but I work the equivalent of 7000'). Acknowledgement and appreciation also plays a role here for some. Indeed, there is some sort of balancing act involved between the two. That everyone is already too busy without having a shared (mainly voluntary) responsibility for Archipel and do not need their membership of the core group to make a living, may also form an incentive to opt out at some point. Strikingly, one of the core group members says she may have been more on top of things if it would have been a commission from

one of her current employers. In this way, the above combination of factors contributes to the structure of 'loose sand.' Yet another factor in the mix may be the role of the process manager, which will be discussed now.

6.5 The role of the process manager in the process of self-management

That the process has been experienced as full of "having to do certain things" can be connected to the role of the process manager. His way of working, which is very structured and includes first fixing things and putting them on paper before executing them, is in opposition to some core group members' way of working, which is more organic. Another aspect of the process manager's way of working is that he tries to swing between the ideal and the practical side: sometimes it is more pragmatic, whereas other times ideals are followed and put in practice.

The role of the process manager, similar to the process as a whole, is two-sided. On the one hand, the process manager has been very important. According to the core group, he has been essential as driver of the process and of keeping both the members and the process coordinated. With his knowledge of formal issues, such as subsidies and contracts, as well as his negotiating skills, political sensitivity and strategic and business-like mindset, he has helped the core group in getting on an equal footing with the municipality and in giving counterweight to neighbourhood initiatives and residents. For example, during one of the meetings he said that the core group needs to strategically use the attention they get from the municipality to give themselves more room to strengthen their position. Some core group members see him as a kind of "father figure" and one even got him a present for his birthday. In general, the relation between the manager and the core group was positive, although at the end of the research period, certain frictions became noticeable.

The process manager himself describes his role as follows:

This building was available to fall under self-management. And that has to happen under certain arrangements, a certain structure. With recognizable people. [...] Renovations must be done and finished, at the moment it's finished, furniture must be bought, then you have to be able to open. Well, all those lines together, those essentially have, have always been under my supervision all the time. [...] everywhere little plugs needs to be put in. And I just put them all in. There has to be money, a foundation, a board. [...] whether or not you put in another club, you all need the same things. [6.18]

He explains he had a commission from the municipality, which he executed so the intended goal was reached. He got quite some freedom in this. He explains he was never involved in the actual execution of things, instead pushing the core group forward and making sure everyone did what they were supposed to. In the meetings, this could be seen back clearly: he was very present in them

and taking a leading structuring role. Although he wanted to gradually pull back from being actively involved in the meetings, this did not really happen.

Indeed, what all core group members note is that the process manager has been dominant during the process and for some even too dominant, thereby showing a different conception of the role of a process manager in general. The project leader from the municipality says:

And we have already said it to him a couple of times, yes, you're not going to be the coordinator of the centre, because at some point you'll be gone again, and it's also important that you just, that you let them swim themselves, that you also take away the swimming supports. Than they can [laughs] practice themselves. [6.18]

Moreover, a board member says the e-mail invitations to the council member of the municipality and director of the housing corporation should have been signed and sent by the core group instead of the process manager. Moreover, during the meetings the latter was also involved in a substantive way by more or less explaining what was best and then getting everyone on that page. An example is that the idea to have student-interns managing the finances of Archipel was 'waved away' by him (in the words of one of the core group members).

Nevertheless, during all of the meetings, only one conflict occurred between the process manager and another core group member. The latter brought up the idea to put pastries and other sweet snacks in the display. The process manager answered that the kitchen itself would be complex enough to organize, with which the did not agree. The process manager argued the member was working against the budget. At some point during this conversation, the member said: 'Your route is being followed!' This can clearly be linked to feelings of ownership. For the member it has also resulted in less enthusiasm and energy. Moreover, this member argued that the process manager has a clear top-down result-oriented task delineated in time, which stands in tension to the core group's longer-term process of investment, commitment and developing ownership over the community centre, thereby not having a clear timeframe.

The process manager himself does not think he involved himself too much in a substantive manner, although he says he would let the core group members know if he did not agree with something. He thinks that, because of the earlier mentioned easy-going planning, core group members did not mind having him in charge of certain tasks and believing they would be 'in good hands.' Nevertheless, this simultaneously may say something about expectations: core group members would not do something because they expected him to have that role, thus flipping the argument around and showing that doing too much may lead to them sitting back. This is something argued by one of the former core group members.

6.6 The role of the municipality in the process of self-management

Moving on to the role of the municipality in the process of self-management, an important observation is that the municipality presence could not be sensed that greatly, although from the interviews it is evident that the project leader feels involved. The lack of presence can arguably be partly attributed to the process manager, since he had a direct line with the project leader, whom he kept up to date about 'actually everything' (project leader). The core group itself also had several meetings with the project leader and some others from the municipality on the criteria for getting the subsidy, although not all members were present. Indeed, some members say they actually have very little to do with the municipality. A member involved in the meetings says the meetings with the municipality felt a bit superfluous, since the process manager had already spoken to the involved persons before the meeting and also spoke to them afterwards. Another reason for the small presence is formed by the policy of the municipality to 'facilitate': '[..] the important thing is to just get an open, fun and functioning community centre and that our subsidy money is well spent [..]. And how they do that exactly, that is also not up to me.'

There are two sides to this. On the one hand, the core group gets quite some space and freedom to decide (for some of the subsidy criteria, see Appendix 6). One member says she is happy that 'the core group has been given the trust to act in freedom.' No differences in opinion about the subsidy criteria could be observed during the meetings and other occasions. Nevertheless, as will become clear in the next chapter, the criterion of Archipel making available the toilets to children on the square, caused some difficulties. This shows the other side: the municipality sets a framework within which the core group has to manoeuvre, which means a limiting of space and freedom.

What generally can be said about the attitude of the municipality, in this case embodied by the project leader, is that it is responsive, personal, accommodating and flexible. Regarding the latter, when the already mentioned core group member asked the project leader to put off his suit jacket, 'because it became 'really scary,' he did so. This points to the relationship containing both formal and informal elements. The conversations with the project leader and others were experienced positively by the involved core group members. That the project leader and other people from the municipality also came during the unofficial opening of Archipel, as well as the flowers with a good luck note attached to them (see photo 4), show the responsiveness of the municipality. Furthermore, when the core group had issues with an active neighbourhood resident "claiming" space in the centre without having a lease, the municipality acted quickly to support the core group in dealing with this.¹⁰

¹⁰ What must be noted here is that this particular example has a long history: also the municipality has had some conflicts with this active resident.

A last thing worth to note is that the project leader has quite some feeling with the core group and the process. For example, he knows how the different core group members work and knows about their organizations. This shows the personal side to the relationship between the municipality and the core group. During the research period, the role of the municipality could be characterized as 'facilitating and monitoring,' which means looking in a good-natured way to the future applies for subsidies for the specific projects and keeping contact with the process manager and core group about what is going on and where support is needed.

Nevertheless, one core group member is less positive. She thinks the municipality has given much responsibility to the core group and lets it deal with its unsolved conflicts with other initiatives. What is most important about her argument is that she feels she and the others have not got anything back from the municipality. This points to a perceived lack of acknowledgement and appreciation: 'Society thinks too easily about volunteer work. [...] you have to appease people.' What is also interesting is that at some point she differed in opinion regarding tasks and responsibilities: she said the municipality had to take care of the cleaning services of Archipel, something which clearly is something the core group has to decide on itself. Lastly, the member speaks of the core group 'having a task to fulfil,' thus pointing to a more top-down view of the process.

Indeed, the project leader also says that in the very beginning of the process, the municipality's role could be characterized as actively driving the process. This makes the self-management of Archipel not bottom-up but rather more top-down. As one member explains, because of fears that the centre would become "closed" again, the municipality took an active directing role. Ironically, one of the members says that at a conference the self-management of Archipel was portrayed as an example of a "bottom-up" initiative. Here, the tension between ideal and practice comes back again.

Nevertheless, although the process can be regarded as quite top-down, one of the core group members thinks the space left for the core group to fill in should be satisfactory enough. Leo points to a more critical evaluation of this top-down model with its systemic logic:



Photo 4: "Congratulations and the best of luck from city district East" (source: own photo)

[..] what I also find difficult, is that allegedly the neighbourhood has to do it, but it's the municipality's agenda and a few professionals from the neighbourhood, and that agenda is quite fixed. [..] and the punch line is, what they expect [..] just convenient, quick, right, that's what's being thought, that it will be very conveniently and quickly implemented. [..] When it has to come from the neighbourhood, it should also have a lot of space, to grow. Well, that space is not or hardly there, because, yes, [..] there are political goals on the one side. And on the other, often there are, there's a certain budget connected to it, and a certain time, and it has to deliver. [..] it is kind of in conflict with "It has to come from the neighbourhood itself." [6.19]

Indeed, what also came forward is that the core group members are aware of the fact that the municipality wants to make Archipel into a political success, in which neighbourhood residents are celebrated for their bottom-up involvement in and active contribution to the neighbourhood (Indeed, when admiration is expressed about the process, the identity of neighbourhood resident is used). Nevertheless, what this paragraph has shown is that there is much more to this image or ideal and that ideal and reality do not really correspond. Moreover, another important insight is that quite some elements of home come back, such as the need for clarity, freedom, identification, acknowledgement and feelings of ownership.

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7. After opening: 'The proof is in eating the pudding'

This is the last empirical chapter of this thesis. It will deal with some first insights on the functioning of the opened community centre Archipel seen from a home-making perspective, thereby putting some of the volunteers' perspectives central. What will get attention first is the physical side of the centre: what does it look like and how does it and feel (see Box 7)? This part will include what some visitors and volunteers' views on this, as well as volunteers' home feelings. The latter form a bridge to the next part of the chapter, which deals with the actual functioning of Archipel and how both volunteers and core group members experienced this during the first two to three weeks after opening. In this discussion, it will become clear that the definition of what a community centre is, cannot be regarded as given.

Box 7: "the looks and feels" of the restaurant of community centre Archipel

When you enter Archipel, you immediately step into the restaurant, the biggest room. It is very spacious and has a high ceiling. The wall to the right is totally made out of glass, which invites you to look outside into the vegetable garden. Because of all the glass, the room is very light and open. This is strengthened by the light walls, which are lined with plain wooden panels. There is quite some wood present in the room: the bar, which is made by a carpenter from the neighbourhood, is made of wood (although it is white in colour), as well as the window frames, some of the tables and chairs and the book cases behind the bar. The entrance doors are painted a yellow-green colour, whereas other doors are either white or dark grey. What immediately catches the eye is that all furniture objects are different: it ranges from a red wooden round table plus four wooden chairs to several rectangular wooden tables lined with the same yellow-green paint, thus giving the restaurant some unity in appearance. I can also see the now trendy wooden school chairs which I helped cleaning and making ready for use. The different chairs and tables give Archipel a playful and creative look. In the far right corner, two dark green Chesterfield couches, as well as a chair, form a small living room together with a small wooden round coffee table which carries a vase with red flowers. There is also a vase with yellow and white flowers on the bar. In the other corner, there is a children's play corner with two small tables and some board games. On some Het Parool lies on one of the tables. Lining a part of the ceiling is a big metal tube, which is part of the ventilation system. It gives Archipel an "industrial" look. Moreover, there are quite some white round lamps hanging from the ceiling. Just the interior is not enough to make it a home however: because not many people are inside, the community centre feels empty and quiet. Although virtually all of the furniture is second-hand or self-made, it still feels unused. This probably is the case because no posters are on the walls, for example, and no things are lying around without any purpose. Of course, because of the few visitors, the furniture is de facto still very unused. Nevertheless, what becomes clear is that it has undergone quite a transformation in identity when compared to the stories about what the centre used to be like.

During the research period twelve volunteers were active in Archipel, either working for the bar/restaurant or involved in the general management. Some of them come from the municipality to be an intern in the framework of social work, while others come from the core group's networks. The kitchen with the cooking groups is another separate part of the structure of Archipel.

The six volunteers spoken to differ somewhat in their opinion on the interior of Archipel, although in general they all like it. What both volunteers and the few visitors mention, are the different chairs and tables. According to one of the visitors, together they form a whole despite their difference. Interestingly, this symbolism is analogous to the thought behind the name "Archipel." Moreover, the differences give the community centre character. For Brenda, one of the volunteers, it means a 'homely' atmosphere is created and 'it's not like you have to be careful not to break

anything.' Nevertheless, some, for example the board member, feel that the community centre still feels "empty" and "unused." One of the core group members says: 'It [Archipel] has been sort of dropped by the architect. We have to see how we're going to appropriate it, for example with the use of artwork. Now the building still feels a bit static, but it needs time.' Ironically, Sebastian, another volunteer, thinks the bar itself is IKEA-esque, something the core group member responsible for the interior explicitly wanted to avoid. Glenda, also a volunteer, would have liked Archipel to be more café-like, sees Archipel more as a 'place to eat and watch tv,' exactly describing a living room (!).

All volunteers say they feel at comfortable in Archipel, although not all would say that they feel at home. It depends on how one defines home. Sebastian finds "home" too big of a word:

Here, I have to keep an eye on things and I can't totally – I cannot just lie on the couch for a while or anything, right? I can't just grab a beer in the afternoon. I can do that at home if I want to. So, at home I have my own rules, right? So that makes me at home. And here I have to obey the rules bit. [7.1]

This shows that "really" feeling at home has to do with rules and the power to define them, which means a certain degree of freedom is related. One has to take others into account, which consequently gives the feeling of not truly feeling at home. Glenda also points to her adapting to others: 'I'm not going to do my own thing, because I'm not the only one who works here.'

Nevertheless, other volunteers do not make the above distinction and all report they feel at home. Ingrid and Danielle, volunteers as well, both say it is because of the colleagues they work with. Indeed, everyone is of the opinion that the other volunteers are friendly and Danielle says 'you can talk to everyone.' During observations, especially Ingrid and Glenda always greeted each other warmly, calling each other "darling" and even one time holding hands. Moreover, all volunteers feel accepted. Ingrid answers the following when asked what makes her feel at home:

Well, that also has to do with your colleagues, right? That you're being accepted and what not. Look, it also sometimes happens that you're somewhere and you notice that you're a bit of an outsider, you know? Yes, but I don't have that feeling here. You're being accepted instantly, also when I came to sign the contract. [7.1]

That others 'do not walk past her' but ask her things when they do not know, makes her feel accepted. This clearly points to acknowledgement of her being there and appreciation of that, one of the basic ingredients for feeling at home. Furthermore, in the previous chapter the human need of being listened to already came forward.



Photo 5: the big workshop room and the restaurant of community centre Archipel (source: own photos)

For Danielle, Archipel as a home is a safe and trusted place: she says that she talked to one of the core group members about her disease, which is something very personal and not something she would normally do. 'I just felt free to talk about it, normally I don't. And that's good. You really feel at ease there.' The last element of home mentioned by the volunteers is freedom: they do not have the feeling they are being watched by others and can 'smoke a cigarette if I want to' (Ingrid).

The only downside to Archipel mentioned by the volunteers is that the restaurant space gets very hot when the weather is good, since the front façade is made of glass. It makes being in there for a while not a comfortable experience, thus reducing the potential of Archipel to be a place where

people like to stay for a while. Moreover, the acoustics of the room are far from optimal, while this is very important for the atmosphere, according to Sebastian. An example of this it that one afternoon two neighbourhood residents came to play music in the restaurant. As a consequence, other people could not have a normal conversation anymore, since the music dominated the room. Another time, loud Dutch music was played, changing the atmosphere (it fitted Ingrid's identity, her being an ethnically Dutch born-and-bred *Amsterdammer*). One's home feelings can thus conflict with someone else's. This is why the board member says that the core group has to develop policy on what kinds of people they want or expect on what times of the day, and how they can deal with this. The fact that Archipel is such a small community centre makes thinking about dynamics and rhythms even more necessary. Other examples that show tensions between different people's home feelings, are volunteers smoking outside the front door (which may deter some people from entering) and a large group of loudly talking and laughing Surinamese-Dutch residents in the restaurant. One of the core group members called it 'a sort of Surinam take over.'

During the observations, several home-making activities could be discerned: reading a book or the newspaper, cleaning, cooking, eating (see photo 6) and drinking, playing games, having conversations, singing, dancing, playing music and doing laundry. About the latter, one of the core group member says: 'It feels very homely!' That Glenda sang along with the radio, points to her feeling comfortable. In addition, when a core group member visited the centre, he said he loved the fact that one of the cooking groups was making delicious food, since the whole community centre smelled like it. The core group member was also the one throwing off his shoes and lying on the couch, laughingly declaring Archipel his 'second home.'

Nevertheless, few visitors came during the observation moments. This was generally the case, something the volunteers found boring. When people were there, they were people already in "the networks":

people from one of the core group members' organization, cooks' children or people from other neighbourhood initiatives. Moreover, some civil servants of the municipality visited. Besides these people, quite some children came in, mainly to go to the toilet or sometimes to play inside. The pressure on the toilets was at times very high. The reason for the few visitors could have related to the beautiful weather: people would rather stay outside than going inside, especially given the



Photo 6: a meal served by one of the cooking groups (source: core group)

temperature in the restaurant room. Moreover, when the square was very quiet (especially in the mornings), neither any people visited Archipel.

Another reason for the few visitors may lie in the experience of Archipel not looking very inviting ('lively or cosy') for people on the square. Most of the time, the doors were closed and because hardly anyone was inside, no one felt inclined to go inside. One of the square users even did not really notice the building, which clearly shows how people selectively perceive their surroundings. Another square user says she thought it was not really open yet, since she saw someone sweeping the floor. Moreover, although the centre sells ice cream, this is not clearly indicated somewhere outside (through e.g. a flag). 'While you can get people inside by luring the children!' a square user says. Users say that people have to be informed, for example by handing out flyers. All volunteers also find it a pity that not so much advertisement has been done. Lastly, according to Sebastian, also the entrance of the community centre should have remained on the street side (having two of them). While the square could be very lively, this cannot be sensed from the street side, which he calls a 'dead happening.' 'You know, people come when they see other people somewhere, right? [...] But if you go on this [street] side, you don't see anything!'

Regarding the process, the three core group members responsible for the daily management invested many more hours than contracted for in working at the centre, to the point of being quite stressed out. Volunteers were also very involved. For example, Danielle was present almost everyday as secretary because the other volunteer was not there yet. Moreover, one time when Mitchell still wanted to mop the floor, one core group member even said: 'Come on honey, we still have a life outside of the community centre!' Another sign of volunteers' involvement was that they thought along with the core group and thereby provided new energy: Glenda wanted to flyer around the square to invite everyone to join activities, Ingrid provided advise on how to deal with schedules and Sebastian thought a palm tree would be nice and better for the acoustics.

Indeed, involved volunteers are crucial for the continuity of a community centre in self-management. The dominant view is that a reliance on volunteers goes hand in hand with vulnerability. Danielle says that volunteers can just call and say they will not come. Similarly, a core group member thinks in the end someone with a paid position would work best. Another core group member, who talked about a lack of appreciation on the side of the municipality, emphasises the importance of cherishing volunteers, something that she clearly did during the observations. She always asked how everyone was doing and gave personal attention to them. She also helped Mitchell with cleaning, thereby making clear that she and the volunteers are equals: 'We are colleagues. You help each other out.' Here, one can speak of horizontal power relations.

In general, the core group member coordinating general management says the first weeks after opening were chaotic and very busy. The core group member felt unprepared for what was to

come, which can be related to the earlier mentioned easy-going planning attitude observed by the process manager. 'Everyone is at once, *plop*, together.' There was no way of working yet and there was not really time to take volunteers by the hand and showing them everything, nor time for reflection. On top of this, generally there were too few volunteers. The general observation could be made that everyone was still searching for their place, trying to figure out how everything works. According to Sebastian, everything 'still had to unfold,' which puts everyone equal: '[..] because no one knows everything yet, and together you're going to learn everything.' This is something he likes. Nevertheless, sometimes he experiences this not to be the case. An example is when someone from one of the cooking groups wanted him to mop the kitchen floor.

This brings the discussion to the interrelated issues of coordination, tasks and responsibilities and rules. Indeed, as the process manager says: 'Now it is necessary to work together,' thereby showing the need was apparently not there before opening.¹¹ Again, there are two sides to this. On the one hand, volunteers reported they know what their tasks and responsibilities are. For example, Ingrid talks about making coffee and tea, preparing sandwiches, keeping the bar clean and helping and talking to visitors. Among the tasks and responsibilities, cleaning came forward as an issue. One of the core group members is of the opinion that volunteers should not clean. Volunteers were under the assumption that people would be hired separately for cleaning (although Sebastian does find it logical in hindsight that volunteers also clean a bit), but during the meetings it became clear there is no real budget for that and the opening times should probably be changed. In the meantime, some volunteers did perform cleaning tasks, thereby showing their commitment. In contrast, there was a general agreement that the kitchen groups should clean the kitchen after cooking. According to Brenda, another cook is not so tidy, but she does not see it as her task to approach him (instead the coordinating core group member should).

There was a general need to get more clarity in who does what, in the rules and in ways of dealing with each other. Communication can also be improved. All volunteers expressed a wish to have a meeting in which they can all voice their experiences and can get on the same page. It is especially important to hold oversight over who does what and concretely put things on paper with many volunteers working varying shifts. According to Brenda, no real rules exist yet and it is still not exactly clear how volunteers should deal with certain situations. For example, she asks what to do when someone cannot work: 'Who stands in for that person, how do you that?' Ingrid says how important it is to have 'a fixed team which she [core group member] can trust,' which means everyone has to pass on the correct times on the basis of which a schedule can be made.

¹¹ This can be connected to the 'loose sand' structure discussed in the previous chapter.

Besides unclear ways of dealing with situations, neither is clear whom to approach for certain things. Once, Ingrid said she would approach the financial manager to talk about the prices, while she should have gone to the core group co-ordinating the bar and kitchen. Generally regarding coordination and knowing what is going on, also two sides exist. On the one hand, one core group member regularly held small meetings with the volunteers she coordinated to discuss all kinds of issues. In addition, for example, Glenda says she wrote a note to other volunteers, making them aware of where she had put the remote control of the television. Similarly, when Sebastian saw that crisps and cup-a-soup were bought ('All of a sudden it was there') he informed the financial manager to update the cash register. Lastly, transferrals of shifts happen.

Nevertheless, also examples of less coordination could be observed. One time, to stay with the transferrals, Sebastian already left without waiting for the next management volunteer to arrive. Moreover, when someone called, Sebastian did not know the exact opening times. Another example is that the bar volunteers were not informed about people from the municipality holding a meeting in Archipel. They made their own coffee, thereby spilling coffee in the bar. Ingrid cleaned it afterwards. Lastly, there was some confusion about the rules about the earnings of the cooking groups: could they take their money from the cash register the same night or should they wait for the financial manager to first calculate everything?

The last element is comprised by the house rules, which were not clear yet (although the core group discussed them through e-mail). Consequently, some inconsistency could be observed in core group members' and volunteers' behaviours. For example, Sebastian let three girls play alone in the small workshop room, although the rooms should only be used by the contracted users (or perhaps under supervision). Moreover, relating less directly to house rules, although a decision was made by the core group to stimulate healthy food, at some point crisps and cup-a-soup were bought. As a consequence, one of the other members finds it hard to feel connected with the community centre, showing the connection between home and identity.

Inconsistency was especially evident in dealing with children and with the toilet use. Volunteers and core group members differed in how severe they were on children entering the centre. When one core group member wanted a group of children to leave the community centre right after coming in, Glenda found this disturbing. When she asked the children what they wanted, they simply wanted to buy an ice cream. Moreover, Glenda notices a difference in how volunteers' children are treated and other children. Another core group member was very strict. He screamed 'Get out!' and became angry when some children filled their water balloons in the toilets. They were one of the volunteers' children, which resulted in an argument between him and the volunteer. He says he does not like to negotiate with children. Glenda is hesitant to approach him about the way he deals with children, since she is afraid of his reaction.

Similarly, the toilet use turned out to be the most serious issue, which was discussed multiple times during core group meetings. The pressure on the toilets was too high and children only came in to go to the toilet to leave it dirty when they left again. In practice volunteers did not always apply the policy to let children ask for the key of the toilet door. One time, the toilets were open 'because it was easier.' Another time, when the pressure was too high, all of a sudden a small deposit was asked. In the last meeting, this was incorporated into the toilet policy to make the threshold of going to the toilet even higher. Clearly, experimentation was necessary here.

The way volunteers and the core group dealt with children and their toilet use connects to their view on what a community centre is and for whom. The strict core group member cannot emphasise more that it is not 'a public toilet,' something others agree with. However, one of the criteria for the subsidy is that the toilets should be public. This points to a conflict of interest, about which during one of the meetings the process manager said that the core group has to take a clear stand and communicate to the municipality that they experience problems with the criterion.

In relation to the toilets, according to the strict core group member, Archipel is not a community centre. A community centre has employed people who watch the toilets, whereas the core group members of Archipel are 'idealists' who do not do that. Moreover, only visitors who come in for consumption, participate in activities or other users are those entitled to stay for a while and using the toilets. He disapproves of the old lady sitting in the centre the whole day without doing or buying anything (according to Sebastian she is 'part of the interior'). Interestingly, as could be read in chapter 6, one of the core group members sees Archipel as 'the hanging spot' of the neighbourhood and the general opinion is that Archipel should also be a place for the more vulnerable.

When some volunteers talk about what a community centre is, they immediately connect it to children. Glenda explicitly says that a community centre is 'for them.' Moreover, these volunteers are happy with the crisps and expressed a wish for a frying pan. This was listened to, since one was bought for small portions. This was done with a reason: according to a core group member, the community centre should not turn into a 'snack bar.' Another important issue many volunteers expressed was that the prices are way too high for a community centre, thus pointing to the thought that a community centre should have a low threshold and be inviting.

What this all shows, is that in practice, certain ideals may be shoved aside. Those core group members involved in the daily management of Archipel are also those according to whom the commercial interest takes precedence over the societal one. Moreover, because they are involved on a daily basis, they have thus decided to align with practice instead of holding on to ideals that come mainly from other less daily involved core group members. This relates directly to the process manager balancing approach between ideal and practice, which was discussed in the previous chapter.

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8. Wrapping it up: conclusion, discussion and recommendations

This chapter concludes this master thesis and consists of three parts. In the first part, an answer to the main question will be formulated. This forms the basis for the discussion, in which the findings elaborated upon in the previous three chapters will be looked at in the light of the theoretical framework (see chapter 3). Moreover, the findings will be placed in the current societal debates around the “participation society,” with special attention to neighbourhood initiatives (see the introduction). The last part of the discussion will focus on how this research has been carried out, reflecting upon this and pointing to limitations. Finally, some recommendations will be made to both the core group of Archipel and the municipality of Amsterdam. These latter two parts will be displayed in Boxes.

8.1 Conclusion: getting the main question answered

This thesis has focused on the self-management process of community centre Archipel in the Makassar square neighbourhood in Amsterdam-East, looking at this process from a home-making perspective. The attempt has been to understand the community centre in relation to the context in which it finds itself: the Makassar square and the wider neighbourhood. Because of this goal, a qualitative case study research was executed in which the idea of holism played an important role: the focus was on interconnections between the different characteristics of self-management and the links between the latter and home-making, thereby seeing the community centre not as an isolated but open place which stands in connection to its environment. To answer the main question, how the process of self-management of Archipel can be understood, analyzed from a home perspective, several sub questions were formulated to grasp the several elements of home and home feelings and to get a feeling of the direct environment of Archipel. Moreover, these questions focused on the way meaning is given to Archipel as a home and who gets to decide what in the way it is made into a meaningful place for the square and wider neighbourhood.

What comes forward from chapter 5 is that virtually all residents living around the square feel at home in their houses and in the neighbourhood. Home has quite some elements to it, all of which are connected to and influence each other: recognition and acknowledgement, knowledge of one’s environment, clarity, safety, freedom, openness, feelings of ownership and identity and identification. Social relations and social contact play a role in feeling at home as well and relate to some of the elements. Moreover, an important insight is that feeling at home is not only about feeling, but is also about doing, so making use of and thereby (re-)creating one’s surroundings. Home-making is a dynamic process which involves all senses and makes feeling at home an embodied experience. Moreover, what the analysis on the functioning of the Makassar square points to, is that although it has improved people’s home feelings, it cannot be regarded as “the living room” of the neighbourhood, due to different conceptions of its identity and use.

Nevertheless, square users are generally very content with the square and its playing possibilities. Moreover, the square has become a safer place in the evenings because of the lighting.

Although most residents feel connected to either their house or the neighbourhood or both, this is not the case for Archipel. In previous times, hardly anyone visited the centre, which was mainly identified as catering to Moroccan-Dutch people. Moreover, residents have no knowledge of the core group's plans and have not actively participated in the few possibilities given by the core group to have influence on the identity of the new centre. In this sense, Archipel is not firmly grounded in the neighbourhood yet. What has become clear is that the core group and process manager have been the main decision-makers with regards to Archipel. Nevertheless, what the analysis has also shown is that residents and core group members have roughly similar views on Archipel as a home. The same elements of home just mentioned come forward, although an important conclusion is that a community centre as a home is perceived as a different one from residents' own houses: sharing a more public place creates its own home dynamic and makes the issue of in- and exclusion central to it (although this issue also plays with regard to houses-as-homes).

Regarding the issue of involvement, besides the dominant opinion of the core group as the main decision-maker being desirable, which is shared by the municipality, what is also thought is that resident involvement would not have led to very different outcomes while it would have cost much time and energy. Though residents do not mind not being involved thoroughly, a few others do, pointing to unequal power relations in the home-making of Archipel. Furthermore, feelings of not being listened or responded to connect to the home elements of recognition and acknowledgement. An important conclusion is that the issue of involvement cannot be seen separately from the wider neighbourhood culture and landscape of active residents and initiatives. Moreover, two spaces exist which do not meet much: a so-called "participatory" and "residential" space. Again, this shows in- and exclusion, in this case through the workings of social networks.

What can be concluded about the self-management process is that it is an intensive and emotional process, which requires much investment in the form of time, energy and commitment. It is an insecure process in which questions of money and power keep coming back. Indeed, it is not just a technical process in the sense of getting things done, but also a political one. What has become clear is that the community centre is a contested place connected to different interests.

The specific dynamics observed, which translate into the so-called 'loose sand' structure, are caused by several factors that interact and mutually strengthen each other. In addition to the organizational structure, the fact that a large amount of work needed to be done to a considerable extent on voluntary basis, in combination with enough other projects and work (available), are additional factors. The process manager may also have played a role. In the whole of the process,

the tension between idea(l)s and practice comes back. Besides it being an important part of the process manager's way of working, the way Archipel had been imagined before opening and how it turns out in practice and the gap between the way this case is portrayed to and seen by the outside world and what happens "on the ground" and "inside" show this as well.

When approached from a home perspective, the conclusion can be drawn that many elements of home come back in this process: the importance of clarity in all aspects of the process, for example in tasks and responsibilities, openness, feelings of ownership and freedom, recognition (and the related appreciation) and identification. Furthermore, the meaning and identity of Archipel as a home (what kind of home and for whom?) is continually debated and remains contested.

8.2 Discussion of the findings

Besides presenting findings, it is important to place them in both the broader theoretical and societal context, sketched in the introduction (chapter 1) and theoretical framework (chapter 3) of this thesis. First, a theoretical discussion will be presented which follows the structure of the sub-questions. Thereafter, the research findings will be placed in the societal context.

8.2.1 Sub-questions 1 and 2: residents' feelings of home

When the results about residents' home feelings and elements of home are juxtaposed with the theory on home and belonging, many similarities can be seen. The reasons mentioned by residents why they feel at home point to the 'house as haven' thesis (Brickell, 2012) which is based on humanist accounts of home (e.g. Tuan, 1975). Indeed, what has been found in this research is that feeling at home is associated with feeling comfortable, safe and able to "be yourself," thereby pointing to the relationship between home and identity which has already got much attention in especially humanist research (Blunt, 2003).

Moreover, for residents their houses-as-homes contain many memories (Blunt, 2003). Although not mentioned in the theoretical framework, freedom is seen as another important element of home, which connects to the theme of home and identity. Nevertheless, interestingly, for one resident her house is not a "safe haven" anymore, but infiltrated by the "outside" in the form of noise nuisance. This points to the flaws of binary thinking inherent in humanist conceptions of home (e.g. Brickell, 2012). In addition and related to home and identity, it is clear that residents have strong feelings of ownership over their houses: in accordance with their personal identity, they have personalized their houses and have thus made the environment and themselves in accordance with each other, thereby strengthening home feelings (Baker, 2013; Blung & Dowling, 2006; Young, 2005; cf. Pierce et al., 2009). In contrast, residents have smaller feelings of ownership over the Makassar square, which is regularly littered with food and drink packages and food after a busy day.

Home-making practices (Baker, 2013; Young, 2005) are central to feeling at home and show that feeling at home means *doing* things and regarding home feelings in the neighbourhood, *using* the neighbourhood. What came out of the analysis as an important source for feeling at home in the neighbourhood is connected to the idea and workings of public familiarity (e.g. Blokland, 2008 & 2009) in the wider neighbourhood: through knowing and recognizing others, especially in neighbourhood facilities (e.g. Curley, 2008; Van Eijk & Schreuders, 2011,) trust, social control and feelings of safety are enhanced. This is also to a certain extent the case on the Makassar square: especially square users with a non-western ethnic background know and socialize with each other. They even have whole meals at the picnic tables and celebrate birthdays, both activities very much associated with home-making activities within the house-as-home. Nevertheless, although there is a degree of social control, approaching children for negative behaviour is still not always done. Additionally, the enduring (but lessened) presence of loitering youth and the place identity of the square (a children's playground) point to the merit of using a critical geography of home (Blunt & Dowling, 2006), which will be discussed more elaborately in the next paragraph.

Relating to being able to navigate the surroundings is the concept of selective belonging (Watt, 2006), which clearly came forward in the findings: residents only really know and identify with a subsection of the neighbourhood which they most regularly use. On the contrary, the concept of elective belonging (Savage et al., 2005) has not found much resonance in the data: the residents who decided to move to the Indische neighbourhood did not do this because the neighbourhood fit with their personal interests or other personality characteristics, but simply because the apartments were still affordable in price and met specific criteria, such as having a roof terrace.

Nevertheless, this research has pointed to a different kind of elective belonging, namely in relation to community centre Archipel: residents have to consciously identify with it and use it (which implies a choice), so that home feelings can develop. In relation to this, what this research confirms once more, in addition to the many other studies done (e.g. Bolt, & Ter Maat 2005; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Van Stokkom & Toenders, 2010), is the importance of neighbourhood attachment or, in this case, the related identification as an important factor for feeling and becoming involved. The opposite of elective belonging, termed by Savage et al. (2005) as nostalgia, could be found back with some residents, who have lived in the neighbourhood for a long time and long for earlier days when more ethnically Dutch still lived there. Above all, to reiterate, what this research has emphasised is that feeling at home is truly an experience which is covered by all senses. So, this research shows the importance of furthering more embodied research on home (e.g. Duffy & Waitt, 2013; Longhurst, Johnston & Ho, 2009).

8.2.2 Sub-question 3: Archipel as a home

To move on to community centre Archipel, what the findings have shown is that the characteristics or elements mentioned by both the core group and residents in relation to it as a home, are similar to what reasons residents give for feeling at home: it must be a safe place, where people can feel comfortable. Social contact is seen as an important way of home-making (Baker, 2013). Relating to the identity of Archipel as a home, what this research has shown is that this identity is continually in process. Moreover, a place such as a community centre is a different kind of home when compared to residents' houses. The crucial difference is that the first is (officially)¹² a public place, whereas residents' houses are private ones. Indeed, both the core group and residents report a community centre should be welcoming to and accept everyone. It has important ramifications for home feelings, which are recognized by the core group and some residents and which also came back during the first few weeks after opening. Here, the theory on home developed by Douglas (1991) shows its relevance for this research: a functioning home should take everyone in account and accommodate divergent interests, amongst other things.

This brings the discussion to the critical geography of home as outlined by Blunt and Dowling (2006). The first element of it, that home is both material and imaginative, is clear from the previous: feeling at home is exactly about the interplay between the material environment and what meaning is given to that environment by people, dependent on their identity. The second element of the geography, the 'nexus between home, power and identity' (Blunt & Dowling, 2006, p. 22) connects to what has just been discussed: who belongs and who does not? Besides this being clear regarding the Makassar square, in the sense that some residents do not feel they really belong there because they are older, have a dog or do not have children, the findings have shown this issue also plays in relation to Archipel. A powerful example from the data is the politicized history with the old users feeling strong ownership over it and claiming it as theirs, thereby making a clear distinction between them and "others" who do not belong (cf. Manzo, 2003).

A direct link can be made with the last element of the critical geography, which is that the home is not isolated, bounded and stable but instead open and influenced by wider (social) processes (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Indeed, a very important insight of this research is that community centre Archipel cannot be understood without looking at its context, an important element of which is comprised by the neighbourhood culture with regards to active citizenship and initiatives. Also the more material spatial context and dynamics of the Makassar square conditions who visits Archipel. An interesting and somewhat ironic paradox flowing from the analysis is that although Archipel is presented and given meaning as a place open to everyone, an identity that is

¹² Generally speaking, a public place may turn out not be so public after all.

materially expressed with a glass façade, certain power relations keep it from being too open. A key emerging question in relation to this discussion is how to create inclusive places.

8.2.3 Sub-question 4: involvement and participation of neighbourhood residents

The issue of participation is linked to the just discussed power relations: who gets to decide what in the self-management process and in what kind of home Archipel is? In Douglas's (1991, p. 289) terms, the core group has been the main actor 'bringing space under control.' It has kept control over the decision-making on Archipel and has been hesitant towards too much resident involvement. When looking at Arnstein's (1969) participation ladder, only a degree of tokenism has been reached: residents have been informed and have been consulted, but the power has remained with the core group. Although residents had quite some influence in picking the name, the core group set up the criteria for choosing the eventual name and chose the name itself based on the self-developed criteria. In this case, the concept of 'invited space' (Cornwall, 2004 & 2008) is applicable, since the possibility for participation was strictly structured on the core group's terms.

When looking at the CLEAR-model developed by Lowndes et al. (2006), one can conclude that none of the elements have been too strongly developed. Although the "can do" factor has not been thoroughly researched, the by some residents experienced language barrier relates to this. Moreover, quite some vulnerable residents still live around the square, although since recent years more residents with a stronger societal position have moved to the square. This development may mean more potential for involvement, although the newly arrived are and may feel also less bounded by the neighbourhood. Regarding "like to," residents did not feel a strong identification with Archipel yet and neither have a strong sense of community. Moreover, residents have been enabled to participate at a few occasions, although not on a more structural basis. That the social networks of active people in the neighbourhood are to a certain extent exclusionary (see Uitermark, 2014ab) made participation more difficult as well. Regarding "asked to," residents were not invited face-to-face or personally to events, instead through flyers. Lastly, some residents did not feel responded to, although for the majority of residents this last element was not an issue.

Whereas the issue of participation may seem simple, it is far from being so. An important message of this research is that participation is really a two-sided process in which collaboration instead of conflict should be placed central, in contrast to what Arnstein's (1969) ladder may suggest. The central question here is who is responsible for becoming involved: is it the core group or are the residents who have to feel responsibility? It reminds a bit of the "chicken and egg" causality dilemma issue. On the one hand, the core group's position is understandable, since residents are indeed not that involved and do not feel so. So, are participation and involvement then so important to achieve and give priority to? On the other hand, the tension mentioned by Leo in

chapter 6 is at play here: when the existing pattern of low involvement of residents is not broken through by differently organizing participation, are the residents really to blame? Could one incite participation or is it simply not there? These are all questions important to keep in mind and which show the complexity of resident involvement.

Nevertheless, the more fundamental issue is whether involvement should happen at all. Indeed, what the findings have shown is that at least in this early phase of self-management, residents do not see their virtual non-involvement as a problem. Moreover, when both parties' views on Archipel as a home are compared, with some exceptions no big differences could be observed (cf. Bakker et al., 2011). This may make the selective group of core group members in a way representative of "the neighbourhood," also because the group is quite diverse and not consisting of typically older white males (Verhoeven & Tonkens, 2011). Nevertheless, the just used quotation marks are not placed without a reason: terms such as "the neighbourhood" and "house/living room of the neighbourhood" are problematic terms and should not be used unreflectively. Indeed, the core group members are not purely residents, since they are also involved as self-employed and have a degree of professionalism in capacities. This is actually what is also needed for self-management to become successful, since it requires many skills. The issue that is central here is whether the core group has a right to speak for "the neighbourhood." The members have become so in an essentially undemocratic way, namely because they were already in the social networks existent in the neighbourhood (they were asked to, when following the CLEAR-framework by Lowndes et al. (2006)). Of course, participation is always selective, but what this research shows is that one should not take celebrations of self-management done by "the neighbourhood" at face value.

8.2.4 Sub-question 5: the process of self-management

Zooming in more closely on the internal side to the self-management process, the framework developed by Douglas (1991) comes back again. It has proven to be very fruitful to use her ideas to understand the self-management process and thereby simultaneously study the home-making of Archipel. An important insight provided by analyzing the data using Douglas (1991) as a starting point, is that clarity in everything is crucial. All involved should know what their tasks and responsibilities are, the boundaries of which are blurring. Moreover, making sure everyone has access to the same information and having them on the same page are important to keep the process co-ordinated. This elaboration shows the important theoretical insight that the elements of home and home feelings come back strongly as important factors in the self-management process: important are not only the just mentioned clarity and openness, but also recognition (and appreciation), identification, feelings of ownership and freedom.

When looking at both the CLEAR-model and Huygen's (2014a) needed qualities for self-management, the conclusion can be drawn that quite some of the factors mentioned are also present in this case. The core group members have many abilities, are well connected to the social infrastructure of the neighbourhood (enabled to), are strongly rooted in the neighbourhood (like to), are dedicated and trust each other and are able to collaborate with people from a variety of backgrounds. Energy and enthusiasm are crucial for successful self-management, as well as shared ideas (cultural capital) and enough financial means (financial capital) (Nienhuis, 2014). Moreover, feeling and being responded to, in this case by the municipality, is also valued by active residents.

When looking at the way the process has been organized in this case as compared to for example in Utrecht, one can see that here a much more structured approach has been followed whereby first everything has been put on paper. This shows that not one way of structuring a self-management process exists and conscious choices are involved. Moreover, partly because of the rushed nature of the process, less space existed for reflectivity. Regarding the last two needed qualities as identified by Huygen (2014a), enough time and space, as well as that the members' own initiative is leading, are arguably met to a lesser extent. These two have to do with the roles of the process manager and municipality in the process of self-management.

First of all, regarding the process manager, the dominant conception is that this role has been too big, also content-wise. That this is in contrast to the role of the pastor in the community centre in Utrecht (Huygen, 2014a) shows that a support role within self-management processes can be implemented in very different ways and is context-dependent. An important question is whether the specific implementation of the role in this case has had a determining influence on the dynamics of the process as outlined in the first paragraph of this chapter: can the low level of energy and vigour be partly attributed to the process manager's way of working? Or was the process manager actually necessary for the core group to remain a group without disintegrating? Nevertheless, he, as a professional, has been physically present virtually all the time, has developed a personal relationship with the core group, has given the core group important backing and support in relation to the municipality and as a relative outsider had an important strategic position within the neighbourhood. In the literature, these are all deemed as important qualities a professional should have (Hendriks & Van de Wijdeven, 2010; Huygen & Van Marissing, 2013; Oude Vrielink & Van de Wijdeven, 2008 & 2011). Nevertheless, the same literature also points to the danger of professionals "taking over," something which may also have happened in this case.

When focusing on the role of the municipality, what stands out is that the relationship with the core group is quite informal in character. Moreover, together with the several meetings with the core group, this points to a relationship of partnership (Oude Vrielink & Verhoeven, 2011), which fits within the current phase of governance (e.g. Silver at al., 2010). Indeed, one of the core group

members said that quite some equality exists between the municipality and the core group. Moreover, the municipality can be regarded as quite successful in *loshouden* (Van de Wijdeven & Hendriks, 2015), or finding a balance between distance and proximity. As could be read in chapter 6, the project leader knew quite a lot about the process and was involved, but on the other hand strictly delimited the municipality's role. Civil servants clearly showed involvement by attending both the unofficial and official opening of Archipel and bringing flowers with a "good-luck" note as a present, which shows a more personal approach. This is seen by various scholars as important for a good relationship between municipality and active residents (Hendriks & Van de Wijdeven, 2014; Oude Vrielink & Van de Wijdeven, 2008 & 2011; Van de Wijdeven & Hendriks, 2010; Van der Zwaard & Specht, 2013). When looking at the government participation ladder (ROB, 2012), the role of the municipality can be characterized as mostly stimulating, since it wanted to reach a certain policy goal and set up a list of criteria to be fulfilled in order for the core group to get the subsidy. Especially in the very beginning of the process, the municipality actively pushed the process of self-management forward and eventually hired the process manager to take over. That it takes a lot of time and effort and is continually in process, is something this research has shown.

8.2.5: linking up to the societal debate

What can be concluded is that the process has still been largely top-down instead of bottom-up. The initiative for self-management clearly came from the municipality who wanted to make "the neighbourhood" responsible for the public function of the community centre (cf. Schinkel & Van Houdt in Oude Vrielink & Verhoeven, 2011). This lends support to the viewpoint that many initiatives do not develop from the bottom-up but get a hand from the top (Tonkens & Duyvendak, 2015), in contrast to Rotmans's (2014) view. In this case, a hand was certainly needed, although one can be critical of stimulating something even when no one decides to take on the job on own initiative. A related question is whether not always some top-down support is needed for initiatives to flourish. Moreover, how one twists or turns it, the core group has to remain within the municipality's subsidy framework, making it more of an executor of government policy in the end (Van der Veen & Duyvendak, 2014; cf. Oude Vrielink & Verhoeven, 2011; Peeters & Drosterij, 2011). The systemic logic is also arguably still quite present in the set timeframe and deadlines, as well as the municipality being result-oriented. Less time and space has existed to develop a community centre with a higher potential to be supported and carried by "the neighbourhood."

Nevertheless, a fundamental question is whether self-management even desirable, given that more informalization takes place (Tonkens, 2014a). Indeed, within the framework set by the municipality, the core group has quite some space and power to decide on important issues around a place with a public function. That the core group is not a professional organization in the formal

sense also adds to this move to more informalization, as well as the blurred boundaries between tasks and responsibilities. This ambiguous identity may potentially lead to legitimation problems, as one resident has made clear. A related question is whether the idea of self-reliance, here in the form of self-management, resonates within wider society. As could be seen, the municipality has actively stimulated the self-management. Moreover, many residents, being preoccupied by their own lives, do not even know about the many initiatives in their neighbourhood and are very much disconnected from the active social networks.

Lastly, the issue of sustainability surfaces. Self-management is not something that is done easily. Simultaneously, because of the voluntary character it is very vulnerable. The issue of money (see Ham & Van der Meer, 2015) has come back throughout the process and the dependency on subsidy money – indeed, that is why it is mainly voluntary – questions the sustainability of self-management in this case. The problem of too little budget is simply shifted. This research has shown that being self-employed is not easy, with work and private life intermingling and with having to work relatively hard to make a living. In combination with the majority of the residents not being actively involved in public matters in the neighbourhood, the push for active citizenship should perhaps be approached more cautiously.

What the above discussion shows is that one's viewpoint depends very much on the specific perspective employed. This research has shown that looking from both a more socio-spatial and political one and combining the home literature with that on participation and initiatives, helps in understanding the process of self-management better. It is important to not only focus on self-managed community centres themselves, but also study them in relation to their environment.

Thus, in line with Uitermark (2014a) and Duyvendak (2015), a request is made for more critically as well as empirically inspired further research, on this particular case and on self-management and citizen or neighbourhood initiatives in general, to avoid sticking with talking about technicalities or with accepting as natural certain normative ideas within social policy.

Box 8: some recommendations to the core group and the municipality of Amsterdam

The core group

Community centre Archipel

- I. Keep developing a good atmosphere in the community centre, the key to which is having volunteers who are hospitable, welcoming, greet everyone and have a positive energy. It gives people the feeling they can also be there, which is fundamental for home feelings. Make the outward appearance of Archipel welcoming, so people like to take a look inside
- II. Make sure the programming and more individual projects can really contribute something to the neighbourhood and some of its problems. They also give Archipel a unique identity.
- III. Openly discuss with each other, also with volunteers and users and visitors, what a community centre is. The meaning or definition of it is not self-evident
- IV. You can work with the different elements of home: make sure you have a fixed volunteer group with a fixed schedule, a stable and transparent programme, a good and warm welcome to visitors and users, an interior recognizable for people with various cultural/ethnic backgrounds, social control with regards to children
- V. Make sure the criterion of openness for users does not itself become a way of exclusion

Resident involvement

- I. You really have to take the first step, since residents will not do it and need to be stimulated. This will strengthen your position as a core group as well. Really involving people takes a long time, but that does not mean the time should not be taken
- II. Keep providing information through different communication channels and be responsive to residents' and others' ideas. Find a balance in transparency. Knowledge is a basis for home feelings. Moreover, when residents are informed, less chance exists for misunderstandings
- III. Actively promote the community centre (especially the restaurant) by handing out flyers and talking to people in the streets and on the square
- IV. You can reach parents through their children. Moreover, word travels fast among the stronger social networks among Moroccan- and Turkish-Dutch residents

Process & dynamics

- I. Be clear and consistent in the implementation of the house rules. The house rules should be clear for everyone and it is important to involve residents in developing these, since they will be the ones who have to implement them on a daily basis
- II. It is so important to express appreciation for your volunteers: most of them are working at Archipel because they like doing so. A community centre run by volunteers is not something self-evident and needs continuous work
- III. Find out how you are going to work together without the process manager's support. While he is still in function, decide exactly what kind of support you would like as a core group and individually
- IV. Try to keep unity within the process. Openness and transparency are important for this

The municipality of Amsterdam

- I. It is important to acknowledge or realize that self-management is a demanding and intensive process that needs a lot of time. It is done by committed people who do it mostly on a voluntary basis. It fits less with the systemic logic of the municipality, which simply sees it as a "task" performed by "the neighbourhood" within a set timeframe with deadlines and clear goals to be attained.
- II. The question that pops up is: is self-management always the way to go? In this case, the responsibility for the community centre was more or less shifted to "the neighbourhood" by the municipality. Is this a desirable development?
- III. Make the role of the process manager more explicit and discuss this more with the core group than it being an arrangement between the municipality and the process manager. What exactly is the role of such a person in self-management? What kind of support is needed?
- IV. Keep making explicit the tasks and responsibilities of the municipality as well and make sure the core group know whom to approach, so the municipality does not become a big monolithic organization
- V. Keep clearly appreciating active residents for their involvement. The small gestures are those that matter!

Box 9: personal reflection on the process of doing research

This research has been qualitative in nature, which means that I as a researcher have had considerable influence on the data: I have personally collected data by observing and talking to other people. Moreover, the interpretation of the data has also been subjective, since interpretation is always coloured by someone's personal identity. It is hard to know the exact influence of you as a researcher, which makes being aware of it and being transparent in how you have worked very important.

I believe that I have been an important link in the process of self-management. Because it turned out that most residents hardly had any knowledge about the plans surrounding Archipel, they asked me about it. So, I was the first one to inform them on the plans, which has influenced their perceptions of Archipel. When telling the plans, I talked about them only broadly: I told about the restaurant, about the open character and that the programme would be diverse (although I did not know the exact schedule). What could have influenced the answers given by the residents is that they saw me as part of the group around the community centre, although I did say in my introduction that I was a student doing research on Archipel. Here, residents could have been more positive about Archipel, perhaps hesitant to be critical of it. Nevertheless, some residents were openly critical and saw me as a channel to reach the core group and others became emotional during their stories or told quite personal things, thus giving the impression of a basic trust and openness on their part (for which I am grateful). Of course, during interviews, sometimes directive, suggestive or closed questions were asked, which may have steered interviewees into answering in a certain way. Nevertheless, in general, the interviews with the residents allowed acquiring a rich understanding of the way residents experience living in the neighbourhood and their houses, as well as their meaning giving to Archipel and their involvement. That the interviews were all held at residents' houses has arguably contributed to getting more in-depth data, since the house-as-home is a comfortable and secure place for them.

Regarding the recruitment of residents, some limitations can be seen. First of all, I still only spoke to about 30-35 residents in total, which are relatively not many. Moreover, all interviews with residents took place within a time span of three weeks. This has arguably left less space and time for reflection on how the interviews were held to inform subsequent interviews, also because virtually no transcribing was done during those weeks. On the other hand, one can argue that precisely because of the short time span, I was in a so-called "interviewing flow" and got increasingly skilled because of that, also because the topic list and questions stayed in my mind. Another possible limitation is that at the beginning of approaching residents, I did not explicitly link my research to the fact that I was doing research for the core group. This most probably has kept some residents from taking part: if they would have known I could communicate their wishes to the core group (although the latter also told me they wanted the residents to approach them by themselves), maybe some of them would have been willing to participate. Lastly, one could argue that convenience played a role in the recruitment: although I randomly rang doorbells, I did not follow a strict sampling scheme and went with who answered the door and was willing to be interviewed by me. Moreover, for the nature of the data it depends on whom of the household you talk to. Similar to this, the square users were also approached more by chance.

In general, what I found out after only a short time period in the field was that the processes around Archipel, as well as the wider neighbourhood, are very political. Especially in the beginning, but also later on, it was hard for me to find out how to deal with this. I felt positioned in between different parties which was at times a difficult feeling to deal with, also because I heard different stories about different people. I found myself in different worlds, both that of the residents and within the social networks of active residents and initiatives. When I thought something went a certain way, someone else would tell me otherwise. Indeed, people can choose what they tell you and choose their words wisely. I found myself in a truly politicized environment with all kinds of different interests and power differences. Here, research truly comes alive and all of a sudden shows that research does not take place in a vacuum but always in some social context in which you as a researcher have to decide how to handle it with as much integrity as possible. I can remember the interview with the resident that burst the romanticized picture I had about residents taking initiative together. It was good that self-constructed idea was shot and it made me more critical and "on guard" as a researcher. In any case, I remained open to all kinds of side to a story, not to judge in any way and appreciate everyone's vision on things. The relative "outsiders'" perspectives (the new core group members, the board member and Leo) helped me in better understanding the dynamics of the process. Moreover, thankfully, my internship supervisor advised me throughout my fieldwork period. A limitation is that I did not speak to the old users of the community centre. The reason for this are that I had to delimit my research somewhere: the history of the community centre was not my focus.

(Box 9 continued)

From residents and my internship supervisor I did manage to get an idea of the old users' viewpoints and in this thesis I have also acknowledged these. Moreover, in the whole of my results chapter, I have tried to be as nuanced as possible, since only nuance does justice to the complex context this research is embedded in.

What I am really grateful of is that I gained the core group members' and other informants' trust. During my fieldwork I talked to many people and also heard people saying things about other people I talked to. In this way, I had quite a powerful position, having the ability to gain some oversight over the process. Nevertheless, it did mean that I took confidentiality very seriously, something that is number one in doing qualitative research in general. Because of the trust relationships, I could gain an in-depth understanding of things, which has enhanced the validity of the research findings. Moreover, because I talked to many different people involved and observed as well, I could triangulate the findings.

Lastly, what is important to discuss is that I have had influence on the course of the self-management process because I have been quite intensively involved through the core group meetings and by being part of the e-mail traffic. In chapter 4 it was mentioned that I was a participant observer. Indeed, throughout the fieldwork period I have tried to maintain a balance between participating and observing, although I did help in organizing the unofficial opening on 15 June and reacted substantively on an e-mail about the house rules of Archipel, suggesting alternative formulations. I took on a more observing role during the meetings. I only participated in the discussions when I found I really had to say something because the discussion touched upon subjects my research findings could contribute to. Sometimes I could notice some core group members explicitly pointing me to my observing presence, hearing everything that was being said (especially during two meetings when I put on the audio recorder). This points to the Hawthorne effect. Indeed, I am convinced that my presence has had influence, but it is very hard to really find out what kind of. Perhaps some things were left unsaid because I was listening. Nevertheless, after the fieldwork had ended, the process manager said to me he appreciated the way I had positioned myself in the process: he said I had been there for people at the right moments and provided a listening ear when the core group members needed it. Moreover, he said that he sometimes was not even aware yet of my presence during the meetings and concluded I could be 'a fly on the wall.' This points to a lessening Hawthorne effect during time. Indeed, I believe that towards the end of my few months together with the core group, I sort of became part of the group and the core group saw me as more or less "just part of the process." Nevertheless, although I have developed good relationships with the core group members, I can say I have not went native, since I never became unconscious of my identity as a researcher and kept a distance from becoming too actively and substantively involved. I guess I have stricken the right balance.

9. Bibliography

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Appendix 1

Table 1: a selection of comparative statistics

	Makassar square neighbourhood	Indische neighbourhood	Amsterdam East	Amsterdam
Number of residents (2014)	6.252	22.776	126.157	811.185
Demographics (ethnic origin) (2014)				
Non-western citizens of Amsterdam	51.0%	51.1%	32.5%	34.8%
• Moroccan	18.8%	19.9%	10.0%	9.0%
• Turkish	10.4%	9.8%	4.7%	5.2%
• Surinamese and Antillian	10.8%	10.0%	8.6%	9.8%
• Other non-western	11.0%	11.5%	9.1%	10.7%
Dutch citizens of Amsterdam	37.4%	35.6%	52.3%	49.3%
Non-Dutch Western citizens of Amsterdam	11.6%	13.3%	15.1%	15.9%
Liveability (2013)				
Contentment with neighbourhood (1-10)	6.9	7.0	7.5	7.4
Subjective safety index (lower = safer)	98	87	70	74
Feeling of safety in evening (higher = safer)	6.6	6.9	7.5	7.3
Objective safety index (lower = safer)	75	70	68	70
Experience of decay (2012)	29%	28%	18%	23%
Youth suspects (2012)	7%	4.6%	-	4.5%
Nuisance causes by groups of youth (2013)	36%	29%	17%	18%
Ownership of houses (2014)				
Owner-occupied	18.4%	22.3%	29.8%	28.5%
Public housing	69.6%	64.2%	49.8%	45.6%
Free sector rent	12.1%	13.5%	20.4%	25.8%
Socio-economic position				
Joblessness (2011)	9.3%	8.8%	6.2%	6.3%
• Joblessness among non-Western residents	12.5%	12.3%	10.7%	10.5%
• Long-term joblessness	38.7%	40.1%	34.9%	27.5%
Minima households (2011)	27%	24.9%	17.9%	16.6%
• Young people (0-17 years old) in minima households	37%	38.6%	22.8%	25.0%
On social support (2013)	9.9%	8.3%	5.6%	6.2%

Source: Buurtmonitor Stadsdeel Oost, <http://stadsdeeloost.buurtmonitor.nl/>

Appendix 2

Table 2: the number of interviewees per category

Interview	Number
Square residents	22
Square users	15
Core group	7
Core group (extra)	5
Volunteers Archipel	6
Other interviews	5
Total	60

Table 3: an overview of the interviewed residents living around the square

Square residents	Name interviewee	Sex	Age category	Household composition	Ethnic background	Ownership form house
1.	Jasper	M	20-30	Partner	Dutch	Free sector rental
2.	Hatice	F	30-40	Family	Turkish	Free sector rental
3.	Mrs. Hartog	F	70+	Alone	Surinamese	Public housing
4.	Nick	M	30-40	Alone	Dutch	Free sector rental
5.	Soraya	F	30-40	Family	Moroccan	Public housing
6.	Sheila	F	30-40	Alone	Dutch	Free sector rental
7.	Jos	M	60-70	Alone	Dutch	Owner-occupied
8.	Ibrahim	M	40-50	Family	Moroccan	Public housing(?)
9.	Mrs. Grimbergen	F	50-60	Alone	Dutch	Public housing
10.	Bart	M	30-40	Partner	Dutch	Free sector rental
11.	Suzie	F	40-50	Family	Dutch	Free sector rental
12.	Rudy	M	50-60	Alone	Surinamese	Free sector rental
13.	Leo	M	50-60	Alone	Dutch	Public housing
14.	Amar	M	20-30	Family	Turkish	Public housing
15.	Nadia	F	20-30	Partner	Dutch	Free sector rental
16.	Willemijn	F	30-40	Family	Dutch	Owner-occupied
17.	Meryem	F	20-30	Family	Moroccan	Public housing
18.	Joop	M	60-70	Family	Dutch	Public

19.	Mr. Gihs	M	40-50	Family	Indian	housing Public housing
20.	Mrs. Amrani	F	60-70	Alone	Moroccan	Public housing
21.	Abdul	M	40-50	Family	Moroccan	Public housing(?)
22.	Family with two children	-	-	Family	Dutch	Free sector rental
		M (52.4%)	20-30 (19%)	Partner (13.6%)	Dutch (54.5%)	Free sector rental (40.9%)
		F (47.6%)	30-40 (28.6%)	Alone (36.4%) Family (50%)	Turkish (9.1%)	Public housing (50%)
			40-50 (19%)		Suriamese (9.1%)	Owner-occupied (9.1%)
			50-60 (14.3%)		Moroccan (22.7%)	
			60-70 (14.3%)		Indian (4.5%)	
			70+ (4.8%)			

Note. All residents' names have been changed.

Table 4: an overview of the interviewed square users

Square users	Sex	Ethnic background
1.	F	Dutch
2.	F	Moroccan
3.	F	Dutch
4.	M	Dutch
5.	M	Moroccan
6.	F (three women)	Moroccan
7.	F	Moroccan
8.	F	Moroccan or Turkish
9.	F	Dutch
10.	M	Dutch
11.	F	German
12.	F	Moroccan
13.	F	Moroccan or Turkish
14.	F	Caribbean
15.	M	Dutch
	F (73.3%)	Dutch (40%)
	M (26.6%)	Moroccan (33.3%)
		Moroccan/Turkish (13.3%)
		German (6.7%)
		Caribbean (6.7%)

Note. All interviewed square users have a family, except for the number 15.

Table 5: all interviewed volunteers

Volunteers		Sex
1.	Mitchell	M
2.	Daniëlle	F
3.	Ingrid	F
4.	Brenda	F
5.	Glenda	F
6.	Sebastian	M

Note. All volunteers' names have been changed.

Appendix 3

Beste bewoner van het Makassarplein,

Fijn dat u dit briefje leest! Ik ben Manon van der Meer en op dit moment voor mijn opleiding bezig met een project in de Makassarpleinbuurt. Dit project richt zich op het nieuwe buurthuis hier op het plein. Ik zou het ontzettend leuk en interessant vinden om met u te praten en uw verhalen te horen over de Indische buurt en specifiek de Makassarpleinbuurt. Hoe belangrijk is de buurt voor u en hoe beleeft u het wonen in de buurt?

Binnenkort bel ik daarom misschien bij u aan tussen ongeveer 16 maart en 4 april – dan weet u dat alvast! Ik zou erg dankbaar zijn als u mee zou willen werken. Natuurlijk kunnen we een afspraak maken die voor u het beste uitkomt. Alvast bedankt en misschien tot snel!

Manon van der Meer

Mocht u vragen/ideeën/opmerkingen hebben, bel of mail mij gerust even. Mijn nummer is: 06-23055809 en mijn e-mailadres: manonvandermeer@msn.com

Appendix 4

Table 5: the topic list used for the interviews with the core group members

1. introductie	- Kan je iets over jezelf vertellen?
2. iets over de Indische buurt vertellen	- Wil je iets over de Indische buurt vertellen?
3. persoonlijke drijfveren en capaciteiten/competenties	- Waarom ben je bij dit kernteam gekomen?
- ondernemende, sociale, zelfreflexieve en institutionele/bureaucratische kanten	- Wat is jouw rol binnen het kernteam?
	- Wat voor competenties heb je nodig? Welke heb jij te bieden?
	- Hoe ziet een dag van een kernteamlid eruit?
- CLEAR (o.a. thuisgevoel)	
4. geschiedenis van Archipel, hoe het precies begonnen is en tot nu toe verlopen is	
- contact met Stadsdeel – afspraak 9 maart!	- Hoe is het contact met het Stadsdeel geweest? Voorbeeld?
	- Hoe zou het contact met het Stadsdeel moeten verlopen?
- groepsdynamieken en rollen binnen groep	- Hoe verloopt de samenwerking tussen alle leden?
	- Zijn er momenten geweest dat het

	bijna mis ging? Voorbeeld? - Kan je vertellen over een moment dat het allemaal heel goed verliep? Hoe kwam dat?
- voorbeeld: hoe gaat het overleg met de verschillende initiatieven die in de programmering van het buurthuis willen?	
5. denkbeelden over Archipel als thuis en hoe dat vormgeven - sociale en fysieke elementen - hoe zie je het voor je? Hoe functioneert het?	- Wat is volgens jou een buurthuis? - Hoe zie jij Archipel als huiskamer of thuis van de buurt? Beschrijf een ochtend, bijvoorbeeld. - Hoe zou je ideale buurthuis eruit zien? - Wat mag er niet ontbreken in het nieuwe buurthuis? Wat is belangrijk?
6. buurtoverleg - betrekken van buurt bij Archipel - invulling van overleg	- Hoe zie jij het buurtoverleg voor je?

Table 6: the topic list used for the interviews with the residents living around the square

1. persoonlijke introductie	- Zou u iets over uzelf kunnen vertellen?
2. buurt: iets vertellen over buurt (bijv. sfeer, "buurtcultuur," bewoners, problemen) - hoe terechtgekomen - schoon en heel? - trots - toekomst buurt - woongeschiedenis in de Indische buurt / aan het Makassarplein	- Kunt u iets over de Indische buurt vertellen? - Voelt u zich betrokken bij de buurt? Waarom wel of niet? - wat vindt u van de fysieke uitstraling van de buurt (schoon & heel)? - Op welke plekken in de buurt komt u graag en waarom, en op welke plekken niet en waarom niet?
3. gebruik van het plein - sociaal contact - hoe vaak gebruik - fysieke uitstraling - sociaal: sociale contacten	- Kunt u mij iets vertellen over het plein? - Wat vindt u van het plein? - Kunt u mij vertellen over de laatste keer dat u op het plein bent geweest? - Wat doet u op het plein?
4. thuisgevoel (breed benaderd) en gerichtheid op de buurt - sociaal: sociale contacten (o.a. burens), vertrouwen - normen en waarden	- Wat is thuisgevoel voor u? - Voelt u zich thuis? Waar? Waarom? - Wanneer zou u zich niet thuisvoelen? - Kent u mensen die rondom het plein wonen? - Vertrouwt u andere bewoners? - Spreekt u andere mensen aan op hun gedrag? Waarom wel/niet? Wanneer wel/niet? - Houden bewoners rekening met elkaar?
- bepalende elementen voor thuisgevoel	- Wat is onmisbaar voor uw thuisgevoel? - Wat maakt dat u zich thuisvoelt? - Wat maakt dat u zich hier thuis voelt?
5. invulling van "thuis"	

- mooiste herinnering	- Kunt u mij iets vertellen over uw woning? - Kunt u voor mij iets pakken uit uw woning en vertellen waarom dit belangrijk is voor uw thuisgevoel?
- sociale kenmerken - gedragsregels	- Met wie woont u allemaal in dit huis? - Hoe zouden onderlinge relaties in een thuis eruit moeten zien?
- fysiek: inrichting eigen huis en betekenisgeving eraan	- Waarom heeft u voor deze inrichting gekozen? - Wat zegt uw huis over u? - Wat is volgens u een buurthuis?
6. Buurthuis Archipel	- Kunt u mij iets vertellen over het buurthuis op het plein? - Hoe belangrijk is een buurthuis voor een buurt? Waarom? - Bent u voorheen weleens in het buurthuis geweest? Kunt u mij daarover vertellen? Hoe ervoer u uw bezoeken? - Wat vindt u ervan dat het buurthuis straks weer open gaat?
- herinneringen oude buurthuis	- Hoe zou uw ideale buurthuis eruit zien? - Wat mag er niet ontbreken in het nieuwe buurthuis? Wat is belangrijk? - Hoe ziet u het straks voor zich, wanneer het buurthuis open is? - Voelt u zich betrokken bij het buurthuis?
- buurthuis als thuis (fysiek en sociaal)	- In hoeverre bent u op de hoogte van wat er gebeurt rondom het buurthuis? Via welke kanalen? - Op welke manier zou u betrokken willen worden bij het buurthuis?
- op hoogte van zelfbeheer?	
- kunnen (vaardigheden en zelfvertrouwen), willen (on/tevredenheid), gevraagd worden, mogelijkheid voor uitdrukking geven aan betrokkenheid	
- buurtbijeenkomst 31 januari	
- invulling buurtoverleg / invloed van buurtbewoners op buurthuis	

Table 7: the topic list used for the conversations with the square users

1. algemene vragen	3. sociale controle
- Woont u aan het plein? Hoe lang al woont u al hier?	- Kunnen kinderen goed spelen op het plein? Spelen kinderen met elkaar?
- Wat vindt u in het algemeen van het plein? Hoe is de sfeer op het plein?	- (indien gezin) Laat u uw kind(eren) alleen spelen op het plein? Waarom? (indien niet) Wanneer wel?
- Waar bent u op het plein te vinden? Welke delen gebruikt u?	- Spreekt u mensen of kinderen aan op gedrag en hoe?
- Hoe vaak gebruikt u het plein? Op welke dagen en tijdstippen?	- Let u op andere kinderen en grijpt u in als er iets gebeurt?
- Wanneer gebruikt u het plein juist niet?	Voelt u zich veilig op het plein?
- Wat valt op als u op het plein bent?	Voelt u zich thuis op het plein?

2. mensen en sociaal contact - Wie komen er allemaal op het plein? Wat doen zij? - Wanneer zijn er mensen op het plein? - Ziet u bekenden? Wanneer? Waar? - Hoe gedragen mensen (en kinderen) zich op het plein?	4. buurthuis - Wat weet u van het buurthuis? - Bent u op de hoogte van wat er gebeurd is de afgelopen maanden (verbouwing/plannen/bijeenkomst januari)? Via welke kanalen? - Gaat u straks naar het buurthuis als het open is? - Waarvoor zou u naar het buurthuis komen? Welke activiteiten?
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Table 8: the topic list used for the interview with the process manager

Voorgeschiedenis

- hoe ben jij hierin terecht gekomen? Waarom is er voor jou gekozen?
- hoe kernteam in huidige vorm tot stand gekomen? Waarom leden gekozen?
- vanaf wanneer meer in de openheid?
- onrust, mensen die eruit stapten

Van wie is idee gekomen voor restaurant/horecafunctie?

Cultuur in de buurt qua initiatieven en buurtorganisaties

- buurtbewoners
- wie zien het "liever mislukken dan slagen"? Waarom?
- Archipel als professionele organisatie
- transparantie (intern en extern)

Relatie met Civic & andere oude gebruikers

Eigen positie in het geheel

- dingen uitzetten buiten kernteam om?
- persoonlijke reflectie op proces: anders willen doen?

Kernteam

- rollen, dynamieken (bijv. wie trekkers, samenwerking, team-zijn)
- manier van organiseren
- kernteam samenstelling
- onmisbaar?
- aard en hoeveelheid van contact met kernteam (alle afspraken)
- relatieve tijdsinvestering, bijv. schrijven van documenten
- eigenaarschap van ideeën (bijv. restaurant)
- los kunnen laten?
- snelheid van proces

Relatie met stadsdeel

- hoe onafhankelijk

Relatie stadsdeel – kernteam

- onafhankelijkheid in handelen
-

-
- inhoudelijk: wie bepaalt wat
 - waardering
 - hoeveel contact/afspraken
 - eigen rol in deze relatie

Keuze voor bestuursleden

Werving vrijwilligers: wie? Waarom gekozen?

Verschil met MOG

Keuze rechtsvorm

- voorwaarden voor succes
 - vertrouwen in maatschappelijk aanbesteden en specifiek dit buurthuis
-

Table 9: topic list used for the interview with the project leader from the municipality of Amsterdam

Hoe kijkt u terug op het proces?

- wat ging goed, wat ging minder goed en waarom?
- wat weet u van de organisatie van het proces?
- waarop heeft het stadsdeel invloed uitgeoefend?
- hoeveel tijd en ruimte heeft het stadsdeel gegeven? Deadline op proces vanwege opening? Wat heeft kernteam mogen bepalen en wat het stadsdeel?
- rol procesbegeleider -> bedoeling van sturen? Waarom deze persoon gekozen?
- hoeveel contact gehad en met wie? Via procesbegeleider? Hoe formeel/informeel?
- > hoe rol van stadsdeel typeren?

Vanaf wanneer meer in de openheid?

Is geen succes van Archipel een optie? (in relatie tot rol van procesbegeleider)

Buurtcultuur w.b. initiatieven en organisaties

Doel van zelfbeheer & duurzaamheid. Wat is meerwaarde ervan?

Vertrouwen in toekomst, bijv. w.b. financiële onafhankelijkheid, vertrouwen in kernteam

Communicatie over buurthuis vanuit Stadsdeel en krantjes

Verleden

- waarom besloten om het buurthuis te veranderen? Niet uit bezuinigingen maar ander buurthuis?
Hoe relatie Civic opgezegd, reactie Civic

- wanneer huisvesting aan oude gebruikers aangeboden?
 - betrekken van bewoners
 - pleinbeheer: waar liggen de verantwoordelijkheden
 - idee van buurtrestaurant
-

Table 9: topic list used for the interviews with the volunteers

Hoe/waarom vrijwilliger geworden?
Mening over/beschrijving van buurthuis: sfeer, inrichting
Bezoekers buurthuis
- sociale contacten
Aanspreken op gedrag (van bijv. kinderen)
Contact met kernteam en andere vrijwilligers
Welkom/geaccepteerd door anderen?
Thuisgevoel (definitie, ja/nee, waarom)
Buurthuis al beetje "eigen" kunnen maken?
Hoe ziet dag eruit?
Afspraken met andere vrijwilligers en kernteam
- zelfde ideeën?
Wat valt onder verantwoordelijkheden/taken?
- beslissingen en bewegingsvrijheid
Op hoogte van elkaars activiteiten en nieuwtjes?
Wat tot nu toe goed gegaan en wat niet?
Wat heb je nodig als vrijwilliger?
Verbeterpunten

Descriptive Question Matrix

SPACE	Can you describe in detail all the places?	What are all the ways space is organized by objects?	What are all the ways space is organized by acts?	What are all the ways space is organized by activities?
	Where are objects located?	Can you describe in detail all the objects?	What are all the ways objects are used in acts?	What are all the ways objects are used in activities?
OBJECT	Where do acts occur?	How do acts incorporate the use of objects?	Can you describe in detail all the acts?	How are acts a part of activities?
ACT	Where do acts occur?	How do acts incorporate the use of objects?	Can you describe in detail all the acts?	How are acts a part of activities?
ACTIVITY	What are all the places activities occur?	What are all the ways activities incorporate objects?	What are all the ways activities incorporate acts?	Can you describe in detail all the activities?
EVENT	What are all the places events occur?	What are all the ways events incorporate objects?	What are all the ways events incorporate acts?	What are all the ways events incorporate activities?
TIME	Where do time periods occur?	What are all the ways time affects objects?	How do acts fall into time periods?	How do activities fall into time periods?
ACTOR	Where do actors place themselves?	What are all the ways actors use objects?	What are all the ways actors use acts?	How are actors involved in activities?
GOAL	Where are goals sought and achieved?	What are all the ways goals involve use of objects?	What are all the ways goals involve acts?	What activities are goal seeking or linked to goals?
FEELING	Where do the various feeling states occur?	What feelings lead to the use of what objects?	What are all the ways feelings affect acts?	What are all the ways feelings affect activities?

EVENT	What are all the ways space is organized by events?	What spatial changes occur over time?	What are all the ways space is used by actors?	What are all the ways space is related to goals?	What places are associated with feelings?
TIME	What are all the ways that objects are used in events?	How are objects used at different times?	What are all the ways objects are used by actors?	How are objects used in seeking goals?	What are all the ways objects evoke feelings?
ACTOR	How are acts a part of events?	How do acts vary over time?	What are the ways acts are performed by actors?	What are all the ways acts are related to goals?	What are all the ways acts are linked to feelings?
ACTIVITY	What are all the ways activities are part of events?	How do activities vary at different times?	What are all the ways activities involve actors?	What are all the ways activities involve goals?	How do activities involve feelings?
EVENT	Can you describe in detail all the events?	How do events occur over time? Is there any sequencing?	How do events involve the various actors?	How are events related to goals?	How do events involve feelings?
TIME	How do events fall into time periods?	Can you describe in detail all the time periods?	When are all the times actors are on stage?	How are goals related to time periods?	When are feelings evoked?
ACTOR	How are actors involved in events?	How do actors change over time or at different times?	Can you describe in detail all the actors?	Which actors are linked to which goals?	What are the feelings experienced by actors?
GOAL	What are all the ways events are linked to goals?	Which goals are scheduled for which times?	How do the various goals affect the various actors?	Can you describe in detail all the goals?	What are all the ways goals evoke feelings?
FEELING	What are all the ways feelings affect events?	How are feelings related to various time periods?	What are all the ways feelings involve actors?	What are the ways feelings influence goals?	Can you describe in detail all the feelings?

Picture 7: the observation matrix (source: Spradley, 1980)

Appendix 6

Some of the subsidy criteria developed by the municipality of Amsterdam, district East

- I. Be open for at least 72 hours a week
- II. 1/3 of programming space for vulnerable groups, 1/3 for neighbourhood initiatives and 1/3 for commercial activities
- III. Contribution to social capital of residents and users to enhance liveability of the Makassar square (making it a "living room" of the neighbourhood)
- IV. Develop the programme in consultation with the neighbourhood
- V. Develop projects to further societal goals in the neighbourhood, such as social cohesion, participation and inclusivity
- VI. Function in the network of neighbourhood initiatives and neighbourhood-centred accommodations
- VII. Have space for incidental and flexible use
- VIII. Have adequate publicity on activities
- IX. Have a sufficiently functioning daily management which is welcoming to visitors, fulfils safety criteria and which has a functioning system for handling complaints

Source: disposal letter from municipality of Amsterdam, district East (30 June 2015)

Appendix 7

Chapter 5

[..] we hebben wel een hartstikke goed contact. Ja. Ja. Want als wij elkaar zien, dan zie je die glimlach, dan zie je ook veel op straat, de Javastraat, in Dappermarkt, toevallig komt 'ie langs en dan op z'n fiets: "hey buurman! Goeidag!" Ja! [..] dat is hartstikke leuk. Dat is, ja. Dus wij hebben wel contact. Ja. Dat maakt het eh, het leven een beetje duidelijk, en dan, elkaar leren kennen. Dat is heel heel belangrijk vind ik. Ja. [5.1]

En je weet ook gezichten, van oh, nou ok, oh, die vrouw heeft een winkeltje daar en daar. Dat – weet je? Of ze woont daar en daar. Of d'r dochters zijn die of die of. Ook al hoeft je haar niet te kennen, al weet je niet eens hoe ze heet, maar je weet wel: ze woont daar of ze woont daar. Dus. Dat is het. [5.2]

[..] en als je je thuis voelt, en je voelt je veilig – dat is ook het belangrijkste he? Dat je gewoon t- je veilig voelt. Ik denk dat, dat is nummer 1. En dan voel je, als je je veilig voelt, dan voel je ook thuis. [5.3]

Ik vind het heel heel moeilijk. Want je ziet nou al rondom, dan heb je 't over de buurt, maar als je 't dus internationaal gaat zien: IS. Want ik weet dat 't hier niks mee te maken heb, maar je weet niet wat er op je bordje komt he, op de lange duur. Want hoe kan iemand radicaliseren, omdat 'ie z'n ei niet kwijt kan, ik weet niet wat er hier naast me woont. [fluistert] [..] Je weet niet. Je weet 't niet. Dat is het probleem. En misschien ook wel gelukkig. Maar voor 't zelfde geld zitten we hier te praten en dan in een keer is 't boem. Geen idee. [5.4]

Die boekenkasten, die boeken zijn allemaal van mij, heb ik allemaal zelf gelezen. Vakantiedingen, weet ik wat, kookboeken. He, dus het zijn allemaal dingen die ik gebruik en eh, ja je bed, en eh m'n laptop, en eh, het zijn dingen gewoon die je eigen historie meedragen. Dus eh, ik bedoel, ik ben 68, ik heb een heel leven achter me. En eh, in belangrijke mate ook als journalist en zo en eh. Dus ja, dat soort dingen draag je gewoon met je mee. Die boeken zijn allemaal gewoon eh, een weergave van

wat ik eh, wat in mijn leven van betekenis is geweest he? En dat daar bijvoorbeeld woordenboeken staan is omdat ik heel veel woordenboeken gebruik. [...] dat schilderij, dat komt uit het huis van mijn moeder. Dat zijn dus ook eh, ja, dingen die je uit je jeugd eh, dateren en zo, dat soort dingen. Het heeft daarvoor met mijn oma gehangen, toen is het van mijn oma naar mijn moeder gegaan, en nu naar mij. [lacht] [hangen ook schilderijen van dochter. Een zelfportret, "een van de eerste schilderijen die ze zelf maakte" en portret door iemand anders. Hij staat op en gaat dingen laten zien.] dus dat zijn allemaal dingen die gewoon horen bij 't thuisgevoel he, dat zijn allemaal dingen van je leven, je historie. Bijvoorbeeld in deze kast staan allemaal dingen die ik zelf gemaakt heb. [staat een kast met aardewerk in de woonkamer] [...] dus dat zijn allemaal dingen die bij je leven horen he? Waardoor je bent wie je bent. En dat zorgt(?) ook gewoon dat je ergens thuisvoelt. Het is gewoon een plek van waaruit het allemaal gebeurt en waaruit je dus eh, waaraan je je waarde ontleent [...] [5.5]

thuisgevoel is wat ik zei, gewoon eh, als je het gevoel hebt dat je vrij bent. En dat je jezelf bent. [...] dat je eh, geaccepteerd bent zoals je bent. [...] daarom zei ik van "ik vind het prettig om onder verschillende doelgroepen te leven. Dan eh, dan heb je automatisch je eigen, je eigen plek. [...] En als je ergens terecht komt waar je uitvalt, of opvalt, dan word ik wel aangekeken. [5.6]

omdat wij hier wonen, [...] het pleintje is ook van jou. Daar moet je ook voor zorgen dat de kinderen veilig kunnen spelen. [...] dat je mensen aanspreekt die daar zeg maar hun honden lekker gaan schijten bij wijze van, dat je ook zegt van "hey! Dit is de plek voor de kinderen, ga ergens anders met je hond," weet je? Want je woont hiero. En je wilt hier blijven wonen. En het is voor onze kinderen, dus dat wil je gewoon veilig houden. [5.7]

Chapter 6

En eh, ik zal veel Marokkaanse mensen destijds, dat ik dacht, hey, ze hebben het toch niet overgenomen hier? Want ik zie alleen hunnie! Wat gebeurt er dan met die andere mensen? Maar ik heb dat nooit gevraagd of een antwoord op gevonden. Dus eh, ik denk dat zij beter van worden, ik weet het niet. [6.1]

Ik vond het echt verschrikkelijke bijeenkomsten. [...] op zondag, zondagmiddag. En dat was sfeerloos ook. [er werd ook niet iets bijzonders van gemaakt] gewoon zo'n saaie vergadersetting. Niet eens andere werkmethodes, of eh. En vooral plenair. Dus mensen die heel goed gebekt zijn, grote mond hebben, hebben altijd, die vinden het ook hartstikke leuk, he, want die hebben dan de vloer, die zetten dan de toon. Ja, dan zijn er twee of drie mensen die gewoon de hele middag bepalen. Ik zag ook mensen weglopen hoor, zeker in de pauze. Die hadden geen zin om in een soort ruzie-achtige sfeer zo'n middag door te brengen. [6.2]

[...] als iemand dan een buurthuis inloopt, dat hij zich ook welkom voelt en eh, niet een eh, niet de gedachte heeft van eh, "ik eh, moet zo snel mogelijk hier vandaan, want even snel me eh, activiteit uitvoeren en dan zo snel mogelijk weg." Het gevoel dat die daarna nog gewoon eh, wil blijven in de kantine, eh, moet er zijn. En dat kan alleen door eh, doordat je een goeie sfeer creëert. Eh, geen geruzie, en eh, geen geslotenheid, eh, duidelijkheid, eh, ja, dan krijg je het warme gevoel vanzelf wel. Als alles heel transparant werkt, dan eh, moet het goed komen. [6.3]

Als ergens aandacht aan besteed is, en niet alleen maar vanuit functionaliteit ergens staat, dan zie je dat. Dan is het meer dan een stoel, [...] hey, wat grappig, die stoel is beschilderd door een buurtbewoner, om maar iets te noemen. [...] geen IKEA rommel. Dan breng je al een identiteit in, want zo'n stoel heeft al een karakter want die is al eh, ja, ik weet niet precies hoe ik dat moet

uitleggen, [...] het moet ook gewoon kunnen wisselen en openstaan voor verandering, dat vooral vind ik belangrijk, dat je niet alles vastlegt. [6.4]

Ik denk dat het heel moeilijk is om een thuisgevoel voor iedereen te creëren. Maar wat ik zo graag zou willen in het buurthuis is dat zoveel mogelijk mensen het als hun huis gaan, of als hun – zich er fijn voelen. Dus dat je, dat je rekening houdt met elkaar. Dat is al wel een hele belangrijke, dus dat je [pauze] zorgt dat eh, de groepen zo goed met elkaar verhouden. [...] Ik zou het heel mooi vinden als verschillende culturen met elkaar gaan mengen. Dat is ook echt een insteek voor mij, van een buurthuis, dat je niet alleen maar alles voor je eigen groep doet. [...] Maar dat je dan ook vraagt van “maar wat kunnen jullie dan als groep ook voor het buurthuis doen, om – op welke manier kunnen jullie wel als groep naar buiten treden?” Ik weet niet of je daar nou meteen een heel erg thuisgevoel mee creëert, want je vraagt eigenlijk dat mensen uit hun comfortzone treden en eh, mensen toelaten tot een bepaalde cirkel, of tot een bepaald – ja, thuisgevoel zou ik maar zeggen. [...] ook al is het belangrijk dat eh, dat iedereen bij jou thuis z’n schoenen uitdoet, dat je dan toch diegene die met z’n schoenen aan binnenkomt, zich welkom laat voelen. En zich ook thuis gaat voelen. Dus dat, is heel moeilijk denk ik. [6.5]

[...] ik weet dat dat voor heel veel mensen wel echt een eh, plek is waar, ja, allerlei soorten mensen gewoon nog heel graag komen en zich helemaal op hun gemak voelen. En dat komt volgens mij omdat die, omdat er hele grappige leuke dingen worden georganiseerd, zoals Ezeltjesdag, of Hondjesracen. En beetje maffe dingen(?), maar voor allerlei soorten mensen, en met een band, en muziek, en bar, en eh, bbq, en. Ja. Denk als, als je het een beetje open-minded allemaal is, en eh, ja en ook gewoon het feit dat dingen worden gerund door ja, ik weet niet, ex-psychiatrische patiënten of zo, dat gewoon alles en iedereen eraan meedoet. [...] als je daar kwam, dan had je wel echt dat dat gevoel van eh, ja, een beetje het huiskamergevoel. Van: wees welkom. [6.6]

Als je al binnenkwam was het gewoon zo gezellig. Muziek, weet je, kinderen, die gewoon spontaan aan het dansen waren. Waren zoveel activiteiten. Weet je? [...] allemaal kinderen en dan leuke mensen, en aan het lachen, en aan het spelen, en dat je gewoon jezelf bent. En dat je gewoon met vreemde kinderen gewoon gelijk kon spelen en zo, en allemaal activiteiten en zo, en je was gewoon één geheel. [6.7]

’t is nu heel erg veranderd. ’t was echt een eh, ’t was niet een aangename.. je kreeg niet een fijn gevoel als je daar was. Was zo gesloten, en donker. En eh, dat had je hier op het Makassarplein niet. [...] als je daar binnenkomt, als je daar voor het eerst binnenkomt, en iemand spreekt je aan op een onaangename manier, dan voel je je al heel snel niet meer welkom. [...] En ten tweede de omgeving, de sfeer wat je krijgt. Je moet een buurthuis wel zo inrichten dat je je daar ook thuis voelt en niet dat je denkt van “oh, waar ben ik beland?” Weet je? Dat is belangrijk. [M: hoe creëer je dat?] Ja, het interieur. [...] En niet te donker inrichten. Want het was daar [Meevaart] heel erg donker. [...] hier was de deur altijd open. [...] je hoeft niet op de deur te kloppen of vragen of je binnen mag komen. Daar moest je wel aanbellen om binnen te komen. [6.8]

Maar ik ga niet zeggen: ja, je bent alcohol aan het drinken, je bent voor mij niks. Nee, dat is discrimi- dat is niet goed. Dat keurt Islam helemaal niet goed af. Want ik zie jou als m’n buurmeisje, of buurvrouw, eh, dat is onze buurthuis, we komen allemaal, maar ik ga niet zeggen: als er alcohol hier wordt gedronken, ik kom – kom ik niet. Nee. Ik kom. Maar ik raak geen alcohol aan. Ik drink ook geen alcohol, ik drink cola of een sinaasappelsap. [6.9]

Maar ook zoiets heb van: ho eens even! Het gaat toch niet zomaar eh, gebeuren dat ons iets door de strot wordt geduwd. Dat gebeurt namelijk in de landelijke politiek al veel teveel! [...] Ik wil wel gezien

worden. In de zin van, ehm, dat hier een blok woningen staat en dat men daar zoiets heeft van: we zitten hier op een plein, we houden wel rekening met deze mensen. [6.10]

“ah, wat je ook organiseert, d’r komt toch niemand op af.” Dus eh, [maakt beetje afkeurende geluidjes] aan de andere kant denk ik nou, als je het anders organiseert, dan heb je misschien weer kans dat je nieuwe mensen – dus dat is wel een soort spanning. [6.11]

Dat elke bewoner gewoon hier in de wijk, gewoon een certificaat krijgt: je bent stakeholder. [...] buurtoverleg is leuk en aardig, maar je moet mensen echt een soort gevoel van, verantwoordelijkheidsgevoel. Zeggen hey, ik voel me verantwoordelijk, weet je, of, ik ben aandeelhouder. Echt waar. Ik heb echt ervaring met die aandeelhouderschap, mensen die willen graag op de hoogte worden gehouden van wat speelt er. Maar dan heb je ook mensen hun gegevens, kun je mensen mailen. [6.12]

Ik denk dat het ongelooflijk lastig is om een grote groep mensen na te laten denken als je zelf ook nog zoveel moet nadenken. [...] meningen en wat mensen ervan vinden moet je ook kunnen kanaliseren en moet je iets mee kunnen. [6.13]

Waarbij je dan ook nog het belang dient dat je [p] groter kunt zijn dan Makassarplein, en ook nog de ruimte creëert om daar wellicht zelf als ZZP-er ook nog een opdracht in te formuleren. Zodat je zowel persoonlijk als zakelijk je verbonden kan voelen en tegelijkertijd het gebouw grotere spanwijdte kan geven dan alleen maar een buurthuis. Dat is eigenlijk de structuur erachter. [6.14]

Ik weet nog steeds niet hoe dat precies is gegaan. [...] daar is toen ook een mailtje over rond gegaan en S heeft daar toen zelf op gereageerd dat ze het ontzettend jammer vindt dat het kernteam zo heeft besloten, terwijl, het kernteam had niks besloten! Het kernteam wist nergens iets van. [6.15]

Dus wat mij toen ook opviel, [...] als het nog geen realiteit is, men relatief makkelijk in die planning zit. En men het pas serieus neemt, zo’n vraag, als het ook aan de orde is, maar dan ben je natuurlijk meestal te laat in bijna alle gevallen. Dus dat die verhouding tussen idealen en praktische uitvoering heeft daar veel mee te maken. Dat men pas aan de orde stelt op het moment dat men voor het schap staat van de Makro, wat koop ik nou eigenlijk? [6.16]

Ik ben ook verbaasd gewoon van, “goh, jongens, hebben jullie daar niet aan gedacht?” [...] Naja, eigenlijk ben ik gewoon een vrijwilliger, he, [...] ‘t is eigenlijk idioot dat ik me dan daar druk over loop te maken, eigenlijk moet ik dat helemaal niet doen weet je, over dat soort dingen. [6.17]

Dit pand was beschikbaar om onder bewoners zelfbeheer te vallen. En dat moet dan onder bepaalde afspraken, bepaalde structuur. Met herkenbare mensen. [...] En er moet verbouwd worden, de verbouwing moet af, dus op het moment dat de verbouwing af is, moeten spullen gekocht zijn, dan moet je open kunnen. Nou, al die lijnen bij mekaar, die hebben eigenlijk al die tijd onder mijn, die heb ik altijd in de hand gehouden. [...] moeten overal ergens stekertjes in. Die stop ik er gewoon overal in. Er moet geld zijn, er moet een stichting zijn, een bestuur zijn. [...] of je er nou een andere club inzet, je hebt allemaal dezelfde dingen nodig. [6.18]

En we hebben al een paar keer tegen hem gezegd, ja, jij wordt natuurlijk niet de coördinator van het centrum, want op een gegeven moment ben jij weer weg, en het is ook belangrijk dat je gewoon eh, dat je ze zelf laat zwemmen, dat je ook het zwembandje even weghaalt. Dan kunnen ze zelf [lacht] oefenen. [6.18]

[...] wat ik ook moeilijk vind, is zeg maar dat zogenaamd de buurt het moet doen, maar het is een agenda van het stadsdeel, en een paar professionals uit de buurt, en die agenda staat behoorlijk

vast. [...] , en eh, de clou is van eh, wat ze verwachten [...] gewoon handig, snel, he, wordt dan gedacht dus, dat het dus heel handig en snel ingevoerd wordt. [...] Als het vanuit de buurt moet komen, dan moet het ook heel veel ruimte hebben, om te kunnen groeien. Nou, die ruimte is er niet of nauwelijks, omdat, ja [...] zijn politieke doelen aan de ene kant. En aan de andere kant eh, zijn ook vaak, is er gewoon een bepaald budget aan gebonden, en een bepaalde tijd, en het moet resultaat opleveren. [...] dat het toch wel strijdig is met "het moet vanuit de buurt zelf komen." [6.19]

Chapter 7

Hier moet ik toch een beetje opletten en kan niet hier helemaal – kan hier niet effe op de bank gaan liggen of wat dan ook, he? Ik kan hier niet zomaar even een biertje pakken in de middag he? Dat kan ik thuis wel, als ik dat wil. Dus eh, thuis heb ik m'n eigen regels he? Dus dan ben ik thuis. En hier moet ik me een beetje aan de regels houden. [7.1]

Nou, dat heb toch ook wel weer met je collega's te maken he? Dat je toch wel aanvaard wordt en noem maar op. Kijk, het gebeurt ook weleens dat je misschien ergens bent, en merk je dat je een beetje een buitenbeentje of zo bent, weet je? Ja, maar dat gevoel heb ik hier niet. Je wordt gelijk gewoon aanvaard toen dat je hier ook kwam met het tekenen. [7.1]