

MASTER

A community approach of urban renewal place making as a tool for promoting social cohesion in disadvantaged neighborhoods

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A Community approach of Urban renewal

*Place making as a tool for promoting social cohesion
in disadvantaged neighborhoods*

By
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For the fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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***A Community approach of Urban Renewal
Place making as a tool for promoting social cohesion in
disadvantaged neighbourhoods***

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Preface

To complete my Master Real Estate Management & Development at Eindhoven University of Technology I write this report as the final step of my graduation. Over 20 years I have lived in and around the city of The Hague, which is characterized by many dynamics but above all, often identified by the disadvantage neighborhoods of the city. During my study I have been greatly interested in what is happening in the neighborhoods, especially after the financial crisis in the fall of 2008. By then, many large-scale investment in the city and also in the rest of the country came to a standstill and I was in search of answers to the following question during my studies: How can we achieve more with fewer resources in the neighborhoods and how can residents have influence on what happens?

Therefore, I was delighted when I had the opportunity in the choice of a thesis topic to investigate these and other questions and to combine an academic theoretical framework with the practice. Finally it was possible to seek for answers to questions about the neighborhoods where I regularly walk through. I will therefore be able to walk through the cities with more knowledge and fun after my graduation; to form new questions and constantly search for new insights.

Occasionally, there will be more and more efforts in the future to give residents an active role in decisions on the environment and public place. And it is not just about physical issues, but also about improving social cohesion in the neighborhoods. Citizens are becoming increasingly aware of the impact they may have on the issues of the living environment. At the same time, there is still more research needed in order to provide insights to enable a community approach to urban redevelopment.

I hope my research can contribute to more academic research and policy awareness of the importance of urban redevelopment with a central role for the residents in the neighborhoods.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank some people who have played an important role during my graduation phase. I would like to thank my supervisors from the Eindhoven University of Technology Pauline van den Berg and Theo Arentze for their constructive and educational guidance. They have provided me a clear view and feedback on the complex aspects of the research during the various coaching sessions. Eventually I was able to make the research more sharp and clearer. I also want to thank my external supervisor Iefje Soetens from IRV for sharing valuable knowledge and insight into the subject of place making and other aspects of the research. She has many years of experience that inspire me like no other, and encouraged me to make the most of the research. The result is that the research has become more concrete and more complete. Her contribution has been of enormous value to provide a place for the study and the final results.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family, friends and most of all, my dear wife Revin. Thanks for the unconditional support and faith in the final outcome. Finally, I hope you enjoy reading the research.

Halwest Rashid
Eindhoven, October 2016

Summary

In Dutch cities, there are many neighborhoods where a number of physical and social problems arise. Many post-war neighbourhoods are characterized by a monotonous structure with many cheap social housings. Demographically, the neighborhoods are characterized by many residents with a social and economical disadvantage. The residents have often little connection with the neighbourhood and the living environment. There is often less social cohesion in the neighbourhoods.

For decades, large scale, mostly physical interventions made by the government were common for the Dutch urban renewal policy. The large investments led by the government fell away as a result of the financial crisis in 2008. In the meantime, the municipalities and stakeholders gradually came to realize to involve more residents with the issues surrounding the environment. Governments and municipalities have the need to promote greater participation of citizens in the neighborhoods. The policy is also extensively to only focusing on physical interventions to pay more attention to social cohesion.

Citizens' initiatives and active participation would also foster social cohesion in neighborhoods. Moreover, active involvement of citizens would lead to greater legitimacy for the plans and commitment in the neighbourhoods. Despite the desire of governments for the active participation of residents in issues regarding living environment, there is often a discrepancy between the wishes and the final results of participatory processes. There is a need to address urban development where the community is actively involved with promoting social cohesion. Placemaking is a well-known

community methodology for urban development in which the communities are seen as experts. Placemaking works from the four core values of a successful public space: Socialbility, Uses & Activities, Comfort & Image and Access & Linkages. The joint search for new activities for the public space is an important objective of place making. Through the joint search for new activities, social cohesion could be promoted in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

Participation projects where people become actively involved in the environment is still in an exploratory phase. This study has two main purposes: (1) To provide insight into the extent to which place making can be a valuable addition to urban redevelopment in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The influence of place making is examined as a community approach to urban renewal. (2) In order to understand and find out what the dimensions of social cohesion are and to what extent placemaking activities affect social cohesion in neighborhoods.

Research methods

The research starts with the forms of the theoretical framework through literature research on characteristics of neighborhoods in the Netherlands, the methodology of place making and dimensions of social cohesion. During the literature, there was an extensive look at the opportunities and obstacles to the use of place making methodology in the context of the disadvantaged neighborhoods. Also, social cohesion is examined during the literature and a selection of possible dimensions, which can be promoted in the neighborhoods are discussed. Through conducting qualitative research, semi-structured interviews with professionals, new insights have been created. Experts from various backgrounds

were interviewed to give answers to the research questions.

The data collection also aims to provide insight into the completeness and validity of the theoretical framework of the research. This aim is important because of the fact that the methodology place making in the Netherlands is fairly new and it is important to examine the topic from different perspectives and interests.

During the fieldwork, four target groups were interviewed: (1) Place making experts, (2) Municipalities and Housing Corporation, (3) community workers, (4) architects. These four groups each have their own vision of participatory processes of urban development with the active participation of the residents. The interviewees shared their expertise and views, by which it has been possible to create a complete view on the extent of applicability of place making in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Also a number of sub-strategies were tested during the fieldwork.

Social cohesion, according to the literature, is the degree of binding between the residents themselves and binding with the neighborhood in general. A selection was made of a number of important aspects of social cohesion, the influence of place making in social cohesion. During the interviews, social cohesion is extensively discussed with the experts.

Results

The literature has shown that by the physical and social problems and demographic composition of the neighbourhoods, there is often less connection with the neighbourhood itself and among residents (social cohesion).

The interviews have shown that due to the characteristics in the neighbourhoods there is often mistrust towards participatory processes or new initiatives. Both the literature and the interviews have shown the basis of the success of

place making and that is the involvement of the communities in the projects.

The informal networks in disadvantaged neighborhoods seem to be decisive for the success of place making. By practicing placemaking activities, social networks and social capital are promoted. The meetings in which residents can start feel ownership which may increase the identification with the neighborhood. Follow-up activities can then involve new residents. The debate may arise on new activities in public place that can promote informal social contacts within the communities in the neighbourhoods. Municipalities can create more support for the plan by using placemaking. Trust can be restored at the same time.

The aim of this study was to gain insight into the degree of influence of place making on social cohesion in disadvantaged neighborhoods. The research has shown that place making can have a positive impact on social cohesion in the neighborhoods. A major obstacle to the continuation of place making is the early degradation of place making. The research recommends at the start of a place making or participation process to ensure better preparation, organization and financing. The premature discontinuation of a place making process means that the activity will be counterproductive and have negative influences on the confidence of the residents and lead to less social cohesion in the neighbourhood.

In follow-up studies citizens' initiatives and efforts to professionalize the initiatives can be investigated. The creation of a neighborhood organization, ensures sustainable financial flows and the impact that this process can be examined to improve social cohesion. In further research, it can also be looked into ways in which sustainable funding streams for civil initiatives and place making activities can be realized in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

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1.

Introduction

1.1 Background

In the Netherlands there are many disadvantaged neighborhoods that endure a large amount of problems in terms of the quality of the public place and social issues. The residents often take no active role in the public place. The design of the buildings around and the social quality of the public place is often a problem in disadvantaged neighborhoods (Soetens 2016). The local residents and other users of the public place no longer identify themselves with the place. The public place does not meet the needs of the user groups and has lost its original functions.

Over the past decades, there has been a lot of attention and investments from the national government for the improvement of the quality of public places and social cohesion in the neighborhoods. The improvement of the quality is obviously an objective of urban renewal and restructuring, then and today (Van Kempen et al 2008; Kokx 2010). This idea of active policy and financial investments was common for the pre-crisis era (VROM 1997; Kleinhans 2005).

In the autumn of 2008, a global financial crisis began with drastic effects. At the same time, the Dutch government is experimenting with divesting responsibilities that have to do with spatial planning issues. Thus, the improvement of the public place are under great pressure. This results in possible stagnation and

“Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody.”

— Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*

decline in the physical and social issues the neighborhoods (Mak 2012). Nowadays, more participation and initiative has been expected of citizens. Market players and government have a more proactive role in the background. In this current era, a possible solution for the declining fundings for urban renewal could be self-organization and participation from residents (Van der Meer 2013).

Often, social reasons are the incentives for encouraging citizens' initiatives for taking responsibility for the public places. But what is the definition of citizens' initiatives and what are the main motives to encourage public participation in the improvement of the quality of the public places? And in addition to this, to what extent are citizens' initiatives and public participation a solid alternative to the classical ways of urban renewal with an active government with minimal role for residents?

Citizens' participation can be defined as *“an interactive way of policy focusing on citizens, local businesses and other organized groups whereby the government tries to unite common ideas and work this out to policy strategies”*.

Involving citizens can also be helpful to increase the legitimacy and the effectiveness of the plans.

These are important considerations for policymakers for urban renewal with an active role of residents.

However, citizens' initiatives are often dealing with bureaucratic processes and in many cases, with "cold feet" fears from the municipalities. There is much uncertainty and unfamiliarity, inadequate support from the organizations within municipalities for small but effective projects with actively engaged citizens. Another factor that pulls back citizens' participation is the complexity and time-consuming nature of urban renewal process. Some results will only be visible on the long run. However, practice shows that active use of citizens' participation in some Dutch cities has resulted in the increase of legitimacy for the plans. Residents are feeling more involved and in addition to this, the effectiveness of the process is increasingly visible (Lofti 2014).

A well-known community approach, which was developed in the US in the seventies, is place making. A successful public place must be accessible and should allow having activities for the various user groups. The users of the place are seen as experts who should be involved at an early stage. Involving the residents and users of public place is in contrast with the classic process of public-private urban redevelopment, whereby the involved groups have played a minimal role in the process.

The literature reveals that place making could be a successful alternative for the improvement of the public place. The question is whether place making contributes to the improvement of the quality of the public place in deprived areas. It is interesting to conduct research on the effects in the public place through place making activities. Social cohesion can be defined as the "internal bond strength between a social system". That social system can be a group of residents within a neighbourhood. In several studies, various dimensions of social cohesion are distinguished, which will be

examined during the fieldwork (Bolt et al. 2005 p.62-63; Pelikaan et al. 2012, p.10; Kearns & Forrest 2000).

1.2 Objective

The purpose of this research is to gain insight on the use and possible positive effects of place making as bottom-up tool for creating successful public places in the Netherlands. Another objective is to gain insight in the way of involving the residents of the disadvantaged neighborhoods in issues regarding the living environment to create more social cohesion there.

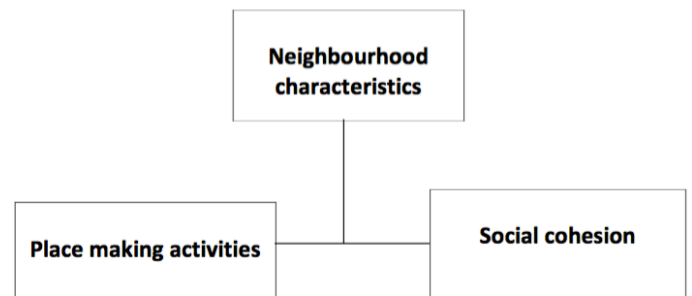


Figure 1: Conceptual model

1.3 Problem & Research questions

The ultimate aim is the measurement of assumed increased social cohesion in the neighborhood as a result of implementing placemaking activities.

KeyQuestion

To what extent and how can place making improve the social cohesion within disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and could place making be a valuable addition to urban renewal processes?

Sub-questions

1. *What is meant by place making, what are the characteristics, activities, pros and cons (obstacles)?*
2. *What are national and international experiences with the implementation of place making and to what extent is it suitable to the Dutch neighborhoods?*
3. *What are characteristics of Dutch disadvantaged neighbourhoods?*
4. *What measures can lead to the increase of social cohesion; what are the characteristics?*
5. *Which neighbourhood characteristics are important for social cohesion?*
6. *What is the impact of the implementation of place making activities on the social cohesion of a neighborhood?*
7. *What measures can lead to the increase of social cohesion in a neighborhood?*

1.4 Research plan

Through a literature study, insight is provided into disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the Netherlands and the context of Dutch urban renewal policies over the years. Also, strategies and implementation of place making activities are examined in the literature. Much has been written in the literature on public places, but what determines the quality of the public place and what is the “success” of a place? To investigate the applicability and the impact of place making, existing studies on place making as a bottom-up approach is examined as a possible tool to promote social cohesion in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Therefore, literature study is also conducted on social cohesion and its characteristics, which is often associated with the application of place making as a strategy. The literature forms the basis for the data collection, namely the possible effects of application of place making on the social cohesion in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Through qualitative interviews, new data is collected which creates insight into the

effects on social cohesion in disadvantaged neighbourhoods through the application of place making. Relevant characteristics of place making and social cohesion are used to conduct and set up the interviews. Interviews with professionals can provide insight into the effects of implementing place making in order to create more social cohesion in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The selection of respondents is based on the goal of providing insight in possible effects of implementing place making in Dutch disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

1.5 Relevance

The aim of this research is to contribute to scientific knowledge about the effects on social cohesion and the quality of the public place through place making that could be an effective tool for Dutch disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Insight into place making activities in regards to social cohesion is needed to pave the way to align current and future policy for restructuring and urban renewal in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

At an early stage, the municipalities, corporations and private parties actively involve residents in the policy objectives for social cohesion and the state of the public place. This allows more efficient and targeted plans to improve the performance of the neighborhoods. From a scientific relevance, it can be said that there is already existing research investigating citizens’ participation in general and place making in particular. This is especially the case in countries where there is more experience in the use of citizen participation and place making. However, due to the fact that this phenomenon still lies in its early stages in the Netherlands, there is little knowledge and scientific research from a Dutch point of view. Research that could clarify the experience and application of place making in The Netherlands.

Therefore, there is still research needed on the question whether place making can contribute to the social cohesion and a better public place in Dutch disadvantaged neighborhoods.

1.6 Reading Guide

Firstly, in chapter two the disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the Netherlands will be described. Also the context and the development of the Dutch restructuring policy over the years will be described briefly. Chapter three is about the meaning, characteristics of place making and the degree of applicability in the Netherlands.

In Chapter four social cohesion is the central question. Social cohesion and the quality of the public place are often

named in the literature as an integral part of the objectives of urban renewal. Also, the subject social cohesion is often associated with objectives of urban renewal. Literature research is being done into the relevance and the characteristics that determine the quality of the neighborhood and suggested increase of social cohesion within the community by using place making as a possible effective tool.

Figure II shows an overview of the structure of the research. Chapter one up to four are about the research literature. Chapter five is about the design and implementation of field work; the interviews. In chapter seven the conclusions and recommendations of the study are shown.

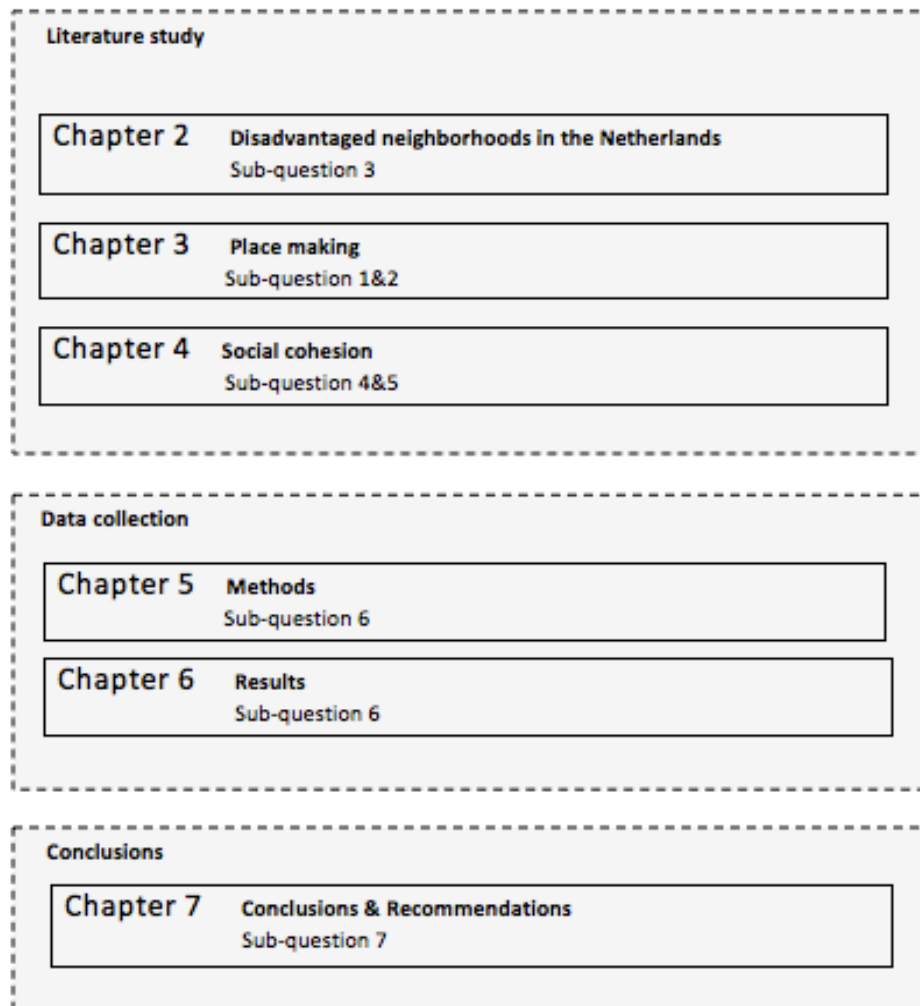


Figure II: Overview of the chapters and subjects of the research

2.

Disadvantaged neighborhoods in the Netherlands

In this chapter, the backgrounds of emergence, development and decline of disadvantaged neighborhoods in the Netherlands are outlined by the literature. Over time, the policy of urban renewal has been developed, revised and reconsidered. This chapter is relevant to create understanding about the history. Also, the Dutch urban policy over the last decades will be discussed briefly.

2.1 Backgrounds of Dutch Disadvantaged neighborhoods

There are (sub)urban neighborhoods with a good image and a high level of quality of the living environment. At the same time, there are neighborhoods with public place where the use does not contribute to the social rise of the neighbourhood. The community is less feeling of ownership of the public place by the community. There is often anonymity, feelings of unsafety and social problems in the public place. What are the characteristics, background and reasons of physical and social decline of these neighbourhoods and how has the urban renewal policy been developed in the last decades to deal with these neighbourhoods?

Disadvantaged neighbourhoods are dealing with physical decline of the built environment and the housing stock. There is often a correlation to observe between outdated housing stock with inadequate quality and qualitatively outdated public place. According to a study of de Hart (2002), the condition and quality of the living environment and all the neighborhood characteristics are important indicators for a good living environment. There must be a kind of balance between the physical quality of

the living environment and the social characteristics of the neighborhood (De Hart 2002). Most of the time, these disadvantaged neighborhoods have to deal with problems such as outdated dwellings and residents with a weak social position (VROM 2004). There is often a mediocre programming of public places with little involvement from the residents. Another feature of disadvantaged neighbourhoods is the disruption of the social structure and relationship between the residents themselves. Over the years, many people with a social and economical weak position have come and settled in the disadvantaged neighborhoods. The disposable income in the neighbourhoods is low compared to other neighbourhoods. Often, the people in disadvantaged neighbourhoods have a weak labor market position which affects the development of individual residents and the vitality of the area as a whole. Disadvantaged neighbourhoods often have to deal with large amounts of different ethnicities. Social contacts are often limited to the "own group", making integration between the different groups almost impossible. A bad reputation, crime and feelings of insecurity are common features that characterize these neighbourhoods (Bolt et al. 2011).

As shown in Table I, migrants in general, have contact especially with people of their own ethnicity in the disadvantaged neighborhoods.

	Total	<10%	10%-25%	25-50%	>50%
Turks	70	52	65	71	77
Moroccans	61	49	55	60	67
Surinamese	38	20	32	40	56
Antilleans	31	23	24	35	47
Afghans	35	20	32	39	45
Iraqis	43	23	43	45	53
Iranians	25	17	26	27	31
(Former) Yugoslavia	27	23	23	33	37
Somalis	50	41	43	54	61

Read Example: *Of the total group of Turks, 70% mainly have contacts within the own Turkish group. Turks living in neighborhoods with more than 10% ethnic minority residents, 52% mainly have contacts within their own group. Turks living in neighborhoods for more than half of immigrants consists 77% contacts mainly from the own group.*
Source: ISEO / SCP (SPVA'02 & '03) from Dagevos (2005)

Table I: Social contacts are mostly limited to the own group in the Dutch cities
 Source: interventies voor integratie SCP 2007

The disadvantaged neighbourhoods were mostly built during reconstruction in a period that gave rise to the postwar suburbs (1945-1975). After the Second World War, many houses were built in the Netherlands in response to the housing shortage. Mainly small functional homes were built, which at the time met the housing needs of the residents. The early post-war houses were mainly social housing and were often designed by the garden philosophy of facilities which were tailored to the size and needs of the

residents. The new residential areas were often built as a connection to the pre-war urban expansion outside the city (Bolt et al. 2011). The public place was of good quality at that time. However, due to the housing situation of some residents and the changing composition of the population, problems started occurring gradually in these areas. People who had more income moved to new housing developments which were more suited to their wishes.

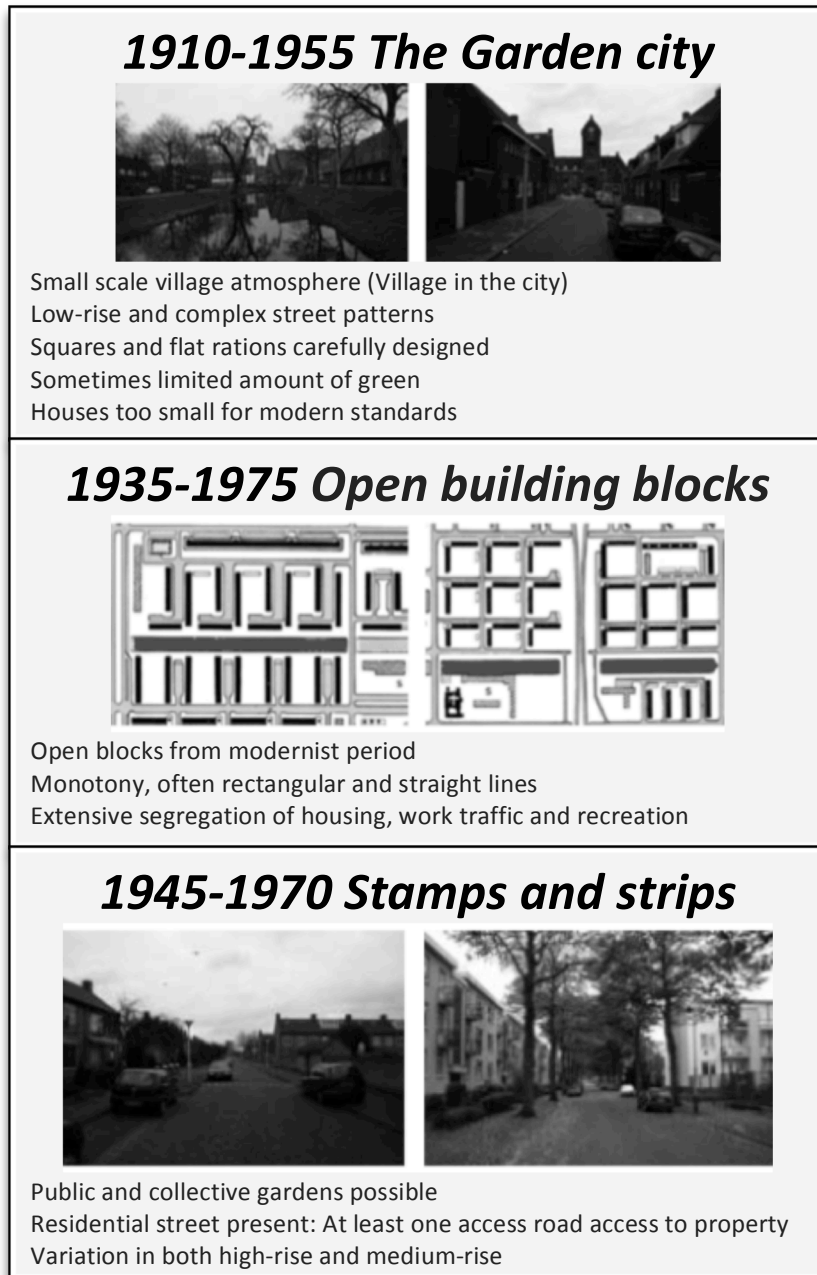


Figure III: Overview of the major developments of Dutch disadvantaged neighbourhoods since WWII
 Simultaneously, there were more people with lower incomes and lower social positions who started inhabiting the old postwar suburbs. This also applied to minority groups (Van Kempen et al. 2008).

At the edges of the cities and growth centers, new housing districts were built in the sixties, the focus was on residential neighborhoods with single retail and small businesses. Unlike the postwar housing, in these new neighborhoods the focus was on light, air and open place. These neighborhoods consisted mainly of high-rise apartments, mid-rise and single family homes. The houses at that time were of good quality and were mainly social housing (Bolt et al. 2011; Murie et al. 2003).

In subsequent years, the previously mentioned problems emerged mainly in the old postwar quarters by rapid changes and relationships between the population, coupled with deterioration in quality of housing and living environment.

For policymakers it was obvious that investments were needed in the post-war neighbourhoods. The Dutch investment in the post-war neighbourhoods is known as Urban Renewal (or in Dutch *stedelijke vernieuwing*). The main focus was on physical improvements in the neighbourhoods. Later, the focus was put into social issues such as social cohesion, and integration was added to the Dutch urban renewal. The policy paper for the new urban renewal was the so called "*The Big Cities policy*" which represents the Dutch urban renewal policy which took effect in the mid-nineties. The main purpose of the Big Cities Policy was a coherent policy for the physical, social and economic problems in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Attention for the quality of the public place and social cohesion were key elements of the Big City policy (Priemus 2005 p.5). Through investment and intervention, the disadvantaged neighbourhoods should be prepared for the future by investing in the physical quality of the living environment, but also the prevention of physical, social and demographic segregation, according to the Renewal Policy (Van Kempen et al. 2008;

Kokx 2010). Restructuring of the neighborhoods and in particular the social housing stock, was according to VROM, the primary means to reduce the concentration of low-income people in the deprived areas. As an extension of this goal, more people with high incomes should be drawn to these neighborhoods (VROM 2008; Bolt et al. 2011).

In 2007, the cabinet of Balkenende came with the so-called "*Strong Communities Action Plan*" (or in Dutch *Krachtwijken plan*). In the Actionplan, the Dutch government has appointed forty neighbourhoods where the government would put its focus on in the next years. The 40 neighbourhoods were selected on the base of common characteristics. Small and old cheap housing combined with poor condition of the public place characterized these neighbourhoods. The residents often have to deal with a weak economic and social position. Satisfaction with the neighbourhood and the social contacts between the residents themselves were negative compared to other neighborhoods with less problems (Permentier et al. 2013 p.68-69).

The policy of the forty neighbourhoods was not only aimed at improving the living environment, but the focus was strongly on letting the people integrate, emancipate and to offer them better prospects (Van Kempen et al. 2008). The five themes that have been formulated to tackle the problems were: *living, working, learning, growing up and integration and security*. In the field of security, the focus will be more on improving safety in the neighborhoods and preventing public nuisance (Bolt et al 2011).

The great cities had to reduce their disadvantage to counteract "the increasing dichotomy" between the different neighborhoods in the cities.

According to the District Administration, the disadvantaged position of the neighborhoods and the residents can only

be countered by creating "high-quality living and working environments" (VROM 2008; Bolt et al. 2011)

Table II is a resume of the properties which is often the case in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Physical deprivation are often small and cheap homes that no longer meet current standards. Many residents in the neighborhoods are

dissatisfied with the state of the neighborhood and the public place. Also, many residents have social problems. There is often a lot of unemployment, people are poorly educated in general and some migrants have language problems.

Theme	Indicators
Physical disadvantage	Small dwellings Old dwellings Cheap dwellings
Physical problems	Residential satisfaction Propensity to move Nuisance caused by pollution Noise disturbance Nuisance caused by traffic Traffic safety
Social problems	Vandalism and destruction Graffiti Nuisance neighbours Feelings of unsafety Loitering youth
Social-economic arrears Residents	Income Work Education Language deicit

Table II: Overview of general characteristics in Dutch disadvantaged neighbourhoods, according to the Dutch Social and Cultural Planning, 2013

2.2. Restructuring in times of crisis

In the autumn of 2008 a global financial and economic crisis began, which had major consequences on society. Increased unemployment and bankruptcies and declining revenues for governments and agencies resulted in declining investment. Not only did a large number of construction companies go bankrupt, the crisis had also ensured that large-scale investment in the restructuring of disadvantaged neighborhoods were drastically reduced. The number of households who have difficulty dealing with the consequences of the crisis are increasing, and this also applies to the districts with already much backwardness and decay. In 2010, when the crisis was fully underway, the European Commission came with the *"Europe 2020 strategy"* including the argument that there is a clear link between where people live and what their income is. According to the European Commission it is self-evident that the poorest people live in the most disadvantaged neighborhoods (EU 2010).

An interesting question is, what type of effects the economic crisis may have on the state and further development of the communities and neighborhoods. A study of Bolt et al. (2014) about the impact of a economical crisis on neighbourhoods, says that in countries where national and regional authorities traditionally provide financial contributions to restructuring programs, the impact of the economic crisis will be the cut on budgets in order to improve disadvantaged neighborhoods.

According to the study of Bolt et al, curbing financial investment in such disadvantaged neighbourhoods means more segregation and further deterioration. The argument assumes that in the countries with active restructuring policies, including the Netherlands, the worst effects come from curbing investment as a result of the crisis (Bolt et al. 2014).

In the past decades, much has been invested in urban renewal and restructuring of mainly post-war neighbourhoods. Both the government and the housing associations have made investments and much more public and policy attention has been paid to this issue. Terms such as; priority neighborhoods, quality neighborhoods and the so called Vogelaar districts have made their entry in the public and societal debate. Vogelaar refers to the former Dutch minister of Urban redevelopment Policy who conducted an active policy in the forty disadvantaged neighbourhoods. However, the crisis has affected the pace and amount of investment in urban areas, the construction costs have in many cases become too high and the stakeholders' investment assets have declined (Deloitte & TU Delft 2010). Many restructuring plans are aimed at integrated area development, which is in turn based on value creation. Developers withdrew. Even affluent parties such as the corporations are not able to provide financial resources during the crisis.

While in recent years the municipality has played a central role in the implementation and financing of urban renewal and major restructuring in deprived areas, earlier it showed its turn tide. Formerly, the Dutch municipalities generated a large part of their income from their strategic land position. Today, according to some professionals, it has become one of the largest financial risks. Another trend in recent years in urban renewal is called citizen participation and self-organization in the neighborhood approach. Several years ago, Amsterdam decided to provide 10% of the budget for the district approach to residents for their contribution to urban renewal (Beveren 2014).

However, surveys show that residents' influence and citizen participation still remains limited despite the fact that

municipalities and corporations have decided to stay in the backdrop and provide less financial assistance. The investments made by the municipalities and the housing corporations are primarily focused on major maintenance and less on design and replacement of existing dwellings and (re) design of public place. This may result in the decrease of the physical quality and social issues in the neighborhoods will be placed under more pressure. Even large-scale renovation plans are pushed forward for a long time, which has a very bad effect on the neighborhoods. Therefore, some municipalities and other stakeholders are looking for alternatives to the large-scale restructuring. Alternatives for the traditional forms of urban renewal are needed. Participation and self-organisation of residents and the communities are possible solutions to tackle the physical and social problems in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

2.3 Conclusions

Disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the Netherlands are dealing with physical decline, for example in the public places. Disruption of the social structure, people with a weak social and economical position, and segregation due to the presence of different ethnicities are all common characteristics of Dutch disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

According to the Dutch government in the past, investments were needed to deal with the physical and social decline in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods and to improve the public places and the social cohesion in the neighbourhoods. In the mid-nineties, the so-called “*Big Cities policy*” was introduced by the Dutch government with as the main purpose, a coherent policy for the physical, social and economical problems in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Later on in 2007, the Balkenende cabinet introduced the so-called “*Strong Communities Action plan*”.

In the plan, forty disadvantaged neighbourhoods were selected by the Dutch government based on common characteristics such as: cheap and small housing, a poor condition of the public places and the social problems as mentioned earlier.

From Rutte’s cabinet, there has been less attention for investments in the forty disadvantaged neighbourhoods. There are less financial resources available due to the consequences of the financial and economical crisis which started in the Autumn of 2008.

Therefore, some municipalities and other stakeholders are investigating possible alternatives for the traditional forms of urban renewal. The possible solutions to tackle the physical and social decline in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods are: participation, community-empowerment and self-organisation within the local community in the neighbourhoods. There are national and international experiences with community-empowerment. These include participation of local residents, which could be a possible alternative for the traditional way of urban renewal and the decreasing financial resources to deal with the physical decline in the public places and declining social cohesion in the neighbourhoods. Alternative strategies and approaches to the outlined problems are needed to be investigated.

Placemaking is often mentioned as a possible suitable alternative to extensive scaled urban renewal projects. Place making can be seen as a bottom-up approach of attempts to improve the quality of the public place, using and bringing together knowledge and experiences of the local community and residents and the experts involved. More about the background of place making strategies and activities are explained in chapter three.

3.

Place making

In this chapter, the background and emergence of place making are examined on the basis of existing literature and studies. Here, the following questions will be answered: What is meant by placemaking; what are the characteristics, strategies, activities and experiences with place making? Also the questions of what makes a place successful and what the characteristics of a successful place are will be answered.

3.1 Place making & the concept of place

Finding out which characteristics lead to a successful place is an important step in the process of place making. After all, the purpose of place making is creating successful places by the community (the end-users) and other stakeholders. First of all, it is necessary to find out the knowledge and preconditions of a successful place. The process of place making is equally important which can be valuable for the neighbourhood.

3.1.1. Meaning of a place

According to a research by Van t Rot (2009) and other studies, the meaning of a place is important within the context of place making. Place is seen as a social construction where people come together for certain activities. Also, the use of the place is an important measure within the context of place making. Multifunctionality and activities in the public place are helpful to realize a place where as much as possible user groups feel they are welcome at. Local economy and entrepreneurs are other important issues for place making. Next, the measures of a place are discussed.

Place as a social construction

According to the ideas of place making, a public place is more than a physical construction, because there are also social activities taking place in the public place. Place is widely interpreted as *spaces that people are attached to* (Lombard 2014). People can use a square or a park for meetings, and they experience feelings and emotions during the use of the square or the park while staying there. Difference in perception of the place ensures that a place is a social product. The idea that a place is more than a physical structure comes from the book "*La production de l'espace*" by Henri Lefebvre ", mentioned by Van t Rot (2009) in his research about the applicability of placemaking in the Netherlands. As mentioned in the research by Van t Rot (2009), if someone wants to understand a city, then they should not only look at its physical design but also at the way of thinking about the place.

The use of a place

In the seventies, in the US the idea of place making came up which had to do with the design of the public places. The ultimate aim of place making arose from dissatisfaction about the anonymity and scale in which urban areas have been developed where the human dimension and human contact were missing. The modern city would be densely populated with different people and buildings, and a fine-meshed grid. The neighborhood would develop into a place where people would like to come together in the public place. To be able to give the quality of a place and its image a boost, it is important to know what attracts residents and what

the impact is on the image of the specific place. It is important to collect information and knowledge about the area and what it means for the people to visit it and use it. Tureay (2013) refers in his essay "*The art of Placemaking*" to a psychological perspective, the well-known theory of Lynch (1960), which says that people use a "*mental map*". This mental map can be seen as the senses of the users which tells them whether a particular place they use is safe and pleasant to stay in or not. From another well-known approach, it is considered that a successful place has more to do with the organization of the built environment, spaciousness and the overall condition of the place (Tureay 2013 p.16).

Activities & Multifunctionality

In order to know more about the meaning of a place, it is important to know how many and which activities take place in the public place. Activities such as festivals and group events will lead to successful public places according to of place making (Montgomery 2007; Tureay 2013). According to Jacobs (1961), the presence of small entrepreneurs would help creating safe and livable neighborhoods. Crime and disorder are reduced by the presence of social control (Tureay 2013). Jacobs (1961) sees a densely populated city with a great diversity of both the population composition, functions as well as diversity of architecture. The various groups are residents using the place intensively at different periods of the day.

These different groups of residents are using the public places at different moments, for example shopping at the local entrepreneur or using a park for a walk.

Entrepreneurs & local businesses

In the context of creating additional social control, it is important to have local businesses in the neighbourhood which are defined as *"the eyes of the streets"* by Jacobs (1961). The presence of local

Therefore, the neighbourhood will eventually move forward. Beside Jacobs, William H. Whyte was another influential figure for the development of the concept and the ideas behind place making. Whyte was mainly interested in how new squares and parks work and are used by the visitors described in his study *"street life project"* and mentioned by Van t Rot (2009). He concluded that social life is lived mostly on the street, for example in the public place where people come together and have contact with each other. According to Whyte, the public place plays an important role in the life of the individuals. The use of the public place is a form of "voting with the feet", where comfortable places are used more intensively than uncomfortable ones. The ideas of Jacobs and Whyte are often mentioned in the literature about place making, for example Van t Rot in his research about the possibilities of application of place making in The Netherlands (Van t Rot 2009 p.13-18).

businesses are also needed for intensive use of the public place by different users. There is an interaction between economic, social and political elements that leads to a coherent neighborhood. By application of the theory of place making there will be more entrepreneurs in the area where people come together by intensive use of the public place and where debates arise and where the people get to know each other.

3.1.2 Public place & Place making

In a rapidly changing world with a dynamic urbanization process taking place, policy makers and urban developers or innovators are dealing with major issues. As previously mentioned, major cities with disadvantaged neighbourhoods have to deal with problems in terms of physical and social decline. There is a need for new approaches for physical issues such as the quality of the public place of the neighborhood. Between all the (re) design and implementation of urban renewal planning, in many cases the absence of the community at the planning process can be observed. Motivating and activating the local community by the organization of the neighbourhood can contribute to the objective of connecting people to their community and local issues. Place making can be described as the way in which transformation of the place by the community can be realized in a way the people can identify themselves with the place. At the same time, place making is also about connecting the people with each other (Shneekloth et al 1995).

It is seen as a tool for building a community and attracting (local) businesses for creative investments, as mentioned earlier. Place making stands opposite to the classic urban restructuring, which involves tight planning from above. That does not mean that in place making activities there is no organization, however, the organization and implementation are from the bottom-up where the users of public place (residents) are directly involved in the initiatives.

Community involvement


Place making can be seen as a bottom-up approach by activating and motivating the local community to imagine and create a better place (Wyckoff 2015). The involvement of the users of the public places plays an important role in the theory of Whyte (Van t Rot 2009). Beside Jacobs and Whyte, another possible origin of the theory of place making can be sought within the architectural movement known as New Urbanism. From the perspective of this movement, a better future is pursued through the creation of better living environments. Also, creating social cohesion in the neighbourhood is an important part of the New Urbanism philosophy. The ease of use of the public place has more priority than the aesthetics. In 1975, an important organization for place making was founded by Fred Kent who had the mission to provide alternatives from their point of view, *“the dominant role of the architect in the design and development of public places”*. The people (users) must play a central role in strong cohesive

communities (Van t Rot 2009). For place making it is important that residents are involved in the redesign and reorganization of the public place. Involvement of residents provides more control and ultimately leads to more community. The design should be attractive and suited to the needs of residents and users (Van t Rot 2009). The importance of involving the community in re-creating the public place is underlined by a study by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the publication *“Places in the Making: How placemaking builds places and communities”* in which is stated that the era in which “ordinary citizens” have to accept what they are told by the top experts is gone. We went from consuming place to actually making it. The relationship between the users and the place is not linearly_ (Silberberg et al, 2013).

Placegaming

The place game is a tool to discuss and evaluate the parks, squares, markets and streets together with the community. It is a method that together with the users looks into the feeling that one has about place and what should be improved. In order to perform the placegame, the participants will take up to the location in groups to discuss some questions and make assessments of the findings on the place. After the site visit, the small groups analyze and discuss the results with each other (PPS 2016). The basis for the place game is the questionnaire shown in Figure IV.

SITE #: _____


 Rate the Place:

COMFORT & IMAGE	POOR				GOOD			
Overall attractiveness	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Feeling of safety	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Cleanliness/Quality of Maintenance	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Comfort of places to sit	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Comments/Notes:								

ACCESS & LINKAGES	POOR				GOOD			
Visibility from a distance	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Ease in walking to the place	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Transit access	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Clarity of information/signage	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Comments/Notes:								

USES & ACTIVITIES	POOR				GOOD			
Mix of stores/services	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Frequency of community events/activities	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Overall busy-ness of area	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Economic vitality	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Comments/Notes:								

SOCIABILITY	POOR				GOOD			
Number of people in groups	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Evidence of volunteerism	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Sense of pride and ownership	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Presence of children and seniors	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Comments/Notes:								

 Identify Opportunities

1. What do you like best about this place?
2. List things that you would do to improve this place that could be done right away and that wouldn't cost a lot:
3. What changes would you make in the long term that would have the biggest impact?
4. Ask someone who is in the "place" what they like about it and what they would do to improve it. Their answer:
5. What local partnerships or local talent can you identify that could help implement some of your proposed improvements? Please be as specific as possible.

Figure IV: Overview of questionnaire to rate a place during a placegame event



Photographs I, II & III: Placegaming in the Netherlands (Source: Jennifer Muller Photography/ Iefje Soetens IRV)

The 4 core principles of place through placemaking

The place must give the users and visitors a good sense where they feel at ease. A distinction is made between existing residents and other visitors of the public place. Attracting people can be achieved by organizing activities and events. An additional advantage of acquaintance with the area is attracting facilities such as restaurants to the area (Tureay 2013). As mentioned earlier, the perception and experiences of the users of public places are important and the place must be attractive. According to the vision of place making, the public place must meet the

following criteria: the places must have a comfortable atmosphere with a good image. According to the principles of place making, the comfort and appearance largely determine whether the place is used or not. The public place should also include activities. By having activities, the place is used by several people and the users often feel good about the area where they are likely to return to. The place should also be sociable where the people come together allowing faster improvement of the area, see Figure III. These four core values form the basis for a successful public place.

WHAT MAKES A GREAT PLACE?

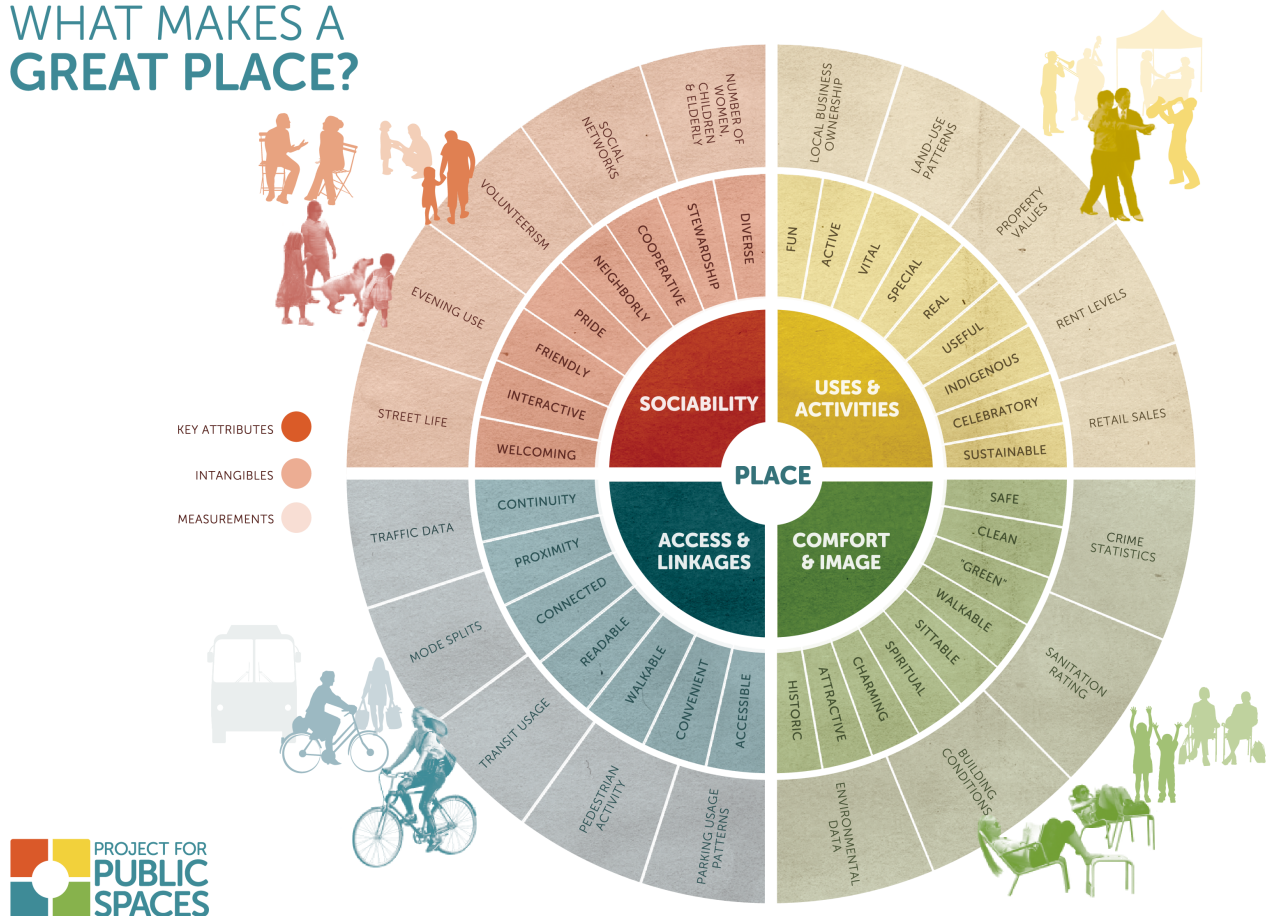


Figure V: Preconditions for a successful place with the four core principles Access & Linkages, Comfort & Image, Uses & Activities and Sociability (PPS 2010)

3.2 Place making types & activities

Place making activities can be organized by different groups. The place makers often consist of two groups: professionals and users. The professionals represent the groups involved, such as designers, builders and managers of the place. The professionals include private parties, political leaders and policy makers, and their representatives express everyone's own vision of the significance of a place (Lupi 2008). The group of users is anyone who regularly uses the spot and through living, work, re-creation and socializing, each one of them has their own sense of place. Activities of place making can be organized and implemented in different ways. They may be organized but in a disorganized manner through initiatives of small groups and individuals. The purpose of place making is an *interpretation of a place; permanent or temporary*. Place making serves a higher purpose and can form part of an overall transition of an area. One obvious activity of place making is redesigning the square, park or focal point in a neighbourhood. Other activities of place making are aimed to raise awareness and attention for a neighborhood that could serve as a catalyst for upgrading the neighborhood. Other activities aim to attract more businesses to strengthen the local economy. Entrepreneurs are drawn to do investments in the neighbourhood, which will strengthen the local economy, but also the level of services will be improved. Also, departments of education and other social functions will be drawn to the neighbourhood, which will lead to the promotion of the use and perception of

the area (Tureay 2013). According to many professionals, branding of the area is very important for imaging. A new identity should be created so that new visitors and users of the place are attracted to the area. More on this will be discussed later on in section 3.3. place making substrategies and activities.

3.2.1 Co-creation & community empowerment

In the previous sections, the four types of place making have been discussed. A connecting element between all types of placemaking is participation and co-creation. After all, as a bottom-up approach place making can possibly contribute to co-creation and community empowerment, which can ultimately lead to social cohesion. Co-creation and community empowerment can be organized or achieved through cooperation between different stakeholders (governmental or non-governmental), local organizations, residents and community workers. More support is created among residents and the stakeholders and there is also more efficiency in the planning and the implementation of the plans (Placemaking Plus 2014). Co-creation and community empowerment types of place making can be a combination of strategic, creative and tactical types of placemaking.

3.3. Placemaking substrategies and activities

In the previous sections, an explanation of place making types is given. The main idea of placemaking (often called standard or just placemaking) was developed by the organization of Project of the Public Spaces (PPS) by Fred Kent. The next step is research into the application of placemaking through sub-strategies. Michel Tureay has formulated sub-strategies of placemaking in his thesis *"The art of placemaking"* in 2013.

The sub-strategies are the result of the research of Tureay on place making in the Netherlands. The five sub-strategies of Tureay are: *Branding of the place, co-creation, meeting the place, local businesses and strengthening the local economy*. First, a brief explanation of these sub-strategies will be given and then reformulation and merging of the sub-strategies will follow, using the sub-strategies of Tureay and the previous literature study.

Branding & Image

One of the results from the research of Tureay was that branding of a place is often suggested as a sub-strategy of place making. In the context of place making, the meaning of branding is about shaping or changing the identity of a place. Within an existing neighbourhood, the identity must be formed again. Changing the identity of a neighbourhood is without doubt a difficult challenge. At the same time, there are some guidelines to lead this process into the right direction. The neighbourhood needs to be made attractive for existing and new users (for example tourists and entrepreneurs). The existing and new users have a certain (positive) image of the area. External factors such as the accessibility of the neighbourhood are important indicators of the image of the neighbourhood. Bringing together the existing identity and a new image of the neighbourhood is important for the sub-strategy branding.

A formal industrial area being transformed into a creative environment is an example of the balance between old and new image of the neighbourhood. According to Tureay, the purpose of the “new” identity is important for a common bond and approach between the various stakeholders. Within this sub-strategy, the importance of the contribution and participation of residents should not be neglected. The residents can provide more support to the implementation of the plans in an efficient way (Tureay 2013). Place making activities in the context of

Branding & Image are diverse. Creative, cultural and artistic activities such as the organization of exhibitions, museums and open door days can be seen as attempts to dynamize or change the identity of an area. Therefore, the contribution of creative and artistic individuals and organizations are essential just like the material and immaterial support from (local) governments and non-governemental entities.

Branding of an area can be seen as shaping the physical and social identity of a neighbourhood, a city or a region through cultural and artistic activities. Artistic and cultural expressions in the public place or streets and bringing together diverse groups of people are mentioned as core objectives of the sub-strategy of Branding and Image. Like the place making activities of branding, the organizers (stakeholders) of the activities are diverse: artistic and cultural organizations and individuals, (city) planners and community workers and financial institutions are examples of organizers or supporters of activities of branding and image strategy (Tureay 2013; Nicodemus 2014).

Co-creation & community empowerment

A common purpose is important for a joint approach between the different stakeholders and promotion of participation for the improvement of the quality and sustainability of the plans. The various stakeholders each have their own vision on the development of a neighbourhood, which turn co-creation and good communication into another necessity.

An example of a co-creation and community empowering approach is the place making in the Museumplein (Museum square) of Amsterdam. The placemaking at the Museumplein is an initiative of a few place making organizations (Stipo, placemaking plus, Placemaking for Public Spaces PPS) and others in collaboration with the

municipality of Amsterdam and local business owners and local residents. During a two days event of place making, different ideas and plans were developed through different “workgroups”.

As result of the two days event with the title “*Innovation Place game Museum*”, short, mid and long-term goals were formulated. The short-term objective includes improving the Acces&Linkages and Uses& activities through addition of small restaurants and small (catering) business around the square. Also preservations and expansion of greening in the area are part of the short-term goals.

Long-term objectives of placemaking events include reorganization of the traffic and the improvement of the flow of cycling and walking trails towards the museum square. More uniformity around the square with terraces, art and returning cultural and music events are part of the long-term goals with the area. The experience with and appearance of the square should be improved in future steps (Placemaking Plus 2014).

Co-creation and community empowerment can also be promoted through so-called participation evenings organized for residents and community representatives by the municipality and city or urban planners. The use of vacant buildings in a neighbourhood for meetings and local activities for and with residents are other examples of place making activities within the sub-strategy of co-creation and community empowerment (Tureay 2013).

Through co-creation and community empowerment, more support is created among residents and the stakeholders and there is also more efficiency in the planning and the implementation of the plans (Placemaking Plus 2014). The project of the Museumplein is a combination of strategic, creative and tactical types of placemaking.

Meet the place

A constantly recurring theme in the literature is meeting with- and in the place. In this sub-strategy, the four core values of placemaking come together; sociability, access & linkages, comfort & image and uses & activities. “Meeting the place” is also indicated by the results of the research of Tureay (2013). People meet at the place where activities are organized that can contribute to the unity and the attractiveness of the neighbourhood. Meeting the place can attract local entrepreneurs and local catering businesses, which can further enhance the identity of the place. Meeting with the place can be stimulated by the organization of permanent or temporary activities. Visitors are attracted to the specific place to meet each other (sociability) and also in order to promote future use of the place for activities and uses. At the end, this sub-strategy can lead to the promotion of the place as an attractive place.

Examples of temporary or exploring types of activities could be short leisure, sport and cultural activities, for example in a famous park in a neighbourhood. Also, activities promoting the importance of green in the city (like Parking days) or neighbourhood gardens are examples of activities of the sub-strategy Meeting the place.

Another example of a Meet the place activity is organized by the organization “Place Makers” in cooperation with local residents and local organizations. In the summer of 2013, the so-called “Buurtcamping” (Neighborhood Camp) was organized in the Oosterpark in Amsterdam. Meetings and social cohesion among the residents was encouraged. The visitors were local residents with different backgrounds. Also, sport and leisure activities such as football, tennis as well as stages for music and activities for children are part of the two-day placemaking event.

The organization Place Makers have called the Neighborhood camp “a co-creation”, because of the fact that the place making activities were organized by residents and local organizations together with Place makers themselves.

One of the results of this Parking Day in Amsterdam was more local initiatives, awareness of the presence of the cars and the value of green in the streets. The actual action of the Parkingday event in Amsterdam was a transformation of 15 parking places into a park in order to make possible meetings and innovatory use of the places (Place Makers 2015). As a tool for a social experiment, some place makers use temporary projects such as movable seats and plants in the public places. The use of the public place can be observed. More over the place making activities associated to *Meet the place* and other sub-strategies are displayed in Table I (Elaboration of sub-strategies of place making with place making activities).

Local economy & Businesses

Strengthening the local economy of a neighbourhood is an important sub-strategy of place making. Leading companies and brands can improve the image of the neighbourhood and reinforce the city as a whole and ensure further development of the local economy. According to the expert interviews of Tureay, the purpose of attracting businesses to the area must remain clear throughout the process.

Attracting businesses is not the main pupose but attracting those businesses that match with the target image of the

neighbourhood is the main focus within this sub-strategy. Examples of activities are the attraction and organization of permanent or temporary markets in a neighbourhood and the attraction of prominent companies or brands to an area. These activities are meant to stimulate a vital local business environment, innovation and all the four core values of a succesful place.

Based on his research and the interviews with experts, five sub-strategies are selected by Tureay (2013) in order to shape and categorize different place making activities. The five sub-strategies of place making that have been selected by Tureay are: branding, co-creation, local businesses, meeting the place and strengthening the local economy. In this research, two strategies will be combined because of the fact the strategies have shared features. The two merged strategies are local businesses and strengthening the local economy. Based on the previous literatures study and the study of Tureay, five sub-strategies of placemaking are formulated and elaborated. These five strategies are: branding & image, co-creation & community empowerment, meeting the place, businesses & strengthen the local economy and long-term strategic projects. The last sub-strategy is about a long-term area transformation often with a specific target group (Tureay 2013). The Elaboration of the sub-strategies of place making with place making activities are shown in Table III.

Sub-strategy	Fitting to the precondition(s) Successful place <i>PPS 2010</i>	Examples of activities
<p>1. Branding & image</p> <p><i>Improve, change and strengthening the image of the place</i></p> <p>M. Tureay 2013</p>	<p>Comfort & Image</p> <p>Acces & Linkages</p> <p>Uses & Activities</p> <p>Sociability</p>	<p>Exhibition</p> <p>(Social) media and marketing activities</p> <p>Art & Culture</p> <p>Open door days and exhibitions</p> <p>Fashion & Architecture Events</p> <p>Theatre & Museums</p>
<p>2. Co-creation & community empowerment</p> <p><i>Participation & formation of ideas with residents and local stakeholders</i></p> <p>M. Tureay 2013</p>	<p>Comfort & Image</p> <p>Acces & Linkages</p> <p>Uses & Activities</p> <p>Sociability</p>	<p>Participation Evenings residents and community organizations</p> <p>Use temporarily and permanently (Vacant) property</p> <p>Contribution and attention of residents, community organizations and local government administrative attention</p> <p>Residents / Community participation</p>
<p>3. Meeting the place</p> <p><i>Attract visitors and users by temporary activities and facilities</i></p> <p><i>Make attractive place</i></p> <p>M. Tureay 2013</p>	<p>Comfort & Image</p> <p>Acces & Linkages</p> <p>Uses & Activities</p> <p>Sociability</p>	<p>Sports activities in parks</p> <p>Festivals & Concerts</p> <p>Greening and public places activities with residents</p> <p>Public markets</p> <p>Temporary parks and art in the public place</p> <p>Creating meeting places:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Neighborhood Gardens and parks - Beach Pavilion - Playgrounds children
<p>4. Businesses & strengthening the local economy</p> <p><i>Attracting businesses and strengthen local economy (goods and services)</i></p> <p>M. Tureay 2013</p>	<p>Comfort & Image</p> <p>Acces & Linkages</p> <p>Uses & Activities</p> <p>Sociability</p>	<p>Attract temporary / permanent trade</p> <p>Temporary / Permanent markets</p> <p>Attracting famous / prominent companies</p> <p>Employment creation projects</p> <p>Legal deregulation and intrumentarium (licenses)</p> <p>Promote cluster formation (technology, innovation and sustainability themes)</p> <p>Promote startup companies</p> <p>Sustainable and innovative entrepreneurship</p> <p>Promote participation retailers and businesses</p>
<p>5. Long-term strategic projects</p> <p><i>Create strategic physical and social changes in a neighborhood</i></p> <p>H. Rashid 2016</p>	<p>Comfort & Image</p> <p>Acces & Linkages</p> <p>Uses & Activities</p> <p>Sociability</p>	<p>Redesign public places and parks</p> <p>Redesignate vacant properties</p> <p>Renovation existing homes</p> <p>Mixed-use long-term transformation area for specific groups such as talented workers</p> <p>Green and attractive places & parks</p>

Table III: *Elaboration of sub-strategies of place making with place making activities*

3.4 Place making in Summary

Place making is a bottom-up approach of improving the quality of the living environment and the public places by involving the local community. A successful place must be comfortable with a good image, there must be frequently organized activities in the public places and the place must be welcoming for social activities.

There are four major types of place making. The standard place making can be seen as the basic theory behind the three specialized types of place making. These three specific types of place making are strategic, creative and tactical place making. By strategic place making the main focus is on attracting talented workers to a certain place. The projects of

attracting talented workers to a sub-urban place or a major city centre can last for a decade. Creative place making is about organizing cultural and artistic activities such as museums or concerts or public art in a different way. Cross-sector cooperation and attracting financial sponsoring are important tasks for the creative place makers. Banks or other investors can use the “sponsorship” as a strategic marketing for their business.

Co-creation and community empowerment can be the result of place making activities which eventually can lead to more social cohesion in neighbourhoods through participation of residents and stakeholders in the process of place making.

4.

Social Cohesion

In this chapter, the background and characteristics of social cohesion are examined on the basis of existing literature. Here, the following questions will be answered: What is meant by social cohesion; what are the characteristics and dimensions of social cohesion?

4.1 Introduction

Social cohesion has played a prominent role in many social debates in recent years. However, the phenomenon is not new. The first framing of the concept occurred at the end of the nineteenth century, carried out by sociologists who were concerned about disruption of the social cohesion in the society. Over time, social cohesion as a concept has also evolved from strongly idealistic efforts to create a more cohesive society to a more pragmatic approach to problems in problem neighborhoods where residents have become alienated from the neighborhood.

Over the last decades, concerns about the social cohesion in disadvantaged neighborhoods have been growing. The social cohesion is suffering from absence of elements making social cohesion possible (Forrest et al 2001). In the context of urban renewal, social cohesion has to do with networks nearby, identification with the neighborhood and shared understanding of the neighborhood. In other cases, the context of social cohesion lies more in the creation of cohesion in a neighborhood where the assumption prevails that joint activities among residents will have positive effects on the state of the region as a whole (Heart et al. 2002 p.4-10; Bolt et al. 2005 p.15).

Social cohesion can be defined as "*internal bond strength between a social system*" and that system can be anything: Family, an institution or a group of residents (Schuyt 1997 p. 18; Bolt et al. 2005 p.15). Social cohesion is primarily about characteristics of a system and not about individual characteristics of a person. Despite the system characteristics of social cohesion, in empirical analyses the perception of social cohesion is often measured at the individual level.

Social cohesion is read from the extent to which individuals, who are part of the system, identify themselves with the same system and are willing to participate and move within the social system (Bolt et al. 2005 p.15-16). In several studies, various dimensions of social cohesion are distinguished. According to Lupi (2008) the meaning of a neighbourhood is differentiated. Various forms of territorial bonds are reflected by the way users use and experience a certain place. Researchers have made several attempts to make dimensions of the relationship between residents and the neighbourhood measurable. In general, there are three dimensions to distinguish when it comes to social cohesion.

The first one can be summarized as social network and social capital. This dimension is about the social interactions in the form of contacts among residents. This dimension also includes a formal bond with the neighbourhood by the level of participation and degree of local organization. Another dimension can be called the degrees of similar beliefs about the neighborhood (norms and values). The third dimension is defined by some researchers as the degree of a collective or individual identity. For the selection of the dimensions, several studies are used where social cohesion is researched in Dutch neighbourhoods.

These three dimensions can be formulated as follows:

- 1. Social network & social capital (behavior)**
- 2. Degree of similar beliefs about the neighborhood (norms and values) and**
- 3. Place attachment & identity.**

Sometimes place attachment is used as an objective term instead of community (Bolt et al. 2005 p.15-16; Lupi 2008 p.50-54). These three main dimensions are viewed in most studies and all suggest more or less the same description.

4.2 Social network & social capital

The first dimension of social cohesion is social network and social capital. This dimension is about certain networks and contacts of residents in neighbourhoods. For example: Social contacts in the daily life of people or the degree of social contacts and interaction with fellow residents in the own neighbourhood.

The study of Bolt et al. (2005) refers to a number of network studies showing that the neighbourhood is not very important for the life of the people. According to the investigations, most network activities of the residents occur outside the neighborhood itself. There has been a decrease in intense contact and

attachment to the neighborhood in recent decades. Depillarization, individualization, technical and economic developments are listed as reasons on decline of neighborhood networks. The neighborhood seems to be less important in the daily lives of people. Some residents do have certain expectations of their neighbors, such as greeting each other or another form of contact, such as looking after each other's home if needed (Bolt et al 2005 p.17).

In some studies, certain personal characteristics are associated with focus and attention to the neighborhood. Features such as low education, income and age are cited as indicators of paying attention to the neighborhood. In a number of national and international researches, the same conclusions are drawn largely on the dimension of social participation. The social activities of residents of new buildings mainly take place outside the neighborhood. In general, the interaction of residents of new buildings with residents in older parts of the neighborhood remains low. Social capital has to do with social organization such as networks, local co-operation, norms and trust (Forrest et al. 2001, p. 2137-2129). Social capital is mainly about (community) empowerment, participation, cooperation and supporting networks. In the context of participation and local networks, social capital is also linked to trust and true connection of residents to each other.

Despite different conclusions and reflections on the role of the neighborhood, some researches seems to prove that "the local community" has an important role in the daily life of some of the residents. Local networks are important as a local domain for informal contacts and friendships (Forrest et al. 2001, p. 2141; Bolt et al. 2005).

4.3 Degrees of similar beliefs about the neighborhood (norms and values)

The second dimension of social cohesion is degrees of similar beliefs about the neighborhood that has to do with having common values. This is called *civic culture* by Kearns and Forrest (2001). According to the authors, the presence of shared values and norms leads to cohesion in a society. The equivalent norms and values can be translated into the perceptions of desirable and undesirable behavior of local residents. Also, the equivalent norms and values are about the daily interaction between the residents themselves (Pelikaan et al. 2012, p.10; Kearns & Forrest 2000). The social cohesion is advanced when one feels responsible for the environment, especially if a common understanding exists about this.

4.4 Place attachment & identity

The third component of social cohesion is more about a certain feeling that arises within people when they think of a neighborhood: a strong attachment to a place. The environment where people live can be associated to a particular image, a feeling of pride or a sense of belonging. There are several ways in which a neighborhood can make a contribution to the identity of people (Bolt et al. 2005 p.18).

Binding with the neighborhood is important because the perception of a place can contribute to feelings of social cohesion.

For social activities the neighborhood is becoming increasingly important. In some literature, it is pointed out that in poor neighborhoods the identity is often crucial for dealing with the unattractive surroundings. "It may be the quality of neighboring-which is an important element in people's ability to cope with a decaying and unattractive physical environment" (Pelikaan et al 2012, p.12-14). In new housing developments, one might hardly be able to identify with the

neighborhood. The meaning of a place would only be functional and spatial in nature. This lack of place making is assigned by some to the fact that professionals of the district completely work from above (Lupi 2008, p.238). The study from Lupi about place making in IJburg, shows that identification with the neighborhood is important for the residents, despite the huge choice and the existence of a network society. People are looking for their own "place" in an era of unprecedented opportunities (Lupi, 2008, p 217-240).

There are many more links between the dimension of social contacts and the dimension of identification. There is more identification and social belonging for people who have relatively many contacts in the area (Bolt et al 2005 p.62-63). It is important to look at the influence of the composition of the population, and the consequent impact on the social cohesion. It appears that a more homogeneous composition of the population has a positive impact on social cohesion than a heterogeneous composition. The idea of neighborhood decline is often driven by dissatisfaction with demographics. Dissatisfaction about the population composition has the most influence on identification with the neighborhood (Bolt et al. 2005 p.62-63).

4.5 Conclusions

After exploring the three dimensions and the underlying factors, social cohesion seems a multidimensional concept. The dimensions have similarities with each other, while the dimension about the degree of similar belief is almost entirely independent of the other dimensions. Between the identification dimension and the dimension of social contacts, much agreement can be observed. The dimension of solidarity and identification with the neighborhood has been underexposed in many studies, while the identification dimension determines the social quality of the neighborhood and the

social participation (one dimension) (Bolt et al 2005 p.72). The connection with the neighborhood is also highly dependent on the demographics. Solidarity with the neighborhood is heavily dependent on levels of satisfaction with the composition of the population. Many respondents argue that "other people" often have other values which causes dissatisfaction with the local residents. The three main dimensions often called in the exciting literature are summarized and explained in this part of the research. The three main dimensions of social cohesion are:

- ***Social network & social capital (behavior)***
- ***Degree of similar beliefs about the neighborhood (norms and values) and***
- ***Place attachment & identity.***

During the fieldwork, social cohesion will be an intergrated part of the interviews with the professionals, in order to be able to answer the sub-question about the impact of the implementation of place making activities on the social cohesion in a neighbourhood.

From the previous chapters, the main features of place making and social cohesion are categorized and organized. According to the literature study and as shown schematically in Figure VI, there are certain links between the implementation of the five place making sub-strategies and the increase of the three dimensions of social cohesion. The interviews need to create insight into the dimensions of social cohesion in order to be able to answer the research questions.

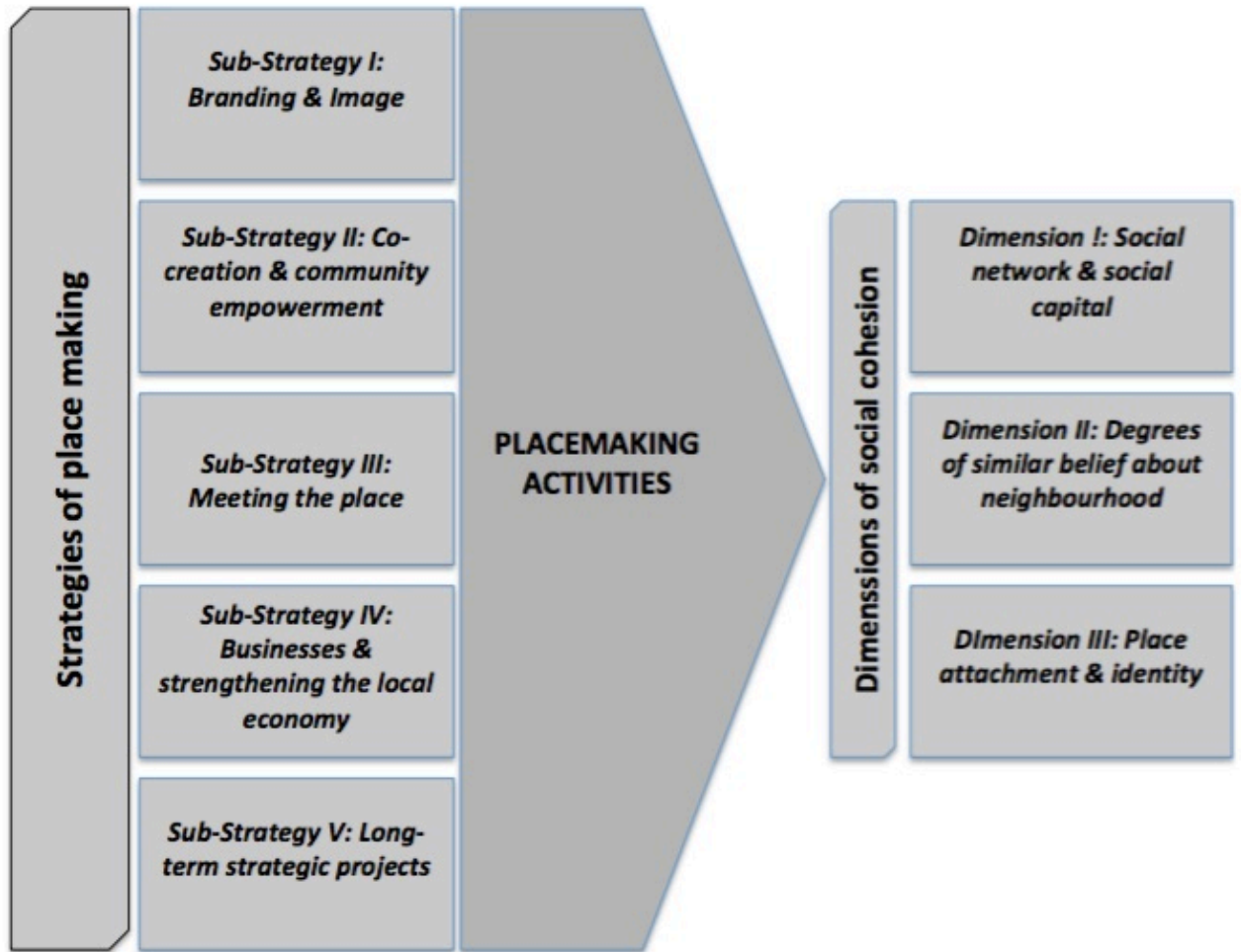


Figure VI: Elaboration of sub-strategies of placemaking and place making activities with the three dimensions of social cohesion

5.

Data Collection

During the literature study, a number of sub-questions have been answered regarding Dutch disadvantaged neighbourhoods, place making and social cohesion. The next step is to start with data collection in chapter five. The main aim of the data collection is to check and review the place making strategies and activities and their possible influences on social cohesion. By using qualitative interviews, it is possible to answer sub-question 6: What is the impact of the implementation of place making activities on the social cohesion of a neighbourhood?

5.1 Methods and Data collection

The fieldwork has two main objectives. The first goal is to find answers to the main and sub-questions. The second aim of the fieldwork is creating insight in:

- *Links and relations between the implementation of place making activities and social cohesion;*
- *Possible measures that can lead to the increase of social cohesion in neighbourhoods;*
- *To what extent place making activities can be an alternative way of restructuring with less financial capabilities for the improvement of the quality of the public place and the promotion of social cohesion in Dutch neighbourhoods?*

The central question in chapter five is: ***What is the impact of the implementation of place making activities on the social cohesion of a neighbourhood?*** (Sub-question 6). An objective of the interviews is to gain new insights into place making activities that could lead to more social cohesion in Dutch neighborhoods.

For the execution of the research, semi-structured interviews will be drafted. A number of questions with a solid formulation will be asked and critically analyzed afterwards. Based on the results of the interviews, the main question and sub-questions are to be answered and the results will provide insight on the impact of the application of place making activities on social cohesion.

5.1.1 Interviewguide

In order to conduct the interviews, an interview guide is drafted, which can be found in Appendix I. The interview guide starts with an introduction and explanation of the reasons and goals of research and then the professionals give an introduction to their experience and duties. The interview guide has been drawn up using the sub-questions of the research.

The professionals are asked about what place making activities or processes they have experience with. Then respondents are asked about how place making could be made useful in disadvantaged neighborhoods and what effects it may have on the neighborhood. What activities are more suitable for disadvantaged neighborhoods to promote social cohesion is an important subject during the interviews. During the interviews, financial implications, requirements and policy of the municipalities are critically discussed. Specifically for a disadvantaged neighborhood, place making activities and strategies are examined which are more useful there. Also, the question on which neighborhood characteristics are important for this specific place making activities in disadvantaged neighborhoods is asked. In the literature, selected place making strategies and type of activities are examined for their feasibility. During the interviews, the experts will be asked for suitable ways of involving communities in place making and spatial participation process.

The financial conditions and effects of application of place making will be also examined in the interviews with the professionals. The effects of place making are also examined on social cohesion in the neighborhoods. The dimensions of social cohesion, which are found in the literature, will be critically examined during the interviews.

The respondents are also asked to give their views on possible new dimensions of social cohesion. Creating attractive and accessible participation processes and place making activity is also examined in the interviews.

5.1.2 Planning and data collection

For the field research and the interviews, the following steps will be taken as a guide:

1. *Make Interview guide;*
2. *Select professionals;*
3. *Conduct interviews;*
4. *Analysis and elaboration of the collected data.*

5.2 Target groups & Response

In order to obtain a concrete and complete picture of the impact of place making activities on social cohesion, various target groups are approached for the interviews. The target groups are professionals and stakeholders who have experience with the application of place making activities in the Netherlands. The professionals are categorized as target groups by type of organization (governmental or non-governmental), and thereby the importance of representing the stakeholders. The target group for the interviews should be directly and actively involved in strategic, policy or practice application of place making activities. The results of the interviews can potentially offer new insights into the possible implication of place making activities on social cohesion and possible answer to the question of what conditions can improve social cohesion in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

The following groups will be approached for interviews:

- 1. Place makers organizations**
- 2. Municipalities & Housing Corporations**
- 3. Community workers**
- 4. Architects**

The first target groups are organizations that are involved in the design, implementation and promotion of place making as a phenomenon or as a practical application of place making activities. This target group is important because they have experience with the application of place making in the Netherlands.

Also, this group is important as we look at the influence of the implication of place making. They may also provide insight into the process of place making as one means to promote co-creation and community empowerment, which is directly linked to social cohesion.

A second target group are Dutch Municipalities and housing associations. As revealed previously in the literature, the role of the municipalities over the years, have changed from an active role into conducting a role in the background.

It is also the question of what the vision of municipalities are on community empowerment and social cohesion through the possible use of place making activities as an alternative to the traditional form of urban renewal. Besides the physical attention, the municipalities also have a role in the creation of policies regarding social issues in disadvantaged neighborhoods, with dimensions of social

cohesion as key. That makes the vision and the look of the municipalities interesting in the context of this research. The housing associations have traditionally played an important and decisive role in the Dutch restructuring process. The housing associations have actively started to implement plans where residents are involved as much as possible. These restructuring goals must be achieved with less financial resources. The central question is, to what extent the activities organized by housing associations who already have some experience with community empowerment, influences the social cohesion in neighborhoods.

The third target group are community organizations. There are certain community organizations active within the local communities who have experience with working with the community. These organizations are also able to clarify the needs and wishes of the community. The Fourth group are architects with experiences on place making.

5.3 The interviews

As described previously, an interview guide has been set up for the interviews with the most relevant questions and issues that are discussed during the interviews with the professionals.

The interview guide is designed on the basis of the research and the questions from the literature. An overview of the topics during the interviews corresponding to the literature study can be found in Table IV.

Subject	Subquestion
Placemaking activities & strategies applied	1
Place making in disadvantaged neighbourhoods	2
Characteristics Dutch disadvantaged neighbourhoods	3
Results and effects & difference in outcome place making in disadvantaged neighbourhoods	1,2 &3
Neighbourhood characteristics & social cohesion	4&5
Financial consequences place making and community empowerment	
Possibilities & limitations government & municipality policy	
Impact place making on social cohesion	6
Measures needed for community empowerment, participation trajects and social cohesion	

Table IV: Overview of topics during the interviews

The interviews were conducted between April and June 2016 and lasted between 45 and 120 minutes. Eventually, it was possible to find responses from the three original target groups. Because of the importance of neighbourhood organizations and their role and knowledge of the communities in the neighbourhoods, another target group (which are community workers) is added as a fourth group during the process of data collection.

5.3.1. The interviewee groups

There was much enthusiasm for participation from professionals and companies with place making experience in the Netherlands. In most of the cases, the place making professionals have much experience with place making and its implementation in the Netherlands. Some of them have participated in courses in New York at PPS (Project for Public Spaces), directed by Fred Kent. What all place making professionals have in common is their justification for using the method of place making and what it contribute to the community.

An important issue during their daily work in regards to place making is making contact with the communities in the cities or neighbourhoods. The specific location (place) has its own unique characteristics, opportunities and obstacles. The place making professionals appoint a number of possible outcomes of the “correct application”of place making for the community. One of the key findings of a place making process is the visibility of the residents and eventual ownership and dialogue & understanding within the communities. Dimensions of increased social cohesion are recognizable. There are several issues, opportunities and obstacles discussed during the interviews and that may result in both organizational and financial shortcomings.

The place making experts refer to a top-down policy of the government and municipalities in the Dutch cities and neighbourhoods mostly focused of functional design of the living environment.

According to place making professionals, the top-down approach of the last decades led to the emergence of a gap between citizens and government and other professional stakeholders.

There is much distrust observed from residents of Dutch neighbourhoods towards government and urban renewal in general.

The second groups of respondents were municipalities and housing associations. Some of the municipalities have experiences with place making processes and the implementation of participation projects. What is clear from the interviews with the municipalities is that municipalities are trying to reach people more effectively for participation in decision-making on urban renewal issues. There is, according to the municipalities even more space within municipal policy initiatives for participation from citizens. There is a difference of note between the municipal responses and those of a large part of the place making experts to questions on local policy and space within municipal frameworks. The place making professionals generally have the view that the policies and organizational structures of municipalities are still not set on bottom-up initiatives from the communities. To argue this observation, the experts refer to a number of reasons, which will be displayed in the results.

The response from housing associations was low. Due to reorganization and the major changes that have been experienced in recent years, housing associations, housing experts have enough time for in-depth interviews.

The third groups of interviews are with community workers and district organizations. The community workers and the community organizations are composed of community initiatives and local community organizations.

This group is able to provide a balanced view on the residents, the community and what is going on in the neighborhood, as well as the needs and wishes of the community.

Finally, architects are interviewed with experience in place making processes in both disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged areas. In Appendix II (Table I of the Appendix) an overview of the interviewed professionals is given.

5.4 Resume

In the next chapter the results of the interviews will be described. The analysis will be on the basis of the sub-questions of the thesis as indicated in section 5.3. The sub-questions of the research can be answered and it makes it possible to search for similarities and differences with the findings from the literature study. Also, new insights will be created on the basis of the elaboration of the interviews.

6.

Results

The data collected during the interviews will be discussed and analyzed in this section. To clarify the results of the interviews, categories and concepts within the results are selected. These are the main views and characteristics that will be used during the analysis phase. The interviewees shared their own experiences and insights during interviews about place making, applicability in disadvantaged neighborhoods and the impact that they may have on the social cohesion in the neighborhoods. In this chapter the research questions will be answered on the basis of the results of the fieldwork.

The key-question of the thesis is:
To what extent and how can place making improve the social cohesion within disadvantaged neighborhood, and could place making be a valuable addition to urban renewal processes?

Section 6.1 will provide an answer to sub-question 1. The section should make clear what place making is and how the experts understand and their view is of place making.

It will also provide the general characteristics, pros and cons (obstacles) of place making.

Section 6.1 will also answer sub-question 2 about national and international experience of place making and how place making is applicable in Dutch disadvantaged neighborhoods.

Section 6.2 is about the key issues in disadvantaged neighborhoods and will provide answers to sub-question 3. Section 6.3 is about sub-question 4 that deal with the measures that can lead to more social cohesion, and what the

interviewees definitions are of social cohesion.

The main theme in section 6.4 is the neighborhood characteristics that are important for strengthening social cohesion in the neighbourhood. Section 6.4. will also describe the impact of the application of place making. Finally, section 6.5. displays the partial conclusions of the fieldwork. In Table VI, an overview of the main views and characteristics founded during the fieldwork is given. The parameters are the research on place making in relation to social cohesion in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Each section will provide answers on one or two of the research questions as formulated and examined during the literature study. The new parameters are the result of the analysis of the interviews and will provide new insights on the subjects of the thesis, similarities and differences with the literature. In Table V an overview of the main views and characteristics founded during the expert interviews.

§ *	Sub-q #	Subject	Main Views & Characteristics	§ **
6.1	1 & 2	Characteristics placemaking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⌚ Interdisciplinair & strategic development city ⌚ Small-scale & experimental ⌚ User & fine place ⌚ Practical application of 4 core values ⌚ Proces-oriented connection residents & government ⌚ Focus on community ⌚ Effects placemaking on public place 	3.1-3.4
6.2	3	Characteristics Dutch disadvantaged neighbourhoods	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⌚ Monofunctional & anonymity ⌚ Management & maintenance public place ⌚ Unilateral use public place ⌚ Care needs residents ⌚ Gap between municipal policy & residents needs ⌚ Propensity to move & outflow residents ⌚ Less bond residents with neighbourhood 	2.1 -2.2
6.3	4	Measures place making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⌚ Active role/involvement of community ⌚ Local economy & entrepreneurship ⌚ Key figures & community organizations ⌚ Participation policy municipalities ⌚ Sustainable funding & placemanagement 	3.1 -3.4
6.4	5& 6	Neighbourhood characteristics & social cohesion Impact placemaking on social cohesion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⌚ Dialogue & understanding ⌚ Visibility residents & ownership ⌚ Trust & identification ⌚ Social network & social capital ⌚ Upgrading & increase value real estate ⌚ Self-reliance & self organizing ability ⌚ Increase use & public activity ⌚ Management & maintenance efficiency public place ⌚ Health issues 	2.1 -2.2 4.1 -4.3
6.5	6	Conclusions		

§ * Section Data

§ ** Section Literature

Table V: Overview of the main views and characteristics from the fieldwork

6.1. Main characteristics of Placemaking in the Netherlands

This section will provide answers to sub-question 1 and sub-question 2. In this section, the meaning, main characteristics, visions on and experiences with place making are shown, according to the literature study and the results of the interviews. Also in this section the most important pros and cons (obstacles) for the purposes of place making and how it is applied in Dutch neighborhoods will be discussed. The literature has shown that the main purpose of place making is to create successful places by the community and other stakeholders actively involved. Place has an important role in the place making process. Place can be seen as a social construction where people (end users) are attracted to. Creating activities in the public place can be helpful to attract different user groups. Multifunctionality and the presence of small or local businesses would help creating safe and livable neighbourhoods, according to the literature. The four core values of a successful place from PPS are a guide to create a successful public place in many cases.

An important difference from the literature that became clear during the interviews is that several views exist of place making. The interviews give insight into the different perspectives and disciplines of place making that range from practical application in a street to strategic long-term urban development. In this section the most important views on place making will be explained with reference to the interviewee professionals and their views and experiences in order to learn more about place making in the Netherlands. Each of the professionals have their own view on and experiences with place making. The professionals have mentioned, each from their own perspective and experiences, key issues on place making which are important to take into account during the implementation of a place making process in a neighbourhood. There are different views on place making. During the interviews with the experts, the professionals gave their views on the main features of place making. In Table VI, an overview of the main views is selected to describe place making in The Netherlands.

Main views of place making in the Netherlands	frequency mentioned (from 17 interviews)				
 Interdisciplinary & strategic development city	5	2	3	0	0
 Small-scale & experimental	9	4	2	1	2
 User & fine place	9	5	2	0	2
 Practical application of 4 core values	5	1	2	1	1
 Proces-oriented connection residents & government	7	1	4	1	1
 Focus on community	16	7	4	3	2
 Effects placemaking on public place	13	5	4	2	2

Table VI: Overview of the main views on place making in the Netherlands according to the fieldwork



Placemaking professionals (7 total)



Community workers (4 total)



Municipalities & corporations (4 total)



Architects (2 total)



Interdisciplinary & strategic development city


The first view on place making is focusing on the development of the city with an interdisciplinary approach. The main difference of this view compared to other views about place making is the constant search for connection between the top world and bottom-up initiatives of urban renewal and the belief that place making can only succeed if this connection is established. Place making is only possible if there is a connection between all stakeholders in the city, including the government, property owners and the local communities concerned, according to the expert with an interdisciplinary and strategic development view of the city. The following quote is from one of the place making professionals who generally sees place making processes as a strategic and interdisciplinary field in which connection and cooperation is sought between the top-down world and bottom-up initiatives: *"I definitely would not call it*

bottom-up but more middle down; Thus connection between the top-down world and the bottom-up initiatives"

The communities should be involved in the neighborhoods. One way to make contact with the community is to look at the existing networks in the neighborhoods. Practical and tactical activities (tactical urbanism), according to the place making expert, can help to motivate and activate the community that can serve as a spin-off for further activities which then will lead to strategies for the city and the region as a whole.

Major pitfall is that the place making activities will not continue, that no sustainable cash flows are created and the community pulls out with more suspicion than before, according to this expert. According to this approach, place management and orgware is crucial to successful place making. For the Interdisciplinary & strategic development of the city, the anonymity and segregation

in many neighbourhoods was due to the rise of modernism and the fact that “the human scale” has largely disappeared out of the cities. This view shows that other than the literature suggests, using place making is broader than just a bottom-up approach and, according to this view, connection between the top world and bottom-up initiatives is needed.

 **Small-scale and experimental**

Another view on place making in the Netherlands is focusing primarily on small-scale and experimental place making activities in which fieldwork and social scientific approach can help to experiment with place making activities where the objective is to make a place attractive for a broad audience. A clear difference with the interdisciplinary and strategic view is the central focus on small-scale and experimental activities and not so much on a strategic connection between the top world and bottom-up initiatives. According to the expert with this view, it is necessary to have small-scale and experimental activities due to the disappearance of large investments by the government after the financial crisis:

"We have also thought about the fact that the large financial investments were no longer possible due to the crisis ... it is unfortunate to observe despite this fact there is not enough experimented with small-scale projects"

The reason for the choice of small and experimental place making activities, according to interviewed experts, is the impact of the financial crisis and the loss of all large-scale and financial investment in the context of urban renewal. It is no longer possible to make large-scale investments, moreover, according to the professional, it has become clear that large-scale investments are not effective enough and does not meet needs of the neighbourhood and the residents. The emphasis through small and experimental activities is to attract people to the public

domain and to create joint activities and use of the public domain from the four core values of a successful place. The experimental and small-scale activities can be a reason for retaining the activities and retaining the new energy in the neighborhoods in the long term. During the experimental and small-scale activities the problem of sustainable finance arises. According to the expert from the small and experimental view, often place making activities do not get follow-up because of the financial shortcomings. A foundation in the neighbourhood is a possible solution focusing on continuing activities and generating revenues. Profound observations and extensive data are not available in order to create tangible results. It is clear, according to the expert, that the activities have a positive impact on social cohesion in neighborhoods in general. Breeding places (*Broedplaatsen in Dutch*) is appreciated in this field because of the potential insights it can provide for future use or application of place making activities in neighborhoods.

 **User & fine place**


Another view on place making is focusing on the creation of a fine place where everyone can feel at home, where users and the 4 core values are essential. The main difference between this view and the other views on place making is the one-sided focus on a fine place with the user as an expert. Although this approach is not strange for other views on place making, from the point of view of this approach the focus is on the place itself and the user who is seen as an expert. Through field work, observations, track and trace and other methods of research, the place making experts are seeking insight in the use and activities in the public place. Often a place gaming is organized to make contact with the end users of the public place. Involving the users will eventually lead to more activities and use of the public place and more support for the plans is created.

 **Practical application of four core values**

Some place making experts in The Netherlands are only focusing on the practical application of place making and the four core values with a social perspective. The goal is twofold; with residents seeking new activities for the public places and intensifying contacts between residents allowing emergence of debate among residents about the activities and design of public place. A clear difference of opinion on applicability of place making in disadvantaged neighborhoods is the case for the experts with this view. The interviewed expert with this view is in fact one of the few place making experts convinced that place making in a disadvantaged area is hardly applicable. The next quote is from the interviewed place making expert with the practical application of the four core values view, which is one of the few place making experts who has doubts about the success of place making in a disadvantaged neighborhood: *"My first feeling is that place making is less suitable in disadvantaged neighborhoods ... there is much more flow of people ... less commitment and involvement with the neighborhood"*

The process starts with the discussion regarding the structure and activities in the public place. This view of place making, which represented a small part of the respondents of the interviews, believes that place making activities are less applicable in disadvantaged neighborhoods. For this remarkable statement a number of arguments are mentioned. In disadvantaged neighborhoods, there is a tendency of more outflow of residents and therefore, less binding of residents with the neighbourhood. That makes it complicated from this point of view to apply place making successfully. After all, a successful place making process has broad support and representation among the residents

need, according to the place making expert with experience on the practical application of the four core values. Another argument of this view is that residents in disadvantaged neighborhoods have to deal with various care needs which have priority for them.

 **Process-oriented Connecting between residents and government**

Another important view on place making in the Dutch context is the realization of communication between residents, government and community organizations.

A difference in approach of this view with other views on place making is the clear objective of connection between government and residents as a way of successful urban renewal. The success of urban renewal, in which residents are visible, depends on the degree of success of the connection between government and residents. The aim is to achieve ownership by and visibility of residents by making connection within the social domain to create a joint approach to achieve things together for the public place such as new activities and use. The field of work is wide, ranging from the practical projects to develop policy visions. According to the interviewed expert and other place making professionals there is still a large gap between what the municipalities policy is and what the needs and wishes of citizens for public place in the neighborhoods are.

As the following quote from the place making expert makes clear, governments are focusing on keeping risks as small as possible by the implementation of their policy and tasks:

"Governments are trained to keep risks small. Everything points to risk (what placemaking in essence is). Risks and government organizations simply do not go hand in hand, but they are willing to learn it "

It is generally concluded by the place making respondents that municipalities do have the will to find more connection with “the reality” during attempts to involve residents and citizens in the process of spatial issues. At the same time, changing decades long habituation and organizational structures of governments and municipalities are a difficult process and a long-term aim is the perception of the place making experts. A long-term aim is a representative participation and the creation of ownership of the public place by residents in this context. Also within this field ownership and self-organization is mentioned by some experts as one of the possible outcomes that can be the result of place making projects.

According to the municipalities who have experience in the use of place making, the strength of the methodology is that the use and the role of residents are central issues during the process. The municipalities and residents could develop joint plans and visions on the issues in the neighbourhoods in a different way. However, some of the municipalities and corporations believe that the existing methodologies used within the municipalities and corporations leads to involvement of residents in their town or neighborhood issues.

The interviews show a difference between the perception of place making experts on one side and some of the municipalities and housing corporations on the other side. The main difference between the place making experts, municipalities and housing corporations is that the place making experts are explicitly using the principles of place making as a methodology and municipalities and housing corporations use their own methods to meet the demands and requirements of residents in the neighborhoods. One of the interviewed municipal neighbourhood representative is clear about place making and believes that municipalities and local organizations

use similar methods that is close to place making and, according to him, functions well in practice as the next quote clarifies this opinion:

“Placemaking is obviously a method, but the average community worker adopts a similar methodology in the neighbourhoods”

The neighbourhood representative of the municipality of Purmerend is convinced it has been an instructive process. Nevertheless, it has no plans to put in place making more. The neighbourhood representative of Purmerend claims to have already enough instruments to involve residents as much as possible on issues around the living environment. According to the representative, the municipal approach is accessible and its residents are adequately supported with ideas.

In the interview with the municipal neighbourhood representative of the city of The Hague, it became clear that the municipality is working to shift their focus in recent years.

The municipalities would, according to the interviewed representative, invest increasingly in neighborhood focused projects, in accordance to the following quote from the representative:

“In the past outside paid employees were deployed to develop something in the neighbourhoods. Now we look more how initiatives can be facilitated in the neighborhood itself. I feel that this is now finally starting to get off the ground”

The main change in the policy of some municipalities as a result of the crisis is the attempt by some of the municipalities to reach out as much as possible to citizens' initiatives in the neighborhoods. According to the interviews some municipalities seek to connect with and support citizens' initiatives in the neighbourhoods when the

municipality feels that there are enough similarities between citizen initiatives and municipal policies. According to the interviews with Dutch municipalities, one of the consequences of the crisis is that municipalities have less financial space, especially for large-scale projects. That means it is necessary for municipalities to spend available budgets more neighborhood-oriented and efficient deployment. The space for citizen initiatives within the municipal policy is growing where the municipality has a facilitating role. One of the interviews was with a representative of the municipality of Vlaardingen that gained experience with the methodology of place making explains in the following quote what the strength is of place making for municipalities:

"I think the power of place making is that the use of a place is the central issue, followed by the organization of the place"

The difference between the classical way of municipal urban renewal and the use of the place making methodology is the involvement of the residents in the process of debate and the use of the public place. Because of involvement of residents in an early stage, some problems and bottlenecks of the public place reveal which might otherwise be detected too late or not, according to the municipality. This approach provides the municipality with a different way of approaching and people feel that there is really listened to them. According to the interview, the municipality gets more credibility and to a certain extent a more supported plan as a result. An additional profit point for the municipality through the use of place making is that the use and activities of the public use is the leading issue. During the involvement process of the residents, also discontent and frustrations of some of the residents become clear, which otherwise will not be clear to the municipality. Even disagreements between residents emerge during the debate, according to the

interview with the representative of the municipality of Vlaardingen.

At the same time, the role of the municipality is called as *"disruptive to the process"* in the interviews by some of the place making professionals. Municipalities seem not adequately trained on participation of citizens and, in particular, providing enough space for citizens' initiatives, according to the critical place making experts. According to the place making experts, citizens are increasingly organized over the years and are more aware of what is happening in their own neighborhood. This requires that municipalities should be more open to the needs and wishes of the residents.

The interviewed representative of the housing corporation believes that residents in the neighborhoods should be involved in the process of renovation in the neighborhoods. However, the big difference with the view of the experts is that the corporation believes that residents need to get a pre-established program from which choices can be made. As previously revealed in the interviews, the place making experts are confident that residents should be involved from the beginning of the process and not have to get pre-determined program as an option. The following quote from the representative of the housing corporation makes clear the difference in approach between the housing association and placemaking experts:

"Residents should not have an empty page as an option, it is much better to give them a pre-selection to choose from"

The interviewed representative of a housing association believes that place making is less applicable in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Priority of the care needs of many residents is one of the arguments against place making application in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The housing corporation also calls the desire of

many residents to leave, when there is a chance, as a major characteristic of many disadvantaged Dutch neighborhoods. A growing group of residents are forced to live in the neighborhood because of urgency on long waiting lists for social housings. There are also tensions in neighbourhoods such as the placement of asylum seekers and status holders, which put pressure on the priority setting in the disadvantaged neighborhoods. Individualization and withdrawal of residents behind the front door and the weak socio-economic position of many residents are arguments of the housing corporation to search for alternatives for place making.

Unlike most interviewed place making experts, the representative of the housing association strongly believes that people should be presented a number of options in advance which one can make a choice from within a group of active and concerned residents. This group of people is thinking through a consultative group (*klankbordgroep in Dutch*) on a pre-made selection of choices for spatial layout of the public place.

The interviews show that the majority of professionals from the various views on place making are opposing the idea of a pre-compiled plan or program from which the residents can choose (as a compromise). Most of the placemaking professionals describe this method as *"the classic participation"* process. Within the classic participation processes of municipalities, a pre-known program and planning has already been known for the organization of the districts. At the end of the range, if all plans are ready, the residents are asked about the plans. Nevertheless, the housing corporation believes that the new method is still in development and has interfaces with place making, especially in the way of approaching and trying to involve residents in issues regarding the living environment.

Focus on community

Another view on place making is the added value of the focus on the community in the neighbourhoods where place making could take place. According to the interview with the placemaking expert with this view, one of the important added values of place making is the expertise of the different communities in the neighbourhoods:

"The basic principle must be that the community is the expert and we the experts are just the tool"

An approach towards placemaking with a main focus on the community is a combination of the previous views of place making. Essential to this approach is the focus placed upon getting to know the community and enter into conversation with them. In this context, the community means both residents and local organizations that are already active in the neighbourhoods. That includes both entrepreneurs and role models. The idea is that the community already has a range of potential features, which is not sufficiently visible to the rest of the community and stakeholders. Ideally, different parts of the community come together in one place to use it again as a spin-off for new developments in the neighbourhood.

The interviewed community organizations are already active organizations in the neighbourhood with a wide developed network within the community in the neighbourhoods. The main objectives of these organizations are to support residents in their development and their (care) needs, as apparent from the interviews with community workers. Improving social cohesion and solidarity between the different communities are other goals of these organizations. These organizations are familiar with the local people and often searching for new ways of personally approaching individual residents so there is more contact with

them and their needs become clearer than before.

Health issues, and in some cases healthy food are other subjects for the community workers.

According to their opinion from the interviews, a difficult task for the community organizations is that the residents in the neighborhoods are often composed of smaller closed communities. The communities should be taught from within and that takes time and effort.

Physical effects Placemaking on public place

The expert interviews highlighted a number of effects that could be the result of place making processes. The social effects are discussed in the preceding and following paragraphs. Of course a part of the long-term goals of place making activities are also physical issues. The core of the physical changes can largely be traced back to the four core values of PPS, as evidenced by the literature. Below is a summary of a number of physical changes in the public place that can be the result of place making activities. Some of the effects are also intended effects for the long-term, due to the fact that the long-term effects of place making processes only become clear in the long term and the ideal image is often a matter of patience.

In general, one of the aims of place making processes is to achieve more activities and more user groups in the public place. During the interviews, various experts from various perspectives and experiences shared their thoughts about possible activities of place making in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

The municipality of Vlaardingen believes that the use of place making allows shifting the focus of municipal policy of public place and search for new activities rather than only design and functionality

of the place. According to the project manager from the municipality of Vlaardingen, the success of the methodology of place making is that the municipality approaches the residents in a different way. The residents start feeling ownership of the public places because they feel involved. The public place can accommodate social activities where people from different backgrounds can visit. In the beginning they only go to a certain activity and later on, the conversation starts about what activities they want to see in the public place. The municipality of Vlaardingen sees for example potential in organizing social activities such as leisure activities that ensures a binding factor between various population groups in the public place. These activities can be the start of a joint reflection on the design of the public place without being directly difficult, at the same time attracting a wider audience to the place.

According to the place making expert with the user and a fine place view, it is possible to engage the user due the use of the four core values from the beginning of the process. The expert believes that the residents and users of the public place would be involved and become enthusiastic from the start because of the success factors of a place. That means, according to the expert, that during the process of change in the public place the focus is on the wishes and ideas of users for the purpose of achieving a supported plan for the public place.

According to the placemaking expert with the focus on the user and a fine place, the social component is at least as important as the physical component. He believes that a collective debate about the public place can lead to useful ideas for the public place.

The human scale and small scale should be clearly reflected in the public domain according to the placemaking expert with

an interdisciplinary and strategic view on placemaking. The placemaking expert with experience on small and experimental activities shares the same opinion as the interdisciplinary expert, naming the problem with the design and organization of many neighborhoods with clear separation of functions and large scaled anonymity.

These have been the consequences of modernist ideals in the past decades in urban developments. Small-scale businesses or activities can help to organize the physical public place in a better way.

The community workers are organizing activities and project whereby problems in the public place become visible. By organizing long-term activities at a particular location, such as a park with volunteers, new uses and activities in the specific place are stimulated. Issues such as accessibility, degeneration and unilateral use, become clear because of the neighbourhood activities, according to the community workers. Because the community work together with volunteers in the neighbourhood, specific needs of (new) users become clear. An example of

this is the accessibility to a wide audience of a particular place within the public place. Because the community workers, along with the volunteers from the neighborhood work together and get to know the new and existing users of the site, these problems become visible and addressed. According to community workers, the added value of involving volunteers from the neighborhood is eventually a better use for the physical public place by responding to the specific and general needs of various target groups from the neighborhood itself.

In Table VII an overview of the main views and results are given, which include the main characteristics, pros and cons (obstacles) of the application of placemaking. The table is also a summary of the main views & characteristics founded during the fieldwork, as described in section 6.1.

Main Views & Characteristics placemaking	<i>Main characteristics & aims</i>	<i>Pros & cons (obstacles)</i>
Interdisciplinary & strategic development city	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Connection between top-down and bottom-up approaches • Community & informal networks • Local economy & startups • Markets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Missing Human scale & anonymity big cities • Sustainable funding & placemangement • Distrust in the neighborhoods
User & fine place	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research for nice place with users • Economic potentials neighbourhood • Supported plan 	
Practical application of four core values of PPS with a focus on social issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Start of Dialogue between residents • Practical implication of 4 core values PPS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Care needs residents in disadvantaged neighbourhoods
Small-scale and experimental application placemaking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experimental and small-scaled activities • Connection with active organizations in neighbourhood • Activities for different kinds of people to connect 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monofunctional set up disadvantaged neighbourhoods • Less investments for smaal-scaled experimental urban activities • Unclear future urban renewal policy
<i>Process-oriented Connecting between residents and government</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Connection between residents & local government and local organizations • Visibility residents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gap between residents and municipalities • Unclear outcome placemaking obstacle for participation of municipalities
Focus on community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Connection with community • Key figures participation • Local businesses involvement 	
View of Municipalities & housing corporations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support Residents initiatives • Neighbourhood economy • Mixing & redevelopment Management & maintenance public place 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation & involvement residents • Less Financial resources • Care needs residents • Places making alternatives available
View of Community workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Care needs residents • Health issues residents • Support municipality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health issues residents • Different Community
View of architects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Searching for potentials in neighbourhood 	

Table VII: Resume of main characteristics of placemaking and pros & cons (obstacles)

6.2 Characteristics of disadvantaged Dutch neighbourhoods

Section 6.2 will answer sub-question 3: *What are characteristics of disadvantaged Dutch neighborhoods?*

During the literature review in chapter 2, the neighborhoods, the origin, the developments through the decades and the key issues are described. During the interviews with the professionals a number of important issues are mentioned that characterize many disadvantaged neighborhoods in the Netherlands. A number of problems in disadvantaged neighborhoods that occur in public places and on social-economic level are founded.

The most important characteristics in disadvantaged neighbourhoods according to the literature are summarized:

- *Often a mediocre programming of public places with little involvement and use of public place from residents*
- *The design of the buildings around the public place often a problem*

- *Less bond between the public place and the needs of the user groups*
- *Physical decline of the built environment and the housing stock;*
- *Inadequate quality and qualitatively outdates public place;*
- *Problems such as vandalism and destruction and feelings of unsafety or loitering youth;*
- *Problems such as segregation, weak economical and social position residents.*

During the interviews, the characteristics of the disadvantaged neighborhoods are extensively discussed in the different interviews with the four focus groups. The professionals have their own view on neighborhoods and place making. The professionals each have mentioned key issues from their own perspective in disadvantaged neighbourhoods that are important for the application of place making. Table VIII shows the main issues in disadvantaged neighborhoods that have been mentioned by the experts during the fieldwork:












Main issues disadvantaged neighbourhoods	frequency mentioned (from 17 interviews)				
 Monofunctional & anonymity	12	5	3	3	1
 Management & maintenance public place	10	7	3	0	0
 Unilateral use public place	14	7	4	2	1
 Care needs residents	11	2	4	3	2
 Gap between municipal policy & residents needs	12	7	3	1	1
 Propensity to move & outflow residents	7	3	3	1	0
 Less bond residents with neighbourhood	13	5	4	2	2

Table VIII: *Overview of the main issues in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods according to the fieldwork*

 **Monofunctional & anonymity**

For some place making experts one of the characteristics of disadvantaged neighbourhoods is the mono-functional design and anonymity. This is the same for some municipalities and community workers. However, the three interviewed groups give other causes and consequences of this phenomenon during the interviews. The most important reason for the anonymity, according to place making experts, is the large-scale structure of many modern cities. The anonymity inferred from the modernist ideas. As a result of modernist ideas, one of the problems is segregation and mono-functional structure of the post-war neighborhoods. Both the place making experts with the interdisciplinary and strategic development of the city and the small experimental view mention the large-scale structure of the neighborhoods affected. This would lead to anonymity in public places and the lack of human scale.


Some of the municipal representatives agree with the place making experts on the monofunctional & anonymity. However, according to the municipal representatives, the reason for the anonymity are the many cheap social housing present in the neighborhoods. The representatives of the municipalities also mention the lack of small businesses as a phenomenon in the neighborhoods. The mono-functionality leads to anonymity in the neighborhoods, according to them. This affects the local economy and reputation (image) of the neighborhood and the city as a whole.

The community workers draw attention to the many flats in the neighborhoods where people live anonymously. Many of these apartments are on the list to be demolished or renovated. Because of budget deficit, corporations' attention is shifted from demolition to renovation in

the future. In the meantime, the apartments and public place in the vicinity are neglected.

According to community workers, this is a cause of alienation of the inhabitants with each other and with the neighborhood.

The literature study earlier showed that some physical and social problems can be observed in disadvantaged neighborhoods. According to the literature study, some of the residents are less satisfied with the living environment and there are feelings of unsafety to perceive disadvantaged neighborhoods. Some of these problems can be traced back to the mono-functionality and anonymity in the public place which is indicated by a number of interviewees during the fieldwork.

 **Management & maintenance public place**

The interviews with the place making professionals indicate that in many cases, maintenance and management in disadvantaged neighborhoods are less than in other neighbourhoods of the cities. According to one of the place making experts in large cities, the municipality tends to give less attention to management and maintenance of public places in disadvantaged neighborhoods. There is, according to the experts, more attention to neighbourhoods with 'a good reputation' or urban areas and the city center with the aim to promote the city as a whole to visitors of the city. Other place making experts share the same opinion, without naming a specific cause for the choices made by the municipality. The municipalities point out the shortage of budget caused by the financial crisis as a cause for less management and maintenance in public places. The frequency and the level of maintenance and management have been declining in recent years. Unlike some of the

placemaking experts, the municipalities blame the reduced level of maintenance and management of public place to the the shortage of budgets in the recent years.

The impact of a lower level of maintenance and management can be seen in the streets in the neighborhoods. There is in general more pollution and more vandalism.

Earlier, the literature already showed that in general, a number of physical problems occur in disadvantaged neighborhoods. With the fieldwork, it can be concluded that there is an interaction between management and maintenance and the physical decline in the public place. Both of them affect each other in practice. So, municipalities seem to do less management and maintenance in neighborhoods where the condition of the public place have been poor. The result is that the physical condition of disadvantaged neighborhoods experience even more deterioration.

 **Unilateral use public place**

The municipalities expressed their concerns about certain parts of the neighborhoods where loitering youths hang out and can cause disruption. The municipalities have no immediate solution for this phenomenon. They try, in many cases, to work with so-called role models from the youth community itself who could have influence on the youth.

Although municipalities in the interviews focus on the issue of unilateral use of public space, some place making experts also make clear the underlying cause during the interviews.

According to the place making experts, one of the causes of the unilateral use of public place is the unilateral focus of municipalities on functionality of the public place, and not on the use of it by various user groups. This while, the main focus of place making activities is on the

use by and attracting of different user groups of the public place.

As shown by the literature, from place making perspective, the public place is seen as a social construction and from there place making experts search for new activity and the use of the public place together with potential users of the public place. That is why the project manager from the municipality of Vlaardingen indicates that the most important added value of place making is that the municipality has begun sense to prioritize uses and activities, which can also reduce unilateral use in the public place.

 **Care needs residents**

One of the main preconditions mentioned by the various target groups during the interviews, are the various care needs of residents in disadvantaged neighborhoods. These requests are varied and are an important factor in many cases to consider, according to the interviewees.


Earlier, it appeared in the interviews that one of the placemaking experts firmly stated that the care needs in the neighborhoods are a major obstacle for the implementation of place making projects. Regardless of place making, the expert interviews mentioned a number of specific care needs that characterizes needs of residents in disadvantaged neighborhoods. In many cases there is a considerable part of the residents with a socio-cultural disadvantage position.

As shown in the literature study, care needs in disadvantaged neighborhoods are often socio-economic in nature. The high concentration of different cultures in the neighborhoods can lead to segregation and an isolated existence of some residents. These characteristics are also mentioned in the interviews by the place making experts to define the neighborhoods. In disadvantaged neighborhoods, a number of care needs often recurrent: many residents have a socio-cultural disadvantage; some are

long-term unemployed or suffer from poor health. As a result, many residents also live in social isolation and get out less. One of the community workers even calls attention for the problem of obesity as a phenomenon that is common in many disadvantaged neighborhoods. Through activities in public places, community workers try to attract these and other residents to the outside with all sorts of activities. The activities are in some cases focusing on health and a healthy lifestyle.

Just like the community workers, a number of municipal authorities are focusing on the health of the residents in their disadvantaged neighborhoods. People often move too little or are even rarely outside. One of the main objectives of the community workers is raising awareness and facilitating sport and physical activity in public places.

The municipalities also have another goal in the promotion and facilitation of sports and physical activity among the youth. The municipalities also want to offer incentives to the youth through the use of role models *"to stay on the right path and discover their talents and develop themselves in the neighborhoods."* The interviewed neighborhood manager of The Hague municipality referred to the difficulties they encounter with some of the youth in disadvantaged neighborhoods of the city. There is a relatively large school dropout in the neighborhoods and there is a tendency of some young people to cause nuisance and crime.

 **Gap between municipal policy & residents needs**

The gap between municipal policy and residents is a major point of discussion for placemaking experts, municipalities and community workers. The differences in opinion between placemaking experts and municipalities: placemaking experts see a particular gap which is very difficult to close. They have doubts about the effects

of physical interventions in the neighborhoods. The municipalities on the other hand still emphasize the importance of physical renewal. Place making experts think that physical renewal can have negative influences on the existing networks, while local authorities generally hardly see this problem.

Some interviewees from place making point out that both the policy of the physical intervention and the so called mixing policy of some municipalities disturb the existing networks and communities in disadvantaged neighborhoods, as this opinion of the place making expert is summarized in the next quote:

"Policy of municipalities to mix can greatly disrupt existing networks in the community by costly refurbishment of the neighborhoods ... renewal from within is much more attractive and interesting"


The place making experts point out a number of examples that the refurbishing and renovations in existing communities are not only very expensive, but also disruptive to the existing networks in the neighbourhood. Renovation would be encouraged from within the community and for that it is necessary to know the community; who are the people, what drives them and what problems and potentials do already exist in the neighbourhoods. Some place making professionals have doubts about the impact of demolition and new construction (mainly for the financial crisis) and renovation (especially after the crisis). One of the arguments is that through physical interventions as it is now, the existing networks in the neighborhood can become disturbed and fall apart, as put earlier.

By contrast, the municipalities still see opportunities in physical renewal of disadvantaged neighborhoods. For municipalities, physical renewal is not a major threat to the collapse of existing networks in the neighborhoods, as some place making professionals mention. The demolition and new constructions also mean that new people are drawn to the neighbourhood (municipal efforts to mix) and existing residents are less able to develop themselves. Also, according to some experts of placemaking, municipalities responded too little on the care needs which is typically seen in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

As it became clear in section 6.1, one of the place making experts doubted the effectiveness and applicability of place making because of the care needs many residents have in the neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, the care needs are generally not seen as an obstacle to the effectiveness of place making by most of the place making experts. However, there is quite a different way of approach suggested by the experts. Some place making experts warn for a naive application or use of the methodology as a way "to cover" other issues or problems in the neighborhood.

One of the community workers believes that municipalities often think too abstract on the practice in the neighborhoods: *"Municipalities think too much in organization charts"*. This quote is from one of the community workers to make clear that municipalities often have less focus on existing initiatives and organizations in the neighborhoods. What municipalities in many cases do is to set up an organization with a director, secretary, and then look around what should be done in the neighbourhood, according to the community worker. While the activities and the organization is more or less present in the neighborhood. A similar view is from another community worker.

Community workers indicate that a part of the policy of municipalities and housing corporations provide support for neighborhood initiatives, but only support resources and not provide labor payments. Corporations do see the importance of neighborhood initiatives, but do not spend a lot of time organizing initiatives because that is not their core business. The municipalities, according to community workers, should support citizens' initiatives as much as possible.

 ***Propensity to move & outflow residents***

There are different opinions about the propensity to move and outflow of residents. Unlike the local authorities and housing associations (see further on), the place making professionals see the phenomenon of residents and their propensity to move more as a symptom than a problem. One of the place making professionals indicates that the propensity to move is a worldwide phenomenon. Often there are migrants and knowledge workers who can come into a neighborhood and rather want to move quickly because they get better paid, or make a better living career. The propensity to move is not detrimental to the neighborhood by definition, according to the place making expert, on the condition that in and around the neighborhood economic opportunities are created to integrate into the neighborhood and society as a whole. For example: offering premises to new businesses can contribute to reduce propensity to move out of the neighbourhood, according to the place making expert.

The municipalities and housing corporations see the phenomenon propensity to move as a problem in disadvantaged neighborhoods. They indicate that one of the reasons is that many residents have less connection with each other and the neighborhood.

According to the neighbourhood manager of The Hague, the policy of the municipality is reduction of propensity to move by providing opportunities for living career (*woon carrière in Dutch*) in the neighbourhoods. They see particular potential in the so-called "success cases" who the municipality prefer to keep in the city. The success cases are promising residents with a high education or high income.

The representative of the housing corporation Vestia explains during the interview the difficulty of place making emphasis on the propensity to move of a significant number of residents; the so-called *urgency residents*. According to the representative of the housing corporation, the propensity to move out of the neighbourhoods is also caused by the increased individualization in the neighborhoods featuring the complication of the applicability of place making. The disadvantaged neighborhoods also house many residents who have little choice to their own feelings and are forced to live in the neighbourhood against their wish. These people, according to the representative of Vestia, wish to move in a short-term to a neighborhood and a house that is more suited to their needs.



Less bond residents with neighbourhood

The interviews show that an important feature of residents of disadvantaged neighborhoods is that they generally feel less connected to the neighborhood in which they live. However, placemaking experts and municipalities have a difference of opinion about the cause and effects of the lower bond around of the residents with the neighbourhood. As previously revealed, often the networks and communities in disadvantaged neighborhoods are closed and introverted. For the place making professionals, a closed network does not immediately mean that residents have little bond with the neighborhood, unlike municipalities

and housing associations think. The communities are in a different way tied with the neighborhood, more in their own ethnic or cultural groups to which they belong.

"The sense of responsibility of residents in disadvantaged neighborhoods quit at the front door" The housing association also indicates that in The Hague, disadvantaged neighborhoods have many residents with socio-economic problems, which cause many of them to have an introverted life. The interviewee sees the care needs from residents as typical for these areas. In disadvantaged neighborhoods in The Hague, a part of the residents are called *urgency residents* who are on a waiting list for a long time because of shortage of social housing in a suburban area for a suitable home.

Due to the tend of relocation of many residents, there is less connection with the neighborhood. This leads to a lack of actively participation or wish to take part to citizen participation projects, according to the representative of the housing association.

This is one of the reasons for the corporation to not apply place making. The corporation seeks alternatives to connect with residents of the neighborhoods and users of the public place. The corporation is researching and developing its own methods to connect with residents in the neighborhoods. One of the methods of the corporation is the so-called focus group (*klankbordgroep in Dutch*): together with a selection of active residents organizing the use of public place.

6.3. Main measures placemaking disadvantaged neighbourhoods

Section 6.3 will provide answers to Sub-question 4:

What measures can lead to the increase of social cohesion; what are the characteristics?

In the literature study in chapter two and three, the main characteristics of and views on place making and the different characteristics of the disadvantaged neighbourhoods are described. According to the literature study, the 4 core values of placemaking are the guiding principles for many place making processes that are based on the principles of a successful place, according to the PPS. The 4 core values are:

- **Access & Linkages**
- **Comfort & image**
- **Sociability**
- **Uses & activities**

During the literature study five placemaking-strategies are selected, these are:

- ❖ *Branding & image*
- ❖ *Co-creation & community empowerment*
- ❖ *Meeting the place*
- ❖ *Businesses & strengthening the local economy*
- ❖ *Long-term strategic projects*

During the fieldwork, there was an extensive discussion about place making and what the interviewees meant by place making. All interviewees have their own perspective on place making and how it is applied in disadvantaged Dutch neighborhoods. Also, preconditions for the successful application of place making processes in disadvantaged neighborhoods are mentioned and discussed during the interviews. The preconditions are displayed in Table IX, specified by the 4 groups during the interviews. They will be described in this section.





Preconditions placemaking disadvantaged neighbourhoods	Frequency mentioned (from 17 interviews)				
Active role/involvement of community	16	7	4	3	2
Local economy & entrepreneurship	11	6	3	0	2
Key figures & community organizations	17	7	4	3	1
Participation policy municipalities	12	7	3	2	1
Sustainable funding & placemanagement	8	7	1	0	0

Table IX: *Preconditions of place making in disadvantaged neighbourhoods according to the fieldwork*

Active role/involvement of community

According to most experts, the main precondition at the start of place making is the active involvement of the community and residents. Municipalities also see a special role for role models in the neighborhoods. One of the place making experts says that there is often a strong community in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. On the other hand, disadvantaged neighborhoods are often *sprinkplankwijken*. The *sprinkplankwijk* phenomenon is when people that arrive in the neighborhood want to leave as soon as possible again. According to him it is not inconceivable that people can develop in a different neighbourhood or start a business, because the business climate makes that possible in other neighbourhoods.

"Professionals let go of what you know and ask local people; what do you think is important? Take it seriously!"

The quote above is from one of the place making experts to make clear the importance of active residents in disadvantaged neighborhoods as a reason for a successful place making process. Eventually the active resident may begin to feel concerned with the living environment, which can eventually lead to ownership.

The placemaking experts note a number of risks in the process of involvement and activation of residents. The first risk is that professionals interfere too much. Another obstacle in the involvement of residents is the municipal framework for public places. Municipal framework and the way it is presented at residents' meetings may take energy away from residents according to the most place making experts.

The public place should allow all user groups with different backgrounds, education and age to come together in the

public place. This is the opinion of the place making expert with the focus on small and experimental activities. However, there is often little interaction between different (potential) users of the public place. People are often organized within their own group without interaction. Small scaled and experimental place making activities could be helpful to connect all the user groups together, according to the interviewed place making expert.

Several placemaking professionals also explain during the interviews the importance of informal networks in the neighbourhoods. The informal networks are active residents, key figures and local community organizations.

Some municipalities strive to retain the so-called role models in the communities in disadvantaged neighborhoods. One of the examples given by some municipal representatives is the creation of housing career opportunities to residents to return to the neighbourhood in the city. The Hague, Vlaardingen and Purmerend experiment with citizen initiatives to take part in the management of public place in the so-called "*neighbourhood agreements*".

Local economy & entrepreneurship

Another important precondition at the start of a place making process to consider is entrepreneurship and opportunities with the local economy. Contrary to the image that generally consists about disadvantaged neighborhoods, there is, according to the interviews, enough potential and entrepreneurship present.

Both, the place making experts and the municipalities have their own specific goals with the local economy and the entrepreneurship. However, there is a difference in the objectives between the two groups.

Placemaking experts especially want to promote a positive image, integration and meeting in the neighbourhoods.

The municipalities mainly want a varied and attractive shopping facility in order to make the whole city economically strong and attractive. According to the placemaking professionals, entrepreneurship and the local economy contribute to three main themes:

1. *Positive image neighborhood;*
2. *Integration;*
3. *Meeting.*

During the interview, one of the place making experts mentions entrepreneurship as a notable characteristic of these disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Entrepreneurship by multicultural residents is a general feature for the most disadvantaged Dutch neighborhoods. Entrepreneurship leads to different people at different times of the day in one place where they can come together, summarized in the next quote of the place making expert: *"A great neighborhood when it comes to entrepreneurship where different people at different times of the day come together. The place is livable throughout the day"*. According to this expert, the presence of businesses in the neighbourhoods leads to livability and intensive use of the public place throughout the day.

The economic development and existing potentials are mainly viewed from the ability for people to integrate into the neighborhoods where they establish or have established themselves, as shown in the a quote of the place making expert with the interdisciplinary and strategic view: *"The Economy is the driving force behind integration"*. One of the place making experts explains his views on the influence of what a local market can have on stimulation of meeting between people: *"Without a market there is no meeting"*.

Meeting between people, extensive use and activity in the neighbourhood can be stimulated through a local market. Earlier in the literature, it became clear that meeting, use and activity are goals that fit within the 4 core values of successful place according to PPS. It is also the place where the small economy can develop.

The municipalities also have specific goals with the markets and shops. However, the goals are different from those of the place making experts. For place making experts the use and activities are of great importance. The municipalities want to create an attractive and varied range of shopoutlets and make it attractive to a wider audience. This is shown in the next quote of the municipal neighbourhood representative in The Hague: *"An attractive and varied shopping is often missing ... connecting retail outlets in the neighborhood is one of the goals"*. The municipality wants to intensify the connection of stores and shops in the city in order to use all the potentials that are present. There are experiments in the city in association with the interviewed architect with the creation of urban agriculture projects. According to one of the architects, an economic objective for cities should be smart solutions for vacant buildings. Sustainable solution to the vacant buildings by the construction of urban agriculture projects would lead to value creation in the city.

Key figures & community organizations

The key figures and community organizations are one of the main preconditions for placemaking experts and municipalities. The main difference between the two disciplines is in the goal with the key figures and community organizations: place making experts see potential in the key figures especially for the success of a place making activity and the creation of a broad public support for the plans.

Municipalities mainly want to keep the key figures in the neighborhoods.

According to the place making experts, the role models can attract local people from the communities that are often difficult to involve in such processes. This approach could create a broad public support for the implementation of place making activities. The role models are also young people who are already active in associations, clubs and other community organizations. During a spin-off of place making activities, these role models could organize new activities using their own individual talents in association with other users of the public place. This approach may be from various disciplines of place making, temporary and experimental basis or as part of a certain strategy for the neighbourhood. The interviews make clear that place making experts want to use the networks of key figures such as local professionals and local care organizations that are present and have a broad network within the communities. Addressing and approaching these key figures are an important step in approaching residents and involving them in spatial issues in the public places, according to place making experts.

According to the interviews with representatives, the municipalities want to retain the role models in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods or city and create housing career opportunities to make people return to the district. The municipalities are experimenting with jobhomes (*kluswoningen in Dutch*) or selling cheap plots to create an attractive business climate. The municipalities particularly refer to role models as those who are successful in an area where some of the young people of the community are vulnerable for bad influences and hang out in the public place. This idea of the role models for the community is also a derivative of the municipal differentiation policy to attract people with higher incomes who have a positive effect when

they enter an area with many people with a socially weak position. Nevertheless, some interviewed place making experts think municipal policy is still not effective enough and neighborhood-oriented.

Community workers are searching for enthusiastic people who want to be active or to organize activities in the neighbourhood. The community workers see it as their role to guide and support these residents. For community workers, these people are essential and in their view municipalities have to find them. Unlike municipalities, the community workers believe that this phenomenon and approach appears too often and municipalities put too little energy into finding the key figures from the community.

 **Participation policy municipalities**

A significant part of the place making experts see an intensive search from the municipalities to involve residents and activate the (re) development of the physical environment. This process is in accordance with the place making professionals speeded up after the financial crisis in which the government introduced “participatory society” as it is shown earlier in the literature. The focus on participation from the municipalities is also caused by the absence of large-scale financial investments. The municipalities want more support and efficiency during the implementation of their spatial plans. There is a significant gap between the needs of the residents and the abstractness of the municipal policy, according to the place making experts. That does not mean that there is a total lack of awareness of the gap by the municipalities.

According to interviewed place making experts, some municipalities certainly are willing to think about their participation policy and are realizing that they must move along with the changes in the city. The residents are better informed and aware of their influences.

The gap between “the reality in the neighbourhoods” and municipal policy is partly caused by the risks or uncertainty in outcome that place making is associated with. Governments are trained to keep risks as small as possible, as shown during the debate about the views in the interviews on place making.

Other place making experts are more definite about the supposed lack of awareness among many officials to adapt participatory policies to the reality and see an almost unworkable use of the terminology participation to implement the municipal plans. One of the place making experts retrieves the evenings participation of the municipality in which “the gray white man” or as he calls it “participatory elite” is present and who is heard on spatial plans for the city. With this method, according to this expert, a large part of the community and users of public places are excluded from the debate. Another trend that is often mentioned during the interviews is that municipal participation generally means that the opinion of the residents is asked halfway the process when the plans for public place and living environment are more or less ready. According to place making experts, the main reason the residents (those who are present) are heard in order to create support for the plans of the municipality.

Place making professionals and a large part of the interviewed municipalities agree on the “unworkable” way the municipality tries to involve residents in spatial plans. In many cases residents are invited with a standard letter for participation evenings. This way of inviting participation attracts only some of the residents. Some of the residents in disadvantaged neighborhoods have difficulty with the Dutch language and are not familiar with active participation on debate about the environment. That could be one of the reasons that in disadvantaged neighbourhoods citizen

participation therefore is difficult to develop. The place making experts believe that participation processes of the municipalities currently are insufficiently accessible for the general public, especially in disadvantaged areas where they have difficulty getting a broad representation in participatory processes.

Place making experts mention one of the key potentials in their view when it comes to connecting urban renewal with the residents. Through the methodology of place making, municipalities could start involving residents in their plans for the city, as summarized in the next quote of one of the place making experts: “Municipalities start with at the front of the involvement of residents process”. In the view of place making experts, a different and efficient way of approaching and involving residents is possible through the use of place making in urban renewal processes and therefore residents to be actively involved from the beginning of the spatial plans. The placemaking expert with experience in process-connecting residents and government indicates a risk of application of participatory placemaking by municipalities and other stakeholders and says: “I am decidedly against participatory application of placemaking”. According to this expert, one should avoid that residents have to develop spatial planning issues at the design table. The design of the environment is a very complex and complicated process, which may be expected that they have sufficient experience with design processes. According to this expert, the “ordinary” residents do not have sufficient experiences with the complex issues of spatial planning and design.

For some community workers, the greatest frustration with participation projects is that their work is often seen as voluntary work and the efforts are not rewarded. When it comes to larger projects, with no payments from the municipality does not make payments, some community workers make a choice and they do not take part in large-scale participation programs. Support the community as much as possible initiatives is the opinion of the community workers: *"Supporting a group of active people in the neighbourhoods often has a greater effect than that you have to make people excited first as a municipality"*. According to place making experts the only thing municipalities need to do is connect the municipal policy with the initiatives already and support them. Like many place making experts, community workers think that it is often difficult for residents to find their way in organizing activities and applying for municipal fundings. For this reason, the residents are often suggesting to put the focus on the support of this kind of local needs and the municipality can achieve the greatest impact by supporting ideas of active residents.



Sustainable funding & placemanagement

Placemaking experts, community workers and local authorities agree on the fact that there are fewer budgets available. However, only the municipalities generally see no drastic drawbacks by less available budget.

In general, the absence of sustainable cash flows and financing of placemaking is mentioned as an obstacle by most of the place making experts during the interviews. Sustainable cash flows and financing is according to them necessary for a sustainable development in place making processes in the long-term. It is for the interviewees one of the most important parameters for the success of place making.

The placemaking expert with a strategic view calls orgware and organization of sustainable cash flows as a precondition for success place making in the long run. During the interview, he shows that municipal subsidies may be driven by political motives and the risk that the political attention is also periodical. Sustainable cash flows could be realized through strategic partnerships between the top-down and bottom-up world: a sustainable and future-proof development of cities held as the ultimate goal. The professional from the small-scale and experimental place making processes also mentions the risk from the breakdown of place making processes by running out of financial resources. She considers this as a significant problem for many placemaking projects and civic initiatives at this time. One of the first steps is to create sustainable financial flows. The formation of foundations and organizations by residents in the neighbourhoods is an opportunity to make an impact. By setting up district foundation, municipal subsidies and legal issues could be arranged easily. Moreover, the district foundation could become helpful for the residents to achieve greater self-organizing ability in the neighbourhoods. Another place making expert carries out the idea of long-term organization of a place, organized by the municipality, called place governance. This parameter matches the place making strategy 5 long-term projects as found in the literature study.

A central theme during the interviews with municipalities is the decreased financial capabilities of the state and local authorities as a result of the financial crisis and budget cuts from the government. The second issue for the municipalities is *"smart spending"* of the available budgets. The representative of the municipality of The Hague says that the municipality has to make choices in which the available budget to be spent on.

According to the interviewee project manager of the municipality of Vlaardingen, the municipality is increasingly seeking connections from neighborhoods and residents to spend money “smart” and achieve as much as possible with less. Municipalities note that less available money means less maintenance and management of the public place. In disadvantaged neighborhoods where the management and maintenance in some cases are already at a low level, the quality simultaneously goes down. The project manager of the municipality of Vlaardingen clarifies hereby that place making projects or projects whereby residents play a central role can help to raise the level and quality of the management and maintenance of public place.

Although the municipalities are trying to reach out to local activities, community workers have the problem of collecting money for activities and projects. Some of the community workers believe that they can be hired for certain projects and activities, on the condition that the labor hours are rewarded. In many cases, there is often a funding for the activities, but no subsidy for the working hours. That is one of the reasons some community workers have become more selective in the choice to participate in activities.

According to the expert interviews, community workers would like to professionalize themselves and search for partners who provide financial resources but often they do not have time and capacity to practice these aims in many cases. The community workers mention that if they succeed to create financial flows, some municipal organizations may hinder in the management and maintenance of public place. The community workers try to professionalize themselves by setting up a foundation that can be active in one or more neighbourhoods in the city. This

foundation can be an official link between the community workers, the residents, municipalities, corporations and other stakeholders. Because of a foundation, policy and municipal regulations could be facilitative and the foundation can be a serious partner in local negotiations about physical and social issues in the neighborhoods.

There is agreement on the fact that there are fewer budgets available. However, only the municipalities generally see no drastic drawbacks by less available budget. They believe that the money must be spent wisely and there are choices to be made. This means that in some cases management and maintenance in neighborhoods is of a lower level than before. The municipalities are currently not engaged in place management allowing low budget seems to be available for funds, while community workers and a part of the place making experts consider municipal funds as important.

6.4. Neighbourhood characteristics & impact placemaking on social cohesion

In this section answers will be given on sub-question 5 and 6 of the research.

Sub-question 5:

5. Which neighbourhood characteristics are important for social cohesion?

Sub-question 6:

What is the impact of the implementation of place making activities on the social cohesion of a neighborhood?

According to the literature study in chapter 4 about social cohesion, there are three major dimensions to take into account with which social cohesion can be measured in disadvantaged neighborhoods. These three dimensions are:

1. **Social network & social capital (behavior)**
2. **Degree of similar beliefs about the neighborhood (norms and values) and**
3. **Place attachment & identity.**

The fieldwork revealed that two of these dimensions are very recognizable for the experts. These dimensions are (I) Social network & social capital and (II) Place attachment & identity.

During the interviews, it also appeared that dimension 2 (Degree of similar beliefs about the neighbourhood) is not or is hardly seen as a dimension of social cohesion in disadvantaged neighborhoods. During the interviews, the experts have argued from their own perspective new dimensions (possible outcomes). These influences on social cohesion according to the expert could be potential derivatives of the successful application of place making in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The most important possible outcomes are listed below and may be the result of the application of place making in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

With the results of the interviews with the four target groups, sub-questions 5 & 6 can be answered:














Possible outcomes placemaking in disadvantaged neighbourhoods	Frequeuntie genoemd (from 17 interviews)				
 Dialogue & understanding	10	6	3	1	0
 Visibility residents & ownership	13	7	4	1	1
 Trust & identification	14	7	3	2	2
 Social network & social capital	15	7	3	3	2
 Upgrading & increase value real estate	8	5	2	0	1
 Self-reliance & Self-organizing ability	11	6	2	1	2
 Increased use and public place activity	13	7	2	2	2
 Management & maintaince efficiency public place	8	5	3	0	0
 Health issues	8	1	3	3	1

Table X: Possible outcomes of place making in disadvantaged neighbourhoods according to the fieldwork

Dialogue & understanding

Creating dialogue and understanding is one of the possible outcomes of place making. Yet, there is a difference of opinion between the place making experts and the local authorities and housing associations on the impact of dialogue and understanding among residents. The placemaking experts generally see a link between this possible outcome and increase of the social cohesion. Municipalities and corporations see it more as a tool to gain public support for their policies and plans. There is a lot of distrust from residents in disadvantaged neighborhoods. According to many placemaking experts, distrust causes place making processes to become difficult but not impossible. Many place making experts share the belief that one should act carefully in order to win back the trust and keep it during the whole process.

One of the instruments place making professionals use to create dialogue and understanding is the use of a place game. Residents of the neighborhood are invited to the place game to talk about what activities they would like to see back in the public place. The power of the place game is that it is practical and accessible to a large group of residents who think jointly about the public place. One of the professionals says: *"During a place game & a place making activity people come together who would otherwise never come into contact with each other"*.

One of the place making professionals says that a dialogue is initiated because residents will get the opportunity to talk to each other. There is also acknowledgment and recognition of each other and each other's views during the meetings of a place game. Dialogue and understanding is directly linked to the dimension of **social capital & social network** of social cohesion from the literature study. The residents come into contact with each other at a place making activity.

They would hardly speak to each other in everyday life is the argument of the place making professionals.

A major risk of the debate was discussed during the interviews. The risk is that people argue with each other and the debate becomes disrupted: *"You need to avoid people arguing with each other"* is the opinion of the placemaking expert with experience in connecting residents to governments. It is important to ensure that the talks between residents do not go directly about physical design of the public place: The debate should remain open and accessible. The residents must be given the space to express their ideas. In next steps, the design of public place could be considered. Like placemaking experts, community workers and architects see dialogue and understanding as a possible outcome of place making with positive effects on the overall social cohesion in neighbourhoods.

Visibility residents & ownership

The visibility of residents as one of the results is referred by a number of placemaking professionals. Residents can get a platform to express their ideas about the uses and activities that are desirable or undesirable in the public place in the neighbourhoods, according to one of the place making professionals. The ideas and thoughts of residents can be evaluated in a number of steps. The ideas ultimately lead to a vision about the neighbourhood. The visibility of residents is not so much to measure numerically. However the interviews show that it can ultimately lead to a higher level of organization, use and activities in the public place. The visibility can be linked to one of the dimension one of social cohesion as mentioned in the literature, namely, **place attachment and identity**. If residents are visible they will begin to feel ownership for the public place, according to many of the place making professionals.

The ownership generally remains unclear over the long-term and are hardly or difficult to measure in the long-term. That does not mean that the professionals do not believe that during and immediately after a placemaking process, part of the residents become visible and could feel ownership for the living environment. However, place making experts generally believe that residents can begin to feel ownership because of the results of their contributions to the debates.

Trust & identification

According to different place making experts there is much **history and icons** available in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Residents are proud of and in the context of improvement of the social cohesion it could be helpful to respond to these icons and history. Some of the placemaking experts see the history and icons in the neighbourhood as a way to change the negative image of the neighbourhoods. These elements could contribute to place making activities in the disadvantaged neighbourhood.

The soul of the place like one of the place making experts defines is **the identity of a place** as one the core values with which he works. According to him, people will invest more quickly in a place or community where they feel connected. The interviewed expert also sees economic benefits in strengthening the identity of the neighborhood. The expert with experience on process-oriented connection between residents and government suggests that residents may become visible again by some kind of ownership. A sense of ownership can lead to identification with the neighborhood, according to the placemaking expert. However, one of the interviewed architects notes during the interview that an important question is how to measure the identity, because of the emerge of insufficient data. According to the interview with the architect, the identity and how **identity and place attachment**

(3rd dimension and social cohesion according to the literature study) could be defined, is a complex issue. According to the architect, identity is the same as the **"self-image"** and if you want to work out the identity or work to establish the desired identity (branding & image), then you often miss the data you need in order to analyze these complex issues. There is here, according to the architect, a challenge for the future to conduct research in which more data becomes available about the identity and the desired identity of a neighborhood.


Social network & social capital

Social network and social capital have been one of the key dimensions of social cohesion during the literature study. During the interviews it became clear that one of the effects of place making activities could be the increase of social network & social capital in a disadvantaged neighbourhood. This dimension is directly mentioned during all interviews with the place making professionals or recognized as an important result of place making.

According to one of the community workers it is not only the debate that would lead to the growth of social network and social capital. The cooperation realized during the joint activities could lead to more social networks and social capital. His statement is that *"Activities that focus on cooperation by local residents have the effect of getting to know each other"*. The community worker indicates that their activities in the public places have a strong social impact. The result can be that the local residents volunteer and cooperate together. Through cooperation, people are getting to know each other and the social network and capital is strengthened. At the same time, the interviewed community workers see some difficulties of the performance and the degree of impacts of the activities. Another bottleneck is that many of the activities are often non-committal.

Because of the non-committal attitude of the activities, it is difficult to rate the increase of social network and social capital in the neighbourhoods. According to the interview with the community worker, people will get to know each other during the activities and will do something for each other. He also notes that the residents will pay more attention to each other in the neighbourhood.

In general, the municipalities also see increased social network and social capital. However, they cannot prove it or mention it as a direct effect of place making. This is because only a part of the municipalities have experiences with placemaking activities. However, the municipalities indicated their wish that through placemaking or activities in which residents are actively involved, social network and social capital increases.

 **Upgrading & increase value real estate**

A part of the placemaking professionals see an increase in value of real estate in disadvantaged neighbourhoods where placemaking is applied. Value of existing real estate may increase upgrading together with the community from the neighborhood. One of the place making experts also links upgrading and increase of the value of real estate to an improved image of the neighbourhood. This can be the result in appreciation of properties in the neighbourhood.

One of the interviewed architects also refers to the importance of value creation and a sustainable solution to vacant properties. Urban agriculture on vacant lots or vacant properties, including in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in The Hague, is promoted as a sustainable potential demand for value creation in the districts and for counteracting vacancy in the city. According to the expert interviews on this issue, solutions for reducing long-term vacancy rate of office buildings or vacant lots can be carried out

in the context of place making that possible value creation can be realized.


Municipalities are trying to find solutions for the use of vacant properties with the aim to prevent degradation. However, one of the community workers noted during the interviews that in certain cases municipalities are not helpful enough to local organizations to let vacant properties be used for local activities. According to the community worker, municipalities should be more open to neighborhood initiatives to use vacant properties. This would also lead to value creation in some cases.

 **Self-reliance & Self-organizing ability**

Placemaking experts believe that placemaking activities must ensure that people are given responsibilities in order to become active and remain active in the neighbourhood. The place making experts see in placemaking the potential that self-organizing capacity may increase.

According to one of the interviewed architects, in disadvantaged neighborhoods there is less self-organizing capacity available than in an advantaged district. People in a neighbourhood with fewer disadvantages are generally more assertive. They have more self-organizing ability, according to the architect. The lack of self-reliance and self-organizing ability is, according to the place making experts, the reason to give responsibilities to the residents during the activities.

Also, during the interviews with the municipalities with experience in placemaking, the example of transfer responsibilities to the people to organize activities is mentioned. The municipalities see self-organizing ability as a connection of residents to more self-reliance on the labor market at a later stage.

 **Increased use and public place activity**

In addition to all the social aspects, placemaking is also primarily focused on the physical design of public place to be better used by a wider audience. The place making experts see a better use when the results in the public place is of a joint reflection with end-users on new activities and users that attract a wide audience to the place. The public place would be used at several times of the day by multiple users. An increase in activity is therefore the purpose of place making activities.

During the interviews, various types of activities are mentioned by the place making experts with the purpose to intensify the use and activities in the public places. The experts suggested a range of activities during the interviews that they organize at the start of a placemaking process in public places. The activities vary from setting down a stage for performances by local music groups, to sports and recreation activities organized by local clubs and active residents. The activities are a mix of activities and in some cases; entrepreneurs and community organizations are also actively involved in the process of organizing activities.

 **Management & maintenance efficiency public place**

Placemaking should ultimately result in management and maintenance of a higher level than is the case in disadvantaged neighbourhoods where there is no placemaking or has been applied. Placemaking activities should eventually result in the transfer of a part of the responsibility of managing and maintaining of the public place. A group of active residents who will continue in a form of neighborhood organization with the management and maintenance of public places, are seen as an ultimate goal by placemaking professionals and community workers.

Still, this appears to be a difficult task. It is not only an organizational complex task to keep a group of residents enthusiastic for the task. The municipalities, according to the placemaking experts, have insufficient experience or the will to transfer the management and maintenance of public place to a third party. This task is considered as a core task of the municipalities. As mentioned earlier, the so-called neighbourhood agreements (*wijkakkoorden in Dutch*) can be seen as a start of a sustainable form of this parameter. However, due to the fact that these neighborhood agreements are still standing at an experimental stage, it is not possible to make a statement about the possible effects on the long-term. Ultimately, the realization of management and maintenance by a group of active residents is possible with more experimentation and cooperation between residents and municipalities, according to place making professionals, municipalities and community workers.

 **Health issues**

As previously revealed in the interviews, one of the themes in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods is health and the health problems that some of the residents endure. The Interviewees from the four target groups mention this issue during the interviews. Placemaking activities focusing on health, exercise and awareness can help residents to obtain a healthy lifestyle. During the interviews, various health activities have been mentioned as one of the main themes. It can be sports and leisure activities in the public places, a neighborhood garden with educational and social functions and activities focusing on healthy eating.

6.5 Conclusions fieldwork

This chapter described the results of the fieldwork. The purpose of the fieldwork was to examine the degree of applicability of place making in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The four target groups have their own perspective on the characteristics of place making, characteristics of neighbourhoods and which measures can lead to more social cohesion. During the interviews, the literature is examined for completeness and new insights have been obtained.

There are a number of different views in the Netherlands on place making which can be distinguished. The interviews have shown that different views exist on place making. There are possibly even more views on place making. What has been identified during the interviews is that most of the placemaking experts work from the four core values of a successful place as shown in the literature. According to the literature, it is important to involve the communities in place making processes. The place making experts believe that connection between the municipal policy and the needs of the residents could become better. A better connection between residents and municipalities can establish understanding and appreciation for both sides. Shorter lines of communication and coordination between residents and municipalities can also provide efficiency in the implementation of neighborhood policy.

The municipalities acknowledge that the focus was laid mainly on physical renewal and to a lesser extent on the involvement of residents. However, most municipalities find that they increasingly try to connect residents to them at an earlier stage of the decision making process. The place making experts believe that residents should be involved at a much earlier stage and that the place making methodology can support municipalities to do so. Involving the residents can lead to more understanding among residents and

residents' public policies. Both place making experts and municipalities mention the gap between municipal policy and citizens. Municipalities are generally willing to change and there is a growing awareness to meet with the needs and wishes of residents. Involving residents in issues about the living environment at an early stage is seen as a major step. This occurs, according to the place making experts, in practice still insufficient.

One of the differences between the literature and the fieldwork about place making is that there are various views on place making in practice. Another insight that became clear during the interviews is that the municipalities, corporations, architects and community workers use strategies similar to place making. Some of the municipalities and corporations have their own participation policy and their own interpretation of involving the community in the decision-making process. Some of the municipalities and corporations believe that participation programs provide enough space for residents.

Place making professionals, community workers and one municipality with place making experience, share the view that it is important to involve residents from the beginning of the process and to keep them involved. This element is for these experts decisive for the possible success of a participation process. Only if the community gets involved, legitimacy for the plans are created in their view. Most of the interviewees have mentioned problems that can characterize disadvantaged neighborhoods in general. According to place making experts and community workers, the neighborhoods have a mono-functional character. This often results in anonymity in the public place. Management and maintenance of the public place is in many cases of a lower level than in other neighborhoods.

Part of the municipalities recognize this problem and mention the decline of available budget as a reason for the municipality to bring the management and maintenance to a lower level. The lower level of management and maintenance means in many cases less quality of the available facilities.

Care needs are often recurring issues in disadvantaged neighborhoods. The care needs can make application of place making more complicated. Some of the residents have a tendency to move out. Some are “forced” to live in the neighborhoods because of a lack of adequate social housing in the city itself. Therefore, as claimed in some of the interviews less connectedness by many residents in the neighborhood where one lives at that moment. In many cases, one wants to move to a neighborhood that meets their needs and concerns.

According to the fieldwork the preconditions of successful a place making processes are:

- (1) *Active role / involvement or community*
- (2) *Local economy and entrepreneurship*
- (3) *Key figures & Community Organizations*
- (4) *Participation policy municipalities*
- (5) *Sustainable funding and place management.*

It turns out that there is overlap between these preconditions and the sub-strategies that are found in the literature. There are certain economic and individual potentials that can be anticipated on in order to use place making for the growth of the local economy and the individual development of the residents. According to the interviews, the involvement of communities and anticipating on the informal networks can take away the distrust of residents and can become active in the neighbourhood. An important precondition for place making is sustainable funding and place management. This will lead to (more) distrust among the residents and not the

desired quality for the public place. Also, disappointment among both residents and experts will rise. The impact of the financial crisis proves the difficulty in carrying out the aims of place making. Less investment space appears to be a major stumbling block in the implementation and continuation of place making activities.

Creating neighborhood foundations is seen as an important step to professionalize and organize involvement of residents by the place making experts. Municipal policy is to be further aligned to the needs and wishes of the residents in the neighborhoods. However, experts acknowledge that municipalities are more aware of the gap between municipal policy and the practice in the neighbourhoods. Habituation and organizational structures ensure increase in the gap.

In the literature founded dimensions of social cohesion are possible consequences of implementing a place making process. The experts mention other possible outcomes during the interviews. People get to know each other. Because of the debate, it is possible that understanding for each other's views is created. Over the years, the residents of disadvantaged neighborhoods have become alienated from their living environment and in many cases do not realize that they can influence what happens or should happen in the living environment. As a derivative of social network and social capital, trust and identification are possible outcomes of place making.

In response to care needs and the disadvantaged position of some of the residents, experts mention the opportunity to create more self-organizing ability and self-reliance. Place making can also result in awareness of a healthy lifestyle through sports and recreation activities in the public place. Facilitating such activities that have a place in public place, should lead to increased use and activities in the public place by multiple user groups. This principle finds its basis in the four core values of a successful place of PPS.

7.

Conclusions & recommendations

This chapter will conclude this research and the thesis by summarizing all insights from the entire research study. In the first paragraph, answer to the main question of the entire research will be given.

The main question of this thesis is:

- ***To what extent and how can place making improve the social cohesion within disadvantaged neighborhoods, and could place making be a valuable addition to urban renewal processes?***

The first section will provide the conclusions of the entire study and answers to the main question of the study. The second paragraph of the conclusion section is about the recommendations for the practice. In the third paragraph, recommendations for further research are proposed in order to create more scientific understanding on the subjects of the research in the future. Also in the third paragraph, a reflection of the research will be given, which includes reflection of the literature study, the approaches used and the insights of the fieldwork.

7.1 Conclusions

During the literature study, seven sub-questions were formulated with the aim to answer the main question of the study. During the interviews, the research questions were examined for

completeness, and the experts provided new insights. In chapter six, the research questions were answered. This section provides answers to the main question of the study.

In accordance with the literature, it appeared during the interviews that place making experts work from the four core values of a successful place. However, the interviews have shown that there are different views on the methodology of place making. These views have a joint agreement. In all cases, involving the communities is an important objective. Legitimacy for place making processes is obtained by the involvement of the communities in the neighborhoods. Although the municipalities have begun to realize that they have to find a stronger connection with needs of residents, the gap that still exists between citizens and government when it comes to urban renewal is mentioned by many place making experts during the interviews. It became clear from the interviews with the four groups, that there is debate about the extent in which participation processes of municipalities and corporations are effective.

In general, experts from place making have the view that there is insufficient precision and clarity about participation and the involvement of residents. Municipalities are advised to show more openness to citizen initiatives, while many municipalities feel that there is sufficient space nowadays within the municipal framework for initiatives from the neighborhoods.

Place making is a community approach of urban renewal. It involves residents of the living environment and users of public place. It leads to more activity and use by multiple users. The research shows that place making can be a valuable addition to sustainable urban renewal. Especially for the period after the financial crisis and the absence of large-scale investment from the government.

The added value of place making could be that the renewal can come from the neighborhood itself to a certain extent. Because of the application of place making activities, it is possible to create more public-support for the municipal plans.

Place making processes stimulate understanding and dialogue between residents because they meet often and share perspectives. Cooperation between the residents themselves can lead to more community-oriented activities. There may also be more social contacts because of the involvement of the community in the neighbourhood. Social networks and social capital may increase during and after a place making activity. During the semi-formal meetings about the living environment, residents come into contact with each other. The meetings provide understanding for each other's opinions. People's contacts can be enhanced by joint reflection about activities that may take place in the public place. If one succeeds to involve residents through place making and the residents become visible within the process, trust can be restored and identification with the own neighbourhood can be one of the results.

In disadvantaged neighbourhoods the communities can be diverse and closed. The existing networks and key figures (active residents) may be involved in the early stages of the place making process. This in order to get to know the diverse communities in the neighbourhood and involve them as much as possible and needed, according to the research.

Financially, the involvement of the communities may also lead to "wise" spending of the available budgets of the municipalities for the neighbourhoods. Wise spending of the available budgets eventually leads to more quality with less. The wise spending of available budgets means that more value with fewer resources can be added to public place. Also, it should provide process-related efficiencies. Eventually the neighborhood will benefit from the achieved quality.

Place making experts and community workers expect from municipalities that they become more open to initiatives from the neighborhood and further open up their policies. This will provide space for the wishes of the residents. Eventually both connectedness within the community and the quality of the facilities may increase. The lack of openness by professionals means that the hidden potentials are not used. Regulations and facilities could also become more open, despite the fact that the results of place making activity can have risks or unclear results.

Applying a successful place making activity often depends on the extent of sustainable cash flows. This is according to experts, an important precondition for the degree of applicability and success of place making and the impact on social cohesion in neighborhoods. Despite the fact that municipalities indicate having less budget available for large investments in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods, it could be possible to create more awareness

among municipalities of the potentials that place making could have through experiments with place making activities in collaboration with local authorities. Applying place making activity can lead to increased use and activity level in the public place, according to place making experts. The conclusion from the research is that place making can be an added value for urban renewal under certain conditions. Coordination and creating sustainable financial flows are important preconditions for the success or failure of place making processes. Also, increase of awareness from municipal organizations is required to achieve the objectives of citizen initiatives.

7.2 Recommendations for practice

Organisation and awareness of participatory processes

Through the involvement of the communities in the neighborhoods, ultimately more support for the plans could be created, which can lead to greater efficiency in the management and maintenance of public place. Municipalities are increasingly aware of the gap that exists between municipal cadres and the practice in the neighborhoods. Residents are more aware of their influence. At the same time there is often distrust and passivity from residents toward participatory processes in disadvantaged neighborhoods. The distrust and passivity is related to inaccurate preparation and use of participatory processes by municipalities. Too often some of the residents are involved during participation processes. This while the aim of both place making experts and municipalities is to create the widest possible acceptance for the plans among residents. Municipalities should be aware in advance of a participation that adequate resources and manpower are available to achieve the intended results. It has become clear that the risk of inadequate preparation and organization

of a participation and place making activities can create distrust among the residents.

Sustainable planning finances and organization in advance

The research revealed that a common cause of the early drop-out of place making processes is caused by the lack of sustainable funding streams. Partly, the problem is caused by the experimental or tactical nature of place making in the Netherlands nowadays. Place making in the Netherlands are in many cases still in a position where inadequate planning is the cause of the lack of continuation of the project on the middle and long-term. If one wants to achieve sustainable continuation of place making activities, the organization, responsibilities and financial space have to be made clear in advance to the process. In this case place making professionals can take their responsibility. The experts can use their experience and knowledge to search for sustainable continuation of place making processes. In disadvantaged neighborhoods, the existing networks and community workers help. Looking up existing neighborhood initiatives and setting up neighborhood foundations can be an important step to create sustainable funding and to make organization of place making possible.

Exploit economic potentials in the neighborhoods

The research has shown that there is much economic potential in Dutch disadvantaged neighborhoods. The economic potentials contrast with the negative image that in many cases exist of the neighborhoods. The economic potentials include entrepreneurship that often is present in disadvantaged neighborhoods, especially the immigrant residents. Small and medium-sized enterprises can help in the design and implementation of place making processes. Both municipalities and experts emphasize the importance of the involvement and the strengthening of the

local economy. Municipalities can offer more space for entrepreneurship in the districts by more open policies for individual and small-scale entrepreneurship in the neighborhoods. Deregulation and the creation of a central point of contact for local entrepreneurs can offer efficiency. Place making experts and urban developers can convince municipalities by focusing on value creation, which is possible by exploiting the local entrepreneurship.

Use of expertise and informal networks of community organizations

Both municipalities and place making experts can reach their common goal of getting to know and involving residents by responding to existing networks in the neighborhoods. The community organizations have a comprehensive and detailed network in the neighborhoods. Because of their work, they know many residents individually. More involvement and appreciation for municipal plans can be realized in cooperation with community organizations by organizing activities that respond to the care needs of the residents in the first place. During these meetings, informal discussions about wishes and needs of residents can take place. The residents can then reflect their ideas on activities for the public place. The informal networks of community organizations are a bridge between municipalities and place making experts. Residents can get involved in participatory processes or specific place making activities.

Experiments with process-oriented and pragmatic connection of citizens and municipalities

The study shows that there is not only a gap between residents and government, but also between the government and the experts themselves. There are, in practice, in many cases little process-sought cooperation between both in terms of place making and other kinds of community approaches. Cooperation and experimental forms of place making

processes involving explicit cooperation between municipalities is necessary. In addition, place making experts provide certain potentials for success. Place making experts can further professionalize and municipalities can gain more process-oriented bond with the practice. Eventually, experiments are converted to strategic policy frameworks. As a result, municipalities and place making experts can create more strength. This process can be time consuming, and consensus is required in certain phases of the process.

7.3 Recommendations for further research & Reflection on research

This research has shown that under certain conditions and circumstances, place making can be successfully applied in disadvantaged neighborhoods and the method can have positive influences on the social cohesion in the neighborhoods.

Responding to the community's involvement and the needs of the residents can be helpful to increase the success rate and the impact on the social cohesion. The study shows that a major obstacle to the continuation of place making processes in many cases is the lack of sufficient funds. Further research could create insight on how long-term funding streams for place making can be considered in disadvantaged neighborhoods. How to achieve this and what the impact could be on the organization and efficiency of the process are other possible research questions for the future.

The effects of place making on social cohesion in disadvantaged neighborhoods can be further explored in follow-up studies. It can be examined how and what the impacts could be of the creation of neighborhood organizations and foundations regarding social cohesion issues in the neighbourhood. Research on the experiences of both the organizers and residents can provide insights into the extent to which the district organization

have influence on the increase of social cohesion in neighborhoods. Observations of bottlenecks and opportunities can provide insights into effective and the process of professionalized residents initiatives. It can be examined what influences professionalized residents initiatives can have on the relationship between residents and the level of confidence in the measures which serve the promotion of social cohesion.

During the interviews it emerged that it is highly recommended to involve active residents and key figures from the communities in the neighbourhoods into the urban renewal process. A study into exactly which tools to use to involve this group could create more insight into the way place making can be implemented in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

The literature study was a search for solutions to complex issues. Through extensive literature study and thoughtful research it was possible to give a good imagination of the information available in the literature. The research and the selected strategies are a good basis offered to carry out the research in practice.

The fieldwork created new insights and research as a whole. This has made a connection between two complex issues to a certain extend.

One of the limitations of the study was the lack of response from housing associations. The experience and opinion of housing associations are important because these associations experienced enormous changes in recent years. Financial hard times and criticism from society and politics have led to major reorganizations within housing associations. These developments have turned housing associations inward. This made it very difficult finding sufficient response under housing associations for the interviews. This was one of the shortcomings of the study.

Despite the limitations of this study, it finally succeeded to carry out the fieldwork and interviews with a thorough literature review. There are existing theories about place making. During the fieldwork these theories were tested into practice and expanded for completeness. The fieldwork and the research can be seen as a valuable study with new insights for further research into community-approached urban renewal in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

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**Appendix I
Interviewguide**

Content

Education, cause and background research
Purpose interviews:

**Introduction
Interviewer**

- Understanding effects of place making strategies and activities and possible effects and impact on social cohesion.
- The applicability of place making in the context of Dutch disadvantaged neighborhoods
- Disadvantaged neighborhood characteristics and suitable place making activities: possible outcomes in different neighborhood, reasons etc.
- Which neighborhood characteristics leading to differences in outcomes.
- Focus on place making, social cohesion, community empowerment and co-creation
- (Financial) opportunities, obstacles and consequences of place making activities in the context of attempts to improve the quality of the public place and social cohesion

**Introduction
professionals**

- Professional background, experiences and involvement with place making and social cohesion or subjects
- Role of organization within Real Estate / urban & spatial domain
- Role in restructuring or application of place making
- Role in the context of policy on social cohesion

**Place making
activities
& neighborhood
characteristics**

- Implied place making activities and strategies and possible outcomes
- Characteristics of (disadvantaged) neighborhoods where place making is / could be implemented.
- To what extent place making activities is suitable to disadvantaged neighborhoods.
- Effect of neighborhoods: Which Place making activities are more suitable for the increase of social cohesion in disadvantaged neighborhoods.
- Differences of Results and effects of Place making activities in different types of neighborhoods.
- Which neighborhood characteristics are leading to this differences
- Role of the community in implementation of place making activities.
- Financial consequences (and benefits) of implementing place making activities
- Possibilities and limitations with policy of government and municipalities on place making and participation (community involvement) and social cohesion

**Place making & social
cohesion**

- To what extent place making can lead to social cohesion in neighborhoods; experiences etc.
- Dimensions of social cohesion
*(I social network & social capital;
II Degrees of similar belief about the neighborhood;
III Place attachment & identity.)*
- Community involvement in bottom-up approach of urban renewal and consequences for social cohesion
- Accessibility and attractiveness of participation by residents in place making activities and how this affects the social cohesion among themselves and in the neighborhood
- *Impact of implementation of place making activities on social cohesion in Dutch (disadvantaged) neighborhoods. (sub-question 6)*
- Measures that can lead to more social cohesion

Appendix II Overview of interviewees

	Function	Organization	Date & place of interview
1. Ms. Suzan de Jong	Entrepreneur	Placemaking	April 11 2016 – The Hague
2. Ms. Katusha Sol	Manager	Placemakers	April 11 2016 – Amsterdam
3. Ms. Berit Plepgras	Architect	Architect	April 12 2016 – The Hague
4. Ms. Iefje Soetes	Manager	Iefje realiseert Visie	April 12 2016 – The Hague
5. Mr. Martijn Van Dijk	Manager	SPLACES	April 19 2016 – Best
6. Mr. Hans Karsenberg	Partner	STIPO	May 11 2016 – Amsterdam
7. Mr. Misja Horsthuis	Neighbourhood manager	Municipality of Purmerend	May 11 2016 – Purmerend
8. Mr. Patrick Doodkorte	Projectmanager	Municipality of Vlaardingen	May 12 2016 – Vlaardingen
9. Mr. Renzo Steijvers	Neighbourhoodmanager	Municipality of The Hague	May 19 2016 – The Hague
10. Mr. Jan Morsch	Manager	The Gardens of Mariahoeve The Hague	May 27 2016 – The Hague
11. Mr. Lex de Jong	Manager	UrbanBoost	May 27 2016 – Amsterdam
12. Mr. Wim Verkerk	Projectmanager	Municipality of Zoetermeer	June 2 2016 – Zoetermeer
13. Mr. Peter Groenendaal	Partner	PlacemakingPlus	June 7 2016 – Haarlem
14. Mr. Stefan Bödecker	Architect	BFAS Architecture & urban design	June 7 2016 – Haarlem
15. Ms. Anja van Denzen	Social worker community	Sociaal wijkteam Leiden city	June 7 2016 – Leiden
16. Mr. Rob Vooijs	Manager social maintenance	Housing Corporation Vestia	June 15 2016 – The Hague
17. Ms. Wendy Prince-Pot	Social worker community	Sociaal wijkteam Haarlem city	June 15 2016 – Haarlem