

Sense of Place in the Schilderswijk

*On the relation of sense of place, qualities and values in the
Schildersbuurt-oost*

‘Het is een prachtwijk, krachtwijk,
het is een dag en nachtwijk,
het is een broedplek,
het is een kloppend hart,
Het is een prachtwijk, krachtwijk,
het is een geen gezeikwijk,
het is een wijk zo rijk, veelkleurig,
het is een wijk die naar je lacht.’
(Dennis Wijmer – dichter, liedjesschrijver)

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1. Introduction & Objectives

'We are living in an era – it is often said – in which things are speeding up, and spreading out. Capital is going through a new phase of internationalization, especially in its financial parts. More people travel more frequently and for longer distances. Your clothes have probably been made in a range of countries from Latin America to South-East Asia. Dinner consists of food shipped in from all over the world. And if you have a screen in your office, instead of opening a letter which has taken some days to wend its way across the country, you now get interrupted by e-mail' (Massey 1991: 1).

Today, placeslessness is considered an essential feature of the modern condition regarding space and place (Massey 1991;2004, Escobar 2001). The idea that we have entered a new phase of time-space compression – referring to the movement and communication across space and the geographical stretching out of social relations – is prevailing (Massey 1991; 2004). How can we retain any sense of local place in this condition of ongoing movement and mixing? Can we still talk about 'places' and is the connection to these places still important to us?

Place continues to be important in people's lives and it continues to be a meaningful element of social life (Escobar 2001, Gieryn 2000). Closely linked to place is a person's sense of place. How do people identify themselves with relation to the place in which they live? Do they feel attached to this place and do they have a commitment towards it? Perhaps even more important, how can we investigate and measure this in the modern context?

By conducting a case-study in the Schildersbuurt-oost – a neighbourhood in the city of The Hague – this research' main objective is shedding light on the underlying values, motives, thoughts and needs of the residents in order to construct an overall picture of their perceived qualities of the neighbourhood and how this is related to their sense of place. What do residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost consider as the qualities of their neighbourhood, what are important underlying values in the assets they mention and how is this related to a certain sense of place? By letting the inhabitants talk about the positive aspects of their neighbourhood, they are given the right and room to express their experiences. In knowing the qualities and values of the residents of a

neighbourhood, future research and policy can focus on what this means for the actual participation of the people within this neighbourhood. What does it mean when a certain resident stresses the economic value of the neighbourhood? How is this related to a specific sense of place and the values that people hold important? How can policy makers turn this knowledge of people's qualities and values into policies for neighbourhood development or participation improvement? Questions this research can lay the foundation for.

2. Importance & Empirical Setting

This chapter elaborates on the importance of this research and gives a short overall picture of the empirical setting. The research area of this research is the Schildersbuurt-oost, a specific neighbourhood within the Schilderswijk. First, a broader insight is given on the Schilderswijk, to get a general idea of the neighbourhood. Thereafter, the focus is specifically on the Schildersbuurt-oost.

De 'Schilderswijk' is a district in the city of The Hague – with over 33.000 inhabitants (Lammers & Reith 2011: 10) – built in the 19th century. From the nineteen seventies onwards, more and more immigrants¹ settled down in this district and in 2011 around 90% of the registered residents of the district were immigrants (fig. 1). This is a high percentage compared to the average percentage of immigrants in The Hague (almost 50%, fig. 2). However, the district is not only multi-ethnic, but also remarkably young. A third of the inhabitants (33%) is younger than twenty years, while in the rest of The Hague this is 23%; a significant difference.

	15 Schildersbuurt-West	16 Schildersbuurt-Noord	17 Schildersbuurt-Oost	Totaal
Autochtonen [personen]	1.167	1.295	417	2.879
Allochtonen [personen]	13.725	8.742	7.096	29.563
% Autochtonen [%]	8,0	13,0	6,0	9,1
% Allochtonen [%]	92,2	87,1	94,4	91,1

Figure 1: Immigrants in Schilderswijk (CBS 2011)

	Den Haag
Autochtonen [personen]	254.214
Allochtonen [personen]	242.082
% Autochtonen [%]	51,3
% Allochtonen [%]	48,8

Figure 2: Immigrants in The Hague (CBS 2011)

As mentioned above, the Schilderswijk is a district characterized by a number of problems. In 2007, minister Vogelaar, minister of Integration and Housing, named the

¹ Within this research, the following definition of immigrant is used; someone living in the Netherlands and of whom at least one parent is born abroad. A first-generation immigrant is someone who is born abroad him/herself. A second-generation immigrant is someone born in the Netherlands (CBS 2012).

Schilderswijk as one of the 40 problem districts of the Netherlands, which needed extra investments to oppose the social, physical and economic problems existing. The same minister suggested changing the designation of such areas from 'problem districts' (*probleemwijken*) to 'attention areas' (*aandachtswijken*), to shift the focus away from the negative connotation of 'problem district'. In these designated attention areas the quality of living lags behind compared to other districts. This is mainly due to an accumulation of problems; (Lammers & Reith, 2011; Rijksoverheid, 2012; VROM, 2007);

- (1) School dropout; two times as much as in other districts in The Hague.
- (2) Low household incomes per household. About 8.600 households in the district (74%) are classified as 'focus groups for policy'. These are the households with a low income for which the government and housing associations bear a certain responsibility.
- (3) Degraded habitat; two and a half times more homes with a low quality compared to the rest of The Hague.
- (4) High (youth) unemployment.
- (5) Poor integration of newcomers within the neighbourhood.
- (6) Lagging emancipation and participation of mainly non-Western women.
- (7) Health inequalities; residents die six years earlier than average.
- (8) High rate of criminality.
- (9) Lack of sense of safety amongst inhabitants.

The combination of a young and at the same time relatively poor district, implies that many children and youth in the district grow up in poverty. These same youngsters are often considered the cause of many of the above stated problems (Gemeente The Hague 2010).

Another problem, not mentioned by the website of the central government, is the fact that mobility within the district is high compared to other districts in The Hague. Figure 3 shows that there is a trend of intra-district migration within the Schilderswijk, a trend not as visible in other districts in city of The Hague.

binnen gemeentelijke migratie [personen], 2010 - van Buurten naar Buurten					
naar▼▼	van	15 Schildersbuurt-West ▲▲	16 Schildersbuurt-Noord ▲▲	17 Schildersbuurt-Oost ▲▲	Totaal ▲▲
01 Oud Scheveningen		0	3	0	3
02 Vissershaven		2	0	1	3
03 Scheveningen Badplaats		1	0	0	1
04 Visserijbuurt		3	0	0	3
05 v Stolkpark/Schev Bosjes		1	0	0	1
06 Waldeck-Zuid		7	5	0	12
07 Statenkwartier		4	4	0	8
08 Geuzenkwartier		0	1	1	2
09 Vogelwijk		0	0	0	0
10 Rond de Energiecentrale		39	15	23	77
11 Kortenbos		14	23	20	57
12 Voorhout		2	1	0	3
13 Uilebomen		12	4	1	17
14 Zuidwal		21	11	9	41
15 Schildersbuurt-West		308	99	59	466
16 Schildersbuurt-Noord		70	127	49	246
17 Schildersbuurt-Oost		60	63	69	192
18 Huygenspark		14	27	8	49
19 Laakhaven-Oost		10	17	10	37

Figure 3: Intra-municipal migration (CBS 2010)

Because of the above-mentioned problems, the central government, local authorities, housing associations, schools, police, local community and community organizations work together for district development. The so-called '*Actieplan Krachtwijken*' (Strong Communities Plan) was launched in December 2007 (Rijksoverheid 2012). The Strong Communities Plan focuses on five main themes to be improved; living conditions, working conditions, education, integration and safety. The goal is the attention areas to be districts with pleasant living, working, learning and living environments with more people working, more qualified young people, safer and better houses within 10 years (Rijksoverheid 2007).

As part of this Strong Communities Plan, the local authorities, housing associations, social services, residents and many other local parties² have set up a 'district action plan' ('*Wijkactieplan*'), called 'The convention of the Schilderswijk' ('*Het Verdrag van de Schilderswijk*'). Herein they describe the biggest problems of the district and indicate what needs to be done in order to attain improvements. The convention focuses on the five main themes as stated in the Strong Communities Plan.

² Haaglanden police, chamber of commerce, primary and secondary schools, University 'Haagse Hogeschool', Youth Care, Neighbourhood Management Schilderswijk, Welfare Schilderswijk, Foundation Boog, Consultants, Youth Intervention Team, Foundation Shops and Companies (Gemeente Den Haag 2007).

The convention highlights the next set of problems present within the neighbourhood (Gemeente Den Haag 2007);

- (1) Youth and Education; many children within the Schilderswijk have a language deficiency, caused by the low level of education and the fact that many parents do not speak Dutch.

Another problem is criminal behaviour and harassment. Youth within the Schilderswijk is relatively more prone to truancy, school drop-out, criminal behaviour, harassment and behavioural problems.

- (2) Economy and work; inhabitants of the Schilderswijk have a backward position considering work and income compared to other residents of The Hague. Of all the neighbourhoods in The Hague, the Schilderswijk has the highest unemployment rate. There is a shortage of job opportunities and the number of low-skilled workers is relatively high. Investors are reluctant to invest in the shopping streets of the Schilderswijk because of vandalism, theft and unsafe feelings.
- (3) Safe and healthy living; residents of the Schilderswijk have little sustainable and social stable relations with people outside their own (ethnic) group. Besides, residents of the Schilderswijk suffer more health problems than residents of other parts of The Hague. This mainly has life-style related causes like smoking, a lack of exercise and unhealthy eating habits. There are relatively more problems concerning abuse and psychological distress within households of the Schilderswijk.
- (4) Quality of living; the number of houses in the Schilderswijk is limited and this leads to a one-sided composition of residents with regard to income. Moreover, the management of the public spaces is not sufficient enough to prevent the streets for becoming contaminated and unsafe. The habits of the residents within these public spaces and the fact that people feel unsafe contribute to the degradation and deterioration of the social climate within these public spaces.

The convention of the Schilderswijk wants to resolve these problems. For every one of the four main problems the convention assigned a team of coalition partners who are

responsible for the development and implementation of the suggested solutions to the problem.

An important element within the convention of the Schilderswijk is citizen participation and involvement (Hendriks 2003: 197). The involvement of residents is of great importance for the success of the plans. They themselves can best indicate what is important and therefore they play a vital role in the development of their district. They affect the atmosphere and appearance of their district and can make a positive contribution. The government wants to encourage residents to get involved in their neighbourhoods and resident initiatives (Rijksoverheid 2012). This research does not focus on enhancing this citizen participation, but gives an overall picture of what residents perceive to be qualities of the neighbourhood – and the underlying values behind these qualities. A clear overall picture shows what is important according to the residents themselves, which is of importance if future developments want to take the ideas of the residents into account. The research provides in giving this overview, not in stimulating the actual participation of the residents.

Within the Schilderswijk a so-called ‘island culture’ exists (Smit 2011). There is no uniform Schilderswijk-culture, no one community with social cohesion and control (Smit 2011). In a way, this phenomenon is to be expected in a neighbourhood with the size of the Schilderswijk. There is no such thing as one Schilderswijk; there are different neighbourhoods, groups and individuals within the district who share the fact that they all live in that part of The Hague that is called the Schilderswijk. While the above-mentioned problems are all visible in the Schilderswijk, the level of ‘district’ – the level of the Schilderswijk as a whole – is not always the best level to focus on (Smit 2011). This is why this research focuses on one of the neighbourhoods within the district, the Schildersbuurt-oost. By narrowing the focus this way, room is created for variations in the different neighbourhoods within the Schilderswijk. In this way, I avoid the bias of talking about one Schilderswijk. Of course, this also counts for the Schildersbuurt-oost, which has diversity and variety within its neighbourhood too, but by focusing on this narrower level I limit this bias and I improve the possibility of drawing will be better able to make some conclusions. Within this research I acknowledge the hybrid characteristic of boundaries as Massey argued (1991; 2004); this research focuses on the

Schildersbuurt-oost in the geographical sense only, while it acknowledges the importance of places outside the geographical boundaries if respondents refer to these.

The Schildersbuurt-oost had 7,480 inhabitants with 2.860 households in 2011 (CBS 2011). The blue line of the picture below delineates the official boundaries of this neighbourhood.

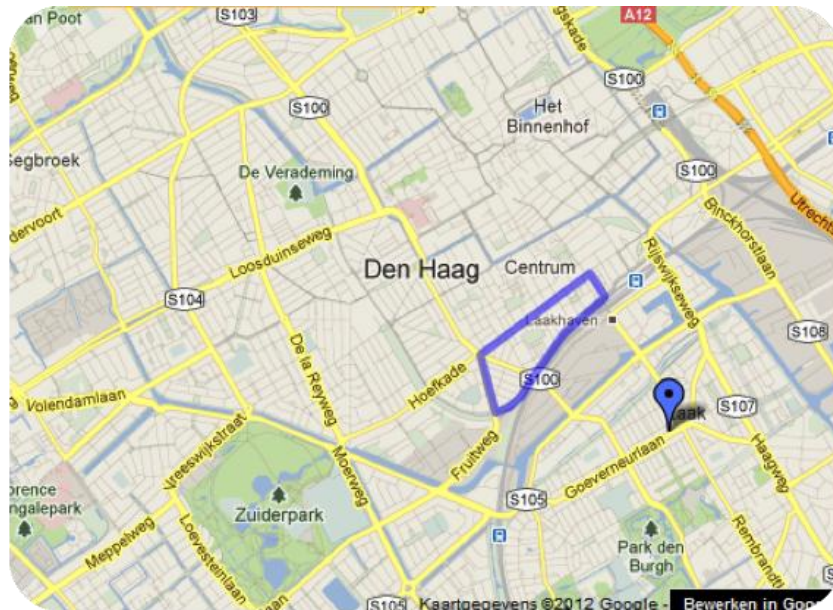


Figure 4: The Schildersbuurt-Oost (Google Maps 2012)

The high percentage of immigrants and youth, characteristic Schilderswijk, applies to the specific neighbourhood of Schildersbuurt-oost too. This reflection of the special characteristics of the Schilderswijk within this smaller district is, together with the results of some initial talks and meetings with local residents, the main reason why this research focuses on the Schildersbuurt-oost in specific – instead of the Schilderswijk as a whole. In order to get a first impression of the Schilderswijk and its inhabitants I arranged a few meetings with some residents – all of them living in the Schildersbuurt-oost. During these talks it became clear that many of the people I talked to referred to the smaller area of the Schildersbuurt-oost when they talked about the Schilderswijk.

3. Problem Statement

The goal of this research is to provide an overall picture of the importance of perceived qualities of a place and the underlying values in giving meaning to a specific place, the Schildersbuurt-oost. What do residents experience as qualities of the Schildersbuurt-oost, what are important values underlying the qualities mentioned and how is this related to a specific sense of place that residents have? This overall picture shows what residents consider important and this can be a vital element for future development plans of the neighbourhood, as the municipality of The Hague stresses the importance of taking the ideas of the residents into their consideration (Gemeente Den Haag 2007).

This research focuses on the qualities of the neighbourhood as experienced by residents in their daily lives. The methodological approach that was used during the research is Appreciative Inquiry. This is an appreciative approach where contrary to many traditional research approaches, the focus is on exploring the qualities of certain organizations or, in the case of my research, on a specific neighbourhood and not so much on the existing problems (Nyaupane & Poudel 2011, Schooley 2012). The idea behind this is that focusing on qualities in communities is better for providing new visions for the future than focusing on the deficiencies of these communities (Nyaupane & Poudel 2011, Schooley 2012). This approach is not about denying the existing problems, but it is finding out what people do perceive as qualities within the neighbourhood – so future research or policy can focus on further neighbourhood development.

Apart from the focus on the qualities, there is also focus on the values of the residents, on why consider these qualities important. Much of today's research is based on the 'external' – behaviour, institutions and systems – and less attention is given to the 'internal' – individual motives, driving forces and values (Wilber 2000). Focusing on a more value-based approach in measuring the qualities people perceive in their neighbourhood – and exploring the underlying values – will provide an overall picture of the deeper values and feelings influencing people's perception of the qualities of the neighbourhood.

A third element is that this research will look in what way the qualities and values mentioned are related to the specific sense of place people have within the neighbourhood. Do (and if so, how does) the place attachment, identity and dependency influence the qualities people perceive in their neighbourhood and what is the relation between these aspects and the values people stress as important?

This research is a reaction to two processes going on in research. First, many traditional research approaches focus on the deficiencies and problems existing in a certain community, while focusing on the qualities and success stories better enables the development of future improvements (Nyaupune & Poudel 2011, Schooley 2012). This research reacts to this by focusing on what residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost experience and perceive as the qualities of their neighbourhood.

Secondly, there is a lack of focus in scientific research on the inner dimension of the way people experience and perceive the place they live in. This research reacts to this lack in exploring the values that are important for people in their neighbourhood.

In this research an answer will be given to the question of what residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost see as the qualities of the neighbourhood, what the important underlying values behind the qualities mentioned are and what the relation is between the qualities and values mentioned and the specific sense of place of residents.

4. Conceptual Framework

This chapter elaborates on the conceptual and theoretical framework that is being used. This research revolves around three central concepts; sense of place, qualities and values. This conceptual framework therefore focuses on the operationalization of these concepts, as well as showing the relation between them.

4.1 Place

This research focuses on a 'relational approach to place', as Doreen Massey (1991) suggested. In her interpretation, place is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, which are intermixed in a particular locus (Massey 1991: 7). A place is not an area with a fixed boundary around it; it has to be imagined as articular moments in networks of social relations and understandings. Most of these relations and experiences are constructed on a far larger scale than what we define as the place itself. Many different notions, experiences and representations of space-time continually collide and resonate within an individual place (Graham & Healey 1999: 628). There is no such thing as one fixed place. There exist real relations with real existing content between any local place and the wider world in which it is set (Massey 1991: 7). This shows that places are socially constructed, dynamic and diverse. All kinds of relations and links – social, political, cultural, environmental – can be stretched across space (Graham & Healey 1999: 628).

A number of assumptions underlie this relational approach to place. The first assumption is that a place is not static. Places are the social interactions that they tie together, and therefore these interactions themselves are no fixed things, frozen in times. They have to be seen as processes, moving in time (Massey 1991: 7). The second assumption: places do not have fixed boundaries. Therefore, it cannot be seen as the simple counter position to the outside. Place can even be constituted precisely through its linkage to the outside (Massey 1991: 8). This idea is reinforced by Collinge and Gibney (2010), who argue that places are no introverted areas with boundaries, but moments in networks of social relations. The third assumption is that places do not have single, unique 'identities'; they are full of internal conflicts. There is no coherent identity, a single sense of place shared

by everyone within the place (Massey 1991, Collinge and Gibney 2010). Finally, none of this denies (the uniqueness of) 'place'. The specificity of place is continually reproduced, but always with relation to the wider world.

This relational approach to place shows that globalization does not simply entails homogenization. Each place is a specific, unique focus of particular mixtures of both local and wider social relations (Massey 1991). The mixing of these relations with the specific historical and physical conditions of a place constitutes outcomes that are unique.

Massey (1991) thus argues for a global sense of place; any place is not only internally constructed, but is also a product of relations which spread beyond the local place itself (Massey 2004). All places are globally constructed places, since they are all part of a wider network.

It is important to give a more specific definition of what I mean with place. In giving this I make use of the threefold understanding of (rural) place (Fig. 5), which incorporates different perspectives on place. The range of these different perspectives goes from an understanding of places as (1) material, physical sides, through the position of (2) places as sides of social relations to (3) an understanding of places as social constructs and subjective experience. The threefold model exemplifies that materiality, representation and imagination should not be separate approaches to place, but should be seen as interconnected elements of spatiality (Halfacree 2006). According to Halfacree (2006) rural space is the totality of rural locality, formal representations of the rural and the everyday lives of the rural.

As a rural locality, place is a specific type of space that has a concrete geographical location where its character is objectified in the physical and social attributes of that location (Gray). It includes the production and consumption practices that make this geographical region distinct from others. Thus, these rural locations can be observed and analyzed according to various terms, such as topographical attributes, the social composition of the people living and/or working there, forms of activity, the nature of social relations and relations with other spaces of similar or different type in other geographical locations (Gray).

The second aspect of Halfacree's threefold understanding of place is locality as a social representation, which differs from space as a rural locality. Within this

understanding, place is a de-spatialised cultural concept that is not linked to a concrete geographical location. Instead, it is a morally charged discourse about a type of space on the kind of social life occurring in it (Gray). This social representation often includes visual or verbal images of the place. These images place the rural place at a distance and in doing this it presents idealized pictures of society. These images can never be attained in the everyday life. The formal representations are the formal conceptions of space by developers, planners, scientists and academics (Halfacree 2006: 50). These conceptions within a certain space will always be perceived and even adapted within the everyday live. The latter forms the last element of spatiality. It is the way in which space is directly lived; the way in which individuals and groups interpret and give meaning to their place – the everyday lives.

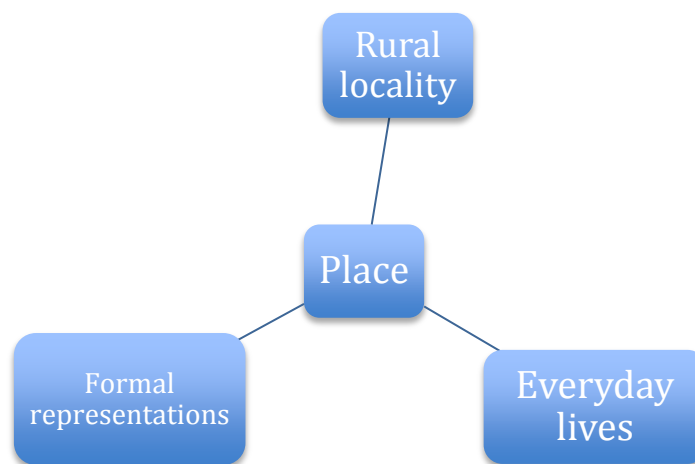


Figure 5: The Threefold Understanding of Place (Based on Halfacree, 2006).

Halfacree (2006) shows the combination of materials and social phenomena of places, thereby emphasizing the relational character of place. Besides the physical and material aspects of place, both formal and informal ways of framing this are of importance. Gieryn (2000) reinforces this idea with his statement that there is a dualistic relation between place and social practices (Fig. 6).

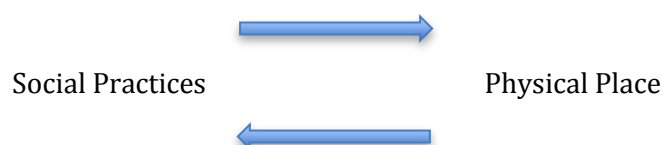


Figure 6: Dualistic Relation Place – Social Relations (Gieryn 2000)

Social practices constitute place, but place also influences social life of a particular space due to its specific material (and imagined) character (Gieryn 2000).

4.2 Place making

Massey (2004) shows that place is constructed from different interrelations which are constantly conflicted and being (re)negotiated; a place is never finished and always under construction. Processes of interpretation and identification are constantly present in the construction of place. So, places are the outcome of the process of forming boundaries. This latter process is a process of contestation; people inhabiting a place engage in struggles over their place definitions and identities at all times (Pierce et al., 2011). These elements of negotiation and contestation form the basis of place making.

A central aspect of place making is the creation of 'intra-place boundaries' (Pierce et al., 2011): who belongs to a place and who does not? Who is 'in' and who is 'out'? The questions are about the identity of the place and for whom this identity is important.

Within place making there are two processes that are important; place bundling and place framing. Place bundling is a process in which individuals select objects and relations of a place and construct constellations out of them (Pierce et al., 2011). These constellations constitute the meaning of a place for individuals and different individuals will construct different place bundles. It is not necessarily an individual process, since these place bundles can also represent the influence of social networks and relations on individuals (Pierce et al., 2011). This is where the process of place framing becomes important and which do not. Through this process people reach consensus about which bundles have shared importance. With place framing people use these place bundles to reach collective goals (Pierce et al., 2011). The place frames reflect a consensus among heterogeneous and internally divided communities (Larson 2008). Constructing these place frames enables people to fight collectively for certain goals. However, it should be clear that these place frames do not reflect homogeneous communities; they only reflect some of the negotiated place-bundles present in a place. Practice shows that once the fight for such a collective goal is over, most groups fall apart again in an intra-community conflict (Larson 2008).

Like places, place bundles and place frames are also time and space specific, and thus dynamic (Pierce et al., 2011). To conclude, conflicts and negotiations are central to the process of place making and constantly occur both during place bundling and place framing.

4.3 Sense of Place

The relational idea of place shows that not only place, but also sense of place includes links with the wider world; both the local and the global are integrated (Massey 1991).

Human-environmental relationships are frequently researched within social sciences. Within my research I used the sense of place model introduced by Jorgensen and Stedman (2006) in which they present a multidimensional idea of sense of place, including cognitive, affective and conative domains of human-environmental relationships (fig. 6). Sense of place is a subjective experience in which these three different aspects play an important role and therefore an integrated model is needed (Jorgensen & Stedman 2006).

Sense of place can be seen as a “general attitude toward a spatial setting, and a complex psychosocial structure that organizes self-referent beliefs, emotions, and behavioural commitments” (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006: 317). In short, sense of place consists of three sub structures.

First, there is the element of ‘place attachment’. This is constructed of the feelings towards a certain place. It is the positive affective bond – based on emotional content – which someone has towards a specific place. (Jorgensen and Stedman 2006; Hidalgo and Hernandez 2000). Place attachment thus refers to the bonds that people develop with specific places (Lewicka 2008: 211). Within this research, I will make a distinction between someone’s physical and social place attachment, based on this distinction made by Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001).

Physical attachment is a person’s attachment to the physical environment of a certain place (Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001). However, people do not only become attached to the physical aspects of an environment, but also to the social actors and interpersonal interactions that occur within a setting – the so-called social place

attachment of people. Both Unger and Wandersman (1985) and Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) reveal the importance of the social component when people evaluate their neighbourhoods.

Secondly, sense of place consists of a certain 'place identity'. It includes the beliefs someone has on the relationship between the self and a place (Jorgensen and Stedman 2006). Within this research I make use of the concept of place identity as the perceived unique characteristic and meaning that exists in a place and its culture at a given point in time. The characteristics are constructed through historical, economic, political, religious, social and cultural discourses. This is different from Proshansky's definition of place-identity as 'those dimensions of self that defines the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of (un)conscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals and behavioural tendencies and skills relevant to this environment' (Proshansky 1978: 155). While Proshansky focuses on a person's identity and how this is constructed in relation to a specific place, the focus within this research will be on how people construct ideas on the identity of a specific place. What makes, according to the respondents, the place they are living in unique? What are special characteristics of this place and what makes it different from other places? However, these ideas are all constructed and influenced by a complex pattern of subconscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals and behavioural patterns and skills related to this environment – as Proshansky shows with his definition.

The third element of sense of place is the 'place dependency'. This conative aspect within the model refers to the 'behavioural exclusivity' of the place in relation to other places and to the extent in which a place facilitates the achievement of important behavioural goals (Jorgensen and Stedman 2006). It may look a lot like place attachment, but the place dependency is more focused on the functional and rational aspects.

Within place dependency two main factors are of importance: (1) the quality of the current place and (2) the relative quality of comparable alternative places. Quality of the current place is about the way a specific setting enables an individual to reach a specific

goal or undertake a certain activity (Jorgensen and Stedman 2006). This subjective quality of the current place is the result of both the individual and the place. The social and physical characteristics of a certain place influence the place dependency because it provides the individual with a certain setting. However, the expectation someone has towards this specific setting also influences the place dependency. The second aspect influencing place dependence is the quality of a place compared to other places. As with the quality of the current place, both the social and physical setting and the individual itself influence the relative quality.

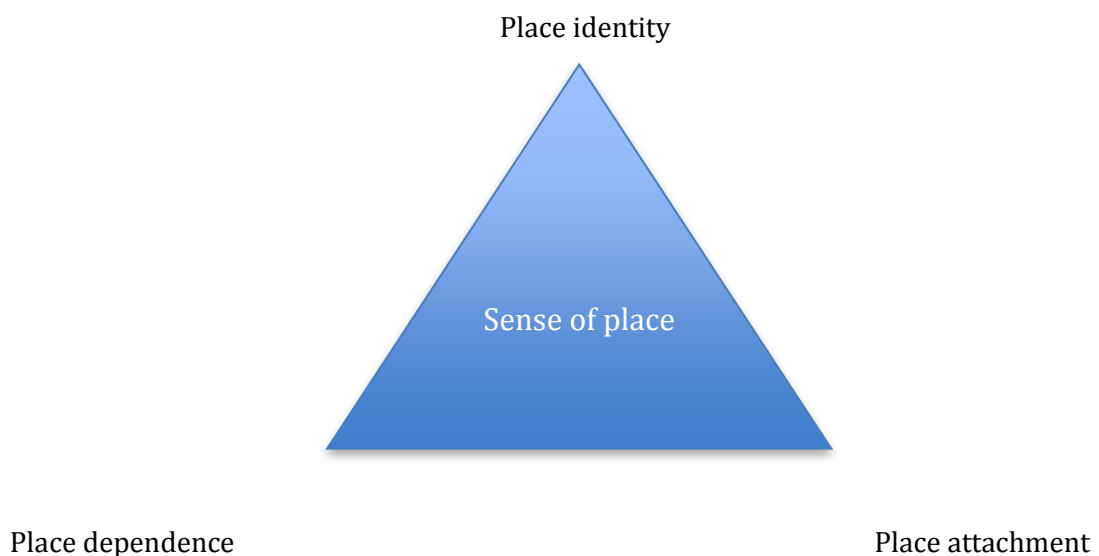


Figure 7: Threefold Model of Sense of Place (based on Jorgensen & Stedman 2006)

Sense of place is a social phenomenon. The way people give meaning to their environment reflects both their social and cultural backgrounds and their experiences (Shamai & Ilatov 2004). The differences in sense of place are complex and can be based on class, gender and on many other aspects of personal identity. Perception is related to the cultural and ethnic background of the subjects, as different individuals and group have different relations with their environment, this will lead to different ways of giving meaning to this place (Shamai & Ilatov 2004). The cognitive, conative and affective structure of sense of place gives a good insight into the complexity of the concept.

4.4 Values

People value places and express agency in shaping their own place. On the local level people reflect on and negotiate the conditions of engagement, rooted in underlying values. Values are those aspects that are valued by people and that guide people's actions. In general, things like health, freedom, safety and happiness are considered as values. The aim of my research is to get insight into what residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost perceive as the qualities of their neighbourhood, and in doing this exploring their sense of place and important underlying values of this. In order to be able to get this insight, I will make use of a value-based approach, looking at the values underlying the qualities people perceive to be important for their neighbourhood.

Values are conceptions of desirable end states that reflect what is important in our lives (Torelli and Kaikati 2009). Values are motivational constructs that involve the beliefs that people hold about desirable goals that can be applied across contexts and times. These motivational constructs may define a situation, elicit goals and guide action (Torelli and Kaikati 2009: 232). A distinction can be made between 'held' and 'assigned' values. The former refers to ideas or principles that are important to people and take the form of enduring beliefs about a specific mode of conduct or an end state of existence (Brown and Weber 2012: 316). Assigned values express the importance of an object relative to one or more other objects. The focus within this research is on the combination of both the assigned and the held values. What is personally important to an individual (held) becomes mixed with conception of what appears important to the individual in the physical landscape (assigned). People are active participants in the attribution of meaning and value to specific places (Brown and Brabyn 2012: 84). While this research mainly focuses on the assigned values, the values that people bear toward the Schildersbuurt-oost, it cannot be denied that the held values of people are of great importance in this.

During my research I made use of a grow list of possible important values for people. These values were found in literature, but also came forth from some of the initial talks I conducted with residents of the Schilderswijk in order to get a first insight into the neighbourhood. This list grew with every interview I conducted, because new values were being expressed by the respondents.

- (1) Aesthetic value; place is valued because of the attractive scenery, sights, smells or sounds (Brown and Weber 2012).
- (2) Economic value; place is valued because of economic benefits (Brown and Weber 2012) such as work, cheap living conditions (housing).
- (3) Social value; place is valued because of the social contacts it facilitates.
- (4) Cultural value; place is valued because of its culture(s).
- (5) Recreational value; place is valued because it provides recreational activities (Brown and Weber 2012).
- (6) Religious value; place is valued because of its religious meaning and/or facilities.
- (7) Diversity value; place is valued because of its diversity (in people, housing, facilities, public spaces).

4.5 Appreciative Inquiry

In this case study, an appreciative inquiry (AI) method is was used. AI was initiated as a research method alternative to conventional action research in the organizational development field in the 1980s. It is a research method with a focus on positive organizational attributes that could lead to change (Grant & Humphries 2008: 402). Appreciative in this context means looking for the positive or the best in people and situations, focusing on the aspects that are important for people and explore how these aspects can best be made to grow (Masselink 2008: 9). Within this research, the focus is on the first aspect, the existing positive, and elaborates on the dreams of the respondents – in order to get a better insight in people's values regarding the place they live in. A next step would be to focus more on the way in which these aspects could grow to establish future development.

Applications of AI as an action research method range from small-localized inquiries such as change management within a school or community to worldwide projects (Grant & Humphries 2008). The AI method searches for the qualities within these in order to develop it (Nyaupane & Poudel 2011). Theoretically, AI is an appreciative and constructivist participatory action research method that makes use of creative, innovative

methods to learn more about human systems (Nyaupane & Poudel 2011: 978). The method fits the value-based approach of my research, focusing on the positive narratives of people about their place. Within AI, the focus is on the narratives of research participants on what they perceive as qualities in an organization or community, providing a platform from which to change and develop it in the future (Grant & Humphries 2008). The next set of principles form the foundation of Appreciative Inquiry.

First, AI focuses on what is appreciated. An important aspect of appreciative inquiry is that it allows researchers to better explore the life-giving forces in human systems (Nyaupane & Poudel 2011: 979). AI advocates for the use of affirmative approaches – the use of a positive lens – in the study of life-giving forces because these approaches are present in the success stories of people and organizations. In other words, within AI the glass is half full instead of half empty and it focuses on successes. This while much of the traditional research approaches are deficiency-based – asking people to discover problems and their causes in order to create designs to solve these problems. Practice shows that these approaches rarely result in the creation of a new vision (Nyaupane & Poudel 2011: 979). AI differs from these strategies because it focuses on the positive (Schooley 2012: 342). Unlike the traditional approaches, the focus of appreciative inquiry is to explore the qualities in communities or organizations in the hope that it will provide a new vision for the future (Nyaupane & Poudel 2011). The approach does not ignore problems, but it focuses on the positive values and qualities that lay beneath these problems. Characteristic of the method are the positively formulated questions that are being used Masselink (2008: 10). In asking respondents on the positive experiences towards a specific situation, they tend to get more involved (Masselink 2008).

An important aspect of AI strongly connected to the above is the anticipating principle. This principle follows the idea that if you want to change a system, you should change the future. Constructing an ideal image of the future is being seen as an instrument for change and transformation. Lack of imagination can limit collective capacity for change. Another aspect of AI that fits this idea is the narrative principle, which emphasizes that storytelling can contribute to future transformation. Combining stories of different persons can lead to internal development of the functioning of organizations, or in this case, neighbourhoods (Masselink 2008).

Another important aspect of AI is the positive principle. It shows the power of positive appreciation and affection. People react more positively when they talk about positive experiences and a positive approach gives people a basis for learning about positive characteristics (Masselink 2008). Furthermore, it can function as an antidote against cynicism and negativity (Masselink 2008: 21). Considering the many problems existing within the Schildersbuurt-oost, the latter two attitudes are not strange for inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost. Former research focused only on these problems. My research can lay a foundation for future research and policies to focus more on what qualities the neighbourhood has.

AI is founded upon grounded theory. Grounded theory is a qualitative research strategy employed to derive general abstract theories from the analysis of patterns, themes, and common categories found in observational data. The inquiry process in grounded theory differs from the traditional scientific method, which first chooses a theoretical framework and then proceeds to develop a hypothesis, to collect data, to analyse this data, and to draw a conclusion about the theory. Within grounded theory, data collection and analysis go hand-in-hand (Nyaupane & Poudel 2011: 979). Appreciative inquiry adopts this inductive process; there is no predetermined hypothesis. The process starts with the exploration of stories and continues with finding patterns. From those patterns theories are being developed.

Appreciative inquiry holds a social constructionist position and supports the notion of subjectivity, nonlinearity, and the complexity of the world (Nyaupane & Poudel 2011). People create and give meaning to their world in the interaction with others (Masselink 2008). There is no one objective reality, there is only the reality we construct within social interaction. Social constructionism holds the idea that together, people can give meaning to things and they do this by communicating with each other. The way we talk about things defines what will be; talking about problems will therefore lead more to new ones than to solutions. This means that talking about success will create more space for this success to grow and develop.

Strongly connected aspects of AI are the principle of simultaneity and the poetic principle (Nyaupane & Poudel 2011, Masselink 2008). The former affirms that researchers intervene in doing their research. The questions they ask have an impact on

the situation; there is no such thing as a neutral question. Furthermore, AI even says that the way of questioning affects the actions and changes that will follow (Masselink 2008: 20). This means that there is a simultaneity in doing research and changing the neighbourhood. Within this research the focus is more on discovering what people think is important than on changing it. Nevertheless, the way one asks questions nevertheless influences both the research as the interviewees. The poetic principle states that there are endless interpretive possibilities and these are constantly being rewritten and reinterpreted. An organization – in this research a neighbourhood – can be seen as a book that is continually being written and rewritten by people inside and outside the neighbourhood (Masselink 2008);

AI is a participatory action research (PAR) method, a form of action research that includes cooperative research. The goal of action research is to develop knowledge in order to help people in their everyday lives. It wants to find practical solution to problems through the intermixing of theory and practice (Nyaupane & Poudel 2011). AI has a strong cooperative aspect that argues for doing research with people instead of research on people. Researchers and research participants work together as co-researchers in every step of the inquiry process.

PAR integrates action research with cooperative inquiry and has been defined as a 'qualitative research inquiry in which the researcher and the participants collaborate at all levels in the research process to help find a suitable solution for a social problem that significantly affects an underserved community' (Nyaupane & Poudel 2011: 980).

4.5.1 The Appreciative Inquiry Process

AI uses storytelling to share vision for the future in a collective setting. It involves asking questions focusing on what gives life and meaning to the participants (Schooley 2012: 342). The AI process itself is a way of participation. As mentioned above, co-constructing is one of the most important elements of this process, and this leads to active involvement of the respondents in creating change by presenting an overview of qualities and possible improvements.

The appreciative inquiry process is formed by a 4-D cycle (Fig. 8) and follows four phases of activities):

- (1) The discovery phase is the appreciation for what is. It involves pulling up stories about peak moments people experienced within an organization or community (Masselink 2008). During this phase the qualities, values and successes are being identified and it relates to the best that has been and that is. The best practices and exemplary actions are being explored as narratives told by the research participants (Nyaupane & Poudel 2011: 980). By sharing these stories on the qualities and successes of the neighbourhood, people get a good insight in the positive core history of the neighbourhood, which they can use for future changes (Masselink 2008: 24).
- (2) The dreaming phase; that what could be. This includes the hopes and dreams of people for the future of the neighbourhood. It is about imagining an ideal picture of the neighbourhood in the future. This picture makes clear which possibilities have to be stimulated. This phase builds upon the qualities that are mentioned in the first phase. It makes the future reality closer through visualisation. Based on the realized life-giving forces and desired change direction, the clear vision of the future is created to challenge the status quo. The dream phase is both practical, because it is based on a feasible future vision, and generative, because it aims to expand the future potential of an organization or community (Nyaupane & Poudel 2011, Masselink 2008).
- (3) The third phase of AI is the design phase; the construction of the ideal future. This phase focusses on which changes are needed to make the dreams happen (Masselink 2008). What is necessary for the future vision to become reality? During this phase, a socio-technical architectural drawing of the neighbourhood is created (Nyaupane & Poudel 2011: 980).
- (4) The destiny phase forms the last phase of the AI inquiry. This phase can be seen as the realization of what will be. While change is constructed throughout all phases of the AI-process, this phase takes it to the next level by taking concrete steps forward (Masselink 2008). It strengthens the affirmative capability of the organization or neighbourhood to maintain good performance, which subsequently sustains the ongoing positive change (Nyaupane & Poudel 2011: 980). The destiny phase is often the realization of the dream phase.



Figure 8: 4-D cycle of Appreciative Inquiry (Inspiring Results 2012)

The Appreciative Inquiry process has to be adjusted to the specificity of the research context with its own particular characteristics. As every context is different, also every appreciative inquiry will develop in a different way. The 4-D cycle is a basic guiding framework, but in doing and experiencing the AI-process, the different principles will nestle themselves within the specific context (Masselink 2008). It is not necessary that every Appreciative Inquiry process goes through every step in the same way. The context influences the specific inquiry strategy that will be adopted in a certain research (Nyaupane & Poudel 2011).

The focus of my research is on the first step of the Appreciative Inquiry process, considering the limited amount of time for this research. However, I also gathered information on the second step, the dreaming phase, to get to know more on people's values. What people would like to change or to have changed in the future reflects what people consider important. The questions on the hopes and dreams towards the future is thus used as a means for understanding values held by people, not as an end in itself.

4.6 Value-based Approach

This research makes use of a value-oriented research method and this implies a focus on the third point of the threefold model of Halfacree (2006) – the everyday lives of people. To understand the sense of place of people, it is important to move beyond the more

traditional research methods, which assume that people are conscious and in control of their thoughts and actions, that they can adequately express and explain their behaviour and that emotions and feelings have little impact. In reality human beings are complex, contradictory and often unfathomable. Context, mood, conflicting needs and hormones influence them. We human beings cannot make rational decisions without emotional input. We therefore have to understand that emotions play a large part in thoughts and behaviour. This is where values play an important role and this shows why it was important to make use of a value-based approach for my research.

‘Sense of place can be seen as a general attitude towards a spatial setting, and a complex psychosocial structure that organizes self-referent beliefs, emotions and behavioural commitments’ (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006: 317). To get an insight into the sense of place of people in the Schildersbuurt-oost, it was necessary to focus on these beliefs and emotions. Proshansky affirms this by saying that *‘place-identity are those dimensions of self that define the individual’s personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals and behavioural tendencies and skills relevant to this environment’* (Proshansky 1978: 155). These theories show that the inner dimension of sense of place is subject of research. However in much of the research it is still the underexposed side of it. It can be seen as a black box, in which information is available, but which still needs to be opened further and looked into more deeply.

There is the need to open this black box. This inner dimension is important to get a deeper insight in the underlying motives, beliefs and world views of people considering their sense of place. There is a blind spot in the social sciences that concerns the inner place from which an action originates (Scharmer 2002: 3). We are usually well aware of what we do and what others do, how we do things and the processes others and we ourselves use when we act. There is, however, a blind spot, because we are usually unable to answer the question ‘where does our action come from?’ (Scharmer 2002). The blind spot concerns the (inner) source from which we operate when we do what we do – the quality of attention that we use to relation to the world (Scharmer 2002: 3). Social science research is mostly focused on the outer dimensions of behaviour, institutions and systems, while an integral view is needed which also focuses on individual and collective values. According to Wilber, we need to adopt an integral view, which he developed in his

quadrant model (Fig. 7). The quadrant system represents subjective and objective domains, at both the personal and the collective levels at once (Paulson 2007: 367).

	Inner world	Outer world
Individual	I: Intentional (subjective)	IT: Behavior (objective)
Collective	WE: Cultural (intersubjective)	THEY: Social (interobjective)

Figure 9: Wilber's Quadrant Model (Based on Paulson, 2007)

The individual subjective (upper left) quadrant includes the feelings, values and thoughts of a person. The physical body of someone together with its behaviour is reflected in the individual objective (upper right) quadrant. The lower left quadrant shows the culture that people form together and in which they share certain values and meanings. The specific laws, rules and behaviour, the social system prevailing in a society is part of the lower right quadrant of the interobjective social. This integral model of Wilber explains the importance of including inner dimensions in research too. The focus of this research is on the subjective inner world of individuals, but it also provides information about a few important intersubjective, collective values existing among residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost.

Within this value-based approach, the focus is on people's sense of place in the Schildersbuurt-oost, with a specific focus on what people experience as qualities within the neighbourhood. At the same time, this research will explore the individual (and to a certain extent collective) values underlying their sense of place and the qualities mentioned – so that future research or the research population will be able to build on these qualities. What do people think is important, which qualities do they experience and what is the relation to their sense of place?

4.7 Values – Qualities – Sense of Place

The relation between sense of place, qualities and values is important within this research.

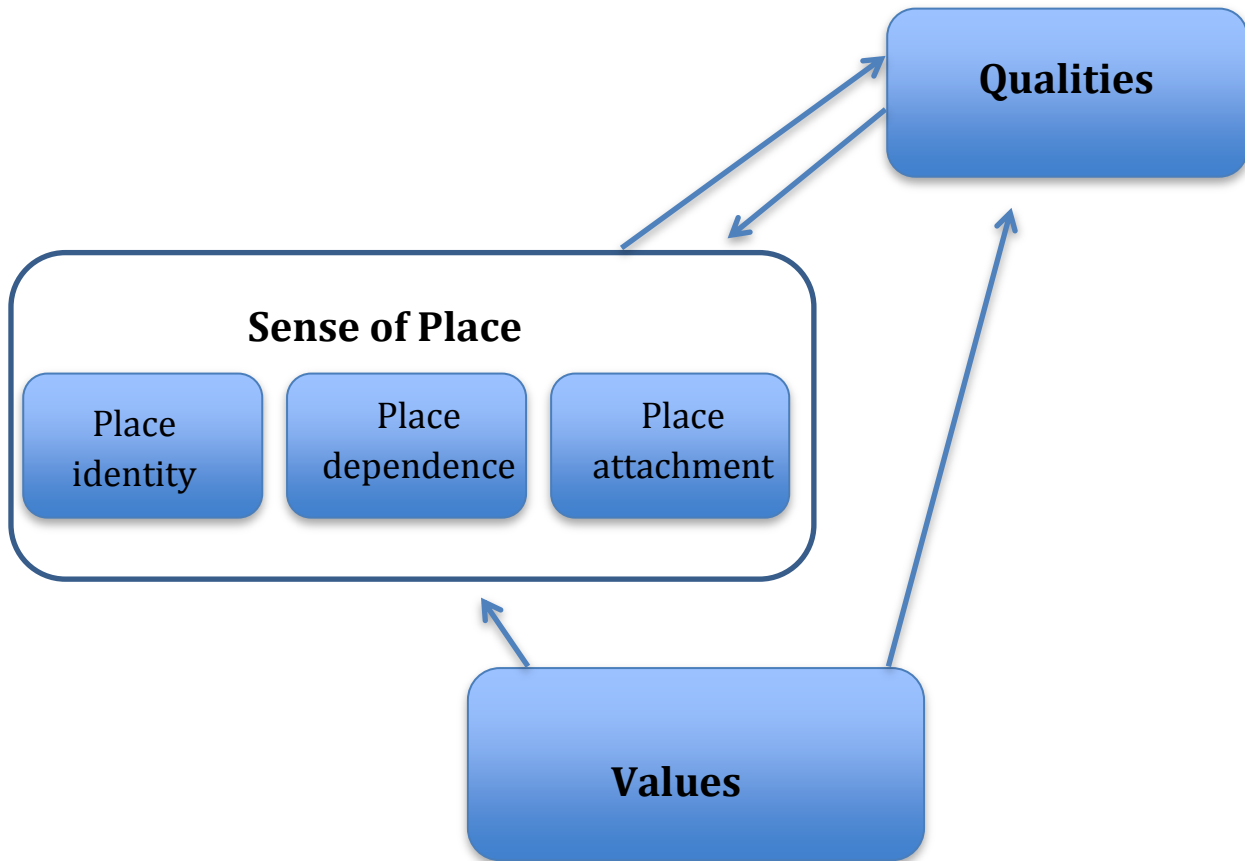


Figure 10: The relation sense of place – qualities – values

The image (fig. 10) shows the connectedness of the three different concepts. This research further explores the way they are related. Based on the literature, the image shows a hypothetical relation, which will be complemented with the analysed data in chapter 11. It does not take other factors that could possibly influence the concepts into consideration, because these are not vital to this research. The direction of the arrows shows the hypothetical relation between two concepts. Values are supposed to influence the perceived qualities of people, but also the three different aspects of sense of place. Furthermore, qualities and sense of place are supposed to influence each other. This research sheds light on how this hypothetical construction of the relations between the three main concepts.

5. Research Questions

The conceptual and theoretical framework leads to the following research question;

What do residents of Schildersbuurt-oost perceive as the qualities of their neighbourhood, what are important values underlying these qualities and how is this related to a certain sense of place?

The main research questions consists of three key elements to be explored; sense of place, qualities and values. This main question is divided into three sub questions, however the different questions are strongly interlinked and sometimes overlapping.

(1) How is the sense of place of residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost constructed?

- a. What is the place attachment of the residents?
- b. What is the place identity according to the residents?
- c. What is the place dependence of the residents?

(2) What are the perceived qualities of the Schildersbuurt-oost?

- a. What do people experience as qualities of the Schildersbuurt-oost, looking at the physical location?
- b. What do people experience as qualities of the Schildersbuurt-oost, looking at the institutions?
- c. What do people experience as qualities of the Schildersbuurt-oost, looking at the people and practices within the neighbourhood?

(3) What are important values underlying the perceived qualities?

- a. To what values do the indicated qualities refer?
- b. Why are these aspects important for them?

(4) How is the relation between the three different concepts – sense of place, qualities and values – constructed?

6. Research Methodology

During this research different research methods were used. The use of different methods contributes to the reliability and validity of the research. This method is known as triangulation, whereby the use of more than one method or source of data in the study of a social phenomenon is used so that findings can be cross-checked (Bryman 2008: 700). This research is a qualitative research, meaning an in-depth research on human behaviour and the reasons for this behaviour. While quantitative research is more focussed on quantities, qualitative research emphasizes words in the collection and analysis of data (Bryman 2008). Qualitative research uses an inductive strategy, which means that it generates theory out of research. Moreover, qualitative research is interpretive; in contrast to the quantitative research methods it emphasizes the understanding of the social world through researching the interpretation of this world by the participant. A last important aspect of qualitative research is its constructionist position, which implies that social properties are outcomes of the interactions between individuals, rather than phenomena 'out there' and separate from those involved in its construction (Bryman 2008: 366). People construct their worlds and qualitative research is about investigating the way people do this and why they do it in that way. This is the case in my research, where the focus is on how people make sense of their place, what they experience as qualities within their neighbourhood and why they do this in a certain way.

After more general information on the selection of the respondents, the overall character of my research and the introductory methods I used, more detailed information is given on the research methods. The research methods are classified according to the three main concepts of my research; sense of place, qualities and values. Within this classification a division is made of methods used for gathering information on the one hand, and methods used for analysing the information on the other hand.

6.1 Selection of Respondents

The (quality of the data) of the research depends on the willingness of participants to cooperate. The first contact with potential respondents is made with the help of two key

figures within my research persons, a police officer working within the neighbourhood and a board member of the Paraplu – a residents association within the Schilderswijk³. Both know the district well and asked some people to participate in my research. After initial contact with these participants was made, I made use of the 'snowball sampling technique' to get into contact with other potential respondents (Bernard 2006). When the technique is proven to be successful, the sample frame will grow with each interview (Bernard 2006). Therefore it was important for me to ask after every interview if the respondent knew someone in the neighbourhood who would be interested in participating as well.

Next to the snowball sampling technique, I made use of the method of 'hanging around'. By regularly visiting the public spaces of the Schildersbuurt-oost I met other inhabitants and I asked them to participate in my research.

The sampling methods I used lead to a process of inclusion and exclusion. People who did not have a broad network and who did not visit the public spaces when I hung around there, could not be sampled through the snowball and hanging around technique. This means I selectively chose my participants. This lead to a bias, because certain residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost could not be reached. However, this research is not about discovering how many people have a sense of place, but on how this is constructed and related to the experienced qualities and values of residents. In the analysis of the data and the drawing of conclusions this process of inclusion and exclusion will be addressed, so the bias is minimised.

6.2 Case Study

The overall form of this research is a case study. A case study entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case. In this research, the case observed is the Schildersbuurt-oost –one single neighbourhood within the district the Schilderswijk. There are different types of cases, and in my research the focus is on the representative/typical case. The objective of such a case is to capture the circumstances and conditions of an everyday or commonplace situation (Bryman 2008: 56). In such case studies, a case is chosen because it exemplifies a broader category of which it is a member

³ No names are mentioned to ensure the anonymity of the respondents.

(Bryman 2008), as happens in my research. Although a case study is never completely representative for a whole population, the reason I chose the Schildersbuurt-oost for my case study is because this made it possible to conduct a representative case study. This neighbourhood within the district of the Schilderswijk epitomizes both the other neighbourhoods within the Schilderswijk, and the broader category of ‘attention districts’ in the Netherlands.

6.3 Introductory Methods

Prior to the fieldwork phase I conducted some research methods to construct a theoretical framework and to get a first impression of the neighbourhood.

6.3.1 Literature Study

The first research method used is a literature study to construct the theoretical framework of my research. The focus of this research was on sense of place and values, in order to;

- (1) Provide a theoretical foundation of sense of place and an operationalization of the three different aspects; place attachment, place identity, place dependence.
- (2) Provide a theoretical foundation of appreciative inquiry and how to use it in practice.
- (3) Provide an operationalization of (place) values.
- (4) Provide a theoretical background on the Schilderswijk and its characteristics.

6.3.2 Expert Interviews

After a literature study, I conducted several interviews with persons who can be seen as experts on the different topics of my research, to get a first insight into the Schilderswijk and its opportunities and problems. Expert interviews can reveal tacit knowledge on a certain subject, experiential knowledge of an expert who has been working on the specific subject for years (Bryman 2008). It can give the researcher information that cannot be found in literature. This is the reason I choose to conduct three expert interviews to learn more on the Schilderswijk than can be found in literature.

The first expert interview was with a Lector of Metropolitan Development at The Hague University. He led a project on the way youth in the Schilderswijk experience living in the neighbourhood and told me about some existing problems and opportunities in the neighbourhood.

Secondly, I interviewed a member of the board of the Paraplu, a neighbourhood organization that arranges meetings and activities within in neighbourhood. The association forms a link between the citizens and important institutions (government, housing associations, the police).

Thirdly, I interviewed a police officer of the neighbourhood (*wijkagent*). I joined him during his rounds for a day. He showed me around the neighbourhood and introduced me to some of the inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost. He told me about several problems and opportunities existing within the neighbourhood.

6.3.3 Neighbourhood Meetings & Walks

Attending a district meeting of the Schilderswijk – organised by the Paraplu – is another activity I attended in order to get to know the neighbourhood and some of its residents. During this meeting different actors met and talked about the developments, activities and problems that occurred in the neighbourhood. Every resident of the Schilderswijk can participate as well as the neighbourhood police officer and different representatives of the Paraplu, who were actually present at the meeting I attended. Attending this meeting had an exploratory purpose, namely establishing the first contacts with people living in the Schilderswijk.

Apart from this meeting, I attended two meetings of the 'Neighbourhood Prevention Team' (*Buurt Preventie Team*), a group of diverse actors who stroll through the neighbourhood to see what is happening. The walks cover a larger area than the Schildersbuurt-oost, however that was the neighbourhood in which we walked when I participated. Participating in these walks also had an exploratory purpose. I made it possible for me to walk through the neighbourhood and at the same time talk to some residents. I had already discussed some of my topics with them and I had already met a few people who would like to participate in my research.

A third activity I undertook was spending a day with the policy officer of the neighbourhood during his daily work. This was also part of the expert interviews I conducted because as a police officer of the neighbourhood, he knows the neighbourhood and its inhabitants well.

6.4 Sense of place

The three different main concepts to be measured in my research – sense of place, qualities and values – all require their own research methods. Therefore, I divided the different research methods into three categories, according to the three different main concepts. Within this division, distinction is made between the data collection methods and data analysis methods.

The first main concept to be measured is that of sense of place – divided in to place identity, place attachment and place dependency.

One method to collect data on the sense of place of people living in the Schildersbuurt-oost is conducting individual, semi-structured interviews on this topic (combined with questions on qualities). Within a semi-structured interview the researcher has a list of questions or topics to be covered, but the respondent has much room left in how to reply (Bryman 2008). In contrast to a fully structured interview, questions may not follow an exact outline and the interview process is flexible. The emphasis must be on what the respondent considers important in answering and understanding the questions asked. This semi-structured form of interviewing allows respondents to pursue topics of particular interest to them, which can generate important information that would otherwise be missed. During this semi-structured interview I asked respondents questions in order to understand their place attachment, place identity and place dependence. To do this in a semi-structured way, I made use of an interview guide (see Appendix I.II) – but the exact follow up of questions differed per interview.

Apart from conducting individual interviews, I took walks with some of the respondents. As Bailey and Biggs (2012) show in their research, walks can become a key part of a research process. Taking walks in the neighbourhood with residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost gave me, as a researcher, the opportunity to interact with people, experiencing their local space and enacting connectivity (Bailey & Biggs 2012: 5) during

these walks through the neighbourhood. While it is not always easy for people to recall memories and feelings towards the place they live in during interviews, it is made more concrete and therefore perhaps easier to show me their sense of place during walks. Especially concerning place attachment and identity, it was useful to let the residents show me the places they felt connected to – to get a more detailed picture of their sense of place. During these walks, the interview part on sense of place was conducted so the residents could immediately show me what they meant.

This research focuses on the way relations between sense of place, experienced qualities and values are constructed. Therefore, I did not make use of a specific scale for measuring the strengths of a sense of place. The question in this research is not how ‘strong’ senses of place are, but how the sense of place is constructed in relation to experienced qualities and values. The goal of the research is to get a further insight in how this relation is constructed and the data analysis focused therefore on shedding light on these relations.

6.5 Qualities

Besides senses of place, the qualities people experience within the Schildersbuurt-oost are also measured.

For the data collection, I made use of semi-structured, individual in-depth interviews. Individuals were being asked on the three aspects of sense of place, on what they experienced as qualities of their neighbourhood and on why they perceived these aspects as qualities. Within this semi-structured interview I made use of an interview guide (see Appendix I.III).

For the data analysis of the qualities that residents mentioned, I made use of an assets map (fig. 11). An assets map consists of all the assets of a certain community, in my case the Schildersbuurt-oost. However, in my research it is not about the actual, physical assets that exist but about the assets that are being perceived as such by the residents. So this asset mapping within my research is not about providing a detailed picture of all assets that are present within the neighbourhood, but about providing a detailed summary of all the qualities that the residents perceive and experience as being qualities – a ‘qualities map’. Gibson (2010) shows the three elements of a community asset map as;

- (1) Business & Physical Resources; all the natural assets, buildings, facilities and businesses in the neighbourhood. In my research only the natural assets, buildings, facilities and businesses within the neighbourhood that are being perceived as qualities are mentioned within in this section.
- (2) Local Associations & Institutions; with local associations are meant all the non-government organizations, people organizations and all other associations people belong to. With institutions are meant all the governmental, educational, health related, legal and other institutions within the neighbourhood. Only the local associations and institutions that respondents perceive as qualities of the neighbourhood are illustrated.
- (3) People & Practices; characteristics and practices of the people living in the area – only those perceived and mentioned as qualities by the residents are treated.



Figure 11: Example of Community Asset Map (Gibson 2010)

The emphasis within this research is on providing information on the relation between sense of place, experienced qualities and underlying values. Because it is not a quantitative research, the focus is not on the many different that exist. The data analysis

therefore focuses on giving an insight of the qualities that people experience within an assets map – not on all the different possible assets maps.

6.6 Values

The third sub question of this research is on the underlying values of inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost. Why do they perceive the mentioned assets as qualities? What values do people consider important concerning the Schildersbuurt-oost? After looking at what people think is important in their neighbourhood and what they see as qualities in it, it is important to look at why they see these aspects as qualities – in order to get to know more about the values of the residents.

For the data collection I made use of in-depth interviews, to get information on people's values. In-depth interviews are useful when a researcher wants detailed information about a person's thoughts (Boyce & Neal 2006), as is the case in my research. These in depth interviews were an important tool in uncovering values that were not on the surface and that people sometimes were not even aware of having.

During these in-depth interviews it was important to make use of both follow-up and probing questions. With the former are meant questions to get the interviewee to elaborate on his or her answer by asking 'What do you mean with that' or by repeating significant words in an answer (Bryman 2008: 446). This stimulates further explanation. Probing questions are more direct, following up on the answer through direct questioning, such as 'Could you tell me more about that?'

An interview guide was used in conducting the interview. These questions directly followed after the first set of questions on sense of place and qualities. The questions asked depended on the answers given by the respondents. The guideline provided a guide to the possible questions to ask, though the specific content of my questions differed per respondent and per quality. The guideline shows a set of questions to be asked per strength; on each of the qualities the respondent mentioned, the same set of questions was asked (see Appendix I.IV).

The question guideline on values is less elaborated than the interview guide on sense of place and qualities, because the questions depend on the answers the respondent gives – and this make this section of the interview more flexible. In order to find out more about the values held by people it was important to keep asking ‘why’ after each answer.

For the data analysis, I made categories of different values. ‘Coding’ the values into specific categories made them traceable and thus comparable. Within these categories some sub-categories emerged. Constructing these (sub-)categories enabled me to compare the three main concepts of this research in the end. This comparison reveals the relation between a specific sense of place, the perceived qualities and values that people think are important.

In combining the information gathered by using the above-mentioned methods, the conclusion of my research provides information about the relation between people’s sense of place, the qualities people perceive and the values that are being held.

6.6 Selected Respondents

The starting point for the selection of my respondents was on the one hand, reaching a certain knowledge saturation level and on the other hand reflecting the variety and diversity of the population composition of the Schildersbuurt-oost.

In total, I have conducted interviews with forty-two residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost. With eight of them I have taken walks through the neighbourhood (see Appendix II). Of the respondents, twenty-three were female and nineteen male. This corresponds to the fact that there is a small majority of women over men living in the neighbourhood⁴, so the gender division of the respondents is kept balanced by the selection of respondents.

All of the respondents were between twenty-seven and sixty-six years old, and the vast majority was between thirty and forty years old. This reflects the high percentage of people between 25-44 living in the Schildersbuurt-oost – namely 28% of the population in 2011. However, the research did not include the second largest age group living within

⁴ 3.765 women over 3.715 men living in the Schildersbuurt-oost in 2011 (CBS, 2011).

the neighbourhood; children between 0-14 years old form 26% of the Schildersbuurt-oost population. Initially the research did not focus on a specific age group within the neighbourhood. The first interviews I conducted were with respondents that were introduced to me by the two key respondents of this research – all were over the age of thirty. After having conducted around twenty interviews, I decided to keep my focus on respondents over thirty years old because of the specific and unique place of youth within the neighbourhood. It takes a complete new research to focus on the younger citizens, with their own ideas, values and perspectives. Because of this probable difference between sense of place, perceived qualities and values between youth and adults, I decided not to intermingle them within this research and thus the focus is on the residents between the ages of twenty-seven and sixty-six only.

In selecting the respondents, I also focussed on different ethnic backgrounds – corresponding to the multi-ethnic character of the neighbourhood. As figure 12 shows, 94% of the inhabitants are first-or second-generation immigrants. I have conducted interviews with 28 non-western, first-generation immigrants (Turkey, Morocco, Suriname), 4 western immigrants (Indonesia) and 10 born Dutch⁵.

NATIONALITY	PERCENTAGE (%)
Total Western Immigrants	5
Total Non-Western Immigrants	89
Turkish	26
Moroccan	29
Suriname	18
Antilles	4
Other Non-Western Immigrants	13

Figure 12: Immigrants Schildersbuurt-oost 2012 (CBS, 2012)

While the people investigated in qualitative research are not meant to be representative of a certain population (Bryman 2008: 391), I tried to balance the ethnic backgrounds of

⁵ People born in the Netherlands.

my respondents in accordance with the different ethnic groups present within the Schildersbuurt-oost. In this way, I tried to include the various largest ethnic groups within my research, thereby trying to avoid drawing conclusions on the basis of interviews held with a non-representative sample of the neighbourhood.

After 42 in-depth interviews enough information on the research questions was gathered. The 42 respondents corresponded to the variety and diversity of the neighbourhood concerning different nationalities and gender.

6.7 Reflection on Methodology

Within this paragraph I reflect on the value of the data gathered, the reliability of the data and the validity of the methodological steps I took during this research.

6.7.1 Quality of the Data

The interviews were conducted at the homes of the respondents. During the interviews I noted down the most important keynotes. Comments that seemed to be of specific value were written out completely. These were comments that directly reflected someone's sense of place, perceived qualities or values. All of the interviews were recorded on my telephone too. This way I could focus on the conversation more easily, which would not have been possible for me had I not recorded the interviews. All respondents gave permission to record the interviews and I have never felt that recording them influenced the answers given. Afterwards I listened to all the interviews again and wrote them out, but I only transcribed valuable parts completely – because it had no added value. Recording the interview could possibly influence the relation between the interviewer and the interviewee, leading the interviewee to focus on the recorder (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2003: 275). However, during the replay of the interviews I regularly found valuable information that I did not note down. Furthermore, because I recorded the interviews I could make use of citations within my research and I did not base conclusions on my distorted version of what had been said.

During the walks I took with eight of the respondents, it was not possible to make use of a recorder. Furthermore, it was not possible to write down keywords and notes either. Prior to the walk, I met all participants at their homes, where we started the interview and the general questions were asked (see Appendix I.I). During the first walks I took, I tried to ask the other questions – on sense of place, qualities and values. However, I noticed that it was impossible for me to remember everything that was being said. Therefore I decided to take the last couple of walks after having conducted the interview with the respondents. In this way I could directly ask questions on specific places during the walks. There was less room for this during the first walks, because I was too focused on all the questions I had to ask the respondents. It was a much better way to conduct walks after having had the interviews, because the respondents could immediately show me what they expressed during the interview. After each interview I immediately noted down the extra valuable information respondents told and showed me during the walks. During these walks I also used a photo camera, to make pictures of places on which the participants gave valuable information.

6.7.2 Reliability

Reliability is the extent to which results are consistent over time and an accurate representation of the total population under study (Golafshani 2003: 598). Within this, the notions of replicability and repeatability of results are important; reliability is guaranteed when a measurement remains the same when this is repeated.

One of the problems that arose during my research was the problem of a language barrier between me and many inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost. Many of them do not speak Dutch – which automatically excluded them from participation within my research. Researchers who speak a second language like French, Turkish or Arabic would have been able to speak to many more inhabitants of the neighbourhood – possibly leading to other data.

Furthermore, I decided to follow connections of two key figures within my research. This decision affects the reliability of my research, because most of my respondents were selected by following leads of two key figures. After having established the first contacts, I made use of snowball sampling, which means that I stayed within the networks of the

first selected respondents. By focusing mainly on the networks of my first respondents, I automatically excluded inhabitants outside of these networks. I tried to compensate this by selecting some of my respondents by 'hanging out' at public spaces, but this led to only a few other respondents and most people I spoke to there were not willing to cooperate. This affected the reliability, because other researchers would probably talk to other inhabitants.

However, while other researchers would have probably spoken to other inhabitants (speaking other languages or following other leads), most of my respondents expressed related problems and opportunities within the neighbourhood. This means that even when other researchers would have talked to other inhabitants, it is probable that much data would be strongly related to the data I have found. One exception in this are inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost not speaking any Dutch at all. This group was completely excluded from my research and could have led to different outcomes – because not speaking any Dutch could lead to the experience of other problems and opportunities within the neighbourhood.

Apart from gathering data, the interpretation of the data is also of importance for reliability. It is possible that I have interpreted the information differently than another researcher would have done. My particular background, but also my interests and preferences all affect the way in which I listen to people and influence the way I interpret information. This process mostly happens unconsciously, but there are some personal characteristics that can be mentioned.

My personal history differs a lot from most of the people I spoke to. I grew up in a small town in the Northern part of the Netherlands, in a neighbourhood where little to no major problems existed. Furthermore, I am a born and raised Dutch native who got all the opportunities necessary to develop myself in all kinds of ways. This is a big difference with many of my respondents who were not born in the Netherlands and did not grow up in an environment in which they got all the opportunities for personal development. Some respondents openly expressed their feelings to me in saying they saw me as just another researcher with an opinion, who had never experienced any of their problems. Actually, they were right and this made me feel uneasy in the beginning. Later in the research I was better equipped to react on such statements by telling them that my goal was to let their voices be heard.

It is also possible that I, as a researcher, influenced the respondents, leading to a process in which the respondents gave answers that would have been different if I had been someone else. However, in making the goals of my research clear and in communicating with the respondents in an open way, I expect this tendency to be small.

6.7.3 Validity

Validity is the degree to which a research truly measures that which it was intended to measure (Golafshani 2003: 599). This paragraph elaborates on the ways in which I tried to guarantee the validity of this research. In describing this, I make use of Thomson's (2011) six categories to judge the validity of research.

First the 'descriptive validity' has to be ensured. With this I mean that the data must reflect what the respondents said (Thomson 2011: 78). Also, the process of reporting this data has to be accurate, which I ensured by recording and transcribing all of the interviews. In this way I made sure not to use wrong comments and citations. In using citations, I did not omit certain features of the informant's speech, and when I did this was explained.

Secondly, the 'interpretive validity' has to be guaranteed. This form of validity captures how well the researcher reports the participants' meaning of what he or she said (Thomson 2011: 79). Results of research have to be based on the participant's perspective, not on the researcher's. I have tried to ensure this by immediately asking the respondents when I did not completely grasp what a respondent meant during the interview. Another way I tried to do this was by repeating important that were said by the respondent, making sure that I correctly understood what he/she said. Furthermore, the walks also gave me opportunity to see and experience in practice what they had said during the interview before. This made it easier for me to understand the things that were told. However, it would have been even better for the interpretive validity if I had asked my respondents if they agreed with conclusions I drew based on their statements. Considering the time frame I did not do this in this research.

Thirdly, research should reflect 'theoretical validity'. It seeks to evaluate whether the concepts and theories used by the researcher fit the analysed findings (Thomson 2011: 79). The question is whether the one – theoretical framework – complements the other –

the analysed data – and the other way around. The theoretical framework must form the background for the phenomena found during the research. I constructed a theoretical framework that formed the basis for this research. After analysing all the data, I revised the theoretical framework according to the data found. New theoretical insights were necessary, and others appeared not applicable to my data. In this way, I made sure the ‘theoretical validity’ was guaranteed.

Fourthly, some form of ‘generalizability’ has to be ensured. This refers to the ability to universally apply the theory resulting from the research (Thomson 2011: 79). This form of validity is problematic within qualitative research, because qualitative research is focused solely on a specifically selected group and therefore, the findings may only be applicable to a similar group. This research is highly context-specific, as the Schildersbuurt-oost has a unique population composition which is not to be found anywhere else in The Netherlands. Generalizability is therefore not ensured in that sense, but the findings of this research could possibly be used for future research in other ‘attention areas’ coping with problems similar to the ones existing in the Schildersbuurt-oost.

The fifth validity category is the one of ‘evaluative validity’, which evaluates whether the researcher draw conclusions based on the data gathered or on his/her own understanding of the situation, without being judgmental (Thomson 2011: 80). As mentioned in the paragraph on reliability (6.7.2) the evaluative validity is inevitably influenced by my personal background and characteristics. However, I tried to guarantee the ‘evaluative validity’ by recording the interviews – to make sure no distortion would take place when using statements of the respondents. In this way I could make use of citations within my research, so that I did not draw any conclusions on my own version of what had been said.

‘Transparency’ forms the last of the six validity categories. This measures how well researchers inform the reader on how they arrived at their interpretation (Thomson 2011: 80). The researcher has to make clear that the reader understands the processes that were involved in the interpretation; the design of the research, the sampling of respondents, the interview process and the analysis of the data. The reader must get a clear understanding of how the researcher arrived at the interpretation (Thomson 2011: 80). I have tried to ensure this aspect of validity by explaining all the steps taken during

the research in the previous paragraphs on the methodologies used and within this reflection chapter – from the selection of the participants to the analysis of the data gathered.

Regarding the use of Appreciative Inquiry, the validity could have been better ensured. Within this method, the emphasis is on cooperation. Together, people create and develop ideas on what is successful and positive. In this, positive experiences of people are the basis. Knowledge becomes meaningful when it is brought into relation with others (Masselink et al. 2008: 7). However, within this research I focused on the individual inhabitants and what their individual (positive) experience are within their neighbourhood. Considering the time frame, I did not have any time left to organize any group meetings in which I could test the analysis based on the individual interviews. The reason I choose to do individual interviews is that it has the advantage that people do not copy each other and that I really got to hear personal opinions. In group meetings, there is the disadvantage that people could copy each other without expressing what they think personally. A good next step would be to test the personally gathered information in group meetings. Furthermore, this research did not focus on the aspect of Appreciative Inquiry to look at future improvements. I did ask question on what people would like to change in the future, but just as a way of getting to know peoples values instead of as an end in itself. This research could lay the foundation for future research focusing more on the cooperation and transition aspect of Appreciative Inquiry.

6.7.4 Analysis

Within qualitative research, collecting and analysing data is an ongoing and interim process. After every interview I conducted, I transcribed it immediately. During this process, I noted down the most important things said by the respondents. By doing this after every interview, I gradually constructed a first insight into peoples' sense of place, perceived qualities and values. After conducting more than 10 interviews, I tried to group corresponding statements together per value, per quality and per aspect of sense of place. I noted the most important statements said by all the respondents. If statements did not fit in the already existing groups, I constructed new ones. This process continued along the whole study period. During the process new statement groups were developed, while others proved not to be relevant.

This process of interim analysis worked well during this research, in future research I would however conduct this in a more structured way – in which I would save all the different steps taken during the interim analyses. Within this research I continually developed one overview with the most important statements per subject, thereby constructing new concepts and deleting others over time. This means I did not save any older versions – because I continued working in one version. In the end, this way of interim analysis worked good for me, but in the future I would save every step taken, because in this way it is possible to look at earlier constructions and ideas that could be useful in the end.

7. Scope and Limitations

The case study – carried out in the Schildersbuurt-oost – is restricted to one specific area, making it context-specific and therefore not necessarily generally applicable to other districts in the Netherlands or in the world. A case study consists of a detailed investigation of phenomena, often with data collected over time, within their context (Cassell & Symon 2004: 323). The people investigated in qualitative research are not meant to be representative of a population (Bryman 2008: 391). The single case cannot be representative in such a way that it might yield findings that can be applied more generally to other cases, but it can give more insight into the relation between values, experienced qualities and sense of place – which can be used for future research in similar contexts.

Besides the specificity of the context, the context is also a real dynamic one with many different inhabitants. One cannot speak of one fixed community when one speaks of the inhabitants of the Schilderswijk. The same issue is at stake when speaking of the inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost. There are no fixed communities living within fixed boundaries. A limitation linked to this is the focus of this research on the Schildersbuurt-oost, as the level of reference for people. Residents of the neighbourhood do not only identify themselves on the level of neighbourhood, but could even identify themselves more on city, regional or national level.

The method of appreciative inquiry carries in it the challenge of context as Schooley (2012) mentions in his research on appreciative inquiry. The challenge of context is a question about how well appreciative inquiry would work outside of its originally intended application within an organization context (Schooley 2012: 343). Appreciative inquiry was developed for use at the organizational level. In an organization there is a certain hierarchy and people can be obliged to take part in the appreciative inquiry process. This is not the case in a neighbourhood like the Schildersbuurt-oost and this can be an obstacle for getting people to participate.

Language barriers form another limitation for my research, considering the fact that there are many non-Dutch and non-English speaking residents living within the Schildersbuurt-

oost. It is impossible for me to interview them and thereby the research is automatically limited to Dutch or English speaking residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost.

The influence of social and cultural aspects on people's sense of place, values and experienced qualities is an important element. Perception is related to the cultural and ethnic background of subjects and the differences of sense of place can be based on class, gender, religion and many other aspects of identity. The research does not include all these aspects, because of its focus on the relation of senses of place, experiences qualities and values – not on all the different aspects influencing these separate phenomena. It is however important to acknowledge the importance of these different influencing factors.

A last challenge for me as a researcher was to not generate a blind spot towards the negative feelings people can bear towards their place. Most measurements ignore negative feelings toward a place, because sense of place is usually a positive phenomenon, but it can include negative feelings too (Shamai & Ilatov 2004). While appreciative inquiry is focused on these positive feelings, it is important to be aware of the influence of negative feelings to people too. Closely connected to this is the fact that there exist many problems in the neighbourhood, which made it more difficult to focus on the positive. However, it is a challenge to turn the negative expressions of people into the connected positive values they think are important.

8. Sense of Place

This chapter contains the analysed data on the respondents' sense of place. First, the three aspects of sense of place – place attachment, place identity and place dependence – are discussed. Thereafter, the chapter elaborates on the different levels of reference and the interchangeability of the respondents' sense of place.

8.1 Place Attachment

In the conceptual framework, a distinction was made between social and physical attachment (Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001). In analysing the data, this distinction remained relevant – showing a difference between both aspects of place attachment among the respondents.

8.1.2 Physical Attachment

Most of the respondents showed an overall low level of physical attachment at the level of the Schildersbuurt-oost. With physical attachment is meant the attachment of a person to the physical environment of the place, in this case the Schildersbuurt-oost (Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001). None of the interviewees showed an overall high degree of physical attachment. The interviewees were critical on the physical characteristics of the neighbourhood and they expressed the feeling that they did not feel personally connected to most of the physical characteristics of the neighbourhood. Most respondents stated not to miss the actual physical place if they would be forced to move out. Furthermore, most respondents could not recall memories on times they were happy with a specific place in their neighbourhood. During this research, no significant differences are found in the physical attachment between people with different ethnic backgrounds.

Regarding the physical home attachment - the attachment of people towards their private home property - a significant difference was found between home owners and renters. Interviewees living in rented apartments did not express to feel strong personal attachment at the level of their homes. Many of these respondents complained on the

condition of their apartments. They expressed they felt at home in their houses, but they did not express special attachment to the physical characteristics of their homes. Most of the respondents even expressed feelings of dissatisfaction regarding the condition of their homes.

At the moment of writing, different housing associations are busy renovating many of the rented homes, because of the deteriorated state of these apartments (fig. 13). One of the main problems in many rented apartments is a high level of humidity and the presence of mould, which can cause health related problems like asthma (Rauh et al. 2008).

‘Op dit moment zijn we zowel met Haag Wonen als met Staedion bezig voor alle schimmel en vocht die hier in de wijk is, want dat is echt heel erg, en doordat we daarmee bezig zijn, zijn we ook weer met de GGD bezig, werken we samen, omdat er dus door de vocht en de schimmels veel longpatiënten gekomen zijn, ja, astma, COPD en al die ziektes.’

As the above-mentioned quote of a board member of the neighbourhood organisation the Paraplu shows, the two largest housing corporations of the neighbourhood, Haag Wonen and Staedion, are together with the GGD⁶ and the Paraplu in the process of carrying out a research towards the status of these apartments – whereby they especially focus on the presence of mould in the apartments.



Figure 13: Apartment block that is being renovated by housing corporation Haagwonen.

⁶ The GGD is the ‘Gemeentelijke/Gemeenschappelijke Gezondheidsdienst’; a municipal institution which is legally obliged to protect the health of its citizens (GGD 2012).

The bad condition of most of the rented apartments of the interviewees is one factor that could explain the low level of attachment to the physical characteristics of their homes. Living in a home of which the state is deteriorated could possibly lead to lower feelings of connection between a inhabitant and its apartment. The following quotes support this.

'Nou sorry hoor maar de hele boel zit hier vol met schimmel. Dat is toch niet te om in te leven. En nou zeggen ze dat ze de boel gaan opknappen. Nou ik moet het nog zien.'

'Ik ken wel blijven schilderen. Die (schimmel) komt gewoon weer terug. Alsof ik niet wat anders te doen heb ofzo.'

Another explanation could be the fact that most of the interviewees do not own their apartments, but rent them – creating more distance between the apartment and its inhabitants. Brown et al. (2002) show in their research that home attachment is higher for home owners when compared to people living in rented homes.

OWNERSHIP	NUMBER
Total number of houses Schilderswijk	12.253
Private renting	1.093
Institutional renting	9.027
Private ownership	2.283

Figure 14: Ownership Houses Schilderswijk 2012(Source: <http://denhaag.buurtmonitor.nl/>)

As figure 14 shows, most of the houses in the Schilderswijk are owned by institutions, primarily by the housing corporations Haag Wonen and Staedion. Many respondents live in such an apartment, rented from one of these institutions. Within this group, many live in apartments that are part of the social housing system of the Netherlands, a system which provides lower rents for people who cannot afford higher rent prices. In 2009, 74

per cent of all the tenures in the Schilderswijk were part of the social renting system (Smit 2010). According to this system, housing associations must rent 90 per cent of the homes with a rent to 665 euros per month to households with an income up to 34,085 euros per year. They may rent the remaining 10 per cent to higher incomes (Rijksoverheid 2012). Many respondents live in these social housing homes, meaning that they probably cannot afford buying a house – regarding their low income level. The fact that many of the respondents live in rented homes – and a large part in social renting homes – could also be an explanation for their lack of attachment to their homes. When renting a house, the feeling that it is not your own house could possibly influence this, which is confirmed by the research of Brown et al. (2002). Furthermore, there are strict rules regarding maintenance and renovation when renting a home. The letter of the apartment – in this case the housing corporation – is responsible for all the major renovation in and around the house. This also means that there are some strict rules regarding the renovation of homes. The tenant cannot decide freely to renovate and rebuild his home. This lack of the right to decide could also influence a lack of physical attachment to a home.

These two hypotheses are supported by the fact that the interviewees living in the Fort – a smaller section of the Schildersbuurt-oost consisting of owner-occupied homes (fig. 15) – showed a higher physical attachment towards their homes, while they also expressed a low level of attachment towards the physical environment of the Schildersbuurt-oost. This corresponds to the study of Brown et al. (2002) which concludes that home attachment is higher for home owners than for renters. Many inhabitants of the Fort expressed differences between them and other inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost.

‘Nou hier in het Fort, trekken we heel amicaal met elkaar op. We vormen eigenlijk een beetje een enclave, omdat we hier allemaal in 2000 zijn komen wonen. We hebben wel een stuk sociale cohesie. Binnen de wijk zijn we meer een aparte groep en dat heeft gelukkig prettig uitgepakt, want er was natuurlijk eerst een beetje angst ook vanuit de politie, omdat we toch wel vreemde snoeshanen zijn voor de bewoners aan het Jacob van Campenplein, omdat het zou gaan schuren maar dat is uiteindelijk wel mee gevallen.’



Figure 15: Houses in 'het Fort'

As the above-mentioned citation shows, some interviewees from the Fort feel differences between them and the other inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost. Most of the interviewees living in the Fort saw the difference between them and the other residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost mainly in the fact that they own their homes, while the rest of the residents of the neighbourhood rent their apartments. All of the interviewees living in the Fort expressed they were happy with the condition of their homes – which could be explained by the complete renovation of these homes in 2000.

'Maar je ziet toch dat we anders zijn dan bewoners aan het Jacob van Campenplein. En dat heeft toch te maken met dat wij hier in koopwoningen wonen en zij vinden ons gewoon bijzonder prettig gestoord dat wij hier vrijwillig zijn gaan wonen en ook nog eens geïnvesteerd hebben in een koopwoning.'

'En nu is het Fort een wijk in de wijk. Het Fort zijn koopwoningen, alleen de laatste straat zijn huurwoningen van Haag Wonen. Er rijden geen auto's, kinderen kunnen er heel vriendelijk spelen enzo, het is wel leuk. Het is gesloten binnen de wijk weer.'

While the inhabitants of the Fort all stressed the differences between them and the other residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost, remarkable is that the people living outside the Fort did not refer to the inhabitants of the Fort as being different. They did not refer to them at all, while the inhabitants of the Fort all felt the need to stress the differences.

Apart from the differences in the physical attachment of respondents towards their homes, there was generally a low level of physical attachment towards public spaces of the Schildersbuurt-oost in general. Respondents expressed mainly two possible explanations for this.

First, many respondents expressed to be unhappy with aspects of the physical design of public places in the Schildersbuurt-oost. The expressions of these respondents can be grouped together in one main problem; the lack of clear boundaries indicating the difference between public and private spaces. Many respondents expressed to experience considerable nuisance because groups of youngsters meet each other and hang around in public spaces that are directly adjacent to their houses. Most of them indicated this was due to the physical design of these public spaces. According to them, these public spaces should not be located right in front of their homes.

‘Eerst in de jaren ’70 bedachten ze van die open portieken vanwege het sociale contact en blablabla, nou die veroorzaken gigantische overlast vanwege hangjongeren en drugstoestanden.’

‘Er is heel veel samenscholing van jongeren bij de portieken. Daar heb je ontzettende overlast van en weet ik wat ze allemaal doen. Het is allemaal wat duister’

‘We hebben hier van die blokken buiten voor huis en daar hangen ze heel vaak. Op een gegeven moment gingen er wel een stuk of 20 man en dat is heel vervelend.’

Specifically mentioned within this are the many porches within the neighbourhood. With porches both the porch homes as porch flats are meant. Respondents told to suffer from the nuisance at these porches. This is mostly due to youngsters coming together and hanging out at these porches. This leads to a situation in which the residents living around the porches do not only suffer from the noise these youngsters make, but also from the mess these groups often leave behind.

This perception of a lack of boundaries between the private and public places correspond to Gieryn’s idea that place is space filled by people, practices, objects and representations (Gieryn 2000). The meanings of these places are not only experienced, but are learned

through personal discovery. This means that the perception of the respondents in this research probably differs with the perception of these boundaries of the youngsters that mainly hang around. A place is not a specific area with a fixed boundary around it, but is constantly being interpreted by actors moving in it (Massey 1991). Kirby (2008) contributes to this fluid character of private and public spaces, in saying that the dichotomy between public and private space is more apparent than real, because it is difficult to draw a strict distinction between them. This means that while 'private place' and 'public place' seem to be fixed spaces with a constructed boundary around it, interpretation and experiences of people are involved in this process of boundary construction. Respondents experience the hanging around of youngsters as a violation of their private space, because the physical design in the neighbourhood lacks to indicate the boundaries around it. The perception and experience of these youngsters probably differs from this idea. The idea of a lack of boundaries between public and private places and the inappropriate use of youngsters of these public places corresponds to Malone's (2002) research in which she states that people attempt to segregate space in terms of legitimate and illegitimate user groups. This need to create clear boundaries is based on a vision of appropriate use and appropriate users of the public space (Malone 2002: 161). The above-mentioned quotes are some examples of how respondents perceived the (inappropriate) use of public places by youngsters in the neighbourhood.

Next to the physical design of the neighbourhood, many respondents expressed to be unhappy with the amount of garbage and dirt in the public places of the Schildersbuurt-oost. This problem is further discussed in paragraph 10.2. The frustration of inhabitants towards the garbage on the streets is felt within the whole neighbourhood. These two identified problems, garbage and the physical lay-out, contribute to an explanation of a lack of strong physical attachment towards public spaces of the Schildersbuurt-oost among respondents.

However, there is a public place in the neighbourhood which forms an exception to this for many of the respondents; the 'Jacob van Campenplein'. These respondents did not expressed to feel personally connected to the square directly in words, but during the interviews and walks it became clear that many respondents had a special relationship with the square. While some respondents expressed to experience nuisance because of

the square, most were highly positive of the function of the square within the neighbourhood. Mainly the social function of the square was highlighted by the respondents. Paragraph 9.1.1 will elaborate more on the perceived qualities of the Jacob van Campenplein and therefore the way people are connected to this square.

8.1.3 Social Attachment

Besides attachment to the physical aspects of a certain place, people also attach to other social actors, the so-called social attachment (Hidalgo & Hernandez 2001, Unger & Wandersman 1985). Respondents showed a considerable higher level of social attachment compared to the level of physical attachment. Most of the interviewees have many different social relations in the Schildersbuurt-oost, with neighbours, colleagues, family and/or friends.

Most respondents expressed to feel attached to people in their neighbourhood. They mentioned to have regular contact with different fellow neighbours. Many expressed to regret it if their neighbours would move out of the Schildersbuurt-oost, especially the direct neighbours, family and good friends. Furthermore, many respondents described their fellow inhabitants as being cosy people with a good sense of humour. The following quotes give voice to these feelings.

'Ja, met buren, familie, winkeliers, andere buurtbewoners. Een praatje maken en bij de naaste buren ga ik ook wel eens op bezoek. In de zomermaanden ben je meer buiten en is er ook meer contact. In de winter is het wat minder.'

'Directe buren uit mijn portiek. We wonen daar allemaal al erg lang en kunnen het goed met elkaar vinden. Zou het jammer vinden als ze weg gingen.'

'Ja, veel leuke mensen. Gezellig en gevoel voor humor.'

Another aspect that made clear many people have quite a strong social attachment within the neighbourhood, was that in showing me places people found important, it were

mostly the social contacts that made these places important. Social contacts play a role in making places important for them. The most clear example of this was the Jacob van Campenplein, which many respondents find an important place primarily because of its social function. Meeting people is a central to the attachment of people towards the Jacob van Campenplein. Paragraph 9.1.1 elaborates more on this social function of the square.

Respondents were able to recall memories of specific moments in which they were happy with their neighbours. Most respondents were not able to do this when they were asked to recall specific positive memories on physical places within the neighbourhood. The memories people recalled referred mostly to moments when people organised a certain activity or achieved a certain goal within the neighbourhood. These memories are further elaborated on in paragraph 10.6, which focuses the perceived importance of organising according to many respondents.

‘Op het moment dat we het Jacob van Campenplein mochten herinrichten. De gemeente en de woningbouw hadden hier geld voor vrijgemaakt en we konden beginnen.’

‘Als we samen een activiteit organiseren voor de buurt. Een paar keer per jaar organiseren we activiteiten voor kinderen, bijvoorbeeld voetbaltoernooi op het plein. Dat is geweldig.’

Remarkable in the expressions of respondents is the role of common values in the social attachment people have. One category of people the respondents felt attached to were people having shared values. Most important were values of keeping the environment neat and clean and the value of organising in groups to preserve or develop the neighbourhood. The quotes below are some examples of how people express these values to be important for the people to which they are socially attached.

‘Ja, ja we hebben een vast clubbie. Er zijn toch een aantal honden die het goed met elkaar kunnen vinden. Er lopen er ook een aantal die hebben toch een ander zicht op de hond dan dat wij hebben dus. [...] We hebben met elkaar afgesproken om het (uitlaatveld) een beetje schoon te houden. ’s

Avonds willen er wel eens hangjongeren zitten die er lekker een patatje aan het eten zijn, dus dan kom je 's ochtends op het veld en dan ligt alles weer onder de blikjes dus hebben we dan ook wel afgesproken van jongens, als je het ziet, gooi het dan gelijk even in de prullenbak dus we proberen dat zelf ook wel doen. Anderen hebben daar soms toch een ander idee over.'

'Zelf was ik al vrijwilliger en ik had dus in ieder geval al die groep vrouwen waar we van alles mee doen; uitjes, ideeën, projecten waar we geld voor kregen. We hebben een naaigroep, een Nederlandse taal groep, fitness groep.'

'Ja, buren. Andere vrijwilligers. Mensen die je in de loop der jaren hebt leren kennen. Vaak informeel contact, gezellig bij elkaar op bezoek. Met andere vrijwilligers om activiteiten te organiseren.'

Riger and Lavrakas (1981) support importance of shared values in people's social attachment. They say that especially in neighbourhoods with a deteriorated state of local facilities, the level of social interaction and social attachment is not lower than when these local facilities were in a better condition. Attachment persists because of adherence to a clear set of values (Riger and Lavrakas 1981: 57). They argue that especially in neighbourhood with this deteriorated state of local facilities, the shared values play an important role in people's social attachment. As an attention area, many local facilities are deteriorated in the Schildersbuurt-oost and the expressed values of liveable physical environment and organising are an example of the research results of Riger and Lavrakas (1981).

Despite the overall high level of social attachment, also negative feelings were expressed towards fellow neighbours. Remarkable is that these negative feelings were mostly expressed by the respondents with Dutch roots and mostly towards migrant neighbours⁷. These respondents mentioned that they cannot connect to the many migrants in the neighbourhood, because many of them do not speak Dutch.

⁷ With Dutch roots I refer to respondents born in the Netherlands and whose parents were also born in the Netherlands.

'Het is alleen soms heel vervelend dat je soms niet echt een gesprek kan voeren, omdat heel veel mensen ook gewoon geen Nederlands spreken.'

'Nee veel contact hebben we niet met ze nee. Ze praten altijd in hun eigen taal nou ja en ze gaan alleen met elkaar om. Eerst probeerde ik het nog wel hoor, maar ja ze verstaan je niet.'

In the stories people told on what they do within the neighbourhood, it became clear that many respondents have more frequent and deeper contact with people of the same ethnic and/or religious background. However, most respondents expressed to have contact with people with all kinds of (ethnic) backgrounds. Only few of the respondents mentioned the mix of cultures in the neighbourhood as something negative. Most of them expressed to enjoy the contacts with people of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. This shows that most respondents have some form of bridging social capital – social contacts that connects people of different backgrounds, in this case specifically different ethnic backgrounds (van den Broek & van Ingen 2008).

'Mijn bovenbuurvrouw is ook Marokkaans, nou het is gewoon, als het Suikerfeest is geweest staat ze ook met een schaal vol koekjes voor m'n deur, dus het is maar net hoe je er mee om gaat. Dat heb niks te maken met cultuur, als je er maar open voor staat en dat je mekaar helpt, ja hoor.'

'Die mix in de wijk is juist zo leuk. De maakt een praatje met iedereen en het is altijd gezellig.'

'De mensen hier zijn ontzettend gezellig en altijd in voor een babbel. Dat vind ik zelf ook leuk. En ja, soms praten mensen hier de taal niet goed en dat is wel jammer maar ja, ze zeggen altijd vriendelijk gedag en dat is dan ook prima.'

Despite the fact that most respondents experience the mix of cultures as a positive characteristic of the neighbourhood, stories of people and observation of the public places showed a difference in social contacts between different ethnic and/or religious groups. Especially visible at the Jacob van Campenplein, where mostly migrant women met each other in groups, together with their children (fig. 16).



Figure 16: Group of Migrant Women Meeting at Jacob van Campenplein

This corresponds to the feelings of some of the born Dutch respondents expressing they did not feel welcome at the square, because they could not integrate with the people at the square. Another group of respondents that felt excluded from the square were respondents without children.

‘Nee dat niet echt. Nou komt dat ook misschien, ik heb voor de rest geen kinderen. Dus als je dat hebt dan ben je al met school en met een crèche en een dagopvang en dan ken je misschien wat sneller die andere mensen al en is dat ook wat makkelijker he. Het zijn toch vooral wel de moeders en kinderen die daar komen. Nou ja zo heb ik dat met hem (hond), ik ken dan weer die mensen van de uitlaatplek enzo.’

Next to the visible segregation of ethnic and/or religious groups at the Jacob van Campenplein, this was also expressed in the stories people told. Especially in the activities people undertook, a shared ethnic and/or religious background plays an important role. This influences which people the respondents meet and thus the social attachment to different people. The following quotes reflect the strong bonding social capital – attaching people with the same background (van den Broek & van Ingen 2008) – of respondents.

‘Eén keer in de week doen we ouderactiviteiten voor mensen uit voormalig Nederlands-Indië en die komen hier één keer in de week zeg maar bij mij thuis.’

‘Altijd ging ik naar die Arabische taal en daar ken ik ook al die vrouwen van en nu hebben we dan ook die naaigroep.’

‘En ik mag iets niet zeggen, maar we krijgen ook Koranles. Ze (gemeente) willen niet dat iets zo uit het geloof komt dus ik mag niet zeggen. Maar met die groep krijgen we dan Koranles.’

Different factors play a role in explaining this ethnic and/or religious segregation visible in the activities of the respondents. While this is a complex phenomenon in which a diverse set of factors play a role, mainly two factors appeared to be important in the Schildersbuurt-oost.

First, people are tended to feel attracted to people they recognizes themselves in (Lindner 2002: 6). The research of Van den Broek & Van Ingen (2008) shows that in neighbourhoods with a high concentrations of migrations, people tend to foster social contacts with people of their own ethnic group more than in other neighbourhoods. Especially people with a Turkish and Moroccan background tend to maintain social contacts with family and other people of their own ethnic groups (Van den Broek & Van Ingen 2008). This phenomenon is visible in the Schildersbuurt-oost, where a certain level of ethnic social segregation is present. However, none of the respondents expressed to be totally socially segregated from other ethnic groups. Especially because of the many different ethnicities in the neighbourhood, inter-ethnic social relations are part of everyday life. However, in doing certain activities and in meeting at public places, it is visible that people have deeper and more frequent social contact with people of the same ethnic background.

Second, language is an important factor influencing the deeper and more frequent social contact with people of the same ethnic background. Language is an important competence to communicate with other actors in a social environment. In a multicultural environment as the Schildersbuurt-oost, the language differs between different groups. Language is important in the social interaction between these different ethnic groups. It can cause both inclusion and exclusion, the latter in which a certain ethnic group communicates by speaking the own ethnic language which is unintelligible for people of the outgroup. In this way, language can create unity and solidary, but can at the same time highlight group boundaries (Eriksen 2002). Many inhabitants of the Schilderswijk have a language deficiency and do not speak Dutch well (Gemeente Den Haag 2007, 2010). This language deficiency makes it harder for these inhabitants to communicate with people not speaking their ethnic language. This is confirmed by Lancee and Dronkers

(2011) in saying that Dutch-language proficiency in the neighbourhood positively affects the quality of contact with neighbours and interethnic trust (Lancee and Dronkers 2011: 602). A lack of this proficiency could therefore lead to less inter-ethnic relations.

As is the case with the physical place attachment, there is a visible difference in social attachment between residents of the Fort and other residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost. The former group expressed to mainly have social relations with people living in the Fort. These respondents expressed to have contacts with residents all over the neighbourhood, but they all stressed the specific social cohesion within the Fort.

'Ja het is best wel gesloten weer van de rest aan het plein, maakt het ook rustiger. De kinderen spelen hier altijd met de straat. En als we thuis komen gaat de deur open, stoel buiten, krantje, drankje. En gewoon kijken wie er komt, babbeltjes maken.'

'Hier is eigenlijk wel een kleine buurtgemeenschap. Ook omdat we die vereniging van eigenaren hebben, word je gedwongen met elkaar minimaal 1x per jaar te vergaderen. En ja, dat vinden wij hier allemaal (in het Fort) wel heel positief.'

The other way around, people living outside the Fort did not mention any differences in contact with people of the Fort. A factor that could explain the specific social cohesion of people within this smaller section of the neighbourhood is the fact that all the residents came to live there at the same moment. In June 2000, the complete renovation of the Fort was completed and all new residents moved in together. Connected to this is the fact that homeowners tend to be less mobile than renters, considered the high transaction costs associated with homeownership (DiPasquale and Glaeser 1999: 355). Increased length of tenure in a certain community encourages investments in a community, also considering social capital (DiPasquale and Glaeser 1999). This reduced mobility could therefore also be an influencing factor, The following quote reinforces this idea.

'Daar hadden we vrij anoniem geleefd en nja je krijgt allerlei berichten van sociale cohesie neemt af en toen dacht ik ja daar zijn wij mede schuldig aan, als je tweehoog in je huurflat woont en je deur achter je kont doet en daar je

eigen ding doet. Dus ja toen konden we dit huis dus kopen en toen we hier kwamen wonen hebben we meteen gezegd van ja, hier zitten we nog wel even en dit is een volkswijk en dus moeten we daar ons ook naar richten. En nou ja dat was wel makkelijker omdat iedereen natuurlijk nieuw was hier in 2000.'

This citation shows the influence of the fact that the respondent knew that in buying a home in the Schildersbuurt-oost, he intended to stay at least for some years. Because of this, the respondents expressed to have consciously developed an open attitude towards their neighbours living in the Fort – because they will probably be neighbours for the next couple of years. Furthermore, residents of the Fort are obliged to come together at least once a year, since they have an owners association, creating a special attachment among these inhabitants and the necessity of having contact with each other.

Another important factor is the exceptional character of the Fort compared to other tenures in the Schildersbuurt-oost. The Fort is a visible exception to the rest of the homes in the neighbourhood. First, because it is one of the few owner-occupied sections in the neighbourhood. Second, because it is a sharply demarcated area, not only in terms of its physical design, but also in terms of its appearance. With the latter I refer to the luxurious appearance of the Fort compared to most apartment blocks in the neighbourhood. Much research assumes that this kind of housing diversification leads to more social exclusion and less social cohesion, and there is much evidence that social life varies by tenure and that there generally is little social interaction between owner-occupiers and tenants (Kleinhans 2004). Besides, looking at the spatial range of social interaction, evidence shows that neighbourhood contacts are usually geographically close neighbours (Kleinhans 2004: 377). Especially in recently restructured neighbourhoods – as is the case in the Fort – there is a strong internal orientation in owner-occupied housing (Kleinhans 2004: 377). However, tenure is not the single cause of the limited cross-tenure interaction and socio-economic characteristics as income, age, household composition and education also play an important role (Kleinhans 2004: 378). Respondents did not express these socio-economic characteristics as influencing their deeper and more frequent contact with people in the Fort. Furthermore, the cross tenure interaction can also be hampered by separation of different tenures as a result of the physical layout of the neighbourhood – as is the case in the Schildersbuurt-oost.

Most important for the specific social cohesion in the Fort were the physical design of the Fort as sharply demarcated, the owner association and the fact that all inhabitants of the Fort came to live there simultaneously. Respondents did not express status or ethnic differences as being important.

Overall, a high level of social attachment was visible among the residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost. Some respondents mentioned the neighbours' backgrounds – more specifically people's lack of knowledge of the Dutch language – as hindering the social contact with them. It became clear that respondents had more frequent contact with neighbours having the same ethnic and/or religious background. Another remarkable segregation was the one perceived by inhabitants of the Fort, who stressed a particular social cohesion within this smaller section of the neighbourhood. All respondents expressed to be socially attached to people in the neighbourhood. Remarkable is the role of social relations in making places important for people.

8.2 Place Identity

A second aspect of sense of place is place identity. It consists of the unique characteristics and meanings of a specific place as perceived by the respondents at a given point of time. What makes, according to the respondents, the Schildersbuurt-oost unique and different from other places? This paragraph elaborates on the perceived distinctive characteristics of the place, according to the interviewees.

Respondents stressed the uniqueness of the Schildersbuurt-oost in comparison with other neighbourhoods. However, in mentioning these characteristics, the respondents did not make any difference between the Schilderswijk in general and the Schildersbuurt-oost. This made clear that the place identity is best to measure on the level of the Schilderswijk in general.

Three main characterizing aspects of the neighbourhood were mentioned by the respondents. These aspects are elaborated on in chapter 10, as they reflect some of the values respondents stressed.

First, the multicultural character of the neighbourhood was expressed. This is not remarkable given the fact that over 90 per cent of the inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost is first- or second generation migrant. Remarkable is however the positive attitude of most respondents towards this multicultural character of the neighbourhood. Only few of the respondents expressed to be unhappy with the multicultural character of the neighbourhood. This while in the media, the problems in the Schilderswijk are often assigned to this multicultural character of the neighbourhood. This research does not state that there are no problems linked to the high percentage of migrants in the neighbourhood, but respondents showed that it is exactly this multicultural character that made the place a unique and special place to live in.

'...en het is hier natuurlijk heel erg multiculti, dus dat is gewoon leuk.'

'Ik houd van dat multiculturele. Vind het ook maar saai zo'n 'witte' buurt zoals ze dat dan noemen. [...] Komen we wel vandaan hoor. Is dit stukken leuker.'

Linked to the multicultural character of the neighbourhood, respondents highlighted the tolerant attitude of (people in the) neighbourhood towards different lifestyles. Putnam's *contact theory* (2007) gives a theoretical explanation for this. His research states that more diversity in a neighbourhood implies more inter-ethnic tolerance and social solidarity (Putnam 2007: 141). This idea of a high tolerance level expressed by the respondents is thus strongly connected to the first identity characteristic of multiculturalism. The following quotes reflect some of the respondent's feelings towards the tolerance in the neighbourhood.

'Of je nou in Niqab loopt of in blote borsten, in principe kan dat hier. Ergens anders zou dat allemaal wat moeizamer zijn.'

'Iedereen kan en mag hier zichzelf zijn.'

'Alles heb je hier, dat is het mooie. Mij maakt het niet uit dat ze met van die hoofddoekies lopen. Ken mij dat nou schelen, is niks mis mee. Alles kan..'

As the above-mentioned quotes highlight, especially the tolerant attitude of fellow neighbours regarding different ethnic and/or religious backgrounds is mentioned. Not

only migrants expressed this tolerant attitude, also born Dutch respondents expressed to find this tolerant attitude towards different lifestyles an unique characteristic of the neighbourhood.

Third, respondents mentioned the high level of activity as an unique character of the Schildersbuurt-oost. Two types of activity were stressed. First, respondents expressed the active outdoor attitude of many inhabitants to be an unique element of the neighbourhood. Especially during the spring and summer months, people spend many hours outdoors. This leads to a situation in which it is always busy on the streets and in which there is always something to do with fellow residents. Many respondents mentioned this 'outdoor culture' of the neighbourhood as being a specific feature of the Schilderswijk, not visible in other neighbourhoods.

'In de zomer is iedereen buiten. Vaak tot 's avonds laat. Dat heeft natuurlijk voor- en nadelen en sommige mensen hebben het altijd over de overlast. Ik vind het hartstikke gezellig.'

'Er is altijd wel wat te doen. Die gezelligheid, praatjes maken, dat is nou leuk.'

'En het is natuurlijk wel heel bedrijvig allemaal, heel veel dingen te doen.'

Second, respondents mentioned the presence of many different (and foreign) shops that are open late as being a distinctive element of the neighbourhood.

'Nou ja, het leeft natuurlijk wel. De winkels en op zich de mensen dat is ook op zich ook wel heel gezellig.'

'Ja, er zijn zoveel winkeltjes. We hebben alle soorten buitenlandse winkeltjes die altijd tot laat open zijn. Het leeft hier gewoon nog in de avond.'

The above-mentioned characteristics were mentioned by the respondents as being most important in making the Schildersbuurt-oost – and the Schilderswijk in general – an unique and special neighbourhood to live in.

8.3 Place Dependence

The third element of sense of place investigated in this research is the place dependence of people. This concept shows the behavioural exclusivity of the place compared to other places and the extent to which a place offers the opportunities in order for people to do their most important things (Jorgensen and Stedman 2006). The focus within this third element is on what people do in a certain neighbourhood and what the quality of a certain place is to achieve all important behavioural goals. Furthermore, it focuses on the question whether a place is able to fulfil specific needs of inhabitants.

The overall place dependency in the Schildersbuurt-oost is low. The most important reason for this is the fact that not all important facilities are present in this specific neighbourhood. There is no secondary school present in the Schildersbuurt-oost and considering the high number of youngsters in the neighbourhood, this influences the place dependence of a great number of inhabitants. However, respondents did not mention to experience this as a problem, probably given the fact that the nearest high schools are not far from the neighbourhood. Because high schools outside this neighbourhood meet this educational need, respondents did not mentioned it to be a problem. Primary schools are present in the neighbourhood and the majority of the respondents with children mentioned their children go to these schools in the neighbourhood. The most important reasons people expressed was that these schools were close and most children of the neighbourhood go there.

Furthermore, the Schilderbuurt-oost is mainly a residential area. This means it does not include many businesses and offices – except for the presence of many small shops. This is also visible in one of the goals mentioned in the *Strong Communities Plan* of the municipality of the Hague, which stresses the development of more businesses in the Schilderswijk in general. Furthermore, the unemployment rate in the neighbourhood is remarkably high. In 2008⁸, 48 per cent of the residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost were employed. This is extremely low compared to the national employment percentage of 74 per cent. This information is confirmed by the high number of people in the welfare system. Per 1.000 inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost, 266 received welfare in 2011. Compared to the national number of 44 people in the welfare system per 1.000 inhabitants, the number is remarkably high in the Schildersbuurt-oost. The above-

⁸ More recent information on the unemployment rate was not accessible.

mentioned statistics correspond to the findings of this research. Quite some respondents mentioned to be unemployed and if employed, most of them had a job outside the Schildersbuurt-oost (and even outside the Schilderswijk). The latter is connected to the problem of little employment opportunities in the neighbourhood (Gemeente Den Haag 2007). Most respondents did not express to experience this as a problem, stating they did not mind their jobs were outside the neighbourhood.

There are not many sport, recreational and care facilities in the Schildersbuurt-oost, therefore most respondents mentioned to carry out activities related to these facilities outside the neighbourhood. None of the respondents expressed to regret the fact that these facilities were not present in their neighbourhood, especially because of the proximity to the facilities and the good transportation system to these facilities.

An exception to the low number of businesses in the Schildersbuurt-oost are the many shops in the neighbourhood. People expressed that the neighbourhood is a good place for them to do their daily shopping.

'Ja, het dagelijkse leven. Lekker met de hond wandelen, gewoon je boodschappen. Met mensen, gezellig praatje maken.'

The foreign food shops were specifically mentioned as serving the specific need of respondents for foreign dishes ingredients. The perceived quality of these foreign food shops is further elaborated on in paragraph 9.1.2.

Besides the quality of the place, it is also important to look at the relative quality of comparable alternative places (Jorgensen and Stedman 2006). The relative quality of the Schildersbuurt-oost is also low, because of its location near the centre of the Hague. The latter has all facilities of a big city, as being the third largest city of the Netherlands. This means that the Schildersbuurt-oost has far fewer facilities than the centre of the Hague. Because of its location near the centre and the good public transport links with it, many respondents mentioned to do many daily things outside the neighbourhood.

'En het zit lekker dicht bij de stad, je loopt zo de stad in.'

'Nou ja, in principe de gewone kleine boodschapjes haal ik hier. Maar voor de rest ga ik naar de stad of pakken we de auto.'

‘Even kijken hoor. We doen een stuk dan wel op de Hoefkade, boodschappen bij Tanger of bij de visboer vers gebakken vis laten bakken en bij de bakker, maar het over grote deel van de boodschappen halen in de stad. In de Albert Heijn.’

The lack of some important facilities in the Schildersbuurt-oost, together with its low relative quality compared to the close centre of The Hague leads to an overall low place dependency of the respondents. Many respondents were not dependent on the Schildersbuurt-oost for meeting their needs regarding income, (secondary high school) education, sports, and recreation. The many (foreign food) shops play an exceptional role in this, serving specific needs of the residents. However, surrounding places are also able to – and in many sectors better equipped to – meet the needs of the respondents, leading to a low overall place dependence.

8.4 Interchangeable Sense of Place

While many respondents showed a high degree of social attachment, and the physical attachment of many respondents was high to the Jacob van Campenplein, interchangeability is visible in the respondents’ sense of place. Many respondents mentioned that if they had more money, they would possibly leave the Schildersbuurt-oost and live in another neighbourhood (outside the Schilderswijk) or city. This is strongly connected to the low place dependency, meaning most respondents are not dependent on the specific area of the Schildersbuurt-oost for fulfilling their needs. However, at the same time most respondents expressed they ‘felt at home’ and ‘felt safe’ within the Schildersbuurt-oost. This duality is one of the examples of the ambiguity of living within the Schildersbuurt-oost. On the one hand, people expressed feeling at home and they showed a high degree of social attachment. On the other hand, these feelings were connected to feelings of ‘not feeling at home’ in other parts of the city and/or country. Respondents showed they would be happy to leave the Schildersbuurt-oost if they would have had more money, but at the same time said they would never leave the Schildersbuurt-oost because it is their home.

The ambiguity in people’s sense of place shows the involuntary character of why many people live in this neighbourhood. This involuntary character can be connected to

Bauman's idea of modern ghettos. According to Bauman, ghettos are ancient institutions that have always served the purpose of 'composite stratification', overlapping differentiation by caste or class with territorial separation (Bauman 2004: 80). He mentions both voluntary and involuntary ghettos, but even the latter have different 'pull' factors for people to live in. These ghettos provide its residents with a degree of security and a feeling of being at home, unavailable to them outside (Bauman 2004: 81). Looking at the Schilderswijk in general, the neighbourhood can be compared to Bauman's idea of modern ghettos. In many ways, the Schilderswijk functions as a mini-society in which (most of) the daily needs of the people are being served by services within the neighbourhood. However, this is only the case when looking at the Schilderswijk in general, because the lack of certain facilities in the Schildersbuurt-oost.

Besides the functioning of the Schildersbuurt-oost as a mini-society, the feelings of security and being at home are also strongly visible among the respondents.

'Wat ik altijd heel erg leuk vind als ik uit de stad fiets en ik kom de Koningstraat in, heb ik altijd zoiets van 'ha ik ga naar huis.'

'Weet je wat het is, op een gegeven moment heb ik leren leven en overleven hierzo en ik voel me veilig hierzo.'

Another statement shows the, for many, involuntary character of living in the Schildersbuurt-oost. Many inhabitants are in a way chained to the place they live in, as they do not have the financial resources to move out of the neighbourhood. This especially counts for the respondent renting their apartments, even more for the ones living in social renting homes. However, at the same time people express that they learned to live within the neighbourhood and also like living in it.

'Op een gegeven moment leer je te accepteren dat je hier woont en je leert, hoe moet ik het uitleggen, je wordt eigenlijk een ander persoon. Ik vind het moeilijk om hier een antwoord op te geven. Maar ik heb wel geleerd om hier te wonen en met plezier.'

There is a visible difference with Bauman's idea on the new, modern ghettos existing and the Schildersbuurt-oost. Bauman states that whereas the ghetto in its classical form acted partly as a protective shield against brutal racial exclusion, the hyper-ghetto has lost its positive role of collective buffer, making it a deadly machinery for naked social relegation (Bauman 2004: 82). He states that these modern ghettos function only as a dumping ground for people for whom the surrounding society has no economic or political use (Bauman 2004: 82). The case of the Schildersbuurt-oost shows that there is a status in which inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost are in a way chained to the place they live in – with people not having many other options than to stay within the Schildersbuurt-oost – but at the same time the Schildersbuurt-oost forms a positive place for them in which they feel at home and feel safe. The citation below shows that the Schildersbuurt-oost does provide residents with (feelings of) safety that they did not feel when living outside the neighbourhood.

Wat ik al zei, ik woonde in de witte wijk en ik voelde me niet veilig, we werden gediscrimineerd, de kinderen werden gepest, er werd van alles gedaan. Als de politie kwam, de kinderen werden met kettingen geslagen, mijn man werd met kettingen geslagen, dat was echt verschrikkelijk echt waar. En dan belde je de politie en dan zei de politie, ach je kan er toch niks aan doen. Dat was het enige wat ze zeiden.

Next to the limited freedom of choice expressed in the above-mentioned examples, the low place dependence of people is of importance in the interchangeability of people's sense of place. Paragraph 8.3 showed that most respondents were not dependent on the Schildersbuurt-oost for meeting their needs and surrounding places, especially the city centre of The Hague, are even better equipped to provide these services. This low level of place dependence makes people's sense of place ever more interchangeable.

8.5 Levels of Reference

A main issue in researching peoples' sense of place, is the level of reference people refer to when talking about a certain place. People continually shift between different levels of reference. This means that in talking about the Schildersbuurt-oost, many respondents (un)consciously shifted towards the level of the Schilderswijk or The Hague in general. As

Massey (1991) states, places are not just areas with fixed boundaries around it. This research focuses on the geographical location of the Schildersbuurt-oost, but during the interviews respondents expressed feelings of attachment towards other levels of references and shifted between these.

One explanation for mostly referring to the Schilderswijk as a whole instead of the Schildersbuurt-oost could be the fact that both in the media as in popular language, people always refer to the Schilderswijk without focussing more on the specific neighbourhoods in it. The fact that it is such an established name could explain why many respondents generally talk about the Schilderswijk, even when they specifically refer to places and people within the Schildersbuurt-oost. People did however expressed differences between the different neighbourhoods within the Schilderswijk, but they did not mentioned this as a difference between the Schildersbuurt-oost and for example the Schildersbuurt-west. These respondents mostly mentioned street names in expressing these differences.

Furthermore, people shifted continuously between different levels of reference. While they mentioned their street name in one statement, they referred to the Schildersbuurt-oost, the Schilderswijk or The Hague as a whole in another sentence. This continuous shifting makes it difficult to focus on one specific geographical place. Place making is a process in which relations and experiences with places outside this fixed area play an important role too (Massey 1991). The focus of this research is on the relations people have towards the geographical place of the Schildersbuurt-oost, less on the wider relations of people. However, because these wider relations are incorporated in people's perception of the specific geographical place the Schildersbuurt-oost, these wider relations are mentioned when necessary.

9. Qualities

This chapter contains the analysed data on the perceived qualities of the residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost. This information is categorised in three different sorts of qualities – qualities considering the physical location, the people and practices, and the institutions present in the neighbourhood.

9.1 Physical Location

This paragraph elaborates on the perceived qualities of respondents considering the physical characteristics of the Schildersbuurt-oost. Many respondents appointed three physical characteristics of the area as qualities, namely the Jacob van Campenplein, the many foreign food stores and the coffee and tea houses. Remarkable is that primarily the social function of these locations were expressed as being good qualities.

9.1.1 Jacob van Campenplein

One of the public places within the neighbourhood being perceived as a quality is the Jacob van Campenplein – a square situated in the centre of the Schildersbuurt-oost. Squares have a unique position in the Schilderswijk, because the neighbourhood includes 22 different squares, all with green fields, soccer fields, playgrounds or other meeting and recreational facilities. Due to the ‘Werkplein pleinenaanpak Schilderswijk 2001’ - a policy for the development of these squares – almost all of the 22 squares have been renovated during the last ten years, in order to develop their functional and social function as recreation and meeting place (Hilhorst 2001). Every neighbourhood in the district has its own square – which is an important element in the public space of the neighbourhood. In the case of the Schildersbuurt-oost, this is the Jacob van Campenplein.

The picture below (fig. 17) shows a more detailed map of the neighbourhood and the central location of the square as the biggest open public space within the neighbourhood (the area delineated with red).



Figure 17 : Position Jacob van Campenplein within Schildersbuurt-oost (Google Maps 2012).

The Jacob van Campenplein was mentioned as being a good quality for the different roles it fulfils in the neighbourhood. First, the square functions as a central meeting place for many inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost. Respondents indicated that the square is often the place where they meet with friends and/or family. Mostly women with young children expressed this positive attitude towards the square. In meeting with friends and/or family, many women bring their children so they can play together.

‘Als het dan lekker weer is gaan we samen met (...namen) naar het plein en dan kunnen de kinderen gewoon spelen.’

‘Vaak ga ik met mijn nichtje en haar zoontje en dan spelen (...namen) samen op het veldje.’

Het leuke is wel, als de zon schijnt, dat hele plein ligt vol met kleedjes en dames die met elkaar kwekken’.

Only few male respondents mentioned the Jacob van Campenplein as being important for maintaining their social relations. The most of them only mentioned it as being a nice place for their wives and children to meet family and friends. This shows that there is a clear gender division in the importance of the square for adult inhabitants of the neighbourhood. This idea is confirmed by the fact that mostly women with children were

to be seen at the Jacob van Campenplein during my visits. Despite the fact that this square facilitates the social contacts of mainly women and children, there is a downside to this facilitation. Many women and children within the neighbourhood meet with people with the same ethnic background – most of them speaking in their native language with each other.

'Ik moet wel heel eerlijk zeggen dat die vrouwen met elkaar klitten en dan ze spreken dan niet eens Nederlands. Probeer ik wel eens wat te kletsen maar ze kennen het niet goed. Nou ja, dan houdt het ook op hoor dan denk ik dan bij mezelf.'

'De Pakistaanse jongeren gaan er zowat elke dag en nacht cricket spelen, en dat moet ook kunnen, maar aan de andere kant mogen anderen dan weer niet mee doen. Dat is wel heel dubbel.'

This means that on the one hand the square facilitates social relations, while on the other hand it functions a certain form of social exclusion, in which people speaking other languages are excluded from the social interaction. The respondents' expressions show the importance of language in the social interaction between different ethnic groups. Eriksen (2002) confirms this by saying that language can highlight group boundaries and cause social exclusion for people not being able to speak a certain language.

Second, the Jacob van Campenplein functions as a place where you can easily meet new people, both for children and adults. The following citations reflect this function of the square.

'Ook wel leuk is dat het makkelijk is voor de kinderen om anderen te ontmoeten en het leuke is dan dat ze gelijk buiten spelen. Zitten ze ook niet zo achter de computer te kleven'.

'Toen we hier kwamen wonen nam mijn nicht me wel eens mee en ja zo is het wel gegaan dat ik ook die andere vrouwen heb leren kennen'.

'Ook wel eens komen er nieuwe vrouwen aan de deur omdat ze dan op het plein bijvoorbeeld iemand van de groep hadden gesproken'.

This perceived good quality is one of the examples showing the ambiguous character of the neighbourhood. While the square is indeed perceived as a quality in making it easier for people to meet new people, it is connected to the problem of the high intra-municipal migration rate in the neighbourhood. The high intra-municipal migration rate (fig. 3) shows a high movement level. Many people move both in and out of the Schildersbuurt-oost. This means that the neighbourhood houses many newcomers, for which it could be important to establish new social relations.

Third, the square is perceived as a quality for being a place to play and come together for children. This idea is closely linked to the expression that as a place to play, the square functions as a means to prevent them from getting involved in criminal activities. This is another factor showing the ambiguous character of the Schildersbuurt-oost. The perceived good quality is thus strongly connected to the problem of youth criminality within the neighbourhood.

'Het zorgt er wel voor dat ouders gewoon kunnen opletten en dat ze niet weet ik veel wat aan het doen zijn.'

'Voordat het plein is gerenoveerd was het een kweekvijver voor jongeren om richting criminaliteit uit te gaan. Na de renovatie was er veel meer te doen voor de kinderen en ja nu wordt het dus juist een beetje de andere kant. Er worden nu dingen georganiseerd en het was veel viezer eerst.'

The above-mentioned statements show the improvement in the physical characteristics of the Jacob van Campenplein since its renovation between 2008 and 2010. More respondents expressed this renovation as important factor for the development of the square. Since the renovation there are more things to do for children in the form of new playgrounds (fig. 18), new toys and more organised activities. Furthermore, a square management committee was established in this renovation period. This committee takes care of the maintenance of the square, whereby the square has become cleaner than before.



Figure 18: Playing field at the Jacob van Campenplein, developed in August 2010

The three different but closely interlinked social functions of the Jacob van Campenplein make it an important place for many inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost. These perceived good qualities are strongly linked to the perceived problems in the neighbourhood. Respondents expressed the (social) role the square plays within these problems.

9.1.2 Foreign Grocery Stores

The many foreign grocery stores present in the Schildersbuurt-oost are perceived as a good quality of the neighbourhood by many respondents (fig. 19). Mostly respondents born abroad expressed the feeling to be happy with this diverse range of foreign grocery stores. These enable residents to cook dishes for which foreign ingredients are necessary that they cannot be bought in most Dutch supermarkets.

‘We hebben eerst in Voorburg gewoond en nu wonen we hier, en het is hier natuurlijk heel erg multiculti, dus dat is gewoon leuk. Als ik bijvoorbeeld Sateh Kambeng wil maken dan ga ik naar Tanger en haal ik zo mijn geitenvlees bij wijze van spreken.’



Figure 19: Shopping Mall 'Bazar' and Bakery 'Farah'

Nicolaou et al. (2007) demonstrate that food can play an important role for migrant ethnic groups in maintaining a connection with their country of origin. Specific ingredients, spices and flavours are regarded as specifically important for cooking. This food culture is one way for people to express their identity and lasting connections with the country of origin (Nicolaou et al. 2007). Stories of respondents contributed to the confirmation of the importance of the availability of foreign food. This is connected to the fact that only migrant (female) respondents mentioned the foreign grocery stores as being a quality.

Besides being a quality because of its foreign products, these foreign food stores were also mentioned because of their social aspect. According to these women, they often encounter friends and/or family in these food stores. Most women expressed to know many of the people doing groceries at the stores. The social aspect of grocery shopping was visible in two ways. First, respondents expressed to undertake grocery shopping as an activity together with family or neighbours. This means that the shopping itself becomes a social aspect. Second, respondents expressed to like shopping at the specific foreign grocery stores, because they knew many of the other shoppers. The following quotes are examples of both of these social aspects of grocery shopping at the foreign grocery stores.

*'Kom bijna elke keer wel weer iemand tegen nja en dan babbelen we eventjes.
Dat is toch wel leuk hoor.'*

'Zowat iedere week gaan we samen (met haar nicht) om boodschappen te doen. Dat vind ik dan altijd leuk.'

The many foreign grocery stores are perceived as a good quality of the neighbourhood. This perception especially prevails among migrant women. The stores are specifically appreciated for their social role and the enabling of cooking dishes of the country of origin. Besides this, the specific focus of some grocery shops enables people to maintain contacts of people with the same country of origin.

'Zo heb ik ook wel andere Marokkaanse vrouwen tegen gekomen. We bespreken vaak wel over eten, want ja iedereen doet toch ietsje anders en dan vertellen we dat.'

Staying connected to the country of origin in this way seems to be an important element. On the one hand in the importance of foreign ingredients, on the other hand in meeting people of the same ethnic background in these specific foreign grocery stores.

9.1.3 Coffee and Tea Houses

While most female respondents mentioned the Jacob van Campenplein en foreign grocery stores as being qualities of the neighbourhood, it were mainly migrant male respondents mentioning the coffee and tea houses as being places where they regularly met friends and/or family. These respondents emphasized the mainly social function of these tea and coffee houses.

This social function can be linked to research of Oldenburg and Brissett (1982), according to which these coffee and tea houses are to be seen as third places. With the latter I mean public places apart from home and work in which people socially participate with each other. They are places where people gather primarily to enjoy each other's company. The characteristics of a third place are very similar to the male's perception of the tea houses in and around the Schildersbuurt-oost.

A third place is a public place which is a taken-for-granted part of their social existence without a special dominant activity to do. These places offer pure sociability without any purposive association (Oldenburg & Brissett 1982: 271). Respondents expressed the coffee and tea houses to be such an integral part of their everyday life. In expressing the activities people undertook, going to a tea or coffee house was many times incorporated as a daily activity. Also female respondents mentioned the coffee and tea houses as important public places in the neighbourhood, but mostly as being an important place for their husbands to meet with friends and or family.



Figure 20: Popular Coffee house 'Elafraah' in the Schildersbuurt-Oost

One of the biggest and most popular of these coffee houses in the neighbourhood is Elafraah (fig. 20), to which many respondents referred when talking about a coffee house.. The following expressions are some examples of the perceived importance of the coffee and tea houses in the neighbourhood as a place where mostly male inhabitants meet.

'Iedereen komt daar. Ken ook zo goed als iedereen die daar altijd zitten. Meestal drinken we koffie en spelen we kaart.'

'Ik ga regelmatig naar het koffiehuis. Ook met mijn vrouw. We worden er altijd heel hartelijk ontvangen. Het valt wel op dat we één van de weinige Nederlanders zijn, maar ach.. dat vinden wij wel leuk.'

‘...maar hij (man) gaat bijna elke dag naar het koffiehuis. Vaak komt hij laat thuis....’

‘Vooral Turkse en Marokkaanse mannen gaan naar koffiehuis. Ze zitten samen beneden tv te kijken of spelletjes te doen. Er zitten eigenlijk wel weinig vrouwen. Nou ja soms wel hoor, maar niet vaak zonder hoofddoek haha.’

The above-mentioned expressions clearly show the gendered and ethnic division of visitors of the tea and coffee houses. It appeared to be an important element of the everyday social life of primarily migrant male inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost.

9.1.4 Cheap Living

As a fourth positive quality regarding the physical location are the low renting prices and cheap facilities available in the neighbourhood. Many respondents living in rented apartments mentioned the low renting prices as a major advantage of living in the Schildersbuurt-oost. Furthermore, some respondents mentioned the fact that compared to other neighbourhoods and/or cities, facilities within the Schildersbuurt-oost are cheaper. With facilities they pointed to grocery stores and different recreational activities.

9.1.5 Gender Division Public Places

Looking at the above-mentioned perceived qualities regarding the physical public places in the Schildersbuurt-oost, a clear gender division is visible in the first three mentioned. Gardner (1989) shows that social interaction in public places cannot be seen as gender neutral. However, like Gardner’s research, much of today’s research on the gender division of public places specifies on topics of gender inequality and the negative aspects of this division. While this research does not focus on the power relations behind the gender division in the public places of the Schildersbuurt-oost, the situation does not seem to fit Gardner’s idea that women distaste public places because of their fear of crime in public places (Gardner 1989). Walking through the neighbourhood and analysing the interviews even showed that in the daytime, the public places are mostly dominated by women instead of men. Especially the ‘open’ public places like Jacob van Campenplein and the many shops are characterized by the many women present. This while the more

‘closed’ public places like the coffee and tea houses are dominated by male inhabitants. Further research could elaborate more on this gendered division of public places in the Schildersbuurt-oost.

9.2 Institutions

This paragraph elaborates on what the respondents perceive as good qualities regarding the local institutions of the Schildersbuurt-oost.

9.2.1 Neighbourhood Police Officers

Most of the respondents mentioned the active neighbourhood police officers as one of the qualities within the neighbourhood. Important to mention is that most respondents explicitly expressed the difference between ‘the police’ in general and the neighbourhood police officers active in the neighbourhood. Many respondents expressed to have negative experiences regarding the police in general, while most of them have a positive perception of the neighbourhood police officers.

‘De wijkagenten doen het naar mijn idee goed. Proberen met de mensen in gesprek te gaan. De politie in het algemeen kan het wel wat beter doen. Ze reageren niet altijd even professioneel en objectief op bepaalde incidenten.’

‘Er wordt hard aan gewerkt, dat weet ik. Ze (de wijkagenten) doen hun best.’

Several strongly interlinked factors appeared to be important in shaping the respondents’ positive perception of the neighbourhood police officers. People felt taken serious by the neighbourhood police officers, while some people did not feel taken serious when calling the general police number. Respondents expressed the feeling that when they asked the neighbourhood police officer something, they were sure something was done with it. When they spoke to police officers at the station they did not know or who were less or not involved in the specific neighbourhood, respondents mentioned that often nothing was being done with their complaints.

‘Als je dingen vraagt bijvoorbeeld aan (naam wijkagent) dan is het wel dat ze er iets mee doen zeg maar.’

Closely connected to the above is the feeling that people felt discriminated by the police, but not by the neighbourhood police officer. With discriminated I mean the feeling that the police did not want to do anything with complaints of the respondents, because of the fact that they lived in the Schilderswijk. The following citation is an expression of this feeling.

‘En toen heb ik de politie gebeld en toen zei de politie zo van, ach woon je in de Schilderswijk, ach dat is dweilen met de kraan open. Ja, dat was echt erg hoor. Toen zei ik, zo kun je toch niet praten? Zeiden ze ach mevrouw het heeft geen nut, je woont toch in de Schilderswijk, ja dat is er van als je in de Schilderswijk woont.’

Furthermore, some respondents expressed the active role of neighbourhood police officers in the development of public places in the Schildersbuurt-oost.

‘Wat ook heel belangrijk is, is dat er ook fysiek zwaar geïnvesteerd is. En daar heeft de wijkagent van de Hoefkade heel hard voor gevochten.’

En toen is eind 2000, ook vooral door onze voormalige wijkagent (naam), die heeft toen het initiatief genomen om dat aan te zwengelen van dat het Jacob van Campenplein ontwikkeld moest worden.

The above-mentioned expressions show the influence of the neighbourhood police officers in the development of public places. The active and engaged character of these police officers is highly appreciated in the neighbourhood. Next to a connecting function, reducing the gap between the institution ‘the police’ and its citizens, these police officers are also actively engaged in neighbourhood development.

9.2.2 Neighbourhood Residents Organisations

A second institutional quality perceived by many respondents are the several neighbourhood residents organizations active in the Schildersbuurt-oost. While there are several residents organizations active, this paragraph focusses on the two mostly mentioned by respondents.

First, the Paraplu was highlighted as being an important neighbourhood residents organization. This organisation forms a link between all institutions present in the neighbourhood and its citizens. Especially mentioned as a good quality of this organisation was its engagement towards the neighbourhood and its inhabitants and the many activities the Paraplu organises.

‘Ja hoor vaak wel (naar de buurt bijeenkomsten georganiseerd door de Paraplu). Je wilt toch wat doen in de wijk. En dan zit ook wel de politie ofzo erbij of iemand van Haag Wonen of ook wel soms iemand van de gemeente. Dan ken je dat ook gelijk zeggen he als er dan iets is.’

‘...en ze organiseren van alles hier joh. Laatst de braderie en ook al eerder de vrijmarkt.. Harstikke druk daar, allemaal mensen.’

Second, foundation MOVE was specifically mentioned as being an important factor in the development of the Jacob van Campenplein. This small residents organisation is established by residents of the neighbourhood who were dissatisfied with the condition of the Jacob van Campenplein. MOVE contributed to the development of the Jacob van Campenplein and established a management committee – a group of residents responsible for the maintenance of the square and the preservation of its toys in the container on the square. Furthermore, respondents mentioned the many activities they organise at the Jacob van Campenplein as being a good quality of this institutions. MOVE is a good example of an organization which came to existence because residents were done with waiting for the municipality to develop public places.

‘We zijn begonnen omdat we niet tevreden waren over hoe het ging op het Jacob van Campenplein. Er waren onvoldoende speeltoestellen en er werden geen activiteiten georganiseerd voor kinderen. Verder was het ook nog hartstikke vies.’

‘Sinds de meiden van MOVE het hebben aangepakt is het echt veel beter. Mensen waren het zat hoe het erbij lag. En zei zeiden gewoon van ‘we gaan hier iets aan doen in plaats van dat gezeur de hele tijd’.’

The perceived success of these neighbourhood organisations can in one way be linked to the strong overall social attachment in the neighbourhood. Unger and Wandersman (1985) show the importance of the relation between social attachment in a specific neighbourhood and the success of neighbourhood organisations. According to them, a neighbourhood has good potential for establishing an organization when neighbours socially interact and develop friendships in their neighbourhood, and have a greater sense of community and attachment to place (Unger & Wandersman 1985: 162). The following quotes contribute to this idea.

“...en toen werd ik gevraagd door mijn buurvrouw of ik wilde helpen en nja, omdat ik ook niet werk dacht ik waarom van niet. Sjah. Zo ben ik er toen een beetje ingerold en merk ik hoe leuk dat nou wel eigenlijk is. Sommige van die mensen had ik anders nooit gesproken en dan ben je zo een beetje samen bezig in de buurt. Dus dan help je weleens vaker weer. Je ziet ook dat veel mensen dat leuk vinden. Er komen allemaal vrijwilligers mensen bij.’

‘Je merkt ook gewoon dat mensen het wel heel gezellig vinden ook in de buurt. Dan heb je van die mopperkonten van moslims dit, moslims dat. Maar dan zie je ze dus vervolgens gewoon samen die hutjes opbouwen bij de vrijmarkt. Nou, dat maakt dit werk ook zo leuk he.’

These citations show that because of the importance of social contacts in the neighbourhood and the overall social attachment, people like being busy in the neighbourhood in one way or another. This contributes to the functioning of the neighbourhood organisations, which is based on voluntary work of the neighbourhood inhabitants.

9.2.3 Municipality

While the first two institutions mentioned were perceived as good qualities of the neighbourhood by most respondents, inhabitants showed more conflicting ideas on the following two institutions; the municipality and housing corporations. This paragraph focusses on the first, the municipality of The Hague. Respondents emphasized mainly one characteristic of this municipality as being a good quality, namely its role as a financer of projects developing the public places in the neighbourhood.

'Daar is toen een heel groot project op gezet en daar is toen zeg maar vanuit gemeentelijk beleid zwaar geïnvesteerd (in het Jacob van Campenplein) [...] en daar zijn hele mooie dingen uitgekomen.'

'Wat enorm verbeterd is, is dat de gemeente vanuit dat project heeft geïnvesteerd in activiteiten voor kinderen, dus er is een voetbalkooi gekomen en er is een Haags hopje gekomen, een zeecontainer waar kinderen bij goed gedrag speelgoed kunnen lenen. Er is daar een speeltuin gekomen.'

'Ze steken geld in het sterker maken van de wijk.'

However, the municipality was not expressed as a quality of the neighbourhood by all respondents, and many of them expressed negative feelings towards it. The most important factor in this was the experienced gap between municipal policy and the everyday needs of inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost.

'Ze weten niet eens wat er precies nodig is. Dan denk ik bij mezelf, hoe kun je dat nou weer doen zonder te kijken wat de mensen willen.'

'Ik weet nog wel toen zetten ze ineens overal van die dingen neer (blokken) wat alleen maar voor meer ellende zorgde. Soms hebben ze geen idee wat ze doen.'

Linked to this are the stories in which respondents told to feel discriminated by the municipality because they live in the Schilderswijk, because of the fact that it is the most problematic neighbourhood of the city. The following quote gives a good impression of respondents feeling discriminated by the municipality.

'De gemeente doet echt mee hoor met de negativiteit. Ik heb het laatst ook gezegd, ik heb het echt gezegd tegen de stadsdeeldirecteur. Want de mensen hier hebben de postcode 2515 en als jij in de wijk woont van 2515, of je gaat lenen, of je gaat naar een school toe of je gaat solliciteren, word je niet aangenomen. Word je echt niet aangenomen, zo discriminerend is het. Dat vind ik heel erg. Nu hebben we het alleen nog maar over de postcode,

daarbuiten nog, ben je nog allochtoon dan word je nog eens dubbel gediscrimineerd.'

Important to mention is that mostly respondents active in neighbourhood development⁹ mentioned the municipality in the stories they told on their perception of local institutions. Many respondents not being actively involved in neighbourhood development only mentioned negative aspects of the municipality, because they are confronted with problems they relate to the municipality in their daily lives – without noticing the positive contribution the municipality makes. This contributes the expression of respondents of experiencing a gap between municipality policy and the everyday needs of residents.

'Ligt er overal weer eens rotzooi en dan kan ik de gemeente zo vaak bellen als ik wil. Maar ze doen er niks aan.'

'Heb ik een hele brief geschreven naar de gemeente met ja van alles er in en dan vervolgens krijg ik helemaal niks terug. Loop ik te bellen van wanneer hoor ik eens wat en dan moet ik weer weken wachten.'

Within the group of respondents involved in neighbourhood development, a distinction was visible between people perceiving the financing of projects and involvement in development of the municipality as a good quality and people who perceived the municipality more as an institution too far removed from the citizen level to be able to fulfil the needs of the citizens sufficiently. No significant differences were found in people's perception towards the municipality regarding ethnicity, gender or age.

9.2.4 Housing Corporations

Respondents had divergent perceptions on the housing corporations present in the Schildersbuurt-oost. As was visible in people's perception towards the municipality, a significant difference is identifiable between people active in neighbourhood development and people who are not.

⁹ With active in neighbourhood development in this research I refer to volunteers in the neighbourhood involved in neighbourhood residents organisations.

Most respondents who were not involved in any neighbourhood development activities expressed particularly negative feelings towards the housing corporations. Residents of rental apartments criticized the conditions of their homes, focussing mainly on overdue maintenance and the presence of mould and asbestos.

'... en dan belde ik en dan duurt het tijden voordat ze komen om iets te gaan doen.'

'Dat weet ik van de burens bijvoorbeeld dat die dat (asbest) hadden. Nou dan ben je verder van huis.'

Linked to this, respondents expressed the lack of communication between the corporations and the citizens on what is going on. At the moment of writing, the housing corporations are busy with the renovation of many of the deteriorated rental apartments but many respondents said to be unaware of this or not well informed on the exact plans.

'Ze kwamen ineens bij mijn nicht de keuken doen. Slopen ze die hele keuken eruit zonder dat ze dat wist. Asbest of schimmel, ik weet niet wat het was. Ze dacht dat ze gewoon effe gingen kijken. Nou dat kost haar flink geld.'

This is similar to the perceived gap experienced by residents between them and the municipality. The same gap is recognizable in people's perception of the housing corporations. People tended to criticize the institution for the daily trouble they experienced in their homes, without mentioning the contribution the housing corporations deliver in the renovation of the apartments.

Respondents involved in neighbourhood development activities in the present or past expressed a much more positive perception of the housing corporations. The focus of this perception was mainly on the housing corporations as financers of development projects and supporters of citizen initiatives.

'En de wooncorporatie is ook een hele belangrijke partij geweest voor de gemeente, dat kon toen ook omdat het toen nog geen crisis tijd was...'

'Ze doen hun best om te investeren in de wijk en ondersteunen ook burgerinitiatieven.'

The housing corporations Haag Wonen en Staedion own the vast majority of all rented housing in the neighbourhood. Consequently, this means that they are supposed to finance substantial parts of the renewal investments going on (Kleinhans 2004: 372). Especially respondents involved in neighbourhood development recognised the financial role of the housing corporations, while the people not involved in these activities did not expressed this, because they were more focussed on the problems they individually experienced with their own rented apartments.

9.3 People & Practices

The second aspect of the perceived qualities by inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost are the qualities experienced regarding the people and their practices in the neighbourhood. Three characteristics of the residents were highlighted. First, the tolerant attitude of the neighbours. Second, the active attitude of many inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost. As a third characteristic the sociability of the neighbourhood's inhabitants was mentioned.

9.3.1 Tolerance

The tolerant attitude of fellow neighbours was expressed by many respondents as one of the good qualities of the people in the Schildersbuurt-oost. More specifically, respondents mentioned tolerance towards different lifestyles, with a focus on different ethnicities and religions. Respondents mentioned to be happy with the fact that people can live according to their own lifestyles, with their own habits and religion.

'Hoe vaak ik wel niet ben nageroepen omdat ik deze (hoofddoek) draag. Dat gebeurt hier niet.'

'Hier word ik tenminste niet nagestaard.'

'Dat gemixte is leuk. Er is hier niet van dat gezeik wat je hoort van ja die Marrokkanen, en moslims enzo. Dat hoor je toch en stukken minder hierzo. Er woont van alles juist en dat vinden ook wel de meesten leuk.'

The above-mentioned quotes are only a few examples of how respondents expressed to appreciate the tolerant attitude in the neighbourhood. Closely connected to this tolerance

is the appreciation for multiculturalism. In mentioning the tolerant attitude of fellow neighbours, many respondents specifically expressed to be happy that all the different cultures in the neighbourhood were tolerated – whether these respondents themselves were born Dutch or migrants.

9.3.2 Activity

A second positively perceived characteristic of inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost is their neighbour's active attitude. This can be divided into two subcategories, the outdoor and organisational activity of inhabitants.

First, the outdoor activity of inhabitants of the neighbourhood was stressed. Especially during the spring and summer months, residents spend many hours outdoors and respondents affirmed to appreciate this. This is also the case in the evenings, when there are still many people outside and there is enough to do in the neighbourhood with these fellow neighbours.

'Helemaal zomers. Er is altijd wel wat te doen. Even een babbeltje maken, barbecue aan. [...] Dat vind ik dus juist leuk he, iedereen buiten.'

'Tot laat zitten dan de buurt buiten, tenminste die dat leuk vinden. Vaak zit ik er ook bij hoor.'

'Ja ik sprak een buurman en daar had ik het ook over, God, waarom woon jij hier? Want dat doen we hier natuurlijk. En hij zei, hij had in Zoetermeer gewoon geloof ik, na 8 uur is daar echt niets meer te beleven.'

However, this outdoor activity is not appreciated by all inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Some respondents stated to suffer from the nuisance it causes. Especially the outdoor presence of many youngsters at the evenings was told as being perceived negatively by some respondents.

Second, the active engagement of inhabitants in neighbourhood development activities was being mentioned as a good quality. Both people who were not involved themselves in

these activities as people who were, stressed the fact that more and more neighbours are taken matters into their own hands.

'Ik ben ook heel blij dat zoveel mensen nu zo actief zijn, nu heb ik ook zoiets van joh ik heb 10 jaar heb ik me hier als actieve bewoner bezig geweest en nu is het prima en omdat het wel lijkt alsof steeds meer mensen heel actief zijn heb ik zoiets van, het is wel goed zo.'

'Alle mensen die vrijwilligerswerk doen. Steeds meer zetten zich op deze manier in voor de buurt.'

'...en steeds meer organiseren hier dingen. Op het plein wordt van alles gedaan door het jaar maar ook de hashiba bijvoorbeeld...'

This appreciation for an active attitude of respondents is also reflected in paragraph 10.7, in which the value 'taking responsibility' is being discussed. Respondents stated that people have to take responsibility for improving their situations, instead of complaining about the problems existing without taking action. The above-mentioned quotes are some examples of statements which show the appreciation for people taking this responsibility and getting involved in neighbourhood activities. Paragraph 10.7 will further elaborate on the appreciation for an active organisational attitude of people.

9.3.3 Sociability

As a third positively perceived characteristic of their neighbours respondents mentioned their sociability. In answering the interview questions on their fellow residents, many respondents stated their neighbours were convivial and social. Many respondents described their neighbours as being friendly people with a good sense of humour. According to them, this contributes to a good atmosphere in the Schildersbuurt-oost. The following statements are only a few expressions.

'Ja, leuke mensen, gezellig, gevoel voor humor.'

'Veel gezellige mensen.'

'Ja, het is een buurt wat leeft. De sfeer is goed.'

9.4 Assets Map

This paragraph presents an assets map (fig. 21), in which all perceived qualities regarding the physical location, institutions and people are reflected.

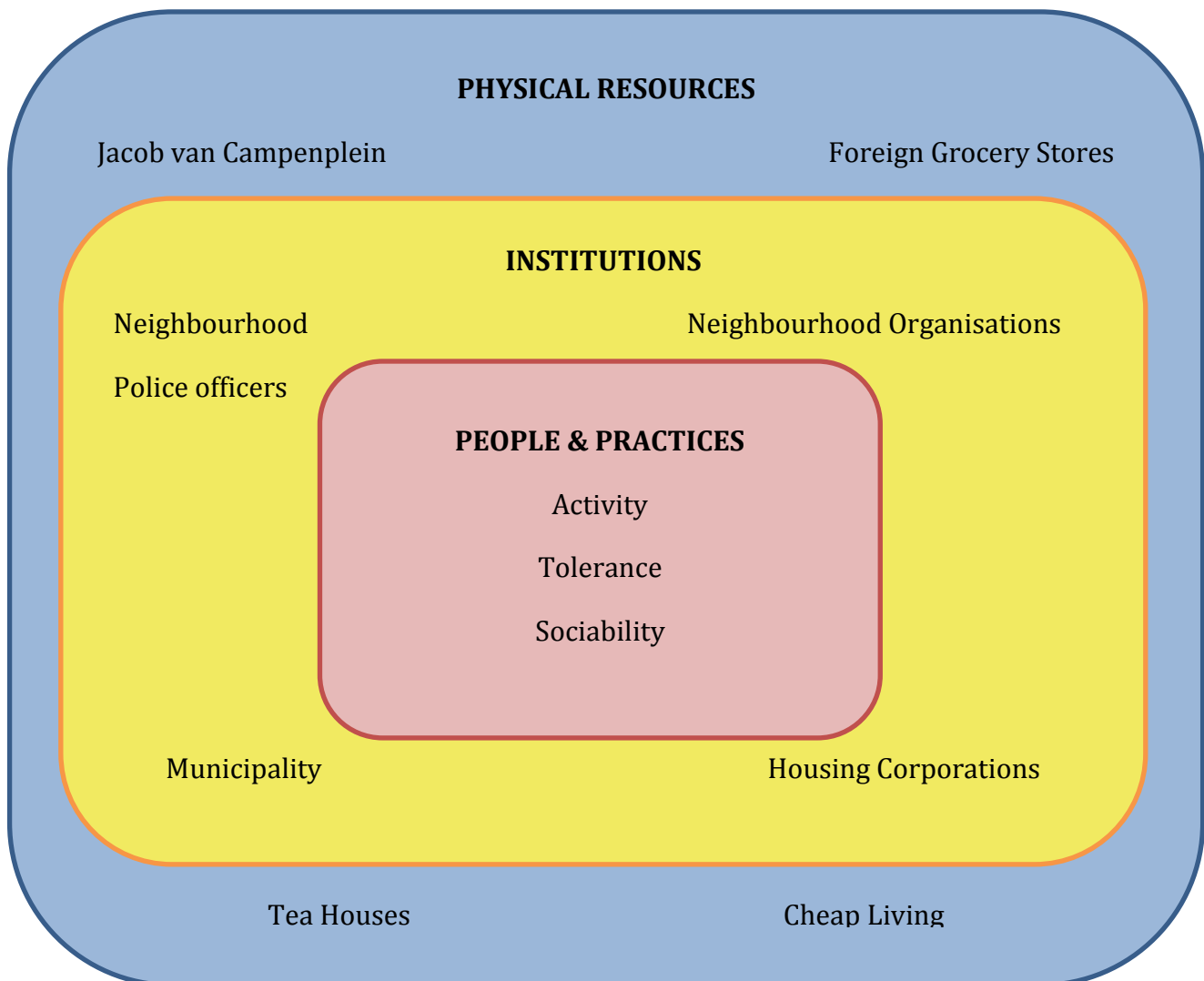


Figure 21: Assets Map Schildersbuurt-Oost

9.5 Hybrid Boundaries

What became clear when respondents told about the qualities they perceived are the hybrid boundaries between opportunities and problems. Most perceived qualities were all linked to experienced problems in the neighbourhood. This contributes to an ambiguous understanding of the Schildersbuurt-oost. Many respondents mentioned the perceived qualities in the same sentence with the interlinked problems – showing their

ambiguous attitude towards the neighbourhood. These perceived qualities cannot be separated from the perceived problems. In mentioning the Jacob van Campenplein as a nice meeting place for people, some of the respondents also expressed to feel socially excluded from this square. Another example of the ambiguousness of respondents' perceptions is visible in their perception of the police as institution. While people mentioned the neighbourhood police officers as being a quality of the neighbourhood, most of them had a negative perception of the police in general as an institution – while police neighbourhood officers are part of this institution. Respondents mentioned to like the outdoor activity of neighbours, while at the same time some of these respondents mentioned the nuisance on the streets in the evening. The boundaries between qualities and problems are thus hybrid, continuously shifting even within the perception of one respondent.

10. Values

This chapter elaborates on the analysed data gathered on values of respondents related to the Schildersbuurt-oost. The focus within this analysis is on what people think is important regarding the place they live in.

10.1 Liveability Physical Environment

First, most of the respondents expressed the liveability of the physical environment as an important value. Liveability is the appreciation of the environment, based on the individual appreciation of its citizens (Van Dorst 2005). While liveability is an extensive concept which includes multiple aspects and values, the focus in this research is only on one aspect of liveability, namely the liveability of the physical environment. Liveability also includes social and safety aspects, but these values will be mentioned in the next paragraphs separately from the value of liveability. Furthermore, this paragraph only includes those aspects of the liveability of the physical environment that respondents expressed to be important for them. The way in which this value has been expressed by the respondents can be divided into two subcategories; the importance of clean public places and good condition of people's homes.

Most interviewees mentioned the problem of garbage and dirt on streets and other public places in the neighbourhood. They expressed this as one of the major problems existing in the Schildersbuurt-oost and all expressed the hope of improvement in the future. The following statements are some expressions of these feelings.

'Nou ja het is natuurlijk wel ontzettend veel rommel op straat.'

'Het enigste is dat het gewoon vies is op straat.'

'In het begin toen ik hier pas kwam wonen schrok ik, ik heb lopen huilen, ik weet nog wel dat ik de gemeente belde want toen woonde ik nog in de Jacob Catsstraat in die huurwoningen en ik zag de burens van bovenaf vuilniszakken naar beneden gooien.'

This problem is also connected to the value of taking responsibility, discussed in paragraph 10.7. Respondents stated that while many people want to keep it clean, there are always people in the neighbourhood who do not follow that line of thinking. Furthermore, people linked this problem to the lack of engagement of the municipality to keep the streets clean. Respondents mentioned the public places to be mostly polluted during the weekends, when there are less cleaning services than on weekdays.

'De rommel op straat, ja dat is ook wel weer de mentaliteit van de mensen, er zitten altijd een paar rotte appels tussen. Er zijn genoeg mensen die het netjes willen houden, maar het is natuurlijk makkelijker om zo effe alles op straat te gooien en ja'

'Wat ik persoonlijk vind, dat is een ding wat hier echt is, er is veel troep op de grond. Mensen zijn wat makkelijker en daar heb ik aan moeten wennen. Op een gegeven moment zie je het niet meer, je loopt er over heen. En dat vind ik wel jammer in de wijk.'

However, not only feelings of dissatisfaction were expressed regarding this problem. Some respondents mentioned the new waste containers as being a positive development in the neighbourhood (fig. 22). The municipality is still busy placing these new waste containers around the neighbourhood, as a way of making it easier for people to dispose their garbage. While many respondents perceive this as something positive, still feelings of dissatisfaction were expressed. These focussed on the fact that despite these new containers, people tend to place their garbage next to the container.

'Ja dat is wel heel mooi maar laatst liep ik ook langs een ondergrondse, maar dan zetten ze die vuilniszakken ernaast.'

'Hebben we van die nieuwe dingen, pleuren ze het alsnog ernaast.'



Figure 22: Example of New Waste Containers Schildersbuurt-oost

Next to the presence of garbage and dirt in public places, respondents showed the importance of a good condition of their homes. While the residents living in the owner-occupied homes of the Fort stated to be happy with the condition of their homes, many renters living elsewhere stated not to be happy with the physical condition of their apartment. As discussed in paragraph 8.1.2, this is a frequently expressed problem for the inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost.

The emphasis respondents put on the condition of their homes and the garbage and dirt in the public places show the importance of a liveable physical environment for people. The latter aspect of garbage and dirt is also closely linked to the value of taking responsibility, discussed in paragraph 10.7.

10.2 Financial Survival Value

Next to the liveability of the physical environment, the importance of the economic aspect of living in the Schildersbuurt-oost became clear. Many respondents stated that one of the main reasons for living in the neighbourhood was the low rent prices. Furthermore, some respondents expressed that certain facilities in the neighbourhood are cheaper in the Schilderswijk in general than in other neighbourhoods and cities.

The concept of financial survival is also a concept that can be seen as limiting people's freedom of choice, instead of a value. Finance is a necessary aspect for people to pay attention to, because the economic situation of households does not allow all people to live somewhere else. However, in this research I also analysed it as a value. Torelli and Kaikati (2009) define values as conceptions that reflect what is important in our lives and as motivational constructs that guide people's actions, elicit goals and define situations. In this way, the financial survival of people in the neighbourhood matches this definitions for a large part. The financial survival guides the actions people undertake, the houses where people live and how they perceive their neighbourhood. The financial survival is one of the main hopes and dreams people expressed towards the future. This value is closely connected to the involuntary character of living in the Schildersbuurt-oost, as respondents expressed to move out the neighbourhood if they had the financial resources. However, most of these respondents mentioned to accepted the fact that they would probably never have these financial opportunities. They would be happy if they were able to live out the coming years without major financial problems. This financial survival appeared to be of great importance for residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost.

10.3 Social Networks & Communal Sense

A third value highly visible among the respondents was the value of good social networks and the value of a communal sense. As paragraph 8.1.3 showed, the social attachment in the Schildersbuurt-oost is high, especially among people of the same ethnic or religious groups. One of the ways this became visible was the fact that people mostly appreciated places in the neighbourhood because of their social function. The encounters with fellow neighbours or other family and friends were an important reason for people to visit certain places – for some places like the coffee and tea houses even the only reason. The high social attachment together with the importance of the social functions of public places show the importance of social networks and encounters for people.

Furthermore, the value of communal sense appeared to be important. More specifically, the communal sense of a certain ethnic and/or religious group is being meant. Both the activities people undertake in their neighbourhood as the stories they told showed the importance of solidarity with people of the same ethnic or religious background. Demant (2005) shows that migrants in the Netherlands have a stronger sense of solidarity

towards their own ethnic group than Dutch natives born in the Netherlands. This corresponds to the ethnical division of social contacts to a certain degree visible in the Schildersbuurt-oost.

10.4 Multiculturalism and Home Culture

During the interviews and walks it became clear that the multicultural character of the neighbourhood is highly appreciated by most of the respondents. The following expression is a good example of how many respondents perceive the multicultural character of the Schildersbuurt-oost.

'En dan vind ik het toch wel weer heel gezellig, we houden van het multiculturele. En dat vinden we wel heel erg leuk. Ik praat ook veel met anderen in de buurt en dan ondanks dat ze mopperen willen ze niet weg uit de buurt. Dan vraag ik waarom dan niet? Dan zeggen ze ja we wonen hier al lang en kennen de buren goed. En dan zeg ik ja, dat maakt niet uit, je kan hier wel lang wonen, durf je niet weg te gaan? Of wat is het dan? En ja dan vinden ze het toch wel gezellig, ze houden allemaal van dat multiculturele.'

This appreciation reflects how important the value of multiculturalism is for residents of the neighbourhood. This is closely connected to the value of tolerance, discussed in paragraph 10.5. This is because within this emphasis on the importance of multiculturalism, it became clear that people primarily highly appreciated the presence of their own ethnicity and/or religion in the neighbourhood and the fact that they were tolerated despite this background. While people expressed to like the overall diversity of cultures, they also expressed to like the fact that they have social relations with people of their own culture, ethnicity or religion. These respondents mentioned to like the fact that they could cook their home dishes, could go to the mosque together or could speak their home language with fellow residents.

10.5 Tolerance

As is mentioned in paragraph 9.3.1, respondents emphasized the importance of the tolerance towards different ethnicities and religions that prevails in the neighbourhood.

The value of tolerance towards different ethnicities and religions appeared to be important for most of the Schildersbuurt-oost residents. One of the reasons is that many of the respondents experienced living in neighbourhoods where they felt discriminated because of their ethnic and/or religious background. The fact that this was much less in the Schildersbuurt-oost was emphasized by these respondents.

‘Hier hoef ik mij niet zorgen te maken of mensen me aan staren’

Some of the respondents indicated that this tolerant attitude of people could still be improved and they expressed the wish that this would enhance in the future, also showing the importance of this value for most inhabitants.

‘Ik zei, laten we nou niet zo gaan praten en laten we elkaar respecteren en waarderen, dan zijn we al een heel stuk verder.’

‘Dan men op een normale manier met elkaar om gaat en elkaar respecteert.’

10.6 Safety

Many respondents indicated the importance of safety in their neighbourhood. This value of safety can be divided into two different aspects. First, respondents mentioned the high criminality level in the neighbourhood as being one of the biggest problems. Most respondents mentioned the problem of the high criminality rate, while most of the respondents did not express to feel personally unsafe in their neighbourhood. They referred more to the overall criminality rate than stating they felt unsafe in the Schildersbuurt-oost.

‘Toch ook wel een stukje criminaliteit wat best wel verergert is de laatste tijd’

‘...en dat is wel nadeel hoor, die criminaliteit hier. Ze doen er wel van alles aan.’

Another aspect that showed the importance of safety for people, was the fact that migrant respondents expressed to feel safe in the neighbourhood, while this feeling of safety was not present in other neighbourhoods and/or cities. This is closely linked to the value of tolerance as discussed in paragraph 10.5. This aspect seems to be contrasted to the high

level of criminality, but this aspect of the value focusses more on the personal feeling of safety instead of the general criminality rate of the neighbourhood.

‘Vaak genoeg voelde ik me niet veilig. Mijn kinderen werden gepest en ik werd aangekeken als of ik van een andere planeet kwam en dat hebben we hier gelukkig niet.’

The Schildersbuurt-oost offers many residents a place where they feel safe and tolerated, while they experienced discrimination and other related problems when living in other neighbourhoods. These previous experiences reinforced the importance of safety for this group of people.

10.7 Taking Responsibility

The interviews revealed that respondents emphasized the importance of taking responsibility in the neighbourhood. The value of taking responsibility can be divided into two aspects. First, respondents expressed they want fellow residents to feel themselves responsible for their actions and they stressed the importance of being able to address someone about their actions when they are not appreciated.

‘Ik wil dat je elkaar mag aanspreken als dingen niet goed gaan.’

‘En dan zei ik er wat van, nou dan kreeg je de wind van voren. Ik vind dat je dingen tegen elkaar moet kunnen zeggen.’

‘En vaak hoor ik mensen ‘ja en dit en dat doen ze niet’ maar dan zeg ik ja, als je er geen melding van maakt dan gebeurt er ook niks natuurlijk. Of aanspreken misschien soms, mensen. Als ik zie dat de buurvrouw of buurjongen iets op straat gooit, een blikje bijvoorbeeld, dat is dan misschien geen criminaliteit, dan zeg ik jongens kan dat gewoon niet in de prullenbak.’

Second, respondents stressed the importance for people to organise themselves, in order to improve their living environment. While many respondents stated more and more inhabitants of Schilderbuurt-oost are involved in resident neighbourhood organisations, there still is the need for people to organise more on the local level in order to improve

the neighbourhood. Too often these respondents hear complaints about all the problems of the neighbourhood, while these complainers do not take action themselves. This while the respondents state that organise yourself as residents is a good way to counter the problems you experience.

'...dan merk je dat het heel belangrijk is om als actieve bewoner zitting te hebben in bepaalde besluitvormingen, omdat 'wij wonen hier'. Maar is natuurlijk lastig want je kan niet verwachten van de doorsnee Schilderwijker dat die geëquipeerd is om op allerlei niveaus mee te kunnen draaien. Dus dat is wel lastig.

'Wij zijn altijd het blok geweest met de meeste planten omdat we hebben zoiets van je moet de boel confisceren en sommige mensen, met name dichterbij het Jacob van Campenplein hebben veel overlast, maar dan zeg ik ook, manifesteer je dan.'

In a neighbourhood like the Schildersbuurt-oost, characterized by a number of problems, it is not unexpected to find the value of taking responsibility to be emphasized among residents.

11. Linking Sense of Place, Qualities and Values

This chapter elaborates on the way the three main concepts of this research – sense of place, qualities and values – are interlinked in the Schildersbuurt-oost. This is done by presenting schemes with the most important connections found in the neighbourhood per value. Furthermore, this chapter reflects on the hypothetical relation scheme of paragraph 4.7 and the way this scheme appeared to be compatible with the empirical data found.

11.1 Schemes Interrelations

First, examples are given to show the connections between the three concepts under study, zooming in on specific interrelations between different aspects. The seven different schemes represent the values found and their interrelations with aspects of people's sense of place and perceived qualities in the neighborhood. The direction of the arrows reflects the way the concept influences another concept.

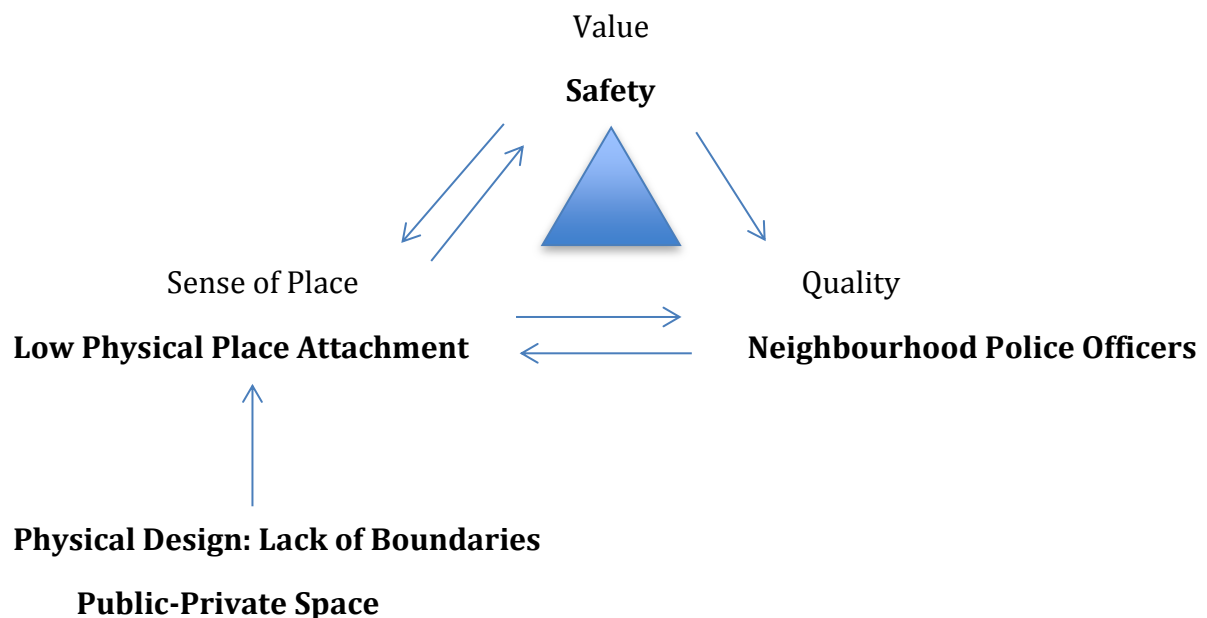


Figure 23: Relation Safety – Physical Attachment – Police Officer

The scheme shown above (fig. 23) shows the relation between the value of safety, a low physical attachment and the neighbourhood police officer. There was a general low

physical attachment regarding public spaces in the Schildersbuurt-oost. One explaining factor in this is that people are unhappy with aspects of the physical design of public places in the Schildersbuurt-oost. There is a lack of clear boundaries indicating the differences between public and private spaces. Youngsters hang around in public spaces that are directly adjacent to their houses., like courtyards and porches. This is felt by some people as an infringement of their private space. Besides, some aspects of the physical design – like niches and dark corners – make it harder for people to feel safe. The importance of safety for people is strengthened by this low physical attachment, but this also works the other way around. Because people hold safety as an important value, the fact that the physical design influences respondents' feelings of unsafeness influences the low physical attachment. Active and engaged neighbourhood police officers help in increasing these feelings of safeness by listening to the complaints of the neighbourhood residents and active engagement to improve the situation. Furthermore, neighbourhood police officers are said to play an important role in the development of the public places, thereby improving the physical design of the neighbourhood. The safety value also directly influences the fact that people perceive the neighbourhood police offers as a good quality for working hard on improving safety.

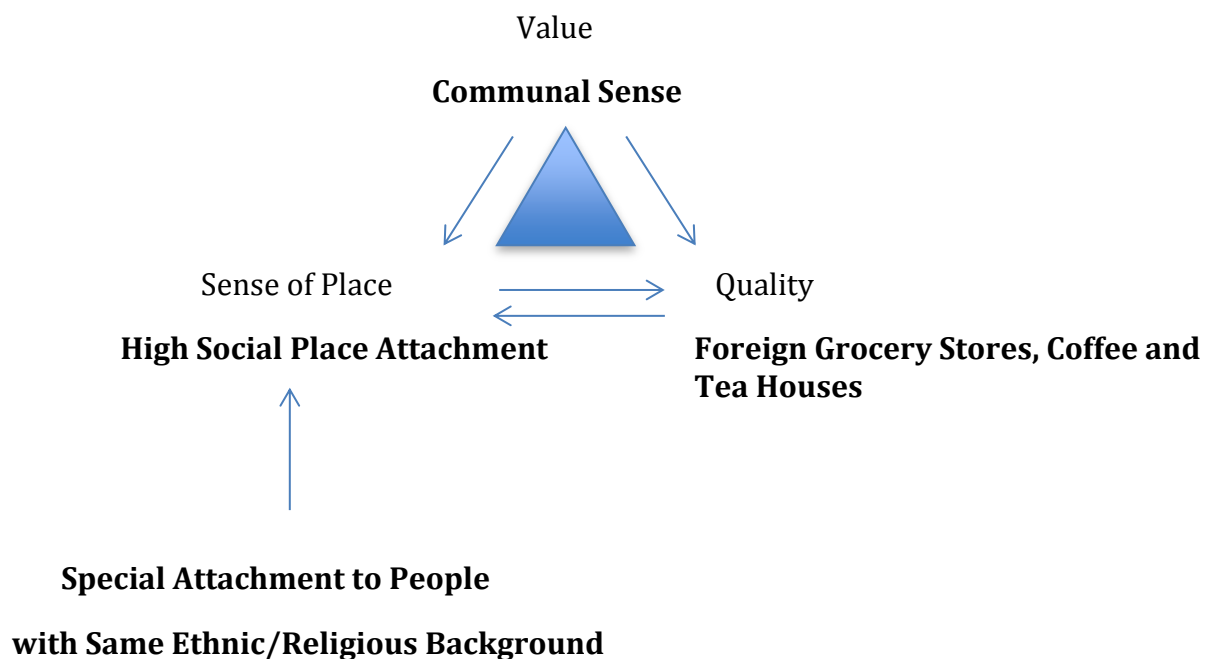


Figure 24: Relation Group Culture – Social Place Attachment – Public Places

The scheme above (fig. 24) shows the relation between the value of a communal sense, a high social attachment and the positive perception of foreign grocery stores and tea houses. There is a high social attachment visible, especially between people of the same ethnic and/or religious background. This shows the importance of the value of a communal sense. The value of communal sense therefore influences the high social attachment among people of the same ethnic and/or religious background. This is also reflected in the perceived qualities of many respondents; foreign grocery stores and the coffee and tea houses. These public places were primarily perceived as good qualities by the respondents for their social function, and more specifically for its facilitation for constructing and maintaining social relations with neighbours of the same ethnic and/or religious background. The high social attachment among these specific group therefore influences the appreciation of the foreign grocery stores and tea houses. This also works the other way around, because these foreign grocery stores and tea houses facilitate the opportunity for establishing and maintaining social relations – more specifically social relations with people of the same ethnic and/or religious background. The communal sense value also directly influences the appreciation of foreign grocery stores and tea houses, because these places make it possible to fulfil this value in practice.

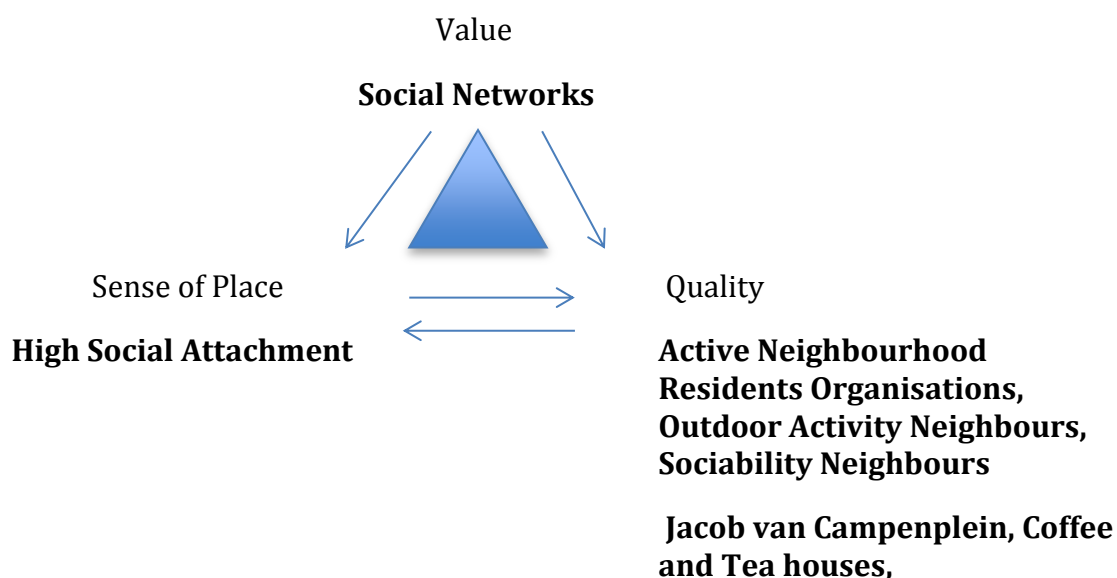


Figure 25: Relation Social Networks – Social Attachment - Qualities

Figure 25 shows the relation between the value of establishing and maintaining social networks in the neighbourhood with the high social attachment and the positive

perception of the active neighbourhood residents organisations, the outdoor activity and sociability of neighbours. The value of constructing and maintaining social networks is reflected in the high social attachment of people in the Schildersbuurt-oost. People feel socially connected to many neighbours and stress the importance of their social relations. The value of social networks influences the fact that there is a high social attachment visible in the neighbourhood. This value is also directly reflected in their appreciation for active neighbourhood residents organisations, the outdoor activity of the neighbours and the sociability of their fellow residents. Furthermore, places experienced as qualities like the Jacob van Campenplein and the coffee and tea houses influence this high social attachment and serve the value of social relations. This influential relation also functions the other way around. The high social attachment influences the success of coffee and tea houses – functioning as third places where people come to meet with their social network – but also the appreciation of the other qualities. Figure 25 shows the importance of the value of social networks and the high social attachment for the way people perceive places, institutions and people in a neighbourhood. The scheme shows the influence this value has on the fact why people perceive the mentioned qualities as qualities, showing the importance of this value in the neighbourhood.

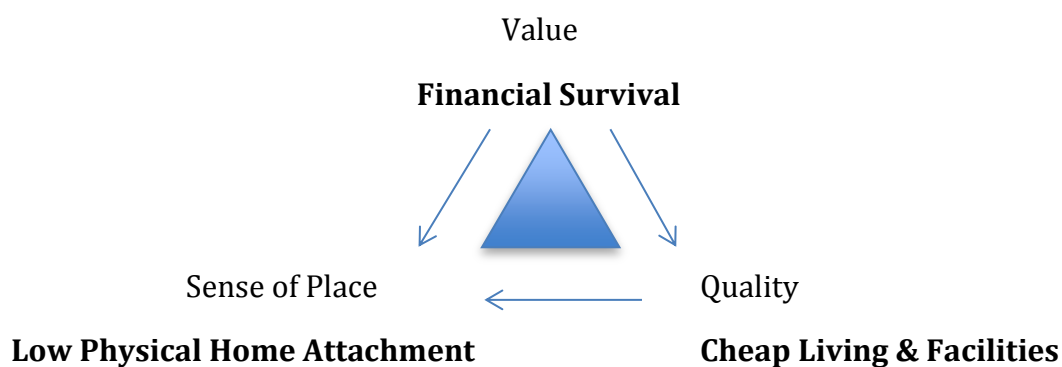


Figure 26: Relation Economic Value – Physical Attachment – Cheap Living

Figure 26 shows the interrelations between the value of financial survival, a low physical home attachment and the perceived quality of cheap living and facilities in the neighbourhood. People living in rented apartments expressed a rather low physical home attachment, primarily influenced by the deteriorated conditions of their apartments. More indirectly, this is also influenced by the economic value of financial survival. One of the most important reasons for people to live in the Schildersbuurt-oost is influenced by

the value of financial survival. Respondents highlighted their financial situation as restricting them to live somewhere else. This leads to a situation in which they have to live in cheap rented apartments, many of them with a deteriorated condition. This influences the lower physical home attachment, because of the involuntary aspect of living there and because of not owning their apartment. The perceived quality of cheap living therefore indirectly also influences this low physical home attachment, because of the underlying value of financial survival.

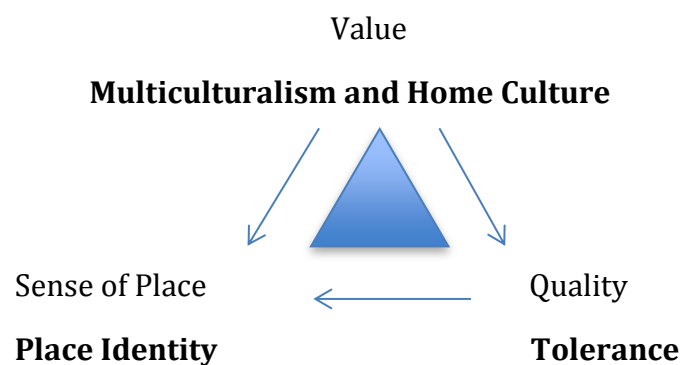


Figure 27: Relation Multiculturalism – Place Identity – Tolerance

Figure 27 shows the interrelations between the value of multiculturalism, aspects of the perceived place identity and the tolerant attitude of residents as a perceived quality. Most respondents mentioned that the multicultural character of the neighbourhood gives the Schildersbuurt-oost a unique and distinctive identity. Furthermore, most respondents mentioned to highly appreciate the multiculturalism and even mentioned it as an important element of why they like living in the neighbourhood. While both native Dutch residents as immigrants highlighted this value of multiculturalism, primarily immigrants expressed to like the fact of living with people of their home culture. Within the value of multiculturalism, it became clear that many of the immigrant residents also stress the importance of meeting and living with people of their home culture. The value of multiculturalism, visible in the perceived identity aspect, influences the perceived quality of tolerance. Respondents highlighted the tolerant attitude of fellow neighbours towards different ethnicities and religions in the neighbourhood. This perception is influenced by the value of multiculturalism, as it is important for people to live in a multicultural setting in which the diversity is tolerated. This perceived quality in its turn also influences the

perception of the place identity, in the way that both the multiculturalism and the tolerant attitude towards it are highlighted by respondents as being unique place characteristics.



Figure 28: Relation Taking Responsibility – Low Physical Attachment – Residents Organisations

The scheme above (fig. 28) exemplifies the interrelations between the value of taking responsibility, a low physical attachment and the perceived quality of the neighbourhood residents organisations. Respondents emphasized the importance of taking responsibility in the neighbourhood. People expressed they wanted their fellow residents to feel themselves responsible for their actions and they highlighted the importance of being able to address someone about their actions when it is not appreciated. Furthermore, they expressed the importance of people organising themselves in order to improve the public places of the neighbourhood. This value influences the aspect of a low physical place attachment, because a lack of taking responsibility is perceived and influences a low physical place attachment. One influencing factor for the latter is the amount of garbage and dirt in the public places, causing irritation and leading to less physical attachment towards these public places. This exemplifies the lack of taking responsibility of some respondents for their garbage. This low physical attachment in its turn also reinforces the value of taking responsibility, as people expressed that because they were faced with these amounts of garbage and dirt they feel the importance of taking responsibility even more. This feeling, together with the low physical attachment, influence their positive perception of the neighbourhood residents organisations. This because these

organisations reflect the active engagement of neighbours taking responsibility for the development of their neighbourhood.

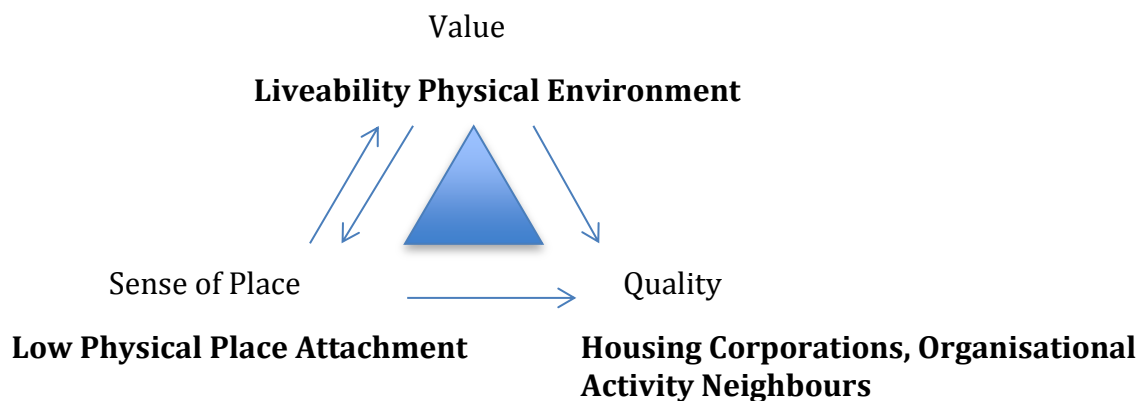


Figure 29: Relation Liveability – Low Physical Place Attachment – Housing Corporations

Figure 29 shows the influential relations between the value of a liveable physical environment, the low physical place attachment and the housing corporations and organisational activity of fellow neighbours. Respondents reflected the importance of a liveable physical environment, primarily focussing on a good condition of their homes and the high amount of dirt and garbage present in the public space. This influences a low physical public place and home attachment. Together this value and this aspect of sense of place influence the positive perception of housing corporations, because these housing corporations are investing in developing the apartments. However, this is only true for people actively involved in some kind of neighbourhood development, because these were the only respondents mentioning the housing corporations as being good qualities of the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, also for those respondents who criticized the housing corporations exactly because of the bad condition of their homes the interrelatedness of these three concepts is visible. The value of a liveable physical environment and their low physical place attachment namely influence their perception of the housing corporations, only according to them it cannot be seen as a quality but as a weakness. The low physical place attachment also reinforces the importance of the value of a liveable physical environment, because the respondent's confrontation with a lack of this makes them conscious on the importance of it. Furthermore, the value of a liveable physical environment and the low physical place attachment also influence the

respondents' positive perception of their fellow neighbours for their organisational activities. Respondents highlighted the fact that many neighbours organise themselves and take responsibility for the development of their neighbourhood – directly influenced by the mentioned value and aspect of their sense of place.

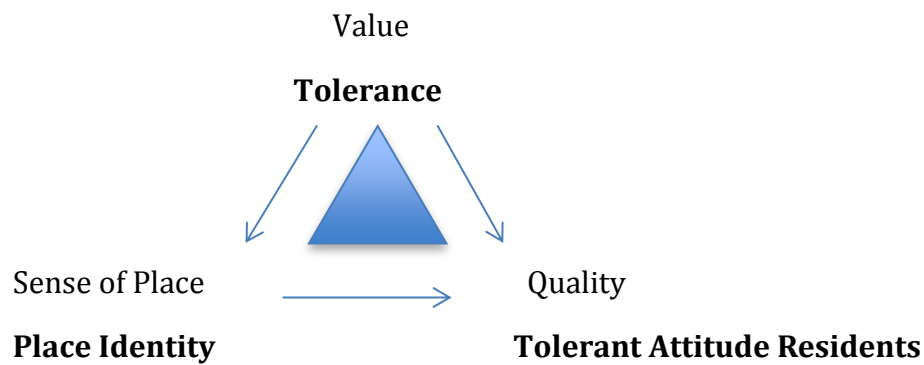


Figure 30: Relation Tolerance – Low Physical Place Attachment – Tolerant Attitude

The last scheme (fig. 30) illustrates the influential relations between the value of tolerance, aspects of place identity and the tolerant attitude of residents as a perceived quality. Tolerance appeared to be a value of great importance for residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost, primarily for immigrant residents. Being tolerated independently of ethnic and/or religious background was strongly emphasized by them. Most of these respondents expressed to feel tolerated in the Schildersbuurt-oost, something that made this neighbourhood unique as they did not feel this in many other neighbourhoods and cities. Therefore they highly appreciated the tolerant attitude of their fellow residents. This shows that emphasizing the importance of tolerance influences their positive perception of tolerant fellow neighbours and their perception of the place identity as being tolerant.

The schemes presented above are all examples of the relations between respondents' values, the perceived qualities of the neighbourhood and aspects of respondents' sense of place. All schemes show a direct relation between values and places. Holding certain

values influences what people perceive as qualities of a certain neighbourhood and also influences the way people are connected to this neighbourhood.

11.2 Revised Scheme Relations Values-Qualities-Sense of Place

Paragraph 4.7 presented a scheme with the hypothetical relations between values, perceived qualities and people's sense of place. This paragraph reflects on this scheme and discusses the way these relations are constructed in the Schildersbuurt-oost. The schemes of paragraph 11.1 all showed the interrelations between the different values, perceived qualities and people's sense of place. Furthermore, they showed the way these interrelations differ per value, per perceived quality and per aspect of people's sense of place. There is no unilinear way these different concepts influence each other. However, all the schemes showed that the three concepts are strongly interrelated. This paragraph zooms out of these specific examples and tries to present a more general overview and reflection of the interrelatedness of the three concepts that were studied.

The analysed data shows the importance of the link between values people hold and (the appreciation of) places in a certain neighbourhood. These places facilitate or hinder the opportunity to pursue the respondents' needs connected to their values. Places thus play an important role in fulfilling people's most important needs. All of these values directly influence qualities perceived in the neighbourhood. The arrows in figure 31 show the direct influence the different values have on the different quality aspects. Different values are grouped together in sub-groups in figure 31 to illustrate which values directly influence which aspects of the perceived qualities. Reflecting on the scheme presented in paragraph 4.7, the analysed data of this study shows the direct influence values have on what people perceive as qualities in the neighbourhood. Besides influencing people's perceived qualities, figure 31 also shows the influence of people's values on the place attachment and perceived place identity. People's values reflect what they think is important in their lives. Places hinder or foster the fulfilment of these needs and therefore, people's values influence the way people think about certain places. Furthermore, it does not only influence how people think about a certain place, but also how they are connected to them. The low physical home and place attachment are both influenced by people's values, by what people think is important.

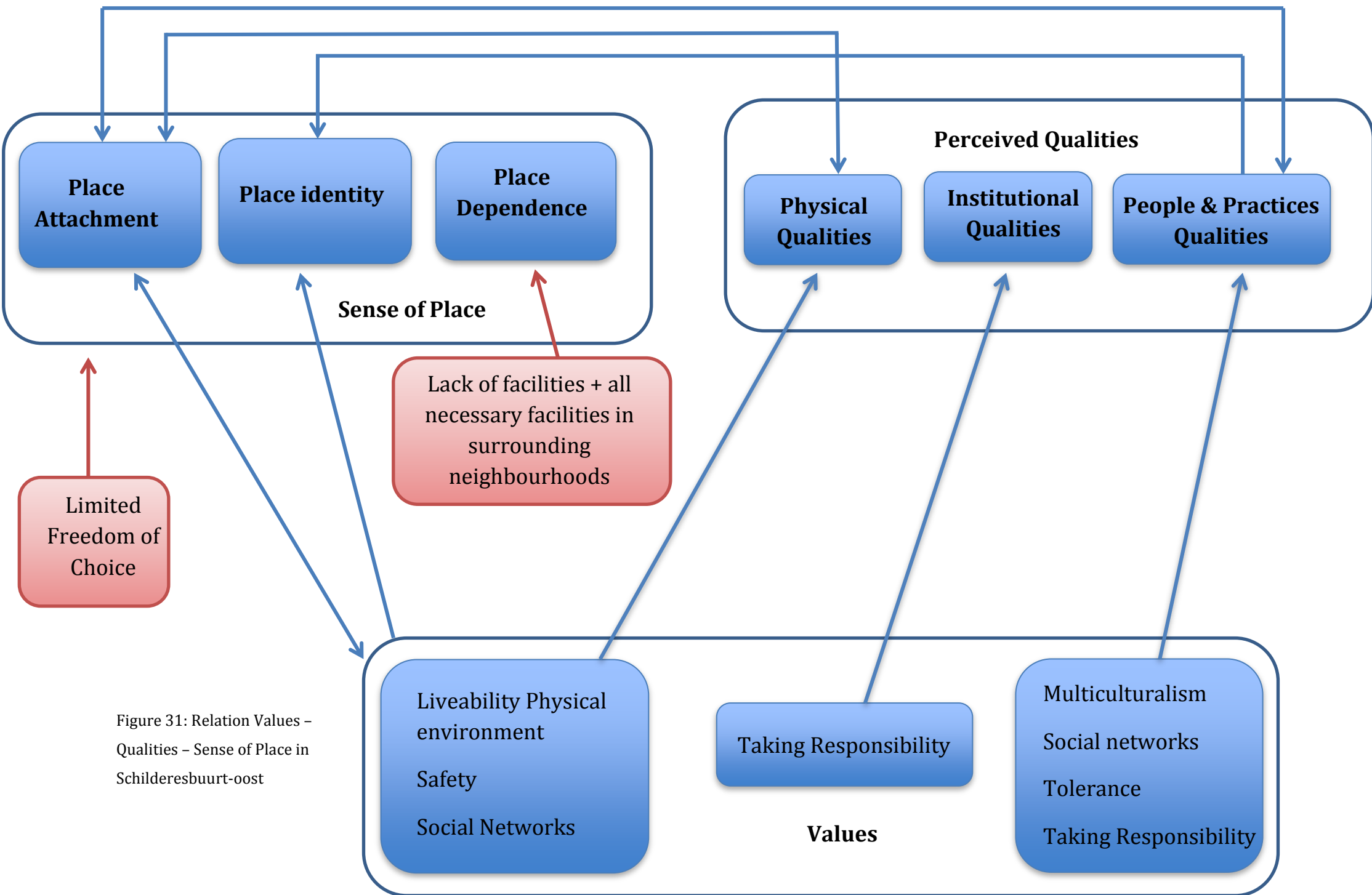


Figure 31: Relation Values – Qualities – Sense of Place in Schilderesbuurt-oost

Furthermore, the importance of social networks and home culture also strongly influences the strong social attachment of people. Next to the place attachment, the residents' values also influenced the way respondents perceived the place identity of the Schildersbuurt-oost. All three main identity aspects – tolerance, activity, multiculturalism – correspond to the values people hold. These values thus appear to be of great influence on what people perceive as the unique elements of a certain place. Figure 31 also illustrates two external factors of importance in the red boxes. As it shows, place dependence is mostly influenced by the fact that there is a lack of many facilities in the neighbourhood itself, combined with the fact that surrounding neighbourhoods provide all necessary facilities. This causes an overall low place dependency. Furthermore, the limited freedom of choice influences the resident's sense of place for a great part. The involuntary aspect of living in the Schildersbuurt-oost influences the interchangeable characteristic of people's sense of place. Sense of place in its turn influences and is influenced by the perceived qualities of the neighbourhood. People's low physical place attachment and high social place attachment influences and is influenced by both the perceived physical qualities and the qualities considering people and practices. The high social attachment influences the positive perception of their social fellow neighbours, but also works the other way around. Precisely these active and social neighbours lead to higher social attachment. This also holds true for the physical qualities. The high social attachment causes to primarily perceive public places that facilitate people's social contacts as good qualities of the neighbourhood. This also works the other way around. The existence of many places in the neighbourhood that facilitate people's social networks influences the high social attachment of people. People's place attachment and the perceived qualities regarding the physical environment and their people and practices thus influence and reinforce each other. The same applies for the relation between place identity and the perceived qualities regarding the neighbourhood's people and their practices. All of the characteristics mentioned as constructing the unique place identity – tolerance, multiculturalism, activity – are influenced by these same perceived qualities of the respondent's fellow neighbours. The perceived qualities, primarily those considering people and practices, influence what people perceive as unique characteristics of the neighbourhood. This perception however is also influenced by the values people hold. People emphasized the importance of tolerance, activity and multiculturalism and because they hold these values, this are the characteristics of the neighbourhood people

highlight. Figure 31 is a revised version of the hypothetical scheme presented in paragraph 4.7. The scheme (fig. 31) shows the interrelatedness of all of the three concepts in the Schildersbuurt-oost. Zooming out of these concepts, of particular importance appeared to be the influence values have both on people's relations to certain places – reflected in both their sense of place and the perceived qualities.

12. Conclusions & Recommendations

This chapter elaborates on the conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis. Furthermore, this chapter presents some recommendations for future research, neighbourhood residents organisations and future neighbourhood development policies.

This research searched for an answer to the following question:

What do residents of Schildersbuurt-oost perceive as the qualities of their neighbourhood, what are important values underlying these qualities and how is this related to a certain sense of place?

The main question was divided into the following sub questions:

- (1) How is the sense of place of residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost constructed?
- (2) What are the perceived qualities of the Schildersbuurt-oost?
- (3) What are important values underlying the perceived qualities?
- (4) How is the relation between the three different concepts – sense of place, qualities and values – constructed?

By conducting desk research, 42 interviews with inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost and 8 walks with these respondents an attempt was made to answer these questions. This chapter will present the summarized answers per sub question.

- (1) How is the sense of place of residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost constructed?

The analysed data showed a generally low level of attachments towards the physical characteristics of the Schildersbuurt-oost. The overall low level of physical home attachment is mostly influenced by the deteriorated state of many apartments and the fact that most people rent instead of own their homes. The overall low level of attachment

towards public places in the neighbourhood is mostly influenced by two factors. First, the dissatisfaction of many respondents with aspects of the physical design of public places, for its lacking boundaries between public and private spaces. Second, the amount of dirt and garbage in the public places of the Schildersbuurt-oost contributes to this overall low level of attachment to these public places. The Jacob van Campenplein forms an exceptional public place, which appears to be an important place for people, mainly for its social function. This is interlinked with an overall high social attachment of people in the neighbourhood. It are mostly the social contacts that make certain places in the neighbourhood specifically important for people. However, within this high social attachment level, an ethnic and/or cultural segregation is visible in both the public places as in the activities people undertake. Language barriers and the tendency for migrants to be pulled to people of the same ethnic background contribute to this segregation. Besides ethnic backgrounds, shared values play an important role in people's social attachment. Respondents showed to feel attached to particular those people sharing a same set of values.

Respondent's place identity referred to the unique characteristics of the Schilderswijk in general. Interviewees expressed to experience the uniqueness of the neighbourhood at the level of the Schilderswijk, instead of the Schildersbuurt-oost in particular. Mainly three characteristics of the neighbourhood were highlighted as constructing its unique place identity.

First, most respondents expressed the multicultural character of the neighbourhood as a positive and unique aspect of the neighbourhood. Second, respondents highlighted the tolerant attitude of people living in the neighbourhood towards different lifestyles as unique. This is closely connected to the first mentioned place identity characteristic, because mainly the tolerant attitude towards different ethnic and religious lifestyles was mentioned. As a third distinctive neighbourhood characteristic the activity in the neighbourhood was expressed. With this was meant both the active outdoor attitude of the inhabitants as well as the presence of many shops open till late.

The place dependence of respondents is overall low, because of the lack of many facilities in the Schildersbuurt-oost and strengthened by the proximity to the centre of The Hague, which provides these facilities. Most respondents expressed not to be dependent on the Schildersbuurt-oost for gaining income, attend secondary and higher education, sports and recreation. An exception is formed by the many foreign (food) shops of the neighbourhood, serving specific needs of the residents.

Overall, people are not dependent on the specific place of the Schildersbuurt-oost for meeting most of their daily needs. This influences the interchangeability of people's place attachment in the neighbourhood. Respondents expressed to leave the neighbourhood if they would have had the financial resources to do so. However, at the same time the neighbourhood is a positive place for them in which they feel at home and feel safe. People's sense of place is thus constructed in a highly ambiguous way. On the one hand, people expressed to enjoy the Schildersbuurt-oost's unique characteristics, while at the same time they are more dependent for their needs on surrounding areas and many of them would move if they had the financial resources. The low level of place dependency and the limited freedom of choice for living in the Schildersbuurt-oost influence the interchangeable character of people's place attachment.

(2) What are the perceived qualities of the Schildersbuurt-oost?

The second sub-question of this research focusses on the perceived qualities of the Schildersbuurt-oost. These qualities are categorised in qualities concerning the physical location, the institutions and the people and practices of the neighbourhood.

Physical Location

Regarding the physical characteristics of the neighbourhood, respondents mentioned three qualities; the Jacob van Campenplein, the many foreign grocery stores and the coffee and tea houses. All three of these public places were mainly highlighted because of the social functions they serve. The Jacob van Campenplein is being perceived as an asset of the neighbourhood for its functioning as a central meeting place, a place where you can easily meet new people and a nice place for the many children to play. The foreign

grocery stores were perceived as a quality for making it possible for the respondents to cook dishes of their country of origin. Furthermore, its social function was highlighted by the respondents. They indicated to like the fact that they knew most people doing groceries at these shops and that they do groceries at these shops together with friends and/or family.

As a last quality mentioned was the cheap living conditions of the Schildersbuurt-oost. The low rent prices are an important reason for people to live in the neighbourhood.

Remarkable is the clear gender division visible in all first three places mentioned. Mostly female respondents mentioned the Jacob van Campenplein and the foreign grocery stores as qualities of the neighbourhood, while mostly male respondents highlighted the tea and coffee houses. The outdoor public places seems to be dominated by women during daytime, as the Jacob van Campenplein shows.

Institutions

Four institutions present in the neighbourhood were mentioned as a good quality by the respondents of this research; the neighbourhood police officers, the neighbourhood resident organisations, the municipality and the housing corporations.

The neighbourhood police officers were mentioned as quality of the neighbourhood for their active involvement in the neighbourhood, for taking complaints of inhabitants serious and for not discriminating the inhabitants. Most respondents referred to the contrast visible in the differences between the active involvement of the neighbourhood police officers against the lack of involvement of the police in general.

The two neighbourhood residents organisations focussed on – the Paraplu and MOVE – were perceived as qualities for their engagement towards the neighbourhood, their involvement in the development of the public places and the many activities they organise, facilitating people's social relations.

Respondents referred to the municipality as a strength for its role as a financier of projects developing the public places in the neighbourhood. However, primarily respondents active in neighbourhood development mentioned this positive aspect of the municipality.

Most other respondents focussed on the municipality as an institution that lacks to fulfil the daily needs of its residents and by which inhabitants feel discriminated.

The contrast between perceptions of people active in neighbourhood development and people who are not is also visible in people's perception of the housing corporations. Primarily respondents involved in neighbourhood development activities perceived the housing corporations as a quality of the neighbourhood, for their role as financer of development projects and supporters of citizen initiatives. Most respondents not involved in any neighbourhood development activities hold a much more critical perception on these housing corporations. Their critique mainly focussed on the deteriorated state of their apartments and a lack of communication between the corporations and the respondents.

People and Practices

Respondents highlighted three positive characteristics of the people living in the neighbourhood.

First, respondents mentioned the tolerant attitude of their fellow neighbours regarding people with different ethnicities and religions. Second, respondents stated to appreciate their neighbour's active attitude. With the latter is meant both the outdoor and organisational activities of the neighbourhood inhabitants. Respondents mentioned to like the outdoor activity of the neighbourhood's inhabitants, who spend many hours outdoors during the spring and summer months. Furthermore, the active engagement of inhabitants in neighbourhood development activities was being mentioned as a good quality. Third, people expressed their neighbours to be social and convivial, most of them with a good sense of humour. This contributes to a good atmosphere in the neighbourhood.

Hybrid Boundaries

Looking at the perceived qualities in the Schildersbuurt-oost reveals the hybrid boundaries between opportunities and problems in the neighbourhood. Most perceived

qualities were strongly interlinked with existing and experienced problems. The qualities perceived can therefore not be separated from the perceived problems. Within the perception of individual respondents, boundaries between what people perceive as good qualities and what they perceive as problems continuously shifts.

(3) What are important values underlying the perceived qualities?

The analysed data on sub-question three tries to answer the question which values people hold important considering the neighbourhood they live in. Seven main values were found to be important for the inhabitants of the Schildersbuurt-oost.

- ❖ Liveability of the physical environment. This value can be divided into two subcategories primarily important in the neighbourhood, namely clean public places and a good condition of people's homes.
- ❖ Economic value. Living in the Schildersbuurt-oost has some economic benefits the respondents highlighted, namely low rent prices and cheaper facilities than in other neighbourhoods and cities.
- ❖ Social networks and communal sense. Social encounters and relations are considered to be of great importance in the neighbourhood for most respondents. Furthermore, the communal sense of certain ethnic and/or religious groups was being expressed as important value. People expressed the importance of having regular contact with people of the same ethnic or religious background.
- ❖ Multiculturalism and home culture. Most respondents highlighted their appreciation of the multicultural character of the neighbourhood. Within this appreciation of the diversity of cultures, many expressed to like the fact that they have social relations with people of their own ethnicity or religion.
- ❖ Tolerance. Respondents stressed the importance of tolerance in their neighbourhood. With tolerance the respondents primarily referred to tolerance towards people with different ethnic and religious backgrounds. While respondents mentioned the fact that many neighbours have a tolerant attitude, this could still be further improved in the future.
- ❖ Safety. This value appeared to be important for respondents and can be divided into two sub categories. Respondents mentioned the high criminality level in the

neighbourhood as a problem. Many of them expressed the hope this would improve in the future. Another aspect showing the importance of this value for people, was the feeling of safety people experienced in this neighbourhood compared to unsafe feelings they experienced in other neighbourhoods. While both aspects are part of the safety value, the latter focusses on the personal feeling of safety and feeling safe to be yourself, and the former refers to the general criminality rate.

- ❖ Taking responsibility. Respondents expressed the importance of taking responsibility in the neighbourhood. They want fellow residents to feel themselves responsible for their actions and highlighted the importance of being able to address someone about their actions when they are not appreciated. Furthermore, many respondents stressed the importance for people to organise themselves, in order to improve the environment.

(4) How is the relation between the three different concepts – sense of place, qualities and values – constructed?

The three main concepts appeared to be strongly interrelated in the Schildersbuurt-oost. A strong relation between values and places became visible, in which the former influences the perception of the latter. The places in a certain neighbourhood hinder or foster the opportunity to fulfil the needs that are related to people's values. Certain values thus influence people's perception of and relation with certain places. This is also visible in people's sense of place, reflecting the relation of people with their neighbourhood. However, this sense of place also appeared to be strongly influenced by two external factors; the involuntary character of living in the neighbourhood and the lack of facilities in the neighbourhood combined with the presence of these facilities in surrounding areas. These factors influence the interchangeable character of people's sense of place. Besides people's values influencing people's sense of place, people's sense of place also reinforced the importance of some of these values. A lack of a strong physical attachment reinforces the importance of certain values that are linked to the factors causing this low physical attachment. Being faced with problems in the neighbourhood causing low physical attachment makes people aware of the importance of these factors for them. In this way, the value becomes even more important for residents.

Furthermore, values influence what people perceive as qualities in the neighbourhood. The good qualities regarding the physical characteristics, institutions and people and practices of the neighbourhood are all directly influenced by values people hold. These qualities in their turn also influence people's sense of place, because perceiving certain aspects of a place as good qualities also influences people's relation with this place.

This research attempted to visualize the interrelations between values, perceived qualities and people's sense of place. A strong relation was visible between values and places. In future research and development policies it is thus of great importance to include people's values towards a certain place, because it both influence people's perception and people's relation with the specific neighbourhood.

Finally, a number of recommendations are given to future research, the neighbourhood residents organisations and future neighbourhood development policy.

Future research on values, perceived qualities and people's sense of place could enhance the role of Appreciative Inquiry in it, in order to increase the cooperation with the residents. This research only focussed on the first step of the Appreciative Inquiry process, while the next three steps make it possible to turn the analysed data of my research into usable knowledge for future development plans. Including the next steps of the Appreciative Inquiry process also includes a deeper focus on values. Values appeared to be of major importance for the perceived qualities of people and their sense of place and therefore more deeper research into the way these values are constructed is recommended for the future. This research laid the foundation of the Appreciative Inquiry process and future research following of the next AI steps could lead to more information and recommendations for future development. In doing this concrete steps can be taken in creating plans for future development.

As mentioned, the goal of this research was not to improve neighbourhood development policies in the future. It lays a foundation for knowing how the relation between values, perceived qualities and people's sense of place is constructed. However, in knowing more on these relations, some things can be advised regarding future neighbourhood

development. With future neighbourhood development is mean both the institutional policies as well as the residents organisations present.

First, the concept of value has to be reincorporated in future policies and actions regarding neighbourhood development. This research has shown the influence of values regarding the place people live in on the perceived qualities and people's sense of place. Because neighbourhood development policies and activities of residents organisations are aimed at satisfying the needs of the residents, it is important to include the factors influencing these needs. Places hinder or foster the fulfilling people's most important needs – reflected in their values – and this influences people's satisfaction with a certain place.

Second, culture has to be seen less as a problem in the Schildersbuurt-oost specifically and the Schilderswijk in general. This research has shown the many perceived qualities of the neighbourhood are strongly interlinked to the multicultural character of the neighbourhood. More focus should be on the economic problems experienced in the neighbourhood. Financial survival is one of the major challenges people are faced with. The multicultural character of the neighbourhood is actually influencing the respondents' positive perception of the neighbourhood. Nowadays, a lack of focus on the opportunities this appreciation for the multicultural character is visible in policies and research.

Third, this research shows the importance of social relations and network in the neighbourhood. In future development plans, it is recommended to focus on facilitating these social relations. Multiculturalism and social networks appeared to be two of the most important values held by people in the neighbourhood. Therefore, future development could focus more on these concepts in order to build on its existing capacities. Including the dialogue of citizens and making use of the strong social networks that are already there could improve future development.

Fourth, the research showed respondents perceive a major gap between their needs and the institutions present. The municipality, the police and the housing corporations have to focus more on the specific needs of the residents, according to the latter. Both future research as future policies should focus more on ways how this could be improved. The neighbourhood police officers appeared to be a good link between the police and the

citizen. Such links could be a possible solution for the municipality and the housing corporations, reducing the gap between citizens and institutions. Another recommendation would be more to organise more meetings in which the institutions interact in dialogues with citizens. This could improve mutual understanding and with this the perception of the other.

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Appendix I: Interview Questions

I.I General Questions

In the beginning of each interview I will pose a set of general questions, in order to acquire general background information of the interviewees.

- (1) Wat is uw naam?
- (2) Wat is uw leeftijd?
- (3) Hoelang woont u al in de Schildersbuurt-oost?
- (4) Waar hebt u hiervoor gewoond?
- (5) Waar bent u geboren?
- (6) Waar zijn uw ouders geboren?

I.II Questions on Sense of Place

(1) What is the sense of place of the residents of the Schildersbuurt-oost towards their neighbourhood?

a. What is the place attachment of the residents?

(1) General attachment;

- 1. Voelt u zich wel of niet betrokken bij de Schildersbuurt-oost?
- 2. Bent u blij of niet als u de Schildersbuurt-oost binnen loopt/fietst/rijdt? Zo ja/nee, kunt u daar wat meer over vertellen?
- 3. Kunt u een moment herinneren dat u erg blij was met de Schildersbuurt-oost?

(2) Social attachment;

- 1. Heeft u wel of geen contact met mensen in de buurt? Zo ja, met wie en wat voor contact (wat/hoevaak) en waarom? Zo nee, waarom niet?

2. Zou u het wel of niet jammer vinden als mensen in de buurt zouden verhuizen? Zo ja, van wie zou u het jammer vinden en waarom? Zo nee, waarom niet?
3. Kunt u een moment herinneren dat u erg blij was met uw medebuurtbewoners?

(3) Physical attachment;

1. Bent u wel of niet gehecht aan de Schildersbuurt-oost kijkend naar de locatie (los van de mensen)? Zo ja, kunt u daar wat meer over vertellen? Zo nee, kunt u daar wat meer over vertellen?
2. Zijn er wel of geen plekken binnen de buurt waar u erg blij mee bent? Zo ja, welke en waarom?
3. Zijn er wel of geen plekken binnen de buurt waar u niet blij mee bent? Zo ja, welke en waarom?
4. Zou u wel of niet het jammer vinden om te verhuizen uit deze buurt, zonder de mensen die hier ook wonen? Zo ja, waarom? Zo nee, waarom niet?
5. Zou u het wel of niet jammer vinden als u (samen met iedereen in de buurt waar u aan gehecht bent) zouden moeten verhuizen? Zo ja, waarom? Zo nee, waarom niet?
6. Kunt u een moment herinneren waarop u erg blij was met bepaalde plekken/een bepaalde plek binnen de Schildersbuurt-oost?

b. What is the place identity according to residents?

- (1) Wat maakt de Schildersbuurt-oost anders dan andere wijken?
- (2) Wat maakt de Schildersbuurt-oost speciaal?
- (3) Wat maakt de Schildersbuurt-oost uniek?
- (4) Zijn er bepaalde plekken in de Schildersbuurt-oost die ergens anders niet te vinden zijn?
- (5) Zijn de mensen die in de Schildersbuurt-oost wonen anders dan in andere wijken?

c. What is the place dependence of the residents?

- (1) Waarom bent u in de Schildersbuurt-oost gaan wonen?
- (2) Wat doet u allemaal binnen de Schildersbuurt-oost naast wonen en waarom doet u dit in deze buurt? (Denk aan boodschappen, werk, sport, honden uitlaten, uitgaan/recreatie).
- (3) Is de Schildersbuurt-oost voor u de beste plek om de net genoemde dingen te doen?
- (4) Zou u deze dingen liever ergens anders willen doen?
- (5) Denkt u dat andere gebieden beter zijn om deze dingen te doen?
- (6) Wat doet u allemaal buiten de Schildersbuurt-oost en waarom doet u dit niet in deze buurt? (Denk aan boodschappen, werk, sport, honden uitlaten, uitgaan/recreatie).
- (7) Zou u de net genoemde dingen ook graag in de Schildersbuurt-oost doen?

I.III Questions on Qualities

(1) *What are – according to the residents – the qualities of the Schildersbuurt-oost?*

- a. General: Wat vindt u sterke punten binnen de Schildersbuurt-Oost?
- b. What do people experience as qualities of the Schildersbuurt-oost, looking at the physical location?
 - (1) Wat vindt u positief/sterk aan de fysieke inrichting van de Schilderswijk-oost? De publieke ruimtes?
 - (2) Wat vindt u leuke/mooie plekken in de Schildersbuurt-oost?
 - (3) Kunt u een plek noemen binnen deze buurt waar u een mooie/speciale herinnering aan heeft? Wat was dit moment dat u erg blij was met deze specifieke plek?
 - (4) Kunt u een mooie/speciale plek noemen binnen de buurt die volgens u niet ergens anders te vinden is of zo mooi/speciaal daar is?
- c. What do people experience as qualities of the Schildersbuurt-oost, looking at the institutions

(1) Wat vindt u positief aan de instituties werkzaam binnen de Schildersbuurt-oost?

1. Gemeente
2. Politie-wijkagent
3. Woningcorporaties
4. Bewonersorganisaties
5. Andere instituties?

(2) Kunt u een moment herinneren dat u erg blij was met (een van) deze instituties?

d. What do people experience as qualities of the Schildersbuurt-oost, looking at the people and practices within the neighbourhood?

(1) Wordt er veel georganiseerd in de wijk voor buurtbewoners?

- a. Zo ja; wat? Door wie? Doet u mee? Wat vindt u hier van?
- b. Zo nee; vindt u dit jammer en zou u dit graag anders zien?

(2) Organiseert u zelf dingen in de buurt?

- a. Zo ja; wat? Hoelang doet u dit al? Waarom doet u dit? Met wie doet u dit?
- b. Zo nee; zou u dit willen doen? Waarom doet u dit niet?

(3) Heeft u veel contact met uw mede buurtbewoners?

- a. Zo ja; met wie? Wat voor contact? Hoe vaak/hoelang?
- b. Zo nee; waarom niet? Zou u dit wel graag doen?

(4) Wat vindt u over het algemeen positief aan de bewoners van de Schildersbuurt-oost?

- a. Wat vindt u positief aan uw mede buurtbewoners?
- b. Vindt u het prettig om met deze mensen hier te wonen? Zo ja, wat maakt het prettig om met hen te wonen? Zo nee, waarom niet?
- c. Kunt u een moment herinneren dat u blij was met uw mede buurtbewoners?

I.IV Questions on Values

(1) What are important values underlying the qualities mentioned?

- a. What do the residents think is important within their neighbourhood?
 - i. Wat vindt u (in het algemeen) belangrijk aan de buurt waar u woont?
 - ii. Wat wilt u graag zien in de buurt waar u woont?
 - 1. Waarom vindt u dit belangrijk?
 - 2. Ziet u deze dingen terug in de Schildersbuurt-oost?
 - 3. Zijn er dingen die u belangrijk vindt in een buurt maar die u mist in de Schildersbuurt-oost?
 - 4. Zijn er dingen die u graag zou veranderen in de Schildersbuurt-oost?
 - iii. Waarom heeft u ervoor gekozen te gaan wonen in de Schildersbuurt-oost?
 - iv. Wat waren uw verwachtingen van de Schildersbuurt-oost toen u hier kwam wonen?
 - 1. Heeft de Schildersbuurt-oost aan deze verwachtingen voldaan?
- b. Why do the residents think of the aspects mentioned as qualities?
 - i. Waarom vindt u een sterk punt?
 - ii. Wat maakt precies een sterk punt?

c. Why are these aspects important for them?

i. Waarom noemt u als sterk punt? Wat vindt u belangrijk aan?

ii. Waarom vindt u dit belangrijk?

Appendix II: Respondent Characteristics

Respondent number	Gender	Age	Country of Origin
1	Woman	61	Indonesia
2	Woman	63	The Netherlands
3	Woman	30	The Netherlands
4	Woman	34	Morocco
5	Woman	32	Morocco
6	Man	38	The Netherlands
7	Woman	38	Turkey
8	Man	37	Turkey
9	Man	39	Morocco
10	Woman	31	The Netherlands
11	Man	44	Morocco
12	Man	42	Turkey
13	Woman	38	Morocco
14	Woman	36	The Netherlands
15	Woman	38	Morocco
16	Man	57	Indonesia
17	Man	35	Turkey
18	Man	37	Morocco
19	Woman	62	The Netherlands
20	Man	66	The Netherlands
21	Woman	44	Turkey
22	Man	37	Turkey
23	Woman	60	Suriname
24	Woman	64	Suriname
25	Man	50	The Netherlands
26	Woman	44	Turkey
27	Woman	32	Morocco
28	Woman	31	Indonesia
29	Woman	37	Morocco
30	Man	32	Turkey
31	Man	51	Morocco
32	Man	55	Indonesia
33	Woman	56	Turkey
34	Man	47	The Netherlands
35	Woman	36	Turkey
36	Woman	34	Morocco
37	Man	43	The Netherlands
38	Man	51	Turkey
39	Woman	27	Morocco
40	Man	49	Turkey
41	Woman	29	Morocco
42	Man	50	Turkey