

Large Housing Estates in the Netherlands

Policies and practices

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RESTATE report 3e

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RESTATE

Restructuring Large-scale Housing Estates in European Cities: Good Practices
and New Visions for Sustainable Neighbourhoods and Cities

Utrecht 2004

Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University

RESTATE

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RESTATE is the acronym for ‘Restructuring Large-scale Housing Estates in European Cities: Good Practices and New Visions for Sustainable Neighbourhoods and Cities’. In this project we focus on large housing estates built in the post-WWII period in ten European countries. The final objective of RESTATE is to produce a comprehensive, evidence based handbook, which draws on the experience in different European cities and sets out alternative, forward-looking scenarios and new visions for large-scale post-WWII housing estates in Europe. This handbook will be produced in 2005.

Before the handbook can be written, a number of reports and papers will be published. This report is one of them. The aim of the report is to answer the following sets of questions:

- What is the philosophy behind the different existing policies with regard to large-scale housing estates in the Netherlands, specifically in the cities of Amsterdam and Utrecht? What are the main aims? What are the main activities included in the policies and what is the balance between these activities?
- How are these policies organised? Who participates in the policy and who has decided about this participation? Can the policy be seen as a top-down or as a bottom-up process? What are the advantages and the disadvantages of these approaches?

These questions are essential to find out if there are similarities with the other countries in this research. The reports that have been written by each country can be found at www.restate.geog.uu.nl.

In the Netherlands we have focused on two post-WWII housing estates in Amsterdam (Bijlmer and New West¹) and two in Utrecht (Hoograven and Kanaleneiland). Multi-family housing (low-rise and high-rise) in the social rented sector predominates, and the areas show increasing numbers of ethnic minorities. Several problems can be found in the estates: increasing vandalism, burglaries, tensions between people, increasing unemployment, increasing numbers of people depending on social welfare, declining shopping centres, deteriorating public spaces, drug abuse and related crime (especially in the Bijlmer), etc. A more elaborate description of the current state of the areas can be found in Aalbers et al. (2003).

To answer the questions mentioned above we have analysed reports and memorandums, written by, for example, the municipality or neighbourhood organisations. Also, we have interviewed a number of stakeholders in the neighbourhoods, at the municipal level and on the level of central government. In total we have interviewed about 60 people, varying from

1 Within the New West area we focus on the Kolenkit area.

aldermen and policy coordinators at the city level to people working in small parts of the respective neighbourhoods. Also, virtual meetings (discussions through the internet) have been held with a group of international urban representatives of the countries in the RESTATE project.

Chapter 2 of this report gives a general overview of the most relevant policies with respect to neighbourhood regeneration in the Netherlands. Chapter 3 provides a brief introduction to the estates and is a summary of Aalbers et al. (2003). Chapters 4-9 focus on different aspects of the policies and practices in our research neighbourhoods. Attention is paid to the main aims of the policies, the main activities, the way policies and actions are organised (who participates?) and the advantages and disadvantages of the policies and actions. This focus gives us the possibility to answer our research questions in the final chapter. It will become clear that various players in the field express many different philosophies, ideas and conflicting goals. However, there seems to be a couple of returning elements.

2 The relevant policies: a general overview

In this chapter an overview will be provided of the policies that have affected housing estates in the Netherlands. In Section 2.2 we will focus on the most important current policy affecting the housing estates, the so-called Big Cities Policy. In Section 2.3 we will provide background information on Dutch local government, the role of the housing associations and the relationship between the two.

2.1 Historical overview

Since the 1960s, the policy of the Dutch government on urban renewal has been subject to three approaches, each one different from the others (Vermeijden, 2001). Up until the early 1970s, the accent was on the expansion of the function of the larger cities as economic centres. The expansion of the inner city for that purpose proceeded at the expense of the residential function of the built-up area.

In the late 1970s and 1980s, the main goal was just the opposite; attention turned to the quantitative and qualitative reinforcement of the urban residential function of the city centre and its surrounding urban residential neighbourhoods. The approach was called 'stadsvernieuwing' [urban renewal], a name that had to be understood very carefully in the context of that time. Urban renewal at that time focused almost completely on housing for the urban poor: in poor neighbourhoods with bad housing conditions urban renewal concentrated on the building of new dwellings and, in a later stage, on the improvement of existing dwellings, not for new residents, but for the poor residents already living in that area ('Building for the neighbourhood'). Thus, under the urban renewal approach, the accent was placed on improving the housing conditions of the 'sitting' residents. Accordingly, construction programmes focused mainly on rebuilding the inexpensive social housing stock.

At the end of the 1980s it was realised that the urban economy had lost much of its strength due to suburbanisation and due to the focus on poor residents and on their housing provision as a leading principle. Policy concentrating on areas with multiple problems (problem accumulation areas) and in a later stage the policy of social renewal had to repair this: the civic society had to be activated. The role of the policy was to increase participation in society. This was done under the name of 'stedelijke vernieuwing', which also means 'urban renewal' but should be translated as 'urban revitalisation' because the goals were very different: not housing needs, but the reinforcement of the urban economy was most important. Next to this policy of urban revitalisation, a policy of social renewal was put into place. This policy concentrated on

the improvement of social cohesion within neighbourhoods, but was soon replaced by the Big Cities Policy.

In the 1990s the Big Cities Policy I concentrated on the so-called ‘income-neighbourhoods’, a euphemism for areas that are homogeneous with respect to income. That is to say, the policy concentrated on urban neighbourhoods where a relatively large share of the population had a low income. The policy aimed at fighting these concentrations of low-income households. Therefore, it concentrated at restructuring the urban housing market at the level of neighbourhoods: low cost accommodation had to be destroyed and replaced by more expensive dwellings in order to create a mix of dwellings and to attract more well-to-do households to the neighbourhood.

The Big Cities Policy II was the logical continuation of the Big Cities Policy I. The only important alteration was that the aim changed somewhat from attracting new well-to-do households to offering better chances for the existing residents of the neighbourhood to find accommodation for a housing career within the same area, i.e. preventing the need to go to another neighbourhood for finding other and better accommodation (Musterd et al., 2003; Van Kempen, 2000). In addition to this, the Big Cities Policy aimed at a lot of other aspects of urban life, such as creating more employment, improving safety and assisting people in severe needs, such as drug-addicts and the disabled. In the following section we will elaborate and concentrate on the Big Cities Policy in particular.

2.2 Recent urban policy: the Big Cities Policy

The underlying objective of the Big Cities Policy is to create ‘the complete city’. Complete cities are cities where everyone feels at home, cities with thriving economies, jobs for job-seekers, pleasant living conditions, liveable neighbourhoods, safe streets and a community that includes everyone and does not exclude a person.

Although the Big Cities Policy is a policy of the national government, it was created as a response to a request by the four largest cities in the Netherlands (including Amsterdam and Utrecht): this coalition ‘asked the national government for special political and social attention for the accumulating problems in the cities. Their so-called Delta Plan (the Big Cities Memorandum) became the starting point of the Big Cities Policy (BCP), an initiative taken by the national government’ (Dukes, 2002, p. 13). It sought to create comprehensive cities by adopting an ‘integrated approach’. This term refers to the focus on approaching economic, social and physical policy areas simultaneously and in direct association with each other. These fields are also referred to as the ‘three pillars’ (see below).

The politically mixed left/right wing governments that were in power between 1994 and 2002 decided to appoint a minister for urban and integration policy. This minister was appointed to emphasise the importance of urban policy and maximise its effectiveness within central government. The current conservative government decided not to continue with that in the same form, and is also planning to lower the future funding streams.

Decentralised approach

Dutch cities were asked to establish their visions and strategies for becoming complete cities in multi-year development programmes. A number of measurable goals have been incorporated

into these programmes, which function as targets within a contract between the municipality and relevant ministries. Progress towards target results was supervised by means of careful monitoring and on-site visits. This strategy made it possible to intervene where necessary. Cities could also designate specific target neighbourhoods, which most cities did. Our research neighbourhoods in this study are all target areas for the Big Cities Policy.

Pillars

The minister enhanced urban policy by supporting horizontal coordination between different policy areas focussing on urban issues, which is essential to the integrated approach. He also facilitated cooperation between levels of government in the Netherlands and Europe. Urban policy rested on three pillars:

- Pillar 1: the employment and economic pillar;
- Pillar 2: the physical development pillar;
- Pillar 3: the social pillar.

The philosophy behind the Big Cities Policy is that integral policies on physical, economic and social fields will lead to the best solution to solve problems that manifest itself at different geographical levels such as the city and the neighbourhood. *'The Big Cities Policy and urban renewal should be the opportunity to break with the tradition of 'sector-wise' working and come to solutions in the full social field'* (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1999b, p. 13). Although the employment and economic pillar receives most *direct* Big Cities Policy money, *effectively* the physical development pillar receives by far the largest sums of investment because physical programmes are heavily co-financed by other organisations such as housing associations (Section 2.3).

Pillar 1: the employment and economic pillar

Bolstering a city's economic vitality is regarded to be absolutely crucial in renewing and revitalising its deprived neighbourhoods. The small and medium-sized business sector plays a major role in urban economies. This sector is also a key player in creating new jobs. To fulfil this role, municipal authorities encouraged companies – especially in fields such as ICT and biotechnology, where demand for labour is high – to create numerous jobs for local residents. For the less skilled workforce, much effort has focused on creating employment in the retail trade and the restaurant and hotel industry. Moreover, work-training programmes have been introduced in such fields as information technology. Extra attention was also being invested in encouraging entrepreneurs from ethnic minority groups. The success of these efforts depends largely on the active participation and involvement of small and medium-sized businesses and various other organisations in the target neighbourhoods.

Pillar 2: the physical development pillar

A city's economic function depends partly on how favourable its environment is for businesses. Physical development involves making provisions to improve the quality of and access to housing, the workplace and the general living environment. Relevant measures include revitalising and restructuring the supply of housing, renovating and opening industrial areas, fine-tuning open space planning and other physical measures for ensuring and improving safety in traffic, the physical environment and society. Municipal authorities have joined forces with storeowners, entrepreneurs, project developers, investment companies and building

cooperatives to establish an integrated, specialised approach. Extra efforts are also being invested in intensifying the residents' involvement in their living environment, especially the participation of ethnic minorities.

Pillar 3: the social pillar

The social pillar focuses on advancing and improving the social infrastructure, a task that calls for attention to numerous aspects. These include care, assistance, overall safety, youth policy, quality of life, social involvement and participation on the part of immigrants and the native Dutch population alike.

The measures focused primarily on reinforcing the position of vulnerable groups, ethnic minorities and/or disadvantaged individuals. They also were aimed at an increase of participation of city residents in sports, cultural and political activities.

The Big Cities Policy: recent developments

An important element of the recent Big Cities Policy is the introduction of a fourth pillar: safety. There are two main reasons for this. First, together with the (short) upswing of right wing politics in the Netherlands, which was clearly influenced by the appearance and disappearance of Pim Fortuyn's² ideas, the call for safe environments reached peak levels. Second, actors involved in areas that were already implementing renewal plans, such as the Bijlmer, indicated that safety was a major issue that was not addressed enough by the former renewal plans. They also indicated that a shift from flats to terraced housing and a shift to a mixture in tenure, meant that the level of acceptance of unsafe situations decreased, and (old and new) residents suggested that safety issues were not adequately addressed. For these reasons it was decided to introduce safety as a major independent dimension.

Europe

The Big Cities Policy was frequently targeted at areas, which also received support from European integrated programmes. Since 1994, two of the four European Union Structural Funds have granted resources to the Netherlands, as a member state, in connection with urban policy efforts. These are the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and the European Social Fund (ESF). The European Commission has also allotted funds for the new Structural Fund period (2000-2006). These funds are intended for the realisation of priority objectives (Objectives 2 and 3) and community initiatives (URBAN 2, EQUAL). Although it often considers sizeable amounts of money for the selected areas, the amount of European funds is rather small when compared to the funding streams from local and national government and from the housing associations.

In short, local level urban policy was firmly linked to the national and European levels and also aimed to integrate the most important sectors of intervention: economic, social and physical (and safety). In trying to reach the objectives, usually specific residential areas were targeted in an intense way. The selection of the areas was based on indicator scores on each of the pillars involved. These areas – often large housing estates – were labelled as 'declining areas' when they were selected. Cities could select these areas themselves.

2 See <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/1971462.stm> or http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pim_Fortuyn for a short introduction to Pim Fortuyn in English.

Focus on Amsterdam and Utrecht

The major policy objectives of the cities of Amsterdam and Utrecht for which the national government supplies funds are:

- decline in the relative number of registered unemployed, by ethnicity as well as by duration of unemployment. Within Utrecht, improving service and counter organisations in this field is an objective as well;
- increase in the number of employed people in all economic sectors that are of relevance to the city;
- relative increase in the number of middle- and high-income households. Utrecht also specifically focuses on reducing the out-migration of people aged 30-45 to surrounding municipalities;
- increase in resident satisfaction with regard to the housing environment, green and public space as well as a decrease in indicators of degeneration and physical decay;
- increase in the social quality of the housing environment;
- decrease in crime and in feelings of unsafety both within the neighbourhood and the city as a whole as well as a decrease in juvenile crime as a percentage of all crime. Utrecht focuses on reducing the number of victims of violence within its own neighbourhood as well.

According to the contract that is signed between national government and respective municipalities about EUR 1,806 and EUR 428 million (respectively EUR 2,456 and EUR 1,642 per capita) were transferred from the national government to Amsterdam and Utrecht respectively between 1999 and 2003. As each city made its own multi-year development programme, the division of money can be different; it is up to the local government on which objectives most of the money is spent. Within both cities about half of the money is targeted for 'Work and employment (pillar 1)'. Different however, is the division of the rest of the money. In Amsterdam about one-quarter is spent on 'Physical development (pillar 2)' and 'Social infrastructure (pillar 3)'. In Utrecht on the other hand, 'just' one-sixth is allocated to the physical pillar, while the rest is meant for the social infrastructure.

Both cities differ with respect to the way the policy is implemented on the neighbourhood level. In 1999 the Big Cities Policy was decentralised in Amsterdam. Since then, the city districts develop and implement plans, after they have been tested by the central city. This requires a new method of working by the central city and the sectors. However, it is explicitly stated that: '*Centrally, Amsterdam will not arrange a double structure for the implementation of the policy. The focus at the city hall will be on directing and on monitoring*' (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1999a, p. 36). The districts lodge their (BCP-) plans with the Bureau Big Cities Policy, which bears the responsibility for an integral assessment and a financial review of the plans and takes care of the Big Cities Policy production and coordination.

In Utrecht, the Big Cities Policy has not been translated to the neighbourhood level. Although local officials, the local government and parties involved on the neighbourhood level are involved in developing neighbourhood-plans and -programmes in order to appoint which actions have to be undertaken, their acquaintance with the objectives of the Big Cities Policy on the neighbourhood level is often limited. This is connected to the fact that national budgets are allocated to the different sectors; working in an integral way therefore becomes difficult. However, the local programme-bureau has to improve the communication. Furthermore, every alderman is involved with one particular neighbourhood (sometimes two) in order to

establish a connection not just within the local departments, but between several sectors as well (integral) (Gemeente Utrecht, 2002b).

For Amsterdam, the Big Cities Policy-contract is partly based on the ‘Stadsvisie en Meerjaren Ontwikkelingsprogramma Grotestedenbeleid’ [City Outlook and Development Programme Big Cities Policy for several years] named ‘Amsterdam Complete Stad’ [Complete City], which describes the city’s problems and the suggested solutions in more detail (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1999a). In its City Outlook the city of Amsterdam describes seven major problems and their remedies.³ Table 2.1 summarises the major problems and their causes and remedies. It shows that the city looks for solutions on both the city and the neighbourhood level.

For the coming years, both cities intend to focus on enhancing the vitality of the city and preventing spatial and social divisions. The policy has been put down in the 1998-2002 Amsterdam Programme Agreement and Utrecht’s ‘Meerjarig Ontwikkelings Plan’ [Development Plan for Several Years]. These documents consist of a coherent set of physical, social and economic measures, which are representative for the current (second stage) national Big Cities Policy. In the policy documents, urban restructuring is presented as the ‘physical pillar of the Big Cities Policy’ – a spatial precondition for other Big Cities Policy elements (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1999b; Gemeente Utrecht, 2002b; Dukes, 2002).

Table 2.1 – Major problems, their causes and remedies, as identified by the city of Amsterdam

Field	Cause	Remedy
Unemployment	Restructuring of the economy	Promote business settlement
Poverty	Self-perpetuating process of enduring unemployment, debts, social isolation and hopeless position Additional work, education, provide perspective	
Unsafety	Individualisation and increasing anonymity in society	Strengthening of relations between neighbourhood residents and their housing environment
Suburbanisation of the middle-class	Mismatch between housing supply and demand; poor housing environment	Investments in demolition and new developments, housing rehabilitation and housing environment
Exclusion and disintegration	Changing orientation on the housing environment	Balanced mix between services, businesses, public space and (decent) housing
‘Overburdened’ environment	Growth in car mobility and in the built environment	Improve livability in the city
Stagnating mobility	Growth in car mobility	Improvement and development of infrastructure and public transportation, also through regional cooperation

Source: Gemeente Amsterdam, 1999a; Arnoldus, 2001

3 Arnoldus (2001) sees this problem description as ‘hollow’ because almost all policies are part of it.

Within Utrecht, five areas get extra attention under the Big Cities Policy; eight of the local Big Cities Policy-objectives focus specifically on these neighbourhoods (Nieuw-Hoograven and Kanaleneiland included). This is another difference with the city of Amsterdam, where all city districts receive Big Cities Policy-funds and where the Big Cities Policy/urban renewal distinguishes between three types of areas with different priorities: development-, attention- and basis-areas. The development-areas have the highest priority (and thus are entitled to the largest funding streams) and include New West (including the Kolenkit area), North and Southeast (including the Bijlmer); the attention-areas have a lower priority; and the basis-areas have the lowest priority. This division is based on the resident popularity and on the '(housing) market position' of the areas; thus giving the least popular areas the highest priority. Development-areas are characterised by a large concentration of problems, a low quality and low differentiation in the housing and business environments and by levels of services, livability and safety that are 'under pressure' (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1999b).

2.3 Local government and the role of the housing associations

Policy initiatives are taken at the local, the national and the European level.⁴ Compared to most other European countries, the Dutch fiscal system is extremely centralised. As a result municipalities are financially dependent upon the national state. The role of regional authorities is rather limited and nowhere comparable to those of more federalised states such as Germany.

Within Amsterdam, another administrative level has been added: the city district level. This administrative structure, consisting of a central city and a number of city districts, is unique as compared to other Dutch cities – only the city of Rotterdam knows a somewhat similar system. Moreover, as we will see later in this report, it has important consequences for the way in which policy programmes are developed and implemented in Amsterdam. In the early 1980s the first city districts were established in Amsterdam. It was expected that these districts, with their own administration would contribute to more efficient and effective decision-making. Their establishment was also a response to growing local pressure to bring government closer to the neighbourhoods. Besides, it was argued that a city district system would be less costly than the existing system.

The city districts are headed by their own administration, including a city district council and an executive committee. The residents in the district elect the district council. The executive committee consists of a number of city district aldermen and a chair (often called the 'city district mayor') who is elected by the district council members. The Amsterdam City Council decides on the municipal budget and sees to the distribution of government revenues among the city districts, but it has also decentralised a number of powers to the districts.

Ever since the Second World War, the Dutch central government took the lead in public policies, including housing, and although the housing associations were privately regulated institutions, they became increasingly subject to public regulation (Salet, 1999). The Netherlands has about 700 housing associations managing more than two million dwellings. With the deregulation of the housing sector, the central government not only took some steps in withdrawal from the housing market, but by several changes in the 1990s the housing

4 This section is based on Aalbers, 2004; Aalbers et al., 2003; and Dukes, 2002.

associations were also cut loose from central government. The most important change was made in 1995 by the 'Brutering' or 'balancing and grossing operation' by which the exploitation subsidies for years to come were cancelled out against government loans (Priemus, 2001; Aalbers, 2004).

It is important to pay attention to the shifting government/housing association-relation. Many housing associations, partly as a result of mergers, expand their geographical scope beyond one municipality. Consequently, strong ties between municipalities and housing associations have become loose ties. Increasingly housing associations become independent from national and local government. By cutting the financial ties with the housing associations, and by deregulating the housing market, the government also lost part of its control on the housing associations. As long as housing associations meet their public task (guaranteeing financial continuity, giving priority to the housing policy target group, promoting the quality of the housing stock and the housing environment, giving tenants a say, and providing so-called 'housing-and-care arrangements') they have a considerable degree of freedom in their policies.

3 About the estates

Initially, the estates built in the 1950s and early 1960s were built as part of a large programme to solve the housing shortage of the post-WWII period of the Netherlands. Because in many cities many dwellings had to be built as soon as possible, 'efficiency' was the keyword. Areas built during this period (and later in the 1960s and 1970s) were constructed on the basis of a strict urban planning pattern, which could be realised using new and faster building methods.

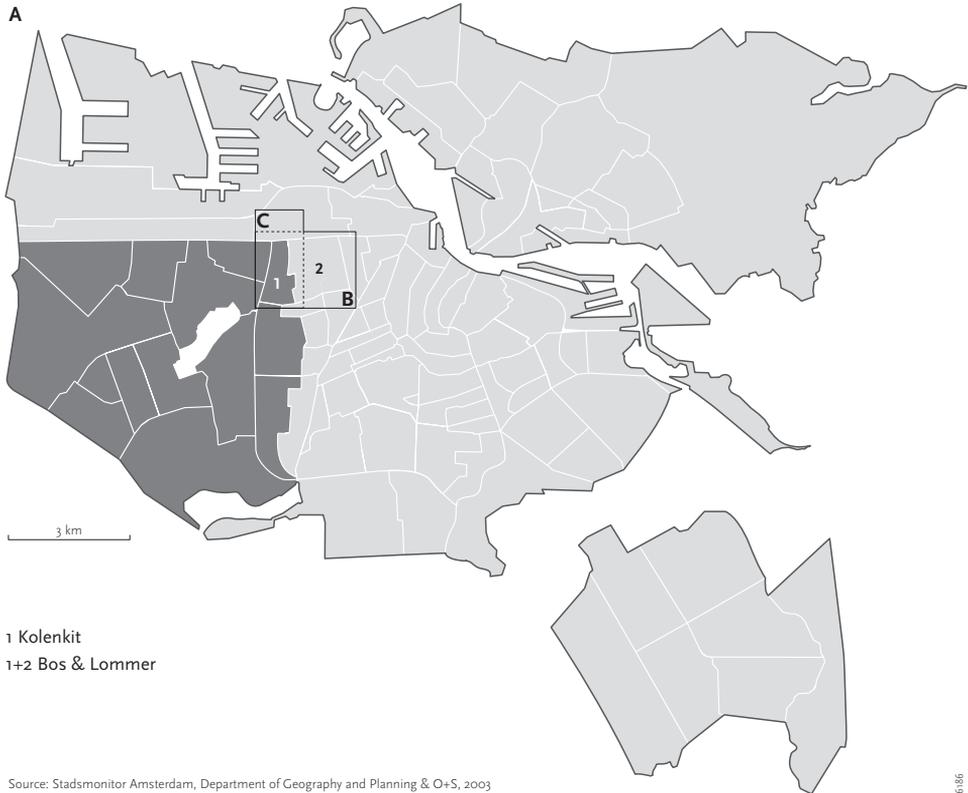


Figure 3.1 – Location of New West, within the city of Amsterdam (A), the location of Bos & Lommer (B) and the location of the Kolenkit area (C)



Figure 3.2 – Location of Southeast within the city of Amsterdam (A), the location of Bijlmer–Centre (B) and the location of the Bijlmer–East (C)

At that moment this did not mean that the quality of the dwellings was bad (although later it was discovered that the use of industrialised systems did lead to some structural problems). In a relative way, the estates provided much better housing than the dwellings built in the period before the Second World War. They were better constructed, and often had more rooms than the older housing. Also with respect to the environment a big step was taken. Contrary to the neighbourhoods built in the pre-WWII period, the newer areas were characterised by lower densities and much more green areas. They were also more monolithic: while the pre WWII areas were often (but not always) areas with a mix of housing, shops, services, and all kinds of small and middle-sized firms, the post-WWII estates were predominantly developed as housing areas. Shops and services were concentrated in larger and smaller centres within the estate and other manufacturing companies were given no place at all, or only at the outskirts of the areas.

5 In this report we focus on both Kanaleneiland-Noord and Kanaleneiland-Zuid. When we refer to these estates, we refer to 'Kanaleneiland'.



Figure 3.3 – Location of Hoograven within the city of Utrecht (A) and the location of Nieuw-Hoograven within the Hoograven neighbourhood (B)

The early post-WWII housing estates (Nieuw-Hoograven, and large parts of Kanaleneiland in Utrecht and New West in Amsterdam, three of the four estates that are central in this study) were characterised by a mixture of mid-rise, some single-family and few high-rise dwellings (see Figures 3.1 – 3.4 for the location of the estates⁵). Most of the dwellings were in the social rented sector (Table 3.1). The Bijlmer area in Amsterdam, the fourth estate in this study, was built in the early 1970s and can, as many areas in Europe built at that time, be considered as a high-rise area. Contrary to the older areas, problems in the Bijlmer started almost immediately. While also this area was meant to house middle-class families who would relocate from the older areas of Amsterdam, the Bijlmer became an important catchment area for the people from the former colony of Surinam and, later, for many other nationalities from all over the world. The area became known as the gateway to Amsterdam, where people lived in the beginning of their stay in the Netherlands. But many of them never left the area.

Because of their relatively high quality, the early post-WWII areas were in the beginning of their existence very popular places to live. Problems started only later, when other areas became more popular and the relative status of the older areas declined. Both the built and the social environment have been affected by decay and the areas in this report became increasingly associated with a complex set of problems; criminality, vandalism, drug abuse, problems with young people, unemployment, educational arrears, decreasing number of services, obsolescence of the housing stock and the pollution of the environment are the order of the day. Here



Figure 3.4 – Location of Kanaleiland within the city of Utrecht (A) and the location of Kanaleiland-Noord and Kanaleiland-Zuid in the Kanaleiland neighbourhood

Table 3.1 – Summary table of the Amsterdam and Utrecht housing estates (%)

	Number of residents (abs)	Owner-occupied	Social rented	Multi-family	Single-family	1 or 2 rooms	More than 5 rooms	Total (abs)
the Netherlands	15,864,000	53.0	36.0			10.2	35.3	6,649,000
Amsterdam	734,540	17.0	55.0			26.8	9.7	373,000
Southeast	84,811	13.0	73.0			28.2	9.4	37,812
Bijlmer-Centre	21,350	3.0	97.0			38.2	4.5	9,688
Bijlmer-East	27,605	13.0	85.0			30.2	14.0	12,926
the Kolenkit area (New West)	6,992	1.8	95.4			18.2	14.8	2,634
Bos and Lommer (incorporating the Kolenkit area)	30,660	7.7	61.0			26.5	5.4	14,584
Utrecht	260,639	42.0	43.0	57.0	43.0	13.0	27.7	114,066
Kanaleiland	14,946	21.1	66.1	85.8	14.2			5,849
Nieuw-Hoograven	5,903	6.0	85.0	79.0	21.0			2,595

Source: Gemeente Utrecht, 2002a; Aalbers et. al., 2003

Figures for Utrecht refer to 2002; figures for the Bijlmer refer to 2000 and for New West to 2001

we have to focus on some developments that have eventually worked together in the same direction.

The composition of the housing stock is almost the only thing that has not changed during the last decades in the Dutch early-post-WWII areas. In all kinds of aspects the areas went through a whole trajectory of changes and their functions have radically altered; both Nieuw-Hoograven and Kanaleneiland in Utrecht and New West in Amsterdam were initially inhabited by middle-class families that were pleased to live in an attractive neighbourhood with relatively large dwellings situated in an open and green environment. Nowadays, the areas have changed into 'areas that need extra attention'; Nieuw-Hoograven takes the lowest position within the city with respect to the socio-economic situation, while Kanaleneiland even forms the worst estate in the city of Utrecht in the field of several issues. In the Bijlmer area already many physical changes have taken place: high-rise complexes have been demolished and low-rise and single-family dwellings have replaced these large complexes. Table 3.1 gives some key figures about the research areas.

This situation does not mean however that a lot of vacancies occur. Amsterdam as well as Utrecht are known for their tight housing markets, with long waiting lists for social rented dwellings. In case of a vacancy many households apply for the dwelling, despite the fact that these dwellings in these environments are not considered as attractive. But because other (affordable) alternatives are hard to find, vacancies in the post-WWII areas are quickly filled up.

This chapter focuses on physical measures in large housing estates. The situation in our four research neighbourhoods – the Bijlmer and the Kolenkit area in Amsterdam and Kanaleneiland and Nieuw-Hoograven in Utrecht – will be discussed. First we will look at interventions in the housing stock. After that in Section 4.2, improving the economic position of a neighbourhood will be the main topic. Emphasis will be on access to (shopping) services. Although employment and economy are important elements of this aspect as well, they will be discussed in the next chapter. Finally (Section 4.3) the situation with respect to traffic is discussed. As this is especially an issue in Amsterdam, the focus will be on this city.

Although the general living environment is part of the physical intervention as well, this element will not be discussed in this chapter. As most measures in this field are connected to improving (feelings of) safety, this will be discussed in Chapter 6.

4.1 Restructuring and managing the housing stock

4.1.1 Main aims

Within the Big Cities Policy discussed in Chapter 2, the policy of urban restructuring focuses on restructuring the physical environment.⁶ The main aim of this policy could be seen as extending the choice opportunities of each household within the city (both tenants and owner occupiers) and making all residential environments accessible for potential residents. Within this framework, the restructuring policy focuses on increasing the quality of life both within neighbourhoods and in the cities as a whole. Strengthening the position of certain neighbourhoods (like the neighbourhoods that are central in this research) by differentiating the housing stock is one of the most important aims. In this way, the city's well-to-do residents are retained (because a housing career within the city or even within the neighbourhood becomes possible) and attracted, spatial segregation could be counteracted (in terms of income, not in terms of ethnicity), and the quality of living in residential areas can be enhanced. Both Amsterdam and Utrecht have large plans for urban restructuring in areas with an over-representation of social rented dwellings.

6 In fact, the situation is a bit more complicated as the urban revitalisation and restructuring policies do not just exist as the physical pillar of the Big Cities Policy; they also exist next to the Big Cities Policy.

4.1.2 Activities

The housing stock in many large-scale housing estates is characterised by an over-representation of inexpensive (social) rented dwellings. Breaking up this homogeneity, is considered an important measure to create a differentiated and attractive housing stock. This can be realised by replacing a share of the housing stock by new buildings of a higher price class. Improvement, merging, and/or sale of (social) rented dwellings form part of the intervention as well (Ministerie VROM, 1997). In all Dutch cities these activities are now taking place or plans are being made for these kinds of operations in the near future.

Focus on Utrecht

The main activities within the restructuring programme for the city of Utrecht are bundled in the so-called 'DUO-overeenkomst' (2001) [DUO-agreement⁷]. On the basis of this agreement, 9,500 (social) rented dwellings in Utrecht should be demolished by 2015 and should have been replaced by 9,000 new dwellings. Of this new supply, two-thirds will belong to the owner-occupied sector, while the other part (3,000) will consist of rented dwellings. Furthermore, about 2,000 dwellings will be sold to the present tenants and 3,000 social rented dwellings within the city will be renovated. Finally, 8,000 social rented dwellings will be newly-built of which 7,000 are planned in a large extension area of the city: Leidsche Rijn.

However, developments are taking place within another context as well. Housing associations for example that are responsible for the management of large parts of the housing stock, cooperate with the local government in order to be able to adapt the allocation rules; by allocating dwellings, both the ones on the list to be demolished and unpopular apartments, to students or young artists for example, the neighbourhood population becomes more differentiated (interview with social worker, process manager of the DUO-agreement).

A considerable part of the restructuring task within the city of Utrecht focuses on both Nieuw-Hoograven and Kanaleneiland. Some differences exist however; in Kanaleneiland, apart from several renovation projects and the construction of eleven single-family dwellings in the owner-occupied sector, no far-reaching interventions have taken place yet. A far-reaching restructuring project is planned however (Section 4.2). In Nieuw-Hoograven on the other hand, some apartment complexes have already been demolished (345) and the number of single-family dwellings in the owner-occupied sector has increased (102). Almost 80 per cent of these dwellings have been sold to households already living in Utrecht and about 16 of these households were from the Hoograven neighbourhood. Apart from these favourable developments, other households were less lucky; according to the social plan every household should have had the opportunity to move into another dwelling (owner-occupied or social rented) in the same neighbourhood after the intervention. However, both opportunities did not seem to be realistic; the newly-built dwellings in the owner-occupied sector often were too expensive and new buildings in the social rented sector were not yet realised. Therefore, the opportunities of the residents were limited to the existing stock and many had to leave the neighbourhood. It seems as if those households are now concentrated in other parts of the city where social housing is over-represented (Kleinhans and Kruythoff, 2002). Furthermore, several social rented single-family dwellings have been renovated and other demolishing new building projects are planned (319 apartments have to be demolished and 435 new dwellings,

7 DUO is short for: 'De Utrechtse Opgave' [Utrecht's Task].

both social rented and in the owner-occupied sector, are planned) (interview with assistant neighbourhood manager for Southern Utrecht).

Focus on Amsterdam

Although the city of Amsterdam does not use the concept of DUO-agreement like Utrecht, decision-making and policy implementation in fact follows a similar procedure.

In the Kolenkit area of New West almost half of the 2,100 housing units will be demolished under the housing restructuring plan. Replacement and additional housing will result in 1,365 new units, thus increasing the number of housing units in the area. The explicit aim of the whole renewal plan of the Kolenkit area (the social, economic and physical pillar) is *'to ensure that residents have a satisfied neighbourhood experience and that children grow up in a responsible way. To have a neighbourhood where both adults and children are fully part of Dutch society and are able to make a contribution to that society'* (Stadsdeel Bos and Lommer et al., 2003, p. 17).

This plan was put out in the first half of 2003 by the city district of Bos and Lommer, housing consortia 'Far West' and 'Prospect Amsterdam' (who together own and manage almost 95 per cent of the 2,113 housing units in the area) and welfare foundation 'Impuls'.⁸ Mostly small flats will be demolished to make room for bigger apartments and terraced housing. Of the new housing units, 386 will be social (rented) housing owned by several housing associations, 575 'mid-priced' units (mostly owner-occupied, but also 144 units will be rented) and 428 'high-priced' owner-occupied units. Of the units that remain in the area approximately 400 will be renovated extensively. The other units that remain have recently been renovated or will not be extensively renovated to make sure part of the units remain within the cheapest segment of that market. Also, some of these units will be sold to current tenants or, more likely, new owner-occupants; this will probably be relatively low-priced units. The plan will be carried out between the end of 2004 and 2015. In the end the Kolenkit area will contain 2,419 housing units of which 56 per cent (1,350 units) will be in the social rented sector decreasing the share of social housing with some 40 per cent.

Like in Utrecht, one of the main goals of the physical renewal is to retain residents whose income situation improves by offering them wider housing choices *within* the neighbourhood. Characteristic for the Kolenkit area however, is the fact that in order to be able to attract new residents, the programme does not start with the physical pillar, but with the social pillar in order to make the neighbourhood more liveable. Furthermore, to be able to retain both residents with an improved income situation and those, which depend on a low income, the plan does not start with demolishing housing, but with the construction of new units on currently un-built land. This should also be easier because of another plan, which is implemented just south of the Kolenkit area. This plan, named 'SportParkStad' [SportParkCity], envisions a sports park (including 'Sportcity Plaza') surrounded by housing, offices and services (Section 4.3). According to some actors, this philosophy of 'construction-before-demolishing' which is not just present in the Kolenkit area renewal plan, but also in many other restructuring plans, is more a discourse than a major concern.

8 The role of Impuls, however, is a bit ambiguous: although it is officially one of the responsible partners in the Kolenkit area renewal plan, Impuls employees and neighbourhood coordinators in the Kolenkit area indicate they have not or hardly been involved in the renewal plans.

The 1992 renewal plan of the Bijlmer

While the Kolenkit area has only been viewed as a problematic area in the last decade, the Bijlmer has been recognised as problematic soon after the first buildings were constructed (Aalbers et al., 2003). Therefore many renewal policies – in general, with limited or no success – had already been implemented over the course of years (Dukes, 2002).

'In July 1992, the Southeast District Council, the Nieuw Amsterdam housing association and the Amsterdam municipality settled for a large-scale integral renewal operation of the Bijlmer. The main purpose of this operation was a revaluation of the area in order to create a neighbourhood with a favourable living climate. Initially it was primarily spatial renewal that was attended to, as it was judged to have the best chance of success in priming the Bijlmer renewal operation. But at the same time, a wide audience supported the understanding that social-economic renewal should be undertaken as well' (Dukes, 2001, p. 5). The general focus is a mixture of positive and negative elements, referring to the stimulation of the 'potencies of the Bijlmer-community,' as well as to 'solving the problems' in the area.

The aims of the current renewal initiatives (according to Leferink, director of the renewal agency) are the following:

- financially sound housing association;
- varied and attractive housing stock;
- socially varied/socially strong population;
- safe and respected neighbourhood.

The participating institutional actors will consider the renewal operation successful if the different aims support and strengthen each other. A derived aim is to hold on to the upwardly mobile. This has two implications. First, less 'moving on' of this group, and second less 'social starters' moving in the Bijlmer.

Since the implementation of the 1992 renewal plan, many units have been demolished and replaced by others, while many other units have been transformed physically (splitting apartments, high renovation etc.) or in tenure. Almost a third of the 'New Bijlmer' is now ready: 3,400 flat units have been demolished, 2,700 have been renovated extensively; 1,700 new housing units have been constructed, while 5,600 more are planned for. Next to the renovation, this not only involves 'replacing' flat units by (partly) terraced housing, but also replacing social housing by mostly owner-occupied housing – eventually, the share of social housing will drop from 93 to 55 per cent. In the end about half of the 12,500 flat units will be demolished. The number of new (terraced) housing will even be 10 per cent higher than the number of demolished housing.

With the renovation of various estates the layout of most of the apartments remains unchanged, as the interiors of the apartments themselves are spacious. The major operations involve the structure of the buildings. The public corridors on the first floor, the original entrance to the flats are removed. Lifts and entrances are transferred to the ground floor, where new, closed-off entrances are placed. On the ground floor apartments and office space replace the blank walls of boxrooms/sheds.

Together, new development and flat renovation create widely different living environments with their own distinctive characters. The variety on offer is supposed to strengthen the Bijlmer's position on the housing market. New owner-occupied units in various price ranges

offer scope to residents with varying incomes and it turns out that many people on medium incomes who used to leave the Bijlmer now continue to live there.

4.1.3 Organisation

Public-private partnerships, working in an integral way and area-based and regional attuning are central ideas within the national Big Cities Policy. It is the responsibility of the local government to strive for high performances both qualitatively (related to increasing the possibilities of choice of households and giving the opportunity for a completion of the local housing policy) and quantitatively (related to urban renewal – demolishing, new building, renovation and merging – and increasing the right of say of the civilian). Aims should be formulated in measurable results (Verhage and Sluis, 2003). However, nowadays the actual restructuring task is in the hands of the local government and the housing associations; the first focuses on programming the housing stock, while the second often owns a large part of this stock. As the responsibilities and power of private property developers has increased the last years, they have become important partners in the process as well (interview with employee of the local city development department). As these parties are all concerned with the restructuring of several neighbourhoods and often no clear division of responsibilities exists, in some cases it seems hard to come to agreement about the plans (Sections 4.1.5 and 4.1.6).

Since 2000, all subsidies within the framework of the physical restructuring – subsidies allocated for housing, (green) environment and city economy – are bundled in one budget:⁹ ‘Investeringsbudget Stedelijke Vernieuwing’: ISV [Investment Budget Urban Renewal]. On the basis of the Urban Development Plan, a city receives the subsidy for a five-year period. Unlike most cities, where the province manages the budget, the local government of 30 large cities (including Amsterdam and Utrecht), where problems related to the urban restructuring programme are the biggest, have the right to function as budget-holders themselves. Although the ISV-money is used to finance parts of the restructuring projects, the housing associations and the developers finance the largest part of the restructuring measures themselves. In the case of the housing associations, apart from their own reserves, they have to make money from building and selling dwellings in the owner-occupied sector or selling off dwellings from their properties. This money is then used to build dwellings in the social rented sector and to renew parts of their properties (Communicatiegroep DUO, 2002).

Focus on Utrecht

Specific for the Utrecht situation is the fact that the local government adopted an area based approach already in the 1980s; since then, every neighbourhood within the city has its own neighbourhood centre, which forms the connection between the local government and the neighbourhood (population) and vice versa. As this neighbourhood-based approach forms an important item within the Big Cities Policy, it could be placed under the existing programmes and organisation within the city of Utrecht; no major changes within the local organisation were needed (Gemeente Utrecht, 2002b).

9 As documented in the national white paper (Ministerie VROM, 1997), EUR 1.7 billion is allocated for the urban restructuring operation. This amount is added to the EUR 1.6 billion allocated for the preceding policy of the City Renewal for the period 1998 – 2010 (Verhage and Sluis, 2003).

Since 2001, the general approach with respect to the urban restructuring task is documented in the DUO-agreement. As a result the operation is in the hands of the city development department and the housing associations; the first focuses on programming the Utrecht housing stock by creating the framework for (far-reaching) plans as well as developing planning visions, while the second owns a large part of this stock (43 per cent) (interview with employee of the local city development department; alderman Housing). However, as urban restructuring goes back to the beginning of the 1990s, this method cannot be applied to every neighbourhood. In Nieuw-Hoograven for example the restructuring takes place within the framework of a Neighbourhood Development Plan, developed in 1995. In Kanaleneiland on the other hand, the measures do take place under the DUO-agreement. These neighbourhoods therefore know different approaches with different ways of organisation. An important difference is the fact that under the Neighbourhood Development Plan the local government exploited the land and used the profits to subsidise the construction of social rented dwellings by the housing associations. In the DUO-agreement on the other hand, the housing associations exploit the land themselves.

Another internal difference with respect to how the restructuring programme is organised is connected to the number of parties involved. Under a Neighbourhood Development Plan (like in Nieuw-Hoograven), three parties signed a contract: the local government, the housing associations, and one or more developers. In the case of the DUO-agreement however (like in Kanaleneiland), 'just' two parties are involved: the local government and the housing associations, who can decide themselves which developer they involve. It seems that the last method is preferred; according to several key-actors, some restructuring projects have been confronted with delay because too many parties are involved and the projects do without clear rules about managing (interview with representatives of the local government; assistant neighbourhood manager for Southern Utrecht). More about how both methods can work in practice is documented below (see frame in Section 4.1.4).

Focus on Amsterdam

The first renewal plans for New West, of which the Kolenkit area is part, were already in process before the Big Cities Policy started in 1995. Besides, in its first phase the Big Cities Policy was mostly concerned with several projects that were *not* connected. Since the 'City Outlook' (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1999a) the renewal of New West according to the three pillars is explicitly seen as an element of the Big Cities Policy. In 1993 the (physical) renewal of New West commenced with three 'example projects' that were implemented by the housing associations in close cooperation with the local government. Because New West consists of four city districts, there was a need for coordination within local government. This led to the founding of 'Bureau Parkstad'. Officially, 'Bureau Parkstad' consists of two units: 'Bestuurlijk Overleg Parkstad' (BOP) [Administrative Direction Park-city] and 'Projectbureau Parkstad' [Project agency Park-city]. The first consists of a consultation group of aldermen of the city districts and the central city. This BOP makes the decisions and directs the renewal plans as a public actor, while the second, the 'Projectbureau', executes the decisions and plans of the BOP. Thus, the BOP is the principal of the 'Projectbureau Parkstad' (Arnoldus, 2001).

Next to 'Bureau Parkstad' as a public actor, there are consortia of housing associations, which are private, non-profit and public benefit organisations. Currently there are three consortia of housing associations: Far West, Prospect and Westwaarts. Originally, the housing associations

that were clustered in Far West had a view of more demolition and re-development, while the other two were following a strategy that was closer to rehabilitation. The last couple of years the differences have become smaller. The re-scaling in the housing corporation field has also led to fewer housing associations and some have merged or will merge but are clustered in different consortia. For this reason, Prospect will soon cease its existence.

According to the interviewed actors the housing associations/consortia on the one hand, and local government (the city of Amsterdam, the city districts and 'Bureau Parkstad') on the other hand, are equal partners. Since central and local government do not manage, renovate or build new housing, they are dependent on the housing associations. Although the housing associations are no longer dependent on government subsidies, they remain dependent on local government for the affordable acquisition of land to build on and supplementary measures in these renewal areas (Schuiling and Van der Veer, 2004).

Within the Kolenkit area two of the three housing consortia own properties, Far West and Prospect. The main physical plan was prepared by a group of people from the city district and the two consortia. Their plan is explicitly put out as a *joint* plan, and several actors within these organisations have indicated that cooperation was and is pleasant. Some used the Dutch expression 'we had our noses pointed in the same direction,' which means they agreed on the problems and how to combat these problems.

While the physical renewal plans for the Kolenkit area are very recent, those for the Bijlmer are not. In the 1970s, already before the last buildings in the area had been completed, there

'Centraal Fonds Volkshuisvesting' [Central Fund for Social Housing]

In the field of physical restructuring and physical management the aims, means, budgets and desired standards of performance were laid down in contracts between the Amsterdam City Council, Amsterdam Zuidoost District Council, 'Centraal Fonds Volkshuisvesting' and the Patrimonium and Nieuw Amsterdam housing associations. The Central Fund for Social Housing is a public body, which acts on behalf of the Dutch Minister of Social Housing. It has the responsibility to monitor the financial position of housing associations both individually and collectively. The fund is not an individual actor, but a re-allocation fund paid by the 'contributions' of all housing associations in the Netherlands. In the case of the Bijlmer, and in particular that of the housing association, the Central Fund for Social Housing grants financial support.

The restructuring entails investments amounting to EUR 2,000,000,000. More than three-fourths of these investments are cost-effective (based on estimations of future rent prices¹⁰ and of the sale of existing as well as new constructed housing units), while about EUR 450,000,000 is *not* cost-effective: 90 per cent of the non-cost-effective part will be covered by the Amsterdam City Council and the Central Fund for Social Housing. Twice a year, progress is formally investigated and examined by the financial backers. The payment of the contribution to the uneconomic investment depends on performance. In the field of social-economic renewal, direction takes place through strategic programmes of district and city councils (Leferink, director of the renewal agency).

10 Some rents will be increased as a result of the investments.

were plans to demolish buildings. Over the years, a number of key-actors have been involved. Currently, the housing association Patrimonium/Nieuw Amsterdam (the major owner and manager of social housing in the area), the Bijlmer renewal agency and the city district Zuidoost are the most important actors. Nieuw Amsterdam was founded in 1983 as a special housing association that would take over almost all of the housing in the Bijlmer to stop degeneration. The organisation was supported financially by the housing associations, which had originally built and administered the Bijlmer, and by the government. A project office 'Hoogbouw Bijlmermeer' [High-rise Bijlmer] was commissioned with coordination as well.

In 1992, after heated social and political debate, it was decided to bring about a complete restructuring of the Bijlmer. An earlier rescue attempt in the 1980s, based on the adaptation of high-rise flats and intensive management, had only a temporary effect. The present restructuring of the Bijlmer is a common initiative of: the Amsterdam City Council, the Amsterdam Zuidoost District Council and the Nieuw Amsterdam Housing/Patrimonium housing association. They jointly set up the Bijlmer Renewal Project Bureau, which incorporates the management of the renewal operation. Just like 'Bureau Parkstad', the Bijlmer renewal agency had an implementation task. There are, however, two important differences: (1) the Bijlmer renewal agency does not have a coordinating task for several public actors, and (2) the Bijlmer renewal agency is connected to the housing association, while this is not the case in New West.

A community-based, social-economic renewal operation will be carried out under the direction of Zuidoost District Council, parallel to and in close interaction with the physical restructuring – this programme will be discussed in the next chapters.

In de mid 1990s the URBAN Bijlmer programme was approved by the European Commission. Co-financing was provided by national government in the form of the Big Cities Policy-funds (Stadsdeel Zuidoost, 1998; Dukes, 2001). Thus, local, national and European funding was streamlined.

Actors involved in the URBAN-project which, in the Bijlmer, runs parallel to the Big Cities Policy-project and involves not only the physical but also the social and the economic pillar, are (Dukes, 2002):

- public authorities (such as the European Commission, DG XVI and DG V; Ministry for Social Affairs; Ministry of Interior; Amsterdam City Municipality; Amsterdam Municipal Housing Department; Bureau Social-Economic Renewal (SEV); Bijlmer Renewal Agency);
- (semi-) public authorities (regional employment agencies, regional training centres, and so on);
- city NGOs (such as housing associations, Chamber of Commerce);
- neighbourhood NGOs (such as migrants' organisations, churches, neighbourhood committees);
- private investors.

4.1.4 Participation

As said before, working in an integral way and area-based and regional attuning are important items within the Big Cities Policy. Within this framework, neighbourhood programmes and plans form useful instruments in order to collect knowledge about what is going on in a particular neighbourhood and what should be done to improve the situation (Gemeente Utrecht, 2002b). As residents (organisations) should be seen as both knowledge providers

and parties concerned, they should have an important share in realising such plans and programmes. Whether they do so and how this is organised within both Amsterdam and Utrecht, is discussed below.

Focus on Utrecht

Within Utrecht, residents are involved in the restructuring process in several ways. First of all, they are involved in the construction of future visions on the neighbourhood. These visions are based on the results of residents' surveys in which they can give their opinion on several items. Here, the so-called neighbourhood council is involved as well. During 2002, every neighbourhood or district in the city of Utrecht (ten in total) got a council, consisting of a group of residents who represent the rest of the neighbourhood population. They can give asked as well as unasked advice to the local government about things that should get more attention. As these councils have not existed for a very long time yet, it seems that this method needs to be improved on several points. For example, because it took a long time before the local government reacted on their ideas, the councils had the feeling that their advice was not taken seriously enough. As a reaction on this complaint, the working method of the local government with respect to the councils' advice has been adapted; communication has improved and it has been appointed that the councils should be informed about the thoughts of the local policy makers within a month (www.utrecht.nl, visited in October, 2003).

Another form of residents' participation can be found in (the development of) the DUO-agreement. The local renters' association was involved in this development; the agreement is signed by the local government and the housing associations under their approval. Within the agreement, the responsibilities of each partner in the restructuring process (the local government, the housing associations and the tenants organisation) have been documented. Here, the role of the residents and the way they should be involved in each project is described. In each restructuring project they: (1) can give (unasked) advice; (2) can give weighty advice; (3) have the right to give qualified advice; (4) can signal bottle-necks; (5) test plans/visions; (6) influence decisions; (7) have the right to take part in discussions and (8) have the right to receive information (Communicatiegroep DUO, 2002).

Residents' participation in practice

An example within the city of Utrecht of the way residents were involved in a restructuring process in Nieuw-Hoograven is 'Hart van Hoograven' [Hoograven's Heart]. This project contains the restructuring of a shopping centre, construction of new dwellings and the realisation of a health centre (Section 4.2). Initially, residents and entrepreneurs were involved in this project in the form of a so-called soundboard group (group in which residents and entrepreneurs focus on one particular aspect); although they were not involved directly in the decision-making process they had the opportunity to give their opinion about the plans. However, both residents and entrepreneurs have become frustrated by the enormous delay the project has been confronted with. In order to fasten the process, the only thing they can do now is put pressure on the partners to make decisions as soon as possible and take away any uncertainty (interview with a local representative).

However, the extent to which residents can influence plans depends on how they are organised. The effort of an organised group of residents for example, can bring about more than the effort of just one individual. The ones who are organised can get in touch with the neighbourhood manager (who works for the local government) or the housing associations. The opinion of other residents is collected through a survey or interview. In order to get organised, a residents' association has a right to ask the local government for financial support to get professional assistance. Furthermore, it is documented in the DUO-agreement when residents should be informed or involved both by the local government or the housing associations. It is the task of the association to get an agreement with the present tenants and to convince them of the need of the interventions (interview with alderman Housing; manager of development company).

Focus on Amsterdam

In the Kolenkit area the focus is not so much on participation *of* residents, but more on information *to* residents. The purpose of the communication *to* and *with* residents is to gain public support for the renewal plan. Residents have hardly been involved in plan-making, but their feedback on the plan is institutionalised by information and discussion meetings organised by the city district. Striking is that there are only a few organised groups in the area that have spokes-persons that speak on behalf of their social backing. Therefore, residents have been actively organised by the city district and brought together in 'theme groups' where issues like 'traffic and safety' or 'public space' were discussed. These groups can be involved during the renewal process to give feedback on the (lack of) progression.

Next to the information and discussion meetings and the theme groups, the city district communicates *to* the residents through information, which is delivered in the residents' mailboxes. Often, a summary of the Dutch information is provided in Arab and Turkish. At the public meetings there are Turkish and Berber¹¹ interpreters available for people who do not speak Dutch.

A 'participatiemedewerker' [participation collaborator] has been employed by the city district. Together with 'Buurtservice' [Neighbourhood Service]¹² and 'Bureau Intercultureel Werk' [Bureau Intercultural Work] this person will support residents during the renewal process. In the short run, his job is to involve people with the renewal process. In the long run, his job can alter.

Additionally, the involved housing associations will bring visits to all families whose current flats will be (extensively renovated or) demolished under the renewal plan. Housing consultants will discuss the possibilities of staying in the neighbourhood, temporary housing, alternative housing and contribution to the costs of moving house.

As mentioned before, part of the renewal process in the Bijlmer was funded with money from the EU programme URBAN. Participation in URBAN was arranged through EU-rules. As Dukes (2001) shows there was a discussion over the resulting organisational structure: '*Especially*

11 Berber is a group of languages, spoken from Morocco to Egypt. Differences between the languages and 300 dialects are considerable. Most Berbers have no written language.

12 This subsidised job programme meant for people on social benefits already existed, but the renewal process makes more money available for it. Like most other subsidised job programmes, 'Buurtservice' receives a contribution to the workers' salaries from 'NV Werk'. Currently, these people get paid 120 per cent of the legal social minimum, which is defined as the welfare level (about EUR 1,000 for a couple).

Residents' participation further explained

The residents' participation and community support as in the Bijlmer, did not appear from nowhere. With traditional consultation and communication means only a limited section of the population can be reached. The majority of the population is not attracted by cautious bureaucratic procedures, in which decision-making is built up step-by-step, each provided with opportunities for public comment. Thus, after some years of experience, the main institutional actors in the Bijlmer opted for an open, but also more time-consuming attitude. Focused activation of residents is done by the use of community work and the Multi-culturalisation and Participation Bureau set up by the district council. The distribution of information and consultation takes place in several languages: standard in Dutch and English, but sometimes also in Spanish or Papiamentu (language of Surinam). They make use of informal networks and community key-actors. Whenever concrete plans of action are made for an area, the institutional actors erect a large tent in the weekend next to the blocks concerned, with music, drinks and snacks, and lots of information such as scale models. In an informal sphere residents can talk one-to-one with planners.

the one-sided, mainly 'white' composition of the URBAN organisational structure, as well as the minor representation of ethnic minority groups and neighbourhood residents were heavily criticised. Many of the Southeast district councillors shared this opinion and supported the protest. The protest resulted in a heated discussion, that has become known as the 'black and white discussion' and that caused a huge delay in the implementation of the URBAN programme in the Bijlmer: from May 1996 until January 1997 there was a programme 'time-out'. However, the result of this discussion was a significant change in the organisational structure, as well as a serious shift with respect to the content of the original URBAN Bijlmer programme' (Dukes, 2001, p. 2). Notwithstanding these changes and the call for community proposals, funding itself was not accessible to bottom-up community organisations. To improve this situation, the Multiculturalisation and Participation (MP) Bureau was set up in order to help residents to formulate and submit their initiatives: 'The bureau was positioned under the executive Committee of the Southeast district and had to take into account both the starting points of the social-economic policy of the Southeast district and those of the URBAN programme. (...) The bureau not only supported grassroots, it also monitored the quality and progress of the programmes, especially from the viewpoint of Multiculturalisation.' (Dukes, 2001, p. 12).

According to Dukes *'the Community Initiative URBAN has determined in considerable measure the 'design' of the social-economic renewal in the Bijlmer. Besides, URBAN has been on the threshold of a much greater population participation in the Southeast district'. URBAN is therefore called 'an important catalyst in the emancipation process of the local population. It is obvious that the population participation in the Bijlmer has been encouraged. However, it remains to be seen whether this increased participation will continue'* (Dukes, 2001, p. 13).

Key-actors in the Bijlmer renewal are eager to indicate that resident participation in the Bijlmer entails more than cautious discussion as it involves: focused activation of residents (community work), multi-lingual consultation and information, informal networking and the involvement of community key-actors, informal ways of distributing information, also through local radio and television, and the involvement of consumer panels. Although we will not discuss them here, formal consultation procedures continue to be of importance as well.

4.1.5 Changes

A very recent change within the restructuring policy is the introduction of the Action Programme Restructuring by the national government. This is a consistent package of measures that focuses on speeding up the restructuring process. Within many cities, the restructuring process is confronted with delay. Several explanations are given for this delay. First of all, the process of neighbourhood renewal is complicated and time-consuming. Secondly, as the housing production functions too slow, going upmarket becomes a problem for many households. In this way, the housing market has got stuck. Thirdly, and finally, in many cities, the restructuring task is confronted with delay because both local governments and housing associations do not seem to reach an agreement about the division of costs. In order to deal with this unfavourable situation, the Action Programme has been introduced. Under this programme, the Ministry of Housing, housing associations, municipalities and several developers composed a so-called framework of agreements. Within this framework, discussions between the parties involved should be dealt with more efficiently in order to fasten the decision-making process.

Apart from general measures that hold for every neighbourhood, several specific measures have been developed under the programme, which focus on a select group of neighbourhoods; 56 priority neighbourhoods, which have been nominated by the 30 largest municipalities, will get extra (financial) attention. The interventions within these neighbourhoods should function as an example and should get the process of urban restructuring in the rest of the city going. Within this framework, so-called impulse-teams have been composed. These teams, consisting of experts from the field and civil servants from the ministry, give independent and free advice in order to speed up the restructuring process (e.g. giving advice about the social aspect of the restructuring process, about the costs or division of costs or they mediate between the parties involved). Unlike both estates in Amsterdam, the research neighbourhoods in Utrecht are not involved in this programme (www.vrom.nl, visited in November, 2003).

Focus on Utrecht

Within Utrecht, the role of the residents in the restructuring process has changed. In the neighbourhoods being restructured under the Neighbourhood Development Plan (like Nieuw-Hoograven), residents could work on a plan of requirements themselves through a so-called soundboard group. However, many of these plans were not realistic and were not financially feasible. In order to prevent residents from being disappointed in the future, the participation of residents is now clearly defined in the DUO-agreement (discussed above). Every partner seems to be aware of its responsibilities and although not everyone is always satisfied, this method is preferred to the first one mentioned.

Next to the changed role of the residents, the neighbourhood centres have got other tasks as well. Initially, they were involved with the contents of restructuring plans and less with the process. Since 2002 however, they have to focus more on the process, quality and time-schedule of the execution of the restructuring policy.

Focus on Amsterdam

The Kolenkit area renewal plan has been released in 2003. As a consequence there are no major alterations. Within the whole New West area there are however some changes. The most important one is that there is a 'slow down' in the planning because it was feared that

if too many plans would be implemented at the same time (1) there would be organisational problems because it might be impossible to carry out too many plans simultaneously and (2) problems would arise with the relocation of residents.

Since its inception in 1992 the restructuring programme has been radically altered. In 1992 the basic plan was that one-quarter of the 12,500 high-rise flats would be demolished. Three-quarters would remain and be renovated in many ways, some put up for sale. In 1999 the interim effects of the renewal operation were evaluated. Every neighbourhood was examined. On the basis of the evaluation, it was decided on considerably more demolition and new building and thus on a definitive transformation of the Bijlmer. The basic plan was no longer 25 per cent demolition, but a minimum of 40 per cent with a maximum of 58 per cent. The shift towards considerably more demolition comes on the one hand from the proven effectiveness of the new housing projects and on the other hand from the limited market prospects of large-scale high-rise blocks with galleries, particularly in the public housing sector.

Restructuring in the Bijlmer will not be limited to the housing stock. The traffic structure will be radically altered by giving up the strict separation of the different modes of transportation. The three original neighbourhood shopping centres, all situated under viaducts or car parks, will be replaced. The rigid separation of function will be abolished. Business accommodation, churches, cultural facilities, sport and recreation will be integrated. And, the open space will be redesigned and reduced in extent.

In short, during a period of about 15 years the Bijlmer will be completely renewed. A fundamental shift is taking place from public to private space. However, churches and other social organisations indicate that it is becoming increasingly difficult to realise non-commercial buildings since most of these organisations are not used to putting their *physical* claims under the renewal discussion.

Besides these changes, more EU-funds will be available for the Bijlmer: *'This time the context will be the European Objective 2 programme, instead of the URBAN Community Initiative and the demarcation lines will be drawn in a slightly different way'* (Dukes, 2001, p. 13).

4.1.6 Advantages and disadvantages

Focus on Utrecht

With respect to organisation

The increased number of participants in the restructuring process does not always seem to realise the wanted or expected results. Restructuring projects can be confronted with enormous delay because the interests of the partners involved often differ. As housing associations and developers have to finance the interventions themselves and every investment costs money, they often incline to postpone a project (interview with process manager of DUO-agreement; alderman Housing).

Furthermore, contracts about restructuring interventions sometimes miss clear rules/agreements, which the local government can use to sanction the other parties. Likewise, it becomes rather simple for developers or housing associations to change their minds and refuse to invest in problem neighbourhoods. Enormous delay and frustration among the partners involved as well as others who are confronted with the interventions can be the result

(interviews with several key-persons). Therefore, it seems important to include clear rules about consequences and sanctions with respect to performing tasks.

The fact that the Big Cities Policy could be placed under the existing programmes and organisation within the city of Utrecht resulted in some vagueness and indistinctness with several local parties involved. The neighbourhood centres for example are not always aware of the aims of the policy. Furthermore, the different departments of the local government just continued their work instead of cooperating with other departments on behalf of the same goal. In general it can be said that working in an integral way, does not always seem to work like it should.

Finally, although regional attuning is an important item within the Big Cities Policy, for Utrecht this can not be taken for granted automatically; surrounding municipalities and neighbourhoods with an emphasis on dwellings in the owner-occupied sector, often refuse to develop social rented dwellings (interview with process manager of DUO-agreement). Therefore, several parties argue that other municipalities should be willing to contribute to the restructuring process as well.

With respect to participation

Although all parties agree about the need to involve residents in the far-reaching restructuring developments, it can cause enormous delay as well. Although the opinion of a particular group of residents not always represents the opinion of the neighbourhood population as a whole, housing associations of course have to take their remarks seriously. This can result in delay (interview with an assistant neighbourhood manager of South-West; employees of several housing associations; alderman Housing).

Furthermore, although owner-occupiers can be confronted with the consequences of restructuring projects as well, clear appointments for this group in restructuring areas are missing in the DUO-agreement (e.g. appointments about the price of their dwelling and replacement elsewhere in the city/neighbourhood) (interview with the assistant neighbourhood manager).

Other aspects

The restructuring process within the city of Utrecht is influenced by developments on the housing market; as new-building projects within the city borders do not have the effect of creating a going upmarket among an increasing number of households, the process is confronted with delay (interview with employee of housing association).

Focus on Amsterdam

The Kolenkit area renewal plan has just been approved of and it is hard to evaluate it already. However, some things can be said about what seem to be promising plans or what have been (un-)successful decision-making processes. In decision-making the Kolenkit area renewal plan seems to have been quite successful. In contrast to Nieuw-Hoograven in Utrecht, the major actors involved have indicated that working together on the plans was fruitful because all actors involved felt the same need 'to do something' and there was wide-shared agreement over what should be done.

Striking is that resident *participation* was not very widespread: residents could come to presentations of the plans and give their opinion, but have hardly been involved in decision-

Table 4.1 – 3x3 model used for the renewal of the Kolenkit area

	Short-term	Mid-term	Long-term
Aim	Concern and involvement of residents	Investment in a better future	Drastic renewal of the neighbourhood
Social pillar	Involvement with the neighbourhood	Empowerment of the residents	Enough fitting services for the residents of the new Kolenkit area
Economic pillar	Preservation of shops in the neighbourhood	Support of economic initiatives and business start-ups	A lively, active and working neighbourhood
Physical pillar	Fast realisation of visible improvements of public space	A liveable and socially safe neighbourhood (temporal management)	To a varied supply of housing, services and employment

Source: Stadsdeel Bos and Lommer et al., 2003

making itself. Although the literature widely sees this as a possible indication for residents to disagree and sometimes revolt against the plans, this has not been the case in the Kolenkit area. The widely shared opinion of the residents was also that ‘something should be done’. Strikingly, the sense of urgency amongst residents seems to be more weighty than amongst the institutional actors. The latter are aware of the fact that it takes time before one can start and you cannot implement all sub-plans at once, while many residents want to see action taking as soon and as fast as possible. This does however not mean the city district and the other involved actors do not take action in the long-run because it works with goals and activities in three different time-frames. This ‘3x3 model’ is shown in Table 4.1.

Resident participation in the Bijlmer renewal plans is a special case. Originally, actors like the city district office and the housing association were making plans in which residents were hardly involved. Often, they had little choice to do otherwise: involvement of most residents was very limited and most people only lived in the Bijlmer until they were able to find accommodation elsewhere (in the city). However, in time especially the Surinamese, but also other (ethnic) groups developed their own social and commercial networks in the Bijlmer and made it their home. These residents did not intend to leave as soon as possible, and some of them demanded a voice in the renewal plans. Eventually, this led to more resident participation and the founding of the Multiculturalisation and Participation (MP) Bureau in which the main aim was to fuel and facilitate resident participation. Arguably, this has led to better plans in the sense that new housing and renovation were closer to the demands of the current residents.

4.2 Access to services and upgrading shopping centres

Restructuring processes in estates not only focus on housing. In order to improve the position of a neighbourhood within the city hierarchy, the living environment and the economic situation should be strong. One of the measures taken is to enhance the attractiveness of (shopping) services. Therefore, several restructuring measures focus on improving the supply and access to shops and other services.

Focus on Utrecht

Within Utrecht, each year the situation with respect to the local retail trade is documented. Here, an inventory of the number of shops needed within a particular area is drawn as well as the quality of several shopping centres. On the basis of the document, the local government decides which shopping concentration should be financially supported and/or restructured. However, the ownership of the buildings can affect (potential) interventions. In Kanaleneiland for example, a private investor owns the shopping centre Rijnbaan (discussed in Aalbers et al., 2003). Although this shopping concentration needs to be refurbished thoroughly, the owner postpones the interventions. This not only frustrates the residents but the local government as well; they do not have the legal power to force the owner to proceed to action (interviews with social worker; process manager of DUO-agreement; assistant neighbourhood manager for Southwest Utrecht).

Next to interventions, which focus just on shopping concentrations, several far-reaching interventions within the research neighbourhoods focus on more than that. Two examples are given in the frames: 'Hart van Hoograven' and 'As Kanaleneiland'.

'Hart van Hoograven' [Hoograven's Heart]

Shopping concentration 't Goylaan in Nieuw-Hoograven and its direct surroundings (both the environment and the housing complexes) have been confronted with decay (Aalbers et al., 2003). To improve this situation and to differentiate the living environment, a plan called 'Hart van Hoograven' [Hoograven's Heart] was developed in 1996.

Under the plan, about 443 apartments in the social rented sector have to be demolished. The complexes will be replaced by new dwellings (400). Furthermore, a new shopping concentration, a health centre and a park will be realised. Next to the differentiation of the living environment, the plan focuses on strengthening the supply of (medical) services and the neighbourhood economy as well.

In the framework of the project, which is organised under the Neighbourhood Development Plan (Section 4.1), the local neighbourhood department, the involved housing association and a developer agreed on cooperation. The 'Initiatiefgroep Gezondheidscentrum Hoograven' [a group which takes the initiatives for the planned health centre], is involved as well. Although ISV-money is used to finance parts of the project, the partners (housing association, local government and developer) have to finance the restructuring task themselves.

'As Kanaleneiland' [Kanaleneiland Axis]

A second example comes from the Kanaleneiland neighbourhood. One of the interventions in this area is part of a plan called 'As Kanaleneiland'. To connect a new building area – which supplies both housing and working opportunities – with the city of Utrecht, a bridge and a connecting road has to be realised. The road crosses the Kanaleneiland neighbourhood and to make it an attractive axis between the city and the newly-built area, parts of the estate have to be refurbished. Under this plan, 1,300

newly-built high-rise dwellings in both the owner-occupied sector (about 70 per cent) and the social rented sector (about 30 per cent) will replace 550 high- and middle-rise dwellings. Next to the interventions within the housing stock, the shopping centre will be enlarged as well in order to make the area more attractive for both residents and visitors. Furthermore, the Regional Education Centre is involved. This institute not only wants the number of students to increase but the centre focuses on gaining an important function within the neighbourhood as well; residents will get the opportunity to use all sorts of services supplied by the centre (e.g. computers with internet connection) (Section 7.1). The local government invited five developers to realise a vision in order to restructure the area around the new axis. The developer with the best plan currently coordinates the project, which is almost completely financed by the market parties. The local government is involved by bringing in the land they own in the area. According to the managing director of the development company, who decides about which parties are involved and which not, the involvement of the shopping centre as well as the Regional Education Centre (REC)¹³ is important; residents can see that market parties invest in their neighbourhood. With respect to the new-building task, there is a development combination between both housing associations and the developer; unlike with 'Hoograven's Heart', the housing associations will build in the owner-occupied sector as well, instead of just the developer. Another difference with 'Hoograven's Heart', is the fact that under the plan it is decided that new-building will be realised before other complexes are demolished. In this way, residents who want to stay within the neighbourhood have to move just once. In general: the fact that one party coordinates the project is seen as an advantage. According to both the local government and the housing associations involved, things like the planning process and informing tenants are organised a lot more efficient.

Focus on Amsterdam

Many shops in the Kolenkit area do not survive. This is partly due to the general process that local or neighbourhood shops are 'replaced' by shops in concentrated shopping areas or in shopping centres. It also has partly to do with the little purchasing power of the neighbourhood's residents, which causes shops to choose other locations. Some of the big shops have been vacant for some time, but due to action by the city district shopkeepers now occupy them again. Since many of the shops in the Kolenkit area are more down-market oriented, the city district now focuses on more mid-market retailing. Also, there will be an 'account manager' appointed to the Kolenkit area by 'Bureau Parkstad' to grant support to shopkeepers.

An important project focusing on upgrading shopping centres is a plan just outside the Kolenkit area on the other side of the city-highway: the Bos and Lommerplein. Here, the city district and private developers erect a whole new shopping centre, which also benefits the Kolenkit area residents. On the square around which the shops are located not only retail is planned for, but also a new market, housing, offices and services such as the new city district office and a senior citizens' centre. A small viaduct on the north side of the square and a bridge on the south side of the square connect the new (shopping) centre to the Kolenkit area, making

13 An education centre which offers vocational training as well as education for adults.

sure the centre is accessible by the Kolenkit area residents on foot in two to ten minutes. Besides, the bridge is flanked by offices on both sides of the road in order to reduce the feeling of distinction the bridge might cause.

In the Bijlmer, the upgrading of shopping centres is an important issue. First, within the area there were rather small degenerated shopping concentrations like 'Ganzenhoef'. Since 'Ganzenhoef' was disconnected from street-level traffic, shopkeepers could not profit from passers-by. In the course of time this centre acquired a reputation of being dark and unsafe. The district authority decided in 1987 to demolish it, which finally took place in 1999-2000. A new shopping centre at the 'Ganzenhoef' location has opened in 2003.

Second, in the last couple of years, following the construction of the ArenA soccer-stadium, a shopping strip named the ArenA Boulevard has developed between the train station Amsterdam-Bijlmer and the ArenA, adjacent – though on the other side of the railway and elevated subway tracks – to the 'Amsterdamse Poort' shopping centre. Now the ArenA Boulevard mainly consists of chain stores but also a furniture mall, a mega-cinema, a temporary theatre and a concert hall.

In five years from now the Bijlmer will no longer lie concealed behind the railway embankment. A pedestrian boulevard will extend as far as the existing Amsterdamse Poort shopping centre, which was already upgraded some years ago and now fulfils a regional function as it is the second largest shopping concentration in the Amsterdam agglomeration (the city centre has the largest concentration). An integrated shopping and facilities' centre will come into being whose extremities are beyond the stadium and in the heart of the Bijlmer.

The development of a centre with regional scope is an enormous stimulus for the restructuring project. It is also a strong impulse for social-economic renewal. However, it has taken time and effort to allow the business community in the central area and in the Bijlmer to get used to each other. Business associations have played a positive role here. A profitable collaboration has evolved, which has been particularly fruitful in the area of work opportunity. However, it remains to be seen to what extent this regional shopping area will serve the needs of the residents of the Bijlmer.

4.3 Traffic

Traffic issues do not seem to be on the forefront of the Utrecht renewal plans. In Amsterdam, however, there is more attention for traffic issues – although it is also not one of the most important issues there.

In the Kolenkit area, which is 'squeezed' between the city-highway A-10 on the east, the railroad/elevated subway tracks on the west and a heavy traffic road on the north, traffic is more of an issue. Because of the noise of the highway, new and renovated buildings next to the highway (actually adjacent to the highway) will have special noise-excluding facades; also noise barriers might be installed near the highway or the railroad. Another aim is to improve the connection between the Kolenkit area and adjacent areas by bridges flanked with offices, bike and pedestrian bridges, an improved viaduct and safer bike routes to the nearby train station, north of the area. A few years ago, a new elevated subway line was constructed and one stop is located on the west border of the area. Soon, there will be two instead of one tramline going through and stopping in the Kolenkit area.

Also parking arrangements within the neighbourhood will be changed as more parking spaces will be built – that is ‘hidden’ in the basement of the apartment and business buildings. This has, however, more to do with public space than with traffic as such. In the new plan dead ends will be avoided by connecting existing dead-end streets with one another; they will probably also become one-way streets.

The physical renewal of the Bijlmer will not be limited to the housing stock. The traffic structure will be radically altered. The open, mostly green space, originally 80 per cent of the area, will be redesigned and reduced in extent. Elevated streets for the single use of cars will – literally – be brought down and parking garages demolished, and the separation of functions within traffic will partly be altered by adding bike lanes and pavements to the car roads that have been brought down. This is a major project, but is also criticised for not being implemented in a consistent way or for lacking the right ‘sense of scale’. Next to this, public transportation in the area will also be improved. The railway tracks will not only be renewed but also doubled which ensures a higher train frequency as well as a faster connection to other stations within the city, but also to the city of Utrecht and Amsterdam Airport. Related to this, the Bijlmer will also get a new train station with a light and open architecture, which should (also) lead to a decline in feelings of unsafety.

4.4 Conclusions

Several forms of restructuring exist in the four neighbourhoods: next to demolition and new building projects, the housing stock within the areas is partly renovated as well. Furthermore, in order to increase the share of dwellings in the owner-occupied sector, several social rented dwellings are sold to the present tenants (Aalbers, 2004).

Different forms of organisation can be distinguished. Within Utrecht, since 2001, the ‘Utrechtse Opgave’ (DUO) [Utrecht’s Task: DUO-agreement] was introduced in which the three local housing associations and the local government agreed about the local restructuring task. Among other things, this agreement was introduced in order to document the responsibilities of each partner in the restructuring process more clearly and to organise the process more efficiently. Although the city of Amsterdam does not use the concept of DUO-agreement like Utrecht, decision-making and policy implementation in fact follows a similar procedure.

Furthermore, within Utrecht the rights of residents with respect to participation in the restructuring process, is documented in the DUO-agreement as well. While in the Amsterdam Kolenkit area residents’ participation mainly exists of the opportunity to visit presentations of the plans and give their opinion instead of being involved in decision-making itself, in Utrecht, residents can get professional assistance in order to get organised. This is the case in the Bijlmer as well. Furthermore, the informal network forms a very important medium in order to distribute information in all estates.

Finally, physical restructuring focuses on improving the access to services as well. In the case of Amsterdam, several projects *near* or *within* the research neighbourhoods are expected to have a positive impact on the development of the particular areas. In Utrecht on the other hand, emphasis is more on improving the situation with respect to shopping centres *within* the neighbourhoods.

In order to create a ‘complete city’ (the general aim of the Big Cities Policy), emphasis should be on more than management and restructuring of the housing stock and shopping centres. Improving the situation with respect to work and economy is an important aspect of the Big Cities Policy as well. Employers, employees and the national government diagnosed that a broad availability of people is required to realise the national ambition to create a prominent knowledge-economy. However, many people do not possess the required knowledge and skills. In this framework, policy focuses on both people looking for work and employed people who lack a good base to obtain a lasting position on the labour market and within society; this group should have extra attention when it comes to education. In the national policy, these items are translated in the following objectives:

- reducing long-term unemployment and creating jobs;
- strengthening the economic position of the city;
- improving the connection between education and the labour market (www.minbzk.nl, www.szw.nl, both visited in November, 2003).

These objectives are central in this chapter.

5.1 Reducing unemployment and increasing professional skills

Within the framework of the national policy, reducing the share of registered unemployment to the national means forms an important item within the city of Utrecht. As unemployment is often high among low-educated residents with a non-Dutch background, our research areas are confronted with problems in this field; in contrast to the city average (2 per cent), unemployment figures in Kanaleneiland and Nieuw-Hoograven are 5 and 4 per cent respectively. The same is true in Amsterdam, although it uses a very different definition of unemployment. While the city average is 16.5 percent, New West and the Bijlmer have unemployment figures of 13.2 and 14.0 per cent respectively. Our focus area within New West, the Kolenkit area, has an unemployment rate of 21.7 per cent; within the Bijlmer there are areas with higher unemployment figures such as the ‘Grubbehoeve’ area where it reaches 26 per cent. In many cases the share of low-educated residents surpasses the local average as well (e.g. 53 and 45 per cent for Kanaleneiland and Nieuw-Hoograven respectively compared to 30 per cent for the city as a whole) (Gemeente Utrecht, 2002a). Like three other areas within the city of Utrecht, these neighbourhoods therefore get extra attention under the Big Cities Policy. In Amsterdam on the other hand all city districts participate in the Big Cities Policy. In order

to keep the development with respect to long-term unemployment and unemployment among non-Dutch residents in pace with the local development, several projects have been initiated to increase the professional skills of residents.

Focus on Utrecht

Within Kanaleneiland, the position of the Regional Education Centre (REC) is getting stronger. By organising several public meetings and by talking to several students and key-persons in the neighbourhood, the needs with respect to education have been drawn up. Eventually, the supply of courses is attuned to the demand. As a result, the REC gets a clear position within the neighbourhood. The institute is involved in the neighbourhood in several ways:

- Under the programme ‘Samenwerking Maatschappelijke Partners’ [Cooperation Social Partners] (Section 5.2), a diverse supply of courses has been initiated. The courses are organised in the framework of a project called ‘Community College’, which aims at improving the possibilities for residents to increase their educational level. In order to contribute to the educational process of residents, the supply of courses is attuned to their wishes and needs and is very diverse; from courses which focus on advice about the professional career to learning how to organise things or how to handle computers (Gemeente Utrecht, 2003).
- Under the same programme, the Regional Education Centre is involved in another project called ‘Digitale Trapveldjes’ [Digital Playground]: in order to improve access to the internet and to stimulate residents to use it, the local department of a national bank placed computers at the disposal of the REC. Here, a classroom has been furnished where the neighbourhood population can have access to the internet for a number of hours (interview with social worker; assistant neighbourhood manager for Southwest Utrecht).
- Finally, in Nieuw-Hoograven as well as in Kanaleneiland, a project called ‘Mensen Zoeken Werk’ [People Looking for Work] has been initiated in order to provide people with skills like writing a letter of application, and give them advice about their professional career. The Regional Education Centre was involved in this project as well (e.g. they provided the accommodation). As the subsidy from the local department of social affairs and employment has been stopped, possibilities have to be looked for to embed the project in the regular supply of an organisation.

Focus on Amsterdam

The ‘Kolenkit Actief’ [Kolenkit Active] is a project administered by the social services department aimed at social security benefits recipients. The project is not part of the official renewal plans (although it is mentioned in these plans), but is a pilot project regarding the local implementation of national policies. In the Kolenkit area, all (approximately 500) families that depend on social services are offered an individual trajectory aimed at work or social activation. The project, which started in 1999, aims at integration and is linked up with ‘regular’ policies that already exists such as those targeted at immigrants (e.g. language courses). However, the programme is fundamentally different from many other (older) programmes because it makes use of the relatively intensive (and thus expensive) method of individual approach. For a few this might result in direct access to the labour market, while for others this might mean language courses or work training, while again others will be

'socially activated' as voluntary workers. One can, however, wonder how 'voluntary' this will be since people who don't cooperate with the 'Kolenkit Actief' programme might lose social security benefits. While families who depend on social security benefits *have* to embark on the project, individuals on unemployment benefits *can* do this: people on unemployment benefits are offered the help of a 'sociaal makelaar' [social broker], but they can decide for themselves if they want help to 'find the way back to the labour market'. To accomplish this a working group named 'work and social activation' was founded. People from different organisations such as the social services department, the city district, benefits administration organisations and 'youth work' organisations take place in this working group to discuss solutions but also to share information.

Since 2002, the 'Kolenkit Actief' project is enlarged to cover people on 'WAO'-benefits [WAO = disablement provision act] as well. It concerns approximately 1,670 individuals registered with two different organisations who administrate 'WAO'-benefits (part of these 1,670 individuals are also part of the 500 families who depend on social benefits). This group consists of very different kinds of people: people who are in a terminal stage of life, people who have severe physical limitations and people who have less severe (but still serious) physical limitations. Action will be targeted at this last group. The 'Kolenkit Actief' programme will consult these people individually and look at their possibilities. It is expected that up to 70 per cent of the individuals on WAO-benefits can be 'socially activated' through (part-time) paid work or voluntary work. A complicating factor for both groups within the project is that it has become harder to find or to be matched to a job, because since 2002 the labour market has been shrinking.

In the Kolenkit area there are few other ways than the 'Kolenkit Actief' programmes to 'socially active' residents. Thus, the question is raised, first, if the social services department (which is basically the administer of unemployment and social security benefits) should carry

Table 5.1 – Skills and employment programmes in the Bijlmer

Name of project	Goals	Investment in EUR
Bridge to the labour market	Training of English speaking people in ICT-businesses to promote their integration in the Dutch labour market	160,000
Culture and Education Centre 'Ganzenhoef'	Construction of a building that houses 11 organisations that support empowerment, training for immigrants and the unemployed and labour market access	8,281,000
Empowering Women for Work and Enterprise	Increase labour market possibilities for 120 women through personal support	2,240,000
New Work	'Social activation' by assigning voluntary work to long-term unemployed	256,000
Pre-routes for long-term immigrants	Integration course for immigrants that have already been here for a long time, but lack skills	1,823,000
'Vrouwenvakschool' [Women's Trade and Technical School]	Practical job training and schooling for women	731,000

Source: Stadsdeel Amsterdam Zuidoost, Bureau Sociaal Economische Vernieuwing, 2002

Example: Culture and Education Centre ‘Ganzenhoef’

‘Nobody leaves the house without a job’ – that is the motto of the Culture and Education Centre ‘Ganzenhoef’, which has just been opened in 2003. It is constructed on the premises of two former parking garages and offers 9,000 square metres of space to a variety of organisations that all aim at employment, job training and social life in the neighbourhood. Because many organisations that work on these issues do not communicate well, the result is often fragmentation and lack of support for who needs it most. This is exactly what the centre wants to combat, not just by bringing the organisations close to another in a physical sense, but also by coordinating the activities. This is most visible in the ‘front office policy’: people who enter the building or in another way communicate their need for support, are taken care of by the front office that then refers people to the appropriate organisation. There are also plans for more cooperation within and between the plans and projects of the various organisations. Projects which will soon be implemented, for instance, focus on: (1) flexible language courses for people who work in shifts or who make irregular working hours; (2) on so-called ‘risicjongeren’ [young people at-risk] who will be supported by a pre-training in order to be able to participate in trade and technical schools, and (3) on cooperation with the large nearby hospitals to match demands for jobs in health care better with the supply of workers.

out this task or a separate organisation, and, second, if the social services department should be the only organisation carrying out socio-economic policies.

In the Bijlmer, in contrast, various programmes that focus on decreasing unemployment and increasing professional skills have been developed through the years. However, with the succession of the 1992 renewal plan, the URBAN-funds and the Big Cities Policy-funds, these policies have gained in importance. Between 1994 and 2002 many projects have been implemented (Table 5.1); in the frame we will focus on the largest and most expensive of these projects: Culture and Education Centre ‘Ganzehoef’.

5.2 Stimulating starting businesses and creating jobs

In order to raise the number of jobs, the cities of Amsterdam and Utrecht currently spend a lot of money on creating (subsidised) jobs; these jobs give people the opportunity to make a (re)start on the labour-market, or to go upmarket from a subsidised job to paid work (www.minbzk.nl, visited in November, 2003; see also the StIDA example in Section 9.1).

Focus on Utrecht

During the 1990s, in Kanaleneiland emphasis was on programmes, which focussed especially on the physical situation. By the end of the last century however, as working in an integral way was introduced, attuning physical and social interventions got more attention. Among other things, this resulted in the development of a programme called ‘Samenwerking Maatschappelijke Partners’ [Cooperation Social Partners] (interview with social worker; employee of local health department). This programme focuses on creating jobs by attuning the work of several

institutions and realising an effective cooperation. Characteristic for this programme is the fact that it has been initiated and financed by the institutions involved, instead of just the local government; there is cooperation between the Regional Education Centre, the Local Welfare Institution, a temporary employment agency, the local department of a national bank and an ethnic organisation. The first two mentioned, for example, prepare people for the labour market so that the employment agency can then help them with a job.

Next to the general programme, several projects have been initiated in order to help people to find a job. An example: 'Goed Gekleurd' [Well Coloured]: this project has been initiated by an ethnic organisation and aims at preparing ethnic residents for a job in health care; 25 by the end of 2004. The local department for social development coordinates this project and it has been financed by the cooperating partners (home care, local government, multi-cultural institute, Regional Education Centre and the Welfare Organisation). Although the project had a good start and seven people already have a job in health care, unfavourable developments within the Dutch economy, seem to affect the situation negatively. Like in Amsterdam, the numbers of candidates for a vacancy have increased so that the target group has got more competitors (interview with representative of the local department for social development). The project started as a pilot in Kanaleneiland. As participants seem to be enthusiastic about the method however, it has been adopted by other areas.

Next to the activities mentioned, the Regional Education Centre developed a diverse supply of courses under the Cooperation Social Partners as well. In this way, residents of Southwest Utrecht are given the opportunity to improve their educational level (Section 5.1).

For Nieuw-Hoograven, another programme can be mentioned. In order to strengthen the neighbourhood economy, a programme called 'Wijk in Bedrijf' [Neighbourhood in Business] has been initiated. Due to the delay in the Hoograven's Heart Restructuring Project (discussed in Section 4.2), many entrepreneurs became frustrated and their will to invest time and energy in the neighbourhood faded. Among other things, the programme therefore focuses on the assistance of new and existing businesses within the neighbourhood and on strengthening the level of organisation among entrepreneurs. Furthermore, the local department of economic affairs, which initiated the programme, wants to realise better cooperation and communication between entrepreneurs, developers and the local government about the state of affairs with respect to specific projects (e.g. restructuring 't Goylaan). This however seems difficult: the large number of parties and the fact that many appointments are informal, makes it complicated to point out a partners' responsibility. Finally, ethnic entrepreneurship is stimulated under the programme as well. The project manager is Moroccan and the information brochure is published in different languages (interview with representative of the local department of economic affairs).

Under the programme, the local department of economic affairs cooperates with the Chamber of Trade and the neighbourhood centre. They coordinate the programme and inform the entrepreneurs. The project depends on several flows of subsidy; next to ISV-money (the Big Cities Policy related budget), subsidies from the European Union are sometimes available as well (Wijkmanagementoverleg Zuid, 2003; interview with assistant neighbourhood manager for Southwest Utrecht; social worker).

Within Nieuw-Hoograven the coordinators of the programme are looking for possibilities to realise a so-called 'bedrijfsverzamelgebouw' [business-concentration-building], where entrepreneurs can start up their business (no shops). However, residents sometimes seem

to have too much influence in this process. For example, a business-concentration-building has not been realised yet in Nieuw-Hoograven because residents were against the plans; they were afraid that it should result in increasing inconvenience caused by traffic. This can be connected to the fact that residents do not always seem to be aware of the importance of a strong neighbourhood economy. Therefore, it is important to convince residents of the fact that business activity can generate positive effects for the situation in a neighbourhood (e.g. with respect to safety). As the neighbourhood centre focuses on increasing this awareness, the situation seems to change currently, slow but certain (interview with representative of the local department of economic affairs; representative of local government).

The programme has started in Nieuw-Hoograven as a pilot, but has been taken over by other neighbourhoods, including Kanaleneiland. Although the programme has just started there, the need exists for a business-concentration-building as well. According to a representative of the local department for social development, this will be realised under the plan Kanaleneiland's Axis (Section 4.3) (interview with assistant neighbourhood manager for Southwest Utrecht; chairman of the tenants' organisation; social worker).

Focus on Amsterdam

In the Kolenkit area, account managers have been appointed for both shopkeepers and other businesses in the area. These managers can be approached for all kinds of problems, but their most important task is to match the demand and supply of business space in the area. There are also plans to support new businesses by a 'start-up centre'. Currently, the city district is thinking about ways to promote a business location in the Kolenkit area. Good accessibility by car (but also bike and public transportation) is promoted as a competitive advantage of the area. Especially, the main east-west road is seen as a good possible business location. Also, some spots next to the highway and the railroad/elevated subway are considered good business locations.

Furthermore, 'Broedplaatsen voor ambachtelijk werkende ondernemers en kunstenaars' [Breeding places for specialists in handmade products and artists] will be created in a former high school. This should improve the image of the neighbourhood. Next to that a 'multi-user business accommodation' is planned that should be able to house several (often office-like) businesses in one building, probably close to the city highway.

Finally, the housing renewal programme (Chapter 4) will also contain a number of 'woonwerk-woningen' [living-working-units] where people can work from home. This will not be made possible by 'forcing' people to use these dwellings also as a workspace, but by offering flexible spaces where the ground floor has a ceiling of at least 3.5 metres high. In more concrete terms, the Kolenkit area renewal plan aims at adding 3,000 square metres of offices, restaurants/bars/catering and social-cultural services in a small tower close to the subway station; 1,500 square metres of retail space on the north side of the main street to compensate the loss of retail space due to demolition plans; 3,000 square metres of 'public focused amenities' on the south side of the main street to compensate the loss of space elsewhere in the area due to demolition plans; 750 square metres of small-scale business space in the south of the Kolenkit area; 10,000 square metres of small-scale business space and 'public focused amenities' in the north of the Kolenkit area surrounding a new square close to the highway; 3,600 square metres for 'Broedplaatsen' in the former high school (Kolenkit area-north); and finally, 9,000 square

Table 5.2 – Business support projects in the Bijlmer

Name of project	Goals	Investment in EUR
ArenA initiative	Discussion forum and ideas generator for business and district; it aims at taking action on the mismatch on the local labour market. This had led, among other projects, to the ArenA Academy and Global Jobs.	815,000
Multi-user business accommodation 'Gooi and Daal'	Construction of the building for several (small-scale) businesses with a relatively low start-up rent	4,864,000
Business area 'Daalwijkdreef'	3,000 m ² of business space in parking garages	3,968,000
Business area 'Kromwijkdreef'	Infrastructure	420,000
IMK II: a company of your own in Southeast	Project for business start-up's	430,000
Research Infotek	Survey on the possibilities of getting subsidies to promote and retain employment in the region	6,000

Source: Stadsdeel Amsterdam Zuidoost, Bureau Sociaal Economische Vernieuwing, 2002

metres of small-scale business spaces in the former high school (to be realised after 2010 when the 'asylum seeker centre and accommodation' is closed down/relocated).

Again the Bijlmer – due to its relatively large size and due to the fact that renewal plans started earlier than in the other three Dutch estates – offers many different programmes that stimulate starting businesses and aim at creating jobs (Table 5.2). Next to this, just like the Kolenkit area, the Bijlmer also has a policy to develop 'Broedplaatsen' [Breeding places for specialists in handmade products as well as small shopkeepers]. More projects are mentioned in Chapter 9 where the 'Bottom-up Fund' is discussed.

5.3 Conclusions

In this chapter, both national and local policies with respect to employment and economy have been discussed. Emphasis was on the situation within the research areas in Amsterdam and Utrecht; as unemployment is often high among low-educated residents with a non-Dutch background, these areas are confronted with problems in this field. Within this framework and connected to the national policy, both cities focus on (1) reducing the share of registered unemployment and (2) increasing the local development of the number of jobs. In order to realise these objectives several programmes have been initiated. The main aim of these programmes is strengthening the position of the neighbourhood residents on both the labour market and within society as a whole (e.g. increasing the educational level or professional skills; improving access to and use of the internet).

In this respect, Utrecht is characterised by the increasing role of the Regional Education Centre, which is among other areas located in both the Kanaleneiland neighbourhood and Nieuw-Hoograven; apart from offering accommodation to several institutions, the institute organises courses as well. Although in another context, such courses are also organised in the Bijlmer and the Kolenkit area. Typical for the Kolenkit area, is the fact that participation in

one of the projects focussing on integration, is not voluntarily; residents who depend on social security benefits *have* to cooperate in order to keep social security benefits.

A striking project in the Bijlmer is the 'Culture and Education Centre' that not only aims at bringing supply and demand of labour together (as do various other projects in the estates), but also to bring the intermediaries on this market together by concentrating these organisations in one building and coordinating the activities by one front office.

With respect to the neighbourhood economy, both cities focus on stimulating starting businesses; although residents sometimes have another thought and try to stop the developments, matching demand and supply of business space in the areas is an important aim within this framework. Next to business-concentration-buildings, which are part of several projects within both cities, especially in Amsterdam attention is given to the accommodation of artists. Within Utrecht, on the other hand improving the level of organisation among entrepreneurs is an important item. In this way it is tried to stop them from leaving the neighbourhood. Under the same programme residents are given the opportunity to start their own business within the neighbourhood.

6 Safety

As discussed in Chapter 2 a recent change in the Big Cities Policy is the introduction of a fourth pillar: safety. However, the concern over safety is not completely new. Although most existing policies are not yet classified under the fourth 'safety' pillar, there are many issues connected to safety, especially with the management (and restructuring) of public space – and in some estates equally important semi-public space such as, flat entrances, staircases, elevators and galleries – which will be discussed in Section 6.1. In Section 6.2 we will discuss additional safety measures. In the case of the Kolenkit area estate this will be about the recent city district-wide 'Safety Policy Plan'. For Utrecht, the 'Integrated Safety Plan' and 'Neighbourhood Safety Programmes' will be central. In Chapter 8 a special safety issue is discussed, which is especially related to the Bijlmer: that of the nuisance of homeless people and drug users in that area; it is discussed under the heading of 'health' since policies *for* these groups (health for them) and *against* these groups (safety for others) are often connected.

6.1 Safety and public space

In many cases the projects aiming to increasing safety are connected to, or even accomplished by, improving the living environment. Although a city is responsible for the way this objective is taken care of and finances some projects themselves, in some cases national money is used to subsidise projects.

6.1.1 Main aims

The national aims of the Big Cities Policy regarding public space have been translated for the city of Utrecht within the following objectives (Gemeente Utrecht, 2002b):

- residents' satisfaction with the supply of green within their neighbourhood should be increased;
- residents' satisfaction with the cleanness of their neighbourhood should be increased;
- residents' satisfaction with their living environment should be increased.

The city of Amsterdam has applied similar objectives. Next to these local objectives, every neighbourhood has its own spearheads with respect to public space. All four research areas focus on public space, which should be clean, complete, safe and functional.

6.1.2 Activities and organisation

Part of the problem in both Amsterdam and Utrecht, is that maintenance costs for (semi-) public spaces are high as a result of the nature of the physical environment with many semi-public spaces and a high share of green open space. The costs are further increased by the low levels of attachment and low resident responsibility to these places and by high levels of garbage dumping, graffiti and vandalism. Among other things, this is connected to the unclear division between public en private places.

Within this framework, management seems to be a weak link in the renewal operation in both cities. Several efforts have been made for example to make one party responsible for the management of the public space. These attempts have never succeeded however, as none of the parties (housing associations as well as the local departments involved) want to give up their influence (interview with assistant manager of neighbourhood centre). Therefore, a stricter strategy was developed under the slogan of 'Schoon, Heel en Veilig' [Clean, Functioning and Safe]. On top of the regular management costs, money was set aside to achieve the sort of quality in the management field, which is absolutely necessary: combating nuisance in the as yet unrenovated areas, guaranteeing quality of life around the big building sites, and above all, developing efficient management in the renovated areas. Furthermore, in order to realise a public space, which is clean, complete, functional and safe, in the course of time the local governments in Amsterdam and Utrecht have introduced various plans.

Focus on Utrecht

In Utrecht, the so-called 'Wijkbuitenruimteplan' [Plan for the neighbourhood's public space] started as a pilot project in Southwest Utrecht (including the Kanaleneiland neighbourhood) and has the following objectives:

- attuning within the local department of city management (management in an integral way);
- involving other local services with public space;
- reaching attuning with other managers of public space (especially with the housing associations).

The plan has four important characteristics:

- all disciplines work together;
- the plan is carried out in collaboration with the residents;
- cooperation between the local government and the housing associations;
- connection between the activities of different local services.

In a four-year period (2001-2004), an integral management plan has to be realised in order to attune the work of several disciplines of the city management department, several local services and other managers of public space like housing associations. Therefore, the 'Wijkbuitenruimteplan' forms a framework for the local department for city management and the local department for social development, when it comes to spending money for the upkeep of public space. The local government with ISV-money (the Big Cities Policy related budgets) and the involved housing associations finance the programme. Subsidies from the European Union are available sometimes as well (www.utrecht.nl, visited in November, 2003).

As increasing the involvement of the neighbourhood population is a crucial item within the 'Wijkbuitenruimteplan', residents have an important role within many activities and projects; they are seen as experts as well as the party concerned. In practice this means that

residents have had a share in the development of a neighbourhood vision in which the quality and maintenance of the public space have been analysed. By structured surveys among the whole neighbourhood population, interviews with people in the streets and conversations with residents' associations, the opinion of this group has been detected and used for new projects. This vision formed the basis of the programme (interview with social worker; assistant manager of the neighbourhood centre; Wijkmanagementoverleg Zuid; Wijkmanagementoverleg Zuidwest, 2003).

The 'Wijkbuitenruimteplan' started as a pilot-project in Southwest Utrecht (including the Kanaleneiland neighbourhood). The first three years (2001-2003) the area received EUR 550,000. This money was meant for the execution of ten projects, which all focus on keeping clean the public space. Due to positive reactions and the local aim of attuning the upkeep of public space citywide, the programme has been copied to other areas, Nieuw-Hoograven included (interview with social worker; assistant manager of the neighbourhood centre; Wijkmanagementoverleg Zuid; Wijkmanagement Zuidwest, 2003).

Not everything works out the way it is expected however; although many projects aim at increasing the involvement of residents with their living environment, this seems hard to establish sometimes. Apart from the effort of several groups and individuals, many residents do not show much interest in the neighbourhood; 'They do not look further than their doorstep'. Sometimes, the same unfavourable situation occurs after a project has been finished (see frame below).

Next to this 'Wijkbuitenruimteplan', other projects or programmes focus on public space as well. For example, like in Nieuw-Hoograven, 'Buurt aan Zet' [Neighbourhood's Turn]¹⁴ (further discussed in Chapter 9) is an important programme to improve the situation within Kanaleneiland with respect to public space. Within this programme several projects have been initiated: measures to slow down traffic, improving places to play and stay for young children and young people, the embellishment of semi-public gardens. Also cameras have been placed in and around shopping centre Kanaleneiland. Different departments of the local government are responsible for the projects mentioned (neighbourhood department and the city management

Different outcome than expected

In a project in the Kanaleneiland neighbourhood, which aimed at improving the quality of gardens, residents were motivated to spend (more) time on gardening. Within this framework, a market was organised where residents could collect gardening materials for free. This market was well visited and different parties shared the opinion that the project has been successful. However, other feelings exist as well. Although the market seemed to be a success, most gardens have not improved a lot. According to several employees of housing associations, several residents sold the material instead of using it themselves. Furthermore, in retrospect the ambition of gardening does not seem to exist among many of the ethnic residents. The project has not been repeated the year after.

14 Under the Big Cities Policy, Nieuw-Hoograven as well as Kanaleneiland receive money to improve the habitability, safety and social cohesion within the neighbourhood on the basis of neighbourhood based initiatives. If possible, the neighbourhood population will carry out these initiatives themselves.

The ‘Wijkbuitenruimteplan’ [Plan for the neighbourhood’s public space] in practice

- One of the projects in the framework of the ‘Wijkbuitenruimteplan’ focuses on the public spaces surrounding primary schools in Kanaleneiland. Twelve primary schools within the neighbourhood, have made agreements with respect to the upkeep of the environment; schools that participate in the project and prevent pollution receive a bonus (e.g. in the form of an excursion).
- Furthermore, on several places within the Kanaleneiland neighbourhood greenery has been transformed; in order to ease the upkeep, groves are replaced by grass on several places. Elsewhere, the greenery is embellished to prevent a decrease in quality and to increase feelings of safety in other places.

‘Buurt aan Zet’ [Neighbourhoods’ Turn] in practice

- In the programme ‘Buurt aan Zet’, the housing association and the neighbourhood centre together initiated the embellishment of several semi-public gardens in the Kanaleneiland neighbourhood. Lighting has been improved, the lay-out has been changed, the rubbish has been taken care of and several gardens have been closed off for strangers. Social work was involved as well, in order to involve the residents in the project (interview with employees of several housing associations; social worker).
- Embellishment of the public park in the Kanaleneiland neighbourhood is also part of the programme. The park should be cleaned and renewed in order to improve safety and to be able to cluster several public services (e.g. a pavilion, an educational garden, a recreation ground, the city’s children’s farm, the schools’ working gardens, a skating square and childcare). A large meadow is made appropriate for events as well. The city management department is the responsible local department. In order to increase the involvement of residents with their living environment, social work is involved too (interview with assistant manager of neighbourhood centre; www.utrecht.nl, visited in November, 2003).

department), in which cooperation with the residents is an important instrument; like with the ‘Wijkbuitenruimteplan’, the involvement of residents is a crucial item of the ‘Buurt aan Zet’ programme.

Furthermore, in order to manage the upkeep of the environment in the period preceding restructuring interventions, residents, entrepreneurs, the police, the housing association and the local sanitary department cooperate in so-called ‘management groups’. By appointing a neighbourhood caretaker and communication with several parties (like the local sanitary department or the police), things like vandalism and pollution can be approached more accurately (interview with process manager of DUO-agreement; several employees of housing associations; alderman Social Affairs; local representative of Economic Affairs).

Example: 'Achilles heel' management¹⁵

Not renovated areas get permanent extra efforts by supervision and security, cameras and guards; by continuous maintenance and cleaning; by preventive measures against the spreading-out of the drugs scene. The aim in the areas under renovation is to guarantee security and the quality of life. Thus there is an interim management plan per renovation project to ensure safe and usable routes through building sites and the temporary accessibility of blocks of flats. But there is also extra attention for cleaning. In the 'new' or completed areas, the aim is to keep quality up to standards by a reorganisation of rubbish collection, the participation of residents and by welfare policies.

In the newly-built neighbourhoods new residents' associations are developing because of residents' initiatives, often initiated by the owners of owner-occupied dwellings. Critical as they are, they reprimand the district council and patrimonium for the weak links in management, both physical and social management. They will not accept litter or failing rubbish collection systems. They want facilities for the large numbers of young people. They want measures to prevent drug addicts and dealers swarming into the new Bijlmer areas.

Focus on Amsterdam

In the Bijlmer many plans for the management of public space have been implemented in the course of time (Aalbers et al., 2003). In recent years management on a number of counts has been improved. From their bases in district safety offices, police, wardens and other surveillance keepers combine forces to increase safety in the neighbourhood (see also the StIDA example in Section 9.1). The extra surveillance has improved safety in several blocks of flats; while 'rubbish campaigns' make for quicker and more thorough rubbish collection in public areas.

In the last years, a new approach has been implemented that consists of extra intensive management during the (physical) renewal period and efficient management when the renewal is completed. Keywords are 'do more', 'organise (better)' and 'involve residents more'. More concrete, this involves the following activities:

- more cleaners in public areas and extra cleaning operations in apartment blocks;
- extra anti-pollution squads to fine offenders;
- temporary closing-off of boxrooms, lobbies, culs-de-sac etcetera in flats to be renovated;
- more service and repairs outside office hours;
- wardens in apartment blocks and public areas;
- neighbourhood safety offices in the neighbourhood;
- cameras in interior corridors of apartment blocks;
- expansion from one to three reception centres for drug addicts;
- provision of night shelter for drug addicts.

Nowadays, maintenance of public space in the Bijlmer is better taken care of, e.g. in some areas garbage is collected even on Sundays. It is important to note that the 'renewed' areas show less problems concerning the involvement with semi-public spaces (apparently because they show a stronger border between public and private places) than the non-renovated high-rise estates.

15 Based on a PowerPoint presentation by Leferink (director of the Bijlmer Renewal Agency).

6.2 Additional safety measures

Besides the safety measures that are connected to the management of public space, there are also other projects that aim to stimulate safety. For example, the local police departments in many Dutch cities work with a 'Buurtregisseur' [Neighbourhood Director¹⁶] that knows many people in the neighbourhood and is able to fulfil an intermediary position. The Neighbourhood Director is supposed to be more than 'just' a police man – (s)he is also to some degree a social worker, a psychiatrist, a youth worker and a local doctor. Thus, the Neighbourhood Director is not only an important person in promoting safety, but in social issues in general. The Neighbourhood Director can be seen as a mediator or communicator. (S)he is the one that will contact other organisations in case they need to take action (e.g. personal problems of people or dirt on the streets) or refer people to the right organisations that can help them.

Another example is the 'Buurtvaders' [Neighbourhood Fathers] project which started in Amsterdam New West and has now been copied in other neighbourhoods and cities, including Utrecht. Also the 'Justitie in de Buurt' [Court of Justice in the Neighbourhood] project can be mentioned, which has branches in New West (including the Kolenkit area), the Bijlmer

'Buurtvaders' [Neighbourhood Fathers]

In New West the 'Buurtvaders' programme was developed particularly in areas in which male Moroccan young people caused a lot of nuisance and trouble. Fourteen Moroccan fathers started in the spring of 1999 with making daily rounds through the neighbourhood. As they follow a time schedule, there are always some of them present. They approach the boys in a personal way. Initially, many young people called them names, such as 'betrayers'. Gradually however, not only the young people, but also other parents came to accept the 'Buurtvaders'. The project not only makes neighbourhoods safer, it also promotes social cohesion within groups, between groups and between generations. While many indigenous Dutch people were very sceptical in the beginning, they also came to appreciate this initiative.

According to De Jong (2000) an eye-striking feature of the project is that the project makes positive use of the 'Northern Moroccan village culture' in which the responsibility for young people is not so much individualised as in Dutch (urban) culture, but shared with other adults. De Jong speaks of 'informal external social control'. This does however not mean that all young people that hang around in the neighbourhood accept the 'Buurtvaders'. As one 14-year old Moroccan kid says: *'They talk too much. This way everyone knows about everything. They gossip, you know. That is not right. No, I don't listen to them. I don't like them'* (De Jong, 2000, p. 482). Nevertheless, the programme works so well that it has not only been copied within Amsterdam, but also in other Dutch cities including Utrecht. In the Kolenkit area the programme has been implemented under the name 'Buurtouders' [Neighbourhood Parents]. Organisations in other countries have also shown their interest.

16 Meant here is 'director' in the sense of 'film director'.

'Justitie in de Buurt' [Court of Justice in the Neighbourhood]

Ever since 1997, the project Justitie in de Buurt (JIB) has been opening offices in various Dutch cities. There are currently almost 30 of these offices, of which six are located in Amsterdam (including both our estates) and one in Utrecht (Kanaleneiland). The aim is to contribute to the overall safety and feelings of security in certain communities with serious problems in this field. The Ministry of Justice hopes that the JIB project will encourage organisations to work together in finding ways of tackling these community-related problems more swiftly than has been the case in the past.

In a JIB office, the Public Prosecution staff (a Public Prosecutor or a secretary from the Public Prosecutor's office) works together with the staff from other (Justice) organisations to tackle problems such as juvenile crime. The physical presence of these officers in the community means that they are more easily accessible not only to other organisations, but also to individual citizens. The short lines of communication mean that they have better insight into the problems arising in the community and that they can respond swiftly and effectively. In order to avoid lengthy procedures, criminal cases are settled out of court, wherever possible.

A first evaluation carried out by the Centre for Research and Documentation on the Ministry of Justice in 1999, showed that one of the most concrete results achieved by the JIBs is the speed with which cases are being processed. In 2001/2002 a second evaluation was carried out. It showed that particularly close partners (police, municipal authorities etc.) were satisfied with the JIBs achievements because the integrated approach not only warrants more direct and faster response, but also a response which is considered more in line with requirements of the specific situation ('precision work'). According to the centre's researchers the 'real' strength lies in the implementation, because the JIB gives a special impetus to the working cooperation in concrete cases or problems, resulting in effective action on the part of government organisations. However, they criticise the project for not being sufficiently embedded within the organisations: the manner of working could be more professional by laying down working methods and procedures, by clear objectives and by regulating capacity and continuity.

and Kanaleneiland but also in many other areas around the country. Both projects are further discussed in the frames.

Focus on Utrecht

Increasing safety (factual as well as experienced) forms an important spearhead within the city of Utrecht. The policy is connected to the 'Integraal Veiligheids Plan' [Integrated Safety Plan] of the local government and contains four themes of which three are worth mentioning here:

- 'Veilig wonen' [Live safely]: this theme consists of projects that focus on reducing the number of housebreakings, squatters in cars, vandalism, inconvenience caused by young people, inconvenience caused by drug use, violence. To reach these goals, there is cooperation between the local neighbourhood department and several housing associations.

- ‘Veilig opgroeien’ [Grow up safely]: this theme aims at reducing juvenile delinquencies, increasing the involvement of parents and increasing safety at primary schools. A specific programme, which is connected to this theme is ‘Jeugd en Veiligheid’ [Young people and Safety]. This programme is connected to the local policy, which aims at young people who ended up or are in danger of ending up in criminality. Prevention, repression as well as guardianship are central. The young people should be learnt or stimulated to spend their free time in a useful way. Strict cooperation is needed between all authorisations that are involved with this group. The project is coordinated by the local neighbourhood department and the local department for social development. The city receives EUR 1.9 million on a one-year base from the national government (the Big Cities Policy). Furthermore, the programme has connections with other local policies.
- ‘Veilig ondernemen’ [Conduct business safely]: this theme aims to create safer shopping centres. One specific project called ‘Samen Veilig Ondernemen’ [Conduct Businesses Together Safely] aims at reducing criminal activities with respect to shops; within five years, these incidents should be reduced with 50 per cent. Furthermore, both the shopping and entrepreneurial climate as well as the social safety should be improved. Among other things, the restructuring of shopping centre ‘t Goylaan’ in Nieuw-Hoograven is part of this theme; cooperation with the entrepreneurs is an important item here. The programme is financed by the local programme Samen Veilig Ondernemen, which receives a budget related to the Big Cities Policy.

In four neighbourhoods, including Nieuw-Hoograven and Kanaleneiland activities connected to the Young people and Safety Programme are integrated in the so-called ‘Wijkveiligheids-programma’ [Neighbourhood Safety Programme]. These programmes are updated annually and form a supplement to the regular services. They consist of projects that have to be executed in order to improve the situation in a neighbourhood. On a neighbourhood level, there is discussion between the police department, justice, primary as well as secondary schools, housing associations, social welfare organisations and juvenile rehabilitation. The neighbourhood centres, the ‘Raad voor Kinderbescherming’ [Council for Children’s Protection] and the ‘Openbaar Ministerie’ [District Authority] are involved with the implementation as well. On the basis of figures about crime and safety an inventory of the situation is drawn up. This is presented to the residents and finally a list of projects is realised. Several projects, which have been implemented in the research neighbourhoods on the basis of these programmes, can be mentioned:

- ‘Jongeren op Straat’, (JOS) [Young people in the Street]: several youth gangs that cause inconvenience are registered, located and the members are coached. This project involves other projects as well (e.g. The Bus; a mobile accommodation where young people can meet);
- individual coaching of children and young people;
- supporting parents in raising their children;
- ‘Jongerenteams’ [Youngster Teams]: this project focuses on prevention; in both neighbourhoods young people at the age of 14 until 20 years old, who have ended up or are in danger to end up in criminality, are central. They are coached in order to change their (criminal) behaviour. While in Nieuw-Hoograven, the police is an important party in this project, in Kanaleneiland the local department for social development is responsible;

- ‘Doe effe normaal’ [Behave normally for a moment]: this project aims to improve the contact among children in the age from 10 until 12 years old and to restore certain norms in order to prevent these young people from ending up in criminality. The local police department finances it.

Next to the regular programmes and policy with respect to safety, recently another programme has been introduced: ‘Utrecht Veilig! Dat doen we samen’ [Utrecht Safe! We will do it together]. This is a pilot project of the local government, which focuses on both Kanaleneiland and Nieuw-Hoograven. Within these two neighbourhoods the ‘Neighbourhood Safety Plans’ are supplemented with activities that are financed by the local department for social development. The aim of the project is to diminish figures of crime and to improve feelings of safety within both areas. In order to do so, the local government, police and justice cooperate. Increasing the involvement of residents is important as well; they get the opportunity to bring in some ideas about how to improve the situation and come with ideas for new projects. Next to improving existing projects in this field, in both areas the programme focuses on:

- young people: the number of individually working youth workers is increased; more attention for sport; stricter approach of juvenile delinquents; approach of multi-problem families;
- cleanliness and maintaining cleanliness: a subsidised group of residents that once started as volunteers cleans the neighbourhood. By informing residents, they have tried to increase involvement. Ethnic organisations have an important share in involving residents. Within this framework, they receive money from the local department for social development and from the local safety budget. Since networks between several groups are not that strong, social work puts effort in this as well;
- safe shopping centres: this refers to the situation around the shopping centres Rijnbaan in Kanaleneiland and ‘t Goylaan in Nieuw-Hoograven;
- supporting parents with raising their children.

Although the local government is enthusiastic about the programme, according to several key-actors the results are somewhat double-hearted. A representative of the local government, who is involved with Nieuw-Hoograven both in her private life and professionally, stated for example that on the one hand, the situation in Nieuw-Hoograven has been improved. On the other hand however, the problem seems to have been moved to adjacent neighbourhoods.

A more general remark about the programme, made by the same representative and several other key-actors was related to the fact that several organisations and projects under a different name (among others ‘Utrecht Safe’) aim at the same target group. Instead of realising a clear review, the situation gets rather ‘cut up’.

Focus on Amsterdam

In the Kolenkit area, next to the ‘Buurtvaders project’ (see frame in section 6.2), the following additional activities are implemented or planned for:

- project ‘Kunst in de Tunnel’ [Art in the Tunnel];
- Fix-up greenery programme;
- new (palm) trees in the neighbourhood;
- Support Bureau Intercultural Work;

- enlarging safety by enlarging cohesion and involvement;
- ‘Participatiemedeweker’ [Participation collaborator] (see also Chapter 4) who also performs a role as the ‘eyes and ears’ of the neighbourhood and who can, with the use of his formal and informal network, improve safety and take action or invoke action.

Besides these initiatives, the Bos and Lommer city district presented a safety plan in 2002. This plan is the result of a consultation with other involved actors, in particular the local police department, but also the Public Prosecutor’s Office which administers the project ‘Justitie in de Buurt’ (see the example) and focuses on seven core issues:

- 1 young people and safety;
- 2 preservation (including fireproof);
- 3 ‘Joint and Safe Entrepreneurship’ project;
- 4 safety in public space;
- 5 social cohesion;
- 6 taking action on unsafe places;
- 7 taking action on domestic violence.

This clearly shows that safety is not just concerned with the situation in public space and the risk of burglaries and the like (points 1, 3, 4 and 6), but also with buildings in case of fire (not just the materials, but also whether people can easily vacate a building or not) (point 2), the relation between social cohesion and safety (point 5) and safety at home within the family (point 7). The police department gives priority to the first four points.

In other neighbourhoods of (New) West in Amsterdam programmes focused on young people and safety such as ‘Beware Watch Out’ (Osdorp neighbourhood), ‘Street Corner Work’ (several neighbourhoods), ‘Mobiël Jongerenteam’ [Mobile Young People Team] (several neighbourhoods) and a high school youth and safety project (‘De Baarsjes’ neighbourhood) have been implemented.

6.3 Conclusions

With the advancement of the Big Cities Policy, the issue of safety has become more and more important. It has gained momentum in national and local policy discourses, but it has also been pointed out by local residents and local actors involved in renewal plans as a subject that received too little attention. Hence, in the last years more and more projects have been implemented in order to increase (feelings of) safety. An important way to do this is by improving (the management of) the living environment. Both in Amsterdam and Utrecht, management of the public space seems to be the weak link in the renewal operation. Increasing the involvement of residents is an important aspect in order to improve this. In both cities, so-called management groups have been established to keep an area liveable (both before, during and after restructuring interventions). Residents’ associations, departments of the local government and institutions like the police and housing associations are involved in these groups.

Next to these measures that aim at increasing feelings of safety in (semi-) public space, action is also taken to fight youth crime. In addition to projects such as the ‘Court of Justice

in the Neighbourhood', youth crime is also challenged by providing young people more 'perspective' through 'socialisation' projects such as 'New Perspectives' (see Section 7.2). This project focuses among others on education and job training.

The existence of a large number of projects focusing on public space as well as on youth crime, sometimes makes it hard to create a clear overview of who is doing what. For example, young people get a lot of attention from different institutions; in some cases it seems like different projects have the same objective and focus on the same target group, but use different names. Also, and probably connected to the previous remark, measuring the effects of these projects is often difficult. As a result, it may seem that certain goals are not reached and in some cases subsidies have been stopped for that reason. This can cause frustration among the people involved, because they often have the feeling their projects *do* work. They just need time. After a project has been stopped, in many cases almost the same project appears again, but then under a different name. Now it seems as if the local government is just trying several things out in order to fulfil their obligations and it can be questioned whether this is effective.

7 Education

Large housing estates not only house adults. Children form an important part of the population as well. Therefore, schools and other (related) services are essential for the neighbourhood. Likewise, policy also focuses on education. Within the research areas, policy with respect to education is largely dependent on national policy.

7.1 Raising the educational level of young people

In order to reduce the educational arrears of several groups of pupils the national government developed the 'onderwijsachterstandenbeleid' [educational-arrears-policy]. This policy focuses on schools where the group of pupils consists largely of children whose parents have a low education (both Dutch and non-Dutch) as well as on all pupils in special (both elementary and secondary) education (the so-called 1.25 and 1.9 pupils). The aim of the policy is to create a situation in which more pupils finish their education in order to improve their chance to find a suitable job or place within society; the connection between education and labour market should be improved (www.minocw.nl, visited in October, 2003).

Cities where the number of schools with 1.25 and 1.9 pupils is large, receive a subsidy from the national government. Then, local governments divide this budget themselves among schools with a high share of such target-group pupils. As all four research neighbourhoods house a lot of these children, they are central in the local educational policies.

On the local level, the school boards and the local advice council develop the policy. Several businesses and welfare institutions play an important part as well, because it is an integrative policy; ambitions are attuned and budgets are combined in order to improve the quality, efficiency and transparency of education. Furthermore, the policy needs to be coordinated with things like youth policy, youth health policy, youth care, adult education, and social work focussing on schools.

Compared to the previous period (1998-2002) some changes can be noticed. First of all more attention is paid to Dutch pupils; their performances have decreased in the past years, in contrast with the performances of their ethnic-minority contemporaries. Another change is connected to the fact that during 2003 the national government has made plans to allocate the subsidy no longer to the cities but directly to the schools involved. In this way the schools get more responsibility and freedom to solve their problems and to improve the situation.

Focus on Utrecht

The city of Utrecht receives EUR 6.9 million from the national government and invests another EUR 2.3 million itself. Until 2006 the main targets of this money will be: (1) pre- and post-school education; (2) stimulating a continuous educational career; (3) improving the use of the Dutch language and (4) reducing educational dropout and premature school leaving. An important item in the policy is the focus on parents; they have to get more involved with their children and with their educational career. Several projects focus on this item. A similar situation exists in Amsterdam.

In executing the policy, school boards and the local government have clear tasks. The school boards take care of qualitative education, are co-producers of the policy, implement the policy within their schools and have to justify to the local government. The local government on the other hand, realises the organisation of eminent assistance and manages links between education and other sectors. Furthermore, they develop, determine and evaluate the policy, decide about the objectives of the policy, assist schools and welfare organisations, take the lead in attuning the policy with other policies and between education and other organisations working with young people. Finally, they have to report to the national government. Furthermore, in order to increase the educational performances, in Utrecht both the local development department and the local department for social development are looking for the possibilities to realise a so-called Forum School (Sections 4.3 and 7.3), while their Amsterdam counterparts are working on similar initiatives under the names of 'Brede School' and 'Integrale School' [Broad School and Integral School] (Section 7.3).

Apart from activities in the framework of the educational-arrears-policy, other actors implement projects in order to reduce the educational arrears as well. For example, several ethnic self-organisations receive money from the programme 'Neighbourhood's Turn' in Utrecht and the 'Bottom-up Fund' in the Amsterdam Bijlmer (further discussed in Chapter 9), which they use for assisting pupils with their homework.

'Rugzakje' [Little backpack] is a project, which focuses on increasing the parent's interest and involvement with respect to the educational career of their children. Under this project, toddlers get a backpack to take home. The content of this backpack consists of several items with little assignments (e.g. coloured pencils with colouring pictures). Every week, parents are told to perform one of these assignments together with their child. Afterwards, their experiences are discussed. Another example is the instruction parents get to watch television with their child; every week they have to watch a popular children's programme for example, which is evaluated at school again afterwards. This project runs in several primary schools in Nieuw-Hoograven.

'Opvoedingsondersteuning' [Assistance in raising children] is another project in Utrecht, which focuses on improving and intensifying the interaction between children and their parents. Several organisations share the opinion that this interaction is crucial in order to give a child a good start and to create the possibilities to prevent unfavourable situations in the future. Both the local government (local health department, welfare organisations) and several ethnic-organisations are involved in organising the course.

Next to the positive thoughts about the increased educational level of the target-group, there are some other thoughts about the policy within Utrecht and Amsterdam as well. For example, opinions differ about the fact that in the future, schools will receive subsidy directly from the national government instead of from the local government. According to a welfare worker, the situation exists that schools are not able to take that responsibility; their priorities are with other things than with organising links between education and other sectors for example. Therefore, displacing the management role from the local government to the school boards, does not seem to be a good development. On the other hand however, it is said that schools can manage the money very well; important things do not always get the (financial) attention they need, because the local government is allowed to spend the money elsewhere. When schools are able to manage the budget themselves they 'no longer have to depend on others' (interview with social worker).

Another disadvantage of the policy is connected to the fact that pupils who perform well do not get enough attention due to the educational-arrears-policy. It seems as if every programme and project focuses on the group that has the most serious problems so that others seem to be left out a little (interview with a social worker).

Focus on Amsterdam

Another project in the Kolenkit area is 'Codename Future' which is targeted at 12 to 18 year olds. In cooperation with high schools, Bureau Intercultural Work and 'youth work' organisations, young people are involved in neighbourhood and social issues by the means of ICT. For this age group there will also be a small-scale youth centre, possibly in combination with a 'Digitaal Trapveldje' [Digital Playground]. These Digital Playgrounds are also planned for in the Bijlmer and in the Utrecht cases (Section 5.1). The youth centre in the Kolenkit area will be small because there will be a bigger youth centre in 'SportParkStad' [SportParkCity] just south of the estate. Also, in the physical renewal plan three places will be assigned for young people to meet one another – to sport or just to hang around. For 18 to 23 years olds there is a support programme aimed at further education and at getting a job. The last programme is part of the 'regular' city district policies.

Additional projects in the Bijlmer are 'Cultural Education Southeast' (EUR 260,000) aiming at cultural education which is geared to the pupil's perception of their environment; 'Five o' Clock Class' (EUR 156,000) with the goal to enable young people without the proper pre-education to go to Art School by offering support and additional training; 'Worldly Women' (EUR 24,000) which aims at inter-cultural (i.e. inter-ethnic) exchange for women in order to support social cohesion as well as to support their children's education; and, 'Step Around' (EUR 17,000) which organises parents' meetings to guide them in their children's education. Next to this, there are policies to improve school accommodation, including new schools (also trade and technical schools) and better (multi-) media facilities. Various other educational projects in the Bijlmer are also funded by the Bottom-up Fund, which is discussed in Chapter 9.

7.2 Reducing educational dropouts

The main aim of the national government is to prevent a situation in which pupils leave school without having obtained a certificate. More precise: by 2006, the number of educational drop-outs should be reduced by 30 per cent within every municipality. In order to realise these objectives, a balanced system of registration of non-attendance is needed. Furthermore, on a local level, agreements should be made about the input and about cooperation between secondary schools and regional educational centres and organisations involved like youth care, the police and social work; the local government therefore has an important function as coordinator (www.minocw.nl, visited in October, 2003).

Reducing the number of educational dropouts is an item in the local educational-arrears-policy in Amsterdam and Utrecht. However, there is also a policy concerning compulsory education, which focuses on reducing the level of non-attendance at school and the number

'Nieuwe Perspectieven' [New Perspectives] in Amsterdam (1993-1996) and 'Nieuwe Kansen' [New Chances] (1999-2002) in Utrecht

The New Perspectives project aims at a coherent approach towards the most difficult young people, who are having multiple problems (within the family, at school, and with the police). The aim of this project, which took place in west Amsterdam between mid-1993 and early 1996, was to help these young people go back to school or work.

The project works according to the 'INSTAP' method, which tries to build a bridge between the residential environment and young peoples' networks and the formal network of social services that can be used to help these people. In order to provide a good service, with regard to support and welfare assistance, it is necessary to have good cooperation between all the help and service-providing authorities in the target area. The project targets all young people aged 14 to 20 years who are in a problem situation. The young people can be divided into four subgroups: the prevention group, the risk group, the 'problematic' group, and professional criminals.

The guidance consists of three stages:

- The network: construction of a network consisting of all the help and service providing authorities in the area who are in direct contact with the target group.
- The intervention period: an intensive stage for the intervention team. Direct contact with the individual young people and their parents need to be established and their confidence gained. Together with the youngster and his/her parents, an analysis is made of the residential environment, where the emphasis is on how it used to be, the present situation, and the desired situation. The desired situation, stage three, is a very important stage. Finally, a mutually binding contract is established.
- The three sections: in this stage, the networks take over the assistance from the intervention worker. The latter, however, continues to monitor the youngster for another year and adjusts the guidance and the action plan if necessary. During this stage, there will come a time when the young person will get enough support from his/

her residential environment that he/she will be able to carry on with the help of just one institution. The follow-up care, if necessary, can go on for years.

During the period June 1993 to January 1996, 414 young people were referred to New Perspectives. Of this group, 300 young people completed the intervention. Of the 300 young people who took part in the intervention, 92 per cent were between 14 and 20 years old, with the average age being between 16 and 17 years. More than two-thirds of the young people were of Moroccan origin. Feedback from the young people who completed the intervention programme revealed that they have greatly benefited from New Perspectives and felt an increase in self-confidence enabling them to direct their lives in a better way. Particularly effective was the personal attention through daily conversation and the practical nature of the project, aimed at solving the problems at school, work, and other similar areas. The follow-up care provided in New Perspectives is particularly important for the success of the project.

The new methods used in New Perspectives appear to have had an effect on youth assistance in general. There is generally more attention given to short-term interventions and to reinforcement of the support network in the residential environment. It can be concluded that the cooperation between help-providing authorities, police, schools, and New Perspectives was the key success factor in the project. Improvement in employment for New Perspective's target group remains an important issue, as social participation is very difficult without employment of some form. Given the positive results of New Perspectives, this project might be useful for districts that have a similar population make-up and similar problems concerning young people.

The factors that were important for the success of this project are:

- personal attention given to the client;
- a practical and outreaching way of working;
- analysis of the social environment;
- the construction of a personal network;
- attention to the different sections of young people;
- controllability of the results;
- an early recognition of problems and the ensuing assistance.

Within Amsterdam the project continued after the evaluation. Afterwards, New Perspectives took part in the 'Binden of Boeien' [Binding or Shackling] programme. This programme was set up by the Amsterdam City Council in cooperation with the police, the Public Prosecutor, and the Child Protection Council. Due to the success of the New Perspectives project in west Amsterdam, the project has been expanded to include north and east Amsterdam as well.

In Utrecht the project was evaluated as well. This evaluation by the end of 2002 showed that the inconvenience caused by young people had been reduced; for 30 per cent of the participants, the problems had been solved thanks to the programme. Therefore, it was decided to continue the most successful parts in other programmes (interview with social worker; employee in neighbourhood centre in Southwest Utrecht).

of early dropouts. Every youngster should have the opportunity to reach his or her maximum educational level in order to find a suitable place on the labour market or within society.

There is a balanced system of making mention of non-attendance and pupil registration. In this way, young people who are at risk of dropping out can be signalled. Youth networks approach these young people in order to get a complete picture of the situation and to solve the problem together. Within these networks the Regional Educational Centres, boards of secondary schools, welfare organisations, youth organisations and trade and industry cooperate.

In the frame a project is discussed which started in Amsterdam and has been taken over in almost the same form by Kanaleneiland in Utrecht.

7.3 The Forum, Broad or Integrated Schools

In order to increase the educational level of young people, to reduce educational dropouts, to strengthen the involvement of parents both in the field of upbringing and education and to improve the social situation within a neighbourhood, a so-called Forum School, Integrated School or Broad School can give relief. In such projects different organisations (like primary schools, library, day-care, youth welfare and adult education) are accommodated in the same building or near each other in order to strengthen communication and cooperation. Municipalities have to develop and finance the plans themselves.

Focus on Utrecht

Within Utrecht, both the local development department and the local department for social development are responsible for realising a Forum School within Kanaleneiland-Noord. Within the framework of a far-reaching restructuring project called 'Hart van Noord' [Northerners' Heart] the three existing primary schools will be demolished and replaced by a new building, where all three primary schools, the library, day-care, youth welfare and adult education will be accommodated. By 2005 the accommodation will have to be available and the concept should be operative (interview with assistant neighbourhood manager for Southwest Utrecht; social worker; Wijkmanagementoverleg Zuid, 2003). In order to create the plan for realising such a concept in Kanaleneiland, a work group had been established in which a lot of parties could take place and discuss the plans. After several parties dropped out – the project did not fit in their organisation – this group now consists of a couple of parents, the Utrecht Centre for Art, the library, department of sport and recreation of the local department for social development and the school boards. The local land company is involved as well for the exploitation of the land (interview with a local representative of the local department for social development).

Within Nieuw-Hoograven on the other hand it seems hard to realise a Forum School; as a suitable location cannot be found, the different organisations cannot be accommodated within the same building. However, the welfare organisation forms a network with the primary schools; once every six weeks, they gather in order to attune the organisation within the framework of the educational-arrears-policy (interview with employee of welfare organisation).

Focus on Amsterdam

The city of Amsterdam has similar programmes to that of the Forum School in Utrecht. In the Kolenkit area they are called 'Brede School' [Broad School] and in the Bijlmer 'Integrale School' [Integrated School]. Both have similar goals to that of the Forum School in Utrecht, but contrary to the Forum School and the Broad School, the Integrated School not only focuses on primary, but also on secondary education. In the Bijlmer respectively EUR 230,000 and EUR 83,000 is used for primary and secondary Integrated Schools. The Broad School and the future 'Welzijnsverzamelgebouw' [Building with all kinds of welfare institutions] (planned for 2005) in the Kolenkit area are the key locations for services aimed at 0 to 12 year olds: education, care and playing will be centred at these locations. Next to this, childcare facilities will be enlarged, not only for the current residents, but also for future (richer) residents. However, like in Utrecht, they are not just meant to educate children, but also to offer community services and support such as adult education and upbringing support. Directly after school hours, there are activities for children; after that the activities are focused on their parents and other adults. According to the city district this should also offer chances connected to social cohesion, participation, educational support and safety in the neighbourhood.

The two current primary schools will move to the Broad School building as soon as the building is ready to accommodate pupils and their teachers. This is planned for 2012. After the relocation of the schools, the old school building will be demolished and replaced by public space on the one hand, and new housing on the other hand. There will also be new housing units on the floors above the Broad School building.

7.4 Black and white schools

Within the Netherlands and especially in the big cities, more and more black schools have come into being (that is to say schools in which the share of pupils with a non-Dutch background surpasses the number of Dutch children). These schools are confronted with problems in the field of arrears with respect to language. However, in order to be able to fully

'Voorscholen' [Pre-schools]

The development of pre-schools gets much attention both in Amsterdam and Utrecht (e.g. in the Bijlmer EUR 1,197,000 is spent on the initiation of eight pre-schools). Here, toddlers with arrears in the field of language and their parents can get used to and are trained in the Dutch language during several mornings a week. In order to realise this, more staff will have to be employed. Although a school receives money from the local government, it has to finance a certain part itself as well. Therefore, schools can decide themselves whether or not they want to develop this service (interview with social worker). Because of this insufficient financial means, not every primary school is automatically enthusiastic about realising such a pre-school. Another reason is connected to the fact that the programme is meant just for pupils with (educational) arrears. A school in Nieuw-Hoograven for example refused to realise one, because they did not want to be confronted with a concentration of those pupils (interview with social worker).

participate in society, commanding the Dutch language is a major requirement. This item therefore, has a central position in the educational-arrears-policy (www.minocw.nl, visited in October, 2003). Under this policy language gets much attention. In several stages (both within pre-school, primary and secondary education) interactive and individual language training form important educational aspects.

7.5 Conclusions

In this chapter, the national and local policy with respect to education has been discussed. In order to reduce the educational arrears of several groups of pupils, the national government developed the educational-arrears-policy. As the policy focuses on schools with a large number of so-called 1.25 and 1.9 pupils, all four research areas are involved in the policy.

Under the policy, both Amsterdam and Utrecht developed several projects in order to: (1) improve pre- and post-school education; (2) stimulate a continuous educational career; (3) improve commanding the Dutch language and (4) reduce educational dropout and premature school-leaving. An important item in the policy is the focus on parents; they have to get more involved with raising their children and with their educational career. Next to the focus on education, the realisation of a so-called Forum School, Integrated School or Broad School is an important item in all estates. Under this concept, different organisations (like primary schools, library, day-care, youth welfare and adult education) are accommodated in the same building or near each other in order to strengthen communication and cooperation. In this way, it should get an important social function within the particular neighbourhood.

As health policies are implemented by the Ministry of Health, local differences in health policies are rather small. Health is not one of the major issues of the Big Cities Policy. Since the whole health care system in the Netherlands has a very high degree of centralisation, local health care policies should be considered as only additional. Consequently, this chapter is rather short.

The next section will focus on health, care and medical centres in the estates in general, and the situation with respect to the elderly in particular. It will consider issues of (geographical) access and how (local) key-actors (try to) make these facilities available and accessible. It will also pay extra attention to the fact that all four Dutch estates can be characterised by a high number of immigrant residents. In Section 8.2 the health care situation of drug users and homeless people is discussed. Since this group can be seen as a 'sizeable' problem especially in the Bijlmer and less in the other estates, the focus will be on the Bijlmer.

8.1 Elderly, immigrants and other residents

Focus on the research areas

Currently, the number of elderly in the Kolenkit area is rather low. Their number is expected to rise. The aim is to make it possible for the elderly to live independently as long as possible. To facilitate this, so-called 'Woningen in Beschermd Omgeving': WIBOs [Housing in Protected Environment], will be developed. Residents of these WIBOs can make use of the 'care support centre' which will offer information, support, special elderly services and – in cooperation with the health/medical centre – also medical services. The apartments will be easily accessible for people with physical problems, e.g. there will be no doorsteps.

In Utrecht, these facilities already exist to some extent. The local policy supports the national development within the care for elderly that focuses on giving this group the opportunity to live on their own as long as possible. Within this framework, every neighbourhood should have suitable services. As the share of elderly in Nieuw-Hoograven is somewhat above the local average (23 and 20 per cent respectively), here, like in several other estates, a so-called residential-service-zone has been realised. Although the name differs, the method is the same as in Amsterdam's Kolenkit area. In Kanaleneiland on the other hand, where the share of elderly is below the local average, a different kind of problem is noticed. According to several residents' associations the supply of dwellings for the elderly is insufficient; as elevators are absent in most apartment complexes, elderly are more or less forced to leave the neighbourhood when

walking stairs becomes a problem (interview with chairman of tenants organisation). Although the residents' association made several efforts in order to do something about this situation (e.g. plans to construct elevators in several buildings), these plans do not appeal to either the local government or most housing associations. They are considered to be too expensive and as Kanaleneiland will be restructured within the foreseeable future, it is not profitable (interview with managing director of housing association).

With respect to the access of services for health care, all four research areas seem to have problems. Especially the loss of general practitioners within the areas is regretted by the city district as well as some residents (Aalbers et al., 2003). The Kolenkit area for example, has no dentist or pharmacy and only one general practitioner and one physiotherapist. This is one of the reasons that a health/medical centre will be realised that will accommodate general practitioners, physical therapists, a dentist and a midwife, probably in combination with a pharmacy and an organisation for psycho-social care. Currently, the care support centre and the health/medical centre are 'only' planned for; nothing is concrete yet. This is partly because the city district cannot start up these centres itself; it has to be planned for by health, care and medical organisations. Nevertheless, the city district will promote this project by active 'project management'.

Concerning the access to services for health care within the Bijlmer, the situation has been problematic (i.e. under-serviced) for quite some years, and although it has improved, the availability is still below average. However, this is hardly considered a real problem – maybe because the situation has already improved a lot compared to a number of years ago.

Specific for the Bijlmer is the fact that next to these institutionalised services, the area also hosts many legal and illegal health and care service providers who usually work on the basis of 'alternative' approaches and in general cater for specific ethnic groups (official and unofficial health service providers and health organisations, some of which are based on century-old ethnic belief-systems). We did not find any special policies targeted at these non-institutionalised and ethnic forms of health care.

In Nieuw-Hoograven in Utrecht plans exist to realise a health centre as well under the plan 'Hoograven's Heart' (Section 4.2). In order to put this request on the agenda, a group was established 'Initiatiefgroep Gezondheidscentrum Hoograven' [Initiative group Health centre Hoograven], in which the local department for social development, residents and the local health department cooperate.

Just like in other 'less prosperous' parts of the city, the health situation of the residents within our research areas is below average. Extra attention is needed for immigrant groups and for the elderly, and elderly immigrants in particular. Also, for immigrants the health care in the Netherlands is often considered non-transparent and difficult to access; the threshold is often too high (Aalbers et al., 2003).

Specific for the Amsterdam Bijlmer is the founding of a 'Centre for multi-cultural health care'. This has been one of the accomplishments of the social renewal in the area. The centre does not concern a 'physical' centre, but a 'knowledge' centre, i.e. an information network for retraining and information about health care in a multi-cultural society.

Within Utrecht, the ethnic population (31 per cent of the population) seems to suffer from chronic diseases, illnesses and psychological problems more often than the Dutch residents. There seem to be problems with respect to accessibility and quality of medical care for this group of residents as well. As both research areas are characterised by a large share of families

Some examples in Utrecht:

- ‘Gezond Leven en Bewegen’ [Healthy Living and Moving]: in this project, women with an ethnic background are given the opportunity to ‘sport’ (sort of low-impact aerobics) once a week. Social work, physiotherapy, GPs and home care cooperate in this project.
- ‘Kanaleneiland Gezond’ [Kanaleneiland Healthy]: this project, in which spearheads vary from time to time, currently focuses on offering assistance in raising children. Among other things, the mosque has an important function in approaching potential participants. Ethnic self-organisations are involved here as well.
- A project can work out differently as well. As a result of bad ventilation, tenants often suffer from health problems. Therefore, the local health department subsidised the housing associations in order to inform residents about proper ventilation. The project has stopped however, as the parties involved were unsatisfied with the communication.

with a non-Dutch background, Nieuw-Hoograven and Kanaleneiland are confronted with problems in this field. This holds especially for Kanaleneiland, where over 80 per cent of the neighbourhood population has a non-Dutch background. Combined with the shortage of medical services, both the residents and several organisations worry about the situation. Therefore, the local health department cooperates with account managers – who work on a neighbourhood level – and a steering committee (alderman of public health, an executive of the local health department, an executive of the social welfare organisation, account manager of the local department for social development, a representative of the neighbourhood council) on realising several health themes and activities.

As a result of these projects, residents should eventually experience better health. However, in order to establish this goal, participation of the residents is important. Furthermore, on the basis of the aims, the local health department intensified their contact with the ‘District Huisartsen Vereniging’ [District GPs Union]. In this way, communication has improved and some situations can be handled better (interview with account manager of the local health department). Furthermore, advisors with an ethnic background assist several GPs and home care. They approach ethnic residents (women in particular) in order to make them known with the (medical) facilities in the neighbourhood. Several projects have been initiated in order to inform people with how they can live healthier (see frame above).

8.2 Drug users and homeless people

Drugs policy in the Netherlands

The main aim of the drugs policy in the Netherlands is to protect the health of individual users, the people around them and society as a whole. Priority is given to vulnerable groups, and to young people in particular. Policy also aims to restrict both the demand and supply of drugs. Active policies on care and prevention are being pursued to reduce the demand for drugs, while a war is being waged on organised crime in an attempt to curb supplies. A third aim of policy is to tackle drug-related nuisances and to maintain public order.

Regulations on drugs are laid down in the Opium Act. It is important that the Opium Act draws a distinction between hard drugs, (e.g. heroin, cocaine and XTC), which pose an unacceptable hazard to health, and soft drugs (e.g. hashish and marijuana), which constitute a far less serious hazard. The possession of drugs is an offence. However, the possession of a small quantity of soft drugs for personal use is a minor offence.

Importing and exporting drugs are the most serious offences under the provisions of the Opium Act, although manufacturing, selling and attempting to import drugs are also offences. As is the case in other countries, the cultivation of hemp is prohibited, except for certain agricultural purposes (e.g. to form windbreaks, and for the production of rope). The expediency principle is applied in Dutch policy on investigations and prosecutions. This means that the public prosecutor may decide not to institute prosecution proceedings if it is not in the public interest. The highest priority is given to the investigation and prosecution of international trafficking in drugs; the possession of small quantities of drugs for personal use is accorded a much lower priority. Anyone found in possession of less than 0.5 grams of hard drugs will generally not be prosecuted, though the police will confiscate the drugs and consult a care agency.

According to the local policy, every neighbourhood within the city of Utrecht should realise a so-called 'hostel'. Here, drug addicts from all over the city can find accommodation. In order to increase the bearing surface among the residents of the neighbourhood in question – who often do not agree with these developments – they are involved in making the plans.

Drug users and homeless people in the Bijlmer

The Bijlmer knows serious problems of drug abuse, drug dealing and drug-related crime. Almost half of the rough sleeping homeless in Amsterdam live in the Bijlmer (almost a 100 people on an average winter night). Of these almost 100 people, 83 per cent are indicated to be addicted to drugs. The number of addicted drug users is, however, much bigger: 450 of them are registered with the city health department in the Southeast district. About half of the rough sleeping homeless did not visit a general practitioner which is worrisome considering the situation these people live in – this often concerns the homeless that do not have any health insurance (Rensen and Deben, 2002).

Policies on (homeless) drug users concerning health issues are often interwoven with policies concerning their annoyances: many policies focus on getting homeless people and drug users off the streets because they cause a nuisance to other residents. This can be done the 'hard' way – by forcing them to move around or by criminalising them – or the 'soft' way, by offering night shelter, health care and spaces to use drugs. Both policies are implemented at municipal and city district level. There is a trend towards more 'hard' policies. However, that does not mean 'soft' policies are phased out, e.g. in the social renewal plans a project was launched that focused on 'integrated drugs users and health care support' in which EUR 691,000 was invested to coordinate and boost the work done by the city's Health Care Service (GG&GD), Streetcorner Work, 'Jellinek' (organisation for addiction and prevention care) and the Consultation Bureau for Alcohol and Drugs.

As a direct response to crime and other annoyances by drug users in the Bijlmer, a new plan has been launched in the summer of 2003 that aims at a so-called 'hard strategy' to fight crime permitted by drug users. Within this strategy a distinction will be made between

'Bijlmer junkies' and 'non-Bijlmer junkies' – 'Bijlmer junkies', or local junkies explicitly does *not* refer to Dutch immigrants but to junkies of the Bijlmer who have been living there for a long time and can be considered 'residents'. This group will be offered help within the Bijlmer: a 'gebruikersruimte', a place or room where junkies can use drugs, get help and sanitation, will be opened. The plan is also to provide the hard core of the local junkies with free heroin, but the national government is currently blocking this plan. The 'gebruikersruimte' is planned in the newly-built neighbourhood Florena. Not surprisingly, residents of the Florena neighbourhood do not welcome the opening of this accommodation.

While local junkies will be 'socialised' by a 'gebruikersruimte', free heroin and health care, and 'dry-out' programmes to get off drugs, 'non-Bijlmer' or non-local junkies will be 'criminalised' according to the 'hard strategy'. A problem might be to make a distinction between local and non-local drug users, but the police has special officers dealing with a limited number of local drug users, and consequently local drug users should be known to the police.

There is also another plan for (criminal) drug users (in the Bijlmer) which is developed under the coordination of Ms. Belliott, the alderwoman of the city of Amsterdam responsible for health issues. Her plan is to make one flat building in the Bijlmer available for drug users and isolate it from the outer world. Although most people do not take this isolation plan serious and assume the alderwoman came up with this plan to fuel the discussion on problematic and criminal drug users, the alderwoman in fact has some of her civil servants working on a more detailed plan. Interestingly, the alderwoman, was the mayor of the city district Zuidoost (of which the Bijlmer is part) before becoming an alderwoman in the city of Amsterdam.

Besides these future plans, a new strategy was implemented in the summer of 2003: more police men will be available on the streets to diminish the number of drug users hanging around in residential, commercial and recreative areas of the Bijlmer. Next to this there is the 'Bijlmer Overlast Team' [Bijlmer Nuisance Team] in which the city district and the police cooperate with the housing association to combat annoyances by 'visiting' people who cause a nuisance or other kinds of trouble.

8.3 Conclusions

Health issues do not receive the most attention in the four Dutch estates. This is not to say health is not considered an important issue. The Dutch health care system is very centralised, there are few 'local' health policies. Next to national policies, all four estates have some programmes and policies that focus on the local health care situation. They focus on issues like the accessibility of health services, care for elderly, health care for ethnic minorities and (in particular in the Bijlmer) the situation of the homeless and drug users. Policies on these last two groups do not only focus on their health situation, but also on the safety situation of other residents. Nuisance is combated by two types of strategies: 'socialising' and 'criminalising'.

9 Social aspects

Many initiatives that have been discussed in previous chapters have social implications, as has already been shown. In this chapter we will only focus on initiatives that have not been dealt with. All measures discussed in this chapter have a clear social component. This concerns various kinds of measures such as those to improve the livability of the estates (Section 9.1), measures aimed at social, civic and immigrant organisations (Section 9.2), and measures aimed at the participation in sports. Next to that there are also some other, harder to classify, measures (Section 9.4).

In the Bijlmer for instance, the ‘Bureau social-economic renewal’ coordinates all renewal activities that are not part of the physical renewal pillar – in other words it coordinates all activities that are discussed in the Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8 and this chapter. Different actors finance the various social-economic projects and programmes. In the eight years between 1994 and 2002 almost EUR 56 million were invested in the social-economic renewal of the Bijlmer (Table 9.1).

9.1 Improving livability

Improving the livability is something that is clearly connected to managing and restructuring public space, but also to safety issues. The philosophy of renewal plans in public space is to increase livability in the estates by a combination of measures and activities: managing public space, restructuring public space, increasing social cohesion etc. Thus livability is one of the main (higher) aims of the renewal plans and something like increasing social cohesion or safety can be viewed as a derived aim. For this reason, livability programmes have been classified under different headings according to their focus.

Table 9.1 – Sources of finance of the social-economic renewal of the Bijlmer

Source of finance	Sum of money invested in EUR
European Union (EFRO/ESF, including URBAN)	8,642,000
Dutch national government	11,397,000
Local government (city of Amsterdam, city district Southeast)	17,262,000
Private and non-profit (housing, social) organisations	18,603,000
Total	55,904,000

Source: Stadsdeel Amsterdam Zuidoost, Bureau Sociaal Economische Vernieuwing, 2002

Focus on Utrecht

Specific for the situation in Utrecht, is the fact that Nieuw-Hoograven as well as Kanaleneiland take part in the national programme 'Buurt aan Zet' [Neighbourhood's Turn]. Under the Big Cities Policy, several cities receive money to improve the quality of life, safety and social cohesion within several neighbourhoods on the basis of neighbourhood based initiatives. If possible, the neighbourhood population will carry out these initiatives themselves. Within Utrecht, the project has been developed by an external bureau and coordinated by a member of the local government to whom each neighbourhood has to justify their spending. By a financial impulse, trade and industries are stimulated to contribute to the programme as well. Furthermore, the estates to a certain extent have the opportunity to develop a project the way they want. Within the framework of the programme several projects have been initiated in both neighbourhoods, varying from measures to slow down traffic, improving or realising places to play and stay for young children and young people, the embellishment of semi-public gardens, improving safety, realising a cultural centre, focus on educational arrears or children with behavioural problems, homework accompaniment etc.

Next to this large programme, each neighbourhood annually receives a so-called 'leefbaarheidsbudget' [livability budget] from the local government. This amount of EUR 250,000, which is under management of the neighbourhood manager, is meant for small and quick improvements within a neighbourhood. Together with residents and entrepreneurs, the neighbourhood manager decides about which interventions should take place.

Focus on Amsterdam

Most of the Amsterdam programmes and policies that aim on improving livability have already been discussed in Chapter 6. Here we will focus on one hard to classify project by the StIDA: flat guards.

The StIDA is the acronym for the 'Stichting Interculturele Dienstverlening Amsterdam' [Foundation for Intercultural Services Amsterdam]. The organisation started its activities out of discontent with the city districts' and housing associations' policies. The organisation's founders – two Surinamese neighbourhood activists, Harrald Axwijk and Roel Luqman – wrote a paper named 'Het kan ook anders' [There are other ways] in which they argued for new approaches to problems of urban decay, lack of livability and unsafety.¹⁷ Together with residents they came up with the plan to provide the estates with 'flatwachten' [flat guards] because feelings of unsafety and discomfort were widespread in the semi-public spaces of the estates. The work started from a deteriorated room furnished with items that had been picked up from the garbage, but is now a well-recognised organisation with 195 employees.

With the use of URBAN-funds the StIDA set up projects focussed on 'debts support', 'homework support' and 'flat guards'. The StIDA started with fifteen guards in the Grunder estate that paid special attention to the building's elevators, inner streets (public hallways), staircases and parking garages. These guards are paid as subsidised jobs (Section 5.2); it concerns residents of the estates who formerly depended on social security benefits. Thus, the project had various main aims and derived aims: (1) most important, increasing livability and safety; (2) creating jobs and empowering people; and (3) increasing social cohesion.

17 The 'Bottum-up Fund' which is discussed in Section 9.4 is also known as the 'Roel Luqman Fund' as was named after this neighbourhood activist.

Employees of the StIDA get a training, which consists of a language course, a first aid course and a social skills course. As one of the flat guards said: *'You are taught how to deal with people. How to address someone who cycles in the flat's inner pedestrian streets or who throws his garbage down from his balcony. You should always stay calm. Never lose your temper. We take action when people are being harassed, or when homeless people or junkies are sleeping here. If we can't solve things ourselves, we contact the local police department. 'Code E'* (flat guard, in: Stadsdeel Amsterdam Zuidoost, Bureau Sociaal Economische Vernieuwing, 2002).

After the flat guards, the StIDA also installed 'environment workers' who were assigned to clean the public space around the flats and the semi-public spaces in the flats. Next, the StIDA extended its work to another part of the area where drug users and homeless people caused annoyances (Section 6.2). Here, 'machine' surveillance by camera's was introduced next to 'human' surveillance by estate residents. All together, about 100 StIDA employees now guard five flat buildings in two shifts from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. and from 4 p.m. to 11 p.m. The StIDA itself sees the lack of a night-service as an important disadvantage, but the cooperation with the local police as an important advantage. The real advantage is, however, that the StIDA approach seems to work: in and around the guarded estates people feel safer, vandalism declined, (semi-) public space is cleaner, nuisance by drug users declined, the number of robberies declined and there is less garbage laying around the buildings.

Since the StIDA's employees have subsidised jobs, they are supposed to find a regular (i.e. unsubsidised) job. According to the StIDA this works very well for their employees who do office work or work on the 'debts support' project. However, it does not work so well for the flat guards; although some of them find jobs in private security companies, they have more trouble finding the right job. Although the national subsidised jobs programme's explicit aim is to use the subsidised job as a step to a regular job, the fact that many flat guards do not make this step is not that problematic: *'Work is important for self-awareness and self-esteem. They get social appreciation. They are proud to walk in the building with their uniform. We have to avoid that a generation of children grow up that has never seen their parents' work'* (director of the StIDA, in: Stadsdeel Amsterdam Zuidoost, Bureau Sociaal Economische Vernieuwing, 2002).

9.2 Support to social, civic and immigrant organisations

The social renewal in all four Dutch estates has a special dimension: a large share of the population, up to 85, 77, 81 and 56 per cent in respectively the Kolenkit area, the Bijlmer, Kanaleneiland and Nieuw-Hoograven, are first or second generation immigrants. In the Bijlmer, the renewal explicitly takes upwardly mobile black residents into account. The outlook is that the Bijlmer will demonstrate that a black neighbourhood is not synonymous with a poor neighbourhood, because a middle-class will emerge from the resident population. Although in the other three cases it is also an explicit goal to retain upwardly middle-class people in the neighbourhood, the focus is not so explicitly ethnic as in the Bijlmer. In both Kanaleneiland and Nieuw-Hoograven for example, emphasis is on attracting 'new households' with a higher income as well.

To support social cohesion within ethnic groups and between groups, social, civic and immigrant organisations play a vital role in each research neighbourhood; many programmes and projects focus on these groups. In order to get established or to receive information

Table 9.2 – Social support programmes in the Bijlmer

Name of project	Goals	Investment in EUR
Activity centre 'Ganzenhoef'	Furnishing for youth centre, music school and neighbourhood centre	435,000
Multi-cultural building	Research on the feasibility of a multi-cultural building	21,000
Neighbourhood Service Teams K-area	Promoting social cohesion, residents' participation, social services, sports and supervision	192,000
Crea building K-area	Building for several organisations in the creative sector	3,068,000
'De Bron' [The Source]	Furnishing of the space allocated to the residents' association after their former space was demolished	44,000
'Faya Lobi'	Realisation of a community space for Surinamese people	89,000
Furniture fund	New (office) furniture for cultural and social organisations	84,000
Churches in Southeast, fases 1, 2 and 3	Inventory and research on the cooperation possibilities in church accommodation, resulting in the foundation of 'Het Licht' [The Light], 'Hebron Amsterdam' and 'Christus Triomfater'	54,000
Children's farm 'Gliphoeve'	Relocation and renewal of the children's farm	253,000
Children's circus 'Elleboog'	Opening of a circus by children (including space)	840,000
'Kwakoe' festival	'Recognition contribution' to large and widely-known yearly social-cultural, but also commercial Surinamese festival	11,000
Local radio	Increase communication between different (ethnic) resident groups and between residents and city district office and authorities	79,000
Pilot grassroots' panel	Development and implementation of four residents' panels aimed at increasing residents' involvement	77,000
Welfare Centre Antilleans and Arubans	Appointment of a project manager to start up this centre	36,000

Source: Stadsdeel Amsterdam Zuidoost, Bureau Sociaal Economische Vernieuwing, 2002

about the organisation of things, these groups can ask for professional assistance from social and migrant workers. While subsidies and other funding streams focus on the performed activities, several funding streams focus on the construction of physical community space as well. In the Kolenkit area many of these programmes and projects are directly connected to the before-mentioned 'Welfare collection building' (Section 7.3), to educational activities or improving safety. In the Bijlmer however, there are many, many other projects to support these organisations. An overview of these activities is provided in Table 9.2.

Although in all four neighbourhoods the work of ethnic self-organisations is seen as an important 'instrument' to increase social cohesion within an area, at the same time, these

organisations stand in the way of realising this aim; according to several key-actors for example, the members of these groups are not eager to cooperate in the same project; they prefer to coordinate and execute a project themselves in order to keep authority. It can be said therefore, that strong social cohesion within several groups can work against the development of social cohesion between these groups.

Within this framework, another remark can be made as well. Several key-actors in both Amsterdam and Utrecht for example consider the number of projects in the research neighbourhoods to be too large; different organisations execute almost similar projects under a different name. Apart from the fact that it is hard to get a clear overview, it creates the danger that the wheel is invented over and over again.

9.3 Sports

In all estates there are also projects to promote the participation in sports and sport-related activities. However, these sports activities are never considered to be part of the 'key activities' of the renewal process. In all estates (often small) projects have been developed, very often targeted at young people. The main goal is usually located in the 'social sphere', e.g. increasing social cohesion or improving the behaviour of young people. 'Improving health conditions' is mentioned as a derived goal as well. Here adults are often central (Section 8.1). Especially in the Bijlmer there are many sports projects.

Examples from the Bijlmer

The social-economic renewal in the Bijlmer also consists of the provision of (more) sports- and playing-facilities for young people (Table 9.3). The project in the K-area was implemented as a

Table 9.3 – Sports programmes in the Bijlmer

Name of project	Goals	Investment in EUR
'Doyo Koryo'	Realisation of a sports complex for 'Koryo' for the use of mainly young residents of the E- and G-areas	769,000
'Holendrecht' Home	Realisation of a gym for the sports association 'Holendrecht'	327,000
Playing field/playgrounds 'Fort Kraaiennest'	Construction of managed playing facilities	238,000
Sports- and playing-facilities 'Gerenstein'	Construction of the facilities for young people from the high-rise building 'Gerenstein'	247,000
Sports- and playing-facilities K-area	Construction of the facilities for young people aged 10 and up, and supervision of its use(rs)	677,000
Sports Club Extra	Organisation of after-school sports activities	5,000
Sports education for unemployed young people	Training of 26 unemployed young people	318,000
Sports facilities 'Gaasperdam'	New tennis courts in 'Gaasperdam' area	272,000

Source: Stadsdeel Amsterdam Zuidoost, Bureau Sociaal Economische Vernieuwing, 2002

Table 9.4 – Other social programmes in the Bijlmer

Name of project	Goals	Investment in EUR
Afro European Hair Companies Fund	Training for hairdressers	107,000
Support to 'Bottom-up' projects	Start-up investment to launch a companies fund	9,000
Neighbourhood party 'Samenwerking' [Cooperation]	Support and monitoring of projects financed by the fund	16,000
'Vensterpolder'	Contribution for the organisation of a neighbourhood party	1,000
Christmas Wish	'Recognition contribution' for the promotion of Antillean music and culture	5,000
Computer training ICT	Facilitation of the classroom	16,000
'De Bron' [The Source]	Organisation of after-school activities	11,000
'Festival Abaisa'	Organisation of a lustrum festival	5,000
Golden Bells	'Recognition contribution' for an educational project for deprived young people	5,000
'Help Jezelf'[Help Yourself]	Broad training project for young people's future	131,000
Homework/assignment support	Support to children from high-rise buildings 'Grunder' and 'Grubbehoeve' who go to primary or secondary school	24,000
Furniture Crea building	Part of the furniture costs for several cultural organisations	27,000
Furniture Brotherhood	Part of the furniture costs for this foundation	41,000
Christmas and New Year's Eve decorations	Part of the costs	16,000
'Mamaas'	'Recognition contribution' for business start-ups amongst Surinamese entrepreneurs	5,000
Manifestation IDCC-Damsko	Contribution to the organisation of the manifestation	5,000
Move your body	Organisation of various courses including a sports instructor course	41,000
Nolays Relief Organisation	Project aimed at improvement of the labour market position of Somali people, partly through education	15,000
Retraining immigrants	Schooled in mechanics	18,000
Orientation in home care	Support in the possibilities in care at home for Ghanese people	30,000
Mini-Shopper-Hall	Mini-mall (collection of small shops) within shopping strip 'Kraaiennest'; aimed at employment	68,000
'Kraaiennest' 'Pikin Wojo'		
Reorganisation support DDS	Support, financially and organisationally of repro-company DDS	21,000
Training project AV	Training for audio-visual technical assistants	21,000
'Stichting comite humanitaire doeleinden' [Foundation committee humanitarian goals]	'Recognition contribution' to this foundation	8,000
Support for African parents	Project to support African parents with the education/upbringing of their children	27,000
Training social entrepreneurship	Promote and support of immigrant organisations	20,000
Women and entrepreneurship	Courses to promote female entrepreneurship	81,000

Source: Stadsdeel Amsterdam Zuidoost, Bureau Sociaal Economische Vernieuwing, 2002

result of a 'proposal competition' in which the plan to facilitate public use of sports fields in the K-area won the third prize, and was implemented with the use of URBAN-funds. Six years after the competition, the sports complex was opened in 2001. It offers two tennis courts, four mini-tennis courts for children, a tennis practice wall, a basketball field, a checkers- and chess-playing table, fitness facilities, and track and field facilities.

Example from Kanaleneiland and Nieuw-Hoograven

In order to strengthen the social cohesion and social participation within Kanaleneiland and Nieuw-Hoograven, several projects have been initiated of which one particularly focuses on sport: 'Sport Scoort!' [Sport Scores!]. This project, coordinated by the local department for social development, aims at developing sports- and playing facilities, during but especially after primary school time. Likewise, more children in their primary school age should participate in sports more.

9.4 Other social aspects

Focus on the Bijlmer

A large project in the social-economic renewal of the Bijlmer is the 'Fonds van Onderop' [Bottom-up Fund] also known as the 'Roel Luqman Fonds'. The project actually involves many small projects (Table 9.4). Like the programme 'Neighbourhood's Turn' in Utrecht, the fund not only involves social projects, but labour market or educational focused projects as well. However, it is discussed here under 'social aspects'.

A lot of women profit from the Women Empowerment Centre, but it is still considered a problem to reach women with an ethnic background. Although in all four neighbourhoods

Example: Women Empowerment Centre

Another large social renewal project in the Bijlmer is the Women Empowerment Centre in which EUR 381,000 URBAN-funds was invested. The centre which started its activities in June 1999 is a knowledge and expertise centre aimed at the improvement of the social-economic position of women in general, and single mothers in particular. Activities are undertaken in the field of education, employment, empowerment and psycho-social care. The idea of a Women Empowerment Centre was born at a conference of women's organisations in 1997. It was recognised that there was a lack of projects and activities taking the multi-cultural background of Bijlmer women in consideration. The centre is the result of the cooperation of seven women's organisations many of which have an ethnic focus. These were all small so-called 'living room' organisations, and the new centre is a big improvement and makes the organisation of activities much easier. It offers a wide variety of courses and discussion groups such as a computer course, a job interview course, a children's education course, a social values' discussion group and a domestic violence discussion group. Explicitly, the organisations 'only' cooperate and are not 'merged': this should make the ties with their social/ethnic backing easier, because the centre remains a grassroots' organisation.

even more projects focus on this group, a lot of women still almost never leave their house. This is less the case in the Bijlmer than in the other three estates.

Focus on the other research neighbourhoods

In the Kolenkit area the main aim of the social renewal is to offer a better future perspective; to help residents get out of a downward spiral of unemployment, 'language poverty', low education levels and lack of integration in Dutch society.

The main activities to accomplish this goal are several education and support programmes such as the 'Kolenkit Actief' (administered by the social services department) through which social security benefits recipients are offered an individual programme aimed at work or social activation (Section 5.2). A new project to be implemented is 'Mediation' that will offer easy accessible support in case of conflict situations.

Another initiative, which has been implemented under a different name in Nieuw-Hoograven and Kanaleneiland as well, is the 'MoederKind-Centrum' [MotherChild-Centre] that has a broad aim of empowerment. The 'MoederKind-Centrum' offers women the possibility of 'social activation' and tries to make 'voorlichting' [advice/information] and language courses easily accessible. It also offers computer training, aerobics and consulting on starting up a business. Programmes are offered by women's (ethnic) organisations and the women's health organisation 'Mimoza'. The staff of the centre offers additional programmes. There is also a connection with the 'social activation' programmes mentioned in Chapter 4 because several of the women who are 'activated' by these programmes work in the 'MoederKind-Centrum' as volunteers. In the Kolenkit area, the centre opened early in 2003 and is already considered a success because many (immigrant) women have participated immediately: the centre seems to fulfil a need. Although it was originally set up for five years, current plans are to integrate the centre in the future 'Welzijnsverzamelgebouw' [Building with all kinds of welfare institutions].

In combination with this, the centre offers flexible childcare and a 'voorschool' [pre-school] (Section 7.4). The local government aims at a 'win-win-situation' by accommodating both the children's facilities and the services for women in one building. More concrete: they hope that women that come to the Turkish women's association become familiar with the pre-school in the same building, but also the other way around. Mothers that bring their children to the pre-school or to child care can become familiar with the activities which are organised in the same building for women.

In Amsterdam, the city district of Bos and Lommer will spend EUR 15.5 million on the social pillar and EUR 5.2 million extra on the social renewal of the Kolenkit area between 2003-2015 (respectively EUR 1.2 and EUR 0.4 million per year). It is important to note that the social pillar not only involves the activities discussed in this chapter, but also the programme 'Kolenkit Actief' (Chapter 5), education (Chapter 7) and health care (Chapter 8). On the other hand, it is important to note that this does not include investments by other actors (such as in 'Kolenkit Actief') and it also excludes 'normal' or regular expenses such as those on education.

In 2002 part of a former high school in the Kolenkit area has been transformed to an 'asylum seeker centre and accommodation'. Currently, the city district is planning to involve the residents of this centre with the activities in, and residents of, the Kolenkit area and Bos and Lommer.

The mosque association has plans to construct a mosque. The renewal plans of the city district and the housing consortia do *not* plan this mosque, but the plan 'reserves' space for

the construction of a mosque, and the city district discusses the possibilities with the mosque association.

9.5 Conclusions

There are many programmes and policies that focus on social aspects. Many of these are not part of the renewal of the estates, but should be considered 'normal' or 'regular' activities. To a certain degree, this holds for most of the activities discussed in this report – with the exception of Chapter 3. The Big Cities Policy puts many (but certainly not all) of these policies under one umbrella, but in fact many policies and programmes co-exist next to one another instead of integrated with one another.

This chapter has described several programmes and activities that focus on the well-being of individuals and communities. They are concerned with issues such as livability, community, empowerment and sports, and are thus directly connected to issues such as safety, employment, health and well-being. It can be said therefore, that all these projects are important initiatives for improving the situation in the neighbourhood. However, at the same time there can be doubts about whether the supply of all these projects maybe is too fragmented; this many activities all focus on just a little aspect of the situation in the neighbourhood and there is often no mutual cooperation or connection. Also, the same as with projects focussing on improving feelings of safety (Chapter 6), many of these projects exist a while and than disappear again. This is often related to the fact that there is too little interest within the neighbourhood or subsidies are stopped.

10 Conclusions

This report is focused on two central questions; one question relates to the basic philosophy (or philosophies) behind the different existing policies with regard to large-scale housing estates in the Netherlands, specifically in Utrecht and Amsterdam; and the second question relates to the way these policies are organised. In the policy organisation, the issue of participation and the development of ideas about the effectiveness of the applied policies are crucial. In this concluding chapter, we will not reiterate the details of the findings, but try to give broad answers to the research questions. To reach these goals we will subsequently deal with three issues. The largest section will deal with the basic philosophies, including a short and critical discussion of the potential effects of the policies (advantages, disadvantages). Two shorter ones will follow this section: one on the issue of who participates and how successful they do that and the other on the most successful policies, which will briefly be summarised.

10.1 Basic philosophies and objectives

Dutch policy towards urban restructuring of large-scale housing estates cannot be depicted as a very uniform one. The wider philosophy behind the politics is reflected in a multitude of opinions among the various actors. The national government seems to be driven by a general idea that restructuring may help to strengthen the integration between different fields (domains). This is expressed in texts in which the relation between the social, economic and the physical dimension of renewal are dealt with in an integrative way. Recently this set of dimensions was extended with a fourth domain, the safety dimension.

Local authorities sometimes express similar ideas, but in practice they seem to be focused on responding to the criteria set by the national government (which is the reason why they use similar phrases), in order to get the money they need to be able to carry out some renewal in the first place. Other authorities at the level of urban districts may again have other views; they often aim at getting rid of the problems in their territory, and thus have other aims in mind compared to the local authorities. Housing associations – to mention yet another actor – seem to focus the attention much more on narrow objectives: many of them have in mind that the restructuring process is first of all an opportunity to realise a physical renewal of the area. Developers will have their own objectives to realise a certain volume of newly-built environments.

In short, there can be many different philosophies, ideas and conflicting goals, which are expressed by various players in the field. This, however, does not prevent the development of a

certain discourse in which common elements are returning. In the Dutch urban restructuring policies there are a couple of returning elements. The policies express their preference for integrated philosophies: physical, social, economic and safety, dealt with in a simultaneous way. There are also fairly common views on what the challenges are. Perhaps the most common objective is the reduction of social problems.

A somewhat more specific, but in fact still rather general issue is that many actors especially express a fear for segregation and ghettoisation. Actors like the state, local governments and housing associations regard segregation as a bad thing; consequently, segregation should, according to these actors, be reduced. There is a widely shared feeling that segregation is increasing and that segregation has negative impacts upon the integration opportunities of individuals in the wider (mainstream) society.

Enhancing integration of those who have problems with participation in society is among the most central aims in today's policy debates, including the debates on urban restructuring. The way this should be reached is a difficult one, however. There, opinions are not that uniform. Some think that general policies in the domains of education and labour market entry policies are crucial to improving integration. Others believe that a more targeted focus on areas is more productive. Especially the social mix types of policies, including dispersal policies and tenure mix policies, are thought to add to the solution of the 'integration-problem'. In fact all of these perceptions and opinions can be challenged and alternative views can be formulated.

The discourses just mentioned could best be illustrated with the actual discussion regarding urban restructuring or the Big Cities Policy; we already referred to the key determinants of that policy. The economic pillar receives the most direct Big Cities Policy-funds while the physical pillar in effect receives the largest sums of investment because there are many additional physical investments, such as those by the housing associations. Of the four so-called pillars of the policy, two are directly related: the economic and the social. The 'new' pillar, safety, is often intertwined with either the social or the physical pillar. In effect, there are two groups of pillars that can be referred to as most central: the physical pillar on the one hand and the social and economic pillars on the other. This enables us to show the tensions in the debate about the key character of the problems and the key character of the solutions for the problems. In theory the analysis of the problems can show us that urban restructuring problems are mainly linked to the physical dimension. Buildings can be dilapidated, technically or in terms of standards unfit to live in anymore. This could be a reason to demolish or restructure the units and to create better alternatives. The problems may also be labelled as 'social problems'. This is true when we find large numbers of unemployed, or otherwise a lot of inhabitants who are not very well participating in society. These problems include the unemployed, drug addicts, criminal people, low-skilled and low-educated people, etc. Both dimensions may also occur simultaneously. The

Table 10.1 – The association between types of problem analyses and types of policy solutions

		Problem-analysis	
		Socio-economic	Physical
Solution	Socio-economic	X	
	Physical	O	X

Source: own research, 2004

solutions that are being defined for the social or physical problems can also be either socio-economic or physical. In our view and in theory, it makes sense to distinguish between three types of combinations of problems and solutions, as shown in Table 10.1.

One combination does not seem to be logical from the outset: trying to solve a physical problem with socio-economic policies does not seem to make much sense. The other three policies, however, may be possible. From our point of view the most logical combinations are those that are marked with an 'X'. The Dutch experience seems to be particularly the one that is labelled with an 'O'. That is a complicated combination. Various assumptions are required to defend a policy intervention in which physical change is central, while the problems have been defined as social. These assumptions are most complicated and relate to the idea that the physical structure has a very big impact on people's well-being and mental condition and that exactly these well-being and mental conditions are crucial parameters conditioning the social problems that have to be attacked, such as unemployment, criminal behaviour and deviant behaviour. Often, it will be difficult to support these assumptions. Yet, this is a crucial element of the Dutch Big Cities Policy and the related restructuring policy (which is related to the physical pillar).

In general, problems are addressed as social issues, in terms of too high unemployment figures; too many people dependent on benefits; too much criminality, and so on. The link with ghettoisation, segregation, integration and area-based interventions, however, is not made very clear. There is a good deal of literature that shows that segregation levels are not or hardly increasing; there is literature that shows at best a weak, but more often a lack of a relation between segregation and integration; and there is literature in which physical interventions aimed at social engineering of the neighbourhoods are being criticised very much. Seldom 'salvation through bricks' will be possible if the real problem is social. Therefore, a critical attitude towards the actual policies is still legitimised.

However, as Uitermark (2003, p. 533) remarks: *'The literal text of the policy does not talk about ghettos and only incidentally hints at a relationship between neighbourhood characteristics and the social mobility of neighbourhood residents.'* Alternatively, Uitermark (2003, pp. 545-546) argues that: *'The lack of suitable institutions to integrate ethnic minorities into the Dutch economy and institutional framework has had severe repercussions for disadvantaged neighbourhoods and (indirectly) made it increasingly difficult for neighbourhood managers to carry out their tasks. These difficulties (combined, of course, with the genuine moral disapproval of the situation in disadvantaged neighbourhoods) led neighbourhood managers to call upon central government to provide them with instruments to increase the manageability of disadvantaged neighbourhoods. (...) [Thus,] social mixing [through physical renewal] could come to be seen as a means to an end – the end being the establishment of a multifaceted system of control in disadvantaged neighbourhoods that would reduce the burden they formed for a city-oriented national growth strategy.'*

In order to soften the critique a little bit, we should also pay attention to the other policy domains. It is true that certain policies in the spheres of employment, safety, education and health, or direct social interventions, are also part of the package of interventions. In some of these domains, serious amounts of money are spent on more general policies aimed at reducing social arrears in a fairly direct way. Especially the specific policies in the sphere of education are worth mentioning (see successful policies). However, in our view, these more direct types of policies could even become stronger if money would be moved from the indirect policy arenas to these more direct policy arenas.

10.2 Who participates and how successful

In the course of time, the efforts to bring people to the table where plans are being developed and decisions are being made, has increased. In large and complicated processes, the participation of residents is organised but the real influence of this group is limited. The question should be raised to what extent projects have been altered due to the residents' participation. Some policies however, especially the EU funded URBAN policies in the Bijlmer, did seem to have a mobilising effect. These funds could kind of pass the local governments and directly be aimed at a larger participation of the inhabitants and other actors in the area. This seems to have worked well.

In Utrecht, since 2002, every neighbourhood or district in the city (ten in total) has a council, consisting of a group of residents who represent the rest of the neighbourhood population. They can give asked as well as unasked advice to the local government about things that should get more attention. As these councils have not existed very long, it seems that this method needs to be improved on several points. For example, as it took a long time before the local government reacted on their ideas, the councils had the feeling that their advice was not taken seriously enough. As a reaction on this complaint, the working method of the local government with respect to the councils' advice has been adapted; communication has improved and it has been appointed that the councils should be informed about the thoughts of the local policy makers within a month. Furthermore, as most members of the council are white males in their thirties, especially in the research neighbourhoods, the question has been raised whether they form a good reflection of the neighbourhood population; after all, the share of residents with a non-Dutch background in these areas is rather large. Although their participation is important several key-actors stated that this group is hard to reach.

Furthermore, it is documented in the DUO-agreement when residents should be informed or involved both by the local government or the housing associations. It is the task of the housing association to get an agreement with the present tenants and to convince them of the need of the planned interventions. As some plans aim at attracting new residents to the area, this is sometimes hard to establish.

10.3 Successful policies

How should we evaluate the success of policies? On the one hand, we can see if the policy development was in line with the plan (plan-conformity); on the other hand we can see if the policy was in line with the goal (goal-conformity). Besides, it is also possible that a policy results in unexpected, but positive results. In this section we will only focus on the projects that were successful with regard to goal-conformity. However, we assume goal-conformity can be reached much easier through plan-conformity.

It is striking to see that most of the best practices that will be mentioned are in the social dimension of the Big Cities Policy. Among these we certainly can mention the 'educational-arrears-policy' the Netherlands have adopted. The core of that policy is to give weights to pupils on the basis of their chances to get ahead in society. The weights are based on the parents' positions. Pupils with illiterate or unskilled parents, which also have a language problem, will get the weight of 1.9. This implies that in schools with a lot of these children classes will be

smaller and more individual attention can be given to each pupil. This policy seems to have very positive effects. Second- and third-generation children can thus improve their skills substantially.

Other best practices are in the sphere of:

- The 'New Perspectives/Chances' programme targeted at young people with problems by providing them future perspective through schooling and job training (Section 7.2).
- The 'Neighbourhood Fathers' project involves Moroccan fathers that walk around the neighbourhood in the evening to talk to the (Moroccan) young people about their behaviour and to increase feelings of safety, but also inter-generational integration (Section 6.2).
- The 'Justice in the Neighbourhood' programme targets criminals at the neighbourhood level (Section 6.2).
- The 'Neighbourhood's Turn' and the 'Bottom-up Fund' projects promote residents' initiatives by awarding good plans from the neighbourhood with funds to stimulate the implementation of these initiatives by the residents themselves (respectively Sections 6.1 and 9.4).

The projects mentioned here are just a fragment of all the existing projects of which most we have tried to mention in this report. They all focus on improving the situation in, amongst others, the estates under research. However, in some cases it can be doubted whether this multitude of policies can indeed be seen as effective. There is a risk that different initiatives that focus on the same subject work at cross purposes; for example, in Utrecht several ethnic organisations focus on reducing the educational arrears of Moroccan young people. At the same time, another such organisation focuses on reducing the educational arrears of Turkish young people. However, these two organisations see no reason for cooperation. Although the local government aims to increase the integration on the neighbourhood level, this mutual cooperation is not stimulated. There is a possibility that the local policy makers use all these different projects and actions as a kind of experiment in order to find out what works and what does not work. In this way, new ideas may come up.

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List of people interviewed

Some of these key-persons are mentioned in the text. We have learnt a great deal from all of them, especially about past and present developments in the estates.

*Utrecht*¹⁸

- Chairman of tenants' organisation in Kanaleneiland
- (Assistant) neighbourhood coordinators for Southwest and South Utrecht
- Managing director of housing association Mitros, Utrecht
- Social workers in Kanaleneiland and Nieuw-Hoograven
- Chairman of neighbourhood department South of the town council, Utrecht
- Business advisor of the department of economic affairs, Utrecht
- Executives of the neighbourhood project called 'Hoograven aan Zet'
- Executive of social welfare organisation in South Utrecht
- District administrator of housing association Bo-Ex for South Utrecht
- Employee of the local city development department, Utrecht
- Alderwoman Housing, Utrecht
- Alderman the Big Cities Policy, Utrecht
- Alderman Social Affairs, Utrecht
- Alderman Education, Utrecht
- Managing director of development company Properstok, Rotterdam
- Process managers of Duo-agreement, Utrecht
- Employees of housing association Bo-Ex, Utrecht
- Account manager of health department for South Utrecht
- Account managers of social development department South and Southwest Utrecht
- Neighbourhood manager of safety for Southwest Utrecht

Amsterdam^{19, 20}

- B. Wortman, area developer, Far West (housing association)
- R. Sprengers, area developer, Prospect Amsterdam (housing association)
- R. de Koning, head of policy and communication, Zuidoost office, Sociale Dienst Amsterdam (social services department)
- P. van der Krieke, head of basis unit Bos and Lommer, Sociale Dienst Amsterdam (social services department)
- A. Ghatteb, participation collaborator, 'Bureau Parkstad'/Bos and Lommer district
- A. Aleva/J.W. Sluiskes, renewal staff, Management and Environment, Zuidoost district

18 For reasons of privacy we have listed their functions and not their names.

19 As discussed with the key-persons, their functions as well as their names are listed.

20 The Amsterdam team would like to thank Marijn de Smit for conducting part of the interviews.

- S. Kneefel, physical renewal staff, department of Society and Development, Zuidoost district
- C.J. Marten, product manager 'social activation', Zuidoost office, Alcides (welfare organisation)
- M. Suitela, huurteam Tuinsteden (Tenants' team Garden Cities), Amsterdams Steunpunt Wonen (Support team Housing)
- I.A. Aceampong, project manager social-economic renewal, Zuidoost district
- T.S. Tjao, head of Multiculturalisation and Participation Bureau
- W. Kwekkeboom, head of area development, Housing Foundation Patrimonium
- F. Gersteling, secretary, Huurdersvereniging Amsterdam (Tenants' association)
- H. Luiten, chairman of the Bos and Lommer district (also known as 'city district mayor')
- M. El Filali, Bureau Intercultural Work Bos and Lommer
- Richterink, residents' association 'Leeuw van Vlaanderen', Bos and Lommer
- M. Koorenstra, project team 'Ganzenhoef' (estate within the Bijlmer)
- J. Schuit, neighbourhood director G/E area, police department Zuidoost
- J. van Zanten, neighbourhood director Kolenkit area, police department Bos and Lommer
- J. Duijn, socio-cultural worker, community centre 'De Schaffelaar', Bos and Lommer

Next to these interviews, we have also consulted the following people:

- W. Louman (and colleagues at several district departments), staff, housing and spatial planning, Bos and Lommer district
- R. Leferink, head of Bijlmer renewal agency
- A. Klandermans, head of Urban Revitalisation and Housing Policy, housing department, city of Amsterdam
- J. van der Veer, consultant and senior researcher, Amsterdam Federation of Housing Associations
- G. Anderiesen, head of 'Algemene Woningbouw Vereniging' (housing association)
- F. Martin, secretary of the board of directors of Impuls (welfare foundation); chairman of foundation 'De Driehoek' (housing, working and living in New West); former alderman in one of New West's city districts

