Delft University of Technology

Visibility, democratic public space and socially inclusive cities
The presence and changes of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam

Sezer, Ceren

DOI
10.7480/abe.2020.4

Publication date
2020

Document Version
Final published version

Citation (APA)
Sezer, C. (2020). *Visibility, democratic public space and socially inclusive cities: The presence and changes of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam*. [Dissertation (TU Delft), Delft University of Technology]. A+BE | Architecture and the Built Environment. https://doi.org/10.7480/abe.2020.4

Important note
To cite this publication, please use the final published version (if applicable).
Please check the document version above.

Copyright
Other than for strictly personal use, it is not permitted to download, forward or distribute the text or part of it, without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), unless the work is under an open content license such as Creative Commons.

Takedown policy
Please contact us and provide details if you believe this document breaches copyrights.
We will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

This work is downloaded from Delft University of Technology.
For technical reasons the number of authors shown on this cover page is limited to a maximum of 10.

Visibility, democratic public space and socially inclusive cities

The presence and changes of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam

Ceren Sezer

Visibility, democratic public space and socially inclusive cities

The presence and changes of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam

Ceren Sezer

A+BE | Architecture and the Built Environment | TU Delft BK

20#04

Design | Sirene Ontwerpers, Rotterdam

Cover photo | Ceren Sezer

ISBN 978-94-6366-254-3
ISSN 2212-3202

© 2020 Ceren Sezer

Digital version freely available at **abe.tudelft.nl**

All rights reserved. No part of the material protected by this copyright notice may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system, without written permission from the author.

Unless otherwise specified, all the photographs in this thesis were taken by the author. For the use of illustrations effort has been made to ask permission for the legal owners as far as possible. We apologize for those cases in which we did not succeed. These legal owners are kindly requested to contact the publisher.

TOC

Visibility, democratic public space and socially inclusive cities

The presence and changes of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam

Dissertation

for the purpose of obtaining the degree of doctor
at Delft University of Technology
by the authority of the Rector Magnificus, prof.dr.ir. T.H.J.J. van der Hagen
chair of the Board for Doctorates
to be defended publicly on
Friday, 24 February 2020 at 15:00 o'clock

by

Ceren SEZER
Architect, Faculty of Architecture, Istanbul Technical University, Turkey
Master of Science in Urbanism, Delft University of Technology, the Netherlands
born in Trabzon, Turkey

TOC

This dissertation has been approved by the promotors.

Composition of the doctoral committee:

Rector Magnificus,	chairperson
Prof. V. Nadin	Delft University of Technology, promotor
Dr. ir. A. M. Fernandez Maldonado	Delft University of Technology, copromotor

Independent members:

Prof. Dr. S. Watson	Open University
Prof. Dr. A. Madanipour	Newcastle University
Prof. Dr. J. Rath	University of Amsterdam
Prof. Dr. ir. M. Elsinga	Delft University of Technology
Associate Prof. Dr. R. Kleinhans	Delft University of Technology

TOC

Acknowledgement

This book would not be possible without the support of a number of individuals to whom I would like to thank here:

I would like to thank to my promoter Vincent Nadin for his guidance and confidence that I could finish this book. I have been extremely lucky to have Ana Maria Fernandez Maldonado as my co-promoter, who cared so much about me and my work, and always promptly responded to my questions and enquiries. I also would like to thank to all the members of staff at Delft University of Technology, Department of Urbanism, specifically to department's secretaries, Karin Visser, Danielle Hellendoorn, and Margo van der Helm.

I also owe special thanks to the scholars, with whom I have had an opportunity to work on various projects, who helped me to shape some ideas, which I presented in this book: Stephen Marshall (University College of London), Rob Shields (University of Alberta), Sophie Watson (Open University), Ali Madanipour (Newcastle University), Vikas Mehta and Danilo Palazzdo (University of Cincinnati), Freek Janssens (University of Amsterdam), Matej Niksic (Urban Planning Institute of the Republic of Slovenia), Patricia Aelbrecht (Cardiff University), and Quentin Stevens (Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, RMIT). I also would like to thank to my colleagues with whom I initiated and extended the AESOP thematic group on *Public Spaces and Urban Cultures*, specifically to Sabine Knierbein and Tihomir Viderman (Technical University of Vienna), Gabriella Esposito De Vita and Stefania Ragozino (CNR-IRISS National Research Council of Italy), Christine Mady (Notre Dame University of Louzine, Beirut), Sara Santos Cruz (University of Porto) and Nadia Charalambous (University of Cyprus).

I would like to thank to my dear friends Umut Azak, Tamara Rogic, Ipek Gursel Dino Bige Tuncel and Hermen Smit for their encouragement and motivation to finish this book, and Pinar Balat for her great support to improve the graphic quality of this book.

Finally, I owe a great thanks to my family. My Dutch family Mimi and Pim Nelissen, who were always available to help me with babysitting, travelling all the way from Maastricht to Amsterdam. A big warm thanks to my brother Mustafa, who has always been a great inspiration for me with his work, and my sisters Sinem and Duygu for all the fun, laughter and smiles. Duygu was also a great reader and editor for many parts of this book.

TOC

I am in debt to my parents, Nurcemal and Seyhun Sezer, for their unconditional love, advice, guidance, and support from far home in Samsun, Turkey. On the home front, I am thankful to my children, Deniz and Nurcemal, who cheered me up in my difficult times and reminded me my priorities. And finally, I am in debted to Maurits, my best friend, beloved partner and husband for encouraging me to finish this project and providing me many joyful moments with meals, drinks, music, dance and many other delights. This book is dedicated to my parents and Maurits.

Ceren Sezer
Amsterdam, 8 October 2019

TOC

Contents

List of Tables 12
List of Figures 13
Summary 15
Samenvatting 19
Information about publications 23

PART 1 Definition of the problem, aims and methodology

1 **Introduction** 27

1.1 **Situating the study within the urban studies** 27
1.1.1 The ideal of public space and city life 27
1.1.2 Public spaces in transformation 28
1.1.3 Visibility in public space 30

1.2 **Problem statement** 30
1.3 **Research aims and questions** 32

1.4 **Methodology** 33
1.4.1 Research approach 33
1.4.2 Research design 33

1.5 **Relevance** 40
1.5.1 Societal Relevance 40
1.5.2 Scientific Relevance 41

1.6 **Organisation of the book** 41

PART 2 Theory and context

2 Visibility as a conceptual tool for the design and planning of democratic streets 45

2.1 **Introduction** 46

2.2 **Democratic public spaces and democratic streets** 47
2.2.1 Democratic public spaces 47
2.2.2 Democratic streets and their main features 49

2.3 **Visibility in public space** 52
2.4 **Visibility and democratic streets: a focus on immigrant amenities** 55
2.5 **Conclusion** 57

3 Urban policy and transformation of immigrant neighbourhoods in the Netherlands 61

3.1 **Introduction** 62
3.2 **The changing political and economic context in the Netherlands** 63
3.3 **Immigration and immigrant neighbourhoods in the Netherlands** 66

3.4 **Evolution of immigrant integration policy** 68
3.4.1 Until the 1980s: denial of being a country of immigration 69
3.4.2 The 1980s: emancipation of minorities 70
3.4.3 The 1990s: integration of allochtonous 70
3.4.4 The 2000s: the rise of a more assimilationist discourse 71
3.4.5 The 2010s: towards more restricted approaches 71

3.5 **Evolution of urban policies** 72
3.5.1 Until the 1980s: the post-war reconstruction 73
3.5.2 The 1980s: adapting to the market economy 74
3.5.3 The 1990s: the revival of the inner city 75
3.5.4 The 2000s period: area-based urban interventions 76
3.5.5 The 2010s: post-crisis recovery and the search for a new direction 78

3.6 **Location and transformation of immigrant neighbourhoods in Amsterdam** 79
3.7 **Conclusion** 85

PART 3 Empirical analysis

4 Visibility of Turkish amenities: immigrant integration and social cohesion in Amsterdam 89

4.1 Introduction 90

4.2 Visibility in public space, immigrant integration and social cohesion 92
4.2.1 Visibility of immigrant amenities in the public space 93

4.3 Methodological approach 96

4.4 The socio-economic and policy context 97
4.4.1 Immigrant integration, social cohesion and urban renewal policies in the Netherlands 97
4.4.2 Turkish neighbourhoods in Amsterdam 98

4.5 Social characteristics of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam 100
4.5.1 Commercial amenities 100
4.5.2 Communal amenities 101

4.6 Spatial characteristics of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam 103
4.6.1 City level 103
4.6.2 Neighbourhood level 107

4.7 Conclusion and recommendations 111

5 Public Life, Immigrant Amenities and Socio-cultural Inclusion: 115

The presence and changes of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam

5.1 Introduction 116
5.2 Socio-cultural inclusion in public space 117
5.3 Methodological approach 120
5.4 Approaches to urban renewal in Amsterdam 122

5.5 **City level analysis: Spatial distribution of distinctive Turkish amenities in Amsterdam** 124
5.5.1 Distinguishing Amsterdam's shopping streets according to their potential users 124
5.5.2 Location of Turkish amenities 127

5.6 **Street level analysis: diversity, vitality and Turkish amenities** 129
5.6.1 Javastraat 129
5.6.2 Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan 134

5.7 **Findings** 138
5.8 **Discussion and conclusion** 140

6 **Cultural Visibility and Urban Justice in immigrant neighbourhoods of Amsterdam** 143

6.1 **Introduction** 144

6.2 **Public space, cultural visibility and issues of urban justice** 145
6.2.1 Public space, cultural visibility and urban justice 145
6.2.2 Urban policies and neighbourhood transformation 147

6.3 **The study** 149

6.4 **City and neighbourhood transformation in Amsterdam** 151
6.4.1 The Indische Buurt 154
6.4.2 Slotermeer 156

6.5 **Cultural visibility in Javastraat and Burgemeester van Vlugtlaan** 157
6.5.1 Javastraat 158
6.5.2 Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan 163

6.6 **Findings** 168
6.7 **Conclusion** 170

PART 4 Conclusion

7 Conclusion 173

7.1 Introduction 173
7.2 Main findings 174
7.3 Conclusions 180
7.4 Theoretical and methodological reflections 182
7.5 Implications for urban planning and design theory, policy and practice 184
7.6 Directions for future research 185

References 187
Biography 195
List of Publications 197

TOC

List of Tables

3.1 Integration policy frames in the Netherlands since the 1970s (Adapted from Scholten, 2011) 69

3.2 Main urban policies in the Netherlands (Source: Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008:81) 73

4.1 Turkish residents in Amsterdam 2000, 2007, 2015* 100

4.2 Typology of streets of commercial and communal amenities in Amsterdam 104

4.3 Types of streets in which commercial and communal amenities were clustered in Amsterdam in 2007 105

6.1 Evolution of the Big Cities policies 1994-2009 (Adapted from Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008) 152

6.2 Turkish residents in the Indische Buurt and Slotermeer in 2008 and 2015 (Source: Gemeente Amsterdam, 2008; 2015) 154

List of Figures

1.1 Analytical framework 34

1.2 Conceptual framework 36

1.3 Map of Amsterdam and the location of case streets 39

1.4 The structure of the book 42

3.1 Three main types of welfare regimes. (Source: Valeyeva, 2011:17) 63

3.2 Unemployment in the Netherlands 1959-1995 (Source: McMahon, 2000: p.105) 65

3.3 People with a foreign background in the Netherlands 1 January 2015. (Source: CBS, 2015) 67

3.4 A street view from Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam. (Source: Photo: Sezer) 68

3.5 Urban renewal policies in the Netherlands (Source: Uyterlinde et al, 2017:4) 72

3.6 Housing stock in the Netherlands by tenure, 1947-2010. (Source: Elsinga, 2011: 5) 76

3.7 Average price of homes sold in the Netherlands, 1995-2016, in euros. (Source: Boterman, 2016: 11) 77

3.8 Residential clusters areas of non-western immigrants in Amsterdam in 1998 (Source: Author's own elaboration with data from Regimonitor Groot Amsterdam, 2017) 81

3.9 Residential clusters areas of non-western immigrants in Amsterdam in 2008(Source: Author's own elaboration with data from Regimonitor Groot Amsterdam, 2017) 82

3.10 Residential clusters areas of non-western immigrants in Amsterdam in 2018(Source: Author's own elaboration with data from Regimonitor Groot Amsterdam, 2017) 83

4.1 Residential concentration of Turkish immigrants in Amsterdam region in 2000, 2007 and 2015 (Source: Author's own elaboration with data from Regiomonitor Groot Amsterdam, 2017.) 99

4.2 Announcements in a Turkish mosque in Amsterdam (Source:Photo:Sezer) 102

4.3 Types of streets in which commercial and communal amenities were clustered in 2007 in Amsterdam. (Source: Authors' elaboration) 105

4.4 Neighbourhood level analysis of Turkish amenities in terms of their personalisation, permeability and robustness at street level. (Source: Sezer) 108

4.5 Mosques in three different locations in Amsterdam and their personalisation at street level. (Source: Sezer) 110

5.1 Diagram explaining steps for mapping and identifying streets with high concentration of retail functions, museums, hotels, theatres and concert salons; cafés and restaurants in Amsterdam in 2010. (Source: Sezer) 121

5.2 Mapping and identifying streets with high concentration of retail functions, museums and hotels, cafés and restaurants in Amsterdam in 2010. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data from Municipality of Amsterdam (2010)). 126

5.3 Streets clustering Turkish amenities in Amsterdam. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research) 128

5.4 Turkish amenities in Javastraat. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research) 131

5.5 Javastraat in 2017. (Source: Photo: Sezer) 133

5.6 Turkish amenities in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, 2007. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research) 135

5.7 Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, 2017. (Source:Photo: Sezer) 137

6.1 Urban policies shaping neighbourhood transformation. 148

6.2 Location of the selected study areas in Amsterdam. 150

6.3 Average price of homes sold in the Netherlands, 1995-2016. (Source: Boterman, 2016) 153

6.4 The Indische Buurt and Javastraat. (Source:Adapted from Google Maps) 158

6.5 Turkish amenities in Javastraat, 2007. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research) 160

6.6 User intensity and user activities in Javastraat, 2007. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research) 161

6.7 Slotermeer and Burgemeester de Vlughtlaan. (Source: Adapted from Google Maps) 163

6.8 Turkish amenities in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan in 2007. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research) 165

6.9 User intensity and user activities in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, 2007. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research) 166

6.10 Amenities in west (above) and east (below) sides of Burgemeester de Vluchtlaan, 2016 (Source:Photo: Sezer) 167

Summary

This research introduces the concept of visibility as a useful tool to assess the democratic features of public spaces. We understand democratic public spaces as open spaces, which are accessible to all and allow different cultural expressions for individuals and groups. The concept of visibility refers to the visual perception of the observable features of distinctive urban groups in public space, which give evidence of their lived experiences, and how they engage with, shape, and construct public space in everyday life. The main assumption of the study is that the visibility of distinctive urban groups on the street manifests the rights of these groups to participate in the public life of the city, which is a key feature of a democratic public space. Consequently, the presence and changes in the visibility of urban groups in public space is a highly political issue, which raises concerns in relation to just or unjust urban conditions.

Open and democratic public spaces are an asset to achieve socially inclusive cities, recognized as such in academic and policy circles. However, the present political and economic context has turned public spaces into a tool for the branding and marketing of cities. Public space is increasingly designed and geared to attract tourists and higher-income groups, leading to trends toward the commodification of urban development. Such trends discourage the presence in, and uses of, public space by some groups, contributing to the erosion of key features of democratic public spaces.

The urban literature gives useful indications about the observable qualities of democratic public spaces, but their tangible and physical aspects have not been sufficiently studied in the urban design and planning literature. Furthermore, little attention has been given to the precise effects that urban transformations may have on the democratic features of public spaces, or on their implications for the design and planning of socially inclusive cities. Consequently, the main objective of this research is to advance knowledge about the democratic features of public space that promote socially inclusive neighbourhoods and cities.

The approach considers the visibility of commercial and communal amenities as a proxy for the presence and appropriation of public space by immigrant groups through their distinctive signs, languages, and uses. The analysed and documented the recent changes in the visibility of Turkish amenities in the streets of Amsterdam

TOC

in the context of urban transformations in the period between 2007 and 2016. The methodology of the research included deskwork and fieldwork. The former included theory review and identification of the policy context. The latter included primary data collection about the immigrant amenities' spatial and social characteristics, mapping of the presence and changes of the amenities in two selected streets, and finally, analyses, synthesis and interpretation of the findings.

Two streets located in the inner-city (Javastraat) and the outskirts (Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan) of Amsterdam were selected as case-study, in base of their location; demographic trends; and type of users. Their empirical examination was useful to appraise and document the presence and changes of Turkish amenities in these streets during the studied period.

There are five major findings in this research. First, visibility can be operationalized by studying the spatial and social characteristics of immigrant amenities in public space. Measuring and documenting the spatial (at city and neighbourhood level) and social (social life of parochial and public realm) characteristics of immigrant amenities, the visibility of culturally distinctive groups in public space can be compared in a synchronic and diachronic way. This constitutes an innovative approach to the empirical assessment of public space, which complements statistical and quantitative approaches to public space. A longitudinal analysis of these changes then offers a better understanding of the relationship of these changes with the corresponding urban policies and trends.

Second, immigrant neighbourhoods and their commercial amenities have been significantly affected by the commercial and residential gentrification of inner-city immigrant neighbourhoods in Amsterdam. These trends have been the result of a gradual shift from a social democratic towards a liberal welfare regime in the Netherlands since the 1980s, which has strongly influenced successive national and city level urban policies and strategies. Since then, Amsterdam urban renewal and housing policies have evolved significantly from the 'building for the neighbourhood' approach towards a market-oriented approach.

Third, the social characteristics of immigrant amenities – related to their capacity to promote social contacts within the immigrant and larger community – are different for commercial and communal amenities. The former are more open, and therefore more visible in public space. The location-related spatial characteristics vary for inner-city/outskirts and main street/back streets locations. Inner city and main street locations are more visible for a broader public. Other spatial characteristics that contribute to a greater visibility of immigrant amenities are high levels of legibility; personalisation; and robustness.

Fourth, the visibility of distinctive urban groups in public space – linked to their participation in public life – is a strong indication of the socio-cultural inclusion of these groups into the society. Taking that into account, the decreasing visibility of Turkish amenities found in Javastraat during the 2007-2016 period has produced a negative impact on the socio-cultural inclusion of Turkish immigrants in Amsterdam.

Fifth, the decreasing visibility of immigrant groups has detrimental consequences for shaping democratic public spaces and for promoting urban justice principles, specifically from the perspectives of diversity and equity. Diverse public spaces welcome urban groups from different social, cultural and economic backgrounds. Equity refers to the accessibility of public spaces – both physically and perceptually – for different groups.

The overall conclusion is that visibility in public space can provide solid evidence of the most important aspects of democratic streets, which are difficult to obtain through conventional statistical methods. Even though this study focused on immigrant amenities (used as a proxy), the conclusions can be broadened to include other distinctive urban groups, such as sexual minorities, and vulnerable groups, as well as other forms of visibility such as festivals, parades and events.

Visibility can be a valuable tool for ex-ante and ex-post evaluations of the democratic character of streets to inform designers, researchers and policy makers about the impact of the proposed or finished interventions. It would be especially valuable in cases of profound neighbourhood transformation processes, which modify the demographic profile of a neighbourhood.

Finally, training and education of designers and planners of public space should incorporate visibility as an important concept to examine the diversity and vitality features of public space, in order to promote democratic streets and more socially inclusive cities. Neighbourhood visions and development plans should take into account the role of the presence of distinctive urban groups in public life to promote the sociocultural inclusion of distinctive urban groups.

TOC

Samenvatting

In dit onderzoek introduceren we het begrip zichtbaarheid als een nuttig instrument om de democratische kenmerken van openbare ruimten te beoordelen. We vatten democratische openbare ruimten op als open ruimten die voor iedereen toegankelijk zijn en waarin individuen en groepen zich op verschillende wijzen cultureel kunnen uiten. Het begrip zichtbaarheid verwijst naar de visuele perceptie van de waarneembare kenmerken van verschillende stedelijke groepen in de openbare ruimte, kenmerken die getuigen van hun geleefde ervaringen en van hoe ze in het dagelijks leven omgaan met de openbare ruimte, deze vormgeven en construeren. De belangrijkste vooronderstelling in dit onderzoek is dat de zichtbaarheid van verschillende stedelijke groepen een indicator is van de rechten van deze groepen om deel te nemen aan het openbare leven van de stad, wat een belangrijk kenmerk is van een democratische openbare ruimte. De aanwezigheid en de veranderingen in de zichtbaarheid van stedelijke groepen in de openbare ruimte is dan ook een zeer politieke kwestie, die vragen oproept in verband met rechtvaardige dan wel onrechtvaardige stedelijke omstandigheden.

Open en democratische openbare ruimten zijn een positieve factor in de sociale inclusiviteit van steden, en worden als zodanig erkend door wetenschappers en beleidsmakers. In de huidige politieke en economische context is de openbare ruimte echter veranderd in een instrument voor de branding en marketing van steden. Bij het ontwerp van de openbare ruimte wordt het aantrekken van toeristen en hogere inkomensgroepen steeds belangrijker, en hierdoor wordt stedelijke ontwikkeling steeds meer gecommodificeerd. Dergelijke tendensen ontmoedigen sommige groepen om in de openbare ruimte aanwezig te zijn en er gebruik van te maken, en dragen bij aan de erosie van belangrijke kenmerken van de democratische openbare ruimte.

De literatuur over steden bevat nuttige bijdragen over de waarneembare eigenschappen van democratische openbare ruimten, maar de tastbare en fysieke aspecten ervan zijn onvoldoende bestudeerd in de stedenbouwkundige en planologische literatuur. Bovendien wordt er weinig aandacht besteed aan de vraag welke effecten die stedelijke transformaties precies kunnen hebben op de democratische kenmerken van de openbare ruimte, en aan de implicaties ervan voor het ontwerp en de planning van sociaal inclusieve steden. Het hoofddoel van dit onderzoek is dan ook om een bijdrage te leveren aan de kennis over democratische kenmerken van de openbare ruimte die de sociale inclusiviteit van wijken en steden bevorderen.

TOC

In onze aanpak beschouwen we de zichtbaarheid van commerciële en gemeenschappelijke voorzieningen als indicatie voor de aanwezigheid van immigrantengroepen in de openbare ruimte en hun toe-eigening ervan, door hun onderscheidende tekens, talen en gebruik. We hebben de recente veranderingen in de zichtbaarheid van Turkse voorzieningen in de straten van Amsterdam geanalyseerd en gedocumenteerd in de context van stedelijke transformaties in de periode van 2007 tot 2016. We hebben zowel bureauonderzoek als veldwerk uitgevoerd. Het bureauonderzoek hield in dat we de theorie bestudeerden en de beleidscontext identificeerden; het veldwerk hield in dat we in twee geselecteerde straten primaire gegevens over de ruimtelijke en maatschappelijke kenmerken van de immigrantenvoorzieningen verzamelden, dat we de aanwezigheid van de voorzieningen en veranderingen hierin in kaart brachten, en ten slotte dat we de bevindingen analyseerden, samenvoegden en interpreteerden.

Als casestudy werden een straat binnen de ring (de Javastraat) en een straat buiten de ring (Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan) van Amsterdam geselecteerd; de selectie was gebaseerd op locatie, demografische trends en type bewoners. Het empirisch onderzoek van deze straten was nuttig om de aanwezigheid en veranderingen van Turkse voorzieningen in deze straten tijdens de bestudeerde periode te beoordelen en te documenteren.

Er zijn vijf belangrijke bevindingen in dit onderzoek. Ten eerste kan zichtbaarheid worden geoperationaliseerd door de ruimtelijke en maatschappelijke kenmerken van immigrantenvoorzieningen in de openbare ruimte te bestuderen. Wanneer we de ruimtelijke kenmerken (op stads- en buurtniveau) en de maatschappelijke kenmerken (het maatschappelijk leven in de parochiale en publieke omgeving) van immigrantenvoorzieningen meten en documenteren, kan de zichtbaarheid van cultureel verschillende groepen in de openbare ruimte synchroon en diachroon worden vergeleken. Dit is een innovatieve benadering van de empirische beoordeling van de openbare ruimte, die een aanvulling vormt op de statistische en kwantitatieve benadering. Een longitudinale analyse van deze veranderingen biedt vervolgens een beter inzicht in de relatie tussen deze veranderingen en het bijbehorende stedelijke beleid en trends.

Ten tweede zijn immigrantenwijken en hun commerciële voorzieningen sterk beïnvloed door de commerciële en residentiële gentrificatie van immigrantenwijken binnen de ring van Amsterdam. Deze trends zijn het resultaat van een geleidelijke verschuiving van een sociaaldemocratisch naar een liberaal welzijnsbeleid in Nederland sinds de jaren tachtig van de twintigste eeuw. Deze verschuiving is van grote invloed geweest op de achtereenvolgende beleidsmaatregelen en strategieën op landelijk en stedelijk niveau. Sindsdien is het Amsterdamse beleid voor stadsvernieuwing en huisvesting in aanzienlijke mate geëvolueerd van ‘bouwen voor de buurt’ naar een marktgerichte benadering.

Ten derde zijn de maatschappelijke kenmerken van de voorzieningen voor immigranten, met betrekking tot de mate waarin ze sociale contacten binnen de immigranten- en de grotere gemeenschap bevorderen, verschillend voor commerciële en gemeenschappelijke voorzieningen. Commerciële voorzieningen zijn opener en daardoor zichtbaarder in de openbare ruimte. De locatiegerelateerde ruimtelijke kenmerken zijn verschillend binnen en buiten de ring, en tussen hoofdwegen en kleine straten. Locaties binnen de ring en op hoofdwegen zijn beter zichtbaar voor een breder publiek. Andere ruimtelijke kenmerken die bijdragen aan een grotere zichtbaarheid van de immigrantenvoorzieningen zijn een uitgesproken cultureel karakter (‘leesbaarheid’), een hoge mate van personalisatie en grote robuustheid.

Ten vierde is de zichtbaarheid van verschillende stedelijke groepen in de openbare ruimte, met betrekking tot hun deelname aan het openbare leven, een sterke indicatie voor de sociaal-culturele inclusie van deze groepen in de samenleving. In dat perspectief heeft de afnemende zichtbaarheid van Turkse voorzieningen in de Javastraat in de periode 2007-2016 een negatief effect gehad op de sociaal-culturele inclusie van Turkse immigranten in Amsterdam.

Ten vijfde heeft de afnemende zichtbaarheid van migrantengroepen nadelige gevolgen voor de vormgeving van democratische openbare ruimten en voor de bevordering van beginselen van stedelijke rechtvaardigheid, met name vanuit het oogpunt van diversiteit en ‘gelijkheid’. Wanneer openbare ruimten ‘divers’ zijn, voelen stedelijke groepen met verschillende sociale, culturele en economische achtergronden zich er welkom, en met ‘gelijkheid’ bedoelen we hier gelijke toegankelijkheid van de openbare ruimte voor verschillende groepen, zowel fysiek als perceptueel.

De algemene conclusie is dat zichtbaarheid in de openbare ruimte betrouwbaar bewijs kan leveren voor de belangrijkste aspecten van democratische straten, bewijs dat moeilijk te verkrijgen is met conventionele statistische methoden. Dit onderzoek was bij wijze van voorbeeld gericht op voorzieningen voor immigranten, maar de conclusies gelden ook voor andere stedelijke groepen met onderscheidende kenmerken, zoals seksuele minderheden, en voor kwetsbare groepen, en ook voor andere vormen van zichtbaarheid zoals festivals, optochten en evenementen.

Zichtbaarheid kan een waardevol instrument zijn voor ex-ante en ex-post evaluaties van het democratische karakter van straten, en daarmee een nuttige bron voor ontwerpers, onderzoekers en beleidsmakers die geïnteresseerd zijn in de impact van voorgestelde of voltooide interventies. Dit zou extra waardevol zijn in het geval van grondige wijktransformaties, die het demografische profiel van een wijk veranderen.

Ten slotte stellen we dat zichtbaarheid aan bod moet komen in de opleiding en scholing van ontwerpers en planners van de openbare ruimte, als een belangrijk concept om de diversiteits- en vitaliteitskenmerken van de openbare ruimte te onderzoeken, ter bevordering van democratische straten en een grotere sociale inclusiviteit van steden. Buurtvisies en ontwikkelingsplannen moeten rekening houden met de rol van de aanwezigheid van verschillende stedelijke groepen in het openbare leven, om de sociaal-culturele inclusie van deze groepen te stimuleren.

TOC

Information about publications

This dissertation consists of four chapters that are published in, or submitted for publication in peer-reviewed journals and a book, one of which is co-authored. The publication details are as follows:

- **Chapter 3:** Sezer, C. (Accepted with revision). Visibility as a conceptual tool for the design and planning of democratic streets. *Space and Culture*.
- **Chapter 4:** Sezer, C. (2019). Visibility of Turkish amenities: immigrants' integration and social cohesion in Amsterdam, In: Aelbrecht, P.L.S. and Stevens, Q. (Eds) *Public space design and social cohesion: comparative perspectives*, pp: 220-241, New York and London: Routledge.
- **Chapter 5:** Sezer C. (2018). Public life, immigrant amenities and socio-cultural inclusion: the presence and changes of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam, *Journal of Urban Design*, 23(6), 823-842.
- **Chapter 6:** Sezer, C. and Fernandez Maldonado A.M. (2017). Cultural visibility and urban justice in immigrant neighbourhoods of Amsterdam. *Built Environment*. 43(2), 193-214. (The co-author has contributed with 25 per cent of the work).

PART 1

Definition of the problem, aims and methodology

TURKISH AIRLINES
AGENT
KLEDING
REPARATIE
ASGUL
020/
GRATIS
STADSMAGAZINE
Kledingreparatie
Stomerij
16512
P
16512
P

TOC

1 Introduction

1.1 Situating the study within the urban studies

1.1.1 The ideal of public space and city life

Cities can be characterized by the qualities of their streets and public spaces. Urban public spaces are essentially democratic spaces, because they are ideally open and accessible for all, physically, symbolically and perceptually. Their openness and accessibility is precisely what makes them ‘public’. Public spaces allow for the expression of the social, cultural and political differences of urban dwellers, whether individually or collectively. These may include bodily expressions (e.g. clothing styles, cultural signs), political manifestations (e.g. demonstrations, marches), cultural performances (e.g. festivals, ceremonies) and distinctive amenities and neighbourhoods (e.g. immigrant shops, religious places with signs, languages and spatial practices).

Public spaces offer opportunities to see and to be seen, to observe and to be observed, to be noticed and recognized. More importantly, the use of public space reveals the ways in which these spaces are accessible and appropriated by urban dwellers. This quality is very relevant in order to assess how democratic and inclusive public spaces may be. Furthermore, public spaces may also be arenas for debates, protests, dialogue and contestation. Considering these perspectives, public spaces are potentially able to promote socially inclusive cities.

The ideal of democratic public space is undeniably linked to the rise of the modern city and active public life, which has been portrayed as lively streets with the open circulation of pedestrians, the presence and encounter of strangers, people sitting in cafes and gazing at each other, colourful shop windows and street markets, and streets celebrations and demonstrations (Jacobs, 1961; Caldeira, 2000). Such heterogeneous urban life promotes mutual acceptance and recognition among socially different urban groups; a diversity of functions and multiple uses in public space; and offers pleasure and excitement to its users (Watson, 2006). Public space constitutes an open and accessible forum where everyone can speak and listen. In short, urban life in a democratic public space is the political ground for the realization of the 'politics of difference' (Young, 2000), or 'recognizing and affirming diverse social groups by giving political representation to these groups and celebrating their distinctive characteristics and cultures.'(Young, 2000: 240).

Key features of democratic public spaces include the existence of diverse voices and users; the participation and appropriation of public space by the users; and the encouragement of encounters and civility. In many cases, these features are considered as a tool to overcome the increasing social fragmentation in cities, promoting tolerance and social cohesion (Madanipour, 2019; Aelbrecht and Stevens, 2019). UN Habitat (2015) has promoted urban public spaces as drivers of urban prosperity and equality. Article 53 of UN Habitat's New Urban Agenda commits itself to promoting public spaces as drivers of sustainable development, encouraging the urban design and planning of inclusive, open and accessible spaces that could foster socially inclusive cities (UN Habitat, 2016).

1.1.2 Public spaces in transformation

Public spaces, and their role in urban development, have been significantly influenced by urban transformation processes driven by economic restructuring in major cities of the Global North (Madanipour, 2019). Since the 1970s, the declining role of manufacturing has been steadily replaced by knowledge-based industries, including ICT and tourism, as a source of economic growth in cities (Nell and Rath, 2009). Economic restructuring has stimulated competition among cities to attract potential businesses, investors, employers, inhabitants and tourists. As cities aim to boost knowledge-based industries, they need to create attractive and safe environments for businesses and cater to the needs of their 'creative class' and high-income employees (Madanipour, 1999; Florida, 2002). Most investments have focused on developments for affluent groups and knowledge workers, generally in some selected areas of a city, and create what is called 'splintering urbanism' (Graham and Marvin, 2001). These trends have increased social diversity in cities, but they have also intensified socio-spatial segregation (Madanipour et al. 2003; Fainstein, 2010; UN Habitat, 2016).

TOC

Market-oriented urban growth has revalorized public spaces as centres of urban leisure and consumption, leading to trends in the commodification of urban development. City authorities, planners and developers have invested in public spaces as a marketing tool to create attractive places and brand cities through appealing images (Lash and Urry, 1994). In this process, 'urban culture has become in itself a commodity […]' (Fainstein, 2007:4), an object of 'touristic gaze' (Urry, 2002), which can be experienced the most in a city's public spaces (Hall and Rath, 2007; Madanipour, 2010). These commodified spaces include historical city centres, especially in Western Europe, with their iconic museums, concert halls, waterfronts and characteristic architecture (Zukin, 1991; 1995). They also include places offering an 'authentic' experience of the city, such as shopping streets, farmers' markets and streets exhibiting cultural features of minorities (Zukin, 1995; Rath, 2007; Janssens and Sezer, 2013a).

The trend of commodified urban development has, more recently, put public spaces under immense pressure (Fainstein, 2007; Madanipour, 2010; Nikšič and Sezer, 2017). Urban renewal interventions have manifested in places where the residential concentration of disadvantaged or immigrant groups has been considered a negative issue for neighbourhood image and social cohesion (Van Kempen and Bolt, 2009; Boterman et al. 2010; Tammaru et al. 2015;). To overcome these problems, social mixing policies – which promote mixing population groups of diverse origins and income at the neighbourhood level – have been used as urban renewal strategies in several western countries, and much more significantly in the Netherlands (van Eijk and Schreuders (2011). In many cases, these interventions have produced or intensified gentrification processes, as in the cases of Amsterdam and London, leading to what is called 'state-led' gentrification (Kleinhans, 2004; Davidson and Lees, 2005; Uitermark, 2009).

Similar public space transformations have also been observed in streets of immigrant neighbourhoods in major Western European cities. These streets manifest cultural differences through their shops, restaurants, religious places and organisations with distinctive names, signs, and unusual products and spatial practices. Municipalities and city commentators have promoted them as places contributing to the urban economy by drawing in tourists to explore and experience the 'world in one city' (Hall and Rath, 2007:10). This has led to trends towards the commodification of immigrant cultures (Rath, 2017; Diekmann and Smith, 2015), triggering processes of commercial and residential displacement in central neighbourhoods (Ernst and Doucet, 2014; Zukin et al, 2009; Zukin, 2012).

1.1.3 Visibility in public space

In a broad sense, visibility can be understood as ‘the state of being able to see or be seen’ (Oxford Dictionary, 2019:1). We understand visibility as the visual perception of the observable features of individuals or groups in public space, which gives evidence of their lived experiences, or how they engage with, shape, and construct the built environment and, more particularly, public space, within the course of everyday life (Brighenti, 2007; Cancellieri and Ostanel, 2015; Hatuka and Toch, 2017; De Backer, 2018). In such way, the visibility is closely related to the democratic practices in public spaces, particularly of those culturally distinctive groups such as immigrants, who manifest their cultural features in public space through social and spatial practices.

Visibility in public space is a dynamic matter; public spaces are transformed by the political, economic and cultural context, and so does visibility. From this perspective, visibility can be useful to observe the effects of urban transformation processes at the neighbourhood level. In the case of immigrant neighbourhoods, the visibility of different groups in public space is especially relevant to assess potential changes and modifications in the built environment. Visibility gives evidence of the distinctive cultural characteristics of public spaces through the multiple objects, signs, and/or spatial practices that can be distinguished in the built environment (Landman and Wessels, 2005; Göle, 2011; Knowles, 2012). This quality is particularly relevant to study public spaces in and around immigrant amenities. The notion of amenities refers to neighbourhood facilities that are established for people’s daily convenience. Immigrant amenities, be it communal or commercial, have distinctive cultural features, for which visibility can provide valuable evidence.

1.2 Problem statement

Academic and policy circles recognize the significance of open and democratic public space as an asset to achieve socially inclusive cities. However, in the present political and economic context, public spaces have become a tool for the branding and marketing of cities. This has led to trends toward the commodification of public space, which is increasingly designed and geared to attract tourists and higher-income groups. By discouraging the presence in, and uses of, public space by some groups, these processes contribute to the erosion of important features promoting democratic public spaces.

However, the precise effects that these urban transformations have on the democratic features of public spaces have not been thoroughly studied in urban studies, nor their implications for the design and planning of socially inclusive cities. Although sociological and political science literature gives useful indications about the observable qualities of democratic public spaces, their tangible and physical aspects have not been sufficiently studied in urban design and planning literature.

In the context of urban transformations brought about by the commodification, privatization and gentrification of public spaces, analyses of the presence and changes in the visibility of immigrant amenities can be valuable. They can provide more solid and profound evidence about the openness, the uses and the opportunities for the appropriation of public space in the daily life of immigrant communities. The results of these analyses can complement the conventional statistical methods to study urban transformation trends. More importantly, the results are useful to give practical implications to achieve democratic public spaces and socially inclusive cities.

This research focuses on the situation of immigrant neighbourhoods in Amsterdam, a city which was praised by academics as the most equitable and democratic city among the major western cities, due to its openness and tolerance for social diversity (Fainstein, 2010; Soja, 1992). Amsterdam is the largest city in the Netherlands with a population of approximately one million (Onderzoek Informatie en Statistiek, 2018). Half of the population is of foreign origin, which is also evident in its large immigrant neighbourhoods, such as the Turkish, and Surinamese neighbourhoods.

Amsterdam has always been an attractive tourist destination due to its singular canals and architecture, its historical inner city and its world-renowned museums. However, since the 2000s, Amsterdam has changed profoundly. Since the 1980s, the city government has been marketing its image with the slogan Iamsterdam (Iamsterdam, 2016). The city has become a major touristic destination, and a large real-estate bubble has gained momentum since 2013 (UBS, 2018). Real-estate market trends and local planning policies and practices have had a significant role in the city’s transformation processes. They have had significant effects on inner city neighbourhoods, leading to gentrification (Uitermark et al., 2007; Hagemans et al., 2015). Immigrant neighbourhoods’ public spaces have been drastically affected by these trends.

1.3 Research aims and questions

This aim of this research is to study the changes in the visibility of immigrant groups and the related implications for achieving socially inclusive cities. Its ultimate goal is to advance knowledge about the democratic features of public space that promote socially inclusive neighbourhoods and cities.

The following set of questions guide the research process:

Main question:

How does the visibility of immigrant amenities in public space change in the context of urban transformation and what are the implications of these changes for democratic public spaces and socially inclusive cities?

Sub-questions:

- How can visibility be operationalized as a tool to analyse the presence and changes of immigrant amenities in public space?
- How have urban policies led to the transformation of immigrant neighbourhoods and amenities in Amsterdam?
- How do the social and spatial characteristics of immigrant amenities shape their visibility in public space?
- How do these changes relate to the social cultural inclusion of immigrants?
- What are the implications of the changes of visibility for democratic public spaces and urban justice?

1.4 Methodology

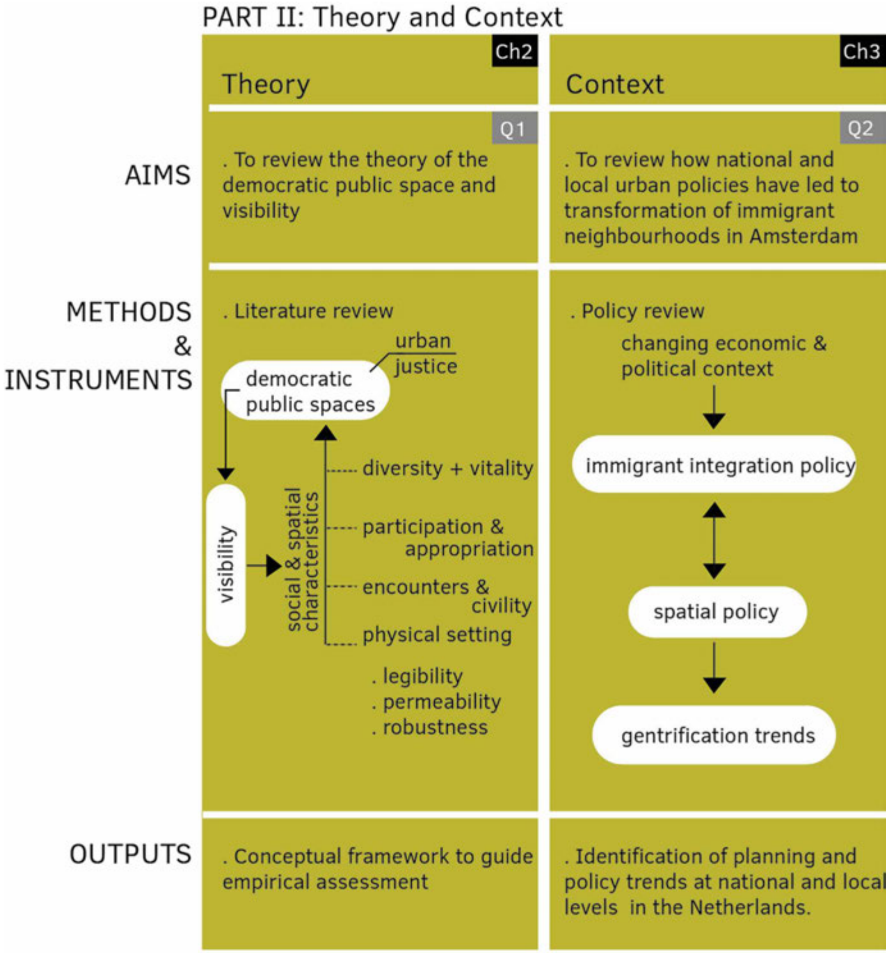
1.4.1 Research approach

This research addresses the transformation of immigrant neighbourhoods in the context of urban renewal processes. The research focuses on the visibility of immigrant amenities in immigrant neighbourhoods of Amsterdam, studying their presence and changes at street level in the period between 2007 and 2016. The visibility of immigrant amenities is used as a proxy to study the visibility of immigrant groups in public spaces. To approach the concept of visibility, the research analyses the spatial characteristics of immigrant amenities at the city and neighbourhood level; and their social characteristics at neighbourhood level.

Turkish amenities are selected as the object of study as Turkish immigrants are one of the largest immigrant groups in Amsterdam. Due to their low educational profile and high welfare dependency, Turkish immigrants are generally considered a vulnerable population group (Crul *et al*. 2012; Yücesoy, 2006). It is considered that they have a relatively low level of integration in Dutch society, although they have a higher entrepreneurship drive compared to other immigrant groups (Rath and Kloosterman 2000; Nio *et al*. 2009).

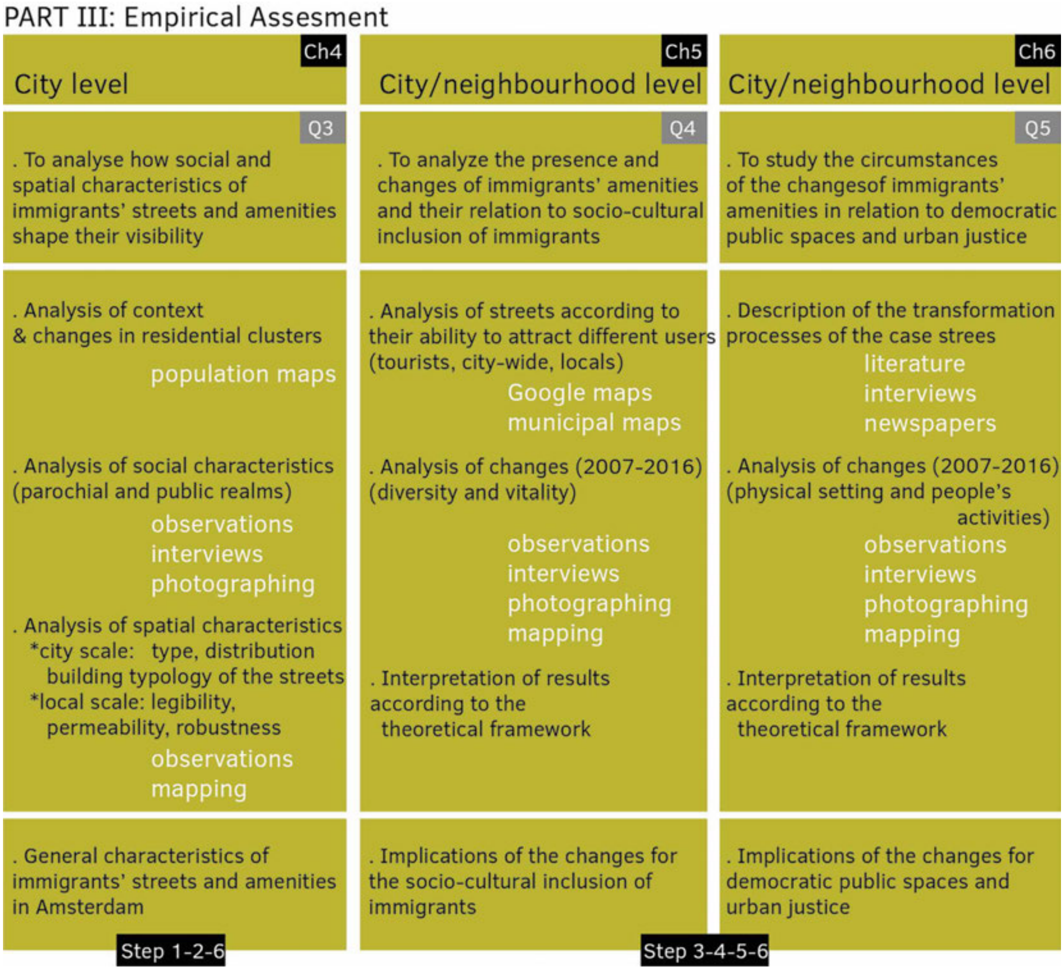
1.4.2 Research design

The research has been conducted in four parts, which correspond to the parts of the methodology used. The first part is a general introduction to the research. Part II sets the conceptual framework developing the theoretical propositions to guide the empirical assessment. Part III is the empirical assessment, which has been described according to the five steps that were undertaken to answer the questions. Part IV of the thesis presents the conclusions. Figure 1.1 is the analytical framework of the thesis, which summarizes the aims, methods and outputs of parts II and III.



PART II: Theory and Context
Ch2
Theory
Ch3
Context
Q1
Q2
AIMS
. To review the theory of the democratic public space and visibility
. To review how national and local urban policies have led to transformation of immigrant neighbourhoods in Amsterdam
METHODS & INSTRUMENTS
. Literature review
democratic public spaces
urban justice
visibility
social & spatial characteristics
diversity + vitality
participation & appropriation
encounters & civility
physical setting
. legibility
. permeability
. robustness
. Policy review
changing economic & political context
immigrant integration policy
spatial policy
gentrification trends
OUTPUTS
. Conceptual framework to guide empirical assessment
. Identification of planning and policy trends at national and local levels in the Netherlands.

FIG. 1.1 Analytical framework



PART III: Empirical Assesment

Ch4 City level	Ch5 City/neighbourhood level	Ch6 City/neighbourhood level
Q3 . To analyse how social and spatial characteristics of immigrants' streets and amenities shape their visibility	Q4 . To analyze the presence and changes of immigrants' amenities and their relation to socio-cultural inclusion of immigrants	Q5 . To study the circumstances of the changesof immigrants' amenities in relation to democratic public spaces and urban justice
. Analysis of context & changes in residential clusters population maps . Analysis of social characteristics (parochial and public realms) observations interviews photographing . Analysis of spatial characteristics *city scale: type, distribution building typology of the streets *local scale: legibility, permeability, robustness observations mapping	. Analysis of streets according to their ability to attract different users (tourists, city-wide, locals) Google maps municipal maps . Analysis of changes (2007-2016) (diversity and vitality) observations interviews photographing mapping . Interpretation of results according to the theoretical framework	. Description of the transformation processes of the case strees literature interviews newspapers . Analysis of changes (2007-2016) (physical setting and people's activities) observations interviews photographing mapping . Interpretation of results according to the theoretical framework
. General characteristics of immigrants' streets and amenities in Amsterdam	. Implications of the changes for the socio-cultural inclusion of immigrants	. Implications of the changes for democratic public spaces and urban justice
Step 1-2-6	Step 3-4-5-6	

Part II: Theory and context

Theory review

A literature review is carried out to identify relevant theory about the main concepts in the research, specifically focusing on the relationship between the concept of visibility and democratic public space. The methods include the review of books, book chapters, journal papers and reports from the disciplines of urban design, urban planning, urban studies, political philosophy, sociology, and cultural studies. The review is useful to establish the conceptual framework that guides the research (see Figure 1.2)

TOC

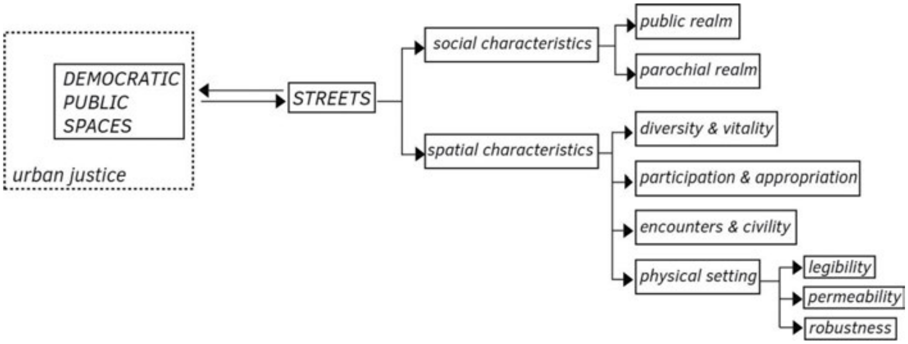

DEMOCRATIC PUBLIC SPACES
urban justice
STREETS
social characteristics
public realm
parochial realm
spatial characteristics
diversity & vitality
participation & appropriation
encounters & civility
physical setting
legibility
permeability
robustness

FIG. 1.2 Conceptual framework

Identification of the policy context

A review of the main policies and strategies related to immigration and urban renewal in the Netherlands is carried out to identify the main trends and factors underpinning urban transformation processes in Amsterdam related to immigrant groups and neighbourhoods. The review includes planning and policy documents at national and local levels since the 1970s, as well as books, book chapters, journal papers and media articles referring to the topic.

Part III: Empirical assessment

The empirical assessment of the research was done in six successive steps:

1. Data collection about the location and general observation of immigrant amenities at city level;
2. Data collection about the social characteristics of selected amenities at neighbourhood level;
3. Selection of streets for in-depth examination;
4. Analysis of the street changes in terms of diversity and vitality;
5. Analysis of the presence and changes in immigrant amenities within case-study streets; and
6. Synthesis and interpretation of the findings of the research.

1 The collection of primary data about immigrant amenities was carried out in streets of Amsterdam metropolitan area, covering the municipalities of Amsterdam, Amstelveen and Zaandam. It mapped the location of Turkish-related immigrant

amenities, identified through language, products, cuisines or advertisement boards. This mapping was useful to identify clusters of amenities in specific streets, later used for the selection of two cases for in-depth analyses.

At the same time, it photographed and documented the amenities' general characteristics in recording sheets. This included their names; addresses; main functions (distinguishing communal from commercial amenities); unconventional uses; and use of public space in front of the amenities. This was useful to analyse the amenities' visible spatial characteristics in terms of legibility, permeability and robustness.[1] This was done by sketching, drawing and comparing the collected data.

Data collection was done from October to December 2007, during weekdays (Wednesdays) and weekends (Saturdays). The observations, carried out walking and cycling, were conducted in all streets of Amsterdam metropolitan area between 9:00 and 17:00 hours. Additionally, some streets clustering Turkish amenities were visited during the night to gain a general view about the nightlife in and around the amenities.

2 Data about the social characteristics of selected amenities – selected according to their relevance and openness to provide information – at neighbourhood level. The objective was to identify whether and how they promote social encounters between immigrant communities and other groups (the public realm), or within immigrant communities (the parochial realm).

Observations, photo and audio recordings were used to collect data about these social characteristics. Seven in-depth and 40 unstructured interviews were conducted with owners and visitors of the amenities. The former were performed in Turkish in communal (e.g. mosques, teahouses and organisations) and commercial (restaurants and shops) amenities at the researcher's own initiative and, in some cases, through the help of the *imam*. Leaflets with information about the research in Turkish language were distributed among potential interviewees. For all interviews, the questionnaires included open-ended questions related to the frequency of mosque visits; time spent in the tea house; location of socialisation with friends in Amsterdam; country of origin of clients; etc.

---

[1] Personalisation is understood as the way that amenities customise their environment through their distinctive names, products, signs, and window displays. Legibility is the condition by which amenities present their functions and programmes through their visual characteristics of the exterior and /or the interior of the amenities. Robustness is the condition in which amenities may stimulate new uses beyond the planned uses, such as gathering and lingering.

TOC

3 To select the streets that could provide relevant information about the presence and changes in the visibility of immigrant amenities, two streets were chosen according to their differences in terms of:

- location within the clusters of immigrant amenities (inner-city/outskirts). The map of the spatial distribution of amenities of the first step was used for this;
- changes in the residential concentration of immigrant population of the neighbourhoods in which the streets are located (increasing/decreasing), identified according to maps of the *Regiomonitor Amsterdam.* The Regiomonitor Amsterdam provides GIS-based maps measuring the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods in Amsterdam at the level of four-digit post codes; and
- type of users that the street is catering to (residents/city-wide visitors and tourists). This was done to evaluate the attractiveness of streets for tourism-related urban development. A new map was produced through desk study, overlapping three maps illustrating concentrations of (a) retail amenities, associated with all user types; (b) museums, hotels, theatres and concert venues, associated with tourists; and (c) cafés and restaurants, associated with city-wide visitors. The desk study used Google Maps and *Interactive Maps* from the Municipality of Amsterdam.

The overlap of these three maps gave Javastraat in the central Amsterdam Oost (East) district and Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan in Amsterdam Nieuw-West (New West) district as the best cases to answer the research questions. Their location in Amsterdam is presented in Figure 1.3

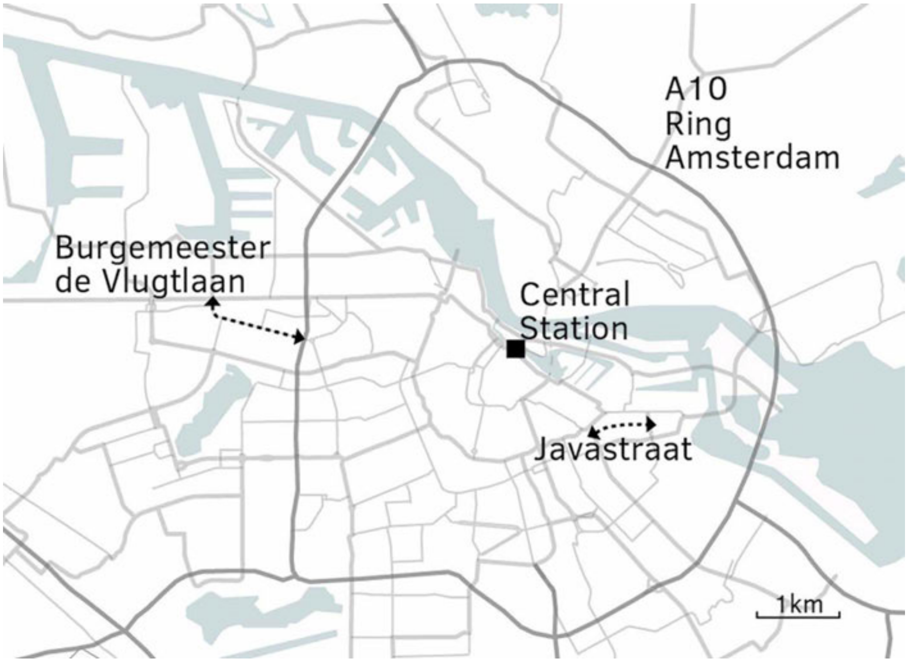


FIG. 1.3 Map of Amsterdam and the location of case streets

To identify the street changes in terms of diversity and vitality, two rounds of fieldwork were conducted, in November 2007 and November 2016. To measure diversity, the observations included the functions and time schedules of all existing street amenities, including Turkish amenities. To measure street vitality, the presence of people at different times of the day and night, and different types of street uses were counted, recording people's age and gender, precise location, and the activities they engaged in, such as gathering and lingering. Both observations were carried out during weekdays (Wednesdays) and weekends (Saturdays), during the busiest time: during morning, afternoon and evening peak hours. The data were mapped, annotated and photographed.

4 Data on the presence of and changes in immigrant amenities in the selected streets were mapped and documented in field visits done in November 2007 and November 2016. The fieldwork activities included the observation, photographing and annotating the changes. Additionally, a set of six interviews were conducted in 2016 with shop owners to learn about their experiences in relation to the changes in their businesses in the context of urban transformations. To have a relaxed conversation and build trust between the researcher and the respondents, these

were unstructured and free flowing interviews. The notes from these interviews included the approximate age, and gender of the shop owners; the duration of their businesses; the strategies that they used to adapt their businesses to the on-going urban transformation process; and the future prospects of their businesses.

5 This step of the research consists of the interpretation of the findings – the changes in the presence and absence of the immigrant amenities – in relation to democratic public spaces and urban justice.

1.5 Relevance

1.5.1 Societal Relevance

Given the trend of increasingly commodified urban public space, catered to high-income groups, and the rise of right-wing anti-immigration groups, we pay attention to the lived experience of immigrant groups in two significant ways. Firstly, we highlight the importance of public space in the lives of immigrant groups and identification of its democratic features to promote socially inclusive cities. We also stress the role of everyday public life, more specifically the visibility in public space, as a ground for political representation and celebration of distinctive urban groups, which is as crucially important as policies and planning regulations to achieve socially inclusive cities.

Secondly, we also provide practical suggestions for professionals involved in urban matters in order to achieve socially inclusive cities. Operationalizing the abstract concept of visibility, the research turns the results from the assessments into practical implications for ex-ante and ex-post evaluations of urban renewal plans and processes. In this way, we suggest city government officials, policy makers, urban planning and design professionals, developers and civil society associations, consider visibility as a useful tool to evaluate the just or unjust outcomes of urban interventions.

1.5.2 Scientific Relevance

We advance urban planning and design knowledge in three main ways:

- We introduce visibility as a useful conceptual tool in urban design and planning research. Visibility proves to be useful to assess the observable features of democratic public spaces, which are difficult to obtain through conventional quantitative tools of analysis. In this way, the concept of visibility gives new qualitative insights and also offers a new way to provide empirical evidence for scholars who are involved in social and spatial aspects of public space research.
- We advance knowledge and contribute to academic debates about democratic public spaces, considered an essential component of socially inclusive cities. Through the analysis of visibility, we provide an assessment of the affordances and limitations that public space offers to citizens in their everyday experience of urban life, which shapes perceptions of just and unjust urban conditions.
- This approach also paves the road to develop new methodologies in which the concept of visibility can be incorporated into urban design and planning research and to examine the diversity and exclusionary features of public spaces.

1.6 Organisation of the book

The study is divided into four parts: the introduction, the theoretical framework and context, the empirical analysis, and the conclusions. Together they comprise seven chapters, of which four chapters are published in, or submitted for publication in peer-reviewed journals and a book, one of which is co-authored. (see Figure 1.4). Part I consists of the introduction chapter, which introduces the concepts of democratic streets, visibility and urban justice, and presents the problem statement, aims and methodology of this study.

Part II includes chapter 2, the theoretical framework and chapter 3, the policy context of the research. Chapter 2 presents a literature review on the features of democratic streets and the concept of visibility, bridging these two concepts, and present how visibility can be useful as a conceptual tool to assess democratic public spaces. Chapter 3 focuses on urban policies in Amsterdam and the Netherlands, which play a significant role in the urban transformation of immigrant neighbourhoods and amenities. The chapter gives an overview of the immigrant integration and spatial policies in the context of changing economic and political contexts at both national and city levels.

TOC

Part III presents the empirical analysis of visibility at city and neighbourhood levels, in three chapters. Chapter 4 analyses visibility at city level by focusing on the social and spatial characteristics of immigrants' amenities. The results of this analysis provide information about the general characteristics of the visibility of immigrant amenities, and are useful to select two case studies for in-depth analysis. Chapter 5 analyses the presence and changes in immigrant amenities in the two selected streets in the period between 2007 and 2016, relating the findings to issues of social inclusion of immigrant groups. Chapter 6 presents the changes in immigrant amenities in the studied period and their implications for democratic public spaces and urban justice.

Part IV presents the conclusion, including the research findings, answering the research questions, advancing methodological and theoretical reflections, and suggestion for urban planning and design practice and research. It concludes by offering directions for future research.

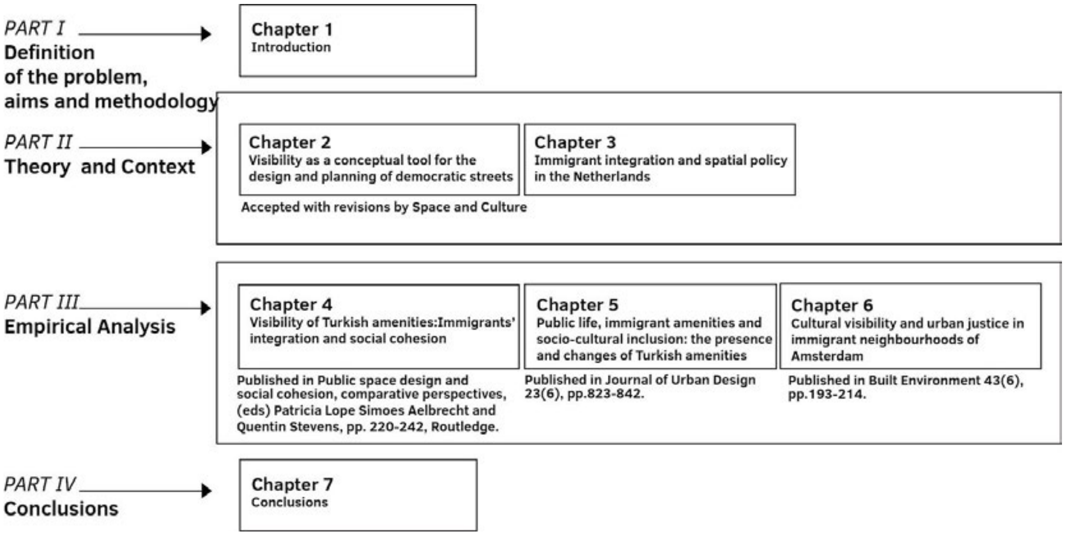

PART I
Definition of the problem, aims and methodology
Chapter 1
Introduction
PART II
Theory and Context
Chapter 2
Visibility as a conceptual tool for the design and planning of democratic streets
Chapter 3
Immigrant integration and spatial policy in the Netherlands
Accepted with revisions by Space and Culture
PART III
Empirical Analysis
Chapter 4
Visibility of Turkish amenities:Immigrants' integration and social cohesion
Chapter 5
Public life, immigrant amenities and socio-cultural inclusion: the presence and changes of Turkish amenities
Chapter 6
Cultural visibility and urban justice in immigrant neighbourhoods of Amsterdam
Published in Public space design and social cohesion, comparative perspectives, (eds) Patricia Lope Simoes Aelbrecht and Quentin Stevens, pp. 220-242, Routledge.
Published in Journal of Urban Design 23(6), pp.823-842.
Published in Built Environment 43(6), pp.193-214.
PART IV
Conclusions
Chapter 7
Conclusions

FIG. 1.4 The structure of the book

PART 2

Theory and context

450
325,
BAVARY

TOC

2 Visibility as a conceptual tool for the design and planning of democratic streets[2]

ABSTRACT

Democratic public spaces are open spaces – such as streets, parks, playgrounds and marketplaces – which are accessible to all and allow different cultural expressions for individuals and groups. They can be characterized by their vivid and active public life. This paper focuses on the visual features of public spaces at street level and understanding visibility as the condition of seeing and being seen in public space. It analyses how visibility can be useful to assess and promote democratic public spaces. This paper considers the visibility of immigrant amenities, such as shops, restaurants and communal places with distinctive signs, languages, and spatial practices. Describing the main features of democratic public spaces and democratic streets, this paper explains how the concept of visibility is associated with observable features of democratic streets. It claims that visibility can be used as a tool to analyse the democratic character of public space. This suggests that planners and designers need to be aware of the usefulness of taking into account visibility issues to promote inclusive public spaces and cities.

---

[2] This chapter will be published as: Sezer, C. 'Visibility as a conceptual tool for the design and planning of democratic streets'. *Space and Culture*.

2.1 Introduction

This study focuses on the visual features of public spaces; more precisely, visibility on the street, as a useful tool to plan and design democratic public spaces. Visibility is understood as the condition of seeing and being seen in public space. “Democratic streets” are those streets that are “open and accessible to all people, regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, age and socio-economic level and reflect the social and economic diversity of the city both at neighbourhood and city level” (UNESCO, 2018). A main assumption is that the visibility of distinctive urban groups on the street manifests the rights of these groups to participate in and appropriate their urban environment (Brighenti, 2010; Cancellieri and Ostanel, 2015).

The main question of this paper is: how can the concept of visibility be used as a tool to plan and design more democratic streets? The visual presence of immigrant amenities was selected to better understand the role of the condition of seeing and being seen in creating the diverse and inclusive character of democratic streets. The reason for this selection is because the observable features of these amenities— signs, marks, languages, products and spatial practices — enable the visibility of immigrants’ cultural practices in the broad public of the city, at both neighbourhood and city level. The visibility of amenities also relates to the everyday engagement of immigrants to their receiving cities, which requires additional attention, as the inclusion of immigrants is still a challenge in many cities (King and Lulle, 2016). Additionally, the visibility of immigrant amenities gives insight into different ways in which public space is produced by immigrant groups. This can usefully inform urban planning and design practitioners and improve the elements of physical environment to satisfy the needs and expectations of different city inhabitants.

The conceptual framework considers four important aspects of democratic streets: their levels of participation and appropriation; their use and user diversity; the encounters and civility they promote; and their physical setting. Visibility in public space is approached according to the political, symbolic, social and physical aspects of the production of public space.

This article is organized in three parts: first it presents the concept of democratic public spaces and subsequently democratic streets. The next section focuses on the relation of visibilities of immigrant amenities to democratic streets. The last section presents the main findings and conclusions about using visibility as a conceptual tool.

2.2 Democratic public spaces and democratic streets

2.2.1 Democratic public spaces

Public spaces are at the core of everyday life, as they are the spaces where people interact with other people who are unfamiliar to each other. In this paper, the everyday life of the city is defined as 'the relatively routine functioning of those spaces in the city, to those patterns and routines that performatively emerge from their regular usage.' (Simpson, 2011). Public life – produced by the daily encounters with other people – takes place in public place. Public life offers urban dwellers a diverse and complex experience of living together in the city which may stimulate acceptance and respect among different social groups; or may raise unease among urban dwellers, which may not necessarily lead to civic bonds (Sennett, 1998; Gehl and Gemzøe, 2000; Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee, 1998; Watson, 2006; Amin, 2008).

In the western urban literature, a rich and vivid public life has been associated with the democratic values of public space. The term democracy originated from the Greek *demos, '*the people' and *kratia* 'power*'*. Democracy can be understood as "the power that humans have to act into the world, the capacity […] to make a tangible impact in (their) surroundings" (Purcell, 2016:392). In political theory, democracy refers to "a way of making collective decisions about the distribution of resources, and the interests and power relations that structure that distribution." (Parkinson, 2012:24-26). In such way, democracy is about the manifestation and negotiation between different thoughts and interests on 'who gets what', which might be about distribution of products or services, but also about the rights to access to, use of and appropriate public spaces (Parkinson, 2012). Consequently, democratic public space refers to spaces, which are accessible to all - physically and conceivably – and enable an expression of differing choices, views or conflicting interest of inhabitants of all social groups (e.g. gender, age, economic status, and ethnicity). The presence and the social encounters between these various urban dwellers, and their related activities and amenities, constitute and enrich the public life of public spaces (Montgomery, 1998).

The modern use of the word ‘public’ appeared in the European bourgeois society in the eighteenth century, linked to the new public spaces—urban parks, boulevards, cafés, theatres, etc.—that emerged to serve more diverse groups of society (Sennett, 1990). But the original idea linking democracy and public space came from the uses associated to two significant spaces of the ancient Greek polis, Athens; specifically, the agora and the Pnyx (Sennett, 1998). The agora, the main square of the city was a marketplace and a gathering place for ceremonies and spectacles (Sennett, 1998). Concentrating civic activities, it generated the public life of the city for all its inhabitants, including those who were not eligible for full citizenship at that time, such as women, slaves and foreigners (Madanipour, 2003). The Pnyx was a bowl-shaped open-air theatre located in at a hill of central Athens in which only the Athenians with a ‘full citizenship’ gathered, debated, and took decisions about the city. Unlike the agora, it was a highly ordered space in which the audience focused on the stone platform in which the speaker gave his speech. The differences in the physical organization and the functions of the agora and the Pnyx shaped different practices of democracy; the former stimulated people to experience and observe the presence of other people and their needs, while the latter functioned as a place for decision-making (Sennett, 1998).

Influenced by the public spaces of the ancient Greek, the modern ideal of democratic public space has been envisioned as a common space for society, a place of political realm, which stimulates practices of free individuals through which collective meaning and action can be produced (Arendt, (1998 [1958]); Parkinson, 2012). This ideal of democratic public space has been inspired by Habermas’ (1989[1962]) thinking about the ‘public sphere’ as an arena of public debate in which individuals exchange views and knowledge (Nielsen, 2019).

In real life, public space has never been entirely free and democratic, nor was it ever equally available to all, because it is closely related to political power and control considerations (Simpson, 2011). Unavoidably, different claims to the control and ownership of public space may bring conflict between the different actors and users (Francis, 1989; Madanipour, 2010). The politics of public space determines “who and what come to count as being truly ‘public’ and/or ‘political’ as well as how and where they can come to count” (Lees, 1998:232). Even in democratic spaces, an over-presence of one group in public space, for example men, might be less welcoming for other groups, such as women (Massey, 1994). Since ancient times, ‘various social groups—the elderly and the young, women and members of sexual and ethnic minorities—have, in different times and places, been excluded from public space or subject to political and moral censure.’ (Jackson, 1998:173). Likewise, movement and migration of people have generated conflicts and contestation between newcomers and old residents, and individuals and institutions (Hou, 2013).

TOC

Besides this contested nature of public space (Zukin, 1995; Mitchell, 1995), the debate regarding democratic public spaces has received more recent attention due to increasing concerns about the commodification and privatization of urban space (Madanipour, 2010; Loukatiou-Sideris and Banerjee, 1993). In many cities, the processes of commodification of urban development, and, more specifically, of urban revitalisation of central neighbourhoods, have brought public spaces under pressure, producing gentrification processes. In an effort to make public space safer and more attractive for investments and the settlement of wealthier groups, these processes reduce the diversity of public space by pushing out some urban groups (Smith, 1996; Lees, 1998; Madanipour et al., 2003). These issues are reflected in the ways in which public space are managed and policed. Exclusion of specific groups and the *de facto* segregation of urban society is an example of a strategy that authorities frequently use (Allen et al., 1998).

Nevertheless, democratic public spaces offer multiple opportunities for negotiation and exchange, providing mechanisms for the recognition and expression of the voices and perspectives of vulnerable groups. This perspective on democratic public spaces is clearly associated with academic discussions of Lefebvre's (1996) 'Right to the City'. The right to the city is defined as the right of citizens to the participation in and appropriation of their shared urban environment (Purcell, 2002). The right to participate entails that citizens should play an integral role in any decision that contributes to the design or making of urban space. The right to appropriation is the right to occupy and use urban space, as well as the right to produce urban space so that it meets the needs of its inhabitants.

2.2.2 Democratic streets and their main features

Streets are important cases to study democratic public spaces, due to their capability to generate a rich and active public life in the city. Streets constitute the core of public space, linking homes and buildings to all the open spaces in the city. Thus, the street grid is the basic infrastructure of the city for the circulation of people and goods (Appleyard, 1981; Marshall, 2005). A democratic street is "one that reflects the history as well as the social and economic diversity of the larger neighbourhood and the city" (Francis, 1989).

Streets admit a wide variety of expressions of public life, from everyday activities—like working, shopping, travelling, passing-by, or socialising—to extraordinary events, such as festivals, parades, rallies and demonstrations (Appleyard, 1981). People experience and identify the city through its streets (Lynch, 1960;

Ingold, 2000; Mehta, 2008); children learn about the world through their first-time experiences on the street (Appleyard, 1981; Francis and Lorenzo, 2002). Furthermore, streets also play a vital role in the social and economic life of the city in multiple ways by connecting people “in a significant [way], enabling practices of neighbourliness, community and place-making” (Hubbard and Lyon, 2018; Jacobs, 1961; Whyte, 1980).

Taking into account the physical, social and symbolic dimensions of public space, the academic literature has identified several inter-related features of democratic streets. The most significant are: use and user diversity; participation and appropriation; encounters and civility; and physical setting.

Use and user diversity refers to a balanced combination of commercial and residential functions on the street as well as user groups from various backgrounds (e.g. religion and ethnicity), social status (e.g. age, gender, and income groups) and connections with the street (e.g. residents and visitors). Such diversity indicates the ability of the street to embrace differences that produce a richer and more vivid public life. At the street level, some indicators of use and user diversity include: variety of land uses, a balanced proportion of independent shops and businesses, diverse patterns of opening hours, and active street facades (Montgomery, 1998; Francis, 1989).

Participation and appropriation are understood as the ways that the city inhabitants transform and personalise the street to satisfy their needs and demands, which helps to develop a sense of ownership and belonging. These features can be achieved in several ways. First is the spatial appropriation of the street by its inhabitants, through distinctive spatial practices or symbolic features such as cultural signs, languages, and symbols (Lynch, 1960; Bentley, 1985). Second, street inhabitants might directly participate in design and management processes of the street (Francis, 1989; Bentley, 1985). A third way is the possibility of interest groups to gather and express their views in order to, for example, challenge government measures (Bentley, 1985; Madanipour, 1998) or to organize parades and festivals to express the cultural values of a group (Zukin, 1995).

Encounters and civility refers to the role of democratic streets to promote a sense of mutual respect and recognition among different urban groups without neglecting differences (Young, 1990). Democratic streets promote casual encounters between different social groups with variations in race, class, gender, age, sexual preference, ethnicity, and ability, who may be unknown and unfamiliar to each other. These encounters offer opportunities to see and to be seen, observe and to be observed, noticed and recognized, as well as enhance opportunities for socialization among different groups in a city. These characteristics have led researchers to consider democratic streets as cosmopolitan, and a ground for democratic civility, which fosters tolerance and empathy, enhances intercultural awareness and understanding (Lofland, 1998; Anderson, 2011; Nell and Rath, 2009).

The physical setting of the street, refers to the design of the street in ways that encourages use and user diversity, participation and appropriation, and encounters and civility, for which three relevant criteria have been identified:

- The *legibility* of the street is the quality by which the built environment gives a clear sense of place, either through its physical form or by its activity patterns (Lynch, 1960).

  > "Urban dwellers orient themselves by constructing an imagined city, and that city is located and continually reproduced in different ways through a wide range of common daily practices. It is through daily social practices that the city comes to be meaningful spatially, as a place of home, as a cluster of symbols, and as site for the reproduction of personal and group identities" (Shutt, 2015:117-118).

- *Permeability* is the condition of good physical and visual accessibility of the street, which improves people's awareness for different choices of street use. Visual permeability is particularly relevant for this study to analyse the relation between the street and ground floor uses and functions of buildings. Dead uses of ground floors, such as facades without windows, create an unattractive and unsafe street scene and negatively influence the public life of the street. Alternatively, active windows can offer a welcoming and attractive street environment (Montgomery, 1998; Carmona et al., 2008 [2003]).

- *Robustness* is a quality that allows new uses and appropriation of the street beyond the planned and designed ones, opening streets for multiple choices and socialisation possibilities without limiting each other. This could be, for example, through the availability of street furniture, wider pedestrian sidewalks, environmental comfort and the relationship between different modes of mobility, which might promote certain street uses (Francis, 1989; Bentley et al., 1985).

2.3 Visibility in public space

The concept of visibility in public space can be helpful to create and promote more democratic streets. In a broad sense, visibility refers to the condition of seeing and being seen. In academic literature, visibility has been studied from different perspectives associated with topics such as group and place identities, recognition, surveillance, control, and media representations (Knowles, 2012; Shields, 2003; Brighenti, 2007; Hall, 1997; Tagg, 1998; Hatuka and Toch, 2017). In this paper, visibility is understood as the visual perception of the observable features of individuals or groups in public space, which gives evidence of their lived experiences, or how they engage with, shape, and construct the built environment and more particularly public space, within the course of everyday life. These observable features can be expressed through bodily expressions (e.g. clothing, hairstyle) and performances (e.g. gatherings, events, festivals) of individuals and groups or through the features of amenities and neighbourhoods, which are characterised through distinctive signs, languages and/or spatial practices (Knowles, 2012; Cancellieri and Ostanel, 2015).

In urban literature, a particular attention is given to visibility in public space, as public spaces are characterised as spaces of “appearance” and “exposure” (Arendt, 1998 [1958]; Sennett, 1990). Public space is seen as a stage in which individuals and groups see others but also make themselves available to be seen by the public. In this way, visibility and inter-visibility are understood as key features of the “public” character of spaces that are open and accessible to all, which are different than “private” spaces, which are often invisible, unseen and intimate (Arendt, 1998 [1958]; Sennett, 1990; Brighenti, 2010; Lofland, 1998).

The concept of visibility, or seeing and being seen in public space, emerged as a fundamental aspect of modern city life in early writings about urban social life (Simmel, 1903; Wirth, 1938). Visibility in public space is understood as an opportunity, which offers individuals the experience of diversity in the city; more specifically, “experiencing differences of class, age, race, and taste outside the familiar territory of oneself, in a street” (Sennett, 1990:126). The city’s public life is considered, on the one hand, as emancipating and as providing a sense of anonymity (Simmel, 2002 [1903]) . On the other hand, it is considered as provocations of otherness, surprise and stimulation (Wirth, 1938). Public life teaches individuals how to cohabit with people who are different from themselves, something which may not always occur in harmonious ways and which requires accepting its inherent “disorder”, yet it is central for developing civility among city inhabitants (Sennett, 1970; Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht, 2009).

The concept of visibility was originally about actual (or ‘primary’) visibility, based on direct experience or observation (Goldsmith, 2010). But the development of other kinds of visual representations of individuals and groups – such as photographs, films, and advertisements – in mass circulation newspapers and magazines produced another form of visibility (or ‘secondary visibility’) which crucially influences how individuals and urban groups perceive, think about and interact with each other (Tagg, 1988; Hall, 1997; Aitken and Lukinbeal, 1998; Shields, 2005). This may have negative consequences, such as stereotyping and marginalisation. An example of this is media representations of immigrants in relation to crime and poverty issues, which creates negative stereotypes of immigrants and contributes to the fear of and unease towards the presence of immigrants in public space (Brighenti, 2007; Cancellieri and Ostanel, 2015).

Secondary visibility has immensely intensified due to developments in visual recording technologies and the spread in ownership and use of mobile phone cameras (Goldsmith, 2010). The circulation of such images has led to what has been labelled as ‘hypervisibility’ (Brighenti, 2010), or ‘new visibility’, in which ‘the visibility of individuals, actions and events is severed from the sharing of a common locale: one no longer has to be present in the same spatial-temporal setting in order to see the other or to witness an action or event.’ (Thompson, 2005:31).

In this way, the role of visibility in relation to public life is ‘extended beyond what can be seen with the eyes to the practice of “being exposed and known” through various technologies’ (Hatuka and Toch, 2017:986). This has several implications: the role of visibility in shaping the public and private quality of public space is becoming blurred (Brighenti, 2010); and ‘the idea of public space as a place that provides relative anonymity is shrinking’ (Hatuka and Toch, 2017:13). More importantly, this new form of visibility has the capability to transform the relations between visibility and power (Thompson, 2005).

Nevertheless, visibility in public space provides solid empirical evidence of the lived experiences of urban groups by providing insight into the ways that these groups produce public space. Visibility reveals the “tactics” of urban groups to make sense of the city for their own needs, which may be different from what urban planners, designers and policy makers suggest in their schemes, visions and programs (De Certeau, 1985; Lefevbre, 1992, 1996; Shields, 2005).

Visibility relates to four key dimensions of the production of public space: symbolic, physical, social, and political. The symbolic dimension refers to the ways that social groups assign meaning to public space, appropriate it and guard it as part of their identities by manifesting their ethnic, linguistic, and other collective differences

TOC

(Backer, 2018; Cancellieri and Ostanel, 2015). This contributes to set up and to strengthen the necessary social networks to develop group identity and attachment to a place (Sandercock, 1998; Göle, 2011; Yücesoy, 2006).

The physical dimension relates to the ways in which social groups shape and modify the physical scene and setting of public space through their visibility. This can be in several ways: first, corporeal performances in public space, such as street vendors appropriating sidewalks; second, architectural styles, such as mosques in European cities (Knowles, 2012; Gale, 2006); or third, locations with distinctive names or spatial practices, such as Chinese shops and restaurants within major western cities. The physical design of public space is another significant aspect that influences the visual experience of people—and thus visibility in public space—by limiting or increasing the visual perception of public space. Important elements are the organisation of physical features—like streets or building blocks—that increase or block the view in public space (Hillier, 2007); street furniture and the lighting of streets and plazas may also influence visibility (Thibaud, 2001).

Visibility relates to the social dimension of public space by offering 'everyday urban engagement' with the 'diversity of "otherness" composing contemporary public life' (Knowles, 2012:652). Though it is not a direct process, visibility might generate awareness, apprehension and recognition of the co-presence of groups different from one's own group. However, "the very act of seeing and interpreting the other is dependent on the viewer and his or her point of view." (Sen, 2013:21). This is called 'relational visibility', a condition, which is produced when people meet in public space, leading to the physical perception of others, which is not the same for each perceiving individual. As Arendt (1998 [1958]: 57) explains 'being seen and being heard by others derive their significance from the fact that everybody sees and hears from a different position'. This is because not everybody has the same visual-spatial awareness and ability to understand and perceive the spatial cues and relations in (public) space (Knowles, 2012). Understanding the language of shops signs form part of visibility. Ethnic groups may introduce new elements to public space in the form of flags, symbolic colours and clothes – as wearing black, or white or very colourful dresses – which also form part of visibility, and may be differently perceived by different individuals and groups.

Finally, visibility in public space is also about the political construction of public space. Social groups compete for space, therefore they compete for public visibility and presence. Public space is a critical arena of the political, where different forms of visibility are practiced, changed and negotiated. In order to become visible, people, things, and objects must be present either physically or symbolically in public space (Gorter et al., 2012).

2.4 Visibility and democratic streets: a focus on immigrant amenities

Visibility in public space can also be helpful to study and analyse the features of democratic streets. This can be illustrated through a focus on immigrant amenities, which offer multiple possibilities to observe and experience immigrant cultural expressions (Nell and Rath, 2012; Watson, 2006). Their visible features are not limited to signs, languages, or merchandises; they also include immigrants' symbolic, social, physical and political manifestations in the city (Hall, 2015; Göle, 2011). These manifestations are most visible in immigrant quarters, those parts of the city in which immigrants have settled and developed their business and social networks. The most salient examples include the Chinese and Jewish neighbourhoods in major western cities like London, Paris, Berlin and Amsterdam.

The visibility of immigrant amenities gives evidence for the *use and user diversity* of the streets in which they are located. Immigrant shops and restaurants are very often small-scale independent businesses with singular features. Originally, immigrant amenities catered to immigrants, but depending on their location and specialisation, their client groups may diversify. For example, immigrant restaurants located in the historical centres of Amsterdam and Paris mostly serve tourists, as evidenced by the availability of food menus in English besides the local language. This is not the case for immigrants' communal amenities in Europe. Mosques, synagogues and temples in European cities, generally manifest their distinctive uses in public space with their own architectural styles and spatial practices; however, they don't welcome diverse user, as they cater to very specific groups. There may be some exceptions if these religious amenities combine several functions. For example, the Grand Mosquée de Paris, located in the central Latin quartier of Paris, welcomes both mosque prayers and other visitors, who can enjoy its small café, which is situated within the mosque building.

The visibility of immigrant amenities also relates to the *participation and appropriation* aspects of democratic streets. Through their distinctive amenities, immigrants use public space for their own needs and participate in the symbolic production of public space. A wide variety of functions, businesses, unconventional street uses, active street frontages, and time schedules of these amenities create an active and recognizable public space and contribute to immigrants' "imagined [cities]" (Anderson, 1986). In their "imagined [cities]", immigrants orient themselves by building their social and business networks, developing feelings of home and belonging, and establishing identities (Gale, 2004; Kuppinger, 2011). Studies on immigrant amenities in London and Berlin show that these everyday participatory practices of immigrants are highly creative but also constitute a political process exceeding the local boundaries and reconfiguring immigrant identities and belongings (Hall, 2015; Kuppinger, 2011).

The visibility of immigrant amenities provides opportunities for immigrants and other groups to interact with each other, promoting *encounters and civility*. These encounters raise awareness of immigrants' presence in the city. This contributes to the recognition of immigrants by wider groups, although the relation between visibility and recognition is not always direct (Watson, 2006; Iveson, 2007). Parochial and public urban realms contribute to different forms of encounters among people. The parochial realm refers to places that promote close and regular social contacts between individuals, such as social bonds between neighbourhood inhabitants, immigrant groups, employees in a workplace, or acquaintance networks. The public realm exists in places where all people have access, such as streets, squares and parks that promote more limited contact between strangers (Lofland, 1998; Kusenbach, 2006). Immigrant amenities contribute to both types of contact. Daily chats between, for example, immigrant shop owners and their clients or among clients exchanging daily life matters, are played within a parochial realm. But the streets of immigrant neighbourhoods where immigrant amenities are located constitute a typical example of a public realm.

The visibility of immigrant amenities is related to the physical setting of democratic streets from the aspects of *legibility, permeability and robustness.*

- In terms of *legibility*, most immigrant amenities have colourful window displays with a variety of ethnic products or advertisements of events, such as concerts and community gatherings. Along with exterior signs and types of products, their entrances have differences in terms of legibility suggesting their functions. Communal amenities, such as mosques, may be less legible if they belong to a small community and lack financial means to rent, buy and/or construct their own buildings and uses.
- The *visual permeability* of immigrant amenities is a key aspect of their visibility at street level, which promotes or limits people's awareness and recognition of inside uses and functions. There is generally a clear difference between the permeability of commercial and of communal amenities in immigrant amenities. The former tends to be open to welcoming potential clients, while the latter is introverted, catering to a specific group.
- Immigrant amenities promote *robustness* by stimulating a large variety of unplanned street uses, influenced by their opening hours. A typical example is women gathering

in front of immigrant food shops. During evenings, immigrant night shops are also gathering places for immigrant youth. The availability of sitting furniture and the existence of wide sidewalks promote these informal social gatherings.

2.5 Conclusion

This paper introduces visibility as a useful concept to assess the democratic character of streets. I understand visibility as the visual perception of the observable features of individuals and groups in public space. For urban planners, visibility can provide and empirical register of groups' everyday engagement and participation in the political, symbolic, social and physical production of public space.

To answer the main research question—how can the concept visibility be used as a tool to plan and design democratic streets? —the paper focused on immigrant amenities. The arguments presented in this paper show that visibility is useful in providing empirical evidence for four important aspects of democratic streets: participation and appropriation; use and user diversity; encounters and civility; and physical setting.

The visibility of immigrant amenities can show the level of participation and appropriation of public space by immigrant groups through the amenities' distinctive signs, languages and related spatial practices, which mark the public space and make it recognisable. Immigrants' roles in the shaping of streets and open space – making it their "own" space – are a clear expression of the political production of public space.

The visibility of immigrant amenities enriches street diversity in terms of the types, functions and opening times of the shops and amenities, as well as users—residents and visitors—from different social groups. Both the participation and appropriation and diversity aspects of public space are linked to the symbolic production of public space.

The visibility of immigrant amenities is also central in social bonding and in bridging differences among and between immigrants and other groups. It promotes encounters, which aids in developing civility, mutual awareness and recognition between different groups. By doing so, visibility promotes the social construction of the street.

And finally, certain physical settings facilitate the visibility of immigrant amenities by blocking or opening up the visual perception on the street and in turn, the visibility of immigrant amenities also shape the physical settings of the streets through their legibility, permeability and robustness.

These arguments lead to three main conclusions:

Visibility in public space can provide solid evidence for the most important aspects of democratic streets, which is difficult to obtain through conventional statistical methods. Even though this study focused on immigrant amenities, the conclusions can be broadened to include other distinctive urban groups, such as sexual minorities or vulnerable groups, as well as other forms of visibility, such as festivals, parades and events.

Consequently, visibility can be a useful assessment tool to measure the democratic character of streets before and after urban interventions. This can be useful to inform designers, researchers and policy makers, for example, in cases when urban renewal interventions and/or real estate trends would influence demographic profiles of neighbourhoods and consequently the visibility of some distinctive groups. An analysis of visibility would be useful to assess whether proposed interventions would be a fair course of action or not.

Training and education for the design and planning of public space should incorporate visibility to examine diversity and inclusionary features and to promote the main components of democratic streets.

TOC

TOC

TOC

3 Urban policy and transformation of immigrant neighbourhoods in the Netherlands

ABSTRACT

This paper reviews the relationship between immigrant integration and urban policies in the Netherlands in the period between the post-war until the 2010s. It shows how the gradual shift from a social democratic towards a liberal welfare regime since the 1980s has influenced urban policies, which in turn, have had a direct impact on the location and transformation of immigrant neighbourhoods. The review suggests that the outcomes of the urban transformation processes are detrimental for the social inclusion of the immigrant groups, which is the main objective of the integration policies.

TOC

3.1 Introduction

In the Netherlands, the relationship between immigrant integration and urban renewal processes has been a policy concern since the 1980s. This was the period after the legislation allowed guest workers' family reunification in 1974, which increased the demographic dynamics of Turkish and Moroccan immigrant groups. Since then, immigrant integration policy has aimed to include immigrants in Dutch society within socio-cultural, socio-economic and political domains (Vermeulen and Penninx, 2000).

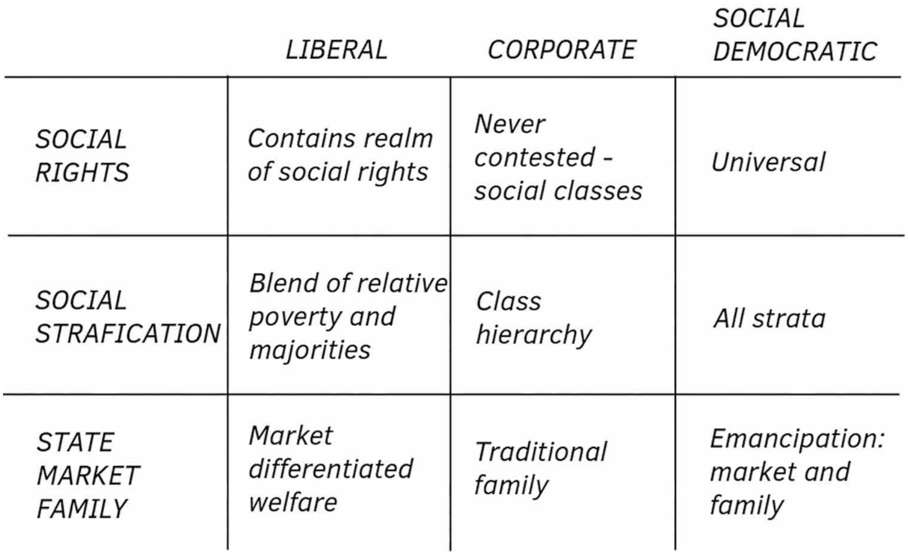
The related policies consider that the residential concentration of disadvantaged groups, mainly immigrants, limits their inclusion into mainstream society, specifically within the socio-cultural sphere. Social mixing is considered as a policy tool to overcome this problem through the mixing of different socio-economic population groups at the neighbourhood level (van Beckhoven and van Kempen, 2003). Urban renewal policies have implemented social mixing by privatizing parts of the existing social housing stock, or by demolishing existing housing areas and replacing them with higher quality dwellings to attract better-off households (Kleinhans *et al.*, 2000; Kruythoff, 2003).

This paper has two main questions. How has the relationship between immigrant integration and urban policies evolved in the changing political and economic context in the Netherlands? How have urban policies led to the transformation of immigrant neighbourhoods in Amsterdam? To answer these questions, the paper reviews immigrant integration and urban policies in the Netherlands, in the period between the post-war until the 2010s. It focuses on the changes in residential concentration of non-western immigrants in Amsterdam.

The following section presents the changing political and economic context in the Netherlands. The third section gives a brief historical account about immigration in the Netherlands and the emergence of immigrant neighbourhoods. The fourth section reviews the evolution of immigrant integration policy, while the following section does the same with urban policies (housing and urban renewal policies). The sixth section illustrates the situation in Amsterdam, in different periods between 1998 and 2018. The chapter concludes by answering the questions.

3.2 The changing political and economic context in the Netherlands

This section describes the political and economic context in which the spatial policies that influence neighbourhood transformation were conceived. Identifying the welfare regime of the country is a good way to understand the political and economic orientation and the main values underpinning policies and regulations. There are many variations of welfare regimes, which respond to countries' priorities in terms of social rights, social stratification, and arrangements between state, market, and family. Accordingly, welfare regimes can be categorized in three main types (Esping-Andersen, 1990): liberal, conservative and social-democratic, although no country is a 'pure' type, as they always have elements from other types. Figure 3.1 shows the main differences between these three types.



	LIBERAL	CORPORATE	SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC
SOCIAL RIGHTS	Contains realm of social rights	Never contested - social classes	Universal
SOCIAL STRAFICATION	Blend of relative poverty and majorities	Class hierarchy	All strata
STATE MARKET FAMILY	Market differentiated welfare	Traditional family	Emancipation: market and family

FIG. 3.1 Three main types of welfare regimes. (Source: Valeyeva, 2011:17)

The Netherlands belongs to the social-democratic category, “in which the principles of universalism and de-commodification of social rights[3] were also extended to the new middle classes. We may call it the ‘social democratic’ regime-type, since, in these nations, social democracy was clearly the dominant force behind social reform” (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 27). During the 1950s, the Netherlands created one of the most generous welfare systems in Europe (Entzinger, 2006). Until the 1970s, the country enjoyed economic prosperity and growth.

During the 1970s, the post-war economic boom was followed by economic stagnation in Western Europe and North America, partly due to the Middle East oil embargo (UNDESA, 1979). Although in the early 1970s the Netherlands still enjoyed material prosperity thanks to the discovery and later exploitation of natural gas, the world crisis hit the country hard in the 1980s and unemployment grew to over 17 per cent in 1984 (see Figure 3.2), and economic growth remained close to zero during most of the 1980s (McMahon, 2000). In the context of the economic crisis, a clear turn towards a liberal welfare regime took place.

Helped by the gas revenues, the Netherlands still remained under a strong welfare tradition in the 1980s, and the proportion of public social expenditure was still higher than in any other country in Europe, with the exception of Sweden and Denmark (Entzinger, 2006). But since the mid-1980s, policy efforts were oriented towards increasing labour force participation, reducing social welfare benefits and reducing the size of the public sector (Crafts and Toniolo, 1996). Under the lead of Reagan and Thatcher, the western world adopted economic restructuring policies following a neoliberal agenda of decentralisation, deregulation, privatization, free trade, and reductions in the role of government in order to enhance the private sector in the economy (UNDESA, 1989).

---

[3] Esping-Andersen considers de-commodification as the degree to which social services are provided as a matter of right, and the extent to which individuals can maintain a normal and socially acceptable standard of living without reliance on the market (Nadin and Stead, 2008). Pensions, sickness and unemployment rights are variables of his de-commodification index.

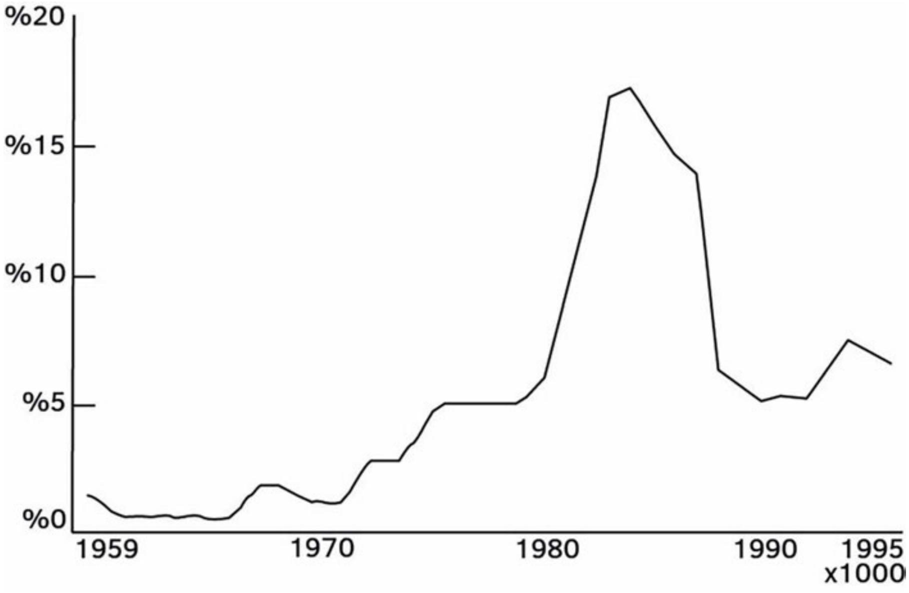


FIG. 3.2 Unemployment in the Netherlands 1959-1995 (Source: McMahon, 2000: p.105)

The early 1990s were marked by the collapse of the Iron Curtain, which opened up possibilities for competition between cities and regions defining a new global economy. Global competition further increased as the result of the wide diffusion of ICT, which liberated the flows of information from physical constraints (Wagenaar, 2011). The forces of economic globalization and global competition reinforced the neo-liberal turn even further. The decline of the welfare system became more evident during this decade, leading to a new concept of social protection emphasizing personal responsibility.

The early 2000s were marked by the September 11 terrorist attacks, which destabilized the global political and economic arena and led to geopolitical tensions. This was followed by another severe financial upheaval in 2008, triggered by a collapse in the housing market in the United States (UNDESA, 2009). Until the mid-2010s the global economy remained vulnerable, enhanced by geopolitical conflicts in various areas in the world. In the 2009-2013 recession period, unemployment doubled in the Netherlands. Since 2010, the Dutch government has implemented rigorous financial measures to improve the national budget, and institutional reforms in key policy areas, including labour market, the housing sector, the energy market and the pension system. In 2017, the government budget returned to pre-crisis levels (CIA, 2019).

3.3 Immigration and immigrant neighbourhoods in the Netherlands

During the large industrial expansion of the post-war reconstruction period, guest workers from Spain, Italy, Greece and Portugal were invited to the Netherlands to compensate the lack of labour force. From the early 1960s, a trade recruitment agreement between the Netherlands, and Turkey and Morocco, brought new guest workers from these countries. Although they were initially considered temporal guest workers, in the 1980s they received a permanent status. Roma and Sinti migrant groups have also arrived intermittently to the Netherlands, as foreign workers from Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey in the post-war period. Although some groups of migrants returned to their home countries, this was not the case for the Turkish and Moroccan groups, whose population increased as a result of family reunification, marriage or asylum.

According to the Dutch Statistics Agency (CBS, 2015) there were approximately 3.6 million residents with a ‘foreign’ background in the Netherlands, representing 21% of the total Dutch population, which is approximately 16.9 million (CBS, 2015). CBS considers the first and second generation of migrants as ‘foreign’. People with a foreign background are classified as western and non-western migrants. Non-western groups include migrants from Turkey, Morocco, Netherlands Antilles and Aruba, Suriname, and Asia, Latin America and Africa. Western migrants are not specifically mentioned in the demographic statistics. The rest of the population is categorized as native Dutch. Indo-Dutch population, Moluccans, Gypsies, Jews and others are not specifically mentioned too (Scholten, 2011).

As Figure 3.3 presents, people of Turkish origin conform the largest foreign migrant group (320 000 residents) in the Netherlands, followed by Surinamese (309 000) and Moroccans (272 800) (CBS, 2015). Foreign migrants mainly live in the largest cities. In Amsterdam and Rotterdam they represented 40,2% and 35,1% of the municipal population in 2015 respectively (CBS, 2015).

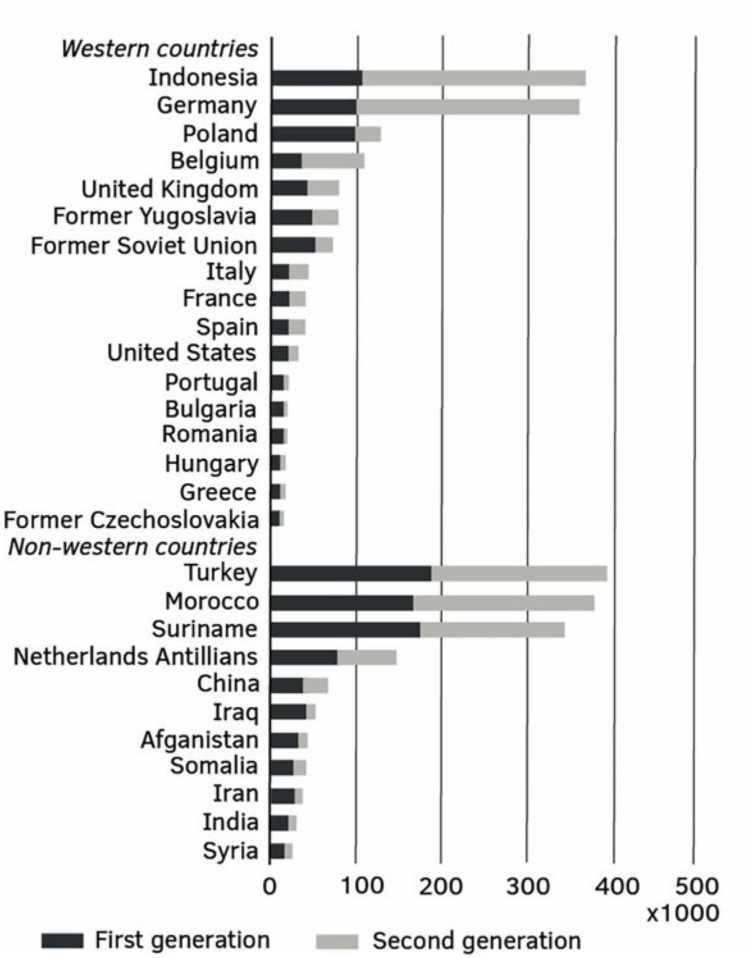


FIG. 3.3 People with a foreign background in the Netherlands 1 January 2015. (Source: CBS, 2015)

The early neighbourhoods of immigrant groups, who arrived during and after the 1960s, showed differences in terms of their location and types according to their purpose of immigration and immigration period. For example, Indonesian of Dutch descent were distributed in the large cities. During the period of construction of large social housing areas in Dutch cities, the government built wards in small towns special for Moluccans (Steijlen 2011).

From the 1960s until the 1980s, people from Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles arrived in the Netherlands as citizens of colonial countries. These groups preferred to settle in the three largest cities: Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague. The arrival of Surinamese groups coincided with the finalization of construction of Bijlmermeer, a large post-war estate of high-towers located at Amsterdam Zuid Oost. After large numbers of Surinamese and Antilleans settled in Bijlmermeer, it became the main symbol of the Dutch problem areas.

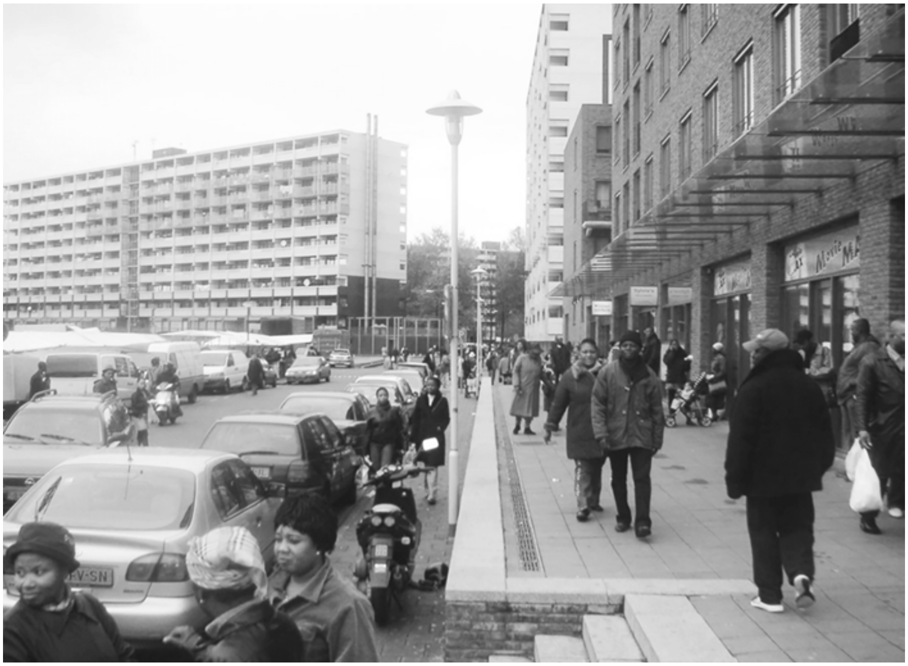


FIG. 3.4 A street view from Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam. (Source: Photo: Sezer)

3.4 Evolution of immigrant integration policy

Although there are different definitions and approaches towards immigrant integration, in a broad sense, it is understood as 'the process by which people who are relatively new to a country become a part of society' (OECD, 2003). Five significant periods have been distinguished in the Netherlands: (1) until the 1980s: denial of being a country of immigration; (2) in the 1980s: emancipation of minorities; (3) in the 1990s: integration of *allochtonous*; (4) in the 2000s: the rise of a more assimilationist discourse; (5) in the 2010s: towards more restricted approaches. Table 3-1shows the different integration policies in the Netherlands since the 1970s.

TABLE 3.1 Integration policy frames in the Netherlands since the 1970s (Adapted from Scholten, 2011)

	No integration policy <1980	Ethnic Minorities Policy 1980–1994	Integration Policy 1994–2003	New Style Integration Policy 2003–2010	Beyond Integration Policy >2010
Terminology	Integration with retention of identity	Mutual adaptation in a multicultural society	Integration, Active citizenship	Adaptation, 'Common citizenship'	Individual responsibility to assimilate or 'return home'
Social classification	Immigrant groups defined by national origin and framed as temporary guests	Ethnic or cultural minorities characterised by socio-economic and socio-cultural problems	'Citizens' or '*allochtonen*', individual members of specific minority groups	'Non-Western *allochtonen*' defined as policy targets because of socio-cultural differences	Continuity: 'non-Western *allochtonen*' defined as policy targets because of socio-cultural differences
Causal stories	Socio-economic participation and retention of socio-cultural identity	Socio-cultural emancipation as a condition for socio-economic participation	Socio-economic participation as a condition for socio-cultural emancipation	Socio-cultural differences as obstacle to integration	Mythical mass immigration of 'disadvantaged' damages Dutch society
Normative perspective	The Netherlands is not a country of immigration	The Netherlands as an open, multi-cultural society	Civic participation in a de-facto multicultural society	Preservation of Dutch national identity and social cohesion	Limiting immigration, except some high-skilled flows

3.4.1 Until the 1980s: denial of being a country of immigration

Until the late 1970s, there was no policy addressing immigrant integration, as immigrants were considered 'temporary guests' in the Netherlands, because of the high population density of the country, as stated in policy documents (Scholten and Holzhacker, 2009). Although some groups of migrants (from Italy, Spain and Portugal) returned to their home countries, this was not the case for the Turkish and Moroccan groups, whose population increased as a result of family reunification. In 1974, legislation enabled the guest workers to bring their families to the Netherlands.

3.4.2 The 1980s: emancipation of minorities

Due to racial unrest from the Moluccan community, the Dutch government developed the first integration policy, which was called Ethnic Minority (EM) Policy, by the end of 1970s (Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2010). It aimed at achieving integration of ethnic minorities in three domains: political, socio-economic and cultural (Bruquetas-Callejo *et al.*, 2011). It targeted specific groups considered at risk: Moluccans, residents of Surinamese and Antillean origin, labour migrants and their families, gypsies and refugees. The range of policy initiatives of the EM was remarkable, and special attention was given to education, to facilitate inclusion of immigrant children in the regular educational system (Bruquetas-Callejo et al, 2011).

The policy placed special emphasis on the emancipation of ethnic minorities within their own communities, to support immigrant communities to gain an independent place in society. Later, it was called the policy of multiculturalism, because it aimed towards the preservation of cultural diversity and respect for cultural difference. Multiculturalism is clearly linked to the values of universalism of the social-democratic welfare regime of the Netherlands during that time. ‘For many years this country had a reputation not only as a shining example of a respectful and successful institutionalization of cultural difference stemming from immigration, but also as a strong welfare state.’ (Entzinger, 2006: p.177).

The economic crisis of the late 1970s increased the economic difficulties of migrants, who were the ones who most suffered from unemployment. In the late 1980s, it became clear that the EM policy was not successful in terms of education and labour market and strong criticisms toward multiculturalism emerged, verbalised by liberal politicians and debated in the media.

3.4.3 The 1990s: integration of allochtonous

Coinciding with the liberal turn of the welfare regime in the early 1990s, a new integration policy was launched in 1994, which shifted the focus from emancipation of immigrant groups to making bridges for their socio-economic participation, emphasizing ‘good citizenship’ and responsibility for the migrant’s own situation. The primary aim of this integration policy was to increase the self-sufficiency of newcomers. The policy eliminated subsidies to immigrant organisations, and changed from group-based into area-based policies. The main sectors of the policy were education, housing and employment (Duyvendak and Scholten 2011). To facilitate job integration, civic integration courses were implemented at city level,

TOC

which included language courses and information about the functioning of Dutch institutions. These later became part of the national reception policy, under the Dutch Newcomers' Integration Law (Wet Inburgering Nieuwkomers) issued in 1998 (Bruquetas-Callejo et al, 2011).

3.4.4 The 2000s: the rise of a more assimilationist discourse

In the early 2000s, great criticism of the multicultural society, immigration and integration emerged. Pim Fortuyn, a populist politician, who made a zero migration approach his central political message, was assassinated in 2002. This tragic incident raised the popularity of negative views on immigration and Islam, which were escalated with the murder of film-maker Theo van Gogh by a migrant in 2004.

Integration policies turned into an assimilationist direction with the change of government in 2002. Persisting social-cultural differences were considered a burden to integration into mainstream society. The New Style Integration Policy was linked to public and political concerns about the preservation of national identity and social cohesion in Dutch society (Duyvendak and Scholten 2011). This policy restricted new flows of asylum seekers, family reunion and marriage migration. Several restrictions were applied for family reunification by limiting residence permits. New residents had to pass a language exam and prove their knowledge about Dutch culture and society to be able to enter the country. Once in the Netherlands, they had to follow civic integration courses to be able to renew temporary visas (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2011).

3.4.5 The 2010s: towards more restricted approaches

The public and political debates about immigrant integration have been intensified due to the mass arrival of refugees in the context of the European refugee crisis in the mid-2010s. On the one hand, it has been argued that the existing integration policies have not been sufficient for the needs of these particular groups, especially in the housing and education domains (Kraaij, 2017). On the other hand, the Dutch government has applied a more restrictive integration policy, which has limited family reunification and services for immigrants to prepare them for the integration exams. Additionally, the labour market access of immigrants has also been restricted as a result of the changes in the Foreigners Employment Law (Wet Arbeid Vreemdelingen). The political aim is to limit immigration, except for highly-educated professionals (Hoogenboom, 2015).

3.5 Evolution of urban policies

This section uses the same periodization to describe the evolution of urban policies in the Netherlands: (1) until the 1980s: post-war reconstruction; (2) in the 1980s: Adapting to the market economy; (3) in the 1990s: the revival of the inner city; (4) in the 2000s: Urban restructuring; and (5) in the 2010s: post-crisis recovery and the search for a new direction.

Figure 3.5 and Table 3-2 show the different urban policies in the Netherlands since the 1950s.

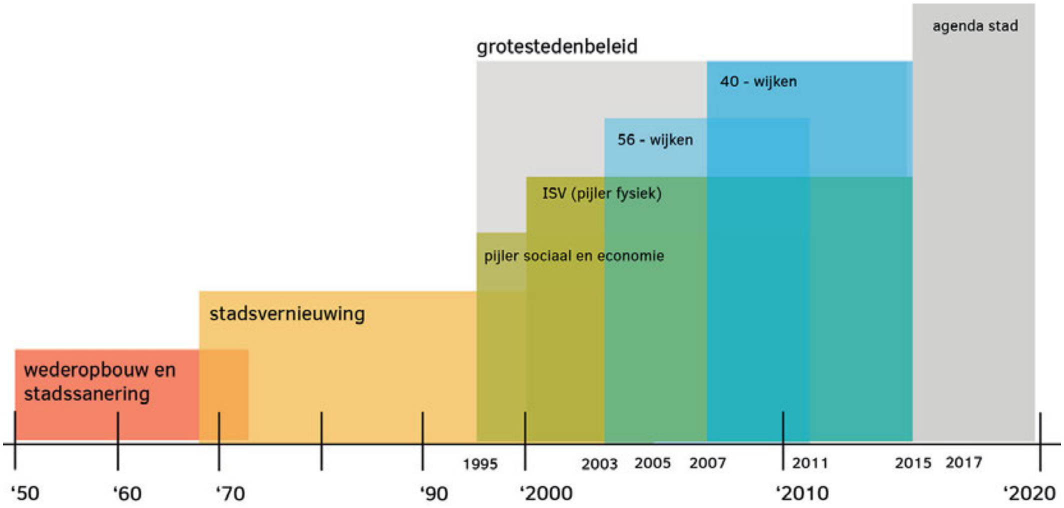


FIG. 3.5 Urban renewal policies in the Netherlands (Source: Uyterlinde et al, 2017:4)

TABLE 3.2 Main urban policies in the Netherlands (Source: Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008:81)

Name of policy	Period	Definition of social issues	Typical policy actions
Creating CBD'S	TO 1970	None (stronger urban economy)	Demolition of old quarters
Urban renewal	1970-1980	Bad housing	New housing for neighbourhood residents
City renewal	1980-1990	Unemployment/strenght of economy	Improvement of economic climate
Multiple problem	1985-1990	Disadvanteged in several aspects	Moderate social policies, no physical upgrading
Social renewal	1990-1994	Lack of cohesion	Moderate social policies, stimulating participation
Big Cities Policy I	1994-1998	Homogeneous poor neighbourhood (segregated)	Neighbourhood restructuring attract better-off
Big Cities Policy II	1998-2004	Housing career within neighbourhood	Creating opportunities in the neighbourhood
Big Cities Policy III	2004-2009	Ethnic concentrations/integration	Neighbourhood restructuring, social mix
Big Cities Policy III+	From 2007	Ethnic and social integration	Neighbourhood restructuring, social mix, housing association involvement

3.5.1 Until the 1980s: the post-war reconstruction

The Dutch government has been involved in the production of good quality, affordable housing since the Housing Act (*Woningwet*) of 1901, which aimed to improve the living conditions of the poor by planning and subsidizing social housing production (Vermeulen and Rouwendal, 2007). In the post-war period, the government applied housing and urban renewal policies to tackle the huge housing demand and address the problems of its cities. The housing policy initially focused on building social housing estates on the outskirts of cities. Housing corporations (Woningcorporaties) played an important role in solving the housing shortage during the reconstruction years.

Urban policy in this period sought to demolish old buildings in the inner city to build new offices, modern shopping streets and new roads to promote the economy and the vitality of the city centre. After extensive negotiations between local government, housing corporations and residents during the 1970s, the policy focus shifted from demolition and reconstruction to 'building for the neighbourhood', which focused on the renovation of existing buildings for residents of the neighbourhoods (Gruis et al. 2006; Platform31, 2017).

In this period, the housing situation of immigrants was not addressed in housing and urban renewal policies, as they were considered temporary guests. Initially, guest workers mostly settled in dormitory accommodation close to the harbours and industrial areas, otherwise in rooms, pensions or dwellings in poor quality dwellings, which were located close to their working areas or in the inner-city (Cortie and Van Engeldorp Gastelaars, 1985). However, after the family reunification of guest workers in 1974, the housing demand of immigrants increased.

As soon as immigrants were considered permanent residents, rather than temporary guests, resident-dispersal programmes were devised by policymakers in major cities, such as Rotterdam and Amsterdam. The idea was to promote the integration of immigrants with an assimilationist approach. However, these policies were contested and never implemented, as they contradicted the Dutch constitution, which forbids discriminatory policies based on place of origin (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2009).

3.5.2 The 1980s: adapting to the market economy

In the 1980s, changes in the welfare regime resulted in changes in Dutch urban policies. The responsibility of housing supply was decentralised, and shifted from national to local governments, which then had to collaborate with commercial developers and housing corporations. The national government set ambitious housing production goals, focusing on the protection of natural and agricultural land while restricting the supply of land for new housing developments (Priemus, 1998).

A new urban policy, termed city renewal (*stedelijke vernieuwing*), was launched to strengthen the urban economy and improve the attractiveness of cities with the help of city-marketing strategies (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008). Its focus was to improve the housing conditions in post-war social housing areas and some inner–city neighbourhoods. The policy approach was to intervene exclusively in the physical aspects of the neighbourhood. By the end of the 1980s, an area-based policy, the ‘problem-cumulating areas’ (*probleemcumulatiegebieden – PCG-beleid*), was issued to address the lack of integration with socio-economic aspects (Platform31, 2017).

Since 1981, immigrants were considered ethnic minorities and, as such, were able to gain access to the social housing market. In the context of the ongoing suburbanisation process of this period, middle-income Dutch families moved to newly built social housing estates on the outskirts of cities. A large number of houses became available for immigrants in inner-city neighbourhoods (Van Amersfoort and Cortie, 2006). These areas, and some others in the outskirts, began to concentrate immigrant households.

In this period, the residential concentration of immigrants was still not considered a segregation problem. The Netherlands was still embracing multiculturalism as a model for societal cohabitation, in which the residential concentration of different immigrant groups was considered a right; indispensable to develop shared ‘cultural norms, values and interests’ (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2009: 1517).

3.5.3 The 1990s: the revival of the inner city

The urban policy approach was to improve both the physical environment and the urban economy of cities through urban renewal projects. The final objective was to strengthen the economic position of Dutch cities to compete in the global market. The result of these interventions was a gentrification of inner city neighbourhoods (Wagenaar, 2011).

The integration of physical and socio-economic aspects was further developed in a social renewal policy (*sociale vernieuwing*) and a policy for urban renewal in the future (*Beleid voor de stadsvernieuwing in the toekomst – Belstato*), which focused on disadvantaged post-war neighbourhoods. The emphasis was to combat social problems in the neighbourhoods, such as unemployment, and to strengthen social cohesion. Around the mid-1990s, these policies evolved into the big cities policies (*Grotestedenbeleid*).

Successive urban renewal policies (big cities I, II, III, IV) were launched to fight the socio-spatial segregation of deprived neighbourhoods. Their aim was social mixing and the diversification of housing to promote their liveability (van Kempen and van Beckhoven, 2006). The pillars of these policies – physical, social and economic dimensions – have framed most urban renewal interventions until now.

Housing associations, the owners of most housing units, and local authorities became the crucial actors and the financers of these urban interventions. In 1995, the status of housing associations changed and became private sector organizations. Although they remained non-profit agencies, this new status gave them financial independence to sell their property. Home-ownership was strongly promoted through financial mechanisms. Since then, the construction of social rental housing has decreased (Boelhouwer and Priemus, 2014; Elsinga, 2011). Figure 3.6 shows the changing proportion of social rented housing in the Netherlands since the post-war period.

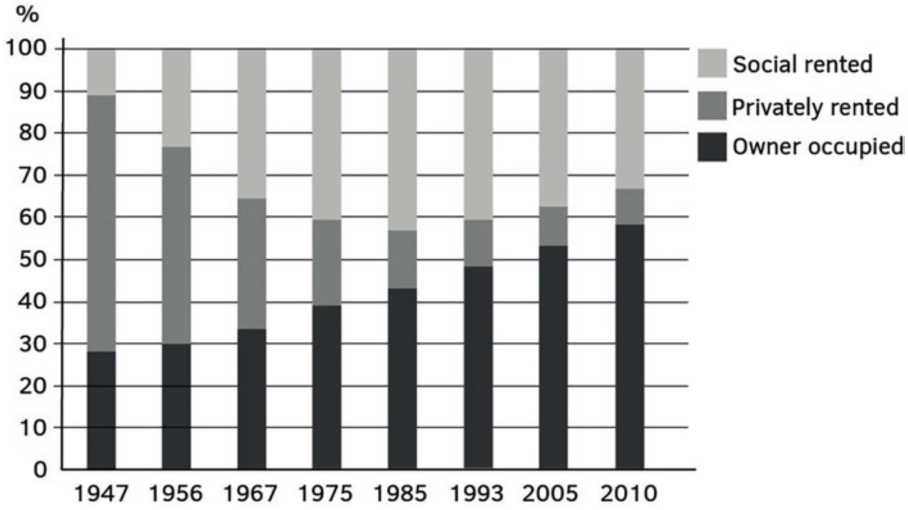


FIG. 3.6 Housing stock in the Netherlands by tenure, 1947-2010. (Source: Elsinga, 2011: 5)

The urban transformation processes of the 1990s period coincided with a turn towards an assimilationist approach within the immigrant integration policies (Botman and Van Kempen, 2002; Musterd and Ostendorp, 2008). The structural changes in the social housing sector had direct effects in urban transformation processes in the immigrant neighbourhoods, as many of these neighbourhoods were located in social housing areas. One of the most evident consequences of these changes was the gentrification of immigrant neighbourhoods located in the inner-city and adjacent areas.

3.5.4 The 2000s period: area-based urban interventions

Urban restructuring (*Stedelijke herstructurering)* was a pillar of the Big Cities policy. Its approach was to upgrade problem neighbourhoods through the demolition, selling or upgrading of social housing units, replacing them with owner-occupied dwellings for higher income groups. This policy attempted to promote spatial dispersion to reduce residential segregation, in a similar fashion to the policy attempts developed in the 1970s (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2009). The predisposition towards demolition and upgrading the housing stock was the preferred option of housing associations, the owners of this housing stock (Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013; Uitermark, 2003).

An important national effort was launched in March 2007, when the Ministry of Housing, Neighbourhoods and Integration (Wonen, Wijken en Integratie) appointed 40 'attention neighbourhoods' (aandachtswijken), which would receive special treatment for urban renewal. The idea was to enhance the position of these neighbourhoods in terms of living, working, growing up, safety and integration within the period between 2007 and 2017.

Meanwhile, the increased and unfulfilled housing demand, in the context of the more prominent role of the private sector, led to a constant rise in housing prices, especially in Amsterdam. Figure 3.7 shows the evolution of the average home prices in the three largest cities between 1995 and 2016, showing the difference with the national average.

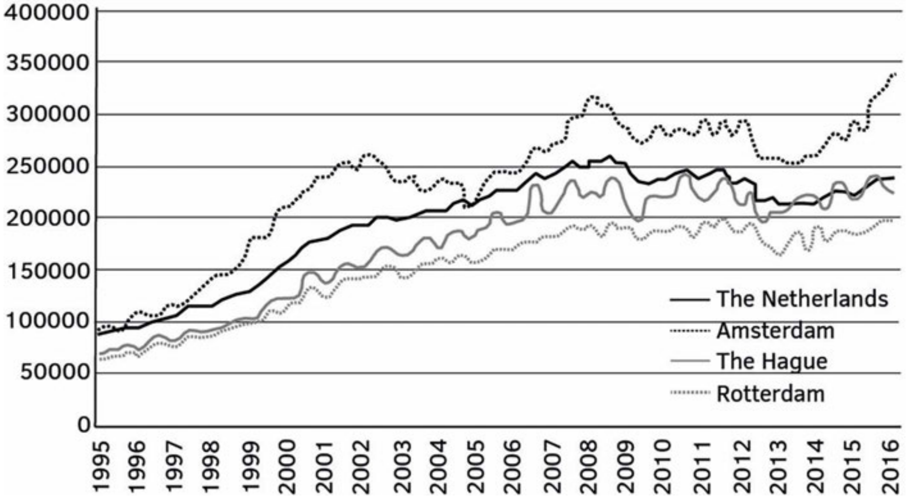


FIG. 3.7 Average price of homes sold in the Netherlands, 1995-2016, in euros. (Source: Boterman, 2016: 11)

Despite policies to encourage owner occupation, the rental housing market in the Netherlands still plays an important role in the housing sector, representing 33% of total dwellings of 7.4 million by the end of the 2000s. Most of the privately rented dwellings are rent-regulated. The proportion of owner occupied dwellings has increased to 60% of the housing market in 2011, from 42% in 1980, but still it is low in relation to other European countries (Vandevyvere and Zenthofer, 2012).

In this period, the debate on social mixing gained a stronger tone along with the increasing assimilationist approaches of the immigrant integration policies. 'The Dutch government's June 2002 policy programme explicitley stated that the development of homogeneous ethnic neighbourhoods had to be lessened by creating mixed-housing neighbourhoods.' (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2009, p.1518). The residential segregation of immigrants was considered an obstacle for their integration into arrival societies. The Yearly Memorandum on Integration Policy (Ministry of Justice, 2005) stated that:

> '…Concentration is especially disadvantageous for integration because it results in an accumulation of social problems which may eventuate in a state of affairs that is very hard to handle (…).Concentration is also disadvantageous because it makes the ethnic dividing lines more visible in a more concentrated way. That harms the image of ethnic minorities (…). Finally, concentration is particularly disadvantageous for the possibilities for meeting and contacts between persons from different origin groups (…) the diminishing contacts with native Dutch indirectly influence the social chances of ethnic minorities' (Ministry of Justice, 2005, p.19, cited in Van Kempen and Bolt 2009, p. 464).

3.5.5 The 2010s: post-crisis recovery and the search for a new direction

In 2011, following the economic stagnation and the establishment of a new Dutch government in 2010, urban restructuring projects dedicated to the 40 'attention neighbourhoods' policy were stopped or put on hold. A report of the Social and Cultural Planning Office (*Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau* – SCP) showed that there had been no significant improvement in the liveability of the 40 attention neighbourhoods in the period between 2008 and 2011. The minister of housing and central government (*wonen en rijksdienst*) announced that the urban renewal policy would end by 2015. Since then, the national government has limited its role in urban restructuring projects. However, there has been an increase in the socio-economic status of the residents of these neighbourhoods, due to restructuring of the housing market and consequently the arrival of the new residents from middle and higher income residents (Uyterlinde *et al.*, 2017).

In 2015, the Dutch national government developed a new policy instrument, the Dutch Urban Agenda (*Agenda Stad*), inspired by the UN New Urban Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Its main focus is to promote the position of the Dutch cities as international centres for urban growth, innovation and liveability

TOC

(Agenda Stad, 2019). The key focus areas are: (1) developing cities as centres of innovation and start-ups; (2) creating conditions for system innovation such as open data, energy networks and good transport concepts; and (3) promoting cooperation within and between urban areas through joint-efforts across administrative boundaries. Different than the previous period, there has been no emphasis on urban renewal, which has been replaced by concepts such as smart cities, circular city, urban food production, and inner-city development and transformation. The concept of the Dutch Urban Agenda is still in its developing phase, despite some on-going city-based urban initiatives in the Netherlands (e.g. 'circular city' in Amsterdam, 'electricity mobility in urban development' in Den Haag).

In this period, the consequences of urban restructuring projects have been strongly felt within immigrant neighbourhoods. The restructuring of the housing market in order to overcome the concentration of low-income groups, along with market trends have created a strong pressure for change in central neighbourhoods, including those immigrant neighbourhoods, specifically in the major cities, such as Amsterdam, Den Haag and Rotterdam (Uitermark and Bosker, 2015). These trends have led to processes of commodification and gentrification in central neighbourhoods, visibly changing the composition of their population, whilst immigrant groups are increasingly moving into outskirt locations (Ostendorf and Musterd, 2011).

3.6 Location and transformation of immigrant neighbourhoods in Amsterdam

Amsterdam is an interesting case to examine how the previously mentioned policy changes have played out in the transformation of immigrant neighbourhoods. Today, the population of the metropolitan area has reached almost one million people, half of which are of foreign origin (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015). Dutch native and western immigrants generally have higher education and income, while non-westerners generally do not. They also have different housing situations: Dutch and western immigrants live in the better-off neighbourhoods, while most non-western immigrant live in social housing estates in inner-city areas or the post-war estates on the outskirts. Evidently, the limited choice of housing resulted in the concentration areas of this group in specific areas.

This section focuses on the location and changes in residential concentrations of non-western immigrants in Amsterdam, to show the significant differences. It does so by mapping the location of non-western immigrants in 1998, 2008 and 2018.

The first map presents the residential concentration of non-western immigrants in 1998 (Figure 3.8). Turkish and Moroccans households tended to concentrate in the Amsterdam Nieuwe West district – a post war social housing area – and in the Oost district, a 20th century working class' neighbourhood close to the city centre. Turks are also clustered in the Amsterdam North district. Surinamese and Antilleans are generally concentrated in the Zuid Oost area.

The residential concentration map for 2008 (Figure 3.9) shows the following differences in comparison to the situation in 1998: the residential concentration areas gradually decreased in the inner-city neighbourhoods of the Zuid and Oud West districts, while they increased in Buitenveldert, Zuid Oost and Noord districts. This trend became even more evident in 2018 (Figure 3.10) with the intensification of residential concentration areas on the outskirts, and reduction in the inner-city.

TOC

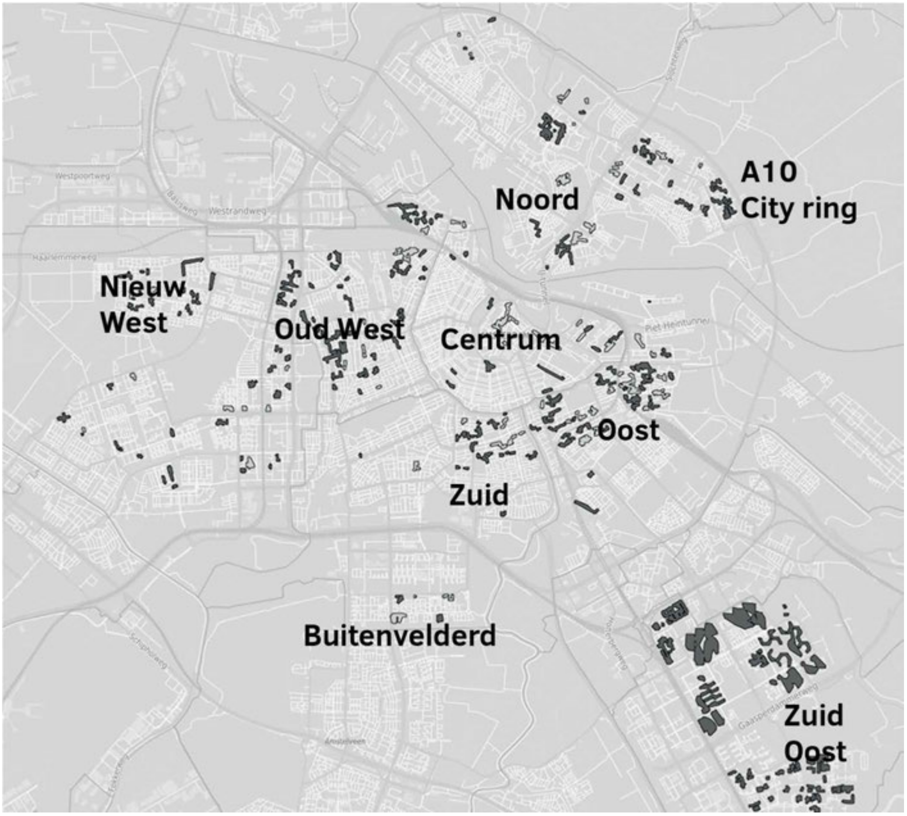

A10
City ring
Noord
Nieuw
West
Oud West
Centrum
Oost
Zuid
Buitenvelderd
Zuid
Oost

FIG. 3.8 Residential clusters areas of non-western immigrants in Amsterdam in 1998 (Source: Author's own elaboration with data from Regimonitor Groot Amsterdam, 2017)

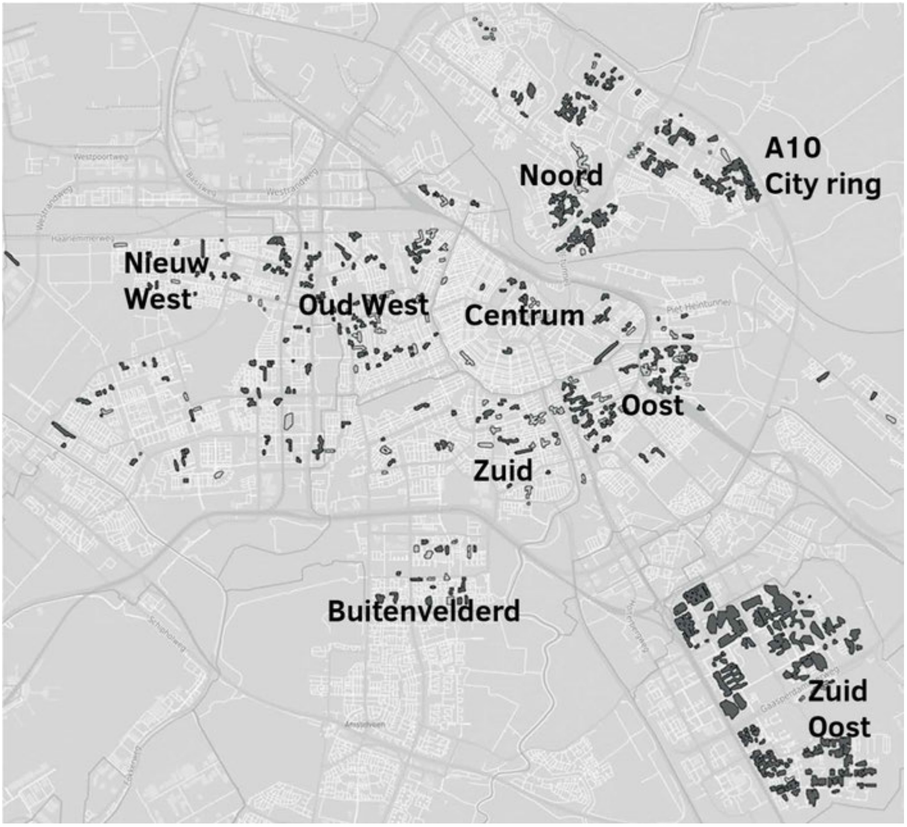

A10
City ring
Noord
Nieuw West
Oud West
Centrum
Oost
Zuid
Buitenvelderd
Zuid Oost
Westpoortweg
Basisweg
Westrandweg
Haarlemmerweg
Piet Heintunnel
Gaasperdammerweg
Schipholweg
Amstelveen

FIG. 3.9 Residential clusters areas of non-western immigrants in Amsterdam in 2008(Source: Author's own elaboration with data from Regimonitor Groot Amsterdam, 2017)

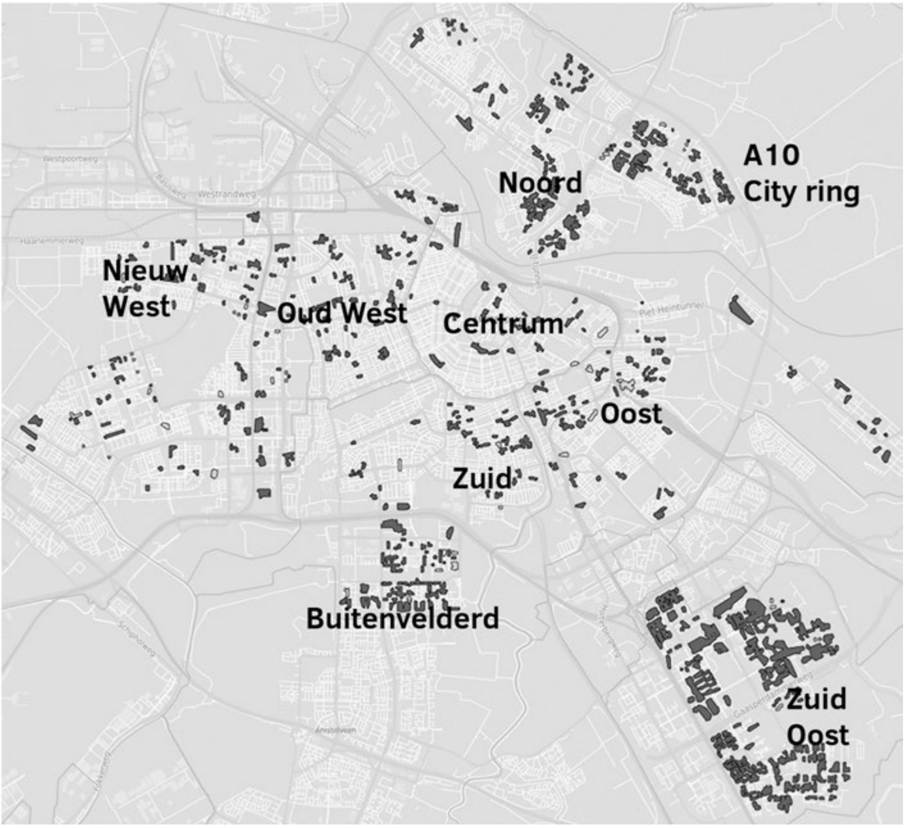

A10
City ring
Noord
Nieuw
West
Oud West
Centrum
Oost
Zuid
Buitenvelderd
Zuid
Oost
Westpoortweg
Westrandweg
Haarlemmerweg
Piet Heintunnel
Amstelveen

FIG. 3.10 Residential clusters areas of non-western immigrants in Amsterdam in 2018(Source: Author’s own elaboration with data from Regimonitor Groot Amsterdam, 2017)

Amsterdam’s plans have also played an important role in the changes of residential concentrations of non-western immigrants. The plans were described in the *Nota Stedelijke Vernieuwing* (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1999), which focused on increasing housing quality and differentiation; promoting quality of life; and optimizing land use. This meant that ‘modest ambitions and gradual transformation are passé; it is time for the “total makeover”. The middle class must be held onto or hauled in, and therefore the proportion of public housing must be drastically reduced in order to make the neighbourhood safer and increase its liveability.’ (Uitermark, 2009: 179).

Meanwhile, Amsterdam steadily became an attractive destination for tourists and young professionals, which has led to an increased housing demand. The increased and unfulfilled demand, in the context of the more prominent role of the private sector, has led to a constant rise in housing prices and created an overheated housing market (De Nederlandsche Bank, 2017).

Gentrification is not anymore a forbidden word for some local policy-makers, which is seen as a means of achieving a vital urban economy. ‘While in other countries, the word gentrification is rarely used by policy-makers directly, in the Netherlands it is a central, explicit aim which policy-makers are open about promoting’ (Ernst and Doucet, 2014: 192), as the head of the Planning, Space an Economy Section of the municipality of Amsterdam clearly stated in a column entitled ‘Let the gentrifiers come’ (Gadet, 2015). This constitutes a striking shift away from the previous Amsterdam urban justice goals, towards economy and market-driven solutions (Uitermark, 2009).

3.7 Conclusion

This paper has reviewed the main policies and strategies related to immigration and urban renewal in the Netherlands in order to identify the main trends and factors underpinning urban transformation processes in Amsterdam related to the immigrant groups and neighbourhoods.

The review has showed that there has been a gradual shift from a social democratic towards a liberal welfare regime in the Netherlands since the 1980s, which has influenced successive urban policies. Immigrant integration policies still aim at the inclusion of new arrival immigrants into mainstream society in socio-cultural, economic and political spheres. But the purpose and the tone of the policies have changed along with the changing economic and political context at both global and national levels.

Urban policy, more specifically urban renewal policy, has aimed at improving the physical, social and economic characteristics of deprived neighbourhoods, many of which were characterized as immigrant neighbourhoods. The residential concentration of immigrants has been regarded as something negative for neighbourhood development in policy documents, although studies have showed that the residential concentration of non-western immigrants does not create 'segregated' neighbourhoods in Dutch cities. Social mixing has been regarded as the best policy tool to overcome social problems that exist in these neighbourhoods.

Along with real estate trends in Amsterdam, which have significantly increased housing prices, the city's successive urban strategies have led to processes of the commodification and gentrification of Amsterdam's central neighbourhoods. As presented in the previous section, in the last two decades the population composition of central neighbourhoods has significantly changed. Vulnerable groups who cannot afford the increasing housing prices, such as non-western immigrants, have been gradually displaced towards the outskirts.

TOC

PART 3

Empirical analysis

TOC

BAKKERIJ KARDAS
aanse & Turkse bakkerij
OOD BELEGDE BROODJES-GEKOELDE DR

TOC

4 Visibility of Turkish amenities: immigrant integration and social cohesion in Amsterdam[4]

ABSTRACT

This chapter examines social and spatial characteristics immigrants' commercial and communal amenities to understand the dynamics of their visibility on the street. It defines visibility as the observable physical features of immigrant amenities such as signs and practices, important for the integration of immigrant groups to the mainstream society. The research focuses on the visibility of Turkish immigrants in Amsterdam. For the social characteristics, it studies public and parochial realms that are established and maintained by these amenities. For spatial characteristics it examines these amenities at city level in terms of their location and at neighbourhood level in terms of their personalisation, permeability and robustness. The findings of this study indicate that visibility can be an operational concept to improve the amenities for the goals of integration.

---

[4] This article is published as: Sezer, C. 2019. *Visibility of Turkish amenities: immigrants' integration and social cohesion in Amsterdam*', In Public space design and social cohesion: comparative perspectives, (eds) Patricia Lopes Simoes Aelbrecht and Quentin Stevens, 220-241, Routledge, New York and London.

4.1 Introduction

Throughout history, immigrants have always played a significant role in shaping and appropriating parts of cities. Some of the oldest examples of this are the Jewish and Chinese neighbourhoods located in many of the major European cities such as London, Paris, and Amsterdam. However, it was after the 1960s that immigrants influenced and changed the cultural landscape of European cities the most. This was due to the arrival of migrant labour from Italy, Turkey, Greece, Morocco, Portugal, and Tunisia to northern European countries as a result of trade recruitment. The arrival of guest workers along with the migration from post-colonial countries around the 1970s was followed by migration from the cold war areas East Europe. This produced in a significant change in the demographic and spatial organization of major European cities (King and Lulle, 2016).

Since that period, immigrant integration has been a subject of policy concern in Western European countries, generally through policies that aim to enhance social mix and social cohesion. Immigrant integration can be understood as ‘the process of becoming accepted part of society’ (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas, 2015:15). Social cohesion is understood as the ‘internal bonding’ of the society as a whole (Schuijt, 1997: 18), generally considered – in policy documents – as a remedy for the problems associated with neighbourhoods concentrating low-income and ethnic groups. ‘To enhance social cohesion (…) [and] commitment to effective integration of migrants in receiving societies should be strengthened’ (King and Lulle, 2016: 53). At neighbourhood level, attachment to it, and social networks are considered important elements of social cohesion (van Marissing et al., 2006).

Policy and academic attention towards the integration and social cohesion, of especially Muslim groups, has intensified and modified particularly after the 9/11 attacks in 2001 and urban clashes in the outskirts of some European cities. The mass arrival of Middle-Eastern refugees since 2015 has intensified these discussions even more. Despite the important policy efforts promoting immigrant integration and social cohesion, these goals are still a challenge for most Western European cities (King and Lulle, 2016).

As immigrants gradually settled in specific areas of European cities, they became increasingly visible on the streetscape through their shops, restaurants, cafés and religious places. These amenities, which have distinctive languages, signs and ways of street appropriation, created characteristic immigrant neighbourhoods, recognised as, for example, African, Turkish, Surinamese neighbourhoods, and many others.

The visibility of immigrant amenities in public space is shaped by their social and spatial characteristics. Social characteristics refer to the potential social interactions and associations that amenities are able to generate for enhancing social cohesion among immigrants themselves and between them and other cultural groups. Spatial characteristics refer to the features of the built environment in terms of location and physical setting, which can be analysed at city and neighbourhood levels.

Although there has been academic attention toward some aspects of the contribution of immigrant amenities to the integration of immigrants groups and social cohesion, especially in terms of the provision of jobs and their potential to improve their economic status (Kloosterman and van der Leun, 1999), the role of the social and spatial characteristics of immigrant amenities in these processes has not been sufficiently studied.

The main aim of this chapter is to examine how immigrant amenities may contribute to immigrant integration and social cohesion. It focuses on the social and spatial characteristics of Turkish commercial and communal amenities, which are studied through their visibility in streets of Amsterdam. The leading questions are: How do the social and spatial characteristics of Turkish amenities shape their visibility in the streets of Amsterdam, and how can these characteristics be improved towards the goals of immigrant integration and social cohesion? By answering these questions, the study aims to introduce visibility as a useful concept in the debate on immigrant integration and social cohesion.

Amsterdam is chosen for this study, because it accommodates many neighbourhoods characterized by immigrants' amenities, of which Turkish neighbourhoods are the most prominent (Iamsterdam, 2016). Since the 1990s, the political and economic circumstances have changed in the Netherlands, as in most West European countries. This has brought about the demise of left-wing governments and their multicultural policies, and the rise of right-wing governments, political parties and related policies, leading to drastic effects in immigrant neighbourhoods. Trends in the real-estate market and urban renewal have led to gentrification processes, with the resulting expulsion of immigrants to the outskirts.

The following section introduces the theoretical aspects of the main concepts related to visibility in public space and its relations with immigrant integration and social cohesion. A section explaining research approach and methodological approach follows this. The next section introduces the Turkish neighbourhoods in Amsterdam as well as their demographic and locational characteristics within the context of the social, economic and political change of the Netherlands. The following two sections analyse the social and spatial characteristics of Turkish related amenities. The last section presents the conclusions.

4.2 Visibility in public space, immigrant integration and social cohesion

Being visible in public space as a way of contributing to public life can be related to the rights of being in these streets, to use them in certain ways and to invest them with a sense of community, which is crucial for the settlement processes of immigrants (Sezer and Fernandez Maldonado, 2017). From this standpoint, immigrant amenities may play a vital role in the integration of immigrants and further processes of social cohesion.

There are different dimensions of the concept of integration (Ager and Strang, 2004) three of which are especially linked to the visibility of immigrant amenities in public space and which affect the social cohesion of immigrant communities with the hosting society. The first is spatial integration, which is highly significant for the sense of belonging. Spatial integration is considered the opposite of spatial segregation, which is measured by 'statistical units in which over or under-representation of a population category relative to another category determines the level of segregation' (Musterd and Ostendorp, 2009: 1519). It is often assumed that the residential segregation of vulnerable groups, such as immigrant and low-income groups has a negative effect on the life opportunities of these groups, due to their limited social contacts with other groups. The availability of, and the mechanisms to access to affordable housing are the main drivers of the formation of residential concentration areas (Musterd and Ostendorp, 2009).

The second dimension of the concept of integration is the social and cultural integration of immigrants, which is closely related to their social interaction. Studies in this area pay attention to relations of social inclusion or exclusion with the native society, participation in clubs and associations, immigrants' social ties, religiosity and identity (King and Lulle, 2016). These studies consider the built environment, mainly of neighbourhoods, as a container of social relations, without a specific attention being paid to the spatial qualities of the built environment.

The third is the political integration of immigrants, primarily associated with the rights of citizenship. This indicates 'to what extent are immigrants regarded as fully-fledged members of the political community' (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016: 14). This topic has been studied with a focus on the access of immigrants to housing, education, health system and participation in public and political institutions (King and Lulle, 2016). It is mostly analysed and measured through statistical indicators of access to such services. This chapter takes the stance that taking visibility in the public space as a point of departure provides more robust empirical evidence about daily practices of immigrants than quantitative measurements of immigrants' housing, employment and education situation. Visibility can provide insights into immigrants' participatory practices of making public space (Hall, 2015), which is crucial for processes of immigrant integration and cohesion.

To sum, the social and spatial characteristics of public spaces such as streets, plazas and markets require special attention since they have a potential to support or diminish immigrant's integration and social cohesion among themselves and between other groups. Studies show that low-income households rely heavily on their neighbourhood for their social ties (van Marissing *et al.*, 2006). Such interactions promoting social cohesion occur at two levels: among immigrants of the same cultural background, and between them and other cultural groups.

4.2.1 Visibility of immigrant amenities in the public space

Immigrant amenities are a cultural manifestation of immigrant quarters. The shops with immigrant signs and products, culinary businesses from unfamiliar cuisines, religious places such as mosques, synagogues, and temples with special events characterise immigrant neighbourhoods. Their visible features are not limited to signs, language, or merchandises, but also include their related social and spatial manifestations in the city. Their visibility is an expression of cultural traits of immigrant groups in public spaces, more precisely at street level. In other words, these amenities offer the general public the possibility to observe and experience immigrant cultural expressions (Watson, 2006).

Social characteristics of the visibility of immigrant amenities

The visibility of immigrant amenities in public space has been associated with three different but inter-related issues: social interaction, sense of belonging and rights of citizenship. First, the visibility of immigrant amenities provides opportunities for immigrants and other groups to interact with each other. This is because visibility in public space promotes encounters between different city inhabitants and allows witnessing of one another's presence and activities (Watson, 2006; Janssens and Sezer, 2013a, 2013b). The different levels of social encounters occur in three types of urban realms: the public, the parochial and the private realms (Lofland, 1998).

Friendly recognition, parochial helpfulness, proactive intervention and embracing and contesting diversity are typical of the parochial realm (Kusenbach, 2006). These three realms are associated with different degrees of visibility in public space, in which the public and parochial realms are associated with visibility in public space, and the private realm is associated with invisibility (Brighenti, 2007).

Some observers argue that visibility is a key feature of public space, which can promote civility in the public realm in the sense of mutual respect and recognition among different urban groups without neglecting differences (Young, 1990). By promoting a distinctive public space, the visibility of immigrant amenities may increase the attractiveness of the street for visitors by providing enjoyment and the excitement of experiencing something new and unexpected; ‘a different atmosphere and a different crowd of people’ (Young, 1990: 239).

However, some types of amenities might also be associated with fear and may raise unease towards certain groups. Public unease for some of the communal amenities such as mosques and teahouses are examples of such situations in some European cities (Göle, 2011). This may be different for commercial amenities, which are generally more open for interaction with the general public (Aytar and Rath, 2012). Nevertheless, in either case, the encounters promoted by immigrant amenities might provide opportunities to overcome prejudices and help to learn how to live in a diverse city (Amin, 2008).

Second, the visibility of immigrant amenities creates an active and recognizable public space that contributes to immigrants’ sense of feeling at home and belonging to the community (Oldenburg, 1999). Through the large variety of land uses, programmes, and types of businesses, as well as the variety of time schedules, streets uses, user behaviour, and active street frontages, these amenities shape a public space that helps to establish a community’s identity (Bentley *et al.*, 1985). Communal places, such as mosques, synagogues, and others, which manifest the cultural differences of immigrant groups and their own symbols, signs and architectural styles, are significant for building social ties between people (Göle, 2011). Such communal places and small commercial businesses may also help to build ‘a sense of communality among acquaintances and neighbours, who are involved in interpersonal networks that are located within communities’ (Lofland, 1998:10), which characterises the parochial realm.

The concept of ‘imagined city’ (Anderson, 2006) is useful to understand the significant social role of such spaces for the social cohesion among immigrant groups.

> ‘Urban dwellers orient themselves by constructing an imagined city, and that city is located and continually reproduced in different ways through a wide range of common daily practices. It is through daily social practices that the city comes to be meaningful spatially, as a place of home, as a cluster of symbols, and as site for the reproduction of personal and group identities.’ (Shutt, 2015:117-118)

In this way, the visibility of immigrant amenities becomes a landmark for some groups by which they develop feelings that evoke attachment to such places and a sense of belonging (Çinar and Bender, 2007).

Third, the visibility of immigrant amenities in public space is also considered a form of expression of citizenship. It can be understood as immigrants claiming the rights to be a part of the city’s public life (Lefebvre, 1991; Nikšič and Sezer, 2017). Ordinary people insert their own practices and uses into the urban fabric and make them visible in public space. This is also ‘a mechanism by which urban dwellers assert their right to participate in society, and their struggles over the right to use public spaces take different forms’ (Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht, 2009: 7).

There might be conflicts and tensions between different groups claiming their rights to use and shape the same places. These conflicts may be between different population groups, or even between immigrant groups and planners, administrators and authorities trying to maintain a certain spatial order (Lefebvre, 1991). Communal amenities, as places of worship and gathering of immigrant communities, may raise stronger conflicts and contestation issues than commercial amenities (Göle, 2011). This suggests that being visible in public space is strongly related to practical and political issues (Zukin, 1995).

Spatial characteristics of the visibility of immigrant amenities

The spatial characteristics of immigrant amenities’ visibility can be analysed at city and neighbourhood levels. At city level, visibility is related to their spatial distribution; at neighbourhood level, visibility gives evidences of the users’ appropriation of the streets in which they are located. Appropriation is understood as the ways that the users of these amenities transform and personalise the built environment for their own needs.

The spatial distribution of immigrant amenities is correlated to the residential distribution of immigrant groups. This is because such amenities address the needs of the relevant immigrant groups and locate where those groups inhabit (Aldrich and Waldinger, 1990). However, the residential concentration of immigrants may change due to housing policies, urban renewal policies, and real estate trends. Especially since the 1990s, there has been an increasing drive towards inner city development and transformation in European cities, which has led to the relocation of former residents to the outskirts and changes in the commercial activities to address the needs of the more affluent new residents (Zukin, 2012).

The public space of immigrant neighbourhoods, more precisely the streets, is the most obvious place to observe these changes at neighbourhood level. Commercial streets clustering immigrant amenities are directly influenced by the socio-economic and spatial transformation of the neighbourhood (Vaughan *et al*., 2017). But non-commercial streets also accommodate immigrant amenities affected by neighbourhood transformation processes.

At neighbourhood level, the visibility of immigrant amenities may be analysed according to the observable spatial characteristics of these amenities. The urban design literature provides different criteria for analysing the spatial characteristics of the built environment. To analyse the responsiveness of physical environments to the needs of the users, Bentley *et. al.*'s (1985) advanced seven criteria – permeability, variety, legibility, robustness, visual appropriateness, richness and personalisation.

For the purpose of this study, personalisation is considered the most important characteristic, alongside legibility and robustness. Personalisation has been understood as the way amenities customise their environment. Legibility is the condition by which people can understand their environment through the visual characteristics of the exterior and/or the interior of the amenities, which vary from amenity to amenity. Robustness is the condition by which amenities may stimulate new uses beyond the planned uses.

4.3 Methodological approach

The study collected data on the visibility of Turkish commercial and communal amenities in Amsterdam. For practical reasons, we called the study area Amsterdam, but it included Amsterdam Metropolitan region, which covered both the city centre and other areas such as Amstelveen and Zaandam. Amsterdam is a useful case study because almost half of the city population is of foreign origin. Turkish immigrants are one of the largest immigrant groups in the city, after Moroccan and Surinamese groups, representing 5,5% of the almost 1 million inhabitants of the metropolis. Migrants with a Turkish background are considered to be poorly integrated in Dutch society, with low levels of social cohesion. This is related to their low education profile and high dependency on welfare benefits (Crul *et al.*, 2012), although they are also known by their entrepreneurship skills compared to other immigrant groups (Rath and Kloosterman, 2000).

The research was conducted in four phases. The first analysed the context regarding the main changes in residential concentration of Turkish immigrants in Amsterdam between 2000 and 2015. The second carried out an analysis of the social characteristics of amenities, focusing on the potential for sociability of communal and commercial amenities based on observations and unstructured interviews with visitors of these amenities. Interviews were framed as open-ended informal conversations including questions about the participants' personal background, daily practices and experiences in these amenities with Turkish and non-Turkish people. Special attention was given to ensure a good level of diversity of interviewees in terms of age and gender.

The third involved a study of the spatial characteristics of amenities at city scale. This involved mapping the streets in which communal and commercial immigrant amenities were distributed, building a typology of commercial streets in relation to their type of location, and type of user groups and spatial analysis of their characteristics at neighbourhood level, focusing on three criteria: personalisation, legibility, and robustness.

4.4 The socio-economic and policy context

4.4.1 Immigrant integration, social cohesion and urban renewal policies in the Netherlands

There is an implicit relation between urban renewal and immigrant integration policy, which is related to the changing context of the Dutch welfare system from a social democratic towards a neoliberal approach. This was most obvious since the 1990s. The residential concentration of immigrant groups was considered an obstacle for their integration. Urban renewal intended to overcome this problem by promoting social mixing and social cohesion at neighbourhood level (Van Kempen and Bolt, 2009). The results of these interventions were more evident in the 2000s, most notably in Amsterdam, in the form of gentrification processes in central districts; and the displacement of immigrants to the outskirts.

4.4.2 Turkish neighbourhoods in Amsterdam

In Amsterdam, Turkish immigrants concentrated in two kinds of neighbourhoods: the affordable social housing estates in inner city areas or the post-war estates in the outskirts. The most recent changes in residential concentration of Turkish immigrants can be explained within the context of the general urban development trends of Amsterdam. Two important factors are salient. The first are the real estate trends related to housing which led to an increase of housing prices in inner city Amsterdam have vastly increased since the mid-1990s. The city has become highly attractive for tourists and young professionals greatly increasing the housing demand (Rath, 2007). The second are urban renewal policies, both at national and city level which aimed to reduce the residential concentration of low-income households in social housing areas by promoting social mixing and social cohesion (Van Kempen and Bolt, 2009). This has brought the displacement of vulnerable households towards the outskirts, a phenomenon known as ‘state-driven gentrification’ (Uitermark 2009).

Figure 4.1 shows the location of Turkish residential concentrations in 2000, 2007 and 2015, illustrating certain concentration trends in the inner city neighbourhoods where residential concentration has diminished, whereas in outskirts it has increased.

Recent demographic dynamics for Turkish immigrants show a steady increase of Turkish immigrants until 2007 and stability from then on (see Table 4-1). They now constitute 5.5 of the total population of Amsterdam.

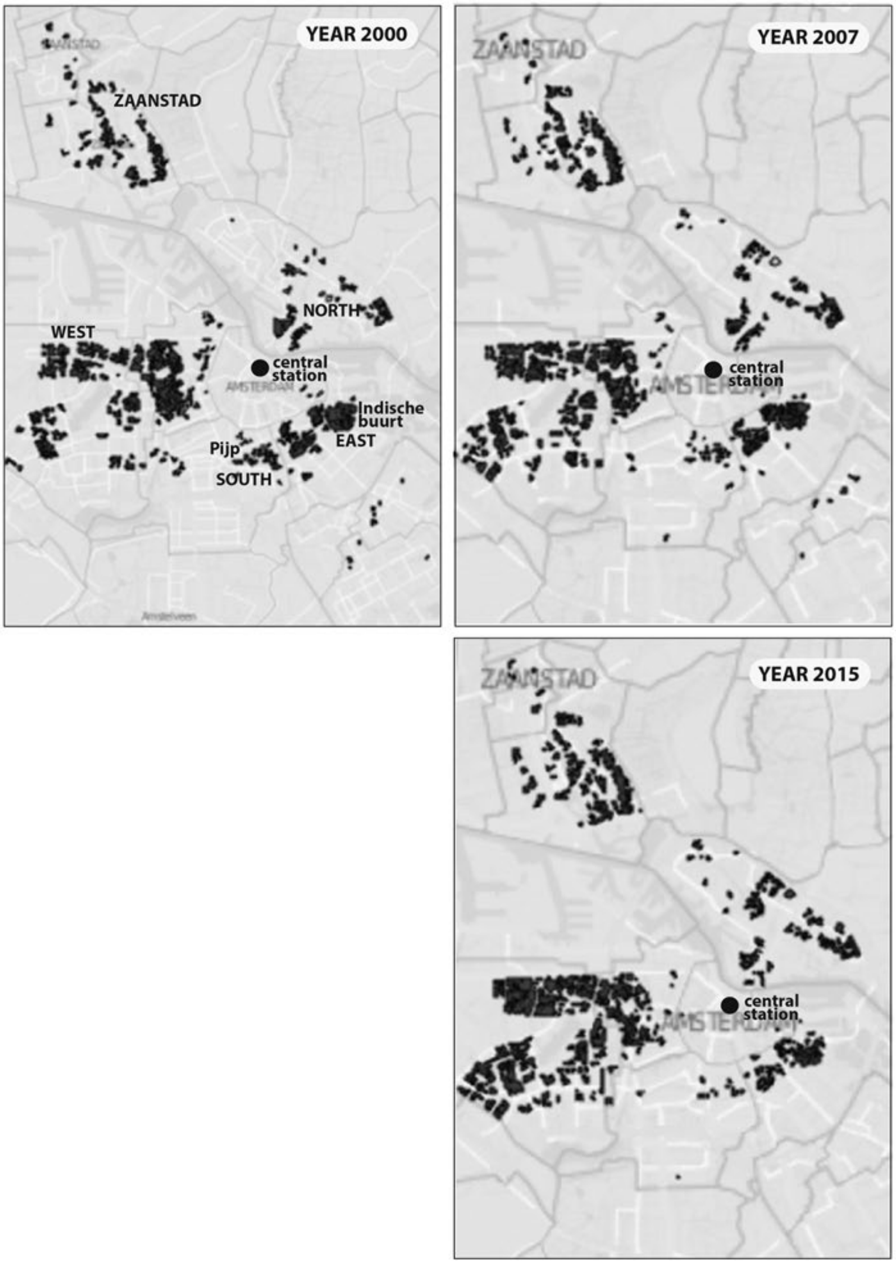

YEAR 2000
ZAANSTAD
ZAANSTAD
NORTH
WEST
central station
AMSTERDAM
Indische buurt
EAST
Pijp
SOUTH
Amstelveen
YEAR 2007
ZAANSTAD
central station
AMSTERDAM
YEAR 2015
ZAANSTAD
central station
AMSTERDAM

FIG. 4.1 Residential concentration of Turkish immigrants in Amsterdam region in 2000, 2007 and 2015 (Source: Author's own elaboration with data from Regiomonitor Groot Amsterdam, 2017.)

TABLE 4.1 Turkish residents in Amsterdam 2000, 2007, 2015*

	Amsterdam Population	Amsterdam Population of Turkish origin	% of Amsterdam Population of Turkish origin
2000	858,587	39,486	4.6%
2007	884,472	49,007	5.5%
2015	973,815	53,948	5.5%

**data valid for the municipalities of Amsterdam and Zaanstad*
(Source: author's elaboration with data from the Gemeente Amsterdam, 2000, 2007, 2015; Zaanstad in cijfers, 2000, 2007, 2015)

4.5 Social characteristics of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam

4.5.1 Commercial amenities

Turkish commercial amenities play a fundamental role to shape the public and parochial realms of Turkish immigrants. Turkish commercial amenities include daily food shops, eating and drinking places, service enterprises and other type of shops. These businesses offer opportunities for casual social encounters among Turkish immigrants and between them and other cultural groups, which may vary from casual contacts to commercial exchanges. These opportunities depend on the services and products offered by these amenities and their location.

Turkish food shops include bakeries, grocery stores, butchers, and supermarkets, which sell *halal* and Turkish products not usually available in other shops. They are often small-scale and low-skilled enterprises that depend on informal social networks among Turkish immigrants to start and sustain their businesses (Kloosterman and Rath 2010). Some Turkish women prepare home-made products, and sell them in these food shops. These amenities offer opportunities for spontaneous encounters, and long-lasting social interaction, establishing both a parochial and public realm that goes beyond the Turkish community; promoting informal chats among staff and clients, as well as among clients. Most clients are women shopping for daily food and socialising with neighbours, and sometimes prolonging the conversations at street level.

Turkish restaurants and cafés in Amsterdam offer a combination of a parochial and public realm. They generally offer specialised Turkish cuisine; home-made products and street food, in economical options for lunch and dinner. Turkish families go out for dinner and meet other families in these restaurants. Turkish women regularly organise tea gatherings and socialise in these cafés. They also attract clients from all Amsterdam, particularly young professionals and students. Non-Turkish groups come to these businesses and enjoy a different atmosphere and culinary experience. To widen their target group, Turkish restaurants may offer fusion cuisine. For example, most pizzerias in Amsterdam are Turkish-owned, and serve both Italian and Turkish cuisines. Their long working hours increase their attractiveness for some groups, especially youth, who use some of these cafés as meeting point.

Turkish service enterprises present a variety of urban realms. The first type of Turkish service enterprises – tailors, clothing and shoe repair, automobile repair, and hair salons – are also small-scale, labour-intensive and low-skilled enterprises. Turkish hair salons are interesting examples of creating both a public and parochial realm, not only among Turkish women but also non- Turkish customers. The regular visits and long stays in these salons promote informal conversations between staff and clients, and among clients, who would otherwise hardly socialise.

Further, there is another category of Turkish amenities, which sells furniture, household products, clothing, souvenirs, textiles, and music products. These amenities are part of the public realm by offering products for all groups of the society, unless they target specific interest group, such as Islamic clothing shops.

4.5.2 Communal amenities

Turkish communal amenities – including mosques, teahouses, and Turkish oriented organisations – play a vital role in forming the parochial realm of Turkish migrants by offering opportunities for social encounters.

Mosques are one of the most significant places where the parochial realm of Turkish immigrants in Amsterdam is established. They are a basis for informal interactions and connections about private and communal issues, due to the daily and regular visits to the mosques, which strengthen the sociability among its visitors.

The parochial realm established through mosques is almost exclusively for Turkish immigrants. Visitors are mostly Turkish immigrants, as other Muslim communities rarely use Turkish mosques. Mosques promote the communication among the

Turkish community, for example, with announcements for job seekers, vacancies, houses for rent, etc. (see Figure 4.2). In Amsterdam mosques are often differentiated from each other in terms of their religious and, sometimes, political views. Hence, they serve also visitors from other neighbourhoods who share the similar views.

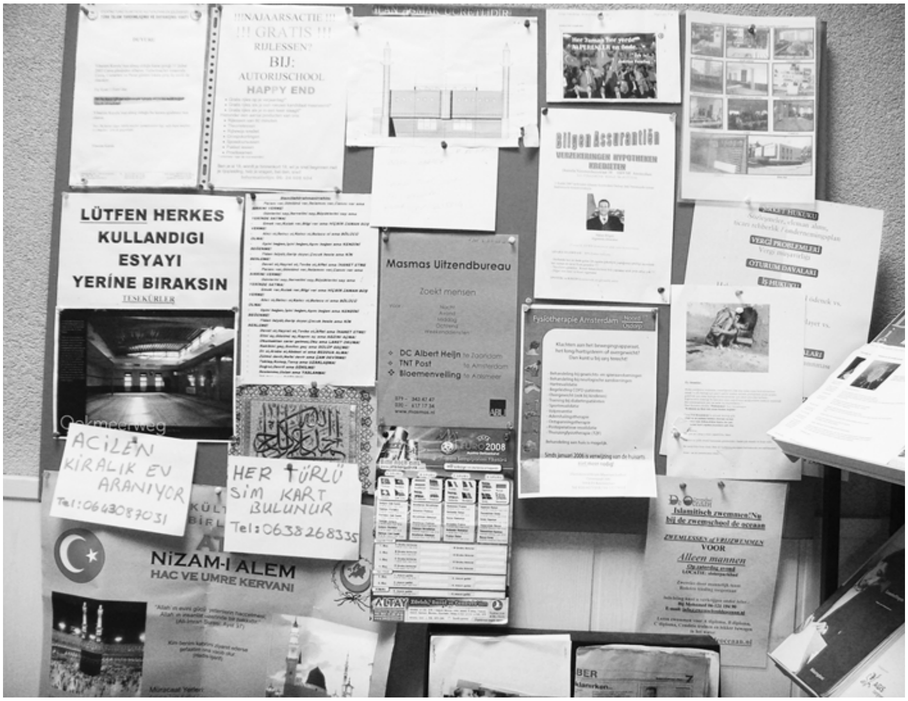

!!!NAJAARSACTIE!!!
!!! GRATIS !!!
RIJLESSEN?
BIJ:
AUTORIJSCHOOL
HAPPY END
Bilgen Assurantiën
VERZEKERINGEN HYPOTHEKEN KREDIETEN
LÜTFEN HERKES
KULLANDIGI
ESYAYI
YERİNE BIRAKSIN
TESEKKÜRLER
Masmas Uitzendbureau
Zoekt mensen
DC Albert Heijn te Zaandam
TNT Post te Amsterdam
Bloemenveiling te Aalsmeer
Fysiotherapie Amsterdam
ACİLEN
KİRALIK EV
ARANIYOR
Tel: 0643087031
HER TÜRLÜ
SİM KART
BULUNUR
Tel: 0638268335
NİZAM-I ALEM
HAC VE UMRE KERVANI
ALTAY
Islamitisch zwemmen!Nu bij de zwemschool de oceaan
VOOR
Alleen mannen

FIG. 4.2 Announcements in a Turkish mosque in Amsterdam (Source:Photo:Sezer)

Mosques are gendered places, exclusively visited by men, establishing a parochial realm, which is also gendered. Women visit mosques only in special occasions; women and men use different doors to enter a mosque and sit in separate designated areas, so they do not meet each other and nor do they socialise.

In most cases, mosques cluster with teahouses, groceries, hair salons, and even, in some cases, billiard rooms. This promotes socialisation by prolonging visitors' contacts with their peers, strengthening the parochial realm with feelings of belonging.

Other significant communal amenities are Turkish teahouses, small cafés where Turkish men exclusively gather and drink non-alcoholic drinks. They also facilitate social gatherings where men chat, and exchange ideas, political views and practical knowledge, enhancing the male parochial realm. In Amsterdam parochial realms in teahouses are exclusive, as they generally gather locals from similar social status, political views, education, income, and even city of origin (Veraart, 1987).

Turkish organisations exhibit another type of parochial realm, generally more open to non-Turkish groups. They can be religious organisations, more oriented towards women and children, generally located in a close proximity to mosques. They facilitate social interaction through special events and festivals that they organise, bringing Turkish and other groups together, and providing occasions for observing Turkish religious practices.

Secular organisations generally focus on language, health education, and women emancipation. Some others are sport organisations; giving training and organising sport competitions. Secular organisations are more able to facilitate regular social encounters between Turkish immigrants and other groups.

4.6 Spatial characteristics of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam

4.6.1 City level

This study counted 461 visibly Turkish amenities in Amsterdam Metropolitan region in 2007, in which approximately 95 per cent (400) were commercial and the remaining (61) were communal. Most commercial amenities were food shops (150), eating (128) and drinking places (46), followed by service enterprises and shops from other categories (76). Most communal amenities were Turkish-oriented organisations (35), teahouses (16) and mosques (10).

Communal and commercial amenities were widely distributed across the city. They were settled in three types of locations: main commercial streets; secondary commercial streets; and randomly distributed in the side streets and backstreets of the neighbourhood. These commercial streets could also be distinguished by the type of user groups, local; citywide; or even touristic oriented. To distinguish this typological classification of the main and secondary commercial streets according to their target groups our analysis used Van Nes (2005) and Bruyns' (2011) studies on typology of commercial streets in Amsterdam. Table 4-2 shows the typology of streets and their city location.

TABLE 4.2 Typology of streets of commercial and communal amenities in Amsterdam

	Central districts		Outskirts	
	Main commercial street	Secondary commercial street	Main commercial street	Secondary commercial street
Locally-oriented	S1	S2	S7	S8
City-wide	S3	S4	S9	S10
Tourist-oriented	S5	S6	S11	S12

Source: Sezer.

Figure 4.3 shows the different types of streets in which commercial and communal amenities were clustered in 2007 in Amsterdam (see also Table 4-3). The study identified 19 main and secondary commercial streets, from which 12 are located in central districts as Oud West, Zuid and Oost. The most frequent types of streets are secondary commercial streets in central districts and main commercial streets in the outskirts. Central districts show a wider variety of street types than those in the outskirts, which are all oriented to local residents. In fact, the last four types (S9 - S12) in the outskirts did not appear, as only the more central ones cater the citywide economy.

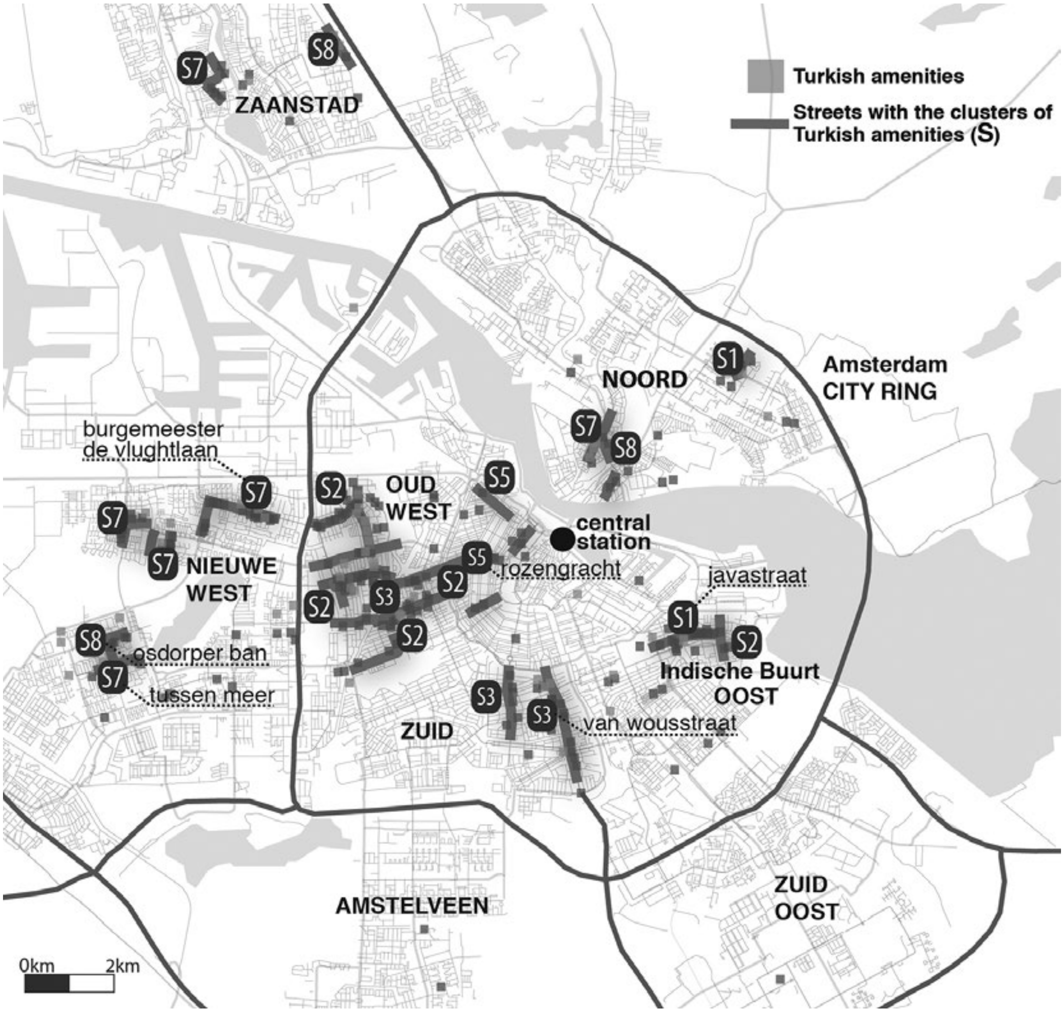

Turkish amenities
Streets with the clusters of Turkish amenities (S)
S7
S8
ZAANSTAD
NOORD
S1
Amsterdam CITY RING
S7
S8
burgemeester de vlughtlaan
S7
S7
S7
NIEUWE WEST
S2
OUD WEST
S5
central station
S5
rozengracht
S2
S3
S2
S2
javastraat
S1
S2
S8
osdorper ban
S7
tussen meer
Indische Buurt OOST
S3
S3
van wousstraat
ZUID
AMSTELVEEN
ZUID OOST
0km
2km

FIG. 4.3 Types of streets in which commercial and communal amenities were clustered in 2007 in Amsterdam. (Source: Authors' elaboration)

TABLE 4.3 Types of streets in which commercial and communal amenities were clustered in Amsterdam in 2007

	Central districts		Outskirts	
	Main commercial street	Secondary commercial street	Main commercial street	Secondary commercial street
Locally-oriented	2	5	5	2
City-wide	3	1	0	0
Tourist-oriented	1	0	0	0

Source: Sezer.

All commercial streets have daily food shops, eating and drinking places. Hair salons, clothing companies, and shoe repair shops are generally located at locally-oriented streets (S1, S2, S7, S8). Souvenir, music shops, some service amenities such as travelling agencies, and clothing, and furniture shops are on streets catering the citywide economy (S3, S4). Commercial amenities that are dispersed generally belong to the service sector, such as clothing and car repair shops, but also some eating places such as snack bars.

Turkish communal amenities are mostly located on non-commercial streets. However, there are exceptions such as: Fatih Mosque located on a touristic main shopping street (S3: Rozengracht) and teahouses located on a local main shopping street (S1: Javastraat). Communal amenities mostly cluster around mosques, teahouses and organisations, and may also include commercial amenities such as grocery stores and eating places.

Most streets with clusters of Turkish commercial amenities located outside of the city ring are also characterised by the residential concentration of Turkish immigrants; however, unlike inner-city districts, these concentrations have been intensified from the 2000s (van Amersfoort and Cortie, 2009). The street types S7 and S8 in Nieuwe West are streets developed in the post-war period designed with modernist view with wide streets. These streets are local in character, catering to the needs of the residents of their neighbourhoods (van Nes, 2005).

Turkish commercial amenities located in these streets show differences: in S7 (Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan) they are mainly daily food shops, but also large furniture shops and restaurants. Turkish commercial amenities in another S7 (Tussen Meer) are eating and drinking places, or night shops. The secondary shopping street S8 (Osdorper Ban) close to S7, there are a few shops specialising in textile and household products. The commercial amenities located outside of the commercial streets are large-scale Turkish supermarkets.

Communal amenities located outside of the city ring of Amsterdam, are mostly located in backstreets adjacent to the commercial streets, or in quiet residential areas. Similar to the communal amenities in the inner city, these amenities mostly cluster around mosques, teahouses and organisations.

4.6.2 Neighbourhood level

This sub-section presents an analysis of three spatial characteristics – personalisation; legibility (of the façade and the interior); and robustness – of six different types of Turkish amenities in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, located in the western suburbs.

Commercial amenities

As Figure 4.4 shows, almost all commercial amenities have personalised their façades and interiors. They have Turkish names written on large name boards, colourful window displays with a variety of Turkish products and, in some cases, advertisements of events, such as concerts by Turkish singers. Remarkably, some eating places in the inner city generally mix their Turkish names and cuisine with Greek, Italian, or Moroccan names and cuisines. This Turkish-South European 'fusion' cuisine may indicate the development of hybrid identities, a positive sign of social integration.

Along with the exterior signs and types of products, their entrances and –in some cases- interiors have a clear legibility, suggesting their function. Additionally, these amenities can be considered robust, as they stimulate a large variety of unplanned street uses, influenced by their opening hours. For example, during the day, Turkish women gather in front of Turkish food shops. During evenings, Turkish men, especially youngsters, gather around night shops, cafés and restaurants. The availability of sitting furniture and the wide sidewalks promotes these gatherings. Similarly, these gatherings are also promoted by some service enterprises – such as hair salons – that are open late or during the weekend.

TOC

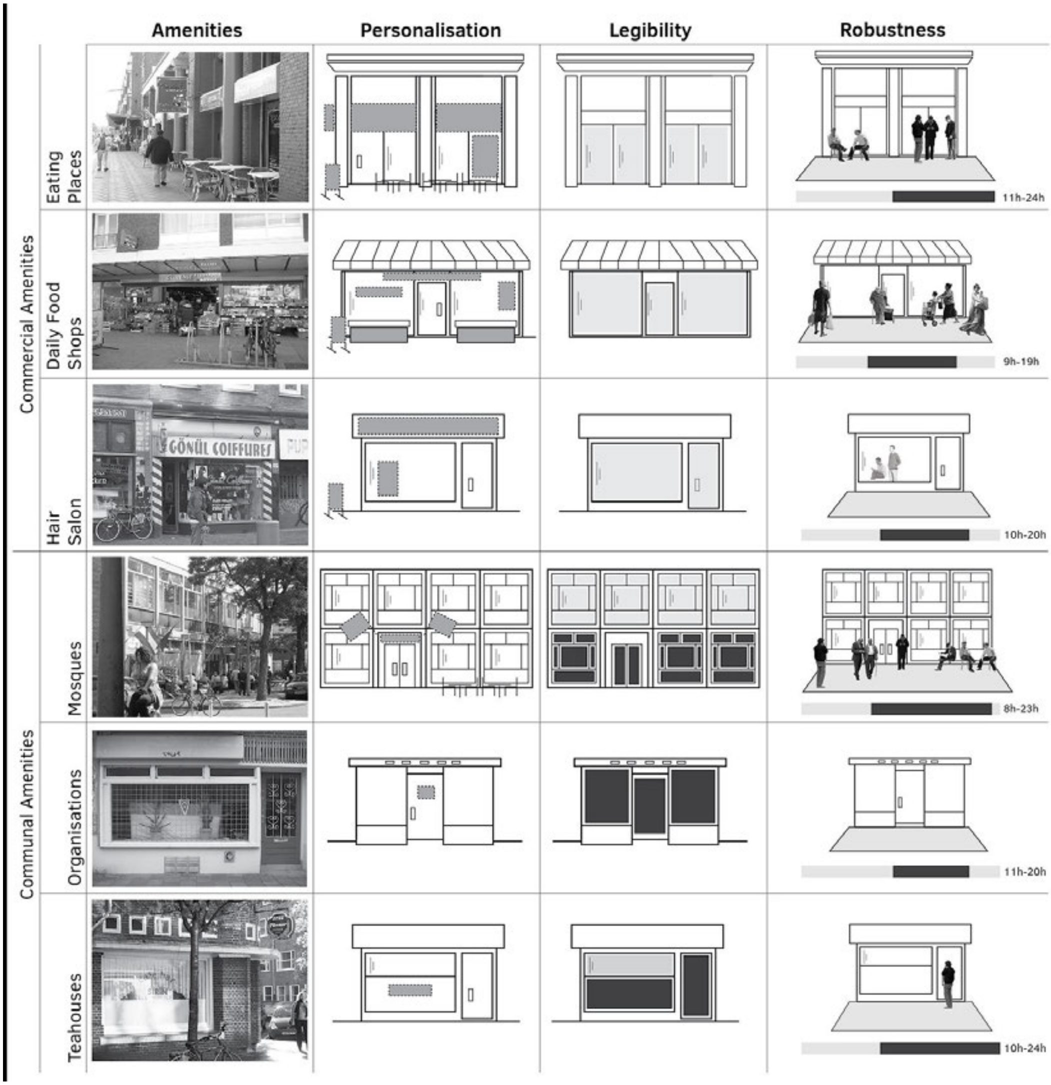

Amenities
Personalisation
Legibility
Robustness
Commercial Amenities
Eating Places
Daily Food Shops
Hair Salon
Communal Amenities
Mosques
Organisations
Teahouses
GÖNÜL COIFFURES
11h-24h
9h-19h
10h-20h
8h-23h
11h-20h
10h-24h

FIG. 4.4 Neighbourhood level analysis of Turkish amenities in terms of their personalisation, permeability and robustness at street level. (Source: Sezer)

Communal amenities

The bottom types of Figure 4.4 present the spatial characteristics of communal amenities in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan. In Amsterdam, most mosques, organisations and teahouses are not easily noticeable at street level, therefore have little legibility. They often lack name boards, clear signs, or visually permeable facades and they do not suggest their function.

Among the various communal amenities, the mosques are the most interesting, due to their differences in terms of personalisation, as shown in Figure 4.5. In central districts, mosques were very often converted buildings without features of Islamic architecture, such as minarets, or other Islamic signs and symbols. In the outskirts, however, they are more noticeable and legible, and occupy larger areas, extending their activities to the street. They also have minarets, large Islamic symbols, or flags and name boards. In both cases, due to the intimate nature of praying practices, the mosques façades do not allow visual permeability of the interior of the building.

The praying activities of mosques, dominated by men, in prescribed times of the day, promote robustness at street level, due to specific and rhythmic street uses, such as gathering and chatting. Almost all the mosques in Amsterdam have adjacent amenities, such as Turkish teahouses and religious organisations that prolong the street use the whole day. The events organised by mosques or associated organisations, such as street festivals in religious days, stimulate additional planned and unplanned uses in the streets or neighbourhood parks by Turkish and other cultural groups, promoting social cohesion.

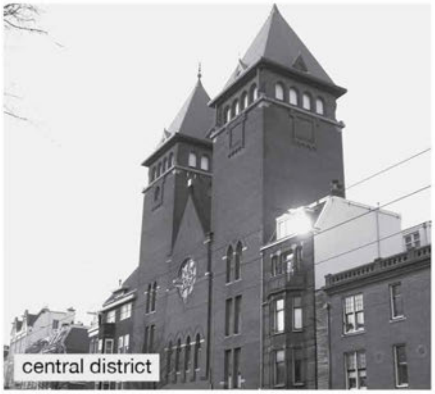
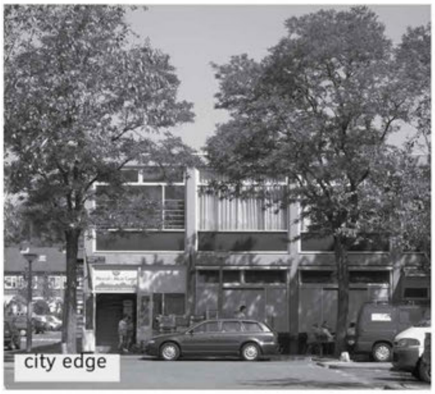
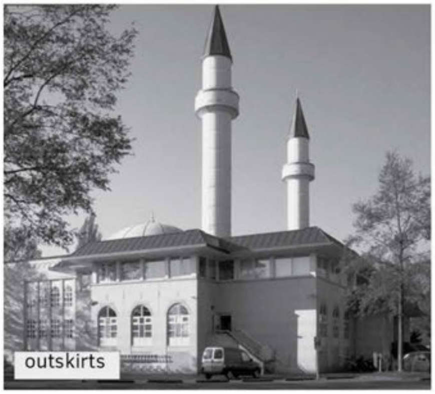
Mosque	Personalisation	
	**unrecognisable** entrance	**unnoticable** islamic architectural elements
	architecture **hides** mosque function	**short-term** gatherings **in** the building
	**recognisable** entrance	**unnoticable** islamic architectural elements
	architecture **does not reflect** mosque function	**long-term** gatherings **in and around** the building
	**recognizable, processional** entrance	**distinctive** islamic architectural elements
	architecture **clearly expresses** mosque function	**long-term** gatherings **in** the building

FIG. 4.5 Mosques in three different locations in Amsterdam and their personalisation at street level. (Source: Sezer)

Secular organisations have more noticeable names, and window displays with their activities and events. During the public events that they organise – demonstrations, festivals –they stimulate street use, or in some cases, in parks and squares. In doing so, they have a higher level of personalisation, legibility and robustness than religious organisations.

Teahouses present an intermediate level of personalisation, legibility and robustness. Although they generally block the inside view at street level with curtains, or frosted glass windows, some of them extend the tables and chairs to the street, giving them a more open appearance. They are generally recognisable by their names, generally referring to Turkish places.

4.7 Conclusion and recommendations

This study brought new insights about the role of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam, especially commercial amenities, not only to promote the integration of Turkish immigrants into mainstream society but also to enhance the social cohesion both among themselves and between other cultural groups. Although recent urban renewal trends have been displacing immigrants from the central districts to the outskirts, most of Turkish amenities are still located in streets of the central districts of Amsterdam. This represents a significant transformation in the situation of these amenities, which in many cases has negative effects on their visibility, and consequently in their ability to promote integration and social cohesion.

The social and spatial characteristics of Turkish amenities shape differently their visibility in streets of Amsterdam. First, there are clear differences between commercial and communal amenities in terms of their abilities to promote social encounters and interactions among Turkish community and between Turkish and other groups. Commercial amenities present a wide variety of encounters and interactions, but this is very limited for the communal amenities, which mainly target Turkish groups. These social characteristics are also reflected by their spatial characteristics. Commercial amenities are clustered on main and secondary commercial streets in which they transform public space through the personalisation, legibility and robustness. Communal amenities are located in quiet neighbourhood streets and their visibility at neighbourhood level is often very limited, though some differences were identified in central and outer districts.

Recent studies on gentrification in Amsterdam suggest that the current trends of residential gentrification go hand-in-hand with commercial gentrification (Sezer and Fernández-Maldonado, 2017), which results in the displacement of long established businesses.

The findings of the analysis of the social and spatial characteristics indicate that promoting both public and parochial realms around the Turkish amenities can be useful for achieving the goals of immigrant integration and social cohesion. Despite the recent urban renewal trends in Amsterdam, which have changed neighbourhood demographic profiles, the presence of Turkish amenities at street level allow these groups to manifest their cultural identity and presence in the city. City government, urban design and urban planning professionals should be informed and take this into account in city development policies and strategies. This is especially relevant in the case of national urban renewal policies and local city strategies, which have a high impact in neighbourhood transformation processes.

TOC

TOC

5

Public Life, Immigrant Amenities and Socio-cultural Inclusion:

The presence and changes of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam[5]

ABSTRACT

Immigrant amenities contribute to the public life of the street by supporting its diversity and vitality, which is crucial for the sociocultural inclusion of immigrants into mainstream society. However, immigrant amenities change within urban transformation processes, many times in the context of urban renewal. These changes influence their contribution to the public life of the street. How do these changes in immigrant amenities relate to the sociocultural inclusion of immigrants? This study focuses on the changes of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam at street and city levels. It concludes that the decline of immigrant amenities contradicts policy aimed at supporting the socio-cultural inclusion of immigrants.

---

[5] This chapter is published as: Sezer C. 2018. ‘Public life, immigrant amenities and socio-cultural inclusion: the presence and changes of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam’, Journal of Urban Design, 23(6), 823-842.

5.1 Introduction

Amsterdam is a city of almost one million people, half of which are of foreign origin. Amsterdam municipality states that the city is “a melting pot of cultures” with residents from 180 different countries and that it is the most diverse city in Europe (Iamsterdam, 2016). This diversity is evident in the city’s distinctive neighbourhoods, which are characterised by specialist immigrant shops, restaurants with distinctive cuisines, and religious places. The presence of these amenities generates distinctive uses, increases intensity of use and brings vitality to public life. By supporting diversity and vitality, immigrant amenities contribute to the public life of the street, which in turn enables the socio-cultural inclusion of immigrants into mainstream society.

However, since the end of the 1990s Amsterdam has gone through a large-scale urban transformation, mainly steered by urban renewal policies and processes. The main focus of urban renewal has been the areas of social housing that concentrate low-income groups (mainly immigrants), considered an obstacle for socio-cultural inclusion of their residents. Social mixing became the policy tool to overcome these problems but the outcome of these interventions has been the gentrification of inner city areas (Uitermark, 2009). These changes have also had a big influence on the amenities in immigrant neighbourhoods, which were required to adapt to the demographic changes.

This paper studies the presence of, and the changes in, immigrant amenities in the context of urban renewal processes as well as the implications of these changes in the socio-cultural inclusion of the relevant immigrant groups. It approaches the topic through an analysis of the diversity and vitality of streets with immigrant amenities. It also focuses on the changes in Turkish amenities in Amsterdam over the period between 2007 and 2016 and examines two commercial streets that have been influenced differently by urban transformation processes.

The next section explains the relation between public life, public space and the street, in relation to immigrant amenities and the socio-cultural inclusion of immigrants. The following sections describe the research approach and methodology and present a policy review to explain the urban renewal approaches in the changing economic and political context. The penultimate two sections focus on the empirical work at city and street level, respectively, followed by a summary of the research findings. The paper concludes by discussing the findings and answering the research question.

5.2 Socio-cultural inclusion in public space

Socio-cultural inclusion ‘is the process of improving the terms on which individuals and groups take part in society—improving the ability, opportunity, and dignity of those disadvantaged on the basis of their identity.’ (World Bank, 2017).
The role of public space in shaping the public life of the streets is key for the socio-cultural inclusion of immigrants, tackling socio-spatial segregation at the neighbourhood level.

There are several ways in which public space is capable of promoting social inclusion at the neighbourhood level. First and foremost, public space provides visibility to the cultural features of immigrants, a venue through which they are noticed and recognized (Sezer and Fernández Maldonado, 2017). Occupying the same space at the same time allows city inhabitants to see and observe each other, so as to experience their differences in terms of cultural features, age, gender, economic status, ethnicity or belief (Sennett, 1970; Amin, 2008). Second, public space offers opportunities to engage and interact with other people in the course of social, economic and cultural exchanges. These casual encounters shape the public life of the city, which can then be observed, studied and mapped (Gehl and Gemzøe, 1999; Watson, 2006; Janssens and Sezer, 2013a). Third,; participating in public life is a right of citizenship, linked to the right to express cultural values in public space (UNDESA, 2009; Nikšič and Sezer, 2017).

In Western Europe, socio-cultural inclusion has been a policy concern and very often addressed in immigrant integration debates. Although there is common agreement on what immigrant integration implies – the process of becoming an accepted part of society – there are different views and approaches on how to achieve it (Vermeulen and Penninx, 2000). Immigrant integration has three interrelated dimensions: a legal-political, a socio-economic and a cultural-religious dimension (Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx, 2016). The legal-political dimension focuses on citizenship rights of immigrants and their political representation. The socio-economic dimension focuses on their access to, and participation in, institutional facilities such as jobs, housing, education and health system. The latter refers to the social interaction between immigrants and the receiving society as well as its perception of them.

In urban studies, public life is understood as the life that takes places in the public realm of the city created by the casual encounters among people who are different from oneself, which offers a vivid urban experience (Gehl and Gemzøe, 1999; Carr et al. 1993; Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee, 1998; Watson, 2006; Amin, 2008; Carr *et al.* 1992). By promoting casual interactions between different inhabitants on an everyday basis, public space is considered a crucial asset for the public life of the city (Jacobs, 1961; Gehl and Gemzøe, 1999). Public space includes all open and accessible spaces such as streets, parks, markets, playgrounds, squares and other open shared places which allow the user to walk, sit, play, stroll, or simply to pass-by.

The street, more than other public spaces, plays a key role as a stage to accommodate public life. By linking everything to everything else, the street is at the core of the public space infrastructure of the city (Appleyard, 1981; Marshall, 2005; Sinnett *et al.* 2011). Streets are used for day-to-day activities, travelling, socializing and shopping (Whyte, 1980 ; Zukin 1995, 2012; Zukin, Kasinitz, and Chen, 2016). As such, streets play an important role in constructing people's mental maps of their city (Lynch, 1960) and they tend to identify the city (or parts of the city) through its streets (Ingold, 2000; Mehta, 2008).

Streets are used by different groups and these differences can be perceived through the amenities that cater to these groups. Shopping streets are obvious examples of an element that brings residents and visitors together. Shopping streets in a city centre are not only used by residents but also by citywide visitors and even by tourists. Shopping streets located in the outskirts are very different, as they mostly cater to a city's resident population; so amenities are generally limited to grocery stores, bakeries, and perhaps a café or neighbourhood restaurant. The variations in those using the street as well as its amenities also shape the features of the street's public life and locate city streets along a spectrum, from broadly public on the one hand to more private on the other (Carmona *et al.*, 2003). This implies that the location of a street in the city affects its ability to accommodate different sorts of public life.

Diversity and vitality are two important inter-related and observable features of public space. Diversity refers to the combination of "people and functions" that are spatially mixed, which can be observed and measured at different levels. At the city level, planning policies and regulations have tended to promote diversity through the mix of land uses and use population groups in public space as a way to make cities more attractive to skilled workers (Florida, 2002; Talen, 2006). At street level, Montgomery (1998) advanced a detailed list of indicators that might be used to study diversity, based on Jacobs (1961) and Comedia (1991), which includes:

TOC

- Variety of land uses;
- Good proportion of independent shops and businesses;
- Pattern in opening hours;
- Presence of streets markets;
- Presence of cinemas, theatres, cafes, restaurants and meeting places;
- Spaces that enable people watching (parks, squares, corners, etc.);
- Patterns of mixed land ownership;
- Variety of property sizes;
- Variety of building types, styles and design; and
- Active street facades.

A diverse public life stimulates vitality, because diversity encourages interactions between different urban groups. Observable indicators for vitality at street level are the presence of people during different times of the day and night as well as different kinds of activities, cultural events and celebrations (Montgomery, 1998).

Immigrant amenities contribute to the diversity and vitality of public spaces at street level, enriching public life. They support diversity through their distinctive languages, signs, marks, products, cuisines and practices. Many immigrant amenities are specialised shops, which sell products difficult to find elsewhere and in the same way, restaurants offer food from ethnic cuisines. Immigrants also specialise in some types of businesses and fill economic niches for certain services, such as clothing repair shops by Turkish immigrants, beauty and massage enterprises by Chinese immigrants (Kloosterman et al. 1998). Communal amenities such as mosques, temples and synagogues, also manifest the cultural values of immigrant groups through religious symbols, signs and very often architecture (Göle, 2011). The distinctive working hours of immigrant amenities as well as their opening times, street uses, density of use and active street frontages also enhance and support the vitality of public life. Many shops that open at night are immigrant-owned, and they attract both neighbourhood residents and citywide visitors. In the same way, the rhythmic prayer times of the mosque enhance vitality at different times of the day but also during religious festivals and celebrations.

TOC

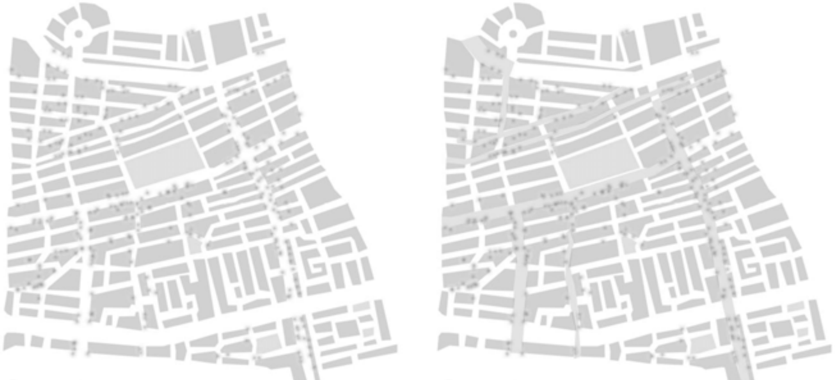
5.3 Methodological approach

This study concerns the presence and changes of immigrant amenities in the context of urban renewal processes and the implications of these changes on the socio-cultural inclusion of the related immigrant groups. Turkish amenities were selected as the subject of study as those of Turkish origin are one of the largest immigrant groups in Amsterdam. Due to their low educational profile and high welfare dependency, Turkish immigrants are generally considered a vulnerable population group (Crul *et al.* 2012), although they have a higher entrepreneurship drive compared to other immigrant groups (Rath and Kloosterman, 2000).

The empirical part of the paper addresses the first issue, detailing the analyses of the diversity and vitality of streets where immigrant amenities are located. Analyses and data collection were done at city and street levels and involved deskwork, fieldwork, and interviews with the owners of amenities. The findings of this analysis are then interpreted for their implications on the socio-cultural inclusion of Turkish migrants.

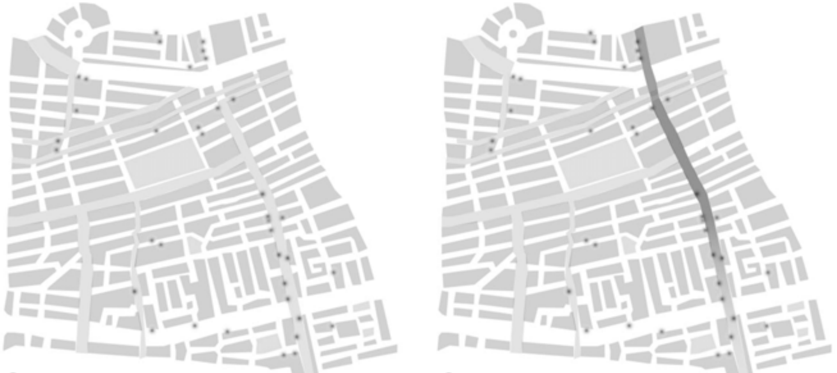
The city level analysis was conducted in two phases. The first categorised Amsterdam's streets according to their ability to attract different types of users: residents, citywide visitors, and tourists. For this, some types of amenities were considered to be associated with certain types of users. Retail functions were associated with all user types, hotels and museums were associated with tourists whereas cafes and restaurants were associated with citywide visitors. Building this typology required mapping the amenities and then identifying those streets with high concentration of (1) retail functions, (2) museums, hotels, theatres and concert venues and (3) cafés and restaurants (see Figure 5.1).

TOC



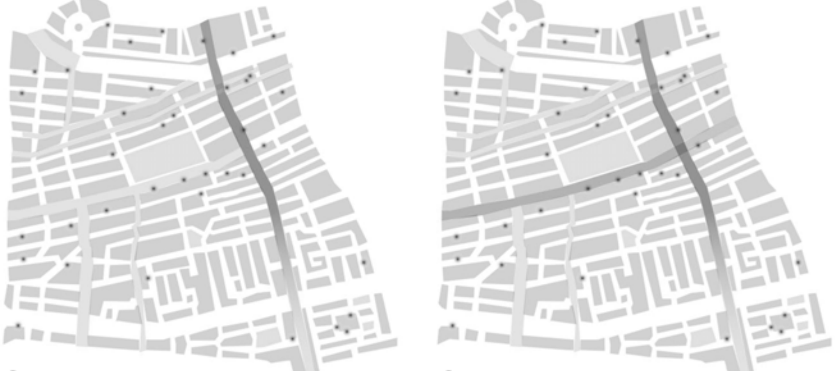
Step 1: mapping retail functions

Step 2: highlighting retail streets



Step 3: mapping museums, hotels, theathers and concert halls

Step 4: highlighting retail streets catering tourists and city-wide visitors



Step 5: mapping cafes and restaurants

Step 6: highlighting retails streets catering city wide visitors and locals

FIG. 5.1 Diagram explaining steps for mapping and identifying streets with high concentration of retail functions, museums, hotels, theatres and concert salons; cafés and restaurants in Amsterdam in 2010. (Source: Sezer)

TOC

The second phase of the city level analysis mapped the specific location of Turkish amenities in the streets of Amsterdam. The research identified Turkish amenities according to their observable features such as Turkish names, signs, posters, products and cuisines. This data was collected from October to December 2007. Field observations were noted, photographed and mapped.

The streets identified as having a high concentration of Turkish amenities were labelled as Street 1 (S1), Street 2 (S2), and so on (see Figure 5.2). This mapping was useful for the selection of the two most significant retail streets for Turkish amenities located in central Amsterdam as well as the outskirts, these would be studied in the street analysis.

The following stage was the street level analysis. It consisted of the examination of changes in diversity and vitality in the two selected streets in relation to changes to immigrant amenities between 2007 and 2016. For the diversity analysis, it used the criteria for diversity in the built environment advanced by Montgomery (1998), as changes in functions, time schedules and related activities of immigrant amenities. The analysis on vitality studied the presence of people in different times of the day and night and different kinds of street uses observed in the selected case streets. To ensure a comprehensive view, the fieldwork was carried out during the busiest time for each particular street; during morning, afternoon and evening peak hours, on a weekday (Wednesday) and a weekend day (Saturday).

5.4 Approaches to urban renewal in Amsterdam

In the Netherlands, city problems have been addressed through different urban renewal policy approaches since the Second World War. In the post-war period and until the 1970s, the main focus of urban policy was to respond to the urgent housing need by building new homes in the outskirts or in new towns (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008). Well-known examples in Amsterdam are the Western Garden Cities (Westelijke Tuinsteden) and the Bijlmermeer (Feddes, 2012), which later became attractive for guest workers and post-colonial immigrants.

In the early 1980s, the aim of urban policy (the City Renewal Policy) was the improvement of the urban economy, to fight the high levels of unemployment during that period. The strategy was to make cities attractive for international corporations and to invest in their distinctive qualities, their historical and cultural assets, and their culturally distinctive immigrant neighbourhoods (Rath, 2007). In Amsterdam, neighbourhoods such as Zeedijk drastically transformed and became attractive touristic destinations.

In the early 1990s, the focus of urban policies (the Big Cities Policies I, II, III, IV) shifted to the renewal of neighbourhoods with a relatively high percentage of low-income earners. It was thought that the residential concentration of disadvantaged groups, mainly immigrants, resulted in their social exclusion. Social mixing – mixing population groups of diverse incomes at the neighbourhood level – might overcome this problem (van Beckhoven and Kempen, 2003). This has been done either through the privatization of the existing social housing market or the demolition of existing housing areas and their replacement with more expensive housing (Kleinhans *et al.*, 2000; Kruythoff 2003). This strategy has led to gentrification processes in inner city areas and has displaced disadvantaged groups to the outskirts (Musterd and Ostendorf 2008; van Kempen and Bolt, 2009).

Around the 2000s, the political climate changed along with emergent conflicts between (Muslim) immigrants and parts of the society. Urban policy increased its emphasis on neighbourhood social cohesion and social mixing (van Kempen and Bolt, 2009). In 2007, a Ministry of Housing, Neighbourhoods and Integration was created in order to implement the new urban renewal policy, linking the physical issues (housing, neighbourhood) and social issues (social cohesion and integration) (van Kempen and Bolt, 2009). Although empirical evidence has shown that social and ethnic segregation levels are relatively moderate in the Netherlands (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008), social mixing has remained a policy target. In Amsterdam, signs of gentrification in inner-city areas have been very evident through the increasing housing prices and changing types of commercial amenities (Uitermark, 2009; Sezer and Fernández Maldonado, 2017).

TOC

5.5 City level analysis: Spatial distribution of distinctive Turkish amenities in Amsterdam

5.5.1 Distinguishing Amsterdam's shopping streets according to their potential users

Amsterdam's shopping streets cater to a wide variety of groups: residents, city-wide visitors and tourists. Figure 5.2 shows a map of these streets where the dark coloured streets mainly cater to tourists and city-wide visitors while the lighter coloured streets cater to city-wide visitors and residents and the lightest coloured streets mainly cater to residents. Each of these groups produces a characteristic type of public life due to their location in relation to other urban facilities. The streets with the darkest colour are predominantly public in character while the streets with a lighter colour have a semi-public character and those with the lightest colour have a private character.

The streets catering to tourists and city-wide visitors are located within the old city centre (in Figure 5.2: S1, S2, S3). This area covers a radius of half an hours walking distance from the central station. The shops in these streets are predominantly tourist souvenir shops, boutiques or international chains of luxury clothing brands as well as small supermarkets (De Hoog and Vermeulen, 2009). Amsterdam is well known as a very attractive city for tourists, receiving growing numbers of international visitors (approximately 4,6 million in 2016 (Iamsterdam 2016)). Such tourist-oriented shopping streets are considered an important element in the attractiveness of the city. The public life in these streets is always lively with these functions active for almost 24 hours a day (De Hoog and Vermeulen, 2009).

The streets catering for city-wide visitors and residents are mainly located within the old city centre and Amsterdam's city ring (in Figure 5.2: S4, S5, S6). They have a completely different character, neither touristy nor local, but with a more balanced presence of different user groups. They are considered very attractive by young professionals (Iamsterdam, 2016; Lonely Planet, 2017) given the presence of, among other things, plenty of cafés and restaurants that promote use of the street and an active urban life. The large variety of grocery stores, bakeries, fishmongers, delicatessens, book, antique, music, and clothing shops as well as department stores, supermarkets, drugstores and characteristic immigrant shops that offer products in all price ranges from high-end luxury goods to budget options. Street markets are another important part of the shopping experience in Amsterdam. The city accommodates a large variety of street markets such as daily markets, periodic markets, and festival markets (Janssens and Sezer, 2012, 2013b).

The shopping streets that cater for residents are mainly located in the outskirts (in Figure 5.2: S7, S8, S9) and also accommodate supermarkets, drugstores and shops specialising in immigrant-oriented products (e.g. grocery stores of Asian, African, Turkish and Surinamese origin). Immigrant oriented shops are either food shops with ethnic products or serve other needs of immigrant groups such as telephone companies, hair-braiding salons or fabric shops. They have regular opening hours (between 10 am and 5 pm) and mostly close on Sunday. The public life in shopping streets located in the outskirts has a ‘neighbourhood feeling’, where mothers and children, with their shopping bags, sit and talk and where old people or youngsters stand on the corner and watch passers-by. These features make these shopping streets more private in character.

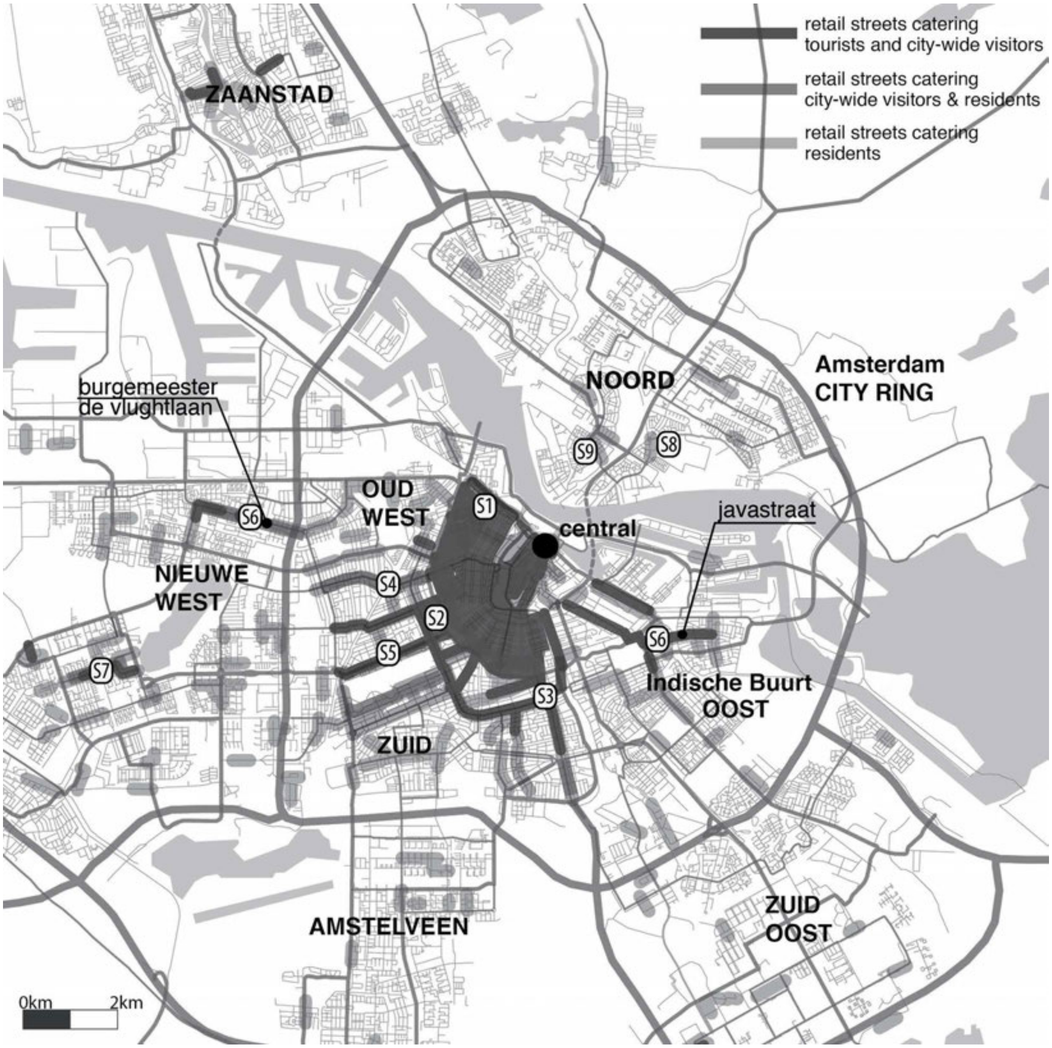

retail streets catering tourists and city-wide visitors
retail streets catering city-wide visitors & residents
retail streets catering residents
ZAANSTAD
burgemeester de vlughtlaan
NOORD
Amsterdam CITY RING
S9
S8
OUD WEST
S1
central
javastraat
S6
NIEUWE WEST
S4
S2
S5
S6
S7
S3
Indische Buurt OOST
ZUID
AMSTELVEEN
ZUID OOST
0km
2km

FIG. 5.2 Mapping and identifying streets with high concentration of retail functions, museums and hotels, cafés and restaurants in Amsterdam in 2010. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data from Municipality of Amsterdam (2010)).

5.5.2 Location of Turkish amenities

This study found 461 Turkish amenities in Amsterdam in 2007, of which almost 95 per cent were commercial amenities while the remaining amenities were communal. Commercial amenities sub-divided into 150 daily food shops (e.g. butchers, groceries, or bakeries), 128 eateries (restaurants, patisseries, or snack bars) and drinking places (pubs and cafés), 46 service enterprises (e.g. tailors, clothing and shoe repair, automobile repair, and hair and beauty salons, travel agencies, lawyers, architecture and engineering offices,) and 76 other kinds of shops (e.g. clothing, furniture, lighting, and kitchen utensils). Communal amenities included 10 mosques, 16 teahouses and 35 organisations (e.g., religious, or educational).

Figure 5.3 presents the streets in which Turkish amenities are located. Within the city, a large percentage of Turkish amenities (approximately 85 per cent) were located on shopping streets and 60 per cent of them were within the city ring of Amsterdam (see S1, S2, S4, S6). The remaining shops were dispersed – some located on the backstreets (see S10, S11, S12, S13), or in quiet neighbourhood squares (see S12, S13).

Considering the public or private character of the shopping streets previously mentioned, when shopping streets had public character the Turkish amenities only occupied a small portion of the street. These were mainly places to eat and drink, in many cases located at popular touristic streets in Amsterdam, such as Harlemmerstraat (S1) or the Red Light district (S15). The Turkish amenities located outside of the shopping streets were mainly Turkish banking offices.

The amenities located in the shopping streets with a semi-public character (see streets S1, S2, S3, S5) represented the largest proportion of Turkish amenities (approximately 60 per cent). The streets are located in districts such as Amsterdam Old West, South and East, which were formerly Turkish populated areas (van Praag and Shoorl, 2008). These amenities were almost entirely commercial with a wide variety of services differing from food shops and restaurants, to souvenir and clothing shops. The exception includes the Fatih Mosque located at the shopping street of Old West district (see S4 in Figure 5.3).

Turkish amenities located on shopping streets with more private character were predominantly located in Amsterdam North, New West and the city of Zaandam. These districts have shown a trend of increasing Turkish population since the mid-1990s (Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2015).

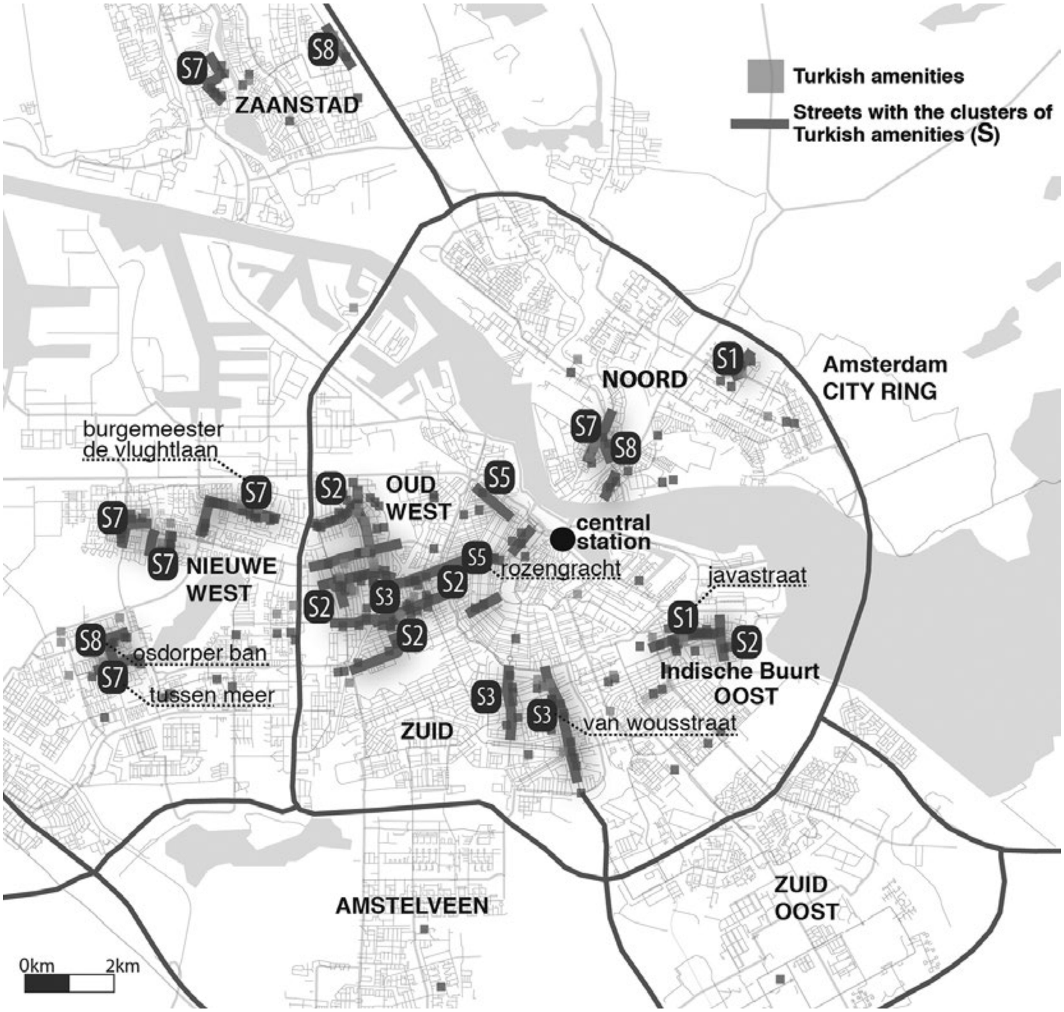

Turkish amenities
Streets with the clusters of Turkish amenities (S)
S7
S8
ZAANSTAD
Amsterdam CITY RING
S1
NOORD
S7
S8
burgemeester de vlughtlaan
S7
S7
S2
OUD WEST
S5
central station
S7
NIEUWE WEST
S5
rozengracht
S2
S3
S2
S2
javastraat
S1
S2
S8
osdorper ban
S7
tussen meer
Indische Buurt OOST
S3
S3
van wousstraat
ZUID
AMSTELVEEN
ZUID OOST
0km
2km

FIG. 5.3 Streets clustering Turkish amenities in Amsterdam. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research)

For the purpose of this study, two streets were selected: Javastraat in the Indische Buurt of Amsterdam East District and Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan in Slotermeer of the New West District. The former has a semi-public character, located within the city ring of Amsterdam and in a neighbourhood with decreasing Turkish population. The latter has a private character, located in the outskirts of Amsterdam and in a neighbourhood with increasing Turkish population.

TOC

5.6 Street level analysis: diversity, vitality and Turkish amenities

5.6.1 Javastraat

Javastraat is the main shopping street of the Indische Buurt neighbourhood. It was built in the beginning of the 20th century as a social housing area for the skilled workers. As housing quality declined in the 1960s, residents who could afford it moved to the newly built estates in the outskirts or new towns. Urban renewal interventions were undertaken in the 1980s, after which the neighbourhood gradually became multicultural. However, the concentration of low-income households and criminal incidents gave the neighbourhood a negative reputation, something that slightly improved in the 1990s.

To improve the safety and quality of life in the Indische Buurt, the district municipality and the housing associations signed an agreement for the improvement of housing and commercial streetscape and the renovation of public spaces in 2007 (Stadsdeel Zeeburg, 2008). After that, a group of selected entrepreneurs were invited to initiate ‘trendy’ businesses in Javastraat (Stadsdeel Oost, 2012).

These interventions were driven by national urban policies, which promoted home-ownership, changed the status of housing associations, and provided legal foundations for the ‘social mixing’ objectives to ‘upgrade’ deprived neighbourhoods. These measures, in combination with the inner city location, eventually attracted middle-class affluent Dutch residents, mostly young professionals and ‘creative’ workers. This changed the demographic profile of the neighbourhood (Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2015) and its specialized shops (Hagemans *et al.*, 2015), leading to what has been called ‘a state-led gentrification’ in the Indische Buurt (Uitermark, 2009).

In 2007

Diversity. The variety of business in Javastraat was dominantly characterised by the different immigrant shops, of which a third of them were Turkish. According to one shopkeeper, the amount of Turkish shops drastically increased around the 1980s when Turkish immigrants moved to the neighbourhood. Figure 5.4 shows the functions of the shops located in Javastraat, presenting Turkish amenities in black dots.

The East and West sides of Javastraat presented differences in terms of shops in general and the Turkish shops in particular. A street market, known as the Dappermarket, marked the west side and had citywide attraction with offers of affordable food and clothing products. On this side of the street, there were a few national chains of supermarkets and banks, fast food restaurants, and a few independent businesses such as bakeries, and a clothing shop. These independent businesses were all Turkish, selling Turkish products and the clothing for Islamic fashion. The enterprises located on the east side of the street were mostly independent neighbourhood shops that addressed the daily needs of locals, such as groceries, bakeries, small street cafés, clothing repair shops, travel agencies and hair salons. In this part almost half of these shops were Turkish as well.

A common and a distinctive feature of Turkish shops was their visual style presented on large name boards, advertisement and announcement panels, almost all in Turkish, or lively window presentations of their products that in some cases extended to the pavement. These features made these amenities attractive and welcoming for passers-by. The teahouses were exceptions as they had a limited visual permeability at street level due to their curtained windows, which made them less welcoming and difficult to understand their function. As one of our respondents stated, the limited street appearance of the teahouses was also due to the regulations of the local municipality, which wanted to control these premises and limit their street use.

Vitality. The opening hours of the Dappermarket on the west side of Javastraat had a clear influence on the presence of people on the street. The market was open between 9 am and 4 pm and the surrounding shops followed more or less the same working hours. During the opening times, Javastraat was a vivid magnet for people, who were both locals and visitors of all age and gender groups.

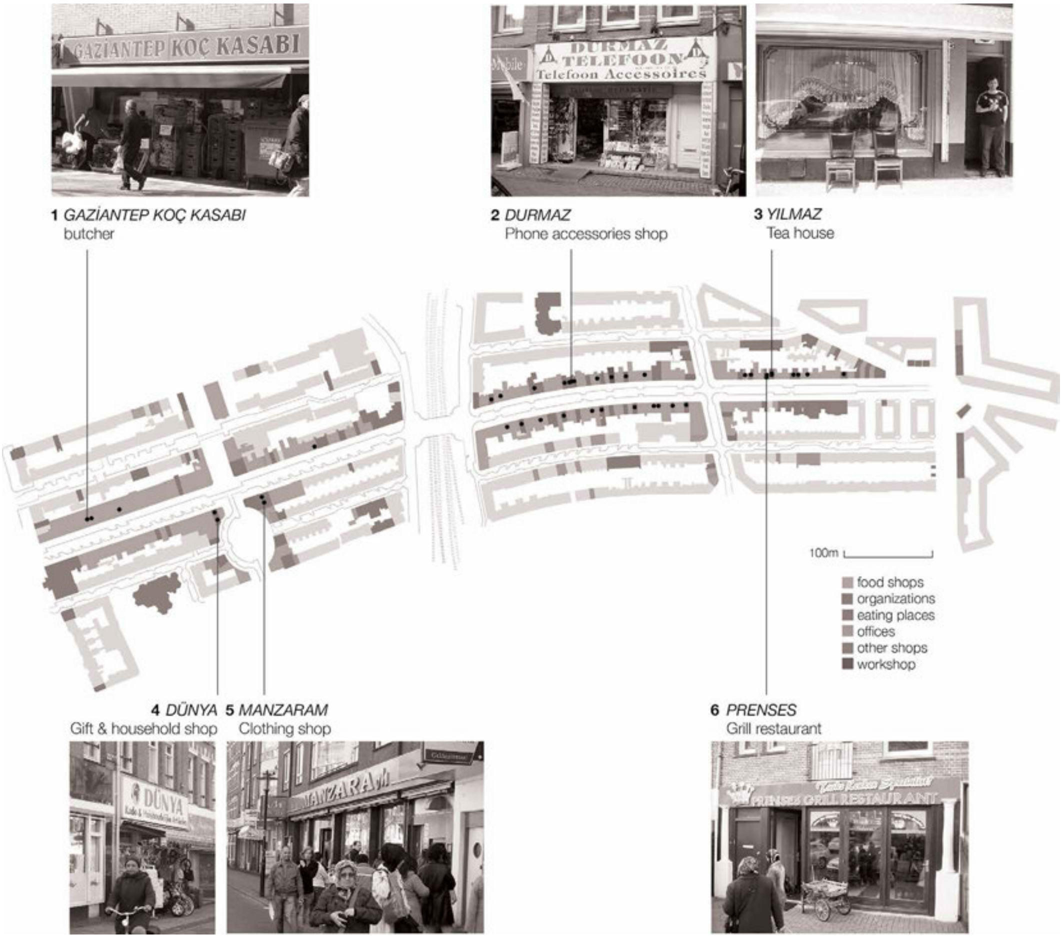

1 GAZİANTEP KOÇ KASABI
butcher
2 DURMAZ
Phone accessories shop
3 YILMAZ
Tea house
4 DÜNYA
Gift & household shop
5 MANZARAM
Clothing shop
6 PRENSES
Grill restaurant
100m
food shops
organizations
eating places
offices
other shops
workshop
GAZİANTEP KOÇ KASABI
DURMAZ TELEFOON
Telefoon Accessoires
DÜNYA
MANZARAM
PRENSES GRILL RESTAURANT

FIG. 5.4 Turkish amenities in Javastraat. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research)

The different kinds of street uses by the market visitors, such sitting, standing, watching, gathering and socializing, activated the street and shop fronts, especially around the crossing of Dappermarket and Javastraat. There was a clear decrease in use of the street after 4 pm when almost all the shops were closed, except the two eateries, which were both Turkish.

The opening hours of the shops located at the east side of the street presented variations. For example, the daily food shops were open from 8 am to 7 pm and the eateries from 10 am until midnight. Most of the shops, which were open until late hours, were Turkish. Their visitors, especially the Turkish women during the day around the daily food shops, and the Turkish men in teahouses in the afternoons and evenings generated an active street life.

In 2016

Diversity. Javastraat in 2016 is very different from what was observed in 2007. On the east side of the street almost half of the independent shops have closed down or changed into other businesses. Half of the 20 Turkish shops, which we noted in 2007, have also closed down. For example, one of the teahouses became a trendy restaurant and a regular bakery became a specialised organic products store, both aimed to attract the new residents of the neighbourhood. A shopkeeper, whose shop specialised in Islamic clothing for women, explained the difficulties of maintaining her business in the context of the changing neighbourhood; as part of her clients are going away and she cannot sell her products to the new residents. On the west side, however, we didn't note a specific change, except a new Turkish restaurant offering regional Turkish food. Figure 5.5 gives an impression of Javastraat in 2017.

TOC

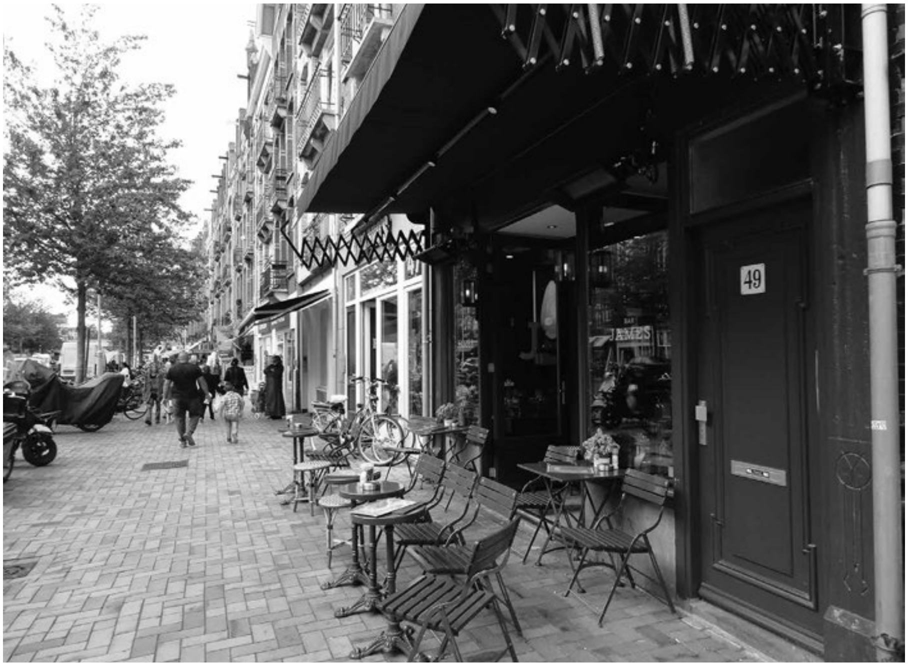


FIG. 5.5 Javastraat in 2017. (Source: Photo: Sezer)

The changes on the street also influenced the visual styles of these shops, most clearly observed on the east side. There are 10 new shops selling design-clothing products with high-end prices. The arrival of these shops clearly changed the shopping scene of the street that was once assorted with designed name boards and window presentations. Additionally, the shops that changed their older functions also renewed their windows, products and interiors in order to attract new clients. The others, which kept their functions, such as the eateries and food shops, were asked by the municipality to renew their shop fronts according to the urban renewal interventions.

Vitality. Some of the new businesses in Javastraat, especially cafés, restaurants, and pubs, have longer opening hours that changed the active street use. On the east side, there is a different kind of crowd; the presence of young customers at the cafes and restaurants during the day and night time has very clearly increased. This is also intensified by the new physical design of the street with its wider pavements and less car parking, which provides these shops the option to extend their street use.

5.6.2 Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan

Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan is the main shopping street of Geuzenveld-Slotermeer neighbourhood of Amsterdam Nieuw West district, which is located on the western extension of Amsterdam called Westelijke Tuinsteden (Western Garden Cities). The neighbourhood was built at the beginning of the 1950s with the principles of “the garden city” (Wagenaar, 2011). Until the 1970s, the neighbourhood was very attractive for young middle-class families; however, its demographic composition has changed with the arrival of the immigrant groups.

In 2000, the local government and developers initiated a new urban renewal project called ‘Towards Parkstad’ in Westelijke Tuinsteden, which included the demolition and replacement of some of the dwellings (Bureau Parkstad, 2001). Nieuw West became attractive again for young households, which led to an increase amongst the young population (Zandvliet and Dignum, 2014; Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015).

The urban renewal plans suggested the demolition of some old housings in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan; however, the city recognised the historical and urban value of these dwellings along with the neighbourhood and nominated it as a ‘Municipal conservation site’ in 2007 (Stadsdeel Geuzenveld-Slotermeer, 2009). In 2010 a new museum was established and nominated to Van Eesteren, the designer of the neighbourhood. Within this framework, the local residents and stakeholders opposed the demolition of these dwellings and convinced the local government to renovate them, which began in 2016. These actions have changed the image and enhanced the cultural value of the neighbourhood.

In 2007

Diversity. In 2007 Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan was predominantly characterised by the Turkish and Moroccan shops. Half of the 40 shops situated on the street were Turkish. Figure 5.6 shows the functions of the shops located in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, presenting Turkish amenities in black dots. There were differences in the distribution of the shops along the street on the east and west sides. This was due to the distribution of the dwellings on the street layout, which was designed for two lanes of cars and a tramline in the middle.

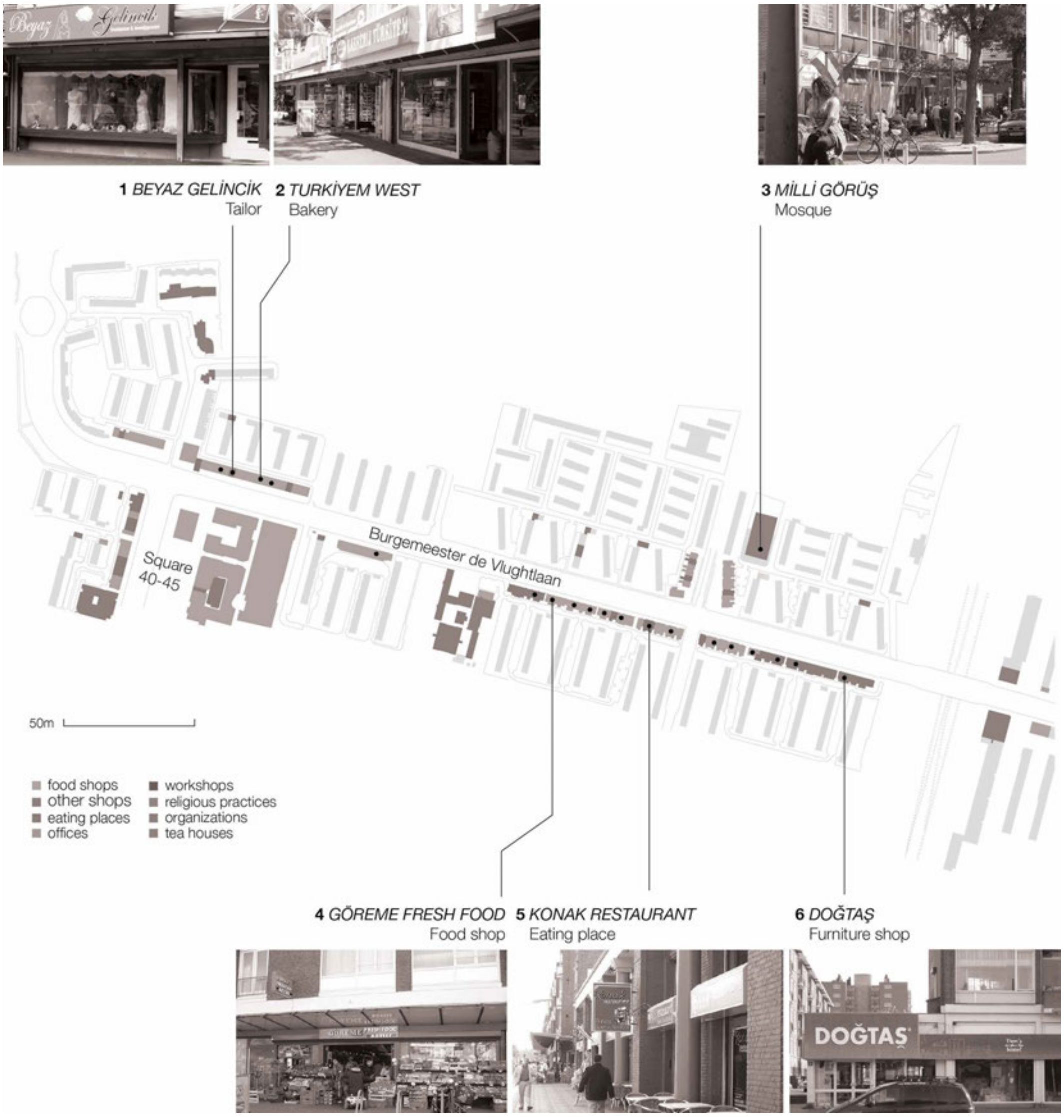

1 BEYAZ GELİNCİK
Tailor
2 TURKİYEM WEST
Bakery
3 MİLLİ GÖRÜŞ
Mosque
Burgemeester de Vlughtlaan
Square
40-45
50m
food shops
other shops
eating places
offices
workshops
religious practices
organizations
tea houses
4 GÖREME FRESH FOOD
Food shop
5 KONAK RESTAURANT
Eating place
6 DOĞTAŞ
Furniture shop

FIG. 5.6 Turkish amenities in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, 2007. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research)

On the east side, all the amenities were located on one side of the street. These were mainly Turkish shops, such as two adjacent furniture shops, followed by small cafés and restaurants with terraces, including a well-known Turkish restaurant. On the other side - in a receded location set back from the street - there was a Turkish mosque that was clustered with some other Turkish amenities such as a grocery shop, a kick-box salon, a billiard hall and a religious organisation for children and women.

On the west side, most of the Turkish shops were food shops associated with the daily market of the neighbourhood, the 40-45 Square, which is located adjacent to a shopping centre, and a well-known large scale Moroccan supermarket. The shops in the shopping centre include national chain supermarkets and drugstores. Across the street there is a line of Turkish shops located next to each other alongside a national bank branch, a tailor for wedding dresses, a bakery, a supermarket and a café-restaurant.

Turkish shops in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan had large banners with Turkish names, and posters and advertisement boards on the shop windows. Due to the wide pavements, the shops and eateries were able to extend their displays and furniture, which dominated the streetscape. Unlike Javastraat, the urban renewal interventions in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan didn’t include the improvement of the appearance of the shops.

Vitality. The daily market in the 40-45 Square had an influence on the use intensity and the user behaviour of Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan with a peak from 9 am to 4 pm. The street was almost completely quiet during the night hours, except the parts around the Turkish cafés and restaurants where youngsters were gathering until the later hours.

A similar situation was observed around the mosque, which was busy especially around ritual times. The mosque visitors prolonged the use of the street by using the amenities near the mosque, keeping it lively until late at night. The presence of men around the mosque was pre-dominant, indicating that the mosque was a gendered place.

In 2016

Diversity. The changes in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan in terms of the functions of the shops and their physical features are not very significant in comparison to the changes in Javastraat during the period between 2007 and 2016. Most observable changes are around the daily market located in the 40-45 Square and in the shopping centre where the new shops, cafés and restaurants are opened. The

Turkish shops are still the dominant feature of the streetscape across the shopping mall. Two new restaurants on the west side of the street and a new halal fast food restaurant on the east side of the street enhanced this feature. In addition, a newly opened museum enhanced the diversity of the street in terms of its programs.

There are not many changes in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan in terms of visual styles of the shops; however, the new Turkish restaurants brought a fresh look to the streetscape with their modern-looking appearance. Figure 5.7 gives an impression of Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan in 2017.

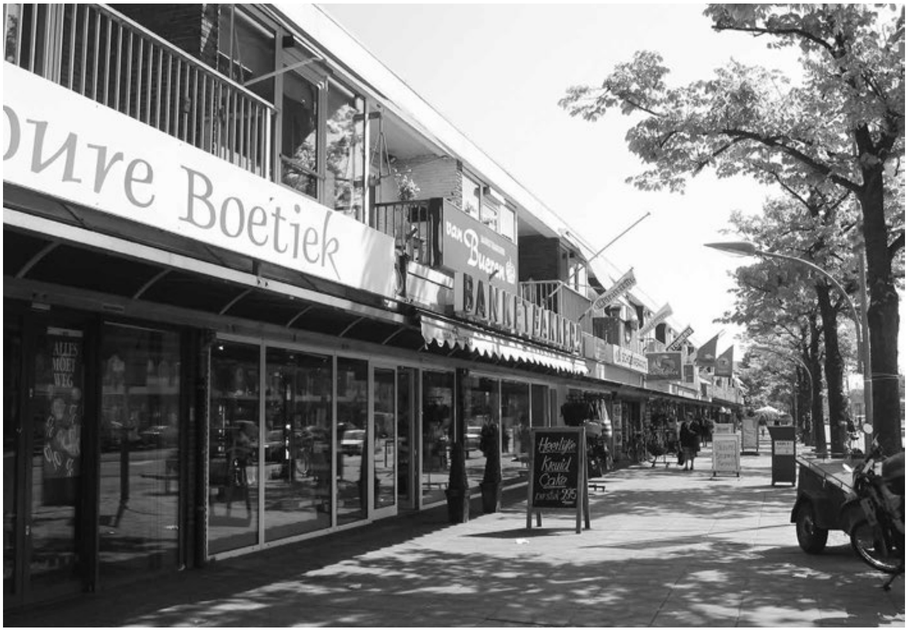


FIG. 5.7 Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, 2017. (Source:Photo: Sezer)

Vitality. When comparing the changes in Javastraat in 2016 to the changes in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, they are minor in terms of the street vitality. The new museum adds to the street use and the intensity during the day and night time.

Turkish amenities such as the restaurants, cafés, mosques and adjacent shops still play a vital role in street life during the day and night time. The opening of the new restaurants enhanced the street vitality by attracting visitors especially at night. The gathering of the people, especially youngsters in front of these new cafés and restaurants brought an extra buzz to the street life.

5.7 Findings

This paper's aim was to study the way that urban transformation processes, in many cases driven by urban renewal programmes, influence the socio-cultural inclusion of immigrants by examining the presence and changes of immigrant amenities in public space. The research focused on two main shopping streets – Javastraat and Burgemeeester de Vlugtlaan – located in Amsterdam inner city and the outskirts, respectively. It examined the changes in these streets and their Turkish amenities in terms of diversity and vitality between 2007-2016. Diversity relates to the types of the shops and their observable visual features; vitality relates to the use of the street by different user groups in different times of the day.

There are significant differences between the research findings in the selected streets. The transformation in Javastraat was significant during the studied period. Many of the existing businesses closed or transformed into other businesses, while an increasing number of trendy cafés and restaurants opened. The street landscape has also visibly changed, due to a new street design, with widened pavements and added new street furniture.

The transformation of the street was also evident in terms of diversity and vitality. The diversity of shops was modified with the arrival of new amenities, many of which were cafés and restaurants that replaced the existing businesses. Most of the shops that were transformed were Turkish. They either closed down or changed into other businesses, such as trendy eateries and bakeries. This also influenced the visible features of these Turkish shops – such as names, window displays, etc., losing their cultural features and becoming similar to other shops.

In terms of vitality, Javastraat kept its vivid street life and was supported by both the new and the old amenities. The long opening hours of cafés and restaurants maintained the buzz of the street with the increasing presence of young visitors. This was also enhanced by the new street design, which promoted a higher degree of street use, increasing daily vitality.

The transformation in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan is minor in comparison to Javastraat. There were also no significant changes in street design. In terms of diversity, the functions of the shops did not change much except the opening of a few new restaurants, which were all Turkish. These new restaurants differed from the existing ones due to their stylish look with their advertisements and furniture. They also offered specialized products such as Turkish fast food. Furthermore, the opening of a new museum on the street introduced a new function to the street and clearly added to the street diversity.

The new museum and restaurants also enhanced the street vitality by attracting visitors from outside to the neighbourhood. The day and night activities and exhibitions in the museum generated new uses of the street by different user groups. The popularity of the new Turkish fast food restaurant attracted many clients, making that particular part of the street livelier.

The empirical examination of case studies shows that different approaches in urban renewal may have different effects on the transformation of the streets. In case of Javastraat city planners and managers, housing corporations, and real estate developers, worked together to transform the street along with broader changes in the neighbourhood steered by national policies and city strategies. The purpose was to attract young professionals and better-off residents, profiting from the inner city's historical value and central location. The interventions resulted in demographic shifts that displaced vulnerable groups, such as Turkish immigrants. This had a visible impact in the Turkish shops located in Javastraat, as the shops had to close or to adapt to the needs of the new residents, losing most of their cultural features. In such a way, Javastraat has changed its image from an eminently immigrant commercial street into a street dominated by trendy cafés and restaurants and is decreasing most of its distinctive cultural features.

In case of Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, city planners, managers, and housing corporations valued the cultural assets of the neighbourhood. Moreover, the residents expressed their voices against proposed demolitions, which were taken into account for the interventions. As a result, the urban renewal interventions in the housing sector did not lead to major shifts in the neighbourhood demographic profile or commercial revitalisation. In this context, the changes in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan were moderate and able to enrich the public life of the street with the existing shops and restaurants keeping its distinctive character.

TOC

5.8 Discussion and conclusion

The study considered the presence of distinctive urban groups in public space as an indication for the socio-cultural inclusion of these groups into the society. Socio-cultural inclusion is understood as the right of these groups to appropriate public space for their own needs, something that offers opportunities to be seen, noticed and recognised, as well as enhances opportunities for casual encounters and socialisation with other groups of society.

From these perspectives, the findings of this study suggest that the effects of the urban transformation processes in Javastraat have had a negative influence on the socio-spatial inclusion of the Turkish immigrants. Along with the changes in population composition of the neighbourhood and commercial vitalization, the number of the Turkish amenities was reduced. This has diminished their presence in the public life of the street, along with their cultural mark that gave a special character to the street. The closed shops have reduced the opportunities for casual experiences and contacts that could take place in the course of everyday life. Moreover, Javastraat has changed its image from a characteristic immigrant commercial street into a street dominated by trendy cafés and restaurants, losing most of its distinctive cultural features.

However, the example of Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan shows that it is possible to carry out neighbourhood transformation schemes that have a positive impact on the existing residents, their distinctive amenities, and even increase their presence in public life. The increasing diversity in public life through the presence of new Turkish shops, and their clients has also enhanced the street vitality, which is crucial for the neighbourhood development. In such a way, Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan has maintained and even slightly intensified its character as an open and inclusive street that promotes the socialization of all groups of society. This represents a good example of an inclusive urban transformation process and supports the government's vision for the cultural revitalization of neighbourhoods and its agendas to promote the socio-cultural inclusion of the immigrant groups.

The findings also suggest that the street location within the city strongly determines the aims and features of the urban renewal processes and interventions and, in turn, their consequences for the presence of distinctive urban groups in public space. Market trends create a strong pressure on central neighbourhoods to stimulate profit-oriented developments and disregard local residents and their needs. Local governments, developers, urban planners and designers should recognize and take into account the role of the presence of distinctive urban groups in public life in their development plans to promote the socio-cultural inclusion of distinctive urban groups.

This study offers the presence and absence of immigrant groups in public space as a new insight to study immigrant socio-spatial inclusion. It contributes to theory by bridging urban design and social theory, making the links between public life and immigrant integration more explicit. It shows that the socio-cultural inclusion of immigrants is associated with the built environment and specifically with public space. The paper also shows that such a methodological perspective opens up new possibilities for empirical analyses of socio-cultural inclusion.

This study is based on three main aspects of socio-cultural inclusion: the presence, recognition and socialization of immigrant communities in public space. However, the empirical research has focused on the first aspect, by measuring diversity and vitality. Therefore, further research, which examines the role of immigrant amenities in aspects of recognition and socialization, could be very useful to complement and support the findings.

TOC

6 Cultural Visibility and Urban Justice in immigrant neighbourhoods of Amsterdam[6]

ABSTRACT This study investigates transformation processes in the streets of immigrant neighbourhoods in Amsterdam. It approaches the issue through the visibility of immigrant amenities – such as shops, restaurants, places of worship – with distinctive cultural signs and practices, that are recognizable in public spaces. The study analyses cultural visibility on two streets with a concentration of immigrant amenities, in 2007 and 2016. It approaches cultural visibility from two aspects: the physical setting and the people's activities in these streets. The findings reveal that the different architectural types and location of the neighbourhoods, and their different processes of urban renewal, have produced different outcomes in terms of cultural visibility.

---

[6] This chapter is published as: Sezer, C. and Fernandez Maldonado A.M. 2017. Cultural visibility and urban justice in immigrant neighbourhoods of Amsterdam. *Built Environment.* 43(2), 193-214.

6.1 Introduction

The city of Amsterdam has long been known as “the just city”, after academics repeatedly praised it as a place of equality, diversity, and tolerance. Fainstein (1997) even made Amsterdam a good example of redistributive policies at local level. However, Amsterdam has changed, becoming a major tourist destination, with growing economic inequalities, political tensions, and gentrifying central neighbourhoods. Uitermark (2009, p.360) has explained the reasons for this infamous turn in local policies, timing the shift to ‘sometime around 1990’. The ongoing processes of the commodification and gentrification of Amsterdam’s central neighbourhoods are the product of real-estate market trends, but local planning policies and practices have also had a significant role (Uitermark *et al.*, 2007; Sakizlioglu, 2014; Hagemans *et al.*, 2015).

This study focuses on urban transformation processes in vital streets of immigrant neighbourhoods in Amsterdam, investigating changes in street amenities, using cultural visibility as a tool to perceive the presence and changes in these amenities. Cultural visibility is able to reveal relevant qualitative data generally hidden from official neighbourhood data. It provides a more refined understanding of the sense of place of a street than the usual quantitative approaches (Zukin, 1995).

The study’s main objective is to take the pulse of the cultural visibility of Turkish amenities in streets of Amsterdam from the perspective of urban justice. The main questions guiding the study are: what have been the recent changes in the cultural visibility of Turkish amenities in streets of Amsterdam, and do these changes relate to issues of urban justice?

To answer these questions, the study first presents the theoretical framework guiding the subsequent analyses linking public space, cultural visibility and urban justice. The following section explains the selection of cases and research steps. Amsterdam’s city and neighbourhood transformation processes are the focus of the next section. The empirical exploration of the selected streets is presented in the following section. The findings and conclusions are the last two sections.

6.2 Public space, cultural visibility and issues of urban justice

This section focuses on the theoretical aspects of the main concepts related to cultural visibility in public space. It defines cultural visibility and its capacity to capture relevant aspects of public space relating it to notions of urban justice, and explains how market trends, housing, planning and urban renewal policies shape neighbourhood transformation processes.

6.2.1 Public space, cultural visibility and urban justice

‘Public spaces are all places publicly owned or of public use, accessible and enjoyable by all for free and without profit motive.’ (UN-Habitat, 2015:2). Being open for all, public spaces have the capacity to encourage encounters, communication and interaction between its different (groups of) users. In fact, the modern use of the word “public” appeared in European bourgeois society in the eighteenth century, linked to the new public spaces – urban parks, boulevards, cafés, theatres, etc. – which emerged to serve more diverse groups of society (Sennett, 1974). It was in this period that the condition of seeing and being seen - visibility in public space - emerged as a fundamental aspect of modern city life that supports the awareness and tolerance among different urban groups, which is linked to diversity and democratic principles (Arendt, 1998; Sennett, 1970; Young, 2000).

Visibility can provide empirical evidence in studies of the features of public spaces that differentiate them from each other and make them unique. More specifically, cultural visibility – the visibility of marks, signs, symbols, languages, and practices of distinctive groups – makes places and neighbourhoods easily recognizable to residents and visitors.

In urban design and planning literature three features have received the most attention in characterizing public spaces. These are: physical settings, activities of the people, and meanings, components which ‘are inseparably interwoven in our experiences of places’ (Relph, 1976: 105). Physical setting refers to the built form, its permeability, landscape and urban furniture (Punter, 1991, cited in Montgomery, 1998; Montgomery, 1998). Activities are influenced by land uses, pedestrian flows, activity patterns, and circulation flows in the physical setting, which are related to vitality (Jacobs, 1961; Gehl, 1989; Montgomery, 1998). Third are the psychological and socio-cultural processes by which an individual assigns meaning to a physical setting, its image and legibility (Lynch, 1960, Relph, 1976). Cultural visibility thus becomes a useful tool in obtaining direct empirical evidence of the physical setting of a place, the activities related to the functioning of the place, and also useful to perceive aspects of its image and legibility:

> 'From the way it looks, a local shopping street delivers a powerful message about whether a neighbourhood is rich or poor, with a majority of one ethnic group or another. This message about the space can be read by everyone; it helps to determine who "belongs" there and who, by contrast, is "out of place"'. (Zukin et al., 2015:13).

The cultural visibility of immigrant groups in public space is linked to the notion of urban justice because the notion of public space itself is inherently related to it. Indeed, earlier ideas about justice were linked to 'urban-based "civil" rights and the actions of… a civil society, or a public realm, involved in deciding how best to maintain equitable access to urban resources for all those who qualified.'(Soja, 2010:75). But such notions of distributive justice have been revised, in order to pay closer attention to the institutional forces generating inequalities and injustice (Young, 2000; Harvey, 2010; Soja, 2010).

Fainstein's (2010) conceptualization of the just city is close to distributional equity, but includes urban diversity and democracy; stating that policies and plans should be examined on their contribution to these three principles. Young (2000) focused on the relationship between urban justice and inclusive democracy, proposing city life as the arena to deal with participatory democracy. Accordingly, 'democratic public should provide mechanisms for the effective recognition and representation of distinct voices and perspective of those of its constituent groups that are oppressed or disadvantaged' (2000:184). This is similar to Lefebvre's (1996) 'Right to the City' view, which states the right of all individuals and groups to have a voice in shaping the city.

Changes in cultural visibility can then be related to changes in terms of urban justice. 'The look and feel of cities reflect decisions about what – and who – should be visible and what should not, on concepts of order and disorder, and on uses of aesthetic power.' (Zukin, 1995:7). It is therefore important to understand the urban processes behind these transformations. To identify who decides what – and whom – should be visible in a certain space or street, and under which considerations, becomes important to understand the trends on urban justice.

TOC

6.2.2 Urban policies and neighbourhood transformation

Cities and neighbourhoods are constantly evolving and transforming through complex, dynamic and multi-dimensional processes.

> ‘Throughout history, the city has been shaped by the most powerful forces of the time, and today’s cities are no exception... Now it is the service society’s turn to shape the city in its own image, to turn it into a locus of exchange; for ideas, goods and services…’ (Madanipour, 2006:176).

The transition into the service society has revalorized public spaces, amenities and ‘third places’ in central areas of cities, considered necessary to attract knowledge workers, or the so-called ‘creative class’ (Florida, 2002).

Many different actors, with different powers, interact in urban transformation processes, sometimes conflicting with each other, at others concurring. Madanipour (2006) distinguishes three main groups of actors in urban processes – developers, regulators and users of the city – each of which involves other groups of actors. Developers usually have revenues as main goal; users aim to live in a good city that satisfies their needs and demands; while regulators try to balance the demands of the different groups through policies and plans. In short, private sector investments, citizens’ initiatives, and policies and plans at different levels are the most important drivers of change of the built environment in the contemporary Western city. But the roles of the state, the private sector and civil society in urban transformation processes greatly depend on the country’s ‘welfare system and political forces as well as physical, social and economic structures of urban areas.’ (Kleinhans, 2004:367).

Urban policies and regulations at different levels have been important drivers and controllers in the transformation of the physical setting and the activities of existing neighbourhoods, which, in turn, have modified their image. Of these urban policies, urban renewal has been at the forefront of processes transforming neighbourhoods in European cities. But also housing allocation regulations, and city and district policies and regulations, have had important effects in the physical setting of a neighbourhood. Furthermore, zoning regulations and local (sectoral) regulations have a significant effect on the activities of a place, deciding which kind of amenities can get permits to function in selected spaces (see Figure 6.1).

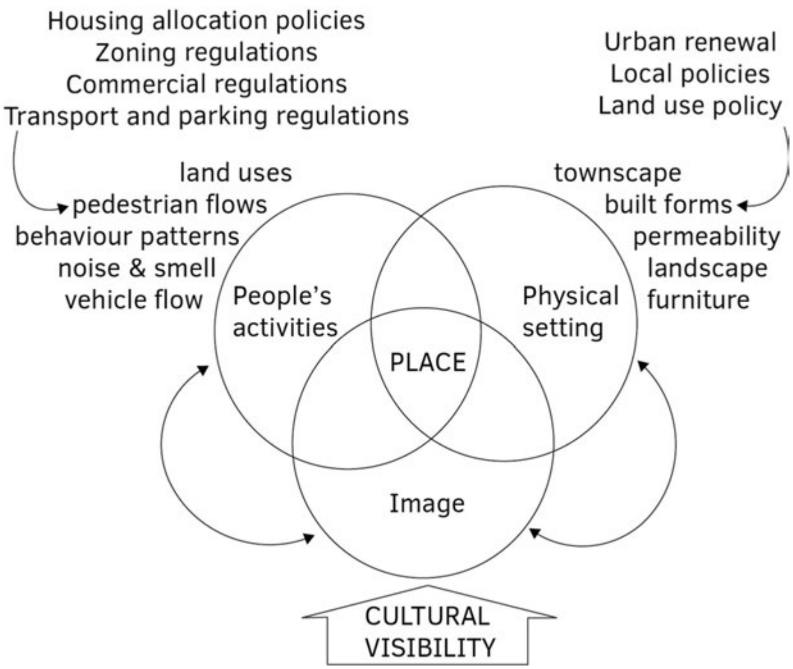

Housing allocation policies
Zoning regulations
Commercial regulations
Transport and parking regulations
Urban renewal
Local policies
Land use policy
land uses
pedestrian flows
behaviour patterns
noise & smell
vehicle flow
townscape
built forms
permeability
landscape
furniture
People's activities
Physical setting
PLACE
Image
CULTURAL VISIBILITY

FIG. 6.1 Urban policies shaping neighbourhood transformation.

Initially, urban renewal interventions were generally directed at changing the physical setting of decayed neighbourhoods. After some time, it became evident that the problems of these neighbourhoods were multi-dimensional and physical measures alone could not help to alleviate them. Social programmes were put in place to promote the social and job integration of vulnerable groups, but with little success (Uitermark *et al.*, 2007).

Since the 1990s, the concept of liveability has become important in urban policies and interventions at European level. To improve liveability in 'problem' areas, urban interventions have been increasingly applied in order to change their population composition and even regulate their ethnic diversity (Bodaar, 2006). Gradually, social mixing became the main objective of urban renewal interventions in several European countries.

Urban policies directed at social mixing have changed the character of places in terms of their physical setting, activities and image, with the aim of making them more attractive and functional for the 'service society'. This has generally led to gentrification, which has displaced (some of) the original residents to less attractive and more suburban city areas. The cultural visibility of places is therefore transformed through a combination of urban policies, which are implemented to serve some groups of society more than other, more vulnerable and disadvantaged groups.

> ‘In the Netherlands, state actors and housing associations ambitiously pursue a project of state-led gentrification in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The state induces housing associations and seduces private developers to invest in the construction of middle-class, owner-occupied housing in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods with many low-cost social rented dwellings.’ (Uitermark et al., 2007:125).

6.3 The study

The main aim of this investigation is to take the pulse to the cultural visibility of immigrant streets of Amsterdam, relating it to aspects of urban justice. Within Amsterdam, Turkish amenities have a high visibility compared with those of other ethnic groups, because Turkish immigrants comprise the largest immigrant group in the Netherlands, with almost 400,000 persons, representing 2.35 per cent of the country’s population. Besides, Turks show a high level of entrepreneurship compared to other population groups (Rath and Kloosterman, 2000).

Javastraat and Burgemeesterde de Vlugtlaan are the two streets studied, selected on the basis of their different locations within Amsterdam and for being the main streets within the neighbourhoods with the highest number of Turkish residents in Amsterdam (Indische Buurt and Slotermeer, respectively). Javastraat has an inner-city location, close to the historic city centre within the city ring. Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan has a suburban location, outside the city ring (see Figure 6.2).

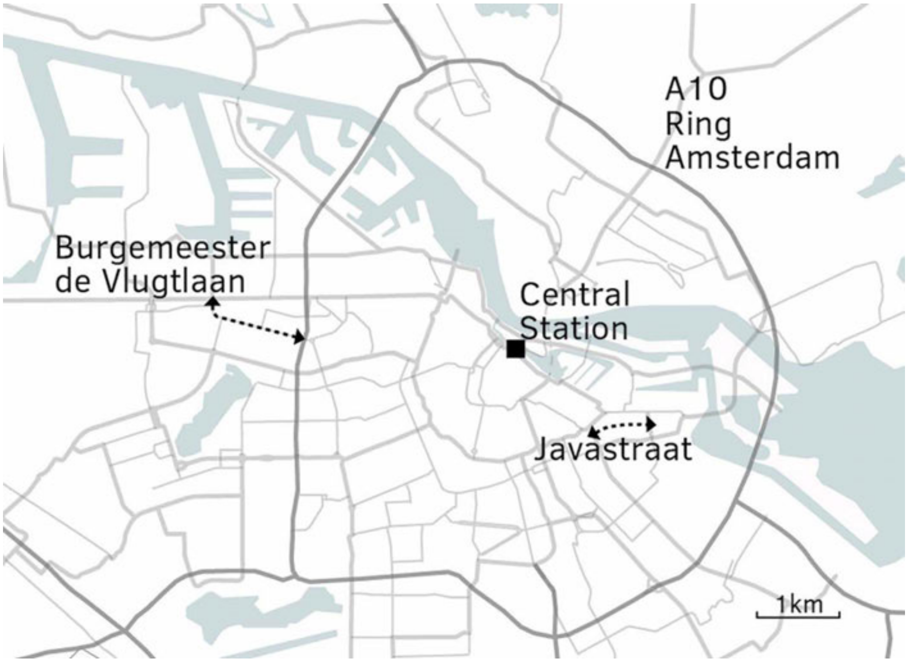


FIG. 6.2 Location of the selected study areas in Amsterdam.

The research was conducted in three main steps:

1. Description of the transformation processes in the neighbourhoods of the selected streets, with a specific attention to the period 2007–2016.
2. Analysis of public space in 2007 and 2016 in the two streets, investigating changes in cultural visibility in terms of:
   a. Physical setting: the study of the relationship between the built form of the streets and the types and ways that amenities are located and shape their physical appearance to make themselves recognizable in the public space.
   b. People's activities: the study of how the amenities relate to the general use intensity and use patterns of the streets and how they differentiate during the various times of the day, which enhances or limits their cultural visibility.

The data were collected in October 2007 and November 2016. The observations were carried out walking and cycling between 9 am and 11 pm hours on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Field notes were annotated, mapped and photographed. The researchers also conducted informal interviews with some shopkeepers and residents.

3 Discussion of the findings of step 1 and 2, relating the observed trends to issues of urban justice.

6.4 City and neighbourhood transformation in Amsterdam

Since World War II, the Netherlands has regularly applied urban renewal policies to address the problems of its cities. To tackle the huge housing demand of the reconstruction period, urban policies initially focused on building social housing estates in suburban areas. Cities grew outwards and people moved out of central areas. Eventually, the social housing sector succeeded in meeting the housing needs, providing housing to a large proportion of people in cities.

Meanwhile, in the decayed neighbourhoods of central areas, the main policy was to demolish buildings and build modern ones. In several cities residents' movements strongly opposed such renewal plans, pushing the local government to undertake urban renewal interventions. After extensive negotiations between local government, housing corporations and residents during the 1970s and 1980s, in Amsterdam urban renewal processes succeeded in improving the housing stock and public space in central areas (Uitermark, 2009).

The rules of social housing allocation also explain neighbourhood transformation, especially the concentration of immigrant groups in certain areas of Amsterdam. Approximately 45 per cent of the population were of foreign origin in 2015 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015), and in Dutch statistics can be divided into 'Western', and 'non-Western'. The former generally have higher education and income, while the latter generally the opposite. They also have different housing situations: Western immigrants live in more attractive and central parts of the city, while most non-Western immigrants live in social housing areas, which they choose according to their household size and affordability. Evidently, their choice is limited, and has resulted in their concentration in specific areas. Currently, Turkish and Moroccans households tend to concentrate in the Amsterdam New West district – a post-war social housing area – and East – a nineteenth-century workers' neighbourhood close to the city centre. Turks are also clustered on the north-west periphery. Surinamese and Antilleans are generally concentrated in the south-east area.

With the liberal turn of the welfare regime in the early 1990s, the focus of urban policies shifted to improving ‘segregated’ neighbourhoods through social mixing and the diversification of housing in order to promote social cohesion (van Beckhoven and van Kempen, 2003). Home-ownership was strongly promoted through financial mechanisms. In 1995, housing associations changed status and became private sector organizations. Although they remained non-profit, the new status gave them financial independence to sell their property.

In 1994, the Big Cities policy was launched for urban renewal in problematic areas. This policy, with its three pillars of physical, social and economic issues, has framed most urban renewal interventions since 1994. Housing associations, owners of most housing units in the neighbourhoods involved, and local authorities became the crucial actors as well as the financers of these urban interventions. Table 6-1 shows the evolution of the Big Cities policy goals and policy actions. An important national effort was launched in March 2007, when the government appointed designated forty ‘focus neighbourhoods’ (*aandachtswijken*), which would receive special attention for their improvement. Five of these were located in Amsterdam, in areas, which included the Indische Buurt and Slotermeer. The Big Cities Policy came to an end in 2010.

TABLE 6.1 Evolution of the Big Cities policies 1994-2009 (Adapted from Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008)

Name of policy	Main goal	Period	Slogan	Definition of social issues	Typical policy actions
Big Cities Policy I	Mixed neighbourhoods	1994–1998	Immigration of high incomes	Homogeneous poor neighbourhood (segregated)	Neighbourhood restructuring, attract better-off
Big Cities Policy II	Stable neighbourhoods	1998–2004	Prevent leaving neighbourhood	Housing career within neighbourhood	Creating opportunities in the neighbourhood
Big Cities Policy III	Stronger neighbourhoods	2004–2009	Powerful cities	Ethnic concentrations/ integration	Neighbourhood restructuring, social mix
Big Cities Policy + (aandachts-wijken)	Integrated neighbourhoods	2007-2009	Prevent parallel societies	Ethnic and social integration	Neighbourhood restructuring, social mix, housing association involvement

The Urban Restructuring (Stedelijke Vernieuwing) policy was the pillar of the Big Cities policy, aiming to transform neighbourhoods through the demolition, selling or upgrading of social housing units, replacing them with owner-occupied dwellings for higher income groups. This policy and its specific predisposition towards demolition and upgrading the housing stock expressed the specific preferences of the housing associations, the owners of the dwellings in these areas (Uitermark, 2003).

Amsterdam's own plans were described in the *Nota Stedelijke Vernieuwing* (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1999), which focused on increasing housing quality and differentiation; promoting quality of life; and optimizing land use. This meant that 'Modest ambitions and gradual transformation are passé; it is time for the "total makeover". The middle class must be held on to or hauled in, and therefore the proportion of public housing must be drastically reduced in order to make the neighbourhood safer and increase its liveability' (Uitermark, 2008: 179).

Meanwhile, Amsterdam steadily became an attractive destination for tourists and young professionals, which has led to an increased housing demand. The increased and unfulfilled demand, in the context of the more prominent role of the private sector, has led to a constant rise in housing prices. Figure 6.3 shows the evolution of the average price of homes sold in Amsterdam (the uppermost plot on the graph) between 1995 and 2016, illustrating the growing difference from the national average.

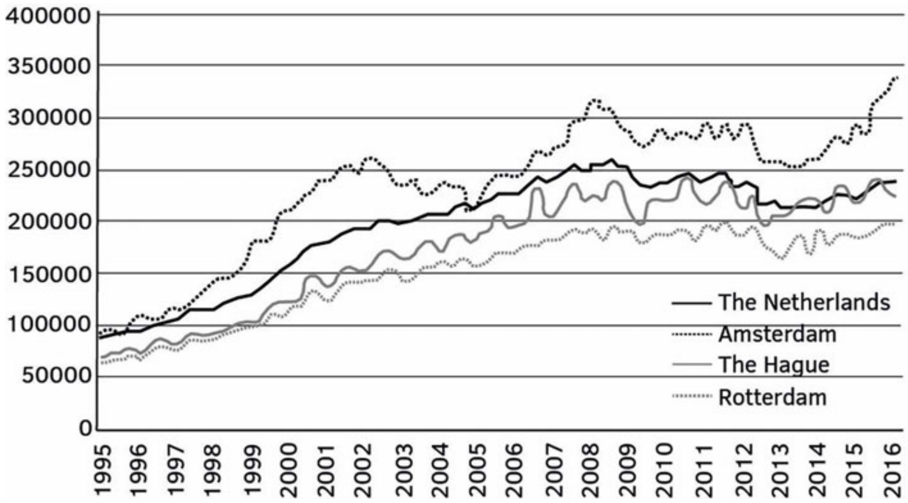


FIG. 6.3 Average price of homes sold in the Netherlands, 1995-2016. (Source: Boterman, 2016)

These real estate trends, in combination with the new spirit of urban policies at city level have led to processes of commodification and gentrification of Amsterdam central neighbourhoods, visibly changing their population composition, while immigrant groups have increasingly moved into suburban locations (Ostendorf and Musterd, 2011). Indeed, gentrification is not a taboo for many local policy-makers, which now justify it as a means of achieving a vital urban economy. 'While in other countries, the word gentrification is rarely used by policy-makers directly, in the Netherlands it is a central, explicit aim which policy-makers are open about promoting' (Ernst and Doucet, 2014: 192), as the head of the Planning, Space an Economy Section of the municipality of Amsterdam clearly stated in a column entitled 'Let the gentrifiers come' (Gadet, 2015). This constitutes a striking shift away from the previous Amsterdam urban justice goals, towards economy and market-driven solutions (Uitermark 2009).

As a result of these gentrifying trends, in the 1995–2010 period, the proportion of low-income households in Amsterdam decreased from 47 per cent to 31 per cent, while the high-income population increased from 14 per cent to 28 per cent (AFWC, 2012, cited by Tieleman, 2013). Within the case study streets (Javastraat and Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan), the changed population composition has been remarkable, and illustrates the extent gentrification process in Amsterdam. Table 6-2 shows the rate of change in these neighbourhoods.

TABLE 6.2 Turkish residents in the Indische Buurt and Slotermeer in 2008 and 2015 (Source: Gemeente Amsterdam, 2008; 2015)

	Turkish residents	Total residents
Indische Buurt		
2008	2770	23243
2015	2145	22824
Difference	–22,56%	-1,80%
Slotermeer		
2008	3673	25391
2015	4538	26484
Difference	+23,55%	+ 4,30%

Source: Gemeente Amsterdam, 2008;2015.

6.4.1 The Indische Buurt

Javastraat is the main street of the Indische Buurt, which used to have a predominantly non-Western foreign population, but its share has decreased to 32 per cent in 2015 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015). The neighbourhood was built between 1900 and 1925 with social rented housing for skilled workers. Most homes are quite small, ranging between 40 and 50 m^2. In the 1960s, the state of the buildings had declined so much that the original residents moved out and settled in suburban areas. The empty homes were taken over by squatters, who opposed the plans of private developers trying to demolish the buildings. The municipality finally decided to undertake urban renewal interventions under the 'building for the neighbourhood' programme during the 1980s (Berg and Zonneveld, 2008).

Gradually, the composition of the neighbourhood changed again, as social housing allocation rules led to the concentration of immigrants in the area, it became a multicultural neighbourhood. Due to the concentration of social problems, which included criminality, the Indische Buurt acquired a bad reputation. But in the 1990s, the redevelopment of the old port areas, and later the construction of the IJburg island in the East district made the Indische Buurt a more central location within Amsterdam and, as such, more attractive to some groups.

In 2007, the three housing associations of the neighbourhood and the district government signed a covenant for the renovation of the Indische Buurt. This included the improvement of dwellings and commercial premises, and the refurbishing of public spaces, aiming to improve the safety and quality of life (Stadsdeel Zeeburg, 2008). The 'upgrading' of the social housing stock consisted of the renovation of façades, internal renovation of flats, and joining small units to create larger ones (Berg and Zonneveld, 2008).

Special priority was given to upgrading the commercial streetscape of Javastraat, executed in 2008. The street façades were renovated, the pavements widened and car parking reduced, making it safer for cyclists. New trees were planted, decorative lights were installed and fountains were built on the Javaplein. More importantly, the district government invited specific 'white' entrepreneurs to establish themselves in the renovated street, while housing associations offered very inexpensive rents, on the assumption that such amenities would contribute to upgrading of Javastraat and its amenities (Stadsdeel Oost, 2012).

National urban policies such as the promotion of home-ownership, the changed status of housing associations, and more importantly, the urban renewal policies directed towards 'social mixing', provided the foundations for the locally designed interventions to 'upgrade' the Indische Buurt. The district regulations for cafés and restaurants followed the same concept of 'upgrading' and transforming the commercial landscape of the street, suggesting the coordination of actions towards the same goal at district level. A street manager was especially hired for the intervention at Javastraat by the district government, who failed to represent or support the street entrepreneurs but simply communicated the works and actions decided by the local government and housing associations (Hagemans *et al.*, 2015).

The interventions have succeeded in bringing ‘an influx of middle-class “white” Dutch residents and “creative” businesses into areas with strong concentration of ethnic minorities and immigrant-owned shops’ (Hagemans *et al*., 2015: 104). Since most apartments are very small, they have attracted young professionals, with the effect of ‘rejuvenating’ the neighbourhood, as well as displacing lower-income immigrant households. The changed population composition has been remarkable, leading to academic and newspaper[7] articles dedicated to the gentrification of the Indische Buurt, characterized as a state-led gentrification (Sakizlioglu, 2014; Hagemans *et al*., 2015).

6.4.2 Slotermeer

Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan is the main road artery of Slotermeer, part of the s104 access road to Amsterdam’s inner city coming from the highway to Haarlem. It is located in the northern part of the Western Garden Cities (*Westelijke Tuinsteden*), which was Amsterdam’s first suburban expansion of the post-war period. The proportion of residents with an immigrant origin in Slotermeer has increased by 24.5 per cent in the 2008–2015 period.

The western suburbs were built during the 1950s and contained 54,000 dwellings built according the modernist ideals of Cornelius van Eesteren, following the General Extension Plan for Amsterdam (AUP) (1935) (Wagenaar, 2011). The spacious neighbourhoods attracted many young middle-class families from the city centre. Until the 1970s, it was an attractive area to move to, but its popularity declined along with changes in the population composition. Dutch middle-income households moved out, while immigrant groups arrived and concentrated in some neighbourhoods (Bureau Parkstad, 2001).

Since 2000, the western suburbs have been subject to an ambitious urban renewal intervention, ‘Towards Parkstad’, which included the demolition of 13,300 dwellings and the construction of 28,000 new ones (Bureau Parkstad, 2001). New West has become an attractive option for young households, which has produced an increase of residents in the 25–39 age cohort (Zandvliet and Dignum, 2014). Slotermeer Noord was included in the last and less radical phase of the renovation, which demolished 1,212 dwellings and built 1,207 new ones (Stadsdeel Geuzenveld-Slotermeer, 2009).

---

[7] An article in the New York Times (Shorto, 2016) describes how tourism and gentrification have transformed Amsterdam in few years, commenting how remarkable the transformation of the Indische Buurt is.

These transformations have not affected buildings along the Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan. The renewal plans have, however, included the demolition of the Airey flats[8], located at the beginning of the avenue. Local residents and stakeholders opposed to the demolition, and mobilized to make people aware of the area's historic value. In 2007, the city recognized the exceptional cultural, historical and urban values of the area and its designer, designating it a 'Municipal conservation site' (*gemeentelijk beschermd stadsgezicht*)[9]: the Van Eesteren Museum area. This designation included the establishment of the Van Eesteren Museum in 2010, dedicated to the historic values of the western suburbs, and its modernistic urbanism. The museum is housed in an old school building, and has become a visitor attraction in the city, placing the neighbourhood on the cultural and tourist map of Amsterdam. Furthermore, the demolition plans were stopped, and this later led to the renovation of the Airey flats, which began in January 2016.

Two significant processes have taken place in the street. On the one hand, grassroots pressure has been able to stop the planned demolition and to demand a respectful renovation of one of the housing estates. On the other hand, the city has contributed to the wishes of residents and stakeholders by designating it a municipal conservation site and establishing the Van Eesteren Museum. These actions have improved the image and cultural value of the area.

6.5 Cultural visibility in Javastraat and Burgemeester van Vlugtlaan

This section describes the cultural visibility of Turkish amenities in Javastraat and Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, focusing on mainly two themes that play a role in shaping cultural visibility: physical setting and people's activities.

---

[8] The Airey flats owe their name to the English Airey pre-fabricated construction system with which the estate was built. This estate, built in 1951, consists of 13 three-storey buildings designed by architect J.F. Berghoef.

[9] Amsterdam has several nationally appointed conservation areas, but the Van Eesteren Museum area is the only at municipal level (see https://www.amsterdam.nl/kunst-cultuur/monumenten/monumenten/wet-regelgeving/beschermde-stads-0/).

6.5.1 Javastraat

This one kilometre long street is the main street of the Indische Buurt (Figure 6.4), located in the Oost (East) district of Amsterdam.

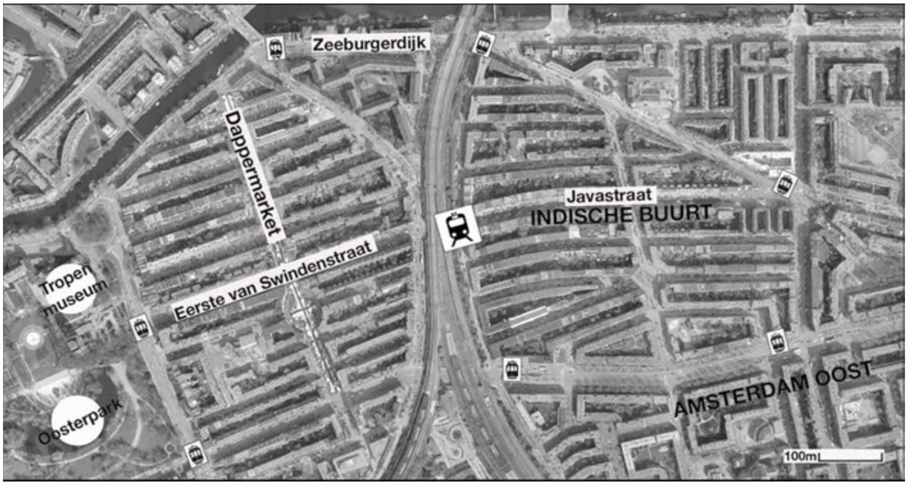


FIG. 6.4 The Indische Buurt and Javastraat. (Source:Adapted from Google Maps)

Cultural visibility of Turkish amenities in 2007

Physical setting. In 2007 Javastraat had a large variety of retail and amenities owned and managed by entrepreneurs from different origins. Turkish amenities dominated the streetscape, comprising almost a third of those present. According to one shopkeeper, this concentration developed very fast after Turkish households moved to the neighbourhood in the 1980s. Two main differences were observed here: between the east and west sides of Javastraat, and between commercial and communal amenities.

Regarding the differences between the two sides of the street, the west side had less immigrant amenities than the east side. The west side crosses a daily street market, the Dappermarkt, offering food and clothing serving for the whole city. The Turkish amenities located here – a grocery store, a butcher, a supermarket, a shop for Islamic clothing – were family businesses.

Figure 6.5 shows the large proportion of food shops and eating places along the street, depicting Turkish amenities with black dots, distinctive due to the signs and language shaping their cultural visibility. There are twenty-five Turkish shops groceries stores, bakeries, restaurants, cafés, teahouses, and clothing repair shops, travel agencies and beauty salons. The photographs in Figure 6.5 show the similar physical appearance of different types of commercial amenities. The visual presentation of their products with their stalls of groceries stretching outside the shop towards the sidewalk, and the accumulation of many different products in front of it, characterizes the streetscape. Shop windows are generally used to announce events for Turkish audiences. The shops generally have large front banners with bright colours and big letters, and names referring to the owners' hometown or family name.

Regarding the differences between commercial and communal amenities, the openness of the former contrasts with the limited visibility of the latter. Teahouses[10] are generally introverted, with closed curtains or dark glass windows. They do not welcome everybody because they cater for a limited group of (Turkish male) users. A teahouse owner pointed out that this limited visibility is also because the municipality controls them and restricts their use of the sidewalks.

---

[10] Teahouses are also commercial amenities, but they function as communal places.

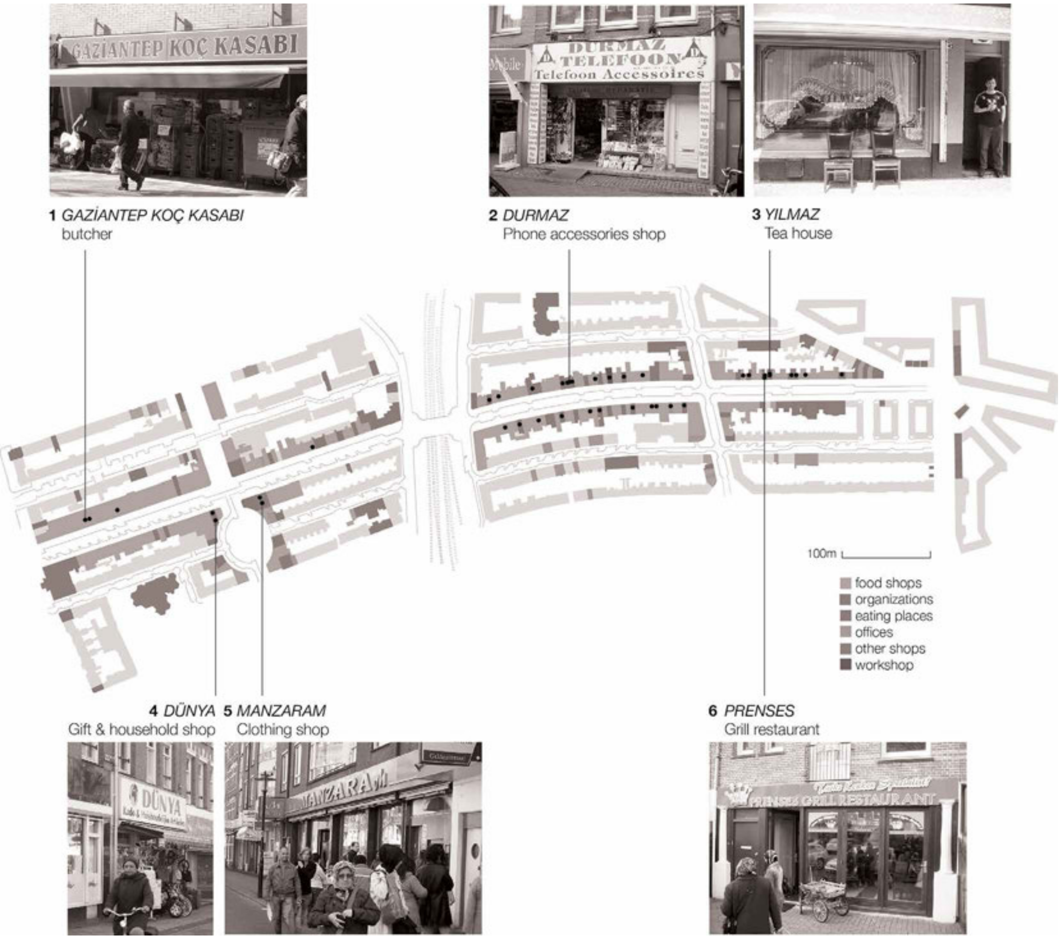

1 GAZİANTEP KOÇ KASABI
butcher
2 DURMAZ
Phone accessories shop
3 YILMAZ
Tea house
4 DÜNYA
Gift & household shop
5 MANZARAM
Clothing shop
6 PRENSES
Grill restaurant
100m
■ food shops
■ organizations
■ eating places
■ offices
■ other shops
■ workshop

FIG. 6.5 Turkish amenities in Javastraat, 2007. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research)

People's activities. The Dappermarket had a dominant influence on the user intensity and user activities on the west side of the street, with a peak in its user intensity from 09 am to 4 pm. Surrounding shops generally followed these working hours, so after the market closed the street became quiet. This influenced sidewalk activities such as people sitting, gathering and chatting. Figure 6.6 shows the user intensity and major user activities on Javastraat, and the differences between west and east of the street.

These differences were evident both during the day and at night. The long opening hours of Turkish cafés, teahouses and restaurants produce a vibrant street life, especially in the evening. Teahouses and restaurants open around noon and reach a peak in the evening. Their clientele increased the use intensity of the street several hours after other amenities had closed. They also prolonged the street use with gathering and chatting people in front of the amenities. Teahouses contribute to the socialization of Turkish men by facilitating the exchanges for daily news and information about job and housing opportunities. A similar case happens for Turkish women in food shops. Food shops offer halal products and attract mainly women, especially housewives, who tend to buy their food on a daily basis. These amenities provide an opportunity for socialization between women, who exchange the latest news or plans for the rest of the day. Street furniture facilitates these exchanges.

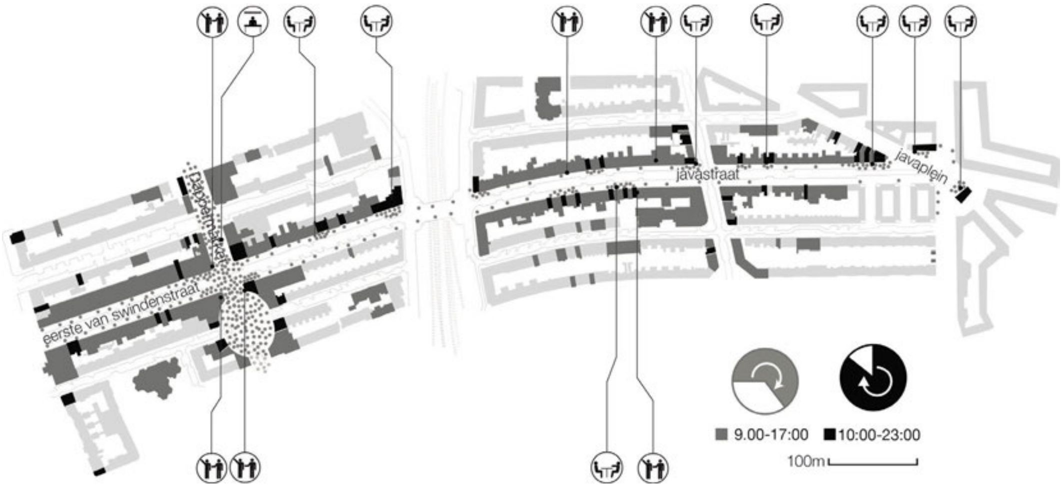


FIG. 6.6 User intensity and user activities in Javastraat, 2007. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research)

Changes in cultural visibility of Turkish amenities in 2016

Physical setting. Comparing the 2016 situation with that observed in 2007, the changes in this aspect of cultural visibility in Javastraat are significant. The street has a very different look as a consequence of the urban renewal interventions. Two main effects of these are: the establishment of more 'desirable' type of cafés, restaurants and shops; and the widening of sidewalks, and reduction of parking spaces and car traffic.

On the west side, Javastraat streetscape did not change much, except for a new vintage shop and a shop specializing in baking products. Cultural visibility increased through three newly-established Turkish cafés offering Turkish regional and street food, but one street food shop closed after 6 months due to competition.

On the east side, however, almost half of the Turkish shops observed in 2007 have closed. Most have been replaced by trendy cafés and shops targeting the new residents. Some other Turkish amenities have adapted to the needs of new residents. For example, a teahouse has been turned into a restaurant, and a bakery now offers organic products to cater for a wider group of customers. Amenities targeting a very specific group of Turkish immigrants – such as an Islamic clothing shop for women – are clearly having difficulties in running their businesses. The owner of the shop stated:

> 'My clients are not interested in these newly opened cafés and pubs. They don't like to walk in a street with café tables, where people are drinking alcohol. They don't come to this street anymore for enjoyment. This decreases their visits to the street, [and] therefore diminishes the number of clients visiting my shop'.

The street transformation has also influenced the physical appearance of the Turkish amenities. Those which changed their function renewed their windows and interior to make them attractive for the new residents. Those which did not change were obliged to renovate the shop fronts according to the urban renewal interventions. This is more evident in food shops such as groceries and supermarkets.

People's activities. Comparing the 2016 situation to that in 2007, the changes in this aspect of cultural visibility in Javastraat are also significant. The street has a different atmosphere as a consequence of the arrival of new residents and the activities related to the new type of cafés, restaurants and shops. The widening of sidewalks and reduction of car traffic have made the street much more friendly to pedestrian and bicycle use. The wider sidewalks have promoted the street use by cafés and restaurants.

The street life in the west part of Javastraat has not changed very much; the role of Dappermarkt in shaping user intensity and behaviour is still very dominant. On the east part, however, the street life is much more active than in 2007. The presence of young visitors to these cafés both day and night provide a constant use of the street. Turkish amenities, which were able to adapt their businesses to the new situation, contribute to the vibrant street life; however, they are not as dominant as they were in 2007.

6.5.2 Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan

This one kilometre-long street is located in Slotermeer, a neighbourhood in the New West district of Amsterdam, outside Amsterdam's inner ring highway (see Figure 6.7).

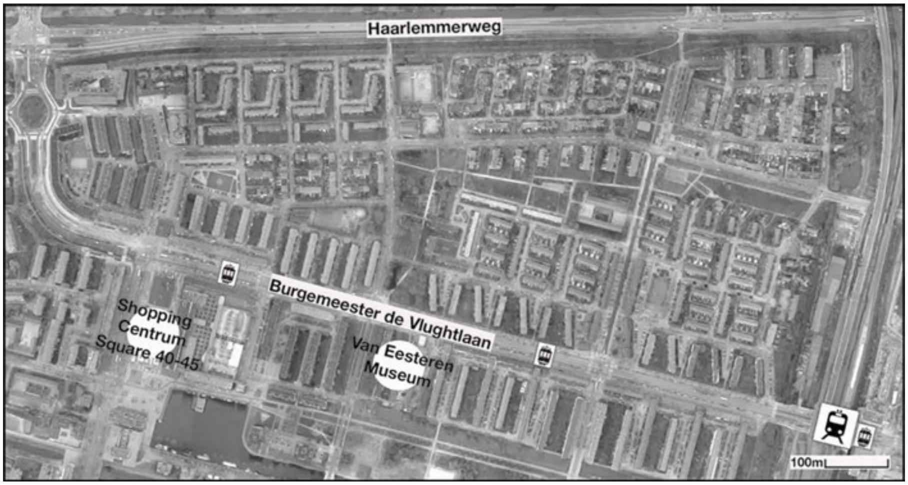

Haarlemmerweg
Burgemeester de Vlughtlaan
Shopping Centrum Square 40-45
Van Eesteren Museum
100m

FIG. 6.7 Slotermeer and Burgemeester de Vlughtlaan. (Source: Adapted from Google Maps)

Cultural visibility of Turkish amenities in 2007

Physical setting. In 2007 Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan manifested itself as an immigrant street with abundant amenities from Turkish and Moroccan immigrants. In 2007, there were nineteen Turkish amenities, which represented less than half the total number. Figure 6.10 illustrates their variety, in which Turkish amenities are showed in black dots. As a main road artery from this modernist neighbourhood, Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan has a completely different physical layout from Javastraat, without the characteristic human scale of Amsterdam inner-city areas. This is especially seen in its layout – with two lanes for cars on each side and a tramline in the middle – and the position of the building blocks in relation to the profile of the street. This results in an uneven distribution of amenities along the street, producing differences on the east and west sides.

On the east side, amenities were located along one side of the street. Turkish amenities began with two adjacent furniture shops (photo 6 in Figure 6.8), followed by small cafés and restaurants with terraces, including a well-known Turkish restaurant (see photo 5 in Figure 6.8). Across the street a Turkish mosque with a group of commercial amenities hardly drew attention due to their receded location set back from the street (see photo 3 in Figure 6.8). They comprise a grocery shop, a teahouse, a men's hairdresser, a billiard hall and religious organizations for children and women.

At the west side, Turkish shops gradually changed into food-related products, associated with the 40–45 Square, the heart of the Slotermeer district, which consists of a daily food market surrounded by a shopping centre. A supermarket within this shopping centre attracted visitors from the whole city due to its large variety of economical and exotic food products. Across the street, there was a small hub of Turkish shops with more daily food products, a café-restaurant, bakery, and other services such as a tailor for wedding dresses.

The photographs in Figure 6.8 also show that the shops share some features with those in Javastraat – large banners with big letters, and posters and advertisement boards on the shop windows – but the display of the products and groceries on the sidewalk is much less dominant, as the frontages and size of the shops are larger than on Javastraat. In short, the streetscape is more spacious, has a more modern look and is less cluttered. Moreover, the physical appearance of shops has not been a specific target of renovation interventions to 'improve' them as in Javastraat.

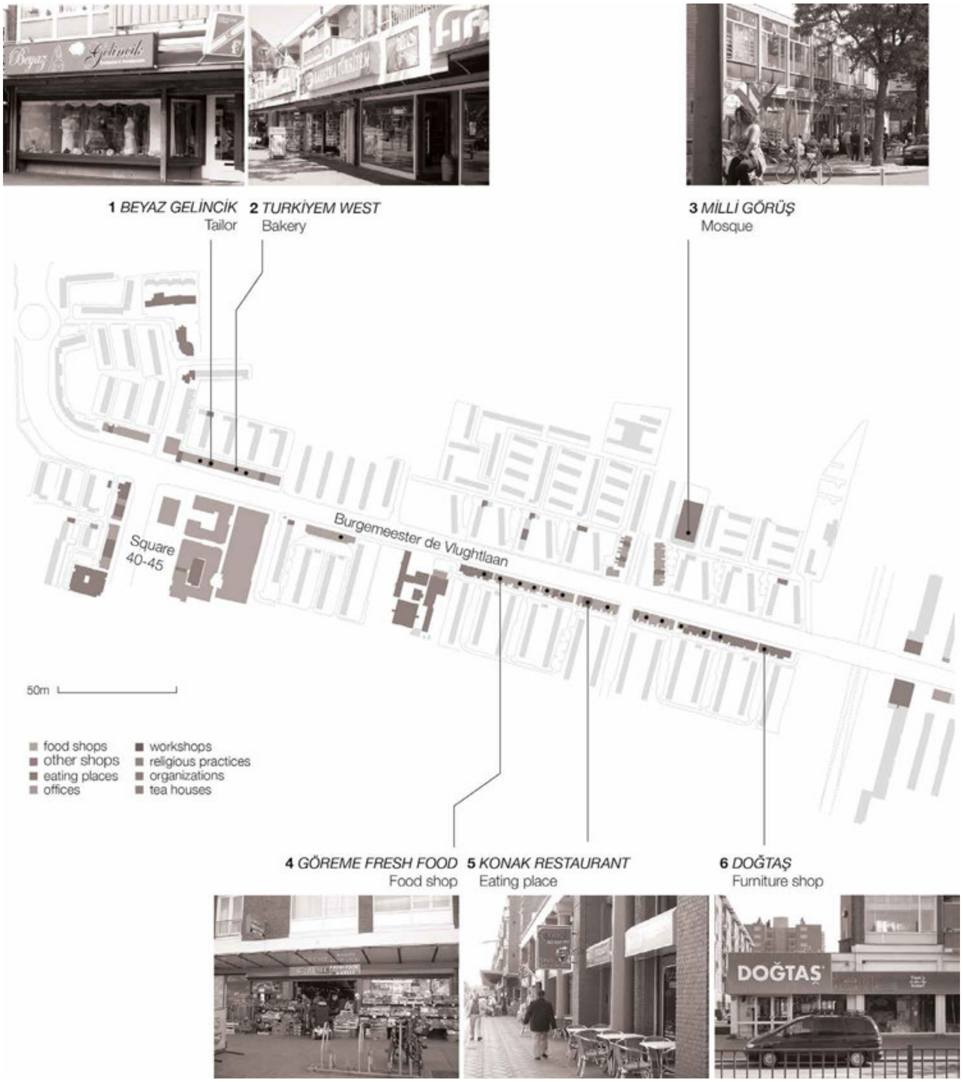

1 BEYAZ GELİNCİK
Tailor
2 TURKİYEM WEST
Bakery
3 MİLLİ GÖRÜŞ
Mosque
Burgemeester de Vlughtlaan
Square 40-45
50m
■ food shops
■ other shops
■ eating places
■ offices
■ workshops
■ religious practices
■ organizations
■ tea houses
4 GÖREME FRESH FOOD
Food shop
5 KONAK RESTAURANT
Eating place
6 DOĞTAŞ
Furniture shop
DOĞTAŞ

FIG. 6.8 Turkish amenities in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan in 2007. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research)

People's activities. As with the Dappermarkt in Javastraat, the 40–45 Square had considerable influence on user intensity and activities on the west side of Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, with a peak from 9 am to 4 pm. Some of the amenities operate during the same working hours, but Turkish amenities are generally open longer hours, which influences people's activities such as hanging out, gathering, chatting and meeting other people outside this amenities.

Figure 6.9 presents the street amenities and their general opening hours. Turkish amenities – mainly restaurants and cafés – are among those which open until late, not a common occurrence in suburban areas. These amenities' customers intensify the use of the street and make this otherwise quiet street livelier, increasing the visibility of Turkish amenities. In the area close to the mosque, user intensity was clearly related to the rituals practiced within the mosque. Practicing Muslims should pray five times a day: near dawn, at noon, in the afternoon, just after sunset, and around nightfall. The user intensity in the area close to the mosque increased at prayer times, while its surrounding amenities functioned as a gathering place for men, keeping this area active until late at night. Although the complex includes facilities for women and children, the mosque is a gendered place, where the domination of men is evident.

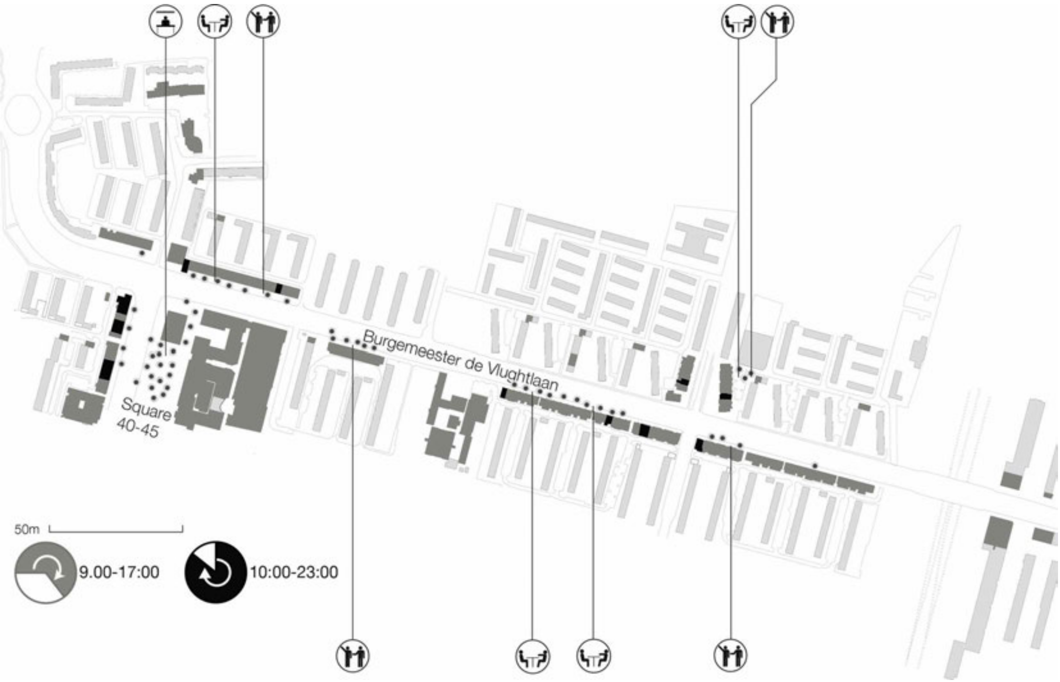


FIG. 6.9 User intensity and user activities in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, 2007. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research)

Cultural visibility of Turkish amenities in 2016

Physical setting. Comparing the 2016 situation with that of 2007, the changes in this aspect of cultural visibility in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan are not very significant, especially compared to the transformation experienced by Javastraat in the same period. Most changes can be found in the area around the 40–45 Square and the adjacent shopping centre, whose physical appearance has altered, with the opening of new shops, cafés and restaurants. Turkish restaurants and other Turkish amenities dominate the streetscape across the shopping mall. They include a beauty salon and a successful fast-food restaurant specializing in halal products, evidently targeting a Muslim clientele, but with a modern-looking appearance (Figure 6.10 upper right). No significant changes have been observed in the area of the mosque and surrounding amenities.

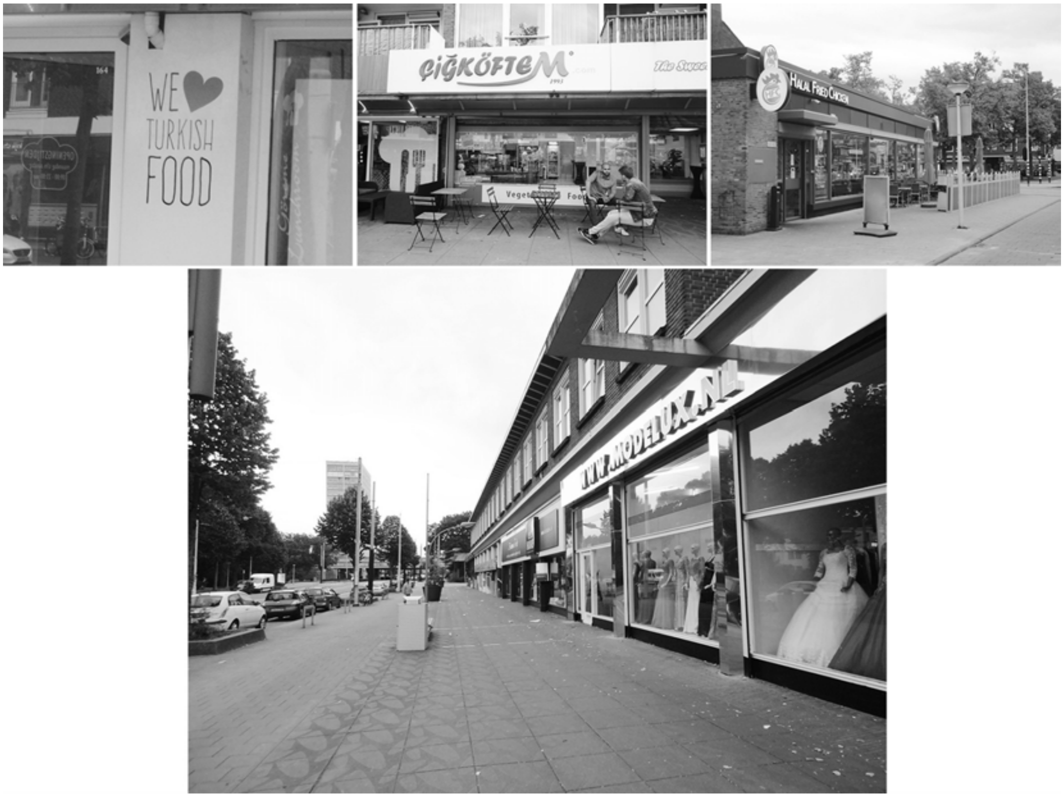


FIG. 6.10 Amenities in west (above) and east (below) sides of Burgemeester de Vluchtlaan, 2016 (Source:Photo: Sezer)

TOC

People's activities. Comparing the 2016 situation with the one observed in 2007, the changes in this aspect of cultural visibility in Javastraat are also minor. The most remarkable is the increased use intensity of the west side of Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan due to the establishment of the Van Eesteren Museum, which makes the street more lively both day and night.

As in 2007, Turkish restaurant and cafés contribute to making the street livelier for longer hours, and this has been enhanced by the halal fast food restaurant, which attracts clients from outside the neighbourhood, increasing the street's user intensity. However, the east part of Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan – close to the metro station –remains quieter than the rest of the street. Further, as in the aspects of physical setting, no changes in terms of user activities have been observed in the area around the mosque.

6.6 Findings

Above we described the urban policies that shaped the transformation processes happening on Javastraat and Burgemeester de Vlughtlaan. In the former, state-led urban renewal has produced a remarkable gentrification process that has changed the composition of the population of this inner-city neighbourhood. In the latter, the urban renewal interventions have been minimal, introducing cultural programmes and appointing this suburban area as a municipal heritage zone to be preserved for future generations.

The national and city policies framing the urban transformation processes in Javastraat and Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan have been the same. However, the different architectural types and location of the neighbourhoods, and their different processes of urban renewal, have produced completely different outcomes. Slotermeer had not did not have such a bad reputation as Indische Buurt, which justified the latter's radical urban intervention.

We documented and mapped the transformations of the physical setting and the people's activities in Javastraat and Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan in the 2007–2016 period. In Javastraat, the changes in the physical setting and related activities have been remarkable. The street has a very different look as a consequence of the urban renewal interventions, and a different atmosphere as a result of the arrival of new residents and the activities related to the new types of cafés, restaurants and shops. This has changed the cultural visibility of Turkish commercial and communal amenities. Some of the commercial ones were able to adapt their services and products to the demands of the new residents. In the context of a changing population composition, other commercial or communal amenities have lost clients and closed their businesses, decreasing cultural visibility.

In general, the transformation of Javastraat has been shaped to attract and serve the wishes of young and affluent knowledge workers, neglecting the presence and needs of the immigrants groups, who lived in the neighbourhood. This suggests that city and district planners and decision-makers, as well as housing corporations were behind the decision about what – and who – should be visible in Javastraat, and that less immigrant amenities and residents was the desirable outcome of the urban interventions to upgrade the neighbourhood. This represents a negative outcome for urban justice, taking into account that democratic urban trends should be able to give space to the multiple cultural expressions of disadvantaged groups instead of displacing them to more suburban urban areas.

The empirical examination of the variation in cultural visibility in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan during the 2007–2016 period shows no significant differences in the presence and physical appearance of Turkish amenities or the users' activities. Commercial amenities have adapted better to the soft changes and developed strategies to attract new clients. As in Javastraat, communal amenities have been less responsive to the on-going urban transformation processes. But the effects of the urban interventions have been more important for those aspects linked to the revalorization of the image and cultural importance of the neighbourhood. In this 'respectful' urban renewal process, residents have not been displaced and have seen their neighbourhood become an historic landmark in the city's evolution and, as such, a part of the city to be protected. This was the kind of process that, during the 1980s, made Amsterdam an example for the world of redistributive and democratic policies at local level, in which residents, stakeholders and local government worked to meet the needs and wishes of the neighbourhood. Thus, it represents trends in the opposite direction to the urban justice trends observed in Javastraat.

TOC

6.7 Conclusion

This study's main purpose was to analyse and document the recent changes in the cultural visibility of Turkish amenities in the streets of Amsterdam. The empirical examination in the two selected cases has been useful in identifying the specific changes in a particularly dynamic period (2007–2016), characterized by an active city policy for urban transformation. The study approached cultural visibility from two aspects: the physical setting and the people's activities in these streets. The analyses showed that urban transformation processes influence cultural visibility differently in central and suburban locations, which are more or less attractive for affluent groups. In the inner-city location, Javastraat, the urban renewal intervention drastically changed the look and atmosphere of the street, decreasing the concentration of immigrant amenities. In the suburban location, Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, the urban renewal intervention considered the residents' resistance to the plans to demolish part of the neighbourhood, and improved the image and cultural value of the area.

The effects of these urban transformations on cultural visibility indicate opposite tendencies in terms of urban justice. On the one hand, Javastraat is the classic example of gentrification with displacement of the original lower-income population of migrant origin. The decreased cultural visibility in Javastraat means that immigrant groups have been considered less desirable in the city and municipal plans. This conflicts with the idea of urban justice in terms of public spaces as arenas of inclusive democracy that give space to multiple cultural expressions, and more specifically of disadvantaged groups.

On the other hand, Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan represents a good example in terms of urban justice, as it has favoured the right of residents in shaping their neighbourhood, going for a careful and more inclusive type of urban renewal.
This is more conducive to the support of democratic public spaces that can offer opportunities for diverse groups and individuals to recognize each as citizens with the same rights and aspirations. This example shows that urban transformation processes can open up possibilities for immigrant amenities to adapt at a more favourable pace to the city dynamics, producing positive effects on cultural visibility.
As the analyses of these two cases illustrate, the location and different architectural features of the neighbourhoods, in combination with their different processes of urban renewal, have produced a completely different outcome for cultural visibility.
They suggest that this concept is not only an abstract notion but can be a useful operational tool to provide empirical evidence for the study of urban dynamics and their consequences for urban justice.

PART 4

Conclusion

TOC

7 Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This research introduces the concept of visibility as a useful tool to assess the democratic features of public spaces. We understand democratic public spaces as spaces that are ‘open and accessible to all people, regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, age and socio-economic level and reflect the social and economic diversity of the city both at neighbourhood and city level’ (Unesco, 2018:1). The concept of visibility refers to the visual perception of the observable features of distinctive urban groups in public space, which gives evidence of their lived experiences, that is, how they engage with, shape, and construct public space within their everyday life. The main assumption of the study is that the visibility of distinctive urban groups on the street manifests the rights of these groups to participate in the public life of the city, which is a key feature of a democratic public space. Consequently, the presence and changes in visibility of urban groups in public space is a highly political issue, which raises concerns in relation to just or unjust urban conditions.

In this research, the visibility of commercial and communal amenities is used as a proxy for the presence and appropriation of public space by immigrant groups through their distinctive signs, languages, specialised products, particular cuisines and unconventional uses. We analysed and documented the recent changes in the visibility of Turkish amenities in the streets of Amsterdam in the context of urban transformations in the period between 2007 and 2016. The methodology of the research included deskwork and fieldwork. The former included theory review and identification of the policy context. The latter included primary data collection about the spatial and social characteristics of immigrant amenities, mapping of the presence and changes of the amenities in two selected streets, and finally, analyses, synthesis and interpretation of the findings.

Two streets located in the inner-city (Javastraat) and the outskirts (Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan) of Amsterdam were selected as case-studies, based on their location, demographic trends, and type of users. This empirical examination was useful to apprise and document the presence and changes of Turkish amenities in these streets during the studied period. Visibility was examined through the spatial and social characteristics of these amenities. The former included the spatial distribution of amenities according to their categories for different functions at city level. At neighbourhood level, we studied diversity (e.g. personalisation) and vitality (opening hours, legibility and robustness). The examination of the social characteristic included the public and parochial realms of these amenities.

After this introduction, this chapter is divided in five more sections, presenting the main findings; the conclusions; some theoretical and methodological reflections on the research contents and process; the implications for urban planning and design theory, policy and practice and finally, directions for future research.

7.2 Main findings

This section presents and summarizes the most relevant findings of the research:

Operationalizing visibility to analyse changes in amenities in public space

Visibility can be operationalized by studying the spatial and social characteristics of immigrant amenities in public space. Measuring and documenting the spatial (at city and neighbourhood level) and social (social life of parochial and public realm) characteristics of immigrant amenities, the visibility of culturally distinctive groups in public space can be compared in a synchronic and diachronic way. This constitutes an innovative approach to the empirical assessment of public space, which complements statistical and quantitative approaches to public space. A longitudinal analysis of these changes then offers a better understanding of the relationship of these changes with corresponding urban policies and trends.

For spatial characteristics, at the city scale, visibility is useful to map the location of immigrant amenities, which can be further distinguished according to their functions (communal and commercial) and target groups (locally oriented, city-wide and tourist-oriented). At the neighbourhood level, visibility provides evidence of the role of these amenities in enhancing the diversity and vitality of the streets in which they are located (Bentley et al. 1985; Montgomery, 1998). Visibility is also useful to identify the ways that immigrant amenities personalise the streets for their own needs, in three ways: exhibiting cultural signs and symbols (e.g. shops with distinctive names and products), appropriating public space (e.g. unconventional street uses), and offering different levels of legibility (e.g. clear or ambiguous street front) (Hall, 1997; Hall and Rath, 2007; Hall, 2015).

Visibility is also useful to study the level of vitality that these amenities bring to street life. This is done by analysing the robustness of the street, or the condition by which amenities stimulate new uses beyond unplanned uses (Cancellieri and Ostanel, 2015; De Backer, 2018). Salient examples are informal streets uses such as gathering, strolling and chatting in front of shops, and regular street uses by visitors of religious places.

Visibility provides valuable insights about the social life that takes place in and around immigrant amenities, both in their public and parochial realms. The visibility of these amenities also create a distinctive and recognizable public space, which promotes a sense of belonging and communality among immigrants, which characterises the parochial realm (Gale, 2005; Gole, 2011; Hall, 2015; Kuppinger 2011, 2014). The conceptual framework of this research illustrated how visibility can be operationalised to study the presence and changes of immigrant amenities in public space.

Urban policies and transformation of immigrant neighbourhoods in Amsterdam

A gradual shift from a social democratic towards a liberal welfare regime in the Netherlands, since the 1980s, has strongly influenced successive national and city-level urban policies and strategies (Esping-Andersen,1990; Entzinger, 2006). Since then, urban renewal and housing policies in Amsterdam have evolved significantly from the ‘building for the neighbourhood’ approach towards a market-oriented economic approach. This has been more evident in the 2000s with a sharp increase of real estate prices in the city, which has led to the commercial and residential gentrification of inner-city immigrant neighbourhoods (Ostendorf and Musterd, 2011; Uitermark and Bosker, 2015; Boterman, 2016) . Immigrant neighbourhoods and their commercial amenities have been significantly affected by these urban trends (Rath, 2000; Hagemans et al., 2015).

Until the 1980s, the focus of housing policies in the Netherlands concerned the urgent need of housing. New housing estates and towns were built on the outskirts of cities. Salient examples in Amsterdam are the Western Garden Cities (Westelijke Tuinsteden) and the Bijlmermeer, which later attracted guest workers and post-colonial immigrants, and became immigrant neighbourhoods (Gruis et al. 2006; Uyterlinde et al., 2007; Musterd and Ostendorf, 2009)

In the 1980s, the focus of Dutch urban policy (the City Renewal Policy) was the improvement of the urban economy, by means of increasing the attractiveness of the cities for international investors and tourism. This was considered the best remedy to overcome the high levels of unemployment in this period. Local governments invested in the inner cities, including distinctive immigrant neighbourhoods, which were attractive due to their historical and cultural assets.

In the 1990s, urban policies (the Big Cities Policies I, II, III, IV) focused on the renewal of deprived neighbourhoods with low-income inhabitants, who were mostly immigrants. The concentration of poverty in these neighbourhoods was seen as an obstacle for the social inclusion of their inhabitants. To overcome this problem, social mixing was considered the solution. Mixing population groups of diverse incomes would be achieved through the privatisation of the existing social housing market or the demolition of existing housing areas and their replacement with more expensive housing. This resulted in gentrification processes in inner–city areas, displacing disadvantaged groups to the outskirts of the city (Van Kempen and Van Beckhoven, 2006; Elsinga, 2011; Boelhouwer and Priemus, 2014).

Since the 2000s, urban policy has emphasised neighbourhood social cohesion and social mixing, in the context of an increasingly negative political climate towards immigrants, especially Muslim groups, in Europe. In the Netherlands, the Ministry of Housing, Neighbourhoods and Integration was established in 2000 in order to link the physical issues (housing, neighbourhood) and social issues (social cohesion and integration) of neighbourhood development. Social mixing has remained a policy ambition, influencing the transformation of the inner city. In this context, gentrification continues and expands itself outwards, bringing about significant demographic changes in immigrant neighbourhoods and their amenities (Uitermark, 2003; Uyterlinde et al., 2007; Ostendorf and Musterd, 2011; Kleinhans and Kearns, 2013; Uitermark and Bosker, 2015;).

Urban policies and planning regulations – both in national and city levels – identify the priorities of cities and the needs of people from all social backgrounds. In such a way, they play an important part in promoting socially inclusive cities. Urban policies and regulations – very often – rely on 'technical, economic and efficiencyfocused rationalities' at a macro-scale (Caprotti, 2018:2). This suggests that there is a need for an approach towards a 'human dimension' of socially inclusive cities, which focuses on the needs of people at a very local scale within everyday life. Such an approach may inform policy makers and planners, and strengthen their roles to achieve socially inclusive cities.

Visibility and the social and spatial characteristics of immigrant amenities

The social characteristics of immigrant amenities – related to their capacity to promote social contacts within the immigrant and larger community – are different for commercial and communal amenities (Gale, 2005; Kusenbach, 2006; Gole, 2011; Kuppinger, 2011; Knowles, 2012; Hall, 2015). The commercial ones are more open, and therefore more visible in public space. The location-related spatial characteristics vary for inner-city/outskirts and main street/back streets locations. Inner city and main street locations are more visible for a broader public. Other spatial characteristics that contribute to a greater visibility of immigrant amenities are high levels of legibility; personalisation; and robustness.

Social characteristics of immigrant amenities vary according to the types of amenities: communal amenities are more introverted and less visible while commercial amenities tend to be open for social contacts with other groups, and they are more visible in public space. These features are also evident in the spatial characteristics of immigrant amenities, which is related to their location and physical features. Communal amenities are mostly in the outskirts of the city and difficult to be recognized as they mostly don't present signs and architectural features of religious buildings, which makes them less visible (Gale, 2005; Gole, 2011). On the other hand, commercial amenities are more noticeable, as they are mostly located on the main and secondary streets and are noticeable at street level through their signs, names and distinctive products (Rath and Kloosterman, 2000; Hall and Rath, 2007; Rath 2007; Hall, 2015).

Regarding spatial characteristics, we found out that most of the Turkish amenities were located in post-war housing estates built on the outskirts of Amsterdam. In inner-city neighbourhoods, these amenities were located in affordable housing areas developed around the beginning of the 20th century and post-war social housing areas. The Turkish amenities were mostly commercial amenities located on the main and secondary shopping streets catering to locals. There were also some exceptional examples, which were amenities catering to citywide users. These were specialised shops such as Turkish music shops. Communal amenities, including mosques and teahouses were not very visible at the street level, as they were mostly located on the backstreets of the neighbourhood.

At the outskirts of the city, amenities were dominantly commercial and mostly located on main and secondary streets of residential neighbourhoods. They mostly catered locals, although some restaurants attracted city-wide customers. Communal amenities occupied larger areas, clustering few other amenities, such as immigrant organisations, teahouses and shops.

At the neighbourhood level, the study found that Turkish amenities presented significant differences in terms of their personalisation, legibility and robustness, clearly distinguishing between communal and commercial amenities. Communal amenities shared personalised façades and interiors, with large name boards, window displays, and a profusion of products. Their entrances were clearly legible, suggesting their functions. They promoted street vitality by stimulating regular and informal uses, such as gathering and chatting.

In terms of their social characteristics, the study revealed significant differences between Turkish commercial and communal amenities. Analysing parochial and public realms, it found that commercial amenities promoted both realms (Kuppinger, 2014). This was most obvious in Turkish food shops and restaurants, where long working hours, and their fusion cuisines, promoted both public and parochial realms.

Turkish communal amenities, especially mosques, almost exclusively used by Turkish people, were central in their parochial life. Within this parochial realm, communal amenities were gendered spaces, as well as differentiated according to different political and religious views. By contrast, Turkish secular organisations, such as cultural organisations teaching Turkish language, were vivid places of encounters between Turkish and other groups, promoting the public realm.

Changes in visibility of immigrant amenities and the social-cultural inclusion of immigrants

The visibility of distinctive urban groups in public space – linked to their participation in public life – is a strong indication of the socio-cultural inclusion of these groups into society (Brighenti, 2007; Cinar and Bender, 2007; Gole, 2011; Hou, 2013; Hall, 2015; De Backer, 2018). Taking that into account, the decreasing visibility of Turkish amenities found in Javastraat during the 2007-2016 period has produced a negative impact on the socio-cultural inclusion of Turkish immigrants in Amsterdam.

TOC

The study of two commercial streets in Amsterdam with the clusters of Turkish amenities in the Javastraat and Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan showed significant changes in the visibility of amenities in the context of urban transformation in the period between 2007 and 2016. The findings revealed contrasting effects of the urban transformation processes affecting those streets, which have negatively and positively influenced the visibility of Turkish amenities, respectively.

In this period, Javastraat changed from an immigrant street into a street intended to attract a city-wide population and tourists, something which influenced the visibility of Turkish amenities. The transformations included changes in the physical layout of the street, with widened sidewalks and a decreased number of parking lots. The number of trendy cafés, restaurants and shops increased, while some existing Turkish amenities businesses closed down or changed business. This situation diminished the visible features of the shops due to the change in names, window presentations and street uses. The decreased visibility reduced immigrants' participation in public life and their opportunities for contact between them and other groups. In this way, it had a negative effect on the socio-cultural inclusion of Turkish immigrants,

The transformations in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan were moderate, in comparison to the changes in Javastraat. There were no significant changes in street's physical layout, except few new functions, such as a museum and new restaurants with specialised cuisines. The vitality of the street slightly increased due to the museum and its related activities. The newly opened restaurants also enhanced vitality, by attracting city-wide clients.

Implications of changes in visibility for democratic spaces and urban justice

Public spaces are arenas of inclusive democracy, which provide grounds for multiple cultural expressions (Sennett, 1998; Madanipour, 2003, 2019; Watson, 2006; Parkinson, 2012). Diminishing visibility of immigrant groups has detrimental consequences for shaping democratic public spaces and for promoting urban justice principles, specifically from the perspectives of diversity and equity (Sennett, 1970; Young 1990, 2000; Zukin, 1995). Diverse public spaces welcome urban groups from different social, cultural and economic backgrounds. Equity refers to the accessibility of public spaces –both physically and perceptually – for different groups (Young, 1990; Watson, 2006)

The analyses of the two case studies have revealed different effects of urban transformations on visibility, which indicate different outcomes for supporting the democratic character of public spaces. On the one hand, Javastraat illustrates how gentrification trends displaced the original lower-income population of migrant origin and related amenities. Their decreased cultural visibility implies that the well-being of inner-city immigrant groups has not been sufficiently considered in the plans and implementation of the urban interventions.

The second case study, Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, illustrates a better outcome for democratic public spaces and urban justice. Urban renewal plans and interventions in this area took into account the residents' views about their neighbourhood, implementing a more careful and inclusive type of urban renewal. Such an approach offers opportunities for diverse groups and individuals to recognize each other as citizens with the same rights and aspirations, building up democratic public spaces.

7.3 Conclusions

The results of the empirical work carried out in this research at the city and neighbourhood scale have been useful to explain fundamental issues to answer the main question: how does the visibility of immigrant amenities in public space change in the context of neighbourhood transformation and what are the implications of these changes for democratic public spaces and socially inclusive cities?

The gradual shift from a social democratic towards a liberal welfare regime in the Netherlands since the 1980s has strongly influenced successive national and city level urban policies and strategies. This has brought about trends of commercial and residential gentrification in inner-city neighbourhoods in Amsterdam. Immigrant neighbourhoods and commercial amenities located within them have been significantly affected by these urban trends. The empirical assessment of immigrant amenities in two streets of Amsterdam during the 2007-2016 period shows diminishing Turkish amenities in the inner city case study street, which has led to a significantly lower visibility of Turkish migrants. In such way, Javastraat has lost its image as a 'characteristic' immigrant commercial street and transformed into a street dominated by trendy cafes and restaurants, missing most of its distinctive cultural features.

TOC

As the visibility of distinctive urban groups in public space is strongly linked to their presence and involvement in everyday life of the city, the diminishing visibility of the Turkish amenities suggests a negative impact on some key features of democratic public spaces, including: diversity, participation and appropriation, social encounters and civility. Additionally, the physical features of the built elements in public spaces shaped by contextual (e.g. geographical and political settings) and spatial factors (location, centrality, abstract qualities such as legibility, visual permeability and robustness) influence the democratic features of public spaces.

Regarding the diversity feature of democratic public spaces, this study provides solid empirical evidence on the ways in which Turkish amenities enrich the diversity of the case streets in terms of their types, distinctive functions, opening hours and user groups, specifically residents and visitors. We find out that Turkish shops and restaurants, which are very often small-scale independent businesses cater to immigrants, but depending on their location and specialisation, their clients may vary. Turkish mosques manifest their cultural differences through their own architectural styles and spatial practices, and cater to specific groups, mostly Turkish migrants.

Our research also provides clear evidence on the ways in which Turkish immigrants appropriate the streets through their amenities, to make them suitable for their own needs. This is observable through their legible window presentations, open or limited visual permeability, and robust street uses, specifically during the night-time and weekends. In this way, amenities create a characteristic public space, which promote the active participation of Turkish immigrants in urban public life.

The research shows a clear tendency of Turkish amenities to promote social encounters amongst Turkish immigrants as well as with other groups. The function and location of amenities determine different types of social encounters. Turkish amenities located in the inner city tend to generate more social encounters between Turkish people and other groups, both residents and visitors, than those amenities located on the outskirts of the city. As Turkish communal amenities target a very specific interest group, they tend to promote social encounters mostly amongst the Turkish immigrants.

What is still not certain is whether these social encounters generate forms of civility between Turkish immigrants and other groups. Further research to examine the role of immigrant amenities to promote civility in terms of mutual recognition and respect, would be necessary to complement and support the findings.

The changes in the inner-city street, Javastraat, are classic examples of gentrification with displacement of the original lower-income population of migrant origin. The effect of this type of urban transformation on visibility often has a negative impact in terms of urban justice. The resulting lower presence and active participation of Turkish immigrants in urban public life limits opportunities for casual encounters between Turkish immigrants and other groups. The decreased visibility of immigrant groups in Javastraat means that these groups are disregarded in the city and municipal plans. This conflicts with the idea of urban justice, in which public spaces are arenas of inclusive democracy that give space to multiple cultural expressions, and more specifically to those of disadvantaged groups.

7.4 Theoretical and methodological reflections

This research offers a refinement of existing theories dealing with democratic public spaces, by linking concepts from the urban design, urban planning, political science and sociology literature, in other words making a bridge between spatial and social approaches towards public space. These concepts include public and parochial realms (Habermas, 1989; Lofland, 1998; Kusenbach, 2006; Watson, 2006; Brighenti, 2007); diversity and vitality (Lynch, 1960; Montgomery, 1998; Francis 1989; Gehl and Gemzoe, 1999, 2006); participation and appropriation (Lefevbre, 1991; Anderson, 2006; Cinar and Bender, 2007; Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht, 2009; Shutt, 2015); social encounters and civility (Young, 1990; Amin 2008; Gole, 2011) and physical setting (Lynch, 1960; Francis, 1989; Bentley et al.,1985; Carmona et al., 2008; Mehta, 2008).

It offers the concept of visibility in public space as a new conceptual tool to assess democratic public spaces. At the same time, it offers an elaborated framework to get an comprehensive understanding of the main features that shape democratic public spaces. The conceptual framework provided an operational foundation for the analyses to answer the main questions of the research. Using visibility to distinguish between the social and spatial characteristics of immigrant amenities was useful to reveal their presence and changes in public space in the context of urban transformations. In turn, those outcomes were useful to relate them to democratic public spaces.

The interdisciplinary character of this approach was challenging in several ways. This involved the use of different terminologies, and the need to have a sufficient theoretical understanding of the respective disciplines. The study focused on urban design as the central discipline to identify the linkages between different theoretical perspectives on democratic public spaces. The four features presented above have both quantitative and qualitative indicators related to visibility that made it possible to carry out empirical analyses and assessment of democratic public spaces.

Some methodological issues, that would have led to more exhaustive outcomes of some aspects of the study, should be mentioned. Firstly, although the purpose of this research was not specifically to study the causes but the effects of urban transformations experienced in the studied neighbourhoods, additional interviews with actors involved in these processes, such as urban designers, planners, local government officials, and local civil society associations would have provided deeper insights about the strategies and concepts behind the urban transformations.

The second issue refers to the distrust experienced when interviewing local people, for example, to get insight into the role of the amenities in relation to parochial and public realms. One of them claimed: ‘people are asking us [immigrants] some questions, taking our photos and then using them for their own purposes. For example, they publish it in a newspaper with a headline, which does not reflect the reality. We have had enough with these people.’ (owner of a Turkish food shop in Dappermarket, 2010). In some cases, the researcher’s inquiries were rejected in an unfriendly manner. Participant observation and informal chats about the daily matters of life, were more helpful for the purpose of this study. Furthermore, being a female researcher was another disadvantage to generate trust, particularly in men-only environments such as mosques and teahouses.

The third issue refers to the size of the study area. The initial field work of the streets of the whole metropolitan area of Amsterdam to map all immigrant amenities in order to identify the most important clusters proved to be very time consuming. Later, it appeared that it was not indispensable for the purpose of the research. A more thoughtful consideration of the study area would have used time more efficiently to get more in-depth and precise results.

In spite of the above-mentioned methodological limitations experienced in the research process, the conceptual framework of this research was useful to assess the social and spatial characteristics of streets through the presence of immigrant amenities and the changes they go in public space within the context of urban transformations. As the visibility of distinctive urban groups in public space is strongly linked to their presence and involvement in everyday life of the city (Young,

TOC

1990; Brighenti, 2007; Cancellieri and Ostanel, 2015; De Backer, 2018), the diminishing visibility of immigrant amenities at the street level indicates a negative impact on key features of democratic public spaces (Francis, 1989; Zukin, 1995; Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht, 2009). In other words, the (diminished) visibility of immigrant groups can be considered a proxy for spatial (in)justice.

7.5 Implications for urban planning and design theory, policy and practice

The analysis done in this research has important implications for urban planning and design theory, policy and practice. In terms of theory, the research claims that visibility is not an abstract concept; it has practical implications for assessing the qualities of democratic public spaces. In this way, the research adds to urban design theory by introducing a new conceptual tool to study and assess the democratic features of public spaces.

This research contributes to the socially inclusive cities debates in urban planning theory, by highlighting the visibility features of public space as one of the key aspects to promote socially sustainable cities. Visibility is also useful to assess the just-unjust consequences of urban transformation processes driven by urban renewal interventions. The research also revealed that democratic public space is not a static, but a dynamic and locally bounded concept, as its components include features of the built environment, which are shaped by the social, political and economic context in which they are located. This suggests that a multi-layered and multi-disciplinary approach is necessary for a better grasp of the dynamics of democratic public spaces.

This research also revealed that current urban policies and strategies do not sufficiently take into account the lived experiences of immigrant groups to effectively promote socially inclusive cities. This disregard can be seen in national and local levels and in both people-based (immigrant integration, housing) and place-based (urban renewal/regeneration/restructuring) policies. To be able to produce more socially and culturally sensitive policies for immigrant neighbourhoods, urban renewal and integration policies need to better understand and address the social and cultural dimensions of places.

The implications for practice are also significant, as the findings indicate that urban renewal and planning schemes, decisions and interventions play a fundamental role in the formation of the democratic features of public spaces. Comparing the findings of the two case studies showed that urban planners and designers should be aware and well informed about their own role in urban transformation processes in culturally sensitive neighbourhoods. The study also shows that the visibility of distinctive groups can and should be taken into account to design public spaces that contribute to create and sustain democratic practices in the built environment.

7.6 Directions for future research

During the course of this research, new directions for future research emerged, coming from the theoretical and methodological aspects that were addressed. The fieldwork in Amsterdam and the focus on the amenities of Turkish migrants were helpful to advance knowledge about the relationship between visibility and democratic public spaces through the presence and changes of these amenities in the context of urban renewal. However, it would be valuable to extend the scope of the study to include other immigrant groups in Amsterdam. Further empirical research on different immigrant groups and their amenities will enrich and complement the findings of this study, offering new angles to assess both the social and spatial features of democratic public spaces.

This research has a Dutch perspective in its policy dimension, considering how national and local policies and strategies frame urban interventions in Amsterdam. Further exploration of the different narratives about immigrant integration encountered in policy documents, in combination with narratives of local urban professionals and civil society groups, would be valuable to get a more detailed understanding of the relationship between integration and the visibility immigrant groups.

The conceptual and analytical frameworks developed in this research are potentially applicable in other urban contexts. Examining urban contexts in countries with different welfare systems than the Netherlands would provide opportunities for comparative analyses, while the outcomes can be used to test and validate the conceptual and analytical frameworks.

Finally, there is a need for methodological tools and devices to be able to increase the role of designers and planners as promoters of democratic public spaces. Digital tools for community participation for public space design and management can enable urban designers and planners to be well informed about the needs of communities, and create a platform for exchange views, knowledge and experiences.

TOC

References

Aelbrecht, P., and Stevens, Q. (2019) *Public Space Design and Social Cohesion: An International Comparison*, London: Routledge.

Agenda Stad (2019) ‘About us’, [online] Available at: https://agendastad.nl/about-us/ (accessed: 03 June 2019).

Ager,A. and Strang, A. (2008) ‘Understanding integration: A conceptual framework’, *Journal of Refugee Studies,* 21(2), 165-191.

Aitken, S., and Lukinbeal C. (1998) ‘Of heroes, fools and fisher kings: cinematic representations of street myths and hysterical males in the films of Terry Gilliam’ in: N. Fyfe (ed), *Images of the street: planning, identity, and control in public space*, New York: Routledge.

Aldrich H.E. and Waldinger, R. (1990) ‘Ethnicity and entrepreneurship’, *Annual Reviews Sociology*, 16, 111-35.

Allen, J., Cars, G. and Madanipour, A. (1998) ‘Introduction’, in: Madanipour, A., Cars, G. and Allen, J. (Eds.), *Social exclusion in European cities*, London and New York: Routledge.

Amin, A. (2008) ‘Collective culture and urban public space’, *City 12*(1), 5–24.

Anderson, B. (1986) *Imagined Communities*, London and New York: Verso.

Anderson, E. (2011) *The Cosmopolitan Canopy: race and civility in everyday life*, New York: Norton.

Appleyard, D. (1981) *Livable Streets*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Arendt, H. (1998 [1958]). *The Human Condition*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Aytar, V., Rath, J. (2012) ‘Introduction: ethnic neighbourhoods as places of leisure and consumption’, in V.Aytar and J. Rath (eds) *Selling Ethnic Neighbourhoods: the rise of neighbourhoods as places of leisure*, New York: Routledge.

Bentley, I., Mc Glynn, S., Smith, G., Alcock, A. and Murrain, P. (1985) *Responsive Environments: A Manual for Designers.* London: Architectural.

Berg, J. J., and Zonneveld, J. (2008) Amsterdam Indische Buurt. The conditional embrace of the exotic other. In: Houses in Transformation. Interventions in European gentrification (pp. 28–41). NAI Publishers.

Boelhouwer, P., Priemus,H. (2014) Demise of the Dutch social housing tradition: impact of budget cuts and political changes. Journal of Housing and the Built Environment 29(2):221-235.

Boterman, W. (2016) Gentrification in de regio Amsterdam: oorzaken en effecten. Amsterdam. Conference in Amsterdam on 3 June 2016. Retrieved from http://aissr.uva.nl/binaries/content/documents/personalpages/b/o/w.r.boterman/nl/tabblad-twee/tabblad-twee/cpitem%5B3%5D/asset?1466516402146. [Accessed 8 September 2018].

Boterman, W.R., Karsten, L. and Musterd, S., (2010) Gentrifiers settling down? Patterns and trends of residential location of middle-class families in Amsterdam. *Housing Studies*, *25*(5), 693-714.

Botman, S. and van Kempen, R. (2002) ‘Improving Dutch neighbourhoods: Tarwewijk and Hoogvliet in Rotterdam’, in Kesteloot, C. (ed.) Urban Territorial Policies and their Effects at the Neighbourhood Level. Amsterdam: AME, URBEX 21, 78-85.

Brighenti, A. M. (2007). Visibility: A category for the social sciences. *Current Sociology 55*(3), 323-342.

Brighenti, A.M. (2010) The Publicness of Public Space: On the Public Domain. *Quaderno* 49 (March). Trento: Università Degli Studi Di Trento. Retrieved from: http://eprints.biblio.unitn.it/1844/1/quad49.pdf . [Accessed 8 September 2018].

Bruquetas-Callejo, M., Garcés-Mascareñas, B., Morén-Alegret, R., Penninx, R., and Ruiz-Vieytez, E. (2011) “Immigration and integration policymaking in Spain,” In G. Zincone, R. Penninx, & M. Borkert (eds), *Migratory policymaking in Europe*, *IMISCOE Research*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Bruyns, G (2011) *Urban Dispositif. An Atlas of Spatial Mechanisms and the Contemporary Urban Landscape. A reading of movement as an interpretive device for urban form*, PhD Thesis, Delft University of Technology, Delft, the Netherlands.

Bureau Parkstad. (2001) Richting Parkstad 2015. Ontwikkelingsplan voor de vernieuwing. Bureau Parkstad, Amsterdam.

Caldeira, T.P., (2000) *City of walls: crime, segregation, and citizenship in São Paulo*. University of California Press.

Cancellieri, A. and Ostanel, E. (2015) The struggle for public space: the hyperdiversity of migrants in the Italian urban landscape. *City 19*(4), 499-509.

Carmona, M., Tiesdell, S., Oc, T., and Heath, T. (2008 [2003]). *Public Places – Urban Spaces: The Dimensions of Urban Design*. Oxford: Architectural Press.

Carr, S., Francis, M., Rivlin, L.G. and Stone, A.M. (2009 [1992]). *Public Space*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

CBS Statsline (2015) Population key figures. Available at: https://statline.cbs.nl/Statweb/publication/?DM =SLEN&PA=37296eng&D1=0-51,56-68&D2=0,10,20,30,40,50,(l-1)-l&LA=EN&VW=T . Accessed: 03 June 2019.

CIA. (2019) The World Factbook, the Netherlands . Available at: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/nl.html . Accessed at 03 June 2019.

Comedia. (1991) Out of Hours: The Economic and Cultural Life of Towns London: Gulbenkian Foundation.

Cortie,C. and R. van Engelsdorp Gastelaars (1985), 'Amsterdam:decaying city, gentrifying inner city?', in P.White and B. van der Knaap (eds.),Contemporary studies of migration, 129-142.Norwich:Geo Books.

Crafts, N and Toniolo, G. (1996) (eds) Economic growth in Europe since 1945. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK.

Crul, M., J. Schneider, and F. Lelie. 2012. *The European Second Generation Compared. Does the Integration Context Matter?,* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Çinar, A. and Bender, T . (2007) 'Introduction, The city: experience, imagination, and place', in A. Çinar, T.Bender (eds) *Urban Imaginaries: Locating the Modern City*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Davidson, M. and Lees, L., (2005) 'New-build 'gentrification' and London's riverside renaissance', *Environment and Planning A*, *37*(7), 1165-1190.

De Backer, M. (2019) 'Regimes of visibility: hanging out in Brussels' public spaces', *Space and Culture*, 22(3), 308-320.

De Certeau, M. (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life*, California: University of California Press.

De Hoog, M. and Vermeulen, R. (2009) *New Rhythms Of The City*. 1st ed. Bussum: Thoth.

De Nederlandsche Bank (2017) 'The housing market in major Dutch cities' [online] De Nederlandse Bank. Available at: *https://www.dnb.nl/en/binaries/The%20housing%20market%20in%20major%20Dutch%20cities_tcm47-358879.pdf* (accessed 3 June 2019).

Diekmann, A. and Smith, M.K. (eds.), (2015) '*Ethnic and minority cultures as tourist attractions',* (Vol. 65), Channel View Publications.

Duyvendak, J.W. and Scholten, P.W.A. (2011) 'Beyond the Dutch 'multicultural model', *Journal of international migration and integration,* 12(3), 331-348.

Elsinga, M.G., (2011) 'Is de volkshuisvesting uitgewoond? [Is this the end of housing?]', Intreerede [inaugural lecture], Delft: Delft University of Technology.

Entzinger, H. (2006) 'The Parallel Decline Of Multiculturalism and the welfare State in the Netherlands', in: K. Banting and W. Kymlicka (eds) *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State,* Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Ernst, O. and Doucet, B., (2014) 'A window on the (changing) neighbourhood: The role of pubs in the contested spaces of gentrification', *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, *105*(2), 189-205.

Ersanilli, E and Koopmans, R. (2010) 'Rewarding Integration? Citizenship Regulations and the Socio-Cultural Integration of Immigrants in the Netherlands, France and Germany', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(5), 779-791.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990) *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fainstein, S. S. (1997) 'The egalitarian city: the restructuring of Amsterdam', *International Planning Studies*, 2(3), 295- 314.

Fainstein, S. S. (2000) 'New directions in planning theory', *Urban Affairs Review*, 35(4), 451–478.

Fainstein, S. S. (2005) Planning theory and the city. Journal of Planning Education and Research, 25(2), 121–130.

Fainstein, S.S. (2007) 'Tourism and the commodification of urban culture', *The Urban Reinventors*, 2, 1-20.

Fainstein, S. S. (2009) 'Planning and the Just City' in P. Marcuse, J. Connoly, J. Novy, I. Olivo, C. Potter, & J. Steil (eds), *Searching for the Just City. Debates in urban theory and practice*, New York: Routledge.

Fainstein, S.S. (2010) *The Just City*, New York: Cornell University Press.

Feddes, F. (2014) *A Millennium Of Amsterdam*, Bussum: Thoth.

Florida, R. (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class and How it is Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*, New York: Basic Books.

Francis, M. (1989) 'The making of democratic streets' in A. Vernez-Moudon (ed) *Public Streets for Public Use*, New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Francis, M., and Lorenzo, R. (2002) 'Seven realms of children's participation', *Journal of Environmental Psychology, 22*(1-2), 157-169.

Gadet, J. (2015) 'Laat die Gentrifiers maar Komen! [Let the gentrifiers come!]', [online] Stadsleven, 5 June, Available at: http://www.stadslevenamsterdam.nl/2015/06/05/laat-die-gentrifiers-maar-komencolumn-jos-gadet/.

Gale, R. (2005) 'Representing the city: mosques and the planning process in Birmingham', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31(6), 1161-79.

Garcés-Mascareñas, B., and Penninx, R. (2016) *Integration Processes And Policies In Europe*, IMISCOE Research Series, Springer Open.

Gehl, J. (1989) A changing street life in a changing society. Places, 6(1). Available at: https://escholarship.org/uc/item/46r328ks.pdf . / (accessed 8 January 2017).

Gehl, J., and Gemzøe, L. (1999) *Public Spaces Public Life,* Copenhagen: Danish Architectural Press.

Gehl, J. and Gemzøe, L. (2006) *New City Spaces*, Copenhagen: The Danish Architectural Press.

Gemeente Amsterdam Dienst Onderzoek en Statistiek (2000) 'Stadsdelen in cijfers 2000', [online] Amsterdam: Gemeente Amsterdam. Available at: http://www.ois.amsterdam.nl/ (accessed 8 January 2017).

Gemeente Amsterdam Dienst Onderzoek en Statistiek (2000) 'Stadsdelen in cijfers 2000', [online] Amsterdam: Gemeente Amsterdam. Available at: http://www.ois.amsterdam.nl/ (accessed 8 January 2017).

Gemeente Amsterdam Dienst Onderzoek en Statistiek (2007) 'Stadsdelen in cijfers 2007', [online] Amsterdam: Gemeente Amsterdam. Available at: http://www.ois.amsterdam.nl/ (accessed 8 January 2017).

Gemeente Amsterdam (2008) 'Stadsdelen in cijfers 2008', [online] Dienst Onderzoek en Statistiek, Amsterdam: Gemeente Amsterdam. Available at: http://www.ois.amsterdam.nl/ (accessed 8 January 2017).

Gemeente Amsterdam (2015) 'Stadsdelen in cijfers 2015', [online] Onderzoek, Informatie en Statistiek. Amsterdam: Gemeente Amsterdam. Available at: http://www.ois.amsterdam.nl/ (accessed 8 January 2017).

Gemeente Amsterdam Dienst Onderzoek en Statistiek (2015) 'Stadsdelen in cijfers 2015' [online] Amsterdam: Gemeente Amsterdam. Available at: http://www.ois.amsterdam.nl/ (accessed 8 January 2017).

Gemeente Zaanstad Afdeling Auditing en Onderzoek (2000) 'Stadsdelen in cijfers 2000' [online] Zaanstad: Gemeente Zaanstad. Available at: http://www.zaanstd.incijfers.nl/ (accessed 8 January 2017).

Gemeente Zaanstad Afdeling Auditing en Onderzoek (2007) 'Stadsdelen in cijfers 2007', Zaanstad: Gemeente Zaanstad, Available at: http://www.zaanstd.incijfers.nl/ (accessed 8 January 2017).

Gemeente Zaanstad Afdeling Auditing en Onderzoek (2015) 'Stadsdelen in cijfers 2015', [online] Zaanstad: Gemeente Zaanstad. Available at: http://www.zaanstd.incijfers.nl/ (accessed 8 January 2017).

Goldsmith, A.J. (2010) 'Policing's new visibility', *The British Journal of Criminology.* 50(5), 914-934.

Gorter, D., Marten, F.M., and Mensel, L.V. (2012) *Minority Languages in the Linguistic Landscape*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Göle, N. (2011) 'The Public Visibility of Islam and European Politics of Resentment: The Minarets –Mosques Debate', *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 37(4), 383–392.

Graham, S. and Marvin, S. (2001) *Splintering Urbanism*, London: Routledge.

Gruis, V, Visscher, H., Kleinhans,R.J. (2006) *Sustainable neighbourhood transformation*, Amsterdam:IOS Press.

Habermas, J. (1989 [1962]) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hagemans, I., Hendriks, A., Rath, J. and Zukin, S. (2015) ‘From greengrocers to cafés. Producing social diversity in Amsterdam’ in S. Zukin, P. Kasinitz and X. Chen (eds) *Global Cities, Local Streets: Everyday Diversity from New York to Shanghai*, New York: Routledge.

Hall, S. (1997) *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*, London: SAGE Publications.

Hall, S. M. (2015) ‘Migrant Urbanism: Ordinary Cities and Everyday Resistance’, *Sociology, 49*(5), 853–869.

Hall, C. M. and Rath, J. (2007) ‘Tourism, migration and place advantage in the global cultural economy’, in *Tourism, ethnic diversity and the city* (pp. 19-42). London, New York: Routledge.

Harvey, D. (2010) *Social justice and the city*, University of Georgia Press.

Hatuka, T. and Toch, E. (2017) ‘Being visible in public space: the normalisation of asymmetrical visibility’,*Urban Studies 54*(4), 984-998.

Hillier, B. (2007) *Space is the machine: A Configurational Theory of Architecture* [online]. Available at: http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/3881/1/SITM.pdf [Accessed 28 November 2018]

Hou, J. (2013) *Transcultural cities: Border-Crossing and Placemaking.* London and New York: Routledge.

Hoogenboom, A. (2010) Moving Forward by Standing Still? First Admission of Turkish Workers: Comment on Commission v Netherlands (Administrative Fees), European Law Review, 35(5), 707-719.

Hoogenboom, A. (2015) Dutch immigration and integration policy: a turn to restrictiveness. Available at: https://www.maastrichtuniversity.nl/blog/2015/07/dutch-immigration-and-integration-policy-turn-restrictiveness . Accessed: 03 June 2019.

Hubbard, P. and Lyon, D. (2018) ‘Introduction: Streetlife-the shifting sociologies of the street’, *The Sociological Review,* 66(5) 937-951.

Iamsterdam. (2016) **‘**Diversity in Amsterdam’, [online] Available at: http://www. iamsterdam.com/en/local/about-amsterdam/people culture/diversity-in-the-city. (accessed 11 March 2018).

Ingold, T. (2000) *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*, London and New York: Routledge.

Iveson, K. (2007) *Publics and the City*, Malden, Oxford, and Victoria: Wiley-Blackwell.

Jacobs, J. (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, New York: Vintage Random House.

Jackson, P. (1998) ‘Domesticating the street, the contested spaces of the high street and the mall’ in N. Fyfe (ed), *Images of the Street: planning identity and control in public space*, London and New York: Routledge.

Janssens, F. and Sezer, C. (2012) ‘Kansen voor een nieuw Food Center: Een Nieuwe ‘Plek’ voor de buurt en de stad’, in F. Janssens (ed), *Food Center Amsterdam*, Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press.

Janssens, F. and Sezer, C. (2013a) ‘Marketplaces as an urban development strategy’, *Built Environment, 39(2), 169-171*.

Janssens, F. and Sezer, C. (2013b) ‘Flying Markets: Activating Public Spaces in Amsterdam’, *Built Environment*, 39(2), 245-260.

King, R., and Lulle, A. (2016) *Research on Migration: Facing Realities and Maximaxing Opportunities, a policy review*, Brussels: European Commission.

Kleinhans, R., Veldboer, L. and Duyvendak, J. (2000) *Integratie door differentiatie?: een onderzoek naar de sociale effecten van gemengd bouwen*, Den Haag: Ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer.

Kleinhans, R. (2004) ‘Social implications of housing diversification in urban renewal: A review of recent literature’, *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19(4), 367–390.

Kleinhans, R. , Kearns A. (2013) ‘Neighbourhood restructuring and residential relocation: Towards a balanced perspective on relocation processes and outcomes’, *Housing Studies,* 28(2), pp163-176.

Kloosterman, R., Van Der Leun, J., Rath, J. (1998) “Across the border. Immigrants’ economic opportunities, social capital and informal business activities”. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 24 (2), 249-268.

Kloosterman, R. and Van Der Leun, J. (1999) ‘Just for Starters: Commercial Gentrification by Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Amsterdam and Rotterdam Neighbourhoods’, *Housing Studies*, 14(5), 659-677.

Kloosterman, R., and Rath, J. (2010) ‘Shifting landscapes of immigrant entrepreneurship’, in *Open for business: migrant entrepreneurship in OECD countries*, Paris: OECD.

Knowles, C. (2012) ‘Nigerian London: re-mapping space and ethnicity in superdiverse cities’, *Ethnic and racial cities, 36*(4), 651-669.

Kuppinger, P. (2014) ‘A neighborhood shopping street and the making of urban cultures and economies in Germany’, *City & Community, 13(2), 140-157.*

TOC

Kuppinger, P.Y. (2011) ‘Vibrant mosques: space, planning and informality in Germany’, *Built Environment, 37*(1), 78-91.

Kusenbach M. (2006) ‘Patterns of neighbouring: practicing community in the parochial realm’, *Symbolic Interaction, 29*(3), 279-306.

Kraaij, M. (2017) Integration policy in the Netherlands. The implementation of the EU Action plan on integration. Feedback from the member states, regional and local authorities.

Kruythoff, H. (2003) ‘Dutch urban restructuring policy in action against socio-spatial segregation: sense or nonsense?’, *European Journal of Housing Policy*, 3(2), 193-215.

Landman, N. and Wessels, W. (2005) ‘The Visibility of Mosques in Dutch Towns’, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31(6), 1125-1140.

Lash, S. and Urry, J. (1994) *Economies of Signs and Space*, London, California, New Delhi: Sage Publications Inc.

Lees, L. (1998) ‘Urban renaissance and the street: spaces of control and contestation’, in N. Fyfe (ed), *Images of the Street: planning identity and control in public space,* London, New York: Routledge.

Lefevbre, H. (1992) *The Production of Space*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell.

Lefevbre, H. (1996) ‘The right to the city’, in E. Kofman and E. Lebas (eds), *Writings on cities,* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell.

Living Streets. (2011) *Making the Case for Investment in the Walking Environment: A review of the evidence*, Bristol: University of the West of England.

Lofland, L.H. (1998) *The Public Realm: Exploring the City’s Quintessential Social Theory*, Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

Lonely Planet. (2017) ‘Amsterdam’, [online] Accessed July 1016. Available at: https://www.lonelyplanet.com/the-netherlands/amsterdam.

Loukatiou-Sideris, A., Banerjee, T. (1993) ‘The negotiated plaza: Design and development of corporate open space in downtown Los Angeles and San Francisco’, *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 13*(1), 1-12.

Loukaitou-Sideris, A., and Banerjee, T. (1998) *Urban Design Downtown*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Loukaitou-Sideris, A and Ehrenfeucht, R. (2009) ‘Introduction: The social, economic and political life of sidewalks’, in *Sidewalks, Conflict and Negotiation over Public Space*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press.

Lynch, K. (1960) *The Image Of The City*, Cambridge: MIT Press.

Madanipour, A. (1999) ‘Why are the design and development of public spaces significant for cities?’, *Environment and Planning B: Urban Analytics and City Science, 26*(6), 879–891.

Madanipour, A. (2003) *Public and private spaces of the city*. London, New York: Routledge.

Madanipour, A., Cars, G., and Allen, J. (2003) *Social exclusion in European cities: processes, experiences and responses*. London and New York: Routledge.

Madanipour, A. (2006) ‘Roles and challenges of urban design’, Journal of Urban Design, 11(2), 173–193.

Madanipour, A. (2010) *Whose Public Space?: International Case Studies in Urban Design and Development*, New York: Routledge.

Madanipour, A. (2019) ‘Rethinking public space: between rhetoric and reality’, *Urban Design International*, 24(1), 38-46.

Marshall, S. (2005) *Streets And Patterns*, London and New York: Spon Press.

Massey, D. (1994) *Space, Place and Gender*, Cambridge and Malden: Polity press.

Mehta, V. (2008) ‘Walkable streets: pedestrian behavior, perceptions and attitudes’, *Journal Of Urbanism: International Research On Placemaking And Urban Sustainability, 1*(3), 217–245.

Mitchell, D. (2003) *The right to the city: Social justice and the fight for public space*, New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Montgomery, J. (1998) ‘Making a city: Urbanity, vitality and urban design’, *Journal of Urban Design, 3*(1), 93–116.

Municipality of Amsterdam. (2010) ‘Functiekaart Amsterdam, Non-residential functions’ (Accessed March 2010) Available at: https://maps.amsterdam.nl/functiekaart/?LANG=en

Musterd, S., & Ostendorf, W. (2008) ‘Integrated urban renewal in The Netherlands: a critical appraisal’, *Urban Research & Practice*, 1(1), 78–92.

Musterd, S. and Ostendorf, W. (2009) 'Residential segregation and integration in the Netherlands', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(9), 1515-1532.

Nell, L., and Rath, J. (2009) *Ethnic Amsterdam: Immigrants and Urban Change in the Twentieth Century*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Nielsen, T. (2019) 'Democratic Urban Public Space' in P. Aelbrecht and Q. Stevens (eds), *Public Space Design and Social Cohesion: An International Comparison*, New York and London: Routledge.

Nikšič, M. and Sezer, C. (2017) 'Public Space and Urban Justice', *Built Environment*, 43(2), 165-172.

Nio,I., Reijndorp, A., Veldhuis,W. (2009) Atlas Westelijke Tuinsteden Amsterdam, de geplande en de geleefde stad. Amsterdam: SUN – Trancity.

Oldenburg R. (1989) *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community*, New York: Marlowe.

Onderzoek Informatie en Statistiek (2018) Metropoolregio Amsterdam, Kerncijfers. Available at: https://www.ois.amsterdam.nl/feiten-en-cijfers/metropoolregio-amsterdam/?35100.

Ostendorf, W., & Musterd, S. (2011) 'Ethnic Minorities in Amsterdam: Trapped or Mobile?' in L. Basten (ed), *Einblicke in die Geographie Postindustrieller Stadtentwicklungen*, Berlin: Lit Verlag.

Parkinson, J.R. (2012) *Democracy and Public Space: The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Penninx, R. and Garcés-Mascareñas, B. (2016) 'The concept of integration as an analytical tool and as a policy concept' in B. Garcés-Mascareñas and R. Penninx (eds) *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe,* NY, Dordrecht, London: Springer.

Platform31 (2017) 'Zeventig jaar stedelijke vernieuwing'. Available at: https://www.platform31.nl/uploads/media_item/media_item/97/53/171106_Zeventig_jaar_stedelijke_vernieuwing__longread_-1510775811.pdf Accessed: 03 June 2019.

Priemus, H. (1998) 'Contradictions between Dutch Housing Policy and Spatial Planning', *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, 89(1), 31-43.

Purcell, M. (2002) 'Excavating Lefevbre:The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant', *GeoJournal*, 58(2-3), 99- 108.

Purcell, M. (2016) 'For democracy: Planning and publics without the state', *Planning Theory*, 15(4), 386–401.

Rath, J., and Kloosterman, R. (2000) 'Outsiders' Business: A Critical Review of Research on Immigrant Entrepreneurship', *International Migration Review* 34 (3), 657-681.

Rath, J. (2007) *Tourism, Ethnic Diversity, and the City*. New York: Routledge.

Relph, E. (1976) *Place and placelessness* . London: Pion.

Regiomonitor Groot Amsterdam - AISSR - University of Amsterdam (2017) 'Home - AISSR - University of Amsterdam' [online] Available at: http://aissr.uva.nl/publications/interactive-map/regiomonitor.html (accessed 8 Jan. 2017).

Saint-Blancat, C., and Cancellieri, A. (2014) 'From invisibility to visibility? The appropriation of public space through a religious ritual: the Filipino procession of Santacruzan in Padua, Italy', *Social & Cultural Geography Social & Cultural Geography, 15*(6), 645-663.

Sakizlioglu, B. (2014) *A Comparative Look at Residents' Displacement Experiences: The Cases of Amsterdam and Istanbul*, PhD thesis, Utrecht University, Utrecht.

Sandercock, L. (1998) *Towards Cosmopolis: Planning for Multicultural Cities.* London: John Wiley.

Scholten, P. (2011) *Framing immigrant integration: Dutch research-policy dialogues in comparative perspective.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Scholten,P., Entzinger,H., Penninx,R. and Verbeek, S. (2015) *Integrating Immigrants in Europe*, New York, Dordrecht, London: Springer Open.

Schuyt, K. (1997) *Sociale cohesie en sociaal beleid. Drie publiekscolleges in De Balie.* De Balie: Amsterdam.

Sennett, R. (1970) *The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life.* New York and London: W. W. Norton.

Sennet, R. (1974) *The Fall of Public Man*, New York: Knopf.

Sennett, R. (1990) *The Conscience of the Eye: The Design and Social Life of Cities.* New York: Knopf.

Sennett, R. (1998) *The spaces of democracy* (No.1998). University of Michigan.

Sezer, C. and Fernandez Maldonado, A.M. (2017) 'Cultural visibility and urban justice in immigrant neighbourhoods of Amsterdam', *Built Environment,* 43(2), 193- 213.

Shields, R. (2003) *The Virtual.* London and New York: Routledge.

Shields, R. (2004) ‘Visualicity’, *Visual Culture in Britain 5*(1), 23-36. Available at: https://sites.ualberta.ca/~rshields/f/RShields-visualicity.pdf (accessed 8 September 2018).

Shutt, L. T. (2015) ‘Socializing Spouses in Gabon’, in L. Meier (ed), *Migrant Professionals in the City: Local Encounters, Identities and Inequalities*. London and New York: Routledge.

Simmel, G. (1903) *Metropolis and Mental Life*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Simpson, P. (2011) ‘Street Performance and the City: Public Space, Sociality, and Intervening in the Everyday’, *Space and Culture*, 14(4), 415–430.

Smith, N. (1996) *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the revanchist City*. London: Routledge.

Soja, E. (2017[1992]) ‘The stimulus of a little confusion: a contemporary comparison of Amsterdam and Los Angeles’ in Ren, X. and Keil, R. (eds) *The Globalizing Cities Reader*, London: Routledge.

Soja, E. W. (2010) *Seeking spatial justice*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Stadsdeel Geuzenveld-Slotermeer (2009) ‘Vernieuwingsplan Slotermeer Noord’, Amsterdam: Gemeente Amsterdam.

Stadsdeel Oost. (2012) ‘Horecanota stadsdeel Oost 2012’, Amsterdam: Stadsdeel Oost.

Stadsdeel Zeeburg. (2008) ‘Uitvoeringsprogramma 2008. Vernieuwing Indische Buurt’, Amsterdam: Stadsdeel Zeeburg.

Steijlen, F. (2011) ‘Shifting to the core of the ethno-cultural position; Moluccan camps and wijken revisited’ in Heelsum, A, and Garcés-Mascareñas, B. (eds) *Migration and Integration research*, Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Talen, E. (2006) ‘Design That Enables Diversity: The Complications of a Planning Ideal’*, Journal of Planning Literature,* 20(3), 233-249.

Tagg, J. (1988) *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Tammaru, T., Marcińczak, S., Van Ham, M. and Musterd, S. (2015) ‘A multi-factor approach to understanding socio-economic segregation in European capital cities’ in *Socio-economic segregation in European capital cities,* London and New York: Routledge.

Thibaud, J.P. (2001) ‘Frames of Visibility in Public Spaces’, *Places 14*(1), 42-47.

Thompson, J.B. (2000) *Political scandal. Power and visibility in the media age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Tielemans, J. (2013) *The shifting cityscape of Amsterdam. Using AGIS to analyse gentrification patterns through relative housing prices* (MSc in Human Geography). University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam.

UBS (2018) ‘UBS Global real estate bubble index 2018’ [online] Available at: https://www.ubs.com/global/en/wealth-management/chief-investment-office/our-research/life-goals/2018/global-real-estate-bubble-index-2018.html.

Uitermark, J. (2003) ‘Social mixing” and the management of disadvantaged neighbourhoods: The Dutch policy of urban restructuring revisited’, *Urban Studies*, 40(3), 531–549.

Uitermark, J., Duyvendak, J. W., and Kleinhans, R. (2007) ‘Gentrification as a governmental strategy: social control and social cohesion in Hoogvliet, Rotterdam’, *Environment and Planning A*, 39(1), 125–141.

Uitermark, J. (2008) Resident participation in urban renewal: Power and technology. In Houses in transformation. Interventions in European gentrification (pp. 179–191). NAI Publishers.

Uitermark, J. (2009) ‘An in memoriam for the just city of Amsterdam’, *City,* 13 (2–3), 347–61.

UNDESA (1989) World Economic Survey 1989-1990. Available from: http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/wess/wess_archive/1989_80_wes.pdf

UNDESA (2008) World Economic Survey 1979-1980. Available from: http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/wess/wess_archive/1979_80_wes.pdf

UNDESA (2009) Creating an Inclusive Society: Practical Strategies to Promote Social Integration. Available at: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/egms/docs/2009/Ghana/inclusive-society.pdf (accessed March 2017).

UNESCO (2018) ‘Inclusion through access to public space’ [online]. Available at: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/urban-development/migrants-inclusion-in-cities/good-practices/inclusion-through-access-to-public-space/ (accessed 8 September 2018).

UN-Habitat (2015) ‘Habitat III Issue Papers, Paper 11:Public Space’, New York: UN-Habitat. Available at: unhabitat.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Habitat-III-Issue-Paper-11_Public-Space-2.0.compressed.pdf.

UN-Habitat (2016) ‘Habitat III, New Urban Agenda’ [online], Available at: https://www2.habitat3.org/bitcache/99d99fbd0824de50214e99f864459d8081a9be00?vid=591155&disposition=inline&op=view.

TOC

Universiteit van Amsterdam (2015) ‘Regiomonitor Groot Amsterdam – AISSR’ [online] Available at: http://aissr.uva.nl/publications/interactive-map/regiomonitor.html. (accessed 13 January 2017).

Urry, J., (2002) *The tourist gaze*. London, California, New Delhi: Sage.

Uyterlinde, M., van der Velden, J. Gastkemper, N. (2017) Zeventig jaar stedelijke vernieuwing. Longread kennisdossier stedelijke vernieuwing. Den Haag: Platform31. Available: https://www.platform31.nl/uploads/media_item/media_item/97/53/171106_Zeventig_jaar_stedelijke_vernieuwing__longread_-1510775811.pdf

Valeyeva, A.L. C. (2011) *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism by Gosta Esping-Andersen*. (p. 9-54). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Van Amersfoort and Cortie, C. (2009) ‘Housing and population: spatial mobility in twentieth-century Amsterdam’ in L. Neil and J. Rath (eds) *Ethnic Amsterdam: immigrants and urban change in the twentieth century,* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Van Eijk, G. and Schreuders, H. (2011) 'Een plek om vreemden te herkennen', AGORA, 4.

Van Beckhoven, E., and Van Kempen, R. (2003) ‘Social effects of urban restructuring: a case study in Amsterdam and Utrecht, the Netherlands’, *Housing Studies*, 18(6), 853–875.

Van Kempen, R. and Bolt, G. (2009) ‘Social cohesion, social mix, and urban policies in the Netherlands’, *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 24, 457-475.

Van Nes, A. (2005) ‘Typology of shopping areas in Amsterdam’ in *The proceedings of the 5th Space Syntax Symposium*. Delft: Delft University of Technology.

Vandevyvere, W., & Zenthöfer, A. (2012) ‘The housing market in the Netherlands (No. 457)’, Directorate General Economic and Financial Affairs (DG ECFIN), European Commission.

Vaughan, L., Khan, S.S., Tarkhanya,L., Dhanani,A. (2017) ‘The spatial configuration of minority ethnic business diversity in London’s High Streets’, in *the proceedings of the 11th Space Syntax Symposium.* Lisbon : Instituto Superior Técnico, University of Lisbon.

Veraart, J. (2004) ‘Turkse koffiehuizen in Nederland’, *Migrantenstudies*, 3(3), 15-27.

Vermeulen, H., and Penninx, R. (2000) *Immigrant integration: the Dutch case*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

Vertovec, S. (2007) ‘Super-diversity and its implications’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6), 1024-1054.

Wagenaar, C. (2011) *Town planning in the Netherlands since 1800: responses to enlightenment ideas and geopolitical realities*. Rotterdam: 010 Publishers.

Watson, S. (2006) *City Publics: the (dis)enchantments of urban encounters. Questioning cities.* Abingdon, London and New York: Routledge.

Whyte, W.H. (1980) *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*. New York: Project for Public Spaces.

Wirth, L. (1938) ‘Urbanism as a way of life’, *American Journal of Sociology, 44*(1), 1–24. Retrieved from: www.jstor.org/stable/2768119 [Accessed 8 September 2018].

World Bank (2017) “Social Inclusion.”Accessed March 2017. Retrieved from http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/socialdevelopment/brief/social-inclusion.

Young, I. (1990) *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Young, I.M. (2000) *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Young, I. (2011) *Justice and the politics of difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Yücesoy, E.U. (2006). *Everyday urban public space: Turkish immigrant women’s perspective*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

Zandvliet, J., & Dignum, K. (2014) ‘Amsterdam Nieuw-West in trek bij jonge huishoudens’, Tijdschrift Voor de Volkshuisvesting, (6), 18–21.

Zukin,S (1991) *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Zukin, S (1995) *The Cultures of Cities*. Malden: Blackwell publishers.

Zukin, S. (2012) **‘**The social production of urban cultural heritage: Identity and ecosystem on an Amsterdam shopping street’, City, Culture and Society, 3(4), 281**–**291.

Zukin, S., Kasinitz, P. and Chen, X. (2015) *Global Cities, Local Streets: Everyday Diversity from New York to Shanghai*. New York: Routledge.

Zukin, S., Kasinitz, P., & Chen, X. (2015) ‘Spaces of Everyday Diversity. The patchwork eco-system of local shopping streets’ in S. Zukin, P. Kasinitz, & X. Chen (eds), *Global Cities, Local Streets: Everyday Diversity from New York to Shanghai* . New York: Routledge.

Zukin, S., Trujillo, V., Frase, P., Jackson, D., Recuber, T. and Walker, A., (2009) ‘New retail capital and neighborhood change: Boutiques and gentrification in New York City’, *City & Community*, *8*(1), 47-64.

TOC

Biography

Ceren Sezer is an urban designer and urban planner. She has a BA in Architecture from Istanbul Technical University in Turkey. After working as an architect for designing and implementation of commercial offices in Turkey, Cyprus and the UK, she is awarded a bursary to study masters in Urbanism in Delft University of Technology. Following her study, she began to work as a design teacher and guest researcher at the same university. Ceren's research focuses on liveability and sustainability of public spaces; urban form and social life in the city, urban regeneration and renewal processes; spatial practices of migrant communities; and environment-behaviour studies. Her presentation on urban transformation processes in Istanbul was awarded the first prize by Routledge during the UN Habitat - ISOCARP Joint Congress in Nairobi in 2010. Ceren worked as a freelance urban designer and planner (Urban4) for municipalities in Turkey and the Netherlands, and as an expert and curator for the Netherlands Architecture Institute (NAI), International Rotterdam Biennale of Architecture and Public Space Biennale in Roma. In November 2019, Ceren has received a DAAD (Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst) scholarship award by the German Government. Since then, she has been working as a research fellow at RWTH Aachen University, Institute for Urban Design and European Urbanism.

Ceren has been an invited speaker at academic institutions including the National University of Singapore, ETH Future Cities Laboratory, Cardiff University, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Luzern University Applied Science and Arts, and University of Poitiers. She is a co-founder of an international research and design network *Public Spaces and Urban Cultures* established under the Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP). She took part in the scientific committee of the Group’s annual conferences, coordinated international meetings and organized workshops in Helsinki, Vienna, Ankara, Bucharest, Istanbul, Utrecht, Glasgow, Ljubljana, Lisbon, Beirut, Nicosia and Amsterdam.

TOC

TOC

List of Publications

Journal articles

- Sezer, C. (forthcoming) ‘Editorial: the politics of visibility in public space’, *Space and Culture.*
- Sezer, C. (forthcoming) ‘Visibility as a conceptual tool for the design and planning of democratic streets’; *Space and Culture.*
- Sezer C. (2018) ‘Public life, immigrant amenities and socio-cultural inclusion’, *Journal of Urban Design,* 23(6), 823-842.
- Niksic, M and Sezer, C. (2017) ‘Editorial: Public Spaces and urban justice’, *Built Environment*, 43(2), 165-173.
- Sezer, C. and Fernandez Maldonado A.M.(2017) ‘Public Spaces and cultural visibility’, *Built Environment*, 43(2), 193-214.
- Knierbein, S; Sezer, C. (2015) ‘Public Spaces and Urban Cultures’, *The Planning Review (DisP)*, 51(2), pp.80-87.
- Janssens, F; Sezer, C. (2013) ‘Flying Markets: Activating Public Spaces in Amsterdam’, *Built Environment*, 39 (2), 245–261.
- Janssens, F.; Sezer, C. (eds.) (2013) ‘Editorial: Marketplaces as an Urban Development Strategy’, *Built Environment*, 39 (2), 165–316.

Book chapters

- Sezer, C. (forthcoming) ‘*Visibility in public space and socially inclusive cities’*, in Public Space Companion, (eds) Vikas Mehta and Danilo Palazzo, Routledge, New York and London.
- Sezer, C. (2019). ‘*Visibility of Turkish amenities: immigrant integration and social cohesion in Amsterdam’*, in Public space design and social cohesion: comparative perspectives, (eds) Patricia Lopes Simoes Aelbrecht and Quentin Stevens, Routledge, New York and London.
- Janssens, F. and Sezer, C. (2012) ‘*Kansen voor een nieuw Food Center: Een Nieuwe ‘Plek’ voor de buurt en de stad’*, in F. Janssens (ed), Food Center Amsterdam, Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press.
- Sezer, C. (2006) ‘*Urban space as generator of distinctive urban cultures: an introduction to a research project on analysis of ecologies of urban communities’*

TOC

In P.A. Healy & G.J.B. Bruyns (eds.), De-/signing the urban. Technogenesis and the urban image, 254-271, Rotterdam: 010 Publishers.

- Sezer, C. (2005) ‘*Resistance places’*, In H. Bekkering, D. Hauptmann, H. de Jonge, H. van Veldhuizen, & H Wanders (eds.), The architecture annual 2003 – 2004, Rotterdam: 010 Publishers.

Edited volumes

- Sezer, C. (ed) (forthcoming) ‘The Politics of Visibility in Public Space’, *Space and Culture* (Sage Publishers).
- Niksic, M. and Sezer, C. (eds)(2017) ‘Public Spaces and Urban Justice’, *Built Environment, (*Alexandrine Press), 43(2), 161-304.
- Janssens, F. and Sezer, C. (eds) (2013) ‘Marketplace as an Urban Development Strategy’ *Built Environment*, 39 (2), 165-316.
- Sezer, C. and Pinzon Cortes, Camila (eds) (2010) Betonart, September, Market places, Betonart – Turkish Architectural Magazine, Turkey.

Book review

- Sezer, C. (2019). Aimi Hamraie, Building Access, Universal Design and the Politics of Disability, Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota, 2017; 333pp.:9781517901646. Built Environment.

Essays and non-indexed articles

- Sezer, C and Varna, G.(2015) ‘The Power of Places’. *Urban Realm*. 23(5) Autumn issue, 54-58.
- Sezer, C (2009) ‘How does a street work as a social contact place between residents and visitors of a neighbourhood?’ In W. Doff & C. Sezer (Eds). *Proceedings, The PhD Seminar on Public Space*, Delft: Delft University Press.

Newspaper article

- Janssens, F. and Sezer, C. (2011, December 8). Food Center moet open zijn voor iedereen. Het Parool.

20#04

Visibility, democratic public space and socially inclusive cities

The presence and changes of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam

Ceren Sezer

This research introduces the concept of visibility as a useful tool to assess the democratic features of public spaces. It understands democratic public spaces as open spaces, which are accessible to all and allow different cultural expressions for individuals and groups. The concept of visibility refers to the visual perception of the observable features of distinctive urban groups in public space, which give evidence of how these groups engage with, shape, and construct public space. The research argues that the visibility of distinctive urban groups on the street manifests the rights of these groups to participate in public life, a key feature of socially inclusive cities. Consequently, the presence and change in visibility of urban groups in public space is highly political, raising issues in relation to just and unjust urban conditions. This research uses the visibility of Turkish amenities in Amsterdam as a proxy for the presence and appropriation of public spaces by Turkish immigrants in the context of urban transformation processes in the period between 2007 and 2016. It concludes by presenting the implications of the findings of empirical analysis for urban design and planning practice and research.

A+BE | Architecture and the Built Environment | TU Delft BK

ISBN 9789463662543

9 789463 662543