

We designed this neighborhood!

Neighborhood satisfaction of local non-gentrifying residents with the reconstructed Roombeek neighborhood in Enschede, The Netherlands



Jacques Bazen

Colophon:

Jacques Bazen

Student number: 9722432

We designed this neighborhood! The influence of gentrification and citizen participation on the satisfaction of local non-gentrifying residents with the reconstructed Roombeek neighborhood in Enschede, The Netherlands

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Department of Human Geography

Faculty of Geosciences

Utrecht University, The Netherlands

Supervisor: Dr. B.M. Doucet

Preface

While we were running away escaping the disaster zone, we looked back and saw the remains of our house burning in flames. We immediately realized we had to say goodbye to all our things. You can sit down and cry about losing it, but that makes no sense. Better to look forward. You only fool yourself with crying over spilt milk. You will never get anything back, you know that, you see?

Embarking on the mission to explore, describe and analyze the consequences for old residents of the destroyed neighborhood Roombeek in Enschede and their experience of now living in a neighborhood which is totally different, both in terms of physical appearance as well as social structure has turned out to be an extensive task. It took a lot of time during the last six months, but around 200 pages and almost 100 000 words further, the result of the work is there.

Before starting this project I knew about Roombeek, of course, as everyone else in the Netherlands, and visited the neighborhood several times. The first time was in the autumn of 1998, when I was helping with distributing some materials in the still old neighborhood. The next time that I visited the neighborhood was a few months after the disaster, when it was only possible to look through a few peepholes in the fence that was placed around it at the neighborhood. I remember that I was thinking what an immense task it would be to rebuild it all again. The first view of the destruction of Roombeek that I had when approaching the neighborhood, the large houses at the Lasondersingel with their heavily damaged roofs, I will not forget very easily.

Then, for a long time I didn't visit Roombeek anymore, but when I did again in 2008, I almost couldn't believe that this was the same area that I saw in ruins a number of years before. And the reconstruction didn't stop then, since then more and more empty spaces in the neighborhood have been filled in. When I had the chance to select a topic about "Living through gentrification" to work out into a master thesis, I didn't hesitate. I wanted to find out what happened in this neighborhood and how people living through this whole process experienced the changes.

I am aware of the scientific debate whether so called "new-built gentrification", in Roombeek the area of the huge redeveloped former Bamshoeve textile mill, should be considered gentrification or not. I have decided in this thesis to make the choice to put this new-built gentrification under the broader umbrella of gentrification, and to try to find out if and if so, which influences it has on original long term residents of Roombeek.

This thesis would not have been what it is now, without the cooperation with and support of Paula and Daphne. Thank you for the good time and nice talks we had together while being busy with doing this project. I hope I haven't bothered you too much with my sometimes limited availability because of the travelling involved because of my job. Paula, your enthusiasm and great stories about your native country Chile, have made me very curious to visit this part of the world. Thank you for sharing all these. I'm sure that when opportunity arises, I will visit South America to experience these things myself as well. Daphne, I am inspired by your enthusiasm and stories about the work that you are doing in Rotterdam and your interest in empowering people. Keep up the good work! I think that you will find a lot of practical uses for your research into the Afrikaanderwijk over there. When we discussed our projects, I found it interesting to see how even though Roombeek and the Afrikaanderwijk are very different neighborhoods, but we could still discover several similarities.

I would like to thank all the respondents from Roombeek for sharing their stories. Both old and newer residents from the neighborhood. As came from the stories that you wanted to share about your own personal experiences, I got a clear insight into how the neighborhood functions. I am impressed by the stories of your courage and willpower to do your best to get yourself together again and start anew. I am deeply impressed by the work of several volunteers that I met in the neighborhood who have given a lot of energy to help other people to get their life back on track again.

A special word of thanks to Marga Brunninkhuis, Chantal Euverman and the volunteers of the Huis van Verhalen. I am thankful for your patience with explaining both Paula and me about what happened in the neighborhood and/or your help with finding old residents from the neighborhood. Also I would like to thank Pi de Bruijn, Roelof Bleker and Pieter-Jan Klok. Thank you for making time in your busy schedule to answer all kind of questions about the neighborhood. All of you played a very important role in the process of reconstruction and I think you can look back with pride on the work that you have done there, to help reconstruct a neighborhood which is both unique in The Netherlands and as well as a place that people would like to return to and like to live in.

And last, but not least, I would like to thank my supervisor, dr. B.M. Doucet, who helped a lot with his comments and remarks about how to improve the quality of the work. Thank you for asking critical questions about the design of the research and the analysis of the data. I apologize beforehand that this thesis became longer than I expected before: The complexity of the issues at hand is immense and I couldn't resist being as thorough as possible, as it turned out that my research questions were a little broader than I expected before.

That said, I think it is good to move to the actual report and to read for yourself about the things that happened in Roombeek and the processes that lead to the neighborhood as it looks like today.

Gronau (Westfalen), August 2014

Jacques Bazen

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

This study is about gentrification. It focuses on the effects of both the influx of new residents and commercial gentrification on satisfaction of local non-gentrifying residents with the Roombeek neighborhood in the Dutch city of Enschede. The Roombeek neighborhood has a turbulent and very specific history, as it was all but destroyed in the Enschede S.E. Fireworks disaster on 13 May 2000 (Oosting, 2001). Because of this dramatic event, there was a lot of attention from policy makers and the media for the reconstruction of Roombeek. Also the scientific community (albeit with very little attention from geographers) studied the consequences of the disaster and subsequent reconstruction. However, so far, no systematic scientific study on the effects of the gentrification in the reconstructed neighborhood after the disaster has been undertaken.

The reconstruction of Roombeek following the disaster was an attempt of the municipality of Enschede to not just rebuild, but also improve this previously deprived inner city neighborhood. Already in the years before the Fireworks disaster, extensive plans were made for urban renewal in this part of the city (Vollaard, 1998), but in two consecutive explosions on the afternoon of 13 May 2000, the city planners had to completely turn back to the drawing board. In the aftermath of the disaster, the municipality decided to change the way the gentrification and rebuilding of the neighborhood would take place. The new plan of the reconstruction process was different from most other state-led gentrification projects in the Netherlands, as the municipality took great effort to actively involve as many residents as possible in the planning of the reconstruction process (Denters & Klok, 2010). In most cases of large scale gentrification projects in The Netherlands, plots of land that have to be redeveloped, are sold to project developers who then within the limits of the master plan design and build new houses or commercial spaces. The Enschede municipality went to great length in involving the residents of the neighborhood in the redevelopment plans, while controlling as much as possible the entire process. According to the municipality of Enschede ("Roombeek voltooid!?", 2014), the reconstruction of the entire neighborhood is almost finished at the moment of writing in 2014, and already ten years ago the original residents, who expressed the desire to do so, have been relocated back to Roombeek. For most of the original companies, especially when they were active in manufacturing, there was no place in the new Roombeek, as the policy was to push out manufacturing companies from the city center. In the old manufacturing area, new residences were built for middle and higher income groups, the so-called gentrifiers. The shift in the makeup of the population brought also changes in the commercial sector in Roombeek. All in all, Roombeek became by far the most popular neighborhood in Enschede to live in (IenO Research, 2011).

In this study, on one hand, the results of the gentrification process are being researched with a focus on consequences of commercial gentrification for the local non-gentrifying residents from Roombeek, whether this has led to exclusion effects (see Deener, 2007 and Sullivan & Shaw, 2011 for examples of this). Parallels will be drawn with gentrification activities in neighborhoods of other Dutch cities and the observed results of a number of gentrification processes in other neighborhoods in cities in other parts of the world, recovering from the aftermath of a (natural) disaster. On the other hand, the results of the citizen participation in the reconstruction process will be investigated, whether this has led to long term inclusion effects, and potentially leading to higher neighborhood satisfaction.

In general, when neighborhoods go through a process of gentrification, obviously a lot of day-to-day practices of the neighborhood residents are changing. Next to improved housing, usually there is also an improvement in the commercial spaces, to cater for a more upmarket clientele (Deener, 2007; Meltzer & Schuetz, 2012; Zukin et al., 2009), and the Roombeek neighborhood is no exception to this. In the literature, processes of gentrification are usually seen as having either predominantly positive or negative effects (Doucet, 2009). The positive effects of gentrification that are being mentioned are among others: a lower crime rate, general improvement of the neighborhood, increased property values, increased purchasing power in local businesses, increase of taxes and reduction of urban sprawl that the process of suburbanization is causing (Byrne, 2003). At the same time other researchers stress the negative effects of gentrification, being among others: displacement of low-income groups, homelessness, housing bubbles caused by speculation, displacement of commercial spaces, more pressure on other poor areas and the loss of social diversity (Freeman & Braconi, 2004; Slater, 2006; Smith, 2002).

The gentrification debate is rather polarized because of the stress of researchers on either positive or negative aspects of the gentrification process. However in practice, at least certainly in cities in The Netherlands, most of the original residents of a gentrifying neighborhood stay in the neighborhood and sort of “live through the gentrification” (Doucet, 2009; Freeman & Braconi, 2004), and again here, the Roombeek neighborhood is no exception, even though all residents were temporary displaced because of the destruction of their houses, around 60% of the original residents expressed the wish to return to the new rebuilt Roombeek neighborhood (Denters & Klok, 2010). It is evident however that the gentrification process in the neighborhood does influence the lives of these people after returning to Roombeek. Among other things, they will experience a change in the commercial spaces in the neighborhood. In gentrifying neighborhoods throughout the world, boutiques and high-end restaurants will, at least partially, take over the place of the original lower-end shops and restaurants (Deener, 2007; Zukin et al., 2009). The question remains however how the residents who are neither gentrifiers nor displaced/non-returning persons in the neighborhood experience these changes. At the same time, these gentrifying neighborhoods become more attractive for certain people from outside of the neighborhood to visit, because they would like to use the new commercial spaces (in particular shops and restaurants), and become less attractive to visit for other people because of the disappearance of (most of) the original services they would like to use. The goal of the research is to gain insight in the experiences/satisfaction of the local, non-gentrifying residents of the new neighborhood Roombeek. Special attention will be given to the fact that the original residents participated in the development of the plans for rebuilding the neighborhood. Did this special process of redevelopment of the neighborhood lead to higher satisfaction of the neighborhood in terms of its commercial spaces and services than gentrified neighborhoods in other parts of the country?

1.2 Commercial gentrification

Commercial gentrification means the gentrification of business premises, to cater the needs of the new middle & upper class residents of the neighborhood. Research on this topic has been done by Bridge and Dowling (2001), who argue that the new middle class in gentrified neighborhoods in Sydney is predominantly looking for healthy food and fitness. The new retail space has a certain style, in terms of look & feel and architecture, to put forward a luxury or deliberately anti-luxury identity. Other research on this topic has been done by Sharon Zukin, who identifies different stages in commercial gentrification. She observes in neighborhoods in early stages of gentrification a focus on

high-end and unique services (“boutiqueing”) and a rejection of mass consumerism. She observes that in later stages corporate brands are moving into the neighborhood as well (Zukin et al., 2009). Doucet (2009) and Ernst & Doucet (2014), observed that many original residents were actually quite pleased with the increased retail opportunities in the neighborhood, especially the increased possibilities of choice in food. Freeman and Braconi (2004) found in their research that less wealthy residents were more eager to stay in their neighborhood, because of the better amenities even though it was more costly to do so. However, the research of Doucet (2009) also showed that the original non-gentrifying residents might experience a feeling of alienation as services to which they were used to were disappearing from the neighborhood. The new shops and restaurants were seen as “not for us” by them. There is a strong debate about the effects of gentrification, about the influx of capital on one hand and the displacement of local businesses on the other hand. According to some authors, for example Smith (2002), Slater (2009) or Atkinson (2003), the displacement or fear of imminent displacement of people and services causes much more problems than it solves. These authors have written about gentrification in the UK and USA, but it is not quite clear if the observations made by them about the positive and negative effects of commercial gentrification also one on one apply for the Netherlands in general and the Roombeek neighborhood in Enschede in particular. In the case of commercial gentrification and displacement, not much data is present for the Netherlands (Kleinhans & Kearns, 2013).

1.3 Citizen participation in urban renewal

In the Netherlands, the process of gentrification is a bit different from most other countries in the world in the sense that instead of the market sector, the government in cooperation with housing corporations, the so-called semipublic sector, are the leading actors in the process gentrification of Dutch neighborhoods. Gentrification in the Netherlands is characterized by the creation of a mix of private owned properties and social housing. However, due to the financial and economic crisis, there has been more and more attention from the government and the privatized Dutch housing corporations to focus on market driven housing policies, leading to displacement of people with low incomes leading to unjust effects, as reported by Uitermark (2009). Other authors like Kleinhans & Kearns (2013) take a much more nuanced view on this topic. In the specific case of the Roombeek neighborhood, in the aftermath of the Fireworks disaster, the municipality of Enschede pledged the right of return for all original Roombeek residents and went to great length in organizing a citizen participatory planning process (Denters & Klok, 2010), which also involved the planning for the location of the commercial properties in the new Roombeek.

Citizen participation is a relatively old phenomenon in the Netherlands, already since the end of the 1960s citizens were involved in the planning process, but usually just at the end, when the plans were ready and citizens had the opportunity to object to parts of the plan (Marissing, 2005, 2008). Involvement of citizens has since then gradually extended into getting involved in the actual plan making. In a globalized world in which cities have to compete about being attractive places, governments are more or less forced to involve citizens into the planning process and make a shift from government to governance (Andersen & van Kempen, 2003; Kearns & Paddison, 2000). Citizen participation in one form or the other has become standard in modern planning processes, but several authors who studied the phenomenon reported that in many cases unfortunately often just lip-service was paid to the idea and that governments and other experts find it very difficult to delegate matters to citizens (Marinetti, 2003). This was the case in several cases where reconstruction had to be carried out, for example in New York after 11 September 2001 (Hajer, 2005)

or New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina in 2005 (Ehrenfeucht & Nelson, 2011; Olshansky, Johnson, Horne, & Nee, 2008; Talen, 2008).

In Roombeek, the lead architect/city planner in the reconstruction developed in a number of sessions together with the original residents a plan on what should be put where and how the neighborhood should look like (Klok, Denters, Van Heffen, & Visser, 2004), following an approach that was rather different from the earlier mentioned examples of post-disaster reconstruction in the USA.

1.4 Relevance of the research

Gentrification, in the form of Urban Renewal is the main item in the social and economic policies for cities by the Dutch government, both on local as on national scale. As many studies into gentrification have attention for the problem of displacement and exclusion that may come hand in hand with these policies for upgrading neighborhoods, the case study into Roombeek is an interesting one. The reconstruction and gentrification process that happened in the Roombeek neighborhood is generally seen as an example of successful involvement of the residents in the planning process, resulting in winning several (international) prizes for the planning process (Mol & Voest, 2007; Ravenstein, 2008). It is very interesting to know whether this specific community driven approach has led to less negative effects of fear of displacement and feelings of exclusion on the original non-gentrifying residents as well as a larger long term satisfaction with the neighborhood among the local non-gentrifying Roombeek inhabitants with the amenities and commercial spaces in neighborhood, as compared with other neighborhoods in The Netherlands which have been gentrified in the last couple of years. The lessons learned from the process of gentrification and planning of commercial spaces in Roombeek could be highly relevant for urban planners in other cities, for community involvement in new gentrification projects.

In scientific literature there is not much attention for the original non gentrifying residents of neighborhoods who stay in the neighborhood through the process of gentrification. There is work done on this subject for example by Freeman and Braconi (2004) and Doucet (2009), and this study will contribute to the literature by applying some of these findings on the Roombeek neighborhood and see whether the careful inclusive gentrification as was performed here has led to better long term satisfaction with the neighborhood for the original non gentrifying residents, as could be expected from taking other gentrified neighborhoods into consideration.

1.5 Research questions

The main research question for this study is: *To what extent does the influx of new residents and the establishment of new gentrified commercial properties influence the satisfaction with the neighborhood of local, non-gentrifying residents in the Roombeek neighborhood in Enschede and did the residents participation in the reconstruction process cause a more long term satisfaction with the neighborhood?*

To be able to answer this main research question, I have formulated three sub questions:

1. What did the Roombeek reconstruction planning process look like and to what extent did the extensive citizen participation in this planning process influence neighborhood satisfaction?
2. To what extent are residents satisfied with the changes in general physical appearance and social structure of the new Roombeek?

3. To what extent does the establishment of new gentrified commercial premises and services influence the satisfaction of local non-gentrifying residents with the neighborhood?

The research questions lead to a conceptual model for the gentrification and rebuilding of Roombeek. As already observed before, the model of gentrification for Roombeek is quite different from most other gentrification projects in the Netherlands and has because of its specific history and approach with strong citizen participation, several factors of inclusion in relation to the position of original non-gentrifying residents as compared to most other neighborhoods going through gentrification.

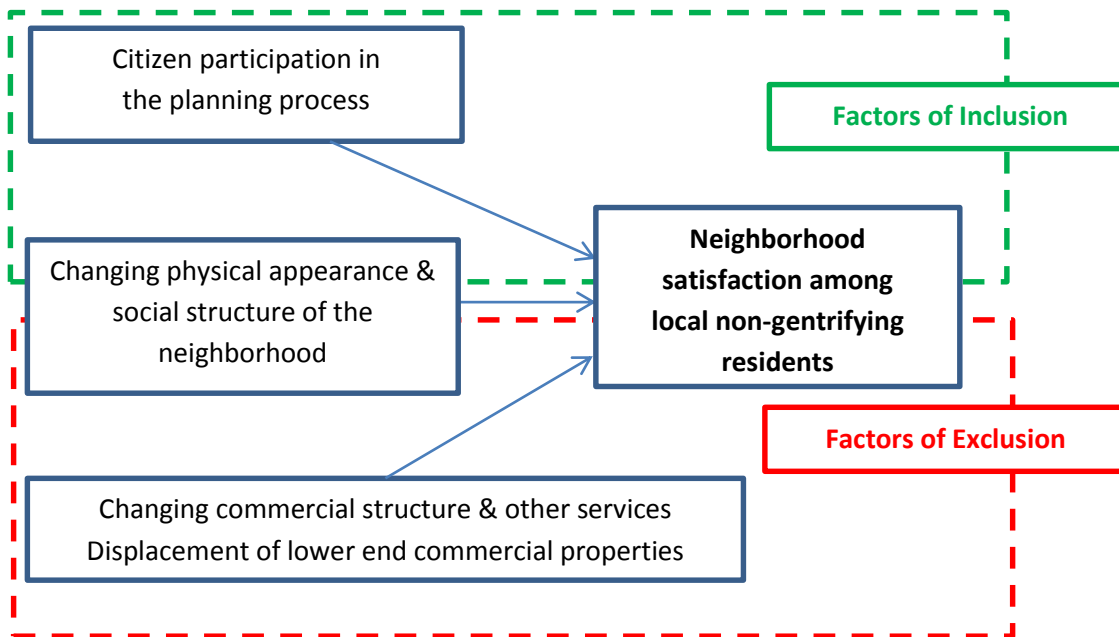


Figure 1.1: Conceptual model for the effects of the reconstruction process on neighborhood satisfaction of the Roombeek neighborhood in Enschede

1.6 Structure of the report

This study is structured as follows: Chapter two is an overview of the literature and a detailed description about the causes and effects gentrification in general and about reconstruction of neighborhoods in the aftermath of a (natural) disaster in particular. Special focus in this chapter will be on the quite specific state led gentrification programs in The Netherlands and the underlying models for citizen participation in the urban renewal situations. Chapter three is a description of the history and development of the Roombeek quarter, to get insight in the broader context of the research area and its specific history and characteristics. In this chapter, the old Roombeek, the consequences of the Fireworks disaster and the subsequent rebuilding of Roombeek, including a description of how the original residents were involved in the reconstruction process are dealt with. Chapter four consists of the design of the field research and the methodology used for the data collection. Chapter five describes the results of the field research, as well as an analysis of the data and comparison with findings from literature and other studies in this field. The study concludes with a conclusions and recommendations chapter.

2 Theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

Gentrification, the most important context of this study and theoretical framework, is a widely used term to describe the process of urban renewal and improvement of space to accommodate the needs of more affluent residents. The term was first used by Ruth Glass, who was studying the effects of the influx of middle class residents in the London working class neighborhood Islington, where she lived, in the early 1960s (Slater, 2011). In her book she drew parallels of this process with 18th century England, when lower nobility (the gentry) moved from outside the cities into the city centers, building luxurious houses (also called winter residences) there, driving out the original residents to less desirable parts of the city. In line with this parallel, she called this (undesirable) process in her London neighborhood of study: “gentrification”. (Even though she herself could be considered a gentrifier as well). The term caught on and in the decades since, many different studies on the causes and effects of gentrification have been carried out.

This chapter is structured as follows: Chapter 2.2 is an overview of the development of the term into a broader framework for urban renewal, with its positive and negative sides, from a literature point of view. The use of this description is twofold: Firstly, to define the term gentrification and to explain why this specific definition is used to best describe the issues at hand in Roombeek, Enschede. Since gentrification is a rather fuzzy and debated over term, quite some effort is put in describing the different studies, to come to a useful definition that covers the process the neighborhood goes through. Secondly, as written in the introductory chapter already, gentrification is a controversial theme and this chapter is an attempt to look at the consequences of gentrification from different angles, again with the goal to apply it to the Roombeek neighborhood in the fieldwork part of this study to try to reach an as balanced as possible conclusion. Chapter 2.3 deals with the causes and effects of commercial gentrification on original non-gentrifying residents. Chapter 2.4 deals with citizen participation in urban renewal processes, with a focus on situations of post-disaster reconstruction. Since Roombeek has been completely rebuilt with input from the original residents, this might be an important issue to take in mind when analyzing the neighborhood and its remaining non-gentrifying residents. The last section of this chapter, chapter 2.5 is about neighborhood satisfaction and the influence on neighborhood satisfaction as result of participation in processes of urban renewal.

2.2 Gentrification, definitions and consequences for neighborhoods

Since the times of Ruth Glass, gentrification has been studied by many scholars and an enormous list of scientific publications have this topic as their main subject. Since gentrification as a term came into being already in the 1960s, it is not surprising that the meaning of this term has been changing and expanding within the academic world. Ruth Glass (1964) defined gentrification as *the inflow of higher income people in working class neighborhoods, leading to the displacement of lower income groups*. This first definition of the term indicates that the main focus of the gentrification research done by Glass was on the upgrading of residential properties and was a sort of spontaneous phenomenon, driven by market forces and more or less limited to the rehabilitation of derelict houses, although the idea behind Glass’ research and the term gentrification showed her view on this subject to be primarily a class struggle/transformation in the urban environment (Slater, 2006). However, since gentrification and which urban processes are put under the umbrella of gentrification, I consider it to be useful to first take an in depth look at some of the academic debates on this topic.

Towards an explanation and definition of gentrification

Several scholars have since Glass tried to indicate the causes of gentrification processes and came up with a number of possible explanations. In the academic literature on this topic, two main causes of gentrification are identified. The first explanation for gentrification is the changing make-up of the working population in European countries, shifting from predominantly lower educated blue collar workers to more higher educated white collar workers, predominantly in job areas like management, administrative and technical occupations with higher incomes (Hamnett, 1991; Ley, 1986). Ley indicates that these changes in employment structure are caused by the shift in Western economies from being production oriented to more service oriented. The consequence of this is that also a new urban middle class of professionals is in emergence. These higher income professionals value urban amenities and services, and would like to live in aesthetically pleasing neighborhoods. Ley (1986) describes the results of his research on gentrification in several cities in Canada, in which he found high correlations between gentrifying neighborhoods and environmental amenities. Similarly, for the USA, Clay (1979) found in his survey of 53 gentrifying neighborhoods, that no less than 87% of these neighborhoods contained at least one distinctive landscape amenity. The new highly educated urban class of professionals “produce” a downtown working and residential landscape, thereby fastening the pace of gentrification (Ley, 1986). Along with the changing employment structure, also a change in culture has been observed, in which people were attracted to live in a historical city center instead of in suburban homes. The emerging white collar middle class and the cultural change of re-appreciation of old historical urban areas among these people further increases the demand for inner city housing (Hamnett, 1991). A critical note to this approach came from Rose (1984), who wrote about the chaotic concept of gentrification and that the pitfall should be avoided of seeing “the gentrifiers” as a single homogeneous group. Likewise Doucet (2009) put the attention on the fact that also the displaced or the residents living through gentrification are also a heterogeneous group.

The second reason as explanation for gentrification is based on the work of Smith (1987) in which he explains the economic motives behind gentrification of certain neighborhoods. In the nineteenth century, land values were highest in the city center, and were slowly falling towards the edges of the city. However, due to suburbanization of both residents and businesses because of cheaper and faster transportation possibilities, the edges of the city have been increasing in land value. The Central Business District in the city center kept its value, but the most nineteenth century neighborhoods in between have lost part of their land value, if not absolute, then for sure relative in relation to the CBD and suburban areas. According to Smith (1987), and later commented on by Hamnett (1991) and Slater (2006), gentrification is not only the demand side of the new white collared middle class, for urban amenities, but also the supply side has to be taken into account. The supply side of gentrification consisting of actors like builders, developers, landlords, mortgage lenders, government agencies, real estate agents and tenants themselves must be examined as well, to get a complete picture. The nineteenth century neighborhoods with their land value less than its potential, are likely targets for these groups for profitable redevelopment. Smith calls this the rent-gap hypothesis, the difference between the potential and actual land value. The larger this rent-gap, the more profitable it is to redevelop and gentrify the neighborhood. Initiatives for this redevelopment, at least in European cities are often coming from governments, but more than ever also linked to the large scale investment of capital (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Slater (2006) describes the rent-gap as the re-urbanization of capital, after a period of suburbanization in the second half of the twentieth century. Developers are generally quite conservative and will not invest large amounts

of capital into neighborhoods, if the risks are high. Zukin (2009) observed in her research in New York an example of this process: large investments in neighborhoods (chain stores), occurred only after a pioneer stage of redevelopment, which consisted of small scale developments and opening of shops, characterized by a rejection of mass consumerism by early gentrifiers. The subsequent large scale investment only occurred after this initial upgrading and renewal stage, when investment risks were seen as low enough by developers. In the Netherlands, in Amsterdam, an example of this is observed by Uitermark & Bosker (2014), who observe a growing gap between rich and poor areas in Amsterdam, whereas the city center gentrifies quite rapidly and the periphery does not catch up with these developments, even though there is substantial state sponsored urban renewal going on especially in this periphery of the city. The explanation for this uneven development can be found in the fact that the government policy in Amsterdam was for many years aimed at creating a city center for everyone, and only recently started to develop houses according to the potential land value.

It should be noted however that in the literature the definition of what is gentrification and what not is not very clear. Some authors use a narrower definition than others, leading to debates and to a fuzzy and chaotic idea about what gentrification is and what its effects are, see for example for an overview the study of Beauregard (1990) into gentrification trajectories in Philadelphia. Beauregard warns against thinking in oversimplifying stage models that neighborhoods will go through until being completely gentrified. Also some authors suggest that the development of new-built higher priced residential units on for example former industrial sites, should not be considered gentrification (Boddy, 2007). Boddy further argues that these processes go way beyond gentrification and are in fact part of a much wider governmental strategy, different from gentrification, as it doesn't involve displacement. Nonetheless this debate, in this study I will use the broader definition of gentrification used by Davidson and Lees (2005), in which gentrification consists of the following core elements:

(1) the reinvestment of capital; (2) the social upgrading of locale by incoming high-income groups; (3) landscape change; and (4) direct or indirect displacement of low-income groups.

The reconstruction of Roombeek in Enschede, involved the redevelopments of the ruins of the former textile factory Bamshoeve into up-market housing units (see further chapter 4 for more details). It is evident that the re-development of this former industrial complex has had an influence on the entire neighborhood, although probably not in the sense of direct displacement of original non-gentrifying residents, but instead feelings of exclusion and/or indirect displacement among them may very well be a reality and leading to clear long term changes in the neighborhood.

Consequences for the people involved

Many studies, summarized for example by Slater (2006), have been done on the effects of gentrification, on the consequences for the original residents in gentrifying neighborhoods, most of the time labeled as displacement, the forced removal of lower classes from an upgrading neighborhood. The term "gentrification" is more or less an ironic term in itself, as the former British gentry was not particularly positively viewed on in the 18th century England. The 20th century equivalent would be the "invasion" of the middle class into worker neighborhoods.

However interesting and relevant for the discussion, it has been hard to pinpoint actual displaced persons on a large scale from gentrifying neighborhoods. First of all, it is very hard to keep track of people moving out, especially since they often belong to low income groups or minorities. Secondly, it is not always clear whether residents are forced to move out or if they move away voluntarily from

neighborhoods. For example in the neighborhood of Prenzlauer Berg in Berlin, already during times of the German Democratic Republic, many residents from this neighborhood were happily changing their cramped, inadequately heated and crumbling apartments for newly built Plattenbau (pre-fabricated) high-rise apartment blocks, leaving space for the so called “Alternativen”, artists, musician and writers (Urban, 2007). Displacement of the original working class population is therefore hard to prove in this neighborhood, if it occurred there at all. In the following paragraphs, displacement effects in several countries/regions are compared with one another, to get a picture of the different effects of gentrification that can occur from different policies and starting situations.

When looking at the United Kingdom, in the case of London, like in Berlin, it is hard to prove quantitatively that mass displacement has occurred. Atkinson (2000a) has tried to develop a model for displacement and found some evidence in certain areas of London that there has been displacement of original residents. However, he failed to find a clear conclusive explanation for displacement because of the lack of data and suggested that replacement of one class, the working class, by another class, the class of professionals, might be a possibility as well (Atkinson, 2000b). This idea is further developed by Hamnett (2003), who writes about the transformation of London’s economic base and employment structure and the gradual decline of the manufacturing sector and hence also the decline of the number of people working in this sector. If no gentrification would occur, large parts of London would be simply empty, as the original residents, the working class, was slowly but surely disappearing. Atkinson could conclude with data from the employment structure of London as evidence, that at least some of the original residents were replaced instead of displaced: The idea being, that the children of the former working class families were able to get a university education and join the emerging professional middle class of London. Hamnett’s view is criticized, among others, by Tom Slater (2006), who states that the disappearance of most of the working class residents from London is the best proof of the mass displacement that has occurred over the last decades, although empirically it is very hard to prove where the displaced have gone to. A critical research into the effects of gentrification in the Scottish city of Dundee showed that the number of social housing units decreased over 20% between 2002 and 2012. This decrease was organized by the city government, even though Dundee is a city with low incomes and an aging population, so that the demand for social housing is likely to rise instead of fall (Glynn, 2008). Glynn had interviews of a number of the soon to be displaced inhabitants of a couple of high rise apartment blocks in Dundee and found among to be displaced inhabitants, high levels of stress and anxiety as well as anger towards the government. In this particular case displacement did occur, especially because these to be replaced residents felt powerless and out of control about their situation. Doucet (2009) found in his research in the neighborhood of Leith in Edinburgh, a similar feeling of uneasiness from the original residents, as they saw the residential and commercial properties change. Doucet observed alienation of the original residents with the commercial services, although most of them were not particularly unhappy with the developments of the neighborhood. “It’s nice, but not for us”, was a widely uttered feeling.

According to research done in New York, quantitative numbers of displacement there seem to be a bit easier to observe than in London. In the study of Newman and Wyly (2006) for example, they found that in New York between 1989 and 2002 per year between 8300 and 11600 households were displaced, these households had to move because of increasing rental prices. However, problems here remain as well, as Newman and Wyly also state that finding the displaced people is very difficult as by definition they have disappeared from where researchers or census takers are looking for them.

Earlier estimations of displacement by Marcuse (1985) about the situation in the 1970s and 1980s are even higher, as he estimates a yearly displacement of between 102 500 and 250 000 persons per year. The research results of Marcuse and Newman and Wyly stand in stark contrast with the findings of Freeman & Braconi (2004), who found only limited displacement and in most cases of almost negligible size. Instead, they found that most original residents preferred to stay in the neighborhood and enjoyed the new amenities, even though it was more costly for them to do so. However, it cannot be ruled out that the decision to stay in the neighborhood of these people simply couldn't move because of too limited financial means to afford anything else, and they were effectively trapped in the place where they were residing now (Newman & Wyly, 2006). At the same time, advocates of gentrification argue that gentrification itself can be helpful in preventing displacement, as the higher tax incomes from the gentrifiers allow the city government to construct more secure and affordable social housing (Byrne, 2003).

The HOPE VI program in the USA has given researchers a good insight on the effect of displacement on the people involved. HOPE VI is a program in which old deteriorated housing estates are being demolished and the residents are spread among different neighborhoods elsewhere in the city, in an attempt to decrease the concentration of problems of poverty. It should be noted that the displacement caused by the HOPE VI program is not exactly similar to displacement effects of gentrification in the original sense of the word, but as will be argued under the next heading, the definition has broadened throughout the decades. Specifically aimed at demolition and redevelopment of poverty stricken neighborhoods, the HOPE VI program gives an insight in the psychological effects of forced displacement of the original residents. Research among the children of the displaced families pointed out that the effects for them are larger than for adults. Adults reported a loss of social contacts in the new neighborhood, and among some of the children, mostly boys, behavioral problems have increased, even though in general parents were not dissatisfied with the new neighborhood and usually better schools that their children could attend to (Clampet-Lundquist, 2007; Popkin, Eiseman, & Cove, 2004). The question whether HOPE VI really changes the situation in the cities for the better is criticized by Loretta Lees (2008), in her research about displacement effects in the Chicago neighborhood of Cabrini Green. The academic debate on the results of HOPE VI is still going on, however there seem to be a shift of attention away from the displaced in favor of the discussion about using gentrification to create socially mixed neighborhoods.

Most countries in Central and Eastern Europe have had a booming development since the fall of communism and are modernizing and renovating most of their old housing stock in the cities, after decades of neglect. The massive inflow of capital caused the establishment of large shopping malls and luxury estates, mainly at the edge of the city or completely outside of the city. In the first decade of the transition, the city centers were declining because of the flight of capital and became places of segregation and exclusion (Kovacs, Wiessner, & Zischner, 2013). Since approximately 2000 the situation changed and although on a much smaller scale than in Western Europe gentrification has taken place, for example the creation of luxury expat apartments in Prague (Cook, 2010), gentrification of the city center of Moscow (Badyina & Golubchikov, 2005) and in Budapest (Kovacs et al., 2013). In most of the city centers of Central and Eastern European major cities, most of the original residents moved away from the crumbling decrepit buildings to new apartments built outside the center, a situation not unlike in earlier mentioned Berlin (Urban, 2007). Early investors in for example Moscow were able to upgrade this often empty housing stock in the center (Badyina & Golubchikov, 2005). Very little empirical evidence exists on displacement effects in Central European

Cities as result of gentrification efforts. In Hungary's capital Budapest at least, massive displacement effects could not be demonstrated. As in most Central and Eastern European countries, in Budapest most of the houses are owner-occupied and without any mortgage, as result from the privatization after the fall of communism. The rental sector in Budapest is quite small and therefore large scale evictions do not take place as far as the limited empirical data is concerned. The form of gentrification that is most often seen is the form of owner-occupiers who slowly improve their own building, mostly starting from "façade gentrification" to the actual upgrading of the building, a process known as incumbent upgrading (Kovacs et al., 2013; Van Kempen & Van Weesep, 1994). Up-market large scale housing developments usually only take place on former brownfield sites, and investors can only buy individual properties whenever, if at all, they become available on the market, leading to the expectation of Kovacs that in Budapest gentrification will occur quite smoothly. In other cities in Eastern Europe, also examples of more classical forms of gentrification can be found, for example in the Kazimierz neighborhood in the city of Krakow, Poland (Spohn, 2009).

In The Netherlands, quite a few studies have been done into the displacement effects of gentrification. The predominant model of gentrification in the country is the so called state led gentrification, in which governments initiate processes of urban renewal, but let it be mainly executed by housing corporations, who invest in the housing stock. Usually, at least partly, they build more expensive houses for higher income groups, usually these houses are then sold off (Andersen & van Kempen, 2003). Among others, Posthumus, Kleinhans & Bolt (2012) showed that in the several Dutch cities of their study the negative aspects of displacement in gentrifying neighborhoods, caused by these state led gentrification programs could be kept more or less under control by offering extensive guidance for the displaced residents in finding new housing. The renewal programs often involve large scale demolition of residential units in deprived neighborhoods. From the study it became clear that displaced residents were usually more positive about the quality and size of the new house or apartment. The satisfaction with the new neighborhood was also increasing, although usually much less than with the new dwelling. According to the authors, key to keeping the stress and anxiety levels of the displaced residents as low as possible is the guidance from both the authorities as well as local (psychological) health services. In another study, Bolt and Van Kempen (2010) found that most of the original residents that had to be displaced because of demolition of their old dwelling, were usually not dissatisfied with their new dwelling. The amount of assistance offered to the displaced households makes it very unlikely for them to become homeless. Musterd and Ostendorf (2008) made similar remarks about the situation in The Netherlands with regards to the integrated approach of the urban renewal programs and their focus on social cohesion in the neighborhoods and minimization of displacement.

In general, the Dutch government is taking a very active role in what is called the process of "urban renewal". The country stands out among the other European countries in the amount of demolition of what is considered to be old derelict buildings (Bolt & van Kempen, 2010). The main goal of the Dutch administration in its so called Big Cities Policy, dating back to the early 1990s, but not fundamentally changed since then, is to increase the livability of deprived neighborhoods and preventing exclusion of the poor and of ethnic minorities. The most important method in reaching this goal is to create a social mix in disadvantaged neighborhoods, leading to a de-concentration of problems and more social contacts between different social classes, as well as different ethnic groups. More often than not this involves demolition of former social housing units, as seen in a previous heading (Posthumus et al., 2012; Van Kempen & Van Weesep, 1994). In the scientific debate

about the desirability and effects of social mixing, critical scholars have suggested that the policy of social mixing is not working and is based on the idea that the presence of a middle class in a neighborhood will benefit the lower classes, an idea that has only weak evidence (Rose et al., 2013). In the same study was observed that only very limited social mixing occurred in the neighborhoods of study in Paris, Bristol and Montreal, even though social policy measures were especially aimed at creating such situations. These findings largely correspond with findings about social mixing in the Netherlands (Blokland & van Eijk, 2010). Critics of the Dutch Big Cities Urban Renewal policies have pointed out that this policy is exhausting the social capital of neighborhoods, by demolishing large numbers of residential units, in favor of neo-liberal policies aimed at reinforcing social control in neighborhoods (Uitermark, Duyvendak, & Kleinhans, 2006). It is also clear that the policy goal of reducing segregation by dispersing ethnic minorities over the city is not working (Bolt & van Kempen, 2010), although dispersing concentrations of poverty and social problems over the city with supporting the displaced households does prevent so called “waterbed effects” (problems solved in one neighborhood will simply pop up in another one) (Posthumus et al., 2012).

When summarizing the types of displacement of original residents in neighborhoods as discussed in the previous paragraphs, the work of Marcuse, as cited by Slater (2009) is useful to take into consideration as he indicates 4 types :

1. Last resident displacement: Forced displacement of original non-gentrifying residents because of demolition or rent increases that can't be afforded anymore. This is the most described type of displacement, see the paragraphs above for more information and examples.
2. Chain displacement: Displacement history of a property in the past, for example working class residents which get displaced by artists who gets displaced by more wealthy middle class gentrifiers. See for example the situation in Berlin as described by Urban (2007).
3. Exclusionary displacement: A form of indirect displacement. When a property is for whatever reason vacated by original residents, because of the higher prices it will be gentrified, since possibly interested residents from the same class will not be able to afford it anymore. This type of indirect displacement has been described by Davidson & Lees (2010) for example.
4. Displacement pressure: This is the pressure that original residents feel when their neighborhood gets gentrified. The social structure of the neighborhood changes and friends and family are moving out, and shops the used to frequent are closing because of being taken over by more up-market facilities, leading to feelings of a lost community. An example of this type of displacement is given by Sakizlioglu (2014) for the experiences of residents in one of the neighborhoods in Istanbul.

Earlier in this section it was already mentioned that research into the effects of gentrification has made a shift away from questions of displacement into the class of gentrifiers. David Ley (1986) observed the class of gentrifiers to be a new emerging middle class who had a desire to produce a new downtown landscape based on their desire to live in a characteristic neighborhood with a lot amenities, for their desired lifestyle of consumption. This movement of the attention of research into gentrification has not been favorably viewed upon by critical scholars, who felt the loss of the class struggle in the gentrification debate as losing the core issue of the subject (Slater, 2006).

The gentrified neighborhoods in European cities can be seen as neighborhoods in which a new class of globally oriented people live (Atkinson, 2003; Rofe, 2003), and who have selected these places because of the smaller distance between home and the work place, while enjoying the amenities that

these gentrified neighborhoods offer. Many young gentrifiers prefer to stay within these neighborhoods and choose to combine a career with raising children, instead of choosing a more quiet home in the suburbs (Karsten, 2003). Networks of the new middle class in gentrified neighborhoods in Amsterdam seem to play a vital role in the process of “settling down” of gentrifiers, as Boterman, Karsten and Musterd (2010) call it, and cause a new orientation of these middle class on living in the city. The number of children in the city has been growing steadily in gentrified neighborhoods in Amsterdam for example, which reflects the growing numbers of young gentrifiers. The demands for amenities in the neighborhood however is changing, when gentrifiers with young children decide to stay in the city and not suburbanize, their main concern with the neighborhood shifts towards education of their children, and the availability of good schools for them (Boterman, 2012; Boterman & Karsten, 2014).

One of the methods of urban renewal policies of the governments, in upgrading the neighborhoods is the so called social mixing. Seen from a gentrifier point of view, studies by Butler about the Islington borough in London suggest that there is almost no social mixing occurring, and that the middle class that moved into Islington is as he calls it “living in a bubble”, in which in their daily practices have only contact with people like themselves and not with their working class neighbors (Butler, 2003), which might be caused by the situation that many gentrifiers work long hours (Savage, Bagnall, & Longhurst, 2005). Research in The Netherlands revealed similar findings, both middle class residents and original non gentrifying residents in gentrified neighborhoods were having remarkably homogeneous networks. In other words, the social mixing didn’t take place and both groups lived separate lives within the neighborhood. This is even more remarkable since the respondents of this research were so called diversity seekers, who got attracted to live in a socially and ethnically diverse neighborhood in the first place (Blokland & van Eijk, 2010). The research shows how hard it is to socially mix neighborhoods, although, according to Blokland and Van Eijk, it doesn’t mean that it is impossible in itself. And furthermore, if neighborhoods are mixed, however not in the sense of social mixing, as long as it does not cause conflicts as Blokland and Van Eijk observe, one can ask the question if this is really a problem. Clearly, social mixing in itself is not a goal of urban renewal policies, a conflict free livable neighborhood is.

Development of gentrification processes in neighborhoods

Thinking about how the gentrification discourse developed over the course of the decades, several developments in the definition can be seen, as well as different actors & practices. Among several scholars, a tendency to widen the term gentrification and use it as well to describe brownfield development and all kind of other derelict abandoned areas within the city into residential areas can be observed. Even though there may be no direct displacement here, the structure of the neighborhood is still changing, leading to possible indirect displacement (Davidson & Lees, 2005, 2010), not in the last place for original commercial properties.

Also the actors in the process have changed, the first leading actors were the gentrifiers themselves, who changed the neighborhood as individual middle class families moved in and upgraded different properties. In later decades, new actors in the gentrification process came into being, most notably the government and commercial developers (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Hackworth and Smith have developed an overview of gentrification throughout the decades of the 2nd half of the twentieth century and divided the development of gentrification into three waves. The first phase of gentrification they observe are isolated pockets within neighborhoods of the largest cities that are

being gentrified, so called sporadic gentrification. Berry (1982) used an interesting metaphor: *"Islands of renewal in seas of decay"*. This phase is characterized by an almost complete absence of large scale investors or public authorities. After a transition phase in the second half of the 1970s, the role of the public authorities and developers gets larger, leading to a phase of Anchoring of Gentrification in which the stage is set for the spread of gentrification to smaller cities. After yet another transition phase in the 1990s, Hackworth & Smith observe a third wave of gentrification, in which the public authorities operate hand in hand with project developers to work on gentrification, although it is often labeled as urban renewal or revitalization (Hackworth & Smith, 2001), and is characterized by its large scale. Using Newman & Wyly's (1999) variant of Berry's metaphor: *"Islands of decay in seas of renewal"* is helpful to explain the differences with the previous gentrification phases.

Before moving on to look in more depth into the original non-gentrifying residents living through gentrification and how they are connected with the class struggle that is widely considered to be the core of the gentrification debate (Atkinson, 2003), it is good to pay some attention to some scholars who tried to identify types of gentrification that neighborhoods may go through. What is clear already from the earlier mentioned article on the different waves of gentrification of Hackworth and Smith is that gentrification has developed into a massive phenomenon in the policy of urban renewal combined with investors from the market sphere, and that because of that fast development of the concept of gentrification itself it is rather hard to develop a model of different stages of gentrification through which a neighborhood goes. An example of an attempt to identify different types of gentrification is done in a comparative study into differences in gentrification between Brussels and Montreal. In both cities quite different processes of gentrification are going on, but even within these cities there are large differences in the form and effects of gentrification between neighborhoods under gentrification, making it quite hard to come to a unified model (Van Criekingen & Decroly, 2003). Jan van Weesep and Ronald van Kempen (1994) have written about the different types of gentrification in Utrecht and indicated three types of gentrification there, firstly what they call the classic gentrification in the historical city center, largely driven by owner-occupiers, secondly the new construction for the better off, large scale property development, for example on the site of the old academic hospital, and thirdly the incumbent upgrading, in which long term residents slowly improve their dwellings. When looking at the reconstruction and gentrification in Roombeek in Enschede, yet another type may be observed, Denters & Klok (2010) have written about the attempts of the government to involve as much as possible all residents in the neighborhood. Denters & Klok find evidence that this specific process slowed down or even prevented forms of indirect displacement. Direct displacement in this neighborhood did not occur, as result of the political decision to give all the old residents the opportunity to return (See chapter 4 for more information on Roombeek).

As seen earlier in the study of Karsten and Boterman (2010) more families with children than before decide to stay in gentrified neighborhoods, which in turn leads to a change in work patterns of these gentrifier families (Boterman & Karsten, 2014) as well as a changing demand for (commercial) services within the neighborhood (Karsten, 2014). Butler and Robson have done work on developing a model to apply cultural and social capital of gentrifiers to try and compare different stages and results of gentrification. Although some generalizations could be made, still the unique situation of the different neighborhoods made it hard to create a unified model (Butler & Robson, 2001). Hackworth and Smith speak in their "Changing state of gentrification" article about "fully gentrified neighborhoods", as neighborhoods in which developments in property value or rental places have

reached the full potential of the land value. Notwithstanding this, Lees finds even a next stage in a few select neighborhoods, which she calls “super-gentrification”, a process seriously impacting both residential and commercial properties in the neighborhood (Butler & Lees, 2006; Lees, 2003) . Whereas “super gentrification” may not be directly relevant for Roombeek, it does show that the world is not static and new developments can and possibly will occur. In this study therefore, no generalized model with certain stages of gentrification is used for Roombeek. Even if such a model would exist, it would be so general and abstract that it would probably not say a lot of meaningful things about neighborhood satisfaction in Roombeek.

Living through gentrification

In the previous headings, it became clear that most of the scientific debate around gentrification has centered on either the displaced persons or the gentrifiers. There may be good reasons for this, for example because of a critical Marxist approach to class struggle as the driving force of gentrification, or the desire to understand the motives of gentrifiers and effects of them moving into a neighborhood, still it is a pity that the group in between is often overlooked (Doucet, 2009). Although in most cases, at least when looking at the changes in neighborhoods with a medium term perspective, the group of residents that are not immediately displaced or successfully able to resist displacement make up a sizeable amount of the population. This group of residents living through the gentrification process have two options to deal with the changes in their neighborhood, a strategy of resistance or a strategy of adaptation. It is not clear why certain neighborhoods are more resisting gentrification than others, it might have to do with the amount of cultural capital (education) and economic capital (access to resources) from the original non-gentrifying residents (Butler & Robson, 2001). It is therefore very important to look at the original non-gentrifying residents as a diverse group of people, and not as a homogeneous group of people who are by definition helpless bystanders seeing themselves slowly but surely being displaced.

The group of original non-gentrifying residents applying a strategy of resistance are more visible than the adapting ones. The protests against gentrification and conflicts between original residents and gentrifiers have been getting into the news on numerous occasions, from individual “Yuppie go home” and “Die Yuppie scum” graffiti, to semi-organized protests like “Mission: the Yuppie eradication project” (Keating, 2007), via neighborhood campaigns involving local churches, preventing eviction of tenants as described in the study of Newman and Wyly (2006) in New York or similar church based actions in Chicago for “balanced development of the city” (Aardema & Knoy, 2004) to large scale protests, like the protests in Berlin against the gentrification of the Spree river waterfront development (Hesse & Lange, 2012) or neighborhood protests in the Chicago neighborhood of Pilsen as observed by Wilson and Wouters (2004). From the examples in this paragraph it looks indeed like (in accordance with Butler & Robson) that the more social capital (whether in the form of churches, artist collectives or active neighborhood communities) exists in a neighborhood, the more effective resistance against gentrification can be. Although it doesn’t become clear from the examples mentioned here to which extent as a general rule, resisting gentrification in neighborhoods with large social capital will be successful, as there are probably also neighborhoods with ample social capital which were not able to resist gentrification. Other tensions that may arise in a neighborhood going through a process of gentrification are about the future and identity of the community, if original non-gentrifying residents feel the gentrifiers have a different idea about the future identity or look and feel of the neighborhood than they have. Most literature suggest a decrease in social cohesion in gentrifying neighborhoods, indicating that among the original

non-gentrifying residents and the gentrifiers more often than not tensions occur (Doucet, 2009; Marissing, 2008).

The other strategy of adaptation to the new situation has been the subject of research by Freeman and Braconi (2004), they found in their research that rent increases made it less likely for people to move out from their neighborhood. Their explanation was that the original non-gentrifying residents of this neighborhood were actually seeing the positive developments of the gentrification in terms of less decay in the neighborhood and new commercial services, which they could also use. In his book "There goes the 'hood", Freeman (2006) observed that non-gentrifying residents saw both evil and good things in gentrification. For example owner-occupiers saw gentrification quite positively, as a chance of increasing property value. The original residents were not by definition against the development of new commercial properties and services, often perceived as up-market commercial properties meant just for gentrifiers. According to Freeman one can also look at it as a return to a normal commercial situation after decades of neglect and disinvestment. This could also lead to trickle down effects which can profit the original residents as well. Mid-priced restaurants for example were in short supply in the neighborhoods of Harlem and Clinton where Freeman did his interviews, and were seen as a welcome addition to the neighborhood (Freeman, 2006), less happy were the interviewees with the new expected behavior rules on the streets, which were more strict than in the past. The findings of Freeman were severely criticized by Smith (2008) in his review of Freeman's book. Smith suggested that Freeman was methodologically incorrect in translating qualitative research methods into generalizations that were valid for the entire neighborhood and therefore his book was supporting neo-liberal policies. Smith may have got a point with his criticism on Freeman's methodology, but Freeman's book does make clear that the gentrification debate with its consequences for the daily life in the neighborhood in the eyes of the non-gentrifying residents is not as black and white as the debate in the academic world. Research done by Doucet (2009) in the Edinburgh neighborhood of Leith also showed that original non-gentrifying persons from Leith saw the process of gentrification in the neighborhood in a mixed way. Some were concerned about displacement because of rising rental prices, especial for younger people who would probably not be able anymore to pay the ever increasing rents. On the other hand respondents were happy with the fact that the neighborhood had become safer and a more desirable place to live. In terms of possible tensions between gentrifiers and non-gentrifying residents, the non-gentrifying residents indicated they felt a divide between them and the gentrifiers, but no feelings of animosity. These findings are consistent with the situation observed in some other gentrifying neighborhoods (Blokland & van Eijk, 2010; Butler, 2003). Maybe in Western European countries with their welfare states and safety nets for housing for the poor and disadvantaged (Bolt & van Kempen, 2010), the feelings of fear and anxiety of displacement among original non-gentrifying residents within neighborhoods are less outspoken than in countries which do not have these facilities. In such countries, living through gentrification might be experienced in a completely different way with a lot more tensions between gentrifiers and original non-gentrifying residents, who would know that in the end, although for now able to resist displacement, they would eventually have to leave their homes with all the uncertainty that comes with it in finding another affordable place to live.

2.3 Commercial gentrification

Compared to the number of studies into the displacement of original non-gentrifying residents and upgrading of residential units, relatively little attention has been paid to the development of the commercial and services sector within gentrifying neighborhoods. This part of this theoretical

framework chapter is about the influence of commercial gentrification on the gentrification process and about the debate whether this commercial gentrification process is one of the driving forces behind the broader gentrification process in a neighborhood or it is just one of the consequences of it.

Effects of commercial gentrification

There is evidence that commercial spaces could fuel and structure gentrification processes in a neighborhood. In the Venice neighborhood in Los Angeles, the Abbot Kinney Boulevard has become a hip and fashionable shopping street with a mixture of art, design and several other boutiques. In the past, original residents of the Venice neighborhood considered this street to be an economic and racial mixing ground, which is because of the gentrified commercial properties changing rapidly into a homogeneous space for gentrifiers (Deener, 2007). It is interesting to see that gentrifiers in the neighborhood perceive the current state of Abbot Kinney Boulevard as a relic from the past that needs to be protected against chain stores and other large capital investors, although in reality there is no such history, it has been a constructed reality by the gentrifying residents. Zukin (2008) comes to similar conclusions for New York. The newcomers take great effort in preserving the up-market commercial spaces against chain stores, but seem not to care about affordable shops for the original non-gentrifying residents (Deener, 2007). Generally in academic literature, the use of commercial spaces and other amenities in the neighborhood is seen as one of the central concepts in neighborhood life and the neighborhood identity (Clark, 2004; Florida, 2002), and in the case of Abbot Kinney Boulevard, it marks a clear separation between gentrifiers and original non-gentrifying residents, leading to exclusion of the latter group from this shopping street. The gentrifying residents claim, maybe subconsciously, as Deener calls it, the symbolic ownership of the street by art, music or prominently putting certain products on display, to show a subculture to which the original non-gentrifying residents feel they do not belong (Deener, 2007; Sullivan & Shaw, 2011). At the same time, the original non-gentrifying residents remember how the street used to be in the past, and are expressing their feelings of nostalgia about their lost opportunities for shopping and going out.

The driving force behind the transition of Abbot Kinney Boulevard can be identified as a cluster of actors, among which, not in the last place, local entrepreneurs. Together with the government, which was responsible for construction of amenities like the marina, they have been able to rebrand Venice from a so called “Slum by the sea”, into a desirable neighborhood to live in. Deener observes in his research the proactive role of the entrepreneurs of the developing Abbot Kinney Boulevard in setting the stage for the continuing and ongoing gentrification of the neighborhood (Deener, 2007), this phenomenon is also reported by Sutton (2010) in New York. Earlier in this chapter, the research of Brian Doucet in Leith, Edinburgh was already mentioned on the topic of displacement and living through gentrification. Doucet (2009) also investigated the amenities in this gentrifying neighborhood and the influence this had on the daily life of the original non-gentrifying residents. Although maybe less outspoken than in Deener’s study of Venice, Doucet also found feelings of exclusion among the Leith residents. At the same time, some respondents in Doucet’s research praised the development of the commercial properties in the neighborhood, indicating that they saw them as an improvement to the old pre-gentrification situation. Similar feelings also existed among non-gentrifying residents of the gentrifying Indische Buurt in Amsterdam (Ernst & Doucet, 2014), where these residents frequently mentioned the previous tension between them and ethnic minorities. However, they praised some of the gentrified properties of ethnic entrepreneurs as well,

as a welcome addition to the neighborhood, even though they were not really able to afford frequenting these establishments.

A lot of work on commercial gentrification has been done by Sharon Zukin. She has researched the role of the commercial sector as agents of change in New York (Zukin, 2008; Zukin et al., 2009). The role of gentrifying commercial properties is evident, especially in later stages of gentrification: The arrival of large chain stores to former ghettos will benefit all residents, especially since these neighborhoods suffered from decades of disinvestment in commercial properties. However, at the same time, local corner shops will suffer from the fierce competition and will probably get displaced, although there is not much attention in the literature for this process. According to Zukin the commercial gentrification can boost the further development of gentrification in a neighborhood, as one of her respondents expressed: “retail space opens a neighborhood” (Zukin et al., 2009). However positive this development can be, it should not be forgotten that opening a neighborhood for one group might mean closure and exclusion for another group (Hyra, 2011). In gentrifying neighborhoods in Portland, Sullivan and Shaw (2011) found a remarkable difference in perception of the newly opened gentrified commercial properties among the original non-gentrifying residents. White people generally welcomed the new commercial services and used them, whereas most of the Black residents felt excluded. The reasons for this racial difference are unknown. What the study of Sullivan and Shaw made clear that in terms of desire for creative spaces and businesses, there is a deep divide in Portland between the working class and the creative bohemian cluster which is there. The praise of the city as a strong creative city by Florida (2002) might in fact need some nuance.

Another issue might be important to take into consideration as well. As already observed in chapter 2.2, at least for Dutch cities the role of good schools in the neighborhoods might play an important role as well, even though these are strictly speaking not commercial entities. In the work of Karsten (2003, 2014) and Boterman et al. (2010) gentrifying families with young children mention the existence of good school as an important reason to go and live in such neighborhoods, and adjust even there daily work patterns accordingly.

A stages model of commercial gentrification in the neighborhood

In the previous heading the influence of the commercial sector on the gentrification process in several neighborhoods is discussed, this heading will deal with the stages of commercial gentrification. First and foremost it is necessary to remark that virtually all studied neighborhoods going through gentrification experience a growth in the commercial sector. This is easy to explain, since there is catching up with a situation of disinvestment in retail that could have lasted for decades.

Earlier in this section, research of Freeman and Braconi, Doucet, Ernst and Sullivan and Shaw was mentioned, from which became clear that original non-gentrified residents make to a certain extent use of the gentrified commercial spaces in the neighborhood. Among other things, these amenities could provide possible meeting places for gentrifiers and non-gentrified residents, and could potentially increase social mixing (Clark, 2004; Florida, 2002). On the other hand, studies of Deener, Zukin and Sullivan and Shaw point towards a gentrifying middle class in search for “authenticity” and rejection of mass consumerism, which could all too easy lead to exclusion of the original non-gentrifying residents. Zukin (2008) and Zukin et al. (2009) go a step beyond the inclusion/exclusion debate in their studies into the long term effects of commercial gentrification. They observe in their

longitudinal study that the gentrifying neighborhoods Harlem and Williamsburg in New York went through different stages of commercial gentrification. In the pre-gentrified situation, in both neighborhoods around 9 out of 10 retail spaces were local shops, frequented by the original residents. Only few corporate chain stores existed as well as a similar low number of “hip” entrepreneurial businesses like art galleries or up-market restaurants. In the earlier stages of gentrification, it is especially the number of these hip up-market restaurants, coffee houses, clothing stores and art galleries which are increasing in percentage, a process called “Boutiqueing” by Zukin. It is in this stage that gentrifiers produce the symbolic ownership of the space (Deener, 2007; Sullivan & Shaw, 2011) and original non-gentrifying residents may feel culturally excluded as well as economically, not being able to afford the up-market services. After this initial phase of “creative businesses” moving in, investment in the area is seen as less risky and in the third stage more and more corporate owned mainstream chain stores are moving in the area (Zukin et al., 2009). The original non-gentrifying residents may feel less excluded in this stage, unlike some of the originally first stage gentrifiers, who resented the culture of mass consumption. Protests against further (commercial) gentrification from gentrifiers could be expected here. A good example of this are the protests against the MediaSpree developments in Berlin (Hesse & Lange, 2012), but also in the case of Venice, Los Angeles similar resistance to incoming investments from chain stores can be seen (Deener, 2007).

Very little research has been done in the exact make-up of the retail sector in non-gentrified neighborhoods and the changes in the retail sector in neighborhoods that go through a process of gentrification. One of the few studies into this change has been done by Meltzer and Schueltz (2012), they found that neighborhoods in New York in a pre-gentrified state have a lower density of commercial spaces, especially fewer and more unhealthy restaurants. The difference in other sectors are sometimes smaller, for example the density of clothing stores and pharmacies doesn't differ a lot. Food and grocery services stand out as being less developed than average. Like Zukin, Meltzer and Schultz found few chain stores in this pre-gentrified neighborhoods and the restaurants that existed were mostly unhealthy fast-food restaurants. Retail access improved in the entire New York area, but especially the gentrifying neighborhoods experienced a large increase in access to restaurants and grocery retail spaces, in itself not necessarily bad for original non-gentrifying residents, as long as these spaces do not cause exclusion. Similar findings have been reported for other cities in the USA. In another study: Urban areas going through an increase in income develop better retail access and diminish the so called food deserts that are associated with poor neighborhoods (Schuetz, Kolko, & Meltzer, 2012).

2.4 Citizen participation in processes of urban renewal

In several countries around the world a process of shifting from government to governance in the implementation of government policies is taking place. This means that the government is no longer just working top-down in directing what, when and where things should be done in their spatial planning policies. Instead, more attention is given to the local level, all the way down towards neighborhood communities, to ask them for input for the development of policies. In other words, a more bottom up approach. This section deals with citizen participation in spatial policies in general and in neighborhoods going through urban renewal processes, followed by an overview of lessons learned in the field of citizen participation in some post disaster situations in Europe and the USA. The section concludes with a framework for analyzing the existence or absence of citizen participation in urban renewal situations.

Citizen participation in spatial planning

Citizen participation is the degree to which residents in the neighborhood are active and involved in government policies. (Local) governments try more than before to involve citizens in planning spatial processes. In many societies there is a perceived gap between citizens and the government, citizen participation is one way of trying to bridge that gap. Instead of citizens and governments “opposing” each other, the ideal of citizen participation in urban planning is that government and citizens are partners (Kearns & Paddison, 2000; Vranken, DeDecker, & VanNieuwenhuyze, 2003). Citizen participation is part of the much debated and studied shift from government to governance. The concept of urban governance and to which policy areas it applies is very broad and therefore quite chaotic, even though there is a large body of literature on the subject (Obeng-Odoom, 2012). Nuisl and Heinrichs (2011) suggest in their article that urban governance, however being a vague concept, could provide some framework and reference point for involving citizens as one of the partners involved in the actual spatial planning processes. Before going into describing the practice of these citizen participation models from an urban governance point of view, I will first describe the causes of the shift from government to governance, to get a more clear understanding of the context in which this takes place.

There are several reasons for this shift in dealing with citizens, most scholars point to the fact that globalization causes governments to lose control several policy areas and cause the need to get citizens involved in the planning process, to create a certain level of support among the population (Vranken et al., 2003). Kearns and Paddington (2000) identify four effects of the ongoing process of globalization for local politics: More competition between cities, the development of distinctive urban cultures, the uncoupling of urban economies from national economies and an increasing international orientation of people. In the next paragraph, these effects will be discussed in more detail as they explain the need for local government to formulate policies with as much support from local residents as possible.

The process of globalization causes an increase in competition between cities, even within a country. Firstly, cities have to “sell” themselves to attract investors, now that capital flows are being increasingly international and less and less subject to national borders (Kearns & Paddison, 2000). Cities need more than ever to market themselves in attracting technological investments or major events like the Olympic Games. This involves changing from a traditional directive government into a government that thinks like a business and seeks to include citizens in finding out the identity of the city and asking them to help with the further development of it (Kotler, Haider, & Rein, 1993). Furthermore, as Beauregard & Haila (2000) point out, the functions of the city are changing and new types of cities are developing as result of the economic and social forces present. Secondly, to find, preserve and highlight specific elements of cities, in order to create a distinct urban culture, cities need to develop their image, which cannot be done without at least consultation of the local population to create support for these ideas. A clear and distinct urban culture and well developed urban image is (or should) actually be treated as a commodity, to attract tourists and investments (Kearns & Paddison, 2000; Kotler et al., 1993; Vranken et al., 2003). Thirdly, cities increasingly need to work on being attractive places, since cities in a globalizing world have less support from central governments. Lever (1997) speaks of cities de-linking with national economies, a process in which certain cities economically outperform or underperform in comparison to the national average economic development, if they are successful in attracting investment. One of the curious effects of globalization is the renewed importance for the regional level and hence also for the central city in

that region. This effect is also mentioned by Kearns and Paddison (2000) and Vranken et al. (2003), who further add to the discussion some notions about “entrepreneurial” cities, which are successfully able to fill the gaps left by the loss of control of the central government. As Lever (1997) has found in his research, companies looking for a place to invest found “local” characteristics equally important as macroeconomic factors in a country. Local factors included for example labor costs and the availability of qualified workers as well as local transport infrastructure. Finally, one of the ways to fill in the gaps that occur because of the loss of control and loss of support of the central governments, is the larger orientation to the international arena of cities and regions (Kearns & Paddison, 2000). In the EU member states for example, more and more large cities and regions open lobby offices in Brussels, to help them with attracting EU funding and support. Also the enormous growth of the number of branches of network organizations like World Trade Center, and the establishment of cross-border organizations like EU-regions are examples of this process. All these four effects of globalization lead to political decentralization, in order to let cities be more responsible for their own economic and spatial development. In the Netherlands for example, the decision was made to decentralize spatial planning to regions (provinces) and municipalities in 2004 (*Nota Ruimte: Ruimte voor ontwikkeling*).

Empowerment of local residents

Translating these considerations of the previous paragraph into practice, according to Andersen and Van Kempen (2003), the changing role of the government into one of governance can be seen in the following measures that are taken to increase citizen involvement in spatial planning issues:

1. A focus on the empowerment of the inhabitants of cities and specific neighborhoods
2. A replacement of universalist by area based targeted policies
3. An attempt to integrate policy fields
4. A growing usage of covenants as policy regulation.

To successfully apply these four points, first and foremost, it is important to focus on empowerment of the local residents. Empowerment of these inhabitants means actions on three dimensions: Construction of a new identity based on a mutual understanding of powerlessness (government cannot function properly without citizens and vice versa), secondly the competence to participate and act within the political system and thirdly the anchoring of institutions in the community. The idea of empowerment in governance is not without criticism. Empowerment without a clear vision may struggle to create a common identity, recognizable to skeptical or uninterested local citizens. And those who do get empowered are probably not representative for the community as a whole (Blanc & Beaumont, 2005; Edwards, 1997; John, 2009; Lowndes & Sullivan, 2004; Matthews, 2012). John (2009) however does find a slightly larger participation of young people and ethnic minorities in his study into effects of civic participation efforts by the UK government. Furthermore, as Andersen and Van Kempen (2003) notice, as time goes by waiting for plans that are made and arranging of financial support and negotiating suggestions, even enthusiastic people may give up. Even though, at least the Dutch government in its vision and plans for the coming years seems to be moving in the direction of putting responsibilities for development of neighborhoods as much as possible with the people in the neighborhood and move into a more facilitative role to support local initiatives (“Troonrede,” 2013). As far as replacing Universalist policies by more targeted ones is concerned, the Dutch Big Cities Policy is a good example of this shift. It is an area based holistic approach to urban renewal, and set of measures that are part of this policy reflect this. It leaves room for local governments to adapt and use their own approach. The main strength of the targeted area based

policies is the cross-sectorial approach which leaves a lot more space for bottom up input from businesses and communities (Andersen & van Kempen, 2003; Van Kempen, 2000). The integration of policy fields is the third set of measures, cities are complex and the reasons for deprived neighborhoods likewise. Just improving housing and not looking at other fields will probably not solve problems. As Andersen and Van Kempen (2003) notice, a healthy city has a strong economic, physical and social structure. Integration of policy means also that the participants have to plan and work together to plan the timing of different actions that are taken (Van Kempen, 2000). The fourth shift according to Andersen & Van Kempen is the intention to have more result driven policies, in which contracts or covenants are made with participants, in which appointments are made about responsibilities and obligation to reach certain targets. Andersen & Van Kempen mention the example that a city in negotiations with provincial or central government can decide to put extra attention on combatting drug usage if this is a major problem, instead of for example fighting unemployment. In the negotiations based on the problems and opportunities of an individual city, goals and targets can be formulated.

From the literature mentioned in the previous paragraph, it can be concluded that empowerment of local citizens lies at the core of citizen participation, in other words, to get them from passive bystanders to active and responsible citizens (Andersen & van Kempen, 2003). To get local citizens effectively around the table in participation processes, requires that, according to Fung (2004), at least the following pitfalls are prevented:

1. Strong rational choice perspective
2. Strong egalitarianism
3. Insufficient social capital
4. Cultural differences
5. Expertise perspective

As Fung argues, citizen participation processes can get stuck and fail because of the rational choice perspective, in which citizens can develop free-rider behavior: others doing the work and still getting the benefits. Besides this, empowered residents may choose to pursue mainly their own interests instead of those of the community as a whole. Also strong egalitarianism can be problematic, as background differences in class, race and material resources could prevent effective communication and a therefore good and fair outcomes. It is often seen that higher class residents are overrepresented in these processes. Then as Fung continues to argue, the lack of social capital in a neighborhood can prevent effective mobilization of residents in the first place. Also cultural differences among neighborhood citizens can play an important role, culturally advantaged parties may end up with more than their fair share. The final problem which, according to Fung, may occur is that citizens are not planning experts and bestowing this role upon them, may slow down the process or turn out to be counterproductive. The question then rises how to design a process in such way that these pitfalls can be avoided and how to empower citizens to participate. Fung argues that information and trainings for both policy makers and residents are key to developing empowerment of citizens, something that has to be done before the actual citizen participation process starts. In other words, trust building between the different actors. This same point of trust and having the feeling of being taken seriously is also mentioned as being of paramount importance in the study by Raspe, Vanschoren, & Van Hooijdonk (2002) before any useful and effective neighborhood participation process can take place. In chapter 4 can be read how the authorities designed this process for Roombeek.

Citizen participation in urban renewal

The increasing role of citizen participation in spatial planning processes, leads to questions about how and in which phase of the process, citizens should be involved. The concept of citizen participation is very broad and is taking place within the shift from government to governance as discussed in the previous heading. Atkinson (1999) for example provides a study of what is necessary to have a meaningful cooperation and participation in planning processes of the different groups involved. Kearns & Forrest (2000) point out that strong social cohesion in neighborhoods could help in this process, but could also cause tension, if the cohesion within groups is very strong, which usually leads to conflicts or suspicion about the intention of other groups, *“social cohesion at the neighborhood level is by no means unambiguously a good thing”*. Another question is at which stage citizens should get involved in the planning process, some practical suggestions for this have been done by Wilcox (1994) for example in his guidebook about effective participation, based on his practical experience in this field. Blanc and Beaumont (2005) speak about citizen participation as an effective tool to prevent the displacement of the poorest original non-gentrifying residents in urban renewal programs and illustrate this with examples from several cities around the world, among others from the Netherlands. This view is criticized by Huisman (2014), who concluded from her study into the effects of citizen participation as currently practiced in Amsterdam, that it actually was used as a tool to displace residents from gentrifying neighborhoods. Huisman observed that residents from to be gentrified properties were put under pressure to cooperate with the plans of the housing corporations for demolition of their current property and subsequent relocation to a different neighborhood. Also Uitermark (2009) criticizes the view that citizen participation leads to protection of the poorest and most vulnerable citizens. Opposite interests of the citizens and the neoliberal oriented policies of the housing corporations and the city government lead to an increase of owner occupied housing, without taking the interests of the residents of the neighborhoods involved into consideration, Uitermark remarks: State sponsored urban renewal is a thinly disguised form of gentrification, in which the interests of the original people are not taken into consideration.

Taking a step back and looking into the idea of what citizen participation was originally meant to be, it is necessary to look at some of the models that have been developed. One of the most influential model for citizen participation, the so-called “citizen participation ladder” was developed by Arnstein (1969), to help facilitate policy makers with setting out their strategy. Citizen participation can occur on several levels, ranging from an initial consultation of the citizens about the proposed plans to the negotiation with citizens about the proposed plans or parts of it, towards the highest level of participation, so called joint-decision about the proposed plans:

- In most European countries consultation is required by law (for example in France and The Netherlands), citizens entering this first level of citizen participation however do expect that something will be done with their suggestions (Duyvendak & Krouwel, 2001; Marissing, 2005). In several cases this is happening, but also in several cases, things go already wrong in this stage. Nicholls (2006) for example, explains failure in France to come to meaningful use of consultation procedures, by the complicated and lengthy bureaucratic procedures. In some other cases around the world, real citizen participation failed, because decisions had already been made about most issues at hand and citizen consultation was mere lip-service that was being paid (Gotham, 2014; Talen, 2008) or in other cases, an unclear political and judicial context of the planning process can lead to decision makers ignoring the work done by citizens, as Hajer (2005) observed.

- Blanc and Beaumont (2005) wrote in their study about the next stage of citizen participation, which involves negotiation of the suggestions. This level of citizen participation is usually quite difficult, as tensions will probably arise within communities, since there will always be conflicts of interests among residents themselves as well as with the interests of the government. Another difficult question in this phase is who to invite to the negotiation table, individual citizens or interest groups representing citizens (in order to avoid the earlier mentioned problem of non-representative empowered people from the neighborhood).
- The third and highest level is the so-called joint-decision making, in which citizens can vote for the proposals. This can be for example in the form of a referendum. In her article in which she introduced the citizen participation ladder, Arnstein (1969) warned policy makers that in order to have real citizen involvement, it is necessary to share decision making power with the citizens, otherwise the process would be frustrating for powerless actors/participating citizens.

According to Erik van Marissing (2008) and Duyvendak & Krouwel (2001), there have only been slow steps forward in the actual involvement of citizens in urban planning processes in the Netherlands, still the idea of citizen participation is often seen as a nuisance by several decision makers. One of the reasons for this is probably that citizens can usually only speak at the end of the planning process when not much changes to the plans can be made anymore. When looking at the Netherlands, and the Dutch policy of citizen participation in Urban Renewal Programs, a couple of motives for it can be identified. One of the reasons is to draw people suffering from exclusion back into the attention of policy makers, something that has been explicitly stated by the Dutch ministry of home affairs (*Samenwerken aan een krachtige stad*, 2004), as well as in social responsibility statements of housing corporations. Another motive that is mentioned is the increasing effectiveness of the policy making procedures, thus saving costs (Atkinson, 1999; Sprinkhuizen, 2001). Participation of citizens is used to increase the involvement of the residents to their neighborhood, so that plans for urban renewal will have more support (Sprinkhuizen, 2001). Critics of this approach, like for example Marinetto (2003), argue that in many cases citizen participation is just part of political rhetoric and strategic calculations of the government, and the government never intended to actually include the citizen proposals in the final plans. Also the argument that citizen participation would be saving time and costs has been criticized, some of the Dutch projects seem to have been considerably delayed because of extensive citizen participation, one of the reasons being that citizens sometimes lack the expertise about technical issues or lack the vision needed to think on a larger scale than the level of their own street (Blanc & Beaumont, 2005; Van Beckhoven & Aalbers, 2005). From their work could be concluded that it might be good to limit the extent to which citizens are involved or at least make clear limitations to the extent to which they are involved.

Citizen participation in post disaster situations of urban renewal

Governments around the world have usually been quite eager to come with firm plans and promises of improved conditions, in situations which require urban renewal programs after (natural) disasters (Olshansky et al., 2008). In The Netherlands large (natural) disasters occur – fortunately – only seldom. The last time a major natural disaster hit the country was in 1953, when large parts of the Zeeland province were flooded and 1835 people perished (Slager, 2003). In the aftermath of this disaster, the decision was made to improve the countryside as much as possible according to the then popular planning methods, which led to the non-rebuilding of several hamlets, especially on the island of Schouwen-Duiveland (Drijgers, 2003; Slager, 2002). Slager explains that this decision was

made by the government planners on the assumption that livability in very small rural communities with the ongoing mechanization and declining employment in agriculture would cause high unemployment and social problems, as available work was no longer there on the farm next door, but had to be searched for in larger communities. The accessibility of these jobs would be quite poor, if these people would continue to live in small rural hamlets. The large flooding gave a good pretext to do this kind of social/spatial engineering. At the same time, in most of the villages and towns, the damage was repaired but no gentrification processes could be observed. In several villages emergency (wooden) housing was donated from several Scandinavian countries, designed to last for only a couple of years. However, these houses were larger and more comfortable than most of the previous/other houses in the village and proved to be very durable as well. Several of these emergency houses became permanent and still exist today ("Stavenisser noodwoningen," 2011). Gentrification as defined in one of the previous headings, however did simply not occur. There are no reports about displacement from certain neighborhoods because of rising prices, whatsoever as results of this disaster. What became very clear however from Slager's (2002) study into the abandoned village of Capelle was that there was no citizen participation at all in the planning of the reconstruction, a complete top-down approach was used. Even though people protested from being expelled from their homes, the planning authorities who at the time firmly believed in the idea of socially engineered societies enforced their decisions without any considerations to the wishes and requests of the people involved.

When looking at Roombeek, things are totally different. Unlike in Zeeland in 1953, there was already a clear agenda for improvement of the neighborhood from the local government, well before the fireworks disaster. Citizen participation in the redevelopment of the original plans was only foreseen as quite limited, as required by the legal system (Denters & Klok, 2010; Vollaard, 1998). But after the disaster, the approach changed and the government made the decision that the citizen participation in the rebuilding of Roombeek should be as strong as possible. No other post-disaster reconstruction situations with citizen participation on this scale have been carried out in the Netherlands, besides Roombeek. It is therefore necessary to look at cases of destruction after (natural) disasters outside the Netherlands. A comparison can then be made, about how governments dealt with citizen participation in the rebuilding process elsewhere in the world. This information can be used to construct a meaningful theoretical framework and can be used to compare and analyze the steps taken by the urban planners of Enschede.

One of the most studied cases of reconstruction is about the city of New Orleans after hurricane Katrina, many studies have been written about the reconstruction plans and citizen participation as part of these, among others Olshansky (2006), Kates et al. (2006) and Talen (2008). Another major hurricane with a lot of damage was the 1992 Hurricane Andrew, which struck parts of Florida (Zhang & Peacock, 2010), making large scale reconstructions necessary. In New York, after the terrorist attacks on 9/11, 2001 also reconstruction were necessary, a process studied by Hajer (2005). In Europe, recent disasters that led to destruction of property were for example the Hungary sludge disaster ("Hungary declares state of emergency after sludge disaster," 2010) or flooding of the Danube and Elbe rivers in 2013 (Böhme, 2013; Mayr, 2013). In the following paragraphs the amount of citizen participation in the reconstruction process after these crisis situations will be discussed.

The extreme high water in June 2013 in the Danube and Elbe rivers caused extensive flooding in Germany. In the Danube basin the city of Passau was severely affected (Mayr, 2013) and in the Elbe

basin, the village of Fischbeck in Sachsen-Anhalt was most hit by flooding (Böhme, 2013). In total 25 persons were killed in the floods and 4 more reported missing in all affected countries. The damage was estimated to be 12 Billion Euro in Germany alone, in destruction of property (Gennies, Funk, Schlegel, & Dehmer, 2013). The plans for reconstruction were characterized by a localized bottom-up approach, in which people simply repaired or rebuild their damaged property, by giving them funds to do this, in case of non or underinsurance (Böhme, 2013; Mayr, 2013). There was no generalized agenda on improving the living conditions. Critics also stated that there was not enough attention for further development of water safety measures (Gennies et al., 2013). There was not such a thing as an overall governmental strategy for redevelopment, and as such makes it difficult to use this example for describing citizen participation in planning redevelopment strategies after disasters.

Another recent tragedy in Europe was the so called Red Sludge Disaster in Hungary in 2010. It was caused by a dam break of the reservoir of the Aluminum factory near the villages of Kolontár and Devecser in Western Hungary. The dam break caused a stream of toxic red mud, to engulf these villages, causing 10 people to lose their lives and damage to 360 houses, of which 306 were so badly damaged that they needed to be demolished ("Hungary declares state of emergency after sludge disaster," 2010; "Red Sludge Spill in Hungary: One year after the accident," 2011). Response to the disaster from the government has been very quick, and around one year later the affected area was cleaned up and new houses were renovated or reconstructed. The swift action of the government in rebuilding the damaged buildings seemingly brought the situation back to normal in the area, except for the nearby second hand market, the largest of the country, located next to the dam. This market reported strongly declining numbers of visitors, mainly due to fears of bad air quality, caused by red dust, coming from the sludge stored in the reservoir. The market itself states that they are monitoring very closely the air quality and that no harmful effects on market visitors have been reported ("Devecseri piac | A devecseri lomis piac hivatalos oldala, "). Cragg (2012) explains in his report that in the reconstruction process there was no plan for improvement of the villages involved in the disaster, but instead just a reconstruction of the previous houses, without involvement of citizens. The situation of the second hand market is an illustration of this lack of a generalized agenda for improvement, as it still continues to be located in a potentially hazardous area. As a conclusion of the Hungarian disaster: The whole reconstruction process was characterized by a speedy return to the status quo, but again doesn't add to the body of knowledge of citizen participation in post-disaster situations.

Recent well-studied examples of how citizens could be involved in planning processes of reconstruction following disasters can be found in the United States. An interesting example of post-disaster reconstruction is given by Zhang and Peacock (2010), in researching the aftermath of hurricane Andrew in 1992. The authors focused in their study on the reconstruction of single family homes and their value. They found that owner-occupied housing was among the fastest to recover and rental homes were lagging behind, since the owners of rental properties might be reluctant to invest again in potentially hazardous areas, since the return on investment would probably be lower than before. Zhang and Peacock further found a disturbing percentage of abandonment of property following the disaster. One of the conclusions of their research and that of earlier studies, for example by Bolin (1985) is that the government of the USA only plays a very limited role in the reconstruction process. The home owners receive insurance payments or in certain cases of non- or underinsurance, special support from the federal disaster aid loans. Again here, like in Germany, house owners are given financial support, but for the rest they need to repair their property

themselves. In the case of Hurricane Andrew however, insurance payments and loans were most likely not high enough, leading to in some cases rather slow reconstruction rates. In several parts of the affected cities and towns, properties were even abandoned, leading to potential problems for the vividness of neighborhoods and can cause a vicious circle of neighborhood decline or a serious delay in the reconstruction process (Zhang & Peacock, 2010).

A different approach and stronger influence of the government in the reconstruction process after a natural disaster could be observed after the devastating hurricane Katrina, which led to destruction and flooding of large parts of New Orleans. About 80% of the city was flooded and experienced damage or destruction and the loss of life of around 1300 inhabitants (Olshansky et al., 2008). The largest part of the city was located between the river banks of the Mississippi river and Lake Pontchartrain, in a sort of bowl, located below the sea level. Already in the years before Katrina, several warnings had been given by scientists about the dangerous situation because of the inadequate quality of the dikes (Kates et al., 2006). Nothing was done with these warnings: New Orleans lacked a general planning agenda and had outdated urban zoning regulations. Given the dangerous location of the city in the Mississippi river delta, the general opinion was that new urban planning measures had to be developed, to prevent or at least minimize future flooding damage and loss of life (Kates et al., 2006; Olshansky, 2006). Unfortunately this disaster proved once again that poor urban residents usually live in the most dangerous places, and in the case of the USA it often also coincides with racial issues, as most of the poorest urban dwellers in these most affected neighborhoods are African Americans. Most of the victims of the flooding caused by Katrina came from this ethnic group (Gotham, 2014; Kates et al., 2006; Olshansky, 2006).

Lessons from earlier major natural disasters in the USA (for example the San Francisco earthquake of 1906) were taken into account during the reconstruction process of New Orleans. Olshansky (2006) indicates five mechanisms in his study: First, urban systems are resilient and will generally reemerge at the same location. Second, recovery is an ongoing process that is a gradual and open ended. Third, external funding is crucial, but local flexibility is needed. Fourth, households and businesses with higher socio-economic status have better access to funding and are better integrated in networks and recover faster. And fifth, political attention is generally crucial for the allocation of ample funding. Olshansky further explains in his article about the main tension in post-reconstruction planning, the tension between speed of recovery and deliberation. Speed of recovery is often good to keep economic and social networks intact, and is good for businesses suffering from the disaster and usually brings good political results and increased support for the governments involved. However, a hasty recovery after a disaster unfortunately often means there is not enough time to think over decisions and involve citizens in the planning process to actually improve the livability of a city/neighborhood in the long run. The earlier mentioned example of the hastily recovery in Hungary after the red sludge disaster is an example of this. In the case of New Orleans, reconstruction started off rather slow, when compared to the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, indicating among other things a serious attention of the urban planners into creating a new and more sustainable city and opted for selective rebuilding and a different style of zoning (Ehrenfeucht & Nelson, 2011; Kates et al., 2006; Talen, 2008). However, the large attention of the several planning authorities actually caused a delay in the reconstruction process, Olshansky et al. (2008) for example wrote about an environment of distrust in the city and a scarcity of available funding for the local governments, leading to fights and delays in the implementation of the plans. Talen (2008) observed the same problems.

When looking at the return rate of the flooding-displaced persons it became obvious that the poorest African American citizens which were living in the most dangerous areas of the city, returned the latest and the least in numbers. Furthermore, the support in federal and state funding for disaster recovery was used in such a way that it was discriminatory for them and limited the possibility for them to obtain a fair share of the aid dollars that were given to the city (Gotham, 2014). The predominantly African American victims and the damages to their neighborhoods and the subsequent political fighting over the reconstruction funds, caused the city to develop a bad image of a poverty stricken hole, potentially leading to less private investments in the reconstruction of city property and services (Gotham, 2007). The city administration therefore, understood that in the planning process some clear choices had to be made in which parts of the city to rebuild and which parts not. "High ground first, the rest maybe" was an often heard quote (Kates et al., 2006). Unfortunately for the poor residents in New Orleans, this meant that there were less possibilities for them in getting adequate property back as result of the disaster. Olshansky et al. (2008) note that several years after the disaster still many residents did not or could not return to the city. Only in 2011, the number of inhabitants was back to 90% of the pre-disaster level (Kamel, 2012). As a result, New Orleans lost a sizeable amount of its population. This situation was not entirely unexpected, Kates et al. (2006) and Ehrenfeucht & Nelson (2011) already wrote that many urban planners considered a smaller New Orleans to be a more sustainable city and developed plans accordingly.

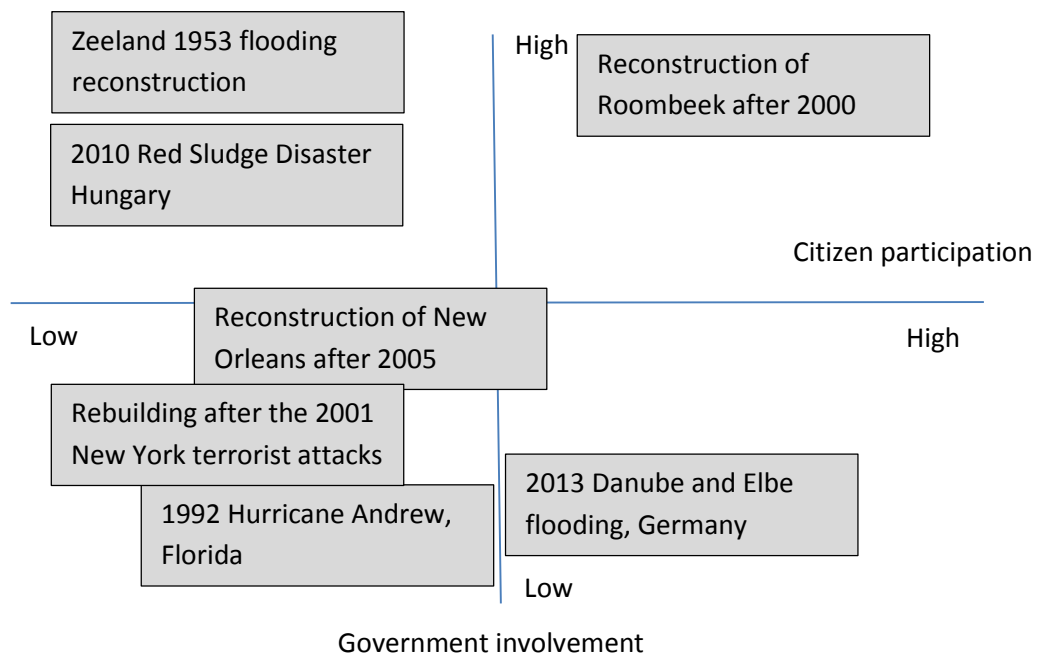
Since the policy of the city government and the urban planners involved was to avoid rebuilding of property in the lowest and most dangerous areas of the city, the government became much more involved in the reconstruction process than in the earlier described case of hurricane Andrew from 1992. At the same time, not everyone was pleased with the way the reconstruction went. Even though the government became more involved, supposedly trying to improve living conditions for everyone. However even though the government has a strategy to brand the reconstructed New Orleans to be a reborn and rejuvenated city (Gotham, 2007), many critical voices remain about the actual planning process. First of all, several authors criticize the planning process itself: Whereas the idea was that citizens could participate and help create how their new city should look like, authors like Talen (2008), Gotham (2014) and Kamel (2012) stated that important decisions, for example about the location of infrastructure had already been made, or reconstruction decisions were made in a discriminatory way, and that the actual citizen participation in the planning process was only superficial and about issues of secondary importance. Critics wrote about the urban planners, paying only a mere lip service to the idea of citizen participation. Also the general confusion and changing deadlines for proposals related to applying for reconstruction funding caused trouble for low income and deprived citizens. Most citizens felt there was by far not enough support in the end, as reconstruction funds were calculated on the basis of actual property value just before the disaster, a situation that was unfavorable for previously deprived neighborhoods (Gotham, 2014). A reason for these problems in terms of the inadequate citizen participation could be that, as Olshansky et al. (2008) observe, the strong political and media attention after the disaster and the tight politically motivated deadlines for reconstruction, allowed time for only superficial citizen participation. Other criticism on the outcome of the planning process came from the New Orleans African American community, who felt excluded from the decision making process. Emily Talen (2008) wrote in her study into the ideas of the urban planners, that the city was largely rebuilt according to the ideas of the new urbanism philosophy with its ideals of mixed income neighborhoods, which would in practice turn out to be a form of gentrification. This was not looked very favorable upon by the

African American community, some of which called the result of the reconstruction to be “pleasing for the former slave-masters” and “a form of ethnic cleansing in New Orleans” (Davis, 2005). As already earlier noticed by Olshansky, one of the specific problems of New Orleans was the environment of mistrust, these quotes are an example of this. In general, reconstruction after Katrina has transformed New Orleans into a more gentrified city, a process observed by Ehrenfeucht & Nelson (2013), who investigated migration into New Orleans after Katrina. They found in their study a large inflow of young higher educated people into New Orleans, dedicated to help after the disaster, but decided to stay in the city, thereby unknowingly acting as agents of change and contributing to gentrification of several neighborhoods. Studies by Kamel (2012) and Gotham (2014) showed that although the city has gotten almost the number of people back as before the disaster, still the make-up of the population has shifted. A sizeable percentage of former African American residents, had to find housing in other parts of the state. As a conclusion, the role of the government and urban planners in the reconstruction process after hurricane Katrina was far greater than after hurricane Andrew, but was still limited, when compared to the extent to which the Enschede government participated in the reconstruction of Roombeek. More detailed information about Roombeek and the planning strategy used can be found in chapter 3.

The final example of the process of citizen participation in a post disaster situation is the aftermath of the 9/11 2001 terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York. The decision was to rebuild the towers with consultation from the public, especially from the ones who had lost family members, on thinking about the design of the area. Hajer (2005) explains in his article about the process and discourse of the citizen participation meetings. He concludes that even though a complete plan, which was partially based on the citizen participation, came out of it, it failed. Hajer gives as reasons the complex situation and only vague commitments to openness, without clearly written down procedures. Questions of exact ownership of the area caused an uneasy situation among the main decision makers. This combined with the high economic stakes and the request of the families of the victims for a place for remembrance as well as a symbolic statement towards freedom made it almost impossible to design something that would satisfy the needs of everyone. The unclear legal status about who owned what, caused years of delay and the final reconstruction plans, largely ignored the plans which were created with the citizens, leading to feelings of bitterness among the families of the victims (NY1 News, 2014).

When comparing all these examples of citizen participation, or sometimes maybe better said, non-participation, a graphic figure emerges, with two axes. One of them indicate the level of involvement of governments/urban planning departments as opposed to market driven initiatives, the other axis indicates the involvement of citizens, in situations of gentrification and urban renewal caused by disaster situations. These axes lead to four different quadrants of policy strategies, each of which have their own characteristics and dynamics as well as advantages and disadvantages. In this section several case studies of reconstruction and urban renewal processes were discussed. All the responses to the different disasters discussed in this section are visually represented in figure 2.1, based on their characteristics found in the literature. Reconstruction of New Orleans following hurricane Katrina is, because of its scale and many controversies surrounding the reconstruction of the city, hard to put within one of the quadrants.

Figure 2.1: Dimensions of post-disaster reconstruction planning



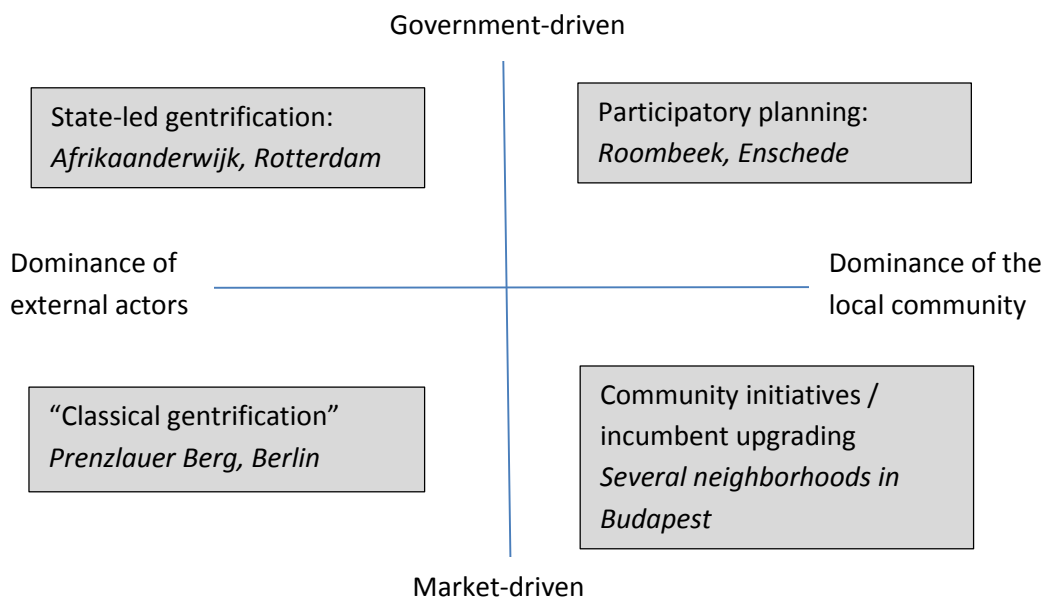
As a conclusion of all previous sections of this theoretical framework chapter, dealing with gentrification and urban renewal as well as citizen participation in post disaster situations, it is good to identify and summarize the different strategies used. One way of doing this is to use the mechanisms described in the previous sections of this chapter, and combine these with the different examples which were mentioned. The different quadrants of figure 2.1 can then be given a name which characterizes the main line of thought which has been the driving force behind the actions that have been taken in either post disaster reconstruction process or other forms of urban renewal and gentrification. From the previous sections, in all the examples that were mentioned, it becomes clear that there is a continuum in the driving force of gentrification and urban renewal processes, with on one end of the continuum the government and on the other end the market. All examples described in this chapter are a combination of both, also based on culture and planning tradition of countries. In the USA urban renewal and gentrification is generally more market driven whereas in Europe there is generally more government influence. Hackworth and Smith (2001) for example comment in their article on the “Changing State of Gentrification” on the shifts back and forth on this market – government continuum. However, as also became clear from the examples mentioned in this chapter, that the local communities going through gentrification not just bystanders, but can be and often are involved in the process of planning and change of their neighborhood. To be complete, this other continuum, that of the dominant actors in the processes of urban renewal has to be taken into account as well. This continuum can range from a complete dominance of external investors in the planning process to a complete dominance of the local community. In practice, all neighborhoods are probably somewhere between these two extremes, based on the social and economic capital of their inhabitants, as for example described for neighborhoods in London by Butler & Robson (2001). The resulting figure 2.2, is based on the work of Van Weesep & Van Kempen (1994) on different styles of gentrification (with the addition of gentrification/urban renewal in the form of participatory planning which they did not observe during their study in Utrecht), provides a visual representation of the urban renewal strategies used in different neighborhoods and allows for a framework of analysis of

the specific situation of the Roombeek neighborhood. From the literature review in this chapter, four different European neighborhoods are selected and put as examples in each quadrant: A well-known European example of a neighborhood going through “classical gentrification” is Prenzlauer Berg in Berlin, as described by both Urban (2007) and Levine (2004). Local incumbent upgrading (“Façade renovation and maybe more”) is visible in many neighborhoods in for example Budapest (Kovacs et al., 2013). Posthumus, Kleinhans & Bolt (2012) and Duyvendak, Uitermark & Kleinhans (2006) wrote about the effects of state led gentrification in Rotterdam. The Afrikaanderwijk in this city is an example of one of the neighborhoods that is currently undergoing a process of gentrification that can be classified as state-led (Koenders, 2014). Finally, there is a last quadrant, in which there is real cooperation between government and citizens. In the existing academic literature on the reconstruction of Roombeek, the process is described by Denters & Klok (2008, 2009, 2010), as a situation of “full participation”, by Colenbrander (2002) as a “hyperpoldermodel” and by architectural supervisor Pi de Bruijn as:

Dutch planning tradition is a very much top down tradition...it is basically a money making affair. The city wants to make money, big developers want to make money, and they just fill in the area, VINEX style. And basically that is it, a machine to make money. And the people are like animals that fill the boxes. They can opt between A, B or C that's it. That has been our tradition over 25 years. Now, that approach was not applicable after the disaster in Enschede because it would have been too cynical to use that planning model. It would act as a kind of punishment that would have come on top of those poor people that lost their neighborhood and their relatives. So that is why the idea was born that for this particular occasion we should invent a fully new planning model that basically would incorporate this poor people that were victim of this disaster. They selected me as supervising urban planner for it (P. de Bruijn, 8 July 2014, personal communication).

All of them think of the planning process as something different from the ordinary situation of urban renewal in The Netherlands. Reconstruction of Roombeek therefore fits within the fourth, the participatory planning quadrant, characterized an approach that is strongly government driven, similar to other post-disaster reconstruction situations, but at the same time with a strong input from the local people. Of course there should be found an equilibrium between citizen input on the one hand and the expertise of professional planners on the other hand to create the optimal planning result (Fung, 2004). At least that was the idea. In the field work part of this study (in particular chapter 4 and 5), the specifics of this process are elaborated and reflected upon.

Figure 2.2: Dimensions of urban renewal strategies for neighborhoods



2.5 Neighborhood satisfaction

Neighborhood satisfaction is a topic that has been studied a lot and from many different disciplines as well. It is the resultant outcome of the experience with different components, the characteristics of the neighborhood. This section is an overview of different literature on this subject and will give insight in the main issues that people are concerned with, when evaluating their residential experience within the context of the neighborhood. For this study, the focus will be on the relation between neighborhood satisfaction and the reconstruction process of the Roombeek neighborhood and the possible influence of the specific reconstruction process on the satisfaction of residents living through the reconstruction and gentrification in this neighborhood.

Defining neighborhood satisfaction

The neighborhood as a concept itself has gained a prominent place in the planning and scientific study of cities, at least since the times of the 19th century Industrial Revolution and the subsequent strong urbanization. Neighborhoods were and are seen as places within cities where something of old historical communities are preserved, these are the areas where the daily life of urban dwellers takes place and people have links to those around them and share probably the same moral views and have more or less the same social economic status and ideas about social order. Parents try to seek good neighborhoods for their children to grow up in (Ellen & Turner, 1997; Forrest & Kearns, 2001). The general view is that the more cohesive the neighborhood is, the more convenient it is to live in and therefore can be expected to have a high neighborhood satisfaction (Dijk & Oppelaar, 2007; Putnam, 2000). However, some interesting and even puzzling things occur when relating social cohesion and neighborhood satisfaction, for example giving and receiving informal help from neighbors doesn't influence the neighborhood satisfaction and the amount of racial diversity within a neighborhood causes neighborhood satisfaction to drop, even though people would be involved in interactions with neighbors of a different nationality or race on a daily basis, they still would trust

them less than people of the same race or nationality (Letki, 2008). Already in one of the earlier sections was mentioned that social cohesion in itself may not necessarily be a good thing, as it can lead to tensions within or between neighborhoods (Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Kearns & Forrest, 2000), therefore negatively influencing neighborhood satisfaction, is something to keep in mind when studying neighborhoods. A detailed analysis of which factors influence social cohesion in the neighborhood and the influence policy makers can have on these factors, falls outside the scope of this study, an extensive overview on these issues can be found in the study done by Marissing (2008).

When looking at the literature about neighborhood satisfaction, in measuring a fuzzy term like neighborhood satisfaction, most authors use a single question: "How satisfied are you with the neighborhood you live in?" See for example (Dijk & Oppelaar, 2007; Parkes, Kearns, & Atkinson, 2002; Permentier, Bolt, & van Ham, 2011; Vanderleyden & Pickery, 2010) and relate the answer on this question using a multilevel statistical analysis to individual and neighborhood factors. Others, for example Lu (1999) however argue that several factors should be taken into consideration, at least both housing satisfaction and neighborhood satisfaction should be measured separately. For this study I opt for the single question approach, as I assume that Roombeek residents will be satisfied or very satisfied with their housing (See chapter 4.4). When looking at the outcomes of the multilevel statistics applied in several studies, the majority of the variance found can be explained by personal characteristics. Van Dijk & Oppelaar (2007) in a study of several Dutch cities found that only 12.5% of the variance could be explained by neighborhood characteristics. A similarly low percentage was found in a study in Flanders by Vanderleyden & Pickery (2010). Although the percentage of variance explained is relatively modest, some of the neighborhood characteristics are nonetheless statistically significant. Almost all of the studies, which are carried out in Europe, mentioned in this paragraph had the same findings, only a few statistically significant relations between certain neighborhood characteristics and neighborhood satisfaction, to be precise: The satisfaction with the general appearance of the neighborhood (level of physical decay), satisfaction with the quality of the housing, the percentage of non-western immigrants, noise generated by neighbors and the percentage of people with low-incomes (Dijk & Oppelaar, 2007; Lee & Guest, 1983; Parkes et al., 2002; Vanderleyden & Pickery, 2010), with access to services and shops only of secondary importance. One of the conclusions about improving neighborhood satisfaction from these authors is that improvement of the built environment is very important for improving the general neighborhood satisfaction. However, the perceived satisfaction of residents with their neighborhood is a very subjective experience, among other things based on the age group, the length of residence in a certain neighborhood, the financial means of the individual and also on cultural issues (Francescato & Tomai, 2001; Parkes et al., 2002; Permentier et al., 2011). Studies done by Permentier et al. (2011) and Kearns & Parkinson (2001) found that people who had a choice in their residential location usually feel more satisfied as well with the neighborhood. For Roombeek this would mean that among the returning residents there will probably be a positive effect on neighborhood satisfaction, because these residents made the decision to come back to Roombeek, instead of staying in the neighborhood where they were relocated right after the disaster which destroyed their original homes.

Satisfaction with gentrification and urban renewal

Another interesting issue about neighborhood satisfaction is the question if and how citizen participation in the planning/redevelopment of the neighborhood leads to more satisfaction with the neighborhood. There are only a few studies dealing with measuring the results on neighborhood

satisfaction and effects of citizen involvement in urban renewal strategies. Already in chapter 2.4 was mentioned that the citizen participation in the planning process following hurricane Katrina was not optimal (Ehrenfeucht & Nelson, 2013; Talen, 2008), leading to clear disappointment and even anger among some of the local non-gentrifying residents (Davis, 2005). Similar disappointment with citizen participation and the results of it in the end, can be found in many Dutch neighborhoods going through a process of urban renewal and/or state-led gentrification, as reported by for example Van Marissing (2008), Duyvendak & Krouwel (2001) or Van Beckhoven & Aalbers (2005). An extensive analysis of the process of citizen participation in the restructuring plans for the town De Bilt have been described by Edelenbos (2000). He writes about the feelings of disappointment among the participating citizens and the difficulty that governments have with delegating power to the citizen initiatives and plans. It is a picture which emerges from several studies into this subject: Reactions of disappointment among the participating citizens, because of late involvement, when the plans are almost finished. A telling example for this is the planning of the construction of a park on a former railroad yard next to the office of the organization ZKU Berlin, in the neighborhood Moabit. One of the leaders of ZKU Berlin tells about his experience with the citizen participation in the planning of the park:

We were happy to hear that we would get a park next to our building. The EU even gave quite a lot of funds for the construction of it. Ah, and according to the law the city planners had to ask the people from the neighborhood for their opinion. First we thought, cool...let's participate, it would be great to think about some creative way to develop the park. But then, when we participated in the meetings, it was pretty clear the plans were already finished. They hired some fancy landscape architect, who basically just designed a grass field with some trees. The only thing we could still decide upon was whether to have two or three trees at a certain spot and whether they should be planted one meter more to the left or the right. Nah...come on, that is no serious way of treating your citizens! Now, look at it [Pointing at the park], is this grass field really all that could have been done with this former rail yard?

In terms of success stories for citizen participation in Dutch urban planning, Denters & Klok (2009) point to the citizen planning process of the municipality of Enschede in reconstructing Roombeek, a planning process that was receiving several awards for its excellent procedure for citizen participation (Mol & Voest, 2007; Ravenstein, 2008). Other Dutch examples for citizen participation in urban renewal programs which were considered to be at least partly successful are mentioned by Van Beckhoven & Aalbers (2005) who identified success and fail factors in the redevelopment of large housing estates in a number of neighborhoods in The Netherlands. Their article is based upon a debate with some of the key policy makers in those neighborhood and their perception of success and failure. Among some of the successful points mentioned, is that there is better contact with citizens because of their participation in planning. Van Marissing (2008) comments in his study on the neighborhoods of Liendert in Amersfoort and Hoograven in Utrecht also that citizens have had the feeling that things were improving in the neighborhood, although it isn't very clear to them to which extent their voice was heard and taken into consideration. In other work, Van Marissing cites several policy makers from Amsterdam who are commenting about their experience with the traditional form of citizen participation as required by law (see chapter 2.4), their reluctance to get citizens involved and the little influence it had on the planning process (Marissing, 2005).

2.6 Conclusion and hypotheses based on the literature

The application of these findings about the citizen participation to Roombeek, and their influence on the perceived neighborhood satisfaction of the original non-gentrifying residents leads to five hypotheses. As written in the previous paragraphs, neighborhood satisfaction has only a few statistically significant components when looking at neighborhood characteristics. The five hypotheses that follow are based on the specific situation of Roombeek (see chapter 4 about details of the neighborhood), combined with general findings in the literature. Firstly: Since Roombeek is and was, a rather ethnically homogeneous neighborhood, the influence of ethnic diversity on neighborhood satisfaction will not be a very relevant theme for this specific neighborhood (De Lugt & Rijkeboer, 2003; Dijk & Oppelaar, 2007; Letki, 2008; Marissing, 2008). Secondly: Since all houses have been rebuilt or renovated and updated to all modern standards, it is expected that housing quality will be positively influencing neighborhood satisfaction (Lee & Guest, 1983; Lu, 1999; Parkes et al., 2002). Thirdly, the perception of the built environment and level of physical decay will almost absent in Roombeek, as the entire neighborhood is newly reconstructed, maybe with the exception of some building plots throughout the neighborhood with are still vacant and might influence the neighborhood satisfaction negatively (Dijk & Oppelaar, 2007; Parkes et al., 2002; Permentier et al., 2011). Fourthly, the percentage of people with lower incomes in the neighborhood decreased. The old Roombeek was a deprived neighborhood with many households with a low income. The reconstructed Roombeek has many more new residents (mainly in the form of new-built gentrification, as described in chapter 2.2) with higher incomes and more up-market facilities and retail spaces, so neighborhood satisfaction will probably be higher in the new neighborhood (Dijk & Oppelaar, 2007; Jansen, 2001; Vanderleyden & Pickery, 2010). And finally fifthly, as the Roombeek reconstruction process won awards for its genuine citizen participation in the reconstruction process (Mol & Voest, 2007; Ravenstein, 2008), it is expected that this brings feelings of pride and higher satisfaction with the neighborhood among its original non-gentrifying residents, who participated in the planning process (Denters & Klok, 2009, 2010) even in the longer term.

3 Research design and methodology

3.1 Introduction

In the first chapter of this study, the main research question and sub questions have been introduced. Most of the answers to the research questions have to be answered by field research, by collecting data from residents and businesses in the area. Part of the first research question has to be answered by desk research, in combining different sources on the Roombeek citizen participation planning process, to find out about how it worked and how satisfied people were who participated in the process. In this chapter the research design is described in detail in section 3.2, the operationalization of the different variables used in the conceptual model are defined and. The results of the empirical data collection will be presented in the following chapters.

3.2 Research type and design

When looking at the research design into the perceived neighborhood satisfaction of original non-gentrifying residents and the possible influence of the involvement in the citizen participation process during the reconstruction of the neighborhood and influence of the changing commercial and service sector in the neighborhood, the type of research that is best suited for these questions is an interpretative qualitative research design. The goal of this research is not in the first place to test a given hypotheses for validity, but instead to understand and discover some new insights and possibly generate new theory.

When looking at this type of research, some considerations have to be kept in mind. In terms of ontological considerations, this study views neighborhoods as complex, non-static entities, which are shaped by the people who live in these neighborhoods and shifts in the population and/or social class will therefore generate a different neighborhood. This is especially true in gentrifying neighborhoods, where the social status of the neighborhood is changing and the most important actors in the neighborhood are constantly changing, leading to different perceptions from different people. Therefore, to write some meaningful answers to the question of the perception of the neighborhood among local non-gentrifying residents, the research has to take into account the influence of human behavior and opinions, in order to really understand what is going on in the neighborhood, more than testing and proving a previously given theory. In-depth semi-structured interviews are most suitable for these type of research, as it gives the interviewee the possibility to explain why he/she experiences something especially in a complex situation (like the reconstruction of a neighborhood), something that cannot be achieved by answering pre-formulated survey questions (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

The research design used in this study is a case study into the Roombeek neighborhood in Enschede, a gentrifying neighborhood in this city in the eastern part of the Netherlands. This neighborhood is interesting because it represents a type of gentrifying neighborhood based on participatory planning, as discussed by Denters & Klok (2010), and further described in section 2.4 and figure 2.2. A further detailed description of the study area can be found in chapter 4. A case study gives a clear and comprehensive view on the neighborhood and the processes that exist within its borders, allowing a thorough analysis and good understanding of what is going on. At the same time the general limitations of a case study are clear: It focusses on an area and on that area alone. Results and therefore also conclusions found in a case study cannot just be applied to other areas. In other words, a case study like this research is highly place restricted and is called an ideographic approach

by Bryman (2012). On the other hand, whenever possible, from this research, attempts to generalize the results found in the case study will be made. This will be done by reflecting on the findings from the fieldwork by trying to link these with existing theories and findings in other areas. Although generalization in social sciences in general is not without controversy for the lack of possibilities to formulate universally applicable laws (Mayring, 2007), it is sometimes still possible to formulate general rules of behavior to which exceptions are possible (Winch, 1958), or at least some rules valid within specific contexts only, so-called middle-range theories, as described by Merton (1968). Whereas the study of the Roombeek neighborhood can certainly contribute towards formulating a middle range theory on the influence of citizen participation in urban renewal processes and the subsequent long term neighborhood satisfaction of both original non-gentrifying residents and gentrifiers alike, the approach of the reconstruction process in this case study with its specific and unique history might be hard to translate to different neighborhoods (Van den Hoek, 2008). For as much as possible, data collected in the interviews with the residents will be triangulated with available quantitative data on the same topics on neighborhood level to see whether these match, or that some differences can be observed.

3.3 Research methods and operationalization of the conceptual model

This section deals with the conceptual model and the different sub research questions, as formulated in section 1.5. All sub research questions are discussed in detail and the type of research per sub research question are indicated, as well as the topics dealt with during the interviews. All interviews were in either Dutch or English language. All interviews have been taped, transcribed and when necessary translated into English.

Sub research question 1

What did the Roombeek reconstruction planning process look like and to what extent did the extensive citizen participation in this planning process influence neighborhood satisfaction?

Because of the dramatic event of the fireworks disaster, the reconstruction of Roombeek had a lot of attention of the media and policy makers as well as the scientific community (albeit very little attention from geographers). So far no systematic study on the effects of the gentrification in Roombeek after the disaster has been undertaken. Therefore, part of this sub research question consist of desk research in terms of collecting literature from other academic disciplines (most notably governance and architecture) as well as examining existing policy documents, reconstruction plans and progress reports about the reconstruction from the municipality of Enschede. The information found in this desk research will be used to answer in more detail the question what the reconstruction process looked like. Next to this desk research, there will be interviews with key actors in the citizen participation process, to get a more complete image of what the process looked like, expert interviews will be held with:

1. Pieter-Jan Klok, assistant professor in policy analysis at the University of Twente in Enschede, and lead author of the citizen participation monitor during the reconstruction process as well as several other publications on citizen participation.
2. Pi de Bruijn, architectural supervisor and overall city planner for Roombeek
3. Roelof Bleker, at the time alderman of the municipality of Enschede and politically responsible for the reconstruction of Roombeek.

4. Marga Brunninkhuis, head of USHI, the organization coaching home owners building by private commissioning during the reconstruction.

The data for the second part of the first sub research question will be collected by field research alone. The data will be collected by interviewing original residents, who lived in the neighborhood before the fireworks disaster. From these residents both residents who chose to participate and residents who chose to not participate in the citizen meetings during the reconstruction process are interviewed. For providing some contrast also new residents will be interviewed to find out if the neighborhood satisfaction is different. The findings from the interviews are compared with the general neighborhood satisfaction, as measured by the municipality of Enschede and I&O Research. The interviews with the residents are necessary, because these quantitative data about the neighborhood satisfaction are data collected from both original non-gentrifying residents and new residents. There is no differentiation between the two groups within the neighborhood in terms of the general satisfaction data.

Topics dealt with, in the interviews regarding this sub research question are:

- The length of residence in the neighborhood (in case of displaced pre-disaster residents, why they decided to come back)
- Whether they participated in the reconstruction process and what their feelings were about the process
- If and to what extent they see their plans being put into reality
- If and to what extent they are satisfied with living in the neighborhood
- If they feel proud of their neighborhood

The questions were not necessarily asked in this order, it depended largely on the course of the interview. Sometimes other topics related to this sub research question popped up. All the resident interviews have been processed and analyzed in chapter 5.2

Sub research question 2

To what extent are residents satisfied with the changes in social structure and general physical appearance of the new Roombeek?

According to literature on neighborhood satisfaction (see chapter 2.5), there are a number of statistically significant components on the level of the neighborhood, which are consistent throughout several studies (Dijk & Oppelaar, 2007; Parkes et al., 2002; Vanderleyden & Pickery, 2010).

To find out about the satisfaction with the changes in the neighborhood, both original non-gentrifying residents and new residents have been interviewed to issue their opinion about the situation and their perception about the changes in the neighborhood. New residents were also asked to comment on the situation in the neighborhood prior to the fireworks disaster, if they indicated that they were familiar with the situation. Besides residents also business owners were asked to comment on this topic, as they spent a lot of time in the area as well and it is interesting to know whether they mention different things and if there are differences in satisfaction levels with residents. Next to the interviews, data from the Security monitor Enschede-North (Wijkveiligheidsmonitor Enschede Noord) is used to compare the answers of the interviewees with

the available general statistical data which is present for this neighborhood, in order to as much as possible triangulate the outcomes of the research.

Topics dealt with in the interviews related to this sub research question are:

- Their opinion about the level of physical decay in the neighborhood and vandalism
- Their opinion about the appearance of the built environment
- Their opinion about the new residents in the neighborhood and contacts with them.
- Whether they consider the neighborhood to be a better place than before and why

The questions were not necessarily asked in the order as written down here, it depended largely on the course of the interview. Sometimes other topics related to this sub research question popped up. All the resident interviews have been processed and analyzed in chapter 5.3

Sub research question 3

To what extent does the establishment of new gentrified commercial premises and services influence the satisfaction of local non-gentrifying residents with the neighborhood?

According to research done by, among others, Zukin, Deener, Freeman & Braconi and Doucet (see chapter 2.3), local non-gentrifying residents usually don't feel too negative about the establishment of new more up-market properties in gentrifying neighborhoods, even though they might feel excluded from frequenting these properties themselves.

To find out about the opinion of residents in terms of being satisfied with the services and commercial properties, semi-structured interviews have been carried out, to find out about the following subjects:

- Which of the services (Schools, Prismare (several communities and sports facilities and theater), Musea, Art exhibitions) do they use in the neighborhood?
- Which of the retail spaces do they use in the neighborhood?
- How satisfied are they with the services offered in the neighborhood?
- Do they have to go somewhere else to find what they need in terms of shopping or services?

The questions were not necessarily asked in the order as written down here, it depended largely on the course of the interview. Sometimes other topics related to this sub research question popped up in between. All the resident interviews for answering sub research question 3 have been processed and analyzed in chapter 5.4

Response and non-response

In total 37 semi-structured in-depth interviews have been carried out for this study, in the time range between May and July 2014, depending on the availability of the respondents. The length of these interviews was usually between 45 minutes and 1.5 hours. Interviews with managers/owners of commercial spaces in the neighborhood were usually the shortest, interviews when long term residents in the neighborhood usually the longest.

In general most people that were asked to participate were willing to do so, except for quite a large non-response in the sub neighborhood Roomveldje. Reasons given for not willing to cooperate were a lack of trust with researchers in general and as they put it "tiredness with yet another research", residents from this part of the neighborhood indicated that they got already so many questions from

researchers in the past, studying the development of the neighborhood. Most of the non-respondents were original non-gentrifying renters from this particular sub neighborhood, which could influence some of the conclusions, as respondents from this area are somewhat underrepresented in this study.

3.4 Definitions and limitations of the research

Every research design has its specific qualities and limitations. The research design used in this study is no exception to that. In general, as is written in chapter 3.1, qualitative research is best suited for understanding different opinions and feelings of individual people, possibly leading to the development of new theory. The limitations of this type of research are also clear: it cannot be used for giving a representative picture about the opinions of the entire neighborhood. Besides that, also the results of a case study like this, cannot be simply translated to other neighborhoods going through urban renewal.

As written in the introduction already, the focus of this study is on the experience and satisfaction with the new reconstructed Roombeek of the original non-gentrifying residents. Along with this theme come a number of specific terms. To avoid confusion, in this section the most common terms have been defined and explained. In this study the following definitions are used:

Roombeek Neighborhood: Area in the Dutch city of Enschede, a detailed map of the area including the borders as drawn by the municipality of Enschede can be found in Appendix 1. The research focuses on the western part of Roombeek, as this area was hit hardest in the fireworks disaster and experiences the most extensive gentrification. In Appendix 1 also the boundaries of the smaller areas within the neighborhood can be found, along with the names of these areas, which are extensively used throughout this study.

Gentrification: The definition of Davidson and Lees (2005) is used (see chapter 2.1), gentrification consists of the following core elements: (1) the reinvestment of capital; (2) the social upgrading of locale by incoming high-income groups; (3) landscape change; and (4) direct or indirect displacement of low-income groups.

Old residents: Current residents of Roombeek who lived there before the fireworks disaster already and came back after the reconstruction of the neighborhood.

New residents: Residents that have moved in during or after reconstruction following the fireworks disaster, and were not living there before.

Local non-gentrifying residents: More or less similar to the term *old residents* used in this study. However, among the new residents are also a number of non-gentrifiers, most notably a group of 70 people with a mental handicap who were given a place for supported living in the neighborhood, after the reconstruction. This specific group is not the focus of the research.

Gentrifiers: More or less similar to *new residents*, the gentrifiers are defined as the middle class group of people who moved into Roombeek after the reconstruction, with higher income and/or higher education and able to afford the more expensive rents or housing prices.

Factors of inclusion: Planned and unplanned effects of the Roombeek reconstruction which positively influenced the neighborhood satisfaction of local non-gentrifying residents with the new Roombeek.

Factors of exclusion: Planned and unplanned effects of the Roombeek reconstruction which negatively influenced the neighborhood satisfaction of local non-gentrifying residents with the new Roombeek, possibly leading to different forms of displacement.

Displacement: Displacement is defined in this study according to the four types of displacement formulated by Marcuse (see further chapter 2.2). The four types are: (1) last resident displacement; (2) chain displacement; (3) exclusionary displacement; (4) displacement pressure

4 Case study area: Roombeek

4.1 Introduction

To understand the context of Roombeek and to place the reconstruction in perspective, it is necessary to have a look at the history of the neighborhood, since the new reconstructed neighborhood with its buildings and services is largely inspired by the historical function of this part of the city which was predominant in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. During the planning process this period turned out to be the key period for defining the identity of the neighborhood by the participating residents. This chapter deals briefly with the history of the city of Enschede and the development of Roombeek as a textile manufacturing area as well as the decline of this textile industry in the second half of the twentieth century. The Roombeek neighborhood, with its many former textile industry workers declined as well, slowly but surely becoming an inner city deprived area. Plans were made in the 1990s for extensive urban renewal of the neighborhood, but were never implemented because the Fireworks Disaster happened on 13 May 2000. Further in this chapter, the consequences of the fireworks disaster for the neighborhood are described, as well as the response of the government to break the environment of distrust and design the reconstruction process in such a way that included the involvement of as many as possible of the local residents of Roombeek. At the end of the chapter a comparison is made with some of the responses from other governments in situations of recent major disasters.

4.2 History of Enschede

There is a lot of literature about the collapse of the textile industry in Enschede, but there are relatively few sources about the early development of this industry and the older history of Enschede. This section is a concise overview about the wider history of Enschede, with the focus on what it means for the Roombeek neighborhood in particular.

Origins and early development of Enschede

The origin of the town of Enschede is unknown, however it is known that in the Middle Ages a small agricultural market town existed, which served as a regional center for agricultural products. Already from its beginnings, the settlement was located in the far southeastern corner of the Oversticht part of the bishopric of Utrecht, close to the border with the bishopric of Münster, which would later become part of Germany. As far as the etymology of Enschede is concerned, the first name under which it was mentioned was Anneschethe (in 1119), probably meaning “Aan de scheiding” or in English, “at the border”. The town received its city charter in 1325 from the bishop of Utrecht, probably as a way to boost its economic development and as a means to enforce control on the border region, but the fledgling town, now promoted to city, remained small nonetheless (SHSEL, 2013). The nearby city Oldenzaal, which was part of the Hanseatic League and the religious center for the region, was larger and much more important. Over the centuries Enschede was growing slowly and the inhabitants remained poor. The absence of a navigable river and location close to the border with both Gelre and Münster might have played a part in that. Because the region Twente in which Enschede is located, was all but cut off from the rest of the country by large swamps at the western part of the region, development in the late Middle Ages and Early modern period was slow and the region remained isolated and poor (Kokhuis, 2001). The swampy and sandy infertile soils of the region didn't offer many opportunities for farmers, and the large distance from the main population centers and difficult transport methods meant that most types of agriculture were not really an option, with the notable exception of horse breeding, an occupation remembered in the regional flag

and the emblem of the local Enschede football team FC Twente. Because of the limited options in agriculture, farmers in the Twente region, and Enschede was no exception in this, turned to spinning and weaving textiles at their homes, to generate some extra income. This process of home industry development became important for the region most notably from the 16th and 17th centuries onwards. The produced cloth was then shipped to the western part of the country by wandering traders (Heijmerikx, 2007; SHSEL, 2013; Willink, 2010).

Industrial revolution and the textile period

Industrial large scale developments in textile production in the region Twente and city of Enschede happened after the breakup of the kingdom of the United Netherlands and subsequent independence of Belgium. After the end of the Napoleonic age, what is now Belgium and The Netherlands were united and the new Dutch king William I appointed Ghent as the main center for Textile production in his country. When Ghent was lost after the Belgian Independence, William I closed the Westerschelde for trade, causing Ghent to lose its main connection with the rest of the world and the textile industry collapsed along with the entire urban economy. For the Netherlands (now just the Northern Part of the Netherlands) it meant that a new area for textile production needed to be found. Both region Twente and the region around Tilburg had a history in home industry in textile production. Because of the location close to the new Belgian border of Tilburg, the king decided to appoint region Twente to be the new national textile producing region. Massive state backed investments followed by entrepreneurs who left the now independent Belgium went into towns in Twente in the 1840s and 1850s, propelling the existing small scale house industry into an industrial age (Willink, 2010). At first it seemed Almelo would become the main regional production center, because of its better geographical location, it was the only city in Twente which had access to navigable waterways. But the construction of the railroad and a major disaster turned the tide in the favor of Enschede (Kokhuis, 2001; SHSEL, 2013; Willink, 2010)

During its history, Enschede burned to ashes several times, in 1125, 1570 and approximately half the city again in 1750. None of these fires however got so much attention as the 1862 great fire, when again the entire city was burned down. It happened in the days just after an official visit of the then king William III. The citizens had decorated the entire city, with flags and garlands in every street to celebrate the visit of the king. Then, when the fire started, the wind and decoration material caused the fire to very quickly jump from one building to the other and within no time the whole city was ablaze and turned into ashes. Since photography had been invented not very long before, images of the destroyed city were seen all around the country, making it the first disaster that could be visually witnessed in other parts of the Netherlands. It was the largest city fire until the bombardment of Rotterdam in 1940 (Kokhuis, 2001; SHSEL, 2013) Actually, tragic as it was, the disaster was a blessing in disguise for the city. Suddenly many places became available and because of the entrepreneurial spirit of many textile manufacturers, the smaller older production units were replaced by modern factories at the edge of the city. The brand new highly competitive factories propelled Enschede into a golden age, which lasted until after World War I. In the peak year 1919 for example, 19% of the Dutch income tax came from the city of Enschede alone, making it by far the wealthiest city in the country (Willink, 2010). Of course it needs to be noted that only a very small number of families profited from this wealth. Most of the working class people lived in bitter poverty at the time. It is in this golden age of the industrial development of Enschede that the Roombeek area was developed (see further chapter 4.3). It has to be noted that Enschede was one of the first cities in the Netherlands who developed a plan for city expansion, with planned housing of quite good condition

and sizes as compared to many other cities (Rossen, 1988), this can be seen among other examples in the for the time modern and spacious housing at the Roomveldje, which was built after the city expansion plan (see chapter 4.3).

In the 1920s and 1930s the textile industry in Enschede went into decline for the first time, because of increased international competition. The decline in production led to lower wages for the employees. Many of the already very poorly paid factory workers decided to go on strike. The family based business structure of the textile producers in Enschede developed a system of solidarity. They used the method of exclusion, which meant that if in one of the factories the staff went on strike, all other factories in the city closed down as well, causing all workers to suffer and not being able to support via labor union solidarity funds the striking colleagues. This approach of the textile factory families was successful on the short term in breaking all strikes, but planted the seeds for the destruction of the textile industry in the 1960s and 1970s (Willink, 2010). The popular opinion of the people, which was always in favor of the supported the development of the textile industry changed during the 1920s and since then the textile factory owning families were despised upon and seen as exploiting “Textile Barons”, who were acting in the same way as the old nobility in trying to squeeze as much as possible from the serfs living in their area (Kokhuis, 2001; Willink, 2010). After the collapse of the textile industry, the families who dominated the urban society of Enschede disappeared silently from the scene, leaving to old industrial heritage of Roombeek to rot. Residents of Roombeek protested against the fact that the factory remains were not being demolished, as they hated everything that reminded of the “Textile Barons” (De Lugt & Rijkeboer, 2003; Willink, 2010).

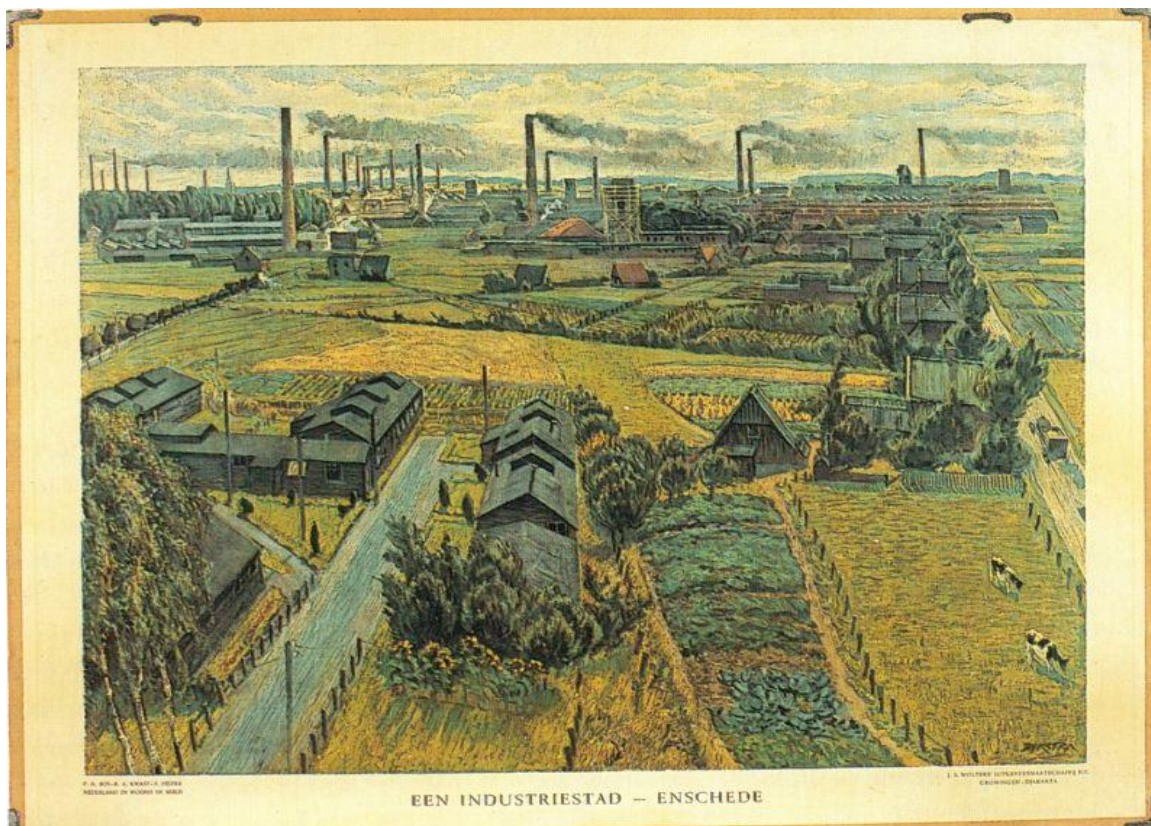


Figure 4.1: Painting “Enschede, city of industry” – for use in schools
Source: Painted by Johan Dijkstra, 1924

Because of the closeness to the German border and the military airport Twente close by, Enschede was hit by Allied bomb raids several times, which caused damage in the city center and Roombeek as well. Roombeek was hit in the first bombardment on the city in August 1940, leading to 6 casualties (Wiegman, 1985). Vos (2011) quotes a report from the Military Government, right after World War II in which is stated that about 20% of the production capacity was lost because of the war. This was a relatively low damage as compared with German cities or some other cities in the Netherlands (most notably Rotterdam and Middelburg), and the textile industry was quite rapidly back on pre-war levels. At the time, about 84% of the total Dutch weaving capacity was located in the region Twente and eastern part of the Gelderland province, of which Enschede was the main production center (Reitsma, 1957). The textile industry in Enschede experienced one last boom, since the war caused an acute textile shortage (Vos, 2011). The immediate years after the war were characterized by fights for higher wages among the staff, knowing that the demand for textile was very high and the production could be sold anyway (Vos, 2011; Willink, 2010). However, even though companies were doing well, already in this time, the tide was turning for the textile factories. They had a hard time attracting good staff, people had not forgotten about how they were treated before the war and popular opinion was to stay away from the heavy work in the textile factories as much as possible (Willink, 2010). The aversion towards the textile production in Enschede was already existing among primary school children, IJzerman (1957) quotes in his study on the image of the textile industry, several school children from Enschede, one of which remarks:

We need to do our best at school, because smart kids get the good jobs and stupid kids get to work at the textile factory.

To substitute for the lack of local workers in the textile factories, workers from Spain, Italy, Greece and Turkey were invited to Enschede in the late 1950s and early 1960s (SHSEL, 2013). The same years however, would turn out to be the high watermark of the textile industry in Twente. The 1950s boom was followed by an unprecedented collapse that was shaking the economy and the social structure of the city of Enschede and the region Twente down to its roots (Bazen & Bijleveld, 2012). In one decade, between 1964 and 1974, about 25% of the people in the city became unemployed and the once proud city of Enschede which right after WW II expected that its population would rapidly grow to 250 000 in the year 2000 was struggling to prevent bankruptcy and a total collapse of the urban economy. The lack of innovation, high wages and loss of many of the traditional foreign export markets (The Dutch East Indies became the independent state of Indonesia) destroyed the textile industry (Bazen & Bijleveld, 2012; SHSEL, 2013; Willink, 2010).



Figure 4.2: The textile industry collapsed in Enschede. On this picture the blighted former Menko cotton-spinning factory in Roombeek.

Photo: Johan Ghijssels

Modern Enschede

Fortunately for Enschede, a massive brain drain from the impoverished city occurred only on a limited scale. Already in the 1950s, the need for higher education in the eastern part of the Netherlands was felt (Groenman, Van Hasselt, & Van Heek, 1957). After a period of negotiations, the Dutch central government decided to invest in higher education in Enschede and founded the Technical University of Twente (Boer & Drukker, 2011). The establishment of the university had large consequences for Roombeek, since in later years, the neighborhood with its cheap and old houses became an attractive place for students to live, halfway between the city center and the university. There is one more important influence on the modern Roombeek from the university, namely the ICT and communication cluster that is beginning to emerge in the neighborhood. Han van der Meer, one of the partners from Van der Meer & Tilburg, a University of Twente spin off, explained that already since the early 1980s the University of Twente tries to promote entrepreneurship among its students and alumni, as it became clear that many student and alumni entrepreneurs preferred to stay in the city and use the networks of the university to obtain customers (Han van der Meer, personal communication, 5 December 2013). Partly because of the university and its policy, and the thousands of jobs that have been created by its spin-offs, the city of Enschede is catching up again in terms of innovation and economy, and is more or less back to the average of the Netherlands (Bijleveld, Geerdink, Engelhardt, & Bazen, 2012; "Over de stichting Kennispark," 2014). The unemployment in the city however is still much higher than average in the Netherlands, since there is a mismatch between jobs offered and the education level of many inhabitants of Enschede. There is a lot of unemployment among the lower educated or non-technical educated people and at the same time there is a shortage of higher technical educated staff (Bijleveld et al., 2012). Although the city went through a turbulent second half of the twentieth century, the municipality of Enschede is again optimistic about the effects of the economic repositioning of the city from textile center towards high tech industrial center. Besides high tech industry, which is mainly located in the largest innovation campus of the Netherlands, the so-called "Kennispark Twente" (Business & Science Park Twente) (Buck & Draisma, 2013; "Over de stichting Kennispark," 2014), also a cluster of companies in ICT and communication, many of which are university spin-offs from both the University of Twente and Saxion University of Applied Sciences, is emerging in Roombeek ("Roombeek voltooid!?", 2014).

4.3 Origin and development of Roombeek until the fireworks disaster

Roombeek is located about a kilometer north of the historical city center of Enschede. In the middle Ages and the Early Modern period the Roombeek area was in use as agricultural land, however the swampy soil in this area made it less suitable for arable land. There was a system of small brooks which flowed through the area. The wet natural grasslands in the area were perfectly suitable for bleaching the produced cotton at the textile house-industry from Enschede in this period, as described in the previous section. When the freshly woven cloth was lying in the sun, it became whiter and more expensive. There were three specific



**Figure 4.3: Roombeek before the industrial revolution. On this 1873 drawing, the farm "de Bamsplaats" still stood on the area which became the Bamshoeve and today the Bamshoevelaan.
Drawing by Herman Wennink, 1873**

areas in the Roombeek neighborhood where this textile bleaching process took place, the Stroinksbleek (close to the still existing street Stroinksbleekweg), the Lasonderbleek in the southern part of the neighborhood and the Lonnekerbleek, in the north. The green areas in the neighborhood that have been created during the reconstruction process, are meant as a tribute to the past and in their design based on how these historical textile bleaching areas once looked like (Van Snellenberg, 2009).

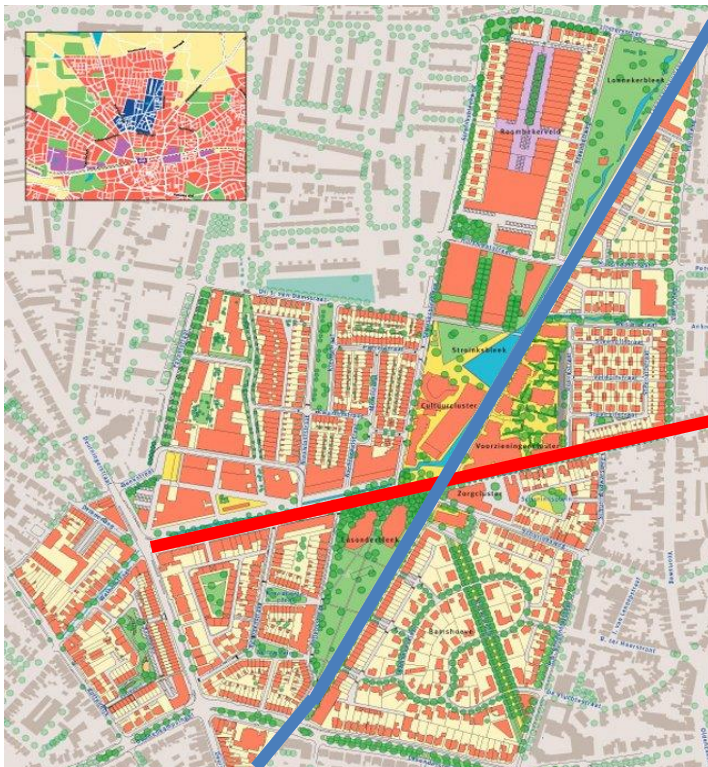
Industrial development in Roombeek

Large scale industrial development in Roombeek started with the opening of the railroad from Enschede via the village of Lonneker to Oldenzaal in 1890. The railroad made Roombeek very attractive for the industry, because of the new reliable and cheap transportation access, the vicinity to the city center, for attracting workers as well as the available water sources and the existing grassy areas around to bleach the textiles. Within fifteen years, the area around the railroad was completely industrialized. Some of the largest factories of Enschede were located next to the railroad, for example the Bamshoeve, the Spinnerij Roombeek, NJ Menko, JJ Rozendaal and Tetem (De Lugt & Rijkeboer, 2003; Tuinstra, 2008). The textile factory owners supported the establishment of a beer brewery in the neighborhood, in an attempt to help shift alcohol consumption among factory workers from gin to beer (De Lugt & Rijkeboer, 2003). This beer brewery merged with a brewery in Groenlo in 1922 and developed into the Grolsch complex, which was still operational in the neighborhood at the time of the disaster, but moved to the outskirts of Enschede in 2004. Figure 4.6 shows a topographical map of Enschede and Roombeek from 1890. Next to the railroad, the first large hall of the Bamshoeve is already built. For the rest, Roombeek is still mainly an agricultural area, but the railroad would change this very quickly, making Roombeek the most industrialized part of the city (Buter, 1975).



Figure 4.4: Letterheads of the Grolsch brewery and Menko factory, both had large production units located in Roombeek.

Later in 20th century, the railroad service lost significance, because of the development of road transportation. The railroad service was discontinued in 1972, followed by a deconstruction of the railroad itself in 1975 (De Lugt & Rijkeboer, 2003). The route of the former railway line has been made visible again during the reconstruction of the neighborhood, in the form of a new fast bus lane, the “Lonnekerspoorlaan” street, as a tribute to commemorate the industrial past of the neighborhood (see figure 4.5). Although most of the industrial heritage was lost in the fireworks disaster, the industrial past can still be felt when walking through the neighborhood. It was one of the main ideas of the architectural supervisor to leave as much as possible of the history, since in Enschede already too much of the history was demolished (P. de Bruijn, 8 July 2014, personal communication).



Key

- “Roomweg” street
- “Lonneker spoorlaan” street (Bus lane)

Figure 4.5: Map of the to be reconstructed Roombeek neighborhood
 Source: Municipality of Enschede

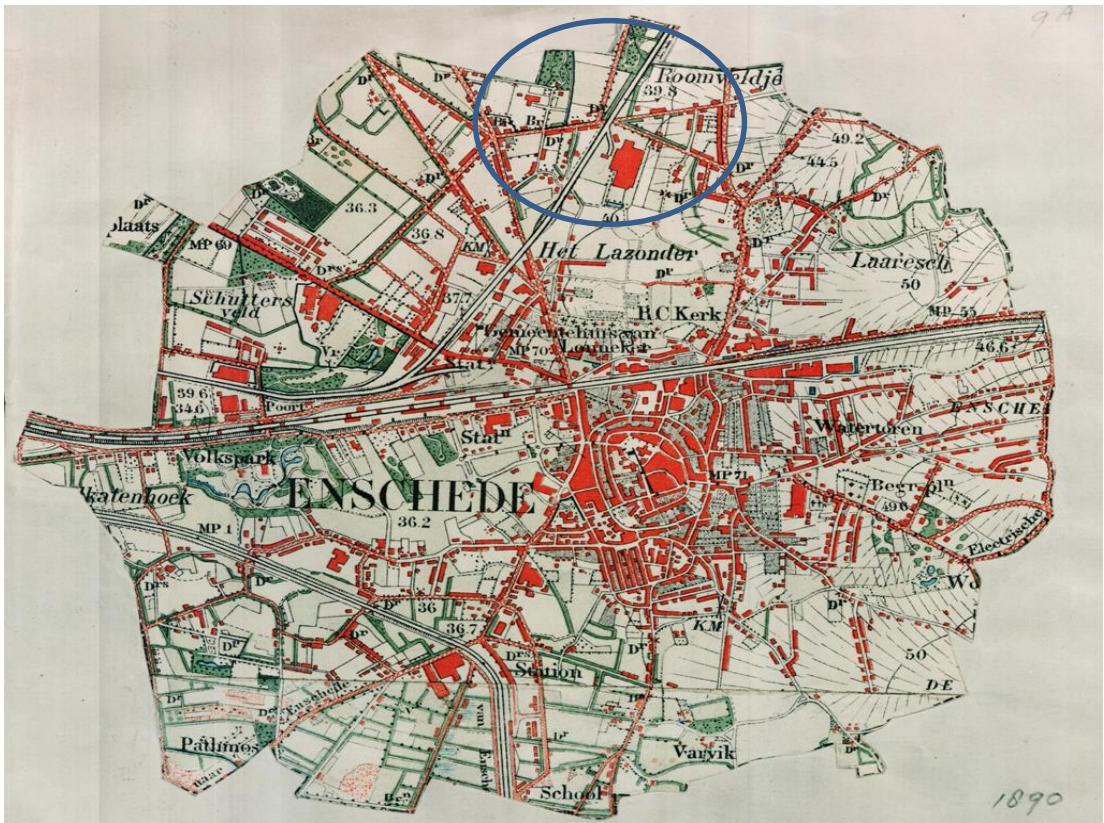


Figure 4.6: Overview of Enschede and Roombeek (encircled), in 1890 at the opening of the railroad to Lonneker and Oldenzaal. Source: Municipality of Enschede

The residential communities in Roombeek

The residential history of the neighborhood started around the already existing roads, at the end of the 19th century. As is visible on figure 4.6, the Roomweg (see also figure 4.5) cuts west-east through the neighborhood already has houses built next to it in 1890. Around 30 years later (Figure 4.7), the entire Roombeek neighborhood is urbanized and wouldn't change much in terms of its physical structure until the Fireworks disaster of 2000. On this same figure, major textile factories can be seen on both sides of the railroad, as well as the brewery (at the "Brouwerijstraat") that was just opened around that time (De Lugt & Rijkeboer, 2003). Most parts of Roombeek can be characterized as the consequence of nineteenth century urban sprawl, which led to a pattern of small neighborhoods being built around the factories where these residents worked (Kokhuis, 2001). In the UK, the Garden City Movement developed, based on ideas of Ebenezer Howard about healthy cities and neighborhoods. According to Howard, among other things neighborhoods should have enough green space, no pollution and be without dirty back alleys (Howard, 1898). In the latest built part of Roombeek, these ideas of Howard have been taken into consideration. The northern part of the neighborhood, the community Roomveldje was built in the early 1920s. This part of Roombeek was praised at the time for its design, but was by no means the only Garden City inspired neighborhood in the region (Korthals Altes, 2014). It was built by the Enschede housing cooperation "De Volkswoning"

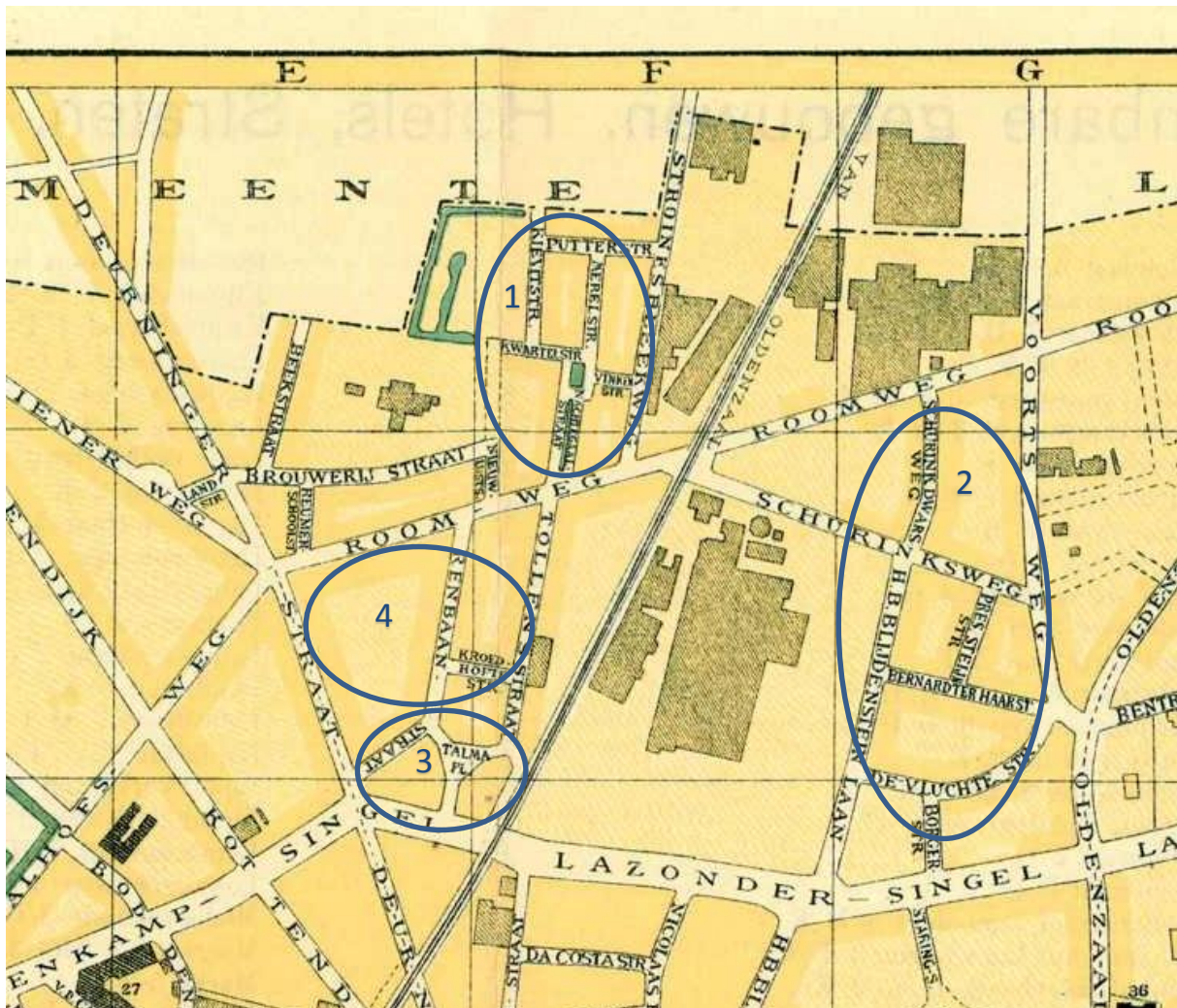


Figure 4.7: Urbanized Roombeek, early 20th century. Encircled on the map, the four residential communities: 1. Roomveldje, 2. Schurinksweide, 3. Talmaplein, 4. Kroedhötje
Source: Municipality Enschede, De Lugt & Rijkenboer (2003).

(The people's home), and shared all the characteristics and ideals behind the development like the other Dutch Garden City expansion neighborhoods from the early 20th century as described by Korthals Altes (2014). Edo Bergsma, mayor of Enschede at the time, praised the design of the neighborhood:

A ground-breaking example for good looking, well built houses for workers, where access to light, green and flowers contribute to the elevation of the people and their living satisfaction (quoted by De Lugt & Rijkeboer, 2003).



Figure 4.8: Pictures of the Roomveldje: the left picture just after its construction in the 1920s, the right picture the same spot in 1996. Note that the three trees on the right picture have survived the disaster and are still there. Photo: T. Wiegman

Figure 4.7 shows besides Roomveldje in the north, the three other different residential communities in the old Roombeek. The eastern part of Roombeek is the neighborhood Schurinkswede. It is centred around the Schurinksweg and H.B. Blijdensteinlaan. This neighborhood is the only original residential part of Roombeek which still largely exists. The houses of the Schurinkswede neighborhood are not built according to a unified Garden city plan as was the case in Roomveldje, instead the neighborhood is more varied and was designed for the lower middle class at the time. When the fireworks disaster happened, the blast was for a large part deflected by the buildings of the Bamshoeve. Most of the houses sustained damage, but only a smaller number of them were damaged beyond repair and had to be replaced. Today Schurinkswede is a mixture between renovated old houses and newly built ones (De Lugt, 2010; De Lugt & Rijkeboer, 2003).

The third residential community was in the southernmost part of Roombeek, located around the Talmaplein. The Talmaplein was a small square in the neighborhood, with originally small working class houses. These were demolished in the late 1970s and replaced by larger single family homes in the early 1980s, since the original buildings were in dire need of renovation, but that was seen as too costly at the time, as well as the original houses not being up to the required standards for modern housing (De Lugt & Rijkeboer, 2003; Van de Berg, Van Ooyik, & Wiegman, 1986). The newly built houses led to an inflow of slightly more affluent people, as well as families with children during the 1980s. All houses at Talmaplein were heavily damaged or burned down following the 2000 disaster and the decision was made that all remains of the houses at the Talmaplein would be demolished (Van Snellenberg, 2009). According to one of the old residents in Roomveldje, in the past different people lived in Roomveldje and Talmaplein. She explains:

There was never a lot of contact between the different sub neighborhoods in Roombeek, not before the disaster and not now also. At the Talmaplein lived the “Gereformeerden” [Strict Calvinists, JB], their church is also there, at the Lasondersingel. Here in Roomveldje it was more mixed, all kind of people lived there. In Talmaplein the people rented from Patrimonium, which was a “Gereformeerde” housing corporation. Only people from that particular faith could rent there. They were always different from us. (Interview 10).

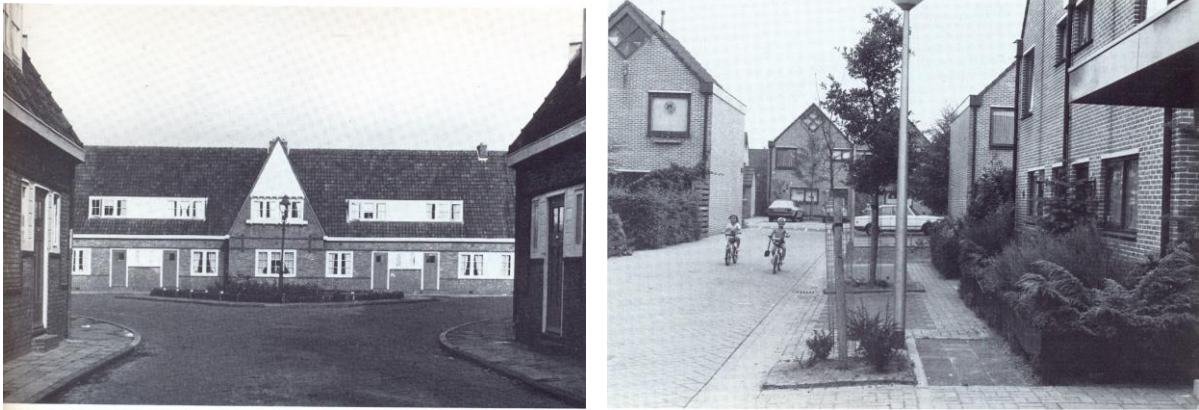


Figure 4.9: Pictures of the Talmaplein: The left picture, the situation in the 1920s. The right picture is from 1986, when this sub neighborhood had just been through urban renewal. Photo: T. Wiegman

The fourth and last community in Roombeek was the area Kroedhöfte. Kroedhöfte is the local dialect for “vegetable garden”, giving some clue about the land use of this area in previous centuries. It was common practice in Enschede, including Kroedhöfte, for the factory workers to have large gardens, since the textile industry developed from home industry at farms, workers that moved to the factories in the city kept for as much as possible their historic occupation and producing as much as possible their own food as a sort of in-between situation between the farm and full time factory work (Willink, 2010). It offered a possibility to rebuild the neighborhood in larger densities (creation of the new Roombeekhofje), the previous situation is explained by one of the old residents:

The houses at the Renbaanstraat had very long gardens, almost stretching to the Deurningerstraat. Roombeekhofje is built there now. The houses were very small and narrow, but the gardens although narrow, were very long (Interview 4).

Just like all other communities in Roombeek, Kroedhöfte was built to house factory workers for the different factories in the neighborhood, although there was no unified plan after which the neighborhood was constructed, like that of Roomveldje or the Talmaplein. At the time of the fireworks disaster, quite a few of the old and cheap houses in Kroedhöfte were in use as student housing. The communities Kroedhöfte and Talmaplein were near to each other, but according to some of the original residents there was quite a difference in the areas. One of the old residents explained:

The Talmaplein area was largely renovated in the 1980s, quite a few families with children lived there, and I remember our square as a real, almost village like community within the city. Kroedhöfte was different, I never knew what exactly went on there, some rather vague things happened there. The image that I have of it was of guys tinkering with some very old cars on the street. Not that I felt unsafe there, that was never an issue (Interview 4).

The differences between the two communities Kroedhölte and Talmaplein are also commented on by Lugt & Rijkenboer (2003) who mention in their book that Kroedhölte used to be a community with many informal businesses with half legal or downright illegal practices.



Figure 4.10: The Tollensstraat in Kroedhölte in the 1990s.
Photo: Johan Ghijssels

Restructuring of Roombeek and development of Groot-Roombeek plans

After the textile industry and many of its supplying industries collapsed, Roombeek became an area with many derelict and blighted factory buildings, although some of them were re-used by other companies. The largest factory complex, the Bamshoeve was used by artists, who built their workshops in the old halls. Some of the other buildings were used by other entrepreneurs or companies, but these sometimes marginal companies gave the neighborhood a fragmented and dysfunctional look and feel (De Lugt & Rijkeboer, 2003). Almost none of the interviewed longtime residents knew of a fireworks depot in their neighborhood, they had only limited knowledge of what sort of companies were active in the neighborhood:

You have to understand: This area looked completely different before the fireworks disaster. It was mainly a collection of old textile factory halls, many of them in use for other things. It was

rather unclear to most people what exactly happened in there. I remember a guy who was selling really old mopeds, you know those collector items, but for the rest...I didn't even know about any fireworks depot in there for example (Interview 6).

The whole thing around the disaster made you think: What else in terms of dangerous things was going on in these old buildings? It was pretty unclear what happened there, there could be anything in these derelict factories. It was if nobody cared about it either (Interview 4).

One of these entrepreneurs who occupied one of the derelict buildings in the neighborhood in the late 1970s was H. Smallenbroek, who founded the company S.E. Fireworks. He bought property on the Tollensstraat, belonging to a former coal wholesale company that went bankrupt (De Lugt, 2000). S.E. Fireworks produced (only before 1995) and set up professional fireworks for large events. Within the neighborhood there were some safety concerns about a fireworks factory which was so near to a residential area, but most people had no idea what was going on behind the gates and walls as already written earlier. Also De Lugt (2000) in his book about the fireworks disaster mentions this. The municipality did however plan to move the factory to a more remote location, only to be realized when the original renovation plans from the end of the 1990s would be implemented. Roombeek was planned to be a more residential neighborhood and the relocation of S.E. Fireworks away from the neighborhood was foreseen and planned for 2002 the latest (De Lugt & Rijkeboer, 2003). Tragically, it never got that far.

The municipality of Enschede formulated big plans for the upgrading of the generally deprived Roombeek neighborhood in the second half of the 1990s, renaming the neighborhood that would evolve out of the reconstruction Groot-Roombeek ("Enschede bouwt Groot Roombeek vol," 1998; Vollaard, 1998). In terms of boundaries the proposed area of urban renewal was a bit larger than the original Roombeek, and included parts of the neighborhood Walhof to the west and Mekkelholt to the north. The municipality decided to give the assignment for developing the plans for urban renewal to Riek Bakker, who was the lead developer for Rotterdam's Kop van Zuid and the Utrecht



Figure 4.11: Aerial photograph of the Bamshoeve in Roombeek (Encircled the Balengebouw building, the only surviving part of the complex). Source: KLM Aerial photography, 1946

Centrumplan. She developed extensive plans to upgrade the neighborhood to be an inner-city VINEX style location, where working and living would be mixed (Marlet, 1998; Vollaard, 1998). A description of the VINEX urban planning concept and its specific parameters goes beyond the scope of this study. An excellent overview in English about Dutch planning concepts is written by Faludi & Van der Valk (1994) as well as Priemus (2004). At the time of the disaster, the urban renewal plans of Riek Bakker were not implemented yet. In the plans, the characteristic Garden City houses of the Roomveldje community were to be upgraded, but would be kept as much as possible original in terms of outside appearance. Some urban renewal was necessary: Like several other Garden City neighborhoods in the Netherlands, Roomveldje had deteriorated, and the almost century old houses needed some serious renovation (De Lugt & Rijkeboer, 2003; Korthals Altes, 2014). The process of moving the most polluting companies (as written before, including SE Fireworks) out of the neighborhood was in preparation, and was scheduled to be implemented in 2001 & 2002 (De Lugt & Rijkeboer, 2003). The original Groot-Roombeek plans included several of the former industrial buildings to be renovated and re-used in the new neighborhood (Boom, 2009).

The largest of the old industrial buildings waiting for redevelopment was the cotton spinning factory “Bamshoeve” (See figure 4.11 & 4.12) originally owned and operated by the family Blijdenstein (Hence the name H.B. Blijdensteinlaan in the neighborhood) (Willink, 2010). This complex of factory halls and warehouses was built after the opening of the railroad line in 1890 and was opened in 1895. The complex was completed in 1907 when the “Balengebouw” warehouse building was finished (Tuinstra, 2008). This single building is the only part of the “Bamshoeve” which survived the fireworks disaster (Encircled on figure 4.11). Section 4.2 deals with the rise and fall of the textile industry in Enschede in general, and the Bamshoeve was no exception to the general picture. In the early 1960s, the profitability of the factory diminished and Bamshoeve together with several of the largest factories merged into a single giant company, the KNTU (Royal Dutch Textile Union) in 1963, in an attempt to try to cut costs. The merger was unsuccessful, and ten years after the merger, KNTU went bankrupt (Willink, 2010). Some attempts were made to revive the activities in the 1970s and 1980s, but all of them unsuccessful. In the last years before the fireworks disaster, the Bamshoeve was used by artists, who built their workshop in these empty vacant buildings (De Lugt & Rijkeboer, 2003). The idea in the original Groot-Roombeek plans of Riek Bakker was that the historical Bamshoeve buildings would be redeveloped into more permanent workshops for artists and a business incubator for starting companies (“Enschede bouwt Groot Roombeek



Figure 4.12: The Bamshoeve factory halls in the 1990s
Photo: Johan Ghijssels

vol," 1998; Vollaard, 1998). As the Bamshoeve was all but destroyed in the disaster, this plan was never implemented.

4.4 The fireworks disaster and the Roombeek reconstruction process

Saturday the 13th of May 2000 was a warm and sunny day in Enschede, and many people from Roombeek were out shopping for the upcoming next day Mother's Day celebration, or otherwise enjoying the weather on one of Enschede's terraces, when the fireworks disaster happened. Many stories from Roombeek residents that day, and what they were busy with and how they experienced the disaster were later collected and written down by De Lugt (2010).

The Fireworks Disaster

In the early afternoon of May the 13th 2000, for still unknown reasons, a fire broke out in the depot of the S.E. Fireworks terrain. Since the early 1990s already, it was clear that S.E. Fireworks would have to relocate to a place with more space at hand (see also chapter 4.3). The company was doing very well and the original depot was way too small (De Lugt, 2000). On the aerial photograph (Figure 4.13) made only hours before the disaster, the S.E. Fireworks terrain can be seen, with the encircled depot as well as several temporary storage containers around it. Since relocation of the company was imminent, the owners did not invest in long-term storage anymore, hence the large number of temporary storage containers, all of which exploded that afternoon. Since almost nobody knew there

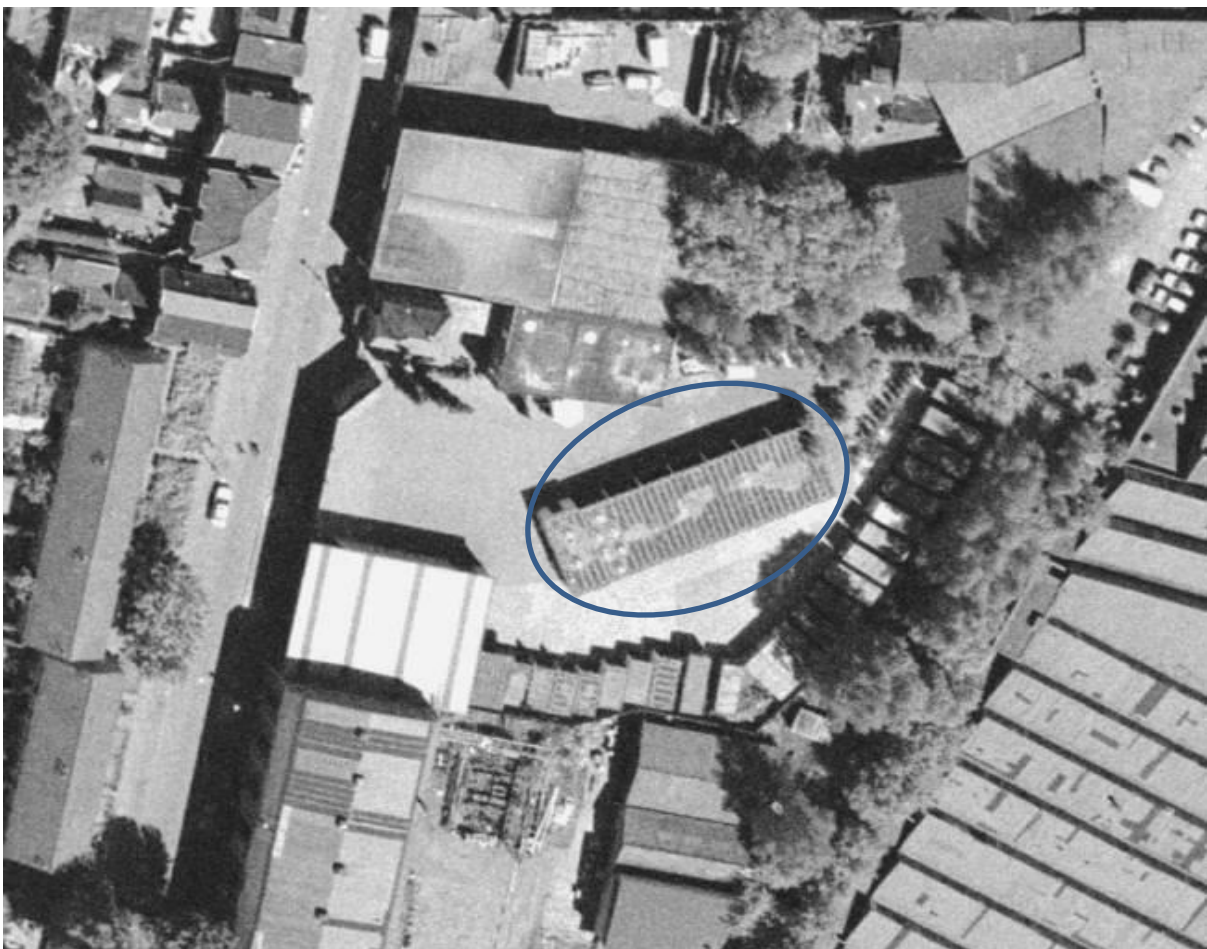


Figure 4.13: Aerial photograph of the S.E. Fireworks terrain. The encircled area is the main depot, today the foundations of this building are visible as a monument.

Source: KLM Aerial photography, 13 May 2000 (a few hours before the disaster)

was such a large fireworks depot there, a lot of people were out on the street, watching what was going on.

The S.E. Fireworks disaster has been investigated by an official research commission, led by Oosting (2001) which reported that while the Enschede fire department was battling the fire, at first they somehow believed to be winning the fight against the flames. The fire department signaled 8 minutes before the first large explosion that the fire was under control. However suddenly, the fire spread towards the storage bunkers and containers on the terrain, leading to a first large explosion. This explosion caused breakage of windows and loss of roof tiles in the entire neighborhood. About a minute later the second and largest explosion shattered the entire neighborhood, causing the death of 22 people, among which 4 of the firefighters. How the fire occurred in the first place has never been cleared, arson is suspected but the official Oosting investigation pointed out that short circuiting cannot be ruled out as a cause. A few months later one more victim died because of health problems obtained during the disaster, bringing the total death toll to 23. In total 947 people were wounded, of which 527 needed to be treated in hospitals (Oosting, 2001).



Figure 4.14: Aerial photograph of Roombeek a few days after the disaster (Encircled the crater where S.E. Fireworks used to be). Source: unknown, downloaded from www.zero-meridien.nl

The explosion caused fires to erupt all over the neighborhood, as the blast caused gas pipes to rupture. Burning debris from the explosion hit houses and factories up to a distance of several hundred meters, the houses, no longer protected by windows and roofs, easily caught fire. All the firefighting material of the Enschede fire department was lost in the explosion, so fires could not effectively be fought (Oosting, 2001). Within the hour a firestorm developed, in which oxygen rich air from the surrounding areas was drawn in to further fuel the fires. The fires were so heavy and persistent that the last fires could be put out only two days later. After the fires were put out and the smoke settled, the balance could be made up on the amount of destruction. It turned out that 42 hectares of the city were destroyed, hundreds of houses destroyed or damaged and over 200

companies were forced to relocate (Oosting, 2001; Van Snellenberg, 2010). A gaping hole in the city had appeared, alongside with the question that how this could have happened and why nobody from the government had done something to prevent this dangerous situation in the first place.

The aftermath and reconstruction decision

There are many things surrounding the fireworks disaster which remain a mystery. Several critical journalists have done investigations on their own, coming to different conclusions about the causes of the disaster, and all of them issue severe criticism on the investigation done by the police in the aftermath of the disaster, see for example the work of Vuyk (2010). The mysterious circumstances and the extremely heavy explosion have led to the formulation of conspiracy theories as well. The search for the cause of the fireworks disaster falls outside the scope of this study, but the unclear situation surrounding the disaster and the controversy around tolerating a fireworks factory in/close to a neighborhood led to strong feelings of suspicion and an environment of mistrust towards the local government by the residents of Roombeek (De Haan, 2006; Van Snellenberg, 2009). It was also commented on by some of the respondents:

I hope that the cause of the fireworks disaster will be found finally. Then and only then this book can be closed. But still I can hardly believe why the municipality let us live in such a risk, when I think of that I still get angry (Interview 10).

It looked like similar feelings of mistrust as described by Olshansky et al. (2008), occurring after Hurricane Katrina: Citizens blamed the government for letting them live in harm's way and taking a blind eye towards a dangerous situation that was known to them. In New Orleans, the government was repetitively warned for the dangers of the poorly maintained and too low dikes (Kates et al., 2006; Olshansky, 2006), but did not do enough to solve the problem. The municipality of Enschede was blamed for the same thing: Knowing that a fireworks storage depot and many temporary storage containers were located inside a residential neighborhood, but didn't do enough to prevent dangerous situations (De Lugt, 2010; De Lugt & Rijkeboer, 2003; Oosting, 2001; Van Snellenberg, 2010). To help regain the trust in the municipality, the decision was made to launch a citizen participation initiative, to try to involve all citizens in the reconstruction process (Denters & Klok, 2009; Klok et al., 2004). According to architectural supervisor de Bruijn the decision to do this was reached within a few weeks after the disaster. It was meant as a symbol of good faith after the obvious failure of the policy of the municipality. De Bruijn explains further:

It cannot be stressed enough that without the disaster never ever there would have been such a delicate approach as we have done with the local population involving them in the planning process. (P. de Bruijn, 8 July 2014, personal communication)

This view is consistent with what Colenbrander (2004) found during his interview with Alderman Roelof Bleker. Bleker explained that for him as political responsible person dealing with Roombeek, the main goal of the citizen participation process was to restore trust in the local government.

There is one remarkable thing about this attempt to restore trust which has to be noted: In the social participation monitor of the reconstruction process of Roombeek, Klok et al. (2004) reached the conclusion that no major changes in the level of trust in the municipality could be observed during the participation process, and they found as well that trust levels were not abnormally low, and people were reporting to be not so hostile as reported by several media, for example: *"The first two years after the disaster no government official dared to show up in Roombeek because of the fear of being lynched"* (Van Leeuwen, 2013). When interviewed, Klok explained that he considers there could be two options:

Either the level of trust in the government was already restored after the first initial steps of the reconstruction process and therefore we couldn't measure the changes, or the level of trust was never severely affected in the first place (P.J. Klok, 19 June 2014, personal communication).

Whichever reason would be the explanation for the by some perceived lack of trust, it was a fact that the government officials acted very cautiously when dealing with Roombeek. One of the political decisions was pledging that all residents would be able to return to Roombeek, if they desired so. Renters in Roombeek were promised a similar style house for the same rent as before the disaster and home owners were promised compensation on a ground for ground basis, which meant that they could choose from the available plots of land (of the same size they had before) in the new neighborhood to build their house on, or instead accept the value of the plot in cash and build or buy something anywhere else (Van Snellenberg, 2009, 2010). At the same time, the municipality of Enschede successfully arranged political support for the reconstruction plans at the central government level. As De Groot (2005) explains, in The Hague the responsible minister just survived a political crisis surrounding a parliamentary investigation about the 1992 Amsterdam Bijlmer airplane disaster, and was therefore willing to politically support the Enschede approach and willing to divert extra funding for the reconstruction of Roombeek to the city of Enschede. The national parliament in the Hague also supported Enschede with the plans for strong citizen involvement (Hofman, 2012). De Groot (2005) further explains that the political support for Enschede got even stronger after the publication of the previously mentioned Oosting report into the causes of the fireworks disaster, when it became clear that nothing had been done to translate the lessons learned from an earlier fireworks factory explosion in Culemborg in 1991 into national safety policy rules and regulations.

At the same time, next to the goal of giving the original residents the right to return, Kars & Van der Wal (2014) report, that the municipality of Enschede kept a second goal for reconstructing Roombeek:

The creation of an urban environment for the high end of the housing market, which will position Enschede as an attractive location for (high end) enterprises and for residents which are looking for a house in an urban environment in the higher market segment.

[Het creëren van stadsmilieus aan de bovenkant van de markt, die van Enschede een aantrekkelijke vestigingsplaats maken voor (hoogwaardige) bedrijvigheid en voor bewoners die op zoek zijn naar een woning in een stedelijke setting in het hogere marktsegment]. (Original Dutch quote).

This second goal is coherent with the ideas mentioned in the earlier plans of Groot-Roombeek, however in the Structuurvisie for the new Roombeek neighborhood (De Bruijn, 2001), even though houses in the higher market segment are clearly envisaged for, it is nowhere mentioned in this document as being an explicit policy goal for developing the neighborhood. Further in this chapter and the following fieldwork chapter, will be seen whether these goals have conflicted in the actual reconstruction process or if the planners were successful in organizing the reconstruction in such a way that both goals could be reached at the same time, and it has not negatively influenced the perceived neighborhood satisfaction of the original Roombeek residents.

Towards a plan for a new Roombeek

The citizen participation initiative from the government meant the withdrawal of the original VINEX plans of Riek Bakker, as a top-down approach didn't seem to be appropriate anymore (Abels, 2006; Van Snellenberg, 2010; Vlugt, 2004). The city of Enschede searched for capable architects in the Netherlands who could be the supervisor of the reconstruction process, and presented a number of architects. The Roombeek residents chose Pi de Bruijn as architectural supervisor, with the

motivation that he originally was from the Twente region (he was born in the town of Losser, 10 km northeast of Enschede). The expectation was that he would be better able to understand them and their specific culture (Van Snellenberg, 2010). From the municipality, a new Alderman, Roelof Bleker, who was untouched by any history of having to deal with anything in Roombeek before, was appointed for the task of giving special attention for the reconstruction of Roombeek, to ensure support from the side of the municipality and to guide the process from a governance perspective (Van Snellenberg, 2009, 2010; Vlugt, 2004). To further reduce the tensions between the municipality and the Roombeek residents, the decision was made to appoint Peter Kuenzli as external project director, overseeing the entire process and running the project office (Kuenzli, 2008; Van Snellenberg, 2010; Vlugt, 2004). This setup was needed, as the reconstruction process got the following additional conditions, making a direct involvement of the municipality difficult (Raspe et al., 2002):

1. It helps with the process of mourning of losses
2. It gives perspective on a better situation for the residents
3. It will be objective and free of values and opinions of existing institutions and the municipality
4. It is closely related to the experience and diversity of the residents and entrepreneurs
5. It has to generate ideas that victims find valuable during the reconstruction
6. The outcome of the citizen participation is the starting point for the lead urban planner.

Denters & Klok (2009, 2010) describe in great detail the citizen participation process in the reconstruction of Roombeek. In both articles they go into great length to explain how the citizens were involved and were invited to participate in the first place. In the most hit areas of the disaster, all people were displaced and dispersed all over the city and beyond. As far as the residential location was known, all residents received a personal invitation to participate in the reconstruction planning. The invited persons were asked to bring as much as possible also former Roombeek neighbors to the meetings. Denters and Klok further write about two different groups of Roombeek residents that were specifically invited. The first group consisted of the so called inner ring inhabitants, all of which were displaced because of the destruction of their house. The second group were the inhabitants of the so called outer ring, of which the houses suffered damage but not to such an extent that temporary displacement was necessary. As the authors expected, significantly more people from the inner ring participated. All in all, 24% of the residents of the inner ring participated in at least one of the citizen meetings. For the outer ring this number was lower, only 9% attended. Denters and Klok (2010) made a survey as well to determine whether the participants in the citizen meetings were representative for the entire population (tested were gender, education, homeownership, ethnicity and age) and found, with the exception of age (residents of 40-60 years old were overrepresented), only minor non-significant differences between the sample of participants and the total population, leading to the conclusion that a representative proportion of the original Roombeek residents did participate. The outcomes of the analysis for reasons to participate in the process, led to the conclusion that personal motivational factors and location of the house (inner or outer ring) were most important explanatory variables for residents to participate or not.

Citizen participation in the reconstruction process

The process of citizen participation went according to a number of steps. Here all steps are briefly mentioned, in the next paragraphs each individual step is elaborated upon. First of all, talks were held with key persons from the neighborhood, leading to the choice for Pi de Bruijn as lead architect and city planner. After this first step, children were asked to draw and build their own ideal

neighborhood. This step was aimed at raising the interest of adult people to attend the citizen participation meetings. The third step was consultation of different groups of residents to come to new ideas. The fourth step was the plenary discussion round, aimed at creating a unified plan from the ideas. And finally, the city council would vote for the plans, to make the final decision (De Bruijn, 2001; De Groot, 2005; Denters & Klok, 2008; Hofman, 2012; Jansen, 2001; Terra Nova, 2003). In this section, these steps in the participation process are briefly explained, to gain insight in the way the participation process worked and how it could assure that as Blanc & Beaumont (2005) write, displacement of the most deprived residents can be prevented, as well as working on the empowerment of the local non-gentrifying residents (see also section 2.4).

Developing the plan: Laying the foundation

First of all meetings were held with around 40 key persons from the neighborhood, like chairpersons of local neighborhood associations, ethnic minorities and entrepreneurs. These meetings were held to make sure that the proposed plan of approach would fit with the world of experience of the people from the neighborhood. It was this group who elected Pi de Bruijn as lead architect and city planner for the neighborhood. Throughout the entire process, this group was used as reference group for the plans to make sure the process was still moving in the right direction (Denters & Klok, 2009; Klok et al., 2004; Terra Nova, 2003).

The second step in the citizen participation for the reconstruction of Roombeek was the raising of interest among the residents. Groups of schoolchildren from the schools in Roombeek were working on an art project under the guidance of facilitators, to design and develop their ideal new neighborhood. Other schoolchildren groups were building a new neighborhood from Lego blocks (Terra Nova, 2003). The work was then displayed in the Rijksmuseum Twenthe (The national gallery, which is located at the edge of Roombeek) and parents and residents of the neighborhood were invited to look at the drawings of the children and were told about the importance of their actual participation in the reconstruction planning process (Denters & Klok, 2010). In the same phase, as much as possible residents were given the possibility to generate and hand in ideas, in several forms (Terra Nova, 2003).



Figure 4.15: Architect Pi de Bruijn looking at the drawings of the children about their ideal neighborhood.
Photo: Municipality Enschede

The third step of the process of citizen participation in Roombeek consisted of small group discussions, where minority groups would be able to voice their opinion, separate measures were implemented to have the voice of these people heard (De Groot, 2005; Denters & Klok, 2010). Next to the more general sessions, citizens could speak in several smaller groups during so called small scale kitchen table sessions. There were kitchen table sessions for youth, elderly, Turkish and Moroccan residents (with separate male/female sessions), local shop owners & entrepreneurs, and artists (as written in chapter 4.3, many artists had a studio in the Bamshoeve factory halls) (Van Snellenberg, 2010).

The citizen meetings were supervised by a so called process facilitator, who pre-structured the meetings, to make sure sufficient speed was maintained in the process, but at the same time, allowed for small scale discussions. In a brochure about citizen participation, Abels (2006) interviews Joop Hofman, the leading facilitator in the process about his method of work. He explains that citizens do understand that not everything can be done, and that not all of their ideas can be put into practice. According to this facilitator, openness and transparency about the process is of utmost importance, in order to build trust and increased satisfaction with the plans in the longer term. Planning supervisor Pi de Bruijn worked in the same way, as he explains his method of working:

Slowly we started to communicate with the people. (...) At first it was like a social process, it had very little to do with planning a new area, it was like establishing trust, and confidence. (...) In literature you find it, but I can really confirm from my long experience that about 95% of the success is whether they trust you or not. It is very strange but this is the big question. So I could be effective as long as I could be straightforward and say: "whatever we discuss, I will take it serious, whatever it is you say". I never promised that every line they draw will become reality but I will take you serious, you have to believe me if you don't think I'm doing a good job tell me and we will discuss it and so I need your confidence in order to make a good urban plan and that is the very simple truth (P. de Bruijn, 8 July 2014, personal communication).

Hofman further states in the interview that it is important to have as much as possible visual methods, to prevent people with getting bored with the process, when it is just talking. See also chapter 2.4 about this theme, especially the work of Van Kempen & Andersen (2003).

Developing the plan: Dealing with hot potatoes

During the planning process several difficult issues came up, which needed some decisions but caused a lot of controversy from the neighborhood residents. Planner Pi de Bruijn is well-known for his desire to keep as much as possible from existing buildings in general throughout his work (for example in his design of the Parliament Building in The Hague), and in Roombeek he had the same position (Colenbrander, 2004). He himself calls it a sort of mantra: to keep what is there, since later it will be an open history book for everyone to look at (P. de Bruijn, 8 July 2014, Personal communication). Some of the residents of the neighborhood would have liked better to remove the remains of historical factories, since it reminded them about the textile period which they disliked (see also chapter 4.2). Marga Brunninkhuis, head of USHI (Organization for housing development by private commissioning in Roombeek), explains:

The textile industry was disliked by the inhabitants of Enschede and of Roombeek too, because workers were treated badly in the past. The ruins of the factories were a reminder of this period. They wouldn't have cared at all if those would have been demolished. Pi de Bruijn however wanted to keep as much as possible of it (M. Brunninkhuis, personal communication 18 June 2014).

Consequently, several strong discussions were held on this topic. De Bruijn recalls some of the arguments he brought in:

They [Roombeek residents, JB] said: "My uncle worked in that factory, and when he was forty years, his back was broken, so please destroy that place". I said: "No, let me tell you why: Think of your son and your grandson, if this building is away you can tell them that story, but it will be a bleak abstract story. If the building is still there, as I propose to you, you can tell your son and your grandson later: That is the factory where my uncle has broken his back: It is much more strong to be able to point to the building even if you hate it, you have it still there

and you can relate to it. Your story will be much more authentic and vigorous if the building is there. Then you can say: that's the building where it all happened!" (P. de Bruijn, personal communication, 8 July 2014).

In the end, Pi de Bruijn convinced the residents to let the old factories in place: Roelof Bleker, political responsible Alderman from the municipality for the reconstruction explained about the tension that he and other policy makers had when it came to voting on this subject by the people:

We had a transparent plastic tube. We gave people two ping pong balls, a red one and a white one. They could throw a white ball into it when in favor and a red ball when against. At the end about 200 people voted like this, with the white or red balls. To our big relief it turned out fortunately or successfully to be a white tube with only a few red balls and not a red tube with a few white balls. (...) Then we knew we could continue in the way we were developing the plans (R. Bleker, 8 July 2014, Personal communication).

De Groot (2005) explains that the old residents understood that the old Roombeek would never come back as it used to be, but in the end wholeheartedly agreed with the decision to save as much as possible from the old factory infrastructure since already so much was lost in the blast. See also Colenbrander (2004) for a detailed interview with De Groot, about among others, this topic.

Another discussion noteworthy mentioning here was the discussion on three acacia trees next to the Roomweg at the entrance of Roomveldje (see figure 4.8, the right picture), which barely survived the disaster, but were about to be cut down to make room for the new Roombeek that would again made visible and float through the neighborhood. Residents protested against this, as the trees had emotional value for them (as survivors of the disaster) and the result was that these trees could stay. As a result, part of the Roombeek still flows underground (De Volkskrant, 2005). Since this issue led to open protest in the neighborhood and caused some stir in the media, because at first regarding this issue there seemed to have been insufficient flexibility in the planning process, it can be regarded as one of the “hot potato” issues that were getting out of hand and not solved in the way that it was supposed to be according the initial guidelines.

The most intense discussion during the reconstruction process was the discussion about what to do with the houses at the Roomveldje. Some of these were burned down completely, but others were still standing and could potentially be repaired, as was done with the factories and the so called “Wachters van Roombeek”, the landmark houses of the neighborhood at the Lasondersingel. Figure 4.16 shows the amount of destruction because of the shockwave and subsequent fires in the Roomveldje area.

Pi de Bruijn, as overall urban planner wanted to keep – as everywhere else in the neighborhood – as much as possible from the old garden city Roomveldje and had an inspection done into the structural integrity of the still standing ruins (Colenbrander, 2004). As a result of this inspection, Pi de Bruijn proposed to keep the still standing old houses, as he explained:

After the disaster, half of this Garden City was burnt down, but the other half was up: perfect, in perfect condition, hundred and ten little houses. So I said: we are going to keep these 110 houses. Because I'm very much in favor of keeping what was there. I think of that as a basic rule: What is there, we will leave unless we think it is not good. (...) For me as a planner, as an ideologist, I consider that it is a gift to have this little, beautiful 110 houses, and to retain these as the center of the area. (P. de Bruijn, 8 July 2014, personal communication)

Most residents of Roomveldje strongly opposed this idea and demanded new houses in the area, as they were afraid the houses were too damaged to restore (Boom, 2009). One of the Roomveldje respondents explains why:



Figure 4.16: The situation in Roomveldje after the disaster
Photo: Johan Ghijssels

Pi de Bruijn really wanted to restore everything. But with that we were not happy. All houses were severely hit, there was none of them that was still good. All houses were declared uninhabitable. Everything was lifted by the shockwave, you don't know what that does with the structural integrity. As an example: An acquaintance of us was working in a house in Mekkelholt, a little north of here. He had to take an old fireplace and chimney from a house there. The people who lived there wanted it to go, and make the wall flat. He is working on it and it suddenly falls down and bang: he lies underneath. (Interview 10)

By no means, all the inhabitants of Roomveldje were unanimously against the plans of De Bruijn. Another resident of Roomveldje reports his view:

If Pi de Bruijn would get his way, then much more of the old houses in Roomveldje would have been saved. At least half of the houses he wanted to repair. But, I remember being at the table as well, and the people of Roomveldje were promised new houses, among others by alderman Buursink, but it was done only orally before, so that was maybe not enough. Pi de Bruijn was rather pissed off. Then Pi presented his plans and asked, who is in favor and who is against? A minority was in favor. The majority wanted new houses and have the old ones completely demolished. I lived in an old house myself, if that one would have been restored, I'm sure it could have turned out beautifully. (Interview 9)

The situation was fiercely and emotionally debated on, Boom (2009) reports about some of the options brought forward in the discussion. De Bruijn recalls one of his – unsuccessful – attempts to reach a solution:

So I have done one more attempt later with the people, to convince them that it may be in their interest to leave the this little Garden Village. They said: no, we have decided not to. I said: We can leave the old houses in place and have you get a new house anyway elsewhere in the neighborhood...and maybe we can have artists or students living in the Roomveldje, in the existing houses. (...) They said: Nobody else is going to be in my place. (P. de Bruijn, 8 July 2014, personal communication).

In the end a compromise was reached, 5 of the old houses would be restored and the rest would be demolished and rebuilt in the same original Garden City style. Observer Klok from the University of Twente monitored the process and commented the following on the debate:

I'm a governance researcher and from that perspective I consider the Roomveldje discussion to be an excellent example of how to solve these kind of problems in citizen participation processes. The voice of the people was heard, their ideas taken seriously and in the end a compromise was found with which everyone could live and a major open conflict was avoided by swift action of the key persons in the process. I do think however that Pi de Bruijn is maybe not entirely happy with how it turned out (P.J. Klok, 19 June 2014, personal communication).

Indeed de Bruijn commented that he was not happy how it turned out, but according to the guidelines of the reconstruction process, and accepted the situation that the residents had the final say in this situation:

Then I understood I lost this battle and I was very sad about it, because planning wise it would have been so much richer to have the old and new houses mixed in a more interesting way. (P. de Bruijn, 8 July 2014, Personal communication)

Some of the other noteworthy points of discussion (“hot potatoes”) within the process were about the park, dog walking routes, building styles and the fast public transportation line on the old railway track (Raspe et al., 2002). To discuss them all would go beyond the scope of this thesis. The three examples mentioned under this heading are just to explain the process and in what way difficult issues were dealt with.

Finishing the plan: Wrapping up the issues and the final touches

One of the special points of attention for Pi de Bruijn was the prevention of Roombeek becoming an isolated island for the rich within the city center. Apart from rebuilding the neighborhood, also the connections both in infrastructure and socially with the rest of the city were given attention. De Bruijn added the new Museumlaan to the design, which had the function of linking the museums in Roombeek to the other museums in the city center of Enschede (Colenbrander & Lengkeek, 2008). Another example is the addition of a theater to the original Prismare plans, to create a point of attraction also for residents from neighborhoods around Roombeek. These and several other plans on this topic have been put under the heading “Healing the urban tissue” in the plans (Colenbrander & Lengkeek, 2008; De Bruijn, 2001; De Haan, 2006).

The final fourth step of the reconstruction process consisted of an exhibition week in which all proposals were presented and results of the talks with the different groups were brought forward. Planning supervisor Pi de Bruijn and process director Peter Künzli constructed his neighborhood redesign plan on the basis of their ideas, with modifications to it in key areas, based on the

discussions with and input from the residents (see the previous paragraphs for details of some of these discussions).

The end of this fourth phase was marked by a decision. Residents were to vote on the total plan that came out of the entire process. After counting the votes, it turned out that no less than 97% of the residents involved, supported the final plan written by Kuenzli and De Bruijn. The external monitoring of the process turned out that residents were in general quite satisfied with the result (Denters & Klok, 2009; Klok et al., 2004; Kuenzli, 2008; Terra Nova, 2003). The Enschede city council then unanimously adopted the plan.

In the final approved plan by the city council, it was mentioned that next to the rebuilding of rental properties by the housing corporations, most of the other plots of land would be issued out in the form of private commissioning or in the case of the street “Het Roombeekhofje” in the form of collective private commissioning (De Bruijn, 2001). This is quite a special situation in the Netherlands, as large project developers were kept as much as possible out of the process (Kuenzli, 2008). Around 50% of the newly built houses in the neighborhood were built by private commissioning, which is a high percentage, especially for the Netherlands where this type of building is not common and usually only available for the elite. The integration of these privately commissioned houses in the neighborhood went smoothly (Abels, 2007) and private commissioning was also available for old owner-occupying residents as well as new middle class residents (M. Brunninkhuis, personal communication, 18 June 2014), as in many cases it turned out to be cheaper to build the house in private commission than to buy it from a large scale developed project since it saves paying the margin of the project developer (Colenbrander, 2004; De Haan, 2006; De Jong, 2006; De Volkskrant, 2005; Trouw, 2002). As one of the Roombeek residents explains:

I lived in the neighborhood before the disaster, and our new house is in the backyard of my old house. As a young family, my husband and I were very surprised that we were able to afford a house in this area. But the calculations clearly turned out that it would be possible. Our house is built under collective private commissioning. That saved a lot of money which would have gone to a project developer. We were building together with our neighbors and that meant that we could share our problems with the contractor when they occurred. There were some delays, yes. But in the end we got a great house. (Interview 7)

Several similar stories have been collected by Paul Abels (2007) in his book about private commissioning in Roombeek and how it was affordable for almost all homeowners of the old Roombeek neighborhood. Colenbrander & Lengkeek (2008) came to the same conclusions in their study into the effects of the reconstruction of the neighborhood. There turned out to be quite a large of demand for the plots in the Bamshoeve. Bleker recalls some memories about the buying craze that happened when the sale of the plots started:

The first time I saw people waiting, I thought: this is tactics of the “Roombeek Projectbureau”. On the that week Saturday the first ones could buy a plot and on Wednesday night before I passed by on my bike and I saw someone preparing his tent... I said what are you doing? You are setting up a tent, why? Because I want to make sure that I can buy that plot on Saturday! I thought at first, that is smart idea from the Projectbureau...get a young guy, have a photo taken for the newspaper and the people will stand in line...that’s how you create a buzz, good tactics. But I turned out to be wrong about it. So I said: oh really it is Wednesday now and only Saturday you can buy...which plot do you want? so he said I want Bamshoevelaan 20c or some number like that. However, I still didn’t believe it at that moment, so I said and what are

you going to build there? And he said: I don't know yet but that person over there is my architect! So the other guy that was there making his tent that is my architect. Then I thought it must be true. So I called the responsible civil servant and I said: well someone is building a tent. He organized a photographer of the newspaper...Next morning it was in the newspaper...and other people saw that and thought: Oops...I'm missing out on something and took their car and went to sit there as well. So afterwards you can say it was a success, people wanted it but it was a new idea so that's difficult. (R. Bleker, personal communication, 8 July 2014).



Figure 4.17: “A hole in the city”, Roombeek at the start of the actual reconstruction phase
Photo: Joost van den Hoek

Bleker further recalls that it was a bit of a gamble to decide to let people build by private commissioning, as there was no guarantee that it could work because of not having much experience with this type of building in the Netherlands:

I didn't believe in marketing and marketing research for this new approach, I quote Henry Ford here: If I ask the people what they want, they want a more durable the horse who lived longer on the field or to transport you. They want a more stronger and durable horse: but instead I gave them a car. We didn't know if it would be a success, there was no market research to prove it. in Holland it is possible to build your own house but it is mostly villas but not in the city and not in the middle class. That was never seen in the Netherlands before, at least not after the second World War. (Personal communication, 8 July 2014).

Criticism on the plans and goals of the reconstruction

The plan of De Bruijn for redevelopment of the Bamshoeve area with more up-market housing, was fiercely attacked by the Roombeek residents, but he managed to convince them that his point of view of social mixing in the neighborhood was a good idea:

One big discussion point came up a little bit later. It was about areas where factories used to be and I proposed to have in these areas also better class families, with better social economic circumstances, even villa owners. That was a big fighting point with the original inhabitants that came frequently to discuss all these matters. They said: Now we can see your true face, you are a capitalist, you will be kicking us out and you will be getting all these rich people in and they will push us away... and so on and so forth. But I was well prepared and I said: No, no, wait a minute, we leave you in the areas that you have been living before, even maybe in the same spot, in the same street. (...) But it doesn't necessarily mean that for the other burned down areas where the factories used to be, that we will copy the same social pattern there, it would be a terrible idea. If you were to do that, it wouldn't be just as you remember the area, it would be about three times as big in the same social economic class: it would be a ghetto. (...) You would be very sorry, I think it is much better to fill the area that we have available with a fully different social class, it would make the area much more mixed and you will feel better, it will be better for the shopkeepers, for business and even for yourselves. (P. de Bruijn, 8 July 2014, Personal Communication).

Later, when the initial reconstruction plans were presented, the political responsible alderman Bleker was again criticized by the general public and media about this same issue. There were questions asked and critical remarks made whether the new to be developed fast bus lane Lonnekerspoorlaan and the parks next to it would not act as a physical barrier of segregation within the neighborhood. On the west side most of the houses were for the original residents and rebuilt according to the ideas they brought to the table. The area east of it on the terrain of the former "Bamshoeve" and the new "Museumlaan" was thought to become an island for the elite, leading to gentrification effects, an undesirable situation in a neighborhood that went through such a disaster (Jansen, 2001; Van den Hoek, 2008). The fear was that this new built gentrification on the former factory terrains would influence the neighborhood by distorting the existing social cohesion, and commercial structure, a similar process as described for example for some London neighborhoods by Davidson & Lees (2005, 2010) (See chapter 2.2). The question about the perception among original non-gentrifying residents to which extent these distortive gentrification effects happened or not, is dealt within the fieldwork section of this study.

Also several of the artists formerly residing at the "Bamshoeve" complained, because the new neighborhood plans lacked affordable workspaces for artists (Colenbrander, 2004). The plans were later adopted to create these kind of spaces in the north of the neighborhood in the area around the former Tetem factory. Some of the artists as residents and users of the neighborhood are asked in the fieldwork part of this study about their satisfaction with these measures for them.

After the plans were approved by the city council, reconstruction of the neighborhood began. Even though sometimes delays happened, reconstruction went rather smooth and most of the residents of the neighborhood were satisfied with the result. It even went so far as that tourists started to visit the reconstructed neighborhood (De Jong, 2006; Den Hartog, 2008). The memorial center in the neighborhood, the so-called "Huis van Verhalen" organizes visitor tours through Roombeek, explaining about its past and reconstruction and shows the interesting architecture in the neighborhood (Van Roosmalen, De Vries, Jongma, & Molenaar, 2010). As a side note, it is interesting to remark that the municipality of Schouwen Duiveland donated a childrens playground to the reconstruction of Roombeek, since Enschede had financially adopted the reconstruction of two

villages after the 1953 flooding ("Delegatie uit Schouwen Duivenland bezoekt Roombeek," 2006) (See also section 2.4).

To monitor and if necessary steer the development of Roombeek a bit in another direction, the Enschede municipality published a number of progress reports about the reconstruction process, for example the detailed "Roombeek in Balance" report (Van Snellenberg, 2009) and in early 2014 the brochure "Roombeek completed!?". This last brochure describes the changes in the original plans and some of the projects that still need completion. It turned out there is less office space needed than foreseen in the original plans, so some of the initial projects got scrapped, and others will be developed in a different direction. Some of the residential plots will be developed in the coming years, as they have only recently been sold ("Roombeek voltooid!?", 2014).

4.5 Did it work? Reflections on the Roombeek reconstruction process

When reflecting on the entire process of the reconstruction of Roombeek described in the previous sections of this chapter, the question arises whether it has been a successful reconstruction project in terms of satisfaction of the participants and if so, if the participation has led to higher long term neighborhood satisfaction. Based on calculations of Denters & Klok (2009, 2010) and Van Snellenberg (2009) in total around 40% of the displaced residents came back. Split out into the different sub neighborhoods, in Roomveldje around 70% returned, in Kroedhölte and Talmaplein around 30%.

Monitoring and reflection on the participation process

The entire process of citizen participation was monitored by Klok, Denters, Van Heffen & Visser (2004), later expanded upon by Denters & Klok (2010). In the latter article, the authors researched questions regarding participation and non-participation in the process (see for more details the earlier section on the reconstruction decision in this chapter). Next to the participation/non-participation question, Klok et al. (2004) monitored also the satisfaction with the citizen participation process and the development of trust in the local government (as mentioned in the previous heading, restoring this trust was the main concern of the politically responsible alderman). When looking at the results of this study, as already mentioned in the previous section, Denters & Klok only found a slight but significant overrepresentation of people from the age group of 40 – 60 from the neighborhood, for all other characteristics measured, the sample of citizens that participated was similar to the characteristics of the neighborhood. As they found in their study, the strongest reasons not to participate were personal motivational characteristics. Denters & Klok therefore concluded that participation approached more or less the ideal of having a representative share of the population participating. In terms of satisfaction with the process itself, Klok et al. conclude that the grades given by the respondents for satisfaction with the process and the satisfaction with the different ways to bring forward their ideas was quite high, leading to the conclusion that the participants had enough possibilities to voice their opinion during the planning process. It also became clear, possibly because of the design of the process that a low trust in the municipality did not lead to non-participation in the reconstruction process. However, one of the other conclusions was that trust in the local government did not increase during the planning process. In the literature on neighborhood satisfaction as mentioned in chapter 2.5, trust in the government is nowhere mentioned as one of the variables influencing neighborhood satisfaction. Trust in the government is therefore not further elaborated upon in the fieldwork part of this study.

The municipality of Enschede has published a neighborhood report in 2014, based on a panel discussion with Roombeek residents. In the report, some of the perceptions of Roombeek residents regarding the image of the neighborhood have been collected. As this report, written by Kars & Van der Wal (2014), states, the residents of Roombeek have the impression that there is a feeling among the residents of other neighborhoods in Enschede, that they describe with jealousy. Some one-liners noted in the report that came from the residents are for example: *In Roombeek everything was possible to create a beautiful neighborhood, as there was loads of money. Or: It's a collection of touristic sights that cost a lot of money. Or: All polish and shine in Roombeek. But too little attention for the problems in other neighborhoods.* Although in this study these remarks are just the perception of residents from the neighborhood itself, it could be an indication that Roombeek is indeed perceived as or even functions as an island of renewal within the city, a situation not unlike Berry (1982) and Wyly and Hammel (1999) have described in their studies (see also chapter 2.2). In the fieldwork part will be more attention for this, as well as to the extent to which respondents observe social mixing in the neighborhood, or on the contrary perceive that a situation in relation to the new residents exists that looks more like the spatial practice of “*Living in a bubble*”, described by Butler (2003) about gentrifiers in London.

In terms of displacement of original non-gentrifying residents, the political decision and arrangements made during the reconstruction process for the old residents of the neighborhood indeed did prevent at least the forms of direct displacement as formulated by Marcuse (see chapter 2.2). However, with all the good intentions of arranging long term affordable housing for them, there might be a chance that some of these old residents would experience feelings of being trapped in the neighborhood (Newman & Wyly, 2006), even though it was their own choice to return to it. Since the rental costs for them are still on the same level as before the disaster, there may be no chance for the non-gentrifying residents with the lowest incomes to move anywhere else, if desired so or if the situation requires it. In the fieldwork part of this thesis, original non-gentrifying residents will be asked if they experience these feelings.

This chapter has been largely descriptive and looking to explain the wider context of Roombeek and the complex history as well as the process of reconstruction of the neighborhood. To finish the description of what happened in the neighborhood, it is interesting to quote one of the old residents volunteering in in the memorial center, “Huis van Verhalen” in the neighborhood, who creates an almost epic journey out of the process of reconstructing the neighborhood:

This piece of art was made by one of the local artists who lived through the disaster as well, it has become the symbol of our organization. It is a Phoenix, rising from the ashes. A symbol which shows the resilience of the old residents of Roombeek, who decided to work together, to once again create a lively and livable neighborhood. (Interview 3)

Towards a new paradigm for urban planning?

Still, the question remains if the highly specific process of reconstruction that Roombeek went through offers lessons for other neighborhoods in The Netherlands which are going through urban renewal in terms of its citizen participation process. According to Pi de Bruijn in 2008, this is very well possible, but requires a lot more attention from local governments and political willpower to actually allow collective and individual private commissioning. He states that local governments don't want to deal with too many parties, but instead better like to do business with just one big project developer,

who “builds 800 similar houses, from type A, B or C all at the same time” (Den Hartog, 2008). In 2014 he is even more outspoken about this:

Interviewer: *Do you think the special planning style that you developed for Roombeek could become a new planning paradigm for the Netherlands?*

De Bruijn: *No. I would love to, but it is not going to happen. There are two big enemies: 1. The politicians, they lose power. They hand the power to me or to any planner, and with that to the citizens. And they don't like to do that. And 2. The civil servants, the “ambtenaren”. They lose their jobs, and they will not give that up. All major Dutch cities have visited Roombeek, they all love it. And they all asked me: Can this be repeated? And I say: yes, it can be repeated, if you want it. But, you don't want it. That's the truth.* (P. de Bruijn, 8 July 2014, Personal Communication)

This analysis of the Bruijn is remarkably similar to the conclusions of Marinetto (See chapter 2.4). Even though citizen participation in Roombeek can be considered to be largely successful (Denters & Klok, 2009), other authors like Van den Hoek (2008) also point to the uniqueness of the circumstances of Roombeek, both in terms of its history as well as the influence of the fireworks disaster. According to Van den Hoek at least 6 arguments can be brought to the table why the Roombeek citizen participation and private commissioning is unique for the neighborhood and the approach cannot be copied to other neighborhoods:

1. Because of the large media attention, nobody dared to obstruct
2. Everything was possible, because nobody wanted to be accused of blocking the reconstruction for bureaucratic reasons.
3. Comparison of Roombeek with any other neighborhood is useless, as a lot of funds from the central government level in The Hague flowed into the neighborhood
4. The city of Enschede was in the position to acquire ownership of all plots of land in the entire neighborhood.
5. The fragmentation of private owned plots of land through the neighborhood made project development less attractive.
6. Insurance money and other compensation from the government made it possible for many people to return to the neighborhood and build another house, even for the people with rather limited income.

Van den Hoek is skeptical if the positive effects of real citizen participation and increased residential satisfaction will be strong enough to change the power of institutions and large companies (Van den Hoek, 2008). Denters & Klok (2010) also mention that because of the extraordinary circumstances the government was ready to really support the reconstruction process, but write as well that they consider it less likely that in other situations governments will be able and willing to firmly support such a process. When asked in an interview, both Brunninkhuis & Klok mention that also in Enschede since then, policies around urban restructuring went more or less back to usual when looking at different neighborhoods in the city currently undergoing such a process (M. Brunninkhuis, 18 June 2014; P. J. Klok, 19 June 2014, personal communication). On the other hand, Van den Hoek argues that residential and neighborhood satisfaction among Roombeek citizens, at least in the short term have increased. The neighborhood could therefore still function as a source of inspiration, especially if such neighborhood satisfaction effects turn out to be lasting. Klok, researcher of the University of Twente, explains that in his opinion he sees only little actual changes in planning policy, neither in Enschede, nor in the other cities that came to visit Roombeek for getting some inspiration:

There was a lot of attention in the country about how this has been done. It's however not the case that all of these cities where the tours were organized for in Roombeek, have organized their processes a bit in this way. They don't take this process as an example that they would like to use. But of course it is a legitimate question: If people from somewhere else go to Enschede and people from Enschede want to show them something they are really proud of, they go to Roombeek. I sometimes ask: What is going to be the next Roombeek? But it is not there. (P.J. Klok, 19 June 2014, Personal communication)

The question whether a long term effect on neighborhood satisfaction can be observed because of both participation in the reconstruction process and living in a gentrifying neighborhood cannot be answered by the earlier research, however as becomes clear from literature (see chapter 2.5), it is likely to have also longer term influence. To draw conclusions about the perceived residential satisfaction, the residents of the Roombeek neighborhood, both new and especially also long term residents have to be asked for their perceptions to shed light on this matter. These issues are dealt with in the next chapter, the fieldwork part of this study.

4.6 Roombeek today: An overview of a selection of neighborhood statistics

To finalize this chapter and before moving into the fieldwork part of this study, it will be helpful to look at some of the neighborhood statistics as were measured after the reconstruction of the neighborhood, to gain further insight in the context of the neighborhood. In this section, just some graphs and comparisons with the rest of the city will be presented, a more extensive overview of the neighborhood statistics, with several more detailed data tables as well as more graphs, can be found in Appendix 3. Data have been obtained from the CBS, the Central Statistics Bureau of the Netherlands or from the municipality of Enschede directly.

Population statistics

Roombeek is not a particularly large neighborhood in terms of number of inhabitants, as can be seen on figure 4.18, but because of the still ongoing reconstruction, the number of residents is increasing rather fast, from 3875 on 1 January 2010 to 4511 on 1 January 2014. To have more people in the neighborhood means that the minimal threshold for several more commercial spaces in the neighborhood can more easily be met. The increasing population is a good development for the existing shopkeepers and services, but might be problematic for traffic, for example for the number of cars in the neighborhood.

Karsten (2003, 2014) and Boterman et al. (2010) concluded that for the city of

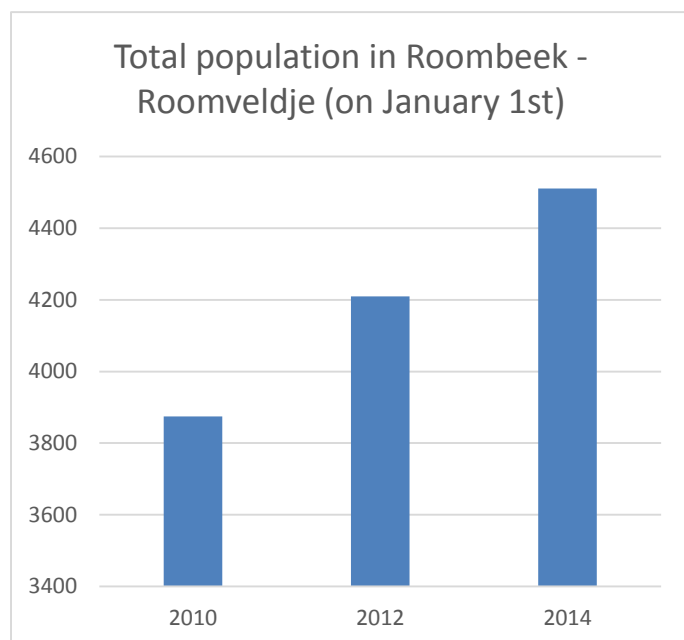
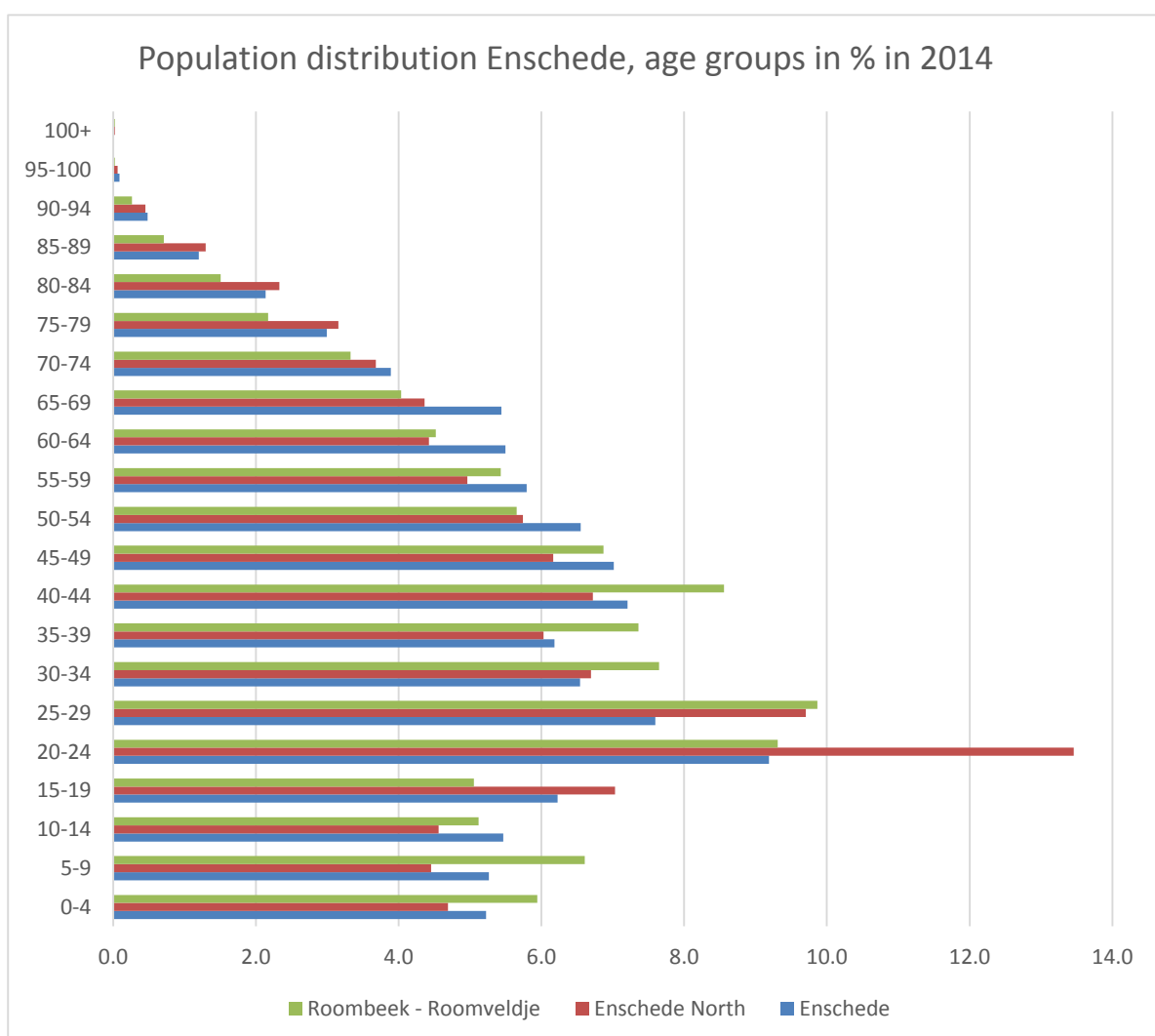


Figure 4.18: Population development in Roombeek
Source: CBS & Gemeentelijke Basis Administratie Municipality of Enschede

Amsterdam, in particular in gentrifying neighborhoods, the amount of families with children was increasing, as well as the percentage of younger children among its population, as these neighborhoods are increasing in popularity and offer a more attractive environment for them in terms of especially schools for children. In figure 4.19, Roombeek is compared with the city of Enschede in general to find out about the percentage of children in Roombeek and the other parts of Enschede North. Enschede North consists apart from Roombeek from the neighborhoods of Walhof, Mekkelholt, Deppenbroek and Drienerveld-University of Twente. When looking at the percentage of children in comparison with other neighborhoods in Enschede North and with the city in general indeed a higher percentage of young families with children. This could be evidence that gentrification is taking place in Roombeek, although on the other hand, caution must be applied here, since the higher percentage of children might also be caused by the tendency in the Netherlands in general to build predominantly one family homes. The effect of this leads almost automatically to neighborhoods with many young children, as many of the houses are occupied by young families.



Figuur 4.19: Population age distribution per 1 January 2014
 Source: Gemeentelijke Basis Administratie, Municipality of Enschede.

The interesting extreme outlier in the age groups in Enschede-North between 20 and 29 years is caused by the inclusion of the University of Twente campus with student housing in this area of the city, in the neighborhood Drienerveld-UT to be more precise (62% of the population there is between 15 and 24 years old). Also the household composition in Roombeek as compared with the entire

north and the rest of the city indicates that there are relatively many families with children in the neighborhood. The comparison with Enschede North is probably more useful, as there is no distortion from the University of Twente students living on the campus, since these students are generally not living in a family.

When looking at neighborhood image, Roombeek is by far the most sought after neighborhood in Enschede to live in. In a research among 1724 citizens from Enschede, 32% percent of the respondents indicated that they would like to live in Roombeek (see appendix 3 for details).

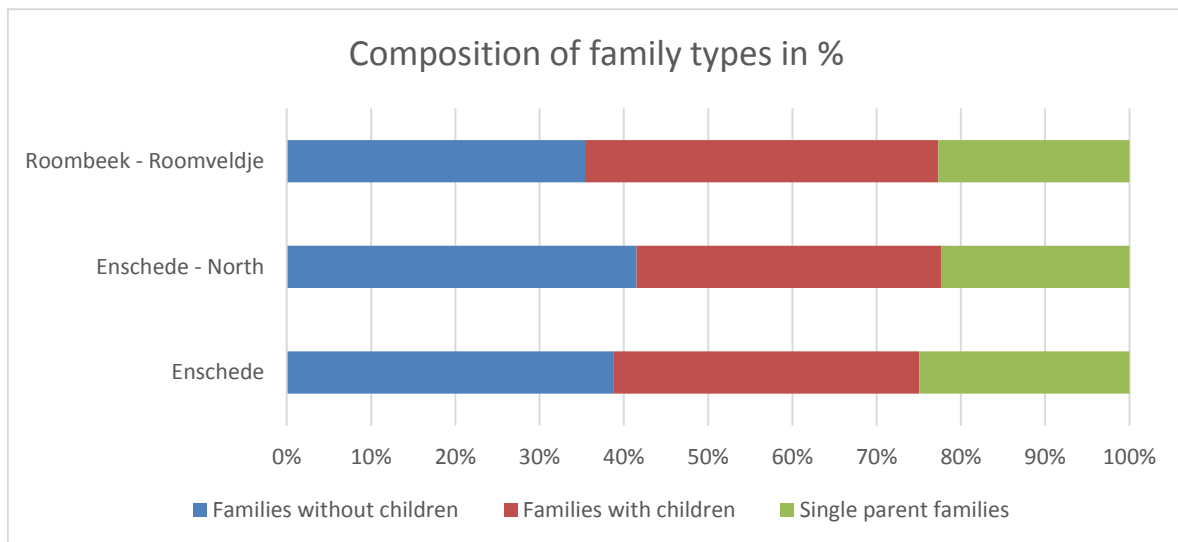


Figure 4.20: Household composition, per 1 January 2014
Source: Gemeentelijke Basis Administratie, Municipality of Enschede

Work & Income statistics

In terms of work and income, there also quite a few differences can be observed between Roombeek and some of the other neighborhoods around it. When talking about unemployment, measured in number of households per thousand living on welfare, Roombeek stands out as a neighborhood in which this amount is quite low in the city, as compared to some neighborhoods around it. Enschede

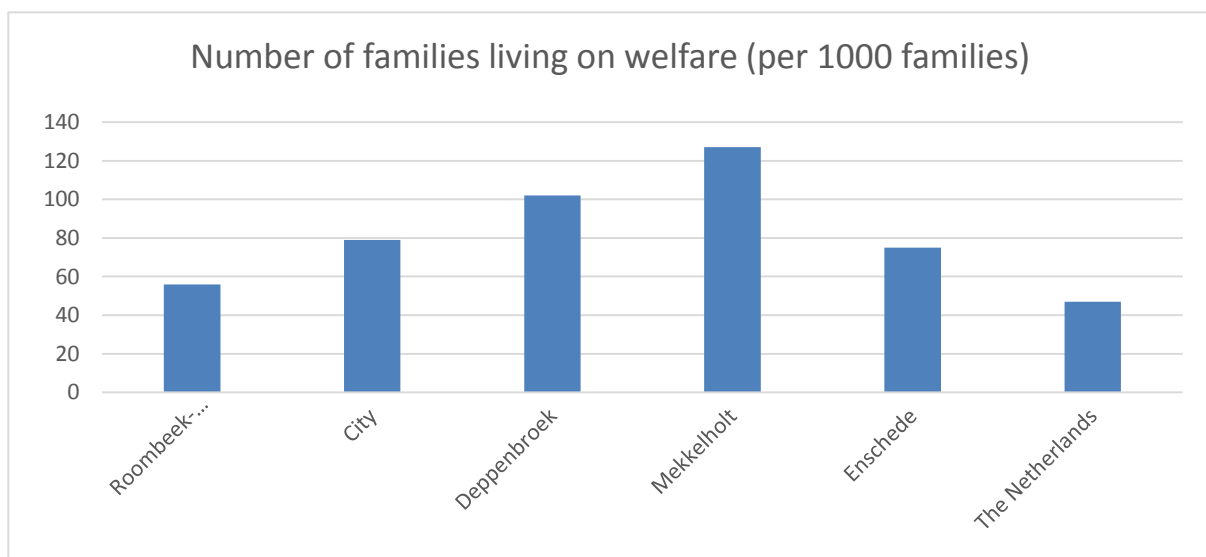


Figure 4.21: Families living on welfare
Source: CBS

has a high number of people living on welfare as compared with the rest of the country. This is still due to the restructuring effects since the collapse of the textile industry (see chapter 4.2).

Also in terms of income, the average incomes in Roombeek are higher than the city average and some of the neighborhoods around it. Roombeek is certainly not the neighborhood with the highest income in the city, but as compared to the income levels before the disaster and with some of the nearby (still) non-gentrified neighborhoods Mekkelholt and Deppenbroek, Roombeek has significantly higher average incomes. This is consistent with the definition of gentrification used in this study (see chapter 2.2 and 3.3) and provides further evidence that gentrification is taking place in this neighborhood.

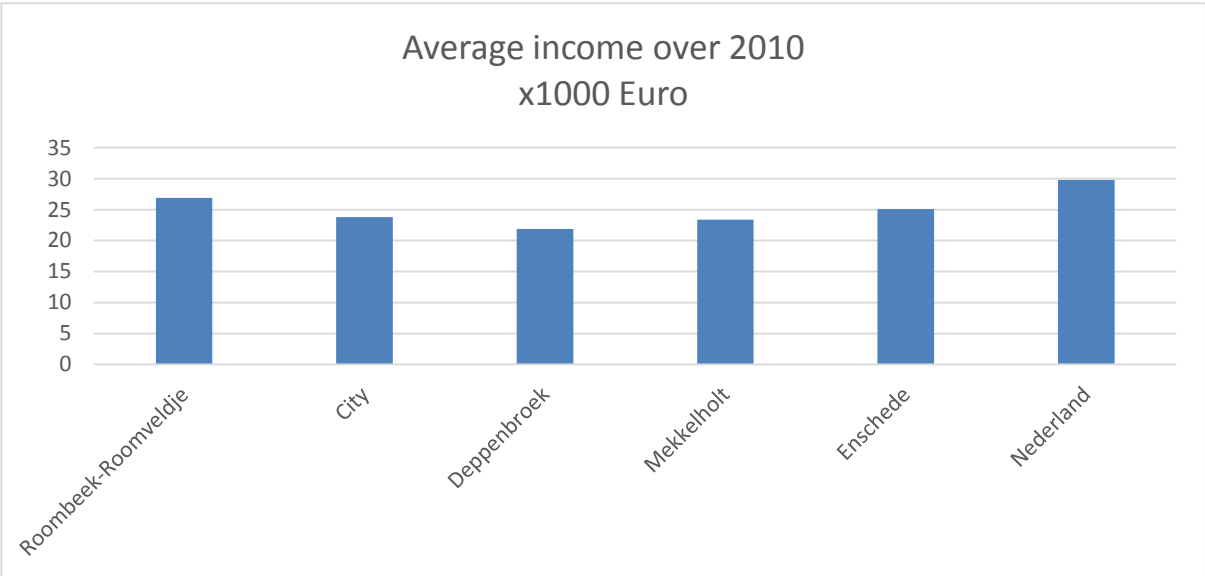


Figure 4.22: Income levels in Enschede
Source: CBS

Housing statistics

In terms of real estate, the situation in Roombeek is rather different from several of the neighborhoods around it. As can be seen in figure 4.23, prices for real estate in Roombeek are on average considerably higher than the average prices in the city, as well as in some of the neighborhoods around it. This is a situation that was completely different before the fireworks disaster. Clearly, there has been a lot of investment of capital in the neighborhood, one of the items named by Davidson & Lees (2005) that may lead to gentrification. When comparing to the Netherlands in general, the real estate prices are quite low in Enschede. The lower prices are a combination of causes, like the peripheral location of the city in the Netherlands and the limited pressure on the housing market because of the restructuring of the textile industry.

When looking at types of houses, it becomes clear from figure 4.24 that the composition of the housing types in Roombeek is virtually similar to the housing types in Enschede as a whole. The nearby neighborhoods Mekkelholt and Deppenbroek have a larger number of rental houses. This same pattern is also visible in the the city center. Coming from a situation where by far the most houses were rental houses, there have been a large change in Roombeek after the fireworks disaster.

The statistical data for housing in Roombeek provide further evidence that the neighborhood is going through gentrification. Uitermark et al. (2006) & Uitermark (2009) explain that a policy of increasing the percentage of house ownership is one of the strategies in the Netherlands to attract more affluent residents to gentrifying neighborhoods (see further chapter 2.2 for more details).

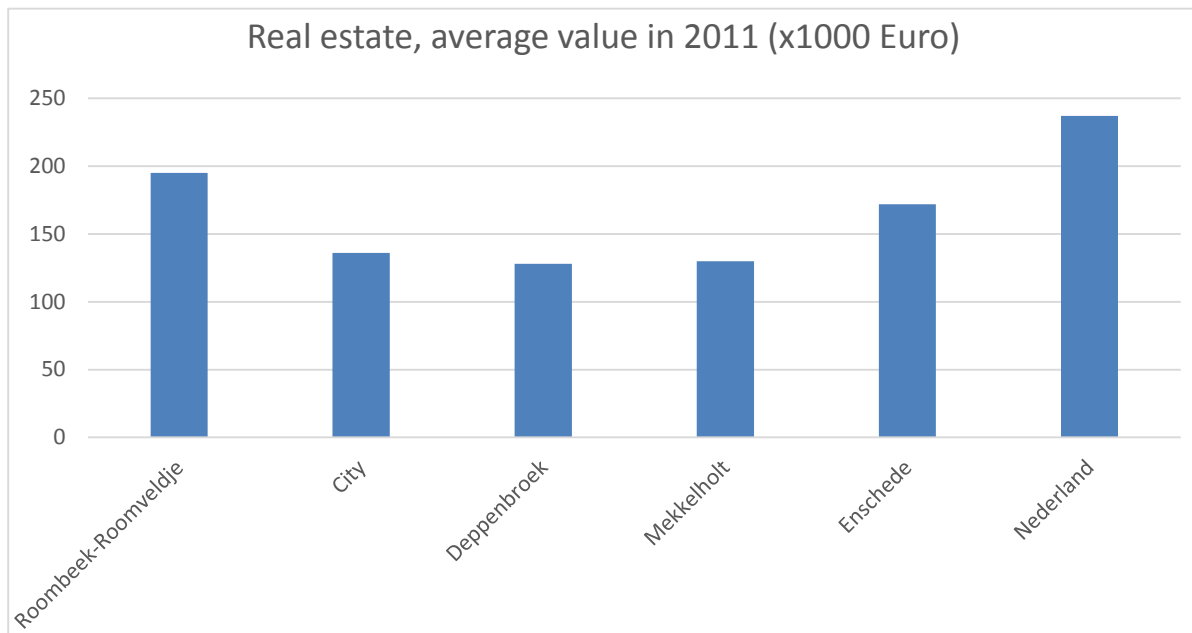


Figure 4.23: Average real estate value in 2011
Source: CBS

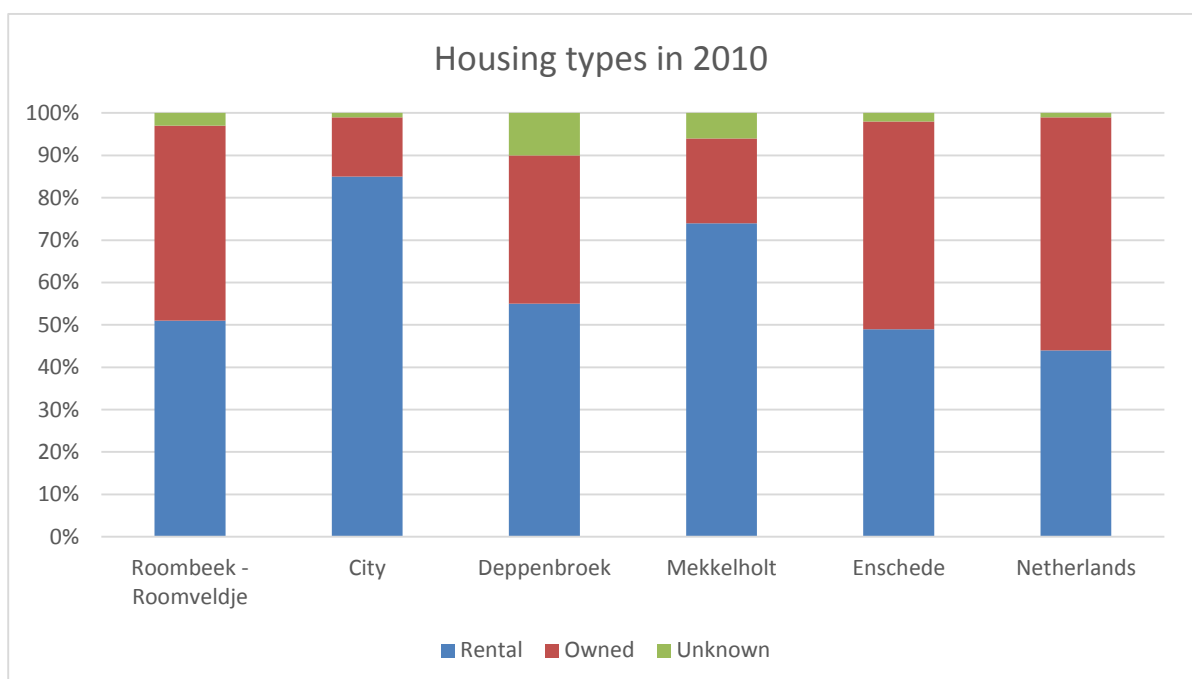


Figure 4.24: Housing types in Enschede in 2010
Source: CBS

As a brief overall conclusion, the neighborhood statistics as showed here in this section, point into the direction and provide evidence to the idea that a process of gentrification is taking place in Roombeek, according to the definition used in chapter 3.4 and the characteristics of the process mentioned in chapter 2.2.

5 Satisfaction with citizen participation in the reconstruction Roombeek

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the findings of the interviews with Roombeek residents are written down. This chapter deals with the first sub research question, an analysis is given about the main line of answering of the respondents, so that a clear picture emerges about the perception of original non-gentrifying residents of Roombeek on their satisfaction with the neighborhood and their role in the development of it, as being part of the citizen participation reconstruction process.

A reflection on the citizen participation process itself and the results that came out of it can be found in chapter 4.5. This is a reflection mainly from the point of view of the planners and politicians involved as well as from some external observers, for example Denters & Klok from the University of Twente, but also from the media and from some urban planning researchers. In this section the views of the residents participating in the citizen participation process have a central place.

From the study *Monitor Participatieproces Wederopbouw Roombeek* by Klok et al. (2004), the general opinion and satisfaction of the participants in this process about the process itself is known. These satisfaction grades that have been given by participants for the second more concrete phase of the planning process, range (on a scale from 1 to 10 with 1 = very poor to 10 = excellent) from 7.0 for the overall planning supervisor Pi de Bruijn down to 5.9 for the system of voting with the red and white ping pong balls. Satisfaction grades for in how far people felt taken seriously and able to voice their opinions were a bit higher and scored 6.4.

As written in chapter 3.2 already, topics regarding this sub research question are:

- The length of residence in the neighborhood (in case of displaced pre-disaster residents, why they decided to come back)
- Whether they participated in the reconstruction process and what their feelings were about the process
- If and to what extent they see their plans being put into reality
- If and to what extent they are satisfied with living in the neighborhood
- If they feel proud of their neighborhood

Each of these topics has its own section in this chapter, with a summary of the results found in the interviews and whenever possible a comparison with the literature on the subject, as written down in the theoretical framework in chapter 2 and some of the results of the desk research into the several reports written on the citizen participation process (as discussed in chapter 4.4 & 4.5).

5.2 Reasons for coming back to the neighborhood

After the fireworks disaster, most residents of Roombeek have been displaced because of the destruction of their homes. This was the case of people living at the sub neighborhoods Roomveldje, Kroedhöfte and Talmapplein. The houses in the fourth sub neighborhood Schurinkswaide sustained damage, but most of these were not destroyed as they were more or less sheltered by the Bamshoeve factory halls. When relevant, in cases of formerly displaced respondents, they were asked for the reasons for coming back to the neighborhood. As written in chapter 4.5, it has been

calculated that on average 40% of the displaced residents have returned to the neighborhood. One of the old residents who lived for a long time in the neighborhood doubts about this percentage and thinks it is too high. One of the respondents living since 1955 in the neighborhood states:

There are certainly some returners, but dispersed through the neighborhood. Not a lot and not clustered together. If I think about it, there are 4 that I know for sure (...). But as I said before, the number is low. If I can mention 10 here in the neighborhood, that's about it. I know some of the old residents who went to live there behind Deppenbroek, and some have passed away already: it's 14 years ago that it happened. (Interview 13)

Notwithstanding this remark about the low number and percentage of returning residents, certainly there are more than ten, as already in this study more than ten returning old residents have been interviewed.

Reasons given among the respondents for returning to Roombeek were varied, but can be classified into different categories:

1. Social motives (Neighbors, Family)
2. Economical motives (Work)
3. Possibilities for designing a new (affordable) house adapted to all needs.
4. Attracted by the qualities of the neighborhood (Especially among the "later returners")

The categories mentioned here are explained and elaborated upon in the following paragraphs of this part of the chapter. There is one final group of old residents, which are also briefly mentioned, the non-displaced old residents. They living in the Schurinksweide area, where most of the houses were damaged, but not destroyed beyond repair. However, before looking into detail into the reasons for returning to Roombeek, first it is useful to look into the necessary preconditions for allowing the old residents to return and the perception of the respondents about these.

Arrangements for old-residents to return

Most of the people living in the pre-disaster Roombeek were working class residents. Most of them had a low income or were living on welfare. To make sure everyone would be able to return, the political decision was made to let the old residents pay the old rents, even though their houses would be brand new and more spacious as the old ones (see chapter 4.4 for more details). The point of paying the same rents as before the disaster is mentioned by several respondents as an important argument for convincing themselves and/or other renting old residents to come back to the neighborhood.

According to one of the old residents, there were a lot of feelings of fear around of not being able to return to Roombeek. Many old residents were afraid the rents would get higher after the reconstruction. This fear alone might have been influencing the decision of some of them to not return to the new neighborhood:

For many displaced people it was so that even when they got new inventory and nice housing, very nice ones sometimes, still most people wanted to come back and return to the neighborhood. From Talmapplein around 30-40% came back, Roomveldje around 70%. It took about 4 years to come back. But what you got then was that people were offered the same rents as before the disaster. Many people were at first afraid that they would not be able to afford the rents of the new places. You have to understand this used to be a workers neighborhood. The people thought: Oh, so nice houses, we will never be able to pay the rents. But, I have to say this was a great gesture from the housing corporation and the municipality,

to offer the returners the same rents as before the disaster. And that is even today the case. (...) New residents have to pay the full price. (Interview 5)

Respondents mention that some conditions and restrictions apply for returners to the neighborhood, for getting the rent reduction to the pre-disaster level:

We all got a return guarantee. And this involved also the right to pay the same amount of rent, for life. There is one condition, when a couple separates, only one of them can use this right. Even if they stay in the neighborhood, just one of the two can use it. (Interview 9)

It was nice that I was offered a new house for the same price as before the disaster. I was stupid enough to ask for a bit more space, so that for those extra square meters I have to pay the full rent. But still, the idea is good and offered a lot of the residents from the neighborhood the chance of coming back. (Interview 4)

It doesn't mean that the rents nominally remain the same forever. Rental prices do increase for returners. Every year an inflation correction is being calculated on top of the rental price. This is common practice everywhere in the Netherlands and in itself nothing uncommon. However, this rental increase was also applied while the old residents were temporary displaced, leading to a feeling of injustice by some of them. One of the old residents explains that he didn't find this fair, because his family was temporary housed in a small, inferior housing unit, waiting for demolition:

What I found not nice, and I have put up complaints at several places, but was not successful in winning it, was the automatic rental increase. During the 4 years, the period we lived at the Potsweg, every year the rent increased with 4%. This I do not agree with, because we had really not such a good house there. So, from May 2000 until November 2004, the rent increased, even though we were not living in Roombeek. In my opinion we had to pay double. (...) The situation is clear: Everyone was promised the same rent as before, but when we got back, we have to pay 4 years times 4% extra, that's as if you held a nice sausage in front of us, but then take it away once we would like to eat it. Ok, don't get me wrong, I don't want to sound negative about the whole process. A lot of things went really well, but this made me sour. (Interview 9)

One of the respondents mentioned that also some of the non-returnees among the displaced old residents felt pity afterwards for not taking the opportunity for coming back. This respondent brings forward some evidence that in the new neighborhood exclusionary displacement (see chapter 2.2) is taking place:

I know that until this day, people feel sorry for not having returned. It was a very coherent neighborhood, people talked a lot with each other. Especially in Het Vogelwijkje [Roomveldje, JB]. And with hindsight they say: I should have done it, should have come back, back then. Now I cannot afford the higher prices anymore. (Interview 5).

Some of the respondents reported that sometimes there were tensions between old returning residents who paid the low pre-disaster rents and the new residents who had to pay the full amount:

If people are not disaster related than they have to cough up the full amount. (...) Now if you look and speak to people, I hear people paying up to 750 euro rent per month, rent alone. And some of the new apartments even 800, excluding service costs. Between disaster related and unrelated is 300 euro difference per month. That's a load of money. Some of the new people

do complain and feel about this as unjust. But then I say to them: "Listen, we didn't ask for the disaster, it turned our life upside down". But I do have to admit that we were lucky enough to have good people at the table who were smart enough to arrange good conditions for us to return. (Interview 9)

In the next parts of this chapter there will be a focus on motives for old residents to return to Roombeek.

Returning because of social motives

Most of the returning old residents that were interviewed mentioned that they decided to return because of social reasons. They explained that they felt attachment to the neighborhood, especially because they reported their old neighbors or family members were moving back to the neighborhood.

First we lived for three months at a camp site. And after that we got a house in Stroinkslanden [Neighborhood in Enschede South, JB]. We had the last house of the city, really at the edge. A beautiful house, beautiful view. (...) And our dogs were very happy there in the forest. What is nicer than to live at the edge of a forest? There were walking paths and that was ideal. But it was only temporary, we had to move out after some time. Not that it mattered too much, we decided to go back to Roombeek anyway. It was our neighborhood after all, and we knew our neighbors also wanted go back. (Interview 10)

Some of the returning old residents reported similar reasons for coming back, but added in addition to this that the citizen participation meetings were very useful occasions for meeting the old neighbors. The social cohesion in the neighborhood was perceived by all returning residents to be very high before the disaster (see further Chapter 6 for more details about this topic). The perception of the two respondents below about the importance of the participation meetings as a social process in meeting other residents are coherent with what urban planner Pi de Bruijn explained about the importance of the first phase of the citizen participation meetings for the reconstruction of the neighborhood, as being a social process and a sort of collective form of mourning about what had been lost (see Chapter 5.3 for more details on this specific topic).

It was a special time, the first year or two after the disaster. I remember there was a spirit of let's rebuilt our neighborhood. It was a time that everybody was really close. Later that got less, as everyone got their life back on track (Interview 5).

You met everyone during the participation meetings, which was nice, because all the time you had no idea where everyone lived. (...) First I didn't want to go back to Roombeek, but then it turned out to be so that the house where I was placed into was a temporary house which was to be demolished. So I had to go somewhere. And my neighbors were going back, so I decided to come back as well. (Interview 4)

The same respondent mentioned further that for her the safety of the new neighborhood was another reason to return, as she understood that all potentially dangerous companies and remnants of these for the past would have been removed from the neighborhood:

And I thought if there will be one safe neighborhood in Enschede, it will be the new Roombeek. You know, everything has been taken from the ground, all pollution and so. In other neighborhoods it is still questionable what will be around, I had no idea about any fireworks factory being in the neighborhood before the disaster. (Interview 4)

For others, next to neighbors and friends, it were also family connections that mattered in their decision to come back to the neighborhood:

Interviewer: You decided to return to the neighborhood. What was for you the most important reason to come back?

For me coming back was not so important, but for my late husband it was. He had a lot of family and friends in the neighborhood, more than I. I don't have much feelings for the neighborhood but my husband had. (Interview 12)

Yes. First of all we rented a house for all the years before. After the explosion we wanted to go back also because our parents who lived in the neighborhood wanted to go back here and the corporation offered us also that we could buy one of the houses that they were building, if we wanted. (Interview 11)

Returning because of economic motives

Even though Roombeek used to be a neighborhood where working and living was mixed, and the new reconstructed neighborhood was designed in such a way that this would be again the case, just two respondents mentioned that they specifically came back to the neighborhood because their customers were around in the neighborhood.

I have my studio here, and I had here also before the fireworks disaster, just across the street. It was destroyed. I have this new one, because I was a victim of the disaster. (...) I work in this area, I do a lot of theater design, and I have all my costumers around here. I could have moved to another place after the disaster, but I decided to stay here, and also it feels mentally good to come here after the disaster. To help other people out, so I decided to stay here, and they offered me this studio and I accepted it. (Interview 2)

I live in this neighborhood, so I had my business already here in the neighborhood. The reason I again started this shop right here is because when the plan was developed, this whole area would be shops, so I was one of the first together with the hairdresser. (Interview 29)

It has to be noted here that in the new neighborhood there was no place anymore for most businesses that were previously located there. Apart from shopkeepers, artists, IT and media companies, there was barely any possibility for businesses to be located in the new neighborhood. Apart from some shops and several art galleries and workshops, there were none of these newly wanted types of business in the old neighborhood. The companies that existed were mainly active in industrial production or wholesaling. The disaster and subsequent reconstruction of the neighborhood therefore caused the displacement of most of the companies that were located here. Therefore, for most of the entrepreneurs or workers in those companies, economic motives for returning were probably not or less relevant. It is therefore also not surprising to hear so few people speak about economic motives as reason for coming back.

Returning because of being able to design a dream house

The third reason reported by respondents who returned to the neighborhood was because of the possibility to design and build their own house. This was the main reason for coming back to the neighborhood by three of the four displaced house owning respondents from the Talmaplein/Kroedhölte sub neighborhood. The attractive ground for ground rule made it easy for them to swap their plot of land with a plot elsewhere to their liking in the neighborhood. The focus in the neighborhood on building by private commissioning allowed these returners to build their own

house in such a way that it could meet all their expectations, and therefore sort of lured them back to the neighborhood. It seems the push factor from living in an inadequate temporary house was also important why some of the home owners decided to come back:

We had our property here, so when it was destroyed, we wanted to move someplace else, but at that moment was very difficult to find a good permanent place, because a lot of people were looking for a new house. So we looked around but we realized in order to make a good start, we were better off building a new house, because the opportunity was there, to change our plot. The square meters we had there we could trade it for a place here. And then we would have a whole new house. So the only costs were for the building of the house. (...) We lived in a house from around 1900, so it was very old and cold. Now we have a new house, and it is green, a nice and quiet area to live in. (Interview 14)

Our temporary house was really small. Our living room there was as big as the kitchen at the Roomweg. We were used to a large house. So we were looking for good opportunities. We felt bad, because all these houses there were small and we were not used to that. Those were really senior citizen apartments. We are senior ourselves as well, but terrible to live so small. And we heard the neighbor upstairs the whole day, just horrible. We were not used to that at all. It were these kind of service flats attached to an elderly home. People there sat outside every morning at 8 and moved inside again at 11 in the evening or so. They were looking at what you were eating and drinking. Nothing for me. We had a large garden in front, but no freedom. We would anyway not have stayed there. It was a good neighborhood though, people were really nice. And we were happy to have at least a place to live, that was the most important at first. Really that was arranged that very well, nothing negative to be said about that. But, you can imagine, we took the opportunity to come back, especially since we were able to design our house by ourselves. (Interview 13).

The corporation offered us also that we could buy one of the houses that they were building, if we wanted. We saw that it was a relatively small house, and very expensive too. For the same amount of money we could design and build our own house and have it exactly in the way we like it. Our plot of land is now double the size and the house about one and half. You see how much you can save by self-designing. (Interview 11)

Returning because of the qualities of the new neighborhood

The fourth group of returners are the so called “later returners”. This group is diverse and consists of students that lived in Roombeek until the disaster and later decided to come back as well as people who were displaced from Roombeek, but only later decided to go back to the neighborhood, usually only after the saw the new neighborhood being built up and liked the result of the reconstruction.

Some of the pre-disaster Roombeek student residents also came back to the neighborhood. Students were not included in the arrangements that applied for the returning old residents in terms of paying the same rent as before the disaster. For them it meant that if they wished to return to the neighborhood to live there in a one family house or apartment, they would have to pay the full rent. For one of these former student residents wishing to return to the neighborhood, paying the full rent was not an option, but found some other solution:

I didn't have the feeling there was a possibility for me to return, because already at that time the rents were already higher than we could afford, so I thought, hmm...no...that's not going

to be affordable for us, a young family. I thought well, if we build a house we will have just as much expenses with paying a mortgage. (...) I thought at first: that is never going to work in Roombeek, until I had a tour in the neighborhood, around 2004 or so. (...) I spoke with one of the city officials and told him: I would like to return, but I don't see any opportunity. Then he said, well...you should consider this, for starters on the housing market we have something nice, that is the Roombeekhofje. There you only have a small plot of land, and therefore just a small investment. Maybe that is something for you. And indeed it was, I was surprised it turned out to be possible for us to afford. (Interview 7)

Another former student came back even later, attracted by the qualities of the neighborhood, after having lived for several years in another town. This respondent described to have had no desire to return to Roombeek earlier, only after looking what the neighborhood developed into:

My husband and I came back after living several years in Losser [small town to the north-east of Enschede, JB], now since two years we live in Roombeek again, in the brewery area, above the supermarket. It's the most vibrant and most beautiful neighborhood in Enschede, we love it here. (...) I saw the destruction, never thought that the reconstruction would turn out like this (Interview 8).

Another late returning respondent, explained as well that he only decided to come back to Roombeek after looking what the neighborhood developed into, but especially also because of the quality of the housing:

No, I didn't think I would return to this neighborhood back then. I wasn't too interested, that has changed, haha.(...) At first I thought, taking in mind that many people from especially Roomveldje came back, I had the idea that many of them would be sitting the entire day with crates of beer on the balcony, and I thought: Thank you very much, not for me! But it turned out to be just prejudice. It wasn't at all like that. Just the first wrong impression I had from this part of the neighborhood. (...) And then we came here and the first thing my wife said: oh how nice all those little corners and so on. This cupboard can come here, that one there. She immediately started to virtually arrange all furniture. And then I looked and I saw the sun shining here and then I thought yes...I can see myself living here, this would be the dining room, the living room and so on. And the bedroom in the back, yes...I like to live there. The Woonplaats [Housing corporation, JB] guy said, if you like you can get an option for this apartment. I said: No I don't think that is necessary. This apartment I would like to have. The view here from the third floor is very fine. (Interview 15)

Looking at what the neighborhood developed into and returning afterwards was not an option for everyone. As was quoted earlier in this chapter, not all the old residents had the financial means to afford the higher rental or ground prices, if they didn't return immediately.

Experiences from non-displaced residents

Respondents who lived in the Schurinkswaide sub neighborhood indicated that they were not displaced, as the Bamshoeve factory halls sheltered their houses from the worst effects of the blast, as well as the wind, that came that day from the east, saved these houses from the subsequent fires in the neighborhood. Even though being damaged, usually these Schurinkswaide houses could still be repaired, for example:

My house on the Schurinksdwarsweg was damaged, it was an old house. The wave of the explosion went over it, and the roof was destroyed. All the wood work, because my house is from the 1800s. So it wasn't that resistant against the blast. (Interview 6)

All the windows were broken and a big concrete cinderblock from the blast fell right through the roof of my husband's office. Fortunately it was Saturday afternoon, so nobody was there at the time. So, we had to do quite some repair work and such, but it was nothing like the people from elsewhere in the neighborhood, who lost everything and had to live in another place. (Interview 3)

Even though their houses had sustained damage, which could be clearly linked to the disaster, respondents from Schurinkswede reported to have had problems with the insurance company that insured their property in the aftermath of the disaster. As one of the respondents who is still bitter about this explained:

I have two houses, they are built together, under one roof. For one house the insurance paid, and for the other one they didn't want to pay, because they said it was an old house. So it was a little difficult. With the insurance money of one house I managed to repair both. I did it mostly myself with help of a builder, to cut costs. (...) I live here, and when the blast started the extent to which the fire reached was here at the edge of the Bamshoeve. (...) But then the municipality saw how much money it would cost to pay all damages, they put the border for the damaged places here, right through my street. And I'm living in the wrong side of the street, so I really got a problem. For me the compensation money was little. (Interview 6)

Problems with the insurance companies were mentioned by more respondents, and will be looked into in the next paragraph.

Getting compensated for the disaster damage

In the previous section, some experiences from respondents from Schurinkswede are mentioned in terms of having trouble obtaining funds from the insurance company. Also in other parts of the neighborhood, within the limits of the hardest hit area, respondents reported to have had problems with their insurance company. In these cases, the areas Talmaplein, Kroedhölte and Roomveldje, the municipality guaranteed in any case payment of the damages. The story of one of the home owners from the Roomweg at the time, is a telling example of how they experienced the insurance company:

The municipality was quite relaxed in the sense that if you were under insured they helped with money. We went there and said: "We're well insured, we don't need additional financial support". The only thing we need help with was that we got in trouble with the insurance. They forced us to build back in the neighborhood. Then we said: "So, who are you to decide that for us?" (...) The insurance man told us: "You have to sign here, and if you don't, you won't get the money for your ground". Then my husband told him: "Ok, you [swearing]. I sign nothing". Then the insurance man said: "Ok, then you won't get money". My husband said: "Try whatever you can, I don't need you and we'll fight it out before the court later". That was the building insurance. We went on a collision course with them. After some time the guy realized, ok I should take it easy, because this is not going to work. Later he called and said: "But you have to sign". Then we went to the municipality and asked: "what should we do?" And they said: "oh just sign. If you decide in the end not to return to Roombeek you will get the compensation money from us". We said: "We don't even think about it. We have insured

that house. Who is this man that we have to sign for him that we will return to the neighborhood. That is our decision independent of everything". (...) Then the men from the municipality said: "Don't worry about this, I think there are a lot of other things to worry about". I said: "I want justice!" We could have made it very easy for ourselves and let the municipality pay. But why else to insure? We always paid the premium for it. It became all right in the end, the insurance paid everything, without us signing. (Interview 12)

Another respondent from reported that in her opinion in the beginning several mistakes were made with compensating the residents and that the behavior of several insurance companies added for many disaster victims another black page to their experiences of going through this disaster, however that these problems were also corrected in the end:

Some of the insurers did a very bad job, they just let the people sign something they didn't really understand, which caused them to receive less money. But this has been corrected, the insurers were forced to pay the full amount. That is one of the black sides of the reconstruction. But, I have to say the municipality did really good things for us. I hear mayor Mans still tell us: "Better to take a wrong decision than no decision at all". And I thought: He is right. You can correct wrong decisions later, but no decisions make you weak. Please look at this picture [showing a cartoon], in the beginning people felt like this, like they were hitting their head into a wall.

Interviewer: This image represents the official organizations, municipality and insurers and so on?

Yes, look at the people on the picture, they wanted to be heard, but weren't, they wanted to say things, but nobody listened. This has changed later, I have to admit that as well. But in the beginning, you feel yourself very little in the face of these big organizations, what can you do? (Interview 5)

Planning supervisor Pi de Bruijn commented on the compensation payment as a kind of reconciliation money for the inhabitants of the neighborhood:

Obviously money can make good something, so some were happy to receive a generous amount of money the municipality was paying, they were clever enough to pay good money. Socially, well you maybe you can re-house people to a better area that they may see this as a plus as a positive thing, and obviously the rebuilding of the area: Many people were sentimental about their old area. And in the rebuilding process we have taken this up as a mechanism to repair this emotional disaster, it goes way further than just paying money, it is more sustainable. (Pi de Bruijn, 8 July 2014, Personal Communication)

One of the respondents felt that the compensation money given to them by the municipality was first and foremost meant to sort of buy their silence and cooperation:

People say: You have to keep quiet, you have had money as compensation. (Interview 10)

Another respondent mentions that in his opinion giving this large amounts of compensation money to certain people was maybe not a good idea, as they were not able to use the money wisely and squandered it off within no time:

There are also people who are feeling resentful. (...) They feel used and exploited. Well...what to say...respect for every life, but some people, how to say this nicely, they are so stupid, there doesn't exist any medicine for that. These people feel that they have been cheated upon. Now, that is totally exaggerated, I can conclude this with some authority. I had a good insurance, but I got the total amount that my stuff was insured for plus an extra 10 percent to

be sure all costs were covered. That was certainly enough, but we've here in the neighborhood some families which cost the society a lot of money. They were well insured, I have seen the papers that some of them got 110 000 guilders for their housing inventory. A lot of money for what they had. Three months later they stood at the Molenplein at the Social Service of the Municipality, and were kicking in the doors there. There was nothing anymore and they needed money and this and that. They were cheated and stolen from and I don't know what they were shouting. (Interview 9)

All in all, the stories of the respondents about their reasons to return show quite a big variation in terms of motives. Also how these residents perceived that the policy of getting compensated for the damages in property vary greatly. Most residents however point to the fact that in the end people did get a fair amount of money for their lost belongings. The first period after the disaster when these things happened seem to have been a confusing time for most of the stakeholders involved. With hindsight surely things could have been arranged differently and more smoothly, but most respondents praised the municipality for their willingness to guarantee the return and proper compensation of the hardest hit disaster victims, at least if they were living within the hardest hit zone.

5.3 Participation and non-participation in the reconstruction process

Within weeks after the disaster the decision was made to rebuild Roombeek, and in particular together with the displaced residents from the neighborhood. As lead urban planner De Bruijn reports:

Within a few weeks' time, the municipality reached the conclusion that the reconstruction had to be different from the original plans. There were several commissions from the central government and the municipality has been put under pressure to do it flawlessly. This was done under pressure, the moral pressure of this disaster that was implicitly the guilt of the City of Enschede. They concluded: "Now we have to make a big gesture in the direction of this poor population" (P. de Bruijn, 8 July 2014, Personal Communication).

More information about the details and decision making and process itself and some results of it can be found in chapter 4.4 and 4.5. In this part the focus will be on the experience of citizens about how they experienced to be involved in this process and whether they chose to participate or not.

Denters & Klok (see chapter 4.4) described the way the displaced residents were invited to participate. One of the respondents, an active volunteer in the neighborhood, described that this was by no means an easy process. Everyone from Roomveldje and Talmplein was displaced and it was not clear where everyone went to:

In the time of displacement you had not the faintest idea where everyone was, no telephone numbers, no things whatsoever. It was usually quite hard to find everyone. The municipality didn't have names and address data from displaced people. From our church it was also hard to reach everybody. But we tried to help as much as possible, we helped the researchers from the University of Twente and the municipality as much as we could with names and contact details for the invitation to the participation meetings. And so everyone could be invited. You know everyone was displaced, I remember finding people in Vriezenveen, and even Heerenveen. You know most people went anywhere, for example to families and so. (Interview 5)

Reasons for non-participation

All respondents but one remember that they received an invitation to participate. The only respondent who doesn't recall having gotten an invitation explained that anyway for personal reasons she wasn't too interested at the time to join these meetings:

Interviewer: Did they ask you as resident of the neighborhood at the time of the disaster, to participate in the reconstruction process?

Not really, I don't remember getting invited. But I was just a student at the time. My landlord of which I rented my student room did participate. About me, as one of the student-renters, I guess the idea was, these people are anyway gone after a few years, so doesn't make much sense. I didn't take part in the kitchen table talks and these kind of things. I have to say I wasn't too interested, because I could have easily left the neighborhood altogether. Three four months after the disaster I did my internship in The Hague, and then, it's so far away it's not very logical to participate in talks then. Besides that, I needed the first one and half year to get myself together again. (Interview 7)

In total there were 14 respondents who remember receiving an invitation to participate in the citizen reconstruction process. Two of these decided not to participate, because at first they didn't want to come back to the neighborhood and were therefore not interested in its reconstruction. Both of these respondents are part of the later returners group (see chapter 5.3). Both of them didn't think about returning to Roombeek at the time that the citizen participation process was running:

Interviewer: Did you participate in the neighborhood reconstruction process?

No, I didn't think I would return to this neighborhood back then. So I wasn't too interested, that has changed, haha. (Interview 15)

Interviewer: Have you been in some way involved in the reconstruction of the neighborhood?

No, not at all. I did receive an invitation once to come to a meeting, but I was too busy with my graduation project then. And besides that, it was just a student room. I didn't have much attachment to the neighborhood back then. I didn't even think of coming back to Roombeek. (Interview 8)

Participating at first, but dropping out of the process

All other remaining old residents among the respondents (11 in total) indicated that they participated in the reconstruction process, in at least one meeting. Most respondents stayed on board, participating and following more or less intensely the outcomes of the participation meetings. One of the respondents left the process, indicating that he lost interest because of too little action at first and too much talking. It is rather similar to what Van Kempen & Andersen (2003) describe as happening in other projects as well, both in the Netherlands and Denmark:

I participated in the beginning. But only very briefly. It was all too negative. I have my business here and lost a lot of money. Every time you went there, people were sad. You don't need that. (...) You need to get out of that mindset and go to work, and not think about it anymore. That's the only way. There was too much talking, I don't like talking, I like to work and make things better. (Interview 6)

The perception of this resident about how the process was organized, with a lot of "talking" in the first round was a deliberate choice of the team involved in the reconstruction. Urban planner De Bruijn reports about the way of working and how they used the first round mainly to build trust:

There was a lot of anger, skepticism, any negative feeling you can think of was there. So the disaster was in May 2000, I was selected in the summer maybe September, so three, four months later. I started working in October, so half a year after the disaster. Many people were still crying sometimes in meetings, like maybe their children were dead, this disaster is a very extraordinary situation. This procedure how to get those people to come and sit at the table that was quite delicate, the city had also arranged for a social worker, a kind of communicative man, He was very good I have to say...Joop Hofman was his name, he is very good, extraordinary good and he managed to establish contact with this angry, negative people that just said or shouted, things like: "Go away I don't want to see anyone, I'm just very angry". (...) Ok, so slowly we started to communicate with these people but it was just like in the afternoon having coffee with them, sit there and see the tears coming up again, and the anger too. This is like a social process, it had very little to do with planning a new area, it was like establishing trust, and confidence. And this is very classical. In literature you find it, but I can really confirm from my long experience that about 95% of the success is whether they trust you or not. (P. de Bruijn, 8 July 2014, personal communication)

However this approach may have been successful for most of the old residents from the neighborhood, it did indirectly exclude people who were more action oriented, like the respondent mentioned above. It appears to be the same dilemma Olshansky (2006) and Olshansky et al. (2008) describe for New Orleans after hurricane Katrina: The choice between the speed of recovery and deliberation. Pi de Bruijn as responsible planner, as can be seen in the text above clearly chose the path of deliberation and building trust and ideas from the ground up. But, as can be observed here as well, for some old residents, the process of deliberation did not match with their personal preferences, leading to the probable exclusion of at least this group from the participation process.

Some other respondents indicated that because of their work it was difficult to attend all meetings. One of them in particular recalls that he, working as a truck driver, was often away. Being not there at the meetings didn't decrease his interest in the process, he explained:

But when I could not participate, always there were other people from the fireworks disaster victims' community, and then I got the reports from them and was discussing with them what had happened. (Interview 9)

Reasons for participation

The respondents who did fully participate in the reconstruction process, stated several reasons why they got involved. Some of them reported that the participation meetings were in the first place a social event, meeting with the former neighbors, and the actual design process coming second. For some respondents of this group participation even influenced their decision to return to the neighborhood (see chapter 5.2). Others indicated that they had more interest in the design of the new neighborhood itself. And finally one of the entrepreneurs from the neighborhood indicated that for him he felt a sort of moral obligation to participate and support the process. To sum it up, reasons for participation can be identified into:

1. Social reasons (Reconstruction as a social process together with neighbors).
2. Technical/design reasons (Reconstruction as a vehicle for creating a nicer neighborhood).
3. Moral reasons (Feeling the obligation to share existing expertise with the rest of the neighborhood).

These three groups of reasons for participation are elaborated upon further in the next paragraphs.

Participation in the reconstruction process because of social reasons

Several respondents indicated they were happy to participate in the reconstruction meetings, since they felt that it was a good way of staying in contact with former neighbors, while being displaced. It were predominantly the female respondents among the returning old residents who recalled these reasons to be important for them:

I participated in the meetings and it was nice to meet and talk with the others how we would like to reconstruct our neighborhood. (Interview 4)

It was nice to participate, you met all the people and saw them. In the time of displacement you had not the faintest idea where everyone was, often no telephone numbers, no things whatsoever. (Interview 5)

There was a good atmosphere in the neighborhood meetings and kitchen table meetings. We also went to the course about how to build your own house. It was more my husband who was really interested in that. And I found it quite ok as well. But that was just in 2001, 2002 around the time when I got this disease with my eyes, it was much worse than it is now. So I myself had some other things to worry about. So, I was there, but I wasn't there as well at the same time, you see what I mean? When I think back of it, actually it was a really interesting process, even though it was not at a good time for me. (Interview 12)

Participation in the reconstruction process because of the content of the process

For another (male) respondent, participation was mainly interesting because of getting an insight in the process itself, and finding out how processes of governance are working and his answer can be seen as the results of going through citizen empowerment:

It was actually really interesting. In my free time I had a small allotment garden outside the neighborhood, I still have that, but never before I used my free time to get involved in matters of governance. Then I got in touch with that and gee, then your ears and eyes get open. You see and hear so many things. And what is more, we got someone as supervisor here, Pi de Bruijn. He is also a Tukker [nickname for inhabitants of Twente, JB] and comes from Losser, and until his 18th year he studied in Enschede. He got carte blanche to arrange everything, and with him I had a close connection, we both love Italian architecture. We were sitting around the table a lot, also with the municipality. (Interview 9)

One of the displaced home owning families reported that they participated in the neighborhood meetings, but also indicated that their attention was mainly focused on their own situation, their own new home, and less on the wider neighborhood. This type of response is similar to the conclusions of Blanc & Beaumont (2005) about the extent to citizen participation in several neighborhood:

I even participated in a course organized by the municipality about your personal characteristics, about what your strong and weak points were and so on. That was at the Volksuniversiteit. And here in the neighborhood at the Voortsweg, there was also a building where several meetings were held. I also always went there. (...) I didn't really bring in ideas for the neighborhood. I have to admit that I focused mainly on the area here, where we would be going to live and this and that related to it. There was a model of the neighborhood, and you could see how it would be in the future. (Interview 13)

Participation in the reconstruction process because of moral reasons

One of the respondents considered it to be more or less a moral obligation to help with the reconstruction plans of the neighborhood. This respondent is an artist and entrepreneur, who has been a long term resident of the neighborhood:

I have been living in Enschede for around 25 years. I know the region, and I have been involved in the reconstruction and thinking about the reconstruction a lot, especially with the artists and the small entrepreneurs, with the small businesses, I wanted to help them get back here. (Interview 2)

Even though this respondent lived and worked already for over 10 years in the neighborhood, his ideas are not unlike the ideas of new residents in New Orleans, who got attracted to the city to help in its rebuilding, usually by ethical ideals, as described by Ehrenfeucht & Nelson (2013).

Reasons for participation in the reconstruction process varied, but as Denters & Klok found out (see chapter 4.4) a representative sample of the residents did participate in the reconstruction discussions. In the next part of this chapter, the perception of the respondents with result of this process will be elaborated upon.

5.4 Did it make a difference? Perception of the influence of the citizens

In chapter 4.4 and 4.5 already some thoughts from key players in the process are written down about how they experienced the citizen participation process in Roombeek. A small report of the heated debate over the houses in the Roomveldje, as example of the citizen participation process and issues debated there can be found in 4.4. From the reflections on the process by the planning experts and decision makers (see chapter 4.5), the picture emerges of a process that has been very satisfactory. They reported to be exited with the results that came out of it. To provide a complete picture, it is also necessary to look at the people at the other side of the table. In this section the perceptions of the old residents that participated in the talks are reflected upon, to see whether these respondents are also likewise enthusiastic or not.

Returning old residents who participated in the planning process were asked about their satisfaction with the process, especially whether they felt that ideas were taken seriously and if they saw some of their ideas or the ones of their neighbors being implemented in practice, and which of these ideas that were. In the following paragraphs, the comments are classified in some groups.

Satisfaction with the moderation of the process

When looking at the answers given by the respondents, it turns out that there are few to no critical remarks about the way the process was organized and moderated. However, one of the respondents reported that he knew that many people do see Pi de Bruijn as someone who was very critical about individual house designs. He however considers the firm hand of De Bruijn in the neighborhood design as being the work of a skilled craftsman:

Pi de Bruijn, is largely responsible for what it looks like now, he is really a first class craftsman. Sometimes you do hear from some of the people that he was a bloke who was just telling: "No, no, the design of your house has to be changed to this or that. It's not good like this". He has a little bit this reputation. (Interview 15)

This same respondent, retired from the military, adds to his remarks that in his opinion this behavior of De Bruijn had good results for him, as it resulted in a neighborhood with a clear structure and order:

I live here in the neighborhood with a lot of pleasure, because of the main reason that it has been very well thought of. The whole neighborhood is very well thought of. (...) I mean the cleanliness and the order of the things here in the neighborhood, also from the people themselves, I think that is very good here. (Interview 15)

In his opinion Pi de Bruijn should have been even stricter in some situations:

There are also parts of the neighborhood where people constructed their own shed. I find that a very bad idea. If you look at the front of the houses of the Lonnekerspoorlaan, wonderful, but look at the back, behind the houses you can walk. All of them have their own type of shed. It looks horrible. I walk with friends there and they all comment on it that it looks so cacophonous. Pi de Bruijn should have been stricter: like ok, this is your house, if you want to build something behind it, fine: but only like so and so. (Interview 15)

Pi de Bruijn reported that he was following the wishes of the majority of the old residents, to deliberately let the neighborhood as much as possible resemble the old one and not put too much stress on a very strictly ordered neighborhood:

Many people were sentimental about their old area. And in the rebuilding process we have taken this up as a mechanism to repair this emotional disaster. So, I played a very important role in it, next to this guy Joop Hofman. Many people, after a while appeared to be interested in what this new area would be at the end. Then what came out was mainly that they thought the old area, the old neighborhood was "gezellig" [cosy, JB]. It was pretty and nice to be there. I asked them why was it so nice? They said: Well, because the people were varied and different, and everything was so unregulated. They liked the disorder of it in a way and it wasn't a regular neighborhood at all, it was mainly poor. But it gave them a feeling of being free, of freedom. So in this discussion you can sort of work slowly towards some ideas. They like it to be non efficient, non modern, to be cozy, something that feels good and has various areas. It was like very differentiated, it was not like you entered a kind of clean, well set up, efficient machine, it was messy. Then I said: would you like the new area to be like that? Yes, yes, yes we want this feeling of the old area in the new area as well, to have the same variation and differentiated stuff. And that was something I could do something with. (P. de Bruijn, 8 July 2014, Personal communication)

From the position of the municipality, the work of Pi de Bruijn was also followed with interest, as former alderman Bleker reports:

I also think Pi de Bruijn was a key factor, he is very tactical...we made a model of the old neighborhood and on Sunday afternoons he went talking to people on the streets about what was good in the old neighborhood what was not good about the old neighborhood...so he invested a lot in talking to people and the participation and getting people behind his ideas. He was not only listening to what the people want but also telling and arguing about our plans and I also think people liked the way the plan was. I mean a lot of green parks...the expensive part of the plan. That was I think the key element. (R. Bleker, 8 July 2014, Personal communication)

Pi de Bruijn explains about the process and how he could work with this neighborhood, even though being closely watched by both the old residents and the municipality:

I could be as there as long as I could be straightforward and say whatever we discuss I will, I will take it serious, whatever it is you say. I never promised that every line they draw will become reality but I will take you serious, you have to believe me if you don't think I'm doing a good job tell me and we will discuss it and so I need your confidence in order to make a good urban plan and that is a very simple truth. Of course these people are not urban planners they cannot design an urban area, I can do that...I told them that I can draw a plan, but I like to do this in a way that you will agree with it, that you will, so I will not be the main actor in the process is not the developer or the city with all their greed, it is you. Better even, we are going to make this city as we together agree that it should be, and it should be the best. Once we had established that we go to the city and tell this is the outcome. [P. de Bruijn, 8 July 2014, personal communication]

The straightforwardness of Pi de Bruijn caused that most old residents liked his approach to improve the neighborhood. One of them mentions that in particular De Bruijn's vision, which was similar to the ideas that most people from the neighborhood had:

What you see here now is the result of that process. Pi de Bruijn supervised it. The first thing he said when he came here was: I am ok with everything, just one thing: there will be no VINEX neighborhood here. For him it was important that everyone should be able to live here, rental houses, owner-occupied houses all kind of things, old and young people, special apartments for people needing care. And that was exactly what we as people also liked, to have a good neighborhood for everyone. It was great that there were also houses for less mobile people, in the design of most apartments it is so that with some minor adjustments they could change these for people in wheelchairs or elderly people, so they can live there longer. (Interview 9)

The same respondent also indicated that in the citizen participation process, especially in the first months, many mistakes were made, because of people under pressure of the media and the official investigation wanted to do things too quickly. Again here it looks like the same dilemma from Olshansky (2008), the dilemma between speed of recovery and deliberation (see also chapter 2.5 and chapter 5.3):

I could speak about this and everything what happened for days for sure. I was closely involved in the entire reconstruction process and am happy and proud of how all turned out. But only later...In the beginning we wanted to do things too quickly: The country was watching us and the politicians too. We wanted to help, the municipality too...they tried to help as well, but many mistakes were made. The civil servants of the municipality had to work very hard these months. (Interview 9)

One more thing is important to mention before going into a detailed description of the different groups, is that the municipality of Enschede went to great length in trying to empower the old residents from the neighborhood by offering them courses to improve their personal effectiveness. Two of the respondents mentioned here reflect on their role in the process, and also mention the courses offered to them to empower them:

I think I could help with some of the plans, yes. I even participated in a course organized by the municipality about your personal characteristics, what your strong and weak points were and so on. I also went there. That was at the Volksuniversiteit. (Interview 13)

We got some courses and I remember we went by bus to a couple of places to look at different cities, Tilburg, Eindhoven and Nijmegen, to learn how the building process works and to get some inspiration from some of their redeveloped neighborhoods. We stayed also there in hotels, so for two or three days, to have a thorough look at these cities. (Interview 11)

When going into details about the experience of the old residents with the citizen participation process, it is good to identify three different parts of this process, each with its own dynamics. Old residents were by no means a uniform group, among them were both renters and home owners. Only a smaller part of the citizen participation project was dealing with issues that involved all residents: mainly the issues related to public space in the new neighborhood and the new to be designed Prismare center where neighborhood services and neighborhood associations were planned to be housed. It leads to the following subdivision:

1. Satisfaction of renters with the citizen participation process
2. Satisfaction of home owners with the citizen participation process
3. Satisfaction with designing the public spaces within Roombeek
4. Satisfaction with the design of the Prismare services center

Each of these four parts of the citizen participation in the reconstruction process will be dealt with in the paragraphs below.



Figure 5.1: View on Roomveldje from the Twentse Welle Tower
Photo: Jacques Bazen

Satisfaction of renters with the citizen participation process

All returning renters among the respondents indicated that they have participated in the citizen participation process. According to both Pi de Bruijn and Roelof Bleker, there were a lot of possibilities to influence the process and not much in terms of already set limits that existed. There were of course the 6 points set by the local government, as mentioned in chapter 4.4, which had to be taken into consideration while designing the process. Furthermore, the rental houses from before the disaster were owned by two housing corporations, Roomveldje by the Woonplaats and Kroedhöfte/Talmaplein by Domijn. In the end it were these housing corporations who owned and rebuilt the houses. According to the rules of the process as explained by alderman Bleker, the residents had an important say in the process:

The housing corporations also had a quite extensive participation process, people had a lot of influence on how the new social housing would look and feel like: a big house or a big garden and where the car should be parked. Surprisingly people found it important that their car was in the back and that's why one of the plans won. So the companies also gave a lot of influence to the people struck by the disaster if you want to come back, how do you want your new house and under what (financial) conditions, that was a good process. (R. Bleker, 8 July 2014, personal communication)

The old residents who rented didn't all agree with these remarks of Bleker. In fact there was a clear division visible among the renters. Renters from Domijn in the Kroedhöfte/Talmaplein area reported to be more satisfied with the process than the renters from the Woonplaats in Roomveldje. The exact reasons for this are hard to pinpoint. Two of the Woonplaats respondents recall about the process:

The thing is: You don't have the decision power. The housing corporation or the municipality decides in the end. (...) The housing corporation was responsible for rebuilding the stock which they had. Then they came with a drawing, and the toilet, no it could not be next to the front door as we wished. Because the policy was that the houses were adjusted for people with limited mobility. The toilet had to come in the corridor here, and that meant two square meters less living room. What kind of little animal pens you are left with? In the front it became small and narrow, some people decided to have the kitchen there, and only in the back you had suitable space. That I got very angry about. (Interview 10)

We got quite a lot of say in the process [inspraak]. At a certain moment, one of the managers of the Woonplaats, all houses in Roomveldje are from the Woonplaats, gave an interview in one or another magazine. He spoke about us as spoiled kids who wanted to have things their way. That we were slowly but surely getting spoiled by this process. He didn't think too much about that, the magazine is printed in Utrecht and just for companies and he thought we wouldn't read it. But it turned out differently. (...) So, a bit later, when we had a talk with the Woonplaats, we had sometimes talks with them, and then I showed it to this manager. And I asked him: what do you mean with this? We have made agreements, and what is this? He tried to talk around the issues and that it wasn't meant like that and so on. However, since then he doesn't greet me anymore when I see him, haha. Yes, we found out some more things how some people thought about us, but in the end it was ok. (Interview 9)

According to the residents, as written in their statements, the Woonplaats was not used to citizen participation and was maybe also not totally convinced of the principles behind it, of delegating power to the residents. See also chapter 2.4, and the work of Marinetto, for similar situations

elsewhere. From another perspective, Pi de Bruijn also reported in his interview with Colenbrander (2004) about the exact same topic, that the cooperation in terms of the citizen participation process between him and de Woonplaats had some frictions in the beginning, but became better later on. In the same interview he commented that cooperation with Domijn was more easy. Also observer Klok from the University of Twente reported that people from Domijn had more influence in the design of their house:

The two housing corporations each had their own development program, those were different as well. Domijn organized a design process themselves and let the renters think more about some preferences about some of the details of their own individual houses. The other housing corporation De Woonplaats involved the residents less in the actual design process of the houses. However, they gave the people the opportunity to choose from three options, whether to renovate or reconstruct. And they had this competition with options that people could choose from. There were quite a few people active in this competition. (P.J. Klok, 19 June 2014, Personal communication)

Among the respondents who rented from Domijn, a slightly more positive picture about satisfaction with the whole process appears, for example:

I participated in the meetings and I could talk with the others how we would like to reconstruct our neighborhood. (...) People could tell about their wishes for the new neighborhood. It was nice that I was offered a new house for the same price as before the disaster. I was stupid enough to ask for a bit more space, so that for those extra square meters I have to pay the full rent. (...) And also with the houses, you could choose which house type you liked best, and was able to make some minor changes. I found it nice and pleasant to participate. (Interview 4)

The situation was that both housing corporations besides rebuilding some of their rental houses, they also decided to rebuild part of their pre-war stock as owner-occupied houses and sell them off. Previous renters would have priority rights for acquiring these houses, but respondents reported that this was not something that they were happy with, as they were afraid of displacement effects within their Roomveldje area:

Only, the negative side is that this used to be a working men's neighborhood, everyone was very social towards each other. We asked the Woonplaats to build all the new houses as social housing, but then they refused. (Interview 9)

The new owner-occupied houses built by the corporations were planned to be similar looking from the outside, whereas the residents could decide for themselves about most of the interior of the house. One of the respondents explained that she gave up on acquiring one of the new to be owner-occupied houses in Roomveldje, because of the strict limitations put on her wishes by the Woonplaats:

We were looking for a new house and were talking to an architect and making plans and a drawing for the inside rooms. (...) The attic was without any windows. I said, I want to have a skylight, otherwise that attic is useless. I like to have an escape route, plus it is always warm on attics, so I wanted at least to be able to open it to ventilate. No, they [housing corporation, JB] said: you have to pay extra for that. Ok, I said in that case, let's make a complete dormer then, then we can properly open the windows. No they said: It is going to be an owned house, it is not allowed to have a dormer window. (...) Then I said: Just leave it, it's fine like that. And because it took such a long time. At a certain moment, my husband and I were discussing:

What should we do with such a huge house, three stories high? We are only the two of us. Let's go to the new apartment and rent one. (Interview 10)

The same respondent explains that there was quite a large demand for these houses:

There were two more families who would like to have our spot. It should have been a lottery, but that didn't happen. The guy from the Woonplaats, the manager there, used to be the boss of my husband. He spoke with these other people: The first withdrew right away, no problem they said, we can go back to our old place. The other not, those were Turkish people with veils and so. The children of them at least, because the parents didn't speak "Hollands". And they were really pushy to get that house. (...) Ok, so the Woonplaats man came at a certain moment and told us: Ok, you have the house. But it took quite a long time, so we decided in the end to move to the apartment. Then I went myself to the people who withdrew themselves immediately after the first talk. I told them: do you still want that house? Yes? Ok, then we will go tomorrow morning to the Woonplaats and we arrange it, and we will go to the apartment. Oh, they were delighted! Those people I think they deserved it. But the others, the Turkish...pfff...they were swearing and shouting at my husband. (Interview 10)

Also Domijn in the Kroedhölte and Talmapplein areas decided to rebuild part of their housing stock as owner-occupied houses. Even though these respondents told that they were experiencing a bit more freedom as compared with the respondents from Roomveldje, they still decided in the end not to buy from Domijn. See also Colenbrander (2004) for some similar stories:

For the same amount of money we could design and build our own house and have it exactly in the way we like it. (Interview 11)

Satisfaction of homeowners with the citizen participation process

A specific part of the citizen participation process for the returning home owners in the neighborhood was the negotiations and design of their new to be built house by private commissioning. Returning & new home owners both mentioned that they had to get the approval of Pi de Bruijn for their design of their new house, to get the permission to actually start building it. This was not by all respondents seen as an easy process, one of the respondents who was building a home in the designed to be prestigious Museumlaan in the Bamshoeve area, where strict rules for building applied, reports:

There were a lot of constraints, yeah. Well, I should say in a different way, the process was quite special, you are I guess familiar with the Welstandscommissie [Building aesthetics supervision commission, JB]. (...) So what normally happens is that the Welstandscommissie has some guidelines and sometimes there are written things like: "you need to use yellow stone, and you need to have flat roof or an angle or something else and so on and so forth". This was not the case here, but there was one very strict and particular circumstance: and it was that the architect should be approved not by de welstandscommissie but by the city planner. Pi de Bruijn, the city planner, had to approve the choice of the architect. (...) The architect that was for him the primary choice. His thoughts were that if the architect is good, and the work of this architect fits in the idea that the city planner has with this particular lane, then the primary conditions for what I want are there, and this architect will develop something that will fit in the idea. And it will look ok. We did spend something between a half year and a year, to find an architect that was ok. (Interview 22)

In other places the rules were less strict and De Bruijn gave more freedom to the people who would like to build there. Even though several respondents report that there were many different rules that had to be obeyed, mainly from the municipality of Enschede. One of the respondents, who was among the first returning home owners to the neighborhood reported that the rules changed while the process was running:

There is always much to see here, different houses. At the beginning they told us it would be like old style houses, and we liked it a lot, so we decided to buy here. But after this they changed the plans, and there was room for modern architecture too, at that time I didn't like that, so I was worried I wouldn't like the neighborhood, but...it turned out to be nice, it is nice to see so many different houses, and the process of building all the houses, it was nice to follow. (Interview 14)

She further mentions that the changing of the rules for the design of the houses even upsets her, as in her case she had much stricter rules as people later in the process. She even goes so far as to tell that she tries to block out this part from her memory:

It was frustrating sometimes, because of the uncertainty, and the frustration because they [the municipality of Enschede, JB] had a lot of requirements. A year later it was more relaxed, so yeah, sometimes it was frustrating. You were not able to build on the edges of your plot, but afterwards several people were able to do it. That kind of things, the rules changed a lot. (...) At the beginning they told us it would be classical style to build in, and it is very difficult! For choosing the plot we had priority, but then it changed totally... and that was difficult for me. But I put that thoughts away and just think about the wonderful house we have now. (Interview 14)

However, it turns out that for this same respondent the experienced difficulties were an almost inextricable combination of troubles with the contractor who actually built the house as well as with the actual design part of it in getting her plans approved by De Bruijn and the municipality of Enschede:

Interviewer: What was the most difficult to achieve?

I think is mainly with the constructors, you have to argue about things, and the people that works, that build the house, I think you can say they have a special character. They are people who make things, but they are not really good communicators. I think this is the main problem when you build a house. And the process of getting the ground, the property, it was long and also difficult. Because we didn't know when to start. It was a long time before we actually knew we were going to live here. So there was a lot of uncertainty about what and when. It was a difficult time, but that was also because we had a temporary house in a place we didn't like, and we were forced to leave from this house. (Interview 14)

Another respondent reported to have had similar issues with the strict rules imposed on them by the municipality:

That the disaster happened was not what we ask for, somebody has done it, who we don't know. I told the municipality: you are forcing us to change our ideas, but tell us, what can we do with this little strip of ground that is left here, if you don't let us build there? They said: oh, then you can put there two chairs and a table. If we would have done that, we would sit in front of the neighbor's house, looking at what the neighbor is going to do all day long. So is the municipality: not practical. Anyway, it is like it is: they are happy with it now. There are some things the municipality played a bad role in. Our shed in the back: there was 5

centimeter difference: and for that we needed to make a new drawing. (...) They were normally very friendly and supportive, but...in the end they were problematizing 5 centimeters...then you ask yourself what is it that they want? (Interview 12)

There may indeed have been some difficulties at the municipality in how to deal with the people who handed in plans, at least in the beginning, as the civil servants were inexperienced with this way of working. Former alderman Bleker, at that time politically responsible for the reconstruction of Roombeek recalls some of his memories about the process:

Interviewer: The civil servants of the municipality, were they happy with this kind of work in terms of dealing with the private commissioning?

Well, once assigned for Roombeek they were! Pi de Bruijn was also advocate of that, luckily or else we would have had a problem, but I think that didn't happen. We did it in a different way...it was something we had to grow into. Afterwards you can say it was a success from day one but it was exciting at first if it would be a success. We thought people would want it but we didn't know for sure. In Holland you don't have the examples to prove that people want to build their own house. Well, in Belgium they do it, they do want it. Here it is not normal to design your house, your parents haven't done it, why should you? You can buy a pre designed house with some personal options. And then also in a disaster area, who wants to pioneer in a disaster area with all the problems it gives to build your own house? (R. Bleker, 8 July 2014, Personal Communication).

Residents that came in later stages to Roombeek explained that the procedures for getting the building permission were rather smooth, probably reflecting the situation that the civil servants were getting more and more used to the different approach, as described by Bleker:

I could build my own house at the Lonnekerspoorlaan and it was great to do that. Really, all my thanks go to Pi de Bruijn and Joep van Aaken [planner of the municipality of Enschede, JB] to make everything possible. Where in Holland can you design your own house? I was thrilled, and I am still excited about it today. There was great guidance from the project bureau. But...if Pi and Joep wouldn't have been so helpful...maybe I would have stayed in Hengelo after all. You can say they sort of lured me into the neighborhood. But now I have my dream house, didn't regret even for a minute to move here. I love what they did with the private commissioning. That said, Pi was quite strict on what the front side should look like. Also the ground floor had to be at least three and half meters high, that was also interesting to get used to, but now I like the space. From the municipality nothing but good, they really tried to help everyone, not just me. (Interview 20)

Respondents that were returning home owners reported that they were not completely on their own when designing and building their house. The municipality allocated a budget for supporting home owners with the process of building their own house. Home owners were free to choose an organization to support them, but many people chose the local organization Stedelijk Wonen, currently USHI, to support them.

The owner occupied houses have been built by private commissioning. Also the apartment building at the other side of the street, the Eekenhof has been built without a greedy project developer, that's why it is so beautiful. People could get help from experts/coaches. There was one such an office here in Prismare on the corner [Stedelijk Wonen/USHI, JB], until recently. (Interview 5)

Several respondents mentioned that they were very happy with the support of the Stedelijk Wonen/USHI organization, who supported both returning home owners as well as new building home owners with help to get through the procedures, which were often unclear to them:

We heard from Marga [Brunninkhuis, JB], the plans of reconstruction at the Lonnekerspoorlaan. We didn't want a house like those in the Bamshoevelaan, I am from Amsterdam, my husband and I lived in Amsterdam in a house like this, at the canals. In Groningen also. (...) Marga is a good friend of us, and she was working with the reconstruction and she said to us, in 2005 or 2006, that there was a new plan to build your own house. It is really something for you she said, and she supported us a lot in realizing it. (Interview 19)

Marga Brunninkhuis and Ard Pierik have arranged everything really well. From the municipality you got a certain amount of money and if you got over that amount, the rest you had to pay yourself. That was arranged really well, we were able to arrange it well, let's put it like that. We didn't feel that we had any obstacles in the process. It was quite all-right and smoothly. Ard and Marga have guided us really well. Marga worked at the municipality before, in the construction department, and she knows pretty well how things go. She knows exactly which path to take to get things done smoothly. (Interview 13)

Designing the public spaces in Roombeek

Besides the rebuilding of the housing stock in Roombeek, also the public space had to be redeveloped. Unlike with the housing stock, where the housing corporations were responsible for the rebuilding, here Pi de Bruijn and his ideas which he developed together with the participating citizens were leading in the process. One of the ideas he got from talking to the citizens was to bring the Roombeek stream back into the neighborhood, after it had been running underground for over half a century. As for public spaces, residents report that they desired some green areas and parks in the neighborhood.

I felt it so that they listened to the people, for example with the Acacia story [see chapter 4.5, JB]. (Interview 4)

We liked to have more trees in the neighborhood, and it was done. (Interview 14)

Real influence was there in several cases, for example in case of the Bleken [neighborhood parks, JB] just about details maybe, but still, people see their effort of thinking about these issues then, now in reality. (Interview 7)

As I said the neighborhood is nice to live. He [Pi de Bruijn, JB] designed it very nicely. Enough green everywhere, he took good care of that. There were discussions about it as I remember, but he took that into the plans. Also I like the small playgrounds for the children that have been created. (Interview 13)

Regarding the general appearance of the neighborhood, people were asked to issue their opinion whether they liked more high rise or more low buildings. Pi de Bruijn reported that the residents were in majority indicating they didn't want to have a lot of high rise buildings, maybe just for some of the elderly people, as they were afraid that they would lose their privacy when sitting in their backyard (P. de Bruin, 8 July 2014, Personal communication). Roelof Bleker mentions a similar type of discussion:

For example high rise was debated. There were people in the participation process that said well no in Roombeek there were no apartments / flats, and they should not be there now either. People didn't want high buildings. Now you see none except for the 30 meters high Eekenhof condominiums, and the Twentse Welle museum tower. (R. Bleker, 8 July 2014, Personal communication)

Also some of the respondents mention exactly this point of disliking some of the houses that are built higher than was originally planned and of which the top floors are overlooking their backyards.

They [Municipality of Enschede, JB] should have stuck to the arrangements and the agreement. I'm sure it was discussed and has been put in the newspaper, but we, because we were too busy with building ourselves, did not realize it. We didn't look at it well enough and so we ended up with the houses like this where they can look into our garden. But on the other hand, if they have something in mind, I'm sure they would have arranged it like they wanted it to. These type of houses probably were sold much better. At least we're happy that the plan of building a flat here was stopped by the people here. (Interview 13)

Behind here was planned to come the Roombeekhofje, that was announced to be low height buildings by the municipality. Take a look out of the window, do you consider that low height? I don't at least. Look, if they take a look out of their skylight, they can see everything what happens here, both in our backyard and our house. I don't care too much about that, but it were all empty promises they gave us. (Interview 12)



Figure 5.2: Houses in Roombeekhofje
Photo: USHI Kenniscentrum Bouwen

Other points of discussion within the neighborhood were the new proposed fast bus lane from the city center to Enschede North, the current Lonnekerspooilaan. Alderman Bleker remembers about this specific point:

I'd like to mention one of the points of discussion: The bus lane, which was located at the division between the rich and the poor...question was, do we want the bus lane there? It is dangerous, and not beautiful: why would we not make it on a different part of the city? So I told to the people: This is why we need the bus lane, a free bus lane...we can't do it on the other street we have to demolish houses we don't want it just for now but also for the future, for your children...so I had a couple of arguments. (R. Bleker, 8 July 2014, personal communication)

At the end of the evening the residents voted with the system of red and white ping pong balls (see chapter 4.4), and the majority turned out to be in favor of the new bus lane. Therefore it was decided to continue with constructing the bus lane.

Not all respondents reported that they were too happy with how this design turned out, and (still) think of it as a physical barrier in the neighborhood:

What I really don't like in the neighborhood is the bus lane and the Bamshoeve. The bus lane I disliked a lot in the past when it was designed, and even now sometimes I still don't like it. Here at the crossroads at the Roomweg there is always trouble. The lights don't work again,

the warning lights for the car that a bus is near. And then one crosses and the bus driver hits the horn and then you sit straight up in your chair really. Such a noise. (Interview 10)

Alderman Bleker was later on criticized by the media with the accusation of creating with this bus lane, a “watershed” between rich and poor. See chapter 4.4 for more details.



Figure 5.3: Lonnekerspoorlaan, the fast bus lane
Photo: Frans Mensonides

Designing Prismare

A specific point mentioned by several respondents about their voice in designing the neighborhood circulated around the theme of Prismare. Early in the process it was decided to create a single building as meeting point for the neighborhood and as place where all neighborhood associations could be housed. This center was developed largely together with the residents of the neighborhood, one of the respondents working as a volunteer for one of the neighborhood associations recalls the design process of Prismare as one of the highlights of the citizen participation process:

In particular the story with Prismare was really great. One of the architects sent in just his name and a question mark. The reconstruction project office called him and asked, are you fooling us or what? Then he said: No, I can only build and design for people that I know. That was nice, they looked of course what he had done already, but then they granted him the assignment. He organized many workshops in which he spoke with the people who should be here. And so we got the plans together for this great center. Prismare was meant as a place where all associations from the previous neighborhood should find a place. Now there are 40 communities here, and later a theater was added. You know, funny as the question mark story is, this was the spirit and they really wanted to include the people in the plan making, in general for the neighborhood. It was bad what happened and this was a way of trying to deal with the situation and restoring the trust. (Interview 5)

The view of this respondent is shared by others, who also report to be happy to have been involved in the reconstruction process:

And the Prismare design was also nice, the architect who sent in the question mark got the assignment. The results of the meetings and talks are visible everywhere in the neighborhood. Take this room for example, we wanted to have this curved window and this shop window style look towards the street, to invite people inside. And, we got it. (Interview 7)

Before Prismare was built, I participated in meetings like how it should look like, and how it should be built and what name it should get. Those were nice meetings. (Interview 4)

In an interview with one of the managers of Prismare, she mentioned that because of its specific design, it became a unique center in the Netherlands:

Prismare is a services cluster for the neighborhood, schools, day care centers for children as well as cultural services and sports. All neighborhood communities and clubs have been transferred to this center in the reconstruction process. (Interview 34)

More detailed information about this specific Prismare center, as well as some pictures, can be found in Appendix 4.

When looking at the overall picture emerging from the interviews, the responses generally seem to be largely similar to the description of what happened in Roombeek, as written down in the best practice article on citizen participation by Denters & Klok (2009). However, while interviewing the people, it also became very clear that it is very difficult to design the process in such a way that everyone is satisfied. It was striking to observe how very diverse the group of original non-gentrifying residents actually is, even though several of them were already living for several decades in the neighborhood. What is reported however by several of these respondents of these original non-gentrifying residents is that the possibility to participate in the design process helped them to develop a sense of pride about their neighborhood, as one of them puts it:

Of course I'm proud to live here! It's my neighborhood, and I helped to design it! (Interview 4)

In the final part of this chapter, the feelings of pride of living in the neighborhood will be further elaborated upon.

5.5 I'm glad to be here: Feelings proudness about the neighborhood

The previous paragraph ended with the remarks of one of the respondents about the feelings of proudness acquired by participating in the meetings regarding the reconstruction of the neighborhood. Feeling proud about the neighborhood is a feeling that exists among many of the old residents from the neighborhood as can be read from the quotes from the respondents in this part of the chapter. From the desk research into this question it was already expected that feelings of proudness about the neighborhood would exist: several neighborhood reports of the municipality of Enschede mention this (Kars & Van der Wal, 2014; "Roombeek voltooid!?", 2014; Van Snellenberg, 2009) (see for more details chapter 4.4).

When looking at the different answers given by respondents, reasons for being proud about the neighborhood fall into two categories:

1. Proudness because of the reconstruction process and design of the neighborhood
2. Proudness because of how the neighborhood looks like

Besides this, three respondents indicated that feelings of proudness with the neighborhood are largely absent.

In the next paragraphs, answers from the respondents about feelings of proudness or the absence of these will be looked further into.

Proudness because of the reconstruction process and design of the neighborhood

Several old residents report that they are proud about Roombeek because of the reconstruction process and what came out of it. Since new residents didn't participate in this citizen participation process, it is logically that none of the new residents reported to be proud of this reason. All respondents in this paragraph are original non-gentrifying residents that were displaced and returned. Two of the respondents, explained that the reconstruction process itself was inspiring and caused them to become active as volunteer in the neighborhood afterwards:

I got inspired by the people who guided the process. And now I'm doing this volunteer work to give back some of that good energy to the other people around in the neighborhood.

(Interview 4)

Yes, I'm very proud on this neighborhood. What is achieved here is great. So I became what is called ambassador of Roombeek. That means that I for myself I feel myself here 100% at home and fine. That is the most important that where you live you feel at home. Being ambassador is a voluntary function, but it is the least I can do back for the community. And that is what I feel. (Interview 15)

Another respondent, also a returning old resident, perceived the whole process of reconstructing the neighborhood as an almost epic journey:

For me it is about the history, and everything the neighborhood went through, also myself as a resident at the time, losing everything I had. It is the story of the human resilience and working together in creating something good and beautiful out of a bad situation. (Interview 7)

Several other returning old residents reported to have feelings of pride because of a combination of issues like: good contacts with the neighbors, the way the neighborhood looks as well as the role that the reconstruction process played in the neighborhood. For example, some answers given on the question if they were proud on living in Roombeek:

Absolutely, for sure I'm proud! If you look in the neighborhood everything looks good it is all well-kept. The people are all very nice, they greet you and so on. It is only quite rare that some people turn their heads. For the rest, everybody is friendly towards each other. If you sit in the park with the kids, then this person comes to have a chat, then that persons comes to have a chat. This neighborhood is really the result of common effort to build it up again. So you live here really nice. (Interview 12)

Yes, absolutely. It remains very bad that 23 people got killed in the disaster. I would have been too much already. The plus is that we were able to create something beautiful out of it, under the inspiring leadership of Pi de Bruijn. (Interview 9)

Only few new residents to Roombeek mentioned somehow that they had feelings of pride because of the reconstruction process and design of the neighborhood. In fact just one respondent among the new residents was very outspoken about this:

Yes I do am proud! I love to explain to people, and I love to convince them to come and visit Enschede and the neighborhood, because I think it is very special. Another word is grateful, because I don't see this as any personal achievement of myself, but I do think it is special, a big experiment that it is happening, and it seems that it is turning out pretty good. (Interview 21)



Figure 5.4: The exposition crater memorial. On the background from left to right, the Eekenhof apartment, the Balengebouw and further the houses at the Lonnekerspooilaan.
Photo: Jacques Bazen

Proudness because of the looks of the new neighborhood

Most of the respondents report that they are proud about how the new neighborhood looks like after the disaster. The same feelings are reported by both old and new residents. The main difference between respondents is that both old and new residents who designed their own house usually mention this as a very important reason to be proud of the neighborhood. On the question whether they feel proud about living in the neighborhood, one of the returning home owners mentioned:

Yes, I guess so, haha. We have our dream house that we were able to design by ourselves.
(Interview 14)

The same feeling was present at the response from new residents, who designed their own house, for example:

Yes... yes, yes, yes, this neighborhood is great. I am also proud of my house [built by private commissioning, JB]. (...) And also the other people in Enschede are jealous, they say oh: "all artificial, all money went to Roombeek". (Interview 19)

Yes, definitely. I also have a workshop here, so this is my place, I'm proud of it. (Interview 18)
There were among of the returning home owners who did design their own place also remarks about proudness that went further than their own house alone:

Yes, I am! I am proud to be living here. It is great that it could be rebuild as it is now, how it looks like and so on. If I speak with people from outside I can say with pride: I live in Roombeek. Yes, that is certainly so. It is simply like this. The whole street looks neat and nice. One or two houses of which you think: that could be done different [she said literally: "Daarvan denk je, dat kan anders", a strong form of disapproval in Twente, JB]. But that is the case everywhere. It's their house, they should decide how they want to do things. Everyone should live on his or her own way. (Interview 13)

Other respondents who reported to be proud of the neighborhood and did not design their own house, usually reported in more general terms about proudness with the looks of the neighborhood, old and new residents alike. Some examples of explanations of their feelings of proudness given:

If I tell people that I live in Enschede, I also tell I live in Roombeek: It's the newest area of Enschede, it is really nice and everything is new. So yes, I'm proud of living here. (Interview 17)

Yes! Because it has a special history, everybody knows the area, everybody knows what happened here, in Holland and abroad. Also I like the area, and I'm proud of what has become. (Interview 16)

I'm proud of the place where I live. If people from outside come and visit then always, I show everyone around. It's beautiful here, and a neighborhood created for the people by the people. I lived in different neighborhoods before, and during the time I was displaced and I never had this feeling, or this urge to show people around. (Interview 7)

Yes I am. Roombeek is a neighborhood with a story, with character. It was very nicely rebuilt and I feel really good that I can live here. The house is nice, the neighbors too and it is a safe neighborhood for my children. Everything is new, and very well thought of, no dark dangerous spots in the night. (Interview 23)

Feeling less proud than others with the neighborhood

Three respondents indicated that for them feelings of proudness were largely absent. One of them explained that he feels not being part of the neighborhood at all, even though living already for around 25 years in what is now Roombeek. Several respondents mentioned and also from the literature about the neighborhood it became clear (see for example De Lugt & Rijkeboer (2003)), that a single united neighborhood Roombeek before the fireworks disaster did not exist. This respondent clearly still feels himself just part of the area Schurinksweide. Besides that, he also mentions some hints of displacement pressure that he perceives to have occurred:

Yes, but I don't really feel from Roombeek, or how you call it. Because I don't live in Roombeek, I'm living here: Schurinksweide is a different part. But I think almost all the people feel it as a different neighborhood. (...) And I think.... it's not a shame but I think you have a link missing. Because I think that when you want to make life better for those displaced people you have to give them a new piece of city, and not a kind of Manhattan. (Interview 6)

Another respondent, one of the returning old residents, mentioned that she doesn't care about the new things that have been built. This is probably because she feels excluded from it, as can be

concluded from some other remarks made in the interview: She indicated that she is not feeling comfortable in the newly built areas with most of the new residents there. On the question about feelings of proudness with the neighborhood, she responds:

All the new stuff I don't care about. I'm back again that is what matters. I'm back in my surroundings, I have many friends among the returners. (Interview 10)

The third respondent which indicated to be not very proud about the current state of the neighborhood, explained his feelings with:

It is not like any other neighborhood in the city, in that sense it's ok. They wanted a monument, I did it and that is nice. The first years was ok: Let's develop. But now I have the feeling that, ok, let it go, let people do the work, don't keep it so tight. It is too strict. (Interview 2)

This last respondent was one of the active people in the reconstruction process, who reported that he joined the process for moral reasons: He wanted to help the old residents with returning. Being an idealistic person, this respondent probably feels disappointed because the neighborhood turned out to be different than he had imagined it would be.

6 Changing general appearance & social structure

6.1 Introduction

According to the literature study in chapter 2.5, the general appearance of a neighborhood is a significant component of general neighborhood satisfaction. If respondents have a positive opinion of the general appearance of the neighborhood, it can be expected that they will be more satisfied with the neighborhood in general. This could also function as one of the inclusionary effects as described in the conceptual model of this study, since they have been strongly involved in designing it. On the other hand, an improved neighborhood leads to people with higher incomes moving into the neighborhood. Even though this, according to the literature, could lead to higher neighborhood satisfaction (see for example Van Dijk & Oppelaar (2007)), it could also lead to an exclusion effect, as original non-gentrifying residents may slowly but surely get the feeling that the old social structures of the neighborhood are getting lost. There is evidence in the literature that higher and lower income groups do not mix very well, even though some of the new residents with higher income are diversity seekers and would therefore not be against mixing with old residents (Blokland & van Eijk, 2010). In this chapter the outcomes of the interviews with both old and new residents are analyzed and some conclusions about social mixing and the possible influence it has on neighborhood satisfaction are drawn.

In this chapter, the outcomes of the interviews on the following topics related to this sub research question are discussed for both old and new residents:

- Their opinion about the level of physical decay in the neighborhood
- Their opinion about social safety and crime
- Their opinion about traffic in the neighborhood
(These first three bundled together under the topic “problems in the neighborhood”, in chapter 6.2
- Their opinion about the appearance of the built environment
- Their opinion about the new residents in the neighborhood and contacts with them.
- In case of the old residents: Whether they consider the neighborhood to be a better place than before and why or why not

6.2 Perceived problems in the neighborhood

To find out about satisfaction of the Roombeek residents with their neighborhood, it is also necessary to look at their perception of problems in the neighborhood. According to literature on neighborhood satisfaction (see chapter 2.5), one of the statistically significant factors influencing the neighborhood satisfaction is the perception of physical decay in the neighborhood. As an extension to this, the perception about undesired behavior and crime is also asked. According to some of the literature on gentrification, see for example Byrne (2003) and others from chapter 2.2, problems in the neighborhood in general seem to decrease when the neighborhood is going through a process of gentrification. This is especially the case with vandalism and other forms of crime involving drugs and/or violence. On the other hand, a neighborhood with a higher percentage of people with higher incomes will probably increase certain other forms of crime, especially theft and break-ins. Besides these issues, several respondents also mentioned to be less satisfied with the traffic situation in the new neighborhood. And finally there are some other problems which are mentioned by just one or two respondents, involving different kind of problems than the ones mentioned above.

This part of the chapter has several subthemes and is therefore divided in smaller sections for easier reading:

- Perception of physical decay in the neighborhood
- Perception of traffic problems in the neighborhood
- Perception of vandalism and loitering of groups of youngsters
- Perception of crime in the neighborhood
- Other problems mentioned

Perception of physical decay in the neighborhood

Given the fact that the most parts of Roombeek have been constructed from scratch less than 10 years ago, it was expected that physical decay will be largely absent. As was expected, none of the respondents mentioned the level of physical decay to be a large problem, strongly influencing their satisfaction with the neighborhood. One of the problems that could be put under the heading of physical decay that was mentioned and stood out among all other problems mentioned was the quality of the water of the Roombeek, which has been brought back into the neighborhood. Some examples of what respondents reported:

The only problem I see in the neighborhood is the Roombeek, the water itself, it is always terrible, it smells, it is dirty. They have tried to improve it since we've been here in 2008, but it never worked. They can't discover what the problem is. (Interview 30)

I'm annoyed by the stream, it's dirty, full of algae. If children fall in there, they probably catch a disease. I don't get it, they spent so much money on bringing back the Roombeek, then, also maintain it. This is just half work. (Interview 12)

Really I can just think of only one thing that I don't like here so much...that is the matter of cleaning the actual Roombeek stream here in front of the house. They clean it, but every time the water gets dirty again. And with warm weather it starts to smell. Then they come and take out the water and so on, and then it is clean again for a month or so, but then it all starts again. (Interview 15)

Other problems related to physical decay in the neighborhood were not reported. That does not mean however that residents are not concerned about this matter. Concerns for future decay of the area were reported by some residents, especially in the case of the empty Balengebouw, the only remaining part of the Bamshoeve complex. The original idea was that a museum would be located there, but as one of the respondents explain, that plan failed:

It was the place where the Jan Cremer museum would have to come. That is not coming there anymore and now they are discussing over what to do with the building. Jan Cremer is to



Figure 6.1: The reconstructed Roombeek, with its reoccurring water quality problem
Photo: Jacques Bazen

blame for this debacle with his museum. He called Enschede a “rotstad” (rotten city). And a lot of people said ok, then “rot ook maar op, meneer” (bugger off yourself). You understand? In the past, he himself was born in Stadsveld neighborhood, one of the less nice neighborhoods. Then he found it a “rotstad” and then suddenly when he was about to get his museum, Enschede was like a sort of heaven on earth. (Interview 13)



Figure 6.2: The still empty Balengebouw.
Photo: Enno Nuy

Some residents expressed the fear that this high profile building in the neighborhood would possibly start to decay because of being empty after the Jan Cremer museum was called off and no other user of this building in sight for the foreseeable future. Several residents told about their fear:

There is the Balengebouw, when I look at it, I see a great building, it's just too bad that it is vacant, if nothing happens there it will get bad for sure. (Interview 23)

There is one problem with the Balengebouw. It's the building over here, with this motorcycle of Jan Cremer that's more or less finished. But it's now empty. That's a problem, yeah, a true problem. The idea was to have some kind of cultural thing in it, a museum or something to do with culture, but there's not one culture thing which can pay the rent. (Interview 22)

The Balengebouw is currently still empty, they have done some construction with it lately. They were phoning Jan Cremer, wanting to make it his museum, but it didn't work out. Now there is debate: does it need to have a commercial or more cultural function. Nobody knows. I guess it has to do with the financial crisis since 2008, I just hope something will be found and it won't dilapidate. All these bankers with their problems, that also played a role. (Interview 9)

So they [tour organizers, JB] knew that I knew a lot of history, not the real history but the actual architectural history things. So I walked this tour with people that came from several places, and I talked about all the ambitions, all the beautiful buildings and then I came to the last point, the Balengebouw and I find that one of the most beautiful buildings, and the people asked me, why it is not in use, and then you think about it, it is a really sad story, it is one of the most beautiful things in Roombeek, and it is not in use, and what is going to happen with it? Nobody knows. So definitely a thing that has to be improved. (Interview 32)

The only other fear of future physical decay mentioned was by one of the residents who thought of the still empty plots of land as a reminder of the neighborhood not being finished:

There are still some building plots empty, everywhere throughout Roombeek, especially here behind [pointing at the former Brewery terrain, JB]. That's a pity in a way, you get the feeling the neighborhood is not finished. I like the green as well, that's not the problem. Just that the grass could be cut a bit more often in most of these plots. Well...at least they cut it sometimes. (Interview 8)

This fear was not shared by another respondent, who actually thought that the area was well kept and the grass in the neighborhood was cut maybe even too often, although it is not exactly clear if he meant the parks or the still vacant building plots:

What they built here is perfect. Also what the municipality is doing in maintenance is very important, for example cutting the grass. Sometimes you think you could wait a bit, because the grass with this warm weather will get brown when you cut it now. But then you see that it is done according to contract and they have no choice. I'm talking to the guys who cut it sometimes, and they tell me: It has to be done. It has to ["Het mot" in Dutch]. (Interview 15)



Figure 6.3: Empty building plots at the Brewery terrain in Roombeek
Photo: Jacques Bazen

Perception of traffic problems in the neighborhood

Several respondents, especially old residents with children or grandparents regularly looking after grandchildren, report traffic problems in the neighborhood, at least an increase of the number of unsafe places in traffic. One such point stands out as a perceived dangerous place by several respondents, the crossroads between the Roomweg and the Lonnekerspoorlaan, reported to be one of reduced visibility. Some examples of comments of respondents:

Yes, I think the crossroad Lonnekerspoorlaan and Roomweg here in front of Prismare is dangerous. Several accidents happened here already. I hope they will improve it somehow.
(Interview 5)

Here at the crossroads at the Roomweg there is always trouble. The lights don't work again, the warning lights for the car that a bus is near. And then one crosses and the bus driver hits the horn and then you sit straight up in your chair really. Such a noise. (Interview 10)

The Roomweg/Lonnekerspoorlaan crossing is a big problem. I think the municipality realizes it. When I see it like this it doesn't look so bad, but there is the bicycle path and sometimes they come right behind from the Eekenhof from the Bamshoeve and before you know it they bump into your car. It's a very strange corner. You have a busstop here, that totally blocks your view as well. Especially bikes and scooters that go behind the bus stop you can't see.
(Interview 11)

Other dangerous points mentioned are the Roomweg in general, especially by one of the old residents, who has reduced mobility and regularly takes care of her grandchildren:

There you shouldn't send children to on their own. Well, my granddaughter of 11 I can send there, but my grandson of 5, no he shouldn't go there on his own. A zebra crossing was made there, and there are a few people who do stop, but if you see a BMW or Mercedes coming, just remain where you are, because they will not stop and you are under them before you know it. (Interview 12)

Also the Voortsweg is mentioned as being too narrow for the large amount of traffic, it is one of the shortcuts to the village of Lonneker, and is used by many:

Well the street where I live is the Voortsweg and that is a very crowded street, the cars drive very fast because it is a straight lane, so it would be nice if they could improve that. (Interview 16)

The Bamshoevelaan is perceived to be safe by most respondents, just one of them reports that she is sometimes worried about her children:

I am scared by the cars driving around the corners very fast here. It's dangerous for the playing children. Look at it! You can't see anything coming around the corner, but they are immediately here. I have to admit: My husband also used to take the curves in the street very fast, he liked it. I always hated it. But then we got a letter from the neighbors about the crazy speeding. Since then he changed his behavior. (Interview 14)

There are however residents who report the traffic situation in the neighborhood to be without major problems, one of the respondents, an old resident, reports for example:

But unsafe situations in the traffic in the neighborhood, no...I can't name any. Listen, unsafe situations only exist because of bad driving habits by people themselves. Almost everyone

coming by car here, is from this neighborhood, don't forget that. The question is simple: Do we want as neighbors to stick to the rules or be stubborn and just drive like crazy. If I see someone driving like crazy, I simply tell him to stop that. I know a lot of people here, for me it is easy. (Interview 9)

To compare these perceptions of the residents with facts about traffic safety, a study of the municipality on neighborhood safety and security can be used. In this so called neighborhood scan there are just two spots within the neighborhood that stand out in terms of number of traffic accidents reported/unsafe situations: the crossroad mentioned above, between the Roomweg and the Lonnekerspoorlaan, and the crossroads between Voortsweg and Potsweg (Bruin-Claus, Ten Doeschot, Van de Peppel, & Visser, 2012).

Perception of vandalism and loitering in the neighborhood

Graffiti, vandalism and loitering of young people are just like the perception of physical decay considered to be factors that can bring down neighborhood satisfaction. Generally speaking respondents, both old and new residents alike report that they only experience few cases of these problems.

With regards to graffiti and vandalism, none of the respondents mention any experience with these issues. This is true for residents as well as institutions. The director of the Twentse Welle museum, with their large old factory halls in the neighborhood a prime candidate for graffiti and other forms of vandalism, reports that the museum has no problems with vandalism or graffiti, which he at least partly contributes to his policy of trying to let the museum be one of the members of the neighborhood:

As museum we try to be part of the neighborhood, not just a museum that is accidentally located here. We try to involve the neighborhood into our museum activities. Since we relocated to Roombeek, there has not been a single case of vandalism or graffiti on museum property (Kees van der Meiden, personal communication, 19 June 2014).

In fact, one of the respondents, an old resident, even mentions that the nice orderly environment in his opinion is also because residents are now more aware of it and are deliberately working on keeping it like that:

I mean the cleanliness and the order of the things here in the neighborhood, also comes from the people themselves, I think that is very good here. (Interview 15)

In terms of loitering of groups of young people, several residents, especially older residents mention a group of teenagers hanging out around Prismare to be a problem for the neighborhood.

There was a gang of teenagers active around Prismare, harassing people and stealing things. Fortunately the police has made some arrests lately. (Interview 5)

One of the elderly former old residents even considers these youngsters hanging out in the neighborhood to be a reason for not wanting to go out in the streets at night:

They did arrest a youth gang already, there over at Prismare. They were harassing and insulting people. Then I think to myself: You can't go in the night through the streets safely here. I wouldn't at least. (Interview 12)

This stands in contrast with what one other, younger respondent observes about the quality of the neighborhood, according to her, Roombeek now is the safest place where she ever lived, definitely more safe than the neighborhood before the disaster:

For me, when I go home after a meeting late at night, around 11 or so, no problem. I'm really feeling at home and safe here also during the night. (Interview 7)

One of the new residents, working as an advisor for several educational institutes, perceives the loitering of young people to be not so problematic and largely harmless:

I heard about crime, but I don't believe it. I live at the very hot spot, where it should be dangerous at night, and I have neighbors that call the police all the time, but it's just kids being outside after 10 o'clock at night. I think there is a lot of prejudice there. If you want to go to a cafe, you go to a cafe, but if you don't have the money, you go and hang out with friends, and people see that and find it scary, but there's nothing scary about it. My feeling is that the social safety of the neighborhood is quite high and it always have been high. Nevertheless Enschede is a big drug trade place being close to the border, a lot of hard drug addicts too. [Henk de Poot]

The safety and security scan of the neighborhood mentions that Roombeek as a neighborhood scores high in Enschede in number of reported police incidents related to youth problems. In particular the so called "Zakgeldgroep" is noted as being active in the neighborhood around Prismare in Roombeek and as well in the neighborhood Deppenbroek. Members of the group loiter around in the neighborhood especially during the period of Ramadan and are according to the reported incidents involved in making noise, leaving litter behind and causing damage to people's property (Bruin-Claus et al., 2012).

Perception of crime in the neighborhood

On the issue of the crime level in the neighborhood, the opinion of the respondents is mixed. Some of the respondents indicate that in their opinion Roombeek is a neighborhood with low crime level, whereas others indicate that the level of crime is maybe not very high, but still something annoying which is there to take into account. When looking at the respondents who reported to be dissatisfied with the crime level in the neighborhood, it is difficult to classify them according to age, family status or being an old or new resident. There may be some classification on the basis of residential situation: None of the residents of the apartment complexes in the neighborhood among the respondents group report that they personally experience problems with the crime levels in the neighborhood. Further, returning home owners are more likely to report that problems related to crime exist in the neighborhood than new residents or the renters among the old residents. But this pattern has several exceptions.

First of all, most of the respondents that are renting old residents, don't perceive the crime level in the neighbor to be a problem. For example, some of them report:

In the Tollensstraat there were living a couple of guys at first who were trying to make a living with drugs dealing. Also here on the parking lot in front of the Lunchkamer people told that it happened. Well...I seriously doubt it, I look around pretty well when I'm here and see a lot, but I never saw anybody doing this kind of things. So, I consider these stories merely urban legends. In general crime is very low in this neighborhood, I'm convinced of that. Haha, compare it with the shady things going on before the disaster and you know enough. (Interview 9)

There is crime, but not in the extent that it bothers you. I know from stories that at the other side at the parking place sometimes some drugs dealing is going on. There is strong surveillance in the area. When you call the police they are here very fast. We never found any needles though. If there is dealing, it is just the trade and not the usage. Sometimes if you hear cars driving away in the middle of the night, it could be crime, but also just couples making love, you just don't know. I do hear cars coming out from the parking lot every now and then. If your question is if I feel myself unsafe: certainly not! Absolutely not! Haha, when I look here at my neighbors on this level of the flat, it are just elderly people who live here. They are walking with a stick or are in a wheelchair. Not much danger from them. (Interview 15)

For the respondents that were home owners among the old residents, the situation was usually different: they were looking at the new neighborhood as a place where crime levels had increased as compared with the old neighborhood and were worried about the crime level in the neighborhood. This was the same for returning home owners in the Bamshoeve area as well as in Kroedhölte/Talmaplein and Schurinksweide. Especially break ins were reported by these respondents to be a big problem. Some examples of what they expressed:

(lives in Bamshoeve area) There is drugs dealing going on at the Museumlaan and H.B. Blijdensteinlaan. It's logical in a way, as this is the shortest connection between Enschede North and the city center. There is a homeless shelter around, so there is always enough potential customers nearby. I have little children, you don't know what happens when they play in the neighborhood. (...) We have to lock up everything now around our house: Our bikes were stolen from the porch and the car was broke open once too. Also we have seen footprints in the garden behind the house, from people trying to break in. We have to be more careful now. Probably it are the drugs dependent junkies, looking for easy money and they think: pretty houses [Bamshoevelaan, JB], there must be money there. (Interview 14)

(lives in Kroedhölte area) What you do have here is house break ins. Three doors further they were inside. The lady who lives there, she drinks quite a lot. At a certain moment she saw someone with a wheelbarrow and a ladder. It turned out to be the case that they stole the wheelbarrow from the garden of her son. And that person was putting his ladder to every house, also this one. Here he didn't have much success, then he went there. I think it was a junkie, heavily under the influence of drugs. (Interview 12)

(lives in Schurinksweide area) They put many schools in the middle, 5 or 6, so in the weekend nobody is there, and because it is a square you get all covered pathways, so those are places are ideal to drink or use drugs, or whatever. That is what I think is wrong. (...) Before, never anything got stolen from me, and after the reconstruction, they have broken into my house 3 times. Since then. They stole 6 bikes, 1 motorcycle, 4 laptops. (Interview 6)

In most cases new residents among the respondents, the majority of them living at the Bamshoeve area, took a middle position between these previous two groups, for example:

I heard from neighbors that their houses were broken into. Fortunately not yet with us. Hopefully never. (Interview 20)

No big problems with crime...well, you have to lock your bike, but that's like everywhere...and lock the door. In the Molenstraat, there is a shelter for people that are homeless, or have

social problems, so you see them very often, mostly men, walking in the Museumlaan, sitting on some benches, but they are not criminals. You see beer bottles, and caps in the street. And sometimes I see it, and I say to them: pick it up! So yes, I lock my bike, I shut the door, but nothing special, there is not much crime. (Interview 19)

I would consider this to be a safe neighborhood. I have no experience with crime here. I think the crime level in the neighborhood is really low. Maybe other people have experience with break-ins or something, I don't know. But look around and see for yourself. (Interview 8)

Some of the interviewed shopkeepers also experience an increase of the crime level in the neighborhood, for example here the reaction of two shopkeepers who were located maybe not exactly in the neighborhood, but around the neighborhood for many years:

I'm insured against break-ins. Since my shop has been located here I have had around ten attempts, some successful, some not. It's a pity, but I think it is the changing times. As for me, it's annoying, but as said I'm insured and I don't have an emotional attachment to the batteries or print cartridges that I sell here. (Interview 28)

Weekly they steal from me from here in the store, from the thing outside. Before this that never happened. I had 2 shops in the city and they never stole anything from me. But here once a week. (Interview 29)

Some of the respondents commented on the causes of the perceived rise in the crime level in the neighborhood. Most of the remarks made in this sphere were about "changing times" or changes in the social cohesion after the reconstruction. One of the long-time residents from the neighborhood remarked:

Well...it has changed. Before you knew everybody. And if you saw someone walking by, you knew where this person was going. Now, you have no clue about that. (Interview 13)

Interestingly, one of the old residents blamed the increase in crime levels on the changing layout of the neighborhood as developed in the reconstruction process:

Before the disaster, there were many factory walls in the neighborhood making it hard for thieves to escape. Now, there are many squares with many exits, they can flee everywhere. You see these displays outside the shop? What happens regularly: Some people on bicycles drive past and grab whatever they can, and disappear in all directions. No chance of catching them. Before the disaster, you could basically just go back and forth in the street, so it's made real easy for them thieves. I certainly observe a rise in the crime levels in the neighborhood. Before never something got stolen or anything, and after the disaster, they have broken in my house 3 times since then. They stole 6 bikes, 1 motorcycle and 4 laptops. (Interview 6)

The answers of the respondents on crime levels match with the data collected for the neighborhood. In the already earlier mentioned "Neighborhood safety and security scan", from 2008 to 2012 a rise in reported cases of crime to the police can be found, as well as a neighborhood wide perception of rising crime levels. In comparison with the rest of Enschede, average crime levels, measured in terms of reported cases to the police, Roombeek scores above average (Bruin-Claus et al., 2012).

Even though, from the interviews, only a few respondents mentioned that the perceived crime level was influencing their neighborhood satisfaction, most of the respondents either didn't experience crime themselves, or consider it to be a lesser nuisance (bike theft especially). Just one old resident

explained that the perceived level of crime affects her satisfaction with the neighborhood. It may be one of the reasons why she is seriously thinking about moving out from the neighborhood:

In her [neighbor, JB] house they stole quite some jewelry. I was talking to my neighbor: I'm all alone here. I'm a little scared, it is in my nature. That's also why I would like to go from here. It has not so much to do with being scared for crime, but I would like to live in a more high place. I would like to live in a flat, and not on the ground floor there. Because when something happens here, I can start shouting, but nobody hears it. These houses are constructed so well, you hear nothing at all. But yes...it is true that quite often some bad people walk around here. There are stories that over there at Talmaplein there is some drugs dealing going on.

(Interview 12)

6.3 Perception about the appearance of the built environment

According to the recent Roombeek panel discussions report, as discussed in chapter 4.5, the participating residents in this panel feel that others think about their neighborhood as the most nicely built area within the city.

Respondents were asked how much they liked the built environment of the neighborhood, and if they found the buildings and parks pleasant to look at or not. This question was asked to both old and new residents, also to find out if differences in perceptions between old and new residents could be observed.



Figure 6.4: The Museumlaan, with at the background the Balengebouw and the Eekenhof
Photo: Jacques Bazan

Satisfaction with the appearance of the built environment

When analyzing the answers of the respondents on the question whether they are satisfied with the appearance of the built environment in the neighborhood it turned out to be a question that almost everyone answered positively to very positively. There was not much difference between old and new residents in this respect, as the selection of answers from respondents in this section shows.

First a selection of answers from some of old residents which mention things about the neighborhood in general:

Look what is there now. I like the diversity of buildings in the neighborhood, it's great and never boring. I know even that some people are thinking: it was horrible what happened to the people who became victims of the disaster, but actually...if the disaster wouldn't have happened, we would have lived now in a boring VINEX neighborhood [see chapter 4.3, JB]. There are people who say that the disaster was a blessing in disguise for the neighborhood. And that at least for once the policy makers listened to what the people want. (Interview 3)

So many unique houses, only at the Bosuilstraat everything is the same, some bad job by a project developer, but everywhere else, places are unique and that makes this neighborhood so nice, it is never ever boring. At Bamshoeve you may find very beautiful and very ugly stuff next to each other, but it doesn't matter, you have an opinion about it! Beauty is in the eye of the beholder, when we walk around with friends, we see the houses and then one says I like this, another says bleh, how can you like that? And then you have a nice discussion, and that is how it should be. I really like the diversity here in the buildings, that is it, I can't say more. (Interview 7)

We have our dream house that we were able to design by ourselves. We love our street, there is so much diversity in buildings. (Interview 14)

The houses needed to be upgraded and have been all upgraded, houses in the Roomveldje were rebuilt, they were primitive. I remember from my youth at Talmapplein for example that the houses just had one single tap. I still see my father coming home in the summers, his clothes completely filled with lint. Then he went into the kitchen, opened a bit his shirt and put a little water on himself, like that. All of that has changed, fortunately. But the people back then were also happy and they also had enough. (Interview 15)

Some old residents who reported to be dog owners, commented especially on being happy about how the parks which have been constructed:

This Lasonderbleek is the place where I go daily. I walk my dog there, the monument is there. It's nice, children are playing there and older people are playing football, pick nick by students and so on. It's a bit wavy that area, looking good and well kept, close to home. (Interview 4)

I have two dogs, and with these I go to the park. And the people who have a dog as well, that goes well. These people talk with each other. That is the Lasonderbleek. There is the monument, I get by there daily, and I like to look at it. (Interview 10)

Finally one of the old residents reported to be not so impressed as how some areas turned out, even though he doesn't dislike the houses themselves which are built there:

This Bamshoeve area here is the fancy living area, for the yuppies and the rich. (...) It is not so interesting, they have nice houses, but nothing happens there, it is like an elderly home.
(Interview 2)

New residents reported to be also satisfied with the neighborhood. There was not much variation in the issues they reported. A selection of responses from them shows this:

I think it is very good to live here because all the buildings are new. It is good living and not too expensive. The area around is pretty good, good streets, nice parks. (...) It is easy to go to the city center, and easy to get away, by car. (Interview 17)

Personally I love the neighborhood, because it is open, green and it looks & feels good.
(Interview 16)

It is a mixture between really old core of the city combined with really fancy new constructions. Pretty and new architecture, very nice and spacious. (Interview 18)

It has become beautiful, more than it was. It was very shabby, nothing attractive. And now it is attractive. The aesthetic, I find it very inspiring. (Interview 32)

Residents coping with tourism in the neighborhood

The new Roombeek neighborhood during and after its reconstruction started to attract many tourists and planning professionals who all wanted to have a look at what the neighborhood turned into. This was a totally new and unexpected experience for the old residents of Roombeek. Not all of them could cope equally well with this new situation of sometimes several guided tour groups per day passing through their street. This caused some controversy within the neighborhood. Especially in Roomveldje, several incidents happened in terms of angry neighborhood residents shouting at passing groups. In the other parts of the neighborhood, residents seemed to have less problems with groups of tourists, at least they don't show their disapproval very visually and audibly in public.

Among the respondents was one of the several tour guide volunteers from the neighborhood. Being a long time resident of the Roomveldje sub neighborhood, he knows the area well and was involved in the reconstruction process, which made him a good candidate for being a tour guide. He explained his work as follows:

I was involved in giving tours through the neighborhood and then we went through some of the streets behind here in Roomveldje, for example the Kievitsstraat. We crossed then the little square and then came this way here. At that little square there, you have a couple of people there who are really terrible. When we walked there with the people they were feeling angry, they felt being looked at, like: "we are no monkeys" and so on. Things like that happened during tours, there were many, many tours in the past, now a bit less. The Huis van Verhalen, the VVV [tourism office, JB], the municipality of Enschede all organize these tours.
(Interview 9)

He strongly disapproves the behavior of some of his neighbors, as he continues to describe their actions. He tried – largely in vain – to convince these protesting neighbors that history had been written in the neighborhood and that people wanted to learn about that:

But really some of the people there were behaving like little children: shouting, threatening and so on. Things like: stupid disaster tourists and so on. These things I cannot imagine why people are doing this. Something happened that went in the history books and people want to

learn what could be done to reconstruct things. I just go there to these shouting people and I tell them: Listen, what do you think about Rome or Pompeii? What about the people there, they must feel being gazed upon already for centuries. Don't be such a loser with shouting like this. But don't get me wrong, it's just a few people. You will always have that. A few of these people can spoil an image. (Interview 9)

He then continues to describe how the controversy over this issue deepened, and these protesting neighbors even started to involve mentally handicapped people who were residing in one of the neighborhood integration houses of Avelijn, a regional mental health care organization:

I can tell you how nasty some of those residents were. They went a few doors further, to their neighbors from Avelijn and used some of the mentally handicapped people and instructed them to shout and scream when visitors would come in and try to chase them away by it. We had talks with the people from Avelijn and then it became less, but for keeping the peace, we more or less gave up on going there with visitors. (Interview 9)

Although he dislikes the current status quo that was reached, he does have some understanding for the concerns of the people about so many groups passing by:

Trust me, about these type of residents who make such trouble in Roomveldje: "for stupid people there is no medicine". Well...I mean, I do understand that it is a bit annoying if there are constantly people walking by and maybe looking inside your house. But there could have been much more elegant solutions. (Interview 9)

One of the other respondents residing in Roomveldje reported that she disliked most of the groups of tourists, especially the ones coming by bus. She also reports that she and neither her neighbors have any problems with individual visitors to the monument. In her eyes the people coming by organized groups are just looking for a cheap and superficial experience about the suffering of others. She explained her problems with the many tourist groups as follows:

In the weekends there are often people who have interest in the disaster and looking at the monument. But don't talk about weekdays, then there are busloads of tourists here. In our eyes they are nothing more than disaster tourists. In the past you had that, then you could take a bus tour, for a low amount of money you could go with these and you got a dinner and so on. But you never wanted to go alone on these tours, and then you said to a friend or neighbor, do you come with me? Costs only so much and you spend a day out and so. Like this I see all those busloads of tourists in the neighborhood. You know, from these people who see this invitation like for 5 euro a day to Enschede, including guided tours and so, something like that. All of these just get off the bus right here and the busses remain there with running engines, polluting, for air conditioning in summer and heating in winter. (Interview 10)

She reports being very sensitive about tourist groups treating the fireworks disaster monuments in the neighborhood disrespectfully:

There is a monument here, it's called "the Disappeared House". Those lines on the ground. With excursions that Huis van Verhalen are doing, they go and stand around the stone [the monument with the names of the victims, JB], then they walk over this monument and go to the hole [the SE Fireworks explosion crater, JB]. Why they made paths? Walk over the paths. That monument with the lines of the disappeared house is for us like a grave. Exactly like that we found our house back. Just the foundation remained. In our eyes it is like a grave. Respect it! I became very angry about that. If it are children ok, that's different. They don't understand it. But adults, and certainly these people from Huis van Verhalen, they should know better.

No: they said, the architect planned it like that, or the artist who made it, said that you may walk over it. You may...but I say, if you think for yourself, you don't have to. Give the example! Yes but you may also walk over it...I say: give the example! As respect for the people who lived through it. It's not just me, there are more people who think like this. (Interview 10)

Not all old residents are so sensitive about the issue of tourists groups in the neighborhood. Returning home owners in Kroedhöfte/Talmapplein among the respondents explain that they don't really mind about the tourist groups visiting the neighborhood:

There are a lot of tourists here visiting the neighborhood. I know in Roomveldje some people have big trouble with this. Here in Talmapplein people are maybe more relaxed, I don't know. Here in the street we have a lot of tourists too. When there are groups, they stay always right here in front of our door here at the square. And I think well go ahead let them stand, they don't harm anyone. But I know some people really don't like it that so many people stay in groups in front of their house. And it is not one group per day, but sometimes multiple. (...) The whole summer long there are many tours, even now fourteen years after the disaster. Sometimes three four times per day, sometimes even more. A lot of students are visiting, from all countries you can see that. I talked to them once, they were architecture students looking at the result of the reconstruction. The municipality organizes a lot of tours. Or people come with these audiotours in their ear and are guided through the entire neighborhood. (Interview 13)

The same applies for residents from the Bamshoeve. In fact it looks like they have no problem at all with tourists groups, and even seem to like it that people walk through the neighborhood and are enjoying the houses. One of the respondents answered on the question what she thought about the visits of tourists to the neighborhood with:

Oh it is ok. When we wanted to build the houses we went looking for ourselves in other places, we looked around and made pictures, so I can understand. And it is a nice project here, I can imagine people want to see it. I'm not bothered by it at all. (Interview 14)

Criticism about the appearance of the built environment of the neighborhood

Besides all the positive remarks about the appearance of the built environment, and the high satisfaction on this topic by both old and new residents, there were also some of the residents who indicated that they were less satisfied with how the neighborhood looks like. There is actually just one of the residents, one of the artists working for many years in the neighborhood, who reported to be less satisfied with this topic, specifically aiming his discontent about the strict order that is in his opinion imposed on the neighborhood after the reconstruction, this in contrast with the creative chaos of the old pre-disaster neighborhood:

This Bamshoeve area here is (...) not so interesting, they have nice houses, but nothing happens there, it is like an elderly home. (...)The cultural area [Stroinksbleek, JB] is nice but a little bit sterile, not very lively. You are not allowed to do anything there, besides what was once directed by the architect. (Interview 2)

Among the shopkeepers, some comments on the appearance of the built environment could be noted as well, for example:

The wind here is a big problem. Somehow is built in a way that is too open. Here is ok, but the little street at Jumbo is bad, their advertisement boards are always blown over. Our customers tells us that in winter when it is cold and maybe slippery, they prefer not to go

there. For example the hair dresser here is also interesting: the customers go to the hair salon, and when they come out and the wind blows and spoils everything. (Interview 26)

For example if you walk that way to the Lonnekerspoorlaan, their backyard, the back side of their houses. You got the garages there, so in the front is beautiful, but in the back is all different and cheap, flimsy looking. That is where they saved the money. So I think that is a shame. And that beautiful building here, “the ship” Eekenhof, there is a square behind there too for children to play, beautiful too, but you can get in 5 ways, so it is really easy for burglars to go in. You can't go with a car, you can't get in a car anywhere, so that is what is happening here. (Interview 29)

Overall, it can be safely concluded that almost all respondents are satisfied with the appearance of the built environment in the neighborhood. The only critical remarks about this subject, and hints for improvement of the environment given by one respondent is about the impression that certain areas of the neighborhood look too sterile, or are used by too few people. Of course there is always tension between the interests of people who live somewhere and people who work somewhere in a retail setting, the latter group being for obvious reasons more interested in more people and activities around. Residents however might not always appreciate this though.

6.4 Perception on Social Mixing in Roombeek

The new Roombeek neighborhood attracted and still attracts newcomers with higher incomes. Therefore, it is good to research if and how social mixing occurs or if there are clearly separated groups in the different sub neighborhoods of Roombeek. Evidence from literature suggests that social mixing in neighborhoods experiencing gentrification is not happening or only happening on a very limited scale (Blokland & van Eijk, 2010) and that gentrifiers often live “in a bubble”, according to Butler (2003). See chapter 2.2 for more details on this subject.

Respondents were asked in how far they know people, speak with people or do activities with people from different sub neighborhoods in Roombeek than where they live. These questions were asked to both old residents and new residents, to see if there was difference in perception about social mixing between these two groups.

As was expected, most respondents indicated that there is only limited social mixing in the neighborhood at best, that is between old and new residents in general, both within and between sub neighborhoods. Often there were no clear reasons given for the lack of contacts with people from other sub-neighborhoods. Besides that, most old residents among the respondents observed lack of contacts and even tensions among the original non-gentrifying residents as well, especially between residents of different sub neighborhoods. In the following sections, each of these general themes will be discussed in more detail, to provide a more clear picture on the issue of social mixing. In fact, when asked to mention things from the neighborhood that they don't like, most old residents mention a perceived decrease in social cohesion in the neighborhood.

Limited social mixing in the neighborhood: Roombeek as archipelago

From the literature on Roombeek it was already known that residents reported to have little contact outside their own sub neighborhood, a spatial practice that is described by the term archipelago (Kars & Van der Wal, 2014). When asking about the neighborhood, several old residents reported

that they never perceived the old neighborhood as a spatial unity and has always consisted of smaller communities that had little to do with one another. De Lugt & Rijkeboer (2003) mention this in their book about the disappeared neighborhood for example (see for more information on the structure of the old neighborhood chapter 4.3). Some of the long term neighborhood residents report:

I don't know if there is a big mentality difference with the newcomers, there was and is mentality difference within the old neighborhood. You know, Roombeek was never a unity. It always consisted of smaller neighborhoods. (Interview 4)

I would like to say that before the disaster we never spoke about Roombeek as a neighborhood. When I came here, the edge of the city was right here, at the Hulstraat/Kievitstraat. And here was the Grolsch. The rest was farmland, all kind of farms there. (...) This part is the Roomveldje. Here is the house where I grew up, at the Kievitstraat. (...) The rest you had very little contact with. Talmplein is also a neighborhood in itself. There was never a lot of contact between the different sub neighborhoods in Roombeek, not before the disaster and not now also. (Interview 10)

The Talmplein where I used to live was called the Zion neighborhood. And the square where we lived had 27 houses and yes, I can still name all the names of the people who lived there. Of course sometimes people were moving, but when I knew it before the first renovation, I knew everyone who lived there. Then there was a part in between, the Kroedhöfte, Tollensstraat, Renbaanstraat and then you got the area where we are now, the Roomveldje. Roomveldje was very different from the Zion neighborhood. Both were worker neighborhoods, but the Zion people were tidier than the people who lived here in Roomveldje. Here they were drinking beer on the sidewalk just in front of the door, there in Zion they were also drinking beer, but inside. (Interview 15)

If social mixing in the neighborhood would occur extensively after the disaster, it would also involve mixing of old residents from the different pre disaster sub neighborhoods, as these residents also often report to have very little contact with people from outside their own sub neighborhood. This conclusion was also reached by the municipality of Enschede, and they decided that the entire neighborhood needed some form of neighborhood building: This was the context of the study by Kars & Van der Wal mentioned earlier, that was done in the spring of 2014, commissioned by the municipality.

Some of the answers given by respondents indicate that indeed there is little contact between old and new residents between the different sub neighborhoods. One of the old home owning residents explains:

We have mainly contact with the people from our area, the Bamshoeve. With the others not. (Interview 14)

She explains that also in the old neighborhood she had no contact with neighbors in the rental areas:

It was very poor, and we lived in a big street, and normally we didn't have any contact with the people behind us. We worked and had our neighborhood commission in our street but not in this area behind [Talmplein, JB]. It was a bit poor, not so good. So I didn't come there at all. We had a big garden, so our neighbors in the back, we didn't know at all. (Interview 14)

One old resident among the respondents specifically reports that she has contacts with the new residents living behind her house, but it is also that these contacts are superficial. It doesn't get much further than saying hello:

Yes, the Roombeekhofje are all owner-occupied houses. They are nice people, with them we have contact sometimes, we always greet and say hello. When we come out of the garage here behind, we'll see them. But also there: people built and designed it themselves. Most have to work quite hard for it I guess, so the same story: we don't have very much contact with them. (Interview 13)

The answers given by several of the other old residents provide evidence that for them the people in the newly built areas are different. Of course all of them know and comment on the new areas like Bamshoeve and Menko area to exist, just they report having little contact there. From the answers a clear division between the people in the neighborhood can be observed. There is no animosity between the groups of residents, but that the attitude of the new residents being different from the old ones was mentioned, prevailed throughout most interviews. It becomes clear when looking at some of the answers:

I don't like the former Menko area, it all looks the same. These houses are built on the former Menko area, they are nice houses certainly, but it is very VINEX. I don't like it, it's boring there ("een dooie boel" in Dutch) it all has the same street name. (...) I also tend to get lost there because everything is so similar. Once I had to look for an address here to meet someone and then I got this feeling like I wouldn't want to live here ever. Also the Bamshoeve is nice, but they are different people as well, more oriented among themselves. (Interview 15)

Look, if you see the Bamshoevelaan, with better educated people they are different. It's not a problem in itself, but if they don't want to communicate with the others, that's not good. It's not necessarily the fault of the problem of the new people in the Bamshoevelaan, but probably also from people in Roomveldje. (Interview 9)

Bamshoeve...well...it's not my way of life, but two, three times a week I walk there. So I'm not avoiding the area. I have no problem with them. (Interview 11)

Another respondent from Roomveldje, active in the neighborhood committee reports having little contact between the Bamshoeve. Even though they live just a few hundred meter from each other, it appears the only connection they have is some written correspondence only every now and then, as can be read from this answer:

Last year we were contacted by the Bamshoeve and Schurinksweide to organize a flea market together. But we had already arranged everything and had the permission and made all arrangements and were ready to go. We wrote back, it's short notice, we have arranged everything for this year already. What about next year? Then we wrote them this year and got the reply: No, we will not be joining. And then you suddenly get a letter in your mailbox, an invitation for the flea market of Bamshoeve and Schurinksweide. (Interview 10)

The same respondent continues that because of this, for her increasing the relations with the other sub neighborhood communities is not a high priority. Again a sign of a clear division between the old residents and the newcomers:

Well...I got hold of some documents, you can apply for a small budget at the municipality for neighborhood activities. By accident I received that letter. They wanted on 29 May to apply

for a permission for a flea market on 27 June. According to the rules that needs to be done in December already. But I guess they have connections, haha. But then I say on my turn, then I also take it easy with cooperating with them. (Interview 10)

One of the new residents, active in the Bamshoeve neighborhood committee also commented on the in his eyes difficulty to cooperate with the people from Roomveldje, again a clear sign of the perceived differences between old and new residents:

H. went to a market they organized, it was quite a different atmosphere. As she said well, if we will participate in organizing this kind of market with others, then we should do with this group [in Talmaplein] that's not problem, and indeed, it wasn't a problem, but when we would organize it with these people [in Roomveldje], the distance is too much. (Interview 22)

It is also visible that this new resident observes a difference between the old residential areas, Talmaplein and Roomveldje, and does not see them as one area. The rate of returners was larger in Roomveldje, which makes this an area with more original non-gentrifying residents, which might explain this.

However the limited contacts and perceived differences between the people, some of the old residents report that they do take an active stance in improving the contacts between old and new residents and are doing whatever they can to support social mixing. One of the returning residents is especially active in this sphere and indicates that she find it very important that people meet and help each other, among other things because it appeals to traditional regional values like the Noaberschap, to be translated with something like neighborhood responsibility, the traditional informal neighborhood helping system from the region:

I think that what needs work to be done on, I am working on. I think it is most important that people from the sub neighborhoods Kroedhöfte, Roomveldje and Bamshoeve need to meet each other. That's what I'm working on, because I find it important that people from different generations and people from different backgrounds should meet each other and help each other. I think in the past everyone was almost living on his own island. That's what needs improvement, only then this neighborhood will also be pleasant for our children to live here. (...) In Twente we have this age old tradition of Noaberschap to help each other when necessary. (...) There is the open neighborhood meal which attracts many people from all over the neighborhood. (Interview 7)

This respondent is very active in organizing events, such as a weekly open neighborhood meal in Prismare (see also chapter 7), for all residents of the neighborhood, both old and new residents and from different sub neighborhoods. This same respondent reports that she can see results of the work that is being done within the neighborhood, in terms of increasing social mixing. Although here again, as mentioned before, there is a perceived difference between the old residential areas of the neighborhood:

I think that it mixes more or less, especially Talmaplein with the new residents, many of which live in the Bamshoevelaan. The biggest challenge is the Roomveldje. Especially there is a sort of hard core of old residents, who have this feeling like: "this is our neighborhood, we were here first". But I guess you will never really prevent this. (Interview 7)

The open neighborhood meal is known to several of the respondents within the neighborhood. One of the respondents, another old resident also mentioned his ideals to work on social mixing by working on Roombeek-wide social cohesion, although he observes that some of his fellow residents from Roomveldje are not so enthusiastic:

Ah, you participated in the meal too? Very good! Then you've seen the atmosphere. It was busy that Monday, I was there with my wife and grandchildren. I'm happy with these meals, we try to build social cohesion in the neighborhood, but you need people who like to do that as well. There are also people who are feeling resentful. (Interview 9)

Not all respondents who know about the open neighborhood meals have decided to participate in it. Some of the old residents are still planning to go there, at least once, others don't like the concept. For example:

Not yet, I plan to but we have not yet been there... We went to the lunch room but their food is not that good. They are not the same people.. for me...that was also the problem in Prismare. There were not so friendly or even a little bit grumpy. (Interview 14)

Yes, indeed we have been invited for that. But we don't really feel attracted by it, let's put it like that. Some people go there because it is cheap, only 1,50 euro. But I cook myself and then I know what I get. We have so many barbecues and family meetings that we have some difficulty in finding enough time. (Interview 13)

New residents among the respondents also report to have little contact with the old residents from the neighborhood. Some examples of answers given by new residents:

It is certain kind of people there [in Roomveldje, JB], it is the old residents. They are like a closed community, because they have lived there for years. (...) I'm normally not invited or feel welcome to go there. (Interview 16)

Maybe I have met people that have lived here before, but they really don't talk about the disaster, or how the area has changed. (Interview 17)

I am active in the Bamshoeve-resident's community. There I know people, in other parts of Roombeek, no not really. (Interview 23)

I heard there are a few returning home-owners who built a new house in the Bamshoeve. Hmm, most of the old residents I think were renters, they live at Talmaplein or Roomveldje. I can't say I know any of them. (Interview 20)

What I think it should happen here is more festival and events, that would help to diminish the distinction them and us. Because I do consider that a danger in the long run, that people would remain to feel different. (Interview 21)

One of the respondents, a new resident, who worked in Roombeek before the disaster reports that she remembers the people from back then, but keeps only superficial relations with them:

Yes....I meet them in the street. I say hi to them. (Interview 19)

Overlooking all these answers, specifically on social mixing of original non-gentrifying residents and gentrifiers, the situation in Roombeek is rather identical to the situation in other neighborhoods in the country. To look how old residents value the changes in the neighborhood it is good to also include the perception of the situation regarding social cohesion in the pre disaster neighborhood.

Before the disaster, we knew each other better: decreasing social cohesion in Roombeek

Many old residents among the respondents remember the old pre-disaster neighborhood to have been a neighborhood with a strong social cohesion. In this section, this subject of the development of

the social cohesion among the old residents will be in focus. A selection of answers from respondents is presented here, as well as some of the actions they take to try to increase social cohesion.

First of all, it is important to note that there are several respondents among the old residents, who indicate that for one reason or the other, they have little to very little contact within the neighborhood in the first place, both then and now. One of them for example, is working in another city and a later returner than the others to the neighborhood. This respondent reports that he spends actually only little time at home in the neighborhood:

I'm working in another town, and I spend quite little time in the neighborhood. Don't know too many people here. (Interview 8)

Another respondent explained as well that she never had a lot of contact in the neighborhood, also in the time before the disaster:

No, really not. The only person I speak to very regularly is the neighbor here. When we were living at the Roomweg [before the disaster, JB], it was already like that. We did go to some of the nearest neighbors in the street and went there for a coffee, but that's about it. It is even not like that here. The neighbors from the right and further in the street, I know they do a lot more together. There is in September a neighborhood barbeque in Talmapplein, we also go there. It's not that we try to isolate ourselves. We always liked it a lot. But further...no, I don't really feel a lot of need to participate in many events. (Interview 12)

The thoughts issued by this respondent are recognized by others, at least the ones of them that are active as volunteers in the neighborhood, and report that they find it difficult to reach residents for participation in neighborhood activities in general, for example:

You don't get the people out of their homes. It's unbelievable. Also the non-returners, I mean the new residents here at Roomveldje. We are quite active here in the neighborhood. But you don't get the people out of their homes. We organized a multicultural evening for example. But every year it are the same people who get there. (Interview 10)

The Turkish and Moroccan people who are here are also sticking together and help each other. But if we have a multicultural evening, then more people are coming. (...) It works, but I'm disappointed in what comes there actually. There are also a lot of Germans here. I guess they are studying at Saxion or the University of Twente, these you don't see at such evenings. Usually it are the same faces you see there. That I find a pity. (Interview 15)

One of the respondents brought forward a reason for the lack of involvement of many. In her opinion the declining participation in neighborhood activities has to do with the fact that people have to work more to pay the higher housing costs of the new neighborhood:

There were people living here only temporarily, and others just for a shorter period of time. I don't have much contact with them as I said, but I guess they move out again because they got a different job or something. (...) There is more residential mobility than before among renters. Before the disaster, people stayed much longer on the same place. The owned houses is different, people designed and built them themselves, so they stay more. And with the rental houses, I guess you get these movements, because these houses are not cheap at all. New houses and located close to the city center. Expensive spot for renting. I guess it might have been even too expensive for people who first moved in here. (Interview 13)

Another old resident from the Talmaplein, who was participating in the reconstruction process blamed limited social contacts in the neighborhood (partly) on some of the wrong decisions that they as residents made during this process:

Before, people did talk more with each other, but that was because the streets were organized differently. Now the streets are made for pedestrians, and the people don't see each other anymore. There is still a square, but people don't see each other. They have the car and garage at the back side and get into the house directly. You don't see people coming home anymore. Or see the neighbor bringing in groceries. It sounds nice no cars on the street, but it does have also some bad sides. Also in the Vogelbuurt [Roomveldje, JB] they miss that. It was a measure meant so well, but it turned out differently. Roombeek became faster and more city like. When it was built, we all said great, children can play on the street, but it doesn't happen. At the time of the reconstruction we didn't think of this. (Interview 4)

As written already, the majority of the old residents reports a decline in neighborhood cohesion, these two respondents from Roomveldje, for example tell about their experience in this respect:

A lot of people from Roomveldje had the impression that after the reconstruction everything would remain the same as it was before the disaster. There was a large social cohesion. Then people spoke a lot with each other and knew each other. They thought that would remain. But, many chose not to come back. And then you see that things became different. (...) In my opinion it needs time, people need time to find each other. Many of us here are feeling sorry for losing this feeling of social cohesion. (...) Some people have underestimated the changes in the neighborhood, that is a pity, but what can you do? Those houses from people not returning you cannot keep empty, can you? (Interview 9)

The foreigners are actually really nice people. If I exit the apartment building here, at the right side in those row houses, there are mostly foreign people there. Turkish. The first one, that man is really nice. Slowly they get to know you. They greet and talk to you. But yeah, some problems are there with some of the residents, but that you have in every neighborhood. In the apartment here there are very nice people. (...) We lend each other the keys to the door and so. There is cohesion here as well. (...) I think that before you had a lot more cohesion in the neighborhood, I don't mean it's not there anymore, but still different. But I think it is caused by the diversity of people living here. If you look at the Lonnekerspoorlaan and the Bamshoevelaan, you'll see people that came from everywhere. They have connections with each other and form neighborhood communities as well. I cannot say they are opposing each other, certainly not, but if I compare it with the situation before, it was more fun. (Interview 15)

Another respondent from Roomveldje observes a similar decline in general social cohesion, but adds that she instead developed strong links with the residents of the same sub neighborhood that lived through the disaster as well:

Before the disaster the neighborhood was very coherent, after that not anymore. In the old neighborhood, the people didn't come at the front door, they came via the back. That was completely normal. (...) Just with the others who returned after the disaster, with them yes, I have developed a very strong connection. Not everyone was at home when the disaster happened, but everybody did more or less lose everything. (Interview 10)

A similar issue is mentioned by another old resident, who returned to Roombeekhofje a new built area next to Kroedhölte/Talmaplein:

You do feel more in common with the people from your own building phase, as you've been through the same process. Not that you dislike the others, but it is different. We decorate the Christmas tree altogether, but I see that when something is wrong I go to the people that I've been with through the same building process. (Interview 7)

It is interesting to observe from the answers given that for most respondents social cohesion in the neighborhood means actually first and foremost the social cohesion with their own sub neighborhood. There are however exceptions, like this old resident:

I think that what needs work to be done on, I am working on. I think it is most important that people from the sub neighborhoods Kroedhölte, Roomveldje and Bamshoeve need to meet each other. That's what I'm working on, because I find it important that people from different generations and people from different backgrounds should meet each other and help each other. I think in the past everyone was almost living on his own island. That's what needs improvement. (Interview 7)

Just like it was the case with social mixing, also some respondents reported to be active as volunteers, in helping to increase social cohesion in the neighborhood. One of these respondents is an active volunteer in the Huis van Verhalen and explains how this organization is gradually changing and is now more and more getting the aim of improving social cohesion in the neighborhood:

So, people do come and tell about their experience and losses, even today. But it is less than before of course. (...) Most people came here 2 or 3 years after the disaster that was the time when they felt the most problems: life went on, and people had nowhere to turn to with their still unprocessed traumatic experience. Nowadays, the role of Huis van Verhalen is more to provide the possibility to meet people and to work on social cohesion within the neighborhood: We are working on projects that are trying to get the people together. (Interview 3)

Tensions between (old) residents from various sub neighborhoods

Given the remarks from old residents that Roombeek was never a unity, it is useful to have a more thorough look into the problems that respondents report when talking about the neighborhood. Some of the old residents indicate that tensions exist, between people from Kroedhölte/Talmaplein and Roomveldje, even leading to some people avoiding the area altogether:

If I walk the dog here, and people see me...well sometimes I first look if people are home or not and I ask myself the question do I really need to go here. When there is someone in the house and I walk through the street they start yelling at me. "What you do here, what you want from me. Go away!" and stuff like that. So, I'm not walking the dog anymore there. (Interview 7)

That's easy, I don't feel comfortable there. We don't go there, it's no-go area. After we had some troubles with Huis van Verhalen, I have the feeling that people look suspiciously at me when going through there. I cannot get rid of the feeling. They still know me from the time that I was coming there with groups. It is a pity, I knew people there. One has died, but for the rest the contact is shattered. But, there are at some places aggressive people there, that makes it so sad. I feel them looking. But, you know, it is easy, I get older and I think: I don't

need this. There are so many places where I find myself comfortable, nobody tells me to go there, so I don't go. (Interview 4)

When talking about overall neighborhood cohesion, one of the old residents reports, that in the current neighborhood he sees not such a deep divide anymore between the different parts of the old neighborhood as it used to be in the past:

Now there is not really much difference anymore between these two parts [Talmplein and Roomveldje, JB]. Well, it is true that some people here in Roomveldje tend to go towards being a-social. There are also many different nationalities. But it is not at all a rotten neighborhood here. (Interview 15)

Another long-time neighborhood resident however reports to be not pleased with how some old residents deal with newcomers in the neighborhood in general, but especially also when talking about the people with a mental handicap that have gotten a place to live in the neighborhood after the reconstruction:

I don't like how people at Roomveldje deal with new people in general. At Roomveldje there are some houses of Aveleijn [Mental health care, JB] for assisted living. Everyone says that they like it a lot that these people have a chance to live like this and so on. But, when it comes to everyday life, they don't want to integrate with them. That is something I don't like. They just don't want to have anything to do with them. I do understand that these people have some limitations in what they can do and can understand, but still...these clients from Aveleijn can't help that they are like that, it is not their fault. (Interview 9)

The same respondent mentioned where in his opinion these tensions within the neighborhood originated from:

We try to build social cohesion in the neighborhood, but you need people who like to do that as well. There are also people who are feeling resentful. (...) They feel used and exploited. Well...what to say...respect for every life, but some people, how to say this nicely, they are so stupid, there doesn't exist any medicine for that. These people feel that they have been cheated upon. Now, that is totally exaggerated, I can conclude this with some authority. I had a good insurance, but I got the total amount that my stuff was insured for plus an extra 10 percent to be sure all costs were covered. That was certainly enough, but we've here in the neighborhood some families which cost the society a lot of money. They were well insured, I have seen the papers that some of them got 110 000 guilders for their housing inventory. A lot of money for what they had. Three months later they stood at the Molenplein at the Social Service of the Municipality, and were kicking in the doors there. There was nothing anymore and they needed money and this and that. They were cheated on and stolen from and I don't know what else they were shouting. (Interview 9)

Apart from the existing tensions in the neighborhood, two respondents explain that it was for them important to get a house in a place where there were no houses before, just to make sure not to be displacing someone, and therefore contribute to potential problems in the neighborhood:

(Old resident) Our house would not be rebuilt. As I told you, in its place would come apartments and shops on the ground floor. Then we looked at the Van Damstraat, nobody lived there before, so we were not displacing someone else. (Interview 10)

(New resident) For me it was very important that in this place Bamshoeve there were no houses, so I don't live on the ground of other people. (...) this used to be a factory. That was

very important for me, it was a new place and I didn't take the place of another person.
(Interview 19)

Overall, when looking at the answers of the respondents, it becomes clear that there is only limited contact between old and new residents and besides that, it appears as if old residents also have limited contacts outside of their own sub-neighborhood. If this something that is very disturbing is an open question. The majority of the Roombeek residents do not seem to mind the situation too much as has grown throughout the years. At least, there is no indication that for the majority of the residents the perceived lack of social mixing negatively influences their neighborhood satisfaction. As can be seen from the answers, differences between old and new and old and old residents are perceived to exist, making the relations between the groups of people in the neighborhood quite complex. To build more social cohesion between all neighborhood groups, will therefore remain a daunting task for the people who reported to be working on social cohesion in the neighborhood.

On the other hand, because of the rise in rental prices in the neighborhood after the reconstruction for new residents, it can be expected that there will be a slowly but steadily increasing percentage of people with higher incomes. Therefore, for the longer term, a situation could develop which is described by Marcuse as displacement pressure (see chapter 2.2). There is a risk that old residents could develop an ever larger feeling of uneasiness with the neighborhood around them, when new more wealthy residents move into each sub-neighborhood, with which they have only superficial contact. As one of the respondents concluded:

This is different, it is not the old Roombeek. When you lose something, you try to make the replacement look more nicely as compensation. There were many problems back then, but many people said we were good together in the past before the disaster, but not anymore.
(Interview 19)

6.5 Perception on quality of the neighborhood

The previous section ended with the remark that the neighborhood changed, and in terms of relations with other people in the neighborhood probably for worse. To conclude this chapter, and to work towards an overall conclusion for the second research question, whether the changing neighborhood appearance & social structure has had predominantly inclusive or exclusive effects, it is good to look a bit deeper into the question whether the old residents feel life in the neighborhood has improved or not, as related to the situation before the disaster. Some care has to be taken in analyzing the answers here, as it is a well-known fact that people over time tend to forget negative experiences over positive ones.

Respondents, in this case only the old residents were asked the question whether they feel that living in the neighborhood has improved over the situation before the disaster and if they could indicate why they came to such an answer. New residents were asked if they were familiar with the old neighborhood before the disaster and if so, if they think it has improved and why or why not. These answers may give some contrasts, and may provide more clarity on the subject.



Figure 6.5: The Eekenhof building, one of the new landmarks in Roombeek
Photo: Jacques Bazen

Perception of quality of the neighborhood among old residents

Some of the respondents among the old residents are of the opinion that the neighborhood has clearly improved. The common factor for all of them is the better incomes and the improved physical appearance of the neighborhood. Some others however feel also the loss of certain characteristics from the old neighborhood, most notably the decreasing social cohesion and have a more mixed opinion about the developments.

First some examples of old residents who have the opinion that the neighborhood itself has clearly improved:

The neighborhood used to be a sort of sewer hole of Enschede. If you needed some housing quickly, you were put there. Well...that improved a bit in the years before the disaster. (...) It was quite chaotic here, all kind of things happened. There were also quite a lot of students. Just chaotic, simple. (...) That type of neighborhood was Roombeek: people who were tinkering with their cars. They were always lying under their car. In some of the other neighborhoods, the same old crappy cars, but these were driving and were bringing their owners to work. (...) In Roombeek, many cars stood there more or less abandoned for a long time. Weeds were growing around it and so on. What to say about the neighborhood. (...) It looks great after the reconstruction, just don't forget the amount of human suffering that came with the disaster. (Interview 7)

As I said the neighborhood is nice to live. He [Pi de Bruijn, JB] designed it very nicely. Enough green everywhere, he took good care of that. There were discussions about it as I remember, but he took that into the plans. Also I like the small playgrounds for the children that have been created. Also I like the events they do for the children of this neighborhood, in a few weeks they will set up tents where the children can attend some programs. Also Prismare is a nice addition to the neighborhood. that was a smart move to bundle all the small associations. There is a lot to do here, if you want you can attend a lot of events. (Interview 13)

The neighborhood is certainly better than before, I feel more at home when cycling around. (Interview 14)

When I was still a student, I didn't care much about the neighborhood. But I feel that it is more pleasant to live here than before, especially for families with little children and also elderly people as well. (Interview 8)

Taking everything in account...you know, I know every corner of the Netherlands, because of my work as truck driver, but I tell you: A neighborhood like this has nowhere else been built in the country! I always say: All of that is thanks to Pi de Bruijn, who said that his first condition was: No VINEX, we are developing this neighborhood together. (Interview 9)

Some others consider the neighborhood just to be different, not necessarily better. They see the improvement in the physical appearance, but at the same time regret the loss of community spirit or the creative chaos of the old neighborhood, for example:

But the neighborhood is different now, not everybody came back and the atmosphere is different. Some people did come back but chose to live in the apartment [Eekenhof, JB], since they were a bit older. (...) I can't compare the old and new neighborhoods and say what is better. But I have not had one single day of regret of coming back to Roombeek. (Interview 4)

Of course it looks a lot better. But...since I lived such a long time in the old neighborhood, I got attached to it as well, that is a logical thing. On the other hand, we already knew that in about ten years' time things would dramatically change. Already houses were renewed at the Tollensstraat and the Kroedhöftestraat and Talmaplein too, all of that was renewed. (Interview 13)

It was a really old neighborhood, like every working city. There was a lot of unemployment, and a lot of unemployed people living here, also like other neighborhoods in the city, but this was one of the oldest parts. You could see it in the buildings and the houses, and the rents were low. There was a certain kind of people living here, but I always liked it here. There was no problem. And it is an old house where we live in, but I like old houses. Of course it has improved. And it looks very nice. There are a lot of changes of course, because you can see more people living in the same neighborhood. More people is living now because the old factories are gone, and they built houses instead. So you can see more traffic. It is a new city, and that is my problem, because I don't like new cities. But I like the building they made, they are beautiful houses. You can discuss about the way they were built, because many of the houses have very small gardens, the houses itself are big and everybody can look in. For the lack of privacy, I think it is not my kind of buildings. (Interview 6)

One respondent, an old resident living in Roomveldje, particularly pinpointed a problem area for the neighborhood. In general he was happy with the improvement of the neighborhood, with this exception:

That square [in Roomveldje, Nachtegaalstraat, JB] used to be a beautiful little rose garden before and after the disaster. Then some point after the disaster, during the reconstruction talks, the people asked for a small playground. So, they got it. Now it is a playground, but look how they maintain it. There is a lot of junk there and bleh, it just looks bad.

Interviewer: Yes, I was surprised to see a lot of toys lying around on the square, that is not a very usual thing to see.

Yes, they don't care about it. Youngsters are igniting fireworks there. The municipality put a sign there, no alcohol. Well...it's full with empty beer bottles or cans sometimes. I can show you some examples, I made some pictures. [showing a picture, JB] Look here is people who block the sidewalk with their furniture and sit there all day drinking beer, this picture is from last week as you can see. I tell them that I think that is a stupid thing to do and gives the rest of the world a bad impression of our Roomveldje. Here look, in the evening they have put it here on the sidewalk, they've drank a lot and the next morning it is full with beer bottles, some wine bottles and I don't know what else. Haha, I approached one of them and I told her: Do you know what "perception" means? "perception" of the rest of the world about Roomveldje? She didn't understand. Such a pity, they don't understand what their actions have as consequences. I mean I'm a neighbor from the street, and still I cannot explain them that this is really no good behavior for the rest of us. (Interview 9)

Just one respondent indicated that in his opinion the neighborhood turned out to be clearly less pleasant than before:

The people were alike, similar. They had the same level of income. So definitely not a rich neighborhood, very working class. Small plots, small houses, kind of lively, free. People could do what they wanted here. After the fireworks disaster things changed. They [municipality of Enschede, JB] decided to build this second urban center inside Enschede, high cultural and better incomes. And the old atmosphere should be remade. Now you see a division where all the rich houses are. The old neighborhood inhabitants still live here, they could come back. The old houses have been rebuilt in the same still, better material. There is a very strong regulation on what you can do here now, if you want to do something original, you can't do it. So that has changed. Maybe because of that or the economic crisis, there has not been much movement here like the municipality would have liked: Instead of art and design, you see hipster kind of things and things like web designers. It is not what I expected. (Interview 2)

Perception of quality of the neighborhood among new residents

Some new residents or business owners who knew the neighborhood from before the disaster were also quite positive about the way the neighborhood has developed, for the same reasons as the old residents:

You don't want to know what the neighborhood looked like before. It was old, a lot of less developed people. The people from then don't live here anymore. Ok, there is a small number of people who returned and were compensated. They still pay the rental prices of 13 may 2000. And that is a very big difference with what people pay now. Overall the neighborhood is much better now. (Interview 25)

We lived a bit north of this area and every time I went to the city center I came across this area. It was depressing and gloomy. There were large factories which were abandoned for many years, broken glass, trees growing on the roof, things like that, and it was not an interesting environment. You had here the large Bamshoeve factory with all kinds of small businesses not all too good businesses, fringe of the economy I would say. (Interview 22)

It is a neighborhood with working class and middle class, all combined in one. You see a lot of art and art students. It is a nice neighborhood, I think the best of Enschede. (Interview 27)

More diversity, a positive development. Also it is connecting the inner city to the outskirts of Enschede, because it is pretty close to the center. It has potential to become a second center, and it stretches the city center a little bit. It used to stop, where the railway station is, this was a very unclear neighborhood, and it was sad for people to live here, they had beautiful houses and an ugly space, then beautiful again and now is more gentrified, it is for the good of the people both living here, and the people there, it became more livable. (Interview 21)

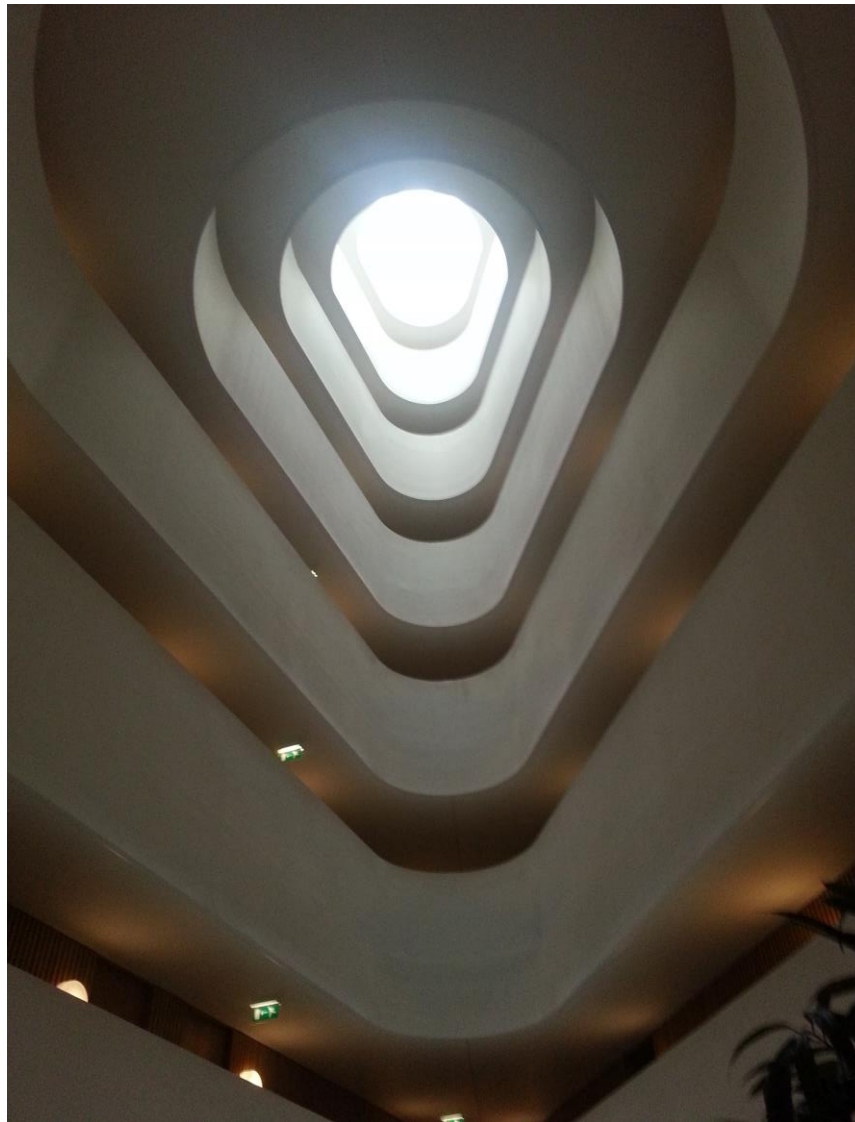


Figure 6.6: Interior hallways of the Eekenhof apartment building
Photo: Jacques Bazen

At the same time, some of the new residents who knew the neighborhood from before the disaster do have some doubts whether it really improved, for example:

I'm not sure the neighborhood has improved, from what I know about it, the old neighborhood was also really charming, cheaper, it was cozy, with people that were really involved with each other, a sort of old style cohesion, which is now gone because people is just buy a plot and are building very big fancy houses. So involvement and cohesion is perhaps missing. Fortunately I live in an old part which is well integrated. I think I know all my neighbors. (...) But I think the neighborhood is missing cohesion. (Interview 18)

Overall, the majority of the old residents that were interviewed felt that the neighborhood has improved, although quite often also with losing some of the character of the old neighborhood. The improvement of the built environment in the neighborhood seems to make up for the perceived loss of social cohesion in the neighborhood that people remember from before, at least for most residents. The predominantly rather positive responses are quite similar to the results of the earlier mentioned safety and security scan of the neighborhood. One of the questions in this monitor was about whether the respondents think how the livability of the neighborhood in the coming years will develop. When comparing Roombeek with other neighborhoods in Enschede, it turned out that Roombeek was the neighborhood in which the highest percentage of respondents expected an increase in livability (Bruin-Claus et al., 2012).

For some groups of old residents, the artists, the perceived changes after the reconstructed Roombeek might have been less satisfying. Colenbrander (2004), collected some evidence already about this during his interviews with artists who worked in the former Bamshoeve. When looking at the old residents and their perception, it remains to be a challenge to change a neighborhood so that the new situation is pleasant and better for everybody. Even though it becomes clear from the answers given by the respondents that the neighborhood became a better place, challenges remain, mainly in the field of the limited social cohesion in the new neighborhood and as indicated by some, the lack of activities or possibilities to organize spontaneous activities. Although, allowing those things will come with tensions too, as many residents perceive the order and quietness of the neighborhood to be one of the important qualities of it.

Whether the changes in the general appearance and social structure have had a predominantly positive or negative impact, is hard to conclude. Some evidence for inclusionary effects of this theme is the rather large number of volunteers in the neighborhood among original non-gentrifying residents, which are working on issues of social cohesion. This is a situation which looks like to be rather different from the situation in New Orleans after Katrina, where during and after the reconstruction process many new young idealistic people from outside moved into the city to help (Ehrenfeucht & Nelson, 2013).

7 Satisfaction with the changing commercial properties & services in Roombeek

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters the satisfaction of the residents with the reconstruction process and the general appearance & social structure of the neighborhood was discussed. In this chapter the focus is on the commercial spaces in the neighborhood as well as the satisfaction with the community services.

As discussed in chapter 2.3, according to Zukin (2008), gentrifiers in a neighborhood are looking for authentic experiences when doing their shopping even if this authentic feeling is actually fake. Therefore, Roombeek might have had an inflow of commercial properties serving a more up-market clientele, or the existing entrepreneurs may have changed their business models, to cater the needs of this group. In many gentrifying neighborhoods, these businesses take the place of the existing lower end commercial properties, leading to displacement of these businesses. Deener's (2007) research in the Venice Beach area in Los Angeles for example points out this process. Zukin further explains that these "authentic" experience for gentrifiers in a neighborhood may very well lead to feelings of exclusion among the local non-gentrifying residents.

To get a clear picture on what is going on in Roombeek, residents, both old and new residents as well as entrepreneurs in the neighborhood have been asked to comment on the situation. As written in chapter 3 already, old and also new residents have been asked the following questions:

- Which of the services (Schools, Prismare (several communities and sports facilities and theater), Musea, Art exhibitions) do they use in the neighborhood?
- Which of the retail spaces do they use in the neighborhood?
- How satisfied are they with the services & commercial spaces offered in the neighborhood?
- Do they have to go somewhere else to find what they need in terms of shopping or services?

Entrepreneurs in the neighborhood have been asked to comment on the business and if they observed a changing clientele and/or observed a different demand among their clientele in the neighborhood over the last decade.

7.2 Use of services in the neighborhood: Prismare and more

Prismare is the center in which all existing pre-disaster neighborhood associations have been put under one roof. In Appendix 4, a description about the center can be found and in chapter 5.4 is written about some of the experiences of the residents involved in the design of this center. One of the respondents remarked: "*Prismare is the heart of the community in Roombeek*". Not everyone found among the respondents found this so obvious, as can be seen from the answers in this chapter. There are more services in the neighborhood next to Prismare and they are commented upon as well by respondents in this part of the chapter.

Usage of the neighborhood services in the Prismare center

Next to being the place where neighborhood associations are located, Prismare houses more neighborhood services ranging from schools to the Huis van Verhalen and a theater. There are quite a few volunteers among old residents of Roombeek who are active in one of the neighborhood associations or the Huis van Verhalen, some respondents report:

About Prismare, I go there twice a week. Before there was a restaurant there as well, I ate there sometimes. Now I eat there sometimes too, but only on Monday evening, it is an open neighborhood meal then. (Interview 4)

I am involved with the Huis van Verhalen from the beginning, later also in Prismare. I receive here visitors from the neighborhood for talks, but also from further away, even from abroad. We give tours as well, we show them what happened. (Interview 5)

And at Prismare a lot of leisure activities are organized, I like to go there too and meet everyone. They have activities almost every week, not that I go that often. (Interview 9)

I was asked to become one of the ambassadors of Roombeek. That means, one of the neighborhood volunteers who would be doing tours for visitors through the neighborhood. I always did that with a lot of pleasure. I do not walk around anymore, but I'm still one of the ambassadors and I go quite often to Prismare to meet with people there. (Interview 15)

Huis van Verhalen is the place in Prismare where people can come and have a coffee and share stories about the neighborhood and the stories they have and want to share because of the disaster. I'm involved as volunteer only for 3 years, but if you will ask H. this Friday, she is active here from the very beginning. The church played an important role in the development of Huis van Verhalen. Now the organization is neutral. (Interview 3)



Figure 7.1: The Prismare building
Photo: Municipality Enschede

Some respondents indicated that although they use Prismare for some of the services offered, but use cultural or sport facilities elsewhere in the city as well:

We are not theater people. We don't go to the Prismare theater here and nowhere else actually too. When talking about sports facilities, my son is doing athletics. He practices in Hengelo in the Fanny Blankers Koen Stadium. My daughter is doing ballet, that can be done here, but we chose the big music center in the city center. That is because of the teacher. We know her, and she is more professional. For the rest I am often here in Prismare. (Interview 7)

We used to go more often than now, we always go for Christmas, they have trees, and it is lovely. I also think Prismare does a pretty good job trying to integrate and include the neighborhood. I like it a lot, but I have never been to the theater for example. We used to go to the restaurant, but it is not there anymore, sadly. (...) They have a little playground, and when you have people over with children and they want to go on the swing, then you go there. (Interview 21)

Other respondents among the old residents mention that they don't really use the services of Prismare and/or are neither active in one of the neighborhood associations located there:

I know Prismare of course, but don't go there often. I haven't visited the open neighborhood meal in Prismare yet, but I'm invited and I'm planning to go sometime. (Interview 14)

I go there once or twice per year because my granddaughter went to school here and my grandson is now at school here and they have sometimes some plays and with Christmas I go there too. For the rest not. (Interview 12)

No, not at all. I've been there a few times, but my husband is not so interested in it. And we have such a big family I come from a family of 11 children, my husband from a family with 9 children, so that means we both have a lot of things that come from there as social obligations. And then of course the children and grandchildren. Sometimes we're happy to be nicely at home one evening. Sometimes it's almost too much, but as long as you can manage you should do it. (Interview 13)

Oh yeah, they sometimes have some nice musical in the theater, then I go there. It was more often in the past than now, twice a year maybe. (Interview 6)

Only two respondents among the old residents explained that they (sort of) dislike the Prismare center or the organizations located there:

Sometimes I go to Prismare, it looks nice, but it is not my thing. I'm not interested in their stuff. There's no diversity, it is too Dutch. (Interview 2)

The Huis van Verhalen doesn't need to come to me for helping with an excursion or whatsoever. They did come to me, but I said oh no, no, I don't even think about it. No, that organization I want to have nothing to do with. There is a monument here, it's called "the Disappeared House". Those lines on the ground. With excursions that Huis van Verhalen are doing, they go and stand around the stone [the monument with the names of the victims, JB], then they walk over it and go to the hole [the SE Fireworks explosion crater, JB]. Why they made paths? Walk over the paths. That monument with the lines of the disappeared house is

for us like a grave. Exactly like that we found our house back. Just the foundation remained. In our eyes it is like a grave. Respect it! I became very angry about that. (Interview 10)

Overall, it is very difficult to find any pattern in the personal characteristics of the respondents that would predict their usage of Prismare. There are slightly more of the elderly respondents reporting to use Prismare more often than the younger ones, that may have to do with the amount of free time at hand.

There is difference between old and new residents in terms of usage of Prismare. Overall seen, less respondents that are new residents use the facilities located there, with the exception of some of these new residents with children, who have their children attending one of the schools there. And some of the respondents mentioning the Prismare theater. Below a selection of responses from new residents in the neighborhood:

I'm not a big theater fan, and I wouldn't know what else there is to do there in Prismare. (Interview 20)

There is the theater of Prismare, there is not too much to do there. (Interview 18)

My children go to the school that is connected to Prismare, but for the rest I'm not often there and I don't do volunteer work somewhere there. (Interview 23)

Yes, they have a little theater, I go there, but not always, only when it is interesting. They don't have other interesting activities for me. (Interview 19)

No...the last 5 years I haven't done anything. Oh wait: that is not true, there is an open neighborhood meal at Prismare: I went there once. (Interview 32)

Obviously Prismare is important for me, there are a lot of things going on here like sport activities, but also workshops. Because of my work, I am here often. (Interview 16)



Figure 7.2: Twentse Welle Museum
Photo: Twentse Welle

Usage of other cultural facilities and services in the neighborhood

The Roombeek neighborhood houses more facilities next to the large Prismare center. Some of these other services include the museums: TwentseWelle and the Rijksmuseum Twenthe and the Art exposition places Tetem and 21Rozendaal. Several respondents commented on visiting the museums in the neighborhood, both old and new residents commented on visiting them. Below, a selection of answers given by respondents about museum visits:

I've been to Twentse Welle. Actually I do go there when they have a good exhibition. The one of Redmond O'Hanlon that is going now is nice, I guess that is because I love to travel too.
(Interview 20)

I have been in both museums, to Prismare: no. (Interview 17)

Yes, I visited Twenste Welle with my grandchildren. The Rijksmuseum alone. I don't like the Twentsewelle, for children it is not interesting enough. (Interview 19)

Prismare here, is an important thing in the neighborhood. We have the 21Rozendaal gallery here around the corner. Here is also the Tetem, the art academy and not to forget the Twentsewelle, the museum of course. Regarding Prismare, I don't go there. I visit more the art academy and Tetem workshops and galleries. I visit the museum every now and then. The rest I go to the city center, to the movies for example. (Interview 2)

I like the Twentse Welle, that is a nice place. I like very much the design and you can see everything digitally that I like very much. They also often have all kind of temporary exhibitions, some of them are very good. I also go sometimes to 21Rozendaal behind it. And there is also Tetem, the number 1 that is, there are also often nice art expositions. And Tetem 2 there is the Aki ("Artez"), it is completely renovated, really beautiful. If you want, there is every week something to do here in the neighborhood. I like it, it is never boring here. Yeah...always there is to do something here. (Interview 15)

In an interview the director of the TwentseWelle museum explained how his museum tries to be rooted in the neighborhood:

Every year we organize an open neighborhood evening, where we invite people from all over the neighborhood to visit us. We want to be a responsible member of society in this neighborhood and that means we have to show the neighbors what we are doing here. I personally welcome everyone during those evenings, I find that very important. We should be seen as member of this neighborhood and not just a museum which is accidentally dropped here. (Kees van der Meiden, personal communication, 19 June 2014).

One more "service avant-la-lettre" in the neighborhood was mentioned by one of the respondents:

There is a shop called Elonka in the neighborhood. That is an important place. You can buy electronics stuff, also lamps and so, but the important thing about this shop is that the entrepreneur is a very social person. If people have problems with for example their vacuum cleaner, they bring it to him, he repairs it and they have good conversations with him over there. It is also a social place where people meet. (Interview 7)



Figure 7.3: View on Roombeek from the top of the tower of the Twentse Welle museum
Photo: Jacques Bazen

Summarizing, the usage of the services in the neighborhood gives a mixed picture. Whereas old residents in majority use more or less often the services of Prismare, new residents are less likely to do that. Fewer new residents report to be active as volunteers for or members of one of the neighborhood associations located there than old residents. Almost all the new residents that were asked have visited the museums in the neighborhood, possibly indicating that to them this type of cultural activities is more appealing. The Prismare theater is maybe an exception, as several of the new residents report to go there every now and then.

It is possible that new residents which are living in the neighborhood only for a couple of years still need to more or less discover the neighborhood associations and the services offered by Prismare and that the picture emerging from this part of the chapter would change over the coming years. Or, alternatively, it may be so that many new residents are indeed “living in a bubble”, as was already commented upon in chapter 6.4. Which means in the case of Roombeek, that they are keeping in touch just with each other and are not mixing with old residents nor getting involved in some of the neighborhood associations. If the second reason might be the case, it might be harmful for the Prismare center in the long run. Especially if current trends continue, if which more and more funding for operational costs of the place needs to be collected from private sources. Without too many contributions from the new residents in the neighborhood, it may be difficult. One of the respondents, working at Prismare comments that this indeed may be a risk:

Most housing corporations have big financial problems, so it means also that funding for Prismare may be getting under pressure. But until now it goes well. (Interview 34)

7.3 Usage of and satisfaction with retail spaces in the neighborhood

Besides services in the neighborhood, like Prismare, art exposition centers and museums, also several commercial spaces exist. It is interesting to see that the commercial spaces are not just retail, but

that there are also a number of businesses located in the neighborhood, mainly in the creative sector. This part of chapter 7 will be focused on the differences in retail usage between gentrifiers and original non-gentrifying residents, as predicted by literature, for example by Zukin, Deener and Sullivan & Shaw (see further chapter 2.3). Both groups of respondents have been asked the question which shops they knew and frequented in the neighborhood. To provide some further insight in the changes, several entrepreneurs from the neighborhood have been asked to comment on changes in business they have experienced over the last decade.

Satisfaction with the possibilities of doing daily groceries in the neighborhood

All respondents, both old and new residents have been asked about their everyday shopping behavior, and were asked about the place where they were doing their groceries. According to the answers that residents gave, both old and new residents, one shop stood out as being frequented by virtually everyone: the Jumbo supermarket in the Brewery shopping center in Roombeek. Jumbo is a chain of supermarkets in The Netherlands, which currently has three branches in Enschede. Respondents reported Jumbo to be well accessible, and having good prices for their products, as reason why they frequented this specific supermarket. Some respondents mentioned that for quality products they preferred different supermarkets, especially Albert Heijn in the Deppenbroek shopping center was mentioned as having better quality, albeit more expensive products.

During the course of this study, the second supermarket EMTE in the Brewery shopping center, closed down operations. The residents that were interviewed in later stages of this study were all anticipating the Lidl discounter supermarket that has been announced to come to the neighborhood later this year and take over the place of EMTE. This feeling was especially present among the old residents that were interviewed:

And here was EMTE. It's gone now. I used to go to EMTE at Mekkelholt, but that one is gone, there is no supermarket there anymore. This EMTE which used to be there, moved here, was here for maximum two years and has disappeared again. Now there will be a Lidl. (Interview 13)

There was an EMTE supermarket, but that one is gone now. I'm in the dark as for a reason why it didn't work out for them there. But now, it will be changed to Lidl. And that will be a very large one. I heard from stories that it is going to be one of the largest in the Netherlands. There were some empty shopping units behind it, but it seems they are going to be taken by Lidl. They are now breaking out the inner walls between the units. So that's going to be one very large supermarket. Where my daughter lives, there is a Lidl at the corner, so when I visit her, I go to do shopping there as well. (...) Oh and now that Lidl is going to be here, I'm happy and I guess I'll mainly go here in the neighborhood. (Interview 9)

I was happy to hear that Lidl will be coming here, one of the largest in the Netherlands is going to be here. That's super! (Interview 10)



Figure 7.4: View on the Roomweg. On the left, the Brewery shopping center, the main commercial area in the neighborhood.

Photo: Jacques Bazen

Satisfaction with other retail spaces in the neighborhood

The supermarket for doing the daily groceries is located in the Brewery shopping center, together with most other retail spaces in the neighborhood. Next to the Brewery, there are some more retail spaces on the ground floor of the apartment building at the Roomweg, and some in Prismare as well. In the commercial spaces below the Roomweg apartment, seem to be more IT and Media businesses located instead of retail spaces. According to one of the old residents, living in the apartment above, it is a deliberate decision to phase out retail activity from below the apartment. It is a decision that she can't understand:

The decision that here in the Roomweg no shops can be placed anymore I find that a stupid decision. Only offices, IT offices or media business anymore here. At least as long as the brewery shopping centre is not full, there can be no new shops here at the Roomweg.
(Interview 10)

One of the other old residents also comments on this subject. From his reaction, feelings of exclusion about these businesses can be observed:

It's a pity though that in entire gallery below here, there are no nice shops. Right below here is one or the other computer office. Called Binq or something like that. Whatever it is they do, I don't know. They tried to explain me, but they weren't successful I can safely say. (Interview 15)

A popular spot mentioned to be frequented by several respondents, both old and new residents, is the lunchroom called the “Lunchkamer” at the Roomweg:

Here the Lunchkamer, he is here for years and is running quite ok I think. Not that it is always very full, but with nice weather in weekends, there are quite a few people. (Interview 9)

When we came here there was no shopping center. It was an open space, and now it is ready, with two supermarkets and other stores. I think the neighborhood is ready now. And we have a lunch room next door, so a lot of us buy lunch there. (Interview 30)

Well...you can find me more and more often in the weekends at the Lunchkamer. That's a nice place and I know the guy who runs it. For the rest, I use the Jumbo regularly for groceries. (...) The other shops around, hmm no. (Interview 20)

Next to the Lunchkamer at the Roomweg, there are two other lunchrooms, one called Le Mans in the Brewery shopping center and the other is called Roomblik. This Roomblik is a special place, located in Roomveldje. One of the old residents mentions about why he likes to use this place:

I also use Roomblik here behind, that is a restaurant run by handicapped people. That I also use, it's quite good, nice people too. You can have lunch there, no problem. There is also some coaches and daycare workers, who help them. We often make appointments there, when I meet with a group of people. I like the idea, it was meant to function as a sort of living room of the neighborhood. Could work better though, I hope more people will go there. The idea is really good for these handicapped people, to give them some pride. (Interview 9)

One of the other respondents, also an old resident, mentions the lunchroom Roomblik to be an example of what could be improved in the neighborhood:

About bars and restaurants, what I think is a missed opportunity in the neighborhood: We have here Roomblik. It's behind the yellow apartments. The idea is very nice, it's mentally handicapped persons serving lunch there, but they started another one in the Van Heek Park, called Wattes, at least the manager of Roomblik went there. And now with the new management they almost only make apple pies and invite groups. It would have been a nice thing to go there, and have nice talks, but when they just serve the same food all the time...well...what can you do. So we don't go there anymore. It exists like this for 5 or 6 years, and it doesn't have that nice atmosphere anymore. I think that if you have nice entrepreneurial people there, it will be a hit. (Interview 7)

When talking about usage of the other shops, several respondents mention the electronics/spare parts shop Elonka, as well as the pharmacy, as shops they frequent. There is no different pattern of reported usage that can be observed between old and new residents. Some examples:

(new resident) I go to the electronics shop and the pharmacy. I think I have here all the things I need. There is a Post office as well. For me there is no need to go further. I don't know if there are more shops in other parts of Roombeek. (Interview 17)

(new resident) There is an electronics shop, we go there a lot. The theater Prismare as well, for the rest not too much to do there. Then the Museumlaan with the museums (...) Tetem, but that is more art related, not too much related to shopping. To shop, basically the Jumbo, the hair dresser, and the electronics store. (Interview 18)

(old resident) There are a couple of little shops in the neighborhood. They offer more specialized things like haircuts, but I hardly go there. A couple of shops are here on the corner, some small shops, there is the flower shop, a restaurant, the cafeteria, but I don't need them so much. (...) I know the shops, the one with electricity things, they have more stuff so I go there sometimes. But the rest, these have no use for me. (Interview 2)

(old resident) Below the Eekenhof is the health cluster, among others a pharmacy which I use. (Interview 5)

(old resident) I use this shop which I prefer to call: First aid with spare parts. They sell almost everything related to parts there. Lamps, screws, domestic appliances, you name it. (Interview 15)

Also some respondents mention that they are missing some shops in the neighborhood, for example:
Yes, we use almost all shops, except the clothing stores. There is no real good gentlemen clothing store. For that I have to go in the city. But there are two supermarkets close by, that's good. (Interview 25)

Blokker for example didn't want to come here. Hema came, but it is a small Hema only. There was a toy store who would like to come here, but the price is too high. There's an empty store to the right side, and nobody wants to take it. Maybe we can discuss what to do. It is just not a complete shopping center. A toy shop would be good, there are many kids. (Interview 26)

The supply of shops isn't too bad. You can buy almost everything here actually, but a liquor store wouldn't hurt to have extra or a gentleman clothes store. (Interview 15)

One of the old residents explains that she thinks the commercial spaces in general are too expensive for the budget of the people in the neighborhood:

When I look at the surroundings and the people that live here, I think the shops are out of place. There are a lot of working class people here with a limited budget and the shops here are rather expensive. The clothing shops, the travel agent, you name it. The fish shop is nice though, he has very good fish. But he was always good. You know, there are not more shops than we had before the disaster at Mekkelholt shopping center. These shops simply relocated here. Not all of them though. (Interview 10)

The remarks of this respondent seem to point in the direction of commercial gentrification. However, she is just the only respondent mentioning this point. By contrast, one of the shop owners in the neighborhood mentions that before them a textile discounter was located in the space they are located in now. He reports that this entrepreneur went bankrupt because of the limited demand:

It's a little quiet over here. There is a large difference with the new situation. There was a textile discounter (Hans textiel) before we came here, but they didn't make it, and they went bankrupt. The quality of their product was the main problem. (Interview 26)

What is more, several respondents, especially among the new residents, told that they don't like the shops in the neighborhood very much or that the types of goods offered don't match their requirements. That would suggest that these shops could still be considered as being non-gentrified. Some of the answers given:

Honestly, no, don't use them often. I do know the shops that are there. There's a glasses store, travel agency, clothes store, and florist. We often go to the florist, their flowers are good. There used to be an Emté, but it went out of business, I understand, there was nothing wrong with it, but nothing especial either. Hema sits here, I go there, for toners, office supplies. (Interview 21)

No, I go to the inner city. I don't like the shops here, they don't offer nice products. (Interview 14)

I mostly use the facilities of the city center. The other shops around, hmm no. (Interview 20)

For shopping of clothes we go to the center, or the Hague, we are often in the west of the country, there is more choice. (Interview 21)

There is the post office, HEMA, Florist, Fish shop and an Electronics shop in the neighborhood. I usually go to the center for shopping, I like those places better, more diverse shops. (Interview 23)

To get a more complete picture about the usage of commercial spaces in the neighborhood, several shopkeepers have been interviewed and asked for their experience with business in the neighborhood and if they felt a change in demand over the last couple of years. These questions are discussed in the next section.

Business is growing, but slowly: Experience from shopkeepers in the neighborhood

Shopkeepers were asked why they started with their business in the neighborhood or relocated their business here. It turned out there were several groups of businesses in the neighborhood:

- Shops that moved from the former Mekkelholt shopping center (about a kilometer north)
- Shops that moved from other parts of the city, because of available space
- Old shops, which already existed in the old neighborhood.

Several shopkeepers reported to have moved from the former Mekkelholt shopping center and started operations in Roombeek. Mekkelholt is a largely non-gentrified neighborhood north of Roombeek, and plans are currently being developed for urban renewal there. One of the issues involved the relocation of the shopping :

We had to move, from 500 meter behind here, from an old shopping centre Mekkelholt that would be demolished. We have been bought out from there, just like some of the other shops. Enschede wanted a new shopping centre here in Roombeek, and also in Deppenbroek. And shopping centre Mekkelholt would have to disappear. (Interview 25)

We were here before, also in a shopping mall about a kilometer away. That was going to be demolished and this is the replacement, so they asked us to come here. (Interview 27)

I was located before in the shopping center Mekkelholt. That had to be demolished, and I wanted to be not too far from my old customers. I decided to come here because it is only 500 meters away. It was a big opportunity to get more customers, and that worked. (Interview 28)

Some of the shops in the neighborhood were attracted to the neighborhood by the opportunity to rent larger commercial spaces, for example:

We moved from another neighborhood to here, because of the larger space that we needed. We moved with the house broker for two years around Enschede, to see some possibilities for renting some larger shop. Normally we would not have come here because the prices are very high, but because of the many empty spaces she told us she could temporarily do something with the price. (Interview 26)

We just came here, the shop was for sale back then, I was looking for a place and took it over two years ago. We are not from here, we just work here and go home every day. We know almost nothing of the neighborhood. (Interview 24)

There was also one of the respondents who indicated that he was having already a shop in the neighborhood before the disaster:

I live in this neighborhood, so I had my business already here in the neighborhood. The reason I started this shop here at this place is because when I saw development plan, all these areas would be shops, so I was one of the first together with the hairdresser. After 3 years Enschede had a new plan, that is what they built there in the Brewery area, that business center, so this is why we are here with these shops, and the other shops are over there. (Interview 29)

On the question how business was developing in Roombeek, the shopkeepers from the Brewery shopping center reported somewhat mixed feelings, however most of them were rather satisfied in general with how business is going. Several comments were made on the difficult start of their business in the new neighborhood, that was still under construction and mention the vacant store units in the neighborhood. Some of the reports:

Getting settled with the business in the neighborhood takes time, a lot of time I have to say. It goes very slowly. When we saw the plans 6 years ago, we started calculating, talking with the bank, and came to the conclusion that after so and so much time it has to be earned back. But it goes slowly, much slower than we anticipated and calculated before. But very slowly it is coming. There is a lot of empty stores around, you can see that. 6 years ago the plans were very hopeful, and very nice. But at that time the trees were still very high. The people from the city hall are doing their best, but still...it needs to be more alive here. (Interview 25)

Well of course, business can always be better. There are a lot of units that are still empty, and need something more. But so far I am not complaining. (...) I do have more costumers now. Nothing at the beginning. It was a process to build our clientele again from the beginning. Now we have more costumers that we had there in Mekkelholt, but it took a while. (Interview 27)

It's a pity the square [at the Brewery shopping center, JB] is used so little: Last weekend there was a small and nice event, a market and flee market, it was interesting, but the people that lives here didn't know, it wasn't promoted. Normally a thing like that draws in people, nice. It was organized by an external person. So this person probably didn't promote or something, because nobody knew. More promotion for activities here is needed, why not via Facebook or something. Otherwise the square is too empty. (Interview 26)

The shopkeepers in the rest of the neighborhood, that means from the Roomweg and Prismare, were usually less positive with how business developed in the last couple of years:

It's a problem for me. I have to work as hard again here as when I started with the shop when I was 22. Believe me, it's a struggle for entrepreneurs here. (Interview 28)

You have to struggle to survive. And the guys who didn't are not here anymore. That is the difference I think. It is a very difficult time to ask this questions too. Of course the last 5 years have been very bad for business, every business you do. So the people that were living here, they have been struggling for 15 years already. And there's no time for rest. Did you talk to some of the others here, I'm sure they got the same story. (...) We are older guys, so we are running behind I think. (Interview 6)

On the question if the shopkeepers observed a shift in demand for their products among the people, almost all of them agreed. The answers given clearly point in the direction of these entrepreneurs serving a different type of customers than before:

Yes, the demand has certainly shifted, before in Mekkelholt a bouquet of flowers of 15 euro was a lot of money for our customers there, here it is very normal. Here 20 to 25 euro is normal. (Interview 25)

We see that we sell more expensive clothes and brands here in the neighborhood. (...) This neighborhood has many children too. So for the next 5 or 10 years it is certainly okay and we'll survive. (Interview 26)

Oh yes! The customers are different. It is more young people and more middle class than before. Before there were more low incomes, and now is mainly middle class, middle class to high. But the high class are not our customers because they spent a lot of money in their houses I think. So they don't spent that money on clothes. I think they are at the top of what they can afford, because they built their houses in a very expensive time. Now it is cheap to build, but 5 to 10 years ago it was more expensive than now. (Interview 6)

The customers are buying different clothes here. I had another shop in a different neighborhood. The average size for example was 2 sizes bigger than here. So the people were fatter, and it was a poorer neighborhood. So that is one example, also the products are different, it is more modern what I'm selling here. It is not especially also more expensive. (Interview 29)

Comparing with what was there in Mekkelholt, here it is more exclusive, but also the normal stuffs of course, but I have exclusive demands now and then, so it is nice. It is a mix of people. (Interview 27)



Figure 7.5: Roombeek is home to several IT and Media businesses as well. On this picture a view from the top of one of the office buildings in the Brewery area.

Photo: Jacques Bazen

Other businesses in Roombeek

Besides retail spaces, Roombeek is home to other businesses as well, in particular design bureaus and ICT services. For them Roombeek is an attractive location, because as they report, they like to be close to other businesses in the same field. Some of the managers of these companies explain:

This neighborhood has the image of being a vibrant neighborhood with a lot of IT and communication companies, so that is good for us too, we like to be close to such companies and take part of this image. (Interview 30)

More businesses I think would not hurt. Because there are quite a few good events. We have a party every month. We had a DJ once, and also a street fair. That is quite ok. That is not really the problem, I would like more companies from outside Enschede to be here, from Hengelo for example. That is happening more and more. There's a couple of companies here that are big and interactive, so things are happening here but slowly. There is a cluster developing, very slowly, but it happens. It is going step by step. It is not the social gathering that is missing, it is more the business. There is also a crisis, so that is maybe still not working too well. I would like to see more businesses gathered here instead of being everywhere around. (Interview 31)

Some of the old residents among the respondents are not particularly happy with these types of IT and media businesses entering their neighborhood. In one of the previous sections this was already mentioned. Some reactions from old residents:

Right below here is one or the other computer office. Called Binq or something like that. Whatever it is they do, I don't know. They tried to explain me, but they weren't successful I can safely say. (...) It would be nice to have a few more shops in the neighborhood. That would be nicer. That is also what people tell me, like: what a pity there are only so few shops there under this gallery. It would be much nicer to walk past these shops. Well...tastes are different, I know. Some like that, others not, others would prefer to keep it like this. (Interview 15)

There is a very strong regulation on what you can do here now, if you want to do something original, you can't do it. So that has changed. Maybe because of that or the economic crisis, there has not been much movement here like the municipality would have liked: Instead of art and design, you see hipster kind of things and things like web designers. It is not what I expected. (Interview 2)

When looking at the situation related to the commercial properties, even though many respondents, especially the new residents, indicate that they are not frequent visitors to the shops in the neighborhood and feel that certain shops are missing, most of the shop owners do report an increase in business. They also comment on different things that they think could be done to make the shopping area in the neighborhood even more attractive. What is largely absent in Roombeek however, is the type of “authentic” shops that Zukin is writing about (see chapter 2.3). In Roombeek it appears to be the case that local entrepreneurs, all of them non-gentrifiers, themselves made a shift into offering products in the more up-market segment, at least this is what they explain when asked about this topic. Next to these local entrepreneurs, also several branches of large chains have moved in the area, even though the chain stores present: Jumbo, Lidl, Etos, Primera and Hema are not particularly chains that would in the Netherlands be associated with commercial gentrification.

Still, the Roombeek shopping area does not have the typical look of a Dutch shopping center. Unlike most of the Dutch shopping centers, in Roombeek the majority of the shops are not part of a larger chain, which makes it quite a unique. Roombeek doesn't fit in the second or third stage of Zukin's model of “gentrified retail areas”, which either consist of small boutiques or are dominated by large chain stores. It is possible that commercial spaces in Roombeek are still the original neighborhood stores (stage 1 of Zukin's model), and will be slowly replaced by more boutique style shops in the coming years.

When analyzing the answers given by the original non-gentrifying residents among the respondents, it is difficult to conclude that these residents experience exclusion caused by commercial gentrification in Roombeek at this moment. Their satisfaction with the commercial spaces in the neighborhood is rather high.

7.4 Where do Roombeek residents go for shopping outside their neighborhood?

To find out what Roombeek residents were missing in terms of shopping opportunities in the neighborhood, the question was asked to both old and new residents, about which shops they were using and where. According to the literature on this subject, it was expected that more gentrified

commercial spaces would have moved into the neighborhood. It might be the case though that there are some intervening opportunities around the neighborhood, where people could experience an “authentic” shopping feeling as well, as desired by most early gentrifiers, as described by Zukin (see chapter 2.3).

Usage of shops outside of the neighborhood

Both old and new residents indicate that they are also using shops outside the neighborhood regularly, however, new residents seem to do so much more often than old residents. Old residents indicate more often that they do more of their shopping activities within the neighborhood. New residents are more likely to mention that they use shops from the Deppenbroek shopping center in the North of the city or go to the city center, as they indicate they like the shops more over there:

I mean, I am not a shopper, but I get my things also in the city. I don't like to do things in the way of shop in shop out, I have a list. But I like to buy in little shops, the bread, the fish, flowers. Jumbo is good for the rest. Also for the cheese, I go to the center. I don't like the Jumbo for special things. I like to buy my things in little shops. (Interview 19)

The shops in the city center have more things I like. And it's easy to go there, it's just a kilometer from here. (Interview 14)

It is near my old neighborhood, that is the Lidl and it is not on Roombeek. Sometimes the Albert Heijn [supermarket, JB] in Deppenbroek, to the north. (Interview 16)

Old residents among the respondents are more likely than new residents to report that they frequent shops in the neighborhood. That doesn't mean old residents don't use the city center, although most of them are less outspoken about doing this than most of the new residents. There were two old residents however, who told also about going to Germany for some shopping:

Really, most of the shops I need are here in the neighborhood. I also have someone who helps with household chores, that's one of my nieces, and she always says: If you need to go somewhere, just call me, perfectly fine. Yesterday we went to Germany for some shopping in Gronau. (Interview 12)

When we go for shopping trips, like for clothes or so, but really shopping trips, then we go to Germany. (Interview 7)

Usage of leisure facilities outside the neighborhood

The same pattern applies to leisure activities, most respondents indicate using the city center for this, for example some of the new residents report:

My leisure activities are most of the time in the city center of Enschede. (Interview 16)

Not in Roombeek. I work as a volunteer in the school (in the neighborhood). I sport here. I run, but I run outside the city. I'm in a choir, but that is elsewhere in Enschede. (...) TwentseWelle has a restaurant, it is nearby, I can eat here. However I go to the city. (Interview 19)

Biking and walking... mmm... yes, if we have friends around we show them the neighborhood, but more often we exercise, we go through the path here to the outside of the city, north of the city is a beautiful green area, and you can bike for hours. (Interview 21)

Also several old residents mention that they do leisure activities like eating out, outside the neighborhood:

When we go and eat out, we usually go to a different neighborhood. We go to restaurants all around the city, but not here in the neighborhood. (Interview 7)

I do walk a lot, you know this neighborhood is wonderful, if you walk for ten minutes, you're in the old city. The location is really good: Just go there, next to the Balengebouw, then Museumlaan and before you know it, you are in the center, if I have some leisure time, I usually walk to the city and sit there on a terrace. (Interview 9)

If we eat out, we prefer the city center. (Interview 8)

When looking at the findings of chapter 7.3 and chapter 7.4 combined, it looks like as if the city center provides a powerful intervening opportunity for the shopping and leisure activities for both old and new residents. Given the small distance to the center, it is not surprising that most of the residents use the facilities there. It is therefore hard to prove any exclusionary effects of commercial gentrification in the neighborhood on local non-gentrifying residents.

Most of the original shops have disappeared after the fireworks disaster, but were replaced by several shops from the nearby closed down shopping center of Mekkelholt, which was also non-gentrified. These shops have been added by several chain stores, like Hema, Etos and Jumbo. These stores usually don't cater very much an up-market clientele in the Netherlands. The conclusion could be that commercial gentrification has so far only occurred on a very limited scale. All entrepreneurs interviewed from the neighborhood however, do report a difference in demand for their products, in terms of more up-market goods. Maybe a mere "incumbent upgrading" of shops in the neighborhood is the only form of commercial gentrification (so far) to be observed. None of the old residents however reported they feel anything like the shops in the neighborhood are "nice, but not for us", in terms of not affordable or not fitting with their culture or interests (see chapter 2.3 for more details).

8 Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter wraps up the results of the desk research on the citizen participation during the reconstruction process, as well as the field research into the different components that make up neighborhood satisfaction among local non-gentrifying residents of Roombeek. From the conceptual model and hypotheses based on the literature and the specific situation of the reconstruction that Roombeek went through, some exclusion and inclusion effects on original non-gentrifying residents were expected for each of these components.

8.2 Wrapping up the different components: Neighborhood satisfaction

Respondents were also asked about how satisfied they are with living in the neighborhood. From the answers of the respondents, it became clear that the large majority of them indicated to be satisfied to very satisfied with the neighborhood. The same positive picture can be seen when looking at the popularity of the neighborhood (the neighborhood reputation). This theme has not been deeply researched in this study. However, in a study by I&O Research (2011) in which people from all over Enschede were asked in which neighborhood they would prefer to live, if they would have to move, Roombeek received 32% of the votes and turned out to be by far the most popular neighborhood in the city (see Appendix 3 for statistical details). Of course neighborhood popularity and neighborhood satisfaction are two different things, however they are correlated (Permentier et al., 2011).

Neighborhood satisfaction among old residents

Almost all old residents of Roombeek indicated that they were satisfied with the neighborhood, also ten years after returning to the neighborhood, this is true for both returning renter and homeowners, from different areas of the neighborhood. What follows here is a selection of answers given:

(Homeowner, Schurinkswiede area) Yes, absolutely. I am happy to live here, it is a great neighborhood. The reconstruction process went quite well. The government did make mistakes before. But they really did their very best to solve things later. (Interview 5)

(Homeowner, Brewery area) It's the best neighborhood in Enschede! (Interview 8)

(Homeowner, Bamshoeve area) I like it here, the neighborhood is quiet. Not "boring quiet" type, but instead has a good mixture a quiet places and places where things are going on. It's never boring here. (Interview 14)

(Homeowner, Talmaplein area) Yes, I am getting used to the new neighborhood. After 10 years. But that is logical, we lived for 35 years at one place. And then somewhere else: and suddenly have nothing from yourself anymore. We had totally nothing anymore after the disaster. (Interview 13)

(Renter, Talmaplein area) Of course I am proud of living here. It's my neighborhood. I helped to design it! I got inspired by the people who guided the process. And now I'm doing this volunteer work to give back some of that good energy to the other people around in the neighborhood. (Interview 4)

(Renter, Roomveldje area) I'm very satisfied, this really feels like my neighborhood. I'm trying to tell the other people too that this neighborhood is very special and worth to be proud of. I was everywhere in Holland with my truck, so I can compare and know what I'm talking about. (Interview 9)

(Renter, Roomveldje area) But what I do here for the neighborhood I do it with a lot of pleasure, because I find that this neighborhood became very beautiful. (Interview 15)

Not all old residents were however equally satisfied with the new neighborhood. Even though the overwhelming majority of respondents indicated to be happy with how the reconstructed neighborhood turned out, some of the old residents voiced some critical thoughts about the effects of reconstruction process:

Roombeek is different today. There are too many rules, they [municipality of Enschede, JB] tells you what has to be done. I mean you can't do anything creative, it is horrible. Definitely not according to what would you like. They [municipality, JB] told us they wanted to make the new Roombeek into a place where you could develop your own ideas, but if you want to do something original, you can't do it. (...) Roombeek is not like any neighborhood, it is okay. (...) The first year was: "Okay, let's develop!" But now I have the feeling that, they [municipality of Enschede, JB] should let it go, let people do the work, don't keep it so tight. Rules are too strict. (Interview 2)

What needs improvement: I think it is most important that people from the sub neighborhoods Kroedhöfte, Roomveldje and Bamshoeve need to meet each other. (...) I find it important that people from different generations and people from different backgrounds should meet each other and help each other. (...) The way the reconstruction turned out was that people are living on islands in the neighborhood. (Interview 7)

All the new stuff I don't care about. I'm back again that is what matters. I'm back in my surroundings, I have many friends among the returners. I'm an active citizen, I am active in the neighborhood committee, in the activities committee. (...) I do think that every story is different. Every person is different and everyone experiences it differently. I know you also spoke with D. He is very different from me. He tells me: You shouldn't bother so much about this or that in the neighborhood. (Interview 10)

Neighborhood satisfaction among new residents

To provide a more clear picture about the situation in the neighborhood also new residents to the neighborhood among the respondents were asked about their satisfaction with the neighborhood. It turned out that all new residents among the respondents were satisfied with living in Roombeek. This is a picture which is not very surprising, as they have deliberately chosen to live in this neighborhood. Some examples of answers given, to illustrate this:

Most certainly. Now it is the most vibrant neighborhood of Enschede. It's also close to the city center. What you want more? (Interview 20)

We like the neighborhood. It feels good, it has a good vibe. Of course also nice because my job is here, but mainly because of the house. (Interview 16)

It is an interesting area because of the architecture and the parks and the space. There are living people in our neighborhood which have a lot of energy. There are business people as well and there are things to do, so, yeah we like it here. (Interview 22)

Even though all of the new respondents are satisfied with the neighborhood, one of the new respondents also mentions the concern also voiced by some of the old respondents, namely that of the declining social cohesion influences the neighborhood satisfaction:

Involvement and cohesion is perhaps missing. Fortunately I live in an old part which is really integrated. I think I know all my neighbors. That is also because I have everything here in the neighborhood, so for me it is not such a bad thing. But I think people are missing the cohesion. (Interview 18)

There were throughout the interviews no signs found of old respondents feeling trapped in the neighborhood (as described by Newman & Wyly, 2006) because of the low “before disaster” rental level arrangements for returning renters, and them not being able to pay higher rents elsewhere and because of that a negative influence on neighborhood satisfaction. None of the renting old residents among the respondents indicated anything that pointed into to this direction. However, as written in chapter 3.3, there were a number of cases of people not willing to participate in the research, in particular among the group of renting original non-gentrifying residents from Roomveldje. A definitive conclusion on this particular subject can therefore not be drawn.

Overall, the conclusion on neighborhood satisfaction can be that indeed, although there are some critical voices on how the plans turned out, the majority of the respondents perceive Roombeek as a very pleasant neighborhood to live in. The satisfaction with how the process of reconstruction of the neighborhood turned out among local non-gentrifying residents is remarkable, and it is clear from the interviews that it lasts even to this day. For several of these old residents, it inspired them to become active as volunteers to further increase livability of the neighborhood.

8.3 Answers to the research questions & hypotheses

In this part of the conclusion chapter, the three different research questions will be answered so that an overall conclusion can be reached. The main research question of this study is: *To what extent does the influx of new residents and the establishment of new gentrified commercial properties influence the satisfaction with the neighborhood of local, non-gentrifying residents in the Roombeek neighborhood in Enschede and did the residents participation in the reconstruction process cause a more long term satisfaction with the neighborhood?*

Sub research question 1

What did the Roombeek reconstruction planning process look like and to what extent did the extensive citizen participation in this planning process influence neighborhood satisfaction?

First of all, the political decision to arrange for the old resident renters to let them keep paying the pre-disaster rent levels, provided a framework for the reconstruction process and a powerful incentive to return to the neighborhood. The same applied for home owners, who could make use of the ground for ground arrangement, which allowed them to build a house for relatively modest costs, and besides that these groups had priority to return to the neighborhood. In that sense forms of direct displacement were avoided. These guarantees were seen as very important, and were even now frequently mentioned by several respondents. This is a situation quite different from the

observations made during the reconstruction process of New Orleans after hurricane Katrina for example, where the composition of the population significantly changed (Gotham, 2014; Kamel, 2012)

The majority of the old residents reported that they experienced the citizen participation as positive to very positive and most of the participants among the respondents could mention some of the subjects they brought to the table and/or were voting on. Respondents report that the municipality tried to empower them by offering courses about self-effectiveness. One of the old residents told about his feelings of empowerment brought by the process:

It was actually really interesting. In my free time I had a small allotment garden outside the neighborhood, I still have that, but never before I used my free time to get involved in matters of governance. Then I got in touch with that and gee: then your ears and eyes get open. You see and hear so many things. And what is more, we got someone as supervisor here, Pi de Bruijn. He is also a Tukker [nickname for inhabitants of Twente, JB] and comes from Losser, and until his 18th year he studied in Enschede. He got carte blanche to arrange everything, and with him I had a close connection, we both love Italian architecture. We were sitting around the table a lot, also with the municipality. (Interview 9)

When looking to this process in detail, and look at the different steps taken, it becomes clear that the process was designed in such a way that it involved extensive citizen participation. That said, it became also clear from the answers given that the extent to which renting citizens of Roombeek had a say in the process related to the design of their own houses, varied according to the housing corporation that they rented from. Renters from Domijn at Talmapplein had more possibilities to design some details of their houses than renters from the Woonplaats in Roomveldje. This was mentioned by some of the renters from Roomveldje as one of the frustrations of the citizen participation process. Negative feelings were largely absent in the part of the citizen participation process dealing with the design of the structure of the neighborhood and the public spaces. Lead urban planner was praised by all respondents for his work and ability to listen to the people and take their ideas into account.

In general, the citizen participation process is seen by all parties involved as a success, for Pi de Bruijn himself, the municipality of Enschede (as reported by the then politically responsible person alderman Bleker), and the old residents. Some of these respondents use superlatives to praise his work and explain that satisfaction with living in the new neighborhood is for them to a large part because of the well thought of design:

I live here in the neighborhood with a lot of pleasure, because of the main reason that it has been very well thought of. The whole neighborhood is very well thought of. (Interview 15)

That the former Roombeek residents were generally happy with the plans can be also seen from the voting results: 97% of the residents involved supported the final plans, and are still happy with how it turned out. Old residents feel proud of the neighborhood they co-designed, as can be read in chapter 5 as can be seen in the answers given by citizens.

When comparing the process of reconstruction of Roombeek with other post-disaster reconstruction processes, some differences stand out. When looking at some of the recent post-disaster reconstruction in Europe, as mentioned in chapter 2.4, it stands out as a difference that for

Roombeek the government had a clear agenda for improvement of the neighborhood in mind, unlike the other flooding events, where the efforts of the government were mainly directed at helping residents to repair the damage and go back to the status quo as soon as possible. Although of a completely different scale, the reconstruction of New Orleans after Katrina offers some interesting parallels with the reconstruction of Roombeek. In both cases, the government was facing the dilemma described by Olshansky regarding speed of recovery and deliberation. Whereas in Roombeek at first there seemed to be lot of political pressure to arrange for a speedy reconstruction, it somehow changed over the course of the first couple of months after the disaster, as was reported by one of the old residents:

I was closely involved in the entire reconstruction process and am happy and proud of how all turned out. But only later...In the beginning we wanted to do things too quickly: The country was watching us and the politicians too. We wanted to help, the municipality too...they tried to help as well, but many mistakes were made. The civil servants of the municipality had to work very hard these months. (Interview 9)

When Pi de Bruijn got the leading role in the process, things changed and he set out on a course of what Olshansky would call deliberation: Trust building and using the process as a way to empower the old residents. Most of the respondents in this study were satisfied with this, but on the other hand, it also meant that some of the more action oriented old residents would feel excluded from the process and reporting on it being not much more than “psycho-therapy” sessions instead of looking forward and taking actions towards rebuilding the neighborhood.

In terms of the results of the process, respondents in general feel that something has been done with their ideas, even though with hindsight one of them admitted that as residents they made at least one mistake. That was when they asked for pedestrian streets, since it has in their opinion negatively affected social cohesion within the neighborhood:

Before, people did talk more with each other, but that was because the streets were organized differently. Now the streets are made for pedestrians, and the people don't see each other anymore. (...) They have the car and garage at the back side and get into the house directly. You don't see people coming home anymore. (Interview 4)

The findings in Roombeek on the effects of citizen participation seem to contradict the conclusions of Marinetto (2003) that in practice citizen participation in urban renewal strategies is usually not more than lip service being paid to this by policy makers. All participating respondents felt taken seriously and felt the government and city planners really cared about their input and used it too, even in situations when it was against the initial ideas of the planners (See for example the Roomveldje houses discussion in chapter 4). Also the conclusion of Huisman (2014) that citizen participation in the Netherlands, at least in Amsterdam, is used as a tool to legitimize displacement could not be observed in Roombeek.

The question that is left is, how unique the citizen participation reconstruction process was that Roombeek as a neighborhood went through. Architectural supervisor Pi de Bruijn responded on that question:

In Roombeek we invented a totally new planning model, a true bottom up process. It was a fully anti-traditional Dutch planning process, more like a paradigm shift. (Personal communication, 8 July 2014).

When comparing this statement and the responses from the Roombeek residents with experiences of other urban renewal processes in the Netherlands, as described in literature by for example Van Marissing (2008) or Van Beckhoven & Aalbers (2005), it looks like the satisfaction with the process is higher in Roombeek. It is also clear from the answers given by the respondents that they consider the neighborhood to be something of their own, as a consequence of the reconstruction process. This is different from the feelings of residents of Leith as observed by Doucet (2009).

Participation in the reconstruction of the neighborhood, at least partly caused several respondents to develop feelings of pride about the neighborhood:

Of course I'm proud to live here! It's my neighborhood, and I helped to design it! (Interview 4)

One of the possible results of these feelings of proudness is that among the old residents a rather large number of volunteers is active, at least this looks like to be the case, for example in the different neighborhood committees or Prismare. These volunteers try to work, as they report on creating a better neighborhood cohesion. Although it does have to be mentioned that it also appears to be like that besides this active group of volunteers, there is also a large group of people who are not active at all, with the words of one of the residents: "We don't know how to get them out of their homes". More research about this topic in comparing Roombeek with other Dutch neighborhoods would be required to make any definitive conclusions about the topic of increased volunteer work in the neighborhood. It would be interesting to see if this citizen participation process caused real long term empowerment among the local non-gentrifying residents.

Sub research question 2

To what extent are residents satisfied with the changes in general physical appearance and social structure of the new Roombeek?

In terms of neighborhood satisfaction with the appearance of the built environment and the new residents moving into the area on the old brownfield redevelopment site the Bamshoeve, as well as new residents filling the places of non-returning old residents, some mixed feelings can be found among the respondents. Almost all respondents, both old and new residents are positive to very positive about how the reconstruction turned out in terms of visual and structural quality:

1. They are generally satisfied with how the new neighborhood looks
2. They are usually very satisfied with the diversity of the buildings in the neighborhood, built by private commissioning.

With the changes in social structure, respondents are usually less positive:

3. Several respondents regret the fact that the contacts with the neighbors are not the same anymore as it used to be before the disaster. Instead, residents experience living in a neighborhood consisting of little islands (the smaller sub neighborhoods).
4. Respondents observe a difference in mentality between old and new (and also between old and old) residents of the neighborhood.
5. Some residents experience increasing crime levels in the neighborhood, although this is not a general broadly shared feeling among respondents.

Points 1 & 2: Regarding the positive opinion of the general appearance of the neighborhood, several respondents report that they are or were involved as volunteer for showing other people from outside the neighborhood and tell about the story of the disaster and subsequent reconstruction. It can be concluded from the answers given by these respondents, that they because of the outcomes

of the reconstruction and how the neighborhood looks like afterwards, experienced a greater attachment to the neighborhood (after all they co-designed it and speak proudly about that) and as a consequence became for example volunteer tour guides.

Point 3. Most of the original non-gentrifying residents seem, looking at their answers given, to care about the only limited amount of social mixing. However, it also seems their total satisfaction with the neighborhood today is not strongly influenced by this. Van Dijk & Oppelaar (2007) found similar results in their study into residential satisfaction of several Dutch neighborhoods.

Point 4: Another thing reported by old residents is the feeling that Roombeek was never a unity, also not before the disaster but instead consisted of smaller units. The neighborhood was united by the effects of the disaster, that all previous sub-neighborhoods went through. This point is also mentioned by De Lugt & Rijkeboer (2003) in their book about the disappeared “neighborhood”. The limited social mixing in the neighborhood today may therefore not feel as something that is between old and new residents alone. In fact, most of them mentioning the decrease in social cohesion, mean with this only the social cohesion in their own sub neighborhood. A difference in mentality between old and new residents is observed, not with animosity, more like as a given fact. This respondent observes the differences and limited contacts between old and new residents to be a problem of mutual non-understanding each other:

Look, if you see the Bamshoevelaan, with better educated people they are different. It's not a problem in itself, but if they don't want to communicate with the others, that's not good. It's not necessarily the fault of the problem of the new people in the Bamshoevelaan, but probably also from people in Roomveldje. (Interview 9)

Point 5: Respondents were mixed about the level of crime in the neighborhood. Whereas some of them explained that in their opinion the crime level was rather low to very low, others perceived a clear increase. Loitering of youngsters until late at night harassing people, house break-ins and drugs dealing have been reported most often. The types of crime reported are interesting, literature on gentrification (see for example Byrne, 2003), provide evidence that is indeed likely that the number of property crimes will increase, as new residents make more tempting targets. At the same time, the literature suggests that a reduction in groups of youngsters loitering in the neighborhood could be expected. This however seems not to be the case in Roombeek, although one respondent comments that he think the qualification “youth gang” that has been given to them is exaggerated:

I live at the very hot spot, where it should be dangerous at night, and I have neighbors that call the police all the time, but it's just kids being outside after 10 o'clock at night. I think there is a lot of prejudice there. If you want to go to a cafe, you go to a cafe, but if you don't have the money, you go and hang out with friends, and people see that and find it scary, but there's nothing scary about it. My feeling is that the social safety of the neighborhood is quite high and it always have been high. (Interview 21)

Nonetheless, exaggerated or not, fears of crime are real and for some residents it influences their neighborhood satisfaction.

As a brief outlook on the future for the neighborhood, because of the rising prices for rental properties (not for the original residents, who are exempt from this, if they stay where they are), it can be expected that more middle class families will be moving into the neighborhood in the coming

years. Even though forms of direct displacements are not relevant in case of the Roombeek residents, indirect displacement could still be relevant. Some of the answers given by hinted already on currently existing forms of exclusionary displacement:

I know that until this day, people feel sorry for not having returned. (...) With hindsight they say: I should have done it, should have come back, back then. Now I cannot afford the higher prices anymore. (Interview 5).

Furthermore, the influx of new middle class gentrifiers could lead to displacement pressure among the original non-gentrifying residents, as described by Marcuse (see chapter 2.2). Because the neighborhood went through such a tragic event, the cohesion within the groups old residents living through the disaster and returning to the neighborhood (albeit mainly from within each separate sub neighborhood) is high. There is a chance that with the influx of more and more newcomers with higher incomes over the years, this cohesion will go further down, leading to increasing feelings of alienation from the groups of old residents with the neighborhood. On the positive side, it appears to be the case that among others because of the experiences and empowerment during the reconstruction process, the number of neighborhood volunteers working on issues of social cohesion is rather high, and could therefore function as a counterweight against the issue of displacement pressure.

Sub research question 3

To what extent does the establishment of new gentrified commercial premises and services influence the satisfaction of local non-gentrifying residents with the neighborhood?

A feeling of exclusion among original non-gentrifying residents about a change in retail spaces as a consequence of the changing population structure due to the ongoing process of gentrification, the growing percentage of middle class residents in the neighborhood, could not be observed. Original non-gentrifying residents reported to be pleased with the shops in the reconstructed neighborhood and indicated they were frequenting them regularly. New residents in the neighborhood indicated, with few exceptions, that they are more inclined to use the shops and services in the city center, instead of the ones in the neighborhood.

Nonetheless, shopkeepers in the neighborhood (several of them coming from the to be demolished shopping center in the neighborhood Mekkelholt) reported to see a shift in demand to more higher-end products and change their business models accordingly to cater the needs of this group as well without, at least until now, giving up on serving their original non-gentrifying customers from the neighborhood:

The customers are buying different clothes here. I had another shop in a different neighborhood. The average size for example was 2 sizes bigger than here. So the people were fatter, and it was a poorer neighborhood. So that is one example, also the products are different, it is more modern what I'm selling here. It is not especially also more expensive. (Interview 29)

Comparing with what was there in Mekkelholt, here it is more exclusive, but also the normal stuffs of course, but I have exclusive demands now and then, so it is nice. It is a mix of people. (Interview 27)

There are three possible explanations for this pattern observed: 1. the process of commercial gentrification in Roombeek is still in its infancy and in the coming years the inflow of shops catering the needs of the gentrified residents can be expected (according the model described by Zukin (2008; 2009) , see chapter 2.3 for more details), 2. Zukin's model of stages of commercial gentrification does not directly apply to Roombeek, for example because the historical city center is near, offering all kind of better "authentic" shopping opportunities than Roombeek could ever offer, or 3. Processes of commercial gentrification in smaller cities like Enschede follow a different pattern altogether than the ones described by for example Zukin, Sullivan & Shaw (2011) and Deener (2007) for larger cities. Some evidence was found in the research that at least some new gentrifying residents of Roombeek travel to larger cities to go shopping for special products. As this was not the focus of this study, it has not been further elaborated upon, but could be an interesting question for further research.

Testing the hypotheses

At the end of the theoretical framework five hypotheses were formulated about some specifics of the Roombeek neighborhood based on what could be expected from literature on neighborhood satisfaction. In this part of the chapter, some thoughts about these hypotheses based on the answers of the respondents are written down.

1. *Since Roombeek is and was, a rather ethnically homogeneous neighborhood, the influence of ethnic diversity on neighborhood satisfaction will not be a very relevant theme for this specific neighborhood.*

Indeed, none of the respondents mentioned anywhere that ethnic tensions were considered to be a problem in the neighborhood. Some hints were given that the ethnic minorities who are present in the neighborhood generally stick to their own and do not involve a lot in neighborhood activities.

2. *Since all houses have been rebuilt or renovated and updated to all modern standards, it is expected that housing quality will be positively influencing neighborhood satisfaction.*

Indeed, residents are very positive about the quality of their houses and it is an important factor influencing the satisfaction with their neighborhood.

3. *The perception of the built environment and level of physical decay will almost absent in Roombeek, as the entire neighborhood is newly reconstructed.*

Besides the non-satisfaction with the quality of the water in the Roombeek, no major problems in this sphere were reported by respondents.

4. *The percentage of people with lower incomes in the neighborhood decreased, so neighborhood satisfaction will probably be higher in the new neighborhood*

Old residents frequently comment on the fact that the neighborhood looks very nice. Although at the same time they feel a distance between them and the gentrifiers in the neighborhood.

5. *As the Roombeek reconstruction process won awards for its genuine citizen participation, it is expected that this brings feelings of pride and higher satisfaction with the neighborhood among its original non-gentrifying residents, who participated in the planning process.*

Many participating old residents feel pride when talking about their participation in the design of the new neighborhood. Several of them mentioned that this process inspired them to become active as volunteer in the neighborhood, working on issues to further increase the quality of living in the neighborhood.

8.4 Conclusion on the main research question

To what extent does the influx of new residents and the establishment of new gentrified commercial properties influence the satisfaction with the neighborhood of local, non-gentrifying residents in the Roombeek neighborhood in Enschede and did the residents participation in the reconstruction process cause a more long term satisfaction with the neighborhood?

The main question of this study is about neighborhood satisfaction among original non-gentrifying residents of Roombeek. When trying to answer this question, it is good to first put a number of general issues here and then comment on the question as a whole. Roombeek used to be a collection of 19th and early 20th century residential areas for the working class, around several textile factories, at the time the main industry in Enschede. As the textile industry declined, so did the neighborhood and all kind of different small and sometimes marginal businesses moved into the blighted factory halls. Among others the Fireworks depot which exploded in May 2000.

First of all it is good to realize that in Roombeek all respondents - the fireworks disaster caused such extensive destruction and made such a sudden impact - always speak about before and after the disaster as two different neighborhoods. That means that unlike other neighborhoods, where processes of gentrification are usually gradually happening, even in cases of large state led gentrification programs, the difference in the before and after situation in Roombeek is very clear and abrupt and respondents often refer to this. Also it is good to realize that the group of old residents is a quite heterogeneous group and some things applying to a few of them might not be relevant for many others and so on. Rose (1984) already pointed out that original residents cannot be seen as a single homogeneous group.

The disaster made large scale reconstruction work necessary, and the government both local and national designed the reconstruction process in such a way that it would give an as large as possible role for the local residents in designing their neighborhood, although it turned out that not all residents had the same opportunities to design their own dwelling. Renting residents from the Roomveldje sub neighborhood were given less opportunities by the housing corporation to do so than the renters from the housing corporation in the Kroedhölte/Talmaplein area. This causes certain feelings of resentment among the residents of Roomveldje, even to this day. Nonetheless, the general feeling from the respondents is that they feel they had a real say in the process and developed feelings of proudness with the neighborhood because of this. The Roombeek reconstruction process therefore was very different from the normal urban renewal processes in the Netherlands (see chapter 2.2 about the state led gentrification programs in the Netherlands). Because of the dramatic events, there was no intention to get the highest possible revenue for the municipality and housing corporations involved, as reported by the politically responsible alderman from the municipality. This offered a lot of options for a creative design of the new neighborhood and built in lower densities than would normally be expected in a location near the city center.

In comparing Roombeek with other post-disaster reconstruction projects, authorities face a dilemma between a speedy recovery and extensive deliberation about the reconstruction (Olshansky et al., 2008). For Roombeek it becomes clear that the authorities, but in particular the lead urban planner Pi de Bruijn decided to go on a course of extensive deliberation. This was made possible because the authorities delegated the responsibilities of the reconstruction process to the Roombeek

Projectbureau, taking it out of the heated debate of the political arena, a situation observed in both New York and New Orleans in post disaster reconstruction processes.

The expected commercial gentrification in the neighborhood was not found, in the sense that the expected boutique-ing has not happened (yet). This might still occur in the future, although several new gentrifying residents indicated that they prefer to use the shops in the city center, which is nearby. Given the brand new neighborhood, it might be difficult to construct these commercial spaces of authenticity that gentrifiers are looking for at all (Zukin, 2008). At least this shouldn't be expected in the short term, as all the still standing old buildings have public functions like museums or schools and are not very mobile. The still empty Balengebouw might be an exception and would be a candidate for developing such style of businesses.

Satisfaction from original non-gentrifying respondents with the shops in the neighborhood is generally higher than the satisfaction of new gentrifying respondents with these. Nonetheless, shopkeepers explain about a clear shift in demand and report to serve a more upmarket clientele as compared with the situation before. However, commercial gentrification as one of the driving forces of gentrification processes in the neighborhood (Deener, 2007), has not been observed in Roombeek.

Social mixing in the new neighborhood is barely occurring. The residential areas from before the disaster and today, still function as first association with what residents call the neighborhood. This is true for both new residents in the newly developed Bamshoeve as for old residents from Talmaplein and Roomveldje. It was a deliberate choice to rebuild the neighborhood with the same street pattern and residential areas. Therefore it is not surprising that the old historically grown social structures were kept, even in the new neighborhood. The influx of new residents in the neighborhood in general doesn't cause feelings of animosity among the original residents, however it can be clearly observed that they experience these new residents as a total different kind of people which stand apart from them and with which they have little contact. Similar feelings can be observed in other European neighborhoods (Doucet, 2009).

Original non-gentrifying residents do observe a declining social cohesion as result of the social changes in the neighborhood. On the other hand, one of the results of the extensive involvement in the neighborhood reconstruction process was the development of feelings of proudness and self-efficacy among residents: It encouraged a rather high number of them to become active in one way or the other as volunteer in neighborhood committees or at least participate regularly in neighborhood events. Nonetheless, it looks like the building of social cohesion with newcomers, even when limited to the own sub neighborhood, takes time. If it is possible at all, because of some indirect forms of displacement occurring.

Then finally, some thoughts about the theme of displacement. Roombeek is a special case among neighborhoods going through gentrification, if it can be called gentrification at all, since direct displacement of residents is absent (Boddy, 2007). Provisions made by the government for the pre-disaster residents, allow them to pay the original pre-disaster rents for life, if they remain at the same place, thus creating a powerful protection mechanism against their displacement. Feelings of being trapped in the neighborhood as observed by Newman & Wyly (2006) have not been observed among the respondents, the satisfaction with both the neighborhood and the new housing is high.

Does that mean there is no displacement at all? Residents do express their thoughts about this issue though: old residents know, that whenever one of them leaves, the property will be rented by a middle class family, able to afford the higher rent. Given the limited social mixing and the often limited time possibilities that new residents report to have to get involved in such activities, this could slowly but surely further diminish social cohesion, until such a point that the few remaining residents begin to feel displacement pressure, the feeling of becoming the last of a kind and almost a stranger in their own neighborhood. It can be argued from the answers given that this is already beginning to happen among especially the group of old residents in Roomveldje, although this is not completely clear given the limited willingness to cooperate with this study from several of the old residents there. It is a question that deserves further research.

8.5 Recommendations

As written in the research design chapter already, the findings of a case study are limited to the area of research. Notwithstanding this, it is plausible that for the rest of the Netherlands it is also possible to let people more free in building their own house and co-design their neighborhood. Former Enschede alderman Roelof Bleker, currently Dijkgraaf van Waterschap Rivierenland (President of the board of the water government for central Netherlands) became an “ambassador for building by private commission” in The Netherlands, because of his experience with Roombeek. He argues that the example of Roombeek is followed in other cities:

Almere is extremely occupied with private commissioning...they took the idea from Roombeek. The alderman of Almere, mr. Duijvenstein is a big supporter of the idea. Before he was alderman there, he was in the parliament and also back then wrote a note about that people should built their own house...That article I read when I was an alderman in Enschede, that is how I got the idea. So I phoned him and said well you should come and see Roombeek, we went on a Sunday afternoon and I remember that after one hour I wanted to go home, but he went on taking photos and speaking to the people. Afterwards he became an alderman in Almere and had the same but bigger strategy with more aspects of it as well. So that's an extreme example, but it is also in Amsterdam The Hague, maybe around a 100 plots. In a lot of cities where it wasn't normal they tried it too: Delft, lot of places. Also Nijmegen, the Waalsprong. (Personal communication, 8 July 2014).

Of course people have always been able to build their own house, but the situation in Roombeek shows that private commissioning is also possible for middle class households and not just for the elite, as was common practice in The Netherlands. According to Bleker, the private commissioning in Roombeek has been an example that was followed in several places already. Looking at the results and neighborhood satisfaction of the new residents of Roombeek, this approach would be a good way to increase neighborhood satisfaction by a slightly different form of planning for these middle class groups.

Roombeek showed a new type of participatory planning in The Netherlands, which at least partly helped to increase neighborhood satisfaction and attachment among the old residents. The political decision to let people pay reduced rental prices has been beneficial to this as well. For that specific reason, the approach in Enschede can probably not be directly translated to other neighborhoods in the Netherlands, also because of the relatively high costs of the process. On the other hand, lessons learned in how to include residents in the planning process, could lead to more diverse neighborhoods and also long term neighborhood satisfaction. There is no reason to believe that original non-gentrifying residents in other Dutch cities would react differently on the opportunity to

get involved in such a process and be less satisfied and proud with the results of their effort to think about their neighborhood. To make citizen participation a success, it is necessary is that policy makers and planners dare to delegate some of the power to residents, to prevent undesired situations as described by for example Marinetto and Huisman. It does however come with the consequence that renewing the neighborhood will maybe be less lucrative for some of the stakeholders involved, most notably municipalities and housing corporations. It therefore remains largely a political decision that requires courage from the policy makers involved to start such a citizen driven urban renewal process. Roombeek in Enschede has shown that it works, it can be done and does produce long term neighborhood satisfaction among both old and new residents.

Then finally, the municipality of Enschede reported that they started to work on the issue of the limited social mixing and limited contacts between the residents of different sub neighborhoods. See the study by Kars & Van der Wal (2014) for some first activities in this field. Given the current situation and answers from the respondents I would recommend the municipality to continue with this line of work and further invest in the social capital and empowerment of residents from the neighborhood. That it yields results is without any doubts, the activities of residents participating in neighborhood activities and neighborhood associations as result of their participation in the neighborhood reconstruction process proves this.

8.6 Reflection

Researching and writing about the subjects of this study has been a pleasure to have been busy with. It was pleasant to speak with all residents of Roombeek, both old and new residents about their neighborhood and to observe their proudness and satisfaction with living in this particular reconstructed neighborhood. At the same time, it was touching to hear the stories from the people about the disaster and the consequences and losses it meant for them. It was even now fourteen years after the disaster, but something that was still there in the mind of many old residents. That one afternoon, Saturday the 13th of May 2000, which changed their lives forever.

Since the research leading to this thesis was performed in cooperation with Paula Azar, an international student who doesn't speak Dutch, most of the interviews in the neighborhood were conducted in English. Although this was the best option available, both of us felt that many of the original non-gentrifying residents had sometimes trouble expressing themselves in English. In some cases they interviews were conducted in Dutch and later translated in English by me, to enable Paula to read and use the comments from the interviews.

Although the research questions and subjects are a bit different, we worked together in the same neighborhood and have used almost the same neighborhood description. It was very nice to work together and hear Paula's perspective on certain neighborhood processes, because she being from another country, opened new ways of looking at things that I would not have easily thought of before.

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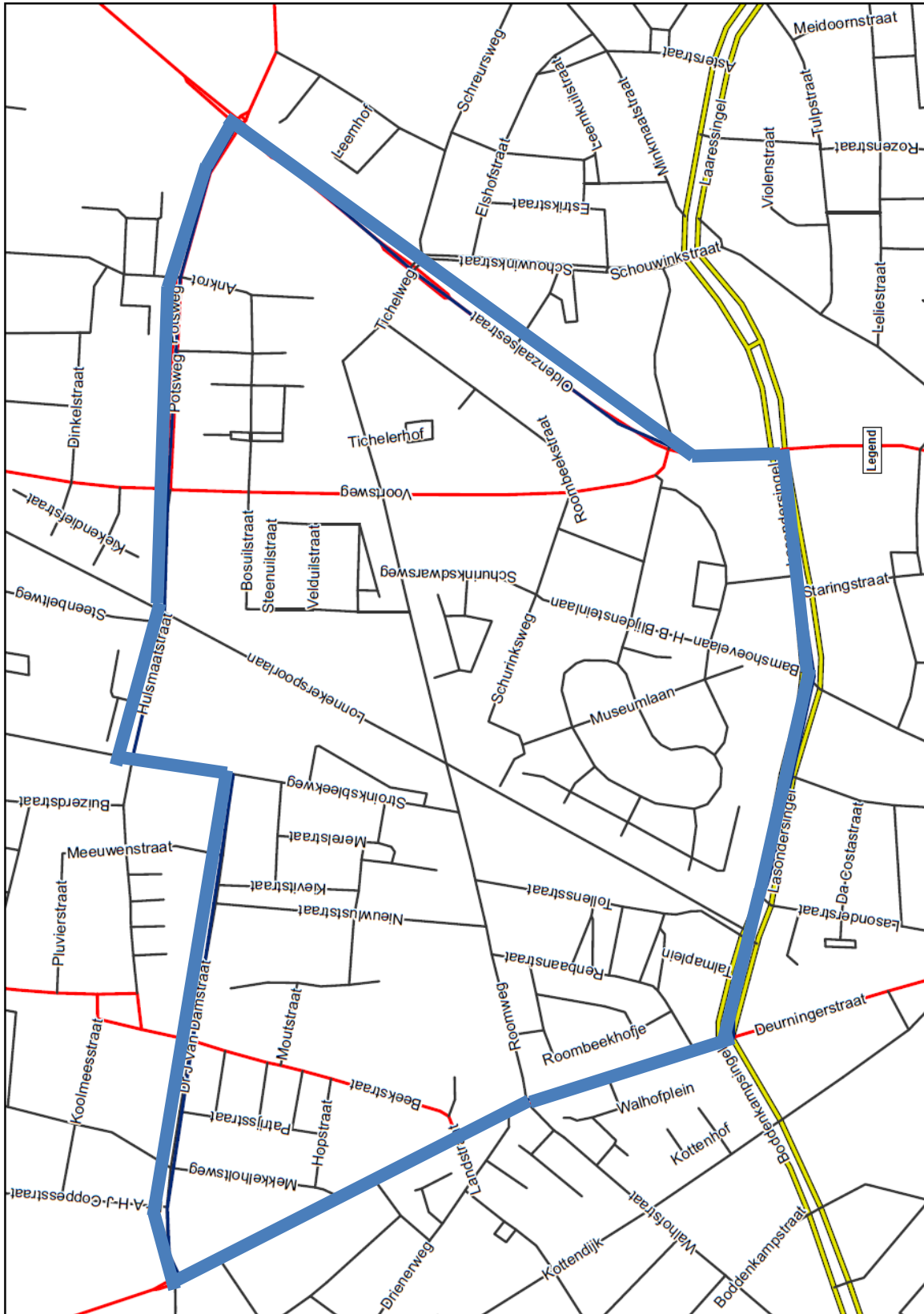
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Appendices

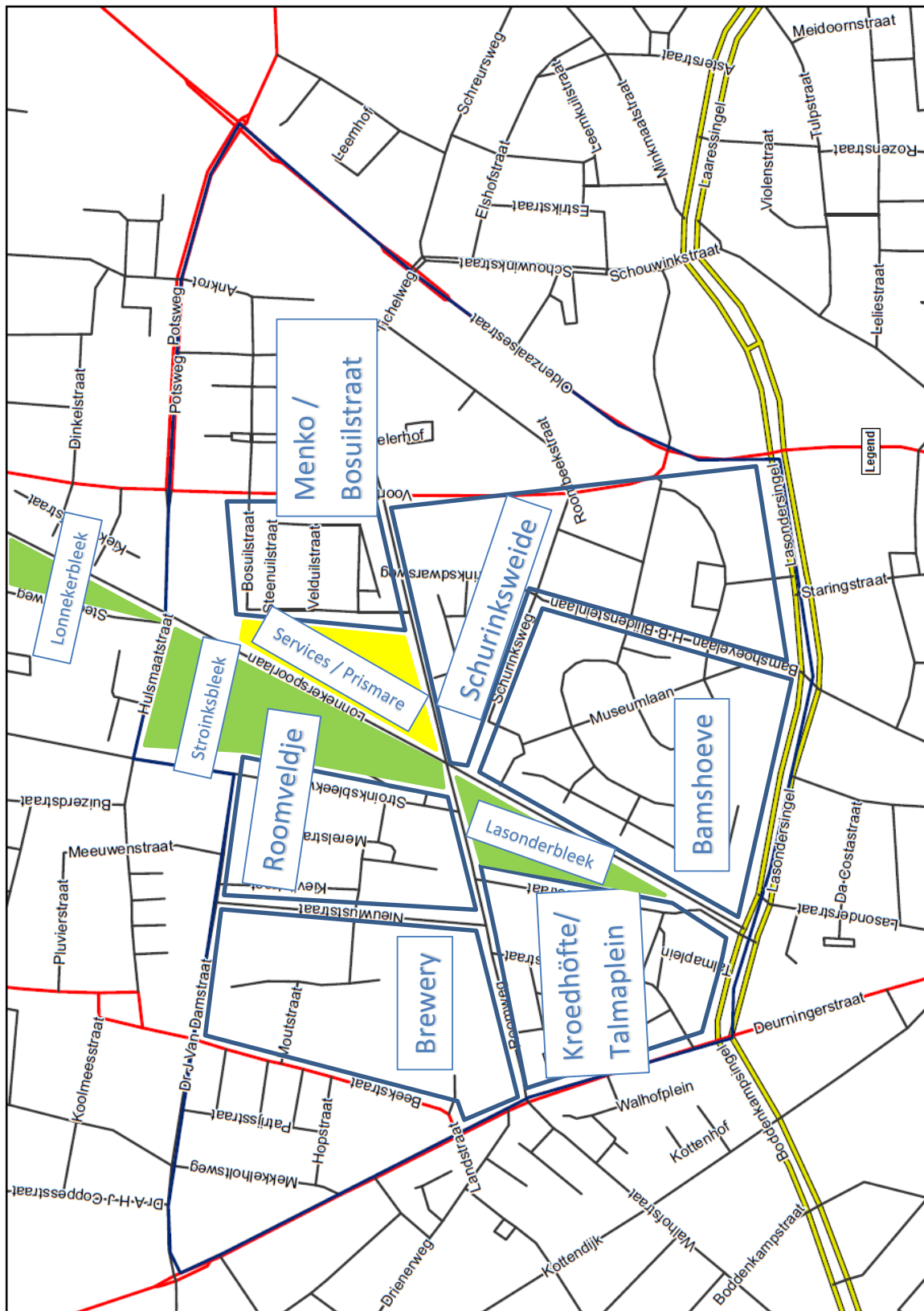
Appendix 1. Borders of the study area of the Roombeek Neighborhood
 (Official neighborhood boundaries as established by the municipality of Enschede)



Location of the city of Enschede in The Netherlands



Subdivision of the Roombeek study area



Appendix 2: List and details of interviewed persons

Old Roombeek residents

Respondent	Type	Gender	Age	Marital status	Living in	Current housing	Before the disaster	Profession
1	Displaced resident	Female	40	Single	City center	renter	renter	Unemployed
2	Old resident	Male	48	Married	Talma	renter	renter	Artist
3	Old resident	Female	54	Married	Schurinksweide	house owner	house owner	Secretary
4	Old resident	Female	57	Divorced	Talma	renter	renter	Unemployed
5	Old resident	Female	78	Widowed	Schurinksweide	renter	renter	Retired
6	Old resident	Male	49	Married	Schurinksweide	house owner	house owner	Shop owner
7	Old resident	Female	34	Married	Talma	house owner	renter	Entrepreneur
8	Old resident	Male	39	Married	Brewery	house owner	renter	Teacher
9	Old resident	Male	65	Married	Roomveldje	renter	renter	Truck driver
10	Old resident	Female	69	Married	Roomveldje	renter	renter	Retired
11	Old resident	Male	41	Married	Talma	house owner	renter	Social worker
12	Old resident	Female	73	Widowed	Talma	house owner	house owner	Retired
13	Old resident	Female	71	Married	Talma	house owner	house owner	Retired
14	Old resident	Female	42	Married	Bamshoeve	house owner	house owner	Unemployed
15	Old resident	Male	85	Widowed	Roomveldje	renter	renter	Retired

New Roombeek Residents

Respondent	Type	Gender	Age	Marital status	Living in	Profession
16	New Resident	Female	32	Married	Menko	Manager
17	New Resident	Male	28	Single	Brewery	PhD student
18	New Resident	Male	42	Married	Bamshoeve	University lecturer / Entrepreneur
19	New Resident	Female	68	Widowed	Bamshoeve	Retired
20	New Resident	Male	57	Married	Bamshoeve	University lecturer
21	New Resident	Male	48	Married	Bamshoeve	Consultant
22	New Resident	Male	56	Married	Bamshoeve	Entrepreneur
23	New Resident	Female	37	Married	Bamshoeve	Teacher

Business owners in Roombeek

Respondent	Type of Business	Gender Entrepreneur	Age Entrepreneur	Length of running the business in the neighborhood
24	Catering	Male	60	2 Years
25	Shop	Male	45	6 Years
26	Shop	Male	42	1 Year
27	Shop	Male	46	6 Years
28	Shop	Male	53	6 Years
29	Shop	Male	49	25 Years
30	Media company	Male	37	5 Years
31	Media company	Male	30	1 Year
32	Museum	Male	61	6 Years
33	Gallery	Male	50	1 Year
34	Prismare (staff)	Female	32	6 Years

Expert interviews

Respondent	Name	Current Function	Was involved in the reconstruction of Roombeek as:
35	Pieter-Jan Klok ¹ Marga	Assistant professor University of Twente	Researcher, monitoring the citizen participation process
36	Brunninkhuis ²	Director USHI	Supporter for residents for building under private commission
37	Pi de Bruijn ³	Architect Chairman of the Waterboard Council (Dijkgraaf) for Rivierenland	Urban planner & supervisor for the reconstruction.
38	Roelof Bleker ⁴		Politically responsible Alderman for the reconstruction

Notes:

¹ Personal webpage of Pieter-Jan Klok: <http://www.utwente.nl/mb/pa/staff/klok/>

² Website of USHI: <http://www.ushikenniscentrumbouwen.nl/>

³ Personal webpage of Pi de Bruijn: <http://www.cie.nl/employees/6>.

The company of Pi de Bruijn, de Architecten Cie has put on their website a description of the Roombeek planning process, as well as some pictures: <http://www.cie.nl/projects/53#>

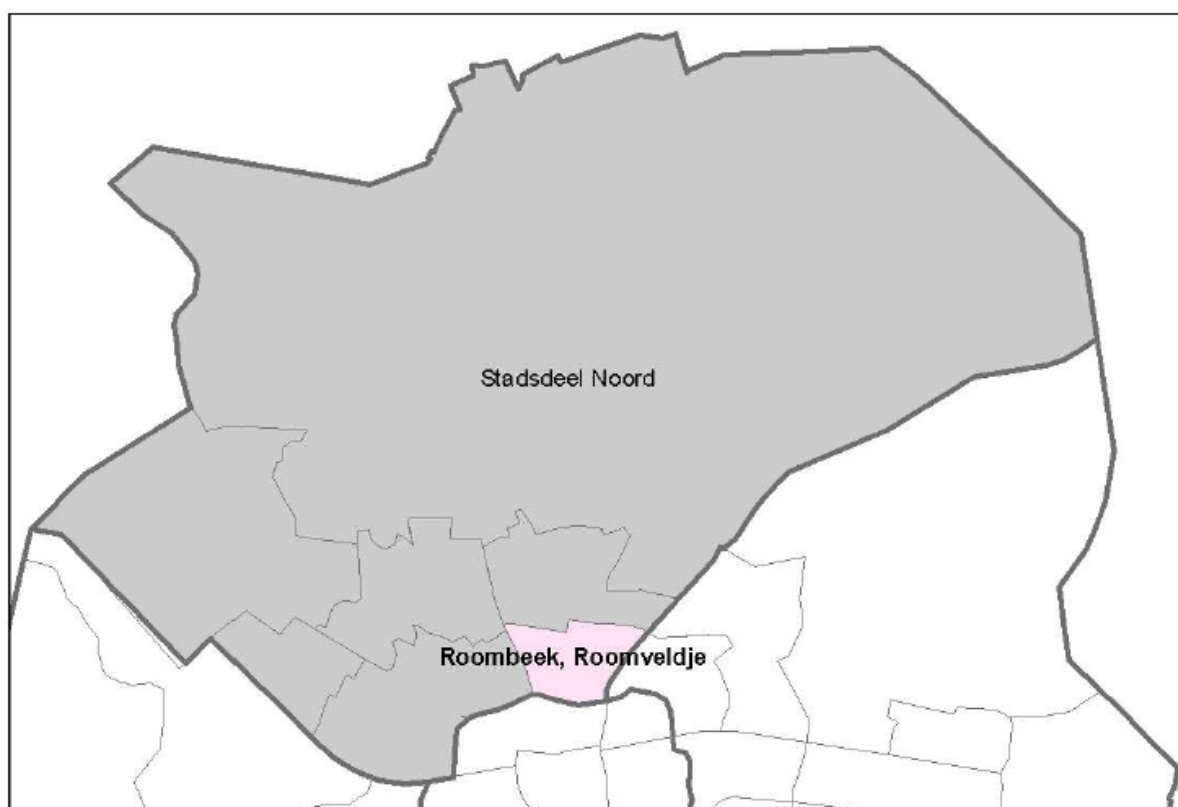
⁴ Personal webpage of Roelof Bleker:

[http://www.waterschaprivierenland.nl/ons_bestuur/bestuursleden/ir_r_w_\(roelof\)](http://www.waterschaprivierenland.nl/ons_bestuur/bestuursleden/ir_r_w_(roelof))

Appendix 3. Statistical data of the Roombeek neighborhood

All data have been obtained from the municipality population register of the municipality of Enschede (Gemeentelijke Basisadministratie Enschede), the data reflect the situation per 1 January 2014. The only exception is the neighborhood image research, which was a panel research done by I&O Research. The municipality consistently calls the Roombeek neighborhood: *Roombeek*, *Roomveldje*. The area is consistent with the study area defined in Appendix 1. Just as a side note, only the western part has been destroyed by the fireworks disaster and experiences the strongest influence of gentrification.

Location of Roombeek, Roomveldje within Enschede North



Source: Gemeente Enschede

Statistical data for Roombeek-Roomveldje is compared with the data for the entire northern part of the city, as well as for the city as a whole.

Table 1: Population

	Absolute	Relative %
Enschede Total	158 585	100
Enschede North	19 670	12
Roombeek – Roomveldje	4 511	3

Table 2: Population Distribution according to age groups

		Enschede	Enschede	Roombeek -	Population		Enschede	Enschede	Roombeek -
	Enschede	North	Roomveldje	distribution		Enschede	North	Roomveldje	
Absolute	0-4	8284	923	268	Relative	0-4	5.2	4.7	5.9
	5-9	8350	876	298	%	5-9	5.3	4.5	6.6
	10-14	8666	897	231		10-14	5.5	4.6	5.1
	15-19	9876	1383	228		15-19	6.2	7.0	5.1
	20-24	14575	2647	420		20-24	9.2	13.5	9.3
	25-29	12044	1909	445		25-29	7.6	9.7	9.9
	30-34	10376	1317	345		30-34	6.5	6.7	7.6
	35-39	9808	1186	332		35-39	6.2	6.0	7.4
	40-44	11430	1322	386		40-44	7.2	6.7	8.6
	45-49	11125	1213	310		45-49	7.0	6.2	6.9
	50-54	10387	1129	255		50-54	6.5	5.7	5.7
	55-59	9185	976	245		55-59	5.8	5.0	5.4
	60-64	8719	870	204		60-64	5.5	4.4	4.5
	65-69	8623	858	182		65-69	5.4	4.4	4.0
	70-74	6167	724	150		70-74	3.9	3.7	3.3
	75-79	4751	621	98		75-79	3.0	3.2	2.2
	80-84	3391	458	68		80-84	2.1	2.3	1.5
	85-89	1903	255	32		85-89	1.2	1.3	0.7
	90-94	766	89	12		90-94	0.5	0.5	0.3
	95-100	140	12	1		95-100	0.1	0.1	0.0
	100+	19	5	1		100+	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Total	158585	19670	4511		Total	100	100	100

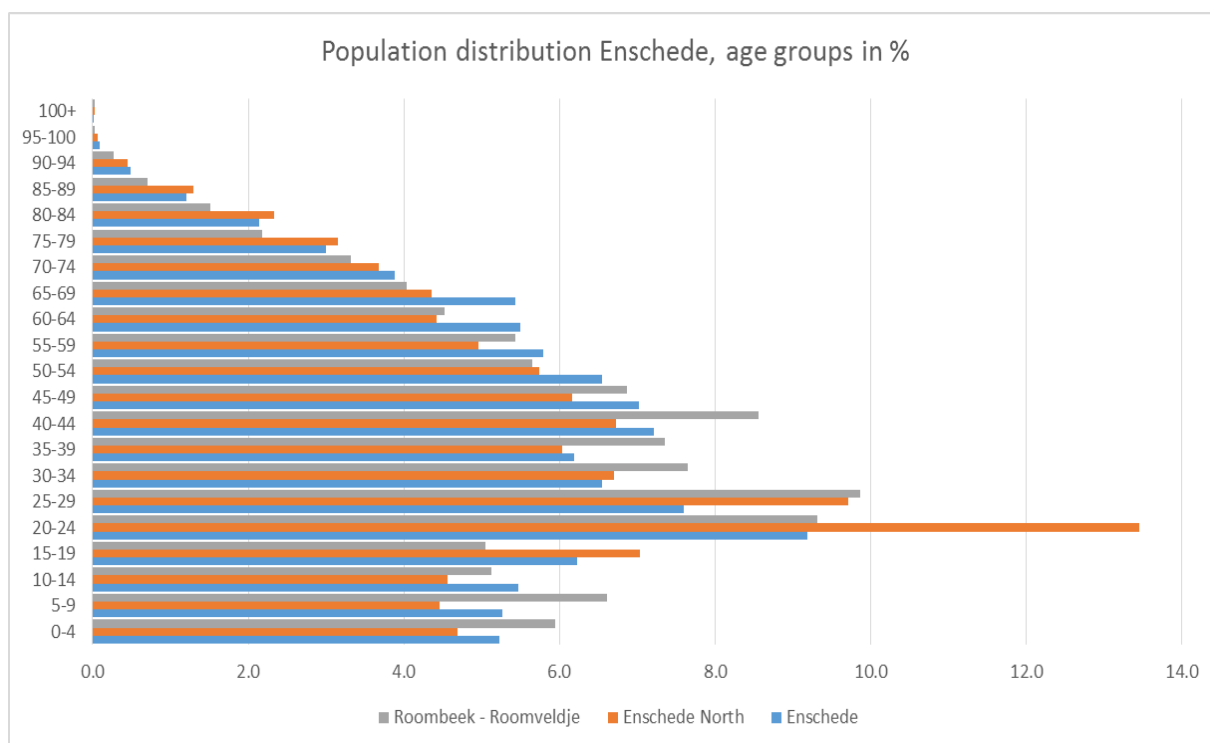


Table 3: Gender and Marital status of the population

	Unmarried		Married		Divorced		Widowed		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	F	m	f	m	f
Absolute										
Enschede	44888	36210	28530	28491	5252	6791	1767	6656	80437	78148
Enschede – North	6538	4750	3092	3098	480	719	214	779	10324	9346
Roombeek – Roomveldje	1393	1132	781	781	98	151	44	131	2316	2195
Relative %	Unmarried		Married		Divorced		Widowed			
	m	F	m	f	m	F	m	f		
Enschede	55.8	46.3	35.5	36.5	6.5	8.7	2.2	8.5		
Enschede – North	63.3	50.8	29.9	33.1	4.6	7.7	2.1	8.3		
Roombeek – Roomveldje	60.1	51.6	33.7	35.6	4.2	6.9	1.9	6.0		

Table 4: Household types

	Families without children	Families with children	Single parent families	Total number of families	Persons living alone
Absolute					
Enschede	14335	13443	9228	37006	26171
Enschede - North	1609	1401	868	3878	4930
Roombeek - Roomveldje	348	412	223	983	777

(Family includes unmarried couples with registered partnership)

	Families without children	Families with children	Single parent families
Relative			
Enschede	38.7	36.3	24.9
Enschede - North	41.5	36.1	22.4
Roombeek - Roomveldje	35.4	41.9	22.7

(Family includes unmarried couples with registered partnership)

Table 5: Average family size

Enschede	2.7
Enschede - North	2.7
Roombeek - Roomveldje	2.9

Table 6: Nationality/Citizenship of the population

%	Dutch	West and North Europe	Eastern Europe	Southern Europe	North America	Latin America	Africa	Asia	Oceania	Unknown	Total
Enschede	93.9	1.8	0.7	1.3	0.1	0.2	0.4	1.1	0.0	0.5	100
Enschede - North	90.0	3.6	0.7	2.1	0.1	0.4	0.5	2.0	0.1	0.4	100
Roombeek - Roomveldje	93.6	2.3	0.6	0.9	0.2	0.4	0.5	1.2	0.0	0.4	100

Table 7: Ethnicity of the population

%	Dutch	Western Europe	Eastern Europe	Indonesia	Suriname /Antilles	Turkey	Morocco	Other Mediteranean	Other	Total
Enschede	72.0	7.2	2.2	2.2	1.8	5.7	1.3	3.4	4.2	100
Enschede - North	68.5	8.6	2.1	2.1	1.6	7.9	1.8	2.1	5.3	100
Roombeek - Roomveldje	73.2	7.0	2.1	2.1	2.0	5.8	1.7	2.0	4.3	100

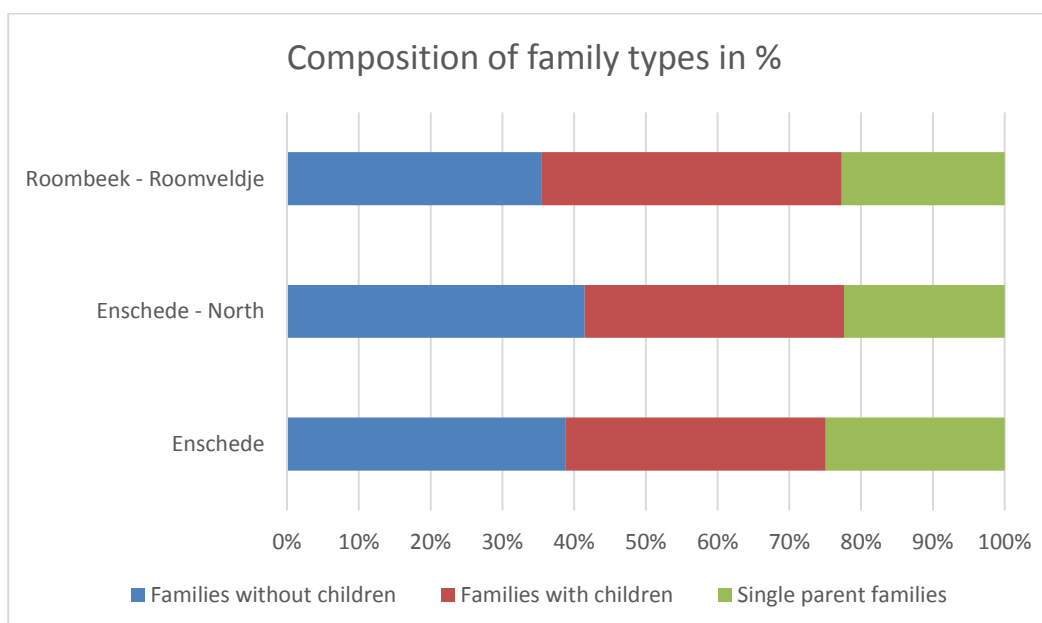
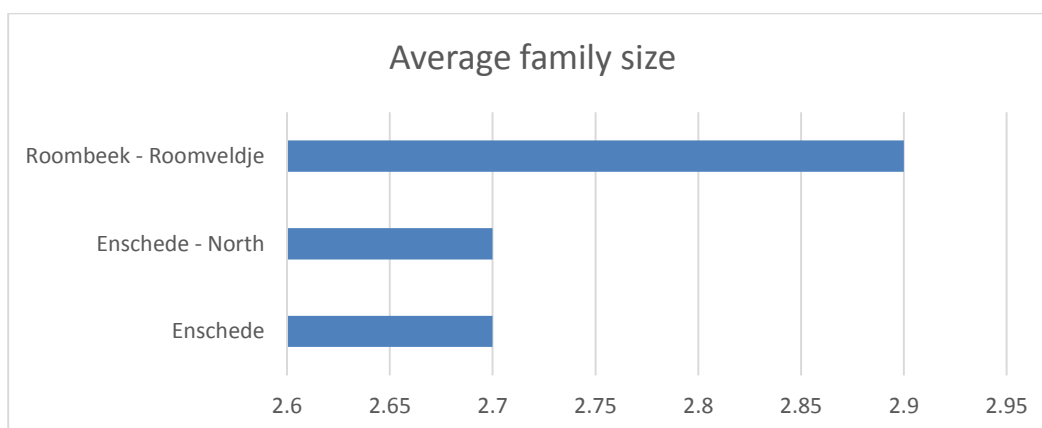
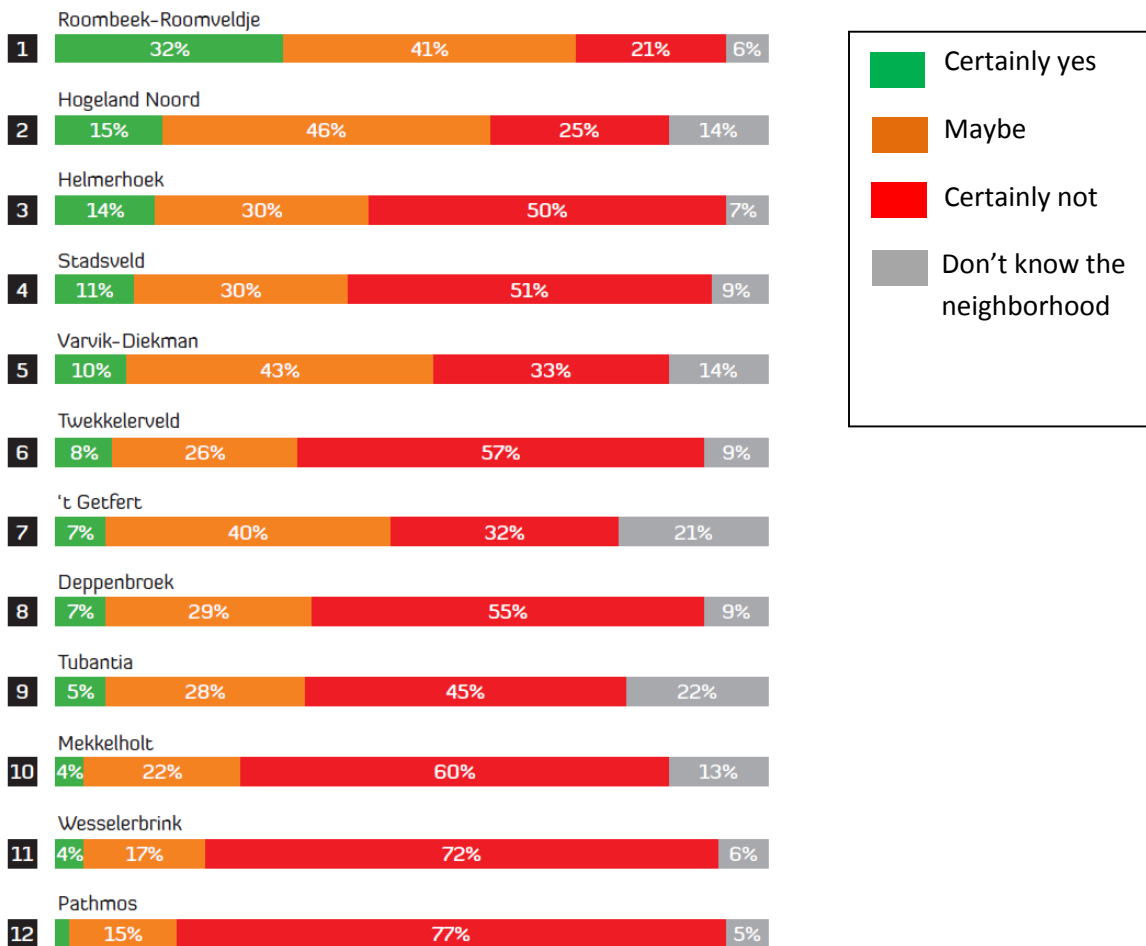


Image of the neighborhood

The new Roombeek neighborhood has a very good image among people living in Enschede and among the 1724 respondents to the neighborhood image panel. On the question: *If you would have to move this year, which of the following 12 Enschede neighborhoods would you like to relocate to?* The following picture emerged:



Source: I&O Research, Enschede Panel, 2011

Appendix 4: Information about the Prismare Services Cluster

Website (www.prismare.nl)



Figure A4.1: Exterior of Prismare



Figure A4.2: Interior of Prismare
Photo: Municipality of Enschede

Explanation of the specific services of Prismare by one of the managers of the center

Interviewer: Can you explain what Prismare is and who runs it?

Prismare is owned by the Woonplaats, the housing corporation. It is a semi-private thing, most likely, but I don't know how to describe housing corporations and the laws in this respect. Most housing corporations have big financial problems, so it means also that the Prismare organization might be getting under pressure. But until now it goes well.

Prismare is a services cluster for the neighborhood, schools, day care centers for children as well as cultural services. All neighborhood communities and clubs have been transferred to this center in the reconstruction process. There is a Turkish community, the Alevitic community, a children's library and several others. Besides that we rent out rooms. There is a theater, dance room, sports room and creative room, all of these are for rent outside normal operations. We try to make as much connections as possible between these groups, that's one of the things I'm for. And sometimes there are interesting combinations possible. Take for example this room: This is the reception and cash register for the theater and this shop. But then we got into contact with the social care center which was looking for an activity room, so we sat together and decided this place could handle that as well. So as you observe now the interesting situation that all these things are together in one place. I sell theater tickets, and things here in the shop and at the same time people with a mental handicap are working in the same room to create interesting products as well. And there was a nice cooperation of the Valerius ensemble (classical music group) together with the Turkish community here, they had some nice theatrical performances. Things you do not think about normally. I like the place a lot, everything moves through the building and mingles. Even until the children day care center. And we receive a lot of questions from people from other neighborhoods if we can help them with creating such a lively center as well. And then of course we have the Roombeek theater, all tickets are 15 euro, children performances 3 euro. We hope that by offering these low prices we can attract people from the neighborhood and beyond to come to the theater and that it is a first step for them to go to the big theater, the Wilink theater in the center afterwards. So all in all, we try with many activities to get the people out of their homes and let them experience here the cultural activities in Prismare. Oh, and there is also the art on loan, you can borrow a piece of art and after some time bring it back and change it in for something else. In the shop we sell stuff that is made by the people with a mental handicap here. And of course there are more things in our collection, that we buy from other suppliers. Oh, and about the toys for the kids, of course we make sure these are tested for safety. That makes it a little difficult to explain, there is nothing like this in the rest of the country.

Appendix 5: Images of the old and new Roombeek

Roombeek has changed a lot. To illustrate some of these changes in this appendix some pictures are presented, to get a more complete understanding of the context of the neighborhood. As far as is known, all the original sources of the pictures are mentioned. The historical pictures have been collected from different sources, but most of them from the book “Enschede: een veranderende stad” (Van de Berg et al., 1986)

The set of pictures presented in this appendix are:

- Corner Roomweg/Schurinksweg
- Nachtegaalstraat in Roomveldje
- Roomweg and Brewery area
- Lasondersingel
- Corner Deurningerstraat/Roomweg
- Deurningerstraat/Mariakerk

Besides these, there are also some other historical pictures from the neighborhood.

The first set of pictures are about evolvment of the corner of Schurinksweg/Roomweg:



Figure A5.1: One of the earliest photograph of Roombeek: The Schurinksweg in 1899. On the background on the left, the houses of the Schurinksdwarsweg can be seen.



Figure A5.2: Almost the same spot around 100 years later: The corner of Roomweg/Schurinkweg in the 1990s, before the disaster.
Photo: Johan Ghijsels



Figure A5.3: The same spot in 2014. In the foreground the Eekenhof apartment building.
Photo: Jacques Bazen

The second set of pictures show the development of the Roomveldje



Figure A5.4: The Nachtegaalstraat in Roomveldje, seen from the Roomweg, shortly after its reconstruction in the 1920
Photo: T. Wiegman



Figure A5.5: The same spot in the 1980s, in the neighborhood before the disaster. The three acacia trees in the front are still there, the only visual reminders of the old neighborhood.
Photo: T. Wiegman



Figure A5.6: The same spot in 2014. The three large Acacia trees in front are survivors of the disaster, also visible on the picture from before the disaster.
Photo: Jacques Bazen

Changes at the Roomweg in Enschede



Figure A5.7: The Roomweg in the 1950s
Photo: T. Wiegman

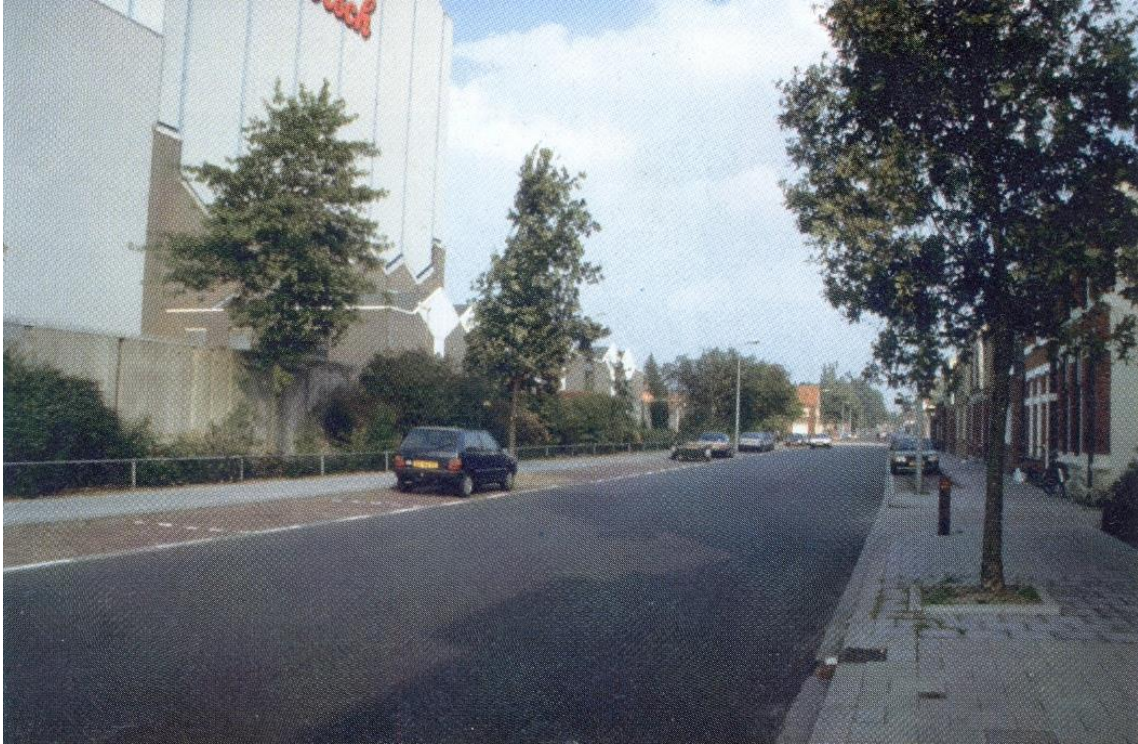


Figure A5.8: The same spot in 1986. The houses on the left side of the road have been demolished for the expansion of the Grolsch Brewery
Photo: T. Wiegman



Figure A5.9: The same spot in 2014. The Grolsch Brewery on the left side of the street is gone from the neighborhood and has been replaced by the Brewery shopping center
Photo: Jacques Bazan

The Lasondersingel with the “Wachters van Sion”/”Wachters van Roombeek”



Figure A5.10: The houses at the edge of Roombeek in 1928, just after completion. The photo is taken from the corner of the Lasondersingel/Deurningerstraat



Figure A5.11: The same spot in 1986.
Photo: T. Wiegman



Figure A5.12: The same spot in 2011
Photo: Google



Figure A5.13: The same houses, from the other side of the Lasondersingel, on a picture from 1943



Figure A5.14: The same spot in 1986
Photo: T. Wiegman



Figure A5.15: The same spot in 2011. Great care was taken by Pi de Bruijn to restore these houses exactly according to their historical situation.
Photo: Google

Corner Deurningerstraat/Roomweg



Figure A5.16: The corner of the Roomweg/Deurningerstraat in the 1960s
Photo: T. Wiegman



Figure A5.17: The same corner in 1986.
Photo: T. Wiegman



Figure A5.18: The same spot in 2011. The second house from the corner still exists.
Photo: Google

Deurningerstraat/Mariakerk



Figure A5.19: Deurningerstraat, with a view on the Mariakerk, in 1928



Figure A5.20: The same spot at the Deurningerstraat, the white building on the left the “Nieuwe Weme” supermarket, which was destroyed in the disaster.
Photo: T. Wiegman



Figure A5.21: The same spot in 2011
Photo: Google

Some other historical pictures from Roombeek



Figure A5.22: The Roomweg around 1910



Figure A5.23: The Roomweg in 1943



Figure A5.24: The railroad crossing of the Lonnekerspoor and the Lasondersingel, when the Lonnekerspoor was still a real railroad in 1928.

One of the respondents in this study told about his experience with going with the train to Lonneker and Oldenzaal, when he was a young boy: *I still remember the last passenger train on the Lonnekerspoorlaan. I was about 6 years old, and my father took me for 25 cent to Oldenzaal with the train, that was the last opportunity, after that they discontinued the passenger service and the railroad was only used for freight.*



Figure A5.25: The Balengebouw, part of the then blighted Bamshoeve factory complex in the 1990s.
Photo: Johan Ghijsels

Appendix 6: Maps used in the reconstruction of the neighborhood

The maps and images in this appendix originally come from the Structuurvisie Roombeek (De Bruijn, 2001), the plans that were made for the construction of the neighborhood, developed by Pi de Bruijn, together with the residents of Roombeek.



Figure A6.1: Overview of the Roombeek plans

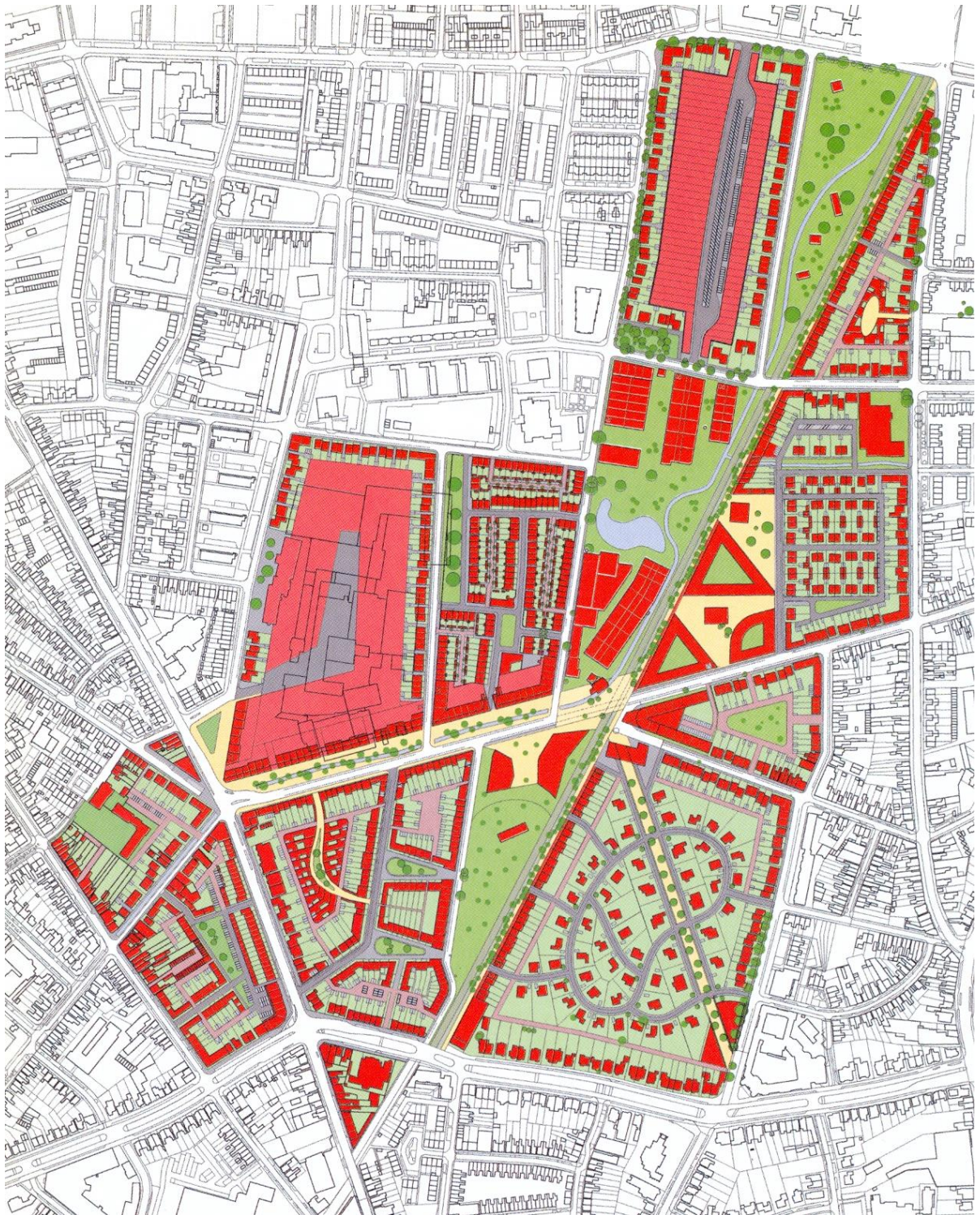


Figure A6.2: Kadastral map of the new neighborhood

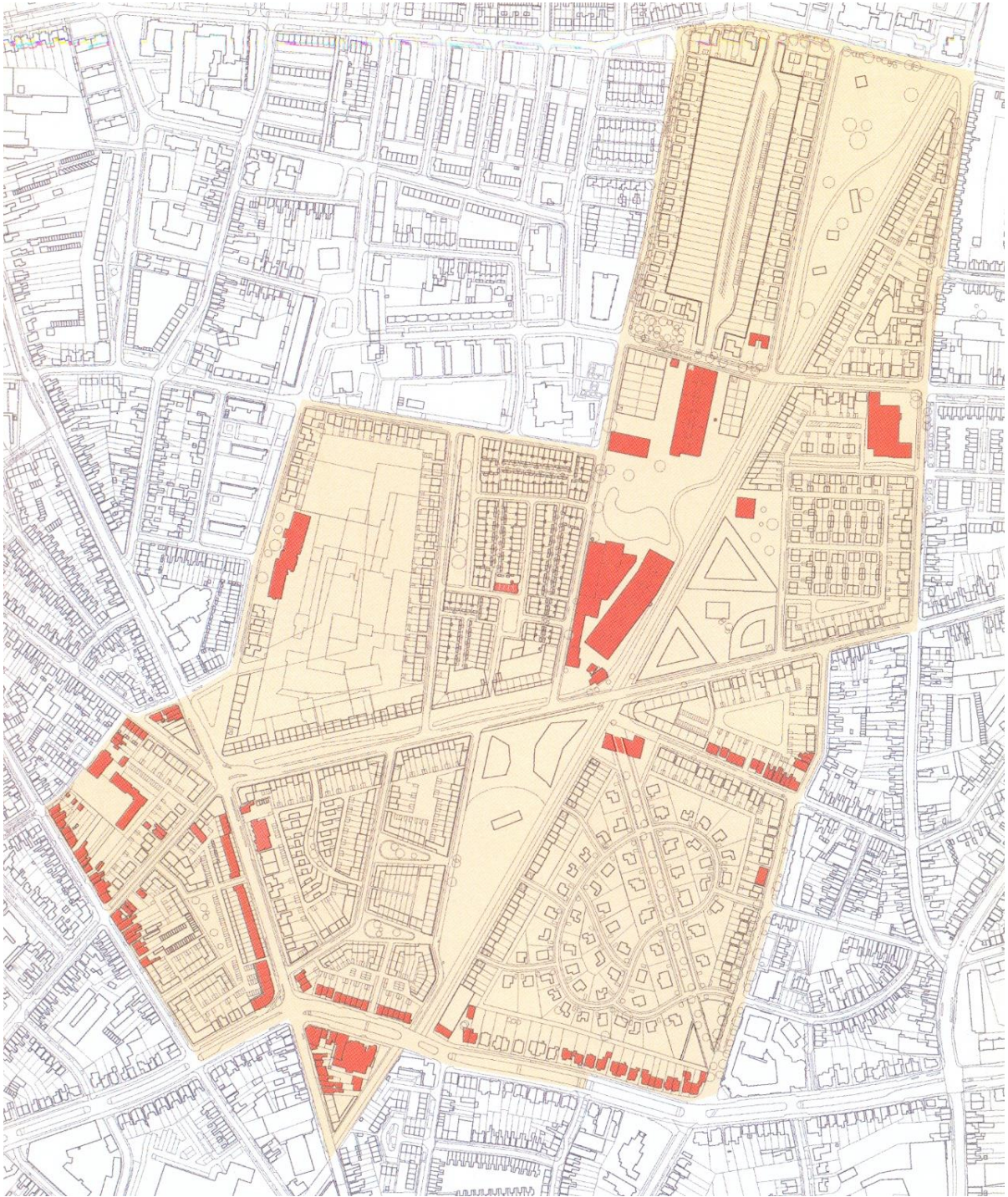


Figure A6.3: Original buildings to be kept (in orange)

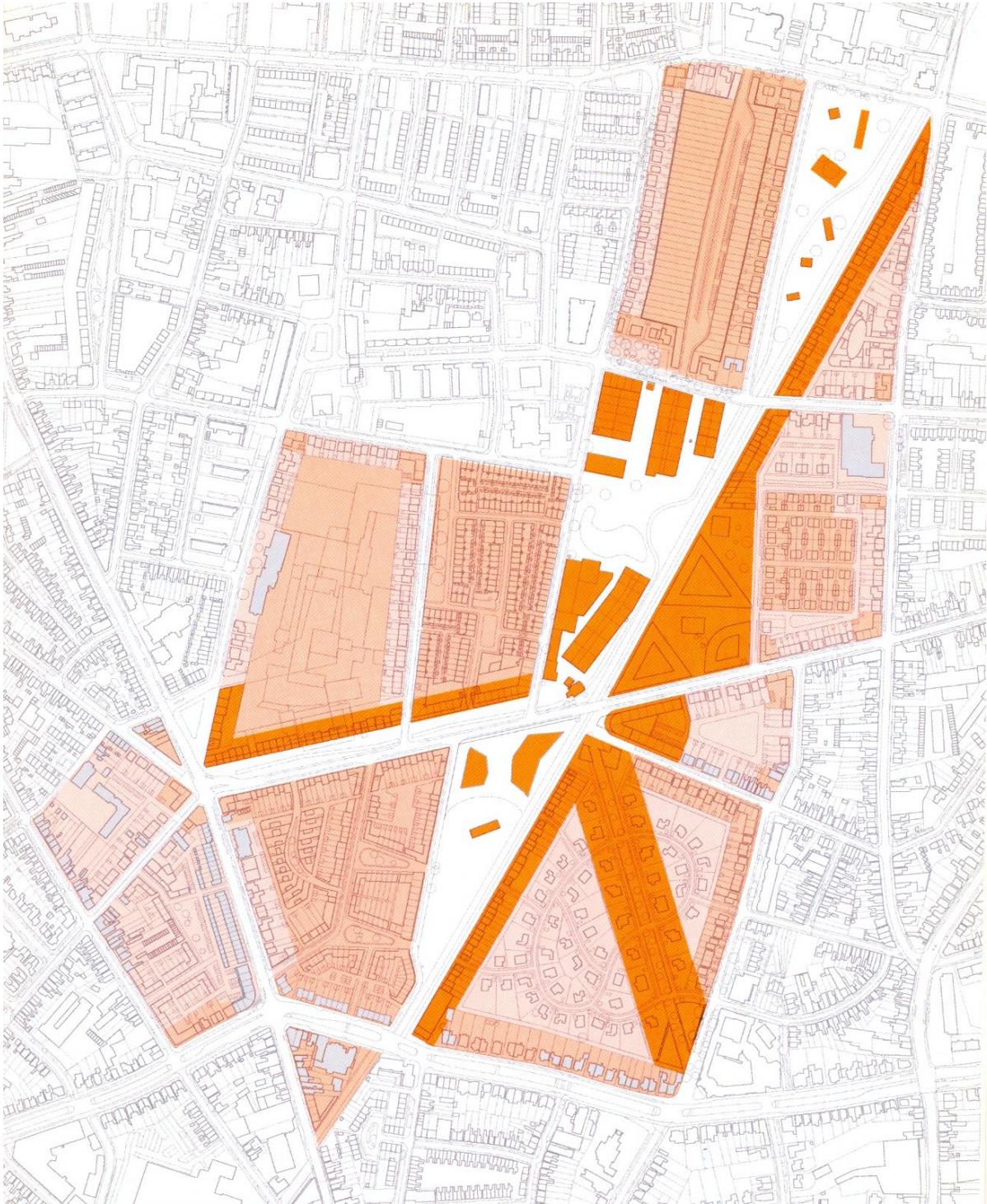


Figure A6.4: Design rules & limitations. The darker the orange color, the more limitations and restrictions applied.



Figure A6.5: Stroinksbleek park, the to be cultural heart of the neighborhood