

Investigation of the role of urban
regeneration in enhancing social sustainability.
A case study in Lombok, Utrecht, The Netherlands

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Summary

The research looks at the relationship between urban regeneration and social sustainability, looking at the way in which city plan can be organized to increase social and physical aspects related to social sustainability. The two main concepts are popular themes in both the academia and policy-making. The first concept is investigated as a process aimed to revitalize pre-existing area, with ambitious objectives, such as a rehabilitation of public areas and services and a strengthened social and civic participation. The second concept revolves around two dimensions, sustainability of a community and social equity. As there are adverse effects related to the process of urban regeneration (e.g. the process of gentrification), a focus on the social dimension of sustainability is needed to ascertain the quality of the process. Therefore, departing from theoretical knowledge, the research draws a set of social sustainability indicators employed in a case study. The area of Lombok, Utrecht is chosen as an exemplary case highlighting the relations between these two concepts. The results, which include quantitative and qualitative data, pinpoint the complexity of achieving social sustainability in neighborhood interested by urban regeneration, and the potential role of different stakeholders in aiding or hindering the process. Issues of safety in terms of car traffic and perception of uneasiness, and disputes around identity, with fear of gentrification, results in a need for a cohesive plan that consider physical as well as social elements. The findings highlight the need for policy makers and planners to embrace social aspects in the formulation of urban regeneration plan, and suggest recommendations for future research.

Preface

Hereby I present “The Role of Urban regeneration in enhancing social sustainability. A case study in Lombok, Utrecht”. This is the final project of the Master in Sustainable Development, Earth System Governance. The basis of the research project was a series of interviews and a survey to stakeholders and residents in the area under analysis. The concept of the research started from a personal idea, that was refined and shaped with the help of my supervisor, Dr. Caroline Uittenbroek. During the whole process, my supervisor has been very caring, giving me counsel and support. The research was fascinating: the experience was difficult considering my language barrier of operating in a foreign country, but the cooperation of the respondents and the guidance of the supervisor has allowed me to answer the research question that was formulated. I would like to personally thank my supervisor and the second reader for their excellent guidance and support during the process. I also want to thank all the people who helped me for the interviews and the survey, without their cooperation I would have not been able to conduct this research. A special thanks to Matei Klewer, city plan specialist, for adding depth and an inside view on the plan during a cordial dialogue. To my dear colleagues in Utrecht University: I salute you as friends and companions of this experience. Lastly, I would like to thank my family, especially my parents: you kept reminding me that it was possible when I wasn't believing it.

I hope you will enjoy this reading.
Lorenzo Caltabiano

1. Introduction

Nowadays, sustainability is a well-known concept. First defined in the ‘Bruntland Report’, or “Our common Future” (WCED, 1987), the concept marked the necessity to connect environmental concerns with social and economic policy goals. As Hansmann et al. (2012) highlight, sustainability is an integrative concept, as it considers environmental, social and economic aspects as three fundamental dimensions (p.451). In the literature, these three dimensions have been identified as pillars of sustainability (fig. 1), reflecting the need to jointly consider natural, social and economic capital (Elkington 1997; Kajikawa 2008; Schoolman et al. 2012). While environmental and economic dimensions of sustainability have been object of extensive studies, the social dimensions have been poorly defined compared to other dimensions of sustainability (Vallance et al. 2011). Even when defined, the inherent complexity of the concept hampered the understanding on how to enhance social sustainability in a given area (Dempsey et al. 2011; Valliance et al. 2011). In the following sections, the debate around social sustainability will be delineated, and the concept of urban regeneration will be presented as a mean to enhance social sustainability, considering physical and social factors.

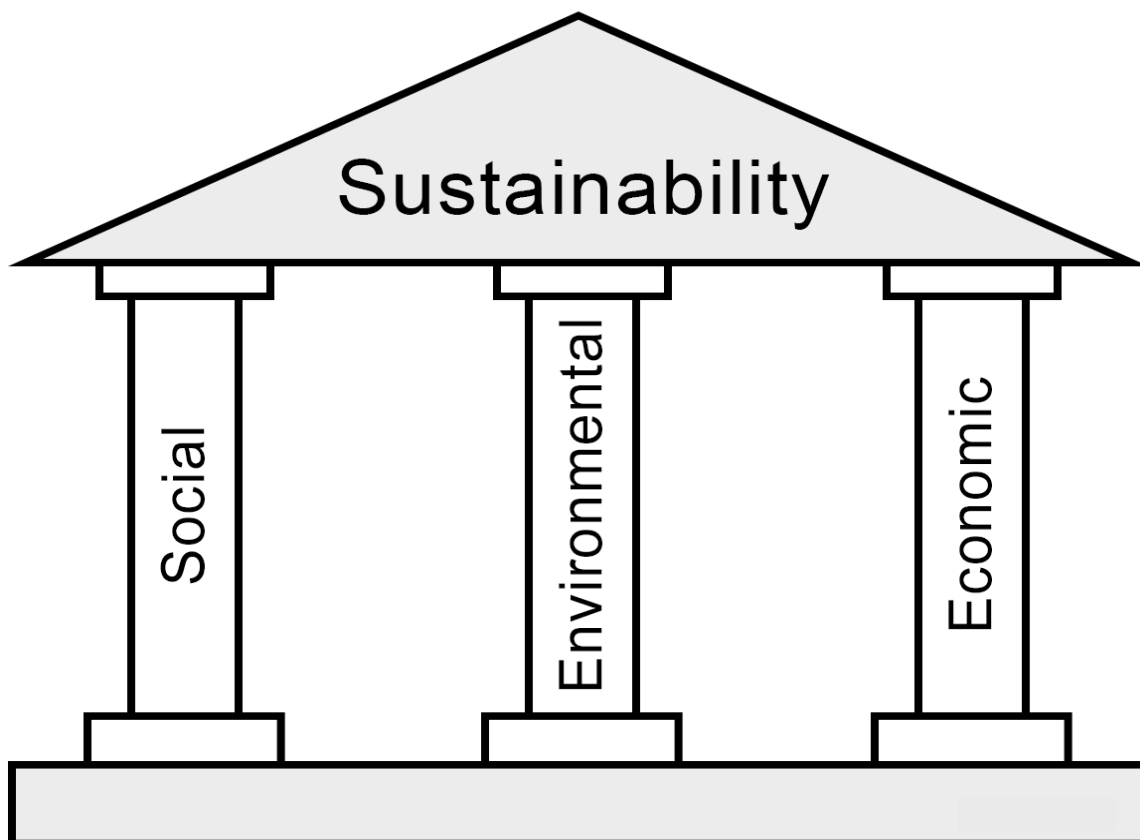


Figure 1. Conceptualization of sustainability in three pillars. Thwink.org

In general terms, social sustainability can be defined as “a life-enhancing condition within communities, and a process within communities that can achieve that condition” (McKenzie 2004:

p. 12). Departing from the working definition of the concept, McKenzie goes on by identifying a preliminary list of “features [that] are indicators of the condition” (ibid.). The list includes intergenerational equity, accessibility to services and cultural protection. The broadness of the definition is justified by the acknowledgment that sustainability is a dynamic concept, continuously changing over time and in place (Dempsey et al. 2011: p. 292). To date, literature on social sustainability has usually dealt with the identification of sub-dimensions of the concept, to break these dimensions in measurable indicators. By this way, scholars provided several methods to start evaluating and assessing social sustainability efforts. Vallance et al. (2011), while acknowledging that social sustainability “is a concept in chaos” (p. 342), propose a threefold schema based on: (a) ‘development sustainability’, related to the creation of social capital and issues of justice; (b) ‘bridge sustainability’ which address changes in the behavior to achieve environmental goals; and (c) ‘maintenance sustainability’ referring to the preservation of socio-cultural characteristics in the face of change, and how people reacts, by embracing or resisting this change. This schema is relevant because it shows the presence of certain differences between different aspects of social sustainability, and the necessity to weigh these elements, as sometimes they involve fundamentally incompatible goals. As an example, a focus on the achievement of environmental goals could result in an underestimate of the importance of personal and social interactions in defining social sustainability. Opp (2017), provides a recent conceptualization of social sustainability, informed by the US context. Based upon an extensive review of the literature, the author identifies four broad dimensions contributing to social sustainability: (I) equal access and opportunity, related to notions of social justice, regards the accessibility of open services and local services; (II) environmental justice, which refers to the relationship between local environmental quality and health issues; (III) community and the value of place, related to concept of social capital and hindered by the presence of social segregation; (VI) basic human needs, in terms of perception of safety and security and fair distribution of income. The paper shows how the breaking of these four dimensions into measurable indicators provides a method to assess social sustainability efforts, with a focus on the urban area. To sum up, Vallance et al. (2011) and Opp (2017) identify two different frameworks which impose some order on the study of social sustainability, and allow for a measurement of the concept. These approaches are very useful as they shed light on the complexity of the concept in analysis, as well as the acknowledgment of divergences between the different dimensions. Yet, Vallance et al. (2011) do not recognize the relevance of identifying social and physical aspects of social sustainability, while Opp’s dimensions of social sustainability are heavily based on the US context, and share an emphasis on quantitative indicators. This result in a lack of qualitative measurements, which can provide a triangulation of sources, strengthening the validity of the results (O’Donohue & Punch, 2003). To address these limitations, a framework inspired by Dempsey et al. (2011) will be adopted for this project. In their study, the concept of social sustainability is explored through two sub-dimensions: social equity, which refers to the equitable access to services and infrastructures, and sustainability of a community, related to the ability of the community to reproduce itself at an acceptable level of functioning. Through their identification, the relationship between urban areas and social sustainability is explored. Literature on urban sustainability suggests reasons to expect a trade-off between these two dimensions: access to services is claimed to be better in denser urban forms, while the same urban density may result in a lower quality of social interaction in the neighborhood (Bramley & Power, 2009).

1.1 Contribution of urban regeneration in the enhancement of social sustainability

Urban regeneration is widely regarded as a valid approach to achieve sustainability goals (Chan & Yung, 2004; Zheng et al. 2014; La Rosa et al., 2017). In this thesis, urban regeneration is conceptualized as a process aiming to revitalize pre-existing urban areas, rehabilitate public areas, improve mobility and urban transport, while seeking to strengthen social and civic participation in the area, with the aim to improve quality of life in the community. The concept, informed by planning and social issues, is claimed to have positive effects on the restoration of deprived areas and the enhancement of socio-economic conditions (Lee & Chan, 2008), the improvement of local environmental quality (Adams & Hastings, 2001), the enhancement of existing social networks and improvement of the inclusion of vulnerable groups (Chan & Yung, 2004). Urban regeneration is a concept related to the restoration and redevelopment of physical and social environments in urban areas with physical, social and environmental issues (Egan et al. 2015). Urban regeneration and sustainable development share temporal and spatial perspectives: both are concerned with future scenarios, and seek to employ these scenarios to facilitate thinking and activities regarding to the future (Boiko et al. 2012). Another element in common between the two concepts is the identification of physical and social sub-dimensions in addressing the problem at stake (Bramley & Power 2009; La Rosa et al. 2017). Despite the similarities, a focus on social sustainability is required to counteract potential side-effects of urban regeneration. This requires a careful consideration of the themes from which derive indicators, best suited to investigate urban regeneration through the lens of social sustainability. Another element requiring attention is the evaluation of the potential negative effects of urban regeneration on social sustainability. Departing from the principles that link urban regeneration with an improved quality of life in urban areas, this element is investigated in the theoretical framework. The knowledge gap is found in the lack of mutual intelligibility of frameworks related to social sustainability: because of the ever-changing nature of the concepts in use, highly mutable in time and space (Dempsey et al., 2011: p. 292) there is an ongoing debate on the themes that should drive future research. Therefore, as the next section will show, it is important to recognize the need for research in the specific field of social sustainability in urban areas: a theme that will be increasingly relevant in the societal and scientific arenas.

1.2 Scientific and societal relevance of the study

The adoption of a scientific approach based on the social aspects of sustainability in the evaluation of urban regeneration plans is fairly new. The research is meant to explore the extent to which a process of urban regeneration can trigger a sustainable development in a neighborhood. This is done through the evaluation of the process and the effects that are expected on a social and physical level. The study aims to understand the role of different subjects, ranging from professionals operating in the local government to business and social stakeholders, and the extent to which they can influence the process. The aim is to investigate whether a plan of urban regeneration can increase quality of life of residents in terms of social connections, accessibility to services and identity. To do so, the research reflect upon the relation between the concepts of urban regeneration and social

sustainability, through the employment of a multi-dimensional framework. Only recently, the relation between the two concepts has been object of research (Boiko et al, 2012; La Rosa et al. 2017). Regarding the knowledge gap, in the past decade, several studies attempted to identify the factors that explain social sustainability. This effort has been hampered by a partly unsolved contrast between traditional and emergent themes (Colantonio, 2013). To tackle this issue, this research combines an extended arrange of indicators that is investigated through quantitative and qualitative methods. This research is of primary interest at the urban level. Cities are primary actors in human development, and their effort in establishing sustainable communities need to be cautiously investigated. At the local level, policy recommendations derived from the research can drive other plans of urban regeneration, highlighting social issues at the community level arising from an uneven development of the area, resulting in social displacement. As the research illustrates, the objectives of urban regeneration plans may be conflicting among each other, therefore the possibility of a trade-off between different objectives needs to be discussed in depth. The focus on a single neighborhood allows to comprehend the role of different subjects involved in urban regeneration plans, and ultimately to draw conclusions that could drive further research in different neighborhoods and urban areas, though best suited for the European context. Other contexts, like the US one, may be lacking the pre-existing urban fabric, often loaded with historical buildings, that characterizes urban areas in Europe. Therefore, concepts of identity and sense of belonging of the area may differ depending on the context.

1.3 Research aim and questions

The aim of the research is to explore the different ways in which urban regeneration aims to enhance social sustainability. Therefore, the research will adopt urban regeneration as a process set to increase several factors, like quality of life, accessibility to services, social capital, that has been related to social sustainability.

The main research question is:

In what ways urban regeneration has to be organized to enhance social sustainability?

The sub-questions are meant to illustrate different segment of the research, in order to expand and sustain the results from the main research question:

- *What is social sustainability?*
- *What is urban regeneration?*
- *Who is involved in urban regeneration plan?*
- *When is urban regeneration needed?*
- *How does urban regeneration stimulate social sustainability, and what is the attitude of the stakeholders towards the progress?*
- *What policy recommendations can be derived from this case?*

1.4 Research framework

To answer the research question, 5 steps will be followed. In the first step, social sustainability is defined considering two underlying dimensions: sustainability of a community and social equity. These two dimensions include several contributory factors to social sustainability. In the second step, theoretical and empirical elements traced in the literature shed light on the concept of urban regeneration, through the analysis of its sub-systems. In the third step, the effect of urban regeneration on these two dimensions of social sustainability is determined. In the fourth step, an empirical case study is set, in a way meant to explore how local subjects involved in the area perceive the quality of the process of urban regeneration so far, and their view on the prospects for the area. The methods are composed of a survey and semi-structured interviews. In the final step, the results will be discussed considering their limitations and some general recommendations will be made.

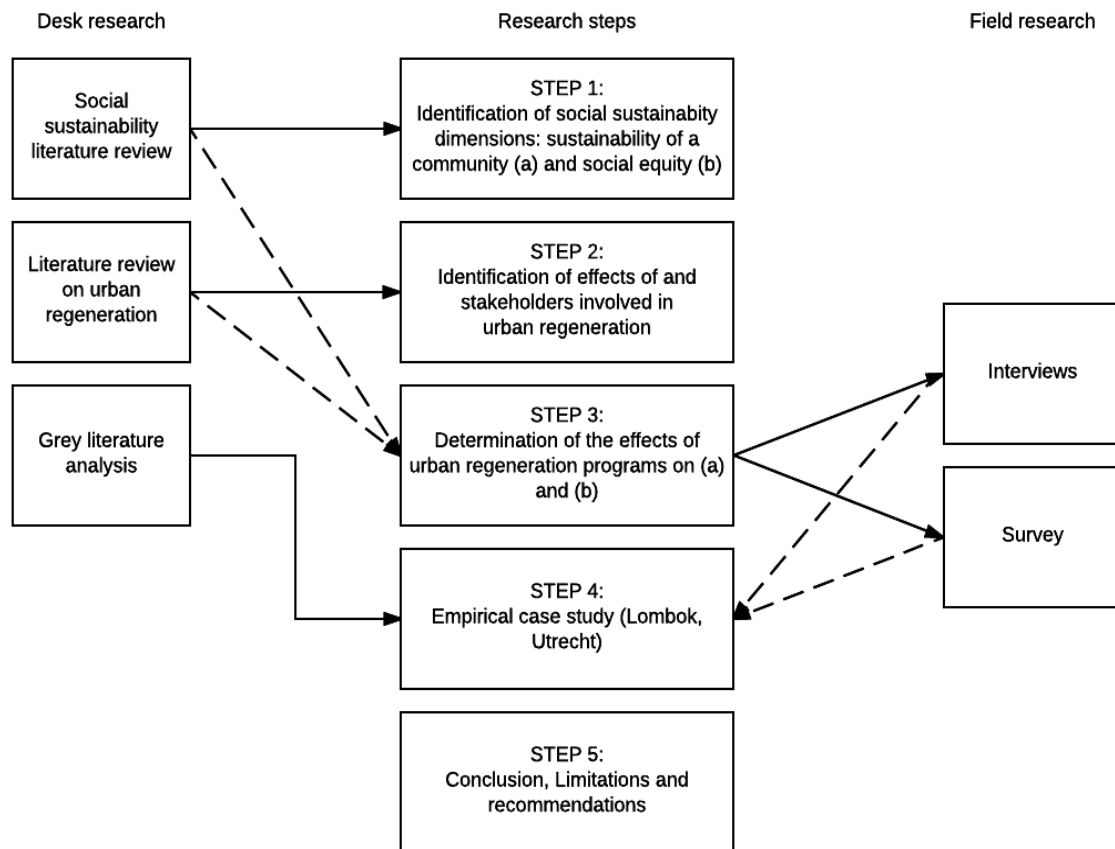


Figure 2. Research Framework

2. Theoretical framework

The objective of this chapter is to display the evolution of the different theories related to the concepts introduced in the first chapter. After a recognition of the main frameworks that have been employed throughout recent research to study the effects of urban regeneration and the relevance of social sustainability for urban areas, an analytical framework is shown. In the framework, which is derived from previous studies, an array of indicators related to two sub-dimensions of social sustainability is chosen, to structure the methods and ensure a consistency between the theoretical framework and the empirical results. In the end of the chapter, a conceptual map provides an overview of the ways in which urban regeneration can be arranged, and how different organizations affect social sustainability.

2.1 Social sustainability

Social sustainability still appears as a vague concept, related more to context-driven policy objectives than to a scrupulous scientific theorization (Littig & Grießler, 2005). With that said, several scientists have worked to provide a working definition of the concept. Polese and Stren (2000: 15-16) define social sustainability as a development, which allows for a “harmonious evolution of civil society”, increases “compatible cohabitation of culturally and socially diverse group”, ultimately aiming to improve quality of life in “all segments of the population”. This definition focuses on economic (development) and social (civil society, social integration) dimensions of sustainability, while acknowledging the importance of the built environment within the sustainability debate. Throughout the last 20 years, the way this concept is framed has undergone several modifications. At first, social and political scientists who engaged with issues of sustainability, focused on the social implications of environmental politics (Metzner, 2000). Perhaps as a reaction, social scientists proposed numerous different objectives and indicators, resulting in a detachment between the rising sustainability science and social and political sciences (de Vries, 2012). In the following years, issues of social equity and participation have been framed with environmental objectives in a set of sustainability goals (e.g. the UN Sustainable Development Goals; UN 2017). The framework with more relevance for this research is the one developed by Dempsey et al. (2011). The authors argue that the sustainability debate has moved from an ecological point of view, with the emergence of “social sustainability as a theme existing *per se*” (p. 297). Because of the recognition of the concept as independent from environmental and economic side, the authors established a framework for analysis, which included several themes associated to social sustainability, both in the literature and in the policy field. To ensure a correct formulation of the framework for this research, a comparison between different approaches, ranging chronologically, is presented, drawing from a paper about the evolution of the concept of social sustainability throughout the years, by Colantonio (2009). In Colantonio’s review, several approaches to the concept are shown, ranging chronologically and thematically (2009: p. 870). A relatively early study on the components of social sustainability, by Sachs (1999), shows how prior studies on social sustainability focused on rather traditional social and political themes, such as social homogeneity, access to goods, services and employment; this probably reflected the need to include social aspects in the sustainability field, traditionally

congested by environmental and economic aspects. Transitioning through more recent studies, Godschalk (2004) explores the contrasts and potential conflicts between different elements of social sustainability. Godschalk’s research highlighted ways in which traditional goals of (sustainable) urban planning, like economic growth, ecology and equity. may collide with residents’ search for livable cities. Different frameworks elicit diverse sides of the concept, which must be intended as multidimensional and dynamic (Dempsey et al., 2011). The main sub-dimensions of these frameworks are shown in table 1, in two columns displaying old and new themes associated with social sustainability throughout the years.

Traditional	Emerging
Basic needs, including housing and environmental health	<u>Social capital</u>
Education and skills	<u>Social mixing and cohesion</u>
Employment	<u>Demographic change (aging, migration and mobility)</u>
<u>Equity</u>	<u>Identity, sense of place and culture</u>
Human rights and gender	<u>Health and safety</u>
Poverty	<u>Well-being, Happiness and Quality of Life</u>
<u>Social justice</u>	<u>Empowerment, participation and access</u>

Table 1. Traditional and emerging social sustainability key themes.

The shift from traditional to emergent theme reflects in a way the societal shift happened in contemporary societies, whereas the economic development and freedom of personal expression of the Western context has led to a diminished importance of themes like poverty and physiological needs (nutrition and shelter). Instead, as shown in figure 3 (below, p. 11), according to Maslow’s hierarchy of needs (1943, 1954), themes related to socio-cultural aspects, like participation, identity and quality of life, have become increasingly central.

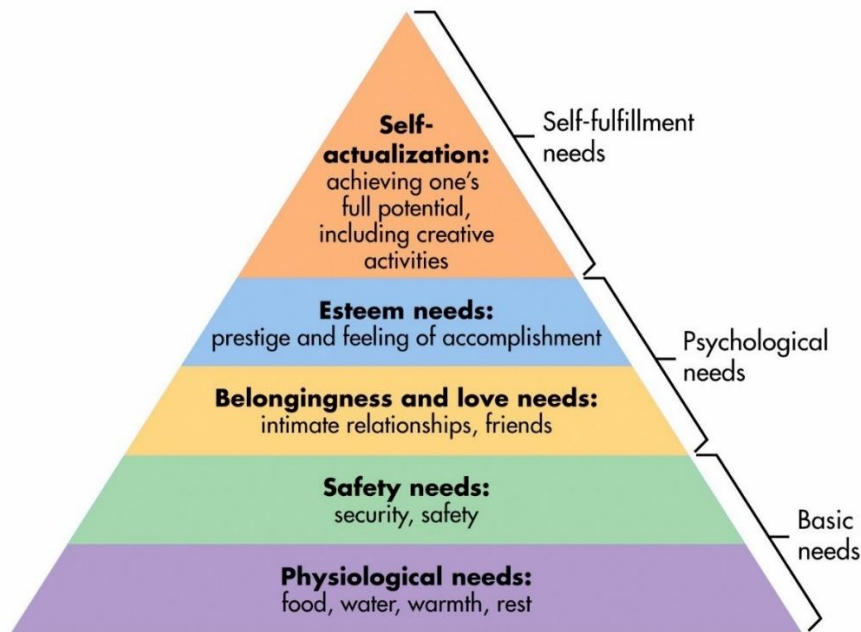


Figure 3. Hierarchy of Needs (simplypsychology.org)

With that said, the relevance of a theme over the other really depends on the context (Rydin et al., 2010), and the concept of social sustainability is “a dynamic concept, which will change over time in a place” (Dempsey et al., 2011: p. 292). Regarding the traditional themes shown in the left column, I intend to focus on (social) equity, a concept that is encompassed by principles of social justice (Dempsey et al., 2011), and relates with ideals of equitable access to services. The reason why equity and social justice are selected among the traditional theme is to ensure a focus on a fundamental aspect of quality of life in urban areas, which is quality and openness of services. On the other side of the table, the emerging themes are shown. Given the relevance and novelty of these key themes applied in the frame of social sustainability, every concept is further discussed and defined in light of the related dimensions of the framework developed in the thesis and explained in the next sections (2.2, 2.3). In line with the frame, social sustainability is comprised by two sub-dimensions: sustainability of a community and social equity. Departing from this framework, a slightly modified version will be developed, to include the themes from table 1 (above, p. 10). In 2.2, the first dimension of social sustainability is further expanded through the identification of a potential proxy measure relating with the indicators underlined in table 1.

2.2 Sustainability of a community

In the previous paragraph, Sustainability of a community has been defined as “the ability of society to sustain and reproduce itself at an acceptable level of functioning” (Dempsey et al. 2011: p. 293). To explore the collective aspects of social life at the neighborhood level, several inter-related aspects of community sustainability are identified in the literature (Dempsey et al. 2011: p.294). Originally, in the framework, sustainability of a community revolved around five sub-dimensions: social interactions in the community, the existence of spaces of collective participation and the actual involvement in these spaces; the stability of the community itself; a certain sense of pride/ownership of the place by the residents; and last, a perception of safety and security. In this research, these sub-dimensions are slightly adapted to address the emerging themes found in the literature. As a key aggregating concept, social cohesion and social capital are two potential proxy measures for sustainability of the community:

“[Sustainability of a community] is associated with ‘social capital’ and ‘social cohesion’ as concepts that encompass social networks, norms of reciprocity and features of social organization (Coleman, 1988), and the integration of resulting social behavior.” (Dempsey et al., 2011: p. 293).

Turning the attention on the first concept, social cohesion is a multidimensional concept, defined as the answer on ‘what keeps society together?’ (Reeskens, T, 2007). As scholars abandoned the attempt to arrive at a single definition, the concept now encompasses several domains, ranging from issues of social order, the reduction of wealth disparities and place identity (van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). I Since some scientists argue that social capital has a direct influence on social cohesion (Dempsey, 2008), in this research social cohesion is conceptualized as a (fundamental) part of social capital, needed to ease social transactions. In fact, social capital will be used as a proxy measure of social sustainability. The aim of the next paragraph is to discuss the implication of different forms of social capital, and to show how all the emergent themes selected from table 1 are linked to the concept of social capital.

2.2.1 Social capital

Social capital as a concept has been extensively studied in the Academia, with studies aimed to analyze its formation, components and effects. Robert Putnam is renowned in the field and have approached the concept several times (1993, 2000). According to him, social capital is defined as “social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (Putnam, 2000: p. 20). Other scholars prefer to focus on different dimensions of the concept, abandoning the attempt to arrive at a single definition. As an example, Onyx & Bullen (2000), claim social capital consists of social norms, networks, social agency, reciprocity, trust, and the commons. An interesting point of critique on this concept emerges in a paper written by Dale & Newman in 2005. In the article, the importance of social capital as a primary indicator of a community’s ability to engage in sustainable development is partly questioned. First, the authors conceptualize social capital by means of its capacity to form ties in social networks. Social networks are “a powerful means of distributing knowledge and can lead to the reconciliation of previously competing information, interests and agendas” (Dale & Onyx, 2005 in Newman & Dale, 2005: p. 478). A network is composed of actors connected by ties, and these ties create different networks. Researchers often imply these

ties are strongly related if not equated to the concept of social capital. But not all connections within a network are equals: network analysis often revolves on already established ties in closely connected group (McPherson et al., 1999), minimizing the role of weak ties. Nonetheless, several studies confirmed that weak ties, related to formal and a-personal forms of interaction, are way more effective than personal, familiar relationship in the development of professional networks. Granovetter (1973) was the first author to suggest that weak ties perform a bridge function, fundamental in contemporary society: by linking actors situated in different networks, weak ties allow separated societal group to meet halfway, creating conditions for a stronger, cohesive society. So, if social capital can be a combination of bonding (*strong*) and bridging (*weak*) ties, then this result in two different conceptualizations of social capital. Below, a working definition by the British Office of National Statistics (in Foxton & Jones, 2011: p. 2) briefly explain the difference between these two related concepts:

- Bonding social capital – describes closer connections between people and is characterized by strong bonds e.g. among family members or among members of the same ethnic group; it is good for 'getting by' in life.
- Bridging social capital – describes more distant connections between people and is characterized by weaker, but more cross-cutting ties e.g. with business associates, acquaintances, friends from different ethnic groups, friends of friends, etc.; it is good for 'getting ahead' in life.”

So, 'bonding' social capital consists of strong network ties, and it's needed to create a network in first place. Although fundamental, 'bonding' social capital can hinder innovation and mortify social connections. Portes (1998) focused on the negative effects of social capital. 'Bonding' social capital can under certain circumstances lead to (i) cut off actors (ii) impose social norms that discourage innovation and (iii) refuse "others" from outside the community. 'Bridging' social capital, on the other hand, consists of weak network ties and perform as a benefit, allowing actors to bring about critical social changes; it is claimed to 'connect' people across diverse social cleavages (Putnam, 2000). Given the scope of the research, a focus on bridging over bonding social capital is more accurate, as weak ties are more easily related to the enhancement of participation, inclusion and networking patterns, thus increasing social sustainability in the area. Below, an explanation on the relation between social capital and other key measures identified in the emerging themes of social sustainability is given. Departing from a definition of these concepts, the indicators best suited to measure the effects of urban regeneration on sustainability of a community are listed, defined and explained, to construct the analytical framework of the research.

Social mixing relates to housing policies aimed to reduce concentration of poverty in a neighborhood. The concept is often related to social cohesion in policy making (van Kempen & Bolt, 2009), and in policy circles is claimed that policies of social mixing directly results in higher social cohesion. This is contested in the literature: research on social mixing hasn't shown a clear effect of residential turnover on social sustainability (Dempsey et al, 2011: p. 296); rather, literature suggests that high level of diversity in the neighborhood, which is a result of residential turnout created by social mixing policies, creates anomie or social isolation (Putnam, 2007: p. 149). Social cohesion, on the other hand, is defined as the 'glue' holding society together, and relates to the presence of social networks,

trust among residents in an area and a feeling of belonging and identity with the place where one lives (Forrest and Kearns, 2001).

Scientists interested in the determination of the effects of demographic change, assess the extent to which a change in the neighborhood composition affects the quality of public urban areas. Regarding its effect on community stability and social cohesion, this concept isn't inherently 'good' or 'bad', as it varies with the type of change, whether related to age, migration or mobility (Dempsey et al. 2011, Silburn et al., 1999). Regarding demographic change, this research is more interested in the perceived effects of the change in the community composition. Although Onyx et al (2000, p. 36) suggested that social capital has little to no influence on these variables, it relates with social cohesion and identity: precisely, it influences these two key concepts, as a change in the composition of the neighborhood alters the pre-existing equilibrium (Silburn et al., 1999). The impact of ageing, migration and residential mobility is thus best seen in the community stability (Dempsey et al., 2011: p. 296).

'To be inside a place is to belong to it and to identify with it' (Relph, 1974 in Seamon & Sowers, 2008). Identity, sense of place and culture are all concepts encompassed in the sentence, and can be defined as a "sense of community" (Dempsey et al., 2011: p. 296), relating to other residents, social order, common norms and even civic culture in the neighborhood (Forrest and Kearns, 2001). As the concept of identity deals with feelings of belonging and 'pride' to a place, it relates with community stability and cohesion. The presence of common values in an area positively relates with feelings of identity and belonging to a place (Fukuyama, 2000: p. 15).

Turning the attention to the concept of safety, the degree to which people consider safe the area in which they live is fundamental to determine the effective social sustainability in a community (Barton, 2000). Feelings of safety are claimed to enhance trust and reciprocity between residents (Dempsey et al., 2011: p. 297). Regarding the connection to the overarching concept of social capital, a perception of safety is fundamental, as it eases social interactions in the community, since no one wants to live in what is perceived as an unsafe neighborhood (Dempsey et al., 2011). Some authors go even further, by stating it to be an antecedent of any positive social activity (Shaftoe, 2000).

Human well-being is an aggregating concept: terms such as quality of life, human development, life satisfaction, standard of living, happiness, human development and welfare are some of the terms interchangeably used with well-being (Rogers et al. 2013: p. 3474). In this research, the focus will mainly be on happiness and life satisfaction, to avoid overlapping with the other key measures. Well-being strongly correlates with perceived health, good social relations, and security. (Assessment, M. E. 2005), and it's therefore a crucial dimension to investigate the quality of the area. Regarding happiness, some scientists question the ability of (local) government to deliver effective happiness-oriented policies, being a hardly measurable concept (Johns & Ormerod, 2007). Anyway, as Layard (2007) notes, governments have been always interested in controlling citizen's happiness, though only recently there have been attempts to clearly define and measure the concept. Given the difficulty to consistently frame and use the concept of happiness, the research will deal with aspects of well-being only.

Finally, issues of empowerment, participation and access (Dempsey et al., 2011: p. 295). This last

element refers to participation to collective groups and organized activities, and it deals with civic and societal participation. In the Academia, participation in local and community activities is claimed to be one of the domains of social capital (Kearns & Forrest, 2000). Though people may have other activities located in areas outside the local community, participation in organized activities is unanimously considered to contribute positively to social sustainability (Dempsey et al., 2011: p. 295). As aforementioned, access is best analyzed jointly with issues of social justice and social equity, and will therefore be treated in the other dimension of social sustainability, social equity, in 2.3.

To conclude, the literature review has shown why social capital is a crucial key measure with which assess social sustainability in a community under several other key measures. The next paragraph covers the second dimension of social sustainability, social equity, from the concept definition to possible ways of measurement.

2.3 Social equity

The concept of social equity refers to the “fairness in the apportionment of resources” (Burton, 2000: p. 1970), and is related to social and environmental exclusion. Social equity issues resonate with definitions of sustainable development embedded on meeting the needs of present and future generation (Hopwood et al., 2005). Equity is considered a crucial component of social sustainability because there is increasing evidence that lower levels of disparity correlates with less crimes and homicides, longer life expectancies, stronger economic vitality and patterns of civic engagement (Putnam, 2000; Bramley & Power, 2009). These elements are scaled at the local level and refer to physical presence of facilities and services within the neighborhood. An equitable access inspired by ideals of territorial justice is therefore strongly connected with social sustainability issues (Kay, 2005). The main barrier to social equity is the social exclusion of the disadvantaged in the public access. Some authors argue that an increased access to local services and local areas may be paradoxical, leading to an increase of housing cost and property value (Wolch et al., 2014). This would result in a displacement of the “original” residents, leading to an altered composition of the neighborhood. Therefore, urban planners need to balance social and environmental aspects of sustainability when dealing with accessibility issues. To conclude, equity is informed by principles of social justice, relates with the accessibility of services, infrastructures and areas and the extent to which certain groups are limited in the access. In 2.3.1, accessibility as a concept is investigated as a potential effective measurement of social equity. Departing from the main concepts, four indicators are traced and discussed in the literature; accessibility to public and private services (Farthing, 1997), to green and open areas (Wolch et al., 2014) and last, walkability (Rogers et al., 2013).

2.3.1 Accessibility

Accessibility is frequently cited by scholars as a fundamental measure of social equity (Barton, 2000). This reflects the relationship between the built environment and the extent and nature of accessibility; specifically, the presence or absence of key services, public transport routes and provision of pedestrian and bike lines has an impact of quality of life in the given area. Winter and Farthing (1997) conducted empirical research in the west of England to examine how urban form can and does have an impact on social sustainability. From their study, eight services and facilities most frequently used in a local community were identified. Several studies contributed to this field of research and the list of local services deemed fundamental now includes: post office, library and open administration regarding public local services; corner shop, pub, sports facility and bank regarding private services. Moving from 'conventional' services to new field of research, accessibility to green areas is increasingly recognized as an environmental justice issue (Wolch et al., 2014). An equitable access to public, well-maintained green areas is linked with greater satisfaction of life and reduced sense of deprivation (Ernstson, 2012). The last aspect related to an equitable access to a community area is walkability. Walkability refers to the presence and quality of pedestrian and bikes lanes, and the resulting perception of safety when moving throughout the area. Higher levels of walkability in an area release segregated land use, allowing individuals to experience their neighborhood in ways that weren't possible before (Rogers et al., 2013). Departing from this notion, some authors infer that walkability is positively correlated with social capital (ibid., p. 3473). To conclude, urban regeneration's aim is to enhance accessibility, because it involves physical intervention of the area under work. The final objective of these interventions is to improve key sectors of urban livability such as green spaces (Mell 2009), linkages between different areas (La Rosa et al., 2017), and a better access to local services, either being private or public (Barton, 2000).

2.4 Analytical framework

The effects identified in the literature are showed by means of an analytical framework, selecting suitable indicators of social sustainability. The analytical framework is informed by the theoretical knowledge derived from academic literature. The framework developed by Dempsey et al (2011) is expanded and questioned with the adoption of two multidimensional key measures, aimed to represent the two main dimensions of social sustainability: namely, social capital for sustainability of a community, and accessibility in the area for social equity. Regarding the first dimension, social capital is identified as a complex concept with its different dimensions of social capital directly contributing to the enhancement of the sustainability of a community. Regarding the second dimension, accessibility (from the overarching dimension of social equity) is selected. Depending on the different types of services, facilities or living spaces constituting urban areas, access is subsequently divided in several dimensions. Table 2 (p. 17) shows the analytical framework.

Key dimension	Key measure	Indicator
Sustainability of a community	<i>Social capital</i> , directly relating to the following measures:	Amount and extent of individual and group relations (<i>social ties</i>), resulting in:
	Social cohesion	Presence or absence of social networks composed by social ties, shared norms and values
	Demographic change (aging, migration and mobility)	The extent to which a change in the neighborhood composition is experienced or perceived by its own residents
	Identity, sense of place	Residents' attachment to the place, the extent to which individuals identify in the area in which they live
	Safety	The extent to which residents feel safe in their neighborhood, The extent to which people in the area can be trusted
	Empowerment and participation	Participation in organized activities; presence and extent of local groups; perception of ability to influence events
	Well-being and quality of life	The extent to which individuals favorably evaluate their overall quality of life
Social equity	<i>Accessibility in the area:</i>	Perceived fairness in local access
	Accessibility to public services	Perceived accessibility to post offices, library, primary school;
	Accessibility to private services	Perceived accessibility to supermarket, bank, corner shop, sports facilities.
	Accessibility to public and green areas	Easy and safe access to public spaces in the area, e.g. squares, canals or parks
	Walkability	Easy and safe pedestrian mobility in the neighborhood

Table 2. Analytical Framework

2.5 Urban regeneration

Urban regeneration is a multidisciplinary field, linking research, policy-making and practice, characterized by an integrated vision of both community development and sustainable development (La Rosa et al. 2017). As stated in Zheng et al. (2014: p. 272), terms as urban regeneration and renewal share similar meaning, ranging similarly in terms of scale, as both involve work of a relatively large scale; therefore, the two terms are often used interchangeably in the literature. According to Roberts et al. (2016), urban regeneration can be defined as a set of policy and planning instruments, aimed to solve problems in the urban areas, finding long term solutions or improvements to economic, physical, social and environmental aspects of an area. The most important principles related to the concept are: the need to establish clear objectives and their accordance to the objectives of sustainable development; efficient use of natural, economic and human resources; participation and cooperation among citizens and/or stakeholders; punctual analysis of local conditions (Roberts et al., 2016). As Guzey (2016) suggests, urban regeneration plans should aim to minimize conflicts between different stakeholders and residents, by balancing public and private interests. Consequently, projects that needs public consensus should show clearly demonstrable effects. To have an impact, urban regeneration plans needs to “be strictly integrated with municipal master plans, avoiding single, isolated projects that are not integrated into more complete spatial planning instruments” (La Rosa et al. 2017: p. 189). On a different tone, Rydin et al (2003) show the connection between local form of governance and sustainable development. Based on a case study of urban regeneration in London, the study pinpoints the relevance of local political circumstances in shaping policy practice and outcomes in social and environmental sustainability.

“Considering the city a spatial-constructional and social system, we may outline two large sub-systems: town planning and social sub-system. While the town planning sub-system includes all material elements of a city, including environmental factors that form the territorial structure, the social sub-system consists of the number of inhabitants as beneficiaries of the whole system.”
(Ristea et al., 2010: p. 103).

The quote illustrates how, to achieve sustainable urban development, the process of urban regeneration must consider physical as well as social factors. The division between planning and social sub-systems in terms of the evaluation of sustainability performance is investigated in a critical review on sustainable urban regeneration by Zheng et al. (2014). Planning sub-system involves several material elements like land, housing, infrastructure and heritage. Social sub-system revolves around stakeholders and subjects involved, and how their contribution may enhance processes of urban renewal when adequately stimulated, or hindered when not considered. The quote also highlights the connection between urban regeneration and social sustainability, both concepts revolving around planning and social issues at the same time. Indeed, the literature review shows how urban regeneration aims to enhance these two aspects. Regarding the first aspect, urban regeneration program concurs to improve the accessibility of services of the area (Alpopi & Manole, 2013). This impacts directly on social equity, as more and diverse services get available to a larger part of the population. Regarding the second aspect, urban regeneration aims to enhance social networks and participation, resulting in an improvement of the inclusion of vulnerable groups (Chan & Yung, 2004).

2.5.1 Interactive policy-making

The key element is the broadening of the focus from conventional actors related to governance, like the central or local government, to include an array of organizations outside the state, like private stakeholders and local associations (Rydin et al., 2003). This reflects a recognition of the inability of the government to act alone (Stone, 1989). Furthermore, when issues of governance match with those of sustainable development, changes in behavior of organizations and stakeholders outside the state are required to ensure these changes. Non-state organizations need to be “involved in both policy formulation and implementation, blurring the boundaries between the public and the private” (Rydin et al., 2003: p. 548). The mixture of new trends and themes at the empirical level strengthen the need of new model of policy-making, like the one proposed by Driessen et al. (2001). Interactive policy making requires multiple parties to play an active role to arrive at a shared decision. This model of management consists of six phases:

- (i) exploration phase, in which the project is characterized in terms of its complexity and dependency among the actors, to make an initial estimate;
- (ii) initiative phase, when the support for the method of the projects must be created, while the actors involved enter the arena to discuss pros and cons of the project in terms of their interest at stake;
- (iii) common perception, the phase where parties must agree on a shared definition of the problems and the objectives of the project;
- (iv) joint problem solving: During this phase, willingness of parties involved is the main concern. Are the parties willing to mobilize themselves and their resources for the shared goal?
- (v) Decision-making. In this phase, the decision is definitive, and the degree of support is ascertained among a wider population (e.g. the residents of the area under urban regeneration);
- (vi) Implementation and evaluation. This is the last phase: as the agreements are turned in action, the local government establish a monitoring of the progress, while additional details regarding the project may be further defined.

These phases are identified as ideal stages of governance process, since during the actual project the division between the phases may not be readily identifiable (Driessen et al., 2001: p. 326). When applied to the case of this research, it will be discussed which phase is relevant for the case, to derive specific recommendations at the policy level. An important characteristic of interactive policy-making is complexity (Driessen et al., 2001: p. 327). There are five interrelated factors that determine the project’s complexity, operating in conjunction with each other.

- the substantive and technical objectives of the project: revolving around which and how much technology and expertise are needed to develop the project.
- The network of stakeholders: the number of stakeholders involved increase complexity but a well-functioning network can lead to more ambitious goal.
- The societal and governmental context: previous experiences in terms of quality of the governance process have a strong influence on the project. Furthermore, societal context of the area under analysis, can create opposition to the plan when claimed to change the area’s identity.
- The timeframe of the project: the longer a project takes, the higher the level of uncertainty, and thus of complexity, as it becomes harder to keep track of the changes and the interest at stake.
- The financial scope of the project: this relates to the issue of financing, the amount of which becomes more uncertain as the project increases its range and objectives.

To tackle the complexity, interactive policy making requires “governance, coordination, monitoring and accountability (Driessen et al., 2001: p. 326). It is therefore crucial to reflect on who, why, how and when someone is called to participate in a decision-making process. The objective of the following paragraphs is to identify the stakeholders involved in the process of urban regeneration: namely local government, entrepreneurs, civic associations; or public, business and civic stakeholders. Residents are also included among the stakeholders, reflecting their relevance as both end-users and influencers of the process of regeneration.

2.5.2 Stakeholders

Urban planning is a complex activity, with issues of fragmentation of interests among a wide ray of subjects, ranging from private to public actors, from powerful to powerless ones. Scientists have debated over the crisis of the traditional, top-down approach in planning and policy (Glucker et al., 2013), calling for the emergence of an interactive and cooperative form of governance. Different types of stakeholders are needed to start a participatory process. A stakeholder is every subject who “seek to place capital, reduce risk, gain profits and enhance their reputation” (Zheng et al., 2014: p.275).

Public stakeholders - The local government is a crucial actor in initiatives for sustainability (Fleeger & Becker, 2008; Conroy & Berke, 2004). “Although local governments are not necessarily the only agencies charged with community planning and development, they are the only locally elected, representative and accountable bodies responsible for community decision-making”. (Roseland, 2000: p. 74). The centrality of the role of local government in the governance structure of urban regeneration, directly influences the planning strategies involved (Zheng et al., 2014). Nonetheless, to successfully increase social sustainability, local government needs to partner with local groups as well; a collaborative approach resonates with stronger sense of community, equity and empowerment and thus is fundamental to the sustainability paradigm (Conroy & Berke, 2004). Ehrenhalt (2015) agrees and stresses the role of governments as facilitators for urban regeneration, as they cannot start one from scratch. Local government should pursue an interactive policy-making, streamlining the communication process between the parties involved, in a way that best resembles the ideal-type mentioned above in 2.4.1 (Driessen et al., 2001: p. 325). To sum up, local government is a critical player in enhancing sustainability of urban areas, needing to act both as actor and mediator (Driessen et al., 2001); as a primary actor in the definition of the project, and as a mediator to the extent to which is able to include different stakeholders and minimize trade-offs between parties.

Entrepreneurs – Focusing on the private sector, local entrepreneurs can greatly influence the urban space, when they invest in a regeneration project (Kriese & Scholz, 2011). Stakeholders differ greatly in terms of their priorities regarding the objectives of urban regeneration plans (Dempsey et al., 2011). While they do not possess the legitimacy that the local government has, local entrepreneurs often invest consistently in urban regeneration processes (Zheng et al., 2014). When entrepreneurs are too small to make an impact autonomously, they can form an entrepreneurs’ association. By this way, the trade-offs between different entrepreneurs can be discussed in a public arena, to find a common ground that strengthen the relative weight of these subjects in the decision making (Glucker et al, 2013). When this is done in a local context, these associations perform like civic organizations

(Taylor & Richter, 2015).

Civic organizations – These local organizations are “the totality of social institutions and associations, both formal and informal, that are not strictly production related nor governmental or familial in character” (Huber & Stephens, 2001: 6). These organizations greatly vary in terms of their scope, type of membership. Civic organizations are claimed to link the local government with residents, asking for transparency in the formulation of the plan and aiding residents to engage in the discussion (van Zyl, 2014).

Residents - Following Zheng et al. (2014), residents are the end users of a community, and therefore must be taken into consideration when displaying the various parties involved in the process of urban regeneration: as end users, their daily life is heavily influenced by the effects of urban regeneration. Nonetheless, their behavior patterns and their preferences impacts on the process of decision making enacted by more powerful parties, such as the local government or the business sector (Bromley et al., 2005)

Stakeholder	Role	Tools	Limit
Local government	Propose the project, coordinate the process and ultimately takes the decision	Legitimacy Gather expertise for the plan	Needs to act as an initiator of the project, but also as a mediator
Entrepreneurs	Investors in the plan, can change part of the objectives of the plan to include their private interests	Financial coverage, association of entrepreneurs	Trade-off between different types of private initiatives may hinder clear decision-making
Civic organizations	Require transparency, streamline communication between local government and citizens	Monitoring, lobbying	Limited representativeness, difficulty to gain as much influence as the business sector in the plan formulation.
Residents	End-users, influencing the process when building strong civic organizations	As citizens, elects local government, as a consumer may advantage or disadvantage certain entrepreneurs.	If not properly involved in the process only have a passive role.

Table 3. Stakeholders involved in the process of decision-making regarding urban regeneration plans.

2.5.3 Effects of urban regeneration

We already seen that the goals of urban regeneration plans are rather ambitious: departing from the physical transformation of buildings or entire areas in the urban fabric, they cascade in the

social sphere, with the idea of delivering new vibrant places and spaces to the citizens. The concrete effects of these plans, however, may be detrimental for certain residents, failing to become stakeholders in the process. The enhancement of urban areas usually results in the arrival of new residents and activities in the area, which in the mind of policy makers should trigger social mix, while increasing attractiveness of the area. This process can be called gentrification. Originally, the term was almost a synonym of urban revitalization, and authors as Altshuler (1969) and Smith (1971) claimed it to be an entirely positive concept, in the belief that the effects of this residential mobility would have resulted in positive effect for the lower as well as the higher classes. Nevertheless, it is now being recognized how gentrification can also lead to displacement, segregation and social polarization (Lees, 2008). Nonetheless, this intriguing concept has been extensively studied in the last 50 years. Ehrenhalt (2017) defines it as “merely the transformation of neighborhoods from low value to high value”. Despite the alarms, it’s still promoted in policy as a solution for urban decay and a way to achieve more livable and sustainable communities (Hochstenbach & Gent, 2015, Lees, 2008). Adverse effects of urban regeneration require caution and mainly relates with issues of identity. While the intended effects of urban regeneration are more evident, and include an increased level of business activities, thriving opportunities in terms of new and more services, what may rise from interventions that are imposed to the original residents of the area, is social displacement. This process may alter pre-existing identity of the area in two ways: on a structural level, the new buildings could not fit in the pre-existing urban fabric; on a social level, residents could be pushed away in poorer areas (Hochstenbach & Gent, 2015). Urban regeneration may increase unequal living conditions, and as a result, poorer individuals are often forced to move into other areas. On a city level, this cannot be a solution of the problem, as it creates new areas of social deprivation. Urban decay is usually tackled by politicians through gentrification processes, but more effective measures may be the restoration of decaying housing complex and a better access to social services. Another effect of the urban regeneration plan is the shift from social projects to private initiatives, from shared to private ownership. In areas that are experiencing an economic development, initiatives in the neighborhood tend to become private-led, as the different interests tend to collide, and the public administration directly refers to retailers, entrepreneurs when framing the plan in terms of parties involved. Finally, there is a potential issue with the density of the renovated urban area. Denser areas could create more traffic rather than reducing it, congesting the streets and mortifying efforts of better socialization in public spaces, and therefore the relationship between density and urban form must be taken into careful consideration (Bramley & Power, 2009).

2.6 Model of urban regeneration plan

Given the multitude of actors, tools and outputs potentially involved in processes of urban regeneration, it is evident that plans aimed to enhance social sustainability can be organized in rather different ways. Every organizational setting will differ in terms of overarching principles, role and extent of actors involved, effects on the urban area and, subsequently, on key measures of social sustainability. In this research, two models of governance and planning are shown. The two models share the same context, with a growing inability of the public institutions to act alone (Stone, 1989). As an example, if a local government aim to increase quality and efficiency of private services, changes in behavior of organizations and stakeholders outside the state are required to implement these changes. In this context of blurred boundaries between public and private spheres (Rydin et al., 2003), two opposite solutions are discussed.

Regarding the first model, in reaction to the context, mutual trust and collaboration of different stakeholders result in an interactive process of governance. Earlier in this chapter, interactive governance has been analyzed as an effective way to guide, develop and implement an urban regeneration plan: the adherence on its principles - like the mutual collaboration between the stakeholders involved, and the role of the local government, initiator as well as a mediator of the plan - may increase social sustainability in four ways. Firstly, it relates to the inclusion of more, diverse parties, thus increasing the possibility of powerless actors (e.g. marginalized citizens) to feel empowered, or at least listened by the local government. This enlarged participation is also increased when local associations manage to require transparency by the initiator of the plan, increasing the accountability of the process. Secondly, the understanding of societal context: previous experiences in terms of governance have a strong effect on future plans, as obstruction and limited trust can rise when the plan is deemed to change the area's identity. Thirdly, a better communication between the city government and the various stakeholders involved ease that feedback about the most needed urban services or intervention are listened and implemented. Lastly, social and planning subsystems are equally considered, as they both influence social sustainability, as seen in the distinction between sustainability of a community and social equity. Roberts et al (2016) stresses the importance of highlighting local conditions in the preliminary analyses related to the plan. In this way, it is also easier to understand the number and types of stakeholders involved, so to minimize conflicts between stakeholders and residents, balancing public and private interests (Guzey, 2016). About the impact of this model to the key measures of social sustainability, a deep understanding of the societal context results in a preservation of the existing identity of the area, and in increased social cohesion and safety, with higher levels of trust among the residents. The increased accountability of the plan, thanks to the role of local associations, ensures the actual usefulness of the plan, while the inclusion of vulnerable groups increases participation and social cohesion, such as residents' perception to influence the area in which they live. Lastly, the collaboration among diverse stakeholders ensures that feedback for most needed urban services are made, resulting in a clearer view and decision making on the interventions to be made to increase equality and quality of the services related to social equity. Despite being the best way to organize urban regeneration plans in theory, there may be obstacles related to the heterogeneity of actors involved. This may hinder the adoption of effective solutions. As remarked by Driessen et al (2001), the complexity of the project increases as a result, with different views on the plan by the parties and uncertainty on the actual objectives of the plan.

In this case, it is up to the local government to acknowledge which stakeholder should be involved and how, after a careful recognition of the local context.

The second model departs from an absence of collaboration among the actors and a reduced legitimacy of the local government. As an effect, the governance is top-down: participation of residents is symbolic or absent, while the local associations are unheard, without any feedback from and to the city administration; only private stakeholders who provide financial coverage are able to influence the plan. In this organizational setting, the plan is imposed to the resident, and the lack of recognition of the local context leads to an alteration of the identity of the area, both on a structural level and on a social level. On a structural level, new buildings or spaces developed with the plan could not necessarily fit in the pre-existing urban fabric, thus decreasing accessibility to public and green areas, and decreasing accessibility to services whereas a new function is given to a building without the recognition of the change by the residents. On a social level, residents are pushed away in poorer areas (Hochstenbach & Gent, 2015). This way, potential contrasts between social and physical aspects of the plan are minimized or misread. Another effect is the triggering of a process of gentrification, resulting from a configuration of stakeholders focusing on the economic development of the area. This phenomenon generally boosts economic activities and housing prices in the area, but increases unequal living conditions. As a result, poorer residents are often forced to move in other areas. When the process of gentrification is left unregulated, another effect of the urban regeneration plan is the shift from social projects to private initiatives. As more and diverse interests arise, the public administration is keener to address retailers and entrepreneurs as the only legitimate actors in the elaboration of the plan. Urban decay and underdevelopment is tackled through gentrification on the physical level as well. The limited or absent participation of residents and local associations hampers processes of renovation and restoration of existing buildings, favoring the construction of new buildings even when not needed. Finally, there is a potential issue with the density of the renovated urban area. Denser areas could create more traffic rather than reducing it, congesting the streets and mortifying efforts of better socialization in public spaces, and therefore the relationship between density and urban form must be taken into careful consideration (Bramley & Power, 2009). Despite being far from the principles of sustainable development, this model may provide opportunities for private stakeholders, as new residents and activities may be attracted in the area. Additionally, it is debated whether this social mix, while increasing attractiveness of the area, has a negative or positive effect on social cohesion (van Kempen & Bolt, 2009).

In the conceptual map (figure 4, p. 25), the two models are sum up and visualized, with role and tools of stakeholders, to easily compare the two models. In 3.2, the two models will be operationalized in the methods sections.

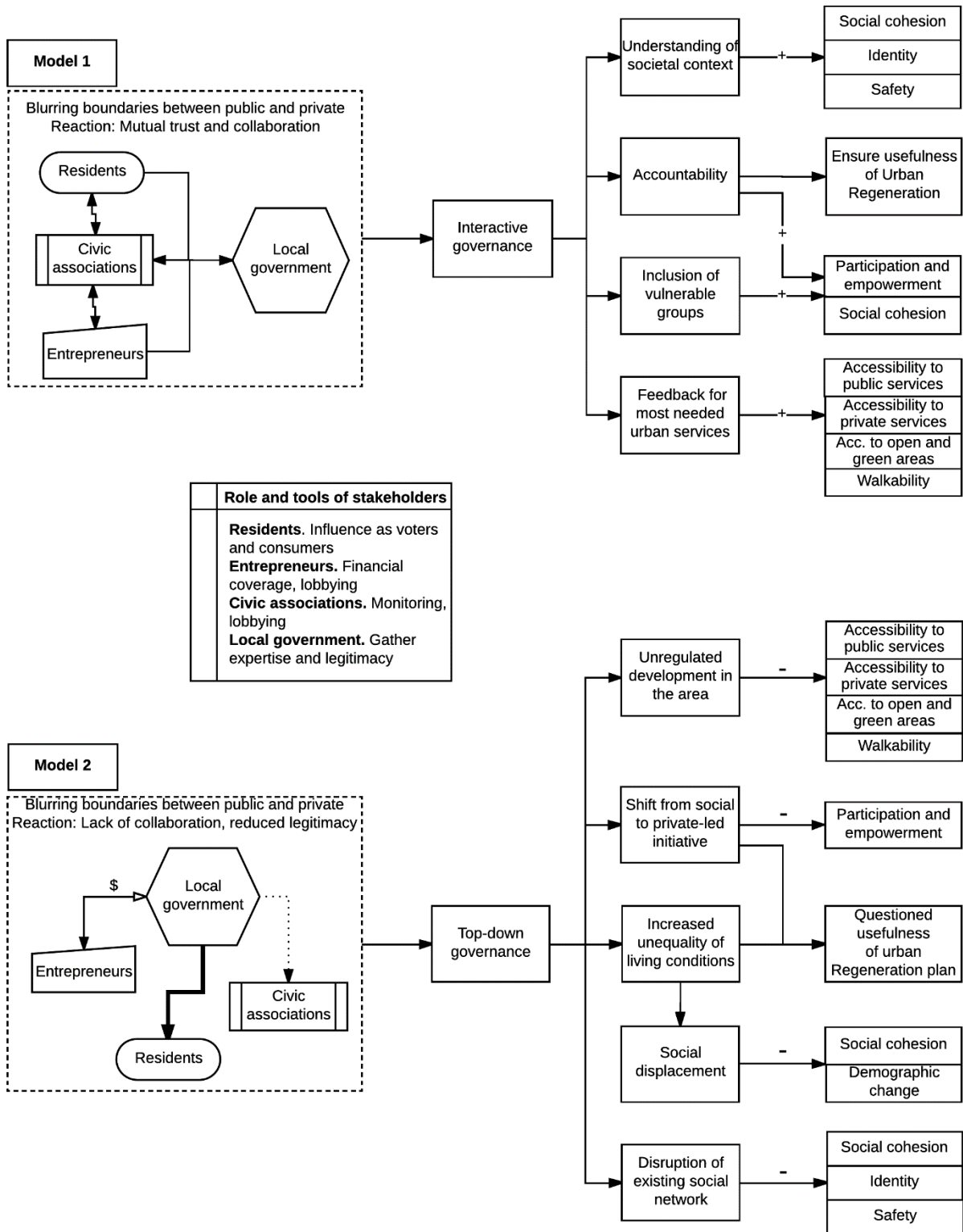


Figure 4. Impact of different organization of stakeholders in urban regeneration plan.

3. Methodology

The research strategy consists of the employment of the analytical framework on a case study, which will shed light on the local context of a representative case of urban regeneration, evaluated in light of its potential in delivering a social sustainability output. The case study refers to a deep examination of the setting, which can be an organization or a community. As Bryman (2015) remarks, exponents of the case study design often select qualitative methods like interviewing, because these methods are conceived helpful for the generation of an intensive, detailed examination of a case. The area of analysis reflects a broader category of cases dealing with social sustainability in the urban context, and thus have been selected to provide a suitable context for the research questions to be answered. The methods employed in this research, apart from the literature review, will be interviewing and observation of the area under analysis. In the following section, the selection of this specific case will be explained.

3.1 Introduction to the case study

Cities are central actors in the field of sustainable development. Nowadays, more than 75% of the population in the European Union lives in urban areas (Worldbank, 2017). The relationship between the organization of urban regeneration plans and social sustainability is thus fundamental in establishing patterns or ways to increase quality of life in cities. Furthermore, the formulation of indicators derived from the literature can drive future research on the subject. On the national and supranational level, the study addresses issues common to different urban areas, such as the trade-offs among different sustainable development objectives (whether they are environment or society-driven) and among different stakeholders that can be involved in the process. At the local level, the case of Lombok, an area close to the city center and the central station in Utrecht, best exemplifies the characteristics needed for the case as the area is well characterized in terms of its identity, which is currently changing from a societal and physical point of view; new buildings and services are being announced and developed, while the composition of its inhabitants affects the equilibrium of the community. I consider the case an exemplary case study, because as the notion of exemplification implies, the case epitomizes a broader category of cases, providing a suitable context for the research questions to be answered (Bryman, 2015: p. 70).

Following the official Dutch administrative division, Lombok is constituted by two small areas, namely Lombok-West and Lombok-Oost. I will be focusing on both areas, as they constitute a cohesive area de facto (Dibbits & Meder, 1985). The two areas include the Kanaalstraat, main street in Lombok and the Moskeeplein, facing the area behind the central station, where most of the

projects related to urban regeneration are currently taking place (figure 4, below).

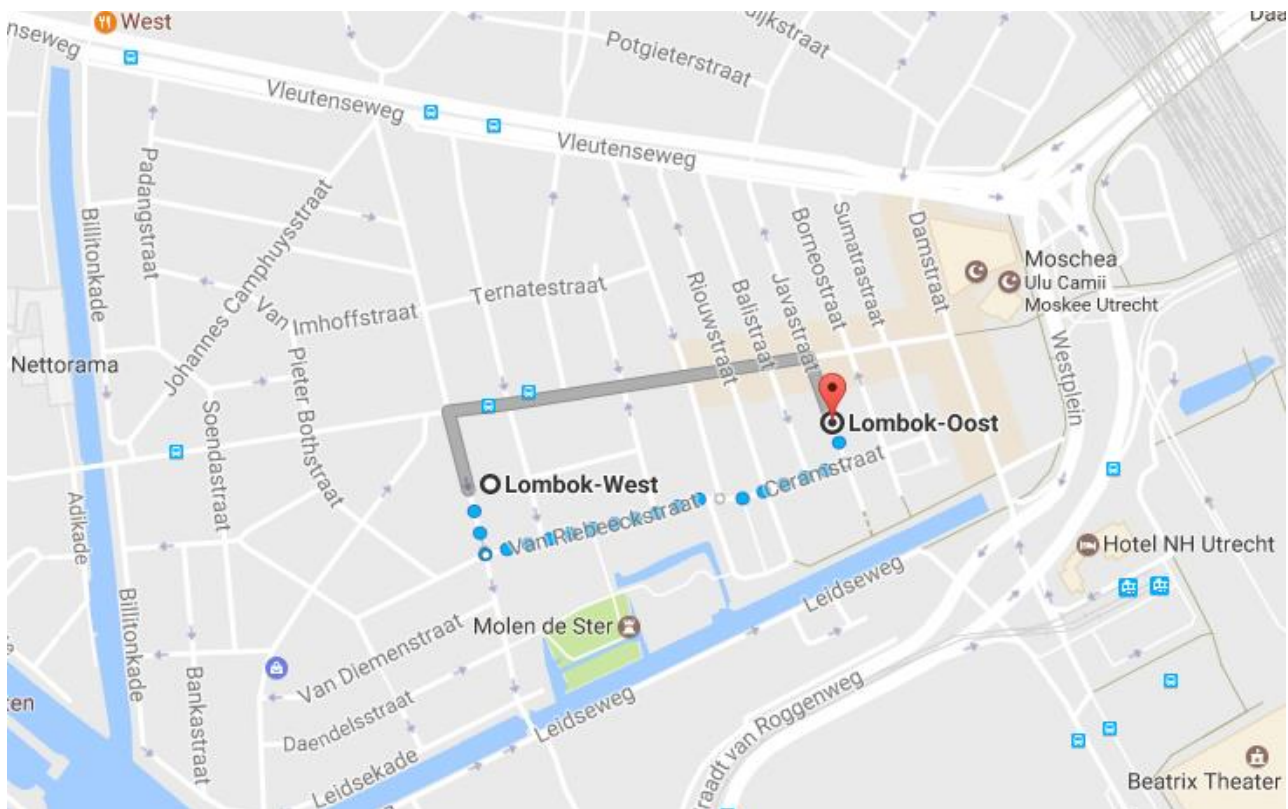


Figure 5. Map representing the area of analysis: Lombok West and Lombok Oost (Google Maps, 2017)

In 2016, Utrecht municipality published a report focusing on the future of Utrecht, called ‘Utrecht kiest gezonde groei’ (i.e. Utrecht chooses healthy growth). In the report, the core elements are “moving, well-being, living, work, education and sustainability. [The city of Utrecht] is a place where meeting/encounter is key” (Gemeente Utrecht, 2016, p. 6). Although vaguely specified, citizen’s involvement is deemed to be important in making decisions about the city’s development. Among the most strategically relevant areas is the closer area of Utrecht west, near the Utrecht Central Station (Gemeente Utrecht, 2016). The preliminary document regarding the development of this area was called “Wijkambities West” (“ambitions of the neighborhood West”). The authors of the document highlighted the importance of formal and informal participatory processes, favoring “initiatives from residents” to contribute in the regeneration of the area. In Utrecht West, the area of Lombok was selected for this research because of its peculiar identity compared to other areas. Lombok is a small area within the neighborhood West in Utrecht, The Netherlands. shows the area in analysis. Located in the eastern proximities of the central station, Lombok has a strong tradition of multicultural neighborhood (Meder, 1985), and in the recent years has gained relevance as an area interested by plans of urban renewal. The research departs from a specific area of Lombok, namely Westplein area. This space currently serves mainly as a traffic intersection for private cars and public transport, with low walkability and danger for pedestrians. The construction of new buildings and of the Mosque in the area is the first step to modernize the area. But now, Westplein is a barrier to the city center, with traffic, noise issues and a low livability of the public space. The local government of

Utrecht West highlighted the potentiality of the area in the report “Wijkambities West”:

"We need a structural Westplein which defines the best way to restore the connection to the inner city. ... The final version of Westplein is coming in the next few years. There are some serious initiatives from residents to develop parts of the Westplein for the time between now and the completion of the square. It looks for optimal forms of participation, while taking into account many different parties and thus difficult conditions." (Wijkambities West 2013: p. 12. Translated).

As mentioned in the report, Lombok’s residents are already working on the area with a pro-active attitude, trying to shape the urban environment. Among them, Ontwikkelgroep Lombok Centraal (OLC) is considered a relevant actor in the neighborhood. OGC can be described as a network of different organizations and individuals interested in the future of the area, with the idea to share professional expertise and knowledge. OGC has discussed with the city council the plan for urban renewal of the area. An overview of the plan developed by the OGC and the city council is shown below. Among the various projects, a small park/garden aside of the square will be set, the Leidsche Rijn channel (now underground in Westplein) will continue in the square, for leisure and aesthetic purposes (Ontwikkel Groep Lombok Centraal, 2017). Figure 4, below, shows a concept rendering for the requalification of the area.



Figure 6. Proposal for Westplein/Lombokplein renewal (Ontwikkelgroep Lombok Centraal via Lombox, 2017)

In the following period, Utrecht municipality encouraged the process of urban regeneration, with the establishment of a temporary group project, the Stadslab, with the aim to develop a city plan (Gemeente Utrecht, 2016). In Chapter 4, the results will be introduced by an overview of Stadslab’s role and the principles driving the plan.

3.2 Methods

The indicators presented in sub-chapter 2.5 have been adapted to be identified in the empirical data by means of three methods: survey to residents, semi-structured interviews to subjects operating in the neighborhood, and a policy analysis of the city plan redacted by the municipality. The first method consisted in a survey administered to a sample of the residents of the area under analysis. Data on the population selected for the study, the sample and a copy of the questionnaire can be found in the Appendix. The questionnaire is designed to cover the indicators of the research through the adoption of a set of statement in a Likert-scale style and through forced-rank questions. This way, the current situation of the area under analysis gave context to the other sections of the results. The second method consisted of interviews to ten stakeholders, which were selected from roughly twenty subjects in light of their involvement in the neighborhood and their availability. The interviewees were found thanks to a careful recognition of the area. The interviews revolved around stakeholders with a social interest, as in the case of member of a local association, or a private interest, like retailers and entrepreneurs operating in the area and lastly, subjects with a public interest, like the supervisor of the plan enacted by the local municipality. To reach local groups, after the acknowledgement of the existence of several local association, I contacted them in a one-on-one approach. As for the private entrepreneurs, I first contacted the main association of retailers in the area, without any answer. Later in the data collection, I contacted the entrepreneurs individually and most of them have been very available and assertive, resulting in a high number of local retailers and entrepreneurs, if compared to other stakeholders. Lastly, I contacted the local government to know the official view on the plan, and after several mails and the aid of the supervisor in suggesting me the next logical step, I contacted the responsible organization for the city plan, namely the Stadslab. A list of the respondents and a short explanation of their role in the area is attached in the Appendix. The interviews followed a semi-structured format, with a set of questions designed to be adapted to the specific subject interviewed, and to elicit a conversation as spontaneous as possible. The third method consisted of an analysis of the most relevant policy documents related to the urban regeneration city plan. Regarding the analysis of the organizational setting in urban regeneration plans, the section in the end of the theory chapter showed two ways of conducting urban interventions. Drawing from the current blurring between private and public boundaries, and the recognized incapacity of the public institutions to ensure the effectiveness and legitimacy of plans, two situations put at the extreme of a continuum are shown. The first refers to the principles of interactive governance, with an increased range of stakeholders involved, including powerless citizens, a mutual collaboration among them and increased transparency of the process. In the second, the government is unable or unwilling to open the decision making, and while private entrepreneurs are involved in the plan by means of financial coverage, the other actors are not or low involved, and this results in a lack of recognition of the local context, with risks of altered identity and distrust towards the plan.

To operationalize these element, I will look at the findings in a systematic way, with a comparison of the interviews done by different types of actors, considering the two models of governance for urban regeneration plan. Through the finding it will be investigated which model, if any, resembles the case the most. Due to the systemic nature, or rather to the different indicators and actors involved, this

analysis involves the whole set of interviews. These effects have been discussed in the previous chapter, and shown in table 4.

Characteristics	Urban regeneration model 1 (+)	Urban regeneration model 2 (-)
Principles	Knowledge of local context, cooperation among stakeholders, focus on both social and planning subsystems	Plan imposed to residents; Only private entrepreneurs influence the plan due to financial coverage; mismatch on priority between social and planning subsystems
Governance	Interactive with cooperation among different stakeholders	Top-down, limited to influential stakeholders
Effects	<i>Sustainability of a community.</i> Recognition of local social and political heritage; contribution of more diverse stakeholders enhances sustainability of UR. Transparency of the process. <i>Social equity.</i> Improve accessibility in the area; focus on services needed in the area; may lead to improvement of the inclusion of vulnerable groups(?)	<i>Sustainability of a community.</i> Increase unequal living condition; social displacement; shift from social to private-led initiatives; only entrepreneurs involved; lack of pre-existing social networks. <i>Social equity:</i> Unexpected effects of increased density, alteration of existing urban fabric, no space for feedback on what are the most important urban services
Key measures affected	INCREASE IN Social cohesion, participation and empowerment, accessibility to public and green areas, accessibility to public and private services, safety(?)	DECREASE IN Social cohesion, participation and empowerment, accessibility to public and green areas, accessibility to public and private services, safety, demographic change

Table 4. Operationalization of the urban regeneration plan.

3.3 Research material

The research is composed of theoretical and empirical knowledge, gathered from different sources. The objective is to combine two or more theoretical perspectives, methods, data sources to achieve what is called triangulation (O’donohgue & Punch, 2003). This research strategy is used to reduce or counterbalance the limits of a single strategy, thereby decreasing the risk to misinterpret the findings. In the specific context of the research, this is ensured on a theoretical level, with a focus on several concepts related to social sustainability and urban regeneration. Regarding the methods

employed, qualitative research in form of interviews to stakeholders and subjects operating in the area is intertwined with a statistical, quantitative approach in terms of a survey to residents. Apart from the results of the interviews and the survey, an analysis of the actual strategic city plan has been done, which was combined with the analysis of other documents written by local association, as well as confronted with the results obtained from the research.

Regarding the interview sections, a set of questions were asked to the interviewees, with the idea in mind to include the indicators related to social sustainability. A topic list with a sample of the questions asked throughout the research is included in the Appendix. When the interviewee had knowledge about the urban regeneration plan in act, their opinion on the plan, the expected effects and the process of participation was investigated. In the appendix, the general set of questions developed for the interview is shown. In the actual interviews, the questions were slightly modified according to differing contexts and language knowledge of the interviewees. During the first minutes of the interview, I explained briefly the scope of my research and present a definition of the concept of urban regeneration to ease the understanding of the questions. The concept of social sustainability was often simplified in terminology to ensure clarity, and therefore reduced to its components or indicators rather than explained scientifically to every subject. A full transcription of the interviews is in the end of the appendix Section. Interviews have been coded through the software NVivo, to determine the presence and relevance of the indicators traced in the literature. NVivo is software designed to help organize, investigate and find insights in unstructured, qualitative data (NVivo 2017). During the analysis, the division in nodes and child nodes in the program allowed to include the two sub-dimensions related to social sustainability, sustainability of a community and social equity, and add the indicators as child nodes, following this division. Through the employment of this method, I could examine the whole set of interviews in a unified way.

As for the survey administered to the resident, the aim was to investigate the current situation of the neighborhood as perceived by the residents of the area under analysis. The sample comprises 1% off the actual population living in the two neighborhood Lombok Oost and Lombok West and reflects the composition of the neighborhood in age and gender (question 1 & 2, see appendix). The respondents were asked to rank what are the most important aspects of living in the neighborhood (question 4), which of these aspects are already good at the neighborhood level (question 5), and which need to be strengthened (question 6). In the end of the questionnaire a list of statements related to the indicators is shown, and the respondents were asked to express their agreement or disagreement towards these statements in a Likert-like scale (question 7).

3.4 Methods reliability and validity

The replicability of methods employed is ensured by the formulation of interview questions based on indicators found in the literature. The validity of the research is strengthened by the adoption of several sources of data, ranging from grey and scholar literature review to semi-structured interviews with several subjects and a survey to residents related to the case in analysis. The amount and quality of data collected is also aimed to favor the validity of the research, as more sources relating to different stakeholders display a more complete overview of the case. The issues of the external generalizability of the results in the case study design are well known among the scholars (Bryman 2015: p. 113). Nonetheless, if the case study exemplifies a specific situation, which is well described

in the literature, some general results can be generalized. The location of the case study coincides with the place where the researcher lives: on one hand, this may improve the ability to detect changes in the neighborhood as they are experienced while they're happening. On the other, it implies risks of "going native", neglecting the researcher's role by being too absorbed in the environment (Bryman, 2015).

4. Results

The results section is meant to illustrate the findings related to the research objective underpinning this research. The research objective is to investigate how a process of urban regeneration can be organized to trigger a sustainable development in a neighborhood. By the evaluation of the process and the effects that are expected on a social and physical level, and through the employment of statistical and qualitative methods, the study aimed to understand the role of different stakeholders in the process and their evaluation of the condition of the area under analysis. To conclude, the aim has been to investigate whether a plan of urban regeneration can increase social sustainability in the area. The chapter is composed of three sections, reflecting three different stages of the process: the first one about the status of the area, and the other two stages depicting expected changes in the short and long term. The objectives of the plan of healthy urban living designed by Stadslab for the Utrecht Municipality have been compared with the results of the survey, which has given a snapshot of the current situation in the neighborhood in terms of the perceived attitude of its residents towards several themes related to the life in the community on one hand, and the quality and equity of services in the territory on the other. The interviewees acknowledged the potential of the plan in bringing new development to the area, and expressed their view on the future of the area. Finally, the interview with one of the supervisors for the plan, Klewer Matei (interviewee #8), has given more depth to the official plan and allowed me to ask several questions regarding some specificities of the plan. Regarding the area selection, Utrecht municipality encouraged transparency and participation in the process of urban regeneration, with the establishment of a temporary group project, the Stadslab (Gemeente Utrecht, 2016). Located in the city hall, the Stadslab has worked to prepare a strategic vision of the plan of regeneration of the area, called “omgevingvisie Beurskwartier en Lombokplein” [Vision of the area of Beurskwartier and Lombok Square], which has been then published on June 2017 (Gemeente Utrecht, 2017). The plan it’s inspired by the idea of a healthy growth of the city, related to sustainable patterns of life in the urban space. To accommodate a rising number of residents in the city, the plan aims to build new areas while improving the access to public areas in the city. This way, the city center is now set to include the once detached areas surrounding the central station, such as Beurskwartier and Lombok, according to the principle of ‘het vergrote centrum’ [enlarged center] (Gemeente Utrecht, 2017). In 4.3, this vision will be further presented and discussed in light of the results of this research.

4.1 Current situation

The status of the neighborhood now is one of a rather dynamic place, with growing opportunities for residents and stakeholders involved in the area. In the interviews, the potentials of the area clearly emerged: ‘I like this neighborhood [...]. I see this place growing on places to go out. There is more culture. You start to see more dynamics, and that makes it an interesting place for new residents’ (interviewee #2). This suggests that the neighborhood is growing in terms of its general attractiveness. Despite the optimism of many respondents regarding the general prospects of the

area, there are several issues that the area is currently experiencing. The survey to residents was therefore aimed to recognize these problems at the neighborhood level. The survey gave a snapshot of the current situation of the neighborhood in terms of the perceived attitude of its resident towards several themes related to the life in the community on one hand, and to the quality and equity in access of services on the other. Overall, the results indicate a general uniformity of opinion in the survey, with small differences related to age and gender. Among the elements composing social sustainability, safety is perceived as the most important, requiring careful attention in the future. Safety refers to the feeling of uneasiness and discomfort originating from living, working and walking in the area under analysis. In a broad sense, this element refers to the dangerousness of car traffic and to a perception of vulnerability when moving or stationing in the public areas of the neighborhood. The set of problems about safety emerges both in the survey and in the semi-structured interviews. This perception of safety as a critical element of the neighborhood tends to increase over age and seems to occur more for female than for male, both in the survey and in the interviews. Identity and sense of place was the next most recurrent element of the findings, as all interviewees acknowledged the peculiar atmosphere of the neighborhood, “like a town” (Interviewee #7). Regarding this aspect, some uncertainties related to the future identity of the neighborhood arose in the answers, linking the need for new development in the neighborhood with the risk of losing identity: “It's difficult because if high prices of houses go higher it's interesting for people to invest and you get a lot more of high income people in the neighborhood. That also has consequences for the demographic situation of the neighborhood. People that has been living here for longer time, with social connections with each other in the area, will be replaced by people who have money but lacks social connections” (Interviewee #7). Before pointing the attention on the expected and unexpected effects of the plan, the current situation of the neighborhood in terms of attitude of the residents towards different urban elements related to social sustainability will be displayed. Figures quoted in the text are shown in the end of the chapter, to increase readability.

4.1.1 Most important urban elements of the neighborhood

Following the answers of the respondents (figure 7, p. 35), the elements perceived as important for the quality of the neighborhood are Safety (with 50% of the respondents who put it at the first position and over 90% who put it in the top 5), Well-being and quality of life (which overall was selected in the top 5 by 83%), accessibility to public and green areas (80%). Regarding well-being, this view on the area was acknowledged in the interviews: ‘it's a very wanted area, everybody wants to stay here after they've studied here, they buy houses, they invest also in the open spaces [...]. The interaction between people, private initiatives to start something with the people in your street, makes it very lively (Interviewee #7).

4.1.2 Most organized urban elements of the neighborhood

Question 5 of the survey revolved around the elements found in the literature, asking the respondents to indicate which elements are currently well organized in the neighborhood. As shown in figure 8 (p. 36), the respondents indicate accessibility to private services, social relations with other residents, accessibility to public and green areas, and on a lower extent walkability, as well-organized elements of the neighborhood. Regarding the extent and easiness to access to private services, it

seems to refer to the ever-growing number of restaurants, cafés and local markets, traditionally a great presence in a multicultural area like Lombok: “you can find everything. From your daily cooking, every country has a shop [...]. It’s a daily shopping area” (interviewee #3).

4.1.3 Most problematic urban elements of the neighborhood

The results show the elements that are problematized the most: safety, where most of the answers concentrate, well-being and quality of life and empowerment and participation. Safety is perceived as an important theme characterizing quality of life in the neighborhood (or lack of it). This element scored high in the sample, with a peak in the female segment. This question is relevant as it clearly shows what are the urban elements that need to be strengthened or taken care of in the area, according to the residents. Therefore, the results deriving from figure 9, (p. 36) will be brought back in paragraph 4.3, to assess the concrete relevance of the urban regeneration plan in terms of its responsiveness towards the themes that are perceived as most important by the residents.

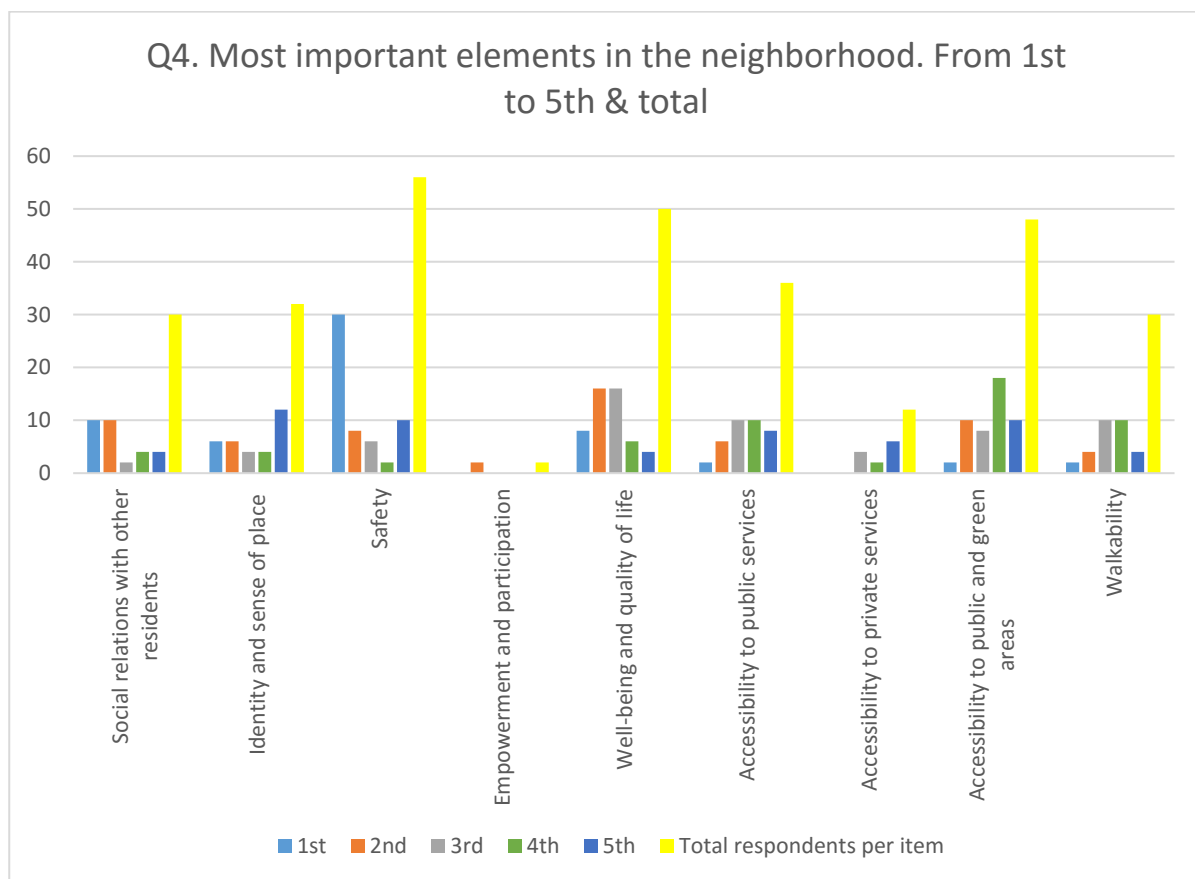


Figure 7. Most important urban elements according to the survey, per item (4.1.1).

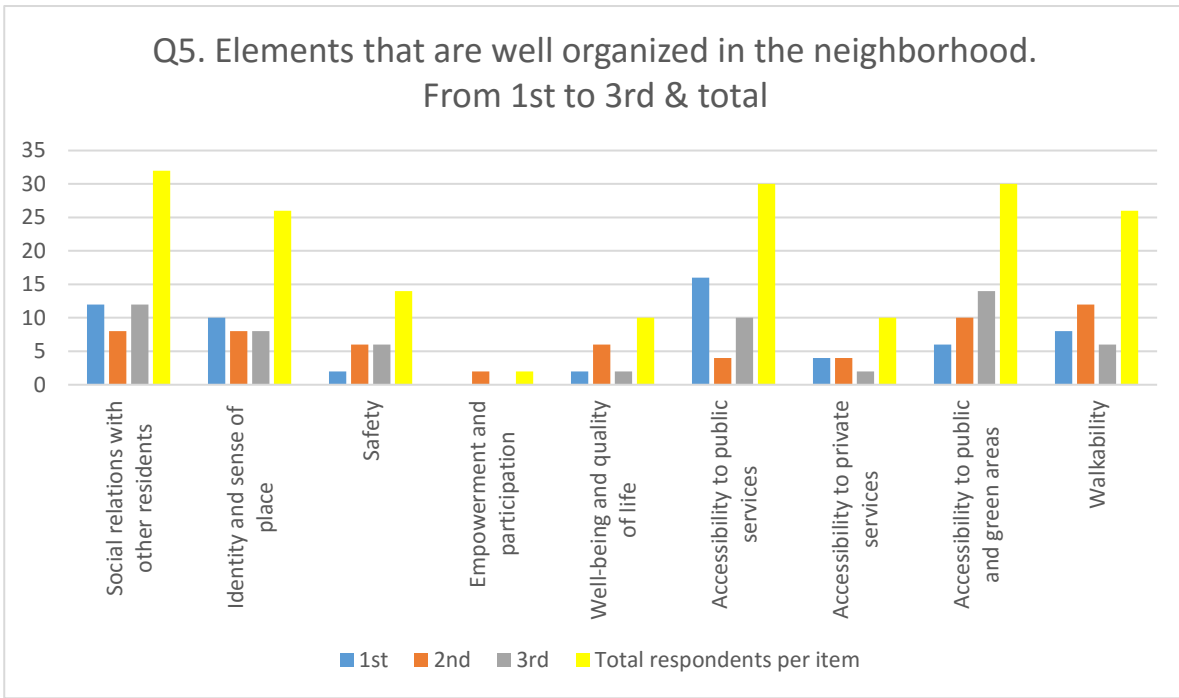


Figure 8. Well-organized urban elements according to the survey, per item (4.1.2).

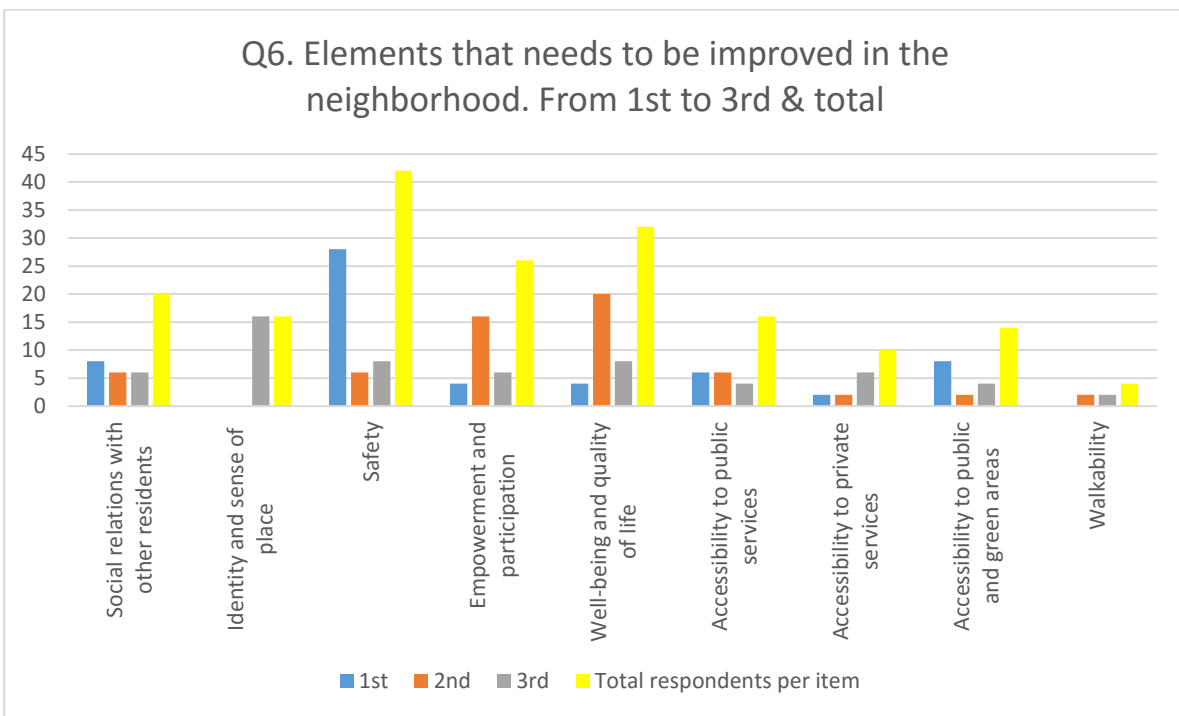


Figure 9. Urban elements that needs to be improved according to the survey, per item (4.1.3).

4.1.4 Preliminary conclusion

Following the results, safety and well-being are elements that should be strengthened in the neighborhood; conversely, social relations with other residents and private services are perceived as of good quality. Comparing the two questions emerges that well-being and safety are perceived as important themes in the life of the neighborhood (Q4) which requires an intervention (Q6). Green and open areas were not prioritized over other neighborhood aspects, as they are considered somehow important but only after safety, well-being. Regarding the perception of walkability, the relevance of this aspect tends to increase over age, with a peak in the age cohort 65+. The importance of social relations is another element that increases over age, though in all age cohorts is considered a quality aspect of the neighborhood. The final question of the survey revolved around a set of statements to be assessed by the respondents according to their agreements to the items. To give an overview of these results, I ensured that the arithmetic mean was a correct index, by the calculation of the coefficient of variation (CV). CV shows whether the mean of the population sample is a valid approximation of the results. When $CV < 0.5$, the mean can be considered a correct index for the sample under analysis. The results of this analysis are shown in table 5, below.

Item	Mean	CV	Theme	+ or - attitude
<i>I am satisfied with the quality of life here.</i>	<u>3,6/5</u>	0,247443	Well Being	Positive
<i>I can always trust my neighbors.</i>	<u>3,5/5</u>	0,249098	Safety	Positive
<i>I feel like the other residents in the area do not share my values.</i>	<u>3,2/5</u>	0,279508	Identity	Negative
<i>I think that new residents bring new energy to the neighborhood.</i>	<u>3,6/5</u>	0,306488	Demographic change	Positive
<i>Parks and public squares in the area are nice and safe places to spend time in.</i>	<u>3,9/5</u>	0,239407	Open areas	Positive
<i>Where I live, public services can be easily accessed.</i>	<u>4,2/5</u>	0,241249	Public services	Positive
<i>I feel safe when I walk in my neighborhood</i>	<u>3,8/5</u>	0,244126	Walkability	Positive
<i>When I need to buy something I always find it in my neighborhood.</i>	<u>3,4/5</u>	0,417943	Private services	Positive
<i>I do not have any relation with other people in my neighborhood</i>	<u>2,4/5</u>	0,498361	Social relations	Negative
<i>I feel part of a social network in my community.</i>	<u>2,7/5</u>	0,468568	Social relations	Positive
<i>I do not feel welcomed to participate in activities in my neighborhood</i>	<u>2,7/5</u>	0,446816	Participation	Negative

Table 5. Item with highest mean score per theme (question 7 of the questionnaire, see appendix).

The respondents were generally satisfied with quality of life in the neighborhood, as they did not think that their life could be better in a different one. Despite the previous part of the survey suggested differently, the results of the item related to safety in the Likert scale indicate that the

neighborhood is relatively safe, as people can trust each other. Nonetheless, safety is widely regarded as a critical issue: 'I think what would be better for Lombok is that Kanaalstraat doesn't have traffic at all. Also for safety issues.' (respondent #7).

Overall, the results indicate a general uniformity of opinions in the survey, with small differences related to age and gender. Among the elements of social sustainability, safety is perceived as the most important and the one in need of attention in the future. This emerges both in the survey and in the qualitative interviews. Safety refers to feeling of uneasiness and discomfort when walking in the area under analysis, both for private car traffic and perception of danger from small groups of young residents that wander aimlessly in the neighborhood. This perception of safety tends to increase over age and seems to occur more for female than for male, both in the survey and in the interviews. Identity and sense of place was the next most recurrent element of the findings, as all interviewees acknowledged the peculiar atmosphere of the neighborhood, "like a town" (Interviewee #7). Therefore, the aim of 4.2 is to show what issues have been identified during the interviews, and what solutions the different stakeholders propose.

4.2 Urban regeneration plan

In this paragraph, the objectives of the plan are presented, and discussed with the urban manager of the Stadslab (Interviewee #8). These objectives are then compared with the findings. Matches and contrasts between the objectives of the plan towards higher social sustainability, and the perception of the respondents regarding the prospects of the area are combined to show how urban regeneration can be organized to increase social sustainability.

4.2.1 Stadslab

Stadslab is a temporary group of specialists in the field of planning, urban studies and policy makers, and it has been set by the local government in the Utrecht city hall. Considering it as a group project enacted by Utrecht municipality, the Stadslab is a semi-autonomous organization originated from the municipality. The originality of the concept lays in the effort of transparency and participation: "As Stadslab, we made this place [refers to the second floor of the city hall]. Normally we work on the ninth or tenth floor, but the first 6 floors are public. So, we decided to stay on a public floor and anyone can walk in here: sometimes we are busy, and sometimes we are not here; but a lot of time we are here and people can just come in and make a conversation." (interviewee #8). As seen in the next paragraph, not all the retailers working in the neighborhood agree about the openness of the process of participation. Before pinpointing the organizational setting happening in the area, the plan and the principles behind it are explained. The official strategic plan of the city government regarding this area is called "Omgevingsvisie Beurskwartier en Lombokplein" and has been published on June 2017 (Gemeente Utrecht, 2017). The ambition of the plan lays in the interconnection between different areas of the city, to develop a "enlarged center", that is connecting the area of the historical city center with the areas surrounding the central station.



Figure 5. Detail from the cover page of the Stadslab and Gemeente Utrecht's report on the urban regeneration plan (Gemeente Utrecht, 2017)

4.2.2 “Omgevingsvisie Beurskwartier en Lombokplein”

This plan is relevant for a series of reasons. First, it's inspired by a vision of a healthy growth of the city. Second, the city center now strategically includes the once detached areas surrounding the central station, such as Beurskwartier and Lombok, in a vision called 'Het vergrote centrum' (enlarged center) (Gemeente Utrecht, 2017). Third, the plan shows which elements specifically guide Utrecht's urban development, as well as a clear and rather technical image of the future of Lombok. The document highlights six themes that drive this new paradigm of a greater city center, with different areas of varying density and functions linked in a network. Below, a short explanation for every *theme* is given. A *mixed and inclusive* city is the aim of the plan, which departs from the strategic position that Utrecht has in terms of its proximity to most of Dutch cities, to suggest a diverse urban environment. This is claimed to be favored by the high density of Utrecht area and of the Randstad, which creates a *dense and lively* environment. The density on one side, and the historical heritage of the past city developments are considered when establishing the need for a *wide and dense network*. The authors of the document stress the importance of creating functional “city structures, connecting areas and unlocking neighborhoods” (Gemeente Utrecht, 2017: p. 20) In other words, working on Utrecht area is more a matter of urban regeneration, thus not implying any new radical intervention. The fourth theme is *sustainability*. In the city report, this concept is expanded on the claimed benefits of high density, which delivers advantages for many facilities and services at the city level; the final goal is to build an energy neutral area that comprises the enlarged city center of Utrecht. The following theme is to promote a *green and healthy city*. This directly departs from an idea of a sustainable city, and aims for a quiet and greener urban environment, in terms of accessibility, quantity and quality of green areas, clean air and well-maintained public open areas. Finally, the last “ambition” of the plan is to have a *smart transport* system. This is obtained

through a reduction of spaces for car traffic and car parking in the “enlarged center”, focusing on “sustainable mobility choices”, from car-sharing to self-driving transportation systems (Gemeente Utrecht, 2017: p. 21). These six themes are central in setting the vision of the future city development, and “together they lay the foundation for a future healthy urbanization in line with the principle of a healthy urban growth. Regarding the specific area of Westplein, the project is currently to modify its name to Lombokplein, with the idea in mind to make it a recognizable and attractive entrance to the neighborhood. The city document plan talks of this new area in terms of a “new urban structure”, with “water restored and a new square with trees, access to the Leidsche Rijn channel. The area is then set to be delimited by a new line of building, creating a square on one side, and a street in line with Lombok’s pre-existing streets (Gemeente Utrecht, 2017: p. 60). After the recognition of the main points of the plan, I have been able to contact and talk with Klewer Matei, which is one of the responsible for the plan among other specialist in the organization called Stadslab.



Figure 6. Aerial view of Lombokplein and Beurskwartier (Gemeente Utrecht, 2017)

4.3 Organizational setting

The following paragraph revolves around the findings of the interviews. The respondents were asked in several occasions to express their view on the future of the neighborhood, and propose solutions to problem identified during the discourse. Gaining insight from the two organizational settings identified in 2.6, the aim is to display the most relevant quotes from the interview and to assess where the specific setting of this case fits within the continuum as seen the end of the theoretical framework.

First, looking back at the results in Q6 (figure 8, p. 32), it appears that the main theme emerging from the survey is the request for more safety in the area. The plan aims to increase safety in the area, but its effects account more for car traffic and hazard of walking in the street. “From the city administration, we see a little effort to downgrade the car traffic at this moment...but it takes a lot of time. And even in the plans, it would take more measures to realize what we want.” (interviewee #1). A challenge of the plan is the heterogeneity of the parties involved. Some of the stakeholders do not like the idea of reduced private car traffic, relating it to the risk of economic deprivation of the area in light of a reduced possibility of customers to go in the area with their car. In this way, a representative of the retailer’s association expresses on the issue: It’s a matter of status. If they have a car, they prefer to go with the car. The moment they’ll start making pay for parking in this neighborhood, the clients will become way less. We propose to the city government to make parking in more convenient for the first hour, so our client can come here. That’s one of the plans we offered to the city government. (Interviewee #6). Regarding walking mobility, there is a rising consideration of this matter, that can increase. “Just simple things like creating a bigger pavement, so people can meet each other. I mean we can create a better world, but if you don’t create more space it will never happen.” (Interviewee #8). Nonetheless, a different retailer sees the opportunities more than the risks: “it will have an impact on the look of the streets. Therefore, by making the street nicer, we will attract other people, because at the moment we attract the wrong kind of people. So, that’s the idea” (interviewee #5). If the neighborhood increases its attractiveness, it will have an effect on the type of new residents that will want to live in there: “I see Lombok very trendy, and there is a downside to it. Trendy means rising prices” (interviewee #2).

Specifically talking about stakeholders’ view on the plan, local associations (especially interviewee #1) pushed for a more transparent process and provided the city specialists with their view on the urban regeneration plan. Furthermore, one association was even involved in determining some of the interventions regarding the Westplein/Lombokplein area. However, according to interviewee #1, it is a rather conventional participatory process, with only small portions of the plan open to change. Earlier, we have seen that entrepreneurs often provide financial coverage in these plans, becoming actors involved with the local government (or other legitimate public actors). In practice, this has been confirmed in the interview with the city specialist. Anyway, due to the area selection, with the presence of several small private activities, the entrepreneurs interviewed simply do not possess enough financial resources to gain this type of influence in the decision making. Nonetheless, the other characteristic of these actors is the possibility to gain attention in the decision-making process, with the creation of organization of entrepreneurs. In the study, most of the respondents involved in the private sector are members of a retailers’ association. Though directly communicating with the city government, some of its members are not confident in the process, referring to the hegemony of stakeholders of Beurskwartier area, rather than Lombok area in influencing the plan: “I don’t believe we can have much effect on the plan. We have to accept it like this. In big lines is the government that say how it goes. I don’t believe in a democratic process of participation. as Winkeliersvereniging

it seems like we're always hitting a wall. The city government does only seem to accept small differences, but they keep the core of the plan (interviewee #3).

To conclude, one of the aims of urban regeneration plan is to accommodate a rising number of residents in the city. Regarding this aspect, most of the respondents like the neighborhood as it currently is, with a human scale development and low-rise buildings, contrasting the vision of the Stadslab, in which high-rise buildings are somehow unavoidable in the vision of an enlarged city center: "The stadslab has a high-rise building model, but we think the secret of Lombok as an attractive neighborhood is more related to low-rise, human scale urban development" (Interviewee #1). The Stadslab expert, conversely, remarks that what they don't want "is the Hong Kong situation, a lot of high rise, a dull city on the ground floor. So, we take into account an extra focus in the ground floor. The high rise is always a little backwards on the building blocks." (interviewee #8).

Table 6, below, pinpoints the opinions of the respondents of the semi-structured interviews towards the key measures identified in the analytical framework. When a proposal for improvement is presented in the table, is underlined to increase clarity.

Key dimension	Key measure	Results (<u>proposals</u> of the respondents are underlined)
Sustainability of a community	<i>Social capital:</i> Social cohesion	// Social interactions with other residents scored high in the items related to this key measure in the survey. In the interviews emerge the idea of a welcoming atmosphere: "[Lombok is] an example of a great neighborhood where people with higher incomes and lower incomes can live together, migrants and natives they live together and I hope it continues like that." (Interviewee #9) Nonetheless, it emerges the fear of a rising segregation between Dutch and migrant-descent resident: "Lombok is not a cohesive neighborhood. It is very diverse, with a lot of social initiatives. But it's still a neighborhood with what I called "living apart together". There are crossovers of course, but they are nation merged and even in the last few years it got worse."
	Demographic change (aging, migration and mobility)	Mixed reactions, with some hopeful on the concern of gentrification in the neighborhood: "There are little shops, I see this place growing on places to go out. There is more culture. You start to see more dynamics, and that makes it an interesting place for new residents." (Interviewee #2); others, conversely, were scared by the process as they do not expect the new residents to understand the already existing sense of place: "Why did you come to live in this neighborhood if you know it's rowdy, it's very noisy and crowded" (interviewee #9) Regarding positive contribute to the matter, there is no clear proposal to

		<p>increase social sustainability except trying to keep a balance between old and new: “I see Lombok very trendy, and there is a downside to it. Trendy means rising prices [...]. You know in about 20 years, a place where no one wants to live will become the next place to be. <u>So, I think the city government should be very cautious about it. Protect what there is now [because] there is a mix. Because in the very near future this won't happen anymore.” (Interviewee #2)</u></p>
	<p>Identity, sense of place</p>	<p>Respondents share the idea that Lombok has a very defined identity compared to other areas in Utrecht:</p> <p>“So, the moment you pass by the tunnel you feel definitely like you are in a more diverse area, and that’s a really interesting thing about Lombok itself” (interviewee #4)</p> <p>“The identity is multicultural with working class, that’s actually what it always was. Now it’s becoming more...more white. More yuppie.” (interviewee #6)</p> <p>Recently, a process of gentrification has been noted by the residents, with varying opinions on the effect on future identity and sense of place of the area:</p> <p>‘I know there are small groups that talk for Lombok, but they are not in community. Maybe four, five people are talking. At the moment, there is no connection. The only connection with the local government is with the Winkeliersvereniging. We know what people wants here, not the people that live in the end of Kanaalstraat. This area (the area nearer to the Moskee) is the authentic Lombok. So, the people that live there don't know what they feel here.’ (Interviewee #3)</p> <p>“I'm not afraid and I think a bit of gentrification is good for the neighborhood and the retailers, but <u>a balance needs to be found between old and new identity of the neighborhood. Lombok’s identity will remain the same, but it’s important to connect it with the city center and the Beurskwartier”</u> (Interviewee #1).</p> <p>“The city government ... they would like to see [...] the things that are more near to the tastes of the yuppies. And that’s their vision of giving this neighborhood an upgrade.” (Interviewee #6).</p>
	<p>Safety</p>	<p>Perception of an insufficient level of safety ranked high in the forced rank questions, especially in the older age cohorts and in the female sample. Conversely, the item related to perception of safety and comfort in the area ranked high in the Likert scale.</p> <p>The respondents in the interviews expressed concern towards car traffic and perception of safety in the streets.</p> <p>“It’s relatively safe. But a lot of people have this feeling because it’s rowdy, because there are different cultures they don’t necessarily know about.”</p>

		<p>(Interviewee #9).</p> <p>The theme of safety relates to traffic, as it becomes dangerous for children to live the public spaces:</p> <p>“One of the problem that I think is a very harsh one, there are a lot of small streets here in Lombok and there are few safe spaces for children to play, since it’s loaded with lot of cars. So, <u>I think there will be more initiatives aimed to reduce traffic in the streets.</u> (Interviewee #1)</p> <p>“For me it's more important the quietness, and places for kids. And here In Lombok is not that good. <u>There are no places and it's dangerous with the cars. You have to think about attractions for kids, so you can let them out.</u>” (Interviewee #3)</p>
	Empowerment and participation	<p>Participation. Various association organizes a wide arrange of activities in the neighborhood. A few respondents noted a separation of activities and organization depending on level of income and/or ethnicity, though others stressed the emergence of shared activities. Empowerment: Most of the stakeholders agreed on the transparency of the process. Several noted that only small portions of the plan were actually opened to change, though it was recognized that the main reason laid in the heterogeneity of the actors involved and the small sense of ownership of the area of Moskeplein. A proposal from a local organization, the Ontwikkelgroep Lombok Centraal, was accepted: <u>“We got the chance to make our own plan, it was facilitated by the city administration, we got some money to make together with experts our own vision of the neighborhood. And this vision somehow had an impact on the official plan”</u> (interviewee #1).</p>
	Well-being and quality of life	<p>“You have to change something if you want to make it really livable. So, I think change is always good. You have to make a big change to change the way people feel and sees this neighborhood. Because it’s a nice neighborhood. It’s cozy, fun, nice people live here” (Interviewee #5).</p> <p>Regarding <u>proposals</u> on how to increase quality of life in the area, the answers mainly <u>referred to aspects treated in other key measures</u>, such as a better accessibility to open and green areas and an improved social cohesion.</p>
Social	Accessibility	//

equity	Accessibility to public services	<p>In the survey, overall the accessibility to public services is perceived of high quality. Conversely, the interviews show complaints, mainly referring to a growing marginalization of social housing structures in the area.</p> <p>“For an example, just around the border with the center and Lombok, near the Moskeplein, this year there've been a new apartment complex, the Los Angeles Complex, before there were social housing and now it's very expensive and people have to go out of the area” (Interviewee #9).</p> <p>A proposal emerge in regards to the creation of spaces explicitly targeting younger generations living in the area: “some places for the youth, because they hang around here in the streets, and people pass by and are intimidated. <u>if they could make a meeting place for the young generation. The better would be an indoor. Or maybe giving something they can learn, so they can do something with their life instead of doing nothing and hanging around.</u>” (Interviewee #6)</p>
	Accessibility to private services	<p>The results show this element as positively regarded by the respondents in the survey. The interviewee involved in the private sector stresses the need to change, evolve and diversify business activities, while pointing out the risk of a of a loss of peculiarity of the commercial activities of the area.</p> <p>“We have to be realistic. We are now looking to increase the variety of shops and restaurant. We now have more or less the same type of activities, so we need to move forward.” (interviewee #3)</p> <p>The retailers stress the importance of car traffic, “The effect of all the plan over there is: we have to keep changing too so we can survive 'til the plan will be ready. The plan consists of less cars in the street, and you see that almost all our customers come here with cars.” (interviewee #3)</p> <p>The peculiar identity of the neighborhood, with a multicultural footprint, elicit a different way of operating according to this local retailer:</p> <p>“This is a specific shopping area for let's say ethnic people, who come here to do some shopping that they can't find in their neighborhood. [...] They prefer the car, and that's something cultural. It's a cultural thing to go with the car. It's a matter of status [...]. The moment they'll start making pay for parking in this neighborhood, the clients will become way less. <u>We propose to the city government to make parking in more convenient for the first hour, so our client can come here. That's one of the plans we offered to the city government.</u> (interviewee #6)</p>
	Accessibility to public and green areas	<p>Open areas are considered of good quality with a lot of social interactions happening in the streets. Most of the respondents are optimistic about the quantity of parks and their accessibility, with few remarks in terms of the proportion between green and cement/concrete areas.</p> <p>“[about] the quality of open spaces, now it's still stoney, but we need more</p>

		<p><u>greenery. I think it's very important for the quality of life. This is also a public service, it's a task of the city government to take care of green spaces.</u> (interviewee #1)</p> <p><u>the public, private and public-private open spaces in urban areas needs to be managed with even higher quality, because in the urban spaces people can experience this sense-making and have meaningful relationships</u> (interviewee #1).</p>
	Walkability	<p>The possibility to walk safely and freely in the neighborhood has not been the focus of the city administration according to the respondents, and they favor more initiatives aimed to increase that:</p> <p><u>"I hope and I see that is coming more political priority for walk mobility</u> (Interviewee #1)</p>

Table 7. Overview of main results per indicator as emerged from the interviews.

5. Discussion

The objective of this study has been to investigate the role of urban regeneration in enhancing social sustainability, by looking at the effects of specific organizational settings of urban regeneration plans in increasing specific aspects related to social sustainability. The findings allow to bring up some interesting reflections to the discourse. The process of governance in the case is rather open, with the acknowledgement of different types of stakeholders and an emphasis on the inclusion of these actors in the decision-making process. The ambition of the plan, which aims to enhance the use of urban spaces and increase urban activities, while connecting different areas related to the city center, was reflected in the opening of several spaces of dialogue in the city government building. Nonetheless, the inherent complexity of the plan has also made unclear the objectives of the plan, especially for least empowered stakeholders (Driessen et al., 2001). The research project has shown how complex the field of social sustainability is, as it influences physical and social aspects related to urban life (Dempsey et al., 2011). As an example, the complexity of the concept of safety, as emerged in the findings, shows how a single concept is related to social aspects, such as security, sense of trust, and physical aspects, such as the quality of open areas and walkability.

Overall, the research shows that the distinction between traditional and emerging themes of social sustainability (Colantonio, 2010) is not clear-cut, as it may be that in developed context there is still a request for more 'basic needs' such as security, to be considered. The different concepts identified in the literature, applied in the methods are discussed: firstly, the key measures related to the two dimensions of social sustainability; secondly, the implications of the role of the stakeholders and their relationship with the plan; lastly, the limitations of the research provide a discussion on to what extent the results can be generalized.

5.1 Sustainability of a community

Among the indicators, safety emerged as the main one. While in the original conceptualization of the term it mainly referred to perception of criminality and level of trust in the area, through the findings it ended up implying way more meanings. In fact, it ended up being related to walkability, accessibility to open areas, quality of life. In the literature, some refers to this concept as an antecedent to any positive social activity (Shaftoe, 2000), as it eases social interactions in the community, thus automatically anteceding any increase in social sustainability (Dempsey et al., 2011). The preponderance of safety over other indicators may also show that the distinction between traditional and emerging themes of social sustainability (Colantonio, 2010) is not clear-cut, as it may be that in developed context there is still a request for more 'basic needs' such as security, to be considered.

Identity, and gentrification processes were also noted as important and currently changing. The process of gentrification is already started in terms of arrival of new residents and new activities: the divergence of views on the neighborhood mainly revolved around two issues: the scale of development of buildings and streets and altered identity of the area. Regarding the first issue, some respondents fear that a high-rise model is going to be imposed to the neighborhood. The analysis of

the findings partly diverges from this option: given the need to increase housing in the area due to growing number of inhabitants expected in the following years, the focus seems to be in the improvement of open areas and mobility between areas, while the new buildings are expected to come in parts of the city in near proximity to the area under analysis, but not directly in it. Regarding the second issue, it revolves around the opportunities and risks arising from the process of gentrification currently ongoing. With increased attractiveness of the area the price of living is expected to rise as well, and therefore urban regeneration may increase unequal condition, and older residents could be pushed away in poorer areas (Hochstenbach & Gent, 2015). It must be taken into careful consideration that, while gentrification is consistently employed to tackle urban decay, there are more effective measures that the plan is not aiming to implement, such as the restoration of decaying housing complex and an improved access to social services.

The survey has shown that the importance of social interaction in the neighborhood increases over age. This may reflect a general tendency of youngsters to live urban spaces in a different way that of the other generations, meaning they socialize in specific places and times, such as in the city center, with pubs and discos, rather than in the neighborhood they live in, which is mostly utilized for sleeping and daily shopping (Chatterton & Hollands, 2002). Another element that must be considered in future research is the emergence of immaterial, digital space. The widespread diffusion of internet and social networks has resulted in a new form of interaction among younger people (Mok et al., 2010).

5.2 Social equity

The official city plan revolved around the principle of “healthy urban living”, which is expected to have a huge impact on the social equity in the neighborhood. As Barton (2000) remarks, social equity can be measured through the determination of the overall accessibility to several types of urban functions. Following this principle, the reduction of private traffic with a simultaneous focus on public space in form of greenery, parks but also bigger pavements, are all elements that increases overall accessibility in the area. The priority on green areas is expected to have a positive effect on the area, with improved satisfaction of life from both an environmental and leisure point of view (Ernstson, 2012). Though not all the respondents agreed on that, the creation of places for feedback between the local government and local stakeholders ensured a focus on neighborhood problems and dissatisfactions.

Another element to be discussed in the results is the contrast of views on the relationship between density and social sustainability (Bramley & Power, 2009). As earlier discussed, access to services is claimed to be better in denser urban forms, while the same urban density may result in a lower quality of social interaction in the neighborhood (Bramley & Power, 2009). While the majority of the stakeholders interviewed are aware of the expected increase of inhabitants in the area, there are concerns about the distortion of the area due to the expected construction of high-rise buildings. While access to services is better in denser urban forms, is up to the city government to minimize the side effects of it, like congestion and reduced opportunity of socialization in open areas. Despite these concerns, it seems to be enough attention on the quantity and quality of open and green areas, which should be able to counteract the issue, while increasing walkability.

5.3 Model of urban regeneration plan

Overall, the case investigated in the research resembles most of the aspect of the first model of urban regeneration plan. The principles that have guided the plan take into consideration the need to build sustainable cities, with a harmonious relationship between different actors and an acknowledgment of the local context. The city government allowed local associations to contribute of the plan, while answering to their request for more transparency: the plan was determined during several informational open meetings, with regular communication from the city government in form of work-in-progress documents regularly made public. An example of this is the transparency of the plan, which was published in April 2017, and later in June (Gemeente Utrecht, 2017). Despite this premise, some of the stakeholders interviewed complained about the actual extent of participation of the plan: the city government, according to them, seems to be open to change but only small portion of the plan have been modified after feedbacks with the stakeholders. On one hand, this may reflect that participation is more symbolic than other, and it is used to quickly gain legitimacy of the plan without compromising the initial objectives. On the other hand, this is also due to the large number of stakeholders and urban areas affected by the plan; we have seen that heterogeneity increases the complexity of the interactive process (Driessen et al., 2001), but is required to avoid isolated project that are not in harmony with the overall development of the city (La Rosa et al., 2017). So, despite some hindrances between the actors, and varying level of participation depending on which portion of the plan has been discussed, it appears that the actual process of urban regeneration will have a positive impact on social sustainability in terms of increased feelings of trust and empowerment (so with an increase in social sustainability), and with better access to redesigned public areas, ultimately aiming to increase the general attractiveness of the area, with cascading effects on the private sector.

5.4 Limitations and generalizability

The presented research project carries some limitations. First, during the gathering of the empirical data, I acknowledged an overlap between aspects of certain indicators, such as safety and walkability. A different analytical framework, with more indicators related to safety would have allowed to grasp the complexity of the concept. This way, the indicator for walkability could've been part of the new 'multidimensional' concept of safety. In the same tone, the concepts of social cohesion, and identity, both relating to a perception of a shared sense-making of place, tended to overlap during the research. A different limitation was found in the type and variety of subjects involved in the interviews. If I had done the research another time, I would have contacted more association operating in the neighborhood, and especially representatives of the local government, as they could have given me more insight in the process of participation. Nonetheless, the set of interviews selected for this project, and the spontaneous availability of the respondents, allowed me to have enough information from different parties and draw a conclusion over the research and the urban regeneration plan. Regarding the generalizability of the research project, the framework could be easily employed in a different context, albeit more in a 'developed' country rather than in a 'developing' one; this because in the latter case other indicators should be preferred, with a focus on

basic needs and housing. Regarding the different indicators, some of them has not been proved to be important in the research: this could be due to the specific context, or to the need of a refinement of the existing theories, which currently focus on the key measures related to social sustainability. The study hasn't fully answered the presence of trade-off between social and physical aspect related to the plan as seen in the case of (increased) density of the area. Lastly, and related to the methodology chosen for the case, it was not possible to discern the causal relationship between the variables. Due to the absence of a longitudinal study, with an evaluation of the situation before and after the plan, and the absence of other cases to compare with, the results cannot be fully generalized. Nonetheless, the deep examination of the setting, and a careful comparison between theoretical knowledge and the findings, allowed me to draw a relevant conclusion from the study, which is presented in the conclusion chapter.

6. Conclusion

“By far the greatest and most admirable form of wisdom is that needed to plan and beautify cities and human communities.” – Socrates

The purpose of the research has been to investigate the way in which the urban regeneration plan is being developed, looking at the specific organization among the stakeholders and the degree of openness of the process of participation. Through the research, it has been possible to find an answer to the following main research question: *‘In what ways urban regeneration has to be organized to enhance social sustainability?’*.

Overall, the findings indicate the need, for the local government and the institutions designed to create the plan, to keep a balance between the recent history of the neighborhood and the new prospects of development opened by a better linkage with the city center and the central station. In general, there is a positive view towards the future of the area and the prospects of the plan, though there are growing concerns of alteration of the existing social networks, due to the arrival of new residents and new economic activities. Urban regeneration can stimulate social sustainability through initiatives aimed to increase availability and quality of open spaces in the area (with more spaces for children and younger generation), prompting more and more diverse entrepreneurial activities in the area by increasing attractiveness of the area. The main way in which the plan can increase social sustainability is the reduction of traffic in the area, thus increasing with one shared solution safety, accessibility to open and green areas and walkability. The main hindrance to the establishment of a ‘sustainable’ urban regeneration plans is the (lack of) relationship among the stakeholders. If not enough types of stakeholders are involved, the limit is the risk of altered identity of the area. This results in dissatisfaction of the residents and stakeholders towards the plan, reducing legitimacy of the city government. The project shows that this problem is solved when the process is transparent and very different types of stakeholders are involved. Regarding the stakeholders, local associations have the merit of bringing transparency to the table, since they required accountability from the city government and received feedback from the residents. Among the private entrepreneurs, the stakeholders interviewed did not possess financial resources to influence or bring to action the plan, and to some extent are not satisfied with the process, though this is also due to the specificity of the area selected for the case study, with a preponderance of small private activities rather than more influential stakeholders mainly situated in the Beurskwartier area. The residents, despite the communication was rather open, have not been directly involved in the plan, leaving to the local associations the role of receiving feedback and propose solution. This is not necessarily a limit: too much voices in the decision making could have made the determination and actuation of the plan very difficult, since a trade-off between different actors is always an issue in urban regeneration plans. Regarding the local government, and the innovation of creating a temporary project group to develop the plan, I left the conclusion in the final recommendations, for its relevance for the policy sector.

The case study showed how to integrate social and physical aspects of social sustainability in an

integrated frame. The importance in the findings of the perception of stakeholders towards the selected key measures, highlighted the importance of studying social aspects of sustainability, which is a fundamental dimension of sustainable development, and it is especially crucial in urban areas. Regarding the methodology of the research, the presence of both quantitative and qualitative measurements strengthened the validity of the results, resulting in a triangulation of sources. As the project dealt with social, issues at the urban level, which can be tackled by local and national government, several policy recommendations are presented to suggest future actions aimed to increase social sustainability at the urban level.

Policy recommendations

Regarding the plan, in page 20, I referred to different phases relating to interactive governance, aiming to discuss which phase was most relevant for the case, to derive specific recommendations. Through the findings, the current situation is related to the fifth (v) phase of interactive governance:

“(v) *Decision-making*. In this phase, the decision is definitive, and the degree of support is ascertained among a wider population (e.g. the residents of the area under urban regeneration).”

Though there may still be actors disputing the decision, it appears that during the phase investigated in the plan, there have been efforts to demonstrate the openness of the process, showing the concerted effort of the stakeholders in the development of the plan. In the case, the process is also characterized by a specific type of group project, the Stadslab. The model of participatory process enacted by the municipality of Utrecht proved to be relevant in the way it constituted a temporary project group to take care of the writing and implementation of the plan; but also in the effort to make this process as transparent as possible in the light of the open door in the city hall. It would be interesting to know whether this model of management can work in different countries in Europe, like Italy. In my opinion, this model's limit lays in the creation of new bureaucracy: even though the project is temporary, in a different context where rules are more flexible (or less respected) the possibility that the project group would become bigger and bigger until it's impossible to close it's high. Therefore, the policy makers must be very careful in establishing such a type of policy process. Regarding policy recommendation in general, the results have shown that the main actors involved in an interactive process must consider several types of stakeholders, not last residents. Especially in a case of urban regeneration plan, where the effects take place on already existing urban fabric, the objectives of the plan must be taken into careful consideration, as they impact in the daily life of stakeholders living and working in the area.

7. References

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Appendix

Survey

Population and sample selected for the case study

Population Lombok-Oost & West (CBS 2013 via Drimble, 2017)	
Inhabitants	7365
Lombok-Oost	2175
Lombok-West	5190
Gender	
Men:	3475 (47,18%)
Women:	3890 (52,82%)
Age cohorts	
0-14:	10%
15-24:	23%
25-44:	45%
45-64:	15%
65+:	7%

Table A. Population in Lombok Oost and Lombok West, CBS 2013 via Drimble 2017.

Sample Lombok Oost & Lombok West (Utrecht)	
Sample:	60

Percentage of the population:	1%
Gender	
Men:	28 (47%)
Women:	32 (53%)
Age cohorts	
18-24:	10 (17%)
25-44:	34 (57%)
45-64:	11 (18%)
65+:	5 (20%)

Table B. sample selected for the case study.

N.B. The sample excluded respondents under the legal age of consent.

Questionnaire (in Dutch, English below)

Wat denkt u van uw buurt? Bent u tevreden met de levensstandaard qua sociale relaties, veiligheid en toegang tot verschillende diensten in de wijk? Via deze enquête wordt uw stem gehoord voor uw buurt! Het invullen van deze vragenlijst is volledig anoniem en duurt tussen de 5 en 10 minuten om in te vullen. Zo helpt u ook een jonge onderzoeker met het afronden van zijn Master scriptie!

1. Bent u: man vrouw

2. Hoe oud bent u? ...

3. Woont u in Lombok? ja nee

4. Onderstaand vindt u een lijst met belangrijk thema's over de relatie tussen de voorzieningen en levensstandaard in stedelijke gebieden. Lees deze lijst door en kies de, voor u, 5 meest belangrijkste elementen en rangschik ze van 1 (meest belangrijk) naar 5 (minst belangrijk).

Sociale relaties met andere buurt bewoners

Identiteit en gevoel van plaats en ruimte

Veiligheid

Empowerment en participatie

Welzijn en kwaliteit van leven

Toegang tot openbare voorzieningen

- Toegang tot privévoorzieningen
- Toegang tot openbare en groene gebieden
- Beloopbaarheid

5. Wat is er volgens u goed georganiseerd in de wijk? Kies 3 thema's waarvan u denkt dat die al in de buurt worden georganiseerd. Rangschik van 1 (meest belangrijk) naar 3 (minst belangrijk).

- Sociale relaties met andere buurt bewoners
- Identiteit en gevoel van plaats en ruimte
- Veiligheid
- Empowerment en participatie
- Welzijn en kwaliteit van leven
- Toegang tot openbare voorzieningen
- Toegang tot privévoorzieningen
- Toegang tot openbare en groene gebieden
- Beloopbaarheid

(Ga verder op de volgende pagina)

6. Wat moet er worden verbeterd? Kies 3 thema's die kunnen worden verbeterd in de buurt. Rangschik van 1 (meest belangrijk) naar 3 (minst belangrijk).

- Sociale relaties met andere buurt bewoners
- Identiteit en gevoel van plaats en ruimte
- Veiligheid
- Empowerment en participatie
- Welzijn en kwaliteit van leven
- Toegang tot openbare voorzieningen
- Toegang tot privévoorzieningen
- Toegang tot openbare en groene gebieden
- Beloopbaarheid

7. In hoeverre bent u het eens of oneens met de volgende uitspraken? Lees onderstaande uitspraken en bepaal op een schaal van 1 (helemaal mee oneens) tot 5 (helemaal mee eens) hoe u erover denkt. Als u de uitspraak niet kan of wilt beoordelen kruist u Niet Van Toepassing (N.V.T.) aan en vervolgt u de enquête.

Thema's	1	2	3	4	5	N.V.T.
Ik ben tevreden met de levenskwaliteit hier.						
Ik voel me onveilig in de buurt.						
Ik voel dat ik deel uitmaak van een gemeenschap dat dezelfde ideologie deelt.						
Ik denk dat nieuwe bewoners nieuwe energie in de buurt brengen.						
Parken en open pleinen zijn geschikte plekken en veilige plekken om tijd door te brengen.						
Ik heb helemaal geen relaties met andere buurt bewoners in de wijk.						
Waar ik woon kan ik makkelijk openbare voorzieningen bereiken.						
Ik voel me niet uitgenodigd om deel te nemen aan activiteiten in de buurt.						
Ik denk dat mijn leven beter zou zijn in een andere buurt.						
Ik voel dat ik deel uitmaak van een <i>sociaal netwerk in de gemeenschap</i> .						
Ik voel dat andere bewoners in de buurt mijn ideologieën niet delen.						
Ik voel me niet op mijn gemak in openbare ruimtes in de wijk.						
Ik neem deel aan activiteiten in de buurt.						
Om efficiënte publieke voorzieningen te						

bereiken moet ik buiten mijn wijk zijn.						
Ik kan mijn burens altijd vertrouwen.						
Ik voel me veilig als ik rondloop in de buurt.						
Als ik iets nodig heb, kan ik dat altijd in de buurt vinden.						
Ik neem liever de bus/auto/fiets om mij te verplaatsen in de wijk.						
Ik denk dat door nieuwe bewoners de wijk haar identiteit verliest.						
Ik vind nooit wat ik moet kopen in de wijk.						

Bedankt voor uw tijd!

Questionnaire (in English)

What do you think of your neighborhood? Are you satisfied with the quality of life in terms of social relations, safety in the neighborhood and access to services? Fill this questionnaire to speak for your neighborhood! The survey is completely anonymous, and it will only take 5-10 minutes to be completed. Help a young researcher for his Master's thesis!

1. Are you: male female

2. How old are you? ...

3. Do you live in Lombok? yes no

4. Below, a list of key themes and services related to the quality of life in urban areas is shown. Please read the themes listed below, select the 5 elements that you consider most important and order them from 5 (less important) to 1 (more important).

Social relations with other residents

- Identity and sense of place
- Safety
- Empowerment and participation
- Well-being and quality of life
- Accessibility to public services
- Accessibility to private services
- Accessibility to public and green areas
- Walkability

5. According to you, what is well organized in the neighborhood? Select 3 themes that you think are already organized in your neighborhood and order them from 3 (less important) to 1 (more important).

- Social relations with other residents
- Identity and sense of place
- Safety
- Empowerment and participation
- Well-being and quality of life
- Accessibility to public services
- Accessibility to private services
- Accessibility to public and green areas
- Walkability

(continue in the next page)

6. *What needs to be improved? Select your 3 themes that you think needs to be improved in your neighborhood and order them from 3 (less important) to 1 (more important).*

- Social relations with other residents
- Identity and sense of place
- Safety
- Empowerment and participation
- Well-being and quality of life

- Accessibility to public services
- Accessibility to private services
- Accessibility to public and green areas
- Walkability

7. *To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Read the following list and rate every statement on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 represents complete disagreement, and 5 complete agreement. If you cannot, or do not want to, provide an answer for a specific item, select N.A and proceed with the survey.*

Items	1	2	3	4	5	N.A.
I am satisfied with the quality of life here.						
I feel unsafe in my neighborhood.						
I feel part of a community that shares similar worldviews to mine.						
I think that new residents bring new energy to the neighborhood.						
Parks and public squares in the area are nice and safe places to spend time in.						
I do not have any relation with other people in my neighborhood						
Where I live, public services can be easily accessed.						
I do not feel welcomed to participate in activities in my neighborhood						
I think my life would be better in a different neighborhood.						
I feel part of a social network in my community.						
I feel like the other residents in the area do not share my values.						
I do not feel comfortable when I am in						

public space in my neighborhood.						
I participate in local activities in my neighborhood.						
I need to move outside my neighborhood whenever I need efficient public services						
I can always trust my neighbors.						
I feel safe when I walk in my neighborhood						
When I need to buy something I always find it in my neighborhood.						
I'd <i>rather take the bike/car/bus</i> to go around (<i>than walking</i>).						
I think that new residents make this place lose its identity.						
I never find anything that I need to buy in my neighborhood.						

Thanks for your time.

Interviews

List of stakeholders contacted for the interviews

The selection of the stakeholders to be contacted for the interviews have been made in mind of certain requirements. First, different subjects operating at a local level has been contacted, in an attempt to represent the majority of views on the area under analysis. The selection has been driven by the need to include: (i) civic associations, (ii) owner of private activities and (iii) city government/planner. Out of c.a. 20 people contacted, a total of 10 interviews has been organized. Below, a short explanation of the stakeholders is presented.

City plan specialist – Utrecht municipality

Stadslab (Utrecht Municipality). The Stadslab is a group project, enacted by the city government of Utrecht, which made the project of requalification of Lombok, Jaarbeurskwartier and the surrounding of the central station. The Stadslab is a semi-autonomous branch of the municipality, operating from the city government building (www.cu2030.nl/stadslab). I talked with Klewer Matei, member and representant of the Stadslab.

Civic associations:

Ontwikkelgroep Lombok Centraal. This is a group that cooperated with the municipality to improve the quality of the area of Lombok. As a group and together with the city administration they have made a development plan for LombokPlein/WestPlein and surroundings. My interview was done with Fred Dekkers, organization advisor and local activist.

De Voorkamer. De Voorkamer is a project based in Kanaalstraat, Lombok, which aims to link older and newer residents in the neighborhood, by providing a wide range of cultural and leisure activities in which engage. Furthermore, the association also aim to help the integration of the asylum seekers residing in the area, by stimulating them to share its expertise and experience with the residents (www.devoorkamer.org/about). I talked with Minem Sezgin, member of the association.

Winkeliersvereniging Lombok. This is the official association reuniting the retailers operating in

Lombok. The aims of this organization are to promote the interest of the members, to be in relationship with the community, the local government and other institutions, and to stimulate activities that attract the public to go shopping in Lombok area. At first I tried to contact the association directly, but after waiting for a response I managed to contact several retailers in the area which were also in the board of the Winkeliersvereniging Lombok. In the following paragraph about the private retailers, I will point out which ones are part of the association.

Private retailers

Inês Vieira, manager of the activity Kopi Susu. It is a café located in the center of Lombok. Among its activities, there are social restaurant and café.

Ramazan Ergun - owner of Yunak restaurant and Winkeliersvereniging secretary. One of the first commercial activities in the Horeca to put terraces outside the restaurant.

Mehdiefadie. It is one of the three brother who opened this ethnic market, Persepolis. It is also a Winkeliersvereniging member.

Khalid el Boudouhi, owner of the clothes shop LaBoutique – also in the board of Winkeliersvereniging.

Inaria Kaisiepo, current tenant of the Molen de Ster, an historical building located in a park in Lombok. The place serves as a tiny restaurant/café, as well as a basis for a range of cultural activities.

Niels Eirenstein. Manager of the Park Plaza Hotel, located in front of the area directly interested by the urban regeneration plan, Westplein/Lombokplein.

List of questions

In this section a sample of the questions asked during the interviews is shown. The questions are grouped according to the topic of analysis. The nature of the interviews, which resembled to a certain extent an actual conversation rather than a structured series of question, elicited a different array of interviews depending to the respondent and context.

Definition: **urban regeneration** is a process aiming to revitalize pre-existing urban areas, rehabilitate public areas, improve mobility and urban transport while seeking to strengthen social and civic participation in the area, with the aim to improve quality of life in the community.

- Do you know about the plan of urban regeneration in act in Lombok?
- Do you see any effect on the programs of urban regeneration occurring in Lombok?

Participation

- Are you participating in this process? How are you participating? Who else is participating with you?
- I've read in your website that Kopi Susu is also a social enterprise. Could you explain me what you do here for the neighborhood?

Social cohesion

- To what extent would you consider Lombok as a cohesive neighborhood?
- Do you encounter different views on the future of the neighborhood? If yes, how do you deal with this?

Demographic change

- Do you think Lombok is an attractive neighborhood for new residents? Why?
- What do you think the impact of new residents will be on the neighborhood?

Identity

- What is the identity of Lombok?
- How is the urban regeneration program contributing to this identity?

Safety

- Do you feel comfortable in your neighborhood? Why?
- Do you think the new program of urban intervention in Lombok will make the neighborhood safer? Dramples (dossi)

Well-being

- According to you, what is the most important aspect for quality of life? (opzionale)

Accessibility to private services

- What is the effect of urban regeneration for the attractiveness of the shops in the area?
- What challenges does retailers face in a context of increased mobility in the area?

Accessibility to public services

Considering services as public schools, library, communal sports facility, *gezondheidcentrum* and public transport...

- What are the most important public services that are needed at the neighborhood level?
- Are you satisfied with the quality of public services in Lombok?

Accessibility to public and green areas

- What do you think of the current status of public and green areas in Lombok?
- What would you improve? And how?

Walkability

- What kind of ways of transport would you like to see in Lombok? How should they be facilitated?
- How is the municipality aiming to make walk in the neighborhood more convenient than before?
- Now the final question. How do you see Lombok in the next 10 years?

Transcripts

All of ten interviews have been conducted and transcribed. I made a file in Nvivo with all the interviews and a coding structure that mirrors the one of the indicators, as well as two additional nodes, one is related to the quality of the process of participation in the urban regeneration plan, and the other is related to adverse effects of the plan that may result in a change of identity in the neighborhood and processes of gentrification. All of ten interviews have been conducted and transcribed. After the transcription, I made a file in Nvivo with all the interviews, creating a coding structure that mirrors the one of the indicators, as well as two additional nodes, one related to the quality of the process of participation in the urban regeneration plan, and the other to adverse effects of the plan that may result in a change of identity in the neighborhood and to an uncontrolled process of gentrification.

The ten interviews are listed below, following the order of appearance in table C.

Subject	Name	Type	Date of the interview
#1. Ontwikkel groep Lombok Centraal (OGC)	Fred Dekkers	Local organization (i)	23/06/2017
#2. Kopi Susu	Inês Vieira	Café - cultural center (ii)	26/06/2017
#3. Yunak – also in the board of Winkeliersvereniging	Ramazan Ergun	Retailer - Restaurant. (ii)	27/06/2017
#4. De Voorkamer	Minem Sezgin	Civic association - cultural center (i)	28/06/2017
#5. Persepolis - also Winkeliersvereniging member	Mehdiefadie	Retailer - local market (ii)	03/07/2017
#6. LaBoutique – also in the board of Winkeliersvereniging	Khalid El Bodouhi	Retailer - clothes shop (i)	04/07/2017
#7. Molen de Ster	Inaria Kaisiepo	Café - historical monument (ii)	10/07/2017
#8. Stadslab (Utrecht)	Matei Klewer	City plan specialist (iii)	19/07/2017

municipality)			
#9. Buurt Team West	Adam L.	Assistance center for residents (i)	25/07/2017
#10. Park Plaza Hotel Manager	Niels Eirenstein	Hotel, restaurant and café (horeca) (ii)	26/07/2017

Table C. Subjects interviewed for the research project.

Interviewee #1 / Fred Dekkers, Ontwikkel groep Lombok Centraal

First, I show him a definition of the concept of urban regeneration, as the term comes back in the interview.

In reaction to definition of urban regeneration: The overall goal is to improve quality of life but sometimes if you want to improve one goal there could be a trade-off with other goals.

One of the themes in these region, in the old vision of mobility, was a proposal of an highway to the city center. But now we want a place to meet other people, but still, you can have the accessibility with it. If you downsize the road then you improve the accessibility for the car traffic in within the neighborhood. Now a lot of cars just use Lombok as a corridor. There's a lot of traffic, but it's traffic that shouldn't go in the city, but around it. If this would happen, then people who really wants to go here in Lombok with the car can do this.

Lorenzo (L onwards): Do you already see any effect of this urban regeneration?

From the city administration, we see a little effort to downgrade the car traffic a this moment...but it takes a lot of time. And even in the plans, it would take more measures to realise what we (OGC) want.

L: Are you participating in this plan? How?

Yes. I'm a member of Ontwikkel groep Lombok Centraal. At first, we were a group that cooperated with the municipality to improve the quality of the area called Kop Lombok. It was 10 years ago I think. And there was a plan for that area that the neighborhood didn't like, and we got the possibility from the city government to make another plan. And together with the Mosque and other subjects we made a plan that is now realized in the new buildings of Moskeeplein. While the old buildings got demolished, as the new ones were still to be built, we as OGC made a temporary garden just like we made it here (NDR. Refers to Westplein).

As a group and together with the city administration we make a development plan for LombokPlein and surroundings. The city government approved it but it took a lot of time to concretely make the plan active, for the car traffic problem. There was a project to make a tunnel for car traffic in Westplein. But as the tunnel costs money and it gives if you make the tunnel you facilitate car traffic that you dont want in the centre of the city. So a fw years ago, the city council decided that a plan should be made, and it is now in discussion, for the development of Lombokplein and Beurskwartier, with urban roads instead of highways, with a limited amount of car per day, to reduce the capacity. And I participated in both groups that discussed with the civil servants.

L: What do you think of this process of participation, in terms of its openness?

They tried. A part of problems in Lombokplein is that is a region with limited ownership for the people in this place. Because it is mainly traffics with few house. The stadslab did a lot to engage people in the discussion. But I also think that it was very traditional participation. It wasn't a really cooperative process. It was made in a traditional way, among the civil servants. They sometimes listened. They called the cuckoo clock. They pops out as a cuckoo, but you never know when the door is opening again. I think that in Utrecht we have the motto: We make Utrecht together. But this is old fashioned participation from the city government. We got the chance (as OGC) to make our own plan, it was facilitated by the city administration, we got some money to make together with experts our own vision of the neighborhood. And this vision somehow had an impact on the official plan.

L: So it's started as a separate plan but then it was partly received in the official plan?

Yes and no. Some aspects were taken, a lot of other things have not been changed.

L: To what extent would you consider Lombok as a cohesive neighborhood?

No Lombok is not a cohesive neighborhood. It is very diverse, with a lot of social initiatives. But it's still a neighborhood with what I called "living apart together". There are crossovers of course, but they are nation merged and even in the last few years it got worse. I think Lombok was a multicultural success, but after Pym Fortyuin, Van Gogh there was a change of climate in the Netherlands, and both autochtonen and allochtonen experienced it in Lombok. It's still better than in a lot of other neighborhood, but it's less cohesive now. There are only a few groups that make this kind of crossover...like ours (laughs).

L: What do you think makes Lombok an attractive neighborhood for new residents?

Attractivity is traditional for its multicultural attitude and the extraordinary people that goes to Lombok. That's the reason this is not THIS made it a multicultural and cohesive negihborhood. And so they like the different atmosphere that you can get in here compared to other area of Lombok. To keep older elements of the neighborhood, the history is still there, not a lot of new tall buildings are expected so it's more in

harmony with human scale. The stadslab has a high-rise building model, but we think the secret of Lombok as an attractive neighborhood is more related to low-rise, human scale urban development.

L: What do you think of the impact of new residents in the neighborhood?

There are inflow of new residents in different period. In the last period there are coming more yuppies, young professionals. Not only expats, but generally start-uppers, a lot of them goes to Lombok because is no ordinary neighborhood. But there are also people that are afraid of this and sees it as a form of gentrification. In the 70s and 80s turkish and morokkans immigrants could live here because the housing was really cheap. Now there is no syrian refugees that could afford to buy or rent in Lombok, as the prices are rising and there is not much social housing in the neighborhood. There are a lot of ethnic shops, which makes Lombok more attractive but also, since a lot of people goes to shop in Lombok with cars, which can create an issue. Hipsters shops and rental for shops will get higher as people will go more often to Lombok. I'm not afraid and I think a bit of gentrification is good for the neigyorhood and the retailers, but a balance needs to be found between old and new identity of the neighborhood. Lombok's identity will remain the same, but it's important to connect it with the city center and the Beurskwartier.

L: Do you think this new plan will have an impact on its identity? (26 minuti)

Yeah I think it will have a very profound impact. I think that connecting areas is good for Lombok's development, but also the Beurskwartier can take advantage of it, by being And it's interesting for the large scale, living and leisure, while in Lombok there are low scale, just like you have other side of the beurskwartier. And that can have its own identity and that makes it special. It's both multicultural and with a presence of creative class. Not only the allochtonen identity, but also the creative class.

L: Do you think this new path to change lombok will have an effect on the safety of the residents?

I hope so (laughs). The problem of social safety is more like a stand-alone problem. We have problem that we could characterize as drug-related, but also people who goes around in the neighborhood with cars because they want to be seen...like a social status. That are social safety problem that we have in the neighborhood, that are in part urban problem, because you cannot confine it in a single neighborhood. The attractiveness of this place can help to change the overall social climate, but I think that you should also do something for the problem in itself.

L: According to you, what are the most important aspects of quality of life?

I think the most important aspect of quality of life in urban regions will be sense-making and meeting each other. What I mean is being able to make sense of the place you live, but also making sense of diversity in social life, it's an important characteristic for contemporary cities to being able to make sense of the complexity. But then it's important to find meaningful places to meet for people who live in a community.

We (OGC) are trying to do exactly that, finding spaces of shared meaning and meeting. It's important to get a healthier and more sustainable places. In the Netherlands there is a urban development where most of the people live inside cities, so if we facilitate that, we need to protect the green areas around the cities. But then the public, private and public-private open spaces in urban areas needs to be managed with even higher quality, because in the urban spaces people can experience this sense-making and have meaningful relationships.

L: Regarding public services...what are the most important public services needed at the neighborhood level?

I think the most important service in the neighborhood like Lombok is primary schools. Not only because of the education of young children, but also primary schools are one of the places where adults meet each other. Another important service is social and medical care, huisartsen, this kind of services. Another very important service is the civil service, which helps poor individuals

L: Are you satisfied with the quality of public services in Lombok?

The quality of open spaces, now it's still stoney, but we need more greenery. I think it's very important for the quality of life. This is also a public service, it's a task of the city government to take care of the green spaces.

Second problem, if you look at the priorities the city government gives to neighborhoods, we have Overvecht, Kanaleineland, Hoograven, Kanaleineland, these are the most problematic neighborhood. Lombok is not really a problematic neighborhood. If you look at a neighborhood like Lombok west, you see that is an average neighborhood. There are a lot of people that are not so bad. But you also have some people with some problem. But as an average is not a lot. It's not in the high priorities for all kinds of civil services. So for the people that really are in need sometimes the help is not enough (N.B. because is prioritized in other areas more problematic).

Lombok is a multicultural neighborhood but there are still a lot of segregation, you also see that in public services. In schools, you have black and white schools. In the neighborhood activities, you have activities for immigrants and yoga for young white professionals. It's too little to make crossovers between different parts of the neighborhood.

L: Do you think there are particular challenges that retailers face in the context of this new plan?

Yes. Part of the problems is that retailers in Kanaalstraat, Damstraat, their frame is 'we have customers that come from other places than our neighborhood, so they come with cars, and we should do anything to facilitate they come with their cars here'. That's I think is a shrinking market, it's like looking behind, and the mobility preferences also for allochtonen people will change, as young couples use bikes, the children use bike so this will change. But morokkan and Turkish people can also buy their own specific goods in Overvecht or Kanaleineland so people going to Lombok for buying groceries will diminish. I understand that problem, losing customers very fast so they are trying to survive. But I think they should see more that the

neighborhood is changing. I think that a real entrepreneur takes risk to the future, and doesn't only look back. And that's the biggest issue, there are very few good entrepreneurs. So, it's very dominant in the discussion about the neighborhood, automobility and safety and quality of the streets in Lombok, but also a lot of the retailers don't see the potentialities for the new plan, they are pessimistic about this development, and I think it's more clever to see the change that being scared. Still, they can build on their own, on the difference with other place, but they should see more the chances of this integration with other areas of the city. If you talk with the retailers, you will recognize what I say.

L: Turning to public and green areas? What do you think about it?

I think there are great possibilities in Westplein, with the extension of the canal, so to create a ring border around it. The green could then be connected with proximity areas like the Daalse tunnel. I think it's important to think about in terms of green infrastructure. There are chances, and I think we will take these chances. One of the problem that I think is a very harsh one, There are a lot of small streets here in Lombok and there are few safe spaces for children to play, since it's loaded with lot of cars. So I think there will be more initiatives aimed to reduce traffic in the streets. The aim is also to change Kanalstraat, providing more greenery along the street. But inside the neighborhood is more difficult than in Westplein. N

L: What kind of transport mobility would you like to see in your neighborhood, and how should they be facilitated?

I think there are a few changes that we need to facilitate. One is less parking in the streets, and more parking inside private property. Now visitors for the shops and also entrepreneurs park cars in the shopping and living streets. But it's better if they park in the garage under the albert heijn for example. Also I think it's should be important to make a model shift. A lot of urban daily mobility consists of very short trips, less than 5 or 7 km, and you can better bike than go with a car. And there are already in Lombok a lot of people that does not have their own car. So car-sharing is already there and it will become more important.

(not only a matter of infrastructure, but also a cultural matter)

A lot of new people that are coming in the neighborhood doesn't want car. But for old and new immigrants car is still a status symbol. That will change also, but there are temporal differences. One of the biggest issues for the future of mobility is to think about public traffic. Public transportation is still in a conventional frame. So, we have big busses that needs to be fully loaded to be efficient, because public administration still thinks in a frame of urban modernism, standardization and efficiency of scale. Technical possibilities will facilitate that we get more small and flexible systems. Like electrical cars that you can call to go wherever you want. I think it won't take long to have it. So, the public system of transportation should take into account this new reality. Scale and standardization in the city doesn't work anymore.

L: What do you think about walkability in Lombok?

Yeah I think there are great prospects. I hope and I see that is coming more political priority for walk mobility. For a long time the priority was automobility and now we have a period of bicycle mobility. Now we see that bicycles have the problem of their success, so we will have to do something that we did with the cars. Also bikes have to be parked inside and not to be put everywhere, this kind of things. Especially in this area (refers to Westplein and Jaarbeurs) we have seen that with all the work for new buildings, it has become a no-go area for walkers. 20 years ago a lot of people went walking to the central station or the center. When the works will be done this will be hopefully fixed. A lot of improvement is possible. For example as an association, you see the indication for walking in the bike parks near the station? We made this symbols to show that if the bicycle is the king, the walker is the emperor, and this should be the new thinking about living, especially in the center but in general within the neighborhood. I think there are a lot of possibilities, with this plan, but also inside the neighborhood more priority to walkers should be given.

L: How do you see Lombok in the next 10 years?

In the next 10 years, we...In the next 5 years, there will be a lot of restructuring. You don't like restructuring, because it will create inconvenience. But at the same time, quality of life will increase, in the next 10 years, this will change, so this will be very improved. And I think that, even more than now, this will be a place where people wants to go, to live, to buy houses...I think that there should be more priorities on not living apart together, to ensure that it doesn't only become a new neighborhood for successful people, but we also have social living houses. So, we should take care of this kind of things, social cohesion etcetc. I'm very optimistic, but also the restructuring will still create nuisance and issues still.

L: Thank you so much

Interviewee #2 / Inês Vieira, Kopi Susu

L: Do you know about this plan of urban regeneration?

No, I knew that they were busy, but I don't know much about it. I know something about not wanting a big road there, so maybe a tunnel there. They were protecting this area but I don't hear about them at all. Maybe because I do not look on this information. I live in Lombok and I work in Lombok. I think that I was the only one who was not contacted about it?

L: A part from the specific plan, have you seen any sign of a "new idea" of Lombok?

Yeah, they are investing in Lombok, to make it nicer. At first it was only a place where poor people and immigrants could afford to live. It was not so pretty. Now I see they're increasing...they're mixing people so high educated people and working class, they are making more green areas, because this neighborhood doesn't have a lot of green space, and I see they are investing a bit on that. I think so yeah. And you see so

because there are coming more restaurants and more places with different projects, on how to present food.

L: What is Kopi Susu project?

This project is to integrate all kinds of people, from different social, economic and cultural backgrounds. How to keep them together. Different activities. Social cafe where people can eat for cheaper, we also have exposition once every two months. We have music for free, so that's how we could bring people, all kind of people together. This doesn't mean that they all have to interact with each other, at least that we all exist and we all welcome in a place. We are all in one neighborhood. This place is not for one type of person. The background is not really important. In this place, we also work with volunteers. And volunteers normally can be people that for one reason or another wants to go back to society. So for example there is a young boy, 17, just finished school and he's volunteering to take some meaning don't get depressed and understand and interact. So slowly they get contact, they feel more happy, they start to get involved and that's what we do.

L: To what extent do you consider Lombok as a cohesive neighborhood?

I think there are few things here. For example the Wishing Well West they do a lot of volunteer work as well, they do different initiatives, that's also the idea to bring residents together. So you have different associations that works for this objective. And this doesn't mean that we all know each other. But we know that we exist.

L: Do you think Lombok is an attractive neighborhood for new residents? Why?

I like this neighborhood. It's not perfect, but I really like it because of the mix. There are little shops> I see this place growing on places to go out. There is more culture. You start to see more dynamics, and that makes it an interesting place for new residents.

L: Talking about safety. Do you personally feel comfortable in the neighborhood?

I feel comfortable, definitely. What I don't feel safe it's the traffic, especially in Kanalstraat. It's crazy, they're trying to make it better by putting drizzles. later in the night you sometimes find big groups of young men and that leaves a little bit of unsureness. Groups you never know exactly how they can react. I know this is a neighborhood where there is a lot of house breaking but in the street I never felt unsure.

L: According to you, what is the most important aspect of quality of life in a neighborhood?

Quality of life for me in the neighborhood is that there are parks, green...a sense of protection when you walk in the area. I think tolerance is also very important, that if you're different than it's fine. And things to

do in the neighborhood. Not a sleeping neighborhood. So it's very important to have shops around, cafes, etc. etc.

L: The idea is to connect Lombok with the other areas. Will this increase attractiveness of private activities in Lombok?

Mhm that's a difficult answer. Now we're gonna be connected anyway. There will be the Leidsche Rijn, and on the other side the city center. So we're gonna be right in the middle. What can we do to avoid that it's just a corridor to one center to the other? How can we still be welcoming in our own way? That's a difficult answer, I don't know. As long as this street doesn't become a drinking/dancing street I'm not concerned.

L: Talking about public services. So if we consider services like primary schools, gezondheidscentrum, public transport. Are you satisfied with the quality of public services in Lombok?

The public services are not so good. In Kanaalstraat there is no bus, so we are not really connected. Especially with the medical centre here, people complain. I think that it's unthinkable there is no bus. Or maybe a smaller one, or a tram. I would close private car traffic in Kanaalstraat. It should be just for walking, cycling and buses. It has already happened in other places. At first retailers complain because they fear they will lose customers because cars can't get in. But then in the end it's a successful way for everyone. So I think that would be nice.

L: What is the most important public services needed at the neighborhood level?

Bus. It doesn't need to be a big bus. A minibus would be more suitable for the neighborhood, because of its small scale.

L: What do you think of the current status of open and green areas in Lombok?

I really think that's...you know, when it comes to greenery what I'm really missing is trees in Kanaalstraat. If it was for me, I would close traffic and put a lot more trees. Compared to other areas of Utrecht, here there are way less trees in the streets.

L: About public areas like squares, places to meet?

We have a really nice park (Majellapark), Oog in Aal is now really a meeting place, so now it's ok. And it's growing also because this neighborhood is changing. There are more students so they go out more often. I think the city council is responding good. Because even in places where you are not allowed. Now in summer they put garbage bin. So they have this flexibility.

L: How do you see Lombok in the next 10 years.

I see Lombok very trendy, and there is a downside to it. Trendy means rising prices. We will gonna be between two centers, because we have old architectures and people are loving it. So that's the part that I'm not loving about it. So people, like working people will be forced outside. And that means also artist. You know in about 20 years, a place where no one wants to live will become the next place to be. So I think the city government should be very cautious about it. Protect that now there is a mix. Because in the very near future this won't happen anymore.

Thank you so much!

Interviewee #3 / Ramazan Ergun, Yunak restaurant, Winkeliersvereniging

I'm the owner of the shop, I'm also secretary in Winkeliersvereniging, the organization of shoppers in Lombok united together. So that's why I know a lot about changes in westplein. The effect of all the plan over there is: we have to keep changing too so we can survive 'til the plan will be ready. The plan consists of less cars in the street, and you see that almost all our customers come here with cars. We have strong attractivity all over the Netherlands. Not just in Utrecht, or Lombok. It's a small area but full of shop. So it's impossible to survive with only people living in the area. People come here from De bilt, Zeist, Nieuwegein, all the province of Utrecht is interested in coming here. Also you come from other side of the country, like Groningen, Breda, when you come in Utrecht you see Kanaalstraat. It's a good brand all over the country. It's good that we're near the station. YOU have to catch opportunities. There used to be a bus but now it's only a small bus. But we have the trains coming to the central station, and that is a change. So we get to know how to get more people from there. We have to be realistic. We are now looking to increase the variety of shops and restaurant. We now have more or less the same type of activities, so we need to move forward. I opened this as a Turkish bakery, ten years ago. After five years, I changed type of activity, I was the first to have terrazzas in the Kanaalstraat. Now we keep changing. You have to keep changing following requests of customers.

L: As Winkeliersvereniging, did the city government communicated with you about the plan?

Well I don't believe we have that much to say about the plan. Because this is not our area. Because there is the central station, the Beurskwartier, Lombok. So it's not just one group that can decide on this. We don't want high buildings but there will be because of money. I don't believe we can have much effect on the plan. We have to accept it like this. In big lines is the government that say how it goes.

I don't believe in a democratic process of participation. as Winkeliersvereniging it seems like we're always hitting a wall. The city government does only seem to accept small differences, but they keep the core of the plan.

L: Do you think Lombok is an attractive neighborhoods for new residents? Why?

Yes. You can find everything. From your daily cooking, every country has a shop. When you go for your daily shopping. If you look for other kind of shopping. We don't have much of this kind of shopping. YOU can't

find shoes, jackets, men clothes. It's a daily shopping area.

L: What is the identity of Lombok?

If you are in Utrecht and you want to eat something./ Before it was just daily shopping. And now it's a food paradise. You can find morokkan, tunisian, asian. It's all fresh, healthy food for good money. Lombok has restaurant qualities for fast food paradise. YOU can eat everywhere, whenever you like. eat as well as you can with 10 euro.

L: Do you think this urban program will change this?

No. This is the direction everyone is going. Retail stores, especially the small ones, are not going well. You see big stores are going down now. But what is trending is food. Food experience. It's not just regular food, like kebab 10 years ago. when you go the Hella Shoarma, now they also make burgers. So the innovation is that you have to grab challenges and opportunities. So keep changing, that's what the market is asking right know

L: According to you, what is the most important aspect of quality of life?

Actually I don't live here. I live in Leidsche Rijn. For me, when I work 10-12-15 hours sometimes, and I go home. I want to rest, keep it quiet. I like it here but for me I don't like to have noise. It has good things, like the opportunity to eat something also in the night, the distance to the center. For me it's more important the quietness, and places for kids. And here In Lombok is not that good. There are no places and it's dangerous with the cars. You have to think about attractions for kids, so you can let them out. Here in the area you don't have places for kids. So this is important when you have a family. If I didn't have a family, I would have lived here. It's not really a place for family. For quiet and safety and if you want more space because house in Lombok are quite small.

L: What do you think about public trasport?

Public transport is not so good right now. YOU just come here by bicycle or by car. When you want to come with the bus you have to stop in the station. It's not well connected with the public transport at the moment. I don't like the connection with the center either. If there will be high rise buildings this will get worse. The entry of Lombok from the center is not attractive right now. You will have high rise buildings with small streets, and this is not what people are looking for for this area.

I know there are small groups that talk for Lombok, but they are not in community. Maybe four, five people are talking. At the moment there is no connection. The only connection with the local government is with the Winkeliersvereniging. We know what people wants here, not the people that live in the end of kanaalstraat. This area (the area nearer to the Moskee) is the authentic Lombok. So the people that live there don't know what they feel here. They just cycle here and think: oh it's dangerous, oh it's that, oh it's

this. Not enough understanding.

L: How do you see Lombok in the next 10 years?

In the next 10 years I see more Horeca. More variety like asian food, sushi, wok, what we don't have now. Our dream, destination is to have world kitchen in Lombok. A food paradise that is also affordable for everyone, that attracts people from all the Netherlands. We expect more quality. Because customers are not like 10 years ago. They want more with less money. They know what you give them and how much it's worth...so you have to make it an authentic experience. It's not only the food, it's how you bring, the atmosphere...you have to make it an attraction. The government is also seeing this opportunity and so we have their support to shift to Horeca.

Interviewee #4 / Minem Sezgin, de Voorkamer

L: Do you know about the plan of urban regeneration in act in Lombok?

No, I don't know about it.

L: Is there usually a channel of communication between the local government and your association?

"Well, we definitely would like to grow our organization and reach the more the people involved in the neighborhood. So we had some sessions with the local government, by introducing our projects and our goals. But those introductions are not made by me so I cannot really speak on behalf of those."

L: Ok. Now I'd like to go to every element that I think is part of "social sustainability" in Lombok To what extent would you consider Lombok as a cohesive neighborhood?

"I think it's one of the most cohesive neighborhood. I never seen that much of a diversity in a neighborhood. Lombok has really unique vibe that people, morokkan people, turkish people, now newcomers they all live together. There is a so much different vibes than the one you can live in the city center. Because the city center is more students, the income level changes, the rate of places change, so the moment you pass by the tunnel you feel definitely like you are in a more diverse area, and that's a really interesting thing about Lombok itself."

L: So is diversity not an issue?

"No no. We actually have an event on living together in Utrecht. A Dutch lady explained that their closest neighbors are Morokkan. And they have a really nice relationship. And for religious celebrations the neighbors always bring something to celebrate. So it's nice."

L: Can you tell me what is Voorkamer about?

"The voorkamer is a meeting space for newcomers and local inhabitants of Utrecht. By newcomers we mean the ones who are waiting for permit and the one who already have a house. Our aim is to co-create stuff. So every week we know people, their personal story, and then we make small assignments. Then we connect them to a local person. It can be pretty much summed up as "ok what were you when you were not in the Netherlands and what can you do now to adapt in this country. So every object we have has this concept in their core. We have different activities, like the taalcafe', game nights. Most of the furniture we use is also made by these initiatives. Some of the products are co-created by a newcomer and a Dutch person. We are also very much eager to collaborate with initiatives that share similar views and objectives. In the neighborhood, in the city and in the country. I even am in contact with an association of Belgium because we're really eager to team up to reach up more people and make it bigger."

Did you setup your project here in Lombok because of a specific reason?

"One of the reasons we opened this place was because of its multicultural characteristics, so it's more interesting to have this kind of initiative in a place like this."

L: Would you say that this is a way to empower these newcomers?

"Indeed, like empower in a little bit professional way. and also working with them in the integration process. and also making connections for them. AND we also try to reach out to the neighborhood audience, which is Turkish, Moroccan and sometimes Dutch, so it's really diverse."

L: Do you think Lombok is an attractive neighborhood for new residents? Why?

"Yes, it is. This is my personal opinion for this question, but I think it is, because it creates a connection between cultures, but also you meet a lot of Dutch people, it's next to the center. It's so alive and it has a really unique vibe that we don't really get in the city center. For example we're also located between the center and the refugee center. Which makes it really easy for a lot of newcomers to just walk by and reach us. "

L: Do you think this attractiveness will have an impact on the housing market?

"Mhm, good question. I don't know but I've heard so many stories that it is getting more difficult. The housing market is really competitive at the moment, and a lot of people are trying to get an house or a room. The

prices are going high, the amount of people looking for a house here is increasing, but the amount of houses remains the same. I think it might be, because there is already a big competition going on"

L: Do you think Lombok's identity will change as an effect on this? Is there a risk of gentrification in Lombok?

"I don't really know. I think that in order to answer this question I should have more information about the neighborhood."

L: Do you feel safe moving in Lombok? Why?

"In daytime I don't have such a problem, but I had one experience as an individual when I walked around late evening through the tunnel and then I feel a bit intimidated to be honest. Like 'this is not super safe'."

L: What do you think are the most important public services needed at the neighborhood level?

Education and public transport, for me individually. This is one of those places where we're really working hard to make connections, this is a matter of increasing contacts between different people. So cohesion in the neighborhood increases.

Interviewee #5 / Mehdiefadie, Persepolis, Winkeliersvereniging

L: Do you know about the plan of urban regeneration?

Yes they want to connect the city center with the area. The project manager went here and talked about the project. He talked to me. We are also part of WinkeliersVereniging?

L: What do you think of the process of communication with the city government?

They were open to suggestions and critics. So yeah, I was satisfied with that.

L: Do you also live in Lombok?

No, I only work here.

L: Do you think Lombok is an attractive neighborhood for new residents?

Well, the neighborhood could be better, that's why I'm positive about the plan to change. Right now there are some problems that could disappear if the plan makes effective some changes.

L: To what extent do you think the neighborhood is cohesive?

Yeah the residents are very close in one community and the owners of the shop are also very united.

L: What is the identity of Lombok according to you?

Multicultural. At the moment it's a bit of the same, so more diversity could be provided with the changes. But it's already a good neighborhood.

L: Do you think this plan will change Lombok's identity?

No, it will have an impact on the look of the streets. Therefore, by making the street nicer, we will attract other people, because at the moment we attract the wrong kind of people. So that's the idea.

L: Do you think there will be a risk of gentrification, with poorer people pushed away?

I think that's a possibility.

L: talking about safety in the neighborhood, do you feel safe?

I feel safe. But I see things that could possibly scare some other people. There are groups of young men in the day and in the night, the attitude is such that they seem dangerous. I think they don't mean like it, but it's the attitude that scares people sometimes.

L: Would you like to live in Lombok?

No, I don't like the big city, I prefer the suburb because it's more quiet.

L: So, part of the plan is to reduce traffic, and increase people that go here by walking or biking.

Yeah, you have to stay for one day here, the busy day, like wednesday and thursday. You see the cars, running and running? I wouldn't like to live here with all those cars.

L: So it's not a problem for your activity if there are less cars?

No no. Or one way street. Or no cars. Or more police in the area. There is never police here, never. This is a problem.

L: What do you think about transport system in the neighborhood? What would you change?

Most important thing in the street is safety. How they do, I don't care. If you can achieve that with less cars, then less cars. If you can achieve that with more police present, so that's it. It needs to be more safe.

L: How do you see Lombok in the next 10 years?

I hope with new changes, because it's a nice neighborhood, but it's not taken care of as it should be. You have to change something if you want to make it really livable. So I think change is always good. You have to make a big change to change the way people feel and see this neighborhood. Because it's a nice neighborhood. It's cozy, fun, nice people live here.

Interviewee #6 / Khalid el Boudouhi, LaBoutique, Winkeliersvereniging

L: Do you know about the plan of urban regeneration? How the communication with the city government worked?

There was a communication with the government about it, because it's also part of a big strategic plan designed very early...urban boost city plan. This part was also already in it. So we knew about it. And another thing is that I'm in the board of the WinkeliersVereniging, so it's my job to know it

L: So, have they contacted you as member of the shoppers' association or individually?

First attempt, they approached the vereniging, and actually the announcement was public, so it was open for everybody.

L: So this process is still in process. But do you already see some effect of urban regeneration in the neighborhood?

Yes, and that's because the plan of the city is to grow inside, not to go to the space outside, so there is a growing demand for people looking for houses in the inner city. You can see that the prices of housing are going higher and higher...

L: in the city in general, or in Lombok?

Well close to the city it is explosively high, but generally is also high.

L: Do you think this prices that are going higher and higher will have an effect of the identity of this place?

Yes you can already see it because social initiatives are getting less in the neighborhood, there is more space for private ownership. So social projects are turning into private initiatives and with private ownership you see there's a change from the lower classes to the higher class.

L: So we talked about the identity in Lombok. What do you think it is now the identity of Lombok?

The identity now is multicultural with working class, that's actually what it always was. Now it's becoming more...more white. More yuppie.

L: To what extent would you consider as a cohesive neighborhood?

Well, that's a difficult question to answer! I think that people inside Lombok love the neighborhood as it is, and I think this is what creates a shared identity. They love their place the way it is.

L: As Winkeliersvereniging do you encounter different ideas on the future on the neighborhood? How do you deal with it?

The decisions we'll have to take are very difficult Because we are here for our members and the members have different interests and values. For us is difficult to take a decision because we have a wide variety of members, ranging from groceries to clothes shops...very different products. So it's difficult to take. Because if we take one decision can be very hard for the groceries, if we take another one it can be hard for the horeca. So actually the decision we have to make. We have to consider what is gonna happening the future, what is the situation right now that cannot be held any longer. Something has to go and we have to take the decision. We have to understand what's gonna happen. Some business are not suited for this area, so we have to take the decision in light of that. Keep existing, let's go some kind of businesses and promote the strongest ones. And that's not exactly the vision of the city government, how they'd like to see it here. Because the 'd like to see it more "white". The offer here is more suited on the new owners. More for the upper class. For the new residents that are coming here in the neighborhood. They would like to see a starbucks here and those kind of things, the things that are more near to the tastes of th yuppies. And that's their vision of giving this neighborhood an upgrade. But all the people who lives here, that already live here, they likes it like it is.

L: So, talking about private services. Part of the plan is also to reduce traffic and to increase movement by bike and walk. What is your opinion as a owner of a shop on that?

As a retailer, we are not happy with this process. Because in this neighborhood, this street (kanaalstraat) is

unique. It's not just a shopping street for the neighborhood. Because the people are coming here are coming from outside. They are coming from outside the area, from outside the city even. So this is a specific shopping area for let's say ethnic people, who come here to do some shopping that they can't find in their neighborhood. So our people don't come with the bike, and don't come by walking, and they barely come with public transport. They prefer the car, and that's something cultural. It's a cultural thing to go with the car. It's a matter of status. If they have a car, they prefer to go with the car. The moment they'll start making pay for parking in this neighborhood, the clients will become way less. We propose to the city government to make parking in more convenient for the first hour, so our client can come here. That's one of the plans we offered to the city government.

L: What are the most important public services needed at the neighborhood level?

I think for this neighborhood psychological counseling. Because in this neighborhood there are more...people who have problems than the average.

L: ... And this is not available as a service in the Gezhondeidcentrum?

No, it's not available. There is a similar service nearer the city center. So to open one here could help people that need psychological and practical assistance. And also some places for the youth, because they hang around here in the streets, and people pass by and are intimidated. So if they could make a meeting place for the young generation. The better would be an indoor. Or maybe giving something they can learn, so they can do something with their life instead of doing nothing and hanging around.

L: So talking about perception of safety. Do you think that Lombok is a safe neighborhood?

This is interesting. Because the one who lives in Lombok feels safe. But why does it feel safe? because they've grown in this context. But people who lives in a suburb for rich, high educated class, and they come here with people in the corner staying and seeing some crazy people. For them it is not safe, because they're never experienced something quite like it. The more you stay here the more you get used to things. For example, yesterday I was standing outside, and somebody was taken from the street from two other guys, they hit me and they put him inside a car. Maybe he did something wrong. For me it's just like this. For other people that's it's crazy, they call the police and so on. That's the difference of perception you see. Because a lot of customers come from outside Utrecht and they see a place like this it's not comfortable for them. So the answer is not a straight yes or no.

Do you think that there will be an effect on safety with the plan?

I hope so, I think there will be an effect. It will be better. Because the structural problem is that people don't have a job, don't integrate with the standard of society. Stand up in the morning, work, go home at 6

o clock and doing something fune tc etc, instead of wandering around.

DO you think there will be a phenonemon of hgentrification int he neighborhood?

Well depends on what the government wants. If they want to keep the social housing intact, it'll stay as it is. They could also ask this poeple to move, and there provide them with new house in another neighborhood and sold to new residents in the neighborhood. So it's a matter of what the city government will want to do. Is it's progress, but as far as I could understand in our meetings, there will still be space here for social housing.

L: So right now there is social housing in Lombok?

Yeah there is, I don't know but something like 50/50 of social housing. Normally the government gave renters a new home in another area ... That means more wealthy people.

L: What do you know about the quality of green areas in Lombok?

I think it's good enough already. It's in balance. Especially for being a place so close to the center it's green enough. I've also been in other countries and in other cities themore you go near the city center you don't have green areas at all. Here it's good I think, the majellapark, the Molen de Ster.

L: how do you see Lombok in the next 10 years?

I think it will change in a positive way. I think it will be an upgrade for the neighborhood, I think it'll move some shops that don't have a real possibility to exist in the future from here, THere will be more horeca...not only food but also fashion. Because the customers that come here they come mainly now for this, they come to buy clothes, everytihng that they find here it suits more on their lifestyles. This place is gonna be a place for ethnic yuppies. In muslim community there is also yuppie, young people that now earn more money and have more to spend and want nice things. ANd this is what I think the neighborhood will be for. This will trigger a change in type and quantity of business activity

Interviewee #7 / Inaria Kaisiepo Molen de Ster

L: What do you know about the urban regeneration plan?

yeah I've heard about the plan but I don't know all the details and I don't have really read the whole plan. But I know there are big plans, also to connect the Jaarbeurs with the center area, that's the bigger plan. What we're looking forward to is when they reorganize westplein we're hoping that they continue the

water from the Leidsche Rijn. I understood that that's the idea, so that's what we're hoping that'll be realized. That will make our position much better, it's nicer to have water, be able to do different activities, for leisure etc etc.

L: A part from this specific plan, are you already seeing effects of regeneration of Lombok?

Yeah, I've been living here for many years, you see big changes, happening gradually, but you can see from the houses, everything looks so much nicer, Kanaalstraat is a really nice street. They use to compare it sometimes to Den Haag Random street, but this is very different, this is sort of an high-end migration shopping center nowadays. I think, and I hear also from people who has been living for a long time, that it has developed more as a popular area. And you can see also from the prices of the housing that are rising, it starts to look like the east area of Utrecht, where the prices has always been traditionally high. So it's a very wanted area, everybody wants to stay here after they've studied here, they buy houses, they invest also in the open spaces, everywhere. So you see that it really grows: the interaction between people, private initiatives to start something with the people in your street, makes it very lively.

L: So who do you think are the main subjects involved in this development?

I think it started mainly from private initiatives in the area.

L: About the high prices of the housing, do you think this will have an impact on the neighborhood, in terms of types of residents and ultimately type and identity of neighborhood?

Yeah I think so. It's very likely. There are for instance something like that project of old social housing areas around Kanaalstraat, there has been long plan for long time ago to demolish all this buildings and put up new ones and there are a lot of people of this area opposing to this plan, so the old buildings are still there, and the old streets. BUT you see that now there is a big difference between the social housing areas, because they are in a very bad shape and all the new stuff that people are investing privately. So you do see that not all the areas of Lombok are rising in the same way. Some things are still a bit behind, but maybe there's a just a matter of time.

L: How did the local government reach you about the urban regeneration plan?

Sometimes we are invited to come to informational open days.

L: To what extent would you consider Lombok as a cohesive neighborhood?

I feel like it is. But that's because we are in a sort of specific social entrepreneurial. We are in a network with other people, so it make me feel like I'm living in a village. And that's how more people called it. Lombok is like a small village. BEcause you always see people that you know. So in that sense it feels sort of

cohesive. BUT underneath that, I don't really know. We always see the same kind of people here, we don't see everybody, we don't see a fully reflection of Lombok inhabitants visiting this place.

L: To what extent do you feel safe in the neighborhood?

I feel safe, but sometimes I hear people who are not very comfortable. Especially young blonde woman for instance that people in the Kanalstraat making noise, asking attention...but I never experienced that.

L: Talking about public services...what do you think are the most important public services needed at the neighborhood level?

We used to have bus to Kanalstraat, so when it moved to Vleutenseweg Maybe it's better because now Kanaalstraat is more free. The library has moved, the same thing, it used to be in the Kanaalstraat, now it's in Oog in Al, but I.

I think what would be better for Lombok is that Kanaalstraat doesn't have traffic at all. Also for safety issues. There's a lot of people being very antisocial...

L: In general, are you satisfied with the quality of public services in Lombok?

Yeah, I think so yeah.

L: Talking about accessibility to private services. According to you what is the effect of this process of urban regeneration for the attractiveness of private services in the area?

What it still bothers me is the smartshop that is becoming bigger in Kanaalstraat, and also at the end there is a new smartshop and I don't really understand how that matches with the vision of quality of life in this area. Because there's a lot of drug-related issues and I don't really see what is the logic behind it. About the attractiveness in general, it would be nicer if we had more shops. For instance, I like a lot that there are bakeries... diversity then maybe we need more of these things, like hairdresser, more shops for kids.

L: Regarding your activity, do you think there will be major changes?

There will be improvement also for this area. Like I said, with the water we are seeing that many more people are moving this way, also tourists. They are not just looking at the city center, but also at this side. But also with the new bridge going to the Leidsche Rijn, this is a sort of main route to connect it with the center, so all pass by the mill, see the building and make a picture. So it makes the mill more of a well known place.

L: Talking about public and green areas, Could you explain to me how this palce works in terms of public/private property?

It's public, but because of the monumental status is being closed at 6.00 every day. But when it's open it's a public space. We rent the mill.

L: Are you satisfied with the quantity and quality of public and green areas?

I think we have very nice parks around Lombok area, like majellapark. Boys find their way to play football, make out etc etc. The only thing needs attention is that people are using the mintgebouw water area as a sort of recreational area, so there's really a need for something like that. People just want to stay there and swim there, but swimming is not allowed. They place this fences on the other side, saying it's not safe to. I think it's a pity that people clearly love spending time near water outside in your own neighborhood, with friends, doing picnic. It's really nice to see how people are enjoying themselves together, by this water. From a government point of view, it's not allowed to swim, to do this and that, but then I think you need to arrange something so that you can swim. Clearly people love to spend their time there, and I think it's also good for the neighborhood. But I can imagine being located in a system of (rephrased) may be illegal and dangerous, but the government may think about it.

L: how do you see Lombokin the next 10 years?

I think it will be very crowded, popular place, also because of the jaarbeurs devlopment, with somany more things hapening on this side, so people also start looking for you know food or things on this side (lombok). SO i think it will be mroe crowded, houses will be more expensive, if that's possible I dont' know. So I think we also really need to be careful in preserving parks. Because I think this side will be more busy, so I think that will happen. The thing is just that we need to preserve or make sure that Lombok will still be Lombok. Kanaalstraat, the people that live here. It's difficult because if high prices of houses go higher it's interesting for people to invest and you get a lot more of high income people in the neighbrohood. That's also has consequences for the demographic situation of the neighborhood. Also people that have been living here for longer time, with social connections with each other int hea rea, will be replaced by people who have miney but lacks social connections. But on the other hand I'm not sure this will happen, because in that case people would prefer other areas in Utrecht or other cities with a lot more of space. Because you don't have a lot of space in Lombok, private garden are small etc. etc. But I think it will be a very good palce, we are confident that it will be one of the best places of utrecht to be, also vleutenseweg and Utrecht West in general. But it also need a lot of social activities and interactions between people to keep and preserve the sort of Lombok vibe.

L: Thanks!

Interviewee #8 / Klewer Matei, Stadslab

Two main concepts: urban regeneration, the enhancement of a pre-existing urban fabric, which ultimately aims to strengthen quality of life of the residents, accessibility to services, social capital, these last concepts are all part of social sustainability.

The interviewee asks about my research and why I choose Lombok as area. Importance of multiculturalism, evolving identity and gentrification, how the plan reacts to these elements and how the participation of several stakeholders in the plan worked is my main interest.

"A lot of wealthy white people are living in Lombok, the prices of housing is going up, but this is the case of all Utrecht. First, a lot of people and students who just finished their studies they're finding it difficult to get a decent house. The number of inhabitants is expected to increase so if there is something we have to do is to build new houses. The second one is: we see the city center itself, it needs more space. It needs extra space to grow. Third, the Jaarbeurs is a great complex, where great venues take place, but because in this time people buy a lot of more stuff via the internet, they visit these great venues a lot less. So they're going to shrink, all these malls are getting a lot smaller, so a lot of space is vacant near the central station, this is also the case of Lombokplein, or Westplein as it's called right now. This has to do with mobility. I'm gonna focus on the mobility later on. The big lines are we need a lot of new houses in Utrecht, we have space near the central station, so this is where we gonna build a lot of high rise buildings. Because we think it's a very good idea to build next to the big train station, because people are maybe easier to convince to take public transport to go to work, instead of taking the car. This is also our big main focus, to reduce cars. This is the case in Lombokplein. A couple of years ago Lombokplein was this one big field of asphalt, you know, like 6 lanes of cars, we think that after the Paris agreement on the climate, we need less cars. Also cars make noise, make accidents, and it's healthier to walk or bike, and you can make better and more beautiful public space, because the space you don't need for cars you can design for parks or for biking or for buildings. So all these ingredients made us to create a plan where a lot of us focused on the health aspects, we tried to get rid of the car access. So this was the birth also of our plan, the omgevingvisie.

L: Traffic in Lombok is a delicate issue, because some of the residents are scared with the transition because customers in Lombok are used to go to Lombok with the car, so they kinda fear that the change will make them lose clients, do you think this is a concern?

Yeah I understand what you mean.. Well the boundaries of our plan is somehow limited, so Lombok is still accessible from several routes. We are going to change the access to Westplein. Also the old city center, like 40 years ago, cars could get everywhere, the shop owners were also afraid that people couldn't get to the shops anymore. What happened is that it became a very beautiful public space, no cars chasing behind your back, it's a beautiful example. I guess this is what makes the inner city of Utrecht, so beautiful. So I think for Lombok itself could be an upgrade if people could walk to the central station without being chased by cars.

I mean, you have the practical stuff in account, how I get my groceries loaded in my shop, you have to take this into account. A lot of the cars parked in Lombok are by the owners themselves.

We actually have a concept, it's called healthy urban living, we've got a couple of definitions. One aspect of healthy urban living is less cars. The second one is also focusing on how do people get more healthy. We define this by trying to reduce stress, trying to reduce loneliness - a lot of elderly people sit at home alone and they don't have contacts anymore. The third one is try to promote a healthy behavior. We made a plan with focus on public space, with a lot of green, parks but also on the buildings themselves. The newest project is called wonderwood. The bosco verticale by Boeri. So yeah this healthy urban living focuses on health. we tried to create a public space whereas a lot of inside and outside: Functions taking place inside of a building, we try to create space so that these activities can take place also outside. An example is maybe like the school class, if the weather is good, how about sometimes perform the class outside, so elderly people can see the younger people, and people who don't come in contact with each other a lot of time can have this opportunity. And also just simple things like creating a bigger pavement, so people can meet each other. I mean we can create a better world, but if you don't create more space it will never happen. So this is one thing.

Another one is also trying to promote walking or sports in public spaces. You know, nowadays you have this urban sports, like parkour, it can be done in many simple ways, or just create space to play soccer. But you have to have space, so we all take this into account. Yeah because most of the residents in Lombok don't have a high income, so they live in apartment without a garden, so they have to play in the street. If there's no place on the street to play sport, now it's a bit complicated.

Third one we tried also to incorporate services for people who need it. Some people are maybe mentally ill, they can barely live on their own. So we made this house chambers with professionals and they stay in contact with the neighborhood. If there are a lot of new people living in the neighborhood, this functions are needed to expand. Our goal is to create a new buurtteam

L: What is the relationship between the gemeente utrecht and stadslab. Also, do you know if the buurtteam is public-driven?

Well stadslab is a temporary thing, because it was set up just for this plan. The buurtteam has a big relation with the local government, because they try to help people who cannot really help themselves. I guess buurtteam are market driven, but it's not my cup of tea. We have to calculate if there's money for this function to be active. Luckily this ground near the central station is worth a lot of money, because it's near the city center, so we can sell it to market companies who give us a lot of money, so we can give it back to the people.

L: I recall another interview (with winkeliersvereniging) talking about processes of participation...How the process of participation work?

We only met with winkeliersvereniging only in the very end of the process. We tried to invite a lot of people, also from Lombok. But there is another organisation in Lombok, they call themselves OGC, they have a lot of influence in Lombok, and they have a lot of meetings with them. They stand for the people of Lombok in my opinion.

Anyway, as Stadslab we made this place (refers to the second floor of the gemeente utrecht). Normally we work on the ninth or tenth floor, but the first 6 floors are public. so we decided to sit over here, we designed ourselves, we wanted to look green and also with renewable materials, because we want to be sustainable, also in the places we create. It's a nice atmosphere to be, if people are here they most feel comfortable. So we decided to stay on a public floor and anyone can walk in here, sometimes we are busy, and sometimes we are not here. But also a lot of time we are here and people can just come in and make a conversation. What we tried to do is in the last two years we showed our ideas, not like a blueprint, but more like "we were thinking to do this way because of this and that" and they would talk to us - they could tell us. bad idea, good idea, this is why. So we shape our minds, we have 200 of this conversation, sometimes we invited the big players from the area. Sometimes they just popped in. Like every three months we held a very big meeting, we called it the stadsgespreken, where we invite experts and they give us their opinion on the plan so far, and then we have all the stakeholders and people living in this area, as a public and they give their opinions, so we make kind of a wrap up. And then in the next three months we go on and on and on.

L: And this meeting were held here in the stadslab or in different places?

The meetings were held in different places, but all of them in this area so we've been into the theater over there, but also in the gemeente. We have people who are really positive, some of them not so positive. In my opinion we have really really tried to let people participate, in the early stages of the project they could give their opinion. sometimes we have to choose because the big real estate want a good connection with cars to the inner city but people living in the area they want to get rid of the car, and also we want to get rid of the car actually, but we have to make a decision. Sometimes you make a compromise and people do not like it, that also happens.

We talk about Fred Dekkers (OGC), restoration of the channel in Westplein...

Oh yeah, it's wonderful, it's something you give to the city, because you can't make money out of it. Fred Dekkers and OGC, are one of 100 players in the area. So we appreciate their opinion but we have to make a judgement.

L: One aspect that I realized is that some of these areas there are few houses with actual residents living in the actual area of the plan. Does this create a problem of ownership?

Well actually there are, not a lot, but there are people living in the area, these are new apartments buildings (Losangeles, mosque). But also people living in Lombok they are walking or with their bike they go to the city center every day. so they really have an opinion and they really feel "this is our area". Maybe the last thing I can say is the temporary process. Because these plans are long terms but in the short term we also have plans for what we can do already now with these areas. And this is where OGC comes in, they have already claimed this area, they've made it a lot greener, and there is this little pavilion over there and it's a nice idea and I think they're really doing a good job, they want to make a friendly environment, they invite neighborhoods...we tried to help with money but also regulations, meaning letting them do what

they do. But what we also tried to do is a concept called placemaking. We tried to stimulate to get in people's mind this is going to be a neighborhood. We tried to give them the idea that something is going to happen over there. There are a few things you can do, we tried to get people who are living in the neighborhood, or the companies that are staying in this area, to come together and programs of festivals or plant trees, so they get the kind of ownership. Creating an identity, yeah. We spent money for this. So we try to mobilize people in the neighborhood to do something with this area, a great example it's not yet over here but in Rotterdam, the theater was included and we also have a theater over here; instead of the performances taking place inside, they decided to do outside. In the netherlands the weather is not always good, but in the moment it was possible they performed outside, so people in the neighborhood could enjoy the show, and it was for free. and they had a sense: oh, something is happening here. And because it's performed by people or companies from the area it's local, it feels real.

L: I've read through the plan and it seems that some of the aspects related to the westplein area are still left to some options for the future, like the new street that has to be built near the los angeles complex. To what extent the decisions made in the plan are subject to change in the future?

Because the OGC are the big player in that specific area, they have ideas about this area for years, because it's next to the channel, they have already made plans so we agreed that this area, as a government, we're not going to make a plan for this area. As soon as the politics agree with this plan we're going to work it out in the next phase. And yeah they have ideas for maybe boats who can navigate through here, so you can get up and take a cup of coffee or something. Our plans are to really make a plan with the people, well they really make the plan...for some aspects like cleaning, it has to be done by the government, so some machines has to get in. But they make the plans.

L: The ambition of the plan is that they mix an increased urban density with an increased quality of life ,and it has been discussed the difficulty to mix both aspects. How the plan is aiming to match both aspects?

We have a couple of concepts. One of them is called vancouverism. In Vancouver they have this planner that was from hong kong, and what we don't want is the hong kong situation, a lot of high rise, a dull city on the ground floor. So we take into account an extra focus in the ground floor. The high rise is always a little backwards on the building blocks. This is for a couple of reasons: these towers are like in a setback, so the wind goes against the building and it goes on the first floor so people on the ground floor they don't feel the wind. Second one, the towers are in a setback and also small, so you allow more sun to come in. The third one is that we tried on the ground floors to have different functions that in the towers. In the towers probably people will live in the apartments ,in the ground floors there will be space only for cafes, activities, maybe a buurtteam or parks for bicycle. It has to be very lively. So we tried to make the ground floor really a lively space and also incorporate a lot of green, because people like it. And also this concept of healthy urban living I explained, we tried to integrate it into. So get people out of their lonely situations, to create a healthy urban space and reducing stress is difficult but most people who have stress don't have a job, so the biggest factor you can contribute is to create a lot of jobs in the city.

We talk about Overvecht plan (no activities in the ground floor)

L: Do you have any view on the risk of gentrification?

WOW. Good question. Not easy to answer. Well if you look at the statistics sure it's positive, because you have more high incomes, they tend to have more feelings for the public space, they try to make a more attractive neighborhood. They have the money for it. But the people who used to live in Lombok, well they've children and they probably don't have the chance to live in the same neighborhood, because prices are going up. But some people may benefit for it, they can sell their houses for double the price and have a better place somewhere else. So you have to look at it really at the city wide level: people with low incomes that can get a place to live also near the city center, cause else they're forced to live on the edges of the cities, because prices are a lot lower over there. But in my opinion, Utrecht really tries to build a lot of social housing. Also in our plans, we have a minimum of 20% is social housing, we also have student housing, which is also social housing. So I think 1/3 of all the housing will be social.

L: Regarding the attractiveness of Utrecht. Do you think there is potential to increase attractiveness of this area for residents, city users and tourists?

I think Lombok is really a complementary area. You don't have to change anything, is peculiar but that's also the strength. All these shops are not big chains or big companies, that's really local ownership, and it's great to discover. If you've seen the city of Utrecht, most of the city center and the things to see, it's great to just walk to the city center easily and discover the kanaalstraat. In my opinion this is really a strength of Utrecht and you don't really have to do something about it because it's already there, the only thing we can do is to get rid of the barriers which we're going to do. Then it can get easier.

Interviewee #9 / Adam L. Buurt Team West

I explain the scope of the thesis...

I work in Lombok, I work as well in Oog in al, for an organization and we and the gemeente as well, we named the area Utrecht West. Lombok is a part of that, Nieuw Engeland is a part of that, Oog in al is a part of that so it's a huge area...and there are approximately 35000 people living in the area. There are a lot of...I think but I'm not sure. there are more owned or privately rented houses than social project houses. What I've seen in the area that I work in, especially in Lombok, there are less and less houses of social rent. So that's in a way, kind of a let down for people, because once they have to move they have to move out of the area because instead of those social housing there are more and more expensive houses to rent or expensive houses to buy. For an example just around the border with the center and Lombok, near the Mosqueplein, this year there've been a new apartment complex, the Los angeles Complex, before there were social housing and now it's very expensive and people have to go out of the area...

L: and there is no social housing at all in the complex?

No, no. Not in that complex. If there is social housing is very expensive social housing. It starts from 750 euro. But before you could rent for 400 euro or even less in the same area. So that's kind of a problem for people. I don't know very much of the project of the gemeente for them to connect Beurskwartier...I don't know much about those plans. I've heard about them. I've heard they want to build a huge hotel in the area,...you know a lot of things. But I don't think people living in Lombok, especially the people with minimum incomes are their main focus, you know? Because they've just rise a new cinema complex, the kinopolis, which is huge, but a lot of our clients don't go to that cinema, so if you have about public entrance for people, to those kind of things. I don't think our clients of buurtteam are their subject groups.

L: Part of my research is to understand whether this project in Lombok is actually bringing a different identity in the neighborhood. To what extent do you think the identity in the area is changing because of that?

I do think it's changing. You know, Lombok has been an area...especially in the 70s I think a lot of immigrants entered the neighborhood and a lot of those immigrants partly are not alive anymore, partly are very old, but their children have also been able to build their living in the area, in Lombok and around. What I see now, because of the new inhabitants of Lombok, they start to complain. I read an article a few months ago about people complaining a lot about the area, about the noises, in general. And the complaints came from people with higher income, and there were a lot of reactions on the internet attacking them for: why did you come to live in this neighborhood if you know it's rowdy, it's very noisy, crowded and stuff. And that's what is happening, because a lot of people that come to live, especially in Lombok, they have been able to purchase a house or rent, which they wouldn't be able to afford if they go to Wittevrouwen or Utrecht also. But it changes the whole dynamics of the neighborhood.

L: Talking about the buurt team. I was wondering whether it's private or public. How does it work?

It's not a private organization in the sense that we are being funded by the gemeente. So we are...everyone in Utrecht has access to the buurtteam, everyone. So it doesn't even matter which income you have, whether you are old or young...it doesn't even matter. Just if someone has some kind of difficulty or whatever, they can get assistance from the buurtteam.

L: do you have relationship with other associations in the area?

Well, a part of our job is just to be there in the neighborhood, to have connections with everyone in the area. Mainly with the residents because they are clients. But clients they attend to other organizations, but we are connecting with almost everything that has the same purpose in the neighborhood, to be there, to have a great environment, to have a safe environment...like a social mission. So we are more connected to organization, social organizations like that.

L: Do you think there are problem of safety in the area?

Well you know I don't htink there's a huge problem regarding the safety of people. It's more the feeling, especailly by day everyone can go there. but that's my perspective I think, knowing the neighborhood. I don't think you would get blocked just by walkind down the street, ,even in the evening it's relatively safe. But a lot of people they have this feeling because it's rowdy, because there are different cultures they don't necessarily know about. You know a lot of guys standing down on the streets: in other countries that's very common. You know especially in summer if people just stand down the streets or sitting on a bench. A lot of people that come from out of the neighborhood don't know about it and they tend to get scared a bit. Especially with thte traffic it could actually be unsafe. But it's not because of the road, whatever. it's because of the behaviour of people, they tend to drive very fast, they drive on motorcycles very fast. It's not a boulevard, the streets are not very large and that's very unsafe.

L: In some other interviews people were telling me about the cultural status of having expensive cars.

YEah but I don't think the issue is having expensive car or driving in a very nice car. It's about the behavior of those people. You can drive a Maserati, but if you can only drive 50 here, then drive 50 because the Maserati also drives 50 you know? You don't have to be pushing to the limits. So I don't think it has to do with cultural things, or possessing cars it's just more about the behavior of people.

L: To what extent do you tnik Lombok is an attractive area for the residents?

Well I think it can be very attractive. If you would like to be not in the center but just around the corner it has a lot to offer. If you have a bike you can go anywhere. There are stores, there is a lot to do. I think it's a very attractive neighborhood to live in. I think so.

L: Do you think there is a risk of gentrification in the area? To what extent?

It's already happening, just by seeing people that are not able anymore to live in their homes because they couldn't get up on the stairs, it means they have to move out in a different house. They are not being able to come back in the neighborhood because those kind of houses are not available anymore. Or if it's available it's tooe xpensive. A lot of elder people...you know those houses have very ripid stairs, because it's hard to climib it especially if you're an elder. So if you're not able to go down the stairs every day, they are pushed to go elsewhere. And a lot of people just might be living living there for 30 or 40 years, and they want to stay there in the neighborhood but they can't. That's a problem because a lot of these elder people just go out of the neighborhood. There comes a lot of yups, as we say, Young urban professionals, because they could get from Lombok in 5 minutes to the central station and then you can go to Den Haag, to Amsterdam, whenever you want. You know, a guy that I know it's a doctor and lives here in this neighborhood. Why? Because he works in an hospital in Den Haag so he bought a house here so he can be 5 minutes to the central station and then go out to Den Haag. It's attractive for young people.

L: Talking about public services. What is your opinion on the quality of public services in the area?

I am satisfied. Only the public transport is kind of an issue. For Lombok, the last year mostly elder people complained about it. Because there were no possibility to go from Lombok to the city center. But the gemeente has already tackle that problem by having two busses driving 1 or 2 times in an hour (in kanaalstraat). But i think in general in the Netherlands the public services are very good. There is a sport complex, there are a lot of projects for elder people. I think in general most of the time in Utrecht, there are a lot of public things to participate in.

L: In terms of open and green areas what do you think?

I've travelled a bit and in comparison to other countries the netherlands in general doesn't have a lot of squares. As an example you're in Italy so you know I mainly focus on Lombok, there aren't alot of squares. Kanalstraat is kind of a boulevard, with shops both sides, but that's it. Maybe the Mosqueplein it does not have that social function, not yet I think. Maybe because it's fairly new.

L: The last question. How do you see Lombok in the next 10 years?

Well I hope that it continues to be... Lombok is for a lot of cities in hte netherlands, even in Europe or the world, an example`of a great neighborhood where people with higher incomes and lower incomes can live together, migrants and natives they live together and I hope it continues to be like that. I do not hope that it become like this area where rich people can be. I hope it still continues to be like a place where students have their housing...I hope it just keeps the vibration of being a cultural place. That's what i hope for Lombok. I hope the gemeente tackles down the problem with the traffic because that's an issue. Yeah and I hope for the residents, not only in Lombok but all around the city, that they have access to a buurtteam or some organization providing assistance without having them to pay for it.

Ok, thanks!

Interviewee #10 / Niels Eireinstein, Park Plaza Hotel

Explains the scope of the research, social sustainability, quality of life in urban areas, attractiveness of the area.

L: I contacted you because I was interested to know about the process of participation, if you were involved as manager of the hotel.

Do you know about the plan of urban regeneration? To what extent you were involved?

We are involved, to a certain extent we are informed. Obviously it's also very important that you be very correct from yourself. They communicate via email or on the website and you have to look at all the plan they had. At this moment there's a lot going on. The station area, Lombok area and I think also the Beurs. They also have a lot of committees, everybody wants to say something about the process. So that's for me...I started in this hotel at the beginning of March as a hotel manager, so the first day I introduced myself to a couple of these committees, and I introduced myself to the municipality. So I get all the information that they released, but still you need to be very proactive from yourself, like when there was an informal meeting at the city hall, I went to the city hall, you need to ask, research, explore yourself to get the information. Then you get it. Then you get another book of 120 pages, you know my personal opinion is that is a lot of information, far too much. We need to run a business, I don't have time to run through documents. But of course we offered our view, how we think it should be. We called it in Dutch *zienswijzen* and they confronted it. They received a lot of views from all the stakeholders involved, so then they will get back to us [after they've read it all of them]. I'm not sure to what extent I'm now talking about the Lombok area or the beurskwartier...

L: Yeah the plan is really about the connection of different areas, so it's hard to divide one area from another. Anyway, what is the current situation in the area for your business? Is the city government working with you to reduce potential inconveniences?

What I can say in this is that the accessibility for us is key. It is not the best situation at this moment. But they do their best to get us still connected. You know we have shared in our view that in the future when everything is fixed how can we get people to the hotel? I have guests arriving by trains, I have guests arriving by buses, by car. Overall the area is moving towards a good direction, and I think it was very bad in the past, like 10 years ago. It was also before my time [working here as a manager]. You know like the bicycles were not very inviting so I'm happy that they are being removed from this slot, so we need to upgrade the whole area, which is I think important also for the feeling of safety of people in the evening when walking around, it should be more inviting, of course with all the construction going around, yeah it's a little bit too dark in the evening right now. So you have a long term view and short term view. The short term view is how can we deal with the inconvenience, the constructions works going around...you know when we see or observe things [that are not going well] I can mention that to the construction company or the municipality, so at this moment I'm quite ok with that. And then you also have the long term view, what are we going to do with all the area? What are we going to do with the connectivity of the hotel? What are gonna do with the channel that they want to extend? Where do we put ourselves, and what type of role do we want to play. Obviously I think in 10 years this neighborhood if it continues in the development that is currently going, within 10 years will be very good. I don't know if I'll be working in the hotel after 10 years in this position, but you know for the hotel. You can already see it but there is still work to do.

L: I've heard from other interviews that there is a project to grow a small park/garden between the hotel

and Westplein. Do you know if it's true?

No, I don't know what they're going to do. I know about the short term solution, They are going to bring the turn-around that is now in the...I don't want to comment about this matter and I want to talk about the municipality about it.

L: To what extent was the process of the plan actually interactive?

It was open in the sense it was possible to read all kind of documents online. It's difficult to say for the whole process, because I've been here since March, so maybe in the beginning they were very open, and now it's still open. Now we are in communication and also sometimes they do it on purpose because they need to be transparent, of course, but you know when all stakeholders are involved, anybody has an opinion and I think it's a little bit the issue of this area, a lot of people has their opinion and everybody has got their own view, which makes it very difficult, but one thing is absolutely clear for myself, we need to do something for this area. YOU can't keep it like this, it's not inviting at this moment. NOW you have all these busses stopping in front of the NH hotel so I imagine there can be inconveniences also there.

L: Is there a potential for tourism appeal in the area?

I think there's a huge potential for this city. Amsterdam welcomes 17millions per year and they're aiming at 25. It cannot be stopped anymore. You know it's like Venice in Italy. But why do I bring it up? Because it's like an oilspot. The tremendous growth in the amount of tourists in Amsterdam has positive influences for cities like Utrecht, Haarlem etc etc. Seeing the Amsterdam area as a metropole, they involve all the suburbs and the cities around Amsterdam. At this moment I think you have a capacity of approximately 40.000 hotel rooms. If I look at Utrecht I think we're around 1.200, so this is just 5%. But the thing is, if i go to Hoofdoorp, Zandam, cities like those around Amsterdam, to sleep over there, I can also sleep in Utrecht.

Capacity-wise there's space to growth. If you would ask me: can you add 100 rooms, I would sign to build it tomorrow. I'm not worried about competitors...cose riguardo la competitivita di utrecht in generale, potenziale del settore alberghiero, ma poco adatta.

I think there's a lot of potential for the amount of tourists coming to Utrecht. A lot of potentials for the hotels, for the restaurants, for the other stuffs.

L: So a potential side effect of the development of the area could be a gentrification process where original low-income residents are pushed away from an area with rising values of houses. Do you think could this be the case?

It's interesting also for us, as. I've seen this trend in other areas, so you can already see it now. This will happen, you will have a shift, the value of the houses will increase, people will kick out the rental and upgrade the buildings...for us is a very important development, because this so called yuppies you know

they come into the hotel they spend some nice money in my bar in my restaurant, and that also bring me to the fact that we are looking for a huge renovation of this hotel , we're doing preparation for this, at this moment we're running a sample room, and then we are also investigating the public area in preparations for the top floor. I think that not now is not a good moment, but in the end after 5 years you can see how far we're with the development. And then you have this trend of hotel bar restaurants, mainly for the guests who want to have a drink..it's not really for people from outside the hotel. When you have a destination restaurant, 80% of the clients come from outside. So when all the development in the area has been succesfully achieved, I would definitely be open to say: ok, le'ts make a destination restaurant. And then is an upgrade of the whole area. So i'm happy with the upgrading of the neighborhood, it was a very bad neighborhood in the past in my opinion and I think it's good that they're upgrading it, and for us it's fantastic for the value of the hotel. After 5 years they're now building this very big apartments. After 5 years you can see how far we've achieved.

I think in the end also for the retailers this is also a very good development. if you want to keep it in balance, if you don't want to have only yuppies in the area, theny ou keep some old elements in there, some old retailers, maybe keep or relocate some areas for rental, social housing. Maybe you can do like a local market in this area, with the local flavours, you've a a very nice mosque over here so you have got the intercultural elements in there, and then you make it altogether into a very nice strength.

L: Thanks.