

Trailer park Beukbergen: a regular neighbourhood with a special character?

A research into the relationship between municipal interventions, perceptions of liveability and trust between inhabitants and local organisations and professionals on trailer parks in the Netherlands.

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Source photos frontpage: Fotoboek Beukbergen, Gemeente Zeist, 2018

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RIG RIGO Research en Advies
Woon- werk- en leefomgeving

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Preface

“This is the most beautiful trailer park in the Netherlands, I’ll say. Of the Netherlands, of everywhere!”

(Inhabitant of Beukbergen, 2019)

Dear reader,

I must admit, before embarking on this journey called *Master thesis*, I had never set foot on a trailer park before. Driven past one? Yes. Looked at them with fascination? Definitely. Mistaken it for a campsite? More than once when I was a kid. I believe a large part of the people who will read this thesis have never set foot on a trailer park either and that’s a shame. When visiting Beukbergen, the welcome was always warm, coffee and tea were served, on blistering hot days even ice creams. The conversations I had with inhabitants and professionals resulted in this thesis, which became the longest piece of text I have ever written. But I have to conclude that this had mainly to do with the fact that these people had a lot to tell and I wanted to do justice to their stories, by writing it down correctly.

With my background in sociology, stories of people have always fascinated me, and also how these individual stories in the end say something about how societies move and change over time. When starting with the Spatial Planning master, my interest in the built environment was added to that. Soon I realized that my real interest was at the intersection of the social and the spatial. I believe this thesis is a good example of that.

Even though writing a thesis can be quite a lonely process, I want to thank my supervisors Thierry and Marlies for taking the time to talk with me about process and hurdles and for giving me feedback that helped me along the way. The working environment at RIGO encouraged me to work hard on my thesis, but also to make time to participate in some projects and enjoy playing a game of table football to set my mind off things. Lastly, I would like to thank Tim for his patience with me and his ability to put a smile on my face when I needed it most.

Roos Hoeve

Zeist, 7 August 2019

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Summary

Trailer parks in the Netherlands have regularly appeared in the news in recent years, for various reasons, from reports of crime to reports of protests against municipal policy. In the first half of 2018, the European College for Human Rights has presented an advice to the ministry of Home Affairs and Kingdom Relations that the approach of many municipalities in the Netherlands is not in line with human rights of trailer park inhabitants. In response to this, the ministry of Home Affairs and Kingdom Relations published a policy framework for municipalities, that suggested an approach directly opposite to what most municipalities had been doing for years in relation to trailer parks. There was one notable exception to this: trailer park Beukbergen in Zeist. An abundance of positive news articles was found, on how in Zeist, they managed to change course in a time frame of some 10-12 years. The trailer looked better and was bigger than ever.

Beukbergen became the central case of the research. How the changes happened and whether results really are that positive for everyone involved is researched by combining three concepts and discovering their relationship: municipal interventions, perceptions of liveability and trust between inhabitants and professionals and local organisations. This this is contained in the following main question:

What is the relationship between municipal interventions, perceptions of liveability of trailer park inhabitants and trust between inhabitants and local organisations and professionals on trailer parks in the Netherlands?

The research had an explorative nature, because the amount of research on trailer parks in the Netherlands is very limited. It is concluded that the researched concepts are all related in some ways, in the context of trailer park Beukbergen. When combined the most important conclusion of this research is that spatial improvements only explain a part of the improved perceptions of inhabitants of Beukbergen. The perceptions of inhabitants on the changes that have taken place on Beukbergen are greatly influenced by the contact, communication and relationships they have had with (professionals of) the municipality of Zeist and Woongloed Zeist, whether positive or negative. For professionals, a tension between equal treatment and individual customization remains in the contact with inhabitants.

The found results have led to several recommendations for professionals involved with trailer parks, some important ones are mentioned here:

- Clear communication and dialogue with inhabitants on what can and can't be done gives people the feeling they are being heard, even when it concerns bad news. Shifting of issues with inhabitants on colleagues or within the organisation does not contribute to the trust people have.
- Invest time in discovering what inhabitants find important and move beyond prejudices. This asks for a change in mindset: the mutual goal must become clear and expressed to inhabitants.
- It is important that knowledge on trailer parks and their inhabitants is disseminated within organisations and across professionals. Knowledge about what is going on helps to reduce prejudices and to see inhabitants as individuals.

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1 | Introduction

“Van woonwagencamp naar ‘villawijk’” which translates to “*From trailer park to residential area*” was the headline of a news article by NRC in 2018. The article describes the positive changes that have been taking place on trailer park Beukbergen in the municipality of Zeist. Although trailer parks generally make the news in negative ways in the Netherlands, for being places of crime, with unemployment and health issues among its residents¹, it seems that Beukbergen is a positive exception to these negative messages.

The negative image of trailer parks in the Netherlands can be traced back into their history, which is one of stigmatization and marginalization (PRIMO-nh, 2006). Recently, the national government of the Netherlands introduced a new policy framework for trailer parks (Ministerie Binnenlandse Zaken, 2018). This new vision is created after a document published by the National Ombudsman in 2017, in which the national policy of the Netherlands is criticized, stating there is a structural shortage of locations for caravans. It also states that extinction policies that have been common for the past years are not in line with the human rights framework in force based on statements by the European Court of Human Rights. The Netherlands Institute for Human Right judged that extinction policies of municipalities do not match the constitutional law on equal treatment (Ministerie Binnenlandse Zaken, 2018; College voor de Rechten van de Mens, 2018). Many inhabitants of trailer parks expressed their discontent on the policy of municipalities that occurs as letting trailer parks slowly die out, by not providing space for new trailers and by dismantling existing sites, the *Nuloptiebeleid*. According to the policy framework and the advice of the National Ombudsman, the *Nuloptiebeleid* is no longer permitted.

Long before the release of the policy framework and the advice of the Ombusman, the municipality of Zeist started with changing its approach for Beukbergen, in 2006. Instead of removing caravans, they created new pitches for trailers, to eliminate the waiting list. The camp went from 170 to 220 pitches and is now the biggest of western Europe (Binnenlands Bestuur, 2018). Part of the new approach is an extensive renovation of the public space on the camp and the addition of new pitches and trailers, to eliminate the waiting list. The main incentive for the municipality of Zeist for a change in approach was because the fire safety of the trailer park was below standards. Mayor of Zeist Koos Janssen was involved in the process early on, his goal for Beukbergen was to transform it to a ‘normal’ neighbourhood of Zeist, but with a special form of living (Volkskrant, 2010). The changes that took place on Beukbergen make it a unique case in the Netherlands and in Europe and therefore it will be the central case of this research. Further elaboration on the decision for Beukbergen as a case is found in chapter 4, Methodology.

The changes that have taken place on Beukbergen was picked up by the media and they portray a very positive picture². Newspaper De Gelderlander even calls Beukbergen a Utopia for trailer park inhabitants (2018b). This raises several questions: What did the municipality do to improve the situation on Beukbergen? What do the inhabitants of Beukbergen think of

¹ Eindhovens Dagblad (2018), Brabants Dagblad (2018)

² Binnenlands Bestuur (2018), NRC (2018), AD (2017), De Nieuwsbode Zeist (2017)

all the changes that have been taken place? Are they just as satisfied as the municipality of Zeist seems to be? What was the role of professionals from organisations involved and what is the relationship between inhabitants and professionals like? And has this changed over time? Can Beukbergen be an example for other municipalities that want a different approach for their trailer parks?

The municipality of Zeist regards trailer park Beukbergen as a finished project. The restructuring is complete and there was a festive opening of the renewed trailer park (De Nieuwsbode Zeist, 2018). Now, a year later when everyone on the trailer park is settled in, it is interesting to see how inhabitants perceive the changes that took place and how they value their neighbourhood now and how professionals who are and were involved with Beukbergen perceive it. An insight in the approach of Beukbergen could give organisations and professionals starting points and a focus for their approach for trailer parks.

To research the questions mentioned before, an exploration of three different concepts related to the subject is conducted: (1) perceptions of liveability, to get an insight in how the living environment of Beukbergen changed over the past years and how it is valued by those living and working there (2) the effect of municipal interventions: restructuring and normalisation of the trailer park (3) trust between inhabitants and local organisations and professionals who were, or are, involved with Beukbergen. In the research, the possible relationship between the three concepts is uncovered. The decision for these concepts is discussed in detail in chapter 3 and chapter 6.

At the base of the relationship between the concepts lays a problem definition. Trailer parks in the Netherlands recently became a topic again for policymakers, civil servants and other professionals involved. At the same time, the position of trailer park inhabitants in Dutch society is under pressure. Scientific research does not give definitive answers on the issue and trailer parks remain unresearched. By exploring the case of Beukbergen it is possible to gain some insight. To research this, the following research question is proposed:

What is the relationship between municipal interventions, perceptions of liveability of trailer park inhabitants and trust between inhabitants and local organisations and professionals on trailer parks in the Netherlands?

Out of this central research question, the following sub-questions are extracted:

- *What are the theoretical definitions and relationships of the main concepts of the research (perceptions of liveability, trust between inhabitants and local organisations and professionals and municipal interventions)?*
- *How do municipal interventions (restructuring and normalization) relate to perceptions of liveability of inhabitants on trailer park Beukbergen?*
- *How do municipal interventions (restructuring and normalization) relate to trust between inhabitants and local organisations and professionals on trailer park Beukbergen?*
- *To what extent exists a relationship between perceptions of liveability of inhabitants and trust between inhabitants and local organisations and professionals on trailer park Beukbergen?*

Liveability is a concept that is used to measure how “well” a neighbourhood is doing, essentially it is an impression or judgement of an area. It is the ‘fit’ of the living environment, with the needs and wishes of the people living in an area (Veenhoven, 2000; Leidelmeijer & Van Kamp, 2003). The concept emerges in both policy documents and scientific research (Blokland, 2009; Bolt & Torrance, 2005; Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen, 2003; Wittebrood & Permentier, 2011). It is important to note that in this research the focus will be on subjective, bottom up perceptions of liveability, that are based on the experiences of trailer park inhabitants in their daily lives. In chapter 3 further substantiation of this decision will be given.

The second concept for this research is trust. On many trailer parks in the Netherlands, trust between officials of organisations like municipalities and trailer park inhabitants is under pressure (VROM, 2009; Binnenlands Bestuur, 2011). In this research, the focus is on trust in local (governmental) organisations and trust in professionals involved with the trailer park. This is a mix of what Edelenbos and Eshuis (2012) call trust in individuals and trust in institutional arrangements. The relationship between levels of trust and the municipal interventions and perceptions of liveability is explored.

Trust and perceptions of liveability are perceived as more theoretical concepts, while the third concept of municipal interventions is more practical. It involves the approach of the municipality of Zeist and other parties, like the restructuring of the area and the goal of normalisation. Nevertheless, these interventions are analysed theoretically in chapter 3, the theoretical framework, to connect them to a broader context.

By researching the relationship between perceptions of liveability, municipal interventions and trust on trailer park Beukbergen, the relationship between the formal municipal world and the world of the inhabitants is explored. This is done by interviewing inhabitants and professionals of trailer park Beukbergen. The research consists of various parts: first, the context trailer parks in the Netherlands is explored, because it is important to get a feel for the subject and its history. The second part is a theoretical exploration of the central concepts: municipal interventions, trust and perceptions of liveability on trailer parks. At the end of this part, a conceptual framework is given. In the results chapter 5, the relationship between the context, the municipal interventions, the perceptions of liveability and trust for trailer parks is explored.

Societal relevance

Aedes (2018), the association of housing associations in the Netherlands, estimated that 310 municipalities together have approximately 7,723 locations for trailers at 260 trailer parks in the Netherlands. It is also estimated that around 60.000-70.000 trailer park inhabitants live in the Netherlands, but this number is hard to define, because there are also people who relate to the culture associated with trailer parks, but who live, whether forced or not, in a ‘regular’ house (SEV, 2010). Trailer park inhabitants have a rather special position in Dutch society. A great part of them are native Dutch, some are of Roma or Sinti background. Because they live a secluded life on trailer parks, not much is known about them, but they are a minority group who live in the margins of society (Vranken, 2000). At the same time some of them are thriving with all sorts of, sometimes informal, ways of making a living, for

example in car demolition and scrapping metal (SEV, 2010). Municipalities in the Netherlands had different policies for trailer parks in the Netherlands, since the abolishment of the Woonwagenwet in 1999. How and what kind of policies were implemented often had to do with the state of the trailer parks. It proved difficult for some municipalities to get a grip on trailer parks, some cases are even being described as *free states*, places where control of formal governments is minimal (VROM, 2009).

Municipalities cannot ignore the new policy framework introduced by the national government and the advice of the National Ombudsman, which can be an incentive for municipalities to make or alter their policies for trailer parks in the Netherlands. Trailer park inhabitants also feel strengthened by the documents and statements of the National Ombudsman and the European Court of Human Rights in their call for more space and better living conditions on trailer parks, what resulted in protests and actions (Omroep West, 2019).

By exploring the case of Beukbergen, insights in the effects of a municipal approach is sought. Researching liveability is used as a tool to see if people perceive the trailer park to be more liveable than before the interventions. Researching trust on Beukbergen will showcase what has and what hasn't had a positive/negative effect on the relationship between professionals and inhabitants. This will possibly lead to insights that might be useful other municipalities, because perceptions of inhabitants become more and more important in decisions made for example by municipalities who want to alter their policy and improve the living conditions for inhabitants of trailer parks. Researching liveability is a tool often used to guide policy in the Netherlands (for example LEMON research and the *Leefbarometer* of RIGO), but this has not been done for trailer parks.

Scientific relevance

Much has been written in the Dutch media on trailer parks and its inhabitants, but scientifically not much recent research has been done on this group of people. Most of what has been done is found in the realm of law, history and criminology³. This research will therefore add to what is known about liveability, trust and municipal interventions on trailer parks on a scientific level.

Liveability as a concept is well explored in scientific research, in Dutch literature as well as international research (Veenhoven, 2000; Leijdelmeijer & Van Kamp, 2003, Pacione, 1990; Wolsink, 1998). But this does not apply to trailer parks. The most recent research that mentions liveability on trailer parks is that of Cebeon (2002), which mainly focuses on the measurement of crime rates and vandalism under inhabitants of trailer parks. At the same time, the social dimensions of liveability based on perceptions and meanings of people is still a rather not researched topic in general in scientific research, while the importance of subjective indicators of liveability is stressed (Leidelmeijer & Van Kamp, 2003; Lloyd, Fullagar & Reid, 2016). To move away from certain power structures that might be related with the term, the focus will be on social liveability, by researching perceptions and meanings of

³ See for example: Kohraad (2000), Huijbers (2015), Dijkstra (2015), Godrie-van Gils (2018), Van Bochhove & Burgers (2010)

inhabitants (Kaal, 2011; Ley; 1990; Norris, Fahey & Field, 2014). In this sense, this research fills in some of the gap in scientific researched mentioned by Lloyd, Fullagar & Reid, 2016.

Trust in general and specifically in organisations and its professionals is something explored greatly in various scientific research, from spatial planning to organisational studies to political science⁴. But no research has been done on trust dynamics between inhabitants of trailer parks and professionals of organisations, even though this is a relationship often under tension when it comes to trust. This research tries to fill in this gap and provide explorative insights.

Reading guide

This research has got the following structure. In chapter 2 the context of trailer parks in the Netherlands is presented, to provide an insight in the position of trailer park inhabitants in the Netherlands through history and an insight in policy made for trailer parks, what also had an impact on the central case of this research, Beukbergen. In chapter 3 the main concepts of this research, as mentioned before, will be explained and explored from scientific literature and theories. The concepts are specified and operationalized, to make them empirically measurable for this research. Chapter 4 describes the methodological considerations of this research and explains the underlying decisions. The results of the research are presented in chapter 5, divided in the results found for professionals and for inhabitants, so that these results can be compared. Chapter 6 describes the main conclusions of the research and connects the found scientific literature to the results to answers the sub-questions and the main question. Also, several recommendations will be given to professionals involved with trailer parks and a discussion related to the broader context of trailer parks in the Netherlands. Figure 1 below presents the flow of the research.

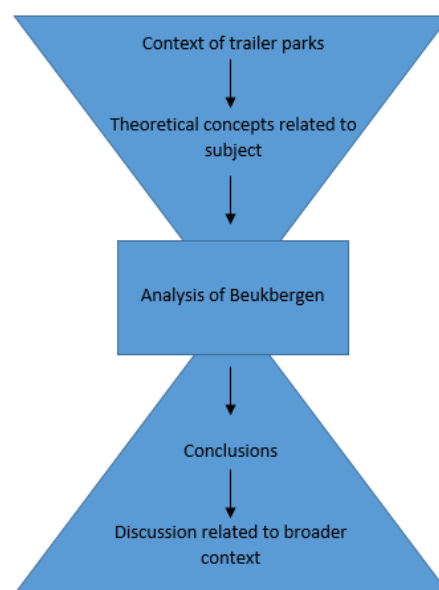


Figure 1. Flow graphic of the research.

⁴ See for example: Greenwood & Van Buren (2010), Beierle & Konisky (2000), Levi & Stoker (2000)

2 | Contextual framework

In this chapter, an overview is given on the context that concerns trailer parks in the Netherlands. The rather exceptional position of trailer parks and its inhabitants in the Netherlands make it important to get a feel with the subject. This is done by giving a short overview of the history trailer parks in the Netherlands. The current and past policy for trailer parks that are prevalent in the Netherlands is discussed, including some of the jurisdictional context. The international context and situation are also briefly discussed.

2.1 | History of trailer parks in the Netherlands

The history of trailer park inhabitants in the Netherlands can be defined as one of stigmatization and prejudice. They are associated with poverty, burglary and crime. Media, like news articles and books create a fantasy-like idea about them. Because of this, little is known about their actual way of life.

2.1.1 | Who are they?

The groups of people who live on trailer parks are divided in three groups in the Netherlands: travellers, Roma and Sinti. In this research, the term *trailer park inhabitant* is to determine all three groups, with acknowledgment of their different ethnical backgrounds. This research focuses on everyone living in a trailer on a trailer park, whether Roma, Sinti or traveler. The Dutch word *woonwagenkamp* is translated to trailer park for the sake of the readability of the research.

The history of travelling communities is hard to distinguish, because it is generally not well documented (PRIMO-nh, 2006). The PRIMO-nh report concludes that job opportunity must have been a common incentive for people to choose the travelling lifestyle, when normal jobs like farming were no option anymore due to circumstances. Apparently, choosing a travelling lifestyle was something that people were doing all throughout history. This could also explain the variety of backgrounds trailer park inhabitants can have. The report gives the example of a community in Noord-Brabant, in the Loon op Zand area. In the 17th century, several reasons forced people who were working in peat extraction to find other means of making a living. They started professions like mat weaving, and the products would be sold. At some point they moved into trailers, to sell their products further away, and the travelling community was created (PRIMO-nh, 2006). The travelling lifestyle many trailer park inhabitants used to have was mainly induced by the need to earn money and out of cultural tradition. By taking on professions not commonly fulfilled by the rest of Dutch society, they filled a gap on the labour market (PRIMO-nh, 2006).

2.1.2 | From travelling to staying in one place

After the Second World War, a prohibition against travelling around with a trailer was implemented. This meant that trailer park inhabitants were forced to find a permanent place for their trailer. In the 1960's most of them were living on large camps, often more than 100 wagons in one place, with facilities like a school and a community center (Bergema, 2015). There was also a stricter division between working and living. Before, people were able to practice their profession on the camp but living together with so many others who have the same profession made this difficult. In this period, many trailer park inhabitants became

dependent on social welfare benefits (Bergema, 2015). To determine who could and who couldn't be living on trailer parks, the Dutch government introduced the *afstammingsprincipe* in 1971. Only people who had been living in a trailer before 1971 could get a permit for a pitch on a trailer park (Terpstra, 1999).

Some years later, the negative effects of these large camps became visible. Trailer park inhabitants became more and more distant from the rest of Dutch society. That's why, at the end of the 1970's, the Dutch government changed its policy, and the large camps were split up in much smaller camps of 10 to 15 trailers. This led to protests of trailer park inhabitants, who felt that it was just another restriction on their rights (PRIMO-nh, 2006). On these smaller camps was no space for the traditional professions of trailer park inhabitants, for example car scrap yards.

In the following years, the Dutch government retreated from interference with trailer parks. Because of this, some trailer parks grew a little, however, the shortage of pitches was never solved (PRIMO-nh, 2006). In 1999 the *Woonwagenwet* was repealed. Because of this, trailer park inhabitants lost their special, protected position they had from the beginning of the 20th century. The management of trailer parks was completely transferred to municipalities, who were free to decide how many pitches or new trailers would be allowed and whether there would be any policy at all for trailer parks (PRIMO-nh, 2006).

In 2017 the National Ombudsman published a report and research on the reliability of the Dutch government for trailer park inhabitants. It was concluded that trailer park inhabitants have their own cultural identity that needs protection, in line with several international and European treaties. The acknowledgement of this cultural identity means that the Dutch state is obligated to create enough space for trailers on trailer parks to ensure that trailer park inhabitants can live their lives according to their traditions and cultural identity (Nationale Ombudsman, 2017).

Because of this report, the Dutch government formed a new policy framework in 2018 to help and guide municipalities in the creation of policy for trailer parks (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, 2018).

2.2 | Policy for trailer parks in the Netherlands

In the beginning of the previous century, the Dutch state started having concerns on the living situation of the so called *woonwagenbewoners* and therefore introduced the first 'Woonwagenwet' in 1918. This new law was a reaction to a public problem, that trailer park inhabitants were perceived as socially inappropriate by the rest of society (Terpstra, 1999). A permit for a trailer became a requirement and certain demands on size and quality of trailers were asked of trailer inhabitants. The intention of these measures was to control the inhabitants of trailers and to reduce the number of trailers (Terpstra, 1999).

A shift in the vision on trailer parks happened between the 1940's and 1970's, mainly influenced by the Catholic Church. The focus was on aid, upraising and education to reduce problems for trailer park inhabitants, but also as a strategy to assimilate them into 'regular' citizens (Terpstra, 1999). Part of this was the introduction of large regional trailer parks with a focus on categorical care on welfare, education, housing and health. The large trailer parks

had their own facilities and pitches outside of these parks were prohibited, what also meant an end to travelling around (Commissie de Haseth, 2004).

In 1975, with the introduction of the white paper 'Woonwagenbeleid', the approach of large parks with facilities was abandoned. The new focus was on equalizing the treatment and chances of trailer park inhabitants to that of 'regular' Dutch citizens (Commissie de Haseth, 2004). Part of this new focus was de-concentration of trailer parks, from big locations to much smaller ones. Other subjects in policy at that time were normalization and de-categorialisation. De-concentration focused on abolishing or reducing the size of large trailer parks and the creation of one or more smaller parks in every municipality. Normalisation was aimed at equalizing the treatment of trailer park inhabitants to that of regular Dutch citizens (PRIMO-nh, 2006). These drastic changes in policy for trailers parks came at a time where state policy in general was subject to change. From the late 1970's onward the process of decentralization has prevailed, in which the devolution of power and responsibilities over policies from the national to the municipal level, has taken place in the Netherlands (De Vries, 2000). This meant that a great deal of state tasks was transferred to municipalities and provinces, and this was also true for the management and policy of trailer parks (Boogers et. al. 2009; PRIMO-nh, 2006).

The 'Woonwagenwet' was abolished in 1999 and with it the special and protected position of trailer park inhabitants. Anyone could now claim a pitch on a trailer park and municipalities were free to decide how many, if any at all, new pitches would be allowed on trailer parks and whether there would be any policy for trailer parks (PRIMO-nh, 2006).

In 2006, the former Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM) released a guideline for dealing with trailer parks. Many municipalities used this guideline to come to policy (or change/abolish policy) to determine their vision on and regulation of trailer parks (Dijkstra, 2015). This rapport described 5 possible visions for municipalities concerning trailer park locations. It was stated by the VROM that the visions had physical characteristics as a starting point, and that municipalities were free to develop policy variants, for example with a focus on welfare, labor participation or education (VROM, 2006). The figure in appendix 1 shows the different policy options VROM proposed for municipalities. The VROM was sued in court by the residents' committee of a trailer park in Gouda, because of the brochure, in which according to the residents' committee the ministry makes discrimination possible (Civil servant BZK, personal communication, 23 July 2019).

"That brochure was published in the context of law enforcement than housing policy, because it was released right after what happened at Vinkenslag, Maastricht. But the College of Human Rights decided that the brochure did not consider human rights that were at stake" (Civil servant BZK, personal communication, 23 July 2019)

The policy framework published by the Ministry of BZK in 2018 is the start of a new era in policy for trailer parks in the Netherlands. As shown before, the general trend has mainly been about normalizing inhabitants of trailer parks and reducing the size of the parks. But,

because of the remarks of the European Court of Human Rights and the Dutch National Ombudsman, municipalities may no longer apply the extinction policy or *nuloptie*.

“So, when the report of the Ombudsman came, half May 2017, the national government decided it was time for a new policy vision [for trailer parks] in consultation with municipalities.” (Civil servant BZK, personal communication, 23 July 2019)

More and more inhabitants of trailer parks seize the opportunity of this new policy framework as a basis for protests for better living conditions and more available pitches on trailer parks (Omroep West, 2019; RTV Drenthe, 2018; RTV Oost, 2019). This change in direction is a rather radical one and fundamentally different than what has been the general direction for trailer parks before.

The role of housing associations

Housing associations were and are playing a role in the policy for trailer parks. Until the 1960's, all pitches for trailers were owned by the Dutch state, the trailer itself was owned by the inhabitants. Later, it also became possible to rent a trailer and that's when housing associations started to play a role (PRIMO-nh, 2006). With the intention to *normalize*, as many as possible pitches and trailers the ownership was meant to be taken over by housing associations. In practice, only a small part of it is now owned by housing associations. The municipalities still own most of the pitches and trailers, which are often managed by other parties (also housing associations).

In the new policy guideline by the Ministry of BZK (Ministerie Binnenlandse Zaken, 2018) it is stated that housing associations should provide accommodation for trailer park inhabitants insofar as they belong to the target group of housing associations: households with an income below €39.035 (Rijksoverheid, 2019). It is also stated that housing associations should be responsible for the construction of pitches and trailers for those people who belong to the target group of housing associations (Ministerie Binnenlandse Zaken, 2018).

2.2.1 | The international context

The Dutch situation for trailer park inhabitants is rather unique when compared to other western countries. Dutch travelers, Roma and Sinti were subject to state policy that essentially forced them to stay in one place and give up their nomadic life. In other countries, for example in the UK travellers and gypsies often still live nomadic lives in caravans, travelling from place to place (The Sun, 2017; 2019). In the UK, Roma's tend to live in fixed houses instead of caravans (House of Commons Women and Equalities Committee, 2019). The Women and Equalities Committee (2019) conclude in their recent report that in the UK there is a lack of policy and strategy for Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities, with effects varying from feelings of exclusion and lack of trust to discrimination.

At the same time, these groups face many of the same issues as trailer park inhabitants in the Netherlands such as health issues, crime, unemployment and lack of education (House of Commons Women and Equalities Committee, 2019). This also is the case for the *Gens du voyage* (French travellers) in France. The legal definition of *Gens du voyage* is a broad term. Foisneau (2017, p. 90) states that it includes: “all persons having had neither home nor fixed

residence for more than six months in a member state of the EU.” It is a term invented by the French government in the 1970’s and has no ethnic/anthropological basis at all, it classifies a subgroup of citizens and replaced the term *nomad*. She also states that, nearly all people defined in that way belong to Romani groups that have been traveling around France for several centuries (Foisneau, 2017, p. 90). In France, mobility legislation has been implemented to regulate the mobility of travelling people, to eventually end nomadism and enforce sedentarisation (Janko Spreizer, 2013). The introduction of a law that introduced welcoming/stopping places meant that municipalities had to designate places where travellers could stay. This also meant a strong regulation of those places, which limited the freedom of travellers to choose a place to stay, because the law prohibited stopping outside of these special places (Janko Spreizer, 2013). There are some similarities in state policies and laws of the Netherlands and other European countries in relation to travellers. Most are focused on the regulation of the nomadic lifestyle. The biggest difference is that in the Netherlands this process has started much earlier on, already in the first half of the 20th century, while in the mentioned countries people are still allowed to travel around, even though the areas they can stay are regulated and controlled by municipalities. In the Netherlands, travelling and a nomadic lifestyle altogether are prohibited.

3 | Theoretical framework

In the theoretical framework, the theoretical relationships between the three main concepts of the research will be explored. Also, at the end of this chapter, a theoretical conceptual model will be given. The decision for the main concepts of this research, is based on several considerations. Municipalities in the Netherlands are standing at a crossroad when it comes to approaches for trailer parks. Letting trailer parks die out is no longer allowed, so municipalities need to 'do something' with the demand of the inhabitants for more pitches and better living conditions on trailer parks. Perceptions of liveability are used as a tool in this research, namely, to explore and structure the perceptions of inhabitants on their living environment, and how this possibly has changed. Notions of liveability are suitable for that, because they are partly academic, but also derive their value and meaning from what is going on in society and depict therefore considerations on what is important (Brown in Van Kamp et al. 2003). Subsequently, insights in perceptions of liveability can contribute in the acceptance of projects and plans, in time where expected contributions to the quality of life become more and more important (André and Bietondo in Van Kamp et. al. 2003). When municipalities can prove that plans contribute to better liveability and life-quality on trailer parks, acceptance and cooperation by inhabitants can be induced. As already stated in the introduction, the trust between trailer park inhabitants and professionals and organisations in the Netherlands is frail. But trust is a necessary condition for any kind of communication, understanding, knowledge, or learning (Stein & Harper, 2003). When municipalities or other organisations want to make plans for trailer parks, a trust relationship with inhabitants is therefore a necessary condition, because otherwise, it is unlikely that issues related with trailer parks will be resolved, as the history of trailer parks of chapter 2 shows.

In this chapter the following sub-question is answered: *How are the main concepts of the research (perceptions of liveability, trust in professionals and organisations and municipal interventions) theoretically defined?*

3.1 | Liveability

Liveability as a concept and as a subject of research has become a common feature and guiding principle for planning research and policy. But, visions of what constitutes liveable places change over time. Simultaneously, preference and needs from society, as well as the social and cultural context, change and may be different for different groups in society (Ruth & Franklin, 2013; Van Kamp et. al., 2003).

The term Dutch term for liveability, *leefbaarheid* was first introduced by Veenhoven in 1996, as a performance criterion for societies (Noll, 2002). Kaal (2011) states that although liveability is clearly not an exclusively Dutch phenomenon, the Netherlands seems to stand out in the variety of contexts it has emerged. The Dutch national government also gained interest for liveability, for example in the Big City policy guidelines and monitor and in relation to health issues for minority/deprived groups in society. Liveability is defined as the influence of the physical and social environment on the well-being of residents (Leidelmeijer & Van Kamp, 2003).

3.1.1 | Definitions and dimensions of liveability

The concept of liveability is often perceived as a catch-all term open to different interpretations. It is regularly used interchangeably with other, similar concepts like quality of life, living environment and living experience, which find their origin in research and policy on health, safety, well-being, residential satisfaction and urban physical environment. It is a collective term, and this makes it difficult to grasp it in one definition (Leidelmeijer & Van Kamp, 2003). Even though, a generally accepted definition of liveability is still absent, the term pops up on political agendas and in policy (Vine, 2012).

Liveability is seen as the 'fit' of the living environment with life itself (Van de Valk & Musterd, 1998; Van Dorst, 2005). This notion makes it a relational concept. It is subject of opinions and this explains why an environment can be perceived as liveable for one person and non-liveable for someone else (Veenhoven, 2000). In scientific research, liveability as a concept occurs in various forms, definitions and interpretations. Pacione (1990) saw the increasing concern for the future of cities and places and for the wellbeing of inhabitants as an incentive for a problem-solving approach to the study of the city. An important part of this is research into the person-environment relationship by assessing the quality of different residential environments. This relationship was often researched in objective ways, but Pacione (1990) saw an increase in the use of the relative concept of liveability. Because liveability is relative rather than an absolute term, its precise meaning is depended on place, time and purpose of the assessment and on the value system of the assessor. Ley (1990) acknowledges Pacione's (1990) overview of liveability research but adds the importance of a notion of power when it comes to defining terms like liveability. For him, it is power in all its forms that determine the attainment of liveability. He sees the concept as an example for the form of power that can define the terms of public discourse, and the fact there is no one concise definition shows that different publics have competed for the power to define quality of (urban) life. He also states that everyday life with its preferences is shaped by context that should not be taken for granted (Ley, 1990). Kaal (2011) notices that Ley's critical notion on liveability was picked up on by others (McCann, 2004; Uitermark, 2005; Hankins and Powers, 2009) who characterize liveability discourse as a reflection of the interests of elites who pursue an agenda of urban growth and are representing upper and middle-class interests. In response, Kaal (2011) sees a counter-discourse that focuses on the *just, right* or *good* city (Friedmann, Amin & Uitermark in Kaal, 2011). Veenhoven (2000), states that liveability for people is difficult to measure when the presence of favourable environmental characteristics is being examined, because then the liveability of an area is interpreted as a static concept, a norm. Liveability as a concept has thus been critically reflected upon.

The above-mentioned critical notions must be considered when using liveability as a concept in research. It is important to realize that liveability cannot be perceived as an objective reality; but that it is a normative concept and its societal and political context with its power structures have to be taken into account when developing a leading definition for this research (Kaal, 2011). Since the 1990's, a good, clean and safe living environment is no longer a right, but also a duty for citizens. Housing associations became more important in preserving urban liveability (Kaal, 2011). It is interesting to note that in this same time period

(the 1990's) the process of decentralization for trailer parks reached its high point with the abolishment of the Woonwagenwet in 1999, and much of the responsibilities for trailers parks was transferred to housing associations and municipalities. This was also the time that liveability, or rather un-liveability, became a term that was being associated with certain groups in society, like the unemployed and ethnic minorities. As shown before by Ley (1990), this use of the concept needs to be critically judged, because it implies certain power structures (Andersen & Van Kamp in Kaal, 2011).

To be able to move away as much as possible from this more power-loaded use of the concept of liveability, a focus on *perceptions of liveability* will be used in this research, as introduced by Norris, Fahey and Field (2014) in their book on neighbourhood liveability. Norris, Fahey and Field (2014) have conducted a research in several Irish neighbourhoods on liveability and its improvement in a 10-year timespan. Their intention was not to identify a precisely defined set of neighbourhood features that can be measured on an overall liveability scale, but rather to explore and establish liveability as a dimension of urban spatial organisation. People's behaviour and opinions result in a social construction of a neighbourhood, which gives liveability its social nature and make it a critical dimension of neighbourhood dynamics (Norris, Fahey & Field, 2014). In this sense, liveability as a concept is used from a bottom-up approach, where everyday lives and social relations are at the starting point (Bunell, 2016; Qu & Hasselaar, 2011). This will also be the focal point of this research. *Perceptions of liveability* are based on subjective indicators: the wellbeing and satisfaction of people, what they perceive as important and the attractiveness of an area. Leidelmeijer and Van Kamp (2003) underline the difference between subjective and objective indicators of liveability, as shown in the figure below. Leidelmeijer and Van Kamp (2003), state that the decision for the use of subjective or objective indicators will dependent on the type and goals of the research that is conducted. The decision to use only subjective indicators and perceptions relates to the epistemological base of this research, in which a constructivist position is leading: the idea that people's perspectives and perceptions shape their ideas and opinions about their surroundings. More on this can be found in the chapter 4. Another reason is that objective indicators are difficult to be found for trailer parks, there is hardly any objectively measurable data on them, and that what can be found dates from more than ten years ago (Cebeon, 2002).

Subjective indicators	Objective indicators
The need to get insight into the wellbeing and satisfaction of people	Necessary for unobservable and / or appreciable environmental aspects
The need to get insight into what people perceive as important	Points of departure for policy are often about objective conditions
Can contribute to the involvement of people in their environment and increasing support for policy.	Possibly relevant as validation of subjective judgements

Figure 2. Subjective/objective indicators. Source: Leidelmeijer & Van Kamp, 2003.

The importance of perceptions is underlined by Corcoran (In Norris, Fahey & Field, 2013) who states that “perceptions are important because they can shape people's responses and behaviour in ways that are consequential for the individual and the community”. Lloyd,

Fullagar and Reid (2016) state that there is a lack of scientific research into the social dimensions of liveability that is based on meanings, perceptions and impact, especially related to urban renewal approaches.

Research by Blokland (2009) shows that to perceive liveability is to understand the social situation of an area. He states that this understanding follows two lines: firstly, casual, recurring interactions with other people are important and secondly, the quality of the environment plays a role: bad quality gives people indications of an unsafe environment. When policy is made on these indications, perceived liveability can be improved. Blokland (2009) concludes that when governmental bodies, like municipalities, address issues of the quality of the environment, residents of an area feel taken seriously and that the government cares for them. This can eventually lead to residents taking care of their own environment again.

Improvement of liveability has also been an important policy subject in the Netherlands in recent years (Wittebrood & Van Dijk, 2007; PBL, 2010). It was mainly focused on more marginalized and deprived neighbourhoods, for example the 'Krachtwijkenbeleid' established in 2007 by the minister of housing, neighbourhoods and integration, Ella Vogelaar, which had the goal of achieving a significant improvement in 40 Dutch neighbourhoods on different themes relating to liveability (Permentier et al., 2013). Liveability has also been associated with urban densification and sustainability (Thorborg et al. 2006; PBL, 2012; De Haan et al. 2014).

Liveability often is mentioned in municipal policy guidelines for trailer parks (For example: Gemeente Emmen, 2008; Gemeente Utrecht, 2015; Gemeente Maasgouw; 2018; Gemeente Alphen, 2018). But the concept and definition of liveability is not explored in depth, nor are any definitions given for the concept and how it should be improved. In 2002, Cebeon published a monitor for the social and economic position of trailer park inhabitants. In this research, liveability is mentioned, but it is only discussed and researched by analysing quantitative data in terms of vandalism, victimhood and problems concerning substance abuse.

3.1.2 | Dimensions of liveability for this research

To be able to research the different sub-questions related to liveability, several dimensions of liveability will be used. These dimensions correspond to those of the research of Norris, Fahey and Field (2014), because of their social and perceptive construction of liveability, which will also be used in this research. Perceptions are defined by the Merriam-Webster dictionary as '*a result of perceiving (i.e. observation) and a mental image*'. Perceptions are thus subjective and can be influenced by context. This notion will be taken into account in this research. The following dimensions will be researched:

- Demand for and satisfaction with dwelling
- Quality of social life, community cohesion and social safety
- Reputation, quality and physical safety of built environment

Demand for and satisfaction with dwelling

For trailer park inhabitants, the ability to live life in a trailer is very important, they state it is a large part of their culture (Turbantia, 2018; De Gelderlander, 2018a;2018b). It can therefore be expected that for them the availability of enough trailers and pitches will be important and will have an influence on their satisfaction with their dwelling and life in general. In the Netherlands, the right for decent housing has been fixed in legislation; it is seen as one of the first necessities in life (College Rechten van de Mens, 2017). On Beukbergen, a lot has changed in the housing stock of trailers and homes. Because of the extensive restructuring, many trailers have been moved around to different spots on the park. Also, stone houses have been added to the park, to facilitate people who do not want to live in a trailer, or whose trailer was not suited for living any more, for example because of bad safety and quality.

Quality of social life, community cohesion and social safety

Trailer park inhabitants are often seen as close-knit groups, very much focused on their “own people”. But, as shown before trailer parks are also subject to different issues like criminality. Norris, Fahey and Field (2014) show in their research that residents in troubled neighbourhoods often speak of having great neighbours and a strong local community life while at the same time bemoaning the impact of a troublesome few on the local social atmosphere. Kearns and Forrest (2000, p.1011) state that “close family ties, mutual aid and voluntarism are often strong features of poor areas and it is these qualities which may enable people to cope with poverty, unemployment and wider processes of social exclusion”. Close ties and community cohesion can also have a downward levelling effect according to Kearns and Forrest (2000), because of certain pressures to conform to norms and values that are prevalent in a neighbourhood which can make it difficult to enter mainstream society. This makes it important to consider the social context of the social relations in a neighbourhood. This is particularly of relevance for trailer parks, because they are such close-knit groups, and in some sense separated from mainstream society.

Reputation, quality and physical safety of built environment

Trailer parks have gained a certain reputation in the Netherlands, based on stigmatizing and marginalizing ideas that come forward in national and local media portrayals (Aghabeigi & Van Nes, 2015; Eindhovens Dagblad, 2018; Brabants Dagblad, 2018). This is often related to the quality and safety of the physical, built environment. Images of disorderly trailer parks with clutter and decay of the public space are omnipresent. This shapes the imagery of trailer parks, which can have a negative influence on the reputation of trailer parks. At the same time, trailer park inhabitants themselves are very aware of the reputation trailer parks have. Reputations of neighbourhoods can have an impact on the behaviour and attitudes of residents which can confirm the external perceptions of areas (Kearns & Forrest, 2000).

3.2 | Municipal interventions

Wittebrood & Van Dijk (2007) state that governments like municipalities use different interventions to create liveable and safe neighbourhoods. In the Netherlands, most of these interventions are targeted at neighbourhoods where there are accumulations of problems: poor physical conditions of houses and the neighbourhood in combination with lagging

socio-economic position of the inhabitants (Verhage, 2005). In the following section two aspects of municipal interventions that apply to trailer parks are discussed: restructuring and normalisation.

3.2.1 | Restructuring

The use of (urban) restructuring as a tool of governments to influence neighbourhood dynamics is something often researched (Bolt & Torrance 2005; Kleinhans et al. 2007; Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen 2003). Restructuring primarily involves an approach to improving the physical quality of housing, public space and infrastructure (Kleinhans, 2005). Wittebrood & Van Dijk (2007) focus on the effects of restructuring/urban renewal and define three mechanisms how this could influence liveability and safety in a neighbourhood: 1. Changes in urban design of the public space can reduce the opportunity for undesired behaviour and feelings of unsafety, for example by tackling poorly lit and deserted places. 2. Urban renewal can change the population composition, because people move out of a neighbourhood. This is not necessarily a solution because it can move problems to other areas. 3. The presence of social capital and social contacts in a neighbourhood focused on the prevention of socially undesirable behaviour (*collective efficacy*) are perceived as essential preconditions for a liveable and safe neighbourhood. In conclusion they state that the effect of restructuring on liveability is positive, but small and most of the effect can be attributed to differentiation of inhabitants because of demolition and construction of new (more expensive) homes.

Leidemeijer et al. (2010) have researched the effect of urban renewal/restructuring in different Dutch neighbourhoods to see if a change in liveability has taken place after interventions have taken place, for example renewal of the housing stock. They conclude that urban renewal can have a positive effect on the liveability position of a neighbourhood, but this is mostly influenced by the types of homes that are rebuilt. Van Bergeijk et al. (2008) are somewhat critical on the effect of restructuring on liveability of neighbourhoods in their research 'Helpt Herstructurering'. They see for example that restructuring is mainly a policy tool, with a social goal: houses are being demolished and housing differentiation is being encouraged to improve the social structure of a neighbourhood, or to reduce concentrated problems or to increase social cohesion. Municipalities and housing corporations often base these social goals on alleged automatic relationships between restructuring and social effects.

It is important to note that in the above-mentioned studies and critical notions on restructuring and its effect on liveability, an objective form of liveability is used, which is different from what is being researched in this research (Leidemeijer et al. 2010; Van Bergeijk et al. 2008). Also, above mentioned studies assume that restructuring involves the in- and outflow of different groups of people (often defined by socio-economic and ethnic background) in neighbourhoods that are subject to restructuring (Kleinhans, 2005; Kleinhans et al. 2007). This happens a lot less on trailer parks, because they are mainly inhabited by people who have a relationship with trailer parks, for example through family ties. Nevertheless, these studies show that social effects of restructuring need to be carefully

assessed and that assumed relationships need to be questioned. The restructuring of Beukbergen consisted of multiple parts and goals, which will be elaborated on in chapter 5.

3.2.2 | Normalisation

Already mentioned in the context chapter 2, normalisation of trailer park inhabitants has been a goal for Dutch municipalities. Social scientists have long been concerned with what is considered to be 'normal' in societies. Normalisation in this sense entails that trailer park inhabitants conform themselves to what is found to be 'normal' in society as instructed by a governmental body like a municipality. This is what French sociologist Foucault calls governmentality. It is the way in which authorities/governments construct and act upon populations and how governmental power regulates subjects (Foucault, 1991; Flint & Rowland, 2003). Bourdieu (2002) also touches upon the subject of the generation of social structures in society by the authority of government work, or normalisation. He refers to the term *habitus*: a socially constructed vision of the world based on social norms, understandings and patterns of behaviour within an individual. The habitus is influenced through learning and socialisation by contact with and interpretation of the social, economic and political environment. How policy makers and professionals identify and act upon trailer parks and their inhabitants is related to their own *habitus*. Both these theorists show "how populations and behaviours become classified and how government identifies subjects requiring intervention and those judged capable of self-regulation" (Flint & Rowland, 2003 p. 218). As shown in the context chapter 2, trailer park inhabitants and their traveling ancestors have been perceived by authorities and society as non-normal, even deviant, and not capable of self-regulation. By aiming for normalisation, governments try to regulate behaviour of trailer park inhabitants into the norms and values of society. The ways in which the municipality Zeist has given shape to the concept of normalisation is discussed in chapter 5.

3.3 | Trust between inhabitants and professionals and organisations

As shown before in the context chapter 2, the history of trailer parks has had an influence on the (dis)trust between trailer park inhabitants and institutional organisations. But what is trust and how is it defined scientifically? And how can it become a negative concept, as in distrust? This is what will be explored in this paragraph.

3.3.1 (Dis)trust

Yang (2006, p. 574) states that "trust means a psychological state that enables individuals to accept vulnerability and place their welfare in the hands of other parties, expecting positive intentions or behaviours from other parties". It means that one expects the other to not take advantage of a situation and to take on an open and vulnerable position. Cars et al. (2002) state that trust can be rooted in expectations (that something predictable will occur) and in experience (that something has occurred). There are expectations of behaviour of the other party, without certainty that those expectations will be met, which can be especially important in dealing with unpredictable and risky situations (Klijn, Edelenbos & Steijn, 2010).

De Vries et al. (2013) distinguish two main insights into the nature of trust. They state that trust is a dynamic concept, that develops in interaction. The first aspect of trust concerns individuals' expectations about others' thoughts, behaviour and decisions. These

expectations are based on events and experiences from the past, which generates certain knowledge about the other. The common history formed through this, together with everyday events and experiences of uncertainty, risks and control, forms a dynamic basis for expectations and trust. Because new interactions result in new experiences, a reconstruction of the past, adjusted expectations and a rebalancing of trust can take place (De Vries et al., 2013 p. 4). The other aspect of trust mentioned by De Vries et al. (2013) is the context in which it is performed. They give the following definition of the influence of context on trust:

“Trust is always expressed in a specific situation of interaction. In such interaction, people give meaning to the context through interpretation and consequent actions. Thus, these interpretations result in new and terminating opportunities to trust or not. However, the interpretation can also result in feelings like risk, (un)certainty, vulnerability or flexibility. Experiencing such feelings influences trust dynamics as well.” (De Vries et al. 2013, p. 4)

When considering the history of trailer park inhabitants, it can be expected that their history with professionals and organisations influences their current relationship with them. Whether or not this is true for Beukbergen will be analysed from the data and presented in chapter 5.

Edelenbos and Eshuis (2012) show that trust can be found in different objects, in individuals, in institutional arrangements and institutions. They give the following overview:

- Individual trust is the trust of a trustor in an individual, the trustee. Individual trust is based on face-to-face contacts, long-term acquaintance and mutual reliable credentials.
- Trust in institutional arrangements refers to trust in structures such as organisations or contracts.
- Trust in institutions is trust in formal and informal rules. Institutions are trusted based on their continuity.

The definitions given by De Vries et al. (2013) are focused on the trust in other individuals and organisations. This corresponds with the first two bullet points mentioned by Edelenbos and Eshuis (2012). The distinction between trust in individuals, institutional arrangements and institutions raises some questions. Is it a clear distinction? Or are they interrelated? It is conceivable that, the influence of a single individual can be great, for example when they represent a municipality and maintain contact with inhabitants. Their actions can therefore influence feelings of trust for organisations or institutional arrangements.

The lack of trust between trailer park inhabitants and local organisations like municipalities and its officials is a returning issue when it comes to trailer parks in the Netherlands (VROM, 2009; Binnenlands Bestuur, 2011). The balance between trust and mistrust between trailer park inhabitants and organizations is frail, which is reinforced by the marginalized position of trailer park inhabitants in society (PRIMO-nh, 2006). Media coverage shows a distrust of trailer park inhabitants towards civil servants and governmental institutions (NRC, 2018b;

RTV Oost, 2019). At the same time, professionals and organisations have issues with establishing contact with trailer park inhabitants. Den Breejen (2012) refers to a research done in 2006 by VROM which researched the situation for trailer parks based on municipal policy. It was concluded that 20% of the municipalities that cooperated stated that they had problems with the trailer parks in their municipality. Many municipalities were struggling with the approach of problem locations; thus, policy and law enforcement were not established. In the municipality of Amstelveen, for example, there was a culture of fear among civil servants, which kept them away from trailer parks (Binnenlands Bestuur, 2011).

Because trust or the lack thereof seems to be coming from two directions for trailer parks, from the inhabitants and from professionals and organisations, both will be researched. In this research that means trust in institutional arrangements and individuals, as defined by Edelenbos and Eshuis (2012).

3.4|Synthesis and conceptual model

In this paragraph, the theoretical relationships between the three concepts of this research are explored according to the definitions of the concepts presented in the previous paragraphs. To visually show the theoretical connection between the concepts, a conceptual model is presented below.

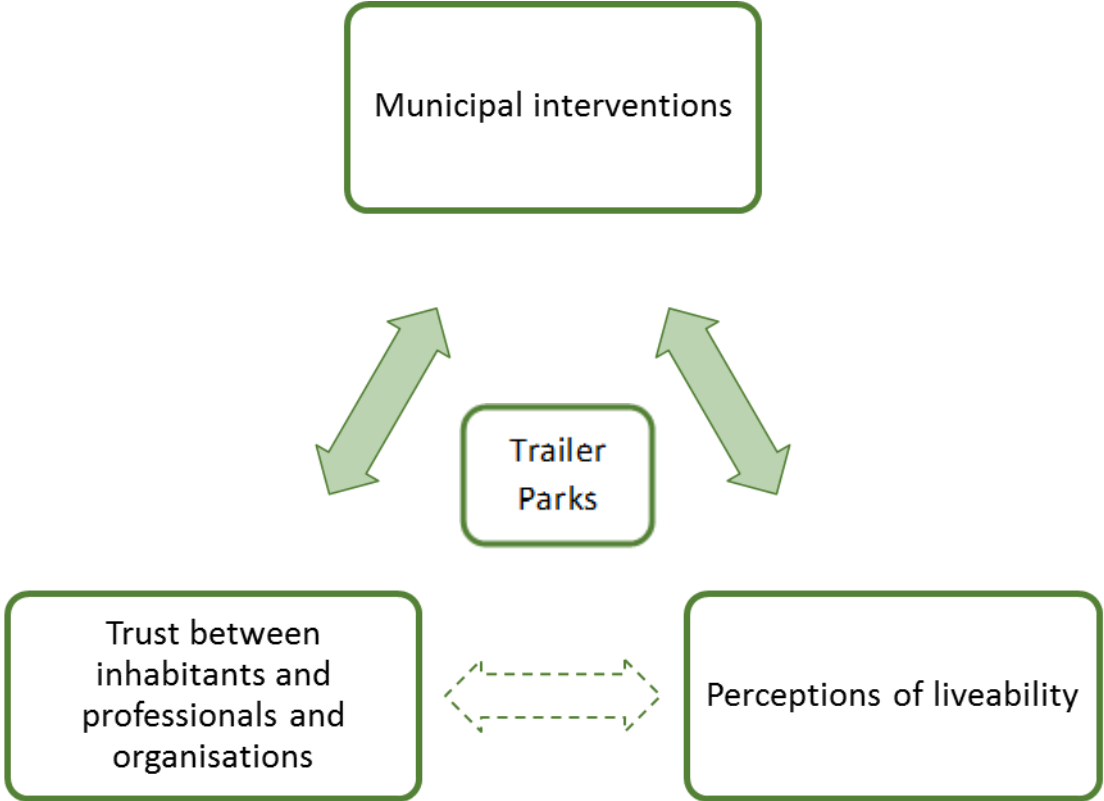


Figure 3. Conceptual model

The relationship between municipal interventions and trust can work in different directions. Trust in organisations like governments may help governments to implement structural reforms with long term benefits, like restructuring and urban renewal (OECD, 2013; Gyorffry, 2013). Therefore, plans for restructuring might be more easily accepted. Trust in organisations like governments could also improve compliance with rules and regulations.

When people perceive rules and regulations as fair and legitimate, they become more effective, because they outweigh the benefits of non-compliance (OECD, 2013; Murphy, 2004).

Theoretically, perceptions of liveability have some positive relationships with restructuring, as shown in paragraph 3.2.1. by Wittebrood & Van Dijk (2007) and Leidelmeijer et al. (2010). Changes in urban design of public space can reduce (feelings of) unsafety. This relates to perceptions of the quality and physical safety of the build environment. The relationship between restructuring and the demand for and satisfaction with the dwelling assumes that restructuring results in the demolition and construction of new and better homes, which will also change the population composition. It is questionable whether this also applies to trailer parks, because there, it is very unlikely for new people to move into the neighbourhood. But at the same time, as mentioned before, trailer park inhabitants value living in a trailer, so when restructuring entails a change in the quality of trailers or homes, it is conceivable this influences their perception of their dwelling. Wittebrood & Van Dijk (2007) also state that social contacts in a neighbourhood can prevent socially undesirable behaviour. They state this is related to the population composition of a neighbourhood, because people with a higher socio-economic status will bring in social capital. This would therefore relate to perceptions of community cohesion and quality of social life. But, as mentioned before, on trailer parks it is very unlikely that people from outside will move in. So, whether this relationship exists for trailer parks is not clear yet, but something that must be discovered in the empirical part of this research.

The theoretical relationship between the normalising aspect of municipal interventions and perceptions of liveability comes forward in how authorities and inhabitants perceive certain aspects, like quality of the physical environment, community cohesion and the composition of houses in neighbourhoods. Disorderly neighbourhoods do not fit in what is perceived as normal, but what is normal is constructed and regulated by governmental power (Flint & Rowland, 2003). Perceptions of what is a normal, liveable environment, contains views on the interplay between (institutions of) governments, agencies of civil society and citizens in the process of rule (Gunn in Kaal, 2011 p. 535). But this does not necessarily mean there is consensus on what is 'normal' or 'liveable'. For trailer park inhabitants, this has led to conflict with authorities in the past, because what they perceive as normal, regarding liveability, is not in line with what governments and other organisations perceive as normal. Whether the relationship between normalisation and perceptions of liveability is positive or negative for Beukbergen, is part of the empirical analysis in chapter 5.

Building on that, the relationship between trust and perceptions of liveability needs to be explored more in the empirical part of the research. From the theoretical analysis it does not become clear if a relationship exists and whether it would positive or negative. It can be expected that the community cohesion of Beukbergen is perceived as positive by inhabitants, but close ties, as shown by Kearns and Forrest (2000), can also put pressure on inhabitants to conform to norms of the neighbourhood, while creating distance to regular society and authorities. It is conceivable this relates to trust, but this needs to be explored more. Several questions remain after the theoretical exploration of the concepts, when

relating them to trailer parks, which are explored further in the empirical part of this research:

- Is there a difference between trust of trailer park inhabitants in organisations and in professionals working for those organisations?
- What is the relationship between perceptions of liveability of trailer park inhabitants and trust in organisations and professionals?
- What is the relationship between restructuring and social/community cohesion for trailer parks?
- Is the relationship between normalization and perceptions of livability positive or negative for trailer parks?

4 | Methodology

In this chapter the methodological considerations and decisions made for this research will be explained as well as the consequences this has for the empirical part of the research. This chapter is the connection between the theoretical and contextual findings of chapter 2 and 3 and the found results of chapter 5.

4.1 | Qualitative research method

As stated in the introduction, the topic of trailer parks in the Netherlands is one on which virtually no research has been done in the past. There is little prior literature to draw leads from. An exploratory stance is thus the preferred one, and in this connection, qualitative research serves the research topic best (Bryman, 2012). Because of the often-tense relationship of trailer park inhabitants with the rest of society, a qualitative strategy will be suitable, because it is expected to gain greater confidence of the subjects, which will hopefully lead to better insights in the research issue.

Because of the qualitative nature of the research and the way the research question is proposed, the interviewee's perspective is the most important part of the data collection. Therefore, the interviews will have a semi-structured nature, to give the opportunity to the interviewee to take the direction of the interview, to come to rich and detailed answers (Bryman, 2012). This also means that the research has an interpretative approach; it is about "understanding human behaviour", which in this research translates to the behaviour of participants (Bryman, 2012 p.28). By using qualitative strategies with an interpretative approach, it is attempted to understand the concept three concepts of the research, liveability, trust and municipal interventions in their natural context for trailer parks in the Netherlands by emphasizing on the meanings, experiences, and points of view of participants in the research (Boeije, 2014 p. 22).

Epistemology

The main goal of this research is to come to an understanding of the three concepts on trailer parks and specifically for trailer park Beukbergen in Zeist. The research topic will be approached from a constructivist perspective. Constructivism is about assuming that people's perspectives shape their ideas and opinions about their surroundings. The epistemological constructivist paradigm assumes that truth is relative and dependent on one's perspective (Baxter & Jack, 2008). It "recognizes the importance of the subjective human creation of meaning but does not reject outright some notion of objectivity" (Miller & Crabtree in Baxter & Jack, 2008 p. 545). The social construction of reality makes it possible to create a close cooperation between researcher and participant. Participants can tell their stories, and these stories can expose their views of reality, which enables the research (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The ability for respondents to tell their story is important for this research, because it will show how people perceive liveability. Because there is so little known about perceptions of trailer park inhabitants on liveability, this research will have an explorative character. These notions will also be the guiding framework for how the empirical part of this research will be set up, which will be elaborated on in paragraph ...

4.2 | Research strategy: Case study design

The case chosen for this research is that of trailer park Beukbergen in Zeist, which is a single case. The case itself is the focus of interest and the complexity and nature of the case is brought forward. It is an extensive examination of the community of Beukbergen (Bryman, 2012). The goal of this research is to clarify the unique features of Beukbergen, which Bryman (2012) calls an *idiographic* approach. By analysing and exploring the case of Beukbergen intensively, an in-depth understanding of situations and meanings for those involved, in this case the inhabitants of Beukbergen and professionals involved, can be formed (Hancock & Algozinne, 2006). The insights gained can possibly directly influence policy, procedures, and future research (Merriam in Hancock & Algozinne, 2006).

Yin (2009) states that a case study can be valuable for those studies that will not have a clear, single set of outcomes. Other reasons to take on a case study design are the situation in which the researcher has little control over events and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Yin, 2009). These characteristics apply to the research on trailer parks. Because so little research is done, it is difficult to tell what outcomes might be expected. Also, the real-life context is at the heart of this research, in the form of perceptions of trailer park inhabitants. The case of Beukbergen has been chosen because it can be defined as revelatory as well as a unique case (Bryman, 2012)

Hancock & Algozinne (2006) have described several characteristics of a case study design. First, it focuses on a phenomenon, which for this study is the interplay between the concepts of chapter 3: liveability, trust in professionals and local organisations and municipal interventions. Second, the phenomenon is studied in a natural context: that of the trailer park Beukbergen. Third, the results of the research will be richly descriptive, by drawing on different sources like interviews, short informal talks, observations and anecdotes. This will create mental images that will bring to life the complexity of the phenomenon studied. Liveability and trust in professionals and organisations on trailer parks is something that hasn't been researched scientifically yet. Beukbergen distinguishes itself for other trailer parks in its history, size (largest of western Europe) and the approach of organisations like the municipality. Even though Beukbergen has unique features, the way the process was approached, by inhabitants and professionals/organisations might contain lessons for other trailer parks in the Netherlands.

In addition, there are also some practical considerations for choosing this case. The target group of this research, trailer park inhabitants are not necessarily the easiest group to approach. Because Beukbergen has been positioned in a positive daylight, under more (media) attention, and a relationship between people and organisations from outside the trailer park was already established, inhabitants are probably more open towards researchers (or other people who come to the trailer park with a purpose, like professionals). On other trailer parks where this might not be the case, the access to the inhabitants could possibly be at stake because of troubled relationships with outsiders. In paragraph 4.4 a further elaboration on these ethical considerations will be given.

4.2.1 | Considerations on case study design: generalizability, reliability and validity, ethical considerations

In scientific social research, several tests have been developed to guarantee the quality of research, for example by (Yin, 2009), Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Guba and Lincoln (1994). Not all tests are as well geared to qualitative research as they are to quantitative research (Bryman, 2012). But no matter which criteria are being used, in every research it is important to guard the quality of research, so that outcomes are valid and reliable or trustworthy and authentic.

Generalizability

Because this research focuses on one case, its ability to scientifically generalize will be limited. Yin (2009) states that this is an often-heard concern in case study research. But the main idea of this research is not to generalize to the whole population of trailer parks, but to generate theoretical propositions and possibly even recommendations for policy and approach, which in their turn might prove fruitful for other trailer parks. It is therefore an analytical or theoretical generalization rather than a statistical generalization.

Validity and reliability

This research started off with a contextual and theoretical framework, to shape the frame and define the research purpose. This is done by theorizing and operationalising the main concepts of the research. The concept of perceptions of liveability is operationalised out of smaller theoretical concepts based on previously done research, which are easier to research. The concept of trust is operationalised more narrowed down to trust in local (governmental) organisations. By doing this the internal validity or credibility is supported, because it makes sure that the measurements are as intended (Boeije, 2014). As stated before, the external validity or transferability of a case study design can be difficult to warrant. This can be overcome by realizing that the focus of this research will be on generating theoretical propositions. To account for transferability or external validity, this research will make use of thick description (Geertz in Bryman, 2012). A first step in doing this is the describing of the context of the research object in the contextual framework. A second step will be in the interviews to be conducted, namely by interviewing experts on the subject as well as inhabitants from different genders and age categories, so that a complete as possible overview of the context of the research object can be given. Throughout the interviews, the researcher has strived to summarize the answers given by participants, to make them more credible and to check with participants if the researcher had interpreted the answers accordingly, to increase the validity (Boeije, 2009).

The reliability of the research is also connected to this chapter, which gives a methodological accountability. The use of a code tree provides insight into the process of coding, which increases the reliability of the research. The use of transcripts in the research, which are processed anonymously, increases the validity.

Ethical considerations

Dealing with trailer park inhabitants will bring about certain ethical concerns and difficulties. First, as noted before trailer park inhabitants are quite isolated community, with difficult relations to authoritative bodies. This can prove a difficulty when approaching them for

interviews and data gathering. It probably takes some time to gain the trust of participants and is important to stress the fact that this research will be done independently and objectively.

Second, an aspect that Bryman (2012) touches upon, which relates to this research, is the possible harm of participants. Of course, any harm to participants at any time should be avoided. In this research any personal information of participants is kept out of the research, because it could influence their contact with for example civil servants. Data protection is of importance to avoid personal information, or information traceable to participants being exposed in public. This has been safeguarded, by not publishing the transcripts of the interviews. The interviews have also been processed anonymously, and this was continued in the use of quotes, where the possibility to trace back the identity of participants is brought back, by naming all of them 'inhabitants' (Bryman, 2012).

4.3 | Data collection

The collection of data for this research is done by conducting semi-structured interviews, with two different groups of participants: inhabitants of Beukbergen and professionals who have been involved with the restructuring of Beukbergen in the past and professionals whose working area involves Beukbergen. Semi-structured interviews offer the interviewer some guidance, by formulating a topic list, but also leeway to the interviewee in how to reply. Questions asked were not exactly as outlined in the topic list, and sometime question were asked in addition (Bryman, 2012). Secondly, the researcher has conducted observations during consultation hours of the municipality and housing association Woongoed Zeist, by joining the weekly round of the neighbourhood professional team (municipality, Woongoed Zeist and maintenance team) on the trailer park and by visiting the trailer park by bike and on foot. These observations have been documented in field notes. In paragraph 4.4.2 – 4.4.4 an elaboration on the methods of data collection is given.

4.3.1 | Participants

As stated above, two groups of participants can be distinguished in this research: the inhabitants and the professionals. For both groups different topic lists have been used. Professionals were approached by email or telephone. These interviews were prepared for by examining policy and documents of the municipality and of the housing association. Different professionals have been interviewed: some worked during the restructuring of Beukbergen in the past years; others are now working on Beukbergen because it is part of their working area but have not experienced the restructuring.

Because it was not so easy to gain access to the inhabitants of Beukbergen, the researcher has asked the professionals who were interviewed, for contacts. By doing this, the contact details of some of the residents' committee became available. It worked as a snowball effect, because these inhabitants referred to other residents of the trailer park who might be open to an interview (Boeije, 2009). By visiting the trailer park often, residents and professionals working there became more familiar with the researcher. The professionals on the trailer park also proved useful with suggesting who to interview. In paragraph 4.4.3 the position of the researcher will be discussed in more detail. In the figure below, an overview of the different participants of the interviews is given.

Function	Date
Mayor of Zeist	3 June 2019
Civil servant municipality of Zeist	23 May 2019
Civil servant of Woongloed Zeist	21 June 2019
Civil servant municipality of Zeist	12 July 2019
Civil servant of BZK	24 July 2019
Inhabitant 70-80 years	24 June 2019
Inhabitant 35-40 years	24 June 2019
Inhabitant 70+ years	1 July 2019
Inhabitant 65+ years	1 July 2019
Inhabitants (couple) 28-35 years	3 July 2019
Inhabitants (couple) 60-65 years	3 July 2019

Figure 4. Interview participants

4.3.2 | Semi-structured interviews with professionals

To get an insight in the incentives, goals and results that organisations had for Beukbergen, interviews and conversations with professionals were conducted. In these interviews, the contact with inhabitants will also be discussed. The participants had been involved in the process of restructuring or are involved with Beukbergen in their work right now. In appendix 9.3 the topic lists for professionals can be found. The topic lists differ for different professionals, according to their position and profession, but most of the questions correspond between the interviews and the scope of the questions asked is the same.

4.3.3 | Semi-structured interviews and informal conversation with inhabitants

The interviews with inhabitants were of a semi-structured nature. The researcher made use of a topic list with 14 questions, which served as a guidance for the researcher, but often extra and other questions were asked, depending on how the conversation progressed. This gave the participants the possibility to speak freely and gave the researcher freedom to move around between questions and to deepen and clarify answers (Bryman, 2012).

In the interviews with participants, an appeal was made to the memory of participants, when discussing the events happened in the past, before and during the interventions by the municipality. It is important to note that the outcomes of those questions concerning events happening in history, are based on subjective meanings and cannot be perceived as objective depictions of the reality of that time, because they will be very possibly be influenced by other events and things that have happened in the life of participants. There can be a certain bias introduced by memory lapses and distortions (Bryman, 2012). But because the goal of this research is to get an insight in meanings and perceptions of inhabitants an objective depiction of the events is not being sought.

When first visiting Beukbergen, it became clear that formal, planned interviews would be difficult to establish. Inhabitants were very friendly, but when asked to participate in interviews they responded rather reserved. Therefore, a more casual approach would be a

better option for this target group. In the end, the length and structure of the interviews differed a bit between the interview participants, because some were willing to spend more time than others.

All interviews took place on Beukbergen, most in the participants' home or trailer and one at the club building in the center of the trailer park. Because the interviews took place at participants' homes, the researcher had the ability to observe the surroundings, to get a better insight in the context of the trailer park and into the living situation of its inhabitants. It was informed to the participants before the start of the interview that all data collected would be processed anonymously (Creswell, 2009). At the end of each interview the participant received a small reward for participating in the interview. Participants showed their appreciation for that (ibid). In appendix 9.4 the topic lists for the interviews with inhabitants can be found.

4.3.4 | Observations

The researcher had the opportunity to attend several consultation hours organised by the municipality and the housing association. To record these meetings, the researcher has observed participants and professionals in mental notes and wrote down what she saw and heard afterwards (Bryman, 2012). In addition, personal reflections on what is seen and heard are added to the notes. The role of the researcher is, as described by Bryman (2012), that of a Non-Participating Observer with some interaction. This means that the researcher has done some observations but has not participated in core activities of participants. There is interaction with participants, but that occurs in interviews and informal conversation.

4.3.5 | Position and influence of the researcher

Because of the qualitative nature of this research, the position of the researcher can be described as *close* to the research participants (Bryman, 2012). This means that the researcher has sought close involvement with the inhabitants of Beukbergen being investigated, so she can genuinely understand the world through their eyes (ibid). This pursuit of closeness to the participants also means something for the influence and position of the researcher. The researcher uses herself as a 'tool' to get insight in the life of others (Evers, 2015). This means the researcher is *part* of the research, as opposed to research in which the researcher has a distance or no contact at all with participants. This means that there is possible bias in the research, because the researcher has their own values, which are brought along in the interviews. To make readers aware of this, the researcher reflects on the research process in chapter 6. By presenting statements made by participants clearly in the text, it becomes visible what are opinions of participants, and what are interpretations of the researcher (Bryman, 2012).

4.3.6 | Operationalisation of concepts

The concepts described in the theoretical framework are difficult to ask straight away in the interviews. To make them more concrete and understandable, they need to be operationalised. The operationalisation of the concepts is also used to connect statements made in the interviews back to the theoretical base of the concepts in the conclusions.

- As stated in the theoretical framework in paragraph 3.1, liveability is a rather broad concept and cannot be asked for straight away in interviews. Therefore, it has been broken down into different dimensions that are more measurable and understandable: (1) demand for and satisfaction with dwelling (2) quality of social life, community cohesion and social safety (3) reputation, quality and physical safety of built environment. Inhabitants have been asked questions on the above dimension of liveability, to get an insight into their satisfaction with those dimensions. Those answers are combined to come to a general perception of liveability of the participants on Beukbergen.
- The municipal interventions of Beukbergen are researched by asking participants to talk about the changes that took place, the process from beginning to end and what they thought was positive or negative about it. Restructuring in this research involves an approach to improving the quality of the public space and infrastructure, of moving trailers and enlarging pitches to improve fire safety and the expansion of the trailer park with new pitches, with the addition of stone houses and the possibility for inhabitants to buy a pitch. The normalization of Beukbergen is researched by asking participants how they perceive the goal of the municipality to make Beukbergen a normal neighbourhood of Zeist.
- Trust between inhabitants and organisations and professionals, focuses on two organisation and their professionals: the municipality of Zeist and housing association Woongoed Zeist. Professionals are described as civil servants.
- The operationalisation of the concept of trust is based on paragraph 3.3. and is researched from two sides, that of the inhabitants and that of the professionals. Professionals are working for different organisations: the municipality of Zeist and housing association Woongoed. They are asked questions on the relationship and contact they have with inhabitants, and how they perceive the trust or distrust of inhabitants. Inhabitants are asked how reliable they think the municipality is, and whether they trust or distrust the municipality in their work. By asking about the relationship and contact with professionals involved in the restructuring and working on Beukbergen, their trust or distrust in individual professionals is researched. Trust can also be expressed indirectly in certain statements of participants. These indirect appearances of trust are searched for in the analysis of the data. Afterwards in the analysis, a closer look has been given to the division of types of trust in different objects by Edelenbos and Eshuis (2012), to see if there is a differentiation or that trust in different object might influence each other.

4.4 | Data analysis

To analyse the data gathered through the interviews, informal talks and observations, the computer program Nvivo is used. This program allows the researcher to use the technique of coding in a structured way (Bryman, 2012). The first step was to read through the transcripts of the interviews and the field notes made of observations. The next step was to give codes to different fragments of the transcripts and field notes, which match the theme of that code. These themes related to the concepts of chapter 3. Sometimes codes did not match with one of these concepts, so additional themes were created. By doing this, a first step is

made into giving structure to the data. This is also called open coding. After that, some codes are packed together in categories. These categories represent certain patterns that are found in the data (Creswell, 2009). Making connections between categories is called axial coding (Bryman, 2012). The coding process happened iteratively, by constantly going back and forth between the transcripts and the codes. Sometimes it was necessary to split a code up, move it or combine it with other codes.

The defined codes are categorized in the main categories, related to the concepts as much as possible, but were not limited to them, because sometimes the found codes wouldn't fit within those main categories, because they represented more contextual information. The use of a code tree made the different main and sub-categories become visible. The assigned codes were then analysed on the basis of similarities and whether they connect to the theories found in chapter 3. In this step, the relationship between the concepts also became visible. Finally, the results were connected to the sub-questions, to be able to answer the main question in chapter 6 Conclusion.

5 | Results

In this chapter, the results of the data analysis are presented. In paragraph 5.1 an introduction to the case of Beukbergen is given. In paragraph 5.2 the results for the inhabitants of Beukbergen is presented. In paragraph 5.3 the role of professionals of the municipality of Zeist and Woongloed in the past, during the restructuring and in the present is analysed. By presenting the results for inhabitants and professionals separately, they can be compared, and similarities and differences come forward clearly.

5.1 | Introduction to the case: Beukbergen

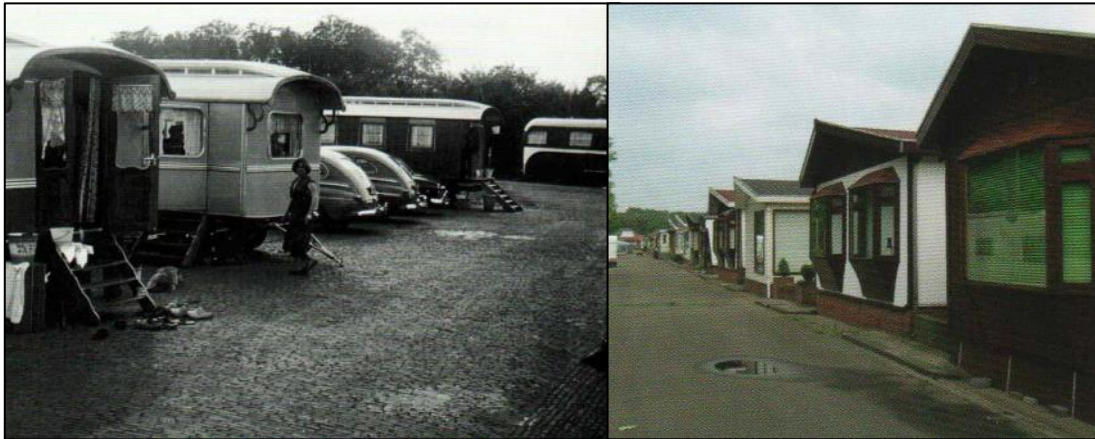


Image 1. Beukbergen in the 1960's and in the 2000's. Source: Liesbeth Sluiter, 2011. Municipality of Zeist, 2018.

Trailer park inhabitants have been living on trailer park Beukbergen since the beginning of the 20th century. At first in the form of temporary pitches, but after the second World War more permanently and the location started to grow the proportions of the current grounds of Beukbergen (mRO, 2018). The area has been inhabited ever since, but the living circumstances were not always good (Handout Beukbergen, 2017). In the 1960's it was decided by the Province of Utrecht that Beukbergen would serve as a regional camp in the future. Inhabitants had to move to a temporary emergency camp, which lasted for 5 years, from 1969 until 1975. The situation on the emergency camp was poor, fire safety was under pressure because trailers were very close to each other and some even seemed to sink away in the mud (Sluiter, 2011). Soon after the completion of regional trailer park Beukbergen, the government decided that large camps did not contribute to the integration of trailer park inhabitants in society, but dispersion of inhabitants of Beukbergen over smaller camps, would be an issue because of the number of inhabitants. In 1978 a partnership of different municipalities was formed (Woonwagenschap), that together would carry the need for trailers and the regulations and dispersion of trailers across the region. But collaboration proved difficult and the number of trailers and sheds on Beukbergen kept growing (Sluiter, 2011). In 1983, it became clear that the government wanted to abolish all large regional trailer parks. This led to agitation and protest among inhabitants of Beukbergen (Sluiter, 2011). The abolishment of Beukbergen did not continue and in the 1980's the camp kept on growing, because inhabitants created their own pitches. In that time there was no zoning plan or building regulations. Management was missing, because civil servants avoided the camp. In 2000, the Woonwagenschap evaluated the previous years, and concluded that apart from a small refurbishment, nothing had happened on Beukbergen. Consultation

between Woonwagenschap, the province and the national government had failed. Dispersion of trailer over smaller camps in the region did not happen. New plans were made in 2005, but because of conflicts between an independent, hired agency and with the province and national government about the airbase in Soesterberg, the plans died a silent death (Sluiter, 2011).⁵

In 2009, the municipality of Zeist could finally start with extensive redevelopment of the area, when the airbase of Soesterberg was closed down, because this meant that the area could get a residential destination. The motive for the restructuring was to increase fire safety and eliminate the waiting list (Handout Beukbergen, 2017). Since the beginning of the 21st century, the municipality of Zeist has increasingly aligned the regulations for Beukbergen with the standard of Zeist (mRO, 2018). But in recent years, the focus on the needs and wishes of inhabitants increased. In 2011 the municipality investigated the housing preferences of the inhabitants and the results served as input for the new zoning plan. There were also several meetings with the residents' committee and some 50 inhabitants. In every phase of the plan, settlement agreements were made with every inhabitant, for example about costs of moving a trailer to another pitch (Handout Beukbergen, 2017). The main goal of the municipality was to transform Beukbergen into a 'normal' neighbourhood of Zeist, but with special characteristics (Raadsbesluit Beukbergen, 2010). This means that the same rules apply to Beukbergen as to other neighbourhoods in Zeist when it comes to safety, living, building and environmental aspects. What is striking is that there no mention of any special/culturally different position of trailer park inhabitants.

In the current situation, de location exists of 220 accommodation units, which are mostly trailers and some houses owned by housing associations. In total, 54 social houses have been realized since 2013 and the housing associations also adopted 12 trailers from the municipality of Zeist (Handout Beukbergen, 2017). In the period between 2011 and 2018, the area has been redeveloped, which has improved the physical qualities significantly: new roads have been laid and unrightfully use/activities have been remediated. The distance between trailers has been increased, which increases (fire) safety and the physical quality (mRO,2018).

In the Netherlands, in principle, everyone has the right to decent housing (College voor de Rechten van de Mens, 2017). But, as shown in the context chapter 2, many municipalities in the Netherlands have taken on extinction policies to let trailer parks die out, by not providing new pitches. When plans were formulated for Beukbergen in 2009, the decision was made to let the trailer park grow by allowing new pitches to be developed (Sluiter, 2011). This was possible there, because there is enough space. It was by the incentive of mayor of Zeist Koos Janssen to eliminate the existing waiting list for a pitch and trailer. This allowed families to live together and gave young people the opportunity to get a trailer in the park.

⁵ For an extensive overview on the history of Beukbergen: Liesbeth Sluiter 'Beukbergen, een geschiedenis van woonwagenbewoners' 2011

5.2 | Inhabitants of Beukbergen

Most of the inhabitants of Beukbergen have been living there for generations. Some people of the older generation have travelled around with their families. Many inhabitants are related to each other, which makes it a close-knit community. In this paragraph perceptions of inhabitants are discussed on trust in professionals and organisations, liveability and the municipal interventions that have been taken place.

5.2.1 | Life of inhabitants of Beukbergen

Inhabitants of different generations have been interviewed. People of the older generation have experienced the time before the restructuring very consciously. Some of them have travelled around with their families, as travelers, being born while travelling.

I: "So, you are not born here?"

R: "No in Utrecht, but you never know that for sure when you were travelling around, in which province you were born. My brother in Limburg, my sister in Breukelen, my oldest sister and my youngest sister, let me think, in Nijmegen I believe, officially." (Inhabitant)

One inhabitant described it as the best time of her life. Because of governmental restrictions, most of them had to choose a place to stay permanently at some point. One inhabitant describes it as following.

"Well, we had to of course. Mostly we had, like here, in modern times, two locations, so you would have a base to come back to during the wintertime. Then you would have a trailer here on Beukbergen, and a caravan to travel around. And because of that, fanatic travelling what everybody did, died out a bit, because they wanted to have everyone on those big central trailer parks." (Inhabitant)

One inhabitant remembers her youth on Beukbergen in the 1960's vividly. The circumstances in the were quite poor at that time, the park was much smaller, and it was a collection of small wagons. There were no facilities and only one central water point, where washing up had to be done.

"Yes, I remember that time very well, everyday women were doing the laundry at the laundry box, day in day out. I really liked that time; I often think about it. But it was a hard time then, at the time you didn't realize it, but looking back, with all the conveniences we now have." (Inhabitant)

An important governmental goal in the 1970's and 80's for trailer park inhabitant was to integrate them in regular Dutch society. First, people were accommodated in small camps, later the government decided that these small camps had to be merged into large parks, and thereafter, it was decided that those big parks needed to be divided into smaller camps again. In Beukbergen this never happened, to the relief of inhabitants.

"You know, you can't treat people like that, because at that time, children were going to school, had joined a sports club et cetera and then the government wants to force you to move to another much smaller camp. But thankfully Beukbergen stayed the same." (Inhabitant)

As mentioned in paragraph 5.1, Beukbergen thus remained one of the biggest centres of trailer park inhabitants in the Netherlands, after fierce protest of inhabitants against de-concentration. But for inhabitants it remained a period of agitation, caused by the uncertainty of whether they could stay or not.



Image 2. Protest for Beukbergen. Source: Rob Croes / Anefo, 1983

5.2.2 | Municipal interventions

The interventions that have been taking place in the past years on Beukbergen have had an influence on the physical aspects of Beukbergen but also a significant effect on its inhabitants. Below, the results for both interventions researched, restructuring and normalization for inhabitants will be given.

Before the restructuring

The public space of Beukbergen used to look very different from the present. Most of the inhabitants interviewed can remember what it looked like before the restructuring took place.

“The roads were bad, you know, old fences and barbed wire everywhere, yes I remember that well. There used to be demolition sites here, and, uh, here too. My father used to have a large demolition site here in the past.” (Inhabitant)

The unstructured situation on the camp could lead to unsafe situations. Emergency services had trouble reaching the trailer park, because street names and house numbers were missing. Some inhabitants feel like they were left to their own devices during that time. The municipality did not do anything to make improvements to the trailer park.

“For a long time, nothing has been done. Occasionally, a new playground was placed. But that was actually old stuff picked up somewhere else and then placed here. We always had that feeling, that we were palmed off with old stuff.” (Inhabitant)

“Everywhere in the Netherlands you already had toilets, and here we had a building with some holes in the ground.” (Inhabitant)

Some of the inhabitants interviewed believe that the municipality had subsidy ready to put into Beukbergen for a long time already but didn't do anything with. Reasons for that are not clear to inhabitants.



Image 3. Beukbergen in the 1960's. Source: Liesbeth Sluiter, 2011

Restructuring

Inhabitants who participated in the interviews state that they all are happy with the results of the restructuring. Fire safety has been greatly improved, pitches have been enlarged and the public space looks proper. They appreciate the effort the municipality has made to guide inhabitants through the process.

“But ehm, I dare to say that the majority of people, more than 90% of the people, who use their common sense, and ehm that they are all satisfied. About the moving and replacing and things. And that professionals were involved, who guided people in that.” (Inhabitant)

“I think it is beautiful, what the municipality has done, it's really beautiful. It has been improved by 200%” (Inhabitant)

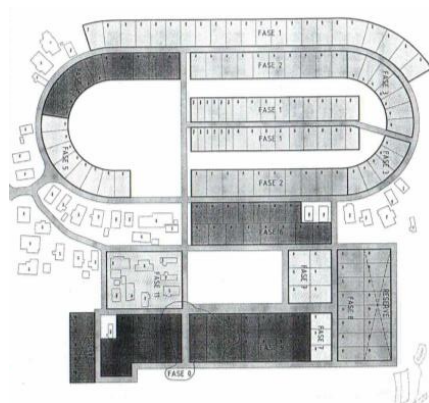


Image 4. Restructuring plan 2010. Source: Liesbeth Sluiter, 2011

Nuisance

The results of the restructuring are perceived as positive by all inhabitants interviewed. The park is well kept by the municipality, which adds to the appeal. But some inhabitants mention the nuisance they have experienced of the restructuring.

“I was one of the first to be on the new pitch. 7,5 years ago. Approximately. It was a bare surface, I didn’t have a storage room, I also had no sewerage, because everything in the ground was frozen, it was during the wintertime, in December. So, I had to remain there, with a detached gas tank and eh, the sewers ran across the tiling. So, it was kind of Spartan.” (Inhabitant)



Image 5. Activities. Source: Municipality of Zeist, 2018

Another inhabitant was living close to the storage of the construction company. It drove them mad, this inhabitant states. They accepted it, because they were hoping for a good result. The duration of this nuisance affected the inhabitant’s perception of the restructuring process. It has been a long process, which is noticeable with inhabitants.

“Well, a little bit of nuisance, you’ll have to deal with that. But yeah, they drove very fast with those trucks. Anyway, if something must be done... It is giving and taking of course. [...] But that nuisance lasted for around 8 years, you know.” (Inhabitant)

Moving of trailers

Because of the expansion of the pitches to increase fire safety and of the camp itself, many trailers had to be moved from one place to another. Some inhabitants experienced this as drastic and confronting, because they had been living on the same spot for such a long time.

I: “So your trailer has been moved as well?”

R: “Yes, yes that was pretty scary you know. Yeah very scary to see your trailer hanging in the air, not a very pleasant experience. But thankfully it all worked out well. There were a few people who had some damage, cracks and so on. I had a little crack in my bathroom, but I wasn’t going to empty my whole bathroom for one little crack. So, I said, just leave it. I’m not that difficult, it’s above the door, so nobody will see that.”



Image 6. Moving a trailer. Source: Municipality Zeist, 2018

In consultation with the inhabitants, the municipality planned for the replacement of the trailers. Inhabitants appreciated the opportunity they had to express their opinion on the moving of the trailers. Inhabitants interviewed are happy with the pitch they have now.

“In the club house was a map, there we could pick out a pitch. I said, I want to be on that corner, over there, because there was a big path beside it. And that happened to be the old pitch of my father and mother. I was very happy with that.” (Inhabitant)



Image 7. Moving a trailer. Source: Municipality Zeist, 2018

Points of improvement

Most inhabitants are content with the results of the restructuring. But some gave some points for improvement on the process. Some inhabitants experienced the process of contract signing as messy.

R1: “Yeah that went very, very messy, immensely. I believe I’ve signed 4 contracts, for eh.

R2: “And in the end, we still had a false contract, because we’ve said, from the beginning on, when we signed the contract, you know, to buy the ground [...] that we are going to build a house, so we’re going to build a house here. And now we have a contract that says we’re going to build a trailer”.

R: [...] But we wanted to build a house with a foundation. A trailer is above ground. And we wanted a foundation. And that’s what we’ve always said, we’re going into the ground” (Inhabitants)

The false contract led to further confusion and issues for these inhabitants. They discovered a layer of earth with old building debris 1 meter underneath the surface, which they dug up when starting with the build of their home. The municipality obligated them to remove the debris at their own expense (26.000 euro), because their contract said the pitch was for building a trailer, and in the contract, it was stated that the municipality was only responsible for the earth 90 centimetres beneath ground level. These inhabitants were mainly disappointed in the communication of the municipality on the issue and the way it was dealt with. They stated they think it is resentful that the municipality knew about the soil but did not inform them. They didn’t feel supported or accommodated at all by the municipality. They also state that this has influenced their perceptions of the municipality as organisation.

Another inhabitant states that the municipality could have done more to safeguard safety during the building works. Sometimes, unsafe situation like holes in the ground, were not properly bordered by fences. This inhabitant states that the municipality will never admit that, but it did happen.

“You know, some things were done a bit rudely, because they didn’t fence of the holes properly, so people could fall in. But maybe that also has to do with our culture, we don’t ring the bell or make a case about things quickly, so that was dealt with a bit too easily. I mean, of course you warn each other and stuff. [...] Sometimes there was ribbon or fence, but often there was nothing. They will never admit that, but it did happen.” (Inhabitant)

Role of residents' committee

A group of involved inhabitants formed the residents’ committee of Beukbergen. They are the first contact between the organisations involved in the restructuring and inhabitants. Today, they still play an important role. Inhabitants appreciate the work of the residents’ committee, because they form a bridge between organisations and inhabitants and understand the needs and wishes of inhabitants. One inhabitant describes it as following.

“So yeah, everything was discussed. That’s why I like it there is a residents’ committee. They know exactly what we want and what kind of people we are. And they can consult well with the municipality.” (Inhabitant)

Normalisation

The term normalisation is already shortly mentioned in the chapter 2, about the policy context for trailer parks in the Netherlands. Inhabitants of Beukbergen accept the decision of the municipality to normalize Beukbergen in the sense that it becomes a regular neighbourhood of the municipality of Zeist while retaining its special character.

“We are now a neighbourhood of Zeist, with values and needs and utilities and things, which has all been organized properly, but only just now, because it [Beukbergen] already exists for years.” (Inhabitant)

This approach is different from what is mentioned in chapter 2, where the focus is on assimilation of trailer park inhabitants in regular Dutch society. Inhabitants underline that that the normalisation is something that will probably never fully happen, because of cultural differences between themselves and regular Dutch citizens. In the interviews it becomes clear that inhabitants of Beukbergen define their own cultural as different from that of the rest of society. But at the same time, some inhabitants state that they think that the traditional feeling of the trailer park is somewhat lost. They mainly see this in the fact that more houses are built, and less trailers remain.

“The feeling of the past is a bit gone. Everyone is clearing things out and building, lots of houses. This is also a regular house. So that shows a little bit that it is becoming a normal neighbourhood. You know, it will always remain a place for trailer park inhabitants, because people from outside won’t move here very quickly. But yeah, the camp feeling is a bit gone.” (Inhabitant)

Some inhabitants state that the municipality needs to keep the special character of Beukbergen more in mind, because not everything can be compared to other neighbourhoods of Zeist, and when it is compared to much with other neighbourhoods, the special character will be lost. Those inhabitants also state that they feel this limits their feelings of freedom, which they did have in the past, and which are an essential part of their culture.

Conclusions on municipal interventions

It can be concluded that inhabitants are satisfied with the results of the restructuring. They appreciate the involvement offered to them and praise the way Beukbergen now looks. At the same time, some inhabitants feel like the municipality could have done more to ease the process for inhabitants. Duration, safety issues and problems with contracts are mentioned as points of improvement. Also, the normalising goals for Beukbergen make that it feels less and less as a traditional trailer park to inhabitants.

5.2.3| Perceptions of liveability

As defined in the operationalisation, perceptions of liveability exist out of different dimensions, as formulated in chapter 2. In this paragraph, these dimensions will be discussed, from the point of view of inhabitants.

Trailers and houses

Some of the inhabitants interviewed don't prefer living in a trailer. Sometimes they consider a house to be better, because it has more value than a trailer. Most inhabitants of the older generation still live in a trailer, but the younger generation are more often opting for a stone house, with an underground foundation, when they can afford it. What is striking is that many of these stone houses have some characteristics of regular trailers, in shape or style. Housing association Woongoed has developed social houses on Beukbergen. Some of them look like regular detached houses, they are situated at the entrance of Beukbergen. Others have an appearance like a trailer or chalet. One inhabitant, who lives in such a house, states the following.

I: "Would you rather have lived in a trailer?"

R: "No I don't really care. No, you see, I'm living in this neighbourhood and that's the most important and enough for me. I don't really care whether I live in a trailer or house." (Inhabitant)

The decision to live in a trailer or a house is mainly down to personal preference. Like on other trailer parks, on Beukbergen there are several constructions of ownership for trailers, homes and pitches. There are people who own the pitch and the trailer that's on it. There are people who rent the pitch and own the trailer and very few people rent both pitch and trailer. Some inhabitants do not agree on the terms and rules the municipality has set for renting a pitch, while owning a trailer. Those inhabitants who are in that situation state that the municipality and the housing association (who is responsible for the management and renting of pitches) equalize their situation with a rental home.

“You know, there also is a difference. Here in the Netherlands, it is not common that one rents land from a municipality. You can rent a house, a social house or whatever. But our trailers are all our own property, that’s the big difference with regular society. So, you basically only rent a piece of land. Well, if everything is paid for properly, not much is going on, right? But they make such a big deal out of it, they have eh, a bit the king, emperor, admiral feeling. But we pay properly and rent properly.”
(Inhabitant)

R1: “They compare it to regular rental houses from the municipality or housing association. But you cannot compare that, these homes are all owned property. It is a piece of land we pay 300 euros for. You can put a lot of importance on that, but we maintain everything ourselves, keep it clean, do everything and pay every month. So, what’s the big deal then? What else do you want?”

R2: “They really make a problem out of it.”

R1: “And that is so unnecessary, when everything is well regulated and written down in contracts properly. But that just doesn’t happen.” (Inhabitants)

These inhabitants feel somewhat limited in their freedom because of the terms and rules for their pitch, for example that they must be on the property for a certain amount of time of the year. They also worry about the fact that their trailer will have to be removed from the pitch, when they die. Their children won’t be able to inherit the pitch because it is not allowed. Removing a trailer costs a lot of money, and these inhabitants wouldn’t give their kids such a burden.

R1: “It costs a fortune to get rid of it [the trailer], and where will it go? Where will you put such a thing? And ours is still a small one, there also very big ones. And you can’t give it to your kids, cause then they inherit a bunch of misery. So, then it will have to be removed, they say, ‘that also happens when you live with your parents in a rental property and something happens to them, then you also need to leave the house’. But you know, that only counts for a total rental object. This is our own property. That’s just capital destruction!”

R2: “Yes, yes. And it should be possible to make the right to rent heritable. That’s how far I’ve gone, at the municipality, to find that out, in meetings. And it is all possible, as long as you want it.”



Quality and safety of physical living environment

As already stated in paragraph 5.2.2, the living environment has significantly changed on Beukbergen since the restructuring. Inhabitants experience the changes as positive, and state that they are proud of how the trailer park looks right now.

“You know, we really live here eh, we are all satisfied inhabitants, really eh. They also beautifully laid out the parks, the gardens, so to speak. Everything looks very neat, the club house has gotten a facelift, that has had a makeover, and well they recently did the last things, above here [above a ridge], they have laid a path, with grass on both sides, this used to be a dumping place, with mud and clutter everywhere.”
(Inhabitant)

“It has become a lot more beautiful and clear and better also.” (Inhabitant)

At the same time some residents feel that they have now received what they were already entitled to, like every other citizen in Dutch society. They see the positive sides of what has been going on the past years, but also state that their trailer park is now finally up to date with other neighbourhoods concerning public space and amenities. The statement below shows the awareness of inhabitants in their position in society.

“Of course, some things are positive. But we also have a right, like everyone in society, to a decent house, a place for our car, gas et cetera. Some people ask us ‘aren’t you over the moon?’ Of course, it is nice, but it is not more special than other people, right? Surely, we are all entitled to a certain normal living environment and home?” (Inhabitant)

Fire safety used to be an issue on Beukbergen, because trailers were situated very closely to one another.

“It has never been safe. That’s only now, since we have the new camp that it is safe. But it never has been safe. Luckily, we never experienced anything here, like fire or something, but ehm, in general we did feel safe, but in reality, it wasn’t.” (Inhabitant)

Tackling fire safety during the restructuring had an additional advantage for the inhabitants of Beukbergen, the new pitches had to be larger, to guarantee that the trailers are at a safe distance.

“It has become safer. The homes are further apart. Back in the day, everything was close together, and fire safety was of course, they are trailers, made of wood, if one trailer catches fires, half the camp could have burned down, if it wasn’t kept up to date. So that’s a big advantage and everyone has got bigger pitches now, more spacious.” (Inhabitant)

Keeping things tidy

Because of the improvements, the sense of responsibility of inhabitants to keep the area well maintained has grown. The improved public space has worked as an incentive for most inhabitants to keep their pitch and its surroundings tidy.

“Yes, everyone has done their best, also people who have maybe less to spend, to make it all neat and nice. Of course, eh, there are some exceptions, but other than those, everyone has done their best to make something out of it.” (Inhabitant)

Some inhabitants state that this has been a learning curve for people, because it was something they were not confronted with in the past.

“They all keep it up very well, but of course you have exceptions. They are called upon it and they can get a fine, but they are not keen on that. But they must learn you know, because we used to go about it too easily.” (Inhabitant)

Community cohesion

As already mentioned before, trailer park communities are commonly described as close knit. This is confirmed by inhabitants of trailer park Beukbergen. Several aspects of community cohesion will be discussed below.

Most of the inhabitants of Beukbergen know each other and many of them are related. Inhabitants appreciate the fact that in order to meet other people, you don't have to make an appointment, to meet up for coffee or have a chat. They describe this as being typical for the *trailer park culture*, to just go to each other's homes. Some also mention the shared mentality with norms and values, which is based on shared experiences.

“That is how it goes with trailer park inhabitants, from their own life experience, everybody was always welcome. [...] From their own experience, they thought along with other people, you know, and say ‘join in’ or ‘I’ll help you’. And that’s why they know each other so well, why they are so close, because from their past, they had to make it through together. That forges a huge bond.” (Inhabitant)

The community cohesion often shows itself at social events, like birthdays, weddings and funerals. Inhabitants state that these events are celebrated exuberantly. Even though inhabitants of Beukbergen are very much focussed on their own community, there also is a connection with surrounding villages like Soesterberg, Huis ter Heide and Zeist. Young inhabitants go to school there and many inhabitants also partake in sports in those villages.

Community in the past

When referring to how the community was on Beukbergen back in history, some inhabitants mention the way trailer park inhabitants were treated and the way they inevitably responded to that.

“Yes, yes definitely, because you were disadvantaged and chased away everywhere. It is a certain culture you have, that already, it is not a culture we’ve just made up, it exists for ages. So yeah, when you are being chased away everywhere, with no place to stay. At certain point you start to rebel against society, and that goes way back.” (Inhabitant)

The restless feeling of not knowing what the future would hold, was for some inhabitants a large part of that. They state that because it is something that happened for years and years, it really has rooted itself in the community. Back in those days, Beukbergen was a lot

smaller than it is right now. Some inhabitants state that this also has changed the community cohesion in some ways. When the camp was smaller, it was uncomplicated, the social contact was strong.

“It has grown with society. In society that contact has also become less, people are actually, they have all become ants. You both have to work, cause otherwise you won’t be able to afford your house, so yeah, that means less time for other things. And that’s the same here. So, life has changed.” (Inhabitant)

Children of Beukbergen

Mentioned of in the interviews with inhabitants is the role of children in the lives of trailer park inhabitants. Children of inhabitants of Beukbergen have priority on the waiting list for new homes and pitches, as is agreed on with the residents’ committee. This rule appears to be of great importance for the inhabitants of Beukbergen.

“I’m not in favour of letting strangers live here. Our own kids need the priority. I have a grandson of 13 years old, and when he wants to live here, he needs to get priority over someone coming from Zeist or the village here. We are not happy with strangers being given priority.” (Inhabitant)

When asked if she thinks outsiders should be allowed to live on Beukbergen, this inhabitant states the following.

“Well I don’t see that happen, and that wouldn’t be fair either, because here are people and their children and grandchildren, that is a specific form of living. I’m also not going to take over a mosque, you know, that is those people’s culture, I’ll say it bluntly. But ehm, the children and grandchildren who are now registered here and who want to stay here, will have priority. (Inhabitant)



*Image 9. Caravans of young inhabitants, 2000’s.
Source: Municipality Zeist, 2018*

The waiting list for Beukbergen used to be very long. Around 50 people were on the list for a pitch. Most of them were young people, wanting to move out of their parents’ trailer or

home. Image 6 shows caravans parked on a street of Beukbergen. Young inhabitants who couldn't find a pitch, often moved to such a caravan.

Inhabitants believe that young people want to stay on Beukbergen, because it has a good name, it is spacious and quiet, and it has become a lovely neighbourhood. That makes it attractive for young people to stay. Some inhabitants state that the shared culture is also an important reason for people to stay on Beukbergen, this even applies to people who once decided to move to a house.

"I can't really name anyone who wants to leave, and if they leave it is because their girlfriend or boyfriend is from another place and want to live there. But 9 out of 10 people who for some reason went away, also come back again. Want to come back. Yeah it is a feeling, a certain culture, it is in your blood. And when push comes to shove, they will stand up for each other. That has emerged from the past, staying strong together, you know." (Inhabitant)

Social safety

With regards to social safety, most inhabitants mention children and how they are protected by the community. Inhabitants state that people keep an eye out for each other and their children. They also state that the public space is now safer and better suited for kids.

"You know, it is a paradise for kids here, also for the smaller kids, because you know, they like to play. And now they have made that play area with a soccer field. Or they ride around on their little scooters. But everyone watches those little ones. So, when the parents look, in a neighbourhood it is different. I don't say that it is less in a neighbourhood, but here they keep an eye on each other. Even at night, if something happens, there are always people awake. I also go to bed late. And then I look outside, at least three times. Or I'm walking around. And everything is beautifully lit now." (Inhabitant)

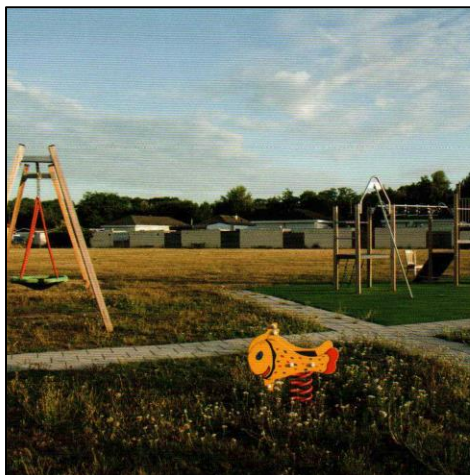


Image 10. Kids' playground. Source: Municipality of Zeist, 2018

Reputation and prejudice

The negative image trailer parks have in the Netherlands, as mentioned earlier in this research, is also experienced by inhabitants of Beukbergen. Some inhabitants state that this has to do with ignorance of regular Dutch citizens about what it means to live on trailer park and what daily life is like. They form their opinions based on what they hear in the media. Negative portrayals of trailer parks in the media is thus a large contributor to the negative imaging of trailer parks, inhabitants say.

“The stigmatising was always like, that happened on Beukbergen in the past too, when there would be a cannabis shed the size of this table discovered, so to speak, it would be directly reported on the frontpage [of newspapers] with names and everything, because there is only 1 Beukbergen, trailer park Huis ter Heide, yeah how many of those or there? So, you know, everyone knows, phooey, those trailer park inhabitants again! While in regular society, what happens there, and of course that is also mentioned in reporting, but it merges with the big pictures, but a trailer park or an inhabitant, is stigmatised in this way and that creates a wrong image, the media in that way.” (Inhabitant)

Some inhabitants do notice a change in the reputation. They also state that this related to the extended contact with surrounding villages, through sports and the education of children. In the past, regular citizen would avoid Beukbergen.

I: “So that has become more positive through the years?”

R1: “Yes, yes I do think so.”

R2: “If you wanted to sell a television here, in the past and it said that it was for sale, here on Beukbergen, no one dare to come, but now they do.” (Inhabitants)

Now, more regular citizens come to visit Beukbergen. They are riding their bikes around the camp to have a look around.

“Well, I do think that it has changed, cause if you look now, then you will see cyclists, who are curious, and they take a ride around the camp and that never happened in the past. Then they didn’t dare to or they had scary image or something or whatever. But now, they just come here and bike around and look around. But to tell you the truth, I have to say that, we don’t have a lot of negativity you know, that’s the word, right? Because you know, the village Soesterberg, almost everyone knows Soesterberg and a lot of people of Soesterberg know Beukbergen.” (Inhabitants)

Conclusions on perceptions of liveability

The cohesion of the community of Beukbergen as always was strong and remains a driving factor for inhabitants to continue to live on Beukbergen. The presence of family in their daily lives is all encompassing. But inhabitants also note that Beukbergen is changing, as is the rest of society changing. For example, the decision of young inhabitants to build a stone house. Inhabitants also believe the reputation of Beukbergen has changed, because of good contact with the surrounding villages, but that the stigmatisation of trailer park inhabitants remains.

5.2.4| The role of trust

As stated in the previous chapters of this research, the trust between inhabitants and professionals and organisations is often frail. Some inhabitants of Beukbergen state that their trust has been influenced by experiences in the past.

R1: "No that [trust in the municipality] is very minimal, you want to, but from the past already, so many crazy things have happened to trailer park inhabitants."

R2: You know, there is always something behind it. As soon as they want to shake hands, you must be careful. (Inhabitants)

Presence of professionals on Beukbergen

Since the restructuring, the presence of professionals has increased on Beukbergen. Every week, the municipality and the housing association organise a consultation hour. Every month, the district team hosts a consult. The enforcement/maintenance team do an inspection round once a week.

R: "Yeah, often there is, people from the municipality and Woongoed, who are in the clubhouse every week, and also people who come here with a small trailer, ehh."

I: "Do you mean the district team?"

R: "Yes yes, the district team. You can go to them with questions. I think that is an improvement, yes. That didn't happen in the past, so I think that is positive." (Inhabitant)

Contact inhabitants and professionals

Because the presence of professionals has increased, inhabitants are more in contact with them. This contact started when plans were presented to inhabitants and consulted with them. Most inhabitants interviewed value the opportunity they had to have their say in the plans.

R1: "That would have been with the residents' committee. And people also had the opportunity to express their wishes and things."

R2: "Yeah for example, where they wanted to stay, because some trailers had to be moved, and they got larger pitches, so yeah people could indicate, I believe, where they wanted to be placed."

R1: "I've also done that, I wanted to be here, at the edge of the forest. So, for that matter, that went quite well." (Inhabitant)

Some inhabitants were very positive about the individual professionals working on Beukbergen. One inhabitant states that it makes a difference that the professionals on Beukbergen he's been in contact with have a nice character, and they are friendly, happy and helpful. In his opinion this makes a difference, in the past there had been people he couldn't get along with.

Trust

The trust in individual professionals seems to be of importance for inhabitants. The inhabitants do not differentiate between professionals of different organisations, they see them more as one group of people working on Beukbergen.

“I see them often here, I would say weekly, and then I say, boys, do you want to have drink, have a seat. So, we have quite a good relationship with all of them. There is not one you feel resentment for, or who needs a kick in the butt. So, no. [...] But I like that, that even after all those years, you still, that you like it to see them again.”
(Inhabitant)

Some inhabitants explicitly name the mayor as a person who has played a large role and is important to them.

“We can get along very well with the municipality. Last week the mayor came to visit, he came by to look at my plants and flowers. We’ve got a great mayor! [...] He really thinks along with us, understands us and does a lot for us. That is very important, because the municipality plays a big role.” (Inhabitant)

“They [the municipality] worked along very well, helped well, guided well, and the mayor was also involved and his colleagues who were responsible, that was a great cooperation” (Inhabitant)

Distrust

Even though some inhabitants were very positive about the mayor of Zeist and the role of the municipality and Woongoed, at the same time some traces of distrust were noticeable in the conversations with inhabitants. These traces of distrust were sometimes targeted on individuals. The quote below concerned a situation where law enforcement prohibited an inhabitant to do something, because that would influence the appeal of the public space.

I: “Who exactly are you talking about? Which people?”

R: “That lady, who was here [of law enforcement]. She has no awareness, that is really true. That’s the trouble you get. And that happens often here on the camp.”
(Inhabitant)

Another inhabitant mentions the moment he had to move to a temporary pitch, during the restructuring.

“You know, I had to, because otherwise I would lose my residence permit here. So, we were pushed a little by the municipality, I don’t know why, you won’t find that out either, cause when you follow politics a little, you know how it works. Many things you won’t be able to find out. It’s a passing-on system, you know.” (Inhabitant)

For some inhabitants, their personal situation has had a negative influence on the trust they have in the municipality. Important factors are the way they were treated and the communication of the municipality.

I: "Would you say you consider the municipality to be trustworthy?"

R2: Well, not on this issue [problems with contracts and polluted soil]

R1: "No, not on this issue, also purely how they handled it. I can let you read the letters, the once we have gotten back, it just does not make any sense. It is being brushed off and then some office muff writes those letters, without any clue what it is about."

R2: "If they just would have taken the time to come to us, or that we could come to the municipality and just tell our story, with the mayor, or someone close to him, that might have given the impression of at least a little bit of effort. But now, absolutely nothing has been done with it."

Conclusions on trust

From the conversations with inhabitants, it becomes clear trust and distrust are sometimes out of balance and can exist within the same participant. It is possible that experiences in the past have shaped the distrust of inhabitants, but now, because of new positive experiences, with for example professionals working on Beukbergen, a small change in that distrust takes place, as people realize that some professionals can be trusted. For other inhabitants, distrust in professionals and organisations prevails because of their personal situation.

5.3 | Professionals of the municipality and Woongoed Zeist

The municipality of Zeist played a large role in the restructuring of Beukbergen. But the municipality still has a large influence; even now the project is officially finished. Housing association Woongoed Zeist has an important role in the daily management of Beukbergen. In this paragraph the different reasons and motivations of the municipality and Woongoed 'to do something' with Beukbergen are discussed and analysed. The different interventions carried out by the municipality are analysed by their goals and nature. The role of trust is also discussed and how professionals' assess inhabitants' trust in the present and during the time of the restructuring.

5.3.1 | Before the restructuring: reasons and motivations for change

In 2006 Koos Janssen took up the position of mayor in Zeist. Beukbergen became part of his portfolio. For him, it was an incentive to go there and have a look around.

"You know, when I became the new mayor here, 13 years ago, I wanted to know what was in my portfolio and then they said, oh right, you also have Beukbergen. So, I said 'alright, what is Beukbergen?' 'Yeah, that's the trailer park', 'aha alright, I've heard of that'. And then they said, oh it's an on-going case, lots of plans that have failed and not an easy task. But you know, every newbie got that palmed off on them. Because then they were happy that they, well, had just got rid of it." (Mayor of Zeist)

From this quote it becomes clear that at that time, the municipality was not too keen on having anything to do with Beukbergen. A civil servant describes the situation of Beukbergen before the restructuring as following, from what he has heard and refers to a clip from a documentary.

"It was a clip from documentary Brandpunt, from the 70's. I probably still have it around somewhere, it shows the former mayor of Zeist, visiting the trailer park and it shows how it was. It was one big mud pool, literally, there was water everywhere, and the nickname was 'the little pond'. There was one central lavatory and when you see those pictures, it is truly shocking and the mayor just literally says that everything looks great, those were roughly his words." (Civil servant)

The relationship with inhabitants before the restructuring was described as non-existent. This was quite convenient for the inhabitants as well as the municipality. Inhabitants could go their own way and enjoy a relative freedom and the municipality kind of agreed with that.

"So, they both looked in a different direction, but they did have an opinion about each other, without even talking about things." (Mayor of Zeist)

There were several plans for Beukbergen and budget available to do something. But for years nothing happened. Eventually in 2009, the former ministry of VROM send out a letter to all municipalities to do something with the fire safety on trailer parks, because this was below standards. Another reason to start making plans for Beukbergen was the presence of a long waiting list for new pitches. There were around 50 people on this waiting list, those at the top already waiting for a very long time, sometimes more than 18 years. In the council decision of that time it was decided to give all those on the waiting the list the prospect of a

pitch. In this sense, Beukbergen was treated as a normal neighbourhood of Zeist, where there was a housing shortage, for which a solution had to be found. At that time mayor Koos Janssen had already started building contact and conversations with the inhabitants of Beukbergen. In the interview he clearly remembered the first time going to Beukbergen.

“I just went there. And I will never forget that, I was visiting and people [inhabitants of Beukbergen] were looking at me, I was the umpteenth person to come by, and well they thought ‘we’ll have to see before we believe’ or actually it would be ‘never believe’, because nothing will happen. That was their attitude. Because government people can come up with all kinds of things, and they will tell what is good and what is not good, but you know, those people who live there, the trailer park inhabitants, they often look at things very differently. Did they ever come to a good conversation with each other?” (Mayor of Zeist)

The personal motivation of the mayor meant a turning point in the proceedings of the plans for Beukbergen. Professionals of the municipality underline the importance of the role of a director who is willing to make an effort for the cause.

“He [the mayor] was quite shocked of how things were, he thought well, the municipality hasn’t been here for years. And he started talking to these inhabitants and he kept on talking you know, and at some point, he’s said ‘I’m going to make this my assignment, I’m going to fight for it’. That has been a really important start actually, if you don’t have that, a director who goes for it, then it is going to be a really difficult task. You need a director, you need politics, you need money. So that has been a very important marking point.” (Civil servant)

“You have to protect this [the trailer park culture], you definitely have to. And our mayor Koos Janssen has done this fantastically and still does. It like ehm, he says ‘as long as I’m mayor, I want to be involved in certain ways’ “. (Civil servant)

The approach of Beukbergen by the municipality thus started with conversation. The relationship with inhabitants had to be built up from scratch, because essentially there was none. It took several years to come to an agreement with the inhabitants for a plan for the restructuring of Beukbergen. This mainly had to do with the fact that with each individual inhabitant a contract was established for the acceptance of the plans, which sometimes also involved the moving of his or her trailer. It was a lengthy process, but in the end every inhabitant signed the contract. The importance of the involvement of inhabitants in the process of the making of plans for Beukbergen is underlined by civil servants:

“I also think that you will not manage to completely renew a trailer park, if residents do not want it, then it becomes very complicated. That is also true in other neighbourhoods, but certainly here.” (Civil servant)

But the involvement of inhabitants didn’t necessarily make it an easy process.

“And ehm, in the beginning, I know for sure, it’s what I’ve heard, it was very difficult. And that is also understandable you know, until that time they had never had the attention [of the municipality] that they wanted to have.” (Civil servant)

Other stakeholders had to be involved in the plans as well. The municipality of Zeist wanted to involve housing association Woongoed Zeist in the plans and management of Beukbergen.

“So, we called the housing associations to the table and said that they would have to perform that task. They absolutely did not want that in the beginning. So, it took a while before they were ready. In the end they committed themselves to 30 percent social, in the form of social housing which they build themselves or in rental trailers they bought from us.” (Mayor of Zeist)

The internal organisation of the municipality also had to be convinced of the plans. Mayor Koos Janssen always felt supported by the town council, who gave him space and support to do it in a certain way. He managed to get stakeholders on the same page.

I: So, in the end, you managed to reach consensus?

R: Yes, it is difficult for me to fathom what it was about. I’ve been very much involved, but not too exclusively. But this is my motive: the dream of the people, there was my passion, my drive. And the council and B&W have all helped me, the aldermen helped me out, even though after a while there were many new people in B&W and the council has always decided unanimously, that’s unique, isn’t it? Always talking, talking, talking. Conducting working visits. No framing in one world but make the comparison with other streets and neighbourhoods”. (Mayor of Zeist)

5.3.2 | Municipal interventions

Restructuring

The restructuring of trailer park Beukbergen took place in around 10 stages, while inhabitants continued to live there. The main direct incentive for the restructuring was the improvement of the fire safety. There was also some soil pollution caused by activities. This was resolved by relocating several companies that were located there. Some were abolished and others were moved to business parks. Subsequently the trailer park was expanded by using available space for new pitches. At that point houses were also built. The decision to build houses was based on the research done by the municipality on the wishes of inhabitants regarding housing. Several inhabitants have opted for a stone house instead of a trailer.

Around 75 trailers had to move to other pitches to make it possible to restructure the pitches. For some inhabitants who could remain on their pitch, the option was offered to them that the municipality would restructure the pitch, which would increase the rent of the pitch, or they could do the restructuring themselves, which would keep the rent lower.

Everything under ground and above ground was replaced: new sewage system, new electric system, new water system and new and improved public space. What stands out is that there was no clearly defined masterplan for the area. There was more of an Ad hoc approach, in which decisions were made step by step. As a civil servant describes:

“It was actually decided to solve problems and make choices very gradually along the way and which was done quite consciously, because when you want to arrange

everything in advance with such a project, it just won't work out and then you will never start. And when you just start with restructuring one part and see where you bump into and base your further decisions on that, than you get further in my experience and you actually notice that you have to do almost customized work for each resident. They all have different wishes; the municipality has a certain goal and actually we've made agreement with each inhabitant separately concerning what we want to do and under what conditions et cetera. And I think if you want to catch that in policy and rules, you won't be able to work it out". (Civil servant)

The restructuring of the area gave the municipality and Woongoed Zeist the opportunity to arrange things in a legal way and in this way also gain a foothold for further management of the trailer park.

Normalisation

The term normalisation is noted in the council decision of 2010 of the municipality of Zeist for Beukbergen. A civil servant of the municipality of Zeist stated in the interview that the word *normalisation* has a rather negative connotation. For him, the normalising aspect of the approach and restructuring of Beukbergen lays mainly in the physical aspects, as the quote below shows.

"The 'normal' is in how you fill it in, you know, because when you say normal, that every house has to be made of stone, with perfectly behaving citizens, that was never our goal, but our goal was to make sure that the rental agreements were ok, that the use of ground was ok, that everything was licensed, that the municipality maintains the public space, that the municipality maintains public order and safety, that the sewer system is neatly laid, those sort of things, that's the kind of 'normal' we aimed for." (Civil servant)

Although the municipality of Zeist has the goal to transform Beukbergen into a normal neighbourhood of Zeist, it is not aimed at normalizing the inhabitants. The focus is on providing services and facilities like in other neighbourhoods, without changing the cultural values of the neighbourhood. So many physical aspects of the neighbourhood are now compliant with other neighbourhoods of Zeist, but new stone homes are built in a particular style, for a particular target group, what ensures that the characteristics of a trailer park are still visible. Some professionals notice in their work on Beukbergen that inhabitants sometimes find the normalising aspect of the approach for Beukbergen difficult, because even though it is focused on the physical aspects of Beukbergen, it does ask for changes in behaviour for some inhabitants.

"Yeah you know, what is difficult sometimes, they want Beukbergen to be considered a normal neighbourhood, so that's how we maintain it. But that means we have to confront people with their behaviour and then they say, 'why are you checking us?'. No, we're not checking you, we manage Beukbergen like any other neighbourhood or flat, we are walking around, we notice something, so we take action." (Civil servant of Woongoed)

5.3.3 | Perceptions of liveability

Professionals generally feel like most inhabitants are now satisfied with their living environment. The establishment of the clubhouse is seen as important part of that satisfaction. It serves as a place to gather, have parties and socialise. Inhabitants are responsible for the maintenance themselves. Professionals state that it works out well when there are clear agreements between themselves and the inhabitants on what is and isn't possible.

“They have been raised with the idea of solving their own problems. And that makes it difficult sometimes. But then you just explain it and then they understand it. And sometimes you just need to speak in simple language. And you know, then they are addressed about something and they don't like that, but yeah, after that they start thinking about it, and recognise that it actually true.” (Civil servant housing association)

But sometimes professionals and inhabitants have different viewpoints on what can and can't be done. It takes time for professionals to get on the same page as inhabitants. Some state that this is related to how inhabitants were living in the past.

“You know, it is difficult to unlearn learned behaviour. That takes time. Why do I say this? In the past, before the restructuring, and sometimes you see it on tv and in the media, that trailer parks are a big dirty mess, sometimes. They are used to throwing out rubbish. They still do that sometimes, but fortunately very few times. But that's how they used to live. Secluded, away from civilization and with their own people, they didn't mind. And now we're saying, 'listen sir or madam, you can't do that' and then they say 'hello, I've lived like that forever, and now you are here to tell me I can't?'. So, what I would say is 'I would like you to unlearn this, that you don't do this, I would like you to clear it yourself, so I don't have to send my cleaning service, because that costs money, which I would rather spent on something you really need'.” (Civil servant)

Residents' committee

The residents' committee plays an important intermediary role between the municipality and the inhabitants. The committee in its current form was established when the plans of the municipality emerged. Three stakeholders, the residents' committee, Woongoed Zeist and the municipality of Zeist together decide to whom houses, trailers and pitches are assigned. Professionals underline this important role of the residents' committee, which enables them to introduce plans and other issues to inhabitants, through their own people. A civil servant of Zeist states that the resident's committee was used to inform other inhabitants and sometimes push inhabitants here and there to cooperate.

“When there was a plan, we first went to discuss it with them [residents' committee] for their reaction, you know, we've done that with everything. We have said from the outset that consultation with them does not automatically mean that everyone agreed, but in reality, we've noticed that when we had reached consensus with them, we would never get much difficulty from other people.” (Civil servant)

Community cohesion and social control

Many of the members of the resident's committee resemble the larger families on Beukbergen. This also entails that they are very informed on the social life on Beukbergen. The strong social cohesion is confirmed by all professionals spoken interviewed. They mainly see advantages of this in their work. A civil servant of Woongod states that inhabitants keep an eye on each other and address each other about their behaviour. But at the same time a civil servant of the municipality of Zeist states the following:

"Look, they would never, they will never turn to the municipality and say, 'I live on number 10 and my neighbour of number 14 is a bastard or does things that aren't allowed'. That will never happen. But that happens in other neighbourhoods. And that's what I mean, when safety is concerned, when there are problems, nuisance et cetera. "(Civil servant)

But also, for that civil servant, the advantages of the social cohesion outweigh the disadvantages, as long as it wouldn't compromise the goals for Beukbergen.

Reputation and prejudice

Professionals are aware of the reputation that trailer parks and their inhabitants have. One civil servant often presents to other municipalities and governments about Beukbergen. He is very much aware of the image that trailer parks have in regular society.

"Whoever you speak about it, citizens or a utility company or the police, everyone has, you know, images based on media or things they have heard, and those images are often very exaggerated and skewed and this leads to, you know, convulsive traits in people, that they are afraid to go there and that is actually really weird." (Civil servant)

Another civil servant also sees this in new colleagues who first visit Beukbergen. He states they have certain expectations, of lots of scrap companies, clutter everywhere and the feeling that is a no-go area.

"When I bring new colleagues and I tell them we go to Beukbergen, a trailer park, the biggest in Europa, they go 'Really? Can we just go there? Nothing will happen?' and then I say, 'I go there daily, nothing wrong.'. Yeah and once they been there, they say 'gosh it's nice here!'" (Civil servant)

The mayor of Zeist felt that need to work around the reputation of trailer parks and the prejudice that exists. He states that the municipality of Zeist deliberately did not focus on criminality and safety, to keep the option for conversation open. A civil servant from the municipality confirms this approach. It relates to seeing Beukbergen as a normal neighbourhood of Zeist.

"We didn't look at safety and nuisance at all, that has never been a reason for us to do something, you know. We actually approached it that they are normal inhabitants of the municipality and in every neighbourhood you have citizens who you don't like as much or who are up to no good, so those people are undoubtedly also on Beukbergen, but that has never been part of the task that we had there, or how we

look at those people. We mainly approached it as a neighbourhood of Zeist in need of an overhaul, where the municipality hadn't been for years and also looked at a bit strangely, and on which the municipality had turned its back. We thought that wasn't right and that something had to change, so I never really delved into the things those people did, you know.” (Civil servant)

5.3.4|The role of trust

In the interviews, professionals have been asked about their assessment of trust between themselves and inhabitants of Beukbergen. They recognize that the trust-relationship between inhabitants of Beukbergen and professionals of organisations like the municipality and housing association has been under pressure in the past. One civil servant relates this to certain prejudice that exists.

“From society in general there are certain prejudices, not only about inhabitants of Beukbergen, but also about trailer park inhabitants in general, and also the other way around you know, from the past there is less trust. Civil servants were afraid to go to Beukbergen and people from Beukbergen didn't trust the civil servant.” (Civil servant)

As mentioned before, the contact between inhabitants and professionals and organisations was very minimal before things started to turn around some 10-12 years ago. Professionals feel that inhabitants didn't really believe that anything would change, and they experienced that in the contact with inhabitants, especially with older inhabitants. They state that inhabitants on the one hand are happy with their freedom and ability to do things the way they please, because that has been their way of life for years, but at the same are left to their own devices.

“You notice that in all the agreements you make with people that plays a role in the background, that they just don't believe that the municipality really is going to do something for them, because that also never happened in the past.” (Civil servant)

Also, in their daily work right now on Beukbergen, civil servants experience degrees of distrust in the contact with inhabitants. Observations of meetings between civil servants and inhabitants give evidence that trust or distrust sometimes appears between the lines and is not directly named but can be picked up on in conversation. Civil servants state that inhabitants sometimes feel as if they are being watched and monitored too much. Professionals who are directly involved with inhabitants are constantly looking for balance between the formal rules, frameworks and guidelines that have been set up by organisations and on the other hand the needs and wishes of inhabitants. They need to be able to offer customized solutions to individuals, but at the same time must be careful with that because that might cause feelings of unequal treatment among inhabitants.

I: How do you think they look at organisations like the municipality?

R: Very suspicious, very suspicious. Yes, they really have that feeling.

I: Even now, after all these years?

R: It's getting a little less, it's really getting less. But ehm, the suspicion remains. Especially when police and law enforcement are involved." (Civil servant of Woongoed)

5.3.5 | Conclusions on the role of professionals

Professionals of Beukbergen realize that distrust is still an issue with inhabitants. In the conversations they stated that it takes a different mindset to convince inhabitants of their good intentions. They need to be present and get to know inhabitants. Go into conversation with them and be open. About what they want and what they expect, without being patronizing.

One professional recalls the time when he just started working on Beukbergen.

"In the beginning, it was mainly eh, I wanted to get to know these people, so I was walking around a lot. And then people would approach me and say something like 'are you looking for something'? And then I would say 'no, I'm not looking for something, I'm just doing my job, being present'. But they really think you are looking for something. But if someone approaches me like that, that makes me think like, do you have something to hide? So, then I'll start a conversation, because that makes me curious of course." (Civil servant Woongoed)

Treating people with respect and accepting their norms and values together with being clear in communication is seen as an important starting point for improvement of contact. Also, part of that is making inhabitants aware of the mutual challenge inhabitants and professionals have.

6 | Conclusions and discussion

This research, as stated in the introduction, provides an exploration of perceptions of liveability, municipal interventions and trust on trailer parks. At first glance they might seem single concepts, but as the previous chapter has shown, some relationships can be found, either positive or negative. In this final chapter, a further exploration of the relationships will be given, connected to the theoretical assumptions of chapter 3. The research questions composed in the introduction will be answered. In the first paragraph, the answers to the sub-questions will be given, which will lead together to the answering of the main question. In the second paragraph, the discussion, a theoretical and methodological reflection will be given and some recommendations for further research. Finally, recommendations for professionals involved with trailer parks will be given, based on what is found in this research.

6.1 | Answering research questions

How do municipal interventions (restructuring and normalisation) relate to perceptions of liveability of inhabitants on trailer park Beukbergen?

The restructuring of Beukbergen has had an influence on the life of inhabitants of Beukbergen and therefore also on the way they perceive their living environment. If perceptions of liveability measure the fit of the living environment to the needs and wishes of inhabitants (Van de Valk & Musterd, 1998; Van Dorst, 2005), has the restructuring of Beukbergen led to a better fit? On the one hand, this question can be answered with yes. The first mechanism as stated by Wittebrood & Van Dijk (2007) is found for Beukbergen. By changing the public space of Beukbergen, safety has improved because of the larger pitches and new lighting, and all inhabitants now have access to amenities like sewerage and proper roads. The restructuring also worked as an incentive for inhabitants to contribute to the living environment themselves, by maintaining their own pitch, with a few exceptions. It is possible that inhabitants feel more taken seriously by the municipality, but the community cohesion on Beukbergen can also play a role (Blokland, 2009)

The second mechanism of Wittebrood & Van Dijk (2007) is not applicable on Beukbergen. The restructuring has not meant a change in population composition. But the restructuring did offer the opportunity to inhabitants to buy their pitch and build stone houses, which according to inhabitants has contributed to the overall appeal of the trailer park. The third mechanism of Wittebrood & Van Dijk (2007) focusses on social contact. The community cohesion of Beukbergen was already strong before the restructuring, it was a way of coping with social exclusion for inhabitants (Kearns & Forrest, 2000). For some, the community cohesion decreased a bit because of the increase in size of Beukbergen. For others, community cohesion will always remain the same, regardless of any changes. Whether the strong community cohesion leads to a decrease in unwanted behaviour is not clear, professionals mention inhabitants wouldn't betray other inhabitants, and inhabitants don't address each other on it.

The reputation of trailer parks in the Netherlands has been under strain. But whether the restructuring of Beukbergen had a positive influence on its reputation, does not become

clear. An increase in visitors is notable, which could be an indication of change. The media reporting on Beukbergen has been generally positive for Beukbergen, which could be of influence (Aghabeigi & Van Nes, 2015).

The municipality of Zeist had set the goal to transform Beukbergen into a normal neighbourhood of Zeist, with a special character. What has become clear of chapter 5 is that the municipality of Zeist focused on normalising Beukbergen, by addressing the physical aspects of the trailer park, to be equal to other neighbourhoods of Zeist. This is different from the normalising goals mentioned in the VROM report of 2006, which focus on assimilating inhabitants in regular Dutch society. But inhabitants feel like, because of this normalising intervention, that the more traditional aspects of a trailer park are vanishing. Interesting to note, is that this is not necessarily perceived as negative or positive, but more as part of the deal and an effect of the restructuring and also as something in line with trends in the rest of society (more individualised). So, even though the municipal goal of normalisation was focused on physical aspects, indirectly the municipality links its own policy priorities and interventions with certain ideas of what is 'normal' and influence behaviour of subjects, in this case, inhabitants of a trailer park (Flint & Rowlands, 2003). This was confirmed by a statement of a professional in paragraph 5.3.2., who mentions that part of the normalising approach is addressing the behaviour of inhabitants.

How do municipal interventions (restructuring and normalization) relate to trust on trailer park Beukbergen?

The trust relationship between inhabitants of Beukbergen and professionals and organisations know its ups and downs. Their expectations are shaped through events and experiences in the past, like the attempt of the municipality and the province to downsize Beukbergen into smaller camps (De Vries et al. 2013). During and after the restructuring, there is more contact between inhabitants and professionals and organisations than ever before. These new interactions lead to new experiences of inhabitant's with professionals and organisations (De Vries et al. 2013), which can have a positive and sometimes negative effect on trust in professionals and organisations, as shown in chapter 5. These new experiences on their turn affect the expectations of inhabitants and of professionals. The municipality and Woongod Zeist expect inhabitants to maintain their living environment, inhabitants expect the organisations to treat them fairly. These expectations seem reasonable, but sometimes there is friction, as shown in chapter 5. This friction has to do with the uncertainty that the expectations of both parties will be met (Klijn, Edelenbos & Steijn, 2010). When expectations are not met, or when outcomes are negative, for one of the parties, this can lead to distrust. The signing of contracts with inhabitants was an important part of the restructuring. For some inhabitants, this was perceived as an unpredictable and risky time, because they were stuck with a false contract. This situation has led to distrust of some inhabitants in institutional arrangements, in this case in the contracts signed with the municipality and Woongod Zeist during the restructuring (Edelenbos & Eshuis, 2012).

At the same time, the results of this research show that most inhabitants trust individual professionals who were involved in the restructuring, or who work on Beukbergen now. What is striking though, is that some inhabitants show signs of trust in individual professionals, while simultaneously show signs of distrust in organisations, like the municipality. It appears that those types of objects of trust as defined by Edelenbos and Eshuis (2012), can coexist, in which one is perceived as trustworthy and the other one is not, even though they are essentially one and the same object. Therefore, it cannot be concluded that positive experiences with and trust in professionals, automatically leads to trust in organisations which these professionals represent.

As concluded before, the intervention to normalise Beukbergen physically, also has social implications for the inhabitants of Beukbergen, in the sense that the municipality and Woongloed decide what is to be perceived as 'normal' (Flint & Rowland, 2003). Some inhabitants contest this, because they think the situation of inhabitants of Beukbergen can't be equated with the rest of society. This has led to distrust in the municipality, because inhabitants feel like the municipality does not take their welfare seriously (Yang, 2006).

To what extent exists a relationship between perceptions of liveability of inhabitants and trust on trailer park Beukbergen?

A positive relationship between perceptions of liveability exists indirectly through the restructuring. The restructuring of Beukbergen has resulted in an increase in liveability and in trust, for some inhabitants.

Even though the perceptions of liveability of Beukbergen have improved for inhabitants, some remain with feelings of uncertainty. This could be related to the fact that the municipality of Zeist does not have a clearly defined vision for the future of Beukbergen, and with the uncertain future for trailer park inhabitants in general. Therefore, expectations between inhabitants and professionals and organisations for the future are not clear and this can influence feelings of trust (De Vries et al. 2013). The uncertainty is also noticeable with inhabitants who are critical of the way rental contracts of pitches with Woongloed are formalized. They feel this creates risky situations for their kids in the future (Klijn, Edelenbos & Steijn, 2010). They do not know what to expect of the municipality on this issue and their trust is already compromised by experiences in the past (Cars et al. (2002).

Feelings of uncertainty of inhabitants also relate to a broader context than only what happens on Beukbergen. Inhabitants interviewed state for example that it is still very difficult for trailer park inhabitants to get a mortgage. Those experiences are considered and interpreted in certain ways. Those interpretations and considerations also influence new opportunities to trust or not (De Vries et al. 2013).

“What is the relationship between municipal interventions, perceptions of liveability of trailer park inhabitants and trust in professionals and organisations on trailer parks in the Netherlands?”

The general conclusion of this research is that the concepts researched, are all related in the context of trailer park Beukbergen. Because of the explorative nature of this research, the direction of the relationships was not clear from the outset, although there were some assumptions based on theoretical findings of chapter 3. The answers of the sub-questions show that the relationships between the concepts are sometimes positive and sometimes negative. One conclusion that is applicable to all three concepts, is that spatial improvements only explain a part of the improved perceptions of inhabitants of Beukbergen. The perceptions of inhabitants on the changes that have taken place on Beukbergen are greatly influenced by the contact, communication and relationships they have had with (professionals of) the municipality of Zeist and Woongod Zeist, whether positive or negative. For professionals, a tension between equal treatment and individual customization remains in the contact with inhabitants.

In the interviews, inhabitants and professionals underlined the special position of Beukbergen in relation to other trailer parks in the Netherlands. They also stated that it is difficult to compare a large trailer park like Beukbergen with smaller camps, that prevail in the Netherlands, because their context and issues are so different. Inhabitants stated that for them, remaining one large camp at the time of de-concentration, has been very important. Families could stay together, and community cohesion was kept intact, which kept minds of people at ease and made Beukbergen a progressive camp, without noteworthy incidents throughout the years (Sluiter, 2011).

Nevertheless, *the approach*, the municipality and Woongod had for Beukbergen is praised by inhabitants and professionals and can serve as an example for other municipalities dealing with trailer parks in the Netherlands.

6.2 | Discussion

6.2.1 | Recommendations for further research

Because the scope of scientific research is often limited by factors such as time and budget, some aspects remain unresearched. This is also true for this research and therefore, several recommendations can be given for further scientific research about trailer parks in the Netherlands.

Local residents

The central case of this research is Beukbergen in the municipality of Zeist. Beukbergen has a rather unique geographical location because there are no direct neighbours to it. Therefore, the viewpoints of local residents are not included in this research. However, many other trailer parks are situated in the proximity of local residents, which can lead to tensions between local residents and trailer park inhabitants. This proximity might therefore have an influence on the concepts used in this research for trailer parks.

Places of conflict

Beukbergen has been defined as a positive exception and a white raven, when it comes to problems related to trailer parks. This also makes it a unique case. But to put the results of this research into contrast, research on trailer parks who have an accumulation of problems, tense relationships between organisations and inhabitants or a poor living environment could be done. This could lead to a more wholesome understanding of trailer parks in the Netherlands.

An analysis of the framing and imaging of trailer parks in the Netherlands

The imaging of trailer parks is shortly discussed in this research but is expected to play a large role in the functioning of other trailer parks, because it also affects the opinions for example civil servants have of trailer parks, and how they are dealing with it. Therefore, further research on this is necessary. The images that people have about trailer parks is often based on a few incidents people have heard about. But as a civil servant of BZK states:

“Yes, I think that trailer park inhabitants in the Netherland are very much dealing with an image problem. A stigma. And the good ones suffer of the behaviour of the bad ones, because there are undoubtedly trailer park inhabitants that make their money in the illegal sector, but that also happens in the rest of the Netherlands. [...] But this reflects very much on others” (Civil servant BZK, personal communication, 23 July 2019)

It is interesting to note that almost every participant in this research, professional and inhabitant, brought up the same example, of the weed plantation on the trailer park. When one of those is discovered on a trailer park, the location is always explicitly mentioned, as if every inhabitant was involved, while in regular neighbourhoods, other families or houses in the same street are not brought up. This also influences behaviour:

“With trailer parks, they do think like that, which makes that municipalities or the police or OM thinks, something is going on with one or two trailers, we’re going to screen the whole camp. In regular streets that never happens, screening of the whole street because of one incident. And that’s the point”. (Civil servant BZK, personal communication, 23 July 2019)

6.2.2 | Theoretical and methodological reflection

In this paragraph, the considerations made for this research will be reflected on. The lack of scientific research on trailer parks in the Netherlands, proved a challenge in defining the scope of the research, theoretically as well as methodologically. The research combines three individual concepts and explored their relationship in the context of trailer parks. At the start of the research, a theoretical scope was defined. To come to that scope, the internal motivation of the researcher for this research was evaluated. What do I want to know? Why do I want to know it? How am I going to research what I want to know? When considering these questions, the main argument for the research became visible, which was two-folded: Giving a voice to a group in society, who are hardly being heard and exploring the unique case of Beukbergen in Zeist, were nothing seems to be amiss, in contrast to other trailer parks in the Netherlands. So, the research had to be about opinions, about viewpoints, about possible changes in them, about what is positive and what could have

gone different. And, what can be learned from this case. At first, two concepts were considered of value for this research: municipal interventions, because those had been happening on Beukbergen for the last 10 years and perceptions of liveability. Research on the concept of liveability was abundant and knowledge on liveability readily available with colleagues of the researchers' internship at RIGO. When diving into the history and context of trailer parks in general and Beukbergen specifically, it became clear that contact between trailer park inhabitants and professionals of organisations has been of importance in the progress of the process, and trust seemed to be an issue. Researching trust is never easy, because it is a concept that can change constantly and is very much subject to personal situations and context. But it proved to be a vital part of this research, to put the results of the other concepts into perspective and dig a little deeper than just describing what has happened and how people feel about that.

The use of the three concepts has proved fruitful for this research, but also contribute to the repeatability of this research. They have a theoretical and academic base, but can be adapted to different contexts, because they also derive their value and meaning from what is going on in society and depict therefore considerations on what is important (Brown in Van Kamp et al. 2003).

This research had an explorative nature and therefore made use of a qualitative approach, which involved interviews and observations. Because of this, only a limited number of respondents have been researched, which is a weakness of this research. Quantitative research on the subject could provide a broader insight, with more differentiation in the results. But at the same time, this would make it difficult to grasp feeling and experiences effectively. As stated in chapter 4, it took time for the researcher to come in contact with inhabitants to do interviews with, and rejections on participation also happened. Time management for this research could have been better, because the target audience proved not so easily to reach, action earlier on in the research process could have eased time pressure.

6.2.3 | Recommendations for professionals involved with trailer parks

In the introduction it was stated that, when this research would provide insights in issues that could be useful for other municipalities involved with trailer parks, some recommendations would be formulated. The results of the research have provided the following recommendations below.

- The conclusions of this research show that direct contact of professionals with inhabitants is necessary to establish a trust relationship. Building contact and trust takes time but is vital in the acceptance of plans for this particular target group.
- Clear communication and dialogue with inhabitants on what can and can't be done gives people the feeling they are being heard, even when it concerns bad news. Shifting of issues with inhabitants on colleagues or within the organisation does not contribute to the trust people have.
- Invest time in discovering what inhabitants find important and move beyond prejudices. This asks for a change in mindset: the mutual goal must become clear and expressed to inhabitants.

- An ad hoc approach proved fruitful for Beukbergen, because changes in plans remained possible in this way. But to take away some of the uncertainty inhabitants will have, it is important to communicate about every step and to be transparent on what the set goals are, also when changes take place.
- Creating a shared future vision can help inhabitants envision what their living environment might look like in some time and this can work reassuring and provides an insight in what can be expected. This can increase the feelings of trust.
- Subsequently, it is important that agreements made are met and when something obstructs agreements, it is clearly communicated why. Nothing puts a strain on trust as much as promises that are not kept without a clear explanation why not.
- It is important that knowledge on trailer parks and their inhabitants is disseminated within organisations and across professionals. Knowledge about what is going on helps to reduce prejudices and to see inhabitants as individuals.
- Don't over- and underestimate the ability of inhabitants to read contracts. Be transparent about what is in it and guide people who have trouble reading and writing.
- Inhabitants of this research underline that they would recommend a restructuring approach for all trailer parks in the Netherlands. A quote from an inhabitant catches this best: *"You can see here what new streets, new sidewalks, what that does, to the appeal. Because in the end we're just a regular neighbourhood. In cities and villages all neighbourhoods are maintained right? But on trailer parks, 9 out of 10 times this doesn't happen."*

8 | Literature

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9 | Appendix

9.1 | VROM policy framework

Variant 1	Variant 2	Variant 3	Variant 4	Variant 5
<p><i>Nuloptie:</i> The demand for pitches for trailer parks will not be met. Passive policy: removing vacant pitches. Active policy: House inhabitants in 'normal' housing. Possible reasons for this policy: trailers are perceived as a too expensive and ground-extensive living form; regulation is too expensive.</p>	<p><i>Afbouwbeleid:</i> Existing camps will be split up and downsized, to camps with few pitches. It can be decided to not rent out new trailers or to sell on current rented <i>trailers</i>. The street plan will be the same as in other neighbourhoods. Municipalities can stimulate changing the development plan to allowing the built of normal houses on trailer pitches. Possible reasons for this policy: a gradual transition to regular forms of living.</p>	<p><i>Woonvisiebeleid:</i> Living on a trailer park is embedded in the regular municipal policy processes concerning living and is therefore not treated as a specific policy topic. Trailer park inhabitants are treated equally as other Dutch citizens looking for a house and must compete with them. Development plan might permit that trailers can also be realized on other <i>non-trailer park</i> locations. Possible reasons for this policy: the preservation of alternative forms of living in a municipality.</p>	<p><i>Vraaggericht specifiek beleid:</i> The municipality can measure the need for alternative forms of housing, for example living on a trailer park or other forms like 'residential group' type of living or business locations with the opportunity to live in a trailer. Possible reasons for this type of policy: a specific, local situation, for example many business locations with accommodation for fairground companies or existing good relationships with the residents.</p>	<p><i>Neutraal beleid:</i> Municipalities can choose to not formulate specific policy, but to react on request for a pitch on a trailer park depending on the situation. Possible reasons for this policy: there is no reason to develop policy, for example because there are no or hardly any trailers in a municipality or because there are no problems at all.</p>

9.2 | Topic list professionals

9.2.1 | Topic list civil servant involved with restructuring

Inleiding

- Voorstellen + achtergrond
- Korte uitleg scriptie Roos
- Rol en betrokkenheid binnen de gemeente Zeist en bij Beukbergen

Beleidsvorming: in dit deel wil ik graag bespreken welke keuzes de gemeente heeft gemaakt voor Beukbergen en wat de aanleidingen en doelen van die keuzes waren.

- Hoe was de situatie op Beukbergen voor de gemeentelijke interventies?
- Wat is de aanleiding geweest voor het aanpakken van Beukbergen?
- Zoals gezegd was het een bewuste keuze om nauwelijks beleid te maken, waarom?
- Wat is precies de rol geweest van de herinrichting? Wat was het doel ervan?
- Er is ruimte gegeven voor het vergroten van het kamp, terwijl in veel gemeenten in de rest van Nederland een uitsterf beleid werd gevoerd. Wat is de reden geweest voor die keuze?
- In het raadsbesluit wordt gesproken van normalisatie, wat wordt daarmee precies bedoeld en waarom is daarvoor gekozen?
- Welke rol speelde/speelt het bestemmingsplan?
- Wat was de rol van Woonwagenschap Regio Zeist?

Relaties met betrokkenen: in dit deel wil ik graag bespreken wat de invloed is geweest van relaties met andere betrokkenen en hoe die relaties tot stand zijn gekomen.

- Hoe was de relatie tussen de gemeente en de bewoners van Beukbergen voor de gemeentelijke interventies?
- Welke rol hebben bewoners gespeeld in het proces van herinrichting en vergroting van het kamp? En wat was de rol van de bewonerscommissie?
- Hoe is de relatie met bewoners nu?
- Welke rol heeft woningcorporatie Woongoed gespeeld bij het aanpakken van Beukbergen?
- Hebben omwonenden nog een rol gespeeld of invloed gehad?
- Is er contact geweest met andere gemeenten m.b.t. Beukbergen?

Resultaten: in dit deel wil ik graag bespreken wat de gemeentelijke interventies precies hebben opgeleverd en of bereikt is wat voor ogen was vanuit de gemeente bezien.

- Zijn er verbeteringen in leefbaarheid zichtbaar? Bijvoorbeeld veiligheid, openbare ruimte.
- Welke successen zijn behaald?
- Wat kan er beter/had beter gekund in het proces?
- Wat zijn plannen voor de toekomst?
- Wat kunnen andere gemeenten leren van Beukbergen?

9.2.2 | Topic list mayor of Zeist

Inleiding

- Voorstellen + achtergrond
- Korte uitleg scriptie Roos
- Betrokkenheid van Koos Janssen bij woonwagencentrum Beukbergen

Beleidsvorming: in dit deel wil ik graag bespreken welke keuzes de gemeente heeft gemaakt voor Beukbergen en wat de aanleidingen en doelen van die keuzes waren.

- Hoe was de situatie op Beukbergen voor de gemeentelijke interventies?
- Wat is de directe aanleiding geweest voor het aanpakken van Beukbergen?
- Van [Ambtenaar] heb ik begrepen dat het een bewuste keuze was om nauwelijks beleid te maken, waarom was dat zo?
- Er is ruimte gegeven voor het vergroten van het kamp, terwijl in veel gemeenten in de rest van Nederland een uitsterf beleid werd gevoerd. Wat is de reden geweest voor die keuze?
- In het raadsbesluit wordt gesproken van normalisatie, wat wordt daarmee precies bedoeld en waarom is daarvoor gekozen?
- Waarom is ervoor gekozen om bedrijven niet langer toe te staan op Beukbergen? Of zijn er uitzonderingen?

Relaties met betrokkenen: in dit deel wil ik graag bespreken wat de invloed is geweest van relaties met andere betrokkenen en hoe die relaties tot stand zijn gekomen.

- Hoe was de relatie tussen de gemeente en de bewoners van Beukbergen voor de gemeentelijke interventies?
- Merkte u argwaan/scepticisme bij bewoners bij het eerste contact?
- Wat heeft de gemeente gedaan om de relatie met bewoners te versterken/verbeteren?
- Welke rol hebben bewoners gespeeld in het proces van herinrichting en vergroting van het kamp? En wat was de rol van de bewonerscommissie?
- Hoe is het contact nu met bewoners en de bewonerscommissie? En wie onderhoudt dat contact?
- Wat is de rol van Woongoed Zeist (geweest)?

Resultaten: in dit deel wil ik graag bespreken wat de gemeentelijke interventies precies hebben opgeleverd en of bereikt is wat voor ogen was vanuit de gemeente bezien.

- Wie doet nu het beheer van Beukbergen?
- Is er draagvlak voor Beukbergen binnen de ambtelijke organisatie van de gemeente Zeist?
- Kunt u iets zeggen over de leefbaarheid op het centrum?
- Welke successen zijn behaald?
- Wat kan er beter/had beter gekund in het proces?
- Wat zijn plannen voor de toekomst?
- Wat kunnen andere gemeenten leren van Beukbergen?

9.2.3 | Topic list professionals working on Beukbergen

Topiclist Woongoed Zeist

- Achtergrond en rol binnen Woongoed Zeist
 - Ervaring met woonwagencampen/woonwagenebewoners?
 - Algemene rol van Woongoed Zeist
- Wat kom je in je dagelijkse werk tegen op Beukbergen: voorbeelden
- Hoe is het contact met bewoners? Hoe beoordeel je het vertrouwen tussen bewoners en professionals? Op welke manieren positief/negatief?
- Hoe denk je dat bewoners tegen instanties zoals gemeente/corporatie etc. aankijken? En wat merk je daarvan?
- Wat is het doel van het spreekuur? Vooral voor huurders van Woongoed of ook andere mensen?
- Welke verschillen en overeenkomsten merk je tussen een wijk als Beukbergen en andere wijken waar Woongoed Zeist actief is?
- Er is uiteraard een grote herinrichting van Beukbergen geweest, merk je bij bewoners dat ze daar tevreden over zijn? Zo niet, over wat voor dingen zijn ze dan niet tevreden?
- Zijn bewoners tevreden met hun woning? Waarom wel/niet?
- Het is een hechte gemeenschap, op welke manieren maakt dat jullie werk makkelijker/lastiger?

Topiclist Gemeente Zeist

- Achtergrond en rol binnen gemeente Zeist
 - Ervaring met woonwagencampen/woonwagenebewoners?
 - Wijkmanager
- Wat kom je in je dagelijkse werk tegen op Beukbergen: voorbeelden
- Hoe is het contact met bewoners? Is er sprake van vertrouwen? Op welke manieren wel/niet?
- Hoe denk je dat bewoners tegen instanties zoals gemeente/corporatie etc. aankijken? En wat merk je daarvan?
- Wat is het doel van het spreekuur?
- Welke verschillen en overeenkomsten merk je tussen een wijk als Beukbergen en andere wijken in Zeist waar je als wijkmanager actief bent?
- Er is uiteraard een grote herinrichting van Beukbergen geweest, merk je bij bewoners dat ze daar tevreden over zijn? Zo niet, over wat voor dingen zijn ze dan niet tevreden?
- Zijn bewoners tevreden met hun woning? Waarom wel/niet?
- Het is een hechte gemeenschap, op welke manieren maakt dat jullie werk makkelijker/lastiger?

9.3 | Topic list inhabitants

Topic list interviews bewoners

- Hoe lang woont u al op Beukbergen?
- Hoe was de situatie vroeger op Beukbergen?
- Wat vindt u van alle veranderingen die de afgelopen jaren hebben plaats gevonden?
- Waar bent u wel en niet tevreden over?
- Hoe is het contact met uw burens? En met andere bewoners? Is dat verbeterd of verslechterd?
- In welke opzichten vindt u dat de veiligheid is veranderd de afgelopen jaren?
- In welke opzichten vindt u dat leefomgeving is veranderd de afgelopen jaren?
- Wat is het effect geweest van de herinrichting op uw wagen? Heeft u moeten verplaatsen? Wat vond u daarvan?
- Wat vindt u van de rol van de gemeente bij de veranderingen? Wat is positief en wat is negatief?
- Wat vindt u van de rol van de woningcorporatie bij de veranderingen? Wat is positief en wat is negatief?
- Hoe betrouwbaar vindt u de gemeente (en de woningcorporatie, wanneer van toepassing)?
- Is uw vertrouwen veranderd in de afgelopen jaren?
- Denkt u dat mensen na de veranderingen een ander beeld hebben over Beukbergen? Is dat positief?
- Hoe denkt u over de toekomst van Beukbergen? En eventueel die van andere woonwagencenters? Vindt u Beukbergen een voorbeeld?

9.4 | Topic list civil servant BZK

Inleiding

- Voorstellen + achtergrond
- Korte uitleg scriptie Roos
- Rol Frenk bij BZK en beleidskader

Topiclist

- Aanleiding opstellen beleidskader (Europees hof rechten van de mens en Ombudsman)
- Doel van het beleidskader
- Hoe is het kader opgesteld? Wie waren er betrokken? Hoe is bepaald wat er in kwam?
- Rol van overheid m.b.t. woonwagencenters
- Rol van gemeenten m.b.t. woonwagencenters:
 - Gaan gemeenten gecontroleerd worden? Hoe bindend is het kader?
- Rol van bewoners
- Toekomst van woonwagencenters en bewoners

9.5 | Code tree Nvivo

Name	Files	References	
Benadering Beukbergen door organisaties		2	7
Aanleiding aanpakken Beukbergen		2	7
Beheer vroeger		1	2
Brandveiligheid		2	3
Rol burgemeester		2	3
Situatie voor het aanpakken		3	5
Vliegbasis		2	2
Wachtlijst vroeger		1	1
Ad hoc beslissingen nemen		1	1
Beheer Beukbergen		1	1
Relatie WoonGoed en Gemeente Zeist		1	1
Rol corporatie		3	9
Rol gemeente		3	3
Spreekuur		1	1
Wijkmanager		1	4
Financiële kaders		1	1
Keuzes bieden		2	3
Positieve beeldvorming		1	2
Samen wonen		2	2
Waarden vanuit de gemeente		1	2
Droom van bewoners		1	2
Gemeenschappelijkheid creëren		1	2
Omdenken		1	2
Waarde gerechtigheid		1	2
Waarde veiligheid		1	1
Herstructurering		6	14
Overlast van de herinrichting		3	4
Rol bewonerscommissie		1	5
Successen		3	7
Uitbreiding- meer standplaatsen		2	3
Verbeterpunten		5	7
Verplaatsingen woonwagens		4	6
Voor de herstructurering		4	9

(Continues on next page)

Name	Files	References	
Leefbaarheid		0	0
Beeldvorming		10	25
Positie van woonwagenebewoners		4	9
Cohesie van de gemeenschap		8	23
Gemeenschap vroeger		4	12
Kinderen van Beukbergen		5	8
Sociale veiligheid		4	6
Fysieke leefomgeving		5	10
Veiligheid		4	4
Zelf netjes houden		3	8
Wagens en woningen		7	12
Wachtlĳst		5	7
Nationale context		0	0
Andere gemeenten		6	13
Aanbevelingen		1	1
Beleidskader VNG		1	3
Normalisatie		3	6
Toekomst van Beukbergen		5	8
Wĳk van Zeist		4	7
Vertrouwen		2	4
Aanwezigheid van professionals op Beukbergen		4	17
Contact bewoners en professionals		9	31
Vertrouwen bewoners		6	9
Vertrouwen professionals		2	6
Wantrouwen bewoners		4	25