

## Defining Justice by playing a Social Game

A qualitative research paper on how the social game active individuals in the Indische Buurt in Amsterdam play regarding their social life influences their conceptions of justice.

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## **Abstract**

This research uses a qualitative ethnographic research design to describe how the social position of active individuals in the Indische Buurt in Amsterdam shapes their conceptions of justice. By looking at conceptions of social justice in a specific social setting, this research attempts to create a broader understanding of the interaction between a person's sense of justice and their environment. The environment of individuals is shaped by and shapes their social position. Following Douglas' Cultural Theory, this research finds that active individuals who share similar social positions consequently share similar ideas about the division of goods, resources and burdens. Active individuals in the Indische Buurt express how the social game following their social environment promotes specific personal ideas about social justice. However, whereas these social games shape contradictory conceptions of justice, active individuals in the Indische Buurt in Amsterdam share the purpose of improving liveability in the neighbourhood which creates an overarching identity where personal ideas of justice are set aside for the greater good.

## Introduction

*“It [life in society] is actually an unfair game. [...] Yes, or at least the rules of the game ensure that in many cases you simply have the same losers and then it is no longer a fair game.” – 19*

Statements such as the one above describe how people experience certain things, in this case social life in general, to be unfair. To point out injustices seems easy, especially when people compare their situation to the situation of others or situations in the past. This comparison develops a sense of entitlement. When their situation does not meet their expectations, people experience discomfort and a feeling of injustice. This is called relative deprivation (Bal & van den Bos, 2022). Where many people can relate to the feeling that something is not fair, what would be fair is often challenging to describe. After all, there are many things to consider when deciding what is fair. Issues regarding who is deserving of what and how this should be achieved are central issues in social justice (Yerkes & Bal, 2021). Issues of social justice are found throughout society and are widely researched. The conceptions of justice of individuals are shaped by and shape these issues (Douglas, 1982). Even on a macro-level, citizens' conceptions of justice are shaped by and shape a society's institutional design. Ideas about who is deserving of what and who should bear what burdens are translated into social reality (Liebig & Sauer, 2016). For example, tax systems and welfare institutions reallocate income and wealth according to the rules and practices within these institutions. These rules and practices reflect conceptions of justice at the collective or societal level (Liebig & Sauer, 2016). Similarly, within social environments, conceptions of justice are not self-contained. Research by Homans (1953) shows that justice perceptions and ideas are shaped by and shape social interactions of individuals in their social environments (Liebig & Sauer, 2016).

This paper follows the notion that individuals find themselves in a specific social position that shapes their social environment (Douglas, 1982). In some societies, changing positions is more easily done than in others. An example of a society in which it is difficult to change position is the caste system which is “a complex social structure wherein social roles like one's profession are ‘hereditary,’ resulting in restricted social mobility and fixed status hierarchies” (Sankaran, Sekerdej & von Hecker, 2017, p.1). Even though not as extreme as this example, Dutch society also relates different opportunities and restrictions; resources such as status, power, and prestige; and specific interests to different positions (Liebig & Sauer).

Someone's position in society, according to d'Anjou et al. (1995, p. 357), "affects how people justify allocation rules or criteria" (Liebig & Sauer, 2016).

d'Anjou et al. (1995) show that individuals at higher social levels have other ideas about fair distribution of resources and burdens compared to individuals at the bottom social level. This paper discusses the social positions of active individuals in the Indische Buurt (IB) in Amsterdam in relation to their conceptions of social justice. According to the Amsterdam municipality website (2022), "The Indische Buurt has been a pioneer in getting business and resident groups involved in the community for many years. Together with the District and housing associations, they collectively tackle urban planning and social issues." The term 'active individuals' is used in this paper to describe individuals who are actively involved in the community of the IB. Among them are owners, employers and volunteers of neighbourhood initiatives. They are not necessarily residents of the IB but are committed to improving the neighbourhood and the quality of life of its residents and spend most of their time pursuing this goal. In line with research of Van den Brink et al. (2012) on Best Persons in the IB, active individuals are essential key players in building a bridge between the municipality and residents. They are involved with their social environment and regularly deal with social justice issues. This paper discusses the interaction between the social position of active individuals and their social justice conceptions by answering the following research question:

*How are the conceptions of justice of active individuals in the Indische Buurt in Amsterdam shaped by their position in society?*

To answer this question, this paper uses Mary Douglas' Cultural Theory which describes principles and practices of justice as social constructs (Harris, 2014). Douglas uses the strength of hierarchical and horizontal social structures, called grid and group, to describe four different social settings on a Cultural Map. According to their perceived grid and group strength, individuals find themselves in one of these social settings. In her theory, Douglas describes how different models of justice make sense to individuals within a particular social setting but can be interpreted differently within another social setting (Harris, 2014). According to Douglas (1982), this is because the social setting provides experiences and opportunities based on which individuals develop their views on justice. To answer the research question, data has been collected about the conceptions of social justice perceived by active individuals following their social setting. When individuals perceive a situation as fair or unfair, this results in attitudinal and behavioural reactions (Liebig & Sauer, 2016). Especially when social settings

ensure that several individuals in a social environment react similarly to unjust perceived situations, Hegtveldt and Isom (2014) state that this can influence the functioning of organisations, institutions and society as a whole (Liebig & Sauer).

Therefore, when answering the research question in Chapter 1 of this paper, Douglas' Cultural Theory and Harris' (2005) implementation of the Cultural Theory are used to describe the social position of active individuals in the IB. Chapter 2 describes the characteristics of the social setting that flow from active individuals' social position. Chapter 3 discusses the implications this social setting has on perceptions and experiences regarding conceptions of social justice. By looking at conceptions of social justice in a specific social setting, this research attempts to create a broader understanding of the interaction between individuals' sense of justice and their environment.

## **Method section**

This section describes the research design and methods used and the reasons for choosing them to answer the research question. Fellow junior researcher N. de Bakker and I used team ethnography to study the same people in their social environment. We both use the collected data to write a separate thesis with a different topic and research question (see also de Bakker, 2022 forthcoming). After discussing the research design and methods, the first paragraph discusses the advantages and disadvantages of our collaboration. The second paragraph elaborates on used data collection strategies, including our way of accessing the field. After that, the third paragraph elaborates on the characteristics of the participants. The conclusive paragraph discusses used methods of data analysis.

### *Research design and methods*

To answer the research question, I used ethnographic qualitative research methods. Using these methods enabled me to capture the participants' perspectives on their conceptions of justice within their social environment and its impact on their daily lives. Qualitative methods allow participants to describe the topics in their own words (Boeije, 2010). In addition, information obtained is not limited to specific questions or categories, making data rich and detailed (Boeije, 2010). This has enabled me to use the data to describe the social setting and experiences of the participants (Boeije, 2010). Ethnographic research methods have also allowed me to collect and use both verbal and non-verbal data by specifically using participatory research methods (Reason, 2006). The collection of non-verbal data was facilitated by working in a team. We created a much richer dataset than possible when working alone through continuous reflection and immediate discussion of collected data. This resulted in rich voice memos, which served as fieldnotes about all aspects of behaviour, emotion and interaction. This research, therefore, concerns an interpretive approach that provides insight into how reality is experienced (Green & Thorogood, 2004). Moreover, a feedback loop created personal growth and reflection during the data collection, which improved our methods and resulted in improved quality of data in follow-up collection moments. Important to realise is that by using participatory research methods, our presence in the field has influenced it. During the months we worked in the field, we became part of the environment in which we collected data. The Implications for this will be further discussed in the discussion section at the end of this paper.

### *Data collection*

To collect relevant data following a participatory approach we needed to create and maintain a multifaceted and relatively long relationship with, and in the natural environment of, the participants (Lofland,1995). Do so, this research has strongly relied on our gatekeeper in the IB. As a central and most beloved figure in the IB, he showed us the area, connected us with residents and active individuals, and gave us relevant background information. He also advised us on how to approach sensitive topics or specific active individuals. As a bonus, he arranged for us to have a workplace in his neighbourhood initiative, central in the IB, where we could casually meet residents and active individuals and conduct several of our interviews. His status reflected positively on us. Without him, I expect we would have experienced far more difficulty in gaining trust of our participants. They are unanimously fond of him and express their trust towards him.

We spent five months (January 2022 – June 2022) getting to know, connecting with, and observing residents and active individuals in the IB. The first period of the research was devoted to building a relationship of trust between the potential participants and us. *Rapport*, as this trust is called, promotes clear and effective communication. Driesen & Jansen (2013) even explicitly write that the success of conducting field research largely depends on building and maintaining good contacts with the participants. We used small talk as a tool as “it provides access to information that is difficult to get otherwise and could be central to understanding the local culture” (Huethorst, 2018). In order to build up the relationship of trust, we were often present in the IB and participated in activities to get to know the participants better. Moreover, to indulge ourselves in the neighbourhood, we took on an internship position in one of the neighbourhood initiatives, where we conducted a small-scale qualitative research about the experiences of their users<sup>1</sup>. From the start, transparency about our research aim was essential to maintain a trusting relationship with the participants. Since input from the participants is required for a participatory study, we let the participants determine the discussion topics and the activities during the first meetings. This allowed us to create as realistic a picture as possible of the participants' experiences (Morling, Carr, Boyle, Cornwell, Correll, Crosnoe, Freese & Waters, 2015).

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<sup>1</sup> This study is made available on the website of Educatief Centrum Oost: <https://ec-o.nl/de-bakker-en-grift-2022.-mijn-kans-mijn-keuze.-ervaringen-van-studenten-van-ec-o.-pdf.pdf>

During activities and the daily affairs of active individuals in the IB, we mainly observed the participants' actions, interactions, and emotions. Field notes and voice memos from these observations were transcribed verbatim. To gain more insight into the participants' experiences, we conducted 16 semi-structured interviews. We recorded and verbatim transcribed ten and summarised six while using extensive notes. In addition, we organised a focus group in the form of a “lunch pensant”, where three participants had lunch with us while discussing the topics of the focus group. The focus group has also been recorded and transcribed verbatim. We prepared an interview guide (appendix 3) but rarely followed it during the interviews. Since the interview was seldom the first moment of contact, participants already knew the aim of our research, hence topics of conversation flowed naturally. Most interviews lasted approximately one hour. A second interview was conducted with two participants to supplement the first interview. All participants were informed about the nature of the study, that they did not have to answer questions if they did not want to, and that participation in the study was voluntary and could be stopped at any time without reason. All recorded participants signed an Informed Consent Form. While processing the data, all information that could identify participants has been removed or replaced with a code whose key is kept separately.

### *Participants*

Participants in this research are active individuals in the IB. All participants are adults, implying that they are over 18 years old. Most participating active individuals gain an income through their activities in the IB. A minority works in the IB voluntarily and gains income through benefits or their partner who provides income for them. All observations have taken place within the geographical borders of the IB. Most interviews were held in the location of the neighbourhood initiative, providing us with additional data about the active individuals and their interaction with their affiliated group. When discussing active individuals in the empirical chapters of this research, I strictly mean those who participate in the research.

### *Data analysis*

Collected data, including transcribed voice memos, interviews, the focus group, and field notes, is analysed. In the first period of the research, we analysed data together to filter out relevant topics. We analysed data using Word, making mind maps on paper, and making a ‘post-it wall’



to connect different topics. In the final round of analysis, we split up to analyse the data for our specific research questions. I used the program NViVo to code data into pre-arranged codes resulting in the code trees visualised in appendix 1. Consequently, I used parts of the data under the different codes as quotes in the empirical chapters. For the purpose of use in this paper, quotes are translated into English to stay fitting to the context. This resulted in translations which are not exact but keep the same message. Moreover, the interpunction and use of capital letters have been altered. Lastly, various quotes have been altered to leave out individuals' names or personal characteristics to ensure anonymity.

## Chapter 1: Cultural Theory

As discussed in the introduction, what individuals perceive as just or unjust can be interpreted differently in different social positions (Liebig & Sauer, 2016; Douglas, 1996). To describe the social position of the active individuals in the IB, this chapter uses Douglas' (1982) Cultural Theory and Haris' (2005) implementation of the theory. The Cultural Theory uses culture to explain an individual's social life (Mamadouh, 1999). As individuals are shaped by and shape their social environment, Cultural Theory considers how the environment exists of their behaviour and choices (Douglas, 1982). Cultural Theory states that everything individuals do is culturally biased and that only four cultural types can be distinguished in any situation or moment (Mamadouh, 1999). Harris (2005) refers to these four cultural types as social settings. This chapter uses observed behaviour and the perceptions of active individuals<sup>2</sup> to describe their social setting. Within the Cultural Theory, the dimensions of grid and group are used to define the four social settings and give them contextual meaning (Harris, 2005). Individuals can gradually move along the dimensions of grid and group. Figure 1 shows how the dimensions of grid and group distinguish the four social settings and how these are positioned on the Cultural Map. First, this chapter discusses the grid dimension using data from this research. Individuals in weak-grid social environments are positioned on the bottom half of the Cultural Map. The upper half represents strong-grid environments. Thereafter, this chapter discusses group dimension, also using data from this research. The left side of the Cultural Map represents weak-group environments; the right represents strong-group environments.

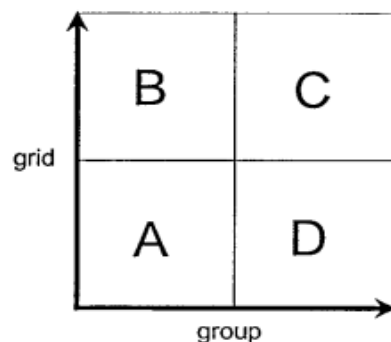


Figure 1. The Cultural Map: two dimensions, four types (Douglas, 1978, p. 7)

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<sup>2</sup> As discussed in the method section, when describing active individuals within the empirical chapters this only includes the participating active individuals. When it includes all active individuals in the IB, this will be specifically mentioned.

### *Grid dimension*

Grid is the dimension concerned with concepts of power and authority (Harris, 2005). When individuals find themselves in a position where they are strongly classified and experience little room for personal choices, Cultural Theory labels this as a strong-grid environment since it scores high on insulation. Here authority structures are highly centralised, and power is typically positional (Harris 2005). Douglas (1982) states there are three more possibilities representing different kinds of individual freedom in society besides insulation: autonomy, control and competition. When experiencing one of these possibilities, individuals move away from the strong-grid environment toward a weak-grid environment on the Cultural Map. When experiencing autonomy, control, and competition, there is no room for insulation, and individuals find themselves in a weak-grid environment.

Autonomy stands for the ability to live free from control by others. It describes individuals' freedom to dispose of their time and goods, choose the people in their social circle, and choose their goods such as clothes or food (Douglas, 1982). Active individuals in the IB share similar views and experiences regarding their autonomy. They express their independence and freedom of opinion: *"I am independent. I can say whatever I want"* - I20; *But it is also like 'if you need them' but what would you need them for then?"* - I6; and their freedom to dispose of their time the way they choose to: *"But I am a person [who is like]: no, I will do the things that I like"* - I1. Some exceptions seem to exist where active individuals feel like the municipality pushes them to behave according to their standards. According to several active individuals, the municipality has a position of control in their social environment since they divide economic resources: *"The municipality just has got the power to provide you with subsidies this year but not the next"* -I6.

Control in the sense of Cultural Theory means the control that is either exercised through classification (present in a strong-grid environment) or strong personal relationships (present in a weak-grid environment) (Pierides & Sewell 2019). Whereas some individuals see the municipality's position in dividing resources as a form of power (see Chapter 3), most active individuals in the IB consider the municipality not to be a part of their social setting (see chapter 2). In addition, many active individuals take control into their own hands by finding other financial resources such as funds or becoming social entrepreneurs. One participant describes this as follows:

*“I can apply for all kinds of funds, you can organise crowdfunding, with a little creativity, you can ensure that your initiative can continue to exist in one way or another. And also yes, actions rather than words, you know? Then you just really have to find a way in which it is possible.” – I2*

Moreover, active individuals create collaborations where financial resources do not define control. A participant describes how active individuals took control together to prevent polarisation:

*“Our analysis then was: this is going in the wrong direction. This will simply lead to polarisation in society, disintegration. We have to stand in the middle with people who think similar. Because then, if you create a weight in the middle, it becomes a centrifugal force and at some point polarisation decreases.” – I4.*

Within their social environment, multiple active individuals find themselves in a position of control after being requested by others to take leadership:

*“I also thought at one point: why do people keep asking me? I feel like people ask me when a large group of people want something and they can't get it organised, they often ask me and I try to get the ball moving.” – I9*

The uncertainty about who is in control in a social environment creates an environment where active individuals compete over resources that can provide a sense of control. Competition in the Cultural Theory focuses on the interaction between individuals and is about having to negotiate their position with each other. Competition mainly occurs in weak-grid environments since fewer society-wide rules govern their interaction (Douglas, 1982). Not all participants experience competition. When active individuals seem to have a relatively strong position in their social environment, they do not consider to be competitive: *“No, I really don't see myself in any moment, that things we do is aim for competition or a sense of competition” – I3.* However, most participants are aware of competition: *“I took a step, and then you will come and try to overtake me but I will not permit you to do that [...] I immediately see you as competition then.” – I1.*

Most participants perceive autonomy, control and competition among active individuals in the IB. This indicates that they move away from the strong-grid environment of

insulation towards a weak-grid environment on the Cultural Map. In the weakest-grid environment, all rules are negotiable, and feelings of relative justice when individuals compare their situation to others or situations in the past are most important (Douglas, 1982). Characteristics of a weak-grid environment are in line with observations and perceptions of the participants. A participant describes how collaboratively new rules of practice are negotiated by saying: *“But we act a little intuitively and we spar with each other like: do you think this makes sense? [...] You need the whole of society for that. Hey, so everyone has their role, you know?”* – I9 Moreover, active individuals compare their situations to others to decide if they are treated fairly: *“At such a neighbourhood level, especially if there is little money to spend, then it's like: well, why is he getting it? Why am I not getting it?”* - I3 This environment is competitive where control is present, but it is not uniformly clear who is in control (Douglas, 1982). Theoretically, the weakest-grid level would be when individuals have no regard for rules made by themselves or others but just behave completely individualistic (Douglas, 1982).

#### *Group dimension*

Similar to grid, individuals can find themselves in a strong- or weak-group environment. To identify group strength, we consider “how much of the individual's life is absorbed in and sustained by group membership” (Douglas, 1982). Essential to realise when analysing group strength is that the social environment is not the group. The group strength awarded to a social setting must be seen in a technical sense (Douglas, 1982). When defining group strength, personal pressures, the sense of group membership, and actual contact with group members should be considered instead of large impersonal group formations (Douglas, 1982). Meaning, when defining group strength, the individual in the social setting we research should be considered, not the group.

In the strongest-group environment, such as a sect or a commune, individuals share a residence, work, resources, and recreation and exert control over marriage and kinship (Douglas, 1982). None of the participants expressed experiencing a group environment as strong as this. However, participants stated that active individuals tend to have their own groups. They often form them through their neighbourhood initiative(s): *“Each initiative has its own target group, so to speak. They do the same thing, but for different people.”* - I4 The purpose and activities of neighbourhood initiatives are experienced to attract their specific group: *“If I were to hand out food, I would have a diverse group here too, 100%. To eat and*

*drink. But, when I start doing my core business activity, there is always only one group.”- I6* According to some participants, strong-group environments are formed out of need. One participant uses the poverty problem to describe this: *“Poverty also plays a role, so people have a hard time doing things alone. Then they come slowly united in groups of some kind.” – II* According to various participants, having a close-knit specific group is not bad. They experience it to provide safety and comfort.

Various other participants find themselves in multiple groups at the same time. Douglas (1982) states that individuals who spend time in various groups do not experience strong-group levels. Moreover, multiple participants express considering themselves to form an overarching group with other active individuals:

*“Taken all that together, we then thought of: Well, we do want to put our shoulders to the wheel, but without wanting to pass or ignore people. So we have entered into a dialogue with everyone again. Well, then a lot of people dropped out who went their own way.” – I20*

In weak-group environments, individuals create their own networks with no recognisable boundaries (Douglas, 1982). They know people who, in turn, know others with no specific limits. Some participants express and show to exclude themselves from overarching groups of active individuals on purpose and stay within their own group. In other cases, individuals express the desire to be included since they feel excluded by groups of overarching active individuals: *“I also have the idea: Everyone belongs there, except me.”- I7* Here, a sense of competition characteristic of the weak-grid environment shows itself again.

Regarding group strength, approximately half of the participants express experiencing a medium- to strong-group environment. The participants who express to be in a weaker group-environment find themselves either in no group or multiple groups but do not seem to experience a strong sense of belonging in a particular one of them. When looking back at the Cultural Map (fig. 1), the participants are divided over square D: weak-grid strong-group and square A: weak-grid, weak-group. In the next chapter, the social settings B and C are shortly described. Thereafter, the social settings D and A will be described more elaborately using collected data to imply how they are “at work” in the social environments of active individuals in the IB.

## Chapter 2: Social Settings and Social Games

Following the Cultural Theory, Douglas (1982) describes four types of prevailing mindsets, also referred to as social settings (Mamadouh, 1999). These social settings, portrayed on the Cultural Map (fig. 2), are elaborated in this chapter. When individuals consider their grid and group strength together, they find themselves in a specific location on the Cultural Map and consequently in one of the four social settings. The social environment of individuals, as discussed previously, is influenced by the individuals within this environment. Whereas not equally present, Douglas (2007) states that it is most likely that all four social settings exist alongside each other within a social environment. Therefore, the social setting individuals find themselves in also influences the social environment (Harris, 2005). Whereas individuals find themselves in a particular position on the Cultural Map, they can shift on the grid and group dimension over their lifetime, changing their position and, consequently, their social setting. In each social setting, individuals could find themselves more towards the centre or the extreme corners of the Cultural Map. For the purpose of explanation, Douglas uses extreme cases when describing the social settings. Active individuals in the IB do not express to find themselves in these extreme outside corners of the Cultural Map. Therefore, the distinctions between the social settings are less visible compared to Douglas' explanation. Figure 3 shows an example of the social position of a participant (green star), following their expressed grid and group strength. This participant now belongs to the A square (fig. 1) in the individualist social setting (fig. 2). If their group strength increases, they move into the D square, the egalitarian social setting.

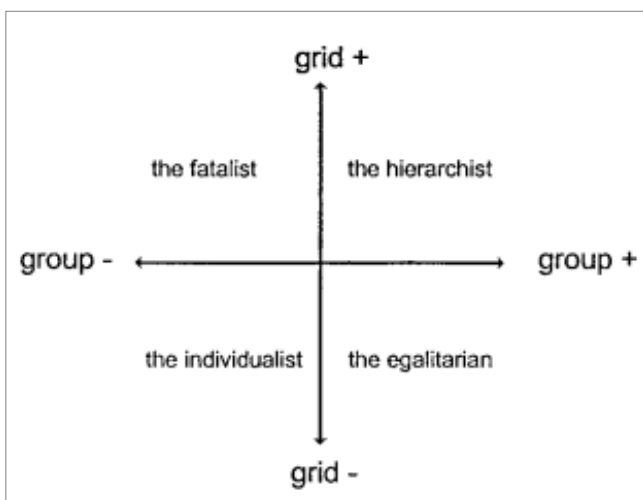


Figure 2. Cultural Map with the social settings (Mamadouh, 1999)

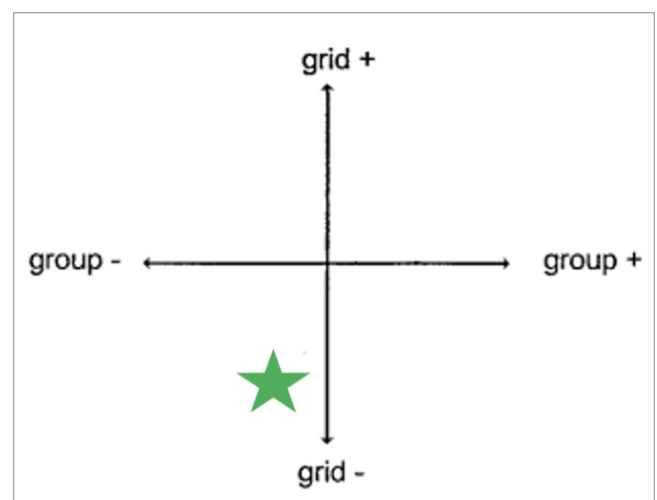


Figure 3. Example of position of active individual on the Cultural Map

Among the active individuals in the IB, the social setting of squares D and A are most occurrent. The lack of experienced hierarchical structures explains this. This sense of weak-grid is not experienced unanimously by active individuals in the IB. Some of them work for or own an initiative or organisation in which hierarchy is more present and determinant for social life. An example of such an organisation is the municipality. Some municipality employees experience roles similar to other active individuals within the IB. They will therefore be considered in the next paragraph, which describes squares B and C on the Cultural Map. Thereafter, the more occurrent squares of D and A are discussed. Lingenfelter (1966) states that the social settings define what ‘social game’ individuals play, meaning social settings define the character of social life people carry out (Harris, 2005). Hence, this chapter also discusses the egalitarian and individualist social game of squares D and A. Chapter 3 discusses these social games and their implications on social justice more extensively. Even though active individuals find themselves in different social settings, they express experiencing a connection with each other. Regardless of their social setting, all active individuals behaved altruistically when regarding the neighbourhood and its (vulnerable) residents. The end of this chapter will pay attention to this behaviour and the connection it creates.

#### *Square B & C: The fatalist and the Hierarchist*

On the upper half of the Cultural Map, the strong-grid social settings of the fatalist and the hierarchist are found (fig. 2). Hierarchical structures characterise both social settings, where individuals experience moderate to little autonomy. Within the fatalist social setting, race/ethnicity, gender, and heritage define an individual's level on the hierarchical ladder. These criteria place individuals in a hierarchical category which does not consequently serve as their group (Douglas, 1982). Whereas differences in ethnicity, gender and heritage are noticed among the active individuals in the IB, no one expressed to be hierarchically defined by them. Contrary to what these criteria are used for in fatalist social environments, they are used to form close groups which share similar (cultural) interests, language or problems:

*“And at the same time, I think it is also very important that they create a bit of a safe place with people, ladies who come there, where you can just chat among like-minded people about things that you don't necessarily, you know, shout over the rooftops” – G1*

Hierarchical structures in the hierarchist social setting are of a corporate context in which individuals identify themselves from their group membership and social relationships. Within



the IB, active individuals who work for the municipality are seen to be in this social setting. Their behaviour and experiences are influenced by the group's boundaries, in this case the boundaries imposed by their jobs (Harris, 2005). One of the municipality members active in the IB expressed this as follows:

*“And on the other hand, you also understand that things are arranged this way or are arranged in a certain way. So it really is a bit inconvenient, though. Because yes, you had to distribute money somewhere. You had to make a form for it somewhere and it had to be in a computer system somewhere.” – G1*

The small number of individuals who find themselves in a high-placed role has unique value and power (Harris, 2005). Individuals who experienced less power while working for the municipality recognised this. It caused them to experience difficulties in their work:

*“No, no, I just proposed a different way of working at the time. [...] I also said to my boss, I actually don't want anything to do with that subsidy at all, because it harms my role as a partner in the neighbourhood.” – I26.*

Moreover, active individuals in other social settings perceive how the hierarchist social setting restricts the autonomy of municipality members: *“Look, civil servants hate that or something, but yes, they always say 'no' but you never see any change in their work. Never will they/they do not dare to take risks, let me put it this way” – I6*

#### *Square D: Egalitarian*

Contrary to the fatalist and hierarchist social settings, the egalitarian social setting and the individualist social setting (discussed in the next paragraph) are found at the bottom half of the Cultural Map (fig. 2). There are few hierarchical social distinctions within the egalitarian social setting, which is found on the weak-grid strong-group square of the Cultural Map (Douglas, 1982). Since role status is not decided by structure, egalitarian active individuals find it competitive: *“I think horizontally there is more competition. Competition, personal image and everyone wants all kinds of things, that's a crazy thing.” – I1* As this participant already hints towards, competition within the egalitarian social setting is not experienced as something positive, but rather as necessary to keep their neighbourhood initiative standing: *“It's kind of a competition to survive.” – I7* Where it might be necessary within the social environment, within their own groups the egalitarians try to avoid role status and desire equality in authority:

*"I can come to you sometimes, to cooperate in solidarity, think along, carry things, give advice, that sort of thing. But I can't afford to be the boss of you too. Or look, you can't afford to play the boss of me" – I1*

The survival of the group and the achievement of group goals are more important than role status since the social game of egalitarianism places high value on unity (Harris, 2005). The pursuit of unity creates that egalitarians make sharp distinctions between their group and the rest of society (Douglas, 1982). Therefore, they treat everyone outside their group with suspicion, which one of the participants expresses when talking about young urban professionals coming to the neighbourhood: *"Then you are in the middle of the Indische Buurt [...] what exactly do you do? Where are your children at school? Their children are not in the IB at school, for sure not" – I6.*

#### *Square A: The individualist*

Active individuals in the individualist social setting do not share the sense of suspicion toward outsiders. Whereas they share the rejection of hierarchical status, they do not have the strong sense of group experienced by the egalitarians. Found on the weak-grid weak-group square on the Cultural Map, individualists are not constrained by imposed formal rules or traditions (Harris, 2005). They experience a strong sense of autonomy and portray competition as a healthy way to acquire a sense of control in their social environment: *"Isn't there too little competition? Because that doesn't work either."* – I22 Everyone can compete for a sense of control, and the rules created by the social environment that govern this competition are negotiated when perceived to be wrong: *"The rules of the game aren't right. We are also trying to change the rules of the game a bit."* – I9 The emphasis in individualist social settings is on short-term collaboration with the aim of personal gain (Douglas, 1982). This shows in the social game of 'individualism' where players are encouraged to pursue personal gain: *"But yeah, I'm not going to perform less well because others are taking offence."* – I3 Active individuals who find themselves playing the individualism game hence behave proactively in securing their future in life. This is in line with Douglas' (1982) Cultural Theory and is expressed by one of the participants as follows:

*"There is only one subsidy pot and one absolute amount. And if you can write better, you'll get it sooner than anyone else. But that doesn't mean your need is greater than someone else's or your reach is greater than someone else."* – I20

### *Altruistic behaviour*

Summarising Chapters 1 and 2 thus far, most active individuals in the IB find themselves in weak-grid settings where hierarchical structures do not constrict them. They experience autonomy and a sense of control over their daily decisions. Regarding group strength, however, some active individuals have emerged more in their group than others. The active individuals who experience a strong sense of group find themselves in an egalitarian social setting, playing the egalitarian social game. On the other hand, the active individuals who experience a weak sense of group find themselves in the individualist social setting, playing the social game of individualism. In both cases, the social settings are not as extreme as the cases Douglas (1982) uses to create an understanding of her theory. On the Cultural Map, all active individuals will find themselves around the middle in the weak-grid part of the map, some more towards weak-group, others towards strong-group. An explanation could be that all active individuals share a similar goal and dream: improving living standards for (vulnerable) residents in the IB. This overarching theme seems to be the incentive for all active individuals to either have started a neighbourhood initiative or contribute in other ways to improve the neighbourhood. While conducting this research, altruistic behaviour was visible daily. Though competition occurs as expected in weak-grid environments, altruism was observed amongst all active individuals in this research. During our research, we experienced the strength of this common goal and the determination of the active individuals to work on achieving it. Chapter three will elaborate on how this creates a sense of unity between the individuals playing different social games. The games of egalitarianism and individualism have implications for individuals' conceptions of justice (Harris, 2005). Douglas (2007) states that individuals in each social setting believe that the conceptions of justice held in the other social settings are wrong. Chapter 3 will discuss how this is visible in the IB.

### Chapter 3: Implications for Conceptions of Social Justice

This chapter will discuss the implications of the egalitarian and individualist social setting on conceptions of social justice for active individuals. Specifically, the social game belonging to a specific social setting promotes certain ideas regarding social justice issues. When considering these issues, individuals decide *what* resources are valuable and *how* they should be divided fairly. The social games of egalitarianism and individualism promote different ideas about these issues. The following paragraph describes how active individuals in the IB consider these issues. The chapter then continues by discussing what happens when people encounter unjust situations. For both egalitarians and individualists will be discussed whom they blame for these situations and how they handle envy when encountering unjust situations. Remarkable is how active individuals experience strong opinions regarding the municipality's role. While they do not seem to consider the municipality a part of their social environment, they regard them as important when considering social justice issues. These considerations are therefore integrated into the two sections of this chapter as well. The chapter ends by returning to the subject of altruism and its relation to conceptions of social justice of active individuals in the IB.

#### *Valuable resources and their division: money, power, and acknowledgement*

When considering valuable resources, money, or economic wealth, is seen by some scholars as the primary one (Harris, 2005). For active individuals in the IB, financial resources often mean that they can continue pursuing their goal of improving liveability in the neighbourhood. Hence, they see financial resources as valuable. In practice, having financial resources means paying rent for the location of the neighbourhood initiative, organising neighbourhood activities, or providing food for residents in need: *“It's always about cooking, everything is about cooking. A lot of money goes to food.”* - I7. Active individuals often affiliate having money with having power: *“Look, it's very simple: He who has money has power and is the boss.”* – I6 Power on its own, however, is also seen as a valuable resource. Power is to be used to make decisions regarding neighbourhood affairs and to decide who is acknowledged: *“I pay no attention to certain organisations [...] period. But that doesn't mean I exclude them, I just don't pay them any attention.”* – I20 Receiving acknowledgement is experienced to be essential for active individuals: *“And then I also notice that to a very large extent it is indeed about appreciation, so acknowledging people”* – I23. It creates a sense of self-worth and a

position in which active individuals can ‘demand’ other resources from the municipality: “So that they are acknowledged, that they are recognized. And that they continue to receive the resources they need.” – I4 When being acknowledged by the municipality, this shortens the communication lines and eases collaboration with the municipality, often resulting in more financial and power resources. One of the participants explains this from the point of view of the municipality:

*“You know they are rooted in the neighbourhood. You know that they [...] work on it based on a certain method and based on their network and knowledge. So you don't have to wonder so much about whether everything is going well.” – G1*

The active individuals in the IB seem to agree on what resources are valuable to them. How they should be divided fairly, however, is a different story. The different characteristics of the egalitarian and individualistic social games are at the roots of this disagreement (Harris, 2014). Especially when resources are experienced to be limited or scarce, this creates competition among all individuals pursuing them. For egalitarians, the social game promotes equal distribution of resources (Douglas, 1982). When resources are divided equally, this creates room for competition in terms of content. Hence, not the amount of resources but the ability to provide for the neighbourhood decides who is important for the IB: “Even if you get all the money in the world, it's about how you work and your attitude. How do you profile yourself in the neighbourhood? How do you show what you do?” – I6 Within the scope of the IB, egalitarians express indignation when resources are not divided equally: “But instead of them dividing a piece of the pie so that we [get] that role, if you can't handle that target group, give it to someone who can” - I6. For individualists, the division of resources is all about healthy competition. The social game of individualism promotes that there is no such thing as resource scarcity and that individuals should create new resources themselves (Harris, 2005). This is seen as fair by the active individuals playing the individualistic social game since it requires personal competence and creates personal profit. A participant describes how following your own track gets you ahead faster: “At one point I thought it was all taking too long. It's too slow. [...] just: go yeah, come on let's go.” – I2

### *When injustices occur*

As discussed earlier, individuals often experience feelings of injustice when they compare their situation or the situation of their group to others or their own situation in the past. During this

research, active individuals express to make this comparison, resulting in envy towards active individuals who have what the person making the comparison desires. When resources are not divided according to what individuals perceive as fair, someone must take the blame. According to Folger and Cropanzano's (2001) fairness theory, "if no one is to blame, there is no injustice" (Harris, 2005). Following this theory, the process of accountability is fundamental to social justice. Within the IB, active individuals share similar views on valued resources but disagree on how these resources should be divided and by whom. Where egalitarians take a more passive role in receiving resources, individualists promote the creation of one's own resources. These different attitudes result in different ideas on who is to blame for the unfair distribution of resources.

The social game of egalitarianism promotes placing as little value on distinctions as possible. One active individual describes this regarding the resource of power by saying: "*I don't like [the idea of] power and I don't want it.*" – I7 Occurring distinctions are quickly experienced as unfair. Egalitarians blame the outsider who was responsible for the equal division. Moreover, Bankston (2010) states that the disadvantaged individuals lay claims on the rest of society to correct inequities (Harris, 2005). The egalitarian social game hence promotes the belief that they are entitled to resources: "*Why do they get money and we don't?*" – I7 The municipality is often pointed out as the culprit for unjust division of resources. Egalitarians see the municipality as the 'outside man'. Active individuals feel that the municipality is too far out of reach for them to make a difference and hence feel dejected:

*"Yes, but I'd rather sit in the sun listening to birds than chatting with people who aren't going to listen anyway. I know people are definitely not going to listen. So people are definitely doing their own thing. I'm serious, I've been here so long, people are so stubborn to do what they think."* – I6

The game of individualism does not allow for pointing fingers but promotes that only the individuals themselves are to blame:

*"But I also think that there are simply enough neighbourhood initiatives that point their finger at the municipality. That's really something, I really can't stand it. yes certainly Because: I understand you, you have a right to exist but If your right to exist depends on a subsidy from the municipality, we no longer live in those times."* – I2

Experiencing envy is therefore seen as healthy. When asking one of the participants if others envy them, they responded casually with: "*That has probably happened. Yes, I know which*

ones.” – I20 Individualists seem to make less of a problem of unjust distribution of resources since their social game promotes them to take accountability for an unjust situation. This hence creates the possibility of changing it. When this does not work, it is due to bad luck or personal incompetence. Individualists express their disagreement when others point their finger at someone else when treated unjustly:

*“They also just [have to] realise what the processes are. [...] that everyone sees the big picture more than just like: well I just had so much money and now I don't have it so it's her fault. And that, that behaviour is just disastrous you know? That, that also damages what you've built.” - I3*

The social game of individualism promotes the pursuit of equal footing and collaboration with the municipality: *“Yes [the municipality] should be more deducted from it in the area of control and, on the contrary, act more actively on a human scale. Come see, literally come and build a bond that has been lost.” – I20.* Several active individuals are not satisfied with the extent of collaboration: *“If the municipality says ‘yes, our relationship in the Indische Buurt with the resident is good’, I think that's just bullshit.” – I9* They take matters into their own hands and come up with collaborations in which the municipality can join if they wish.

An important side note here is that the altruistic character of the active individuals in the IB makes that their feelings of injustices come from a place where the interests of the neighbourhood and its vulnerable residents are central: *“Everyone is very loving with their target group.” I26* The active individuals do not seem to compare themselves with the IB residents when deciding on social justice issues. They see the need of the vulnerable residents and therefore portray behaviour that would not necessarily suit the social game they play. Egalitarians take a more competitive and creative role in creating resources when these are necessary to help vulnerable residents. They express to use their personal money and time when the resources of their neighbourhood initiative are insufficient. In one of the fieldnotes about an emotional meeting with I8, we wrote:

*“I8 indicates the eagerness to help people. That no organisation does that now hits deeply. But one of the employees indicates that you also have to be realistic and that I8 is very altruistic but that not everything is possible.”*

In turn, individualists realise that it is not self-evident that everyone, especially vulnerable residents in the IB, can create and compete for their resources. They express concerning

themselves with creating an equal social environment for those who cannot join the healthy competition:

*“That's kind of my opinion of some volunteers who receive benefits, [...] you should be able to top that up to about 1700 euros per month. Then everyone has a basic income. I think we need to experiment a lot more with that” – I9.*

Both groups express feelings of dissatisfaction towards the municipality when situations regard unjust division of resources affecting neighbourhood residents:

*“And then I think what the fuck man?! As a civil servant, you yourself cost 6000 euro per month! These people are asking 500 euro for a neighbourhood drink! What the fuck, man! I say it very often, I get so angry now and then, I say: you sit here and decide things like that, you shouldn't come and do that to me man.” – I6*

Concluding, even though the social games shape conceptions of justice which are sometimes contradictory, the shared purpose of active individuals creates an overarching identity in which personal ideas of justice are set aside for the greater good:

*“There's a lot of stubbornness and idiosyncrasy in the DNA of the Indische Buurt. It has always had a bit of an anarchic character. This is our weakness but also our strength. We are very good at improvisation and if necessary we know where to find each other very well and very quickly.” – I26*



## Discussion

To answer the research question: *How are the conceptions of justice of active individuals in the Indische Buurt in Amsterdam shaped by their position in society?* I would say that social games affect the conceptions of justice of active individuals in the IB. Explicitly regarding division of valuable resources and responsibility for just distribution of them. However, the overarching goal of improving liveability in the neighbourhood and helping vulnerable residents makes that the differences between the social games and the competition that would result naturally is overshadowed by altruistic behaviour. Concluding, I state that whereas social games shape contradictory conceptions of justice, active individuals in the Indische Buurt in Amsterdam share the purpose of improving liveability in the neighbourhood which creates an overarching identity where personal ideas of justice are set aside for the greater good.

The nature of the four social settings is an issue occurring when using the Cultural Theory. Individuals are placed continuously as they move along the grid and group dimension. However, the theory uses four dichotomous social settings. As this research shows, having a common goal promotes that active individuals in different social games share similar ideas and behaviours regarding social justice when pursuing their goal. Individuals in opposite corners of the same social setting might show more differences in social justice conceptions. Other researchers recognise this problem. Mamadouh (1999, p. 398) states, "The diagram has a major flaw: the dimensions are continuous, but the boxes that materialise the four types suggest discrete positions. It is unclear what happens when one moves across the map". An implication for further research could be to create a deeper understanding of the areas on Douglas' Cultural Map where the different social settings border each other. While some researchers have tried to "fix" this problem by adding a fifth social setting in the middle of the map, this does not provide a solution for social environments such as the IB, where a weak-grid environment is a shared experience and only the group dimension portrays different positions.

By discussing and observing active individuals' behaviour, thoughts, and emotions, this research concerns an interpretive approach that provides insight into how they experience reality (Green & Thorogood, 2004). It is essential to mention that this reality is subjective and seen through the eyes of people who have their view of the world, this research, and us as researchers (Green & Thorogood, 2004). Our presence in the neighbourhood and (close) connection with the participants altered this view and created reactivity. Reactivity changes the participants' behaviour as they know they are being observed. This may lower the validity of

the research. However, this so-called Hawthorne effect fades as time passes and habituation to researchers grows (Morling et al., 2015). Hence we spent a lot of time in the IB to ensure a bond with the participants. Another limitation of this study is that both of us have a position of Whiteness. This refers to a privileged status, which includes, but is not limited to, people of white colour. It also changes a hierarchical place in society, in which legal position, possibilities, privileges, and power play a role (Myser, 2003; Garner, 2017; Lindner, 2018). Within the current research, some participants do not have this position of whiteness. This could have created distance from us and thus painted a different picture of reality. Moreover, some people might have experienced a barrier to start a conversation with us. In that case, this affects the representativeness of the study. In addition, in some cases, a language barrier may have prevented us from receiving or understanding information. In addition, people are complex, unpredictable, and reflective of their behaviour, so experiences are different for everyone and in every situation (Green & Thorogood, 2004). This study, therefore, cannot draw generalised conclusions for a wider audience.

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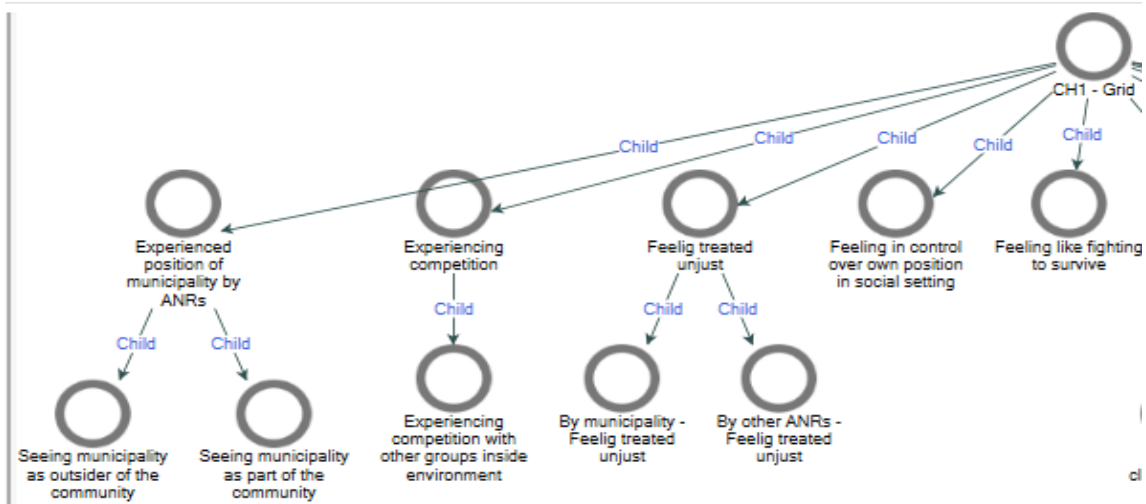
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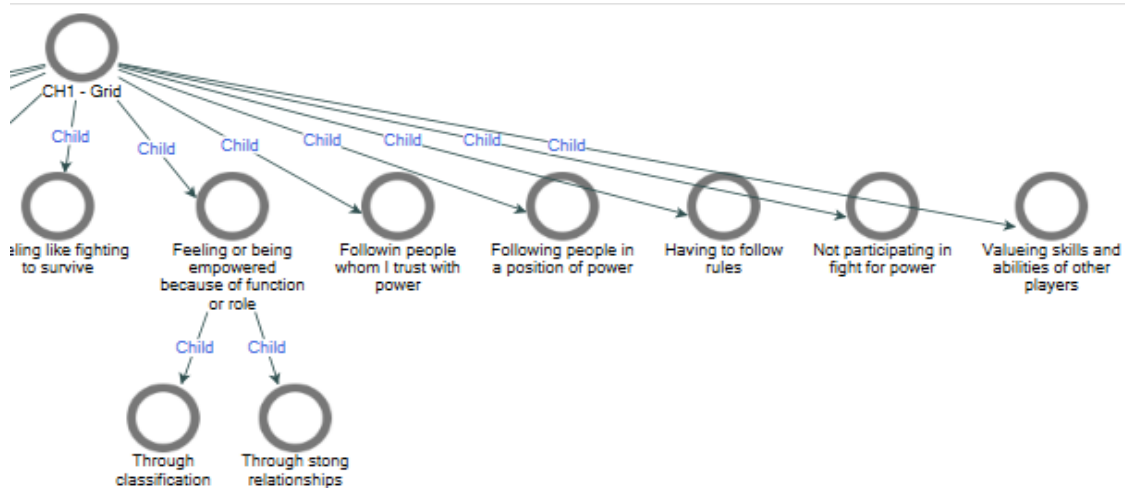
## Appendix 1: Code Tree

The following codes have been used to select relevant information from the data. Note: Since this research did not make use of a linear process of data collection, data coding, and data analysing, but used multiple rounds of each, the code tree has been altered and expanded during the period of the research. Below the last and final code tree is displayed per chapter.

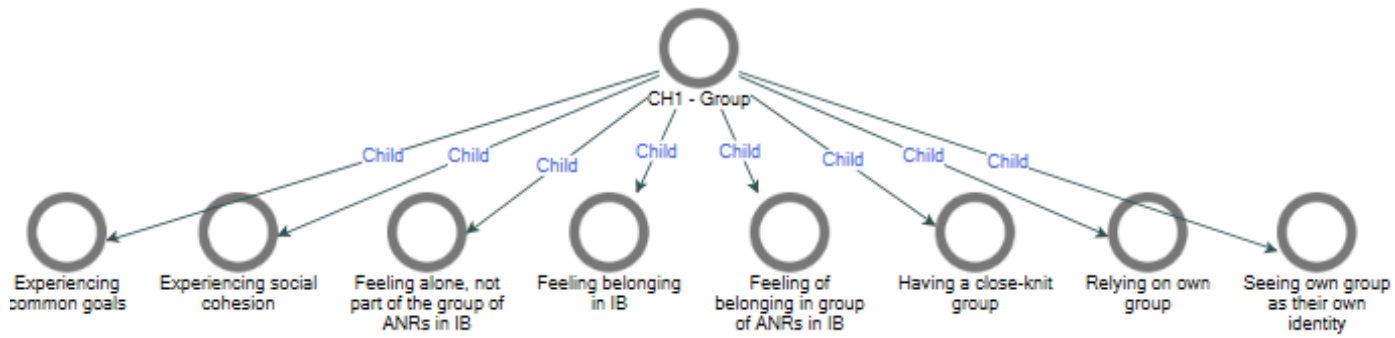
*Chapter 1, left half of Grid code tree:*



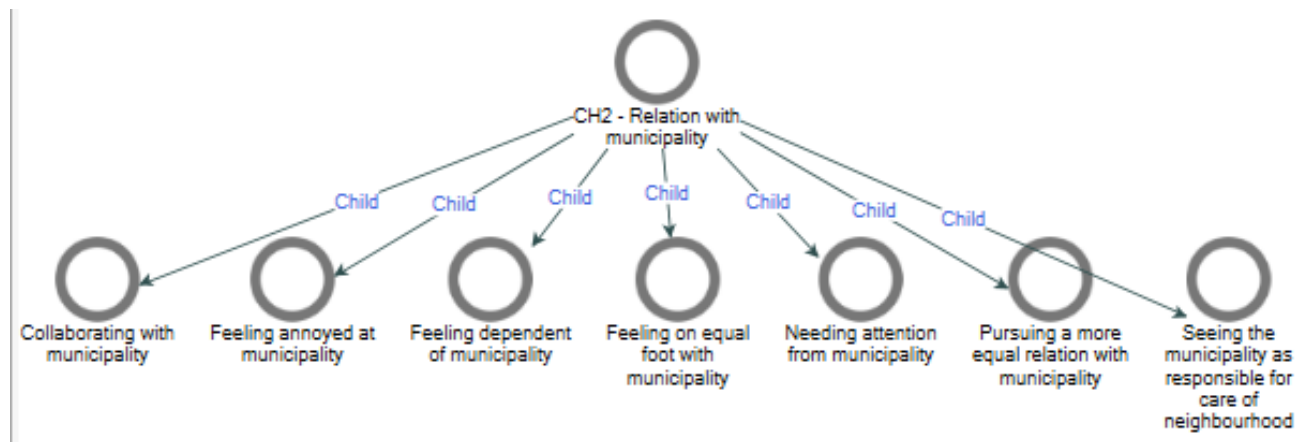
*Chapter 1, right half of Grid code tree:*



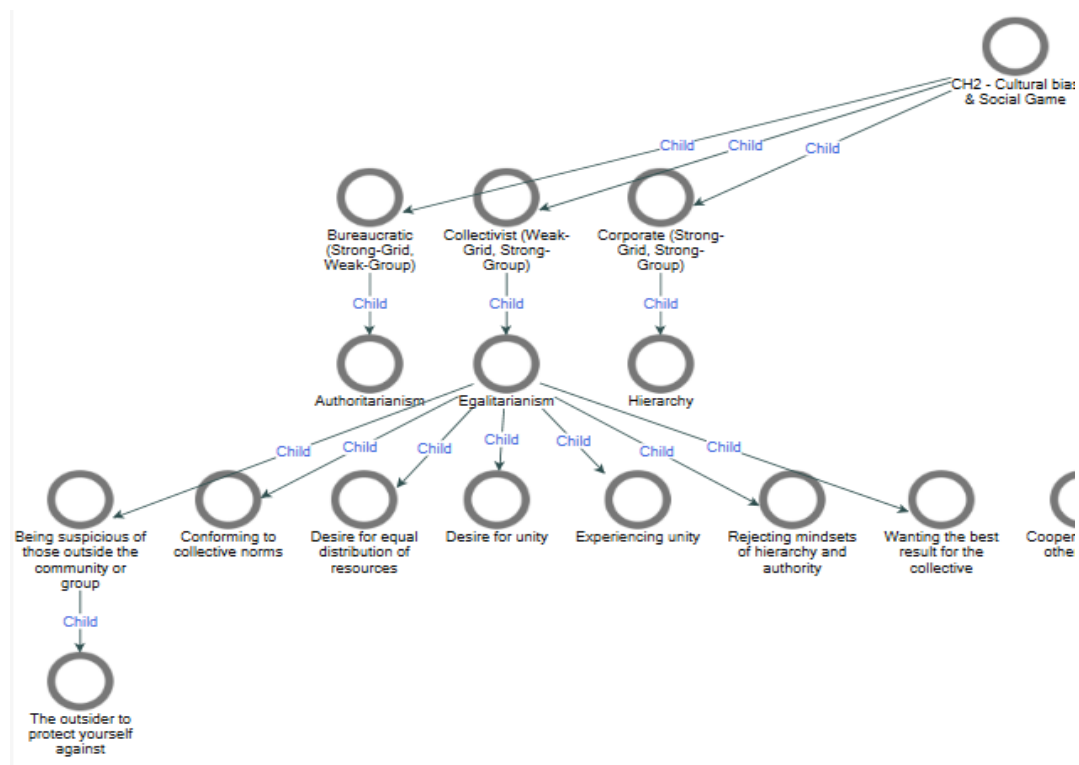
Chapter 1, Group code tree



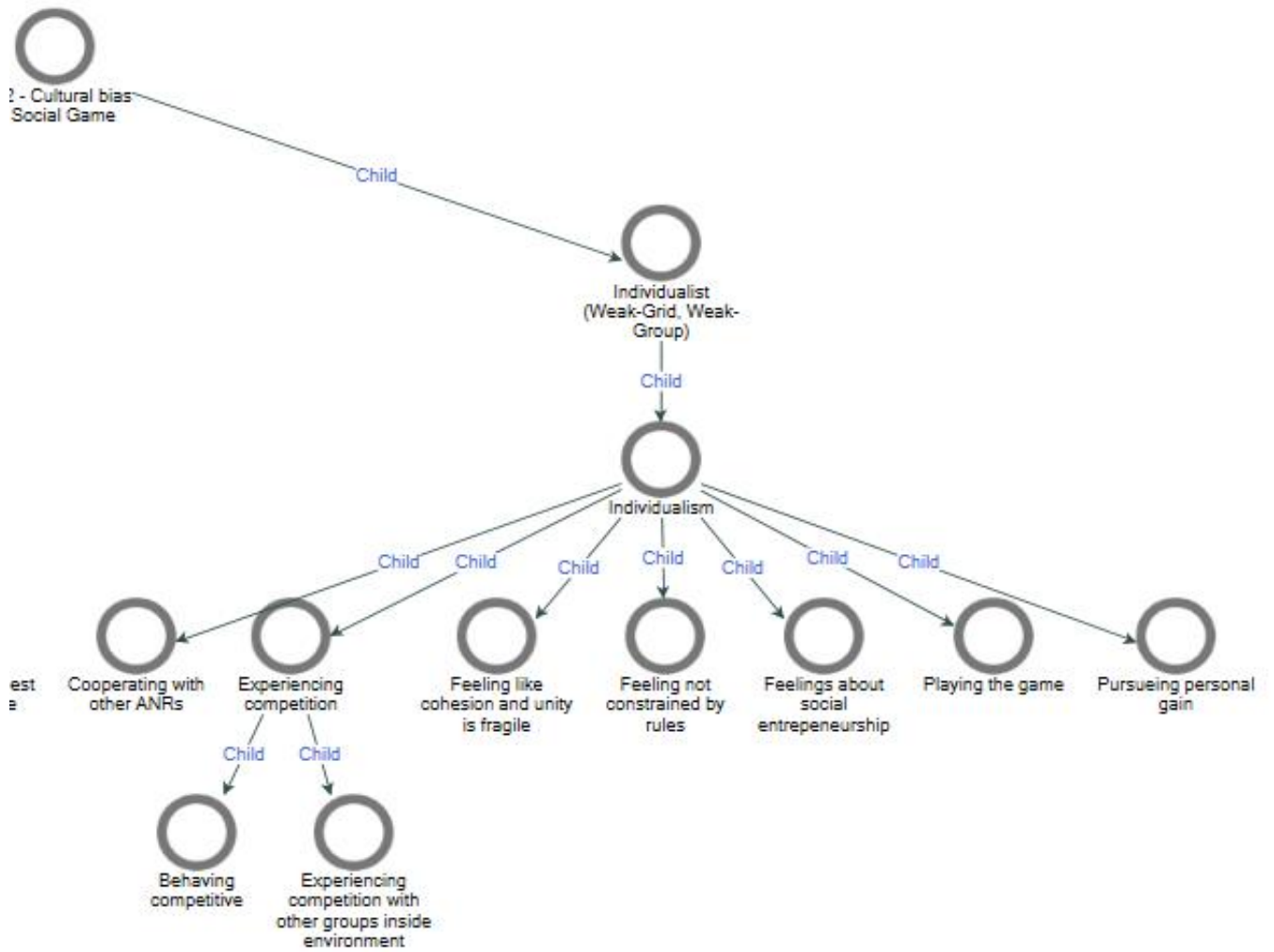
Chapter 2, Relation with Municipality code tree:



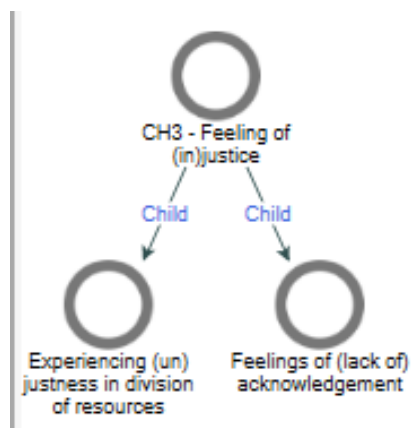
Chapter 2, left half of social settings code tree:



Chapter 2, right half of social settings code tree:

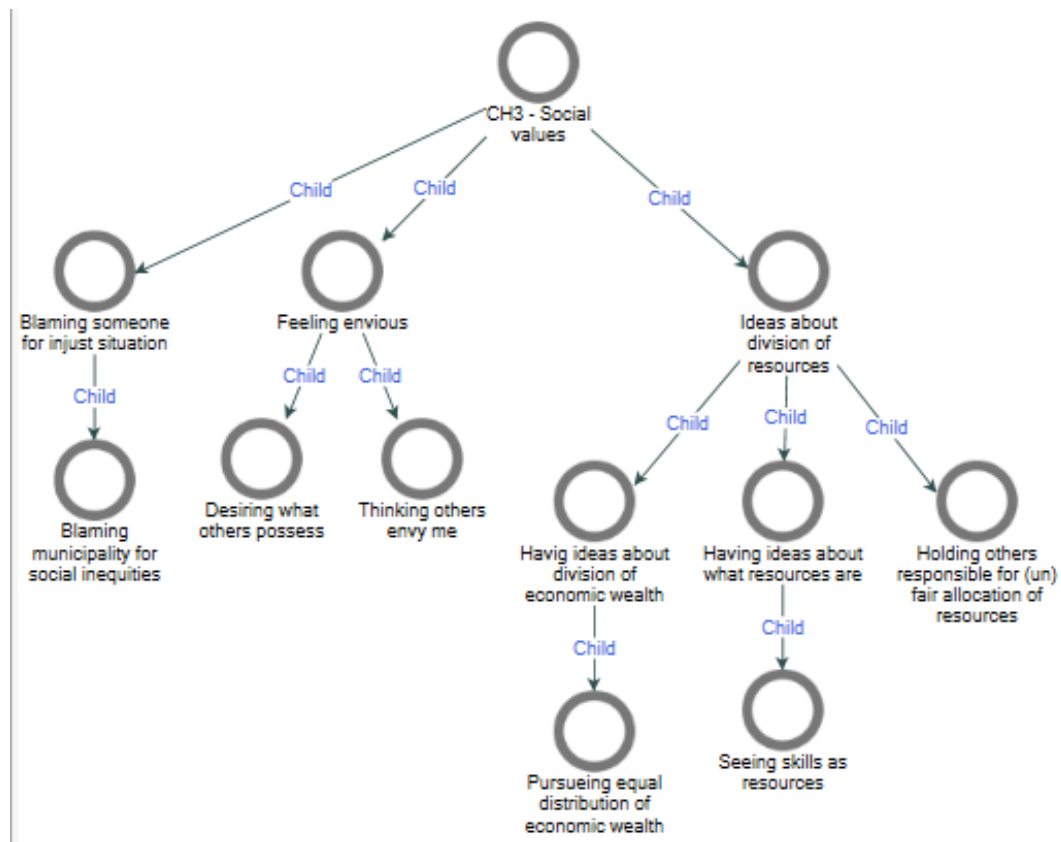


Chapter 3, feelings of injustice code tree:

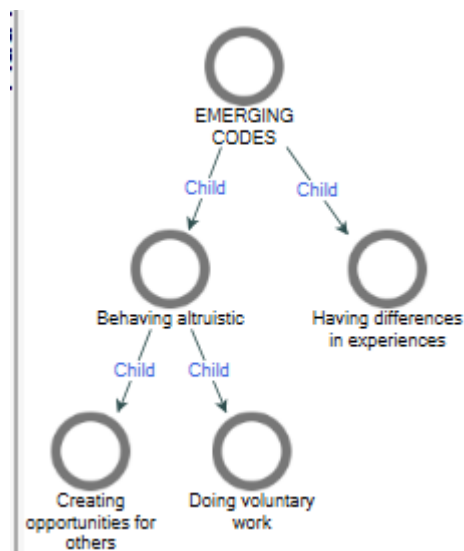




Chapter 3, social values code tree :



Emerging codes:



## Appendix 2: Quotes (Dutch)

Below the quotes are displayed per chapter in the original language, being Dutch. The quotes are displayed in the order they appear in the chapters. Note that, as discussed in the method section, for the purpose of use in this paper, quotes are translated to stay fitting to the context, which has resulted in translations that are not exact, but keep the same message. Moreover, interpunction and use of capital letters has been altered. Lastly, to ensure anonymity, various quotes have been altered to leave out names or personal characteristics of individuals.

Chapter 1:

*“Ik ben onafhankelijk. Ik kan zeggen wat Ik wil” – I20*

*“Maar kijk het is ook “als je ze nodig hebt” maar waarvoor heb je ze nodig dan?” - I6*

*“Maar ik ben iemand [die zo is van]: nee ik ga dingen doen wat ik leuk vind hè.” - I1*

*“de gemeente heeft gewoon macht om jou dit jaar wel subsidie te geven en volgend jaar niet” - I6*

*“Ik kan allerlei fondsen aanvragen je kan bij crowdfunding, met een beetje creativiteit kan je er gewoon voor zorgen dat je initiatief linksom of rechtsom kan blijven bestaan. en Dat is ook ja, niet lullen maar poetsen weet je wel? dan moet je gewoon echt een manier gaan vinden waarop we het wel kan.” – I2*

*“Onze analyse was toen van dit gaat verkeerde kant op. Dit gaat gewoon leiden tot een polarisatie in de samenleving, desintegratie. En dan moeten wij dan in principe met mensen die ongeveer hetzelfde denken in het midden gaan staan. Want dan als je in het midden een gewicht creëert, dan wordt het centrifugale kracht waardoor dus op gegeven moment polarisatie ontstaat minder.” – I4*

*“Ik dacht ook op een gegeven moment waarom vragen mensen me nou? Ik heb het idee dat mensen mij dus vragen als een grote groep mensen iets wil en ze krijgen het niet georganiseerd, dan vragen ze mij vaak en dan probeer ik de bal in beweging te krijgen.” – I9*

*“Nee, ik zie mezelf echt niet in geen enkele moment, geen enkele/dingen wat wij doen en is de bedoeling concurrentie of een gevoel van concurrentie.” – I3*

*“Want Ik heb de stap van jou gedaan en dan kom je op een gegeven moment boven mij op maar dat wil ik jou niet permitteren [...] dan zie je ook gelijk als concurrent.” – I1*

*“Maar we doen een beetje op gevoel en we sparren met elkaar van denk je dat dit zin heeft hè. [...] Daar heb je toch de hele samenleving voor nodig. Hè dus ja iedereen zijn rol, weet je wel?” – I9*

*“In zo'n wijkniveau op een/ zeker als er weinig geld te besteden is dan zo van nou, waarom krijgt die het wel? Waarom krijg ik het niet?” – I3*

*“Iedere initiatief heeft een eigen zeg maar doelgroep. Ze doen hetzelfde, maar voor andere mensen.” – I4*

*“Als ik eten uit zou delen dan had ik hier ook een diverse groep, 100%. Eten drinken. Maar, als ik m'n core-business activiteit ga doen, dan komt er altijd maar één groep.” – I6*

*“Armoede speelt ook een rol, dus mensen hebben best moeite om dingetje met eentje te doen. Dan komen ze langzaam verenigd in de groepjes van dit of dat.” – I1*

*“Dat alles bij elkaar genomen hebben we toen bedacht van: Nou, wij willen wel de schouders eronder zetten, Maar wel Zonder Mensen te willen passeren of links te Laten liggen. Dus We zijn met Iedereen wel opnieuw een dialoog aangegaan. Nou, toen vielen er al een heleboel Mensen af Die hun eigen gang zijn gegaan.” – I20*

*“Ik heb ook het Idee: Iedereen hoort erbij, behalve ik.” – I7*

## Chapter 2:

*“En tegelijk is het ook heel belangrijk dat zij denk ik met mensen, dames die daar komen zeg maar, dat ze ook een beetje een veilige plek creëren waar je gewoon even onder gelijkgestemden weet je hè met elkaar kunt praten over dingen die je niet per se van de daken hoeft te schreeuwen.” – G1*

*“Ja en je snapt aan andere kant ook dat dingen zo ingericht zijn of op een bepaalde manier ingericht zijn. Zo is wel echt een beetje onhandig, maar. Want ja, je moest er ergens geld verdelen. Je moest er ergens een formulier voor maken en het moest ergens in een computersysteem.” – G1*

*“Nee, nee, ik heb toentertijd ook gewoon een andere manier van werken voorgesteld. [...] Ik heb ook tegen mijn chef gezegd, ik wil eigenlijk helemaal niks met die subsidie van doen hebben, want het schaadt mijn rol als partner in de buurt.” – I26*

*“Kijk, ambtenaren die hebben daar een hekel aan ofzo, maar ja die zeggen altijd “nee” maar je ziet nooit verandering in hun werk. Nooit gaan ze/ze durven niet risico’s te nemen laat ik het zo zeggen” – I6*

*“Horizontaal is denk ik meer competitie. Competitie, persoonlijk imago en iedereen wil van alles dat is ook gekke dingen.” – I1*

*“ Het is een soort brood nijd om maar te kunnen blijven bestaan.” – I7*

*“Ik kan best bij jou een keertje komen zo solidariteit meewerken, meedenken, sjouwen, adviseerde, dat soort dingen. Maar ja Ik kan mij niet permitteren dat ik ook bij jou de baas wordt. Of kijk je kan niet permitteren dat je bij mij de baas rol speelt” – I1*

*“Dan zit je midden in de IB met zo’n pand, wat doe je dan precies? Waar zit, waar zitten je kinderen dan op school? Hun kinderen zitten niet in de IB op school, echt niet” – I6*

*“Is er niet veel te weinig competitie? want dat schiet ook niet op.” – I22*

*“I9: De spelregels kloppen niet hè. Wij proberen ook een beetje de spelregels te veranderen.”- I9*

*“Maar ja, ik ga niet minder gaan presteren omdat anderen zich op hun tenen getrapt voelen.” – I3*

*“Er is maar één een subsidiepot en een absoluut bedrag. En als jij beter kunt schrijven, dan krijg je het eerder dan een ander. Maar dat wil niet zeggen dat je behoefte groter is dan die van een ander of je bereik groter is dan een ander.”- I20*

### Chapter 3:

*“Het gaat altijd over koken, alles gaat over koken. Er gaat heel veel geld naar eten.” - I7*

*“Kijk het is heel simpel: Wie geld heeft, heeft macht en is de baas.” -I6*

*“Ik besteed bepaalde organisaties geen aandacht [...] punt. Maar dat wil niet zeggen dat ik ze uitsluit, ik besteed ze geen aandacht.” - I20*

*“En dan merk ik ook dat het voor een heel groot deel inderdaad ook gaat over het waarderen, dus mensen waarderen” -I23*

*“Dat zij dus erkend worden, herkend worden. En dat zij dus de middelen die zij nodig hebben*

*blijven krijgen.” – I4*

*“Je weet dat zij in de buurt geworteld zijn. Je weet dat zij [...] vanuit een bepaalde methode en vanuit hun netwerk en kennis daaraan werken. Dus dan hoef je er ook niet zoveel over af te vragen of dat allemaal wel goed gaat.” – G1*

*“Al krijg je zo veel geld als in de wereld, het gaat om je instelling en je attitude. Hoe profileer jij jezelf in de wijk? Hoe laat jij zien wat jij doet?” – I6*

*“Maar i.p.v. dat ze dan een stukje van de taart dan verdelen zodat wij die rol [krijgen], als je toch die doelgroep niet aankunt, geef het dan aan iemand die dat wel aankan” – I6*

*“Op een gegeven moment dacht ik wel het duurt me allemaal te lang. Het gaat te langzaam [...] hup ja kom knallen.” – I2*

*“Ik ben niet van [het idee van] macht. Ik hoef het niet.” – I7*

*“Waarom krijgen hun wel geld en wij niet?” – I7*

*“Ja maar ik zit liever in de zon naar vogeltjes te luisteren dan dat ik ga kakelen met mensen die toch allemaal niet gaan luisteren. Ik weet dat mensen absoluut niet gaan luisteren. Dus mensen doen absoluut hun eigen ding. Ik meen het serieus, ik zit hier al zo lang, mensen zijn zo koppig om te doen wat zij denken.” – I6*

*“Maar ik denk ook, er zijn gewoon echt genoeg buurtinitiatieven die als maar met hun vinger wijzen naar de gemeente. Dat is echt iets, ik kan daar zo slecht tegen. ja zeker Omdat: ik snap wel je, je hebt een bestaansrecht maar Als je bestaansrecht afhangt van subsidie van de gemeente, in die tijden leven we niet meer.”- I2*

*“Dat is vast wel eens gebeurd. Ja, Ik weet wel welke.” - I20*

*“Dat zij ook gewoon beseffen van nou wat de processen zijn [...] dat iedereen wat meer de big picture ziet, dan alleen maar van: nou ja ik had gewoon zoveel geld en nu heb ik het niet dus het ligt aan haar. En dat, dat gedrag is gewoon funest weet je? Dat, dat beschadigt ook wat je hebt opgebouwd.” – I3*

*“Ja [de gemeente moet er] meer van afgetrokken worden op controlegebied en juist actiever op de menselijke maat gaan acteren. Kom kijken, kom letterlijk kijken bouw band op die Die verloren is gegaan” – I20*

*“Als de gemeente zegt ja onze relatie in de Indische buurt met de bewoner is goed, vind ik dat gewoon gelul.” – I9*

*“ieder met zijn doelgroep heel erg liefdevol is” - I26*

*“I8 geeft aan zo graag mensen te willen helpen. Dat geen enkele organisatie dat nu doet raakt diep. Maar een van de medewerkers geeft aan dat je ook realistisch moet zijn en dat I8 heel altruïstisch is maar dat niet alles kan.” – Fieldmemo*

*“Dat is toch een beetje mijn opvatting van sommige vrijwilligers die een uitkering hebben, [...] die zou je ongeveer tot 1700 euro per maand zou je dat moeten kunnen aanvullen. Dan heeft iedereen een basisinkomen. Ik denk dat we daar veel meer mee moeten gaan experimenteren” – I9*

*“En dan denk ik What the fuck man?! Ambtenaar, jij kost zelf 6000 euro per maand man! Deze mensen vragen 500 euro voor een buurtborrel! What the fuck, man! Ik zeg het heel vaak, ik wordt zo boos af en toe, ik zeg: jullie gaan hier zitten bepalen en dat soort dingen, dat moeten jullie niet bij mij komen doen man.” – I6*

*“In het DNA van de indische buurt is toch wel heel veel eigenwijsheid en eigzinnigheid en het heeft altijd een beetje anarchistisch karakter. Het is ook. Ik zou zeggen, de zwakte, maar ook wel de kracht. Dus waar wij heel goed zijn is improviseren en als ze het nodig is, dan weten we elkaar heel goed en heel snel te vinden.” – I26*

### **Appendix 3: Topic list and Interview guide (Dutch)**

Voor interviews met actieve bewoners waar al meermaals contact mee is geweest.

*Topics die aan bod kunnen komen tijdens IV:*

- Hoe ziet iemand de IB
- Wat betekent cohesie (in de wijk)
- Buurtinitiatieven betekenis in de buurt
- Zoom in op eigen buurtinitiatief
- Sociale netwerken
- Jaloezie/concurrentie tussen buurtinitiatieven (subsidie ook noemen) - voorbeelden
- Machtsverhouding IB – wie heeft de meeste invloed
- Toekomst

*Voorbeeld van mogelijke vragen:*

1. Hoe omschrijf je de Indische buurt? (aan iemand die het niet kent)
  - a. Hoe zit het met de veiligheid?
  - b. Hoe ervaar je het contact met anderen in de buurt?
  - c. Welke dingen zijn er te doen?
  - d. Wat maakt deze buurt anders dan andere buurten?
  - e. Welke veranderingen vinden er de afgelopen jaren plaats? En wat is het gevolg?
2. Wat betekent cohesie (in een wijk) volgens jou?
  - a. En is het belangrijk? (evt. Voorbeeld geven dat gemeente hierin investeert en denktank sociale cohesie)
  - b. Is cohesie zichtbaar in de IB? Leg eens uit.
  - c. En wat betekent dit voor buurtbewoners?
3. Eerder spraken we al over sociale jaloezie tussen buurtinitiatieven. Kun je hier iets meer over vertellen?
  - a. Zou die concurrentie tussen initiatieven ook als positief gezien kunnen worden? Of: Moet iedereen samenwerken?
4. Je hebt ons al het een en ander verteld over je eigen initiatief en het ontstaan daarvan. Wat is de reden dat je er nu nog steeds mee doorgaat? Wat haal je eruit?
  - a. Hoe zit het met de mensen die via jouw initiatief met jou in contact komen. Hoe gaat dat?

- b. Wat voor soort mensen zijn dat?
  - c. Wat is volgens jou de meerwaarde van jouw initiatief voor hen en de buurt?
  - d. Hoe kijk jij aan tegen samenwerkingen tussen verschillende initiatieven?
  - e. Heb je daar voor jezelf een voorbeeld van?
5. Wat zijn de dingen die je fijn vindt aan de buurt?
6. Tegen welke dingen loop jij aan in de buurt of tijdens je werkzaamheden?
- a. Zijn er dingen waar je je aan ergert?
  - b. Mis je iets in de buurt?
7. Er wordt veel bezuinigd. Is er concurrentie vanwege subsidies? Hoe zie jij de toekomst van de IB?
- a. Is er iets wat de gemeente over het hoofd ziet? Of onderschat?
  - b. Als er ingegrepen zou moeten worden, wat zou er dan moeten gebeuren?  
En door wie?
8. Wie heeft de meeste invloed in de IB?

--> Dubbel check: mogen we gebruiken wat we eerder hebben gehoord en waar we eerder samen over hebben gesproken?