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

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

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

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5.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

5.2 Socio-cultural inclusion in public space

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

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

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

In urban studies, public life is understood as the life that takes places in the public realm of the city created by the casual encounters among people who are different from oneself, which offers a vivid urban experience (Gehl and Gemzøe, 1999; Carr et al. 1993; Loukaitou-Sideris and Banerjee, 1998; Watson, 2006; Amin, 2008; Carr

et al. 1992). By promoting casual interactions between different inhabitants on an everyday basis, public space is considered a crucial asset for the public life of the city (Jacobs, 1961; Gehl and Gemzøe, 1999). Public space includes all open and accessible spaces such as streets, parks, markets, playgrounds, squares and other open shared places which allow the user to walk, sit, play, stroll, or simply to pass-by.

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.3 Methodological approach

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.4 Approaches to urban renewal in Amsterdam

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The streets catering for city-wide visitors and residents are mainly located within the old city centre and Amsterdam's city ring (in Figure 5.2: S4, S5, S6). They have a completely different character, neither touristy nor local, but with a more balanced presence of different user groups. They are considered very attractive by young professionals (Iamsterdam, 2016; Lonely Planet, 2017) given the presence of, among other things, plenty of cafés and restaurants that promote use of the street and an active urban life. The large variety of grocery stores, bakeries, fishmongers, delicatessens, book, antique, music, and clothing shops as well as department

stores, supermarkets, drugstores and characteristic immigrant shops that offer products in all price ranges from high-end luxury goods to budget options. Street markets are another important part of the shopping experience in Amsterdam. The city accommodates a large variety of street markets such as daily markets, periodic markets, and festival markets (Janssens and Sezer, 2012, 2013b).

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

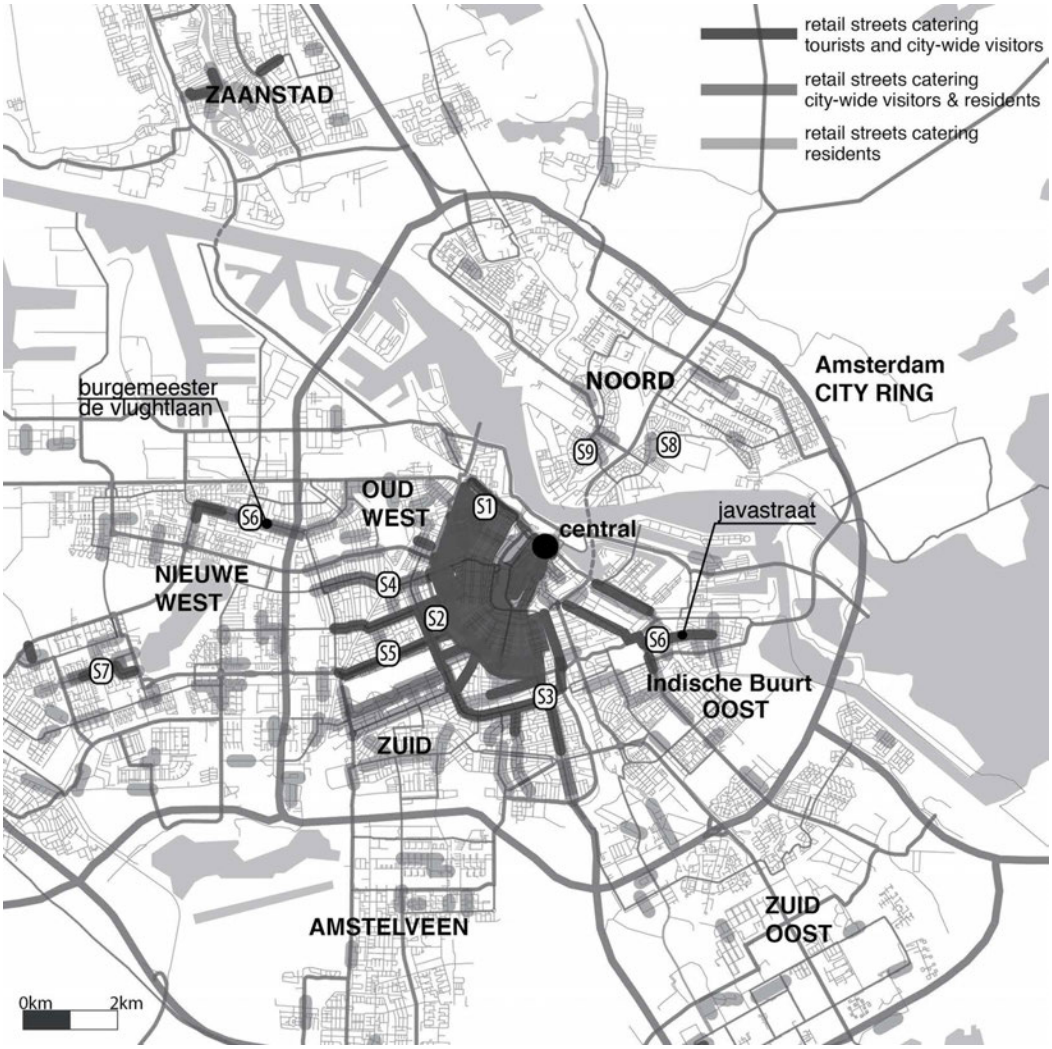

FIG. 5.2 Mapping and identifying streets with high concentration of retail functions, museums and hotels, cafés and restaurants in Amsterdam in 2010. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data from Municipality of Amsterdam (2010)).

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5.5.2 Location of Turkish amenities

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

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

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

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

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

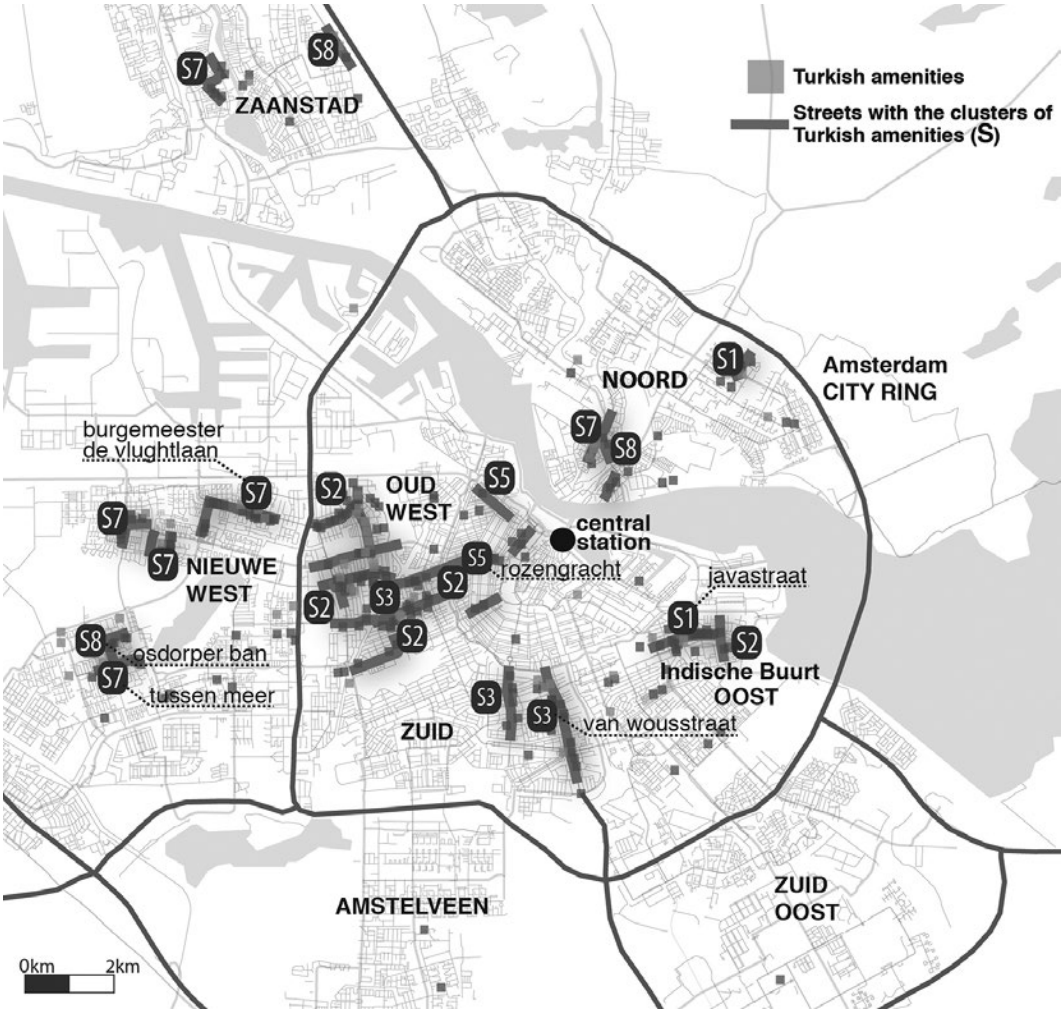

FIG. 5.3 Streets clustering Turkish amenities in Amsterdam. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research)

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

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5.6 Street level analysis: diversity, vitality and Turkish amenities

5.6.1 Javastraat

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

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

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

In 2007

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

the functions of the shops located in Javastraat, presenting Turkish amenities in black dots.

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

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

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

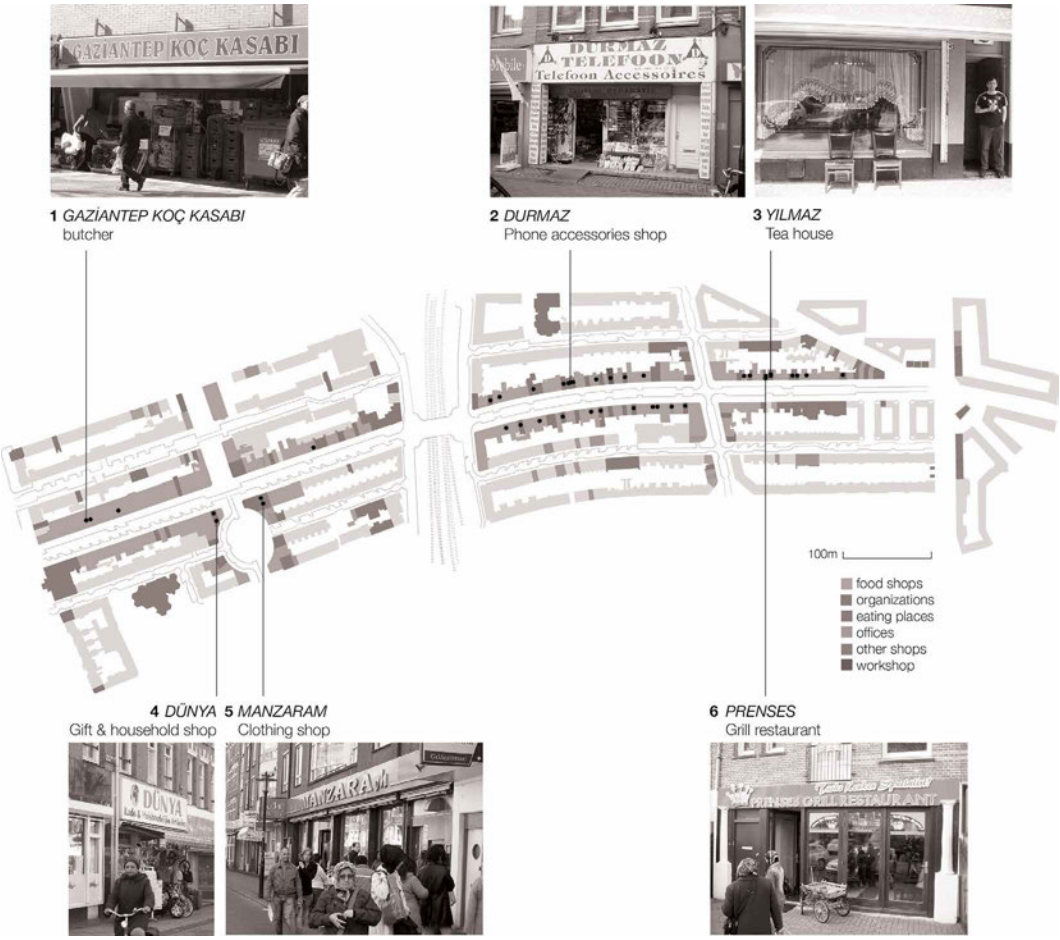

FIG. 5.4 Turkish amenities in Javastraat. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research)

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

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

In 2016

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

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

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

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

5.6.2 Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan

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

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

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

In 2007

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

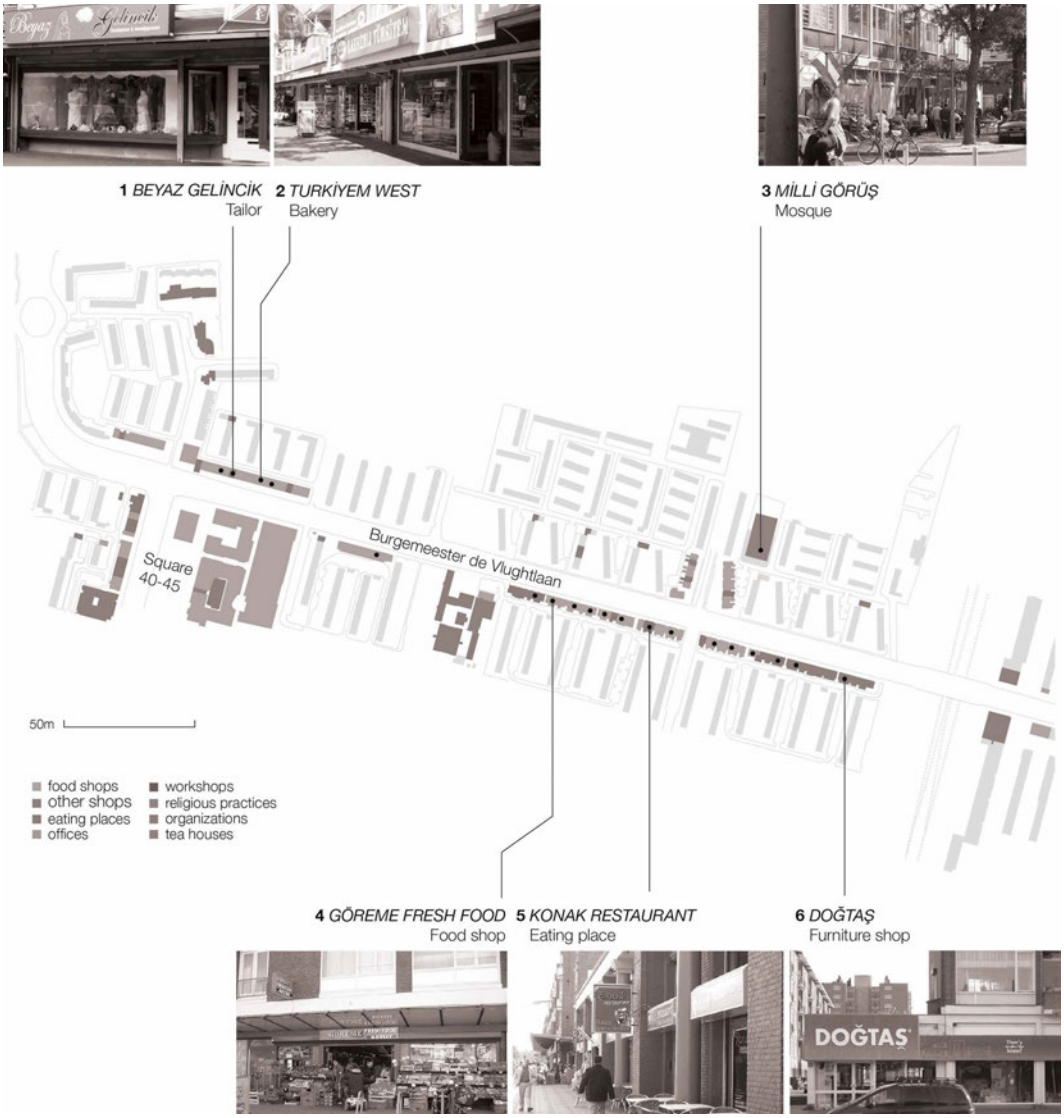

FIG. 5.6 Turkish amenities in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, 2007. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research)

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

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

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

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

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

In 2016

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.7 Findings

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

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

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

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

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

opening of a new museum on the street introduced a new function to the street and clearly added to the street diversity.

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

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

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

5.8 Discussion and conclusion

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

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

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

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

take into account the role of the presence of distinctive urban groups in public life in their development plans to promote the socio-cultural inclusion of distinctive urban groups.

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

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