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6 Cultural Visibility and Urban Justice in immigrant neighbourhoods of Amsterdam[6]

ABSTRACT This study investigates transformation processes in the streets of immigrant neighbourhoods in Amsterdam. It approaches the issue through the visibility of immigrant amenities – such as shops, restaurants, places of worship – with distinctive cultural signs and practices, that are recognizable in public spaces. The study analyses cultural visibility on two streets with a concentration of immigrant amenities, in 2007 and 2016. It approaches cultural visibility from two aspects: the physical setting and the people's activities in these streets. The findings reveal that the different architectural types and location of the neighbourhoods, and their different processes of urban renewal, have produced different outcomes in terms of cultural visibility.

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6.1 Introduction

The city of Amsterdam has long been known as “the just city”, after academics repeatedly praised it as a place of equality, diversity, and tolerance. Fainstein (1997) even made Amsterdam a good example of redistributive policies at local level. However, Amsterdam has changed, becoming a major tourist destination, with growing economic inequalities, political tensions, and gentrifying central neighbourhoods. Uitermark (2009, p.360) has explained the reasons for this infamous turn in local policies, timing the shift to ‘sometime around 1990’. The ongoing processes of the commodification and gentrification of Amsterdam’s central neighbourhoods are the product of real-estate market trends, but local planning policies and practices have also had a significant role (Uitermark *et al.*, 2007; Sakizlioglu, 2014; Hagemans *et al.*, 2015).

This study focuses on urban transformation processes in vital streets of immigrant neighbourhoods in Amsterdam, investigating changes in street amenities, using cultural visibility as a tool to perceive the presence and changes in these amenities. Cultural visibility is able to reveal relevant qualitative data generally hidden from official neighbourhood data. It provides a more refined understanding of the sense of place of a street than the usual quantitative approaches (Zukin, 1995).

The study’s main objective is to take the pulse of the cultural visibility of Turkish amenities in streets of Amsterdam from the perspective of urban justice. The main questions guiding the study are: what have been the recent changes in the cultural visibility of Turkish amenities in streets of Amsterdam, and do these changes relate to issues of urban justice?

To answer these questions, the study first presents the theoretical framework guiding the subsequent analyses linking public space, cultural visibility and urban justice. The following section explains the selection of cases and research steps. Amsterdam’s city and neighbourhood transformation processes are the focus of the next section. The empirical exploration of the selected streets is presented in the following section. The findings and conclusions are the last two sections.

6.2 Public space, cultural visibility and issues of urban justice

This section focuses on the theoretical aspects of the main concepts related to cultural visibility in public space. It defines cultural visibility and its capacity to capture relevant aspects of public space relating it to notions of urban justice, and explains how market trends, housing, planning and urban renewal policies shape neighbourhood transformation processes.

6.2.1 Public space, cultural visibility and urban justice

'Public spaces are all places publicly owned or of public use, accessible and enjoyable by all for free and without profit motive.' (UN-Habitat, 2015:2). Being open for all, public spaces have the capacity to encourage encounters, communication and interaction between its different (groups of) users. In fact, the modern use of the word "public" appeared in European bourgeois society in the eighteenth century, linked to the new public spaces – urban parks, boulevards, cafés, theatres, etc. – which emerged to serve more diverse groups of society (Sennett, 1974). It was in this period that the condition of seeing and being seen - visibility in public space - emerged as a fundamental aspect of modern city life that supports the awareness and tolerance among different urban groups, which is linked to diversity and democratic principles (Arendt, 1998; Sennett, 1970; Young, 2000).

Visibility can provide empirical evidence in studies of the features of public spaces that differentiate them from each other and make them unique. More specifically, cultural visibility – the visibility of marks, signs, symbols, languages, and practices of distinctive groups – makes places and neighbourhoods easily recognizable to residents and visitors.

In urban design and planning literature three features have received the most attention in characterizing public spaces. These are: physical settings, activities of the people, and meanings, components which 'are inseparably interwoven in our experiences of places' (Relph, 1976: 105). Physical setting refers to the built form, its permeability, landscape and urban furniture (Punter, 1991, cited in Montgomery, 1998; Montgomery, 1998). Activities are influenced by land uses, pedestrian flows, activity patterns, and circulation flows in the physical setting, which are related to

vitality (Jacobs, 1961; Gehl, 1989; Montgomery, 1998). Third are the psychological and socio-cultural processes by which an individual assigns meaning to a physical setting, its image and legibility (Lynch, 1960, Relph, 1976). Cultural visibility thus becomes a useful tool in obtaining direct empirical evidence of the physical setting of a place, the activities related to the functioning of the place, and also useful to perceive aspects of its image and legibility:

'From the way it looks, a local shopping street delivers a powerful message about whether a neighbourhood is rich or poor, with a majority of one ethnic group or another. This message about the space can be read by everyone; it helps to determine who "belongs" there and who, by contrast, is "out of place"'. (Zukin et al., 2015:13).

The cultural visibility of immigrant groups in public space is linked to the notion of urban justice because the notion of public space itself is inherently related to it. Indeed, earlier ideas about justice were linked to 'urban-based "civil" rights and the actions of… a civil society, or a public realm, involved in deciding how best to maintain equitable access to urban resources for all those who qualified.'(Soja, 2010:75). But such notions of distributive justice have been revised, in order to pay closer attention to the institutional forces generating inequalities and injustice (Young, 2000; Harvey, 2010; Soja, 2010).

Fainstein's (2010) conceptualization of the just city is close to distributional equity, but includes urban diversity and democracy; stating that policies and plans should be examined on their contribution to these three principles. Young (2000) focused on the relationship between urban justice and inclusive democracy, proposing city life as the arena to deal with participatory democracy. Accordingly, 'democratic public should provide mechanisms for the effective recognition and representation of distinct voices and perspective of those of its constituent groups that are oppressed or disadvantaged' (2000:184). This is similar to Lefebvre's (1996) 'Right to the City' view, which states the right of all individuals and groups to have a voice in shaping the city.

Changes in cultural visibility can then be related to changes in terms of urban justice. 'The look and feel of cities reflect decisions about what – and who – should be visible and what should not, on concepts of order and disorder, and on uses of aesthetic power.' (Zukin, 1995:7). It is therefore important to understand the urban processes behind these transformations. To identify who decides what – and whom – should be visible in a certain space or street, and under which considerations, becomes important to understand the trends on urban justice.

6.2.2 Urban policies and neighbourhood transformation

Cities and neighbourhoods are constantly evolving and transforming through complex, dynamic and multi-dimensional processes.

'Throughout history, the city has been shaped by the most powerful forces of the time, and today's cities are no exception... Now it is the service society's turn to shape the city in its own image, to turn it into a locus of exchange; for ideas, goods and services...' (Madanipour, 2006:176).

The transition into the service society has revalorized public spaces, amenities and 'third places' in central areas of cities, considered necessary to attract knowledge workers, or the so-called 'creative class' (Florida, 2002).

Many different actors, with different powers, interact in urban transformation processes, sometimes conflicting with each other, at others concurring. Madanipour (2006) distinguishes three main groups of actors in urban processes – developers, regulators and users of the city – each of which involves other groups of actors. Developers usually have revenues as main goal; users aim to live in a good city that satisfies their needs and demands; while regulators try to balance the demands of the different groups through policies and plans. In short, private sector investments, citizens' initiatives, and policies and plans at different levels are the most important drivers of change of the built environment in the contemporary Western city. But the roles of the state, the private sector and civil society in urban transformation processes greatly depend on the country's 'welfare system and political forces as well as physical, social and economic structures of urban areas.' (Kleinhans, 2004:367).

Urban policies and regulations at different levels have been important drivers and controllers in the transformation of the physical setting and the activities of existing neighbourhoods, which, in turn, have modified their image. Of these urban policies, urban renewal has been at the forefront of processes transforming neighbourhoods in European cities. But also housing allocation regulations, and city and district policies and regulations, have had important effects in the physical setting of a neighbourhood. Furthermore, zoning regulations and local (sectoral) regulations have a significant effect on the activities of a place, deciding which kind of amenities can get permits to function in selected spaces (see Figure 6.1).

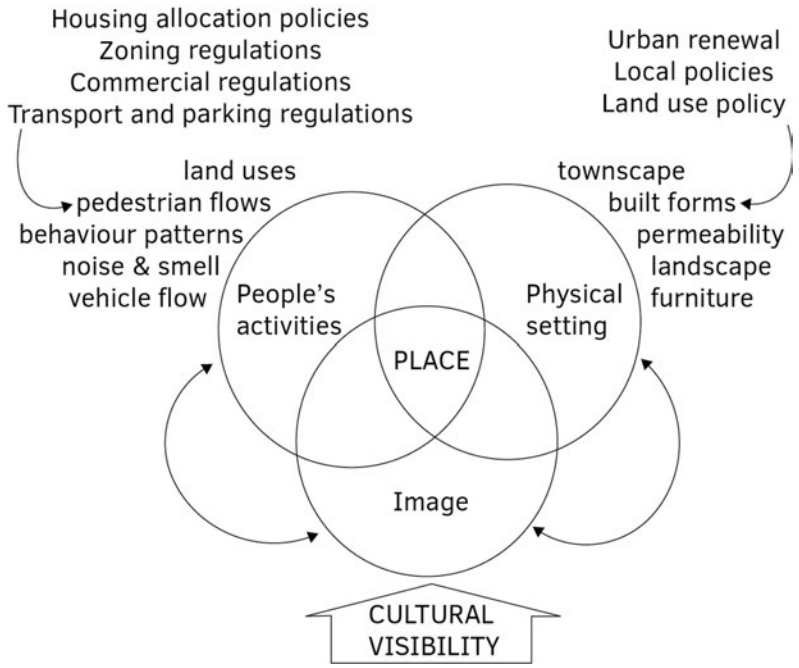

FIG. 6.1 Urban policies shaping neighbourhood transformation.

Initially, urban renewal interventions were generally directed at changing the physical setting of decayed neighbourhoods. After some time, it became evident that the problems of these neighbourhoods were multi-dimensional and physical measures alone could not help to alleviate them. Social programmes were put in place to promote the social and job integration of vulnerable groups, but with little success (Uitermark *et al.*, 2007).

Since the 1990s, the concept of liveability has become important in urban policies and interventions at European level. To improve liveability in 'problem' areas, urban interventions have been increasingly applied in order to change their population composition and even regulate their ethnic diversity (Bodaar, 2006). Gradually, social mixing became the main objective of urban renewal interventions in several European countries.

Urban policies directed at social mixing have changed the character of places in terms of their physical setting, activities and image, with the aim of making them more attractive and functional for the 'service society'. This has generally led to gentrification, which has displaced (some of) the original residents to less attractive and more suburban city areas. The cultural visibility of places

is therefore transformed through a combination of urban policies, which are implemented to serve some groups of society more than other, more vulnerable and disadvantaged groups.

'In the Netherlands, state actors and housing associations ambitiously pursue a project of state-led gentrification in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The state induces housing associations and seduces private developers to invest in the construction of middle-class, owner-occupied housing in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods with many low-cost social rented dwellings.' (Uitermark et al., 2007:125).

6.3 The study

The main aim of this investigation is to take the pulse to the cultural visibility of immigrant streets of Amsterdam, relating it to aspects of urban justice. Within Amsterdam, Turkish amenities have a high visibility compared with those of other ethnic groups, because Turkish immigrants comprise the largest immigrant group in the Netherlands, with almost 400,000 persons, representing 2.35 per cent of the country's population. Besides, Turks show a high level of entrepreneurship compared to other population groups (Rath and Kloosterman, 2000).

Javastraat and Burgemeesterde de Vlugtlaan are the two streets studied, selected on the basis of their different locations within Amsterdam and for being the main streets within the neighbourhoods with the highest number of Turkish residents in Amsterdam (Indische Buurt and Slotermeer, respectively). Javastraat has an inner-city location, close to the historic city centre within the city ring. Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan has a suburban location, outside the city ring (see Figure 6.2).

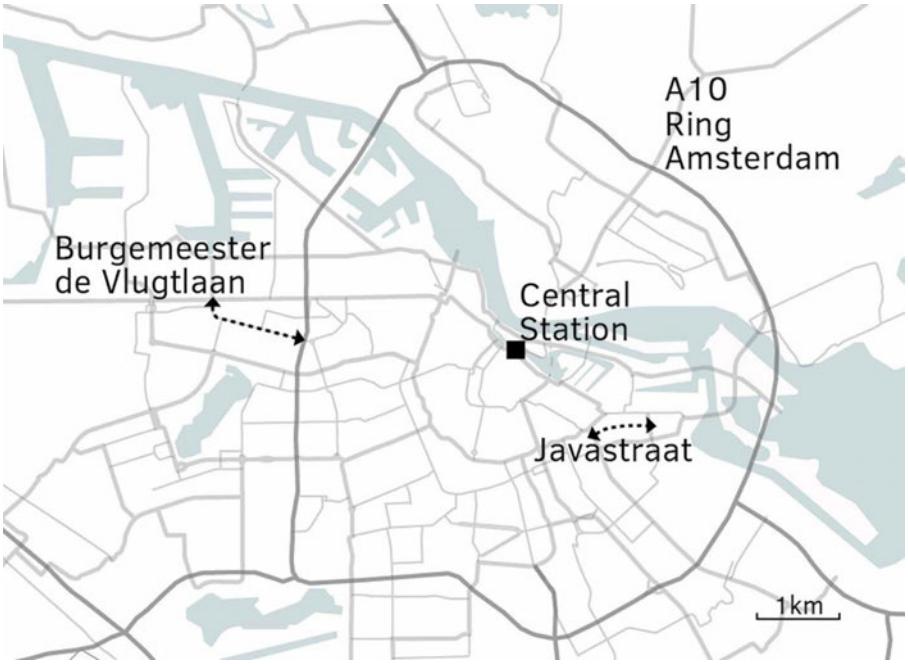

FIG. 6.2 Location of the selected study areas in Amsterdam.

The research was conducted in three main steps:

1 Description of the transformation processes in the neighbourhoods of the selected streets, with a specific attention to the period 2007–2016.

2 Analysis of public space in 2007 and 2016 in the two streets, investigating changes in cultural visibility in terms of:

   a Physical setting: the study of the relationship between the built form of the streets and the types and ways that amenities are located and shape their physical appearance to make themselves recognizable in the public space.
   b People's activities: the study of how the amenities relate to the general use intensity and use patterns of the streets and how they differentiate during the various times of the day, which enhances or limits their cultural visibility.

The data were collected in October 2007 and November 2016. The observations were carried out walking and cycling between 9 am and 11 pm hours on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Field notes were annotated, mapped and photographed. The researchers also conducted informal interviews with some shopkeepers and residents.

3 Discussion of the findings of step 1 and 2, relating the observed trends to issues of urban justice.

6.4 City and neighbourhood transformation in Amsterdam

Since World War II, the Netherlands has regularly applied urban renewal policies to address the problems of its cities. To tackle the huge housing demand of the reconstruction period, urban policies initially focused on building social housing estates in suburban areas. Cities grew outwards and people moved out of central areas. Eventually, the social housing sector succeeded in meeting the housing needs, providing housing to a large proportion of people in cities.

Meanwhile, in the decayed neighbourhoods of central areas, the main policy was to demolish buildings and build modern ones. In several cities residents' movements strongly opposed such renewal plans, pushing the local government to undertake urban renewal interventions. After extensive negotiations between local government, housing corporations and residents during the 1970s and 1980s, in Amsterdam urban renewal processes succeeded in improving the housing stock and public space in central areas (Uitermark, 2009).

The rules of social housing allocation also explain neighbourhood transformation, especially the concentration of immigrant groups in certain areas of Amsterdam. Approximately 45 per cent of the population were of foreign origin in 2015 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015), and in Dutch statistics can be divided into 'Western', and 'non-Western'. The former generally have higher education and income, while the latter generally the opposite. They also have different housing situations: Western immigrants live in more attractive and central parts of the city, while most non-Western immigrants live in social housing areas, which they choose according to their household size and affordability. Evidently, their choice is limited, and has resulted in their concentration in specific areas. Currently, Turkish and Moroccans households tend to concentrate in the Amsterdam New West district – a post-war social housing area – and East – a nineteenth-century workers' neighbourhood close to the city centre. Turks are also clustered on the north-west periphery. Surinamese and Antilleans are generally concentrated in the south-east area.

With the liberal turn of the welfare regime in the early 1990s, the focus of urban policies shifted to improving 'segregated' neighbourhoods through social mixing and the diversification of housing in order to promote social cohesion (van Beckhoven and van Kempen, 2003). Home-ownership was strongly promoted through financial mechanisms. In 1995, housing associations changed status and became private sector organizations. Although they remained non-profit, the new status gave them financial independence to sell their property.

In 1994, the Big Cities policy was launched for urban renewal in problematic areas. This policy, with its three pillars of physical, social and economic issues, has framed most urban renewal interventions since 1994. Housing associations, owners of most housing units in the neighbourhoods involved, and local authorities became the crucial actors as well as the financers of these urban interventions. Table 6-1 shows the evolution of the Big Cities policy goals and policy actions. An important national effort was launched in March 2007, when the government appointed designated forty 'focus neighbourhoods' (*aandachtswijken*), which would receive special attention for their improvement. Five of these were located in Amsterdam, in areas, which included the Indische Buurt and Slotermeer. The Big Cities Policy came to an end in 2010.

TABLE 6.1 Evolution of the Big Cities policies 1994-2009 (Adapted from Musterd and Ostendorf, 2008)

Name of policy	Main goal	Period	Slogan	Definition of social issues	Typical policy actions
Big Cities Policy I	Mixed neighbourhoods	1994–1998	Immigration of high incomes	Homogeneous poor neighbourhood (segregated)	Neighbourhood restructuring, attract better-off
Big Cities Policy II	Stable neighbourhoods	1998–2004	Prevent leaving neighbourhood	Housing career within neighbourhood	Creating opportunities in the neighbourhood
Big Cities Policy III	Stronger neighbourhoods	2004–2009	Powerful cities	Ethnic concentrations/ integration	Neighbourhood restructuring, social mix
Big Cities Policy + (aandachts-wijken)	Integrated neighbourhoods	2007-2009	Prevent parallel societies	Ethnic and social integration	Neighbourhood restructuring, social mix, housing association involvement

The Urban Restructuring (Stedelijke Vernieuwing) policy was the pillar of the Big Cities policy, aiming to transform neighbourhoods through the demolition, selling or upgrading of social housing units, replacing them with owner-occupied dwellings for higher income groups. This policy and its specific predisposition towards demolition and upgrading the housing stock expressed the specific preferences of the housing associations, the owners of the dwellings in these areas (Uitermark, 2003).

Amsterdam's own plans were described in the *Nota Stedelijke Vernieuwing* (Gemeente Amsterdam, 1999), which focused on increasing housing quality and differentiation; promoting quality of life; and optimizing land use. This meant that 'Modest ambitions and gradual transformation are passé; it is time for the "total makeover". The middle class must be held on to or hauled in, and therefore the proportion of public housing must be drastically reduced in order to make the neighbourhood safer and increase its liveability' (Uitermark, 2008: 179).

Meanwhile, Amsterdam steadily became an attractive destination for tourists and young professionals, which has led to an increased housing demand. The increased and unfulfilled demand, in the context of the more prominent role of the private sector, has led to a constant rise in housing prices. Figure 6.3 shows the evolution of the average price of homes sold in Amsterdam (the uppermost plot on the graph) between 1995 and 2016, illustrating the growing difference from the national average.

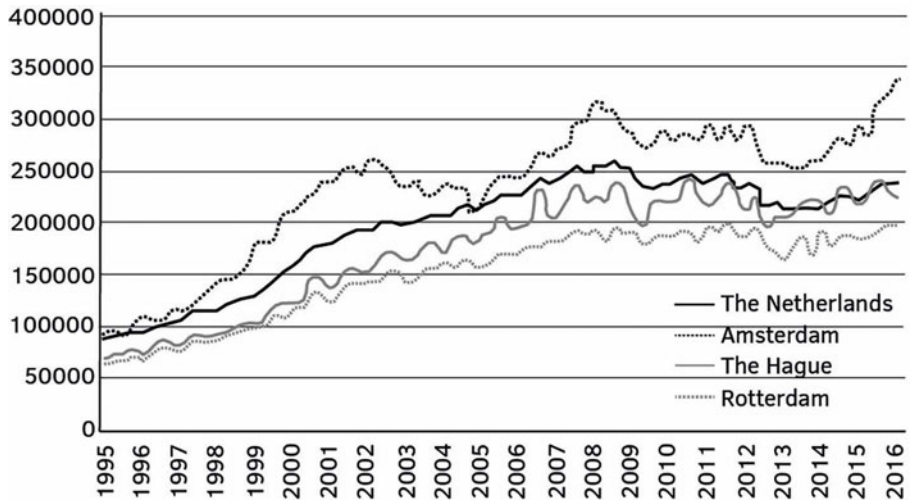

FIG. 6.3 Average price of homes sold in the Netherlands, 1995–2016. (Source: Boterman, 2016)

These real estate trends, in combination with the new spirit of urban policies at city level have led to processes of commodification and gentrification of Amsterdam central neighbourhoods, visibly changing their population composition, while immigrant groups have increasingly moved into suburban locations (Ostendorf

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and Musterd, 2011). Indeed, gentrification is not a taboo for many local policy-makers, which now justify it as a means of achieving a vital urban economy. 'While in other countries, the word gentrification is rarely used by policy-makers directly, in the Netherlands it is a central, explicit aim which policy-makers are open about promoting' (Ernst and Doucet, 2014: 192), as the head of the Planning, Space an Economy Section of the municipality of Amsterdam clearly stated in a column entitled 'Let the gentrifiers come' (Gadet, 2015). This constitutes a striking shift away from the previous Amsterdam urban justice goals, towards economy and market-driven solutions (Uitermark 2009).

As a result of these gentrifying trends, in the 1995–2010 period, the proportion of low-income households in Amsterdam decreased from 47 per cent to 31 per cent, while the high-income population increased from 14 per cent to 28 per cent (AFWC, 2012, cited by Tieleman, 2013). Within the case study streets (Javastraat and Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan), the changed population composition has been remarkable, and illustrates the extent gentrification process in Amsterdam. Table 6-2 shows the rate of change in these neighbourhoods.

TABLE 6.2 Turkish residents in the Indische Buurt and Slotermeer in 2008 and 2015 (Source: Gemeente Amsterdam, 2008; 2015)

	Turkish residents	Total residents
Indische Buurt		
2008	2770	23243
2015	2145	22824
Difference	–22,56%	-1,80%
Slotermeer		
2008	3673	25391
2015	4538	26484
Difference	+23,55%	+ 4,30%

Source: Gemeente Amsterdam, 2008;2015.

6.4.1 The Indische Buurt

Javastraat is the main street of the Indische Buurt, which used to have a predominantly non-Western foreign population, but its share has decreased to 32 per cent in 2015 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015). The neighbourhood was built between 1900 and 1925 with social rented housing for skilled workers. Most homes are quite small, ranging between 40 and 50 m^2. In the 1960s, the state of the

buildings had declined so much that the original residents moved out and settled in suburban areas. The empty homes were taken over by squatters, who opposed the plans of private developers trying to demolish the buildings. The municipality finally decided to undertake urban renewal interventions under the 'building for the neighbourhood' programme during the 1980s (Berg and Zonneveld, 2008).

Gradually, the composition of the neighbourhood changed again, as social housing allocation rules led to the concentration of immigrants in the area, it became a multicultural neighbourhood. Due to the concentration of social problems, which included criminality, the Indische Buurt acquired a bad reputation. But in the 1990s, the redevelopment of the old port areas, and later the construction of the IJburg island in the East district made the Indische Buurt a more central location within Amsterdam and, as such, more attractive to some groups.

In 2007, the three housing associations of the neighbourhood and the district government signed a covenant for the renovation of the Indische Buurt. This included the improvement of dwellings and commercial premises, and the refurbishing of public spaces, aiming to improve the safety and quality of life (Stadsdeel Zeeburg, 2008). The 'upgrading' of the social housing stock consisted of the renovation of façades, internal renovation of flats, and joining small units to create larger ones (Berg and Zonneveld, 2008).

Special priority was given to upgrading the commercial streetscape of Javastraat, executed in 2008. The street façades were renovated, the pavements widened and car parking reduced, making it safer for cyclists. New trees were planted, decorative lights were installed and fountains were built on the Javaplein. More importantly, the district government invited specific 'white' entrepreneurs to establish themselves in the renovated street, while housing associations offered very inexpensive rents, on the assumption that such amenities would contribute to upgrading of Javastraat and its amenities (Stadsdeel Oost, 2012).

National urban policies such as the promotion of home-ownership, the changed status of housing associations, and more importantly, the urban renewal policies directed towards 'social mixing', provided the foundations for the locally designed interventions to 'upgrade' the Indische Buurt. The district regulations for cafés and restaurants followed the same concept of 'upgrading' and transforming the commercial landscape of the street, suggesting the coordination of actions towards the same goal at district level. A street manager was especially hired for the intervention at Javastraat by the district government, who failed to represent or support the street entrepreneurs but simply communicated the works and actions decided by the local government and housing associations (Hagemans *et al*., 2015).

The interventions have succeeded in bringing 'an influx of middle-class "white" Dutch residents and "creative" businesses into areas with strong concentration of ethnic minorities and immigrant-owned shops' (Hagemans *et al.*, 2015: 104). Since most apartments are very small, they have attracted young professionals, with the effect of 'rejuvenating' the neighbourhood, as well as displacing lower-income immigrant households. The changed population composition has been remarkable, leading to academic and newspaper[7] articles dedicated to the gentrification of the Indische Buurt, characterized as a state-led gentrification (Sakizlioglu, 2014; Hagemans *et al.*, 2015).

6.4.2 Slotermeer

Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan is the main road artery of Slotermeer, part of the s104 access road to Amsterdam's inner city coming from the highway to Haarlem. It is located in the northern part of the Western Garden Cities (*Westelijke Tuinsteden*), which was Amsterdam's first suburban expansion of the post-war period. The proportion of residents with an immigrant origin in Slotermeer has increased by 24.5 per cent in the 2008–2015 period.

The western suburbs were built during the 1950s and contained 54,000 dwellings built according the modernist ideals of Cornelius van Eesteren, following the General Extension Plan for Amsterdam (AUP) (1935) (Wagenaar, 2011). The spacious neighbourhoods attracted many young middle-class families from the city centre. Until the 1970s, it was an attractive area to move to, but its popularity declined along with changes in the population composition. Dutch middle-income households moved out, while immigrant groups arrived and concentrated in some neighbourhoods (Bureau Parkstad, 2001).

Since 2000, the western suburbs have been subject to an ambitious urban renewal intervention, 'Towards Parkstad', which included the demolition of 13,300 dwellings and the construction of 28,000 new ones (Bureau Parkstad, 2001). New West has become an attractive option for young households, which has produced an increase of residents in the 25–39 age cohort (Zandvliet and Dignum, 2014). Slotermeer Noord was included in the last and less radical phase of the renovation, which demolished 1,212 dwellings and built 1,207 new ones (Stadsdeel Geuzenveld-Slotermeer, 2009).

7 An article in the New York Times (Shorto, 2016) describes how tourism and gentrification have transformed Amsterdam in few years, commenting how remarkable the transformation of the Indische Buurt is.

These transformations have not affected buildings along the Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan. The renewal plans have, however, included the demolition of the Airey flats[8], located at the beginning of the avenue. Local residents and stakeholders opposed to the demolition, and mobilized to make people aware of the area's historic value. In 2007, the city recognized the exceptional cultural, historical and urban values of the area and its designer, designating it a 'Municipal conservation site' (*gemeentelijk beschermd stadsgezicht*)[9]: the Van Eesteren Museum area. This designation included the establishment of the Van Eesteren Museum in 2010, dedicated to the historic values of the western suburbs, and its modernistic urbanism. The museum is housed in an old school building, and has become a visitor attraction in the city, placing the neighbourhood on the cultural and tourist map of Amsterdam. Furthermore, the demolition plans were stopped, and this later led to the renovation of the Airey flats, which began in January 2016.

Two significant processes have taken place in the street. On the one hand, grassroots pressure has been able to stop the planned demolition and to demand a respectful renovation of one of the housing estates. On the other hand, the city has contributed to the wishes of residents and stakeholders by designating it a municipal conservation site and establishing the Van Eesteren Museum. These actions have improved the image and cultural value of the area.

6.5 Cultural visibility in Javastraat and Burgemeester van Vlugtlaan

This section describes the cultural visibility of Turkish amenities in Javastraat and Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, focusing on mainly two themes that play a role in shaping cultural visibility: physical setting and people's activities.

8 The Airey flats owe their name to the English Airey pre-fabricated construction system with which the estate was built. This estate, built in 1951, consists of 13 three-storey buildings designed by architect J.F. Berghoef.

9 Amsterdam has several nationally appointed conservation areas, but the Van Eesteren Museum area is the only at municipal level (see https://www.amsterdam.nl/kunst-cultuur/monumenten/monumenten/wet-regelgeving/beschermde-stads-0/).

6.5.1 Javastraat

This one kilometre long street is the main street of the Indische Buurt (Figure 6.4), located in the Oost (East) district of Amsterdam.

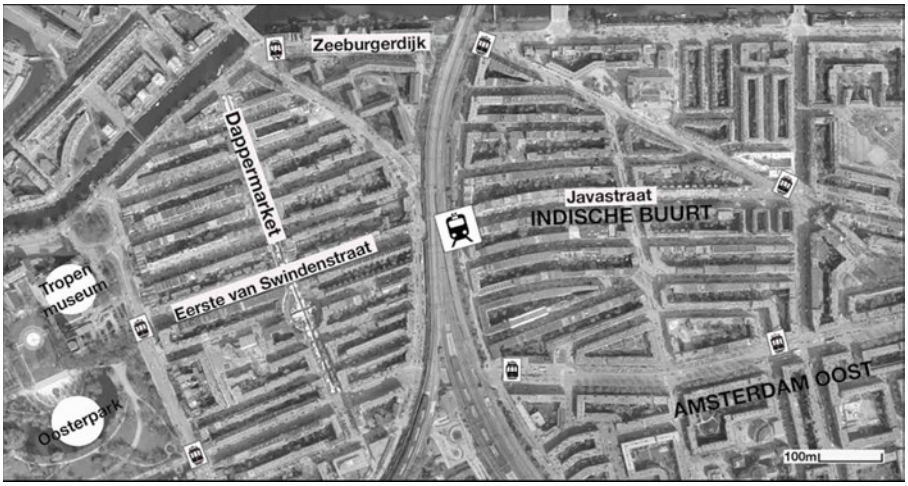

FIG. 6.4 The Indische Buurt and Javastraat. (Source:Adapted from Google Maps)

Cultural visibility of Turkish amenities in 2007

Physical setting. In 2007 Javastraat had a large variety of retail and amenities owned and managed by entrepreneurs from different origins. Turkish amenities dominated the streetscape, comprising almost a third of those present. According to one shopkeeper, this concentration developed very fast after Turkish households moved to the neighbourhood in the 1980s. Two main differences were observed here: between the east and west sides of Javastraat, and between commercial and communal amenities.

Regarding the differences between the two sides of the street, the west side had less immigrant amenities than the east side. The west side crosses a daily street market, the Dappermarkt, offering food and clothing serving for the whole city. The Turkish amenities located here – a grocery store, a butcher, a supermarket, a shop for Islamic clothing – were family businesses.

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Figure 6.5 shows the large proportion of food shops and eating places along the street, depicting Turkish amenities with black dots, distinctive due to the signs and language shaping their cultural visibility. There are twenty-five Turkish shops groceries stores, bakeries, restaurants, cafés, teahouses, and clothing repair shops, travel agencies and beauty salons. The photographs in Figure 6.5 show the similar physical appearance of different types of commercial amenities. The visual presentation of their products with their stalls of groceries stretching outside the shop towards the sidewalk, and the accumulation of many different products in front of it, characterizes the streetscape. Shop windows are generally used to announce events for Turkish audiences. The shops generally have large front banners with bright colours and big letters, and names referring to the owners' hometown or family name.

Regarding the differences between commercial and communal amenities, the openness of the former contrasts with the limited visibility of the latter. Teahouses[10] are generally introverted, with closed curtains or dark glass windows. They do not welcome everybody because they cater for a limited group of (Turkish male) users. A teahouse owner pointed out that this limited visibility is also because the municipality controls them and restricts their use of the sidewalks.

10 Teahouses are also commercial amenities, but they function as communal places.

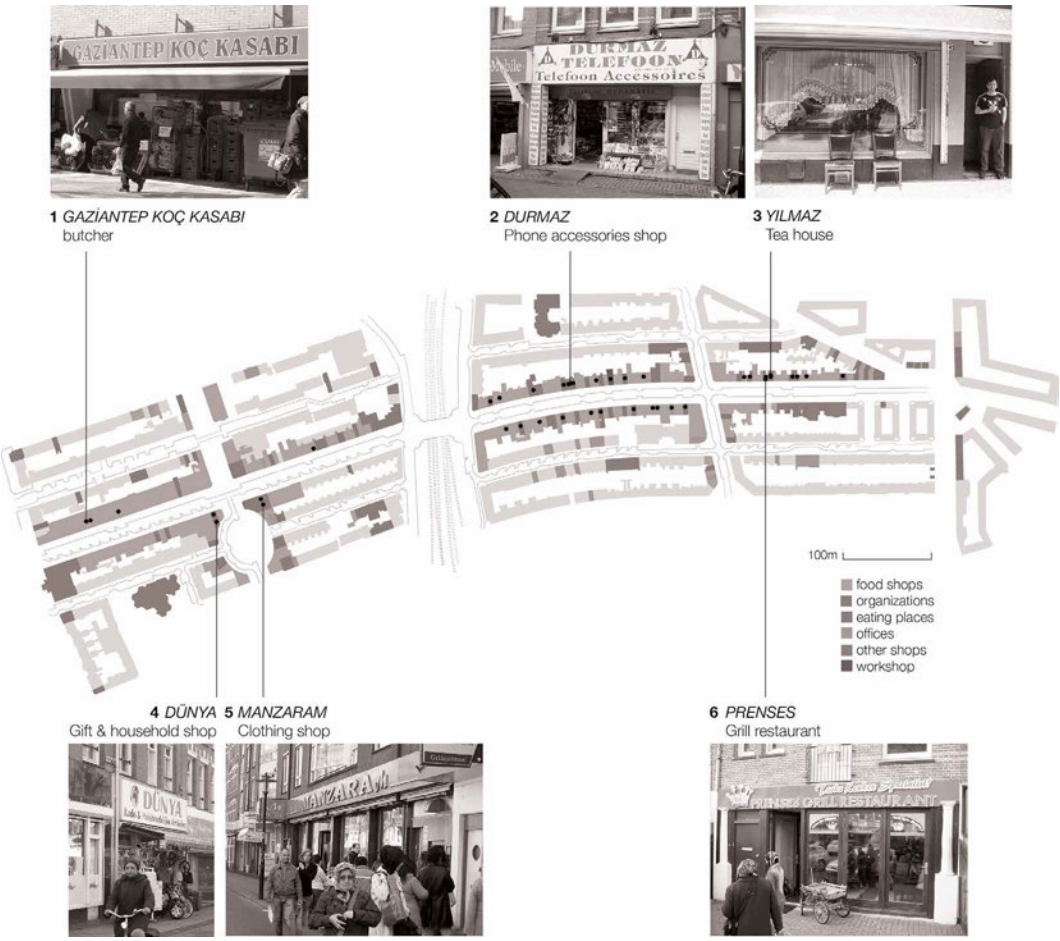

FIG. 6.5 Turkish amenities in Javastraat, 2007. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research)

People's activities. The Dappermarket had a dominant influence on the user intensity and user activities on the west side of the street, with a peak in its user intensity from 09 am to 4 pm. Surrounding shops generally followed these working hours, so after the market closed the street became quiet. This influenced sidewalk activities such as people sitting, gathering and chatting. Figure 6.6 shows the user intensity and major user activities on Javastraat, and the differences between west and east of the street.

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These differences were evident both during the day and at night. The long opening hours of Turkish cafés, teahouses and restaurants produce a vibrant street life, especially in the evening. Teahouses and restaurants open around noon and reach a peak in the evening. Their clientele increased the use intensity of the street several hours after other amenities had closed. They also prolonged the street use with gathering and chatting people in front of the amenities. Teahouses contribute to the socialization of Turkish men by facilitating the exchanges for daily news and information about job and housing opportunities. A similar case happens for Turkish women in food shops. Food shops offer halal products and attract mainly women, especially housewives, who tend to buy their food on a daily basis. These amenities provide an opportunity for socialization between women, who exchange the latest news or plans for the rest of the day. Street furniture facilitates these exchanges.

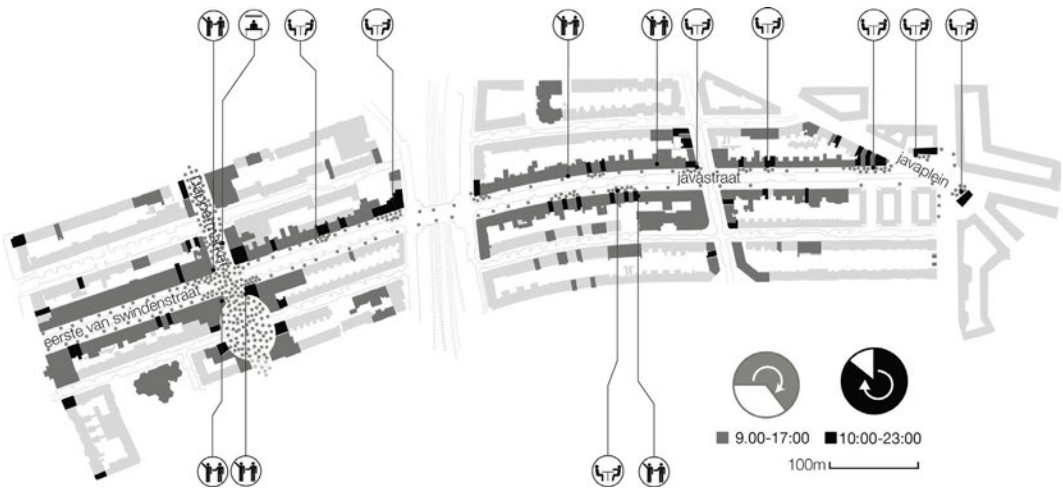

FIG. 6.6 User intensity and user activities in Javastraat, 2007. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research)

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Changes in cultural visibility of Turkish amenities in 2016

Physical setting. Comparing the 2016 situation with that observed in 2007, the changes in this aspect of cultural visibility in Javastraat are significant. The street has a very different look as a consequence of the urban renewal interventions. Two main effects of these are: the establishment of more 'desirable' type of cafés, restaurants and shops; and the widening of sidewalks, and reduction of parking spaces and car traffic.

On the west side, Javastraat streetscape did not change much, except for a new vintage shop and a shop specializing in baking products. Cultural visibility increased through three newly-established Turkish cafés offering Turkish regional and street food, but one street food shop closed after 6 months due to competition.

On the east side, however, almost half of the Turkish shops observed in 2007 have closed. Most have been replaced by trendy cafés and shops targeting the new residents. Some other Turkish amenities have adapted to the needs of new residents. For example, a teahouse has been turned into a restaurant, and a bakery now offers organic products to cater for a wider group of customers. Amenities targeting a very specific group of Turkish immigrants – such as an Islamic clothing shop for women – are clearly having difficulties in running their businesses. The owner of the shop stated:

'My clients are not interested in these newly opened cafés and pubs. They don't like to walk in a street with café tables, where people are drinking alcohol. They don't come to this street anymore for enjoyment. This decreases their visits to the street, [and] therefore diminishes the number of clients visiting my shop'.

The street transformation has also influenced the physical appearance of the Turkish amenities. Those which changed their function renewed their windows and interior to make them attractive for the new residents. Those which did not change were obliged to renovate the shop fronts according to the urban renewal interventions. This is more evident in food shops such as groceries and supermarkets.

People's activities. Comparing the 2016 situation to that in 2007, the changes in this aspect of cultural visibility in Javastraat are also significant. The street has a different atmosphere as a consequence of the arrival of new residents and the activities related to the new type of cafés, restaurants and shops. The widening of sidewalks and reduction of car traffic have made the street much more friendly to pedestrian and bicycle use. The wider sidewalks have promoted the street use by cafés and restaurants.

The street life in the west part of Javastraat has not changed very much; the role of Dappermarkt in shaping user intensity and behaviour is still very dominant. On the east part, however, the street life is much more active than in 2007. The presence of young visitors to these cafés both day and night provide a constant use of the street. Turkish amenities, which were able to adapt their businesses to the new situation, contribute to the vibrant street life; however, they are not as dominant as they were in 2007.

6.5.2 Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan

This one kilometre-long street is located in Slotermeer, a neighbourhood in the New West district of Amsterdam, outside Amsterdam's inner ring highway (see Figure 6.7).

FIG. 6.7 Slotermeer and Burgemeester de Vlughtlaan. (Source: Adapted from Google Maps)

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Cultural visibility of Turkish amenities in 2007

Physical setting. In 2007 Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan manifested itself as an immigrant street with abundant amenities from Turkish and Moroccan immigrants. In 2007, there were nineteen Turkish amenities, which represented less than half the total number. Figure 6.10 illustrates their variety, in which Turkish amenities are showed in black dots. As a main road artery from this modernist neighbourhood, Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan has a completely different physical layout from Javastraat, without the characteristic human scale of Amsterdam inner-city areas. This is especially seen in its layout – with two lanes for cars on each side and a tramline in the middle – and the position of the building blocks in relation to the profile of the street. This results in an uneven distribution of amenities along the street, producing differences on the east and west sides.

On the east side, amenities were located along one side of the street. Turkish amenities began with two adjacent furniture shops (photo 6 in Figure 6.8), followed by small cafés and restaurants with terraces, including a well-known Turkish restaurant (see photo 5 in Figure 6.8). Across the street a Turkish mosque with a group of commercial amenities hardly drew attention due to their receded location set back from the street (see photo 3 in Figure 6.8). They comprise a grocery shop, a teahouse, a men's hairdresser, a billiard hall and religious organizations for children and women.

At the west side, Turkish shops gradually changed into food-related products, associated with the 40–45 Square, the heart of the Slotermeer district, which consists of a daily food market surrounded by a shopping centre. A supermarket within this shopping centre attracted visitors from the whole city due to its large variety of economical and exotic food products. Across the street, there was a small hub of Turkish shops with more daily food products, a café-restaurant, bakery, and other services such as a tailor for wedding dresses.

The photographs in Figure 6.8 also show that the shops share some features with those in Javastraat – large banners with big letters, and posters and advertisement boards on the shop windows – but the display of the products and groceries on the sidewalk is much less dominant, as the frontages and size of the shops are larger than on Javastraat. In short, the streetscape is more spacious, has a more modern look and is less cluttered. Moreover, the physical appearance of shops has not been a specific target of renovation interventions to 'improve' them as in Javastraat.

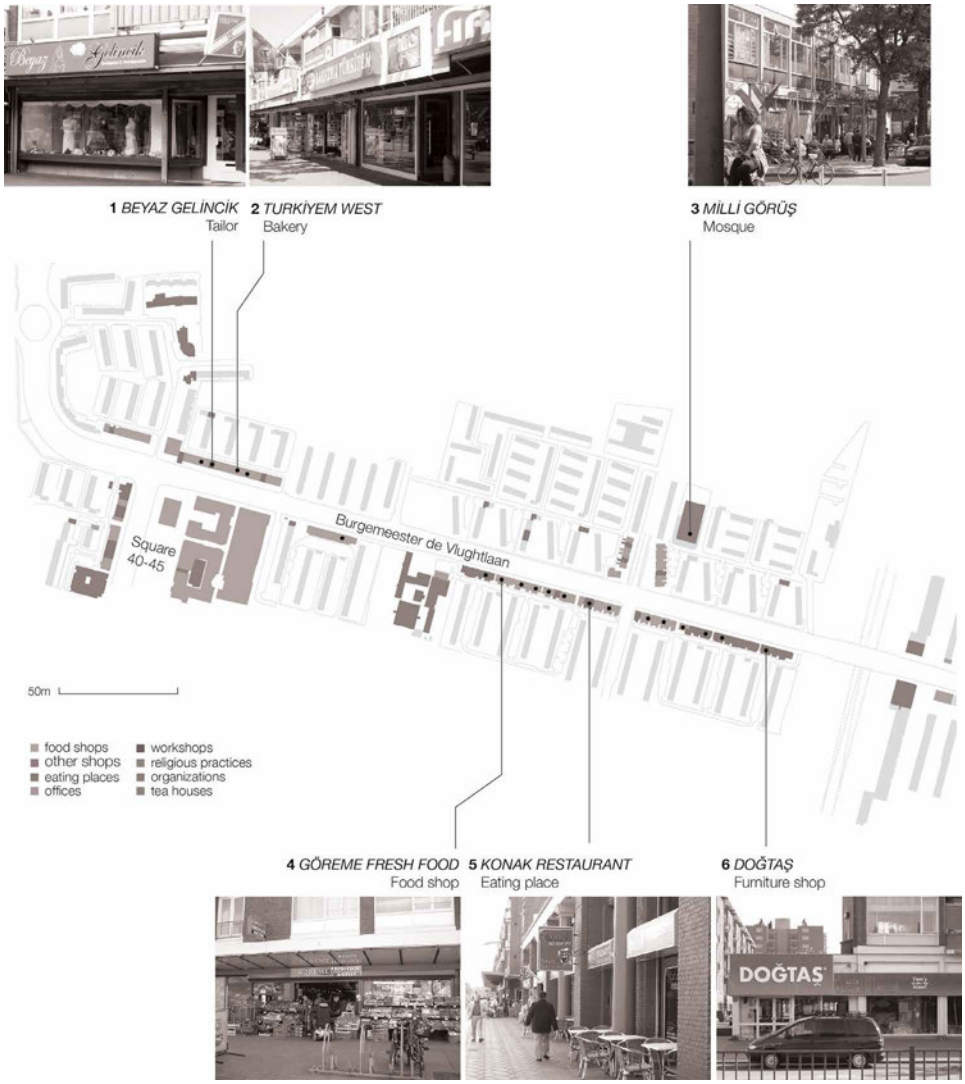

FIG. 6.8 Turkish amenities in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan in 2007. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research)

People's activities. As with the Dappermarkt in Javastraat, the 40–45 Square had considerable influence on user intensity and activities on the west side of Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, with a peak from 9 am to 4 pm. Some of the amenities operate during the same working hours, but Turkish amenities are generally open longer hours, which influences people's activities such as hanging out, gathering, chatting and meeting other people outside this amenities.

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Figure 6.9 presents the street amenities and their general opening hours. Turkish amenities – mainly restaurants and cafés – are among those which open until late, not a common occurrence in suburban areas. These amenities' customers intensify the use of the street and make this otherwise quiet street livelier, increasing the visibility of Turkish amenities. In the area close to the mosque, user intensity was clearly related to the rituals practiced within the mosque. Practicing Muslims should pray five times a day: near dawn, at noon, in the afternoon, just after sunset, and around nightfall. The user intensity in the area close to the mosque increased at prayer times, while its surrounding amenities functioned as a gathering place for men, keeping this area active until late at night. Although the complex includes facilities for women and children, the mosque is a gendered place, where the domination of men is evident.

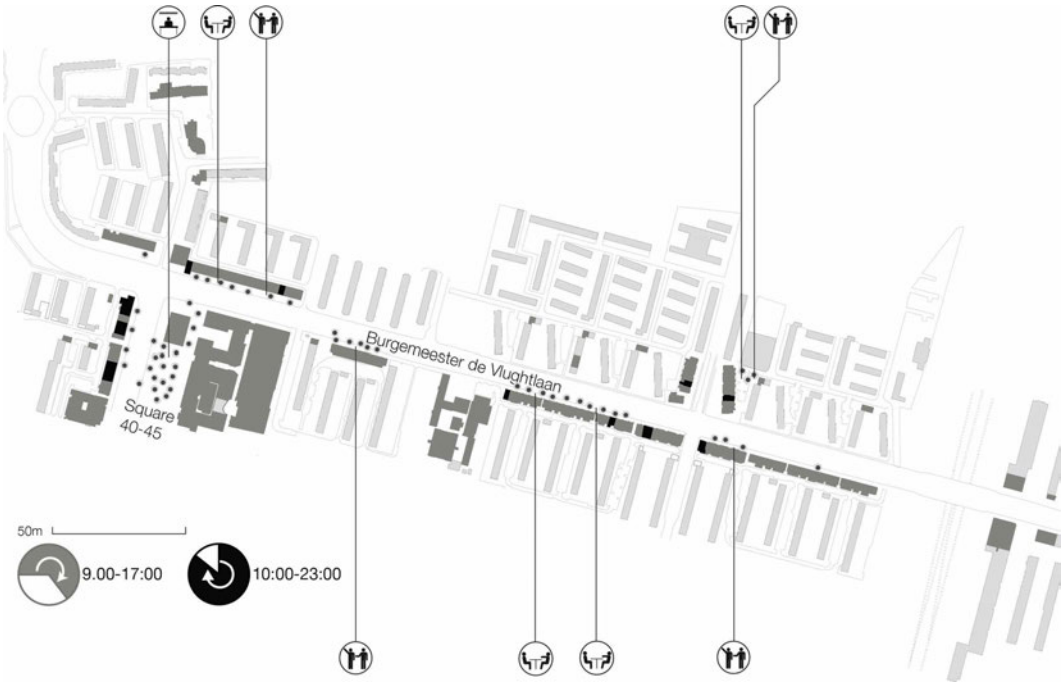

FIG. 6.9 User intensity and user activities in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, 2007. (Source: Author's own elaborations with data collected by the research)

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Cultural visibility of Turkish amenities in 2016

Physical setting. Comparing the 2016 situation with that of 2007, the changes in this aspect of cultural visibility in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan are not very significant, especially compared to the transformation experienced by Javastraat in the same period. Most changes can be found in the area around the 40–45 Square and the adjacent shopping centre, whose physical appearance has altered, with the opening of new shops, cafés and restaurants. Turkish restaurants and other Turkish amenities dominate the streetscape across the shopping mall. They include a beauty salon and a successful fast-food restaurant specializing in halal products, evidently targeting a Muslim clientele, but with a modern-looking appearance (Figure 6.10 upper right). No significant changes have been observed in the area of the mosque and surrounding amenities.

FIG. 6.10 Amenities in west (above) and east (below) sides of Burgemeester de Vluchtlaan, 2016 (Source:Photo: Sezer)

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People's activities. Comparing the 2016 situation with the one observed in 2007, the changes in this aspect of cultural visibility in Javastraat are also minor. The most remarkable is the increased use intensity of the west side of Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan due to the establishment of the Van Eesteren Museum, which makes the street more lively both day and night.

As in 2007, Turkish restaurant and cafés contribute to making the street livelier for longer hours, and this has been enhanced by the halal fast food restaurant, which attracts clients from outside the neighbourhood, increasing the street's user intensity. However, the east part of Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan – close to the metro station –remains quieter than the rest of the street. Further, as in the aspects of physical setting, no changes in terms of user activities have been observed in the area around the mosque.

6.6 Findings

Above we described the urban policies that shaped the transformation processes happening on Javastraat and Burgemeester de Vlughtlaan. In the former, state-led urban renewal has produced a remarkable gentrification process that has changed the composition of the population of this inner-city neighbourhood. In the latter, the urban renewal interventions have been minimal, introducing cultural programmes and appointing this suburban area as a municipal heritage zone to be preserved for future generations.

The national and city policies framing the urban transformation processes in Javastraat and Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan have been the same. However, the different architectural types and location of the neighbourhoods, and their different processes of urban renewal, have produced completely different outcomes. Slotermeer had not did not have such a bad reputation as Indische Buurt, which justified the latter's radical urban intervention.

We documented and mapped the transformations of the physical setting and the people's activities in Javastraat and Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan in the 2007–2016 period. In Javastraat, the changes in the physical setting and related activities have been remarkable. The street has a very different look as a consequence of the urban renewal interventions, and a different atmosphere as a result of the arrival

of new residents and the activities related to the new types of cafés, restaurants and shops. This has changed the cultural visibility of Turkish commercial and communal amenities. Some of the commercial ones were able to adapt their services and products to the demands of the new residents. In the context of a changing population composition, other commercial or communal amenities have lost clients and closed their businesses, decreasing cultural visibility.

In general, the transformation of Javastraat has been shaped to attract and serve the wishes of young and affluent knowledge workers, neglecting the presence and needs of the immigrants groups, who lived in the neighbourhood. This suggests that city and district planners and decision-makers, as well as housing corporations were behind the decision about what – and who – should be visible in Javastraat, and that less immigrant amenities and residents was the desirable outcome of the urban interventions to upgrade the neighbourhood. This represents a negative outcome for urban justice, taking into account that democratic urban trends should be able to give space to the multiple cultural expressions of disadvantaged groups instead of displacing them to more suburban urban areas.

The empirical examination of the variation in cultural visibility in Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan during the 2007–2016 period shows no significant differences in the presence and physical appearance of Turkish amenities or the users' activities. Commercial amenities have adapted better to the soft changes and developed strategies to attract new clients. As in Javastraat, communal amenities have been less responsive to the on-going urban transformation processes. But the effects of the urban interventions have been more important for those aspects linked to the revalorization of the image and cultural importance of the neighbourhood. In this 'respectful' urban renewal process, residents have not been displaced and have seen their neighbourhood become an historic landmark in the city's evolution and, as such, a part of the city to be protected. This was the kind of process that, during the 1980s, made Amsterdam an example for the world of redistributive and democratic policies at local level, in which residents, stakeholders and local government worked to meet the needs and wishes of the neighbourhood. Thus, it represents trends in the opposite direction to the urban justice trends observed in Javastraat.

6.7 Conclusion

This study's main purpose was to analyse and document the recent changes in the cultural visibility of Turkish amenities in the streets of Amsterdam. The empirical examination in the two selected cases has been useful in identifying the specific changes in a particularly dynamic period (2007–2016), characterized by an active city policy for urban transformation. The study approached cultural visibility from two aspects: the physical setting and the people's activities in these streets. The analyses showed that urban transformation processes influence cultural visibility differently in central and suburban locations, which are more or less attractive for affluent groups. In the inner-city location, Javastraat, the urban renewal intervention drastically changed the look and atmosphere of the street, decreasing the concentration of immigrant amenities. In the suburban location, Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan, the urban renewal intervention considered the residents' resistance to the plans to demolish part of the neighbourhood, and improved the image and cultural value of the area.

The effects of these urban transformations on cultural visibility indicate opposite tendencies in terms of urban justice. On the one hand, Javastraat is the classic example of gentrification with displacement of the original lower-income population of migrant origin. The decreased cultural visibility in Javastraat means that immigrant groups have been considered less desirable in the city and municipal plans. This conflicts with the idea of urban justice in terms of public spaces as arenas of inclusive democracy that give space to multiple cultural expressions, and more specifically of disadvantaged groups.

On the other hand, Burgemeester de Vlugtlaan represents a good example in terms of urban justice, as it has favoured the right of residents in shaping their neighbourhood, going for a careful and more inclusive type of urban renewal. This is more conducive to the support of democratic public spaces that can offer opportunities for diverse groups and individuals to recognize each as citizens with the same rights and aspirations. This example shows that urban transformation processes can open up possibilities for immigrant amenities to adapt at a more favourable pace to the city dynamics, producing positive effects on cultural visibility. As the analyses of these two cases illustrate, the location and different architectural features of the neighbourhoods, in combination with their different processes of urban renewal, have produced a completely different outcome for cultural visibility. They suggest that this concept is not only an abstract notion but can be a useful operational tool to provide empirical evidence for the study of urban dynamics and their consequences for urban justice.