Voices from the City: Strategies for Inclusive Participation in Urban Redevelopment

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Abstract

Residents feel unheard. This is happening in the Netherlands and also in other European countries. Participation is seen as a means to give residents a say in decision-making. However, participation is not experienced as inclusive since highly educated retired men—the so-called 'usual suspects'—are the group that is overrepresented in participation. At the same time, youth, ethnic minorities, working parents, and the silent majority are underrepresented. This gives an incomplete picture of the desires and needs of a neighbourhood and its community. Especially within urban redevelopment, when existing neighbourhoods are revitalised and renovated.

This research aims to investigate factors in the participation process that foster inclusivity in urban redevelopment projects in the Netherlands. To this end, the following research question was formulated: *Which actions could municipalities include in the participation process to foster inclusivity in urban redevelopment in the Netherlands?* Whereby inclusivity is defined as groups that are underrepresented in the participation process or groups that deserve extra attention to get involved. To answer this research question, three case studies have been conducted. These are the Schinkelkwartier (Amsterdam), Merwede (Utrecht), and the Binckhorst (The Hague). Data is retrieved from policy documents and semi-structured interviews with municipal employees or professionals involved in the participation process. A conceptual model is developed with a literature review regarding urban redevelopment, inclusivity and participation. Whereby the CLEAR framework is used for data analysis. The CLEAR framework is an acronym for can do, like to, enabled to, asked to and responded to.

The results show the importance of actively engaging groups of citizens, which is helpful with issues regarding inclusivity. Furthermore, groups of citizens tend to have preferred methods of being invited to participation as a preferred method of participation. Besides, being accessible for help and approaching specific residents in public spaces or at their homes can ensure more inclusivity. This thesis concludes with measures that municipalities can implement to become more inclusive.

Keywords: Urban Redevelopment, Inclusivity, Participation, Usual Suspects, Collaborative Planning

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SDGs = Sustainable Development Goals
UN = United Nations
CBS = Central Bureau Statistics
SES = Socio-economic Status
VvE = Vereniging van Eigenaars (homeowners association)

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

According to the Rijksoverheid (2023), too many inhabitants of the Netherlands feel unheard. The feeling of being unheard is not only present in the Netherlands but also in other parts of the world. In the United Kingdom, young adults' confidence in democracy drastically declined due to the feeling of not being heard (Helm, 2022). This trend is also visible in the European Union, where the citizens of the 27 member states think they are not being heard and, therefore, are unsatisfied with the democracy in the European Union (Scholz, 2021). In the Netherlands, Dutch civilians feel that they have too little influence on decisions that impact their lives. The Dutch Cabinet wants to involve citizens more in decision-making (Rijksoverheid, 2023). Involving civilians in an early stage of a project is beneficial for the support of initiatives and measures. According to the Dutch government, it is important to include the non-Western community in this process (Vogelaar, 2007). With the involvement of citizens in urban redevelopment projects, a better understanding of what is going on in a certain neighbourhood is realised. Especially in neighbourhoods that experience socio-economic pressure, barriers to participation are present (Zuhair and Kurian, 2016). Moreover, participation can be a means to promote social cohesion and ethnic relations within the neighbourhood. Participation creates a sense of ownership of the neighbourhood among citizens. This is realised by creating space for residents' initiatives and making them jointly responsible for the quality of life (Vogelaar, 2007).

The Dutch government introduced the new 'Omgevingswet', which replaces 26 old laws, in January 2024. This law showcases the importance of participation from the perspective of the Dutch government (Rijksoverheid, 2024). The content of this law regards the space in which people live, work, and leisure. The 'Omgevingswet' mandates authorities to have participation processes within development plans in people's living areas. Participation should not be absent in decision-making in the physical environment (Rijksoverheid, 2024). However, the participation process is still completely form-free and is to be filled in per municipality. Drinking a cup of coffee with a single neighbour can thus also be seen as a form of participation (VNG, 2023). The importance of participation is also acknowledged within the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Participation and inclusion are important elements for these goals. Emphasis is placed on inclusions as a key component of ''doing'' development as an end goal. With the 17 SDGs, the UN illustrates the importance of establishing national delivery systems to optimise citizen participation in decision-making, as well as eventually benefitting from development activity (UN, 2015; Shand, 2017). As stated in the previous section, in the political spectrum, it is widely acknowledged that people should be able to influence decisions that impact their lives or environment (Bell and Reed, 2022). Furthermore, participation can be seen as a fundamental principle within community development (Bell and Reed, 2022). Increased social cohesiveness, higher policy legitimacy, and several beneficial effects on participants as individuals are all related to participation (Nienhuis et al., 2011; Willems et al., 2020).

Nevertheless, it has been identified that increased participation does not necessarily improve or guarantee more equitable and inclusive outcomes (Pape and Lim, 2019). Citizens are not being heard as much as they would like, and participation thus far has been somewhat disappointing (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011). Regarding participation and inclusivity, the term 'usual suspects' is closely related. When discussing the 'usual suspects', the citizens who usually participate are addressed. Citizens in this group are more likely white, highly educated, and have a higher socio-economic status (Pape and Lim, 2019). According to Tonkens and Verhoeven (2019), the 'usual suspects' are, besides white and highly educated, also middle-aged and male. The other side of the story consists of the underrepresented groups in the participatory process. These groups are ethnic minorities, practically educated people and youth (Tonkens and Verhoeven, 2019). The following demographic variables influence whether someone participates: gender, level of education, ethnicity, income, and age (Tonkens and Verhoeven, 2019).

One of the planning domains where the participatory process is experienced as complex is the urban redevelopment domain, which entails the physical improvement of urban deprived areas (Savini, 2011; Križnik, 2018). This is a response to the wear and tear of urban areas due to the pressure from residents, tourists, and businesses on the area (Wassenberg, 2010). The tendency is that urban redevelopment usually is focused on communities with poor political capital. Within those communities, scepticism towards new initiatives is usually high (Savini, 2011). Furthermore, negative experiences of those communities' participatory process can endanger their willingness to participate in the future (Savini, 2011). As stated before, the 'Omgevingswet' is involved in processes within peoples' environment (Rijksoverheid, 2024). Thus, this law is connected to projects regarding urban redevelopment. With the 'Omgevingswet', the Dutch government shows that they consider inclusivity in the participatory process very important.

1.2 Societal Relevance

With the new 'Omgevingswet', the Dutch government wants to make processes regarding people's living areas more straightforward. Participation of residents may not be omitted in decision-making processes in the physical environment (Rijkswaterstaat, 2024; RUG, 2024). As stated in the previous section, within the planning domain of urban redevelopment complexities are experienced within the participatory process (Savini, 2011). Difficulties are experienced in engaging underrepresented groups in this process. With this research, several actors within the participation process of urban redevelopment can be helped. These actors that can benefit from this research are governmental organisations, residents (particularly residents from underrepresented groups), and private organisations. Governmental organisations like municipalities and provinces can use the insights of this research. The objective of this research is to discover actions that foster inclusivity in the participation process. These organisations can implement these actions within their participation process regarding urban redevelopment projects to ensure more inclusivity. Furthermore, this research can be relevant to residents, especially those from underrepresented groups. With the findings of this research, those groups of residents are more easily reached and thus could also have input in the urban redevelopment process. This could lead to more social cohesion in the neighbourhood, which all residents

benefit from. Above all, participation can be seen as a fundamental aspect of democracy. When no extra efforts are made to involve underrepresented groups for participation, the 'usual suspects' are even more powerful. Here, it is important to note that these 'usual suspects' already have social advantages due to their socio-economic status (SES) (Van der Meer, 2016). Furthermore, private organisations that are involved in participatory processes could benefit from the findings. These benefits are similar to the benefits of the municipalities and provinces. There is also another side of the medallion when citizens with different backgrounds are reached and thus actively participate in urban redevelopment projects, local knowledge will be available for the project developer. Finally, this research is focused on inclusivity in participation in urban redevelopment. Furthermore, the findings of this research could also be useful in other domains where participation is in place to ensure more inclusivity. Thus, this research is relevant in providing a deeper understanding of realising more inclusivity in the participatory process in the context of urban redevelopment.

1.3 Scientific Relevance

From a scientific point of view, this research focuses on identifying factors that contribute to more inclusivity in the participation process regarding urban development. Participation is an important concept in planning research. In the academic debate, the concept of participation is intensively discussed. Arnstein (1969) discusses, for example, a ladder of citizen participation. In this framework, different levels of participation are placed. These levels of participation range from nonparticipation to full citizen control. In the article by Innes (1996), she introduces a new view on comprehensive planning. Furthermore, the importance of consensus-building with stakeholders is highlighted (Innes, 1996). According to Healey (1993), communicative planning is, besides being innovative, also capable of transforming material conditions and establishing power relations by increasing the understanding among participants and thus highlighting oppressions. Via this, people with different societal backgrounds are encouraged to acknowledge other problems and discuss their shared concerns. Therefore, the advantages of participation are shown (Healey, 1993).

In more recent literature, Bell and Reed (2022) looked into transparency, equity, efficiency and accountability of the participation process. They created a tree of participation, which can be seen as a model for making decision-making more inclusive. Furthermore, there have been debates on the importance of participation in the planning process (Campbell and Marshall, 2000). Nienhuis et al. (2011) discuss the benefits of participation of residents, and they state that these benefits are becoming apparent. Furthermore, they challenge the statement that a person's lifestyle impacts the willingness to participate. The literature also found links between participation and inclusion (Shand, 2017). Shand's (2017) research is about community participation in inclusive urban development.

Lowndes et al. (2006) created a framework for a better understanding of participation. This framework identifies how the participation process can be improved and is called the CLEAR model (Can do, Like to, Enabled to, Asked to, Responded to). This model shows the push and pull factors for participation and offers a deeper understanding of the strengths and limitations of

existing participation processes (Lowndes et al., 2006). Tonkens and Verhoeven (2019) created the ACLR (Asked to, Can do, Linked to, Responsive to) model, adapted from the CLEAR model.

Above all, there are also critical articles about the returns of participation (Newig et al., 2018; Van der Heijden and Ten Heuvelhof, 2012; Uittenbroek et al., 2019). Newig et al. (2018) identify better and worse environmental outcomes partially caused by participation. Participation is often described as a virtue. However, participation also has flaws that need to be addressed (Van der Heijden and Ten Heuvelhof, 2012). In the article by Uittenbroek et al. (2019), it becomes apparent that a more systematic approach regarding participation is needed. In this systematic approach, communication regarding the objectives and the design of the participatory process needs to be discussed with the participants, which will increase the obtained objectives. Empirical studies on how inclusivity in the participatory process is realised are lacking (Uittenbroek et al., 2018). This research adds depth to the academic debate regarding inclusivity in participation. The approach of three case studies in the Netherlands ensures this extra depth in the academic debate. These case studies are the Schinkelkwartier in Amsterdam, Merwede in Utrecht, and the Binckhorst in The Hague. With this empirical study, the possibility will be presented to provide recommendations based on the analysis of the three cases.

1.4 Research Objective

The goal of this research is to identify factors in the participation process that foster inclusivity in urban redevelopment projects in the Netherlands. With these identified actions, underrepresented groups in the participatory process should get more involved which leads to more inclusivity in participation. This research has the aim to achieve multiple objectives. The first objective is to acquire a deep understanding of the participation process in urban redevelopment projects. Secondly, this research aims to understand what is done from the perspective of the municipalities to ensure inclusivity in this participation process. Finally, the goal is to investigate which factors are successful in including underrepresented groups in the participatory process.

1.5 Research Questions

Following the problem statement and the research objective, the following main research question is formulated:

Which actions could municipalities include in the participation process to foster inclusivity in urban redevelopment in the Netherlands?

In order to provide structure and answer the main research question, sub-questions have been formulated. These questions are subordinated to the main research questions and are in place to clarify the main research question and provide a greater focus in this research. The following sub-questions have been formulated:

1. What are the existing frameworks for participation in urban redevelopment?
2. What is inclusivity in a participatory process, and what are the reasons for making the participatory process inclusive?
3. What are the barriers and facilitators to inclusivity within the participation of urban redevelopment projects?
4. How are underrepresented groups represented and accommodated in the participation process of urban redevelopment projects?

1.6 Reading Guide

In the first chapter, the background of this research is presented, the relevance is highlighted, the problem statement is given, the research objectives are given, and the research questions are shown. Chapter 2 consists of the theoretical framework, where the key concepts of this research will be discussed. At the end of this chapter, a conceptual model will be presented that shows the relationship between these concepts. Chapter 3 discusses the methodology that is applied in this research; this includes the research design, research methods, case studies, and the ethical considerations. The results will be presented in Chapter 4 with the help of the CLEAR framework. In Chapter 5, these results will be discussed, followed by an answer to the main research question in Chapter 6. Finally, in Chapter 7, a reflection on this research will be presented.

2. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, the theoretical background of this research will be discussed extensively. First, the stage will be set by elaborating on the urban redevelopment context of this research. Second, the importance of inclusivity will be highlighted. Participation will then be introduced as a method for inclusivity. Finally, the conceptual model will show the relation between these concepts.

2.1 Urban Redevelopment

The context of this research is focused on urban redevelopment. Therefore, this sub-chapter starts with a definition of urban redevelopment since terms like urban redevelopment, urban renewal, and urban regeneration are quite similar. After the term urban redevelopment is conceptualised, the sustainable aspect of urban redevelopment will be discussed. Finally, different types of urban redevelopment will be elaborated on.

2.1.1 Defining Urban Redevelopment

Urban neighbourhoods are constantly changing and under pressure from residents, tourists, and businesses. This pressure makes neighbourhoods susceptible to change since they wear out over time and, therefore, need maintenance and redevelopment (Wassenberg, 2010). Urban redevelopment policies are developed and introduced by governments when existing urban areas are not in line with plans for the future (Wassenberg, 2010). The terms urban redevelopment, urban regeneration and renewal are closely related in urban planning. Urban redevelopment focuses on physically improving urban deprived areas. The area will be partly or completely demolished and will be replaced with new forms of urban development (Križnik, 2018). This form of redevelopment often leads to a movement of residents, which influences the social networks of the involved residents (Križnik, 2018). According to Zheng et al. (2014), urban redevelopment is focused on a smaller scale and can be seen as more specific. Contrastingly, urban regeneration addresses a broader range of issues. These issues include social, economic, physical, and environmental issues. Urban regeneration aims to integrate these issues within the existing urban and social structure (Križnik, 2018). According to Savini (2011), regeneration policies target communities and residents with limited political capital. Urban regeneration involves a comprehensive integration of actions which are aimed at solving the issues mentioned above (Zheng et al., 2014). Urban renewal can be defined as ''*the process of slum clearance and physical redevelopment that takes account of other elements such as heritage preservation*'' (Zheng et al., 2014, p. 272).

2.1.2 Sustainable Urban Redevelopment

To ensure sustainability in cities, a shift must be made towards focusing on urban redevelopment (Newton, 2010). Cities and their planners face multiple challenges regarding the accommodation of the increasing population growth, attempts to make urban development more intensive, climate change adaptation and mitigation strategies, and making cities resilient in terms of local and global setbacks to communities and their economies (Newton, 2010). Before

diving deeper into this section, defining sustainability in terms of urban redevelopment is important. Within urban redevelopment, the term sustainability refers to an area that is *''functioning according to needs and expectations, and urban renewal is meant to make such a good area''* (Wassenberg, 2010, p. 16). According to Zheng et al. (2014), sustainable development is inextricably linked to urban development in terms of economic, environmental and social sustainability. Therefore, urban development and sustainability should be combined. Sustainable urban areas have characteristics that these areas can change gradually over time and have internal vitality and quality, which is needed for the multiple challenges ahead for cities. Above all, when urban areas are considered sustainable, drastic renewal activities should not be necessary (Wassenberg, 2010). It is identified by Križnik (2018) that an integrated approach to urban redevelopment is needed to enhance sustainability in the built environment.

2.1.3 Types of Urban Redevelopment

We identified several names and variations of urban redevelopment in section 2.3.1. Moreover, there are also different types of urban redevelopment. The following types of urban redevelopment will be discussed in this section: brownfield redevelopment, greyfield redevelopment, residential densification, and urban greenfield development.

First, brownfield redevelopment can be defined as a process where previously developed land is reused. These plots of land may be contaminated due to activities in the past (Claassens et al., 2020). Due to the size and location of brownfields, they are potentially lucrative for redevelopment. However, brownfields are still relatively unexplored and untouched areas for redevelopment (Claassens et al., 2020). Brownfields are areas within the city that 'outlived' their original function from industrial times (Newton, 2010). Furthermore, brownfield redevelopment sites often have a history of commercial or industrial activities (Dillon, 2014). Secondly, greyfield redevelopment is closely related to brownfield redevelopment. However, greyfield redevelopment is not associated with contamination and differs from brownfield redevelopment from that perspective (Claassens et al., 2020). The term greyfield emphasises the stretches of asphalt that can typically be found on those sites. Examples of greyfield redevelopment areas are offices, parking lots, shops, and other paved-over areas (Claassens et al., 2020). Greyfields can be identified as *''the ageing, occupied residential tracts of suburbs which are physically, technologically and environmentally obsolescent and which represent economically outdated, failing or under-capitalised real estate assets''* (Newton, 2010, p. 81). The physical appearance of a neighbourhood is relatively highly impacted by both brownfield and greyfield redevelopment (Claassens et al., 2020). Furthermore, it is identified that brownfield areas are usually owned by a single actor, whereas greyfield areas are often owned by more actors (Newton, 2010). These types of redevelopments both aim to transform these areas into new uses, like commercial, residential, or mixed-use areas of both components (Newton, 2010). Thirdly, residential densification is the process of adding housing in urban areas with a predominantly residential character (Claassens et al., 2020). There are two types of residential densification: hard and soft densification. Hard densification is characterised by the demolition of the existing structures and buildings, which will be replaced by new structures and buildings. Soft densification refers to adding housing within the existing urban structure without demolishing houses in the areas. This type of densification often makes a smaller impact on the urban environment and structure

(Claassens et al., 2020). This type of redevelopment has as a goal to be more efficient in land use (Claassens et al., 2020). Finally, urban greenfield redevelopment refers to constructing new housing in green urban areas. These areas are often gardens, parks, and sporting facilities (Claassens et al., 2020).

2.2 Inclusivity

Now the stage is set with the elaboration of urban redevelopment, this section will follow with the importance of inclusivity within urban redevelopment projects. First, inclusivity must be defined. Secondly, societal complexity and social cohesion will be discussed. Thirdly, the 'usual suspects', the group of citizens with good socio-economic circumstances that usually participate, will be elaborated on. Finally, the underrepresented groups in the participation process will be highlighted, and these can be seen as the counterparts of the 'usual suspects'. This group entails mostly ethnic minorities, practically educated people, youth, and lower-income groups.

2.2.1 Defining Inclusivity

First, it is important to define inclusivity in planning. Inclusivity can be defined as the following according to the Oxford Dictionary (n.d.): ''*the fact or policy of providing equal opportunities and resources for people who might otherwise not get them, for example, people who are disabled or belong to minority groups*''. As stated in section 1.1, certain groups are underrepresented in participation processes (Tonkens and Verhoeven, 2019). These groups will be elaborated on further in Chapter 2.2.4. Tonkens and Verhoeven (2019) identified reaching and enabling as two strategies for inclusion. Reaching refers to identifying excluded groups and integrating those groups into society. The diversity of people's backgrounds, combined with the creation of similar opportunities for people, positively influences the social cohesion of a community. Enabling refers to connecting excluded groups to society. Excluded groups need to be supported to develop skills which can be used to engage and contribute to society (Tonkens and Verhoeven, 2019). When the concept of inclusivity is used in this research, underrepresented and excluded groups are referred to. Besides, the group of citizens who do not get equal opportunities is also referred to.

2.2.2 Societal Complexity and Social Cohesion

Wicked problems are emerging in our society (Rotmans and Loorbach, 2008; Head and Alford, 2015). Before diving deeper into societal issues, it is important to discuss the wicked character of a problem. Wicked problems are pressing complex social issues which cannot be defined and have no clear solution. The interconnectedness, unpredictability, and their nature to evolve make them socially complex (Rittel and Webber, 1973). Every problem with the characteristic of being wicked is unique and could be a symptom of other problems (Rittel and Webber, 1973). One of the complex societal issues in the Netherlands is multi-culturalisation. In the past, the Netherlands was known for its legacy regarding social cohesion. From 2000 onwards, the responsibility to integrate into society shifted towards individuals (Mattei and Broeks, 2018). According to Entzinger (2006), the Netherlands shifted from being tolerant towards having

coercive and assimilationist policies. These societal shifts impact the social cohesion within regions and neighbourhoods (Entzinger, 2006). ''*Over the past decade, issues such as poverty, unemployment, marginalisation, social and economic exclusion, safety and crime, health, neighbourhood bonding, the state of the built environment (including housing and public spaces) have become increasingly problematic, complex, and interrelated*'' (Dekker and Van Kempen, 2009, p.109). These issues seem to be most common at the urban neighbourhood level and are responsible for a crisis in social cohesion (Dekker and Van Kempen, 2009).

Social cohesion and community cohesions are two concepts that are closely related to each other. Where social cohesion focuses on differences in economic factors and social class, community cohesion addresses differences regarding ethnic backgrounds and faith (Lowndes and Thorp, 2011). When discussing social cohesion in this research, both social cohesion and community cohesion are addressed. Social cohesion emerged as a consequence of the need for a strong community identity. Within neighbourhoods, increasingly differentiated identities emerged along with a feeling of fear and marginalisation (Lowndes and Thorp, 2011). The biggest facilitator of turmoil within the cohesion of neighbourhoods was connected to faith and ethnic backgrounds. Segregation in neighbourhoods can arise due to the lack of contact and forms of discrimination between different communities within the neighbourhood (Lowndes and Thorp, 2011). In a cohesive social community, there are people of different backgrounds and diversity is appreciated. Furthermore, a sense of belonging is in place, and despite the different backgrounds, the same opportunities are present (Lowndes and Thorp, 2011). In Buckner's (1988) research, the link between cohesion and a psychological sense of community is made. This sense of community can be operationally defined as a sense of belonging to a place, identity to a place, and fellowship with neighbours. This sense of belonging can only be experienced in a geographical context or a group of people (Buckner, 1988). When a specific neighbourhood has a high level of social cohesion, residents feel, on average, a strong sense of community and belonging. Furthermore, residents often engage in neighbourhood activities. Finally, residents are attached to the neighbourhood and plan to keep living there (Buckner, 1988).

The former Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM) also highlights the importance of social cohesion. According to Vogelaar (2007), the participation of residents, which includes immigrants, does besides giving more legitimacy, also gives a better picture of what is happening on the neighbourhood level. Above all, high levels of social cohesion and interethnic relations can also be achieved. Social cohesion could thus be improved by participation, which is beneficial for residents in a neighbourhood (Nienhuis et al., 2011). On the other hand, the absence of social cohesion can lead to conflicts and social disorder, social inequality, a low sense of belonging, less to no interaction within communities, and declining moral values (Forrest and Kearns, 2001).

2.2.3 The Usual Suspects

The concept of 'usual suspects' is inseparably linked to participation. When the term 'usual suspects' is used, the residents that are likely to participate are meant. The 'usual suspects' are known for putting time and effort into the community, which they see as their civic responsibility

(May, 2007). Two characteristics of the 'usual suspects' are identified: they are few in number and are likely to engage in the civic community (May, 2007). These residents are often white, highly educated, and have origins in higher-income families (Pape and Lim, 2019). Tonkens and Verhoeven (2019) also identified that middle-aged white men are most likely to participate. This can be considered problematic for the pursuit of inclusivity. It can be expected that the people whose voices are often heard are also more likely to respond to requests for input in pursuing inclusive policy (Movisie, 2020). The so-called 'silent majority' is often not represented in the process. A creative approach is demanded to move beyond the 'usual suspects' towards the 'silent majority' (Movisie, 2020). Communicating in a low-barrier way can be seen as helpful in making everyone understand (Movisie, 2020).

Studies have shown that in the Netherlands, people are the most accommodating to elderly, sick, and disabled people. On the other hand, the Dutch people are less concerned with unemployed people and immigrants (Roosma, 2019). The *deservingness* theory suggests that certain community groups deserve more attention in social events (Roosma, 2019). The *deservingness* theory states that certain target groups need more attention if they score higher on the five criteria of CARIN, which is an abbreviation of *control, attitude, reciprocity, identity, and need* (Roosma, 2019). Below in Table 1, these 5 terms will be elaborated on further.

Table 1: CARIN criteria (Roosma, 2019).

Criteria	Explanation
Control	A person is not at fault for the indigent situation and/or is not able to change circumstances to get out of the indigent situation.
Attitude	A person is grateful for the help and acts modestly.
Reciprocity	In the past, the person contributed to the collective or showed reciprocity in another way.
Identity	A person belongs to 'our kind of people'; we identify ourselves as people who are in high need of support.
Need	The extent to which the person needs help.

2.2.4 Underrepresented Groups

In the previous section, we identified the 'usual suspects'. Now, we need to operationalize the underrepresented groups in the participation process. The literature identifies the following groups as underrepresented in the participation process: ethnic minorities, practically educated people, and youth (Tonkens and Verhoeven, 2019). Ravensbergen and Vanderplaat (2010) also identified that people with a lower income are underrepresented in citizen participation. These four groups will be discussed below.

Ethnic minorities are underrepresented in the participation process in the Netherlands (Tonkens and Verhoeven, 2019). In the past, this group was not considered important enough to be

involved in the debate. In other words, this group was not seen as a potential citizen (Martiniello, 2005). The role of the migrant was purely economic, and they were asked to have a duty not to interfere with society. More recently, countries have become more concerned with immigrants and ethnic minorities (Martiniello, 2005). Opportunities must be present to involve ethnic minorities in participation successfully. Within the group of ethnic minorities, there can also be a distinction found in the level of participation. Minorities who tend to stay in their country of residence are more likely to participate than minorities whose presence is temporary. This is closely linked to the sense of belonging to their presence in a country (Martiniello, 2005). Furthermore, it must be highlighted that ethnic minorities are not as familiar with the system of participation. Changes are likely that their knowledge of institutions and the political system is not at the same level as non-ethnic minorities (Martiniello, 2005). It is more likely that ethnic minorities are less skilled in the language of the country. Therefore, participation can be experienced as more difficult, which could also lead to opting out of the participation process (Martiniello, 2005). That ethnic minorities can be seen as underrepresented is also highlighted in the article by Barrett and Brunto-Smith (2014). Furthermore, they state that ethnic minorities are more likely to participate if the activities are related to their ethnic community (Barrett and Brunto-Smith, 2014). As stated in section 2.2.2, including ethnic minorities in the participation process can strengthen inter-ethnic relations (Vogelaar, 2007).

Practically educated people are the next underrepresented group in the participation process (Tonkens and Verhoeven, 2019). Firstly, it is important to note that this research uses the term practically educated instead of lower-educated. Practically educated is experienced as more inclusive than the term lower-educated (Kleinjan, 2018). Practically educated people in the Netherlands can be defined as people whose highest educational degree was achieved in primary school or lower secondary education. On the other hand, theoretically educated people (highly educated) have a degree in applied sciences or university (Bovens and Wille, 2010). A practical level of education is often linked to other characteristics like income and race (Bovens and Wille, 2010). For every practically educated person that participates, 3.5 theoretically educated people participate. This highlights that practically educated people are underrepresented in a participatory process since the theoretically educated group forms just a third of the Dutch population (Bovens and Wille, 2010). Practically educated people tend to be more distrustful towards participation and the government. However, Bovens and Wille (2010) identified that practically educated people wish to participate in society, but becoming heard is the most troubling thing. Theoretically educated people have more civic skills, making the participation threshold lower (Barrett and Brunto-Smith, 2014).

Youth participation can be seen as valuable for the government and democracy (Checkoway et al., 2005). Youth can be defined as people from 18 to 30 years old (IPLO, n.d.). It is again identified that the youth group is underrepresented in the participation process (Checkoway, 2011; Tonkens and Verhoeven, 2019). Young people should put more effort into joining the participation and political arena. However, adults are also responsible for getting them more involved by working together (Checkoway et al., 2005). Youth need to be prepared accordingly for their societal role by strengthening their knowledge, civic competencies, practical skills, and norms and values (Checkoway et al., 2005). When young people start with participation,

benefits are in place. This group will have a boost in confidence and obtain more social responsibilities (IPLO, n.d.). This can lead to a snowball effect, where young people also influence others to participate in participation processes. Within the community of young people, theoretically educated and native persons are more likely to participate, which aligns with the sections above (IPLO, n.d.). It is important to make participation approachable for young people. When youth are approached with social media, it is more likely that this group will participate (IPLO, n.d.).

Lower-income groups are related to practically educated people and are also more likely not to participate (Ravensbergen and Vanderplaat, 2010). People with a lower income can be considered more hesitant to get involved in participation processes. With a participation process, people with power (government) are often involved, which can deter people with a lower income (Ravensbergen and Vanderplaat, 2010). According to Coumans and Schmeets (2020), the lowest incomes in the Netherlands are most socially excluded in society. This exclusion can be seen in terms of participation and fundamental rights (Coumans and Schmeets, 2020). People with lower incomes have naturally less to spend and, therefore, harder to reach. Ravensbergen and Vanderplaat (2010) identified the relationship between lower budgets and mobility, which has a negative impact on the ability to participate.

2.3 Participation

Now the importance of inclusivity in urban redevelopment is highlighted, the method of participation will be presented in this chapter as a means for inclusivity. First, participation is defined in the context of this research. Second, the rationale for participation will be discussed. Why do people participate, and why do they want participation? Thirdly, there are different levels of participation and non-participation, which will be discussed with Arnstein's Ladder. After that, the CLEAR framework will be presented in the context of participation, which can be seen as a framework to assess and encourage participation. Finally, different methods of participation will be discussed, highlighting that different groups prefer different methods of participation.

2.3.1 Definition of Participation

As addressed in section 2.2.2, complexity in problems can be addressed as a wicked problem. Referring to the wicked character of the problems, the wicked character of the problem makes it look unsolvable and incomprehensible (Head and Alford, 2015). This unsolvable and incomprehensible character of the problems is caused by constantly shifting environments, incomplete information, and complicated interdependencies (Rittel and Webber, 1973). To tackle these wicked problems, an approach with interactive governance is needed. It is suggested that cooperative approaches are key to addressing complex issues (Head and Alford, 2015). Cooperative and interactive governance increases understanding of the underlying causes of wicked problems (Head and Alford, 2015). It is not only the responsibility of the government to tackle these problems, but citizens and private organisations also have an important role (Geurtz and Van de Wijdeven, 2010). The concept of participation came into focus since the solely top-down approach was considered insufficient. Governments needed to complement

their knowledge from the outside with a bottom-up approach. This shift led to more room for citizens' input and is known for moving from 'government' to 'governance' (Healey, 2007; Geurtz and Van de Wijdeven, 2010).

The term participation in spatial sciences emerged in the 1960s (Wood, 2001). Participation influenced public and private organisations and united communities around local issues (Wood, 2001). Sherry Arnstein is one of the most influential characters from a planning perspective about participation. She defines participation as ''*the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes to be deliberately included in the future*'' (Arnstein, 1969, p. 24). The term participation can be seen as an ambiguous concept (Bobbio, 2019). How citizens partake in a participatory process differs. This can be, for instance, physical and digital, during longer periods or short periods, and on topics with high and low stakes (Bobbio, 2019). Building further on the ambiguous concept of participation, Gierveld (2019) sees participation as an umbrella term. Therefore, it is important to define participation in this research early on. The most commonly used concepts are public participation, citizen participation, and community participation. These various definitions contain differences that need to be outlined. Public participation is about the involvement of the general public in democratic and governmental activities. The voices of the general public need to be listened to in the policymaking process and governance (Barnes et al., 2003; Innes and Booher, 2004). Citizen participation can be defined as the active involvement of individual citizens in a participation process. Whereby citizens can influence the decision-making process within their society or community (Lowndes et al., 2006). The difference between community participation and citizen participation is that community focuses on the group level, whereas citizen participation focuses on the individual level (Klausen and Sweeting, 2005). Community groups can, for instance, be based on common activities and ethnic backgrounds (Klausen and Sweeting, 2005).

In conclusion, this research refers to the concept of participation as a combination of citizen and community participation. This research focuses on inclusivity in participation and, therefore, on individuals and how underrepresented communities can be involved in the participation process.

2.3.2 Rationale of Citizen Participation

''*The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you*'' (Arnstein, 1969, p.24). Participation has its benefits in environmental decision-making. Participation can establish acceptance and support for decisions (Uittenbroek et al., 2019). Furthermore, local knowledge and expertise can be gathered (Uittenbroek et al., 2019). According to Geurtz and Van de Wijdeven (2010), citizen participation has two benefits: an instrumental and a democratic motive. The instrumental perspective has the benefit that citizen participation is an addition to professional and political expertise. With citizen participation, local expertise is gathered, and better results are generated in terms of the support of citizens (Geurtz and Van de Wijdeven, 2010). The democratic perspective, on the other hand, is about the legitimacy of democracy. The more citizens participate, the more people are involved in the decision-making process. Which makes decisions indirectly more democratic. With participatory democracy, citizens can influence decisions more frequently and

qualitatively differently than representative democracy, where citizens are only heard during elections. Citizen participation helps to sustain (or improve) a vital society (Geurtz and Van de Wijdeven, 2010). Furthermore, Nienhuis et al. (2011) also argue that participation in the planning process improves democratic legitimacy, increases the base for support, and improves efficiency and effectiveness. Lowndes et al. (2006) elaborates further on sustaining democracy and engagement. Democracy as a narrative has shifted to a participatory interpretation. This form of democracy ensures that people can look beyond their self-interest and engage in more collective decision-making. Citizens should be provided with opportunities to engage and get involved (Lowndes et al., 2006).

The lack of real power in the participation process cannot be viewed as the only reason for people to have a lower level of willingness to participate (Nienhuis et al., 2011). Therefore, it is important to have a deeper understanding of why people participate and do not participate. The lifestyle of citizens can also influence the level of willingness to participate. With collaborative planning, a real contribution can be realised. This can result in plans based on the knowledge of locals, improved interventions, generating social capital, consensus building, and encouraging the development of self-organisation (Nienhuis et al., 2011). Residents do not necessarily see participation as a good thing. The appreciation of participation depends on a set of complex factors and, more importantly, on the level of commitment to their neighbourhood (Ferilli et al., 2016). Residents who are building towards a sense of belonging and stable living conditions have, thus, a higher level of commitment than the residents who are uncertain about their housing situation (Ferilli et al., 2016). This is also highlighted by Mather et al. (2008), who state that the way individuals live in a community influences their attitude towards participation. Furthermore, there are also reasons to opt out of a participatory process. According to Nienhuis et al. (2011), a common reason to opt out of participation is that the process does not establish actual dialogues. Other forms of critique are that participation processes could be too paternalistic, top-down oriented, and insufficiently aligned to actual collaboration (Nienhuis et al., 2011).

2.3.3 Levels of Participation

As stated in section 2.3.1, Arnstein is one of the most influential characters in the planning domain regarding participation. Arnstein's Ladder of Participation and Non-participation is still often the basis for the academic world of participation and planning. In her work, she describes eight different levels of participation. These eight levels of participation can be seen in Figure 1 and can be subdivided into the following three rungs: non-participation, degree of tokenism, and degree of citizen power (Arnstein, 1969).
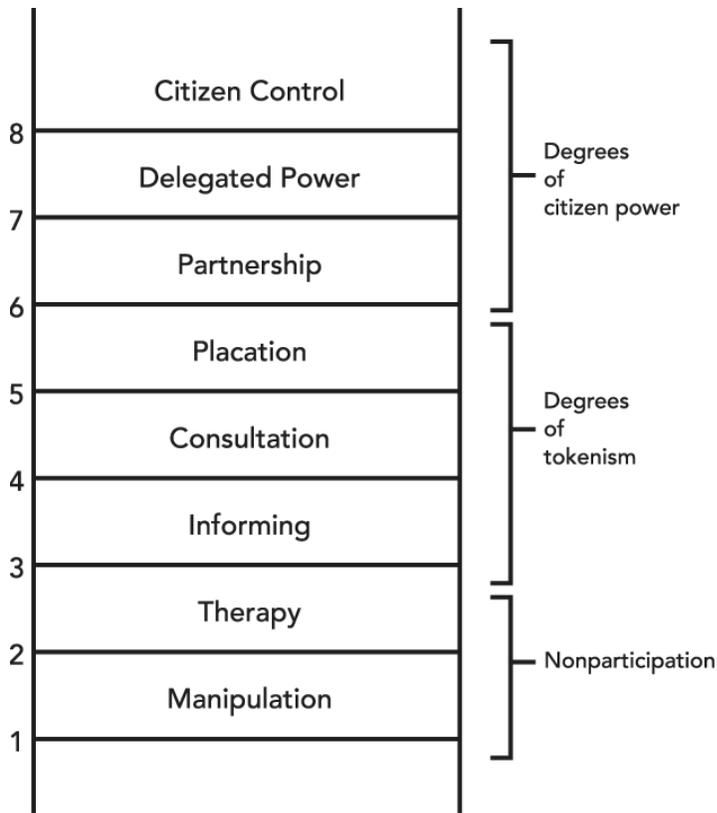
Figure 1: Eight rungs on a ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969, p.26).

In the bottom rung of non-participation, manipulation and therapy are located. *Manipulation* can be seen as an illusory form of participation. Citizens are granted the feeling of involvement in the decision-making process, whereas the actual power is located at the decision-makers. Citizens are enticed to accept the outcome without knowing every detail (Arnstein, 1969). The next type of participation on the ladder is *therapy*. It is also argued that therapy could be placed at the bottom of the participation ladder. Citizens are still engaging passively. Authorities are attempting to change the opinions of citizens. Furthermore, it is assumed that authorities place citizens' interests first, but still in a non-participatory way (Arnstein, 1969).

In the middle rung of degrees of tokenism, respectively, informing, consultation, and placation can be found. *Informing* can be seen as the first step towards legitimate citizen participation. Citizens are getting informed about possibilities, rights and responsibilities. Nevertheless, this communication method is a one-way street, where moments for feedback and negotiations are not possible. Tools like the media, posters and meetings are mostly used for informing (Arnstein, 1969). The next type of participation is *consultation*. With this form of participation, citizens' opinions are asked through surveys or meetings. However, it is not guaranteed that input from citizens will be considered in the decision-making process (Arnstein, 1969). The last form of participation within tokenism is *placation*. With placation, some level of influence can be identified. Citizens can be placed on commissions or community boards to give advice. However, decision-makers are still in power and can legitimise and judge the citizens' advice.

Within these three rungs of participation, no real power for citizens is present. However, citizens can slightly influence decision-makers plans (Arnstein, 1969).

In the top rung of citizen participation degrees, partnership, delegated power, and citizen control are located. With *partnership*, power is redistributed between citizens and decision-makers. This is realised with the implementation of planning committees, joint policy boards, and the creation of mechanisms to resolve impasses (Arnstein, 1969). At the level of *delegated power*, citizens have a significant influence on decision-making. Citizens are authorised to implement policies and make decisions. These citizens are representatives of the decision-making organ or the government (Arnstein, 1969). Finally, *citizen control* is located at the top of the ladder. Citizens have full control and managerial powers. Independent decisions can be made regarding projects and programs. Within the top three rungs, citizens have thus a vast influence on decision-making. It can be argued that this way of participation has an inclusive democratic approach (Arnstein, 1969).

Now that Arnstein's Ladder of Participation and Non-participation is explained, influential scholars will be placed on the ladder's rungs. In the book ''*Planning Through Debate: The Communicative Turn in Planning Theory*'', Patsy Healey (1993) describes the communicative turn within planning theory. She highlights the importance of debate, dialogue, and collaboration for a successful planning process. Healey's work can thus be placed on the higher rungs of Arnstein's Ladder since the power in decision-making is shared with individuals and the community. The importance of consensus building is highlighted in the work of Innes (1996). Consensus in planning should be reached through dialogue and collaboration. This consensus is connected to citizen engagement and participation. Therefore, Judith Innes could also be placed on the higher rungs of the ladder. Therefore, both Healey and Innes can be considered influential in the planning debate.

2.3.4 The CLEAR Framework

As stated in section 1.3, Lowndes et al. (2006) created a framework for encouraging citizen participation and fostering discussions regarding measures that might be implemented to tackle issues based on theoretical and empirical insights. The CLEAR framework suggests that ''*people participate when they **can**: when they have the resources necessary to make their argument. People participate when they feel part of something: they **like** to participate because it is central to their sense of identity. They participate when they are **enabled** to do so by an infrastructure of civic networks and organisations. People participate when they are directly **asked** for their opinions. Finally, people participate when they experience the system they are seeking to influence as **responsive**''* (Lowndes et al., 2006, p.281). The CLEAR framework consists of five steps corresponding to the five bold words above: can do, like to, enabled to, asked to, and responded to (Lowndes et al., 2006). This diagnostic tool offers a narrow focus since it is concentrated on citizen participation. This framework provides a deeper understanding of the underlying causes that foster or hinder citizen participation (Lowndes et al., 2006). Below, the five steps will be elaborated further on.

Can do: This step refers to the SES of the participants. It is argued that people with a higher skill level and resources are likelier to participate than people with a lower skill level and fewer resources (Verba et al., 1995). These skills are defined as speaking in public and the ability to write letters. Furthermore, people's confidence level is related to this skill set. Resources are defined as factors facilitating participation activities, such as access to the Internet. These skills and resources are more likely to be found in people with a higher SES. When these resources are missing, people tend to be less likely to participate (Lowndes et al., 2006). To enhance the 'can do' among people, citizens need to be able to develop this set of skills (Lowndes et al., 2006).

Like to: This step refers to the willingness to engage in the participatory process. It is based on the level of commitment and sense of the community that people live in (Lowndes et al., 2006). The trend is as follows: the more people feel a sense of shared commitment, the more willing people are to participate (Lowndes et al., 2006). Open communication styles, management and politics can foster citizens' willingness to participate (Lowndes et al., 2006). Furthermore, formal and informal relations within social communities are related to the level of trust, mutuality, and cooperation. Which enables people to work together (Lowndes et al., 2006). Trust is experienced as important in local participatory processes (Laurian, 2009). If trust is absent, communication will often be unsatisfactory (Laurian, 2009). Åström (2020) identified that trust is lacking in urban planning. However, empirical research showed that participation can restore the level of trust again. Higher levels of so-called 'social capital' correlate with higher levels of participation (Putnam, 2000). Feeling part of the community can thus be seen as a facilitator for participation. According to Lowndes et al. (2006), 'like to' can be enhanced by actively promoting participation. Within this step, it is important to understand what is needed to let individual citizens have a choice to participate.

Enabled to: This step refers to the opportunity and support to participate. According to Lowndes et al. (2006), the factor enabled to is at its highest when civic infrastructure works accordingly. Civic infrastructure can be defined as the sociocultural together with the formal and informal means of connectivity. These means are utilised in networking and collaborations (Pezzoli, 2018). Means of connectivity are related to accessibility. It is assumed that better accessibility relates to higher participation and satisfaction (Fransen et al., 2018). Participation works more conveniently through groups than individuals since continuous reassurance and obtaining feedback is in place (Lowndes et al., 2006). Social organisations are important in these civic infrastructures since they can function as an intermediary and stimulate a participatory process (Lowndes et al., 2006). Furthermore, different options for participation are important since citizens could be more comfortable with online forms of communication, while others are more comfortable with public meetings (Lowndes et al., 2001).

Asked to: This step means that people are more likely to participate when they are invited or asked to give personal input (Lowndes et al., 2006). Furthermore, it is identified that the way of approaching people also influences the willingness to participate (Verba et al., 1995). According to Lowndes et al. (2001), it is not most important to seek balance or representativeness within the participation process, but a varied toolkit is needed to approach different groups of citizens.

Inclusiveness can express itself differently, e.g., by how open people are invited to participate, when and how the participation moment will be set up, and what activity is organised (Nyseth, 2019).

Responded to: This step refers to how is dealt with the input of the participants. To ensure sustainable participants, it is important to show that the participants had an influence so that they are more likely to participate in the future again (Lowndes et al., 2006). Citizens will feel disincentive to participate when they have had negative experiences in the past regarding a participation process and do not feel heard (Lowndes et al., 2001). People must feel that they are listened to, believed, and convinced that their points of view are being considered (Lowndes et al., 2006). This does not necessarily mean that the decision-makers must fully translate the participants' ideas. Citizens' input must be taken along in the decision-making process. Choices must be explained so citizens do not feel passed over. The quality of democratic leadership is hereby important. Policymakers must communicate clearly and provide feedback to the participants (Lowndes et al., 2006).

In the article by Tonkens and Verhoeven (2019), an adaptive version of the CLEAR framework, the ACLR framework, is suggested. This acronym stands for asked, can, linked, and responsive. In this adapted model, the 'enabled to' is replaced with 'linked'. Nevertheless, both terms mean the same thing. The term 'linked' is thus also defined above. The next thing that needs to be elaborated on is that 'responded to' is replaced by 'responsiveness'. Tonkens and Verhoeven (2019) argue that bureaucratic barriers arise in engagement in citizen initiatives. These barriers are experienced as discouraging and incomprehensible. Citizens who participate need 'responsiveness', policymakers supporting citizens in navigating this bureaucracy (Tonkens and Verhoeven, 2019). Finally, the term 'like' is left out within the new model. According to Tonkens and Verhoeven (2019), 'like' is removed since the involvement of citizens is more based on social cohesion and the sense of community than on the tactics of professionals to involve citizens in participation. Another critique of this model is given by Steur and Van der Groot (2006). The interpretation of the model would be too global, which would cause specific features to be underexposed. Nevertheless, the CLEAR model has intrinsic value since it generates discussions about citizen participation within municipalities (Steur and Van der Groot, 2006).

2.3.5 Methods of Participation

Innes and Booher (2004) identified problems with traditional methods of participation in the past. They identified that public hearings, comment procedures, and reviews do not work properly (Innes and Booher, 2004). Boonstra and Boelens (2011) elaborate further on the disappointing results of participation in spatial planning. The participatory process is not adaptive and friendly to new initiatives due to the control of public governments. Therefore, a more outside-in focus should be implemented instead of an inside-out focus (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011). An alternative view on citizen participation should be embedded, where interactions between citizens and public governments should be possible. This is necessary to deal with the growing complexities in the world, especially in spatial planning (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011). One of these alternative approaches is online participation. Participating via digital platforms can allow people to informally partake on shorter notice (Wilson et al., 2019). Besides, legalistic language

and formal processes could be left out of online participation (Wilson et al., 2019). Online participation has various possibilities in forms, such as online surveys, online discussion forums and online petitions (Suherlan, 2023). Furthermore, these forms of participation are more affordable and have the potential to reach a wider audience (Suherlan, 2023).

Lowndes et al. (2001) identified different forms of consultation and participation that local authorities used. With the help of five different categories, these forms of participation are subdivided as follows: *consumerist methods, traditional methods, forums, consultative innovations,* and *deliberative innovations* (Lowndes et al., 2001). *Consumerist methods* are forms of participation which are focused on customers. The main focus of these types of participation is on the delivery of a service. *Traditional methods* have a long history in local authorities. Activities like public meetings, the co-option of citizens with local authorities, and consultation can be included in this method (Lowndes et al., 2006). *Forums* are activities that connect residents on a regular basis with each other. Within these *forums*, people with a shared interest or background are connected. *Consultative innovations* aim to engage citizens on specific problems instead of opening up for a dialogue. This can be realised with the help of interactive websites, focus groups, and referendums (Lowndes et al., 2001; Lowndes et al., 2006). *Deliberative innovations* aim to encourage citizens to reflect and discuss problems that affect them. This can be organised by implementing juries, community planning schemes, visioning exercises, and forums (Lowndes et al., 2006).

Nyseth et al. (2019) discuss the rise of alternative and innovative forms of citizen participation. Traditional forms of participation have difficulties in reaching a wide variety of citizens and thus usually only reach the 'usual suspects'. Other alternative forms of participation are needed to reach citizens who are not part of the 'usual suspects' (Nyseth et al., 2019). Citisens (n.d.) investigated engagement profiles for different citizen groups in the Netherlands. Within those engagement profiles, different methods of participation are recommended. In Table 2 below, these different forms of participation are described and connected to different citizen profiles (Citisens, n.d.). Not every citizen group in Table 2 represents an underrepresented group, as mentioned in section 2.2.4. However, these groups deserve extra attention in terms of inclusivity. This table presents different participation preferences connected to different groups of citizens.

Table 2: An overview of citizen groups and preference for participation (Citisens, n.d.).

Citizen group	Short description	Participation preference
Alert families	Families with an average or below average income. Practical educated. Think of the family as highly important.	(Online) surveys or social media.
Modest greys	Retired and 65-plus. Do not have much money to spend. Mostly involved within their neighbourhood/community. Practical educated.	Email, paper survey, letters by post, or door-to-door magazines.
Idealistic	Both theoretically and practically educated and	Online meeting or online

globalists	have an above-average income. Relatively high level of trust in the authorities. This group is interested in broad societal themes.	resident panel.
Rushed families	Families with children where both parents work are theoretically educated and have an above-average income. They have busy lives and, therefore, participate less in society.	Online surveys, online platforms or digital newsletters.
Self-focused starters	35 years and younger. Practically and theoretically educated, and have an average income. They are only interested in participation if it affects them directly.	Resident panel, online platform or social media.
Silent survivors	Face difficulties with participating in society. Practically educated and have a below-average income. Thinking that there is no point in participating anyway.	Social media, paper survey or letter by post.
(Re)active empty nesters	45 years and older with an active way of living. Children have already left the house. Practically and theoretically educated with an above-average income.	Resident meeting, email, (digital) newsletter or door-to-door magazines.
Quirky locals	Practically educated with an average or slightly below-average income. Characteristics are the passion for the local commitment to the place. Have a distrust in the government, and only want to participate when they have a strong opinion about the topic.	Offline, personal discussions, email or social media.

2.4 Conceptual Model

In Figure 2 below, the conceptual model is visualised. The figure shows the expected relations of the theory. Urban redevelopment projects need to be future-proof and thus sustainable. This sustainability can be reached through support from residents. This needs to be done inclusively, thus involving underrepresented citizens. The theory identified four different underrepresented groups: ethnic minorities, practically educated, youth, and lower-income groups. Besides these groups, the 'silent majority' must also be triggered. Participation can be seen as a method for inclusivity since residents have the opportunity to engage in decision-making. However, the 'usual suspects' are often the group of citizens that actively participate. Using the CLEAR framework, this research will investigate how municipalities can become more inclusive by actively involving these underrepresented groups in the participation process for urban redevelopment projects. It is expected that better attention to the CLEAR factors will lead to more inclusive participation.
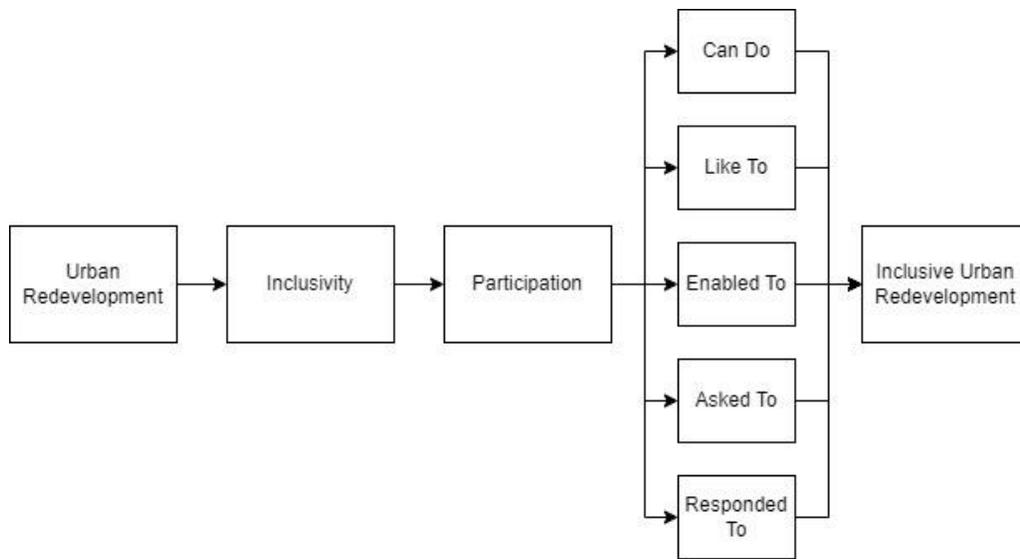
Figure 2: Conceptual model (author).

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Design

To identify factors that foster inclusivity within participation in the context of urban redevelopment, this research used a qualitative approach. In the academic world, the approaches for data collection are qualitative and quantitative. A qualitative approach explores subjective meanings, values, and emotions. Which can be done through interviews and participant observations, while a quantitative approach can be used for statistics and mathematical modelling (Clifford et al., 2010). A qualitative approach is informed by theory that focuses on explaining new challenges encountered by communities and creating a comprehensive understanding of these challenges (Silverman and Patterson, 2021).

According to Clifford et al. (2010), both methods can be used in extensive research designs (focus is on patterns in large 'representative' data sets) as well as intensive research designs (the focus is on describing one case study or a select few case studies). According to Yin (2003), researching case studies remains to be one of the most challenging tasks in social science. However, the desire to comprehend complex social phenomena is what drives the unique need for case studies. In short, the case study approach enables researchers to preserve the comprehensive and significant aspects of real-life events (Yin, 2003).

This qualitative approach consists of semi-structured interviews and a policy review. There are several ways to structure an interview, ranging from structured to unstructured. Structured interviewing aims to ensure the exact same context for the interviewees, with very specific questions. A standardised outcome can be achieved via this way of interviewing, but there is no room for in-depth information (Bryman, 2012). In a semi-structured interview, the researcher has a list of questions or specific topics to be covered. This list is called the interview guide (see Appendix 1). The interviewee can manage for themself on which questions elaboration or more depth is needed. The questions in the interview guide do not need to be followed in a specific order. However, the interviewer can base the next question on the interviewee's responses (Bryman, 2012). With unstructured interviewing, the researcher is left free during the interview. The interviewer may ask the interviewee a single question. Afterwards, the interviewee is allowed to answer freely. The interviewer will respond to interesting points for follow-up in line with the research. Unstructured interviews are quite similar to normal conversations (Bryman, 2012). In both semi-structured interviews and unstructured interviews, the interview process can be seen as flexible. A semi-structured approach was chosen for interviewing since it enabled the researcher to determine the fundamental mechanisms through which events and actions occur. It was also possible to study the specific context in which individuals act and how this has shaped their behaviour (Silverman and Patterson, 2021; Maxwell, 2008). The terms participation and inclusivity in themselves are of high complexity. Since this research combines both phenomena, the complexity will be even higher. Therefore, people's experience is vitally important.

The research was conducted in the Netherlands from February 2024 to July 2024. Below, in Figure 3, the research design is presented schematically. First, a literature review was conducted to provide the framework for the relevant concepts and literature. Secondly, policy documents relevant to this research will be analysed. The knowledge that was gained from the literature review and the policy documents will form the basis of the interviews. The sub-questions 1 and 2 will be answered with the help of the literature review. The latter two sub-questions, 3 and 4, will be answered with the help of the policy review and the interviews.
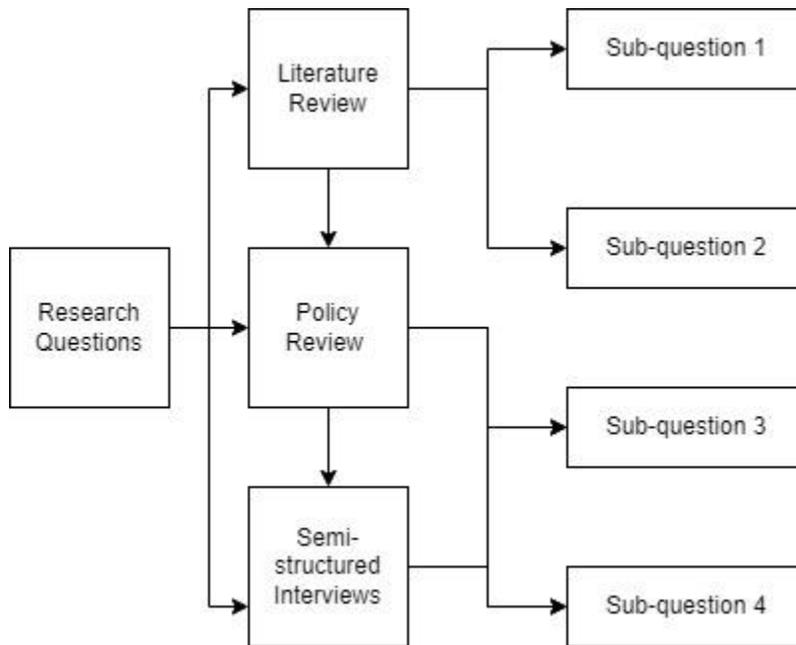
Figure 3: Schematic representation of the research design (author).

3.2 Case Selection and Description

According to Yin (2003), the unit of analysis is determined by defining spatial boundary, theoretical scope, and timeframe. Within this research, the spatial boundary is the case of the Schinkelkwartier, Merwede, and the Binckhorst. The literature review was the basis of the theoretical scope. Various characteristics are present in the neighbourhoods in the Netherlands (Bolt and Van Kempen, 2011). These differences can be even greater between neighbourhoods in rural areas than in urban areas. Rural areas are generally more homogenous compared to the heterogeneity character of urban areas (Hoekman et al., 2017). Furthermore, it is noted that the bigger a city is, the more variation between individuals is present (Hoekman et al., 2017). Given this, the choice was made to focus on neighbourhoods in urban areas in the big cities of the Netherlands. To ensure that the cases will be in the most comparable environment, a selection was made from big cities in the Randstad agglomeration in the Netherlands. After this, a selection for urban redevelopment projects was made. On the websites of the big municipalities located in the Randstad area, different projects were investigated. The projects needed to be greyfield redevelopment projects. Furthermore, the SES in 2019 of the municipalities from the possible case studies was investigated (CBS, 2022). The SES is based

on wealth, level of education, and participation in the labour market. The higher the score, the better the SES of a municipality is. (CBS, 2022). This led to a choice to investigate the following cases: the Schinkelkwartier (Amsterdam), Merwede (Utrecht), and the Binckhorst (The Hague). See Table 3 below for an overview of the cases. In Figure 4, the locations of the case studies are visualised on a map.

Table 3: Overview of the cases.

| Case	**Size** (Google Maps, 2024)	**Number of extra housing**	**Socio-economic status of the municipality** (CBS, 2022)
Schinkelkwartier	1.5 km²	11.000 houses	-0.100
Merwede	0.29 km²	6.000 houses	-0.014
Binckhorst	1.42 km²	5.000 houses	-0,175
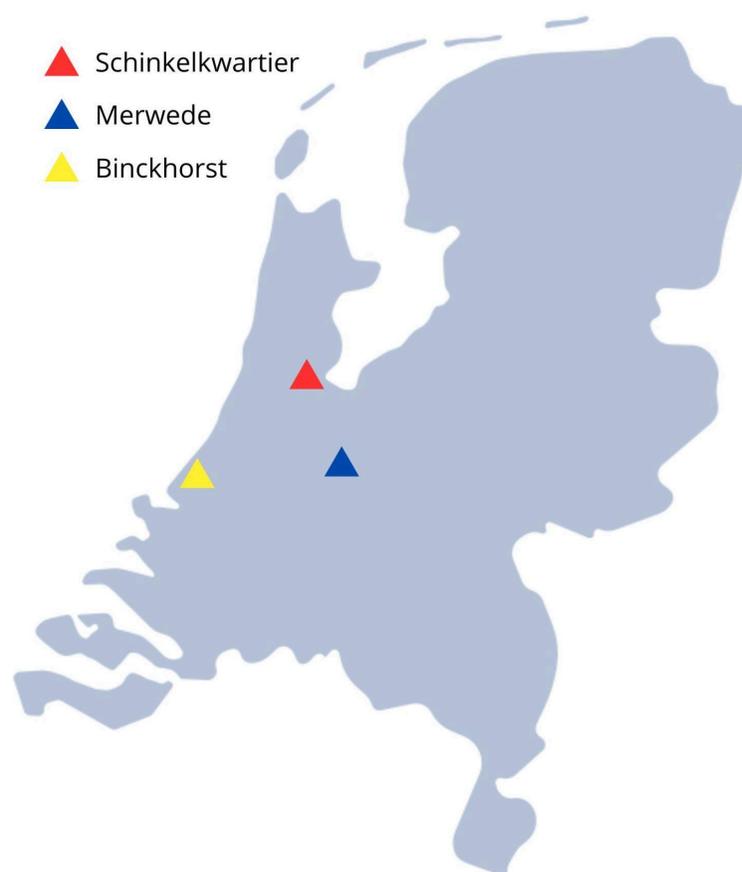
Figure 4: Locations of the case studies (author).

3.2.1 Schinkelkwartier (Amsterdam)

The Schinkelkwartier is located in the southwestern region of the city of Amsterdam and will be transformed from the edge of the city to a revitalised urban area (Municipality of Amsterdam, n.d.). Currently, the area has offices, some housing and a light industry. The Schinkelkwartier is subdivided into the following five areas: De Plantijn, Nieuwe Meer, Sloterstrip, Riekerpark, and Schinkelhaven (Municipality of Amsterdam, n.d.). The project started in 2019, and in the next 25 years, 11.000 homes will be built to respond to the housing shortage. These homes will offer space for about 22.000 inhabitants, almost 45.000 jobs, and up to 350.000 m² of facilities, including schools, cafes, restaurants, sporting facilities and shops (Municipality of Amsterdam, n.d.). In the area, the average income is around 34.000 Euro and around 10 percent of the households have an income around the social minimum (Allecijfers.nl, 2024).

Figure 5: Photo of the plans of Schinkelkwartier Amsterdam (Municipality of Amsterdam, n.d.).

3.2.2 Merwede (Utrecht)

The new Merwede neighbourhood will be realised between the Merwede channel and the Park Transwijk. The redevelopment process of Merwede in Utrecht can be described as a transformation from a business area to a car-free neighbourhood with a wide variety of housing options (Municipality of Utrecht, n.d.). Merwede should host 12.000 inhabitants in the future, which will be achieved by adding 6.000 new homes. The new houses will mix social rent, mid-rent, affordable buy, and open sector. Currently, around 1.000 starters live in the existing buildings in the neighbourhood. The redevelopment project started in 2018, and 2024 the building activities will start (Municipality of Utrecht, n.d.). The following five themes stood central in the redevelopment of Merwede: vibrant city district, mobile and accessible, green space first, variety of space, and health and sustainability (Merwede, n.d.). Sporting facilities and innovative businesses are currently already present in the neighbourhood (Municipality of Utrecht, n.d.).

Figure 6: Photo of the plans of Merwede Utrecht (Municipality of Utrecht, n.d.).

3.2.3 Binckhorst (The Hague)

The neighbourhood Binckhorst is located in the eastern part of The Hague. The Binckhorst will be transformed from an industrial area towards a modern, creative and innovative city district (Municipality of The Hague, n.d.). The redevelopment project of the neighbourhood Binckhorst started in 2018 and should lead to 5.000 extra housing and 80.000 m² space for businesses in the next ten years. The new houses will be a mix of types to ensure that different households, incomes, and age groups will live in the neighbourhood (Municipality of The Hague, n.d.). There are four different sub-areas identified in the Binckhorst: Binckhaven, Trekvlietzone, Mercuriuskwartier, and Binckhorst-Noord. These sub-areas will differ in ambience and usage (Municipality of The Hague, n.d.).

Figure 7: Photo of the plans of Binckhorst The Hague (Vorm, n.d.).

3.3 Data Collection

3.3.1 Literature Review

At the start of this research, an in-depth literature review was conducted. This review describes the relevant concepts, theories, definitions, and challenges regarding urban redevelopment, inclusivity and participation. In the theoretical framework (Chapter 2), these theories are described. This chapter will provide, together with the policy review, the background of the interview guide. Google Scholar is the database that is used due to its size. Table 4 below presents an overview of the key terms used in Google Scholar as a starting point. The literature review used Google cited-in and snowballing as a method. Google cited-in is a function in Google Scholar that makes it possible to see more recent articles that cited a specific article. Snowballing is a method where the reference list of a specific article is investigated for older relevant articles.

Table 4: Overview of used key terms for retrievement of literature.

Urban redevelopment	Inclusivity	Participation
Urban redevelopment	Inclusive participation	Public participation
Urban renewal	Youth participation	Citizen participation
Urban regeneration	Social cohesion	Inclusiv* AND citizen participation
Urban re* AND participation	Social complexity	Community participation
Urban re* AND particip* AND inclusiv*	Ethnic AND participation	Underrepresented AND citizen particip* AND Netherlands
	Education AND citizen Participation AND Netherlands	

3.3.2 Policy Review

In addition to the literature review, policy documents were analysed. The policy documents corresponded to the municipalities of the case studies. The content of the policy documents is participation or information about the redevelopment case. The policy review will give a better image of participation in the case studies and thus will help answer sub-questions 3 and 4. Furthermore, the policy documents will give a broader image of the case studies and are thus helpful for the interview guide. All these documents were publicly accessible or freely provided on request. The policies consist of frameworks and guidelines for participation in the corresponding municipalities. An overview of the policies that will be analysed can be found below in Table 5.

Table 5: Overview of the policy documents.

Title	Date of Publication	Organisation	Purpose	Pages	Document number
Beleidskader Participatie	07-09-2021	Municipality of Amsterdam	The rules of the game participation in Amsterdam	11	D-A1
Concept Participatieverordening gemeente Amsterdam	28-11-2023	Municipality of Amsterdam	The rules of the game participation in Amsterdam	18	D-A2
Projectnota Schinkelkwartier	12-2021	Municipality of Amsterdam	Overview of participation in Schinkelkwartier	152	D-A3
Overzicht van de participatie Merwede	12-2020	Municipality of Utrecht	Overview of participation in Merwede	10	D-U4
Actieprogramma Samen stad maken: Initiatief	09-2021	Municipality of Utrecht	Initiative for collaborative planning in Utrecht	20	D-U5
De Utrechtse Participatieleidraad	08-2021	Municipality of Utrecht	The rules of the game participation in Utrecht	7	D-U6
Samen stad maken op de Utrechtse manier	07-2019	Municipality of Utrecht	Initiative for collaborative planning in Utrecht	29	D-U7
Buurtaanpak Rivierenwijk en Transwijk Zuid	10-2020	Municipality of Utrecht	Redevelopment plan Merwede	42	D-U8
Raadsbrief buurtgesprekken Merwede	20-03-2018	Municipality of Utrecht	Letter about participation	2	D-U9
Stedenbouwkundig plan Merwede	06-11-2020	Municipality of Utrecht	Redevelopment plan Merwede	186	D-U10
Samenwerken in de Binckhorst	05-03-2020	Municipality of The Hague	Collaboration in the Binckhorst	44	D-H11
Roadmap Participatie Verordening	25-11-2021	Municipality of The Hague	Guidelines for participation in The Hague	8	D-H12
Haags	03-08-2023	Municipality	Guidelines for	1	D-H13

participatiekompas		of The Hague	participation in The Hague		
Concept Participatiegids voor gebieds- en planontwikkeling	16-06-2023	Municipality of The Hague	Participation guidelines for urban development	6	D-H14
Samenspel per stap	2022	Municipality of The Hague	Guidelines for participation in The Hague	20	D-H15
Het Participatie Werkboek	2022	Municipality of The Hague	Guidelines for participation in The Hague	22	D-H16
De Participatie Gids voor ruimtelijke ontwikkelingen	2022	Municipality of The Hague	Guidelines for participation in The Hague	25	D-H17
Overzicht participatie Binckhorst	23-03-2021	Municipality of The Hague	Letter about participation	3	D-H18
Voortgangsbericht Binckhorst	06-06-2023	Municipality of The Hague	Letter about progression Binckhorst	10	D-H19

3.3.3 Semi-structured Interviews

In addition to the literature and policy reviews, semi-structured interviews were conducted. This section will explain which techniques were used for participant selection and which criteria were used for the participants. For this research, the participants were selected by a purposive sampling method (Clifford et al., 2010). This form of nonprobability sampling is effective in studies focusing on contacting experts (Etikan et al., 2016). Recruiting participants for semi-structured interviews could be done in several ways (Clifford et al., 2010). In this study, the researcher reached out via phone calls, emails, and personal messages on LinkedIn. Several people also redirected the researcher to other possible participants, which is also known as snowballing sampling (Clifford et al., 2010).

The following criteria were used for selecting experts for the interviews, which led to the following participants, which can be found below in Table 6:
1. The participant works for the municipality in which the case study is located or for an organisation which was involved in the redevelopment process of the case study
2. The participant has knowledge of the participation process of the case study

ID	Function	Organisation	Date and duration
Interviewee 1 Amsterdam (I-A1)	Resident's organisation	Residents' organisation Schinkelkwartier Amsterdam	14-05-2024 46:42
Interviewee 2 Amsterdam (I-A2)	Omgevings-manager	Municipality of Amsterdam	17-05-2024 41:15
Interviewee 3 Utrecht (I-U3)	Anonymous	Municipality of Utrecht	06-05-2024 31:24
Interviewee 4 Utrecht (I-U4)	Anonymous	Consultancy	17-05-2024 29:37
Interviewee 5 The Hague (I-H5)	Project manager	Municipality of The Hague	02-05-2024 38:06
Interviewee 6 The Hague (I-H6)	Former alderman for urban development	Municipality of The Hague	14-05-2024 11:39
Interviewee 7 The Hague (I-H7)	Neighbourhood manager	Municipality of The Hague	14-05-2024 48:52
Interviewee 8 The Hague (I-H8)	Consultant participation	De Mannen van Schuim	27-05-2024 27:17

3.4 Data Analysis

The interviews were recorded using the Apple Dictaphone app. After data collection, the interviews will be transcribed using the transcribe function from Microsoft Office. The mistakes in the transcriptions will then be revised manually. These transcribed interviews and relevant policy documents were uploaded to ATLAS.ti for deductive coding. Deductive coding is based on the knowledge gained from the literature review. Below, in Table 7, the codebook which is used for analysing the policy documents and interviews is presented. Since both policies and interviews are in Dutch, the quotations in the results section are translated with DeepL.

Table 7: Codebook.

Code Group	Codes
Can do	SES, demographics, knowledge
Like to	Willingness, motives, trust, social cohesion
Enabled to	Civic infrastructure, help with participation, collaboration with

	communities, accessibility
Asked to	Traditional forms of participation, tailored forms of participation, participation form, level of participation, type of invitation, deservingness
Responded to	Feedback, dealt with delivered input, sustainable participation, successful participation
Group of citizens	Usual suspects, ethnic minorities, practically educated people, youth, lower-income groups, underrepresented groups, other

3.5 Ethical Considerations

When conducting research in social sciences, the following ethical dilemmas are most common: participation, consent, and confidentiality of personal information. These dilemmas may seem like moral questions or routine, but they influence the questions that can be asked, the persons that can be interviewed, and what can be observed (Clifford et al., 2010). Furthermore, ethical considerations ensure the validity and reliability of the research (Clifford et al., 2010). There are three main categories of reasoning for ethical behaviour in research. First, the rights of individuals, communities, and the environment will be protected. Since social sciences aim at making 'the world a better place', it is important to avoid harm while conducting research (Clifford et al., 2010). Secondly, behaving ethically as a researcher is beneficial in creating a favourable climate for conducting research. Third, the public has a growing demand for the accountability of institutions like universities (Clifford et al., 2010). According to Bryman (2012), researchers should follow principles and guidelines that ensure ethical behaviour like respect, responsibility, and the protection of the rights and well-being of the participants.

Before the interview, the interviewer will state that participation in this study is voluntary and that the interviewee has the right to withdraw at any time during the research. Furthermore, it will be highlighted that it is possible not to answer specific questions. This information will be provided in an information sheet (Appendix 2) and a consent form (Appendix 3), which must be read and signed before the interview. These documents will inform the participants about the goal of the research, voluntary agreement to participate, and the possibility to withdraw at any moment during the interview. The participants will be asked whether the interview may or may not be recorded via Apple's Dictaphone. Furthermore, the option was given to anonymise the job function of the respondent, and the names were anonymised. After the interview, the transcripts will be sent to the participants, who will have the right to make corrections and requests to delete certain information. Finally, the data will be stored under two-step verification on the Y-drive of the University of Groningen. After the successful completion of the thesis, the stored data will be deleted, and the thesis will be sent to the participants.

4. Results

This chapter presents the results based on the semi-structured interviews and document analysis (see Tables 5 and 6). This chapter is subdivided into three subchapters, in which the results per case are presented from the CLEAR framework, which was explained in section 2.3.4.

4.1 Can Do

Schinkelkwartier

In the participation ordinance of the municipality of Amsterdam, it is mentioned that guidelines are used to facilitate citizen participation. Participants can expect explanations in understandable language (D-A2). According to the municipality of Amsterdam, this has been done to involve citizens who do not have a certain level of language knowledge and skills necessary for participation (D-A2). Furthermore, it is acknowledged by the municipality that professionals have knowledge advantages over citizens regarding projects and participation. This is highlighted in the following quote:

''The difference in perception is accentuated because often the practitioners have a knowledge advantage over the citizens being involved.'' (D-A1, p.7)

When analysing the documents and interviews, it became apparent that official and formal language is often used within the participation process. According to the participation policy framework (D-A1), this can be difficult for people with a lower set of skills, knowledge and SES (D-A1). In the participation policy framework of the municipality of Amsterdam, it is highlighted that the municipal processes and structures are the basis for shaping the participation process. Besides, communication between the municipality and participants is also often shaped from the municipal perspective. This official and formal language created uncertainty among participants in the past (D-A1).

Furthermore, the municipality of Amsterdam investigates the neighbourhood's demographics, intending to have a clear overview of who is actually living in and around the redevelopment area. This has been done on a scale of roughly 16 houses (I-A2). Respondent I-A2 states the following:

''We are at postcode six level looking at what type of people live in the area.'' (I-A2)

Merwede

The municipality of Utrecht identified that the following groups are falling behind with participation processes: students, people who do not speak Dutch well, young people, elderly, mentally or physically disabled people, young parents, and people who have other things on

their minds (D-U7). Those groups of citizens are not always aware of what is happening in terms of participation in the neighbourhood (I-U4). This is also highlighted in the following quotes:

''*The majority of people do not know what is being voted on, or may not be able to vote.*'' (I-U4)

''*For normal neighbourhood residents, this can feel like a far-fetched story.*'' (I-U4)

In Merwede's redevelopment project, a neighbourhood strategy was conducted and implemented to investigate what was happening in the neighbourhood (D-U8). The municipality of Utrecht offers help to citizens to develop skills that are needed to participate. For example, by helping citizens to understand how political processes are organised (D-U7). Additionally, municipal employees develop and maintain their skills in conducting participatory processes (D-U7). The following quote from respondent I-U3 highlights that knowledge is provided to residents for participation:

''*So then we also gave them some knowledge, and at the same time we then ask them to participate.*'' (I-U3)

There are aims to create more equitable conditions for participation, for instance, with an independent professional who can help with participation (D-U5). In addition, the municipality of Utrecht wants to create small break-out groups for participation so that people with a lower skill set are also more likely to participate (D-U9).

Binckhorst
The municipality of The Hague expected minimal knowledge of participants in the Binckhorst (D-H11). An example of this in the Binckhorst is that most of the building plans and permits were applied for by the project group; thus, high-rise buildings were also visualised in the pictures (I-H5). These pictures gave residents an idea of what these plans really meant for their neighbourhood.

''*And then people suddenly thought, wow, I did not realise this was coming here in the Binckhorst.*'' (I-H5)

Furthermore, every participant is expected to have the same information and the same level of knowledge (D-H13; D-H16). Work sessions are being given by experts if knowledge is insufficient (D-H16). As participation is tailor-made, knowing the neighbourhood is essential (D-H12). In the Binckhorst, it was investigated what was going on in the neighbourhood to get a clear overview of who lived there (D-H13; I-H7). It investigated how many residents live in the Binckhorst and what kind of people live there (I-H7). The following quote represents what is examined prior to the participation process:

> *''What kind of people are they: male/female, age, income, what kind of housing types are there? How does a neighbourhood score [...]? So that's already just the numbers you have.''* (I-H7)

The Binckhorst aims to limit information to the essentials and not make processes complicated when not necessary (D-H11), despite the high self-organising capacity in the Binckhorst (I-H7).

> *''Do not send complicated letters.''* (I-H7)

4.2 Like To

Schinkelkwartier

In the participation policy framework of the municipality of Amsterdam, it is mentioned that it is important that residents have trust in the municipality and the local politics (D-A1). The municipality of Amsterdam identified that the likelihood of participation is higher when the level of trust among citizens is higher. An independent person or party that operates between the citizens and the system positively influences the satisfaction among citizens in the participation process (D-A1). Before starting a new participation process, it is important to restore trust among citizens due to past emotions (D-A1). Furthermore, another important asset for the professionals is to be aware of what happens in the neighbourhood of the redevelopment project. Insufficient local knowledge can lead to distrust among citizens (D-A1). This level of trust can be achieved and maintained by being open about the participation process and making clear at the start of the process what participants can expect, where they can participate and what level of participation can be expected. The participation trajectory of the Schinkelkwartier aims to make the rules of the game clear upfront (D-A1; D-A2; I-A2). Furthermore, municipalities and policymakers must know what they want at the minimum and what they can and will actually leave free for citizens' input. If this is not done accordingly, then there will be surprises (I-A2). The following quote highlights this:

> *''When you go into a participation process, you have to think. At some point at the front, you're thinking about what you want people to participate in. What can you let someone else decide? If you have nothing to decide by someone else, what should you actually let someone else participate in?''* (I-A2)

Besides being trustworthy and making the rules of the game clear upfront, the project group of the Schinkelkwartier is concerned about their appearance and image towards the citizens (I-A2). In the Schinkelkwartier, the project groups are trying to 'load' certain topics like sustainability and greening. With the concept of loading is meant to give substance and provide evidence regarding these topics on how these will be achieved (I-A2).

Citizens tend to have several motives for joining participation moments in the Schinkelkwartier, such as self-interest. House owners could be worried about the consequences of the value of their home (I-A1). There are also reasons why citizens tend not to partake in a participation process. Deciding to engage in a participation trajectory costs a lot of time and energy (I-A1). The following quote highlights the previous:

''I do know that it takes an insane amount of effort to get through. So you do have to pick your own battles. If I get invited to contribute to something and I think, okay, this is not immediately in my interest. Then I don't even ponder it, since it takes an enormous amount of effort and time to participate in such a participation process.'' (I-A1)

As mentioned in the project report of the Schinkelkwartier, the project group aims to be inclusive and undivided. The municipality aims to achieve this by creating high social cohesion among residents in the neighbourhood. This can positively influence residents' willingness to participate (D-A3). This is also highlighted in the following quote where the importance of social cohesion is highlighted:

''So that it will not become a yuppie nest because there will be all-new modern housing. That means putting it in very black and white. But that it just becomes real Amsterdam neighbourhoods.'' (I-A2)

Merwede
In D-U5, it is mentioned that the municipality of Utrecht sees participation as an important tool for remaining trustworthy and legitimate towards the residents. However, in D-U8, it is noted that residents do not feel properly heard by the municipality of Utrecht. They have the feeling of being insufficiently involved. The municipality believes that the relationship between citizens and the municipality of Utrecht is changing. In Utrecht, both the municipality and the citizens seek the best relations and ways of working together (D-U5).

The motive for participating is mostly to defend their self-interest. Residents do not want too many high-rise buildings in Merwede (D-U4; I-U3; I-U4). Furthermore, residents often participate in discussions on traffic, liveability, greenery, and construction nuisance (D-U4; I-U4). This is also highlighted in the following quotes:

''I always say the more concrete, the better. How does a particular topic touch them? The closer you are to an issue, for example, breaking open a street in front of your door. That is so 'in your face', people will come naturally.'' (I-U3)

Furthermore, it is highlighted by respondent I-U4 that a participation process can be seen as intensive and time-consuming. There is a certain barrier to participation since people have different priorities (I-U4). This is also highlighted in the following quote:

''A lot of people are obviously just busy with their families and their daily lives.'' (I-U4)

The municipality of Utrecht wants to create a city together with its citizens because of the belief that it delivers improved social cohesion and a sense of community for people who live in Utrecht (D-U7). In Merwede's redevelopment project, a neighbourhood strategy was conducted and implemented to investigate what was going on in the neighbourhood (D-U8). In general, the neighbourhood is experienced as quite satisfied by residents regarding social cohesion (D-U8).

Binckhorst

As mentioned in the collaboration report of the Binckhorst, the municipality of The Hague wants to create trust among residents (D-H11). This has been done by giving an informal character to the participation process in the Binckhorst (D-H11). According to D-H11, these informal participation meetings are more likely to be joined by residents than formal meetings. Furthermore, as highlighted by I-H8, it is important to create a trustworthy environment in which to participate due to the potentially sensitive information that is shared (I-H8). In the Binckhorst, difficulties in participation procedures from the past were dealt with by giving space in the first meeting and admitting mistakes frankly (D-H11).

''That involves sometimes quite sensitive interests or information. And they are quite willing to share that, but it has to be in a trusted environment.'' (I-H8)

According to D-H17 and I-H5, people in the Binckhorst chose to participate when the topic affected them. The municipality of The Hague wanted residents in the Binckhorst to feel a sense of ownership (D-H11). This ownership was encouraged with the help of government participation. With a higher level of participation, a higher level of ownership was realised in the Binckhorst (D-H11). Furthermore, working with structure and involving stakeholders on time were experienced as meaningful in Binckhorst's participation process (D-H19). This positively influenced social cohesion and the sense of ownership (D-H19). In the Binckhorst, this was realised in close cooperation with the city district Laak (the Binckhorst is located in Laak) and HOV (high-quality public transport) (D-H19). According to I-H7, there was a *''lack of social cohesion and feelings of social insecurity''* in the Binckhorst. This is also highlighted in the following quote:

''Our aim is to create support among local residents in combination with making good use of the area. We can then examine together with those residents what that should look like.'' (I-H7)

To make residents more enthusiastic and more willing to participate, the aim is to get as high as possible on the ladder of participation (I-H7). Finally, people and/or companies are mainly willing to participate when changes are planned right in front of their doorstep (I-H5). This is also highlighted in the following quote:

4.3 Enabled To

Schinkelkwartier

In the Schinkelkwartier's participation process, both offline and online information meetings were offered to give citizens various options (D-A3). Furthermore, the municipality aims to be flexible in terms of multilingualism (D-A2). Besides, the Schinkelkwartier has its own website where information can be communicated in a structured and transparent way (D-A3).

The municipality of Amsterdam is concerned with its accessibility. A single point of contact makes it easier for citizens to stay in contact with the municipality (D-A2). Furthermore, the municipality of Amsterdam mentions that the participation threshold will be lower when citizens can easily reach out to municipal employees (D-A2). In the Schinkelkwartier, no information centre is present. However, project developers working in the Schinkelkwartier have information centres where information can also be provided about the whole redevelopment area (I-A2). Furthermore, in the Schinkelkwartier, so-called area agents are active, keeping an overview of all the tasks and what is happening in the area (I-A2). This is also highlighted in the following quotes:

''In the area are area agents, which are people who are just the ears and eyes of the area. And those area agents are going to help us identify the right people.'' (I-A2)

''For example, if you stand in the neighbourhood and are present, you can be addressed. [...] If you want to interview people who go by bus, you have to stand by the bus shelter, that makes sense.'' (I-A2)

In the Schinkelkwartier, there is a neighbourhood platform called 'Bewoners Schinkelkwartier', which citizens can join. This platform stays in touch with people via newsletters and tries to activate residents to join in participation moments with the help of workshops and information meetings (I-A1). This is also highlighted in the following two quotes:

''Whereas participation trajectories used to be held in typical smoky back rooms, we did not hold them in this setting. But in more modern and cleaner spaces.'' (I-A1)

''At that point, we are sort of a bridge between the project team and the residents.'' (I-A1)

Merwede

In the participation process of Merwede, both online and offline participation meetings were offered, where online participation was experienced as a low-threshold way to participate (I-U3; D-U7). The online participation tools are bundled together to ensure that they are recognisable and familiar to Utrechters (D-U7). Furthermore, Merwede has its own website and newsletter (D-U10; I-U3).

''There is a newsletter that people can subscribe to, and they can contact us through our email address. which is focused on the Merwedekanaal zone.'' (I-U3)

The municipality of Utrecht wants to make participatory processes more accessible so that more people will participate (D-U7). Furthermore, it aims to provide more support at the beginning of the participation process (D-U5). In Merwede, an advisory panel was created. Several residents from the area were selected to advise on the urban development plan Merwede (D-U4). Furthermore, the project groups stayed in contact with the VvE, tenants association and youth work (I-U3). Information regarding Merwede is also shared through the above-mentioned associations' channels (I-U4). According to D-U7, the municipality of Utrecht aims to also keep an eye out for citizens who are not being represented by organised groups.

''You also do that together with those teachers. That you make a kind of bridge to, in this case, the school and therefore the teachers [...] It is nice that you can make use of linking pins.'' (I-U3)

An information centre is being built in Merwede, which will also have a maquette of Merwede's plans. Furthermore, presentations are given there (I-U3). The information centre will also function as a creative working place where a bar is located (I-U3). Besides, social agents are active and are the point of contact for residents and resident organisations (D-U6). From the municipality of Utrecht, there will also be a point of contact to monitor the coherence between all projects while also keeping an eye on opportunities for the neighbourhood with the residents (D-U4).

Binckhorst

In the Binckhorst, both online and offline participation moments are organised (D-H11; D-H18; I-H8). Online participation is seen as a low-threshold way to participate due to its flexibility (D-H11; I-H8). However, in the Binckhorst, it is subject-dependent whether online participation is an option (D-H11). In tough discussions, online participation can sharpen differences rather than mitigate them (D-H11). A digital newsletter called 'Binckhorst in Beweging' appears six to eight times a year and is received by approximately 3500 interested residents in and outside the Binckhorst (I-H5).

''Online participation, for example, is very low-threshold, anonymous and flexible.'' (I-H8)

The municipality of The Hague states that it wants to be approachable in the neighbourhood (D-H11). With the help of an information centre in the Binckhorst called 'Het Trefpunt', the municipality aims to achieve this approachable character (D-H11; DH18; I-H8). Furthermore, neighbourhood newspapers, local media and building sites promoted the presence of the information centre (D-H16). Besides, it was made clear to residents who are the first point of contact in the Binckhorst (D-H16). In 'Het Trefpunt', a maquette is present, and interested residents can enter the centre to ask questions about the Binckhorst (I-H5; I-H8). The municipality is one of the actors structurally present in 'Het Trefpunt' with capacity and information (D-H19). The future aim is for 'Het Trefpunt' to become a central meeting place in the Binckhorst (D-H19). Respondent I-H7 highlighted the importance of also having a presence in a neighbourhood square once in a while. Furthermore, to enable citizens to participate, flexibility in hours is vital (I-H7; I-H8). In the Binckhorst, this flexibility was ensured with organising an afternoon and evening program for the same participation event (I-H7; I-H8). The timing of this type of participation is also important (I-H8).

''People could also report to the information point where you could then manually complete that survey with a colleague.'' (I-H7)

''There is a general website, an email address, and an info centre. So I think we are quite findable in that respect.'' (I-H5)

In the Binckhorst, there are collaborations with several organisations like Laakhaven, BLF (business association), I'm Binck (residents initiative), and a secondary school (D-H11; D-H19; I-H6; I-H8). With these organisations, there is regular consultation and coordination (D-H18; D-H19). 'Stadsdeel Laak' has stepped in to help introduce current and future target groups in the Binckhorst (D-H11). Until recently, no resident organisation existed in the Binckhorst (I-H7; I-H8). The residents' organisations have just started and are experienced as pleasant since they represent many residents (I-H7; I-H8). However, the second quote below by I-H8 also shows that the municipality of The Hague must be careful when talking to a residents' association since not everyone feels represented by them (I-H8).

''It is nice if there is a delegation for the large buildings, i.e. someone acting on behalf of the tenants' association or on behalf of the VvE.'' (I-H5)

''Sometimes this is also difficult because not every resident feels represented by such an association.'' (I-H8)

4.4 Asked To

Schinkelkwartier
With the urban redevelopment of the Schinkelkwartier, the project group tried to involve property owners, residents, and business owners as much as possible in the area. The project group Schinkelkwartier sees participation as very important in all phases of the urban redevelopment, as it improves the support for and the quality of the plans (D-A3). In the Schinkelkwartier, surveys were conducted, and letters were put in the letterbox in people's homes (I-A1). The following quote shows that retired people are more likely to respond to these types of invitations:

''We did try, and succeeded, to engage not only homeowners. We also contacted tenants. [...] it is indeed more difficult to involve those groups. In terms of age, it is certainly the case that it is easier to involve pensioners.'' (I-A1)

However, it has been identified by the Daily Board of the municipality of Amsterdam that the participation process in the Schinkelkwartier is not inclusive at this moment. The Daily Board gave a mandate to work on becoming more inclusive in the Schinkelkwartier (I-A2), since inclusive participation is seen as a prerequisite for co-ownership (D-A2). Respondent I-A2 mentioned a meeting that was organised, which was attended by 250 people, of which 80-90% was white and highly educated. This triggered the respondent since the neighbourhoods around the Schinkelkwartier are very different. With the help of the area agents, the project group tries to resolve this (I-A2).

''So it is mostly the 'usual suspects', and partly companies.'' (I-A2)

Money is available for placemaking to tackle this problem regarding inclusivity in the Schinkelkwartier. This means that a particular group of citizens can be more strongly involved. Empty buildings can, for example, be transformed into cultural institutions, youth associations or mosques (I-A2). Furthermore, a consultancy firm has engaged. With the help of engagement profiles, a tailor-made approach can be used to reach specific target groups (I-A2). This is highlighted in the following quote:

''You can target those very specifically. Those come out of the framework of those profiles, and then we can just do an analysis on that. [...] we can just promote to say, listen, we think this might be of interest to you.'' (I-A2)

In the Schinkelkwartier, several tailor-made approaches have been used to reach underrepresented groups like ethnic minorities, 'rushed families' and youth (I-A2). The participation regulation of the municipality of Amsterdam stresses the importance of making an extra effort to reach underrepresented groups (D-A2). Respondent I-A2 mentioned, for instance, that they tried to trigger the Moroccan community with food. During the participation event, all

kinds of local enterprises were invited. Previous experiences showed them that this helps to attract this group of citizens. However, the project group saw that most people present were still the 'usual suspects' (I-A2). The following two quotes show other tailored approaches from the Schinkelkwartier:

''For example, the rushed families who don't come either. They have to take the children to school in the morning, then they have to work, and then they come home. Around 10 o'clock or so, they are then really worn out. [...] So if we want to reach that group of people, we actually have to record something, and then you have to invite them very specifically. Like listen, we are very interested in your opinion [...] Can you then look at it at some point, just to give your opinion on this.'' (I-A2)

''If you have a certain target group, and you want to start talking to them. I cannot do that on my own. I am the old gentleman. If I had to go and speak to ten boys who were under a certain age, Then they would think, what does the old gentleman want from me? You have to think carefully about who you do it with.'' (I-A2)

Merwede

In the participation process from the urban redevelopment project Merwede, the municipality of Utrecht mentions that extra efforts should be made to reach underrepresented and hard-to-reach groups (I-U3; D-U7). Respondent I-U4 experienced that traditional forms of participation result in certain groups not participating or participating less. This is experienced as problematic by respondent I-U4 since *''the voice of the silent majority, that's really what it's about.''* This can also be highlighted by the following example in Merwede, where bridges would be constructed from Merwede to the Rivierenwijk. According to the media, many people were angry about this (I-U4). However, when talks were made with people in the playground or supermarket, it became evident that people had different concerns. The houseboat owners had the biggest voice in the debate but were not representative of the concerns of the people in the area (I-U4).

''If you were just talking to the other people in the neighbourhood, who were sitting in the playground [...]. Those people had very different concerns than the houseboat owners.'' (I-U4)

In Merwede, several types of participation events were organised (D-U8; D-U10; I-U3; I-U4). It was aimed to make the participation as tailored as possible for each project (D-U10). This consists of large meetings but also smaller and individual meetings (D-U10; I-U4). Furthermore, the places where participation took place were accessible, so talks could be held with people who had not participated before (D-U9). Respondent I-U4 highlighted the importance of bringing the issues directly to the people. With this 'in your face' approach, people experience the measures and directly generate an opinion (I-U4). Furthermore, Facebook groups were used to spread information, parents were asked to participate at children's farms and the supermarket,

and brainstorming sessions were organised (I-U3; I-U4). Within those participation moments, it was possible to give answers ranging from a minute to in-depth conversations lasting half an hour (I-U4). This ensured that there was a more complete image of what was going on in the neighbourhood, where online participation can be seen as an important asset (I-U4).

''This experience brings people so much more than a drawing or a piece of text.'' (I-U4)

To engage youth in Merwede, there was a collaboration with an intended secondary school in Merwede (I-U3; D-U4). Students were tasked with creating a prototype outdoor space. Additionally, the students were also educated by the municipality, which got them more involved in the redevelopment project of Merwede (I-U3). Another example given by respondent I-U3 is regarding two large neighbourhood squares. Possible future residents were approached with a questionnaire (I-U3). The questionnaire included an empty square, which would be the basis of the squares in the future. Whereafter, the future residents could answer the questionnaire with the empty square next to them (I-U3). Another tailor-made and 'in your face' participation method is highlighted in the following quote by respondent I-U4:

''In a way, there had to be a bicycle street. So let's go and see if one day we can already realise that bicycle street by just putting tape on such a street. So that people can see what this means for them and how much space will be left. Can you still put your car down, or will this be an impenetrable street?'' (I-U4)

This temporary implementation of the bicycle street would give the citizens an idea of what was happening. Unfortunately, this idea could not be implemented due to COVID-19 restrictions in Merwede (I-U4).

Binckhorst

The municipality of The Hague states that they try to reach groups of citizens who do not naturally speak up in the participation process and aim to be more inclusive (D-H12; D-H13). In the Binckhorst, it is also recognised that mostly the same people join moments of participation (I-H5). During the starting point of the urban redevelopment process of the Binckhorst, the theme of inclusivity was not a big issue since *''we were already happy that people came along to participate at all''* (I-H6). However, inclusivity became more of a theme (I-H7; I-H8). The different methods that were used to reach more inclusivity will be elaborated on later in this section.

''After all, it is often the same people who are then involved in such an area development. They find it interesting and want to think about it.'' (I-H5)

The municipality of The Hague aims to increase diversity by encouraging different ways of inviting and organising different participation forms for various groups of people (D-H16). In the Binckhorst, different methods were used to ask residents to participate (I-H5; I-H7; I-H8).

Residents were invited digitally and physically (I-H7). The digital invitations consisted of emails, social media, and communication via municipal channels (I-H5; I-H7). When inviting people to participate online, the target groups are broader, and the ages vary more (I-H7). The physical invitations consisted of letters through the letterbox, ringing people's doorbells, making phone calls to residents, approaching residents on the street, and being present at networking events (I-H5; I-H7; I-H8). With this approach, groups of citizens could be approached more specifically, depending on which group the municipality wanted to focus on in the Binckhorst (I-H5; I-H7).

''Physical meetings we always see that it attracts a bit of the pensionados, we call them the 'usual suspects'.'' (I-H8)

''In the Binckhorst, it will be distributed door-to-door. Moreover, also to the entrances we already have in the area. So they are approached very actively. They also receive the invitations twice.'' (I-H7).

In the Binckhorst, several different methods of participation were used, like the Binckmarkt and the Deeltafel Binckhaven (I-H5; I-H7; I-H8). The Binckmarkt is an information market which can be freely accessed by residents (I-H7). During this Binckmarkt, workshops regarding the ongoing projects are given, and information is presented (I-H7). The Binckmarkt mainly informs residents about what is going on and what will happen in the future in the Binckhorst (I-H7; I-H8). The quote below by I-H8 shows how the Binckmarkt prevents residents from simultaneously participating in many participation processes. The Deeltafel Binckhaven is like a development table (I-H5; I-H8). During these sessions, specific interest groups get the attention. These development tables are held a few times a year (I-H8). Combining the Deeltafel Binckhaven and the Binckmarkt created different participation opportunities to engage the broadest possible audience (I-H8).

''To ensure that the stakeholders, i.e. residents, entrepreneurs or visitors, do not get six different participation processes, but one. That everything actually comes together in one place, so that's kind of the Binckmarkt format.'' (I-H8)

A collaboration with a secondary school (I-H8) is in place to target the youth group in the Binckhorst. Students were guided through a project about the Binckhorst and went on to build in Minecraft (I-H8). These students presented their Minecraft model on the Binckmarkt and were well received (I-H8).

''For example, they started building in Minecraft.'' (I-H8)

The Binckhorst has two reception sites for asylum seekers (I-H7). With the help of a community worker, the aim is to involve the asylum seekers more in the Binckhorst (I-H7). According to

I-H7, more attention is needed for this group in the Binckhorst, but this is difficult as this group only lives there temporarily. Furthermore, special attention is given to the group of future residents of the Binckhorst. They are contacted through the channels of the project developers (D-H11).

4.5 Responded To

Schinkelkwartier

In conclusion, in the participation process, the responsible governing body writes a report per project phase (D-A2). This report is published on the municipality's website (D-A2). On all the written and verbal participation moments of citizens, the municipality reports back what is done with the information (D-A2; I-A2). Furthermore, an overview of the procedure was created. According to I-A2, every input of citizens is reported back. In the investment memorandum, a list is made with answers to all the questions and input from the residents. To each question or point of input, an explanation is given as what was done with it, why the project group did something with it, and why the delivered input was not taken along in the plan (I-A2).

The reason for giving feedback in the Schinkelkwartier is to be transparent and to let the citizens know that they are taken seriously (D-A2; I-A2). The choices that are made must be deliberate (D-A2). In the past, the municipality of Amsterdam experienced dissatisfaction in the participation process. However, this dissatisfaction is not always due to the outcome but often due to the participation process (D-A2). In the Schinkelkwartier, it is highlighted that ongoing communication is vital (D-A3). Without communication or transparency, it could lead to frustration and struggles (I-A1). Procedural justice is important in a good participatory trajectory (D-A2). Respondent I-A2 mentioned that when citizens propose certain plans that have no chance of success, it is also important to say no to them in an early stage. During the construction of a bridge in the Schinkelkwartier, citizens' concerns regarding the nuisance were taken into account. Materials were chosen that limit the level of noise. Besides, proper landscaping of the bridge was considered, which included focusing on the greenery near the residential boats (D-A3).

''We will just use that build-up to give an account of what we have done. If you pick up something at the beginning and promise something, you have to show what you have done with it at the end. We take your views seriously. So we will give answers to your questions.'' (I-A2)

''It is not wrong to have choices made in the public interest by the council and the Daily Board. They are also appointed to do that. My role is to ensure that that information that is there from the district is collected and presented in an orderly manner.'' (I-A2)

Merwede

Communication is in place during the entire participation trajectory, including which steps in the process are taken (D-U7). In Merwede, the input of participation is fed back in documents and

via an online tool (I-U3, I-U4; D-U10). The urban redevelopment plan describes what is done with the most important pieces of input (D-U10). Furthermore, other reports were also made to give feedback, arguing why A is included, and B is excluded (I-U3; I-U4). It is essential to also give feedback in between reports since citizens do not tend to read those reports (I-U4). Due to the privacy rules, it is not possible to deliver feedback on the mail addresses of the participants. In Merwede, an online tool is made where people can sign up if they want to be kept updated (I-U3). An example of responding to the delivered input can be given by the two large neighbourhood squares mentioned in 4.4. The input of the questionnaire was caricatured in the empty square, which was delivered along with the questionnaire (I-U3). This caricatured square was sent along with the online newsletter.

''*We had also sent along a caricature-like square of what it will roughly look like.*'' (I-U3)

Furthermore, it is important to be open and fair regarding the chosen approach (D-U6). Also, about the extent to which the plan can be made together and adapted. This helps to manage expectations and could prevent disappointments (D-U6; D-U8).

Binckhorst
There were several moments for responding to the delivered input of residents in the participation process (I-H7). During these moments of feedback, the project group argues what is taken into account in the plans and what is not taken into account in the plans (D-H11). Reports of progress in the Binckhorst were published twice a year, including a special section regarding participation input (I-H6). Residents tend to have a better understanding when reasons are given as to why their idea is excluded (D-H11). Furthermore, as highlighted by I-H8, how you present the feedback to the audience is important because you ask the participants for their input, time, and energy (I-H8). A short video from the Binckmarkt was made and uploaded to social media sites like YouTube and LinkedIn (I-H8). Besides, all information from all the sessions was bundled together in a report (I-H8). The design team is processing the input, which will be visualised in the plan (I-H8). It should be evident what has been done with the delivered input by the residents (I-H8). The following quote highlights this:

''*So not in some dull report and then not being able to see it clearly in the plan either.*'' (I-H8)

Finally, being honest and transparent is important in responding to participants (D-H11; I-H8). This contributes to satisfaction with the process, even if residents are dissatisfied with the outcome (D-H12). An aspect of this transparency and being honest is that 'no' is also an answer (I-H8). When input from residents is unfeasible and contrary to municipal policy, it is important that this delivered input cannot be implemented (I-H8). In the Binckhorst, honesty and transparency are things that the municipality is working on (I-H8).

''*So no is also an answer. If you argue it well, it is also generally accepted.*'' (I-H8)

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5. Discussion

In the following chapter, the results will be interpreted by comparing them across cases and with the theoretical framework. Thereafter, limitations and recommendations for further research are provided.

5.1 Interpretation

5.1.1 Can Do

It is identified that citizens benefit from an easy and understandable participation process. The municipality of Amsterdam has the ambition to make participation easy and understandable for citizens. This was also highlighted in the Binckhorst, where it was stated that the process of participation must be kept as easy as possible. This includes communication in understandable language and preventing the use of difficult technical terms. Moreover, it has been identified that citizens with a lower set of skills can experience participation as more difficult and thus choose to participate less. At the beginning of a participation process, it is important to expect little to no starting knowledge from the participants. Furthermore, when it is experienced as needed, the municipality can help develop the skills needed to participate. This is in line with Verba et al. (1995), where it is stated that people with more skills and more resources are more likely to participate. Furthermore, Lowndes et al. (2006) argue that people need to be able to develop this set of skills, which is in line with the help that the municipality can offer to develop these skills. In the cases of Merwede and the Binckhorst, help was offered for citizens to participate. Furthermore, in all three cases, a neighbourhood scan was conducted prior to the participation process. This ensured that the municipalities and the project groups possessed an overview of the neighbourhood's demographics. When the SES of the neighbourhood are defined, tailor-made approaches can be implemented.

5.1.2 Like To

Trust is experienced as important in the process of participation. In all three cases, trust is highlighted. In Merwede, for instance, participation is seen as a method for trust. Whereas the Binckhorst aims to create trust in participation by providing an informal setting. Citizens are more familiar with informal settings, and therefore, it is more likely that citizens have a sense of trust in these informal settings. In the municipality of Amsterdam, trust needed to be restored by frankly admitting mistakes of the past, being open about the participation process and an independent person could be installed as a liaison between the municipality and citizens. When citizens have a higher level of trust in the municipality or (local) government, they are more likely to participate. This is in line with Laurian (2009), who states that trust is important in local participation processes, and the absence of trust can have a negative impact on the experience of participants. According to Åström (2020), participation can also be a tool to restore trust in the field of urban planning.

Furthermore, it has been identified in all three cases that citizens are most likely to participate to defend their self-interest. In the Schinkelkwartier, it was addressed that homeowners, for example, want to know what certain plans mean for the value of their house. Besides, in Merwede, it was highlighted that adjacent residents of a broken-up street want to know when maintenance will be ready. In the Binckhorst, the likelihood to participate was connected to the sense of ownership a resident has. This is also highlighted partly by Ferelli et al. (2016), who states that residents who are aiming to live longer in the neighbourhood have a higher level of commitment and, therefore, are more likely to participate compared to residents who are uncertain about their housing situation. This corresponds to the homeowners of the Schinkelkwartier since they are more likely to remain in the neighbourhood than tenants. Moreover, there are also reasons to choose for opting out of the participation process. In the cases of the Schinkelkwartier and Merwede these reasons are provided. In the Schinkelkwartier, it is mentioned that the participation process is energy-consuming and intensive. While in Merwede, it is mentioned that residents often have other priorities. By going higher on the ladder of participation, residents have more influence in the participation, which creates a sense of ownership. This is in line with Lownes et al. (2006), where it is stated that people with a higher sense of shared ownership are more willing to participate. Arnstein (1969) states that at the top rung of the Ladder of Participation and Non-participation, citizens have more influence.

5.1.3 Enabled To

It is important to provide opportunities for participating both offline and online. In all three cases, offline and online participation was provided. By the combination of both forms of participation, a broader group of people is enabled to participate. In Merwede and in the Binckhorst, online participation is seen as a low-threshold way of participation. This aligns with Wilson et al. (2019), who states that online participation is an alternative approach where people can participate more informally on short notice. Furthermore, Suherlan (2023) identified that online participation activates a wider audience to participate. However, in the Binckhorst, it is topic dependent whether online participation is offered. Since discussions online can sharpen differences instead of mitigating them.

In all three cases, community groups are used to enable citizens to participate. These groups range from advisory panels to tenants associations, VvE, resident organisations and youth work. The network of these groups is used to enable citizens to participate. However, it is important to note that these associations do not represent every citizen. In both Merwede and in the Binckhorst, it is emphasised that individuals that do not feel represented must also be accounted for. This is partly in line with Lowndes et al. (2006), who state that participation works more conveniently through groups compared to individuals. However, it is not mentioned that an eye must also be kept out for individuals since they do not always feel represented by these groups. Nevertheless, both Lowndes et al. (2006) and the results section show that an association is useful to engage with, as they represent a large group of people.

Moreover, it is important to be present and accessible to citizens in the neighbourhood, both physically and digitally. All three cases are occupied with being accessible and approachable for residents. A single point of contact for citizens contributes to accessibility, as does an

information centre (Merwede and the Binckhorst) that citizens can visit to obtain information or get help with participation. Besides being accessible, the Binckhorst aims to be flexible. This means that they offer participation events in the afternoon and in the evening. This ensures that more residents can actually participate. This is partly in line with the study of Fransen et al. (2018), which stated that being better accessible leads to more participation. This research also identified that both physical and online accessibility is perceived as pleasant.

5.1.4 Asked To

In all cases, extra effort is made to involve citizens in participation. By asking residents to participate in most possible ways, the chances of actual participation are higher. Methods to invite residents to participate are letters (physical and email), ringing on doorbells, calling, and approaching residents, e.g., on the street, in a supermarket or at a children's farm. In the article of Lowndes et al. (2006), it is stated that people are more likely to participate when they are asked to participate. Furthermore, Lowndes et al. (2001) state that a varied toolkit for inviting residents is needed to approach different groups of citizens. According to Verba et al. (1995), residents have different preferences in being approached. Combining these varied approaches may lead to more inclusivity. Moreover, it is important to offer various types of participation. In Merwede, residents had the option to give their opinion in just one minute if they prefer or have in-depth talks for up to half an hour. This is also in line with the varied toolkit described by Lowndes et al. (2001). This aligns with Nyseth (2019), stating that inclusiveness can be tackled by how open and residents are invited to participate.

Several tailored approaches to be more inclusive are aimed at the following target groups: youth, 'rushed families', ethnic minorities, and the 'silent majority'. This is partly in line with the theoretical framework. As presented in Chapter 2.2.4, the underrepresented groups were ethnic minorities, practically educated people, youth, and lower-income groups (Checkoway, 2005; Ravensbergen and Vanderplaat, 2010; Tonkens and Verhoeven, 2019). However, in the study by Citisens (n.d.), 'rushed families' are also described. Furthermore, Movisie (2020) also mentions that the 'silent majority' is not represented accordingly. In academic articles, the focus is mostly on specific groups that need to be involved in ensuring inclusivity. In comparison, online sources gave other insights, like the 'silent majority'. These insights could also be incorporated into the academic debate.

In Merwede and the Binckhorst, youth were involved with the help of their schools. While in the Schinkelkwartier, careful thoughts were present about the person sending towards the group youth. There, it was identified that sending an old person was not very likely to be effective. For 'rushed families' (young parents), different tactics were used in the cases. In the Schinkelkwartier, this group was referred to as 'rushed families'. There, the option was given to participate in their own time and from home. While in Merwede, the young parents were approached on the street for their opinions. Both tactics were experienced as successful, so combining both methods could lead to even more participants from this group of citizens. In Merwede, the 'silent majority' was tried to activate by bringing the issues right in their faces. The aim was that people automatically generated an opinion. Due to COVID-19 restrictions, this could not be implemented, but respondent I-U4 explained that this approach was successful in

other similar cases. The Schinkelkwartier tried to involve ethnic minorities with local food. However, this was not seen as a success since still lots of 'usual suspects' were around. This is little in contrast with Barrett and Brunto-Smith (2014) since they state that ethnic minorities are more likely to participate when activities are related to their own community. However, the results of this study showed that it was not perceived as very successful. Thus, in all cases, a different mixed method of tactics was used. To be most successful, it is therefore important to have a mixed method approach of different tactics of invitations and participation events.

5.1.5 Responded To

In all three cases, it is identified that giving feedback is important. Clear explanations are necessary as to why, for example, A is included, and B is excluded in the plan. This is in line with Lowndes et al. (2006), highlighting that choices must be explained clearly to citizens so that they feel that their input is taken seriously. Giving participants the feeling of being taken seriously was also highlighted in all cases as important. All cases mentioned that they had several moments of providing feedback to the participants via reports. However, the cases of Merwede and the Binckhorst highlighted that not every citizen read these reports. The Binckhorst tackled this by creating videos of participation moments. Those videos were also used to report back to the input of citizens. It is thus important to provide feedback via official reports. However, to reach a broader audience, other ways of feedback could also be included. In the Schinkelkwartier and in the Binckhorst, it was highlighted that saying 'no' to the input of participants is better compared to postponing the decision when the input is contrary to municipal policy. This ensures transparency and openness of the project groups. This also aligns with Lowndes et al. (2006), where they describe the importance of transparency in participation.

5.2 Limitations and Future Research

It is important to look back to this research regarding its validity and trustworthiness. In this research, three cases were analysed. The analysis of each case consisted of at least two interviews and policy documents. This approach ensured that some verification of the results was in place. However, it is important to note that the policy documents were partly about the ambition regarding the participation of the municipalities. On the other hand, policy documents about factual participation moments were also included in this research. In total, eight semi-structured interviews were conducted. There were lots of similarities found between the interviews. This increases the credibility and reliability of the outcomes of the research. In the final interview, no new insights came forward, therefore it could be said that the data was saturated. The interviews were with municipal employees or consultants who were involved in the participation process of the three cases. These people have the responsibility of the participation process. This means that their opinions and observations could be biased since the interviewees could have an interest to share a too positive image of the participation process. Besides, the observations of the interviewees are, to a certain extent, subjective. Therefore, it could be that these do not always correctly reflect reality. Considering the aspects mentioned

above, a suggestion for further research could include the citizens' perspective in the participation process.

Due to the characteristics of case studies, it is difficult to make generalisations. Each case has a specific context, and therefore, the outcomes are context dependent. Since there were similarities found between the cases, the outcomes are somewhat stronger. A quantitative approach could be used to verify the findings of this research. Furthermore, since all cases are located in the Netherlands, the participation rules are based on Dutch legislation. Therefore, implementing the outcomes in other countries could be difficult due to the different legal contexts. Since the feeling of not being heard was not only happening in the Netherlands but throughout Europe, this study could thus also be conducted outside the Dutch context.

6. Conclusion

This research focused on identifying factors in the participation process that foster inclusivity in urban redevelopment projects. This was done by conducting a literature study that dived deeper into the concepts of urban redevelopment, inclusivity, and participation. This resulted in a conceptual model (Fig. 3) where the CLEAR framework was used to analyse the three cases (the Schinkelkwartier, Merwede and the Binckhorst) on participation and inclusivity. A codebook was used for the empirical analysis, which consisted of a policy review and semi-structured interviews with municipal employees or consultants who are involved in the participation process in the selected urban redevelopment projects. This framework of analysis applied to the collected empirical data led to insights into factors in the participation process that foster inclusivity in urban redevelopment projects. In this section, the conclusions will be provided based on the results. This will be done by answering sub-questions 3 and 4 first, followed by an answer to the main research question *''Which actions could municipalities include in the participation process to foster inclusivity in urban redevelopment in the Netherlands?''*

In this section, an answer to the following sub-question will be given: *''What are the barriers and facilitators to inclusivity within the participation of urban redevelopment projects?''* Barriers to inclusivity in participation within the context of urban redevelopment are identified in this research. The level of knowledge of residents influences their ability to participate. The three cases indicated that a certain skill level is needed to participate. Furthermore, citizens could have different priorities and choose not to participate as highlighted in Merwede. In the Schinkelkwartier, this was highlighted by the energy-consuming and intensive character of participation. Besides, some citizens do not care about participating. Nevertheless, there are also facilitators to inclusivity in participation. At first, being approachable and accessible, both physically and digitally, to residents positively influences participation. Physically refers to the presence on the street or the presence of an information centre, and digitally refers to answering phone calls and emails, and having a website where information is provided. Secondly, asking residents to participate with different tools makes participation more likely. These tools consist of calling, letters, email, and approaching them on the street. Furthermore, residents prefer honesty and transparency throughout the process of participation. This ensures that the residents who are not satisfied with the outcomes are more likely to be satisfied with the process, which makes participation in future events more likely. Moreover, when organised participation events are flexible with hours, a broader group of citizens is enabled to participate. This flexibility could be achieved by organising the same event in the afternoon and evening.

This section will provide an answer to the following sub-question: *''How are underrepresented groups represented and accommodated in the participation process of urban redevelopment projects?''* The results identified that mostly the 'usual suspects' are participating. This group consists mainly of white, highly educated retired males. Besides that this is not inclusive, the results show as well that certain groups are underrepresented in participation. These groups are youth, ethnic minorities, 'rushed families' (working parents with young children), and the 'silent majority'. Different approaches were used to involve these groups in the participation process. Whereby it is identified that an understandable and easy participation process works

encouraging. Merwede and the Binckhorst showed that youth could be triggered by collaborating with schools. Merwede triggered the 'silent majority' by bringing participation topics to their face. Certain plans were implemented temporarily, and residents could experience the consequences. By experiencing the plans, residents automatically generated an opinion about the topic. Ethnic minorities were tried to trigger with food in the Schinkelkwartier. Unfortunately, this was not experienced as successful since the participants were still 'usual suspects'. The 'rushed families' were accommodated in the Schinkelkwartier by asking them to participate from home in their own time, while Merwede actively approached this group on the street or in the supermarket.

Combining both answers above led to the following answer to the main research question: ''*Which actions could municipalities include in the participation process to foster inclusivity in urban redevelopment in the Netherlands?*'' This research shows that participation is a time-consuming and intensive process. This section will provide several recommendations for a municipality to include to become more inclusive in participation in urban redevelopment. These recommendations can be seen as a toolbox for the municipality, which can pick recommendations based on its context and needs. First, the municipality must be approachable and accessible. When residents need help with participation due to a lack of skill or knowledge, it must be easy for participants to seek help from the municipality. Secondly, the municipality should provide the opportunity to participate in very short moments and also give participants the opportunity to have in-depth discussions about the plans. Diversity in duration gives more residents the opportunity to participate. Thirdly, participation events should be offered both online and offline. The online events mostly attract the 'usual suspects', whereas the online events attract a broader group of residents. Fourth, approaching citizens actively on the street or in the supermarket to ask for their input is a suitable method for dealing with inclusivity problems. The municipality can actively approach a certain group that is still underrepresented. Furthermore, tailor-made tactics should be used to activate and trigger a certain group to participate. These tactics vary from collaborating with schools, making people experience the plans, and allowing participation from home. Finally, to ensure that the participants will participate in future events again, it is important to take their input seriously. Provide feedback on their delivered input and substantiate why input is included and excluded. To ensure sustainable participation, the municipality must be honest and transparent during the process, which could lead to satisfaction with the participation process while the residents are dissatisfied with the outcomes. These above-mentioned recommendations could be implemented on their own. However, a mixed-method approach should be used to be most effective. This ensures that the broadest group of residents is approached and involved.

The findings of this research contribute to the academic debate by showing that understanding groups in our study are described differently compared to the existing literature. The existing literature focuses mainly on specific groups, while this study showed that the voice of the 'silent majority' needs to be heard. Finally, reflecting on the research problem again, inhabitants in the Netherlands feel unheard. Participation gives citizens the opportunity to get involved in decision-making. The implementation of the 'omgevingswet' is a first step towards more inclusive participation in the Netherlands. However, due to the form-free character of the law,

extra measures must be taken. With the recommendations of this thesis, municipalities could make their participation processes a little bit closer towards total inclusiveness. However, there is still a long way to go.

7. Reflection

The process of writing a master's thesis can be challenging. At the start of the thesis, I experienced difficulties with delineating this research. This led to doubts about what I really wanted to investigate. The entire thesis is an iterative process, with going back and forth all the time. This was sometimes frustrating because I sometimes had the idea that I made little to no progress, especially in the theoretical framework. Since I was reading many articles without putting any words on paper. Fortunately, I realised in time that I should just start writing for the theoretical part. This ensured that I was ahead of schedule. I experienced that this head start was very useful later on in the thesis since scheduling all the interviews took longer than expected upfront. I contacted lots of possible participants, but often no responses came, or the responses came in very late. I could have prevented this stress or delay by contacting possible participants even more early on in the process. Besides, I did not take into consideration that the months of April and May are extremely busy with holidays. These days lead to full agendas among potential participants. In this section, I would also like to thank the participants of this research. Without their help, this research would not have been possible. The processing and reporting of the data went quite smoothly. Due to the CLEAR framework, I could bring structure to the results more easily. Finally, finalising the discussion and conclusions went rather slowly. In Dutch we have the saying: "De laatste loodjes wegen het zwaarst". This was something that I experienced as well. In the end, I am proud of completing this thesis, and with it, finishing my master's.

8. References

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

Introductie:
Hallo, mijn naam is Rens Vos en momenteel ben ik bezig met het afronden van de Master Environmental Infrastructure Planning aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. Bij het afronden hoort het schrijven van een masterscriptie, dit interview heeft als doel om resultaten te genereren voor mijn onderzoek naar participatie in stedelijke herontwikkeling, en dan specifiek op het stukje inclusiviteit in de participatie.

Graag bevestig ik nog even voor dit interview dat het informatie formulier is doorgenomen en dat het toestemmingsformulier is ingevuld.

Heeft u verder nog vragen voor we beginnen met het interview?

Algemeen
1. Hoe heeft u de inclusiviteit in het participatieproces ervaren?
2. Heeft u het idee gehad dat bepaalde groepen (etnische minderheden, praktisch opgeleide, jeugd, of lage inkomensgroepen) in verhouding beduidend lager aanwezig waren?
3. Heeft u het idee gehad dat bepaalde vormen van participatie beter aansloten bij de wensen van bepaalde ondervertegenwoordigde groepen?

Can do:
4. Merkt u dat bewoners vaker geneigd zijn om te participeren als zij over meer kennis beschikken en/of betere sociale vaardigheden hebben?
5. Zijn jullie als groep bezig om bewoners extra op te leiden, of het extra gemakkelijk te maken om mee te doen met participeren?

Like to
6. Wat zijn volgens u de voornaamste redenen voor burgers om te participeren in stedelijke herontwikkelingsprojecten?
7. Hoe denkt u dat burgers extra gemotiveerd kunnen worden om te participeren? Hebben jullie ook acties ondernomen om burgers te motiveren?

Enabled to
8. Merkt u dat bepaalde groepen (jeugd, etnische minderheden, lagere inkomens, praktisch opgeleide mensen) eerder meedoen met participeren als dit via een tussengroep gebeurt? Bijvoorbeeld een buurthuis, belangenorganisatie of moskee.
9. Is er binnen Merwede extra aandacht geschonken aan bepaalde groepen? Waarom wel/niet?

10. Zijn jullie bezig geweest met jullie actuele bereikbaarheid? Hoe gemakkelijk is het om zomaar even in contact te komen/langs te komen bij jullie, en merk je dat dat gewaardeerd wordt?

Asked to
11. Op wat voor mogelijke manieren hebben jullie burgers proberen te bereiken om mee te doen met het participeren, hebben jullie verschillende vormen van uitnodigingen gebruikt?
12. Merkte je dat bepaalde manieren van benaderen beter werken bij verschillende groepen in de samenleving (denk aan jeugd, etnische minderheden, lagere inkomens, praktisch opgeleide mensen)?
13. Hoe zijn jullie omgegaan met het bereiken van mensen die helemaal niet in het gebied wonen, maar wellicht wel in het gebied gaan wonen? (Hoe bereikt u mensen die later in een herontwikkeld gebied gaan wonen?)

Responded to
14. Hoe zijn jullie omgegaan met de input van burgers gedurende de participatie?
15. Merkt u dat terugkoppeling van participatie naar de burgers goed is voor de duurzaamheid van participatie?

Afsluitende vragen:
16. Zijn er nog zaken omtrent het participatieproces in deze case die u opvielen?
17. Vaak wordt het participatieproces gezien als een vertragende factor binnen projecten. Heeft u zelf ideeën/inzichten hoe participatie kan worden ingezet om projecten te versnellen?

Appendix 2: Interview Information Sheet

INFORMATION SHEET

Voices from the City: Strategies for Inclusive Participation in Urban Redevelopment

Master Environmental Infrastructure Planning, University of Groningen.

Thank you for your interest in participating in this research. This letter explains what the research entails and how the research will be conducted. Please take time to read the following information carefully. If any information is not clear kindly ask questions using the contact details of the researchers provided at the end of this letter.

This study is about the participation process in urban redevelopment projects. Within this participation process, the focus is on inclusivity. Research has shown that certain groups are underrepresented in participation. This study will investigate what different municipalities did to reach and involve these underrepresented groups in the participation process. This will be done by analysing three different case studies which are located in Amsterdam (Schinkelkwartier), Utrecht (Merwede), and The Hague (Binckhorst). If you are selected to participate, you were involved in the participation process from one of these above-mentioned cases. The goal of the interview is to get insights into how more inclusivity in participation processes can be achieved. This will be structured by first investigating the existing frameworks of participation in the municipalities. Secondly, investigating what motives can be for inclusive participation from the perspective of municipalities. Thirdly, what barriers and facilitators are experienced in ensuring inclusive participation. Lastly, how are the underrepresented groups accommodated and represented in the case studies. The expectation is that the interview will take 30 to 45 minutes.

Rights of the participants:
- Participation is completely voluntary.
- The option is to participate anonymously, participate under the function and organisation that you are from, participate under your name, or participate under a pseudonym.
- Participants can choose to withdraw from the study at any moment and choose not to answer questions without consequences or providing reasons.
- The interview will be recorded, but the participant has the right to interview without a recording running.
- Participants can obtain a copy of the interview notes to make adjustments and erase certain pieces of information.
- The data will be stored until the end of this research behind a two-step verification key.
- A copy of the thesis can be sent to the participant after the successful completion of the research.
- This interview will help the researcher to gain knowledge and to complete the master thesis, which will be uploaded to the internet, and thus the processed results can be used in future research.
- The participant has the right to withdraw from the study until publication of the study.

Thanks again for your time and willingness to participate.

Kind regards,
Rens Vos

Contact information researcher:
Rens Vos
R.j.vos.2@student.rug.nl

Appendix 3: Interview Consent Form

Title study: Voices from the City: Strategies for Inclusive Participation in Urban Redevelopment

Name participant:

Assessment:
- I have read the information sheet and could ask the researcher any additional questions.
- I understand I may ask questions about the study at any time.
- I understand I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.
- I understand that at any time I can refuse to answer any question without any consequences.
- I understand that I will not benefit directly from participating in this research.

Confidentiality and Data Use
- I understand that none of my individual information will be disclosed to anyone outside the study team and my name will not be published if wished for.
- I understand that the information provided will be used only for this research and publications directly related to this research project.
- I understand that data (consent forms, recordings, interview transcripts) will be retained on the Y-drive of the University of Groningen server until the successful completion of the thesis.

I wish to receive a copy of the scientific output of the project: yes/no

Having read and understood all the above, I agree to participate in the research study: yes/no

I permit recording of the interview: yes/no

I wish to remain anonymous for this research: yes/no

If you wish to remain anonymous, may your function and organisation be mentioned: yes/no

Date:

Signature:

To be filled in by **the researcher**
- I declare that I have thoroughly informed the research participant about the study and answered any remaining questions to the best of my knowledge.
- I agree that this person participates in the research study.

Date:

Signature: