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# The difference in impact of the corona crisis measures on the well-being of Amsterdam citizens

A comparative research between residents from a lower-income and a high-income district on their affected capital.



## Colophon

Title: The difference in impact of the corona crisis measures on the well-being of Amsterdam citizens

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## Abstract

This paper conducts research on the effect of the corona crisis on inhabitants of two districts in Amsterdam; *South* and *South-east*. These districts are resided by the inhabitants with, respectively, the highest and lowest average incomes per capita in the city of Amsterdam. This study is performed to gain a better understanding of how corona affects the well-being of citizens in Amsterdam, to answer the research question formed: To what extent do the measures of the corona crisis affect the well-being of citizens in Amsterdam South and Amsterdam South-east? A total number of seventeen inhabitants, nine participants from South and eight from South-east, have been interviewed on their views on their state of social justice along three factors; social, financial and cultural capital, and which of these factors they valued the most. Results show mainly a difference in perception of how capital was affected by the crisis, where inhabitants in South-east were experiencing more radical changes in their capital than residents of Zuid. On the notion of social capital there was mainly a difference in the perception of how it changed between residents from the two districts. Financial capital was more stable for respondents from South than for the participants from South-east, what resulted in a reported less increase in cultural capital, because their lives remained quite the same. The results of this research should inspire and trigger more research in the effect of the corona crisis, since the case studies provided in this paper function as an example in the diversity and complexity of issues throughout a city, which house inhabitants of different scales of income.

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Background

The coronavirus, also known as COVID-19, spread globally and affected the lives of most throughout the world (Kittel, et al., 2020). Each country, as did the Netherlands, implemented different measures as part of the 'lockdown', a period of time in which the mobility and interaction with each other is limited to contain the spread of the virus (Rijksoverheid, 2020). These periods of social restrictions have proven to take their toll on individuals and society. Individuals experienced more stress, induced by concerns for COVID-19, resulting in a negative effect on their mental health (Arnout, et al., 2020). When addressing societies, Kittel, et al. (2020) argue that the crisis widens economic inequality through restrictions on mobility and a possible loss of income. This statement is backed by Arnout et al. (2020) as it is mentioned that the severity of negative effects on an individual's mental state is related demographically.

## 1.2 Societal Relevance

Inequality is not only reflected on a national scale, but also prevalent in cities (Glaeser, et al., 2009). That is why inequality in an urban context should not be studied with the same analytical tools used to analyze inequality through a nation (Glaeser, et al., 2009). Cities host a bigger diversity of inhabitants in a space that keeps getting more densely populated due to urbanization (Goldsmith and Blakely, 2010). Individuals or families of different levels of income cluster together in cities, creating communities of low-income households that can be deprived of proper services and be situated in dangerous neighborhoods (Goldsmith and Blakely, 2010). The situations of these citizens have worsened through the Corona crisis, as the blue-collar worker saw their income drop due to going into lockdown (Galasso, 2020). The jobs that continued were more likely to continue from the regular workplace, often involving contact with other people (Galasso, 2020). This increases the potential exposure of these workers to COVID-19 compared to white-collar jobs, resulting in a higher mortality rate. For example, as reported in the New York Post (2020), the MTA<sup>1</sup> reported 123 deaths in the first wave of infections.

## 1.3 Scientific relevance

Current research on the well-being of citizens through the corona crisis are nationally collected databases with an interest in understanding the situation of inhabitants nationwide (Kittel, et al., 2020). This research however lacks to identify the specific differences in problems communities can face. To add to this, there's a lack of research that puts the Corona crisis in the context of a physical disaster, as there is a lack of a "systematic approach to integrate spatial imaginations into theories and practices of crisis management" (Brinks and Ibert, 2020). The theory of Bourdieu (1986) is used in research to determine the impact of a disaster on the well-being of a community (Donner and Rodriguez, 2008). Therefore, it is also introduced in this research to gain an understanding of the corona crisis in an urban context, to be specifically the city of Amsterdam; a city that once characterized itself as a 'just city' through its sociological (housing) policies in the sixties and seventies. (Uitermark, 2009).

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<sup>1</sup> *Metropolitan Transport Authority*, transit operator for the city of New York, USA.

## 1.4 Objectives and research questions

The aim of this research is to gain a better understanding of the status of well-being in an urban context, to figure out the different effects of the corona crisis through citizens of different communities. The differences of these communities are then determined by which type of jobs dominate in a district. Therefore, in this case, the districts of Amsterdam South and Amsterdam South-east are compared. The following questions have been formulated:

- To what extent do the measures of the corona crisis affect the well-being of citizens in Amsterdam South and Amsterdam South-east?
  - What are the different measures taken over the course from mid-March 2020 until mid-December 2020?
  - Do the measures affect the perception of social capital citizens of both districts have differently?
  - What are the possible changes concerning cultural and financial capital between citizens of both districts as a result of this crisis?
  - Has the corona crisis changed the perception of what factors citizens valued the most?

## 1.5 Reading guide

The concepts and theories introduced will be elaborated upon further in chapter two: *Theoretical framework*. In the third chapter, the *Methodology* of research will be explained. *Results* of the conducted research will be presented and interpreted in chapter four. An answer to the research question will be provided in the conclusion and the findings will be discussed with other research in the *Discussion* section.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

### 2.1 The corona measures

To understand the different impacts of certain measures, it is important to create an overview of the measures in place at different times throughout the crisis. Figure 1 has been created to provide clarity. The corona crisis has been split into six periods, in which the measures were adapted according to the number of COVID-19 cases at the time. Each period has been labeled with a risk level, named according to the measures chart by the Dutch government. This chart is provided in appendix A to provide more clarity on the specific measures for each type of lockdown.

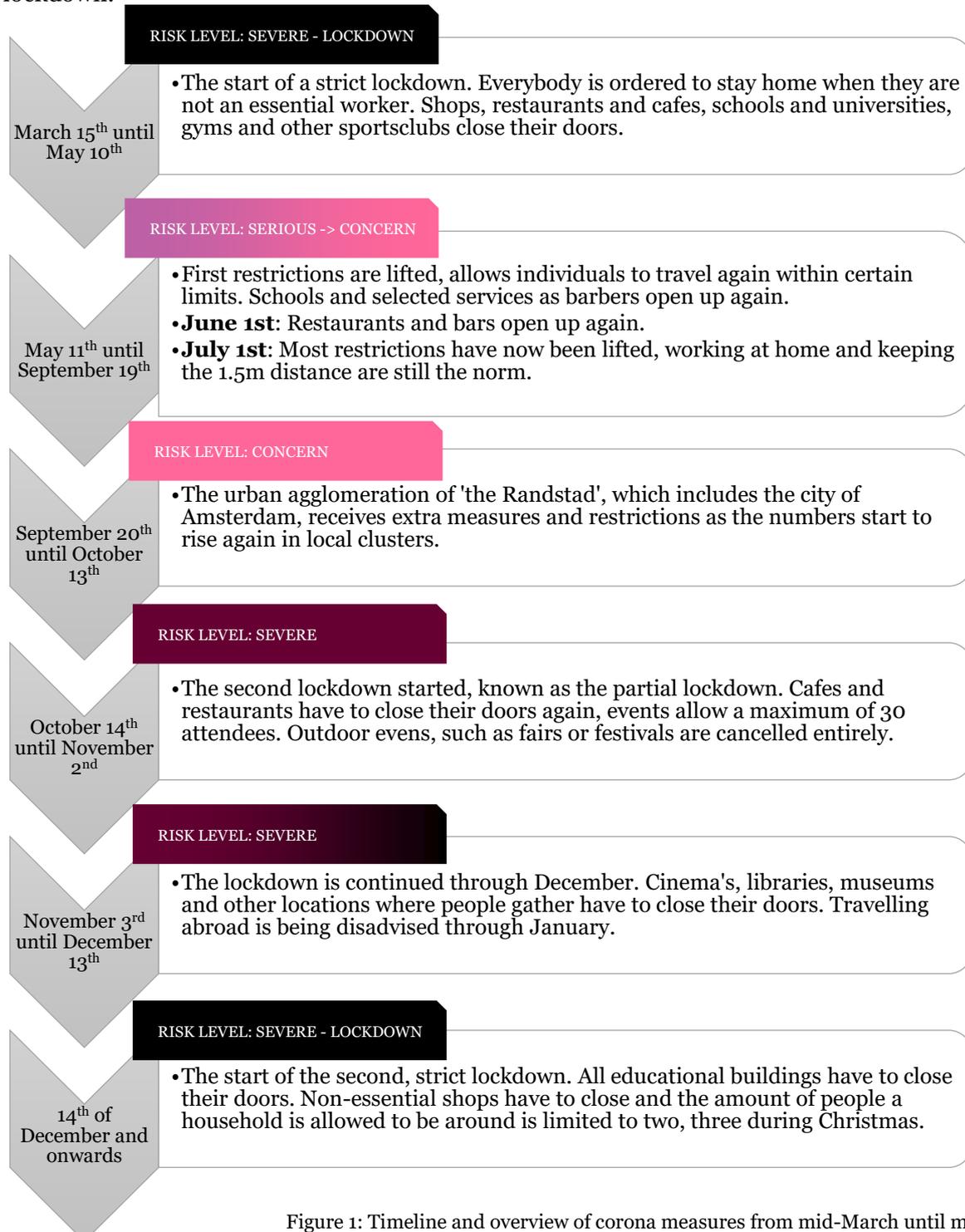


Figure 1: Timeline and overview of corona measures from mid-March until mid-December 2020, based on [tijdlijn-coronavirus.nl](https://tijdlijn-coronavirus.nl) (Author, 2020)

## **2.2 Social justice and well-being**

This research uses social justice as its main concept to determine the well-being of the participants involved, since well-being reflects the individualistic perception of a participant (Hupert and So, 2011) and social justice the status of a specific group (Buettner-Schmidt and Lobo, 2011). This concludes that social justice within a certain group of individuals is best described through an individual's well-being (Austin, 2016).

Social justice carries the definition in which full participation can be expected of all citizens in society and that the benefits and burdens for all citizens are balanced, which results in 'equitable living and a just ordering of society' (Buettner-Schmidt and Lobo, 2011). The main pillars on which the concept of social justice rests are (1) fairness; (2) equity in the distribution of power, resources, and processes that affect the sufficiency of the social determinants of health; (3) equity in human development, rights and sustainability; (4) just institutions, systems, structures, policies, and processes; and (5) sufficient well-being (Buettner-Schmidt and Lobo, 2011).

Sufficient well-being concerns itself with the subjective view individuals have on their own capabilities; in that sense *being-well* would be the complete opposite of the known mental disorders, such as depression for example (Hupert and So, 2011). Hupert and So (2011) define the 10 features of well-being as: "competence, emotional stability, engagement, meaning, optimism, positive emotion, positive relationships, resilience, self-esteem and vitality."

## **2.3 Social justice in an urban context**

Social justice in this paper has to be put in a geographical context, as it conducts research on the status of social justice in a spatial, to be exact urban, context. The theory of Bourdieu (1986) allows analyses to be made of inequality relevant to socio-spatial structures, defining spaces of injustice (Frenkel and Israel, 2018). Bourdieu divides the personal notion of social justice in three definitions:

### *2.3.1 Social capital*

Social capital describes the number of contacts one has and also the value the connection entails (Donner and Rodriguez, 2008). Within Social capital, what Bourdieu (1986) defines as "the total extent and quality of social networks and connections that one uses to promote personal interests", the structure of power relations come into place. In this research social capital will be referred to as social contacts as well, to enhance understandability of the phrase.

### *2.3.2 Economic capital*

Economic capital defines as the financial resources an individual has, through money or assets that can be converted to a monetary value with immediate action, which allows the individual to participate in activities, trade or be mobile across the world (Bourdieu, 1986). In this research economic capital will be referred to as financial capital too, to help with understanding.

### *2.3.3 Cultural capital*

Cultural capital describes the degree of skills and knowledge an individual has or has access to (Bourdieu, 1986). In sociological research it is often addressed how an individual's cultural

capital can provide them with advantages through life, for example in education. In this research, cultural capital will be referred to as a *degree of personal development* too.

According to Bourdieu (1986), none of these three forms of capital can determine the recurrence of spatial inequalities independently, rather all three are needed to give a proper estimate of the status of justice within a determined space. These definitions are fit to describe social justice, as older research on the relationship between social justice and space was deemed too individualistic and had not been normatively explained yet (Frenkel and Israel, 2018). The theory of Bourdieu (1986) was incorporated in a conceptual model (Figure 2) that combines the personal freedom an individual possesses with their living environment, through their capital in a social space, creating an understanding for the status of the functioning of social justice in a space.

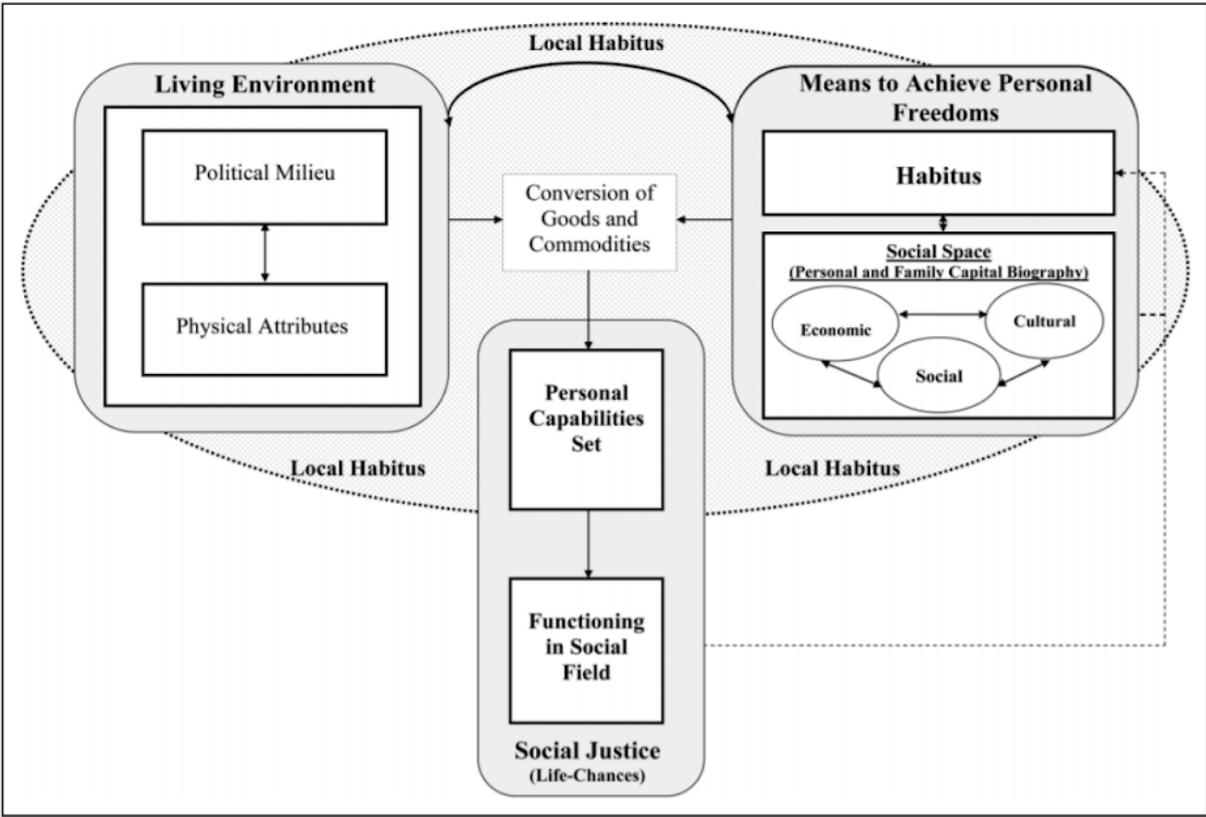


Figure 2: The conceptual model for social justice (Frenkel and Israel, 2018)

2.3.4 (Local) habitus

Habitus entails how an individual can be defined through their life experiences (Bourdieu, 1986). As they are exposed to different practices, they “form their conscious base of existence, representing his or her beliefs, values, tastes and predispositions.”(Frankel and Israel, 2018). Local habitus expands on that, as can be seen in figure 2, which includes the living environment of the communities. In conclusion, this local habitus, which encapsulates an individual’s *personal* habitus, determines social justice in an even wider scope.

## 2.4 Hypothesis

Based on the theoretical framework, the hypothesis has been formulated that for each capital, the impact of the corona crisis differs per participant. Concerning social capital, because the measures had a reducing effect on the physical, social capital of all, it is believed that everyone experiences a negative effect on their social lives. Concerning financial capital, however, it is believed that the participants from working-class communities experienced greater negative effects than those interviewed who live in Zuid. Concerning personal development, it is to be expected that the participants from the working-class district experienced less opportunities to obtain cultural capital, as they are limited in their financial resources.

## 2.5 Conceptual model

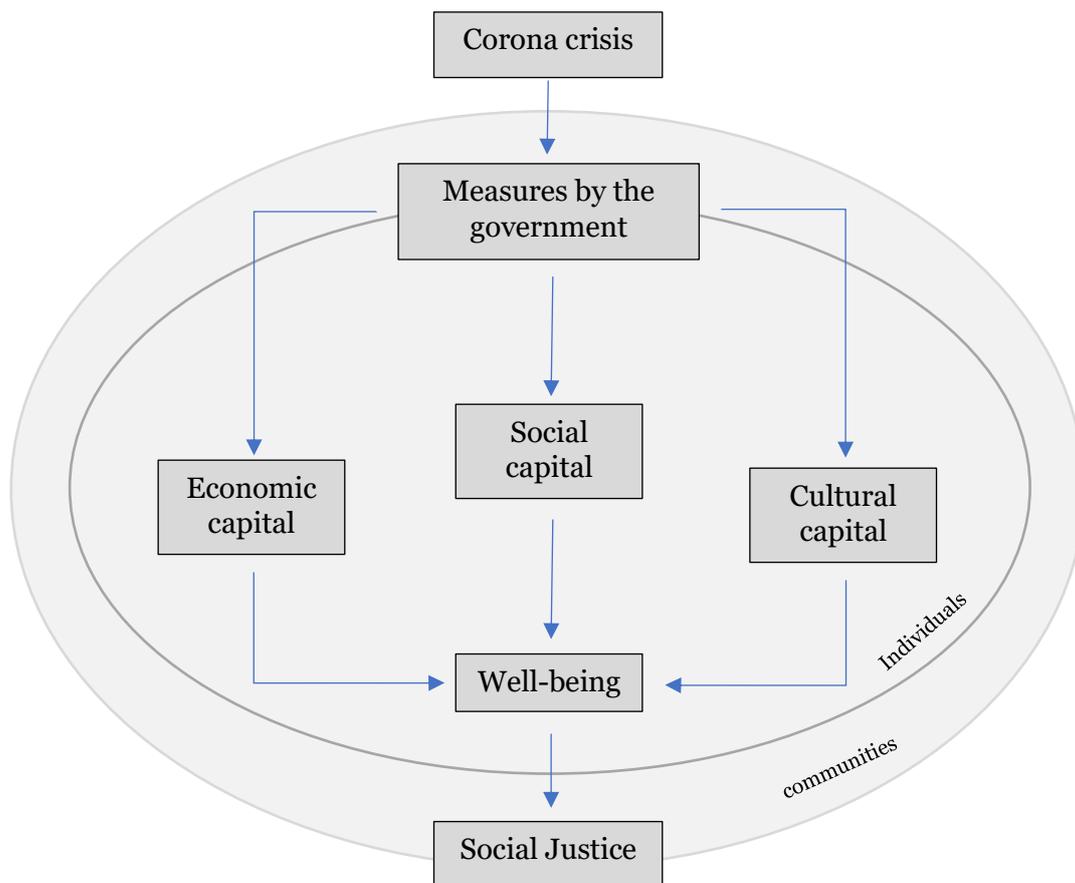


Figure 3: Conceptual model for the research (Author, 2021)

The conceptual model illustrates how the themes and concepts are interrelated with each other. It shows the linear process of a crisis, in this case the corona crisis, influencing the status of social justice through communities. This happens through the imposed measures of the government, which have an effect on the social, economic and cultural capital of individuals within a certain community or district. The affected capital affects the perception an individual has of their well-being and forms as one of the indicators of how social justice has been affected by the corona crisis.

### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1 Case study interviews

For this research, multiple interviews have been conducted and will be treated as separate case studies to get an understanding of the circumstances of the participants in the crisis. Open-ended interviews provide the room for the participants to express their unique situations and experiences for each category interviewed, which results in high-end qualitative data (Baskarada, 2014).

#### 3.2 Case description and selection

This research compares the sights of inhabitants from two different districts that differ on what jobs their inhabitants have, which is again reflected in the incomes of the inhabitants. what again relates to the aim of this research. The districts of Amsterdam South and Amsterdam South-East have been compared based on the previously mentioned criteria. Concerning the average income per capita, residents of the district South earn the most in the city of Amsterdam, nearly twice as much as residents of South-East, which earn on average the least in Amsterdam, see figure 4. The residents in the South-East are more likely to be employed in blue-collar jobs, whereas residents of South are mainly employed in white-collar jobs (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017). Appendix B lists various working fields and how bad the effects of the corona crisis is to be expected for these (UWV, 2020). This list reveals that in general, blue-collar jobs will see the most decrease in job opportunities.

District	Average individual income (incl. students) x1000 (2018)
Zuid (South)	49,0
Centrum	44,9
Oost	37,5
West	36,1
Nieuw-West	29,1
Noord	28,5
Westpoort	26,1
Zuidoost (South-east)	25,7
<b>Amsterdam</b>	<b>36,4</b>

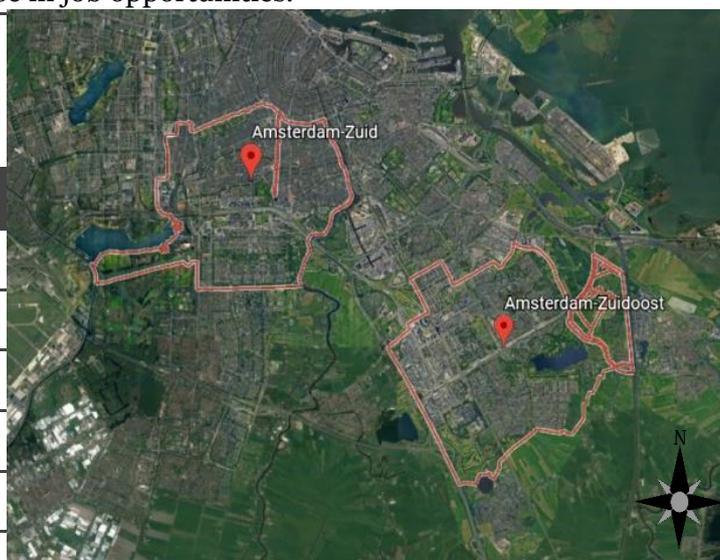


Figure 4: Geographical locations of the districts in Amsterdam (Google Earth, 2020)

Table 1: incomes of all district in Amsterdam (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018)

#### 3.3 Data collection

This research combines a literature review with multiple open-ended interviews and an analysis of documents from the media. As the COVID-19 pandemic was still present during the conducting of this research, data could not be obtained physically but was done via online video-call services such as Google Meet or Zoom.

### 3.3.1 Media documents

Websites, such as *tijdljn-coronavirus.nl* and media documents by the Dutch government (*rijksoverheid.nl*) provided information to answer the first sub-question. These sources were the foundation for the overview of corona measures (figure 1) and helped with coding with the interviews to potentially categorize measures mentioned.

### 3.3.2 Literature review

The literature, necessary to answer sub-questions 2,3 and 4, was discussed to create an understanding of the necessary concepts for this research. The discussed literature introduced the formation of interview questions and provides the possibility to compare research with already existing literature, used for in the Discussion section further on. The literature was obtained through online sources such as Smartcat or Google Scholar.

### 3.3.3 Open-ended interviews

The interviews in this research were conducted in a semi-restricted, open-ended manner. To clarify, this entails that the interviews were structured according to a couple of questions (see Appendix C), while providing the interviewer space to ask questions related to the answer an interviewee gave. This creates space for the interviewer to gain a complete understanding of an individual's perspective and opinion on the matter asked upon (Baskarada, 2014). These interviews are held to answer the sub-questions 2, 3 and 4.

The interviews were planned by distributing a link among residents of both districts towards a Google Form. In this Google Form the participant could read what the research was about and eventually asked if they were interested in scheduling an interview with me. Firstly, they entered personal information, as their name, age, what district they reside in and their availability. Depending on their availability they were contacted and an online interview would be arranged, via either medium that worked for them best.

In total 17 participants were interviewed, of which 9 live in South and 8 live in South-east. There were no selections made based on the responses from the Google Form, though a preference was established for respondents of different ages. This would show a greater variation in results. In table 2 the respondents from South and in table 3 the respondents from Southeast are listed with their age and a short description of how they introduced themselves during the interview. The participants have received codenames, as multiple participants expressed that they preferred to not have their name published.

	Age	Date of interview (dd-mm-yyyy)	Information
ZUID-1	21	16-11-2020	A student who recently moved out from their parental home, who remained living in ZUID.
ZUID-2	57	13-11-2020	Working in HR, spends most days now working in their house, remotely. American, so used to travel a lot.

ZUID-3	55	19-11-2020	Worked in the hospitality industries, but lost that job due to the crisis. Now devotes their time on writing a book.
ZUID-4	52	23-11-2020	A boss of an industrial complex near an airport, works remotely and remains busy. Fears for the long-term economic effects of the crisis.
ZUID-5	48	14-11-2020	A lawyer that started studying philosophy during the crisis, though that was already planned. Enjoyed the deeper level of social contact.
ZUID-6	70	25-11-2020	Retired, spends the day playing Tennis at the club and doing chores around the house. Partner lives in a retirement house, struggles with the limited rights to see them and behave with them.
ZUID-7	63	27-11-2020	Used to earn a lot of money, got a burn-out and started caring for ill babies. Struggles with taking care of the babies and the parents being home, also sees an effect on the children being home all the time instead of day-care.
ZUID-8	50	27-11-2020	Works in the theatre industry, has stress due to the imminent wave of people getting fired upcoming. Enjoyed spending more time with her sister and newly adopted baby.
ZUID-9	71	01-12-2020	Retired, would normally spend his days going to cultural events, the gym, but does not do that anymore being a risk patient.

Table 2: Overview of participants from the South district with a short introduction

Respondent	Age	Date of interview (dd-mm-yyyy)	Information
ZO-1	60	09-11-2020	Works part-time as a private tutor for children in the neighborhood, says that her health stops her from reaching full-potential and that the corona crisis only made it worse.
ZO-2	61	09-11-2020	Business, they struggle to create business through normal means, in cafe's and such. Says that the crisis has pushed them to get more involved into reading and current affairs.

ZO-3	19	10-11-2020	Student that got to realize the importance of social contacts, mentions the different things they learned through the lockdown and how it made them break out of a repetitive cycle of school and sidejobs.
ZO-4	59	10-11-2020	Works as host for an Airbnb, enjoys the time that their partner is now more with them at the house and watches more movies.
ZO-5	21	13-10-2020	Student, works in a bar and as radio/podcast programmer. Says that that has increased severely through corona, what satisfies them, as it makes them progress on a skill they want to progress in.
ZO-6	23	05-12-2020	Student, studies in another city, what made them commute a lot. Now that the commuting has stopped due to corona, more time can be spent on friends, jobs affiliated with the crisis and becoming aware of what they want.
ZO-7	22	01-12-2020	Student, that had to get back from their exchange program early because of the crisis. Does an internship at a company, what makes them busy anyhow. Lacks the unprofessional interactions with colleagues.
ZO-8	56	07-12-2020	Stays indoors mostly, due to being chronically ill since a couple of years. The few activities planned were cancelled and is saddened by it. Her positive mindset forces her to stay proactive, by becoming a member of a local garden.

Table 3: Overview of participants from the South-east district with a short introduction

### 3.4 Data analysis

The interviews were recorded, after the participants gave their verbal consent. The recordings were transcribed onto a Word-document and analysed using codes. Atlas.ti provided the opportunity to do this in one place.

### 3.5 Ethical considerations

To be as transparent as possible towards the participants, it is essential to make sure that they understand that they are participating freely and without uncertainties. Before the interview starts, the interviewees are asked whether they allow the interview to be recorded, for the purpose of transcribing. As the recording starts, the question is repeated and answered again accordingly. Afterwards, they are asked whether they mind having their name included in the research. Then, they were told that if they wanted to rectify anything said or have doubts, that they always have the possibility to retract themselves from the project. These recordings and transcripts are saved in a private document with no other person having access besides the author.

## 4. Results

The following chapter presents the results of the interviews conducted. This chapter discusses the results per capital first and what the participants responded to on how their perception of that specific capital changed due to the crisis. After, the results will be discussed on the last question from the interview, in which the participants were asked whether the crisis influenced the capital they valued the most.

### 4.1 *Social capital*

Concerning social capital, it has to be noted firstly that every individual, when not taking the district into account where they reside in, had a unique impact on their social lives. Across both districts the general consensus was among the participants that the measures had a negative impact on their social interactions and thus caused a decline in their social capital. On the contrary, some participants stated that the measures forced them to get more engaged with the social contacts that remained, what they experienced as a positive change. There were relatively more participants from South-east that stated these positive effects of the measures on the social capital than participants from South did.

#### 4.1.1 *South-East district*

The main argument provided by the participants from the South-east district is that the size of the worlds of the participants decreased considerably because of the measures. They lacked the freedom of going where they wanted to go whenever they wanted to (ZO-1, 2 and 4), in times of (severe) lockdown. In times when the (severe) lockdown had been lifted, the example was given that the need to reserve a spot for visiting an attraction was deemed ‘discouraging’, as ZO-4 phrased: *“I have a year pass for all museums, so I used to randomly go to museums, grab a cup of coffee on the way and would do that with a friend. I can’t do that, since I have to make a reservation for these.”* (ZO-4). The focus in this quote lies on the spontaneity of the trip, being of high value to the respondent.

Besides providing arguments on how the participant’s social lives were negatively affected, also examples were provided in which they stated that they saw their social capital grow over the crisis. Two respondents (ZO-3 and ZO-6), who are both young-adults, expressed how the crisis gave them the opportunity to realize how important their social contacts actually were to them. The combination of work and studying in the pre-corona society was prioritised and filled their agenda entirely, to the point that there was little room left for interaction with their friends. As the measures were partially relieved in the summer, physical interaction became possible: *“...in the summer everybody came outside in the periode when the measures were relieved a bit. So I met up with a lot of people in the park and such.”* (ZO-3).

The crisis caused many individuals to experience more spare time, either because they did not have to commute anymore (ZO-6) or were not allowed to go on trips, forcing them to experience an *“enforced sabbatical”* (ZO-5). The results show that depending on the time investment of an individual prior to the corona crisis, it affected their perception of social capital. Those with a vibrant social life experienced a decline in social capital, as they invested a lot of time in their social capital. Those who spent their time on other activities or work saw the time that got available due to measures as opportunities to invest in their social capital.

#### *4.1.2 South district*

All participants in Zuid mentioned that their social life worsened over corona. What most participants agreed upon was that they tried to keep interaction with friends and family within the guidelines, but that measures, such as the maximum number of visitors allowed to be in a person's home, felt as a constraint. The interactions with small groups reminded them that they lacked the feeling of togetherness of a big group (ZUID-1, 2, 4, 5, 8 and 9), even if they were allowed to be in big groups, the measures apprehended them of feeling as a group. ZUID-5 provides an example of a funeral they attended: “...*the mother of a friend had passed away and it was just weird to deal with taking the distance, that you can't have that physical contact.*” The interactions in small groups within guidelines were deemed far from ideal, as most conversations felt forced, because meeting-up with someone is such an uncommon event. That made it feel as if the interaction with the individual had to feel special (ZUID-7). ZUID-3 continued on that notion, expressing that when conversing with someone that the coronavirus was deemed the main topic, especially after the very first lockdown.

Not only did the corona crisis affect the interaction within group sizes of acquaintances, but also within families. On one hand positively, as participants express the valued extra time with family as a result of the measures (ZUID-5 and 8). On the other hand negatively, as there are situations where the interactions are limited more severely due to the measures. For example, ZUID-6 explains the situation that their partner is in a retirement home. The restrictions prevent them of having proper, physical contact with one another.

The measures predominantly had an impact on the quality of social interactions among participants from the South district. This results in the participants feeling unsatisfied concerning their social capital, despite having the opportunity to have contact digitally. Depending on their situation at home, there are opportunities to have more meaningful interactions, though there are also cases where their situations cause frustration, as family members don't live together.

#### *4.2 Economical capital*

Concerning financial capital, the interviews have revealed that the participants from the Southern district have remained financially stable during the crisis up until the interview had been conducted, with an exception for one. The reason for this is that their jobs continued remotely or because they received a pension. The majority of participants from the South-eastern district said that they were not heavily impacted financially by the measures either, but through other means, firstly because they either were not financially dependent on a job or because they became creative to remain getting an income. The respondents of ZO did however witness an increase of people struggling financially in either their surroundings or in the streets.

##### *4.2.1 South-east district*

The majority of participants were influenced by the crisis financially, as some participants were lifted from their jobs, working in a bar (ZO-5) or being a tutor at a school that had to close in the first severe lockdown (ZO-6). In the first instance ZO-1 felt that the crisis affected their income severely too, but adapted to the situation to keep a steady income, resorting to online tutoring instead of physical. The same goes for ZO-5, where they started working as an independent sound-technician more than they did before, and for ZO-6, that started working in a nursing home. The same can not be said for other residents of ZO, as ZO-6 states an

increase in criminality: *“If you now walk through the shopping center Amsterdamse Poort<sup>2</sup>, you see that there are far more junkies on the streets than there were before. More people went dealing because they had no money. They need to eat, they have no back-up.”* This quote expresses the increased financial despair certain inhabitants experience through the measures, pushing them to partake in illegal activities.

The general notion in ZO that the participants found other means to remain financially stable or that they were either way because they were still financially dependent on their parents (ZO-3) or got (disability) benefits from the government (ZO-2 and 8). But the participants do refer to a group in ZO that are struggling notably, that remains under the radar. Where those without a job can apply for welfare benefits or a new job, the ones without papers are not entitled to any benefits and are struggling economically worse, as ZO-6 witnessed: *“Well, I could remember a couple of weeks ago, as I strolled past Geldershoofd<sup>3</sup> I saw a big queue of people standing outside. As I was getting curious, I found out that apparently they were standing in line of a foundation that handed out food. I never knew that one was located over there.”* The foundation the participant refers to is not an ordinary food bank, but one that specifically exists for undocumented citizens, as they are not entitled to receive help from the food banks (deBalie, 2020).

#### 4.2.2 South district

All participants except one (ZUID-3) from ZUID expressed that the measures did not have any impact on their financial situation, as they continued working remotely (ZUID-1, 2, 4, 5 and 8), worked as an essential worker (ZUID-7) or received pension (ZUID-6 and 9). This result confirms that the participants from ZUID are financially stable through tough situations, due to the nature of their job, which can also be executed remotely. The only financial downside noted by two participants (ZUID-4 and 8) is the uncertainty for the future, after the corona crisis is over and cuts by the government are expected. In short, the participants are afraid of the long-term financial consequences of the crisis. This is in contrast with the response of the ZO residents, who express more direct/short-term financial consequences for individuals.

### 4.3 Cultural capital

The respondents from ZO in general sounded more enthusiastic when it came to their personal development than the respondents from ZUID. On average, the crisis had bigger, more significant financial changes for the ZO respondents, which in some cases forced them to become more creative in what to do next or to work more in a field they enjoyed more. As most lives of those interviewed in ZUID remained the same financially, their level of personal development did not change drastically either

#### 4.3.1 South-east district

Most participants expressed that they felt that their cultural capital has received a boost due to the measures. As they spent much less time outdoors they had more time on their hands to reflect and think what they truly felt was important, as ZO-6 says: *“the crisis dragged me out of my comfort zone”*. Multiple participants express how the extra time on their hands resulted in them getting more involved with certain hobbies (ZO-2, 3, 4, 5 and 6) or thinking of creative

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<sup>2</sup> Local shopping centre in Amsterdam South-east

<sup>3</sup> Flat in the district of South-east

ways to stay working: “ *I tried to get my income via other measures and that forced me to teach myself to give online tutoring, to use techniques I didn't understand before.*”

ZO-7 and 8 do not share the same view, as they respectively had an internship to spend time on and were already before the crisis actively busy increasing their cultural capital through activities that were cancelled due to the measures: “*The only thing that bugs me is that I can't go to museums anymore. I really enjoyed looking at art alone, as I partake in art myself too.*” (ZO-8). This indicates that if one's situation does not change or is already heavily involved with cultural capital, an increase in perception of it is unlikely.

#### *4.3.2 South district*

The participants from ZUID experienced less of a gain of their cultural capital. Some stated that they had no to little increase in cultural capital due to the measures (ZUID-2, 4, 5,6 and 9), except for spending a bit more time on certain hobbies, but no significant increase. ZUID-1, 7 and 8 had a little increase as they expressed a more mental approach to the crisis: “*I wasn't trying to change too many things (before corona). Now, coming back from the depths of despair, when social life was the worst, the silver lining has been that the awareness of things I want to change is much more... clear and I've taken some actions to change through ways I would not consider before corona. Or maybe I was considering, but I didn't take the steps. The urgency of now was not there.*” (ZUID-1). ZUID-3 was the only participant from the district to note an increase in self-development, as they finally had time to spend finishing writing their book. They lost their job as a result of the crisis. This confirms again the relationship between a change in financial capital and the cultural capital of an individual.

#### *4.4 The most valued form of capital*

In appendix D a table visualizes what the respondents noted which of the three values discussed they valued the most. These results show that for two out of eight participants in ZO the crisis altered the capital they valued the most (ZO-3 and 5) and one realizing that one capital does not work without another one (ZO-7): “*Before I'd say social life, in the sense that I find it important to maintain the network I have, since it's very important and that stays. But I have learned that my personal development at the moment is the most important to me. I am young, capable of learning a tremendous amount and should make use of that opportunity.*” (ZO-5) In ZUID one out of nine participants changed their views on what factor they valued the most.

These results confirm the previously noted sight that having more free time, together with a change in financial capital create an atmosphere in which individuals have more space to think about what they value as more important in their lives. The results also show that one's perception is easier adjusted when their lives change.

## 5. Conclusion

### *5.1 Discussion*

The research contributes to the scientific knowledge which is concerned with the impact of the corona measures on social justice in districts within a city. These districts differ from each other through the jobs the majority of inhabitants have and their matching incomes. The findings correspond with existing literature, illustrating that the capital of individuals in lower-income areas are more prone to fluctuations and uncertainty in crises, as they are more likely to get hurt by short-term consequences of the crisis (Kittel, et al, 2020 ; Galasso, 2020). This research adds to the existing literature by addressing the difference in social justice within a city, as the difference in effect of the crisis on different communities do not align with the pillars of social justice. Recent research has also shown that through crises resourcefulness in a community can be perceived, due to a rise in local initiatives (Lamker, et al, 2020). This research depicts the resilience lower-income households have in crises, as they actively have to deal with these sudden changes, thus indicating a stronger sense of resourcefulness through a community.

### *5.2 The effect on social justice*

In conclusion, the extent to which a participants capital was affected differed between districts. Concerning social capital, in the South-eastern district the time that participants suddenly had on their hands influenced their perception, where in the Southern district the quality of their social interactions affected their perception. This could be linked to the results, showing that participants from South remained a steady income throughout the crisis, which did not apply to most citizens in South-east, where short-term consequences forced them to become creative in earning an income. This enhanced creativity resulted in a more enthusiastic reflection on both their degree of cultural capital and what capital they valued the most. Respondents from South experienced less of an increase, as most of their jobs continued remotely. The differences in how communities are affected by the corona crisis are not in line with the pillars of social justice, but does not seem to disproportionately hurt the well-being of those in lower-incomes, since they express positive emotion and optimism for the future.

### *5.3 Recommendations*

It would be advised for the city of Amsterdam to do more research into the local differences the measures of the crisis have among its districts. A difference of measures among districts would not be advised, as these are nationally determined. However, it could provide each of the districts with more specific information on what the citizens need at that moment. For example, if a lot of inhabitants in ZUID mention the lack of social contact as an issue, the local district could set up an initiative to get people in touch virtually. And for example in ZO, if a lot of people struggle financially, the district could maybe allocate more funds or resources to organisations that help people in these situations.

### *5.4 Reflection on research process and outcomes*

With the entire process behind me, I feel that the research process went alright for the size it had. To get a more complete understanding of social justice within an urban context, research should also be done on more aspects of the conceptual model provided by Frenkel and Israel (2018), such as personal habitus and a more detailed understanding of their living environment, through observation. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic all research had to be done online and with the time constraint of the thesis and aim of interviews, it did not feel feasible

to include. Overall, I'm satisfied with the results and truly think that this paper can inspire others to look more deeply at how a city's measures affect differently.

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# Appendix A: Chart from the government of measures per risk level



Government of the Netherlands

October 15, 2020

## Coronavirus measures per risk level

The chart below shows the minimum measures that apply at each risk level. Check the local risk level to see what measures apply in your region. Whatever the risk level, always follow the basic rules. Local and national authorities can decide to impose extra, stricter measures if the situation calls for it.

More information on these measures is available at [www.government.nl/coronavirus](http://www.government.nl/coronavirus).

	risk level: <b>caution</b>	risk level: <b>concern</b>	risk level: <b>serious</b>	risk level: <b>severe</b>	<b>lockdown</b>
<b>Going out</b>	✓ No restrictions	✓ No restrictions	Maximum of 4, including yourself	Maximum of 4, including yourself	Maximum of 2, including yourself
<b>At home with family and friends</b>	✓ No restrictions	Maximum of 6 visitors	Maximum of 3 visitors	Maximum of 3 visitors Maximum of 1 visit per day	No visitors
<b>Gatherings and events</b>	Reservations are mandatory for events	With reservations and assigned seating: Maximum of 60 indoors Maximum of 80 outdoors	With reservations and assigned seating: Maximum of 30 indoors Maximum of 40 outdoors	Certain gatherings allowed, with reservations and assigned seating: Maximum of 30 indoors No events	No gatherings No events
<b>Weddings</b>	✓ No restrictions	Maximum of 60 indoors Maximum of 80 outdoors	Maximum of 30	Maximum of 30	Maximum of 30
<b>Nursing homes</b>	Depending on the nursing home's situation, different measures may apply. E.g. visits by reservation only, health check, face masks, or limits on visits				
<b>Restaurants, cafés and bars</b>	Mandatory reservations, assigned seating and health check	Closing time 01.00 No new guests after 00.00	Closing time 22.00 No new guests after 21.00	Restaurants, cafés and bars closed Cannabis cafés: pick-up only, closing time 20.00	Restaurants, cafés and bars closed Cannabis cafés: pick-up only, closing time 20.00
<b>Sports and exercise</b>	✓ No restrictions	✓ No restrictions	No spectators at matches or competitions	No matches or competitions Maximum of 4 people	Indoor sports activities prohibited Maximum of 2 people

<b>Domestic travel</b>	✓ No restrictions	Limit travel movements	Limit travel movements	Limit travel movements	Limit travel movements	Avoid non-essential travel
<b>International travel</b>	Follow the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' travel advice	Follow the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' travel advice	Follow the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' travel advice	Follow the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' travel advice	Follow the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' travel advice	Avoid non-essential travel, even to 'yellow' areas
<b>Public transport</b>	Face masks are mandatory	Face masks are mandatory	Face masks are mandatory	Face masks are mandatory	Face masks are mandatory	Face masks are mandatory Avoid non-essential travel
<b>Funerals</b>	Mandatory registration, assigned seating and health check: no maximum	Mandatory registration, assigned seating and health check: no maximum	Mandatory registration, assigned seating and health check: no maximum	Mandatory registration, assigned seating and health check: no maximum	Mandatory registration, assigned seating and health check: no maximum	Mandatory registration, assigned seating and health check: no maximum
<b>Education</b>	Primary and secondary schools are open. Higher education and secondary vocational education (MBO): on-site learning allowed only if the basic rules can be fully complied with.					Higher education and secondary vocational education (MBO): remote learning
<b>Work</b>	Work from home, unless that is not possible	Work from home, unless that is not possible	Work from home, unless that is not possible	Work from home, unless that is not possible	Work from home, unless that is not possible	Work from home, unless that is not possible
<b>Shops</b>	Wear a face mask	Follow the instructions in shops Special hours for older shoppers	No late-night shopping except for shops selling groceries Special hours for older shoppers	No late-night shopping except for shops selling groceries Special hours for older shoppers	No late-night shopping except for shops selling groceries Special hours for older shoppers	No late-night shopping except for shops selling groceries Special hours for older shoppers
<b>Alcohol</b>	✓ No restrictions	✓ No restrictions	✓ No restrictions	Sale of alcohol prohibited after 20.00 Consumption/possession of alcohol in public spaces prohibited after 20.00	No sale of alcohol after 20.00 Consumption/possession of alcohol in public spaces prohibited after 20.00	No sale of alcohol after 20.00 Consumption/possession of alcohol in public spaces prohibited after 20.00

Other measures than those presented here can be taken if the situation calls for it.

Always follow the basic rules:

**If you have COVID-19 symptoms, stay at home and get tested**

*If you have a fever and/or shortness of breath, anyone you live with must stay at home too.*

Work from home, unless that is not possible.

Stay 1.5 metres from others.

Avoid busy places.

Wash your hands often.

Cough and sneeze into your elbow.

Wear a face mask in indoor public spaces.

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## Appendix B: Overview of sectors affected by corona

Rental and business services Catering industries Culture, sports and recreation Aviation Floriculture	Very big decline
Retail non-food Metal and technology industries Other services Car trade Passenger transport over land	Big decline
Specialist business services Wholesale Building industry Transport of goods Logistic services Chemical industry	Average decline
Education Retail food Financial institutions Information and communication Food- and stimulants industry Rent and trade in property Energy, water and waste Fruit and vegetable cultivation	No/little decline
Health and well-being services Public administration Mail and postal couriers	Growth

## Appendix C: Format interview

*These questions form the backbone of the interview. Per participant different questions have been asked as well to gather more information on one of the answers given on one of these questions.*

- *Hi, before we start I would kindly ask you whether you have any objections with recording you, as that allows me to transcribe it and analyze it?*
  - *Do you have an objection with me referring to your answers in the research paper?*
- *Would you like to introduce yourself?*
  - *What your age is, what district you are from and what keeps you busy in your day-to-day life?*
- *What grade (1-10) would you give your social life:*
  - *Before the corona measures started?*
  - *During this corona period?*
    - *I.e. Church, family, colleagues*
- *What grade (1-10) would you give your financial situation:*
  - *Before the corona measure started?*
  - *During this corona period?*
    - *I.e. Rent House, work (fired)*
- *What grade (1-10) would you give your personal development*
  - *Before the corona measures started?*
  - *During this corona period?*
    - *I.e. Education, hobbies, work (change of work situation)*
- *Dilemma question: Which of these three factors did you value the most before corona?*
  - *Did that change over the course of time?*

## Appendix D: Overview of change in most valued factor

	Before corona	During corona	Additional notes
ZO-1	Social life	Social life	
ZO-2	Financial capital	Financial capital	
ZO-3	Financial capital	Cultural capital	
ZO-4	Social capital	Social capital	Even more appreciative than before
ZO-5	Social capital	Cultural capital	
ZO-6	Personal development	Personal development	With a greater understanding for the importance of financial capital
ZO-7	Personal development	Personal development/ Social capital	Has gotten to understand these two are for them specifically extremely intertwined.
ZO-8	Social capital	Social capital	
ZUID-1	Cultural capital	Cultural capital	
ZUID-2	Social capital	Social capital	
ZUID-3	Cultural capital	Cultural capital	
ZUID-4	Social capital	Social capital	With more attention to themselves
ZUID-5	Social capital	Social capital	
ZUID-6	Social capital	Social capital	
ZUID-7	Social capital	Personal development	
ZUID-8	Social capital	Social capital	
ZUID-9	Social capital	Social capital	