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**Utilising Intersectionality to evaluate Urban Renewal projects in the
neighbourhood of Moerwijk**

A Research Paper Proposal

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Governance and Development Policy

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1 Introduction

Moerwijk as an underprivileged neighbourhood faces a variety of socio-economic and socio-cultural issues that are now being addressed through the Regio Deal Den Haag Southwest. However, there is a critical lack of gendered wording and policies despite the presence of gender mainstreaming (GM) being present in the European Union and the Netherlands since the late 90's. Organisations need to rethink their view of intersectionality and embrace it at a research and organisational level so that structural, systemic and policy processes are responsive and inclusive to all members of society (Thomas et al. 2021, p. 2). The aim of 'integrality' as a key component of the Regio Deal project implementation outlined by the municipality did not resonate with project implementers, on the contrary, it was shown to have played a hindering role which did not lead to ownership of the process by the residents (Van Dijk & Bleeker, 2022, p. 18). This outlines that the residents of Moerwijk are not being included in the decision-making processes that directly impact their lives and has resulted in growing distrust and lack of participation in urban renewal initiatives. The coming sections will outline the development of gender mainstreaming at a European level and a national level pertaining to the Netherlands. The research statement and theoretical framework will outline the need for an intersectional approach to be implemented in the neighbourhood of Moerwijk. This also constitutes the gap which my research and research questions aim to argue in favour of utilising intersectionality and gender mainstreaming as tools to address the obstacles that stakeholders face regarding urban development in Moerwijk towards gender inclusive approaches that make residents feel more included in the decision-making process. Therefore, the following questions will guide my research:

What are the key issues that stakeholders from the neighbourhood, organisations, and municipality face in the context of an underprivileged neighbourhood such as Moerwijk?

How do their experiences and perceptions translate into demands and plans for effective urban development?

2 Historical Context

2.1 Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Policy at the European Level

The section will serve to discuss gender mainstreaming in a European context to understand the manner of implementation on a national scale in the Netherlands in the following section. In the 1990's the European Union formally committed to implementing processes that would be the building blocks towards mainstreaming a gender sensitive perspective pertaining to policy making to counteract the acknowledged gender bias towards producing gender-equal policies (Council of Europe; European Commission 1996, as cited by Mergaert & Lombardo, 2014, p. 4). The concept of mainstreaming entered the international public policy sphere in 1995 and was officially endorsed at the Beijing Conference by the EU (Commission of the European Communities) introducing a gender perspective as central to all EU policies (Pollack & Hafner-Burton, 2000, p. 435). The EU's approach to equal opportunities was further strengthened through inclusion of various provisions in the 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam pertaining to EU competence in the sphere (Pollack & Hafner-Burton, 2000, p. 437). The result of the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty revised key Articles (1&2) which centralised

equal opportunities for women and men as a core objective of the EU (Hurtado, 2017, p. 202). The push for awareness relating to gender in urban policy at the level of the European Union finds its origins towards the end of the 1980's. It is important to mention from the onset that the European Union has no actual power in the sphere of urban issues and the legislative capacities lie with the Member States (Hurtado, 2017, p. 201). Moreover, the integration of the gender approach in urban policies addressed and redefined issues that allowed for women to be visible and not perceived as only subjects of planning but also participants in the process of planning and policy making (Fainstein & Servon, 2005, as cited by Hurtado, 2017, p. 204). This contributed enormously towards reshaping the urban dimension of EU policy which has the ability to improve the quality of life for all citizens within the EU as well as take steps towards fulfilling the EU aim of equality and social cohesion (Hurtado, 2017, p. 205). Nevertheless, despite the clear ambitions of the EU there has been little attention provided to gender differences within urban planning where historically, policy makers and planners have utilised a universal tone instructed by the male reference point as the implicit norm (Fainstein, Servon, 2005, as cited by Hurtado, 2020, p. 217). In a review of EU urban policy, Hurtado (2020) argues that there is a critical lack of a gender perspective in the policy tools which is "justified" through a rhetoric of development that is based on inclusive concepts such as: social equality, equal opportunities, family friendly city and social cohesions. Additionally, gender mainstreaming has not been incorporated into the dimension of EU policy. This directly contradicts the mandate of the Treaty of Amsterdam which holds the objective of creating social equity within the EU and is specifically focused on the concept of equal opportunity between men and women (Hurtado, 2017, p. 213).

2.2 Gender Mainstreaming in Urban Policy in the Netherlands

The contextualisation of gender mainstreaming in urban policy specifically related to the Netherlands will add insight that will be developed upon in the research problem section. The Netherlands being a decentralised unitary state and a member of the six founders of the European Economic Community, means the state is firmly embedded in the European Union. Dutch legislation often differentiates municipalities relating to their size as well as other criteria. On the other hand, the local government is based on the core principle of uniformity and does not differentiate between municipalities (Denters, 2021, p. 105). Looking at the Dutch method of local governance, it is the same for every Dutch municipality disregarding the opinion of urbanists and geographers that would consider the municipalities as rural, urban or suburban (Denters, 2021, p. 105). This complicates the sphere of Dutch urban conceptions as it is unclear what territorial unit - which do not necessarily have to be jurisdictions - are then considered 'urban'. "This is not only a problem facing the author of a chapter like this; policymakers designing urban policies face a similar definitional problem" (Denters, 2021, p. 105). Nevertheless, the Dutch governmental and non-governmental organisations are considered to be leaders in women's rights and gender equality since the 1980's and provide substantial donations within the domain (van Eerdewijk & Davids, 2014, p. 306). The Netherlands also opted to translate gender mainstreaming into policy programmes rather than into planning laws; in comparison to Germany and Spain who centered gender in urban and building renewal acts (Tummers & Wankiewicz, 2020, p. 14). The following key characteristics are found in almost all handbooks and manuals relating to spatial design and the considered target groups:

- Accessibility and usability of public space, including streets, squares, parks, and sports/recreation areas.
- Multiple and mixed use of these spaces.

- Secure cities, particularly safe public space.
- Inclusive participation strategies.
- Diverse, and affordable housing offers.

(Tummers & Wankiewicz, 2020, p. 16).

Moreover, when discussing the attention provided to differences between men and women as a by-product of incorporating gender mainstreaming in the sphere of work-family balance. The Netherlands adopts a conservative corporatist approach where the commitment to care tends to fall on the nuclear family. In terms of reconciliation, this is based on segregationist strategies with a definitive separation of unpaid family work and paid work which do not occur at the same time because of inadequate provision of childcare services and long parental leaves (Hagqvist et al, 2017, as cited by Lomazzi & Crespi 2023, p. 64). This can be argued is a negative result of right-wing Eurosceptics being more likely to succeed in arguing the standpoint that gender equality is no longer an issue and marginalise policies aimed at addressing inequalities (Lomazzi & Crespi 2023, p. 133). Therefore, the key aim of implementing gender mainstreaming is to facilitate new roles for agents of change to build synergies between the gender mainstreaming and EU sustainability goals. This serves to directly enhance the understanding and usage of gender and intersectionality in the sphere of urban development, amongst professional in private firms and planning departments (Tummers & Wankiewicz, 2020, p. 26). Additionally, due to the manner in which gender assessments and targets are designed, the biases within the Dutch development agency go unchallenged which results in gender mainstreaming turning into an individual affair instead of institutional; there is a failure to bring institutional change because the responsibility to mainstream is individualised which by-passes institutional norms and priorities which include individual values and interests (van Eerdewijk, 2014, p. 354).

2.3 Urban Renewal Policy in the Netherlands

Dutch urban issues can be understood as an area focused intervention which can be categorised into three themes; physical urban renewal and renovations; stimulating the (urban) economy; and addressing social problems (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2021, p. 2). A key focus of the policy originating in the post-World War II period up until the 1970's was a focus on central business districts (CBD). The center of the cities was regarded as the key epicentre for economic development and therefore, old neighbourhoods located in the center were demolished to make way for municipal government institutions, firms, banks and shops (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2021, p. 2). Priemus (1997) outlines the relationship between the spatial planning and housing policy arguing that local authorities lost their dominant position in the land market which was taken over in the mid 1980's by private development companies. During the period there were three main relationships that developers and local government would enter into: Construction claims, joint ventures and concessions (Priemus, 1997, p. 82). Above the regional level the main aim of the spatial planning programmes set out by the Dutch government were to enhance the state's economic growth (Priemus, 1997, p. 78). Musterd & Ostendorf (2021) categorise the main goal of the urban policy in the Netherlands from 1945 to 1970 as creating a stronger economy and improving accessible housing and neighbourhood residents. The changes in the socio-economic structure came because of the post-industrial shift towards services due to the global economic shift in reaction to the recession of 1973 and oil crisis of 1979 (Broeders, 2001, p. 228).

The period from 1980 to 1994 was focused on disadvantaged neighbourhoods, improving social cohesion, and stimulating social participation (Muster & Ostendorf, 2021, p. 3). This initiated the beginning of integrated policy approaches to urban renewal across Europe which began as initiatives by local governments and key local actors which once successful, were formalised and institutionalised into formal national programs and policies (Aalbers & Beckhoven, 2009, p. 449). The integrated approach to urban renewal projects can be understood as a policy shift where the realisation that economic, social, and physical issues needed to be addressed simultaneously. Moreover, the integrated approach is a form of governance that is shaped by the belief that complimenting varied policy sectors with a local focus is beneficial (Aalbers & Beckhoven, 2009, p. 452). In their comparison between Danish and Dutch urban renewal policies Andersen & Kempen (2003) argued that urban planning had shifted from a technical discipline to a political issue as a result of the integrated process now being central to urban politics. The period from 1995-2010 is shaped by the “Grote Steden Beleid (Big Cities Policy)”. A nation-wide programme which was adopted in 1995 to tackle this growth of inequality which was called the ‘Big Cities Policy’. The Big Cities Policy served as a key turning point in Dutch urban renewal policy which concentrated on underprivileged neighbourhoods. The first Big Cities Policy originated in 1995-1999; the second Big Cities Policy went from 1999-2004 and the final Big Cities Policy III frame urban renewal policy from 2005-2009 (Aalbers & Beckhoven, 2009, p. 454). Musterd & Ostendorf (2021) discuss the three stages of the Big Cities Policy and categorise them into Big Cities Policy I, II, III and III+. It is important to mention here that this is where the decentralisation of the government’s role in urban renewal projects initially takes place, originating in 1980’s the central government cut ties with the housing associations except for a few financial ties (Aalbers & Beckhoven, 2009, p. 453). This had future ramifications for the way in which underprivileged neighbourhoods developed, specifically the fact that many areas were dependent on welfare as well as living in social housing where rent is subsidised by the Dutch government. In the majority of Dutch cities many of the jobs in the formal labour market were occupied by commuters which resulted in an unemployed urban underclass which was neglected and marginalised (Broders, 2001, p. 228). The Big Cities Policy III and III+ represented continuity in terms of the restructuring of neighbourhoods where the first policy was more stringent on efficiency whereas the III+ had a more social orientation; both approaches were based on the assumption that underprivileged neighbourhoods were segregated and therefore, required physical restructuring and desegregation to foster social and cultural mix (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2021, p. 5).

2.4 Liberal Turn in Urban Policy

The period from 2000 – current can be articulated as being focused on immigrant integration, residualisation of social housing and critically, the reduction of public spending and stimulus of the private sector pertaining to urban renewal policies. There was a shift from welfare regimes already happening from the 1980’s and 1990’s where liberal policies began to take more of a foothold. In 2002, after the 9/11 World Trade Center attacks the political climate experienced a dramatic shift. Tension between ‘settled Dutch’ and predominantly Muslim immigrant conflict was correlated with identity issues, and this was reflected politically in the form of government rhetoric placing integration higher up on the political agenda (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2021, p. 8). An important turning point was a piece of legislation adopted by the Dutch government in 2006 called ‘the Act on Extraordinary Measures for Urban Problems’ in Rotterdam. The Act was implemented to provide municipalities with more influence over the improvement and liveability of neighbourhoods through the prohibiting of jobless newcomers from being eligible for rent in areas that were

deemed particularly vulnerable (Gent et al, 2016, p. 2338). On a local level, governments who applied the Act were able to refuse residence permits to person who lived in the metropolitan region for no more than six years which was understood as ‘the newcomer criterion’; these people also did not have a stable income from work, pensions or student loans which fell under ‘the income criterion’ (Gent et al, 2016, p. 2338). The Act was further expanded upon in 2016 to include public safety as well as improvement of living conditions. This means that the provisions condone exclusion of residents based on police records pertaining to crime, suspicion of extremism and radicalism as well as anti-social behaviour (Gent et al, 2018, p. 2350). This example serves to illustrate the assimilatory nature that characterised Dutch urban renewal policy as well as approaches to diversification of allocated ‘problem neighbourhoods. As presented earlier the integrated approach suffered tremendously from the growing shift from welfare state to a market-oriented governmental approach. The vision of ‘social mixing policy’ is to increase the social capital of the focus area and requires a shift from passive citizens towards active participation through diversifying the living space and demographic.

This approach results in new concentrations of homogenous affluent neighbourhoods and underprivileged neighbourhoods. The housing policy is formulated from the bottom up being market-oriented and decentralised. On the other hand, spatial planning is considered to be a normative top-down policy process and the two policy approaches suffer from drastic differences (Priemus, 1997, p. 86). Ministries and other institutions are not always primed to be cohesive as their cultures and practices sometimes distinctly vary (Anderson & Kempen, 2003, p. 85). The key issues regarding urban development projects and the negative influence of liberal policies on underprivileged neighbourhood actors is that the approach to governance is predicated on privileging collaboration, creativity and relationship building in urban development (Larner, 2014 as cited by Tasan-Kok, 2019, p. 67). This means that negotiation and consensus making procedures can be used against the public interest and give more space and attention to the private sector and specifically, the property industry; it can also afford opportunity to entrepreneurial citizens and communities who are able to manoeuvre and utilise new mechanisms of local governance (Tasan-Kok, 2019, p. 68). The implementation of the Omgevingswet¹ (Environmental Law) may create new issues and inequalities for members of society that are not able to effectively manoeuvre and leverage their resources to be market actors.

2.5 Post-Colonial Migrant Identity

The role and identity formation will be briefly discussed in the following section as post-colonial migrants from Turkey, Morocco, Aruba, Suriname, and the Netherlands Antilles make-up the main demographics that inhabit underprivileged neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. Moreover, with regard to urban renewal policies this aspect has important bearing with regard to the way in which underprivileged neighbourhoods are faced with both societal and political issues and how Dutch perceptions of post-colonial migrants has a direct impact pertaining to the way in which policy was formed and shaped in Dutch government. While there is an entire history that won’t be discussed for the purpose of this thesis, the time period of post-colonial migration is from 1970-1980. “In the Dutch case, one could even claim that one can speak about ‘post-colonial migrants’ as a distinct category, because probably more than 90 percent of the newcomers were already Dutch citizens before their

¹ The omgevingswet was officially updated in June 2021 and will go into effect on the first of January 2023: <https://iplo.nl/regelgeving/omgevingswet/english-environment-and-planning-act/>

arrival in the Netherlands” (Bosma, 2012, p. 7). An important distinction in this regard is to outline a key difference within the post-colonial migrant identity, ‘labour migrants’ and ‘former colony migrants. During the 1960’s-1970’s the Netherlands required cheap labour in the form of low skilled “guest workers” who predominantly came from Turkey and Morocco (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2009, p. 43).

Nevertheless, the distinction between the right to citizenship for the migrants coming from former colonies in comparison to labour migrants who had no right to citizenship is important. Despite the differences however, both sets of post-colonial migrants were marginalised from mainstream Dutch society both politically and spatially. “Labour migrants were both politically excluded, as they were not citizens and thus socially marginalised. The Surinamese were citizens albeit socially marginalised ones, and the same applied, if only to a lesser degree, to the Antilleans” (Bosma, 2012, p. 198). In terms of the way in which the various demographics fair in terms of socio-economic opportunity Sniderman & Hagendoorn (2009) articulate the differences succinctly. “Surinamese are better-off in terms of educational achievement, employment and occupation achievement; Turks and Moroccans are less well-off on all three counts” (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2009, p. 45).

To add to the relevance of this section a brief discussion regarding the terms of “Allochtoon” (non-native) and “Autochtoon” (Native) in relation to Dutch societal perception influencing the framing of underprivileged neighbourhoods. The Netherlands does not have an explicit discourse relating to race. The state, through its public policy administrative processes categorises population utilising ‘ethnic’ lines and birthplace of parents or grandparents as a key determining factor to societal membership (Yanow & van der Haar, 2013, p. 227). Despite the fact that the terms were officially rescinded as a formal categorical tool in 2016, the socio-cultural impact is prevalent in Dutch cultural identity formation contemporarily. The implications that remain from the use of “Autochtoon” and “Allochtoon” indicate that there is no amount of integration through citizenship training or public policy programmes that will result in a ‘non-native’ integrating into the ‘native’ population (Yanow & van der Haar, 2013, p. 248). In relation to policy discourse this results in a dangerous carrying of meanings which is not overt or implicit but tacitly organises logic which is embedded in category structures present in Dutch cultural discourse (Yanow & van der Haar, 2013, p. 251). The Netherlands is recognised for its tradition of multiculturalism however, a sudden shift in policy discourse towards assimilation was clear after the events of 9/11 in 2001. The process implemented by the Dutch government was characterised by a bureaucratic welfare-state approach which was more assimilatory than integrationist, aimed at addressing the presumed cultural difference (Entzinger, 2014, as cited by Long, 2022, p. 25).

In terms of the way in which the various demographics fair in terms of socio-economic opportunity Sniderman & Hagendoorn (2009) articulate the differences succinctly. “Surinamese are better-off in terms of educational achievement, employment and occupation achievement; Turks and Moroccans are less well-off on all three counts” (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2009, p. 45). Now to shift the focus towards the political aspects the Dutch political discourse pertaining to nationality, admission, integration, and identities of post-colonial migrants in hindsight, were techniques of exclusion from Dutch society predominantly in periods of increased migration (Bosma, 2012, p. 30). “The white-washed view of the past shapes everyday interactions and identity politics, where blame for contemporary socioeconomic inequalities lands squarely on the shoulders of those who are perceived to be failing to live up to societal expectations, namely the racialised immigrants and/or Dutch Muslims (Weiner, 2014; Essed & Hoving, 2015, as cited by Long, 2022, p. 25).

The current Dutch society lacks an appreciation for the colonial legacy that continues to perpetuate systemic inequalities of the present which is inherently racialised (Long, 2022, p. 25). Moreover, Bosma (2012) articulates how Dutch politicians held ‘essentialist views’ on ethnic identities which resulted in post-colonial citizens and conventional understanding of citizenship in the Dutch context to represent policies of alienage.

3 Problem Statement

The Hague is unique in its demography, The Hague is one of the most ethnically segregated cities (Kruythoff & Priemus, 1995, as cited by Priemus & Kloosterman, 2001, p. 168). The city of The Hague figured prominently in the rankings of both the best and the worst neighbourhoods (Priemus & Kloosterman, 2001, p. 167). The problem statement section will present the Regio Deal and localise it through the brief outlining of the Den Haag Southwest project. Lastly, an end of year report (2022) analysing the efficacy of the Regio Deal in Den Haag Southwest will be discussed setting the basis for the central motivation for the aims of my thesis.

Table 1 Showing socio-economic indicator difference between Moerwijk and the Center of The Hague

Indicator	Center of The Hague	Moerwijk
# Inhabitants	20,825	20,755
Average price of houses	€306,000	€183,000
Average Income	€32,200	€18,700
Education Level	Low: 47% Medium: 36,4% High: 16,3%	Low: 23,1% Medium: 30,5% High: 46,4%
Division of Housing opportunities	Property (purchased): 21% Rental-other: 41% Rent Corporation: 37% Unknown: 1%	Property (purchased): 16% Rental-other: 18% Rent Corporation: 66% Unknown: 0%

(‘Wijk Moerwijk (gemeente Den Haag) in cijfers en grafieken’. 2023. AlleCijfers.nl. 17 January 2023. <https://allecijfers.nl/wijk/wijk-36-moerwijk-den-haag/>)

The table briefly outlines the difference in socio-economic realities between a neighbourhood in the center of Den Haag in comparison to Moerwijk. This serves to provide a clear insight into the statistical differences that result in Moerwijk being designated as an underprivileged neighbourhood. Having close to the same number of inhabitants, the average income differs by 59 percent and the housing prices are 59 percent more expensive in the center of Den Haag. The housing situation Moerwijk consists of 80% social housing as well as the average life expectancy being 12 years shorter than in neighbourhoods that aren’t considered underprivileged (‘Nu in de STAD: Moerwijk’, 2020). Moreover, the demographic make-up also plays a role in the issues that the neighbourhood faces. The neighbourhood consists of 26,4 percent of inhabitants from the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba, Suriname, and Turkey; 20,6 percent are western inhabitants, this includes residents with European backgrounds excluding Turkey, North America, Oceania and Japan; 16,8 percent have a Turkish background; 15,6 percent are from Morocco and 13,9 percent are from Suriname and 6,7 percent are from the Antilles. This serves to highlight the diversity within the neighbourhood towards understanding the complex underlying socio-economic and socio-cultural influences. As discussed in the section discussing urban renewal policy in the

Netherlands, it outlines that underprivileged neighbourhoods are often a mixture of various populations as well as housing being predominantly social. The policy aims to socially (and culturally) mix the population of neighbourhoods was a favourite approach of the latest Big Cities Policy III+ policies as well, but very difficult to pursue” (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2021, p. 11). This takes form in the spatial change through which the housing in the neighbourhood is mixed between high- and low-income housing. Liberal policies claim to perpetuate social mixing, but the motive is under scrutiny by scholars due to the fact that bringing different classes together is not the main aim but creating processes that will create social mixing is (Bride, Butler & Lees, 2012, as cited by Musterd & Ostendorf, 2021, p. 12).

3.1 Regio Deal & Regio Deal Den Haag South West

The Regio Deal is as an agreement or collaboration between the national and regional government to improve and strengthen the regional efficacy for things such as quality of life, living and working environment for residents and entrepreneurs. There are 30 Regio deals spread around the Netherlands each deal consisting of different frameworks and characteristics depending on what the region requires. The idea is that both the national government and regional government financially contribute to various social projects to improve the socio-economic status of the identified regions (such as Moerwijk) (van Dijk and Bleeker, 2022, p. 1). The municipality received an initial 7,5 million Euros on the 18th of February 2019. A preliminary approach plan was outlined on the 19th of February 2019, and this is similar to the Regio Deal Den Haag Zuidwest. The Regio deal Den Haag Zuidwest is the collaboration between the state and the municipality of the Hague where 22 million euros will be made available for the period 2019-2022. The finances are divided and 7 million will come from the state and remaining 15 million will come from the municipality itself. The aim of the project is to improve the socio-economic position and liveability in the region of Den Haag Southwest. The overarching aim in the region of Den Haag Southwest is to address, “the disadvantaged status of The Hague Southwest on (socio-economic) factors such as work, education, social cohesion and safety compared to the average in The Hague will have decreased by 2023.” (Region Deal Den Hague Zuidwest, p. 6).

The Den Haag Southwest project attempts to address 3 key pillars: 1. community and participation, 2. Vital inhabitants, 3. Activation, learning and working. The first pillar of community and participation articulates the want to realise a ‘powerful social foundation’ in Den Haag Southwest. The aim is to increase the well-being and resilience of the residents with a key focus in helping the residents to participate and be involved in improving their neighbourhood (social participation) (Regio Deal Den Haag Zuidwest, p. 4). It is central to the approach of the development project that the residents of the region gain more self-esteem, resilience and self-confidence and that parents are good educators and residents are good neighbours to each other. The over-representation of residents with a mental health background in the neighbourhoods is also addressed (Regio Deal Den Haag Zuidwest, p. 4). The ultimate goal of the first pillar is to make residents resilient to the extent where there is demonstrable change in behaviour which is supported by social partners in the surrounding area (Regio Deal Den Haag Zuidwest, p. 5). The key vision for the second pillar related to vital residents is that all parties are committed to creating a healthy, stimulating and vital lifestyle across a large number of inhabitants (Regio Deal Den Haag Zuidwest, p. 5). The aim of the final pillar is to provide the underprivileged neighbourhood with a sense of belonging and to be able to utilise their talents; this aims to be a by-product and extension of the first pillar focused on the participation on residents (Regio Deal Den Haag Zuidwest, p. 4).

3.2 End of Year Report

The end of year report (2022) commissioned by the national government and requested by the municipality of The Hague on the impact of the Regio Deal in Den Haag Southwest. This section will discuss general positive outcomes as well as considerations relating to the efficacy of the project in Den Haag South-West. The purpose for discussing the report is twofold: to illustrate the awareness of the government and municipality on the status of the efficacy of the urban renewal project but most importantly the short comings and second, to give further context to the important relevance of my thesis. The report illustrates the need for a set and motivated team with connection to the neighbourhood. Cohesion between the collaboration of the various projects that take place in the neighbourhood is also a focus. The interviewees pointed out that the success of a project is highly dependent on the type of professional team that is implementing the project. The need for implementers and volunteers who have ties with the neighbourhood is crucial to the success of the project as it builds trust and creates bonds with the residents through the volunteers. This in return, allows for the implementers to utilise their connectivity with the neighbourhood so that an individual network can be created forming a direct link for recruitment from the neighbourhood (van Dijk & Bleeker, 2022, p. 18). A key factor is 'decisiveness', the report outlines that many project leaders discussed the fact that it was a better approach to directly implement and evaluate rather than conducting 'endless' meetings leading up to the implementation of the project (van Dijk & Bleeker, 2022, p. 18). The report writers noted, "...that 'integrality' as a term did not really resonate with project implementers, but integrated action was seen more as a matter of course" (van Dijk & Bleeker, 2022, p. 18). On the contrary, it was pointed out that the proposed integrality approach from the municipality was seen as a hinderance and did not result in ownership by the residents (Van Dijk & Bleeker, 2022, p.18).

The barriers that were faced within projects stemmed from issues such as lack of participation from the people involved, bad visibility of locations, language barriers that prevent better participation and lastly, the fact that there is continuous changing of personnel which negatively impacts the longevity of projects. In addition, other key points such as unrealistic or abstract goals, insufficient alignment with the needs of the residents, budgetary limitations or limited project budgets, uncertainty regarding continuity and limited reach were key factors that were voiced by the interviewees. The approach by the municipality to guide people towards paid work was considered too ambitious and more time was needed to allow for a step-by-step process to be implemented regarding economically activating people (Van Dijk & Bleeker, 2022, p.19). A key realisation was that even with guidance there were a multitude of factors that also influenced the residents ability to be guided towards paid work. The second key issue was that presented was the insufficient connection to resident's needs. The report articulated that many of the resident's needs were not taken into consideration and not in a long-term perspective specifically. "This led to a failure to enthuse local residents about the activities or to local residents being less satisfied with the activities" (Van Dijk & Bleeker, 2022, p. 19). Another key issues that stakeholders faced was the uncertainty over continuity. The central issue being the influence of budgetary allocations being temporary meant that the project leaders and participants both were unable to guarantee long term impacts. This resulted in the professionals being unable to fulfil agreements made with the neighbourhood residents. The changing direction of municipal goals also hampering the ability for stakeholders to invest in projects long term (Van Dijk & Bleeker, 2022, p. 19).

4 Research Justification

The end of year report served to illustrate the shortcomings of the Regio Deal Den Haag Zuidwest pertaining to unrealistic goals, uncertainty and inability to obtain funding for long term projects. Most importantly, the issues of lack of attention being given to residents needs, and not being able to implement long term planning for initiatives are obstacles that hinder the process of urban renewal in the case of Moerwijk. As will be a core argument of the thesis, the need for a more gender sensitive approach to urban development policies but also to organisational structures that have impact in the urban development field is central. This issue is also the gap in the literature that I have found with regard to the lack of usage of gender sensitive language and policies in the Regio Deal Den Haag Zuidwest. My approach for my thesis will be shaped by intersectionality as a theoretical lense as well as utilising grounded theory as an added tool for further analysis. Through this framework I will aim to build upon the insight that the interviews that I conducted have provided. To argue for the immediate implementation of gender sensitive approaches in Moerwijk to address issues of resident participation, knowledge retention and long-term planning. To this end, the example used by McIntosh and Morse (2015) outlines the central issue that my thesis will aim to elucidate:

“Corrective action indicated by these disjuncture’s included greater sharing between physicians’ and patients such that medical interventions are informed by patient perspectives; the need for woman-centered policies and programs, including safe drug-free housing, health care, child care, education, and job assistance; and the laying bare of cultural and social norms associated with having orgasms such that the set of anxieties they produce might be reduced and this, in turn, may diminish women’s experience of having problems with orgasms (Casiday et al., 2009a, 2009b; Kearney et al., 1994; Lavie-Ajayi & Joffe, 2009, as cited by McIntosh & Morse, 2015, p. 4).”

The case study is completely different to the focus of the thesis however, there are a number of comparisons that are applicable to the objectives of my thesis. Specifically, the notion that sharing between physicians and patients to ensure that medical interventions are informed by the patient’s perspective. This can be compared to the need for government and municipal institutions to spend more time investigating what the needs and wants are of the individuals within the neighbourhoods that the Regio Deal Den Haag Zuid west aim to help. As the End of Year Impact Report 2022 illustrated, there were a multitude of expectations that the government and municipality had that were uncharacteristic and arguably detrimental to the efficacy of projects in the underprivileged neighbourhoods in Den Haag Southwest. Moreover, the quote also outlines the need for attention to be given to the intrinsic complexities that stem from places that are underprivileged such as adequate housing, health care, childcare, education, and job assistance. These were all themes at the heart of the Regio Deal Den Haag Zuidwest and represent some of the complex issues that the project hopes to address. Centrally, the notion that the development policies and guidelines must necessarily be adaptable and malleable to the changing dynamics of a complex socio-economic and socio-cultural environment that is present in Den Haag Zuid west and especially in Moerwijk. These issues can be addressed by an intersectional understanding of what residents in Moerwijk face as well as improve on resident inclusion of all the stakeholders into any decision-making processes. The top-down trends within urban renewal policy lead spatial development firms and policy organisations to work against public interest during negotiation and consensus building procedures in favour of private interests (Tasan-kok, 2019, p. 69). Therefore, the core argument of my thesis will be, to achieve active inclusion of residents and

address the aforementioned issues, a concerted effort must be made to structurally introduce intersectional frameworks in tandem with the approaches to gender mainstreaming in urban development processes at a local level.

5 Theoretical Framework

5.1 Intersectionality

The concept of intersectionality will shape the theoretical and data analysis approach that I will use for my thesis. The goal is to illuminate and essentialise the lived experience and viewpoints that my interviewees have taken the time to share with me. The 20th century is the origin of the intersectional theory as a result of black women starting a social movement in the United States. The social movement originated due to the notion that black women's interests were absent and not represented in black movements or women's movement in the United States. The Black men's movements were sexist, prioritising the pursuit for black men's equality with white men; the white women's movements were racist and prioritised their struggle for equality with white men as well (Hooks, 1981, as cited by Gopaldas, 2013, p. 90). The importance of Black Feminism in the conceptualisation and development of integrated approaches to understanding oppression was not feasible until the emergence of Black Feminism in the United States. The Black feminist movement changed the historical trend of social theorists negating the simultaneity of gender, class and race intersection that shapes people's lives (Carastathis, 2014, p. 304). Due to black women being alienated by both the black men's and women's movements, this necessitated that black woman individualised a conceptual approach to understanding social identity structures that appreciated the interwoven nature of privilege and oppression in tandem with demographic classifications (Collins, 1990, as cited by Gopaldas, 2013, p. 90). Intersectionality was considered to be inclusive at its core through focusing on how intersections pertaining to identity reinforced marginalisation (Combahee River Collective 1979, Crenshaw 1989;1991, as cited by Al-Faham, Davis & Ernst, 2019, p. 248). The term "intersectionality" itself can be attributed to Kimberlè Crenshaw when the concept emerged as part of a critique towards universalising trends in activism, feminism and identity politics, "the problem with identity politics is not that it fails to transcend difference...but rather the opposite- that it frequently conflates or ignores intragroup differences" (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1242, as cited by Osborne, 2015, p. 132). The relevance of intersectional approaches in an academic sense stem from its usage to provide an additional avenue for complexity to be considered, adding necessary layers to the traditional approaches of inquiry. The intersectional approach allows for, "a justice oriented analytical framework for examining socio-political problems that emerge from race, gender class, sexual orientation and other socio-political fissures as interlocking, process-driven categories of difference" (Hancock, 2013, p. 282, as cited by Al-Faham, Davis & Ernst, 2019, p. 251).

Intersectionality can be utilised as a paradigm where the term is now understood and utilised in literature to delineate a theoretical or methodological approach that identifies and studies 'real world' phenomena focusing on political, structural, and representational intersectionality (Carastathis, 2013, p. 307). At the macro-level of analysis, intersectionality refers to the plurality and interplay of social identity structures such as gender, class and race; at the micro-level analysis, there is attention brought to the fact that each individual's identity is positioned at various intersections of a multitudes of social identity structures and therefore, is exposed to a variety of disadvantages and advantages (Al-Faham, Davis & Ernst, 2019, p. 251). Intersectional approaches disrupt unidimensional understanding of power and

identity by centralising the notion that individual identity inherently includes multiple kinds of experiences, which forces increased nuanced analysis and recognition of politics; the nuance allows for opportunities for the creation of trust, solidarity, and relationships (Garcia Bedolla, 2007, p. 235 as cited by Al-Faham, Davis & Ernst, 2019, p. 260). Gopaldas (2013) suggests that intersectionality as a paradigm should (1) work in unison whenever possible, (2) support the aims and causes of other initiatives and (3) recognise the common stakeholders that are influenced by the theoretical approach. Traditional liberal discourses usually frame the issue of discrimination as a result of state failure to surpass difference which results in race and gender-neutral entities to escape scrutiny (Cho, Crenshaw & McCall 2013, p. 798). Spade (2013) argues that in the case of the United States, there is an awareness to the fact that the American legal system has tried and failed to distance itself from its violent origins of heteropatriarchy, genocide, and slavery through the guise of legal equality (Spade, 2013, p. 1033). The same has been outlined in the case of the Dutch socio-political reality where discourse regarding the colonial past and its continued systemic influence is not prevalent in Dutch society.

The theory of intersectionality has also been utilised to shift focus in working fields such as urban renewal, planners' spatial data analysis, experiences of access to places and spaces, homelessness, and community development (Osborne, 2015, p. 133). Importantly, intersectionality can also serve to identify the voices being heard in the context of research and those voices that are being neglected (Osborne, 2015, p. 134). In the case of the Netherlands, it is clear that public policy reforms affect the lives of women with different backgrounds, notably lower-educated women and women with a migrant background (Verdonk et al. 2019, p. 414). In terms of understanding the structural issues that people with migrant backgrounds that find themselves in underprivileged neighbourhoods face Petra Verdonk articulates it exceptionally. "Citizens have a right to develop their talents and a duty to use those talents in the service of society, and they must take 'an active attitude' (Verdonk et al. 2019, p. 414). This is interesting when looking at the analysis of the Regio Deal Den Haag Zuidwest where the third pillar specifically outlines the aim of activating citizens to utilise their talents. Petra Verdonk's analysis sheds troubling light on the context that lies behind the ethos of the policy that is presented in the Regio Deal Den Haag Zuidwest. The central ideals of self-reliance, individual responsibility, and meritocracy play a core part of policy approaches regarding addressing the issues that face underprivileged neighbourhoods (Slootjes, 2017 as cited by Verdonk, 2019, p. 414). Increased knowledge pertaining to gendered processes that underpin public policies is required; this is also needed to improve the attention to differently situated men and women (Verdonk et al. 2019, p. 416). Verdonk's analysis is aimed at addressing intersectional approaches to improving healthcare in the Netherlands through implementing gender-sensitive health research. However, the same can be argued is needed for urban renewal policies in the Netherlands. In addressing underprivileged neighbourhoods such as Moerwijk there is a need to create structures and frameworks that take into account the diverse array of factors that individuals from these neighbourhood's face on a daily basis. The unique reality of a person who has experienced exclusion based on a variety of categories is reflected and entangled with stories from other individuals who see themselves in that experience (Verdonk et al. 2019, p. 422). "Ergo, an intersectional lens is needed if we are to understand the complexities of inequality in urban phenomena such as like urban renewal..." (Osborne, 2015, p. 135). This critical point is the basis for creating structures in urban renewal projects that foster collaborative decision-making processes that make residents feel heard and included. Intersectionality in the Political sphere allows for an applied layer of insight into structural intersectionality through offering a base framework for challenging power and through that process linking the theory

to existent as well as emerging political and social struggles (Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013, p. 800). Moreover, with regard to the limitations of intersectionality as a theoretical tool there has been no concrete resolution to criticism. However, Cho, Crenshaw and McCall (2013) argue that criticism of intersectionality stems from a lack of critical engagement with contemporary and originating literature; also, the continued growth and widening scope of intersectional praxis and scholarship illustrate the continued relevance of intersectional theoretical discourse.

6 Methodology

This section will delve into the important considerations that need to be taken into account when utilising the methodological tools of semi-structured interviews (SSI), Grounded Theory (GT) and intersectionality. Specifically, illustrating why the selection of the combination of GT, SSI and Intersectional methodologies is the most useful for the goals of my thesis. However, before the discussion can take place a section on my positionality as a researcher and the linkages between GT and intersectionality will be presented. This will serve to acknowledge my own position as the researcher in the context of the thesis to ensure that I am accountable for the application of the theoretical approaches and methodology. Firstly, there will be a historical contextualisation regarding the development of GT to give backing to the approach being used as a data analysis tool. This will be followed by a section which discusses GT and empirical ethics as the more attention is given to the ethical side of the research process, the more reliable the results are.

6.1 Positionality, Intersectionality and Grounded Theory

The purpose of this section is to situate myself as a researcher and to present my privileges and possible temporal biases to improve my ethical standing in relation to the research that I have conducted. In addition, a linkage will be presented here regarding the simultaneous use of GT and Intersectionality as two important tools for achieving the aim of elucidating the lived experience of stakeholders in the neighbourhood of Moerwijk. There is limited discussion relating to the conduct of GT research with an intersectional lens within social work literature (Crenshaw, 1989, as cited by Baird, 2020, p. 539). However, there have been uses of grounded theory in applied research related to studies in the development sphere and organisational culture as of the 1970's (Thomas et al. 2021, p. 6). The issues relating to compatibility of Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT) with intersectionality is understood to be related to recognising the social constructions of research in itself and the individual role that a researcher's being has on the process (Charmaz, 2014, as cited by Baird, 2020, p. 540). Charmaz and Keller (2016) noted that a component of GT is researchers primarily utilise interview data and aim to emphasise the experiences and perspectives of the participants being studied (Holloway & Schwartz, 2018, p. 513). Moreover, the approach taken for the purpose of data collection for my thesis is in line with the statement that follows. "The purpose is not to establish a randomly selected sample from the population, but to deliberately invite individuals in roles who have experience in the phenomenon" (Holloway & Schwartz, 2018, p. 513). To this end, the interview approach using snowball technique centralised this exact point. When I was conducting my research, I aimed at being continuously reflexive by analysing my own privileges and power as well as my subjectivity in regard to the research participants and my focus (Gilgun, 2015, as cited by Baird, 2020, p. 543).

The following quote will guide my own investigation into my privileges and experiences which my perception and relate it to the aim of my research as well as the individuals who I interviewed.

“For the passionate EDI [Equity, Diversity, and Inclusivity] scholar who may hold privilege in the studied phenomenon (for example, a cisgendered scholar who wishes to study the workplace experience of transgender employees) as well as researchers who live the experience from a marginalised position, issues of inclusion and equality are charged and emotionally intense; thus, EDI researchers may default to received knowledge and familiar theoretical and research frameworks” (Holloway & Schwartz, 2018, p. 508).

I will attempt to outline my own reflexivity in line with intersectional line of inquiry which actively situates the researcher and the participants of the research. This view appreciates the multiplicity of shifting dynamics of privilege and oppression (Hunting, 2014, p. 2, as cited by Baird, 2020, p. 543). The problematic rise of intersectional work by feminists who take up a space of marginality despite representing heteronormative privileges as well as being able bodied, Western actors is a stance that resonates with my individual reality (Hulko, 2009, p.47 as cited by Baird, 2020, p. 543). I am an outsider to the residents of Moerwijk due to primarily not having lived in the neighbourhood at any point in time. In addition, my privilege as being part of a socio-economic upbringing and reality that has not had to face the issues of poverty and debt; it could be argued that I will not be able to fully understand those that have faced these complex issues. The fact that I am a heterosexual able-bodied male means I am afforded privileges that other members of society such as women, differently abled and other genders may not be able to benefit from. Moreover, the fact that I have a Dutch passport but did not grow up in the Netherlands means that I have been able to use my Western privilege in situations where others may not have been able to. I am also not adept at understanding intrinsic Dutch culture that people who have lived their majority of their lives in the Netherlands are able to.

Nevertheless, there are a variety of factors that do allow me to understand the intersections of power, privilege, and oppression that residents in Moerwijk may face. The most obvious one is that despite being a heterosexual “Western male” on paper, I am a person of colour as well as being adopted. This individual complexity has resulted in being aware to situations where I was discriminated against (oppressed) as a result of my skin colour without it being related to my behaviour. This has led me to attempt to understand the ways in which identity formation in the Netherlands has taken shape, predominantly in post-colonial migrant realities. Being the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Moerwijk, I actively benefit from personal experience as well as an academic lens. I have tried to understand the systemic and structural forces that influence migrants in the Netherlands such as those present in Moerwijk. In addition, the fact that my upbringing albeit privileged, has meant that I can utilise my privilege as a person of colour as a means to mitigate a few aspects of power that may arise when interviewing members from the neighbourhood that have a migrant background, which may result in conversations that would not have been as accessible otherwise. Additionally, having had to live and integrate into various non-western environments I consider myself to be aware of social norms and customs that may lead me to be perceived in a specific way. The benefit of this experience is that I can cater to various circumstances that may arise during the process of interviewing. Despite social justice goals in relation to intersectionality being aimed at revealing power imbalances and appreciating the diversity of human identities. There is a clear limitation that I face regarding my ability to equally highlight the various intersections to the degree where I highlight certain social locations instead of others

which recreates privileging and oppression (Kassam et al. 2020, p. 8). However, I aim to offset this relevant comment on limitation by focusing the abstract theories that I will present to address the issues concretely; but to also propose recommendations that foster social inclusion towards policymaking to mitigate the perpetuation of inequity (Kassam et al. 2020, p. 8). My research actively aims to question how politics, policy and practices perpetuate inequality and inequity to re-focus urban renewal efforts and address organisational shortcomings to recentre social responsibility towards advancing inclusive practices (Thomas et al. 2021, p. 3). This aims to outline my core motivation for integrating the theory of intersectionality in combination with the methodology of GT as well as looking at the role of gender mainstreaming as the central approach for my thesis.

6.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

This section will introduce the types of interview techniques and outline the core reasoning for the utilisation of semi-structured interviews (SSI) as the main tool of data collection for the thesis. There are three types of interview approaches as outlined by Carruthers (1990): structured, semi-structured and unstructured. “The graduate student can very seldom employ the unstructured interview in his research because skilled use of the technique requires a great deal of training and expertise” (Borg and Gall, 1989, p. 442, as cited by Carruthers, 1990, p. 65). The structured interview is an effective approach when focused on a target topic (Bryman, 2008, as cited by Alsaawi, 2014, p. 149). The approach, however, lacks richness and limits the accessibility to in-depth data which is a result of the strict interview format that is used (Alsaawi, 2014, p. 149). Herein lies the core reasoning for the usage of SSI which lends itself to adaptability and a focus on revealing the lived experience of the participants through an approach that centralises the participants voice and adapts the procedural guidelines to enhance the value of real life experiences and qualitative data. SSI’s must have a degree of structure in their implementation. “These interview questions focus on the responses of each participant and constitute the structure of the SSI. Participants are free to respond to these open-ended questions as they wish, and the researcher may probe these responses” (Mcintosh & Morse, 2015, p. 1). The need to construct an interview schedule ensures that there is a line of questioning that all the participants are part of (Carruthers, 1990, p. 66). In this sense, there are basic questions that are afforded to all the participants that also set the basis for the flexibility of the approach to maximise the opportunity for the participant to enrich the data with their own insight and perspective. McIntosh and Morse (2015) outline four major purposes of SSI when using it as a stand-alone method: descriptive/confirmative, descriptive corrective, descriptive interpretive and descriptive/divergent. In the context of the thesis the descriptive/corrective approach is the most applicable when looking at the main research question and the sub questions. The lived experience of the residents of Moerwijk and the conducted interviews aims to elucidate and review the implementation of the Regio Deal Den Haag Zuidwest and to refute the frame that has been created by the Regio Deal Den Haag Zuidwest. The intention of the research participants and the documentation of their lived experiences is to also act as a corrective measure to the assumptions that are dominant in the discourse towards affecting political action for change (Mcintosh & Morse, 2015, p. 3). The Descriptive/Corrective SSI approach allows for an empathetic interviewing technique which lends itself kindly to research with critical feminist aims, institutional ethnography and social movement research (Blee & Taylor, 2002, as cited by McIntosh & Morse, 2015, p. 3).

The goal was to interview at least five members from each stakeholder group (Residents of the neighbourhood, members of organisations active in the neighbourhood and policy makers

in the municipality). At the end of the interviewing time frame there was a total of 14 interviews conducted which included five interviews with people from the neighbourhood which also included individuals that overlapped and were active in organisations but were designated as residents first and foremost. There were also three interviews with persons that either represented the interest of the municipality or worked in or for the municipality directly. The final six interviews were conducted with person that worked for organisations active in Moerwijk but did not live in the neighbourhood.

The interviewing process utilised a snowball method, “people with inside knowledge of eligible participants connect them (the researcher) with the research project” (Mcintosh & Morse, 2015, p. 8). The snowball approach utilised a mixture of exponential non-discriminative snowball sampling and exponential discriminative snowball sampling (Dudovskiy, 2022). This is due to the fact that some interviewees provided multiple referrals whereas other provided only one or two. The exponential discriminative snowball sampling was used due to the need to ensure that the choice of participant was guided by the aim and objectives of the proposed thesis context. The benefits of utilising a snowball approach meant the ability to recruit hidden populations, ability to collect primary data in a cost-effective manner as well as time effective (Dudovskiy, 2022). The disadvantages are the oversampling of a network of peers which can lead to bias, the lack of guarantee for representative samples which renders the ability to determine patterns of the population difficult and lastly, the inability to determine sampling errors and make inferences on a statistical basis as a result of the absence of random selection samples (Dudovskiy, 2022). The themes presented in the Regio Deal such as neighbourhood safety, participation, activation, and access to services amongst others provided the structure for the questions that were posed. This approach provided the space and opportunity for interviewees to express their individual experiences within the confines of the Regio Deal Den Haag Zuid west and more specifically, the manner in which the implementation of the various aims and goals were experienced positively or negatively by the interviewee.

6.3 Brief History of Grounded Theory

This section will delve into the important considerations that need to be taken into account when utilising the methodological tool of semi-structured interviews (SSI) and Grounded Theory (GT). Specifically, why the combination of GT and SSI methodologies are the most useful for the purpose and approach to data collection of the thesis. Moreover, to fulfil the specific expectations outlined in GT relating to the manner in which the data was collected, analysed and processed. This section will serve to build upon the research context and relate it to the methodology of GT. Firstly, there will be a historical contextualisation regarding the development of GT to give backing to the approach being used contemporarily for the purpose of data analysis. The approach will be discussed and the key purpose for the selection of the methodology will be linked to the context and environment in which the interviews were conducted.

The following section of the thesis will aim to briefly introduce the GT methodology to provide reasoning for the usage of the qualitative method for the analysis that concerns itself with real world data, such as is the case with the data that was collected for my own research. The methodology of GT was constructed by Anselm L. Strauss and Barney Glaser in 1967. This was a result of the realisation that during their research there was an overemphasis on the need to verify theories which lead to the detriment of being able to generate a theory

itself. An additional finding was the notion that as well as the limiting focus on verification, Strauss and Glaser illuminated the scarcity of social theory which empirical research was based upon (Glaser & Strauss, p.6, as cited by Kenny & Fourie, 2015, p. 2). The Traditional Era (1900-1950) was characterised primarily by ethnographic research where the key criticism was the top-down approach of the researchers. “This early anthropological and social work, while justifiably critiqued, especially for routinely ‘studying down’ (Geertz, 1973; Morris, 2015, as cited by Bryant & Charmaz, 2019, p. 3). The modernist phase (c. 1950-1970) saw the development of the social sciences spreading across a variety of vocations and setting the disciplinary boundaries for speciality advancement (Bryant & Charmaz, 2019, p. 3). A central development during this period was the “Constructionist Turn” which was instigated by Thomas Luckmann and Peter L. Berger in 1966 with their book: *The Social Construction of Reality*. The constructivists argued that people (including researchers) interpreted or constructed their realities through their own situated perspectives (Bryant & Charmaz, 2019, p. 4). The Era of ‘Turns’ in Qualitative Inquiry (c. 1970-2000) resulted in an interpretative turn that culminated into multiple foundational assumptions; (1) meaning is contextualised through the reality as experienced by the perceiver; (2) an observer must be understood as a reflexive participant in what is being observed; (3) interpretations are not universal and must be articulated in a specific space and time; (4) cultures must be understood as an amalgam of dynamic factors that hold distinct signifying practices and symbols; (5) interpretation is inherently conditioned by historical geopolitical context as well as cultural perspectives which are rule by practices and symbols (Bryant & Charmaz, 2019, p. 7). This period also included the Feminist critique which argued that both qualitative and quantitative research had classist, sexist, racists, elitist and colonialist connotations (Bryant & Charmaz, 2019, p. 8). The emergence of Situational Analysis was an extension of Straussian GT and Constructivist GT which views the process of data analysis as inductive as well as abductive; the process relies on theoretical sampling towards theoretical strength as well as being able to analyse conundrums (Bryant & Charmaz, 2019, p. 17). Despite a conceptual schism between Strauss and Glaser between the 1970s and 1980’s, the developments of Constructivist and Straussian grounded theorists embrace a variety of original methodological techniques. These key methodological techniques include theoretical sampling; saturation, constant comparison, and memo writing (Kenny & Fourie, 2015, p. 7).

6.4 Grounded Theory and Empirical Ethics

The importance of taking various ethical considerations into account when conducting research is key to being able to ensure that the conclusions and information derived from the data adhere to an ethical code. This section will serve to discuss the various ethical concerns regarding the collection and storing of data. This will also include a linkage to the approach of GT in relation to empirical ethics. The key ethical concern that will be discussed relates to the notions of power and positionality of the interviewer and the interviewee. This specifically focuses on the aspect of consent as there were few power imbalances in the case of my individual research. “We must remind ourselves that to enter another’s world as a researcher is a privilege, not a right” (Fujii, 2012, p. 722). The data was collected through written consent during the process of requesting an interview where the topic was presented, and the time frame (circa 1 hour) was proposed. When discussing being ‘informed’ the participant was provided with the information pertaining to the research as well as the dimensions such as risks or benefits that resulted from being part of the research (Fujii, 2012, p. 718). In addition, the researcher queried as to which setting for the interview would be

preferred; the two options were either in person interviews in a location chosen by the interviewee or online via Teams facilitated by Microsoft. Once the interview was planned the course of action was to again request the permission to record the physical or online interview at the beginning of each interview. 12 of the 14 interviews were conducted in the Dutch language to ensure that the comfortability of the interviewee was central and that they felt comfortable in expressing their opinion in the most comfortable and efficient manner. Each interview was conducted in a quiet space where there were no other outsiders, to this end I would be the only one that would be able to match the identity of the interviewee and the voice recordings in the context of the research (Arifin, 2017, p. 31). The face-to-face approach was preferred as the advantages such as being able to give structure to the interview and the communication being optimised in both a verbal and non-verbal sense; as well as the ability to clarify questions that were unclear for the purpose of eliciting a more clear and elaborate response through improvisation (Mcintosh & Morse, 2015, p. 7).

Relating to anonymity and confidentiality the names and the personal information were redacted from the interviews and do not feature in the analysed data segment. There were also pseudonyms designated for situations where direct quotations would be used (Arifin, 2017, p.31). It is important to mention that not all interviewees had issues with being directly mentioned. However, there were one or two participants that preferred not to have their private information shared in the context of the study and therefore, the decision was taken to anonymise each participant in the study. Importantly, information that could be utilised in terms of identification of actors in a crime or in a situation that could negatively affect individuals not part of the study was eliminated from the data or redacted. This pertains to certain cases where criminal activity or conflicts were discussed that were important for context but were not necessary for the data analysis. The process of transcribing the interviews utilised an online service that transcribed 80 percent of the interview from Dutch to English. The decision to use artificial intelligence instead of a real person stemmed from the ethical considerations that bringing another person into the process would bring. Therefore, the interviews were transcribed and edit by the researcher individually. Moreover, the interviews conducted were password protected and saved on the researcher's personal laptop and encrypted to ensure that there were no concerns regarding breaches of the data and personal information of the interviewees. The interviews and information are to be stored on a physical hard drive and deleted once the research and thesis are concluded and submitted.

Throughout the process of data collection, I was aware of the actions and interactions as well as relationality as being central component of human life as well as seeing the social world as dynamic and processual (Bryant & Charmaz, 2019, p. 11). Moreover, I kept in mind that human action is conditioned by the context of the situation in which it takes place as well as constantly appreciating that my interviewees are thinking, interpretive and active meaning making beings (Bryant & Charmaz, 2019, p. 12). What is relevant here to the research is that there was a concerted effort to be understanding within the context of the interviews but also to balance that with a neutral stance so as not to influence the answer of the participants. "Social groups share perspectives that shape individual group members' definitions of situations, and thus their actions; recursive relationship exists between individual interpretations and actions and these shared perspectives (Bryant & Charmaz, 2019, p. 12). This speaks again to the impact of the snowball technique used which could lead to a biased insight. Nevertheless, the attempt to interview various people from different backgrounds and disciplines attempted to reduce the bias that is inherent in this type of approach. It is critical to illuminate here that initially the environment in which the research was to be conducted was saturated by academic and organisational interviews. This meant that many people were

wary and often unwilling to be interviewed as they had already been participants in interviews that were not reflected on kindly. Therefore, the snowball technique seemed the most efficient way to find an opportunity to conduct the interviews with participants that were keen or willing to participate. This also meant that due to various circumstances the aim of accumulating more interviews than 14 was not feasible if the approach of grounded theoretical analysis was to be used effectively for analytical purposes.

7 Research Participants

Table 2. Showing the Characteristics of Interviewees

Name	Gender	Resident of Moerwijk (Y/N)	Language of Interview	Occupation	Stakeholder Profile	Ethnic background
Fred	Male	No	Dutch	Youth Worker	From the Neighbourhood	Yes
Chelsea	Female	No	Dutch	Civil Servant	Municipality	No
Hope	Female	Yes	Dutch	Civil Servant	From the Neighbourhood	Yes
Jessica	Female	Yes	Dutch	Representative of the Church	From the Neighbourhood	No
Ben	Male	Yes	Dutch	Social worker	From the Neighbourhood	No
Kate	Female	No	Dutch	Civil Servant	Municipality	No
Isabella	Female	Yes	Dutch	Civil Servant	Municipality	No
Oliver	Male	No	Dutch	Social Worker	Organisation	Yes
Mia	Female	No	English	Professional	Organisation	No
Aurora	Female	No	Dutch	Social Worker	Organisation	Yes
Naomi	Female	No	Dutch	Social Worker	Organisation	No
Lucas	Male	No	Dutch	Specialist Social Worker	Organisation	No
Sophie	Female	Yes	Dutch	Social Worker	From the Neighbourhood	No
Savannah	Female	No	English	Professional	Organisation	No

8 Data and analysis

The data analysis will be guided by the first of the two research questions, *what are the key issues that stakeholders from the neighbourhood, organisations, and municipality face in the context of an underprivileged neighbourhood such as Moerwijk?*

The main issues that Moerwijk faces are poverty, inadequate standard of housing, crime and youth related issues relating to crime, distrust, systemic/institutional obstacles, a stressful environment that leads to personnel turnover in the municipality and in organisations, lack of structural support and a lack of gender sensitive approaches and policies. However, the issues of housing, crime, illiteracy, access to healthcare have all been well documented and are the key reason why the Regio Deal was implemented in underprivileged neighbourhoods in the first place. This analysis will alternatively aim to provide context and linkages between the different interviewees through utilising intersectional and ground theory methodology for data analysis. The neighbourhood of Moerwijk has a complex mix of socio-economic and cultural factors but the abstract forces behind these circumstances such as the institutional framework, bureaucracy, lack of structural support, short-term vision, and inability to implement procedures that foster long term planning have been less discussed in relation to Moerwijk but also, pertaining to urban renewal policies in general.

The initial starting point of the analysis presents the awareness from residents that not all the issues that they face can to be attributed to the policies and institutions that govern them. Despite the presence of conflict in the neighbourhood it serves to highlight the extent of self-awareness that is present in the neighbourhood to illustrate the want to improve and develop their socio-economic reality. Therefore, this first analysis will be conducted through an intercategory approach which aims to illustrate the complexity of relationships among various social groups within an analytical category (Carastathis, 2014, p. 308). Jessica, a resident of Moerwijk and an active member of the Church discusses the impact that competing initiatives in the neighbourhood have on the community:

“I think they sometimes overlook the fact that the people who work in those projects or the volunteers or people involved. That those are neighbours of each other, those are friends of each other, sometimes even family. And so sometimes jealousy can stupidly arise between one project and another. Because one is funded and the other is not. It works through in the private sphere here in the neighbourhood but that also works through in the community here. And it really just causes arguments sometimes, in the personal lives people just get into arguments with each other”.

This quote reflects the statement that equality or rights-seeking arguments tend to create deservingness frameworks which perpetuate structures and relations of domination where this becomes an extension of harmful systems that divide constituencies seeking to make a change (Crenshaw, 2004, as cited by Spade, 2013, p. 1039). In addition, Fred a youth worker, also outlines the fact that the most outspoken members of the community that are most visible are not always those that represent the interest of most residents:

“The representatives of the neighbourhood, you always get to speak to them, but they have a certain vision, and I can tell you that for most of the district that is not the vision they agree with”

Hope, a mother with an immigrant background but was born in the Netherlands discusses the complexity of culture in the neighbourhood and states that the people from Moerwijk also need to take ownership of the culture that they are perpetuating:

But on the other hand, I'm also going to tell you very honestly. And then I talk about we, I, we also have to put our hand in our own pockets. If you look at social media what we glorify, what we throw on social media about how you come out of the hood. Then it also makes sense, you understand, so I can't always blame others”.

To add to the notion of responsibility on the part of the residents of the neighbourhood, Oliver a social worker that does not live in Moerwijk and also has an immigrant background also states that often when there are opportunities for residents to be involved in decision making, they are not always willing:

“What they are trying to do is they are trying to involve citizens in a process. Even with a new building they want to involve everyone. But that is also down to people, is not just down to the government. Those people don't even want to be involved. Even though you say it's because of poverty they don't have time they work too much they are tired. People don't feel like it either”-Oliver, Social worker

The final quote serves to further illustrate the reasons as to why residents are so hesitant to participate. It is clear that the reason that participation is considered to be so low is due to the fact that residents don't feel like the policies being implemented reflect their needs and vision for the neighbourhood:

“The residents know very well where the pain is, where the problem is or what is needed. They just need to be facilitated well by us and that facilitation is not only in money but also in expertise, just being there listening, thinking along. If we do that well, they are quite willing to join us to work on themes that may be less important to them. Such as projects we have received from the government for example. But you need to really engage with them first, participate with those residents.” - Chelsea, municipality representative

Oppression is shaped in Moerwijk through the complementary interaction between micro (intersectional) and macro (interlocking) processes (Al-Faham, Davis, and Ernst, 2019, p. 250). It is crucial to mention here regarding the conceptualisation of bureaucracy, I refer to it as an excessively complicated administrative procedure. A point of unity that is virtually agreed upon by all stakeholders is the fact that there is an inherent distrust of government as a result of policy inefficacy and missed promises over the course of decades. Kate and Isabella who both work at the municipality acknowledge that there have been drastic mistakes made by the government:

“Promises are made, yes, we had in the in Jan Luykelaan five years ago or so were plans made to refurbish the street and make it beautiful. Well, the drawings are still there in the basement. Well point blank that just didn't happen”- Isabella, works at the Municipality

“Yes, I know that people have indeed lost confidence quite a bit. That so many things have been promised and tried over the past few years and it all still doesn't hold. But

maybe that is a bit too negative, there are also good things that have happened”- Kate, works at the Municipality

The above quotes aimed to illustrate the acknowledgement by representatives of the municipality that the distrust in the institution is understandable as a by-product of institutional failings. This echoes the statement that there is an aspect of institutional racialisation that operates under a pretence of neutrality (Spade, 2013, p. 1033 as cited by Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013, p. 789). Moreover, taking into account political intersectionality it gives insight into the structural frameworks of power which give rise to emerging and existing political and social struggles (Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013, p. 800.) This is further illustrated by the following quote by Zain:

“Because by now, these residents are really tired of talking to officials who then make promises, as they feel, (often, too often they don't make a promise because they know themselves that they shouldn't). It does come across as a promise that is then not kept and then because of that there is huge distrust in the government, where I think if you put an official there who does have a say who could make those promises and also deliver on it, that you would really benefit from that”

The quote by Zain outlines that there is a tacit acceptance by both the neighbourhood residents and the municipality representatives that caution is necessary when making categorical statements or promises that cannot be kept. While there is most likely an acknowledgement that this is a result of limiting institutional bureaucracy, the consensus is that neither actor is capable of structurally addressing the power indifference that is faced by both the civil servants and the residents of the neighbourhood. This places the implicit power in the hands of the policy makers as they modulate their behaviour to control their environment when dealing with residents in Moerwijk. “The concept of formal legal equality articulates an important disjuncture between the racial neutrality declared by law and the material realities of white supremacy” (Spade, 2013, p. 1034). In this sense the understanding of formal equality relates to the fact that the civil servant may perceive the systems as legally neutral and adapt within the established framework. But both stakeholders in this case appreciate that the material realities are inherently unjust. Moreover, the disjointed nature of the institutional framework is overtly visible in the following three quotes:

“I do know that often small-scale initiatives break down because of complicated funding procedures, which I think is a tricky one. I think it's more that in a very large organisation like this, with all the divisions between the departments, you often don't know which colleagues are working on what. And that doesn't only apply to South-West, that applies in all areas” - Kate, Works at the Municipality

“We arranged a location for these ladies where it is important that they can meet and talk to each other. And when you tell that to some colleagues, they say yes, but we can't just give everyone free space, whereas I think well, everyone, this is just a group of women who have a lot of impact in the neighbourhood, so give them that space. We see that these women have potential together, that they want to do something important, so we want to support that. But for some departments they look at it in a more business-like way, we can't hand out free locations everywhere, because then everyone will want that right away. So that's just a different view of what happens in the city, it really needs to be from trust rather than control”-Isabella, works at the Municipality

“There's an initiative related to Heesewijkplein which is a very dangerous place to be in the evenings, and there's been a request for help with that and the Municipality itself experiences the problems there. We had four design agencies come together, all with different starting points in their approach. They were asked to make a number of plans how they could improve the safety of an area so that it can be used by residents in the evenings. During the participatory process with the residents, we talked about the difficulty of allowing everybody to have their say. We talked about the lack of trust between governmental agencies and the residents, and we thought this would be a good way to bring them together. If people could voice their concerns about the area that we had this meeting, and we would provide plans, and then there would be an opportunity to choose between maybe three plans and that we could discuss the plans as a process of feeling heard and having a role. But what actually happened was that process went ahead, the experts made some plans, and one was chosen and has been delivered, and there's no discussion” - Mia, works in Healthcare in Moerwijk

The second quote speaks to the intertwined nature of oppression and privilege that is represented by Isabella. The notion that not providing an opportunity is part of the procedural complexity of a political institution is her privileged position. This in turn oppresses the women that she is trying to help by not actively challenging the standpoint in a structural manner. “An intersectional approach does not only acknowledge the presence of multiple axes of oppression but explores how they may relate to one another or co-constitute one another” (Osborne, 2015, p. 134). The final quote outlines the top-down nature of attempts to include the residents in decision making processes. This can be seen as a standard practice for a traditionally gendered organisation and its structural processes that maintain the status quo (Thomas et al. 2021, p.3). The lack of active processes towards inclusivity is somewhat concerning with the previously discussed placement of gender mainstreaming in urban renewal policy. Therefore, Mia represents the perspective of a non-resident, professional women working in Moerwijk that is also adversely affected by the institutional and structural framework that stems from the traditional nature of government.

The conventional understanding is that planning and spatial development spheres tend to be top down (Premius, 1997, p. 86) however, the following quotes illustrate that there is an awareness that this approach needs to be altered. As the core role of a housing corporation is to provide affordable and quality housing to those most in need. Moreover, the steps being taken to improve inclusivity and continuity counteract the real issue of personnel turnover and knowledge loss as a result of that:

“I notice, for instance, that long-term guidance and coaching of well-intentioned residents from the neighbourhood is very important, continuity. That continuity with the professionals, that often lags behind. We as professionals we must do everything, we can to give continuity in presence and an approach to give that priority one. If we don't do that, then you notice, for example, that the common awareness of what is your actual role in the neighbourhood? With new staff and those who are unaware. You also notice at the municipality the changing civil servants who then leave such a district again relatively quickly. Turnover of personnel in the last ten years, if you were look into it, you would be shocked” -Lucas, works for a housing corporation in Moerwijk

“The most important thing is, is that an easy transfer takes place because that just doesn't happen. So, you have to look at how you can solve that so that all that knowledge doesn't leave every time. Another thing is that working in this kind of neighbourhood, then I'm also talking about teachers and also about policemen, really should be better appreciated”- Chelsea, municipality representative

The quotes outline the appreciation that long term investment in residents, and a focus towards emancipatory planning practices that challenge hegemony and seek meaningful empowerment through focusing on equality are becoming more important (Connolly & Steil, 2009; Friedmann, 2003; Miraftab, 2009, 1994,; Sandercock, 1998a, 1998b as cited by Osborne, 2015, p. 138).

The key takeaway from the discussions relating to gender in relation to urban renewal but also social make up, serves to be an illuminating part of the data analysis in terms of the focus that practice, and policy have. Firstly, in the case of Moerwijk men and children are the more marginalised stakeholders:

” Well, actually, it was easier to talk to the women than to the men. What the women told me was, well, start with us because through us you can talk to our men. But the men actually in those neighbourhoods are very hidden. I think the women in Moerwijk have a larger force than the men. So actually, those men are marginalized. I think they want to be because they're just doing their own thing. That's what the women tell me. I think the young people are marginalized because very many adolescents are struggling at home, they're really fleeing their home and many young, really young people, because of issues at home, they are sent to the streets with problems. Young people are really struggling at home, and they don't really speak up” - Savannah, conducted Participatory Action Research in Moerwijk

Moreover, in terms of marginalisation children are more marginalised and to varying degrees both girls and boys are vulnerable. “We can examine how vulnerable populations have additional facets to their identities or extra challenges to contend with” (Thomas et al. 2021, p.2).

“I mean a lot of attention is paid to young people everywhere. And I do think that when it comes to young people, much more attention is paid to activities for boys. Not paying enough attention to what girls want. Often because they cause more nuisance. Then ideas are devised for children in separate areas. Don't forget the silent club of girls who are supposedly doing well” -Kate, Works at the Municipality

“But those youth workers mainly have boys in their caseload. So you start by drawing from the existing target group and you see that things are very quickly male-oriented. So girls don't really feel welcome and it's not true that girls don't want to hang out, girls also want to hang out and girls also want to be somewhere”- Chelsea, municipality representative

The first two quotes outline that the clear attention is provided predominantly to boys instead of girls which renders girls as marginalised as a result of policy towards correcting young boys' behaviour. The approach by the government to fund police approaches focused on increased criminal penalties for perpetrators has been problematised by feminist, trans and

queer movements in the last few decades (Spade, 2013, p. 1037). Targeted populations such as communities of colour, immigrants, poor people and indigenous people have argued that the approach does not reduce violence or increase safety (INCITE! 2006; Chen, Dulani, and Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2011, as cited by Spade, 2013, p. 1037). This critical perspective is outlined in the following quotes in relation to young boys who hang out on the streets. The context provided by the interviews outlined that there were arbitrary “strike” methods used for groups of young children that would be found hanging out on the streets. The opposite reality of this is that the children sit at home behind screens all day without socialising due to the fear of being profiled by police in the area:

“I understand that the police have a job to do, but I think the police should also be aware of that, that those children can't do anything about it either, that they are born here and that they grow up here” - Hope, Resident, mother and community room worker. So, no doubt they will do their best, but I see it more as we have to see the youth in their entirety and really accommodate and guide them in their development. The approach needs to be less stifling, punitive, and bleak”- Hope, Resident, mother and community room worker

“Talking about street harassment. Girls feel harassed or they feel they can't walk on the street anymore, there is always something being said to them, they can't put on what they want to put on, the unsafe feeling is totally justified. But then what strikes me is that we start telling those boys what is especially not allowed and what they are doing wrong, that people don't like them and that they should act normal. That they are threatening and that they are this and they are that”- Hope, Resident, mother and community room worker

In this context Hope is keenly aware of the issues that children face on the street being a parent and a woman of colour herself. It is argued that the punishment-based approach has no preventative impact and are also inaccessible to victims of violence due to fear of calling the police as the community or family member could be harmed by the police than aided (Spade, 2013, p. 1038). The same can be said for the final quote in relation to the approach for street harassment initiatives, while the aim is understandable in practice this leaves young boys in Moerwijk without the chance to remedy their behaviour in a functional manner. This is a direct result of a top-down governmental focus to address a ‘problem’ without providing an approach for constructive follow up.

How do their experiences and perceptions translate into demands and plans for effective urban development?

There was a clear overarching agreement that despite the issues that the three stakeholder groups faced, there was a shared understanding that approaches needed to be shaped by inclusivity, gender, long-term planning. The aim of many of the demands aimed to improve the lives and social participation of vulnerable groups as well as strengthen their agency (Denters, 2021, p. 108) This highlighted a clear ideological and structural shift from the way in which urban renewal policy is being implemented now. The residents from Moerwijk advocated for a framework that was more inclusive of the perspectives and needs of the residents with a focus on long term planning towards stability. This in turn would serve to create more ownership of urban renewal initiatives in the neighbourhood which would result in more participation. The organisational stakeholders proposed that the process for funding requests was better streamlined and less complicated so that residents could also participate

in the application for funding as well. There was also a need for long term initiatives to create rapport with the residents to provide a platform for recruitment also towards long term capabilities for planning and structure. This approach would also counteract personnel turnover as social and civil servants from the neighbourhood are less likely to leave. In the case of the housing corporation there was an awareness to the need for re-centralisation so that the role that the corporation plays can be brought back to its origins as a community focused entity. The stakeholders from the municipality felt that their colleagues needed to spend more time in the neighbourhoods and that more work had to be physically placed in the neighbourhood to increase their visibility to their communities. This illustrates a tacit awareness from all stakeholders that identities are formed at the intersection of gender, class and race and are enhanced and influenced through community participation (Daniels, 1988; Gilkes 1994; Ostrander 1984 as cited by Abrahams, 1996, p. 769). In addition, many of the respondents (the majority being women) argued for an integration of gender mainstreaming to restructure and improve phases of the policy process as well as integrating gender concerns within all domains (van Eerdewijk & Davids, 2014, p. 306)

9 Discussion

As a starting point, there was a lack of concrete schisms between the perspectives held by the three groups of stakeholders during the data analysis section. This upon reflection could be a result of combination of factors. Firstly, that the interview questions were not worded or guided sufficiently enough to be able to expose views that could lead to deeper analysis between and within the categories. Secondly, the fact that a snowball approach was used could have resulted in perspectives that tended to be aware of the same issues across all the stakeholders despite the varying differences in class, gender, and race. In other words, the ideals and standpoints within the interviewees perspectives was analogous to each other in a way that complicated my analysis. This limits the further applicability of my thesis to other circumstances. However, the data still provides insight into structural issues and provides avenues to remedy the issues that face Moerwijk. The study could be built upon with a more diverse and varied data set to obtain the key differences in lived experience that Moerwijk has to offer.

Therefore, the rest of the section will serve to address what I considered the three key factors that arose from the interviews. The first, the lack of gender sensitive wording in initiatives and policies, secondly, the loss of important knowledge because of personnel turnover and lastly, the central role of street level civil servants as actors of change. In this approach, I am attempting to stay true to the historical root's that intersectionality has related to social justice as an ethical imperative with the intention to disrupt binary terms within theory and praxis (Collins, 2019, as cited by Kassam et al. 2020, p. 8) In addition, the proposed recommendations aim to entice organisations at the ground level to embrace intersectionality and rethink their approach towards systemic, policy and structural processes while ensuring that delivery is responsive and inclusive to all stakeholders (Thomas et al. 2021, p. 2). In relation to the role of GM, the approach serves to understand the complex nature of various intersections of gender and diversity that also implements a framework utilising gender to address inequity; the role of intersectionality in this sense aims to reject prioritisations of one factor in the understanding and response (Hunting & Hankivsky, 2020, p. 434). To counteract the statement that gender mainstreaming is being appropriated by bureaucracies to appropriate feminist language to ultimately result in no action (Hawthorne, 2004, p.122). My proposal is to initially localise it to the context and needs of Moerwijk. If

the implementation is successful, then Moerwijk could be a core argument for the further implementation of gender mainstreaming institutionally but importantly from the bottom up and not top down.

The seminal role of street level bureaucrats in ensuring and providing effective and quality service makes them a central important actor in the policy chain. In this sense this is reflected in the analysis because those on the ground level have the most important and relevant insight into the ways in which policy is or is not successful or transferable. “The best policy results occur when other political institutions give a bureaucracy clear goals, sufficient resources, and autonomy so that the benefits of professionalisation and near decomposable systems come into play” (Meier et al. 2019, p. 1584). Government capacity and confidence is closely related because of street-level organisations forming the operational core of the state and its practices which results in deep political importance; both building and undermining government being the core actor that can advance social equity, welfare, and justice (Brodkin, 2012, p. 947). As has been outlined the issue of long-term planning and efficacy in Moerwijk could be a result of efficiency being valued over quality, efficacy, and responsiveness (Brodkin, 2012, p. 945). If bureaucracies are rewarded for effectively meeting performance criteria, a bureaucratic goal will be to maximise performance at that standard and outcomes that can be measured will take preference over outcomes that are more complex to measure which could result in displacement (Bau, 1955, as cited by Meier et al. 2019, p. 1593). In relation to the impact positive actors could have in shaping policy in Moerwijk. The acknowledgement that the welfare state is not just regulations and laws, but a perpetual dynamic that is produced and reproduced within the sphere of human interaction between citizens and public officials (Rice, 2013, p. 45).

The introduction of Knowledge Management (KM) could be critical in Moerwijk to address the issues of knowledge loss as a result of personnel turnover. KM is a potentially useful tool for dealing with ‘wicked’ public issues that are unstructured, require public managers to work, apply, share and create knowledge across multiple agencies, citizen groups and organisations (Dawes, Cresswell & Pardo, 2009; Weber & Khademian, 2008, as cited by Pee & Kankanhalli, 2016, p. 188). The implementation of a framework relating to knowledge retention directly address the knowledge drain that results from job movements or retirements (Sanz & Hovell, 2021, p. 11). The benefit of the process outlined by Sanz & Hovell (2021) is the process of retention can occur before, during or after the knowledge has left. What is required however, is a continuous effort to maintain and implement the process of retention which can contribute to culture of learning which enhances collaboration and in turn capacity to co-create knowledge and innovate. In this sense the challenges and obstacles must be discussed. Senior management engagement relates to the level of commitment due to the fact that bad leadership can hamper the sustainability of the retention program. As an example, a Chief Knowledge Officer would be the key designer and connector of information in a databases and legacy applications in intranets (Kammani & Date, 2009, p. 10). Cultural issues where sharing of knowledge causes fear; lack of follow-through in application with regard to efficiency specifically, that low knowledge retention leads to knowledge drain; most importantly, that knowledge retention is a central priority. But another key issue is the lack of a technological infrastructure or central repository (Sanz & Hovel, 2021, p. 14). This role of knowledge creation and retention is a role that civil actors on the ground floor can participate in as they are the largest carriers of knowledge in the public sector workforce (Kammani & Date, 2009, p. 9). In this sense, Moerwijk again provides a site for possible piloting of creation of infrastructure that could facilitate knowledge creation.

10 Conclusion

To conclude, my thesis aimed to reintroduce the discourse regarding the relevance of gender mainstreaming and intersectional lenses to improve the inclusivity and awareness to diverse interconnected realities. The data analysis did not provide as much insight as was originally hoped. However, this was mitigated through the identification of the lack of gender sensitive wording in initiatives and policies, the loss of important knowledge because of personnel turnover and the central role of street level civil servants as actors of change. The possible approaches to addressing these issues also focused on a bottom up perspective which could further allow Moerwijk to address its main issues of trust, long term planning and inclusivity.

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