

Neighborhood consumption spaces and their representation: what and who should be visible and what and who should not be visible in gentrifying neighborhoods?



“Different kinds of retailers, different kinds of representations”



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Neighborhood consumption spaces and their representation: what and who should be visible and what and who should not be visible in gentrifying neighborhoods?

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Building a city depends on how people combine the traditional economic factors of land, labor, and capital. But it also depends on how they manipulate symbolic languages of exclusion and entitlement. The look and feel of cities reflect decisions about what – and who – should be visible and what should not on uses of aesthetic power. (Zukin 1995, p.7).

Foreword

After a long struggle over the diverse possible research topics I could study in my master thesis, I became intrigued with the neighborhood economy. The neighborhood economy however is a broad spectrum of research. The next question would be: what do I want to research about the neighborhood economy? This led me to different directions. At first, my interests were focused on the socioeconomic improvement that the neighborhood economy could bring in 'disadvantaged' neighborhoods, in terms of employment and, of course, self-employment by entrepreneurship. This then brought me on the path of neighborhoods that were dealing with a 'restructuring' process. Restructuring processes roughly imply neighborhood improvement through a redistribution of income population, meaning an introduction of higher income households into neighborhoods that are characterized by a homogeny low-income population. Studying restructuring processes brought me to the issue of 'gentrification'. While studying 'gentrification' I became more and more aware of the connection between the process of 'gentrification' and the neighborhood economy, or to be more exact, the missing link between 'gentrification' and the neighborhood economy in the scientific debate. During this phase, my research shifted more and more from the socioeconomic opportunities that the neighborhood economy could bring in 'disadvantaged' neighborhoods towards the more abstractly symbolizing power that connects the neighborhood economy to the cultural, social and physical process of 'gentrification'. In this figurative storm of my research the neighborhood economy became limited to visible retailers, as Sharon Zukin states: *"In the shopping street, vision is power"*. In this project, visible retailers are understood to be shops, or more in general, neighborhood shopping streets and shopping-centers.

Having been on the right track during all my research efforts, I have to admit that in first instance my research was not framed enough. This could be seen as a criticism however it could also be seen as a ratification of the scientific importance of this research since this issue is underexposed, although Sharon Zukin has delivered a great contribution to the scientific debate concerning this issue. In all honesty, I have to admit that the glue of my project has been provided in the latter phase of this thesis by my supervisor Olivier Kramsch. After I had sent him some incoherent drafts of my work written in moderate English, he, amazingly, filtered out the core of my thesis, being: 'the production of space'. He pointed me on Lefebvre his work "The Production of Space" and thereby provided the bridge between place, symbols and representation. Although this project is not based primarily built upon Lefebvre, it provided me with a better understanding and applicability of many other theories I used in this project. I would like to thank Olivier Kramsch for his patience, flexibility, expertise and enthusiasm.

I further would like to give my special thanking to Nathan Rozema who offered me the opportunity to do an internship at 'Onderzoeksbureau Labyrinth' in Utrecht. I have had a pleasurable time doing my internship. Nathan has taken my ideas and work always very seriously and actively shared his ideas and knowledge about the neighborhood economy with me. Not to forget, my temporarily colleagues at Onderzoeksbureau Labyrinth helped me to find suitable cases to do my research. Further I would like to thank my mother for her computer skills, helping me with processing the models and pictures that I used in this

project and my friend Jos Kuiper for his linguistic skills taking the time to verify and improve my English. Last but not least I would like to thank Marc van der Linden for taking a lot of time for my research and walking me through the Dapperbuurt in Amsterdam for several times, explaining me about the neighborhoods history, developments and daily life.

In conclusion I hope that I have put something on paper that you will remember when you do your shopping. Always think about the stories behind the shops. Why are they located there? What and who do they represent? What symbols do they produce? Why do they produce those symbols? But most of all I hope you enjoy reading my work.

Geert Ent

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Summary

This project concerns two major issues; gentrification and representation. Gentrification is a physical, social and cultural process in which the neighborhood becomes socioeconomically revalued by the introduction of high-income residents. Representation is in this research approached as the way how people's cultures and lifestyles become integrated into space by the use of symbols. In the scientific debate there exists a gap between the issue of gentrification and representation. What happens to the neighborhood's representation when a neighborhood undergoes a process of gentrification? The neighborhood changes and thus it would be a logical thought that its representation should change also, because different people, hence different cultures and lifestyles enter into the gentrifying neighborhoods. The neighborhood becomes inhabited by different kind of residents with different kind of; needs, desires and lifestyles. The neighborhood economy, in terms of shopping streets and shopping-centers, should provide answers about the gentrifying neighborhood's transforming representation. Consumption spaces explain much about public culture. Shops have a great symbolic power and they are integrated into space. Therefore shops are approached as spatial mediums of representation. In this research, the transformation of retailers' symbolic representation in gentrifying neighborhoods have been analyzed in five cases; the 'Oude Pijp' in Amsterdam, Lombok in Utrecht, Parkhaven-Dichterswijk in Utrecht, the Dapperbuurt in Amsterdam and Nieuw-Hoograven in Utrecht.

The prime social relevance of this research is that representation concerns people and their connection to place. In gentrifying neighborhoods an upwardly socioeconomic process is taking place in which people from different classes, the 'poor' and the 'better-off', meet one another. However, this process goes together with the issue of inclusion and exclusion. The urban 'better-off' becomes more and more included into the neighborhood, while the urban 'poor' becomes more and more excluded out of the gentrifying neighborhood, a process that is understood as 'displacement'. The process of displacement is frequently discussed in the scientific literature, however what does it mean for people's representation? Will the urban poor recognize themselves in their neighborhood after the process of gentrification? Does the neighborhood yet still represent their identity? Approaching consumption spaces as spatial mediums of representation, they should be able to explain what happens to the neighborhood's representation as a consequence of gentrification. What and whose culture will be represented by the neighborhood consumption spaces? How do these transformations proceed? Who are the prime actors in the transformational process of the neighborhood's representation?

By studying five cases that show different histories and diverse types of gentrification, this research has shown different effects concerning the neighborhoods representation. The most important result are the insights concerning the 'production of space'. This research shows how the 'makers' of space try to '(re-)prescribe' space conform their thoughts and ideas about what space should become and what space should represent. The 'makers' of space try to produce their desired images and identities that should attract the postindustrial 'new middle class', known as; yuppies and 'urbanites'. While doing that, they exclude those; identities, cultures and lifestyles, that do not fit in their thoughts about 'good' spaces. In gentrifying neighborhoods this implies the exclusion of the urban poor's representation. The

cases show how economical principles and moral judgments intertwine among one another. In terms of the 'users' of space, large contradictions between the 'makers' thoughts about space and the 'users' desires have been analyzed. Representations of the urban poor are not per se disliked. Financially weak entrepreneurs that operate in the lower segments of the market, among who many immigrant entrepreneurs who seek their prosperity in an independent business, produce symbols of 'poverty'. Nevertheless, they are equally able to create attractive urban environments that have an extraordinary unique and authentic representation, often characterized by the representation of the local community and multiculturalism.

This project calls for attention to the urban poor's visibility. Independent entrepreneurs, also the financially weak(er) ones, are important in shaping the cities identity. Affordable business units, offering space to all kinds of retailers are important in order to democratize the construction of the city's identities. People show commitment to their space, they recognize themselves in space and neighborhood consumption spaces have a great deal in these kind of people's feeling of belongingness. Commodification of space conform economic principles and the 'revitalization' of space conform moral principles, should not become a 'law' in urban policy. Consideration in regarding to the production of people's "sense of place" is of great value for the production of the city's true identity and its attractiveness for a wide range of people. Reconsideration in regarding to the economical and moral judgments that have been put upon 'marginal' retailers might contribute to the production of unique and authentic 'people's places'.

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Introduction

In this general introduction this project's background, objective and research questions and used methodology will be described.

Background

Consumption spaces have an expression. This expression is largely constructed by the goods that are sold, the shops' visible displays and their target populations. For example, a 'fancy' restaurant is likely to represent another kind of public than a snack-bar and a chain-store supermarket represents another kind of public than an ethnic market.

Imagine yourself in a torn pair of jeans and a thirty shirt after you helped a friend in the garden building a porch. All the hard work has made you feel hungry, so you decided to eat somewhere. Now ask yourself the following questions: would you visit an expensive restaurant or an ordinary snack-bar? Would you be welcome in a restaurant in those clothes? And if you would be welcome, would you feel comfortable in your unattended outfit? Would you feel comfortable in a snack-bar in this outfit? Shops, the goods they offer, their target populations and their visual displays provide information to its 'users' about who is welcome and who is not welcome and how one should behave and look. Shops therefore have great influence on the image and representation of neighborhoods. It is likely that shopping streets and shopping-centers represent the 'users' of the neighborhood. When a neighborhood becomes into decline, the shopping space will express this development. When a neighborhood transforms upwardly, shopping space will also express this. Shops represent the 'quality' of the neighborhood and people tend to judge neighborhoods on the shops that are present.

In this project, the production of symbols by consumption spaces has been put in a larger economical perspective. The postindustrial economy is often described as; the service, knowledge and creative economy. Cities have a prime position in the postindustrial mode of production. In this economy, the attraction and connection of 'creative' workers, largely characterized by a well education and a prosperous career perspective, has become of increasingly importance. Attractive cities need to connect and attract these workers by offering attractive neighborhoods, in order to provide them a place to feel comfortable. These are logical outcomes of the postindustrial mode of production.

At the same time, postindustrial mode of production creates socioeconomic polarization, because the distinction between 'professional' jobs and 'junk-jobs' increases. While the industrial mode of production offered many jobs for low educated people, these jobs have largely been transported towards low-income countries. In western societies, knowledge- and creative workers have taken their middle-class position.

In terms of retailers' representation, this would suggest that neighborhood consumption spaces are likely to represent this socioeconomic polarization. In the past decade, this has come to an expression in primarily disadvantaged and devalorized neighborhoods. These neighborhoods house many low-income residents and offer cheap accommodations for financially weak entrepreneurs to set up a business. Therefore, the retailers that are present in these neighborhoods, expresses symbols of the urban poor.

Nowadays, many of these neighborhoods show a process of gentrification and state-led restructuring. Gentrification is a physical, social and cultural process. It roughly implies an introduction of high-income residents and a movement of capital into the built environment of the neighborhood. Urban restructuring is a form of state-led gentrification.

Since gentrifying neighborhoods transform from 'poor' neighborhoods into 'wealthy' neighborhoods, it is interesting to find out what this means for the neighborhood's shopping streets and shopping-centers. How does the symbolic production of consumption spaces transform due to the process of gentrification and what are the social consequences of these transformations? After all, the neighborhood becomes redefined for different 'users'. Will the neighborhood's representation change? What and who will the neighborhood represent? What and who should be visible and what and who should not be visible?

Objective and research questions

Research objective

The aim of this project is to determine what social consequences gentrification has, concerning people's representation by space, in Dutch urban neighborhoods, by studying what happens to gentrifying neighborhoods' consumption spaces and their production of symbols, how this happens and what powers are at stake.

The starting point of view in this research is that consumption spaces are—beside their importance for the quality of urban life and its economical function—functioning as an 'image-producer' of neighborhoods. Retailers express their consumers for economical goals and therefore produce symbols that represent the people who primarily use and consume the neighborhood. It is plausible to consider that the largest consumers of the neighborhood will also be the people who live in the neighborhood. In a larger economical perspective, unique authentic neighborhoods and urban diversity are some characteristics of the urban landscape that work as a 'glue' to the knowledge- and 'creative' workers. It is considerable that policymakers aim to attract them, given their economic importance. Therefore it is interesting to analyze the connection between the process of gentrification and consumption spaces' representation. What and who should be represented in postindustrial cities and what are the social consequences of these socio-spatial transformations?

Scientific relevance

This project is built upon scientific theory about; capitalist modes of production, the production of space, gentrification, and retail geography. The production of space is approached to be dominated by capitalist mode of production. Gentrification is a development in the production of space and approached as an outcome of capitalistic postindustrial mode of production.

Previously, it has been described how neighborhood shopping streets and shopping-centers could be intertwined with the process of gentrification and how retailers are expected to represent the neighborhood's 'users'. While much theory exists about capitalism's power in the social and physical production of space, this project's main scientific relevance is a

missing link between the issue of gentrification and the issue of representation. Neighborhood consumption spaces and their production of symbols could provide valuable new scientific insights about the relation between; the process of gentrification, revitalization of local shopping streets and the neighborhood's representation.

Approaching gentrification as an outcome of capitalist postindustrial mode of production, makes it highly relevant to study how today's capitalism transforms the city symbolically. What and who should be visible and who and what should not be visible? Given retailers their importance in the representation of people, it is interesting to study shops and their representations in gentrifying neighborhoods.

Social relevance

This project is focused on representation. Representation of people. Previously, it has been argued that neighborhood consumption spaces produce symbols of representation. The look and feel of consumption spaces explain to its visitors who is welcome and who is not welcome.

Neighborhoods that show a process of gentrification are characterized by a devalorized built environment and a rather low-income population. Devalorization of the built environment offers opportunities for small entrepreneurs to set up businesses in the lower segment of the market, because low rents makes it possible for them to survive economically, despite their rather low turnovers. In this sense, these shops would represent the urban 'poor'. Gentrification goes together with an introduction of high-income residents and capital investments into the built environment. Capital investments into the built environment result in rising rents. At the same time, an upward redistribution of the neighborhood's income population, will affect in changing 'users' and consumers of the neighborhood. It is interesting to find out whether or not gentrification will affect the representation of the neighborhood, by transformational processes in the neighborhood's consumption spaces.

Rising rents and an entering of high-income residents is expected to transform retailers' representation, since survival becomes more difficult for those retailers that needed the low rents and their 'poor' consumers. The entrepreneurs that are able to survive are the economical stronger retailers, such as chain-stores, and those who redefine their target population by focusing on the neighborhood's 'new' high-income 'users'. This project's social relevance can be sought in whether or not gentrification affects the democratic right for people to produce the city's identity. When financially weak entrepreneurs are less able to set up their businesses, it is likely that those representations will become displaced.

Research questions

What are the social consequences when people's representation by the symbolic production of neighborhood consumption spaces transforms, triggered by a process of gentrification?

The central question provides a guide line how this research should reach its desired objective. Previously, it has been described that determining the effects that gentrification has on the retailers that operate in gentrifying neighborhood, should put us in the position to

gain knowledge about its transforming production of symbols, affecting a transforming representation of the neighborhood. In order to interpret the central question correctly, one should keep in mind that *not* primarily the economic situation of retailers in gentrifying neighborhoods will be examined, instead there will be primarily focused on the representational aspects that are at stake.

The central question gives the impression that this research intends to find answers to the social consequences of gentrification, concerning peoples representation, from an analytical perspective. Although this is partly true, this research waves between an analytical and a normative destination. While, the central research question feels analytical, the word 'consequence' is loaded with values and often results in a judgment in terms of 'positive' or 'negative'. The word 'consequences' has intentionally been used instead of the word 'effects', because this project has a strong 'positioning' character. This thesis will discuss the discrepancy in people's thoughts about space and how these discrepancies might serve as 'food for thoughts' about 'alternative' place-making, while focusing on the processes that are taking place in different kinds of gentrifying neighborhoods and the powers that are at stake in the 'prescription' and 're-prescription' of neighborhoods' representations.

The normative character of this project is based upon an analytical description about each case its 'story', the processes that are taking place in the neighborhoods concerning the type of gentrification, and the connection between gentrification and the symbolic production of consumption spaces. These more analytical parts are related to sub-question one and two. Sub-question three and four are of a more normative character and will discuss the social consequences of gentrification, concerning people's representation.

In order to gain a fully understanding of this projects central research question the following sub-questions have to be answered. These sub-questions will form the guide lines through which every case studied in this project will be analyzed:

1. *To what extend does the process of gentrification triggers a transformation in the symbolic production of neighborhood consumption spaces?*
2. *How does the process of gentrification affects the production of symbols by neighborhood consumption spaces?*
3. *What are the consequences for people's representation when the symbolic production of neighborhood consumption spaces transform?*
4. *What social consequences belong to a representational shift in gentrifying neighborhoods?*

Methodology

Research strategy

In this project there has been chosen to do a qualitative in-depth research. The connection between gentrification and consumption spaces offers opportunities for both a qualitative as a quantitative research. Quantitative research could have brought more generalizing outcomes, nevertheless it brings much difficulty in analyzing *texts*, *feelings* and *representation*, since these issues are hard to rationalize into numbers. Qualitative research offers more opportunities to deal with these research issues for it being an interpreting

approach of study, reporting mainly in verbal and contemplative terms—and that is how this research has been exercised.

This project's research strategy is can be determined as a comparative case-study. The form of case-study that has been exercised is best to be described as a hierarchical method. The hierarchical method implies that separate cases will be studied independently from each other, following a determined pattern. The pattern how the cases will be studied are based upon this project's sub-questions. Although, it has to be admitted that while doing the analyses, some connections have been made between the different cases, in order to clarify analyses that have been done. Another important aspect is that some research questions will be of more relevance to the one case and of less relevance to other cases, so the pattern and focus might sometimes deviate. Roughly, the cases will be studied conform the following the pattern, categorized in table 1.

<i>Phase in case-study</i>	<i>Reason and objective</i>	<i>Sub-question</i>
The gentrification process that takes place	Clarify the case its relevance to this project	Background
The position of consumption spaces in the process of gentrification	Analyze to what degree it is plausible that retail produces symbols in the neighborhood	Sub-question 1
The way how gentrification affects consumption spaces and their production of symbols	Analyzing what symbols are produced and in how these become transformed	Sub-question 2
The representational and social consequences that gentrification involves	Analyzing in which direction (for what and for who) the neighborhood's representation becomes transformed	Sub-question 3 and 4

Table 1: Categorization of study per case.

Selection of case studies

This thesis concerns the issue of gentrification and representation. The relation between both issues is examined by analyzing consumption spaces. Every case that has been used should show elements that indicate a process of gentrification. For two reasons there has been chosen to analyze different types of gentrification in different types of neighborhoods. The first reason is that the rate of gentrifying neighborhoods that do show a strong relation between the process of gentrification and the neighborhood's consumption space is limited. The second and prime reason, lays in the assumption that different types of neighborhoods and different types of gentrification deliver different outcomes in terms of representation and social consequences, bearing in mind the theory that this issue concerns. In the selected neighborhoods, consumption spaces have to be visible in order to examine their representation and the transformations that are taking place in the neighborhood consumption spaces' representation. Who are visible and what is happening to their visibility?

Another important element in this project is the relation between the 'makers' of space and the 'users' of space, in which this thesis approaches the 'makers' to dominate the 'users', and the consumption spaces to represent the neighborhood's 'users'. This brings us

to the question of what should be visible? The 'should' in this question implicates that the 'makers' of space have the aim to transform space's representation conform their desire. Therefore there has to exist some degree of interaction between the owners, policymakers and the concerning consumption spaces. The cases that have been used are; the 'Oude Pijp' in Amsterdam and Lombok in Utrecht that show a classic market driven type of gentrification, 'project Parkhaven' in Utrecht that shows a third wave type of gentrification that can be described as 'new projects for the better-off', 'the Dapperbuurt' in Amsterdam and 'Nieuw-Hoograven' in Utrecht that show a state-led driven type of gentrification.

In all cases there has tried to find the processes that are taking place concerning the neighborhood's representation by analyzing its consumption spaces and the relation between the desired representation and the presented representation. By doing this, one is able to see how gentrifying neighborhoods do not only change in economical, social and cultural perspective, yet also in a representational perspective. However, different types of gentrification and different types of neighborhoods deliver diverse transformational processes of the consumption spaces with different kinds of social consequences in terms of peoples 'sense of place'.

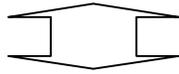
Empirical dimensions

In order to judge about what representation belongs to which image or lifestyle and what that does narrates about the neighborhood, empirical dimensions have to be distinguished. In this thesis the neighborhood consumption spaces have become analyzed from four perspectives; the 'makers' of space, the 'users' of space, the present representation and the transforming representation of the neighborhood and its consumption spaces.

The neighborhood's consumption space is the overall topic of study, which has been chained up to the type of gentrification that is taking place. The 'neighborhood consumption space' is separated into: the (symbolic) interaction between the storekeepers and the 'users' of space and the (symbolic) interaction between the 'makers' of space and the storekeepers. In the analyses there has been worked from the approach that there exists a power inequality between the 'users' and the 'makers' of space, in which the 'makers' are more powerful than the 'users'. The (symbolic) interaction between the storekeepers and the 'users' of space narrate the way how the symbolic production of consumption spaces awaken emotions, feelings and thoughts about space along the neighborhood's 'users'. The (symbolic) interaction between the storekeepers and the 'makers' of space narrate the way how the 'makers' of space think about the consumption spaces' representation and their idea about 'what space should become'.

In order to analyze 'representation', four variables have been distinguished out of the theoretical chapter: the type of shops and the products that are sold; the visual display of the shops and their target population; the emotions, feelings and thoughts that belong to the consumption space (primarily focusing on the 'users' of space); the idea of what space should be and become (primarily focusing on the 'makers' of space). After having determined the variables, it remains important to operationalise them. How to measure the representation of consumption spaces in gentrifying neighborhoods? Filtered out of the theoretical chapter, each variable will be measured by a dimension. The used variables and dimensions are categorized in table 2.

Character of gentrification that takes place



Representation of consumption space



<i>Variables</i>	<i>Dimensions</i>
The products that are sold	Ordinary versus exclusive
The visual display of the shops and their target population	Urban poor versus gentrifiers and tourists
The emotions, feelings and thoughts that belong to the consumption space	Positive versus negative
The idea of what space should become to represent	Conservative versus upwardly

Table 2: Method, variables and dimensions

The measured variables have been placed and studied in a wider context of the gentrification process that is taking place in the different cases. The variables have not been equally significant in every case, meaning that the one case will focus more on the one variable than the other, depending on the type of neighborhood and the type of gentrification that takes place. However, in every case these variables form the basis upon which the arguments have been built.

The core of this study is the focus on the difference between shops that operate in the lower segments of the market and those that operate in the higher segments of the market and how both types of shops are related to the neighborhood's representation and the diverse thoughts, feelings and judgments about space. The segments in which the shops operate have become stipulated by: the sold products and its target population. By connecting the type of shops and their (symbolic) interaction with the 'users' and the 'makers' of space it is possible to analyze a discrepancy between the production of space that represents the urban poor and the production of space that represents an upwardly development, which can be expected in gentrifying neighborhoods, see the theoretical chapter.

Selection of sources

The previously distinguished variables have to become analyzed and transformed into text. In order to make this possible, sources have to be selected and opened. Every variable has more than one source, although per case, the one variable might have more sources than another, depending on the available information. In this research different sources have been used: web-pages; documents; observations; face-to-face interviews, telephonic interviews and written interviews. The use of different sources along each other is called triangulation. When different sources provide data that shows similarities, the validity of the findings increases: verification by triangulation.

Web-pages have been used as a source of information in order to seek for statements of institutions, neighborhood inhabitants and visitors. Among documents is understand: all the information that has been put available publicly by commercial and non-commercial institutions. Web-pages and documents have primarily served in order to find out how the different actors in the cases experience the neighborhood, what their thoughts are about their space and what their desired image and representation holds concerning the examined neighborhood.

Observations have been done, simply by watching—not so much the classical scientifically way of counting and measuring—retailers have been mapped, photo's have been taken and those have been analyzed. An observational research has been done in order to gain knowledge about the products that are sold in the different shops and what their visible display narrates about the neighborhood's representation. Observable research has primarily been used in order to determine the (transforming) shopping spaces' target population. This is an important part of this study, because the consumption space's target population explains much about the neighborhoods (transforming) representation.

Face-to-face interviews have been done in order to reach unobservable information and filter out the stories that belong to the developments that are taking place in the neighborhoods. The broadness on this thesis is the main argument to use open interviews, because then the interviews offer more opportunities to gain 'broad' information. Most face-to-face interviews ended up in an informal chat. Face-to-face interviews have been done in the cases of the 'Dapperbuurt' and 'Nieuw-hoograven'. In these cases capital investments into the built environment of independent entrepreneurs have taken place and therefore their story provides much information about the relation between the 'makers' of space and the independent storekeepers that operate in gentrifying neighborhoods. The in dept interviews with the storekeepers did also provide much information about the relation between the storekeepers and the neighborhood's 'users', while in other cases this relation has been filtered out by the use of news-paper articles and web-pages, which are to be put under the previous discussed sources: 'documents' and 'web-pages'.

Telephonic and written interviews served as a way of ratification and clarification, so lacked an in depth approach, nevertheless have shown to be of great importance.

<i>List of interviewees</i>	
Independent retailers Dapperbuurt:	Mr. Marc van der Linden
	Mr. Lamey
	Mr. Van Heemwijk
	Mr. Van der linden
Independent retailers Nieuw-Hoograven:	Mr. Binkhuizen
	Mr. Schrijvers and his personnel
	Mr. and Ms. Frini
	Mr. Kandoussi
	Mr. De Bruijn
Van Rossum makelaars (broker)	Mr. Groeneveld
Bouwfonds (real estate developer)	Mr. Tramper

Table 3: List of interviewees.

Method of analyzing

The sources that served in order to gain information about the distinguished variables had to become analyzed and transformed into arguments. The face-to-face interviews have been recorded and written in reports. From these reports the relevant information has been selected for further interpretation, not relevant information has been removed. This process is called transcription. The telephonically interviews have not been recorded. The reports that these interviews delivered did only include relevant information, so no further selection has been necessarily. From the written interviews only those answers that proved to be relevant for this research have been selected for further analyzing. All quotes in this research have been translated from Dutch into English.

All collected data that has been selected on usability conform the variables and the required background information concerning each case. The selected data has been categorized and discussed per theme in the empirical chapters, see table 1.

The general concept of the method of analyzing that has been used in this research is best described as a way of hermeneutics, because it has been the intention to 'read between the lines' and interpret people's diverse and complex feelings and intentions most exact. What do they really mean? And what feelings do they express? Besides the use of hermeneutics, many statements have been analyzed by putting them in a broader social and economical context, and verified by reflecting them upon other sources. In doing so, empirical data has been analyzed by the translation conform this project's theoretical framework and the work of triangulation. Finally this project uses people's texts in order to analyze their feelings, problems and daily realities.

1. The postindustrial mode of production and its physical, social and cultural production of neighborhoods

This chapter's title already gives away the theoretical context in which this research has been placed. The issue of gentrification and representation has been placed into a wider context of capitalist modes of production. This theoretical chapter will result in a theoretical concept about the intertwinement between the process of gentrification and the transformations in the neighborhood's present retail and its representation that are at stake. In this chapter the connection between the functioning and representation of shopping streets and the functioning and representation of neighborhoods that exists in the literature will be described.

1.1 The production of space in capitalist mode of production

In order to understand how capitalist mode of production produces space, it is important to understand some of the basic elements of this process. In describing so, this paragraph will provide the basic theoretical perspective on which this project is built.

The production of space

Zukin (1995) states in her book 'The cultures of cities' that we must pay greater attention to the material inequalities that are at stake in cultural strategies of economic growth and community revitalization. Zukin is concerned with the material basis of cultural representations. She argues that studies of gentrification and urban redevelopment suggests that the politics of representation play a significant role in conflicts over economic revitalization. The politics of representation is shaped by concrete questions of who owns, who occupies and who controls the city's public spaces (Zukin 1995, p.290-291). Culture is a powerful mean of controlling cities. As a source of images and memories, it symbolizes "who belongs" in specific places (Zukin 1995, p.1). In postindustrial economy, culture has become more and more the business of cities—the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique competitive edge. The growth of cultural consumption and the industries that cater to it, fuels the city's symbolic economy, its visible ability to produce both symbols and space (Zukin 1995, p.2). Nevertheless, new cultures have entered, immigrants have settled and forced institutions and policy makers to adapt their policy in order to deal with these new cultures. Controlling the various cultures of cities is an illusion, yet the cultural power to create an image, to frame vision, of the city has become more important as publics have become more diverse, and traditional institutions have become less relevant mechanisms of expressing identity (Zukin 1995, p.2-3). Creating a public culture involves both shaping public space for social interaction and constructing a visual representation of the city. Who occupies public space is often decided by negotiations over cultural identity and social geographical community (Zukin 1995, p. 24).

Zukin (1995) is based largely upon Lefebvre (1991) his different spaces. Lefebvre (1991) distinguishes 'representations of space' and 'spaces of representations'. 'Representations of space' comprise conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artists with a scientific bent (Lefebvre 1991, p.38). In doing so, the 'makers' of space attempt to 'prescribe' the performed spatial practices of that space by planning and designing both its functional

and physical features (Spierings 2006, p.23). 'Spaces of representation' comprise space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of "users" (Lefebvre 1991, p.39). In doing so, the 'users' of space appropriate it by performing spatial practices that could be in line with the 'prescribed' spatial practices by the 'makers' of that space, however, also might not perform the spatial practices as 'prescribed' (Spiering 2006, p.23). Lefebvre (1991) argues that the social production of space is dominated by capitalist mode of production. The different representations are socially produced and space is controlled by different actors with different interests. (Social) space is a (social) product, the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power (Lefebvre 1991, p.26). Following Lefebvre 'The representations of space' is the 'prescribed' space produced under the control of the hegemonic class as a tool to reproduce its dominance. The 'spaces of representation' are spaces that might become subject of the hegemonic class, or counter it. Zukin (1995) argues that Lefebvre (1991) makes us feel the materiality of space and yet also makes us aware of the intimate relations between space and processes of making symbols. Ideologies are created in specific spaces. These spaces then provide pictures in our mind when conceive our identity. What does this mean for the city's representation? What does this means for the city's identity?

In summary, this subparagraph argues that the 'representation of space' comprises the 'prescribed' space and 'spaces of representation' comprises the 'used' space. The 'makers' of space aim to 'prescribe' the 'users' how to act. The 'users' know what the 'prescribed' space comprises, by particular symbols that are integrated into space. For example, a luxurious restaurant looks and feels luxurious. Therefore, the restaurant sends information about who is the customer and who is not, it also tells to its 'users' how to behave and how not to behave. These symbols produce an identity, because people identify themselves with those images that are put upon them. Exchange the example of a restaurant for an example of a neighborhood and one sees clearly what this project's title implies. In this subparagraph, it has also been argued that the production of space is dominated by capitalist mode of production. Therefore, next subparagraph will discuss the link between capitalist different modes of production and the transformation of space.

Capitalist modes of production and place

Capitalist relations of production dominate the contemporary world. Mainstream capitalist production encompasses value expansion via the production and realization of surplus-value: it is simultaneously a labor process and a process of valorization (Hudson 2005, p.22). Harvey (1985) argues that the perpetual struggle in which capital builds a physical landscape appropriate to its condition at one particular moment in time only to have to destroy it at a subsequent point in time. This theory refers to the creative destructive nature of switching of capital in the built environment. Zukin (1991) uses the theory of creative destruction in order to analyze the transformation of the industrial economy based upon material production towards the postindustrial economy (service economy, knowledge economy and creative economy) based upon 'immaterial' production and a social transformation from the 'production society' towards the 'consumption society'. The transformation of mature economies also require reconciling changes in economic and cultural values. Building a

viable economy requires coherent moral values (Zukin 1991, p.254). Zukin (1991) argues in her book 'Landscapes of power' that creative destruction of landscapes does also creative destructs moral values—by market culture affecting sense of place—approaching space as a major structuring medium (Zukin 1991, p.268). The result is that cultures of places are forced to conform to private, market values rather than to public vernacular ones. Because landscape is the most important product of both power and imagination, it is the major cultural product of our time.

What this subparagraph implies to describe is how place functions as a structuring medium of our moral values. What is good and what is bad? Space tells us stories about our society and therefore it transforms our thoughts about what life is all about. Referring back to Lefebvre—approaching the production of space to be dominated by the capitalist mode of production—this means that the 'makers' of space will produce spaces conform their interests, representing their desired moral values. Using the neighborhood as an example, it would mean that the 'makers' of space try to create neighborhoods that represent their desired moral values. In terms of, for example, gentrification this would mean a 'revalued' representation, producing moral values of 'improvement' and a 'high-quality of life', in order to increase housing prices. In this example a creative destruction of space, by means of gentrification, does also creative destructs the moral values that are involved. In the next subparagraph the postindustrial mode of production will be put in a context of the urban economy.

Transformations in capitalists mode of production and labor

The hearth of Marxist theory is that society is structured by transformations in the political economy and is organized so as to reproduce specific modes of production. Most significant in the context of urban writing is the capitalist mode of production which first developed when labor itself became a commodity. In return for selling their labor power, laborers received money (Hubbard 2006, p. 34-36).

In Marxist perspective the technological and social organization of work process affects the changing productivity of labor. The productivity changes result in the production of value and surplus value. The production of values and surplus values create wages for the labor force and industrial reserve army. The other way around, moral, historical and cultural conditions affect the quantities, qualities and needs of the labor force, resulting in productive capacities, which together form the labor force and industrial reserve army (Harvey 1985, p.3-4).

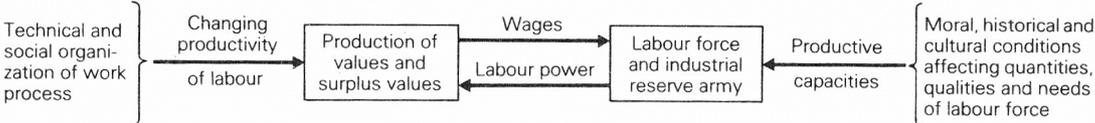


Figure 1: General law of accumulation (Harvey 1985, p.3).

Figure 1 visualizes the classic “general law of capital accumulation” in the industrial economy. The consumption economy, that Zukin (1991) has theorized, reshapes this model in which the “moral, historical and cultural conditions affecting quantities and needs for the labor force” has become a commodity itself.

In many western states the mode of production and the required labor force have become transformed. Zukin describes how the 'consumption economy' affects social polarization based on cheaper wages (a "K-marting of the labor force") and financial speculation that has gone out of control ("casino capitalism) (Zukin 1991, p.254). Lash and Urry describe how the 'service economy' exacerbates polarization of the educated information and advanced service sector managers and professionals and a large number of 'junk-jobs' in the downgraded service and manufacturing sector at the bottom end of the social stratification ladder (Lash and Urry 1994, p.319).

Florida (2002) argues in his book 'The rise of the 'creative class' that the 'creative class' consists of three components; 'the super creative core', 'the creative professionals' and the 'service class'. The 'super creative core' includes scientists, engineers, university professors, poets, novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers and architects. Behind this core group, work the 'creative professionals' who work in a wide range of knowledge-intensive industries such as high-tech sectors, financial services, the legal health care professions, and business management. The 'service class' contains the lower-end service jobs continued to be taylorized, de-skilled and de-creativized (Florida 2002, p.68-71). Much of Florida's book is given over to celebratory descriptions of the work, play and consumption habits of the 'creative class' curtly summarizes as an 'engaging account of the lifestyle preferences of yuppies' (Peck 2005, p.746). These lifestyle preferences depend on an army of service workers trapped in 'low-end jobs that pay poorly because they are not creative jobs' (Florida 2002, p.322).

Roughly categorizing the postindustrial economy into the 'consumption economy', the 'service economy' and the 'creative economy', they have one thing in common and that is that all forms of postindustrial structures of the economy polarization of work into 'professional jobs' and 'junk-jobs' effect in a social polarization between the professional and the new lower class (Lash and Urry 1994; Zukin 1991; Florida 2002). The educated professional and the 'creative class' are often generalized as 'yuppies'. Yuppies (yup) are young upwardly professionals. This group of people is doing well for themselves, yet work for others (Pacione 2009, p.62). Yuppies are seen as a product of the emerging postindustrial 'service economy'. Yuppies are closely linked to an urban lifestyle and seen as postindustrial economies' new middle class (Lash and Urry 1994; Ley 1996). This results in a restructuring of the concept of class. The postindustrial economy in Western society is roughly to be categorized by the framers, who have much economical power and employ the new middle class professionals, and a growing new lower class, consisting out of a low-skilled, mostly immigrant, labor force (Lash and Urry 1994; Zukin 1995; Zukin 1998). Florida (2002) reinvents the yuppies by renaming them as the 'creative class'. However, he distinguishes the 'super creative core' and 'the creative professional', of whom the latter is most characterized in accordance with the 'yuppies'. Florida (2002) renames the new lower class as the 'service class'.

The growing importance of knowledge, information and innovation in a weightless, de-materialized 'new' economy, particular in terms of the extent to which knowledge can be commodified and capitalized is increasing (Hudson 2005, p.33). Postindustrial economy has generated a 'new middle class' by its 'professional' employment. Florida (2002) argues that the driving force behind this 'new' economy is the rise of human creativity as the key

production factor, this thought is known as the 'creativity theses. Human capital, instead of money capital, is supposed to generate creativity and knowledge, whereupon creativity and knowledge attracts capital once again (Florida 2002). Therefore, connecting and attracting knowledge and creative workers is of great importance for current economy.

In this subparagraph the transformation towards a postindustrial mode of production and its effect on the classification of labor has been discussed. It has been argued that the postindustrial economy affects into socioeconomic polarization. It has also been argued that a 'new middle class' has arisen, taking the position of the postindustrial 'labor force', consisting out of yuppies. The economy increasingly becomes depending on the 'new middle class' and cities take a primarily position in connecting and attracting them (Florida 2005). This would mean, that in cities, a socioeconomic polarization is likely to become visible. However, referring back to the concept of 'creative destruction', this would also mean that that economy's mode of production, creative destructs space appropriate to its condition at this particular moment in time. Referring back to Lefebvre, this implies that the 'makers' of space produce space for society's 'new middle class', hence symbolize their lifestyle. In the scientific literature, the structure of postindustrial economy has often been connected to the process of gentrification. In the next paragraph this connection will be further discussed.

1.2 Lifestyle, Identity and Gentrification

It has been described how postindustrial mode of production affects the socioeconomic situation in society and, in particular, in cities. In this paragraph, the relationship between postindustrial mode of production and gentrification will be discussed, giving prime attention to lifestyle, identity and displacement.

Gentrification and the postindustrial economy

Gentrification implies an upwardly physical, social and cultural process, taking place in neighborhoods. Van Weesep (1994) argues that the 'gentrification issue' implies that particular neighborhoods in cities undergo a socioeconomic upward shift since they appeal strongly to high income groups. Gentrification is closely related to the economic restructuring of cities and the stability of socially mixed neighborhoods (Van Weesep 1994, p.74). This statement clarifies the 'glue' called gentrification in connecting economic postindustrial restructuring and the importance of the quality of urban life. Ley (1996) argues that the resurgence of the middle class in downtown areas is linked to the growth of professional and managerial employment in service industries and to favorable government policies. This is how gentrification is linked up with; the 'yuppies', the 'professionals', the 'creative class' or simply the 'new middle class' and their jobs and lifestyles. Zukin argues that deindustrialization and gentrification are two sides of the same process of landscape formation: a distancing from basic production spaces and a movement towards spaces of consumption (Zukin 1991, p.269). The process of gentrification often goes together with available possibilities for leisure and entertainment.

Building on Florida's creativity thesis, which states that 'creativity'—expired by humans, instead of capital—is the source of economic growth in current economy, the importance of urban 'creative employment' is increasing. Florida insists that his 'super creative core' of scientists, artists and techies 'is really the driving force in economic growth'.

Just as it has become evident that 'what drives a city are good places to live, great neighborhoods, great cafes, night life, places to have fun' (Peck 2005, p.754).

The call for creative empowerment can be met in relatively painless ways—by manipulating street-level façades, while gently lubricating the gentrification processes. This, critics justly complain, is cappuccino urban politics, with plenty of froth (Peck 2005, p.760). Hackworth and Smith (2001) refer to this process as the third wave of gentrification. The third-wave of gentrification implies that prophecies of degentrification appear to have been overstated as many neighborhoods continue to gentrify while others, further from the city center begin to experience the process at the first time. Gentrification in this wave seem to be more linked to large-scale capital than ever, as large developers rework entire neighborhoods, often with state support. Third-wave gentrification has evolved into a vehicle for transforming whole areas into new landscape complexes that pioneer a comprehensive urban remake. These new landscapes often are complexes of recreation, consumption, production, and pleasure, as well as residence (Smith 2002, 443). Peck (2005) adds to this theory that discourses of creative competition conduct urban creativity strategies facilitate and extend the 'third generation' forms of gentrification.

In order to be enacted, creative strategies presume and work with gentrification, conceived as a positive urban process, while making a virtue of selective and variable outcomes, unique neighborhood by unique neighborhood. And with almost breathtaking circularity, it is now being proposed that these gentrification-friendly strategies should be evaluated according to increased house prices (Peck 2005, p.764).

Smith 1996 argues that gentrification is a structural product of the land and housing markets. Capital flows where the rate of return is highest. Devalorization of the built environment produces a rent-gap. When this gap grows sufficiently, large rehabilitation (or for that matter, redevelopment) can begin to challenge the rates of return available elsewhere, and capital flows back in. In contrary to the economic explanation for gentrification there is the cultural explanation. Ley (1994) argues that a rehabilitation of a postindustrial city is influenced by a "new middle class" containing a cultural sub-class denominated as a '*creative class*'. They are the first-stage gentrifiers economically preparing the inner city for gentrification. These pioneer gentrifiers usually make significant improvements to their spaces, and their surrounding areas. Then, landlords becoming aware that they are sitting on gold mines and rush to cash in. Nevertheless, in both the economic and the cultural theses of gentrification the property values rises.

This subparagraph clarifies two important issues that this research is dealing with. At first, there exists a strong connection between the postindustrial economy and gentrification. Secondly, large real estate developers have an important role in the process of third-wave gentrification. Gentrification is a process whereby a neighborhood becomes inhabited by high-income residents. In the cultural perspective, neighborhoods become gentrified by pioneers and thus the neighborhood's new residents themselves. However, in the economical perspective, real estate developers produce landscapes in favor of high-income groups. In this perspective, other than the cultural one, they function as Lefebvre's 'makers' of space. In doing so, they try to 'prescribe' a certain area for certain people, while excluding others. Although, these theories do concern the process of gentrification, there is few notion for the symbolic 'prescription' of space. These theories do not focus on people's visibility and

people's identities that are produced by the symbols that are integrated into space. Who is being excluded and how does this happens?

Identification and gentrification: settlement and displacement in the Netherlands

In market societies—even in a welfare state—anyone's freedom of choice is largely determined by his or her socio-economic position (Kempen and Weesep 1994, p.1044). The urban poor have minimal choice where to live and are thus forced to live in 'disadvantaged' neighborhoods that offer affordable dwellings. While the 'new middle class' is doing relatively well and thus has much choice where to live. It are therefore, in particular the young pioneer gentrifiers who choose to live in 'disadvantaged' neighborhoods.

'Lifestyle' has become incredible important. Those people who are in the position to choose where to live do also have the opportunity to identify themselves with a lifestyle. In contrary, the 'minimal choice people' are forced by their low socioeconomic position to live in poor neighborhoods (Lupi 2005 101-103). Gentrifiers generally show a strong external binding with their living environment, based upon image and a lower degree of internal binding, based upon factual use of the neighborhood (Lupi 2005, p.90). The house, and its neighborhood, is a symbolic package, both establishing status and communicates it to others through the 'impact it will make on all visitors' (Dovey 1999 , p.147).

Slater 2004 argues, in Uitermarkt, Duyvendak and Kleinhans 2007 (p.126), that the term 'gentrification' encompasses all processes related to the "production of space for -and consumption by- a more affluent and very different incoming population." This definition leads us to reconsider the image of gentrification as a process that takes place exclusively in inner cities or historic neighborhoods. It becomes clear that many urban policies are attempts to promote gentrification by encouraging middle-class households to move into working-class neighborhoods (Uitermarkt, Duyvendak and Kleinhans 2007, p.126). While gentrification is and has been taking place in attractive 'urban' neighborhoods of Dutch cities, low income households, including ethnic minorities, are becoming increasingly concentrated in early post-war neighborhoods (Kempen and Weesep 1994). In Dutch cities classic gentrification of the inner-city has taken place. Classic gentrification is a market-led type of gentrification, which means that a particular neighborhood becomes popular among high-income residents, without any interventions that have been taken place. While this process of classic gentrification continued in the inner cities, areas at the edge of the inner city became attractive places for real estate investors to deliver "new constructions for the better-off", expressed in new and renovated buildings (re)constructed as (luxury) apartment complexes. Classic gentrification in the inner cities and "new constructions for the better-off" are two variants of gentrification in Dutch cities. These days classic gentrification is expanding to some of the older neighborhoods surrounding the city centre. These former working-class areas comprise a large stock of inexpensive, owner occupied dwellings (Kempen and Weesep 1994, p.1052-1053). Many of these neighborhoods show an advanced process of gentrification. Other neighborhoods have been protected by a numerous amount of social rental dwellings and have shown a fewer degree of gentrification, despite of their attractiveness. Shortly, one can argue that Dutch cities show a process of revaluation in neighborhoods from out of the inner city. While these 'urban' neighborhoods have been revalued, many low-income households have been and are becoming displaced towards

early post-war neighborhoods, resulting in concentrations of low-income households, among who many immigrants, in these neighborhoods. Nowadays, these post-war neighborhoods clearly face a social crisis (Uitermarkt, Duyvendak and Kleinhans 2007, p.128). During the past decade, many neighborhoods have become a high priority of the state and it launched some drastic 'urban restructuring' plans (MVRM, 1997; 2000). The state induces housing associations and seduces private developers to invest in the construction of middle-class, owner-occupied housing, in disadvantaged (early 20th-century and early postwar) neighborhoods. In the discourse about this policy, a 'livable' neighborhood refers to a 'balanced' neighborhood with a low level of crime and a sizeable share of middle-class households. Restructuring policy attempts to promote gentrification in even the most disadvantaged and peripheral boroughs of Dutch cities, meaning that the share of social rental dwellings will decline from around 62% in the year 2000 to 45% in the year 2010, in those neighborhoods designated for restructuring. (Uitermarkt, Duyvendak and Kleinhans 2007, p.125). The discourse about these 'ideal type' of balanced neighborhoods, makes it possible to restructure these neighborhoods by a state-led type of gentrification. State-led gentrification is, differently from the classic market-led type of gentrification, triggered by interventions into the neighborhood that would not proceed by free market forces. There is a strong moral force behind this process, however also state-led gentrification deals with an attraction of the middle-class into the neighborhood. State-led gentrification is a mean through which governmental organizations and their partners lure the middle classes into disadvantaged areas with the purpose of 'civilizing' and controlling these neighborhoods (Uitermarkt, Duyvendak and Kleinhans 2007, p.126).

In summary, this subparagraph distinguishes two main types of people that concern gentrification: the urban poor as 'minimal choice people' and the 'new middle class' as the gentrifiers. Referring back to the postindustrial structure of the economy, it has been argued that these day's economy creates a rising gap between low-educated 'junk-jobs' and high-educated professional jobs. This structure of the economy affects into socioeconomic polarization in cities. In this perspective, 'disadvantaged' neighborhoods could be seen as a consequence and expression of the socioeconomic polarization that is taking place in society. At the same time, it has been argued that postindustrial economy has generated a 'new middle class'. The very same 'new middle class' is nowadays introducing these neighborhoods, as a consequence of their 'urban' lifestyle preferences and by means of identification. This type of gentrification is linked up with classic gentrification and "new constructions for the better-off". On the other hand, restructuring processes aka state-led gentrification is linked up with neighborhood revitalization. In this type of gentrification, the middle class becomes introduced into these 'disadvantaged' neighborhoods, in order to improve the neighborhoods' 'livability'. It is important to understand that "new constructions for the better-off" and state-led gentrification are characterized by large scale developers: corporations and real estate developers. In the next paragraph this will be given further attention.

While these theories explain who becomes displaced and who becomes included in the process of gentrification, the theory doesn't provides insights about the way how signs of the urban poor becomes removed out of the neighborhood's public space. How do the symbols of the urban poor become excluded out of space, in order to 're-prescribe' the

neighborhood for the 'new middle class'? What does the process of gentrification mean for the neighborhood's representation? What kind of identity is being created and how does this happens? These are some social relevant questions that the theory doesn't answers.

1.3 Capitalist mode of production and gentrification

Previously, the 'makers' of space have been distinguished from the 'users' of space. In this paragraph the will be put attention to the prime 'makers' of space, in terms of the built environment' and the process of gentrification.

The process of accumulation and the built environment in postindustrial mode of production

In the process of accumulation Harvey (1985) distinguishes three circuits of capital: the primary circuit of capital, the secondary circuit of capital and the tertiary circuit of capital. Primary circuits of capital are to be seen as direct generators of surplus value, such as labor and technology. The secondary circuit can be described as an indirect generator of surplus value, such as factories, shops, shopping centers, houses and sidewalks or shortly: the physical framework of production and consumption. It is especially this circuit of capital which affect the built environment of independent entrepreneurs. The tertiary circuit of capital are investments in knowledge and a reproduction in labor power, such as technology, education, health and welfare. An important aspect of the tertiary circuit of capital is that the capitalistic system faces problems realizing the effective functioning of this circuit on its own because of its antagonistic nature. Capitalism need these investments, however it is not able to manage it, because it does not provide individual profit opportunities. Instead it are investments into collective needs. The tertiary circuit of capital therefore needs to be managed by the state (Harvey 1985, p.3-8). Harvey (1985) his circuits of capital turn out to be highly useful in connecting the physical transformations in the built environment and 'attracting and connecting the 'new middle class'. In this perspective, the characteristics of the tertiary circuit come along with the "moral, historical and cultural conditions affecting quantities and needs for the labor force" which has become a commodity itself. The tertiary circuit of capital has become a direct generator of surplus value in current capitalistic mode of production by connecting and attracting the 'creative class' to specific places. The process of connecting and attracting the 'new middle class' is expressed by the process of gentrification. Smith (2002) argues that urban real-estate markets are vehicles of capital accumulation. This perspective underlines the power of real estate developers in the production of the built environments, hence the built environments of neighborhoods and neighborhood shopping streets and shopping centers.

The city, corporations and commercial real estate developers

Despite constant intervention in real estate markets, capitalist states do not feel comfortable in "usurping" the private-sector roles of landlords and developers. So a local development corporation (public housing) can take both the financial and administrative burdens of property management out of governments hands (Zukin 1989, p.163-164). In the Netherlands these development corporations have become administrative and, more importantly, financially independent from the state since the late nineties—meaning that they had to finance the realization of new projects through the capital market ever since—

integrating these, former *social*, organization into the *market economy*. The turnaround of national housing policy reflects the more general policy trends towards; deregulation, privatization and decentralization. Its most important aspects are an increase of non-subsidized dwellings at the expense of the share of the social rental dwellings. As a consequence of deregulation, non-profit housing associations and local authorities will have greater autonomy in their management decisions, but they will also run larger financial risks. Consequently, they will have to retool their management practices to conform more closely to market forces (Kempen and Weesep 1994, p.1046).

In the Netherlands, state actors and housing associations ambitiously pursue a project of state-led gentrification in disadvantaged neighborhoods. The state induces housing associations and seduces private developers to invest in the construction of middle-class, owner-occupied housing in disadvantaged urban neighborhoods with many low-cost social rented dwellings. Researchers refer to this form of government intervention as 'urban restructuring'. (Uitermarkt, Duyvendak and Kleinhans 2007, p.125).

State-led gentrification is a form of gentrification involving a partnership between local governments, corporations and commercial real estate developers. Most important actors in the 'restructuring process' are the corporations. Development corporations are supposed to be not as subordinate to market forces as commercial real estate investors. Although, housing associations have been financially independent institutions since January 1995, they do not primarily pursue profit. They are legally bound to reinvest all their profits in housing for the target groups of social housing policies (Uitermarkt, Duyvendak and Kleinhans 2007, p.127). However, a consequence of deregulation and privatization of the former *social* housing association is that they have become an *economic independent* organization and therefore are forced to act on by laws of efficiency. Supposedly, they represent the public purpose more efficiently than either government agencies or private developers do, because their aim is 'social' and their modus operandi is 'economic'. It is inconceivable that corporations would quarrel with the private sector's development strategy, because in many ways they are the private sector (Kempen and Weesep 1994, p.1046; Zukin 1989, p.163).

Capitalization of the ground rent

Smith 1996 argues that in a capitalist economy, land and the improvements built onto it become commodities. As such they boast certain idiosyncrasies of which three are particular important. First, private property rights confer on the owner near-monopoly control over land and improvements, monopoly control over the uses to which a certain space is put. Second, land and improvements are fixed in space but their value is anything but fixed. Improvements on the land are subject to all normal influences on their value, nevertheless a piece of land, unlike the improvements built on it, does not require upkeep in order to continue its potential for use. Third, while land is permanent, the improvements built on it are not but generally have a long turnover period in physical as well a value terms. In the economy, profit is a gauge of success, and competition is the mechanism by which success or failure is translated into growth or collapse (Smith 1996, p.58). The place where the potential ground

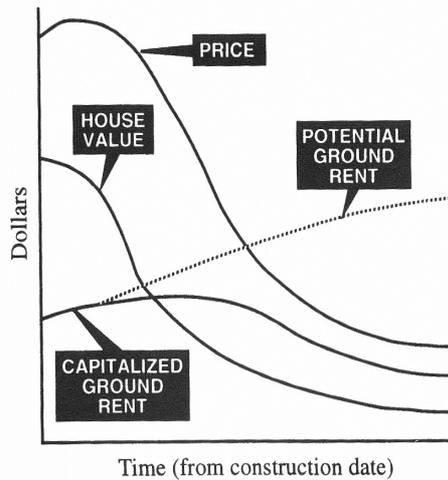


Figure 2: The devalorization cycle and the evolution of the rent-gap (Smith 1996, p.65).

rent is the highest is the place where investment in the built environment is most profitable. The “highest and best use” is depended on the market values given to the built environment. The built environment is capitalized by ground rent. Ground rent is a claim made by landowners on the ‘users’ of their land; it represents a reduction from the surplus value created over and above cost price by producers on the site. Capitalized ground rent is the actual quantity of ground rent that is appropriated by the landowner, given the present land use. Under its present land use, a site or neighborhood is able to capitalize a certain quantity of ground rent, usually areas may be able to capitalize higher quantities of ground rent under a different land use. Potential ground rent is the amount that could be capitalized under the land’s “highest and best use” or at least under a higher and better use (Smith 1996, p.62). The disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalized under the present land use is the so-called rent-gap, indicating the rate of improvement in the built environment (Smith 1996, p.67).

Smith (1996) describes in his book “The new urban frontier” that the rent-gap and the process of capitalization of the built environment affects into a clash between social classes in gentrifying neighborhoods. While Smith links the economic rent-gap model up to social processes, his theory lacks to explain why people do not recognize themselves in their neighborhood anymore and develop a feeling that their neighborhood is their neighborhood no more. What signs in space are symbolizing the ‘take-over’ of the neighborhood that develops the anger among the urban poor against the gentrifiers? What happens on the street, besides residential changes? These are some issues that this project does concerns about and consumption spaces should deliver further insights about people’s representation and their commitment to particular spaces.

In order to make the connection between the built environment and consumption spaces, Jacobs (1961) argues that small new businesses need old, and therefore affordable, accommodations to set up all kind of businesses. This old theory seems to be very much alive in the Netherlands these days, because Kloosterman and Van der Leun (1999) call for the creation of cheap accommodations in neighborhoods, in order to improve the range of possibilities for, in this case, immigrants to set up businesses and therefore strengthen the local economy. Devalorized environments offer opportunities for, among others, financially weak entrepreneurs, operating in the lower segment of the market which offers them a relative low profitability. Since it has been argued that gentrification always goes together with capital investments into the built environment, it would mean that also the retailers’ built environment will become capitalized. Capitalized built environments are likely to decrease the range of opportunities for financially weak entrepreneurs to set up a business in these environments. This perspective is important to keep in though, while reading the next paragraphs.

1.4 Commodification and standardization despite the importance of uniqueness

Previously, it has been argued that attracting and connecting the 'new middle class' has become increasingly important for the urban economy. The marketing of place, in order to attract these creative and knowledge workers goes together with claims of uniqueness. This paragraph provides a short criticism towards these days developments and argues how international competition for 'uniqueness and authenticity' leads to a standardization of urban identity. Gentrification is approached as an expression of standardization instead of 'authenticity'.

The commodification of ethnoculture in the postindustrial economy

Unique neighborhoods, diversity, differences and places to have fun are, among some others, described as key features to induce the city's potential for connecting and attracting the 'creative class' (Florida 2005; Peck 2005). The rate of diversity is closely linked to the presence of immigrants in a city. Immigrants cultural commodification has become a key element in the process of urban revaluation (Hall and Rath 2007, p.7). The process of urban revaluation is related to urban tourism in economical terms and gentrification by the 'creative class'. The tourism industry is one of the fastest growing sectors of the new service economy, providing opportunities to immigrants. In principle the industry can form a powerful interface between skilled or unskilled immigrants and the wider knowledge economy. When the sector fulfills its promise and enables the commodification of immigrants' ethnocultural resources, it contributes to the making of the cosmopolitan city, thus enhancing the city's potential to attract domestic and international knowledge workers and business investors (Hall and Rath 2007, p.19-20). While Hall and Rath (2007) use the words "service economy" and "knowledge workers" these are easy to be replaced by—and even more closely allied to—"creative economy" and "creative class". One famous development is the creation of neighborhood-attractions such as the several 'Chinatowns' in many Western cities who are now part of the major tourist attraction in cities as San Francisco and New York. Some districts now even take on the character of theme parks. Also in Dutch cities new policies actively promote the development of ethnic shopping strips, because tourism in many cities is rising in importance of the city's economy (Hall and Rath, 2007, p.1-3). These districts are symbols of cultural diversity and objects of civic pride (Anderson 1990 in Hall and Rath 2007, p.1). While most urban consumption still involves the satisfaction of everyday needs, many new urban consumption spaces relate to new patterns of leisure, travel and culture (Zukin 1998, p.825). Because most immigrants settle in the Cities, they crowd existing "ethnic" neighborhoods, both native and immigrant. Their businesses create new spaces of ethnic identity (Zukin 1995, p.210). Urban tourism is more than just a collection of tourist facilities. It is the consumption of signs, symbols and spectacle, the experiencing of aestheticized spaces of entertainment and pleasure (Featherstone 1991; Kearns and Philo 1993; Lash and Urry 1994; Selby 2004 in Hall and Rath 2007, p.9).

In this perspective, ethnoculture is seen as a positive expression of the city. Ethnoculture has been embraced and used in order to attract tourists and international knowledge workers. Ethnoculture is also gladly used in order to market the city. This shows how ethnoculture become cultivated into a commodity. This development is especially

interesting in terms of representation. Because, when ethnoculture will become commodified it represents tourists rather than vernacular culture. In this case, these places will become integrated into domestic market and thus their identity will transform.

Standardization of urban identity

The density of immigrants and minority groups of all kind of cities contributes to the confusion of meaning around urban culture. Much of the emphasis placed on identifying cities and culture is an attempt to ensure that the culture of cities is not understood as 'ghetto' culture. Instead of the street, high culture is the key to cities' unique cultural role (Zukin 1995, p.267). Attentiveness to urban lifestyles on the part of city governments has encouraged strategies that 'aestheticise' , or focus on the visual consumption of, public space- although this has been accompanied by an increase in private groups' control over specific public spaces (Zukin 1998, p.825). The new emphasis on urban consumption heightens competition between cities that serve as 'branch' nodes for the international distribution of the same standardized, mass-produced, consumer goods as well as the same generalized 'aesthetic' products, such as art works and 'historic' buildings (Zukin 1998, p.826). When the competition increases it becomes harder for cities to develop uniqueness. Strategies of urban redevelopment based on consumption focus on visual attractions that make people spend money, they include an array of consumption spaces (Zukin 1998, p.832). Individual men and women express their complex social identities by combining markers of gender, ethnicity, social class and, for lack of a better word, cultural style. Many of the people who create these 'styles' live in cities (Zukin 1998, p.835). Cities' receptivity to 'destination retail' sites and entertainment facilities have lured them, moreover, into dependence on property developers and multinational corporations that share the same, endlessly repeated vision. Competition among large companies and cities has led to a multiplicity of standardized attractions that reduce the uniqueness of urban identities even while claims of uniqueness grow more intense (Zukin 1998, p.837).

What this subparagraph tries to state is that while public space becomes under control of private groups, it will affect into standardization of urban identity. Real estate developers (and multinational corporations) are blamed for showing an endlessly repeated vision. In the case of real estate developers this would mean that they, as the 'makers' of space, have a general thought about what space should be. In terms of gentrification this would mean that real estate developers and housing corporations share these thoughts and aim to 'prescribe' the neighborhood conform their thoughts about space. These thoughts do not represent 'ghetto' culture of the urban poor, instead it represents high culture of the better-off. However, how will the neighborhood becomes 'prescribed' for the better-off? What does that mean for the representation of the urban poor? In the next paragraphs the link between representation and consumption spaces will be discussed.

1.5 Place and Retail

'The poet enjoys the incomparable privilege of being himself and someone else as he sees fit. Like a roving soul in search of a body , he enters a person whenever he wishes. For him alone, all is open; if certain places seem closed to him , it is because in his view they are not worth inspecting' (Les Foules). The commodity itself is the speaker here. Yes, the last words give a rather accurate idea of what the commodity whispers to a poor wretch who passes a shop-window containing beautiful and expensive things. These objects are not interested in this person; they do not emphasize with him. (Benjamin in Johnson 2006, p.71)

Walter Benjamin his writing above, describes and expresses the working of shops on the symbolic production of 'who belongs where'. The representation of stores and their retail goods produce symbols of representation. Consumption spaces are a valuable prism for viewing public culture. The types of goods that are sold, at what prices, and in what forms—these are the everyday experiences in which physical spaces are “conceived” in the light of social structure. In the shopping street, vision is power (Zukin 1995, p.257). Referring to Lefebvre (1991) arguing that the social production of space is dominated by capitalist mode of production, shops and their retail goods represent the social space that is produced by the current mode of production. Gentrification is described as a social, physical and cultural process increasingly affected by postindustrial mode of production. Retail is powerful visual structuring medium for the social production of place, as Zukin (1995) argues. The identity of the “thing” itself—the retail good, the store, or even the shopping experience—changes meaning according to who does the shopping when and where (Zukin 1995, p.210). Gentrification—seen as a social and physical upwardly transformation, therefore is expected to transform neighborhoods symbolically also. The position of neighborhood consumption spaces in the symbolic transformation of gentrifying neighborhoods is therefore of importance for the production of social space. What ideology is created? What identity is produced?

Retail and representation

Retail consist of the selling of goods and services to the public, usually through shops or stores. Retail businesses produce two different kinds of outputs: the goods and services explicitly sold and a set of distribution services that implicitly accompany any retail exchange. Non-store retailers are a retail form that includes mail order catalogues and internet (Betancourt 2004, p. 9 and 11). In this project retail is approached to be only those retailers that are visible and operating in a neighborhood through a shop or store. This means there will be put no attention to non-store retail—as most freelancers tend to do. Recurring to retail and representation: How are retail, place and people intertwined?

The opposition between market and place dates from the beginning of modern market society (see the seventeenth century colonial states). Historically, market and place are tightly interwoven. The denseness of interactions and the goods that were exchanged at a specific place offered local communities the material and cultural means for their social

reproduction. Nowhere is this shown more clearly than in spatial and temporal effects of market practices on a “sense of place” (Zukin 1991, p.5-6).

Historical consumption patterns are partially constituted sociality, and were partially shaped by patterns of sociality, with respect to two themes: the nature of intermediate spaces between public and domestic places, such as ‘the street’, and the nature of shopping as an activity. The street functions as a kind of ‘classroom’, in which people learn about commodities, styles and acts. The street and other intermediate spaces are places where people deploy their understandings (Glennie and Thrift 1996, p.227). In this sense one might argue that shopping districts and in particular ‘the street’ has a great influence on the way how people become integrated into a community as a result of retail’s expressions. The act of shopping is simultaneously social and economic. Consumers purchase goods which have not only practical utility but also complex cultural meanings. Retailers ‘mediate’ between producers and consumers and exchange these meanings about place. On the one hand, consumers’ purchases send information to producers about the goods that consumers ‘want’, on the other hand consumers select from the goods presented to them by retailers. Retailers therefore not only respond but also structure consumers’ desires and choice (Foord, Bowlby and Tillsley 1996, p.72). This is the retailer’s ‘mediation’ in which identity is being created in a neighborhood shopping street or shopping-center.

On the street the vernacular culture of the powerless provides a currency of economic exchange and a language of social revival. In other public spaces another landscape incorporates vernacular culture and opposes it with its own image of identity and desire (Zukin 1995, p.46). Ordinary shopping districts frequented by ordinary people are important sites for negotiating the street level practices of urban public culture in all large cities. A commercial street is nearly always the “hearth” of the modern city (Zukin 1995, p.191). Neighborhood shopping streets, especially when they are connected with ethnicity, social class, and gender, are sites where identities are formed (Zukin 1995, p.191). The street as a consumption space has the potential to act as an important site of resistance to dominant cultural norm, because of the sheer accessibility of the street enabling activities of various groups in this public space (Wringly and Lowe 2002, p.200). Retailers act as a ‘pipe’ through which people express themselves and together represent a community. Retailers acts as an identity creator and therefore as a producer of unique space—turning space into place: “sense of place”. Although many neighborhood shopping streets, in particular in disadvantaged neighborhoods, have their problems, these streets produce the quality of life that urban residents prize, the public space that makes neighborhoods livable, and attaches people to place (Zukin 1996, p.58).

Independent retail and the quality of urban life

Jacobs (1961) argues that the role of retail—shops and shopkeepers—is important for the quality of urban life. Retail acts as ‘eyes’ of the streets but also attracts people and stimulates them to move through the streets. Retailers have an important function in creating livable living environment and attractiveness of neighborhoods. Jacobs (1961) provides four main functions for the availability of retail. At First they give people, both residents and strangers, concrete reasons for using the streets. Secondly, they draw people along the street past places which have no attractions to public use in themselves, but which become ‘traveled’

and 'peopled' as routes to somewhere else. Third, independent shop-owners are typically strong proponents of peace and order, because it is in their commercial interest—a characteristic of independent retailers that is less likely to belong to non-independent retail chain-stores. Fourth, the activity generated by people on errands, or people aiming for food or drink, is itself an attraction for other people. This last point, that the sight of people attracts other people, is something that city planners and designers seem to find incomprehensible. They operate on the premise that city people seek the sight of emptiness, obvious order and quiet, while Jacobs argues that nothing could be less true. "People's love of watching activity and other people is constantly evident in cities everywhere" (Jacobs 1961, p.46-47). Neighborhoods become attractive places to be and to visit when they are 'active'. Activity demands reasons for activity and reproduces itself by attracting new activity, retail has its unique role in the street's staffing.

People's love of watching activity and other people is constantly evident in cities everywhere. This trait reaches an almost ludicrous extreme on upper Broadway in New York, where the street is divided by a narrow central mall, right in the middle of the traffic. At the cross street intersections of this long north-south mall, benches have been placed behind big concrete buffers and on any day when the weather is even barely tolerable these benches are filled with people at block after block after block, watching pedestrians who cross the mall in front of them, watching the traffic, watching the people on the busy sidewalks, watching each other. Eventually Broadway reaches Columbia University and Barnard College, one to the right, the other to the left. Here all is obvious order and quiet. No more stores, no more activity generated by the stores, almost no more pedestrians crossing -and no more watchers. The benches are there but they go empty in even the finest weather... No place could be more boring. (Jacobs 1961, p.47-48).

Jacobs 1961 describes how active places become 'attractive' and non-active places become 'boring'. Neighborhood shopping streets are of main importance to receive active spaces. Active spaces are closely connected to 'liveliness'—liveliness is one of the key elements in framing the quality of urban life.

1.6 Postindustrial transformations of retail, and the neighborhood

The paragraph above has discussed the connection between retail and representation, and retail and 'urban life', and proves retail to be of importance in both shaping neighborhoods' identities and contribute to lively and attractive places. In this paragraph, the main developments that have taken place in the relation between retail and (gentrifying) neighborhoods in postindustrial times will be given a closer look.

Retail and its transformation

The retail landscape provides one of the clearest examples of the strength of creative destruction, with retail investment continually on the move, creating, then abandoning, then rediscovering, spaces of profit extraction (Wringly and Lowe 2002, p.132). Corporate retail, either in the form of department stores 'cathedrals of consumption' or in the less flamboyant

form of chain-stores which began to develop in the late nineteenth century has enjoyed an upward trajectory throughout much of the twentieth century. Prior to the Second World War, despite some exceptions, retailing in most western economies remained an industry dominated by many hundreds of thousands of small scale firms. It was essentially the post-war period, and especially the final quarter of the twentieth century, in which retailing was transformed via a strong trend towards the concentration of capital into an industry increasingly dominated by 'big-capital' in the form of large corporations (Wringly and Lowe 2002, p.21-22). The transformation of retail by a concentration of capital implies that capitalism transforms retail from independent small shops into powerful chain-stores. This process expresses the polarization in economic power between chain-stores and small independents. It also indicates how independent retailers decreased in their position on the social stratification ladder, by their relative decreasing economic power.

In terms of retail employment relations, three major structural changes in the retail employment relations have become evident after the Second World War, and especially during the past decades: a change in the types of jobs that are offered, a change in the type of people who fulfill these jobs, and a redistribution of the work time that employees are allocated. These restructuring strategies are attempts to 'casualize' the workforce and increase flexibility for an effectively response to the ebb and flow of customer demands (Shackleton 1996, p.149). Sale has become an instructive, standardized process in which protocols form the seller-customer relation, see the GAP Act. (Lowe and Crewe, 1996, p.204). Full-time jobs have been replaced by low skilled, poor paid part-time jobs with little security, described as the secondary sector employment. During this period of flexibilization many (married) women and students entered the retail workforce and fulfilled the available part-time jobs (Freathy and Sparks 1996). This tendency towards flexibility in the retail employment is not the case exclusively for the retail sector. It has to be approached in a broader sense in which the different industries affecting each other, as a cause of a globalized inter-firm relationships (Foord, Bowlby and Tillsley 1996, p.68). The functioning of the retail sector in a 'flexibilized' postindustrial economy is one that characterizes the socioeconomic polarization that current mode of production affects, since retail jobs have more and more become segregated into the division between corporate capital versus a 'K-marting' of cheap wage jobs, and managerial and professional jobs versus standardized 'junk-jobs'. In social terms this implies that, contrary to independent shop owners, the 'flexibilized' retail workforce act as clerks who are limited in their social contact to hear: I want this, or I want that (Jacobs 1961, p.93-94) or in the case of self-service markets they barely have any contact left. Independent shop owners are much more connected towards their customers and often know or recognize the people who visit their shop or walk by on the street. Independent shop owners are more connected to their place of operation than large-scale retailers (Jacobs 1961) and thus are supposed to abide a more concerned function in their surroundings. More concerned with the neighborhood, more concerned with the people who live in- or visit the neighborhood and more concerned with the environment where they are localized than large scale retail corporations tend to do.

Since the second world-war, retail has become transformed in terms of the concentration of capital and the retail-employment relation. The retail-employment relation has become highly standardized and became less connected to place. The concentration of

capital resulted in powerful chain-stores. Yet it also resulted in a standardized visible display and thus a standardized representation. At the same time, independents, especially financially weak ones that are operating in the lower segment of the market, express comprehensively, the less powerful. Independent retailers that operate in the lower segments of the market represent their low range of socioeconomic opportunities, yet also authenticity. This will be further discussed in the next subparagraph.

Immigrants, retail and the neighborhood

Immigrants, who often face a limited socio-economic position, increasingly form a big part of the population of, in particular 'disadvantaged' neighborhoods, neighborhoods that offer affordable dwellings—social rental dwellings. Immigrants and the 'urbanites'—urbanites are people who are attracted to the urban life comparable with the characteristics of a yuppie lifestyle—form a market opportunity for immigrant entrepreneurs. Immigrants need 'exotic' products in order to continue some aspects of their culture, such as meals and design. The 'urbanites', at the same time, are accustomed to consume goods and personal services offered to them—fitting in their 'cappuccino' lifestyle—and tend to be more open to new and alternative products such as exotic vegetables, fruits and meals. In cities, opportunities have been created to set up specialty businesses to cater for very specific demands (Rekers and Van Kempen 2000, p.64). Population changes in neighborhoods bring also changes in retail and retail brings changes in the symbolic representation of neighborhoods contributing to urban diversity and authentic neighborhood identity. In particular 'immigrant' neighborhoods form a basis for expressed identities, other than the domestic cultural one. These neighborhoods therefore represent those cultures who are not expressed in the city's 'hot-spots' and therefore negotiate the cities identity. Diversity of the population and their need for cultural and economic exchanges could create unpredictable spaces of freedom that become both sites and new sights of collective identities, as a result of the expressed negotiations about the cities identity (Zukin 1995).

Immigrant shops increasingly take over the shopping streets in many neighborhoods and the amount of immigrant entrepreneurs is still rising. Neighborhoods imply proximity and in this sense they constitute the obvious concrete locus for many social networks and hence for the nurturing of the social capital that is so important in many immigrant businesses (Rath and Kloosterman 2001, p.197). Immigrants tend to use their ethnic network to set up a business for their own—and spatial clusters are created in neighborhoods where an ethnic population is concentrated (Kloosterman, Van der Leun and Rath 1999). Spatial clusters of immigrant entrepreneurs can create multiplier effects, because the neighborhood shopping streets and centers already attract a substantial amount of ethnic customers, turning these particular areas into interesting locations for immigrant entrepreneurs to start a business. This means that different entrepreneurs and the networks behind these entrepreneurs supply the ethnic customers in these agglomerations. Immigrant entrepreneurs have to be able to deliver the products to their customers who are usually not very willing to travel long distances to get their daily goods (Rath and Kloosterman 2001, p.197). This character of immigrant shops connects them strongly to those people who use the neighborhood, making them the prime producers of symbolic representation of communities. Ethnic entrepreneurs often emerge when an ethnic population is concentrated in an urban area, however it is also

possible for a cluster of ethnic entrepreneurs to stay put while the immigrant population moves on (Rekers and Van Kempen 2000, p.62).

After having discussed the postindustrial opportunities for immigrant entrepreneurs, it should not be forgotten that the range of options for immigrants is restricted, because they have limited opportunities for gaining capital and have limited career perspectives (in terms of the receiving country) besides the likelihood that they will encounter discrimination (Kloosterman 2000, p.94). In the post industrial service economy, personal service activities are the only low-wage jobs left in advanced economies, it are these services that have bucked the trend towards ever-increasing sales of production, for instance because they are located in markets that are too small to support large firms or chain-stores. Thus even though such businesses may be on the decline, opportunities for newcomers arise as the departure of longer established entrepreneurs create vacancies. This so-called vacancy-chain can be seen in a large part of the small-scale retailing sector and in certain parts of the restaurant business (Kloosterman 2000, p.95-96). For locations this process means that in 'out of date' devalorized shopping strips, opportunities arise to settle and reconstruct an obsolete low-tech economy. Low barriers of entry in one of the coin, fierce competition the obvious flip side in these highly accessible economic activities. Survival, therefore, is generally difficult and profits can be very low and, in many cases, even non-existent (Kloosterman, Van der Leun and Rath 1999, p.4). Their survival is possible because of the fact that entrepreneurs are embedded in specific social networks that enable them to reduce their transaction costs in formal but also in informal ways (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Portes 1995; Roberts 1994; Zhou 1992, in Kloosterman, Van der Leun and Rath 1999, p.5). The take-over of disadvantaged neighborhoods by immigrant shops is thus not only a consequence of market opportunities, it is also a sign of postindustrial socioeconomic polarization and the poverty that exists in the city. Immigrant shops symbolize urban diversity and opportunities on the one side, however they produce symbols of poverty on the other side.

Ethnicity is both promoted and reviled in neighborhood shopping streets, which can equally become symbolic centers of solidarity or resistance. Yet neighborhood shopping streets are the site of vernacular landscapes. Sometimes local merchants represent the vernacular of the powerless against the corporate interests of chain-stores and national franchises...The transformation of shopping streets from vernacular diversity to corporate mono is also a reflection of the global and the national economies. (Zukin 1996, p. 55-56).

Zukin (1996) provides in the quote above the link between this subparagraph and previous subparagraph. She states that ethnic shopping streets are the site of vernacular landscapes. With vernacular landscapes she probably means the landscapes that belong to the local inhabitants. At the same time, she associates chain-stores (and franchises) with corporate mono and puts it against independent retailer's representation of vernacular diversity. Chain-stores are linked up with monoculture which is understood to be 'standardization' and independent retailers are linked up with 'diversity'. At the same time, she describes the independent retail as a representation of the powerless against the chain-stores. This could also be explained, more radical, as the representation of independent's survival in a world of

chain-stores. In general, this perspective implies that independent retail, mostly in the lower segment of the market, is characterized by a low profitability enough these days. Although, in reality their life might increase very much, their representation rather symbolizes poverty than success. How does this refer to gentrification?

Retail and gentrification

In the scientific literature the development of gentrification and revitalization of shopping streets and shopping-centers are mostly approached apart from each other, or the commercial gentrification is approached to be a consequence of the gentrification process that is taking place in the neighborhood. Commercial gentrification can imply an introduction of businesses that operate in a higher segment of the market or can imply an upward development of the local businesses by their increasing profitability (New rules project 2010; Kloosterman and Van der Leun 1999). Smith (1994) describes how the Latin Quarter's retail has changed upwardly while the neighborhood has become occupied by yuppies, artists and students.

The once dingy streets, dotted by smoky cafes, bookshops and traditional restaurants, are now splashed with brightly colored boutiques and postcard vendors, delicacy food stores and upscale cafes, a global bazaar of fast food and tourist-oriented "French and Greek restaurants. (Smith 1994, p.182).

The quote above indicates how the retail in this neighborhood has transformed upwardly as a consequence of gentrification. However, it largely shows the 'users' its power in the transformational process, because these retailers have entered the neighborhood since it has become a major market for them to generate profits. This indicates the cultural transformation in space. Zukin (2008) describes in her article how young urban 'pioneers' seek for alternative spaces of consumption, difference from mainstream norms such as shopping malls and 'run-shopping' commercial streets. These alternative spaces fabricate an aura of authenticity based on the history of the area or the back story of their products, and capitalize on the tastes of their young, alternative clientele. However, this vision will spread around the city and becomes the fundament for a broader consumption base, followed by larger stores and real estate developers, leading to hip neighborhoods with luxurious housing, aka gentrification. In this theory, Zukin (2008) argues that authenticity, produced by small retailers, develops a process of urban redevelopment and commercial gentrification that involves the displacement of the urban poor consumers out of the neighborhood's shopping streets. While this theory gives great attention to the 'users' of space, referred to as the young urban 'pioneers', the 'makers' of space seem to follow the 'users'. However, their interventions in the redevelopment of the neighborhood are great sources of exclusion of the urban poor. Zukin (2009) provides a better understanding of this 'maker'- 'user' interrelation. In this research the consumption spaces in two gentrifying neighborhoods in New York have been studied; a neighborhood that characterizes a classic type of market-led gentrification (Harlem) and a neighborhood that characterizes a state-led type of gentrification (Williamsburg). Zukin argues that certain types of upscale restaurants, cafe's, and stores have emerged as highly visible signs of gentrification in cities all over the world, and states

that any type of gentrification creates commercial gentrification. However, she argues that the actors behind a state-led type of gentrification embrace upscale retailers because they see them as a symbol of revitalization. While this theory includes the 'makers' of space in the process of 're-prescribing' the neighborhood, hence its consumers spaces' representation, it remains a question how this happens. The link between gentrification, consumption spaces and representation is examined, however it remains a question what instruments are used in order to restyle retailers' representation.

Revitalization of consumption spaces are seen as a way how the 'makers' try to trigger a process of commercial gentrification in order to awaken gentrification. Studies in Istanbul have shown how the revitalization of the main shopping street in a declined neighborhood lead to investments of international companies opening upscale stores in the street which increased the attractiveness of the main street. This policy has resulted in increasing property values (Dokmeci, Vedia, Altunbas, Ufuk, Yazgi and Burcin 2007). In this case, the 'makers' of space used the neighborhood's shopping streets representation in order to 're-prescribe' the neighborhood. Zukin (1995) describes how BIDs (Business Improvement Districts) have become designated in order to improve the local economy and revitalize the shopping streets in these districts. This process has resulted in an introduction of capital, in terms of chain-stores and franchise formulas, into these districts, resulting in a struggle between the local businesses and the global capital of national and multinational corporations. In both cases of revitalization of shopping streets the 'makers' of space have thoughts about what space should represent in order to become revitalized, it generally implies the introduction of financially strong and economical powerful organizations. Since gentrification can be seen as a revitalization of neighborhoods, it can't be seen apart from revitalization of shopping streets and shopping-centers, especially not seeing their visible power of representation. The 'makers' of space have thoughts about how space should be, thus they do also have thoughts about what visible representation space should have.

Gentrification has a couple of characteristics. Gentrification always implies capital investments in the built environment and it always implies an introduction of high-income residents. The other way around, this would mean that neighborhoods can only become gentrified when it is not inhabited or inhabited by the urban poor and the built environment is devalorized. Devalorized built environments often go hand in hand with deterioration and, as a comprehensive effect, low rents. Low rents offer opportunities for financially weak entrepreneurs to set up businesses in the lower segment of the market. The low rents will offer them the opportunity to survive economically despite of their low profitability. Therefore, it is especially in devalorized neighborhoods, that independents, mostly immigrants, enter the neighborhood and set up their businesses. Independent retailers reproduce those people that use the neighborhood and thus visit the neighborhood's shopping streets and shopping-center. In devalorized and disadvantaged neighborhoods, the most likely consumers are the urban poor, which would mean that the retailers in these neighborhoods reproduce the urban poor. The 'makers' of space in gentrifying neighborhoods are; landlords, real estate developers and corporations. Referring to Lefebvre, these 'makers' 'prescribe' space to its 'users'. When a neighborhood becomes transformed by a process of gentrification, the neighborhood will receive different 'users', however it will also becomes intentionally 're-prescribed' by the 'makers' of the neighborhood. When a neighborhood becomes 're-

prescribed' for a different group of 'users', the symbols that are integrated into space will also change. These symbols tell the 'users' about the neighborhood's moral values and identity. These symbols express who belongs in the neighborhood and who does not belong in the neighborhood. Logically, when a neighborhood becomes 're-prescribed' for high-income residents, it would mean that the neighborhood's consumption space will become transformed upwardly also. Investments into the built environments will consequence in fewer opportunities for financially weak entrepreneurs to invest in the neighborhood and it will attract the more powerful businesses—such as chain-stores—operating in the higher segments of the market. It can be expected that it are these kind of retailers are gladly willing to invest in gentrifying neighborhoods, because the of the neighborhood's improving market (New rules project 2010; Zukin 2009). After all, the new high-income 'users' have some money to spend. The local retailers will become displaced or transform by a process of commercial gentrification. The neighborhood's consumption spaces will transform upwardly by the, representing the gentrifying neighborhood's new 'users', while displacing the urban poor (Zukin 2009).

Gentrification is likely to have an effect on the symbols that are produced by retailers' visual display. However, it remains interesting how neighborhoods become 're-prescribed' by the 'makers' and how this differs in the different types of gentrification that can take place. What type of retail is desired and what type of retail is not desired by the 'makers' of space in gentrifying neighborhoods? What representation belongs to those types of retail? And how will this representation become transformed in gentrifying neighborhoods?

Conclusion

Space is socially produced. The 'makers' of space intent to 'prescribe' space to its 'users'. This is both a physical and social process, because symbols of 'understanding' are integrated into physical space. Symbols are used in order to explain to its 'users' what space implies, what moral values are desired and what identity belongs to it. The 'makers' of space 'prescribe' who belongs in space and who does not belong is space. The 'makers' of space in gentrifying neighborhoods have been enumerated to be: individual homeowners, small landlords, housing corporations and real estate developers. In the Dutch context in particular the latter two are of major importance in many neighborhoods.

Postindustrial economy creates a socioeconomic polarization in society, hence in cities. The industrial labor force and middle class has become replaced by a postindustrial labor force consisting out of well educated professionals, better known as yuppies, professionals, or the creative class. In this project this group of creative and knowledge workers is described as the 'new middle class'. Behind this 'new middle class', with its yuppie lifestyle preferences, works a large low educated group of people, among who many immigrants. The socioeconomic polarization has become visible in disadvantaged neighborhoods. It are in particular these neighborhoods that show a process of gentrification. This process of gentrification is partly naturally developing, by high-income residents entering these neighborhoods and it is partly state-led in order to increase the livability in these neighborhoods. In both cases high-income residents are entering the disadvantaged neighborhoods.

Disadvantaged neighborhoods are mostly characterized by a devalored built environment. This means that the value of the built environment is low, resulting on low rents. Low rents offer financially weak entrepreneurs that operate in the lower segments of the market, mostly immigrants, the opportunity to set up businesses in these neighborhoods. As a consequence of operating in the lower segments of the market these businesses face with heavily competition and low profit opportunities. However, the low rents make this work. By being located in these devalored environments, they maintain certain livability in these disadvantaged neighborhoods, yet also represent the urban poor that live in these neighborhoods. Sometimes this even results in very attractive, lively and popular places to visit for outsiders as it might attract residents that are gladly willing to live in these kinds of environments and identify themselves with this kind of representation. The presence of retailers, in particular, independents—contrary to chain-stores—are given to effect in liveliness and livability.

While there exists a moral order to stimulate gentrification (state-led) there also exists urgency for attracting and connecting the 'new middle class' in order to strengthen the urban economy that is strongly built upon their presence. Cities market themselves to be attractive places to visit and live. Cities encourage urban tourism and the process of gentrification, which are often called in one breath in the literature. The commodification of aesthetic values, urban identity and ethnoculture has become a major development. While they have become more and more integrated into market culture they lose their uniqueness and become standardized by private parties become increasingly dominant. An important aspect in this process is that the symbols belonging to these visual and aesthetic products do focus

on an represent the better-off while, at the same time, the urban poor's representation is not desired by the 'makers' of place and therefore becomes displaced. Gentrification is one of the processes in order to attract and connect the 'new middle' class. What representation is desired by the 'makers' of space in gentrifying neighborhoods? After all, these neighborhoods become re-scribed and 're-prescribed' by the better-off also. Before answering that question there will be given a closer look on the symbolic influence shopping streets and shopping centers have on the neighborhood's representation.

Shops, the retail goods they sell and their visible display, provide information to the street's visitors about whether or not the goods are meant for them or the visual display belongs to them. Shops tell the 'users' of space who are welcome and who are not welcome, they explain who belongs in space and who does not belongs in space. Shops represent the 'users' of space. In gentrifying neighborhoods the 'users' of space are being transformed upwardly, because high-income residents enter the neighborhood and displace the urban poor out of these neighborhoods. This social transformational process goes together with a cultural process, because gentrifying neighborhoods 'revalue' in cultural terms also. Retail is of big influence in this cultural process. This would imply that the new high-income 'users' will affect in commercial gentrification, implying that the profitability of the present shops will increase or more prosperous stores will enter the formerly disadvantaged neighborhood, because its new residents offer them increasing profit opportunities. In this case the financially weak entrepreneurs that represented the urban poor will become, or will become replaced by, financially and economically strong retailers, such as chain-stores, operating in the higher segment. This process would affect in an upwardly representation of the retailers in gentrifying neighborhood, upgrading the neighborhood culturally. However, this is the 'users' perspective. What about the 'makers' perspective?

Gentrification always goes together with capital investments into the built environment and thus also in the environment of financially weak entrepreneurs. When the 'makers' of place aim to 're-prescribe' the neighborhood for a high-income 'user' the neighborhood's shopping streets or shopping-center should represent these new 'users'. The 'makers' of space will transform the built environment, often described as revitalization, in order to attract the financial and economical strong retailers and by means of 're-prescribing' the neighborhood for a high-income 'user', while displacing the urban poor's representation. The 'makers' of space transform the neighborhood's consumption space conform their thoughts about the neighborhood's new 'users' desires and their belonging moral values. It is this particular representation that the 'makers' of space integrate into space, shops and their visible display have a great deal in this process. However, in the scientific debate, the relation between gentrification and neighborhood consumption spaces has not clearly brought into theory, leaving openings for further empirical research about what and who should be visible and what and who should not be visible in gentrifying neighborhoods.

2. 'Yuppies' and their retail

In this chapter, three neighborhoods will be discussed; the 'Oude Pijp' in Amsterdam, and Lombok and project-Parkhaven in Utrecht. Attention will be given to their process of gentrification, the ways of marketing that are taking place, and special attention will be given to the retailers that are located in the neighborhoods: what and who is represented? What transformational triggers are at stake? Who are responsible for these representational transformations? And what does that mean for the people who live in the neighborhoods?

2.1 A gentrifying neighborhood: retail in the 'Oude-Pijp'

The 'Oude Pijp' in Amsterdam is a famous example of gentrification in the Netherlands and therefore serves as an interesting case to introduce this project's empirical research. The neighborhood provides a clear example of the physical, social and cultural processes of gentrification. It resembles a transformation of the neighborhood economy, hence its representation.



History and developments in the 'Oude Pijp'

The 'Oude Pijp' is a 19th century 'belt' neighborhood in Amsterdam and primarily constructed in order to house the industrial labor force during the industrial revolution. Nowadays it is typified as a lively, densely, multicultural neighborhood. The 'Oude Pijp' is the oldest part of the neighborhood 'De Pijp' and has been built in the second half of the 19th century. The neighborhood experiences an upwardly development, which in chapter one has been referred to as 'classic gentrification'. The neighborhood is characterized by long, narrow streets and small dwellings. Central in the neighborhood one can find the 'Albert Cuypermarkt', this is the biggest hawker market of Amsterdam. In the neighborhood many dwellings are being split-up and become sold on the housing market, this shows the gentrification process that is taking place in the 'Oude Pijp'. Besides physical changes also the neighborhood's population characterizes a process of gentrification, since the 'Oude Pijp' inhabits a relative young population and becomes more and more popular by potential residents and entrepreneurs (Combiwel groep 2009).

In his article "Bourgeois-bohème", Wagenaar 2003 describes the history of the 'Oude Pijp' within the 19th century belt of Amsterdam and the process of gentrification that is taking place there. The construction period, in which the 'Oude Pijp' was built, has been characterized by a low regulating position of the government. The urban extension that took place between 1860 and 1918 belongs to the 'urban landscape of the free market'

(Wagenaar 2003, p.230). The 'extension neighborhoods' were built on a basis of speculation by small landlords. The 'Oude Pijp' was the first newly constructed neighborhood outside of the old city, developed in the free market. This neighborhood differs from neighborhoods who have been built after 1918 under a strongly regulation of the government, many business units were built in the plinths of the housing blocks, because the exploitation of these spaces would increase the efficacy of the buildings. In the 'Oude Pijp' there is also a big contradiction between the 'golden edges' and the rest of the neighborhood. De 'golden edges' were positioned on attractive places such as a canal, a broad street or a park. The dwellings were more exuberant decorated, more spatial, and constructed for a higher class (Wagenaar 2003, p. 232-233). Rapidly, after the neighborhood has been constructed, criticism followed on the private initiatives, because of the poor quality of the houses. The small private speculative landlords had to loan money against high rents, which makes them economize on the quality of the houses. The urban landscape of the 'Oude Pijp' became a metaphor for everything what was wrong about a 'free market expansion' of the city (Wagenaar 2003, p. 233). In the end of the 60s, impoverishment took place as a consequence of an overdue of attendance and degraded fundamentals of the buildings. These developments resulted in a call for urban renewal in the 'Oude Pijp'. The many critiques on the urban landscape of the free market resulted in large demolition plans for the 'Oude Pijp' and many other neighborhoods in the 19th century belt. These plans were largely thwarted by action groups who struggled against these plans for maintenance of their neighborhood. Nevertheless, large scale urban renewal was put into practice in some neighborhoods. The demolished and impoverished houses mostly became replaced by social rental dwellings. The percentage of social rental dwellings in the 'Oude Pijp' remained limited to 27 percent, this rate is significantly lower than the 19th century belt in total (47%). In the early 80s, the 'Oude Pijp' became saved from urban renewal because of a growing call for 'maintenance and renovation of old neighborhoods'. This change in policy has resulted in a better maintenance of the original, 19th century, urban landscape in the 'Oude Pijp', than in other parts of the 19th century belt of Amsterdam (Wagenaar 2003, p.234).

Around 1990, the 'Oude Pijp' was characterized by a low social status. The neighborhood was very popular among students as a result of the large number of single-room dwellings. The bigger dwellings were mostly inhabited by older Dutch people and 'minimal choice people'—see chapter one's subparagraph '*Identification and gentrification: settlement and displacement in the Netherlands*'. The business units located in the 'golden edges' were largely in use of medium scale offices. The cheap units were partly still in use by traditional crafts, bars and coffee bars. Partly, as a consequence of the rapid growth of several exotic goods offered on the 'Albert Cuypmarkt', an invasion of immigrant shops has taken place in the neighborhood. Surinam eating-houses, Hindu goldsmiths, Turkish, Moroccan and Pakistani butchers replaced the Dutch shopkeepers (Wagenaar 2003, p.234). Since the 'Oude Pijp' was originally constructed in order to house the industrial labor force during the industrial era, nowadays the structure of the economy has been transformed into a postindustrial one. The factories that have produced and reproduced the relative low status of the neighborhood are no more. They left the city or changed their modes of production. In the following years the neighborhood's profile seems to transform strongly. In newspapers as 'De Volkskrant' and 'NRC Handelsblad' promoting articles were published about the 'Oude

Pijp' as an affordable leisure area, offering a broad scale of restaurants and eating-houses. In these articles a distinction is being made between the newly introduced fashioned 'fusion' restaurants and the 'marginal' immigrant eating-houses. Real estate developers and brokers became recommending the neighborhood as the *Quartier Latin* of Amsterdam. The expression *Quartier Latin* is inferred from a popular neighborhood in Paris and refers to a neighborhood that is especially attractive for a cultural and intellectual elite, a diverse and multicultural neighborhood both in its population as in its supplies (Wagenaar 2003, p.234). It is plausible to state that 'the cultural and intellectual elite' that Wagenaar (2003) mentions equal the 'yuppies'. In the newspaper articles that recommend the 'Oude Pijp' as a place of leisure, they highly recommended the fashioned restaurant and—to a lower degree—the 'marginal' immigrant eating-houses. This shows how both kind kinds of retail have different expressions. The eating-houses are positively approached and they are welcome, yet they are not taken very seriously. More positively and with more respect is spoken about the *fusion* restaurants. These are approached to be the core of the neighborhood's current attractiveness. The marginal eating-houses however, are seen as a nice accessory.

Private landlords encourage the image of a *Quartier Latin* in order to increase the neighborhood's popularity and attract the better-off. Retail is important in terms of supplying of goods, services and entertainment—however retail is also important in terms of representation. One mall could provide the same goods, services and entertainment but hasn't the charm of several small-scale shops, bars and restaurants. In the 'Oude Pijp' a link can be seen between the way how retail produces a neighborhood's image and how this image is used by landlords in order to sale their real estate. In the case of the 'Oude Pijp' a process of gentrification is taking place. The occupant composition, house-stock and image have changed into an upward direction. Retail has taken an important position in this process. The other way around, the upward transformation of the neighborhood in terms of the user's income, is changing the present retail in an 'upward' direction.

Gentrification and displacement in the 'Oude Pijp'

The 'Oude Pijp' in Amsterdam shows a process of gentrification. In chapter one it has been described how gentrification always goes together with capital investments into the built environment. In this paragraph the capital investments will be discussed from the perspective of some active inhabitants of the 'Oude Pijp', the corporation and landlords. How do they think about gentrification? The source used is a report of a conference about how the 'Oude Pijp' is changing: "Report meeting, 'De Pijp', a yuppie neighborhood?"

Since the 'Oude Pijp' has become increasingly popular over the past decade, this neighborhood faces a physical, social and cultural transformation. The labor class from the industrial era has been and does still become replaced by the labor class of the post-industrial economy: the 'new middle class'. In chapter one's subparagraph '*Transformations in capitalists mode of production and labor*' it has been argued that the 'new middle class' lifestyle engages a yuppie lifestyle, and yuppies are described as 'doing well for themselves, yet work for others'. Yuppies are the industrial reserve army of the postindustrial economy. While these people have good career perspectives they are also being exploited, because also they work for an employer. However, because this group is doing well for themselves they are in the position to choose where to live. In chapter one's subparagraph '*Identification*

and gentrification: settlement and displacement in the Netherlands' it has been described how 'gentrifiers' are mainly external bounded to their neighborhood, indicating that status and identity are very important for this group of people. Inhabitants struggle with this development and tend to reproachful describe 'gentrifiers' as yuppies. Since the 'Oude Pijp' has developed an attractive and marketed image, and it is positioned in the 19th century belt of Amsterdam, close to the city center, the neighborhood has become very attractive among yuppies. The neighborhood provides them with a certain status and identity. In short, people are gladly willing to pay for a house in the 'Oude Pijp'.

"De Pijp is no longer affordable for normal people anymore. Under pressure of the free market low income people are pushed out of the ring. 50 square meters in the 'Oude Pijp' are equal to 120 square meter in South East." (In mijn wijk.nl 2009)

In the quote above, a politician and inhabitant of the 'Oude Pijp' is stating that 'normal' people are pushed out of their neighborhood as a consequence of the free market. Previously, it has been described that the 'Oude Pijp' is largely developed in the free market and that the neighborhood has been saved from large scale renewal projects. This has resulted in a relatively large degree of small landlords in the neighborhood. Landlords are the 'luckiest' in the gentrification process that is taking place in the 'Oude Pijp'. They have also stimulated this process, because they marketed the neighborhood as the *Quartier Latin* of Amsterdam and they developed apartments for the better-off, which implies increasing rents. The rising rents result in the displacement of the urban poor out of the neighborhood. People with low incomes can no longer settle in the neighborhood and are pushed outside of the 19th century belt, towards more affordable neighborhoods.

"Social rental dwellings are disappearing on an expanding scale and become replaced by expensive owner-occupied dwellings. This happens by restructuring two social rental dwellings into one expensive apartment. In the case of new projects, developers are obliged by law to realize a minimum of 30% social rental dwellings. In practice, this could mean that 70% of the social rental dwellings disappear. It seems that there are no plans to stop the disappearance of social rental dwellings." (In mijn wijk.nl 2009)

In the quote above, an active inhabitant of the 'Oude Pijp' who is also active for the squatter community, states that an increasing amount of social rental dwellings is being replaced by expensive owner-occupied dwellings. Ironically, the corporations who should have a social modus operandi are partly responsible for this development, because they reconstruct two social rental dwellings into one expensive apartment for the better-off. For many inhabitants of the 'Oude Pijp' this is a 'not-done' development. They argue that the amount of social rental dwellings will decrease. They fear for a disappearance of social rental dwellings.

"Corporations should focus on their social function. Corporations should not try to play the role of a project developer. And when politics supports the sale of houses by corporations, it is crucial to ask the question what goal they serve." (In mijn wijk.nl 2009)

Some inhabitants who visited the conference gave their opinion. They are not so much angrily towards private landlords and project developers, they primarily are critical towards

the housing corporations. Private landlords supposed to have an economic modus operation, while the corporations should act social. They are blamed to act as commercial project developers. Also some inhabitants feel unsupported by the local politics and warn them not to betray the 'normal' people that live in the 'Oude Pijp'.

"It is everyday reality that many dwellings are uninhabited, these are mostly social rental dwellings. This is a stealing development: corporations neglect dwellings and fail to invest into these houses for years resulting in the demolition of these buildings. In practice this means an increase of owner-occupied houses and a decrease of social rental dwellings." (In mijn wijk.nl 2009)

The corporations are blamed to act intentionally. In the quote above is stated that corporations do silently disinvest in their dwellings for years. Disinvestments results in deterioration of the built environment. The deteriorated built environment provides corporations of arguments in order to demolish the built environment and it gives them opportunities to rebuild the neighborhood conform a lower proportion of social rental dwellings and a higher proportion of expensive apartments. The expensive apartments are sold or rented to the better-off. This idea about the corporation is quite radical. It provides an indication about the negative image that corporations have. They are continually blamed to act as a commercial real estate developer instead of a *social* one.

It is not a secret that corporations tend to sell houses and even construct houses in order to sale them. Nevertheless, no corporation would agree with the idea that they operate as a commercial real estate developer. In chapter one's subparagraph '*The city, corporations and commercial real estate developers*' it has been described how corporations have become integrated into the market economy. Because the corporations have become integrated into the market economy, they are forced to have an economic modus operandi. Nevertheless, the corporations are still strong connected with politics and have great social responsibility. This means that corporations have been put in a difficult position: their aim is to be social but they are forced to operate economical and they are strongly connected to politics yet, at the same time, have to act independently.

Corporations have many dwellings in 'disadvantaged' neighborhoods. The public keeps them largely responsible for the 'problems' in these so called restructuring neighborhoods. They are blamed to disinvest in these neighborhoods for too long. As a consequence, corporations have a great deal in revitalizing these neighborhoods. In response to the charges that corporations would act as commercial project developers, the corporations state that a bigger degree of owner-occupied houses in a neighborhood might result in an improvement of the neighborhood's social condition.

The sale of social rental dwellings could – under specific circumstances – certainly deliver a contribution to the vitality and stability of the urban society. (KEI-centrum 2004a)

Besides this social argument, the corporation's most important argument for them selling their buildings is an economical one. Corporations have to finance expensive restructuring processes and thus need to sale their possessions in order to gain capital. Besides this

'extra' expenditures, it already was policy to develop owner-occupied dwellings in order to equalize their unprofitable social rental dwellings.

Probably, the most important motive for corporations to sell their possessions, is to finance their 'expensive' restructuring processes. Corporations become less depending on extra incomes from the construction of owner-occupied houses in order to equalize the unprofitable top of the social rental dwellings. (KEI-centrum 2009a).

Corporations state that they need to build owner-occupied houses in order to save money for the construction of social rental dwelling (KEI-centrum 2004a). The position that corporations take in the quote above is in fact a confession that they do operate as a commercial real estate developers. However, they have an economic *modus operandi* for the sake of their *social modus operandi*. Corporations state that they have no choice but to operate conform economical principles, because the market is forcing them to act this way.

Besides the replacement– and transformation of social rental dwellings into expensive apartments for the better-off, another important process in the built environment is currently taking place: 'split-ups'. As a result of 'split-ups' single dwellings receive an own cadastral number of registrations (Amsterdam 2009). Splitting up of buildings is mostly done by private landlords, because buildings become highly profitable when they are separated into several apartments. It has to be stated that these apartment are suitable for yuppies who seek an apartment close to the city centre in an 'attractive' urban neighborhood.

"The split-up of buildings is not wrong, it foresees in a demand from the market, nevertheless one should distinguish split-ups done by private landlords and split-ups done by corporations. Corporations have a social aim and therefore should not split-up buildings. In the 'Oude Pijp' relatively a lot of split-ups are taking place. There is a great market for apartments of 80/90 square meter. Split-ups generally result in 22% more owner-occupied dwellings. 'De Pijp' is changing socially. People with a low income cannot afford a dwelling in the 'Oude Pijp', this is not a problem: "low income people can buy or rent a dwelling in Geuzeveld." (In mijn wijk.nl 2009).

The quote above represents the position of private landlords in the social transformation of the 'Oude Pijp'. Private landlords justify their acts by referring to market principles. The market demands an increasing offer of 'yuppie' apartments, thus it is 'logical' that they jump into this profitable gap. From the quote above can be inferred that private landlords do not care much about people and their 'belonging'. Private landlords do not hesitate when they are in the position to create a more profitable environment. It seems that the principle of value-surpluses overrule the principle of people's habitat. In response to the representative of private landlords, some inhabitants express their fear for commercial real estate developers. Commercial real estate developers act on the principles of surplus value and therefore do not care about the human displacement they create.

"Split-ups disfavor tenants and the split-up policy disfavours social rental. The number of rental dwellings decreases, and the 30/70% rate is not enough because low-income people face

difficulty finding an affordable dwelling. Tenants have a subordinate position towards the interests of private landlords. City centers should not change into yuppie areas that are inaccessible for 'normal' people. 'Live is a human right', a perspective that does not concerns these days' policy and discussion about urban development." (In mijn wijk.nl 2009)

The quote above explains that people subordinate towards private landlords. They accept that they are a subject to market-power. Their protection against the free market are social rental dwellings. However, since social rental dwellings are disappearing on a large scale,



Picture: <http://indymedia.nl/nl/2007/11/1>

people have the feeling that they become a toy with no rights. They found their position by human right laws such as 'to live is a human right'. People feel abandoned by corporations but also by policy makers. Inhabitants of the 'Oude Pijp' feel helpless against their displacement and acknowledge that market principles overrule their 'social rights'. The picture on the left shows the anger against the yuppies who take over the neighborhood. It becomes clear that the neighborhood's inhabitants blame corporations and politicians not to protect social rental dwellings, are largely supported by squatter movements who take action by 'occupying' buildings and ground in order to stop the replacement of social rental dwellings into expensive apartments.

Before continuing to describe how the shopping streets have changed during the last decade, it is important to know that the 'yuppie shops' represent the displacement that has been described in this subparagraph. The 'yuppie shops' visualize who enters the neighborhood and who leaves the neighborhood. It represents who belongs in the neighborhood these days. A small debate on the internet about an old bar 'Het Paardje', which had become restyled by its new owner, symbolizes this very clearly:

Statement: I don't like it anymore, the old 'Paard' was better.

Statement: A large improvement after the restyling. It was about time. It was a waste of that beautiful location.

Statement: Nicely improved. It was really totally nothing.

Statement: 'Het paard' is visited by students who can't handle alcohol. After a couple of beers, communication seems impossible, only crap is being yelled out. Can't those people stay in their own neighborhood?

<http://www.booza.nl/?p=788>

Above, countering statements show the anger among some visitors of the bar against its new 'users', after the restyling, done by the bar's new owner. The restyled bar represents another target population and expresses the changing values about what the neighborhood is and who nowadays belongs in the neighborhood. At the same time, other people don't recognize themselves in this new representation.

The poor and the yup: transformation of retailers, transformation of representation

Previously, it has been argued that the 'Oude Pijp' faced an 'invasion' of immigrant shops during the past decades, especially since 1990. Let's consider a couple of statements: first of all, the multicultural character of the neighborhood has largely been created by the introduction of many immigrant entrepreneurs, replacing the Dutch shops. Secondly, it is this multicultural character, the liveliness and the location close to the city center that makes the 'Oude Pijp' an attractive neighborhood among yuppies. The process of gentrification goes together with a transformation in the neighborhood's retail. In chapter one's paragraph '*Immigrants, retail and the neighborhood*' an explanation has been given for the rise of immigrant entrepreneurship in cheap business units. In the 'Oude Pijp' many cheap units were available. Cheap accommodations provide opportunities for financially weak entrepreneurs to set up their businesses and the low rents make operation in the lower segments of the market possible.

It is important to understand that immigrant entrepreneurs did not replace the Dutch shopkeepers because they provide better products or services. Instead, immigrant entrepreneurs have replaced the Dutch shops because, for them, in a disadvantaging neighborhood, a shop was no longer profitable enough. This would suggest that immigrant shops have lower standards, in financial terms, than the former Dutch entrepreneurs had. It could also be that they filled up an opening in the market created by the neighborhood's new 'users', focusing on (low-income) immigrants and perhaps some 'urbanites' who like to expand their cuisine with some exotic goods and experiences. It is also important to consider their disadvantaged socioeconomic position in society, pushing them into independent entrepreneurship in order to make a living. In this latter case, the independent entrepreneurship represents 'survival'. It will probably imply a mix of factors. Nevertheless, in this sense, the invasion of immigrant shops represents a decreasing social status of the neighborhood. The financially weak entrepreneurs that gain low rates of profitability represent 'poverty'. It are these shops that represents the urban poor. It is also for this reason that these shops are described as 'marginal'. For the neighborhood, this means that its representation has changed, from a representation of the Dutch industrial working class into a representation of the immigrant urban poor, over the past decades.

Nowadays a process of gentrification is taking place in the 'Oude Pijp'. This means that high-income residents enter the neighborhood, increasing the neighborhood's social status. What does this mean for the neighborhood's representation? What does this mean for the neighborhood's shopping streets? The entrance of 'fancy' restaurants is a major sign of the changing representation that is taking place in the 'Oude Pijp'. 'Marginal' eating-houses versus 'fancy' restaurants. The 'fancy' restaurants do no longer represent 'the poor', instead they represent the yuppies that gentrify the 'Oude Pijp'. This is how retail functions as a producer of symbols and it is gladly used by project developers and landlords in order to capitalize the neighborhood. While corporations do not have the main aim to capitalize the neighborhood, the symbolic transformation is also in their benefit because it offers them the opportunity to explain the upwardly image of the neighborhood as a result of their interventions.

Another remarkable aspect is that a former labor class neighborhood in the industrial era is transformed into a postindustrial labor class neighborhood. While the 'Oude Pijp' has

been built in order to house the industrial labor force, nowadays it houses the postindustrial labor force. What does this mean for the neighborhoods representation? What is happening to the neighborhood's retail?

We need the Dutch consumers, states Simon Brawn, owner of the Lebanon restaurant 'Artist'. "There are barely people from Lebanon here and Arabs rarely go out for dinner. We experience in our sales that it is going in the right direction in this neighborhood. And the Albert Cuyp attracts many people from outside. More and more tourists discover this neighborhood." (Volkskrant, 2000).

The quote above indicates that the immigrant shops welcome the Dutch consumers, because they are a profitable target population. In this case the shops are not replaced by 'fancy' newcomers but are transformed into 'fancy' restaurants. The retail transforms from 'marginal' eating-houses into exotic restaurants accessible and accepted by the experimental Dutchman.

The owner of an Assyrian eating-house 'Eufraat' is also positive. "One sees that investments are taking place in this neighborhood. We have many consumers from outside of Amsterdam to eat, but also to experience the neighborhood. Our consumers are almost 100% Dutch." (Volkskrant, 2000).

Since the 'Oude Pijp' has become marketed as an attractive place for leisure and entertainment it has become more and more a tourist attraction. Popular market culture has become introduced into the 'Oude Pijp'. As the entrepreneurs underline, their profitability has increased since the 'Dutch' tourists tend to consume in the neighborhood. In order to maintain their position in the market they have to attract Dutch consumers. By doing that, retailers' visual display will become tuned towards the new Dutch target population, transforming from a 'marginal' shop towards a 'classy' one. However, many independents still face troubles in surviving economically. The shops that won't survive get replaced by others as does "Zorba, the Greek who has been replaced by a Moroccan owner who sells Spanish 'tapas' under the name of 'La Parra' (Volkskrant, 2000). This shows the introduction of popular culture. 'Tapas' has become increasingly popular, in particular among Dutch consumers. In the perspective of the neighborhood's retailers, this transformation is understandable because their financial situation is likely to improve. For the symbolic production it means that the neighborhood turns more and more into a representation of the yup. The representation of the urban poor becomes transformed into a representation of popular market culture. Below, some images are presented including the retailers' marketing statements, that render what 'fancy' retail implies. These are all bars and restaurants that represent the neighborhood's 'yuppie shops', seeing their visual display, target population and their focus on lifestyle in terms of 'living the good (urban) life', pleasure, leisure, diversity and a 'trendy' image. All businesses have been settled or switched in ownership during the past decade, indicating the transformation in the retailer's target population and visual display.

Moroccan restaurant marketing statement: *“Close to the Albert Cuypmarkt, in the middle of the lively hart of the Amsterdam Pijp, one can find restaurant Mamouche. This is the place where North-African and Western cuisines find each other. The mysteriousness and romantic sphere of Mamouche invites to discover new tastes and smells”.*

<http://www.diningcity.nl/mamouche/nl/index.php>



Wine bar's marketing statement: *“The open kitchen and large bar delivers a cozy and informal sphere. In the summer it is lovely to sit on the grand terrace and view the lively plaza”.*

<http://www.wijnbar.nl/>

'Restyled' Café's marketing statement: *“New modern brown café with an impressive yet not excessive interior, an amazing terrace and a grown up menu”* <http://www.booza.nl/?p=788>.



Chocolate bar's marketing statement: *“It is a trendy bar with a sixties and seventies looking interior where one can find a cozy and lively sphere during the day and in the evening”.*

<http://www.diningcity.nl/chocolatebar/nl/index.php>.

'Fruit bar's marketing statement: *“To live conscious and healthy is a lifestyle, Froot's juices belong to that lifestyle. Froot's juices stand for energy, vitamins and above all vitality”.*

<http://www.froot.nl/>

However this kind of 'fancy' retail consists of mainly independent entrepreneurs, thus one cannot state that the neighborhood is being taken over by chain-stores. Nevertheless, the 'Oude Pijp' its expensive main routes and 'mainstream' activities do signal a takeover by chain-stores and fast-food restaurants. One can argue that the retail in the 'Oude Pijp' is largely formed and transformed by the 'users' of the neighborhood. The chain-stores are located at the A-locations of the neighborhood, the 'marginal' (starting) shops and restaurants are located at the cheaper peripheral locations (Urhahn 2007).

The character of the built environment of the 'Oude Pijp', with its small business units and many small-scale landlords, is the fundament for the transformational development of retailer's visual display, affected by the neighborhood's upwardly 'users', in terms of income. The built environment is largely in possession of several small-scale landlords. This kind of property differentiation results in 'troubles' for large scale renovations and restructurings of the buildings. Many landlords are not interested in the neighborhood economy as long as they receive their rents. This results in a continuation of affordable business units and possibilities for independents to set up businesses (KEI-centrum 2004a).

Tourists and yuppies might dislike chain-stores since these do not confirm their authentic identity, instead they represent brutal standardization. While chain-stores represent standardized market culture, the 'fancy' and exotic restaurants represent 'exclusive' popular market culture.

In general, the shops and restaurants in the 'Oude Pijp' have become transformed from a representation of Dutch vernacular culture as a result of the presence of many Dutch labor class shops and Dutch craftsmen into the representation of the urban poor and immigrants as a result of the introduction of many 'marginal' immigrant shops and eating-houses. Nowadays, we see that the 'Oude Pijp' is undergoing a process of gentrification and the shops are transforming from 'marginal' retail into 'fancy' retail or are being replaced by 'fancy' retail. In general the representation has been transformed as followed. It started with a labor class population and their labor class retail producing a Dutch vernacular representation. After a process of deterioration an introduction of 'marginalized' population took place in the neighborhood and comprehensively 'marginalized' retailers entered the neighborhood, among who many immigrants, representing the 'urban poor'. Nowadays the neighborhood shows a process of gentrification and an introduction of yuppies is taking place. 'Marginalized' retailers transforms into- or become replaced by 'fancy' retailers, representing Dutch popular market culture.

The quote above can be categorized into three main topics concerning gentrification. First of all, it shows how the multicultural representation of the neighborhood is positively described. This indicates that this aspect is of major importance for the neighborhood's popularity. Secondly, it describes how capital investments into the built environment have had major influence on the uprising ground rents in Lombok. Third, the popularity of the neighborhood is higher than the average in the city of Utrecht, indicating that this neighborhood has a large attraction to people in general. However, the rising number of high-educated inhabitants in Lombok during the past decades induces that the neighborhood has become primarily inhabited by urban professionals.

Lombok has become so hip that is threatened to become a white neighborhood. The number of Turkish and Moroccan inhabitants is slowly decreasing until less than a quarter, mostly because the housing prices are not to be yielded anymore. "Left-winged yuppies" buy houses in the Van Riebeeckstraat and the Leidse weg. They extract their identity from the neighborhood. (NRC Handelsblad 2001).

The quote above indicates that a process of displacement, comparable with the 'Oude Pijp', is taking place in Lombok. The number of Turkish and Moroccan inhabitants is decreasing and they are replaced by the 'urbanites'. In Lombok and the 'Oude Pijp' a 'natural' force is the main trigger for the neighborhood's social and physical transformation. The once disadvantaged neighborhood has become inhabited by a marginalized population, among who many immigrants. Nevertheless, a multicultural representation has been produced by the presence of many immigrant shops in the neighborhood. This representation has produced a popular image, attracting 'urbanites' who borrow their identity from the neighborhood. The symbolic value that the immigrant shops produce, creates a surplus value for the neighborhood's worth in terms of capital, largely in favor of landlords.

Upwardly transformations of retailers: what about the vernacular multicultural representation?

In the case of the 'Oude Pijp' it has been analyzed that the retailers that are present in the neighborhood are roughly to be categorized into three types of stores: chain-stores, 'fancy' retailers and 'marginal' retailers. As an outcome of the 'Albert Cuyp' market and the neighborhood's division into main- and peripheral streets, the 'Oude Pijp' shows a hierarchical ordering between 'the strong' and 'the weak' retailers. Contrary, Lombok has one main streets where the retailers are located. Therefore, standardization by chain-stores is barely taking place in Lombok. The large amount of affordable and relatively small business units makes Lombok an attractive neighborhood for independents, among who many financially weak ones, to set up their businesses. At the same time, the small-scale of the business units make the neighborhood less interesting for chain-stores, because the potential profitability is possible to low for them. It might be interesting to see what would happen when large scale business units would be built in the neighborhood. It is likely that independents are less able to invest in these, rather expensive, accommodations and it would probably mean that chain-stores enter the neighborhood. After all, the neighborhood has become an attractive market, due to the process of gentrification that is taking place.. What can be observed, is some degree of transformation of 'marginal' shops into exclusive

'fancy' retail. This development indicates that also in Lombok the representation of the urban poor is slowly changing towards an elitist Dutch representation.

...there are way less Dutch shops than in the past. How do Dutch inhabitants experience that? Is this still their neighborhood? The older Ms Henneveld does not think so. She lives here for 41 years and has seen Lombok change dramatically. "In the past it was very cozy here. It was a good neighborhood. There was still a Jamin, a gentleman fashion outlet, a flower store, Bakery Perk and so on. All those Dutch shops are leaving and foreigners take their place." She complains about the displays of foreign shopkeepers in the Kanaalstraat. "All those stalls. It might be nice for people from outside, especially for the younger generation. But for us? I am almost blind and can't walk on the sidewalks." (Ublad 1999).

The quote above indicates how Lombok has undergone similar developments as took place in the 'Oude Pijp'. Dutch shops have left the neighborhood and immigrant shops took their place. The older inhabitant of the neighborhood expresses her dissatisfaction about the representation of many immigrant shops, indicating that these shops are to be compared with the 'marginalized' shops in the 'Oude Pijp'. The inhabitant also acknowledges that young people and people from outside the neighborhood—tourists—might like this urban showcase. This statement underlines that the neighborhood has become more and more popular among yuppies. The words "people from outside" indicate that the neighborhood has become an urban attraction, because "people from outside" refers to tourists. Again, it is underlined how retailers' visible displays are of great importance for a neighborhood's representation. Again, it is also underlined that neighborhoods are real attractions and often become marketed as one, as for example the 'Lombok cuisine' does. 'Lombok cuisine' is a website providing multicultural recipes, emphasizing the influences of diverse cultures that are to be experimented in the neighborhood (Lombox 2009). Although, 'Lombok cuisine' is an initiative of the neighborhood's inhabitants, it does express how experiences of diversity and uniqueness are priced. Also similar to the 'Oude Pijp' in Amsterdam, the former working class has become replaced by a 'marginalized' population over the past decades. However, during the last decade, the neighborhood increased in popularity among Dutch 'urbanites', due to the neighborhood's location near by the city center and its authentic representation, which is partly produced by 'marginal' multicultural independent retailers.

When Aziz Rahouti opened his shoe store in the Kanaalstraat a year ago, he expected mainly immigrant customers. "In Lombok do live mainly Turkish and Moroccans right?" He was wrong. Seventy-five percent of his customers turned out to be Dutch and living in the neighborhood...Just as the broker across the street who settled a year ago. Also almost only Dutch customers that seek for a house in the neighborhood. (NRC Handelsblad 2001).

Previously, it has been mentioned that a transformation of retail's representation is noticeable in Lombok. While independents still rule and produce the neighborhood symbolically and the neighborhood remains unique in its representation, some signs of transformation from 'marginalized' shops into 'fancy' shops can be observed. While the neighborhood is still attracting many immigrants, because vernacular (multi)culture is still represented, the urban Dutchman is increasingly consuming the neighborhood. The

neighborhood offers them an attractive living environment, leisure opportunities and a multi-cultural identity—see tourism, multicultural shopping and symbolic consumption.

Iranian Said Rezaie, an exotic Spar-market. In between the pampers and the Brinta, the shelves are filled with red and orange lentils and mangos. His foreign food store lost its running, nowadays long rows of Dutch people stand in line for his checkout. (NRC Handelsblad 2001).

The quote above is quite interesting, because here a remarkable development is taking place. In this case the chain-store (Spar) is not taking over the neighborhood, instead the chain-store is kind of transformed into a multicultural store. Vernacular (multi)culture is taking over standardization. Nevertheless, the quote also indicates that Said Rezaie his foreign shop did not seem to be profitable enough and now he is largely attracting Dutch consumers. This indicates that vernacular (multi)culture does become transformed into a more Dutch oriented one. The retail in Lombok increasingly becomes focused on the yuppie consumers, since this new target population offer greater opportunities for upgrading their business economically.

The cheese-store in Lombok has recently switched ownership. The store formerly was managed by a Dutchman, nowadays an Iranian owner runs the shop. What is remarkable, is that the same cheese and delicacies are offered and the assortment is completed with some biological and exotic products. Biological and exotic products do both fit to the consumer pattern of the 'left winged yup', because biological products is linked up to 'their' environmental involvement and the exotic products are linked to 'their' 'love for the unknown'. The cheese-store has an ordinary almost old-fashioned Dutch representation



fashioned by some 'fancy' products. The picture on the left is an expression of how a marginalized eating-house becomes transformed into a popular cultural, kind of fast-food, restaurant. The consumers of this restaurant are Dutch visitors of the neighborhood and the owner aims to attract them. The restaurant waves a Turkish flag as a marketing tool, in order to express its 'exoticism'. The picture provides a clear example how the neighborhood becomes commercialized and

shows signs of a transformation from vernacular (multi)culture towards popular culture.

In contradiction to the representation of popular culture, the picture on the right shows a shop that sales clothing that are linked up to Muslims. Its target population consists out of immigrants that shop in the neighborhood. This shop represents immigrants and therefore vernacular multiculturalism. Other examples of these kind of shops are much to be found



in Lombok, see the many 'markets' selling exotic goods. These shops are both focusing on immigrants and the main consumers are immigrants. Many of these shops are experienced

to be 'marginalized'—see previous analyzes. This would imply that these kinds of shops do also represent the 'urban poor' and are linked up to the neighborhood's 'deprivation'. At the same time, the introduction and transformation of retail into popular culture- or the standardization by chain-stores is experienced as 'progressively', indicating an upward movement of the neighborhood. Nevertheless, one should not forget that the 'marginalized'—often immigrant—retail is of main importance for the symbolic production of the neighborhood, representing the 'urban poor' hence, in this case, also urban diversity. These kind of shops deliver and have delivered a great contribution to the neighborhood's embraced multicultural image.

Many immigrants who use to live in Lombok have become, as an outcome of the rising rents in the neighborhood, displaced towards the urban fringe of Utrecht, to neighborhoods such as 'Kanaleneiland' and 'Hoograven'. Yet many immigrants from different nationalities still feel strongly connected to Lombok "*They live there...but their hearth belongs in Lombok*" (NRC Handelsblad 2001). That is not without a reason, it is their culture that is represented in Lombok. Lombok is smoothly transforming, yet probably continues to remain its unique character for a long time. In Lombok an upward transformation of retail and its representation can be noticed, yet it is limited. An explanation of this observation is that the neighborhood is yet still attracting many immigrant consumers, hence the immigrant retailers remain to represent these consumers—see chapter one's paragraph '*Immigrants, retail and the neighborhood*'.

However, countering this perspective, it is of great relevance to see what the new project called 'Buenos Aires' will mean for the neighborhood. Project 'Buenos Aires' can be typified as a 'new construction for the better-off'. This project will be located at the 'head' of Lombok and the construction should be delivered in 2012. The 'head' of Lombok is the entrance of the 'famously' multicultural Lombok, attracting a wide range of high-income 'users' in terms of residents and tourism. This location is obviously very interesting for real estate developers to capitalize. This 'new construction for the better-off' will imply about 84



owner-occupied houses and 2.500 square meter of business units (Bouwfonds 2010a). The picture on the left gives an impression about what it should become to look like. This new project indicates how the neighborhood also becomes gentrified by the entrance of large scale capital investments by real estate developers.

While the real estate developers state that the project will offer units for small shops (75 square meter and larger), this newly built project will, per definition, not imply a devalorized built environment. Relatively high rents are to be expected. However, the real estate developer states on its commercial website that there will be opportunities for small-scale entrepreneurship (Bouwfonds 2010a). Therefore, the new shopping-center will not preliminary house chain-stores. Albert Heijn does enters—Albert Heijn is a large scale supermarket chain-store—the new shopping-center and thus will compete with the many

small entrepreneurs that operate in the neighborhood. It is good to know that there nowadays already exists a small Albert Heijn in the neighborhood. Obviously, this small Albert Heijn gladly wants to enlarge because of its profitable location. The entrance of a large scale supermarket is being criticized, because it would not fit in the neighborhood's character (Bouwput 2009). It can be expected that this built environment will not be fruitfully for independent retailers that operate in the lower segments of the market and especially not for those that have a financially weak position. This prophecy indicates that the new shopping-center will affect an upward development of Lombok's retailers and their representation, focusing on the higher segments of the market and thus on high-income 'users'.

'Buenos Aires' will become more than just a place to live. There will be enough space for small entrepreneurship. The perfect location for that nice clothing-shop, gallery or lunchroom, offering the best Coffee in Lombok. (Bouwfonds 2010a)

The quote above indicates what thoughts the real estate developer has about what the shopping-center should become to express. In particular the idea of a gallery or exclusive lunchroom is interesting, because these kind of shops focus on the higher segments of the market and will represent high-income 'users'. It remains interesting for further research how this new shopping-center will affect the rest of Lombok's neighborhood economy, in terms of the present retailers' target population and visual displays. The new project might affect in an acceleration of the retailers' representational process of transformation. More and more high-income 'users' will become attracted to Lombok, transforming the authentic vernacular (multi)cultural representation into a representation of popular market culture.

The great contradiction that can be analyzed is that these upward developments of the neighborhood's representation might not even fit in the ideas of the 'left-winged yuppies', who have fallen in love with the unique multicultural representation of the neighborhood. Next to project 'Buenos Aires' a mosque will be built. While a mosque is a major representation of the vernacular multicultural, project developers use these urban sights as a marketing tool, even as they use the romantic idea about small shops.

You would like to live in an environment that is full of experiences. Not a sleeping-town, not an average neighborhood, but a place full of passion and warmth. Where one can feel the dynamics and entrepreneurship in the streets and where the people are colorful and full of energy. Where you can do your own thing and will have the calmness and space to make your own plan, to work or leisure. To live like a tango: sometimes peaceful, sometimes wild and full of spirit. That is possible in 'Buenos Aires', the new live-shop-work-building at the head of Lombok...The head of Lombok will undergo a complete metamorphosis. What nowadays is an empty area, will become offering space for a mix of living, working, a supermarket, little shops and a contemporary mosque...The square alongside the building will become attractive decorated with green, benches and other supplies. Flaunting on the square and through the streets in the neighborhood, time will fly. (Bouwfonds 2010b).

From the quote above, selected from the commercial website of project 'Buenos Aires, one can feel the way how the small shops are associated with charm, liveliness and authenticity. The quote indicates how project 'Buenos Aires' uses the neighborhood's uniqueness and

authenticity by integrating residency with leisure and 'the good urban life', and market their built environment that way. In this case, 'little shops', does not primarily refer to a supply of retail goods and it also doesn't refer to the expression of a community. In this case, 'little shops' refers to a romantic urban idea, that turns out to be very popular among yuppies. The real estate developer aims to produce this romantic urban landscape and seems to prefer an elitist and 'charming' shop above a 'marginal' Turkish greengrocer or Surinam drugstore. This means that, contrary to the old shopping streets of Lombok, it will become a commodified landscape, manipulated for individual profit and marketing motives. It will become a product, and the real estate developer approach it to be a product: a product that symbolizes 'the good urban life'. One might ask themselves whether this is what attracted the 'left-winged yuppies' to Lombok in first instance. What makes Lombok attractive is, besides its liveliness, its unique and authentic expression of the vernacular. People, ordinary entrepreneurs who try to make a living and shoppers that need their 'exotic' products in order to reproduce their culture. That is what really drives this neighborhood. This uniqueness and authenticity becomes threatened by commodification, turning a unique representation of urban identity into a standardized 'global' urban products of 'liveliness' and 'ethnoculture', losing its 'local' vernacular authenticity.

Although, this presentation is perhaps a too radical description for the developments that are taking place in Lombok nowadays, because the neighborhood has remained its unique and authentic representation, despite its attraction to high-income residents. Nevertheless, it is important to understand the different perspectives and thoughts about urban life, between the 'left-winged yuppie' 'urbanites' and the commercial real estate developers. See, for example, the 'Lombok cuisine'. This initiative comes from inhabitants who are charmed by the multicultural 'exotic' experiences that the neighborhood offers and they like to share it with the rest of the world. The reason behind this initiative is that people care about the authenticity and uniqueness that Lombok is all about, while commercial real estate developers care about profits and use Lombok's authenticity and uniqueness as a marketing tool. Their different reasons for action serve different goals, of whom the latter is capital oriented instead of people oriented. And as Sharon Zukin states in chapter one, while public space becomes under private control it will affect into standardization of urban identity due to their repeated vision about what space should be, focusing on accessible popularity among critical mass rather than uniqueness among the few.

2.3 “New constructions for the better of”: retailers as a surplus value for the built environment

Parkhaven-Dichterswijk is a newly built housing project in the Utrecht neighborhood ‘Dichterswijk’. The project is located close to the city center and replaces a former industrial area (Quadrat 2009). In chapter one this type of gentrification has been described as “new constructions for the better-off” and it symbolizes a third-wave of gentrification. Project Parkhaven is a whole newly built neighborhood, focusing on high-income residents. It integrates residency, leisure and entertainment. The backgrounds of this project will be described. Next, a glance will be put upon the retailers that operate in this project and the real estate developers thoughts, about who and what should be represented and who and what should not be represented, will be discussed. What does this mean for the type of retailers and their visual display that are located in the neighborhood?



Backgrounds and goals of ‘project Parkhaven’

Parkhaven is a newly built housing project in the Utrecht neighborhood ‘Dichterswijk’. The project will contain 990 houses and 3000 square meter of business units (Quadrat 2009). The project is located close to the city center and replaces a former industrial area. The devalored non-used built environment—close to the city center—made this area highly interesting for redevelopment and capitalization. An atelier for urban design has put the newly built neighborhood under words as follows: The former industrial area will be transformed from the city’s ‘blind spot’ into the chain between the city center and the neighborhood ‘Kanaleneiland’ (Quadrat 2009). It is good to know that Kanaleneiland is known to be a neighborhood who struggles with ‘social problems’. Project Parkhaven has to connect Kanaleneiland with the City. The ‘plan of destination’ has been determined in 2002. A long trajectory has been preceding the final determination (Mr. Tramper from Bouwfonds ontwikkeling 2009). The idea to restructure the former industrial area has been on the agenda for a long time. Most important actors in the realization of project Parkhaven are: the municipality of Utrecht and the real estate developers ‘Bouwfonds’ and ‘BPF Bouwinvest’. The municipality of Utrecht has been the project’s initiator and partly owns the project’s ground. The municipality’s main function has been the exploitation of ground and the development of a ‘plan of destination’. The ‘plan of destination’ has been based upon the

foundations of urban development studies carried out by atelier 'Quadrat'. The real estate developers—among who in particular Bouwfonds— do partly own the project's ground and have been responsible for the production of the built environment, within the framework of the 'plan of destination' (Mr. Tramper from Bouwfonds ontwikkeling 2009).

"The old auction terrain had lost her function and became deteriorated. The main goal has been to bring back the area's urban character. A neighborhood with a strong green structure, urban activities, urban density and a differentiated housing." (Mr. Tramper from Bouwfonds ontwikkeling 2009).

For real estate developers, the new neighborhood provided great opportunities for capitalization, while for urban policy makers the social and representational aspects of this part of the city are great motivations for restructuring of this area. The project has a large influence on the representation of Utrecht, because the former industrial area has become deteriorated and abandoned. Nowadays, it has been restructured into a 'neighborhood for the better-off'.

The quote above indicates that the neighborhood has to become urban in terms of urban activities and a high density, diverse in terms of architecture, and restful in terms of ecology. It seems that real estate developers prefer a Jane Jacobs kind of urban neighborhood, combined with the restful character of a park. The project reflects an idea of: "enjoy the urban lusts and forget about the urban costs". This perspective counters neighborhoods such as the 'Oude Pijp' and Lombok, because the 'left-winged yuppies', that these neighborhoods attract, aim to 'enjoy the urban lusts and are willing to accept, expect, or even 'kick' on the 'costs' of urban life'. On first sight, the classic gentrifying neighborhoods attract a different kind of urban lifestyle than project Parkhaven its "new construction for the better-off" does.

The former auction-harbor has been enlarged a bit. There has been given special attention to the lay-out of the harbor. In the harbor fifteen places for historical, authentic, boats have been reserved...the harbor will also be the fixed winter-location of Utrechts Stateyought. This special yacht is than the unique location for informal meetings, drinks, weddings and parties. (Parkhaven-Utrecht 2009)

The quote above gives an insight in the way how the real estate developer tries to shape a 'special place' in order to pleasure the neighborhood's inhabitants and visitors. There is a focus on key concepts such as the use of 'historical' and 'authentic' values—see chapter one's paragraph '*Standardization of urban identity*'. The harbor is in collective use but real estate developers—although, in partnership with the local government—own the ground. The harbor is used for visual consumption and serves to be exploited for commercial goals. The 'Stateyought' offers a 'unique' place for leisure. The focus on uniqueness and authenticity in this project indicates the importance of these expressions in order to make places attractive for visual and commercial consumption. Nevertheless, the same 'aesthetic' products are marketed in several places, making them not as unique as they might look at first sight. These kind of projects are to be put under words as 'commodified cultural historical expressions' and because the same products are delivered in different spaces they become

an expression of standardized 'aesthetic' products of place, see chapter one's paragraph 'Standardization of urban identity'. In contradiction to the local oriented expressions of vernacular multi-culture in the 'Oude Pijp' and Lombok, producing local authenticity, project Parkhaven expresses a generalized 'authenticity' of standardized 'historic' and 'authentic' values. Private real estate developers use 'historical' and 'authentic' visual products in order to market their built environment, aiming to attract 'the better-off'.

Yuppie retailers for yuppie residents

The 'Veilinghavenkade' is newly developed quay built in an old style. At the 'Veilinghavenkade' several business units are built. When one turns around the corner one enters the 'Groenmarktstraat', at this street some offices are built. There will be continued describing retailers' position in the representation of the neighborhood.

"The consultancy desks and catering establishments located on the Veilinghavenkade and the Groenmarktstraat provide the expression that the municipality and project developers desire. Desired is an urban neighborhood in which supplies are available, nevertheless to live is and will remain to be the main purpose. It has to be pleasant to live in the neighborhood at all times. The supplies have to serve a pleasurable living environment." (Mr. Tramper from Bouwfonds ontwikkeling 2009).

The real estate developer states that the offices and retailers that are present on the Veilinghavenkade en Groenmarktstraat should provide a desirable urban representation, however they should not harm the inhabitants' 'quality of live'. This underlines, once again, how project Parkhaven aims to offer the urban preferences, yet avoids the urban disadvantages. The picture on the right is a view on the Groenmarktstraat where lawyers, notaries, doctors and other high class businesses entered the office-units. This signals the project's target population. This neighborhood is constructed for the



businessman and other 'urban professionals'. The picture on the lefts shows a grand 'fancy' club, the "Harbor club". This 'fancy' club represents a high class consumer. The "Harbor club" is an extreme contradiction to the previously mentioned 'marginalized' retailers. The "Harbor club" is one of the many 'classy' restaurants and personal service-businesses that are located at the 'Veilinghavenkade'. The picture on the right shows an 'exotic' restaurant, specialized into Mediterranean food, indicating that also multiculturalism is expressed in the neighborhood. Nevertheless, this restaurant is all but none representing vernacular (multi)culture. It moreover represents elitist popular culture, as all retailers in project Parkhaven do.



“Particular catering establishments and small independents (barber, designer etc.) are preferred in this project. Such supplies are a surplus value for the location, in terms of the service that they deliver and their expression. A snack-bar, for example, attracts another public than a restaurant. This might effect in nuisance by youngsters etc. The expression of a snack-bar or fast-food restaurant is also not in association with the character of the harbor.” (Mr. Tramper from Bouwfonds ontwikkeling 2009).

The quote above indicates the real estate developer’s preference for independent retailers. This could be explained by the ‘authentic’ image that the real estate developers aim to market. In chapter one, there has been argued that lifestyle preferences of yuppies prefers; authenticity, uniqueness and diversity. An introduction of chain-stores would not contribute to this image, because chain-stores represent standardization. This preference for independent entrepreneurs underlines how independents are expected to effectively produce a ‘sense places’ and how they are approached to deliver a contribution to the ‘quality of urban life’.

The real estate developer also explains why particular retail is desired and why other retail is disliked. Restaurants are supposed to attract a different kind of people than, for example, a snack bar does. Snack bars are supposed to attract ‘the unwanted’. From this statement can be inferred that a ‘snack bar’ could confuse the neighborhood’s desired image, which might decrease the yuppies’ pleasure of consuming the neighborhood. Restaurants, on the other hand, produce and reproduce the neighborhood’s desired image and lifestyle. In this sense, exclusion of particular types of retailers acts both as a symbolic and as a physical exclusion of the unwanted representation, hence comprehensively, the unwanted ‘users’ of space. The real estate developers clarifies this by an example of ‘young folks’, attracted by a snack bar, who might bring disorder to the neighborhood. In order to regulate the types of entrepreneurs that settle in the neighborhood, the real estate developer selects those retailers that represent their desired values, based upon a framework inferred from the municipality’s ‘plan of destination’ (Mr. Tramper from Bouwfonds ontwikkeling 2009).

In general, project Parkhaven is a commodified space. It is a product, delivered by large scale real estate developers, focusing on capital by producing space for those people that deliver a surplus value to the project’s investment. Those people and those lifestyles which can afford to live in this new ‘yuppie’ neighborhood are desired and those who cannot afford it are not welcome, both physically as symbolically. In this case, the makers of space try to ‘prescribe’ to the ‘users’ of space; who is welcome and who is not welcome, whose identity is produced and whose identity is not produced. Project Parkhaven shows a rather radical border between what and who should be visible and what and who should not be visible.

Conclusion

In this chapter three cases have been studied: the 'Oude Pijp' in Amsterdam, and Lombok and project Parkhaven-Dichterwijk in Utrecht. All neighborhoods are located relatively close to the city centers of respectively Amsterdam and Utrecht. The 'Oude Pijp' and Lombok are neighborhoods that have been constructed in order to house the labor class during the industrial era, while project Parkhaven is a newly built neighborhood, exclusively constructed in order to house the postindustrial 'new middle class' consisting out of yuppies. While the 'Oude Pijp' and Lombok show a process of classic gentrification, project Parkhaven concerns a third-wave type of gentrification, labeled as "new constructions for the better-off". The main difference between the classic gentrifying neighborhoods and the "new constructions for the better-off" is that classic gentrifying neighborhoods transform through a process of upward development, while the "new constructions for the better-off" don't show a process of development, instead this neighborhood is clearly 'prescribed' by real estate developers to its desired 'users'.

These different outcomes of gentrification can be explained by the structures of the built environment. While the built environment of the 'Oude Pijp' and Lombok are characterized by a separated ownership in terms of small landlords, project Parkhaven is dominated by a semi-monopoly of singular large institutions that control the built environment. The different structuring of the neighborhood's built environment affect in a clear, property owner's, target population in the case of project Parkhaven and a less clear prescription of space in the cases of the 'Oude Pijp' and Lombok. Separated ownership of the built environment result in differentiated thoughts about space. Singular ownership result in singular thoughts about space. Besides, separated ownership reveals in differentiated power in space, while singular ownership reveals in dominance over space. What does this mean for the neighborhood's representation? What triggers are at stake in the construction of this representation?

Shopping streets are major sights about who belongs where. Therefore, it is of great relevance to see how shopping streets transform due to the process of gentrification and what these transformations tell us about the neighborhood's representation and about who belongs and who doesn't belongs in the neighborhood. Who is visible and who should be visible?

In order to understand this development, a distinction can be made between transformational triggers of the present retailers in terms of the 'users' and the 'makers' of space. Let's start by analyzing the 'user's' transformational triggers. These triggers do mainly concern the cases of the 'Oude Pijp' and Lombok that show a classic form of gentrification. Both neighborhoods offer a large degree of small scale devalorized business units, which makes these neighborhoods highly attractive for independent entrepreneurs, among who many financially weak ones, that operate in the lower segment of the market. The low rents provide them opportunities to make a living, besides their low profitability. These shops are typified as 'marginal', however that does not mean that everyone experiences them to be 'marginal', because these places do also represent the vernacular multicultural. Many immigrants have entered into the 'Oude Pijp' and Lombok at the end of the industrial era. The neighborhoods' shopping streets have developed an intertwined representation of the

urban poor and the immigrant's multi-culture. Nowadays, when these neighborhoods tend to increase in popularity among urban tourists and yuppies, high-income 'users' enter the neighborhood and a process has developed whereby shops tends to transform from 'marginal' shops into 'fancy' shops. The 'new' high-income 'users' conduct opportunity structures for 'new' entrepreneurship that operates in the higher segments of the market. At the top-locations of the 'Oude Pijp' even an introduction of chain-stores is notable, however it is limited.

'Marginal' retailers express a way of 'survival', because their reason of existence lays in the idea that they aim to improve their, rather weak, socioeconomic position by means of independent entrepreneurship. As described in the theoretical chapter, these entrepreneurs are forced into 'self-employment' as a consequence of their weak position on the labor market. Although, this is a crude generalization, it provides a perspective in which 'marginal' retail produces symbols of poverty. In contradiction, 'fancy' retail, that focuses on the higher segments of the market, represents; pleasure, urban leisure and 'the good urban life'. It important to understand that in these cases the neighborhood's new 'users', in terms of high-income residents and urban tourism, are the main transformational trigger in the shopping streets. This process is stronger in the 'Oude Pijp' than in Lombok, because many different immigrant communities, mostly Turkish, still feel strongly connected to the neighborhood. Lombok represents their cultures. It is this unique and authentic representation that makes Lombok, and also the 'Oude Pijp', very popular among yuppies and urban tourists. They borrow their external identity from these neighborhoods. However, while the 'marginal' shops represent the urban poor—among which immigrant's vernacular culture—the 'fancy' shops represent urban tourism and 'the yuppies'. In general, this means that retailers' production of symbols is transforming towards a popularized representation, which is easier accessible for a wide range of people. In the end, that is what popularity implies. From the perspective of place, one could state that popular culture does not represent 'the local', yet it is represents 'the global'. This development contraries the lifestyle preferences of the 'left-winged yup', who embraces the authenticity and uniqueness that these neighborhoods offer. It seems that popularization of the shopping streets doesn't fit in the thoughts of all 'urbanites'. This is an interesting statement to keep in our mind, while discussing the 'makers' thoughts about space and what their space should represent.

The 'makers' thoughts are most clearly expressed by the broker's marketing efforts in the 'Oude Pijp' and the "new constructions for the better-off" in Lombok and, of course, project Parkhaven. In the case of the 'Oude Pijp', brokers used the neighborhood's retailers, in particular its restaurants and bars, in order to market the neighborhood as the *Quartier Latin* of Amsterdam. They did this, obviously, in order to increase their sales. In this case the neighborhood's entrepreneurial loveliness, especially the 'fancy' businesses, have become a spatial representational commodity in order to gain individual profits. Project 'Buenos Aires' in Lombok is a "new construction for the better-off" that integrates a living environment with shops and leisure. The 'maker'—real estate developer—uses, Lombok's already existing, unique and authentic representation in order to market its built environment and attract high-income residents. It has to be acknowledged that the real estate developer offers small scale business units for small entrepreneurs. However, they merchandize it for 'fancy' and 'charming' shops that focus on the higher segment of the market. This indicates that also in

this case the 'makers' imply to commodify the neighborhood and popularize it for a wider range of high-income 'users'. The 'makers' of space seem to acknowledge that small scale entrepreneurship is important for the production of 'high quality' urban environments, however there exists a preference for 'fancy' retailers, rather than 'marginal' retailers, despite their proven attractiveness. In order to conclude, the 'Oude Pijp' and Lombok will likely maintain their uniqueness and authenticity for a long time, however one can feel the different thoughts about space between the immigrant entrepreneurs who try to make a living, the immigrant shoppers who try to reproduce their culture, the 'left-winged yuppies' who embrace the multi-cultural liveliness and finally, the 'makers' of space who try to develop and use a manipulated representation for the sake of individual profits. In particular the latter one is important in the process of popularization. In this case, popularization means, that the spatial representation becomes transformed from an authentic one, towards an easy accessible one. This can be compared with an alternative cult movie and a Hollywood movie. The latter one will generally reach a larger public. In the theoretical chapter this has been described as the standardization of space by free-market forces in which repeated visions dominate. In terms of social consequences, this means that the (former) 'users' of the neighborhood become slowly replaced by the new 'users' and the representational shift towards popularization makes the neighborhood less belonging to the urban immigrants and more accessible for those who aim to enjoy and consume the urban character of diversity.

The case of project Parkhaven in Utrecht concerns a third-wave of gentrifications that can be typified as "new constructions for the better-off". In this case, other than the classic processes of gentrification, the whole built environment has been constructed in order to attract high-income residents. While the 'Oude Pijp' in Amsterdam and Lombok in Utrecht show a process of transformation, project Parkhaven does not show any transformation. Instead, it has clear symbolic and physical boundaries, excluding the unwanted out of the neighborhood and including the desired groups of people and lifestyles into the neighborhood. The project is homogeneous built in favor of the better-off. It seems that project Parkhaven is constructed in order to attract yuppies. Project Parkhaven represents: "enjoy the urban lusts and forget about the urban costs". It is clear that the 'left-winged yup' counters this perspective, because they are attracted by that urban life which includes its figurative costs. The neighborhoods that are popular among the 'left-winged yuppies' represent: "enjoy the lusts and are willing to accept and expect the 'costs' of urban life". In project Parkhaven, the retailers are used in order to become a surplus value generator for the built environment. The retailers represents the project's target population and should pleasure the neighborhood's inhabitants and visitors. Project Parkaven its retail represents the yup and therefore it is not surprising that the retail in this project is limited to 'fancy' retail, while 'marginal' retail is literally excluded. Project Parkhaven is a fully commodified neighborhood and has radical borders between what and who should be visible and what and who should not be visible. The representation is this neighborhood is largely controlled by the 'makers' of space.

In order to conclude, classic gentrification takes place less radical then gentrification in terms of "new projects for the better-off". In the development of classic gentrification the built environment is in a relative low degree controlled by singular owners, resulting in a smooth 'naturally' transformation of the neighborhood. In contrary, the "new construction for

the better-off” are largely controlled by singular institutions, showing a regulated and bordering process between the desired retailers and the disliked retailers. In the neighborhoods who develop as a process of classic gentrification this process develops less radical resulting in an intertwining of ‘marginal’, popular and standardized representations.

3. Capital investments into the built environment and the struggle against displacement: the importance of symbols

Chapter two focused primarily on the transformation of shopping streets due to retailers' changing target populations. The changing 'users' and consumers of the neighborhood, affected by urban tourism, gentrification and the way how the 'makers' of space try to 'prescribe' space and create a specific type of representation, have been discussed. It primarily provided analyzes about the social process of gentrification and gave less insights in the physical process of gentrification. The physical process of gentrification implies that the built environment transforms upwardly, due to capital investments into the built environment. This chapter will primarily focus on the effect that capital investments into the built environment have on the representation of shopping streets and shopping-centers. In this chapter two neighborhoods, where capital investments into the built environment of retailers take place, will be discussed: an older prewar neighborhood 'the Dapperbuurt' in Amsterdam and an early postwar neighborhood 'Nieuw-Hoograven' in Utrecht. In the Dapperbuurt the neighborhood shopping streets become renovated and in Nieuw-Hoograven a whole new shopping-center will replace an old deteriorated shopping-center. Both neighborhoods are dealing with a restructuring process, which is typified as a state-led type of gentrification.

3.1 Renovation and upgrading of the Dapperbuurt: what about the retailers?

In the previous chapter; a classic type of gentrification in the 'Oude Pijp' and Lombok and a third-wave type of gentrification in project Parkhaven, have been discussed.

This case refers to a process of state-led gentrification in the 19th century belt of Amsterdam. In this case, the Dapperbuurt in Amsterdam, capital investments into the built environment of the retailers is taking place. Attention will be given to the structure of the built environment, the developments concerning the neighborhood's residents, and the representation of the shopping streets and its transformation. What did the shops in the Dapperbuurt use to represent? What effects do the capital investments in the built environment mean for the shopkeepers' businesses? How does the shopping streets' representation becomes affected by institutional and economical forces? Main actors in this development process are the housing corporations and the municipality.



Capital investments into the built environment: backgrounds, goals and retailers' representation

The Dapperbuurt is, similar to the 'Oude Pijp', located in the 19th century belt of Amsterdam. It has largely been constructed in order to house the industrial labor force during the industrial revolution. Central in the neighborhood one can find the 'Dappermarkt'. The Dappermarkt is the second hawker market of Amsterdam, after the 'Albert Cuypmarkt' in 'De Pijp'. Previously, in chapter two's subparagraph '*History and developments in 'De Pijp'*', it has been described that the 19th century belt 'extension neighborhoods' were built on the basis of speculation by small landlords. In the plinths of the housing blocks, many business units were built, because exploitation of these spaces would increase the efficacy of the buildings. Rapidly, after the neighborhood had been constructed, criticism followed on the private initiatives, as a result of the poor quality of the houses. The many critiques on the urban landscape of the free market resulted in large demolition plans for many neighborhoods in the 19th century belt. While the urban renewal plans were largely thwarted by action groups in 'De Pijp', who struggled against these plans for maintenance of their neighborhood. The Dapperbuurt did face these urban renewal plans in the 70s, in order to end the bad living situation and landlord-activities (Wagenaar 2003, p.233). The demolished impoverished houses were mostly replaced by social rental dwellings, resulting in a relative high percentage of social rental dwellings in the Dapperbuurt (Wagenaar 2003, p.234). Despite the urban renewal that took place, a large number of small scale affordable business units remained and became under the influence of the corporations (KEI-centrum 2004b).

The Dapperbuurt has, with its large proportion of social rental dwellings, become increasingly inhabited by the urban poor—among whom many immigrants—over the past decades. This development triggered a call for the current restructuring process. Nowadays, a restructuring process is taking place in order to increase the neighborhood's livability (Oost-Watergraafsmeer 2007). These restructurings imply; large scale renovations and a renewal of the built environment (Dapperbuurt 2009). Restructuring processes go together with a redistribution of the neighborhood's income population. This redistribution is realized by a replacement of social rental houses by, more expensive, owner occupied houses. In chapter one's subparagraph '*Identification and gentrification: settlement and displacement in the Netherlands*', this development has been described as a state-led type of gentrification. The Dapperbuurt consists of a relative high degree of social rental dwellings, it are the corporations that have great power (and responsibility) in the neighborhood. It are therefore the corporations that are largely responsible for the restructuring process that is taking place in the Dapperbuurt (KEI-centrum 2009b). This means that the corporations are an important actor in the state-led type of gentrification that is taking place in the neighborhood.

The national spatial policy for cities and networks focuses on sufficient space for; living, working and mobility and the comprehensive supplies of; green, recreation, sport and water. In order to avoid a unilateral population composition, the state stimulates more variation in the house stock. In order to counteract the out of the city movement of middle- and higher incomes Nota Ruimte argues that more high-quality urban living environments are necessary. At the same time urban renewal and restructuring remains urgent in order to improve the livability... The available space in urban areas needs to be used most efficiently by means of concentration. By determination of the, in current situation, high densely built Dapperbuurt with

diverse supplies, the urban living environment will remain maintained. (Oost-Watergraafsmeer 2007).

The quote above is selected from the plan of destination for the Dapperbuurt, set up by the district administration. This quote indicates a couple of important aspects that describe the developments of the state-led gentrification that is taking place in the Dapperbuurt. First of all, it becomes clear that the district administration has set up the plan of destination in a national framework 'Nota Ruimte'. Thus, the developments in de Dapperbuurt are indirect affected by national policy, in which the quality of urban life is of great concern—as the quote illustrates: *"In order to occur the out of the city movement of middle- and higher incomes Nota Ruimte argues that more high-quality urban living environments are necessarily."* This points out how the state forces a form of gentrification in the neighborhood: state-led gentrification. What it also indicates is the call for 'high-quality urban living environments', indicating that the quality of urban life should improve. Finally, the plan of destination states that the Dapperbuurt has an urban character—see the high concentration of the built environment—and this character is embraced. From the quote above can be analyzed that the Dapperbuurt has, in the eyes of the policy makers, great potential in order to attract the urban settler, previously popular termed as 'yuppies' and 'left-winged yuppies'.

Before continuing this story, a short review of chapter two will be given. In terms of gentrification which has been analyzed. The 'Oude Pijp' and Lombok show a smoothly developing process of gentrification, because these neighborhoods show a big amount of private landlords and, to a lesser extent, are overruled by singular institutions. Contrary, the Dapperbuurt is overruled by singular institutions and shows low rates of private landlords, due to the large scale renewals that have taken place in the 70s. This character differences could mean that more radical changes are considerable in the neighborhood—see project Parkhaven. In project Parkhaven the real estate developers put focus on uniqueness and authenticity in their production of space. 'Historical' and 'authentic' values are seen as important marketing tools in order to make the neighborhood attractive for visual and commercial consumption. While the developments that are taking place in the Dapperbuurt are not quite to be compared with, the newly built, project Parkhaven, it is interesting how corporations do also use 'historical' and 'aesthetic' values in order to produce their space.

The quote below clarifies this process. It is also important to know that the houses are mostly built for the better-off, seen the number of owner occupied dwellings (KOW 2009). This is what 'high-quality urban living environments' are all about: neighborhoods for the better-off.



In mission of Ymere Onwikkeling KOW, restructuring has restored the original character of the Dapperbuurt...The monumental gables have been renovated on a distinctive high level with an eye for the historical valuable details. (KOW 2009).

Picture:

<http://www.kow.nl/nieuws/00034/>

Ymere is a corporation and KOW is an architectural firm. The quote above shows how corporations act as real estate developers. While the product they have delivered is of great quality, it does not directly hold a connection to the corporation's social modus operandi. The quote below provides another example, that is taken from the squatter movement. This group has squatted a couple of houses in order to give a signal to the corporations, who are blamed to give priority to their own private interests instead of their tenants' interests.

De Key's buildings at the Commelinstraat have been thoroughly restored. However, many tenants couldn't return as a consequence of increased rents. Therefore, De Key has decided to sell the buildings...In the eyes of the squatter-unity, the interests of De Key overrule the right to live. (www.nieusuitamsterdam.nl 2009).

Acknowledging that this is one side of the coin, it indicates how the Dapperbuurt becomes gentrified and how people who can't afford to live in the neighborhood anymore, have to seek their prosperity somewhere else. At the same time, the neighborhood becomes 'aestheticised' for the better-off.

Previously, it has been argued that in particular independent retailers provide great opportunities for the production of unique, authentic and 'special' representations. The structure of the built environment is important in the possibilities for these kind of representations in neighborhoods. Neighborhoods that offer small scale devalored business units are attractive for independents to set up their businesses. This results in a maintenance of the neighborhood's liveliness. At the same time, a symbolical representation of the urban poor develops, due to the entrance of many financially weak entrepreneurs who operate in the lower segments of the market and their production of 'symbols of survival'. The overall sentiment about these 'marginalized' representations is negative minded, because it would also attract a 'marginalized' population towards the neighborhood and works as a symbolic indicator of the neighborhood's deprivation. However, it also offers opportunities to market the neighborhood, because the yuppies turn out to be strongly attracted to these kind of representations—see Lombok. The Dapperbuurt is such a neighborhood and is increasing in popularity. As the vendor girl in the liquor store states: *"I live in Amsterdam-Noord and I would gladly want to live in this neighborhood, unfortunately I can't because the 'waiting-list' is too large. Many people would like to live here, it's a cozy neighborhood."* The neighborhood has many shops and, of course, also the 'Dappermarkt' affects a great liveliness in the neighborhood and is a great attraction for visitors from a wide range. This is the positive image of the Dapperbuurt, the flip side of the coin is that the neighborhood economy has become 'marginalized' over past decades. *"The Dapperbuurt is the Dapperbuurt no more"* has been stated in a report about the revitalization of the neighborhood's shopping-streets (KEI-centrum 2004b).

Over the past ten years a large part of the (Dutch) shopkeepers has ended his business. The entrepreneurs did literally 'saw no bread' in the neighborhood anymore. Foreign shopkeepers replaced their empty spots, although the differentiated offer of shops disappeared. In addition, the new entrepreneurs were not all as professional, resulting in them disappearing as fast as they came. In the Dapperbuurt it became a coming and leaving of ever new operators, of

whom some it was not so clear what kind of business they drove. The economical decline went together with increasing livability problems. (KEI-centrum 2004b).

The quote above is selected from a report about the Dapperbuurt's neighborhood economy. It indicates three important developments. At first, it indicates that a similar development is taking place as in the cases of the 'Oude Pijp' and Lombok: the Dutch retailers saw no prosperity in the neighborhood anymore and left on a large scale. Their place has been taken by many immigrant retailers. Secondly, the newcomers are considered to be 'non-professional' entrepreneurs, because the fluctuation in shop-owners increased. Finally, it is important to keep the report's connection between the economical decline and 'problems' concerning the neighborhood's livability in mind. It is interesting to see how the introduction of 'marginalized' retail is connected to the deprivation of the neighborhood, in the eyes of the policy makers. At the same time, the neighborhood is still very popular and works economically, despite its problems. This seems to be a contradiction. The current representation of the urban poor seems not to fit in the 'maker's' thoughts and ideas about space. How does this rhymes with the state-led gentrification that is taking place in the neighborhood?

If we do nothing now, the situation will result in a huge emptiness and the neighborhood economy will decline fully, feared the district administration and corporations. Also entrepreneurs and inhabitants ringed the bell and asked for interventions... Three years ago, a consultant has been asked, by the district administration of Oost-Watergraafsmeer, to develop a Strategic Development plan for the Dapperbuurt... Sein-post wrote the strategic plan and advised a big scale and integral intervention of the Dapperbuurt based upon three pillars: physical renewal, an economical healthy shopping area and convalescence of the neighborhood's livability and safety... *"Our vision is to work following several roads. Just improve the economical side is meaningless, because shopkeepers have no chance in a neighborhood where people are leaving. One has to deal with the physical environment also, making the neighborhood attractive once again, also for the higher incomes."* (KEI-centrum 2004b).

The rate of deprivation increased and also inhabitants and entrepreneurs in the Dapperbuurt asked for attention. Policy makers agreed that interventions had to take place in order to 'save' the neighborhood economy of the Dapperbuurt. The quote above describes how the neighborhood should become restructured in order to improve the economic and social situation in the Dapperbuurt. Interesting is the call for an increase of the neighborhood's attraction to inhabitants and a redistribution of the income population. It would be interesting to know for who the neighborhood should become more attractive? For the urban poor or for yuppies? The call for an introduction of higher income residents into the neighborhood does already provides an indication of the answer to this question. The neighborhood economy is linked up, closely, with the neighborhood's quality of life. It can be stated that the 'marginalized' shops are not expected to contribute to an upward direction of the neighborhood's desired quality of life, although in the eyes of the 'makers' of space. This is how the image of the neighborhood's consumption space should become 're-prescribed' for

different 'users' and a different 'quality of life'. This is the fundament of the connection between representation and the state-led gentrification that is taking place.

Corporations have a prime role in the Dapperbuurt. De Key and Ymere together own more than 44% of the business real estate in the neighborhood, thus a livable and economical healthy neighborhood is in their interest...there exists an increasing interest among corporations to manage their business units...Corporations should not give a contract to just someone, but have to demand their tenants to suffice to sharp criteria, regarding to the entrepreneur's competency, reliability and liquidity, states the street- manager. (KEI-centrum 2004b).

The quote above indicates the power of corporations in the built environment of the Dapperbuurt. It also examples how corporations benefit from a livable and economical healthy neighborhood. Corporations benefit from an upward movement of a neighborhood's quality of life and therefore they should make use of a selection policy in order to judge about which entrepreneurs can be approved for a business unit in the neighborhood and which can't be approved. Corporations should select on criteria of reliability, liquidity and competency. What does that mean for the neighborhood economy? What does that mean for the neighborhood's representation?

What would a neighborhood be without its businesses?

Businesses are able to deliver a positive contribution to the sphere in the neighborhood.

Therefore, De Key is critical in the rent out of business units. By consciously choosing to allow or not allow some entrepreneurs, we are able to put pressure on the attractiveness of shopping streets and the image of the neighborhood. In doing, De Key also regularly chooses for businesses that might not be able to pay the market-price, yet are an enrichment for the neighborhood. (De Key 2009).

The quote above indicates how corporations respond to the earlier discussed statements in which corporations are exhorted to select new entrees into the neighborhood conform certain criteria. De Key is an important actor in this policy, because this corporation owns a large amount of the business units in the Dapperbuurt. De Key states that they do offer (social rental) units for those entrepreneurs that are not financially strong enough to pay rents conform the free market, yet are an enrichment for the neighborhood. However, one can ask the question: what kind of businesses are an enrichment to the neighborhood? It would be interesting to know what kind of retailers are expected to deliver the corporation's desired *attractiveness* of the shopping streets and their desired *image* of the neighborhood. Since De Key was not prepared to provide further information concerning this topic, further analyses will follow in order to provide clarifications.

Let's first state very clearly, that every entrepreneur would agree that a strong neighborhood economy is of great importance. Besides that, many entrepreneurs agree with the policy to select new businesses upon certain criteria, in order to improve the neighborhood economy. Nevertheless, in practice this could imply that retailers' production of symbols becomes transformed in favor of the corporations' desired representation. In this sense, the quote above can be interpret as an aim to transform the neighborhood's image upward, resulting in a displacement of the 'disliked' symbols. It is understandable that

'marginal' shops and financial weak entrepreneurs are less likely to act conform these selection-criteria than economical strong organizations, such as chain-stores and 'fancy' retailers that operate in the higher segments of the market. Although, also independent 'fancy' retailers might struggle with financial weaknesses, it remains a question whether these businesses receive a preference for their upward contribution to the neighborhood's representation. Regardless, it is most unlikely that the corporations would favor any 'marginal' retailers, in order to produce their desired *attractiveness* and *image* of the Dapperbuurt and its consumption space.

"A 'PC Hoofdstraatssetting' is obviously not realistic. What is realistic is a shopping area for daily goods with a proportional price-quality balance in the lower segment. Therefore we are glad with a 'Zeeman' that targets on the lower incomes and at the same time delivers a certain quality." (KEI-centrum 2004b).

In continuation to the previous analyzes, the quote above provides an indication of what a strong neighborhood economy implies. The quote above is a statement from a consultant, hired by the district administration, in order to develop a 'strategic development plan' for the Dapperbuurt (KEI-centrum 2004b). The consultant acknowledges that the Dapperbuurt won't be a PC Hoofdstraat. The PC Hoofdstraat is a very expensive street in Amsterdam, where the high class shops. The Dapperbuurt will (remain) focused upon the lower segments. Nevertheless, it is suggested that the neighborhood should become a shopping area that provides products that are characterized by a proportional price-quality balance. This implies that the shops in the Dapperbuurt, do not enough nowadays. At the same time, the chain-store Zeeman serves as an example of a store that focuses on the lower segment of the market, while offering a certain quality. Zeeman is a discounter clothing chain-store, known for its marginal quality. This indicates how chain-stores—primarily their representation instead of their quality—are seen as a welcomed supplement to the neighborhood economy. Economical prosperous retail—among who primarily chain-stores—should upgrade the neighborhood's; economy, attractiveness and image. While the neighborhood is nowadays primarily an attraction for the urban poor—among who many immigrants. The words *attractiveness* and, in particular, *image*, used by the corporation, indicate a desire for an upward and external representation of the neighborhood. Many people visit the neighborhood and its hawker market, in order to leisure and consume cheap products. The neighborhood's attraction and popularity is confirmed by the presence of fast-food chain-stores such as; MC Donald's, KFC and FEBO—see the picture above. The neighborhood thus already has a strong attractiveness, however obviously not the desired one. It seems that the neighborhood and its economy should become a romanticized picture of urban life. Pleasure instead of 'survival' should be represented.



The retailer: a struggle to survive

Previously, it has been described that the Dapperbuurt undergoes a state-led type of gentrification—in the form of a restructuring process—that goes together with capital investments into the built environment. Devalorized buildings become demolished and reconstructed and renovations are taking place. The renovations do also take place in the corporation-owned business units. After having described the process of gentrification that is taking place in the Dapperbuurt and analyzing how the neighborhood's attractiveness and image should become transformed upwardly, there will put a glance on the relation between the retailers and the renovations that are taking place, in order to complete the story concerning the Dapperbuurt's representation.

By means of the renovation, De Key wants to make sure that the shops and business units will become good looking from the inside and the outside and develop the Dapperbuurt to become an attractive neighborhood to shop. At the same time, there will be worked towards a good spread of a differentiated offer of shops in the neighborhood... At first, the business units will become renovated so that they satisfy current laws- and regulations and secondly the entrepreneurial wishes will be included... In all cases, De Key has integrated the individual wishes of the entrepreneurs but certainly also focused on the future usability of the units. (Dapperbuurt 2009).

The quote above is selected from a website, lounged by the corporations and the district administration 'Oost-watergraafsmeer', providing information about the renewal that is taking place in the Dapperbuurt. The quote has been selected from the through-link: "renovation of business units". The quote provides a clue about the goals of the renovation. It is especially interesting to look at the connection that is being made between the renovations and the neighborhood shopping streets. Does this suggest that the corporations use the renovations in order to displace the unwanted retailers? The statement that the business units become internal restructured in order to increase their future usability—read an improved quality, a larger degree of standardization and sometimes an enlargement of the units (Dapperbuurt 2009)—gives an indication about the corporation's goals. At first, this can be explained by a process of capitalization—see chapter one's subparagraph *Capitalization of the ground rent*—implying that the potential ground rent is the amount that could be capitalized under the land's "highest and best use" or at least under a higher and better use. This would indicate that the corporations act conform market principles. In case of a capitalization the rents increase. Another explanation could be, based upon previous analyzes, that the corporations strive for a 'revalued' attractiveness and image of the Dapperbuurt. The business units become updated and made 'market-prove' in order to increase 'investment willingness', by their 'desirable' 'prosperous' entrepreneurs, into the neighborhood.

Mr. Marc van der Linden is an entrepreneur and active inhabitant of the Dapperbuurt. He is a 'big guy' in the neighborhood, as he claims. Mr. Marc van der Linden has actively contributed to the social plan for inhabitants in the restructuring process of the Dapperbuurt and he is the chairman of the—by him started—'entrepreneurial unity renovation Dapperbuurt'. This is a unity of entrepreneurs who face renovations in their business unit and the unity has been set up in order to make one voice against the corporations and policy makers. Mr. Marc van der Linden was a jeweler, specialized in the repairing of old clocks. He

further operated as a goldsmith. Beneath his shop, he had a souterrain where he could exercise his profession. Mr. Marc van der Linden describes his shop as follows:

"I had a very accessible shop, willingly and willfully...The older miss could come to me for repairing her glasses. And, let me put it this way, the woman who couldn't speak Dutch and had lost a stone out of her ring, could also come to me for a new stone".

His shop was focused on the lower segment and his visible display did also express this. Mr. Marc van der Linden his sister describes the shop as 'a little messy'. Nevertheless, his shop provided him enough income to make a living, although it was marginal. He has taken the shop over from his father, who has settled the shop at its current location in 1957. The shop has, until the renovation started in November 2008, been successfully active in the Dapperbuurt for 51 years. Nowadays, Mr. Marc van der Linden receives a benefit of €1500 per month from De Key—the corporation that is responsible for the renovation of his shop.

"It has been De Key's tactic not to speak with the entrepreneurs. They went approaching the entrepreneurs personally. Well, that personal approach consisted out of that they, on the moment that they started the renovation, did an offer. There were three options. Option one was that you could, when you did not wish for an alternative unit, receive €1500 per month and get €5000 in order to deliver your shop empty and redecorate it after the renovation. Option two was that you continued your business in a temporary unit, however one had to decorate and deliver that temporarily unit empty out of that €5000 also. Option three was an amount of €20.000 when you would stay away totally. I can live a year of that €20.000 and I have to go just a little longer. I did not choose for the location they wanted to transport me to, I told them that I would quit my shop for a year and thus chose for the allowance."

Mr. Marc van der Linden is highly skeptical about the options that the corporations offered to the entrepreneurs. He finds the options unreasonable. He indicates that the offered temporarily location was too marginal for him to continue his business during the renovation. *"I don't let myself become transported to the place they wanted me"*, he states. Also Mr. Marc van der Linden is not satisfied about the 'personal treatment' that corporation De Key has promised him. The unity of entrepreneurs in the Dapperbuurt has fight the—in their eyes—low compensation (€5000) for the removal and redecoration of their business unit. By law this amount has been adjusted up to €8950 in the case of Mr. Marc van der Linden. This indicates how the corporations have tried to find cheap solutions, without taking the entrepreneur's considerable costs into perspective. It also indicates the success of the unity among entrepreneurs and their justified dissatisfaction, considering that the law is equitable.

Other examples of this kind of behavior from the corporation are the delivering of the restructure plans of the entrepreneurs' business units, after the term of objection. This means that the entrepreneurs can't object against the reconstruction. How does this fit in the corporation's statement that the entrepreneur's wishes have been taken into consideration during the renovation of their business units? It seems that the corporation moreover aimed to renovate the units in favor of their own good.

“My souterrain of 60 square meter will, in fact, become a basement of 37.5 square meter. They just put a container in it and took away my daylight. In fact, I can't work decently anymore. But they never told that before, so I couldn't object against it. They constructed a concrete container in my souterrain.”

The renovation costs Mr. Marc van der Linden 22.5 square meter of working space and his souterrain has been transformed into a basement without any daylight. Because his souterrain functioned as his workplace, Mr. Marc van der Linden has received a non-functional business unit. Mr. Marc van der Linden thinks it might become difficult to exorcize his profession after the renovation. The corporation did not inform Mr. Marc van der Linden about this and he has not been able to object to this new construction of his business unit. The costs are large, seeing a rising rent from the current price of €320 per month to an amount of €1200 per month, after the renovation. The rising rents, together with lower production and service opportunities—due to him losing his souterrain, hence a functional place to work—making the future not very prosperous. Not to mention the lost of customers, due to him being out of business for more than a year. Concerning his souterrain, Mr. Marc van der Linden has started to litigate against De Key in order to return his souterrain in its old function. A lack of communication has forced the entrepreneurs to proceed into legal action.

“Communication is not possible with De Key. Since June 2006, the only possible way of communication with De Key is through lawyers...After we offered De Key's director a petition in order to put a light on their behavior towards people, the director said, in front of a public of thousands, because everyone has seen it on television in Amsterdam and surroundings: “Do you think that will help, that people talk to me?” That is literally what he said!”

Until today, Mr. Marc van der Linden still lives in the uncertainty that he has to leave his house. He lives above his shop and this part of the house is destined to become an owner occupied dwelling. Mr. Marc van der Linden lives in a 'golden edge' of the neighborhood, which is highly profitable to sell to high-income residents, because of its attractiveness.

“At first I was not allowed to return at all in my shop and in my house, I had to take things in my own hands...I did receive a removal compensation of € 5600 and for my shop I would get € 5000 and that was it, I haven't been offered an alternative location, I just had to leave...It just meant that mafia practices are even better. They just say: “Here you have € 5000 and now get out of your shop, because we need it!”

It is interesting to see, that in first instance the corporation's aimed to displace Mr. Marc van der Linden from both his shop and his house at all, with no right to return. The corporation tried to do this by arguing that Mr. Marc van der Linden was located illegal in his current dwelling and business unit. Mr. Marc van der Linden has a letter that literally states his illegality. This is how the corporation tried to do to get rid of Mr. Van der Linden and his shop, without providing him any rights. Luckily, Mr. Marc van der Linden has always kept his documents complete, which provided him a strong legal position. In the end, Mr. Marc van der Linden received his rights. It is also remarkable that the corporation's behavior is being criticized by politicians in the districts administration of Oost-watergraafsmeer.

"It is unique that nowadays we even received a subsidy from the district in order to litigate against the corporation. That really is unique, it has also been broadly published in the Parool!"

This indicates that the developments that are taking place in the Dapperbuurt do also call for social attention. The Parool is a powerful local newspaper. While it has previously been stated that the local policy makers function as a partner of the corporations in the transformation of the neighborhood's; economy, attractiveness and image, this process is nowadays criticized by politicians. This indicates the political conflict these developments awake.

"We have had 'the Pijp' and we have had 'the Jordaan', over there they also have swept all those businesses out of the neighborhood. The neighborhood should become tidied up, yuppies in the neighborhood, and yes! Lunchrooms, restaurants, you name it...And that is what they do here also! They gladly want that over here also, because they want to turn it into a yuppie shit, but where do you keep the ordinary civilians? You can't keep sweeping them away forever! What you will see when my shop is ready, it will lose its running and we will see a huge amount of new faces, because 70% exists out of buyers."

The quote above indicates Mr. Marc van der Linden his distrust about the recent developments that are taking place in the Dapperbuurt. He refers to 'De Pijp' with its 'yuppie stores', such as restaurants and lunchrooms. He also refers to 'De Jordaan'. 'De Jordaan' is a famous Dutch showcase of gentrification. This indicates how the form and function of retail is experienced to be connected to the process of gentrification. Mr. Marc van der Linden also refers to the 'ordinary' inhabitants: how are they represented? Finally, Mr. Marc van der Linden expects a different kind of consumer behavior, because of the high income residents that will enter into the neighborhood, affected by a 70-30% proportion of dwellings. 70% high rent and owner occupied houses for the better-off and 30% social rental dwelling. This indicates the expected transformation of the shopping streets in the Dapperbuurt as a result of the entering consumption behavior of the yuppies.

"Imagine that I cannot return to my shop, because the way it looks right now they take more than half of my income, against three times the rent! I really have to think twice whether or not I want to return back to my shop. It's not quite profitable anymore".

The quote above indicates Mr. Marc van der Linden his uncertainty about his future perspective. He expects to lose customers, he is less able to exercise his profession and he has to pay a high rent. He expects his shop will not to be profitable enough anymore, after the renovation.

"And truthfully, why did I actually should not return to my shop and my house? Because they desired a grand café on the Mauritskade as an opening of the market...They thus wanted to create a grand café consisting out of four buildings and therefore I also had to leave, because

I was located on the corner...They obviously do not like that old mess over there! No, they want a luxurious grand café for the yuppies!"

The quote above provides a clear statement of Mr. Marc van der Linden his view. He clarifies the reason why De Key tried to get rid of him. De Key preferred a 'grand café'. A 'grand café' fits in the 'revalued' image of the neighborhood that the corporations try to create, as previously been argued for. The corporation's thoughts about 'the desired image', according to Mr. Marc van der Linden, belongs to a yuppie image. Mr. Marc van der Linden could be right, since a 'grand café' produces quite different symbols than his 'messy' shop did.

Mr. Lamey is a Moroccan entrepreneur whose shop is being renovated. His business is located in the Dapperbuurt for 26 years now. He has taken the business over from his father and grew up in the Dapperbuurt. His shop sales cloths and carpets and is mainly specialized on Moroccan customers. Besides his shop, Mr. Lamey has two market booths, functioning as a funnel to his shop. As a compensation for the period that he is out of business due to the renovation, he receives €1500 a month from De Key—De Key is the corporation who is responsible for the renovation of his business unit—nevertheless Lamey states that this amount is not enough for him to make a living. Lamey has 5 children and €2400 of constant costs (thus not including his expenses for food ex.). In order to pay his bills Mr. Lamey loans money from his family.

"I foresee much difficulty in the future of my business, a higher rent and a smaller shop. At the moment nothing has changed yet, but it will become 2.5 times more expensive than before. Before, I paid €445 and it will become above €1000. I don't know whether or not I will remain into business in the future, it will be more difficult. I have many loyal customers, but due to the renovation I have been out of business for more than a half year, thus my loyal customers leave to other companies. It remains a question if they will return to me once again."

Mr. Lamey foresees a problematic future for his shop. He struggles with an increasing rent and has lost many of his customers during the six month that he has been out of business. The alternative that the corporation offered for the €1500 benefit was to continue his business, literally in a container.

"De Key did offer an alternative; I could get a container. That container would be located in the street. However, because our neighbor wanted the first one and there is also a barrack from the building-company located, it would mean that I would be located on a 'death point' with few customers. There are no people over there and there is no Dappermarkt there. And that Dappermarkt is important for me attracting customers. So that was not an option, because then I would not receive the allowance and would have had less income. I did also receive compensation after the arbitration, by the way. The empty unit will be delivered and I have to decorate it by myself. I have received €6800 to do so and I receive 30% subsidy on the amount of my own investments. However, I have limited possibilities to invest in my business because I have not made any turnover for a half year and I have higher costs than income. So, I have a small budget in order to invest."

Mr. Lamey states that the offered 'emergency' location was no option since it would be economical unprofitable. He didn't want to take the risk and has chosen for the corporation's

allowance. Before the renovation Mr. Lamey's business offered him enough income to make a living, although it was marginal.

"I could make a good living. My turnover was about €100.000 a year. That is not bad at all, but I do also need it because I have huge costs, €2700 per month amounted my total overhead costs; think about the rent for my unit, rent for the market place, rent for my home etc. This doesn't include my purchase costs, just my overhead."

With a turnover of €100.000 a year, considered to be 'not bad at all', and constant costs of €2700 per month, Mr. Lamey would keep an amount of €67.600. The costs for purchasing are high in these kinds of businesses, implying that this amount should be adjusted to below substantial. Nevertheless, he was satisfied. Considered the increasing rents and the decreasing turnover due to a loss of customers, the future is less prosperous. Keep in mind that he has to maintain his family.

"My shop has become much smaller; they stole a piece of my shop! In the past, I kept my wall productive with a large display, thus they, in order to tease me, built an electricity box in the middle of the wall! So now I received an empty useless wall."

Mr. Lamey is not delighted with his renovated shop. He clarifies that his shop has become substantially smaller and not functionally structured. He lost much practical space affecting in lower opportunities to carry out his profession. Mr. Lamey used the terms "stolen" and "teasing", indication that he has the feeling that the corporation intentionally tries to hamper his business. This indicates the tension between the corporation and the retailer.

"My neighbor Hassan, the owner of a small restaurant is a real cracker. Normally, because now he is on a holiday, he has a large stand at the corner of the market selling sandwiches and slicing meat the whole day, that really runs well! But Hassan might have a problem, because they also stole a part of his shop for those electricity boxes, meaning that he probably loses his catering-license because his unit is too small. That would mean that he loses his little restaurant in the neighborhood due to the renovation."

Mr. Lamey sees the future problematic: a rising rent, (periodic) lower turnover and less opportunities to carry out his business, due to the non-functional structure of his renewed business unit and less square meters. While Mr. Lamey is able to continue his business, his neighbor faces similar problems of non-functionality of his renewed business unit. For him the consequences might be more dramatic, since he might even lose his eating-house in the Dapperbuurt. His renewed business unit is not large enough for receiving a legal permission to operate, while this business was economically doing very well.

Mr. van Heemwijk is a Dutch entrepreneur who also faces the renovations. Mr. van Heemwijk his business is located in the Dapperbuurt for about 60 years. His father started the business 60 years ago and he has taken it over 30 years ago. His business is specialized in the upholstering of furniture. He is focused on the higher segment of the market, although also people visit his business who have really saved for the reupholster of their furniture. Mr. Van Heemwijk clarifies: *"I am focusing on the more expensive segments, everything that I*

sale one cannot buy at an IKEA or a Leenbakker.” The special situation Mr. van Heemwijk has dealt with, is that he relocated just before the corporations decided to renovate the neighborhood. This resulted in him receiving several short termed contracts for business units that provided him of limited rights in terms of; alternative locations that were offered to him, compensations for redecorating his shop and the possibility to receive the corporation's allowance of €1500 per month.

“I have been moved to the Commelinstraat number 51 under a temporarily contract from De Key. After two years I had to leave, after which I received a building on number 49, I have been located over there for two years. The building became renovated and I would have the possibility to return to this location. Their story was that it would take three months, while in reality it took ten months...that costs me seven months of income because I had been out of operation. In the meanwhile, I informed every corporation whether I could locate elsewhere, finally this was offered for rent and I took it...I was just located in here when I received a message from De Key that I could return to my formerly unit, however the rent increased from €700 inclusive tax up to €1200 exclusive tax, meaning that the unit of which I had a right to return to, increased in rent very much. My current location, I have searched for by myself, they did not offer me an alternative location. I did not receive any compensation. I had a temporarily contract, in which it was written that I wouldn't receive any rights. On the moment I pay €800. Thus that is a little bit more than I paid for my former location, however I do have a much better unit now. I am very satisfied inhere. I would gladly stay here, but this will become renovated also, however they informed us that it probably will be delayed three a four years, so that's pleasant.”

The quote above indicates that Mr. van Heemwijk is not charmed by the increasing rents and that he was not willing to move back to his former business unit. He is satisfied with his current unit and he is glad that he is able to continue his business for several years. After this period, when the renovations will take place, Mr. van Heemwijk will have to move once again, without any financial compensation. His financial costs are great, because he has been out of operation for seven months. Mr. Van Heemwijk has also lost many customers as a consequence of the several removals and him being out of business for a period. Mr. Van Heemwijk thinks that he will end his business when he has to move once again. The removals are a consequence of the rising rents. Mr. Van Heemwijk clearly does everything to escape from the rising rents. This indicates the thrifty behavior of the entrepreneur, as it is an indicator that rents are one of the main costs for his store. Rising rents of business units are a powerful push factor for relocation. Mr. Van Heemwijk has a nice location on a corner of a street at the Dappermarkt. His shops looks a bit messy but at the same time cozy. The picture on the right shows Mr. Van Heemwijk his current shop. The picture on the upper left of the next page shows a renovated business unit. This is the street corner against Mr. Van Heemwijk his shop. The retailer who is operating in this unit had temporarily been located in Mr. Van Heemwijk his current





location, see the picture above. While above unit expresses historical values, the unit on the left has been renewed into an 'up to date' unit. It is a high quality unit, which has become revalued towards a much more 'stylish' expression.

Mr. Van der Linden, also a Dutch entrepreneur, is located in the Dapperbuurt for 27 years now. He has had several shops in the neighborhood and started as a merchant on the Dappermarkt. This entrepreneur did also faced several removals and received, similar to Mr. Van Heemwijk; no rights for an alternative location, no compensations and no corporation's allowance. He also had several short termed contracts for his units. Mr. Van der Linden has a kind of 'euroshop', this is a shop that offers cheap products (€ 1,- products). Since his demand became larger than his supply, he turned into a kind of 'winkel van sinkel'. A 'winkel van sinkel' is a store that offers divergent products: "of everything something". Mr. Van der Linden states that he is doing well and he foresees a prosperous future.

"I ended up next to the butcher, there I stayed for two years and I was promised that I could stay there for five years, afterwards. De Key did not kept its promise and I have been evicted by the judge in November 2008. In January I settled in this shop...De Key wanted to make it a switch-shop. I had a temporary contract, so my unit was ideal to locate a shopkeeper of whose unit became renovated...I have renovated for € 60.000 in that unit and in fact, I have just been thrown out of it, literally, with approval of the judge because I had a temporary contract and therefore I received no rights. However, the story behind it, is that they said that in relation to the many problems with other entrepreneurs who did not pay their rents in time or did not pay at all, they wanted to alter a kind of probation. I signed this contract, because I could imagine that they have had bad experiences with other entrepreneurs in the neighborhood, of course, there has been a great shift. They told me that they could get rid of me within two years, when I would not pay my rent. I did always pay everything decently, yet still I received a message that I had to leave, in a personal conversation, last year. They do nothing on paper. If you want to have something confirmed, than you have to do I by yourself and signed send it to them. Based on trust one, unfortunately, cannot do anything with De Key."

The quote above indicates how Mr. Van der Linden feels deceived by the corporation. His trust has been misused and he has simply been kicked out of the unit, in which he has invested about € 60.000. The corporation needed his location for another purpose. Nevertheless he had signed for his own fate, however in common trust with the corporation, and because he needed a location in order to keep his store in business. The € 60.000 investment indicates that he really was in the presumption that he would be settled for seven years at this location. A strong suspicion against De Key developed.

"Nowadays I am with Ymere, yet not without any difficulties, because Ymere has become very selective. Finally, after several conversations with other entrepreneurs it turned out that I was the best choice to enter into this shop. I just run my business decently, I have been registered,

I pay my taxes and that's it. So, Ymere thought it would be sensible to put me in here, and I received a contract."

Besides De Key, Ymere is another corporation that operates in the Dapperbuurt. The quote above indicates the increasingly selectivity among corporations concerning the permission to rent a business unit. Mr. Van der Linden turned out to be a reliable partner. It is interesting what would happen when an even more 'reliable' partner would compete with Mr. Van der Linden. Would that retailer be selected? This would suggest that his 'healthy' business, that operates in the neighborhood for 27 years now, would be subordinated for a possible newcomer. While this 'selection policy', without doubt serves 'the good case', it does also indicate a tendency of 'the survival of the fittest' in the neighborhood.

"Nowadays I am located here against a favorable rent, however it is also an old building. I pay a lower rent because I have a theft-sensitive building. Here, I pay € 5000 a year. That is great! In my former shop I paid € 18.000 a year. It has been improved greatly. But also in this unit I have done large investments, in total again around the € 60.000. Besides that, I have paid a large take-over, because I had to buy the former entrepreneur out of the unit. Nevertheless, it was worthy enough to me, because otherwise I would have been 'breadless'. De Key just literally made me breadless! We continue at this location for five years, but it will become renovated here also, so I will have to leave this unit as well. When I entered this location, they spoke about a half year, but it will probably become renovated in about four a five years from now and then I have to leave for a half year. I don't receive any compensation, that is what I signed for, so then I have to live from my savings for a small period. Afterwards, I will return and I will have to invest again."

The quote above indicates the anger against De Key and, at the same time, the hope on a prosperous future, because his current location is guaranteed for the coming four a five years. After that period, Mr. Van der Linden his business will be out of operation for a period of six months and an investment will have to take place, once again. Mr. Van der Linden is gladly willing to do so, because he has a well doing store and is gladly bounded to the neighborhood,



both in economical as in social perspective. Mr. Van der Linden states that his shop is doing so well because of the lower incomes that the 'Dappermarkt' attracts. His low budget store benefits from these consumers. Besides, the neighborhood has many low-income inhabitants. "They buy all kinds of thing here". The picture above shows his shop and its slogan: "Price-maker, directly from the factory to the public", marketing its cheapness.

"The winkel van sinkel reaches everyone. Everyone, but in particular the lower incomes, that is what walks on the Dappermarkt. The advantage that I have is that I am located close to the Van Swindenstraat. The Van Swindenstraat is a significant improvement in terms of people, because at the Van Swindenstraat 'walks the money' and here 'walks the less money'."

While Mr. Van der Linden is focusing on a low-income target population, he also states that his location is very good, for it being located close to the Van Swindenstraat. Although the people who shop in this street do not form the primary consumers of his shop, he still sees it as an advantage for his location. Mr. Van der Linden, his image of the high-income consumers at the Van Swindenstraat can be explained by the type of retailers that one finds in this street. The shopping street offers relatively much chain-stores and some 'fancy' retailers, offering 'brand' products. It is interesting to see how the independent retailers experience these kind of stores as attracting, hence representation, the better-off. This perceiving indicates that 'they' attract and represent the urban poor. The pictures below give an overview of the Van Swindenstraat and its chain-stores.



The struggle between the 'makers' of space and the independent entrepreneurs

The Dapperbuurt does still offer many small scale business units, hence opportunities for diverse independents to settle. Nevertheless, a restrictive settlement policy—in terms of settlement criteria that have been introduced in order to develop a 'healthy' neighborhood economy—will make it more difficult for the urban poor to locate their businesses in the neighborhood. Previously, it has been argued that corporations and policy makers have explicitly linked the neighborhood economy to the neighborhood's *attractiveness* and *image*. A restrictive settlement policy for retailers in the neighborhood should improve the neighborhood economy. While, this restrictive settlement policy is based upon rational economical criteria, this case does also indicate that the entrepreneurs in the Dapperbuurt, that face a renovation, have the feeling that they have been treated unfairly and unreasonable. They experience that the renovations have been put up to them with a lack of communication and no 'ear' for their wishes. Most of all, the retailers complain about; the strongly rising rents, the large investments they have to do and their loss of customers due to the renovation. An increasingly political attention and jurisdiction, supportive for the retailers, confirm the assumption that the corporations are not quite acting in the sake of the independents, instead they seem to counteract them. This thought makes us rethink the words: *attractiveness* and *image*. What image do the corporations desire? The corporation's plans for a 'grand café' on the location of Mr. Van der Linden his business and the way how they tried to get rid of his 'messy visual display' by juridical procedures, provides an indication of the corporation's desired image and desired 'users' of the neighborhood: yuppies. The restrictive settlement policy might be based upon rational criteria, however the desired images and representations seem to be based upon subjective thoughts about representations of the 'good urban life'. Since both have to deal with upgrading, one cannot see them apart of one each other. A 'healthy' neighborhood economy implies an 'attractive' image. Yet, what and who's image is supposed to be attractive? In this case, it seems that

corporations, in partnership with local policy makers, try to improve the Dapperbuurt physically, socially and symbolically. Important is the thought that corporations use their power in order to receive their goals. At a certain point in time, the entrepreneurs could only communicate with corporation De Key, by law. In legal opportunities, a corporation is likely to be much stronger than the financially marginal entrepreneurs. Corporations have their own lawyers and legal department, while an independent entrepreneur has to litigate after a long day of work. It is an interesting development that local politicians have reserved a subsidy for the entrepreneurs, in order to provide them the financial expedencies to litigate against the corporations. One should ask oneself the question if the corporation would dear to treat a strong chain-store the same way, it is most unlikely.

In terms of representation, the restrictive policy stimulates a 'survival of the fittest' in the neighborhood. Although, many entrepreneurs support this police, because they also benefit from a strong neighborhood economy, it becomes a threshold for financially weak businesses to settle in the neighborhood. The rising rents, due to the renovation will also make the neighborhood less attractive for the settlement of financially weak businesses. At the same time, the increased income population will likely become a trigger to the attraction of- and transformation into 'fancy' retail and a tendency of more chain-stores entering into the neighborhood. A struggle is taking place, the retailers are economically and socially strong connected to the neighborhood, however they have to deal with them being pushed away. The rising rents make retailers switch location trying to maintain their business in the neighborhood. It is their neighborhood and they want to stay in their neighborhood. Nevertheless, their neighborhood has become under large attention from policy makers and corporations, aiming to upgrade the neighborhood and the neighborhood economy. These 'makers' of space have an idea about what a 'good' urban neighborhood implies. The neighborhood economy is approached to have a large impact on the neighborhood's *attractiveness* and *image*. Not every retailer fits into their thoughts about what attractiveness means, and what image the neighborhood should receive. This has led to high tensions between the shopkeepers and the corporations. It has turned into a struggle between the shopkeepers and the corporations. This struggle has become visible in the shopkeepers aiming to survive and resettle into the neighborhood, during and after the renovation, as it does in the courthouse. Many lawsuits have been and will take place against the corporations and vice versa. The struggle is not limited to the retailers. It concerns people's representation and visualizes the displacement of the urban poor that is taking place in the neighborhood. Therefore, this struggle receives much social attention, by the media and in politics also.

3.2 The development of a brand new shopping-center in Nieuw-Hoograven: retailers and their representation of urban restructuring

In previous paragraph it has been described how a state-led process of gentrification is being combined with the 'revitalization' of the neighborhood shopping-streets, in order to upwardly develop the neighborhood's; economy, attractiveness and image. In this paragraph's case, the state-led gentrification and the developments of a new shopping-center in an early postwar neighborhood; Nieuw-Hoograven in Utrecht, will be discussed. This case does not concern an 'aesthetic' 19th century neighborhood, close to the city center, instead this case concerns a functionalistic neighborhood, at the urban fringe of Utrecht. In these neighborhoods the shopping-center is the neighborhood's 'hearth' and the 'window'. The shopping-center reflects what the neighborhood is and who it belongs to. What effects will the new shopping-center 'Hart van Hoograven' have on the neighborhood's representation? To what extent is this development related to the state-led gentrification that is taking place in the neighborhood? What about representation?



Capital investments in the built environment: chain-stores as an expression of economical success

'Nieuw-Hoograven has been the first large urban postwar extension-neighborhood of Utrecht. The neighborhood consists, mostly, out of high-rise dwellings (four until five floors). At the time, the municipality aimed to develop a large new district out of synoptic courts, rectangular stamps, with green courtyards. Every 'block' consists out of 300 dwellings, and should create some sort of 'mini-society' (KEI-centrum 2009c). The dominating thought behind such an early postwar neighborhood, was the idea of 'the contemptible urban life', in which individuality and inhuman lifestyles would take over the 'citizen decency'. Social norms and cohesion in the neighborhood should be remained, or become reestablished by these postwar 'garden-village' concepts. The architect and urban designer 'Le Corbusier' is seen as the representative of these kinds of neighborhoods. Corbusier's ideas, of a strict boundary between living, working, recreation and traffic, should improve the quality of live in cities. In other words, this meant that neighborhoods should become villages in the city. These concepts have largely become criticized by groups that desire the urban lifestyle and believe that urban life should not be focused so much upon social cohesion instead upon Jane

Jacobs her idea of the 'familiar stranger'. In the urban living environment,, not all people aim to know one another, instead they prefer to feel comfortable among one another. This concept contradicts the focus on social cohesion, yet it focuses on liveliness and social control, where strangers control one another. This process is in chapter one's subparagraph '*Independent retail and the quality of urban life*' described as the 'eyes' of the street.

These days, these kinds of neighborhoods face many problems, due to a large scale introduction of low-income residents,. The high proportion of social rental dwellings in the neighborhood has affected in low thresholds for the urban poor to settle in Nieuw-Hoograven. The past decennia many Dutch inhabitants have left Nieuw-Hoograven for the suburb. The neighborhood became more and more populated by immigrant families, changing the social profile of the neighborhood. Nowadays 50% of the neighborhood is inhabited by non-western immigrants. In socioeconomic respect, Nieuw-Hoograven struggles with relatively much low-income inhabitants, a low level of education and a large unemployment (KEI-centrum 2009c).

Since 1994, the municipality, inhabitants, corporations and local entrepreneurs, and several other actors, work in order to improve the neighborhood. Nieuw-Hoograven has become less popular among residential seekers. Inhabitants expressed their dissatisfaction about; the pollution of public space, crime, population composition, a decreasing level of supplies, deterioration, drugs- nuisance and street-youth. Families with more money leave, and have left, the neighborhood and move to suburbs, such as Maarssen, Nieuwegein, Houten en Leidsche Rijn. This development and the ordinate physical situation of the dwellings, are triggers for the municipality and corporations to 'improve' the neighborhood (KEI-centrum 2009c). The main actors in this restructuring process are the municipality of Utrecht, the corporations and commercial real estate developers. They agreed to restructure the neighborhood in physical and social terms (KEI-centrum 2009c). Important is to underline that the physical restructuring of the neighborhood does largely effects the social restructuring, because it goes together with a redistribution of the income population. This redistribution is realized by a replacement of social rental houses for owner occupied houses. This is the same process that takes place in the Dapperbuurt and it is termed as state-led gentrification. Comparable to the Dapperbuurt one can see the partnership between the municipality, corporations and, in this case, commercial real estate developers. It is clear that also in this case the institutions have much power in transforming the neighborhood.

In Nieuw-Hoograven, the neighborhood within the area concerning the most urgent problems, the housing stock undergoes a large transformation: from 23% single family dwellings towards 77% and from 14% expensive dwellings towards 62%. (KEI-centrum 2009c).

The quote above indicates the restructuring process that is taking place in Nieuw-Hoograven and the comprehensive redistribution of the neighborhood's income population. Important is the increasing offer of single family dwellings. This indicates that the high-rise dwellings, that house 300 families, will become replaced by single family dwellings. The increasing number of expensive houses indicates how the built environment has to upward the neighborhood socially, by attracting the better-off. In all cases a connection has been sought between the process of gentrification that is taking place in the neighborhood and the symbolic transformation of the neighborhood's consumption space. Therefore a short description will

be given about the (commercial) institutions' thoughts about shopping-centers, and what Nieuw-Hoograven should become imaging. How will the neighborhood becomes 'restyled' in order to upgrade it for a more prosperous population?

In the fifties, two shopping-centers were built; one at the Smaragdplein in the northern part of Nieuw-Hoograven and one in the southern part of the neighborhood along a main traffic street 't Goylaan (KEI-centrum 2009c). 't Goylaan is this paragraphs case and will be analyzed. This shopping-center has shown a high degree of deterioration and devalorization. Shops have left the neighborhood and marginal shops entered as a result of the low rents. Nevertheless, the shopping-center lost its strengths and consumer-attraction. Nowadays it becomes renewed and a brand new shopping-center will be delivered. The name of this project is 'Hart van Hoograven'. 'Hart van Hoograven' is a large scale intervention in the neighborhood's restructuring process and it is expired by a cooperation between several large scale commercial real estate developers. The project does also imply an upward transformation of the neighborhood's 'hearth' (KEI-centrum 2009c).

Project 'Hart van Hoograven' consists out of a live-,shop and healthcare program. The live-program foresees in the demolition and renewal of about 360 dwellings, both single family dwellings as expensive apartments, of whom 75% owner occupied. The addition of expensive dwellings should attract and preserve the better-off. The shop-program (3850 m²), implies the construction of a brand new shopping-center along 't Goylaan. Across the street, a healthcare-program will be realized by the development of a healthcare-center and a 'neighborhood-center' (KEI-centrum 2009c).

The shopping-center and the 'live-program' will be expired by commercial real estate developers. This indicated the profitability of these programs. The retailers which formerly where located in the deteriorated and devalorized shopping strip across the street of the new shopping-center rented their unit from 'Mitros'. 'Mitros' is a corporation, that owns a substantial part of the neighborhood's built environment. The new shopping-center will be exploited conform market principles, since the new landlord is the commercial real estate investor 'ING investment management'. Comparable to the Dapperbuurt in Amsterdam also in this case, capital investments into the built environment are taking place, affecting in rising rents that retailers will have to pay in the future. This time it concerns to have an even larger impact on the rent, because the ownership will shift from a corporation, with its reduced (social) rents, towards rents conform the market—mostly higher rents. Before there will be analyzed what effects capital investments into the built environment have on the businesses, first the central position of shopping-centers in postwar neighborhoods will be discussed.

Shopping-centers are given to have a central position in the repositioning and restructuring process of postwar neighborhoods. The project 'Hart van Hoograven' is under control of several commercial real estate developers and investors; 'ING real estate', 'Bouwfonds' and 'AM wonen'. They lounged a website in order to market the project. They advertise their project as follows: *"The apartment complex at 't Goylaan will become the new 'eyecatcher' in the neighborhood"*. (Bouwfonds ontwikkeling 2009). This indicates that the project developers aim that project 'Hart van Hoograven' becomes the central image of the neighborhood. The upgrading of the Neighborhood intertwines with commercial goals. The project has to reshape the neighborhood's image from a deteriorate one into a representation of the 'good quality of live'. The single family houses are advertised as "gentlemens-houses"

and “urban-houses” (ING real estate 2009). These terms show the link that is tried to create between this early postwar neighborhood and the ‘urban’ Utrecht and its urban life. The project developers point on the well connection between the neighborhood and the city center. They do this in order to attract ‘urbanites’. Their use of words, indicate how commercial real estate developers provide their houses of names that represent historical aesthetic values in order to market their project and attract urban settlers. The high rents indicate that they focus on a wealthy public.

The shopping-center should become an ‘eyecatcher’ of the neighborhood. It is understandable that the retailers should produce symbols that belong to the image that is tried to produce. In previous cases, it has been argued that retailers are producing and are used, by the ‘makers’ of space, in order to produce images. This indicates the importance of retailers in their production of symbols. Nevertheless, this case is an exception compared to the other cases, because it concerns an early postwar functionalistic built neighborhood. In this neighborhood, the shopping-center is functioning as the neighborhood’s ‘hearth’. Without the shopping-center, the neighborhood has few opportunities for expression, because of the neighborhood’s functionalistic structure in which living and shopping have been separated. All other cases show a degree of integration between living and shopping. The shopping-center is of great importance for the neighborhood’s image as a whole. The retailers that operate in the shopping-center are strongly involved in the production of this image. What and who do they represent? And what and who should they represent? How does this image transforms due to the state-led gentrification that takes place in Nieuw-Hoograven?

The quotes below have been selected from an article published in a magazine initiated by ‘Bouwfonds’, a real estate developer and a partner in the development of project ‘Hart van Hoograven’. The quotes indicate the project developer’s idea about shopping-centers in postwar neighborhoods.

Shopping-centers play a crucial role in the renewal process of restructuring neighborhoods. When deterioration lurks, there often exists a broad sense of urgency that makes it possible to bring different actors together in order to invest in a high-quality ‘hearth’ of the neighborhood. The shopping-center could work as a flywheel and creates vital economical and social quality-impulses for the rest of the neighborhood. (naw.nl 2006).

The quote above shows the importance that a shopping-center is considered to have in the restructuring process of postwar neighborhoods. Deterioration of a shopping-center leads to a ‘sense of urgency’. The thoughts behind this ‘sense of urgency’ are that the shopping-center is the neighborhood’s ‘window’. A shopping-center literally displays what the neighborhood has to offer. It represents the ‘quality’ of the neighborhood and, more importantly, the people who use the neighborhood. Shops act as a ‘mediator’ between the ‘users’ of the neighborhood and the built environment, see chapter one’s subparagraph ‘*Retail and representation*’. When a shopping-center shows deterioration, visitors will imagine the neighborhood to be deteriorated. Urgency in the renewal of shopping-centers exists mostly in postwar neighborhoods, as the quote below states.

Many neighborhood shopping-centers, mostly in postwar neighborhoods, need a strong renewal. The offer of shops has to enlarge, where admittedly run-shopping remains to take a

central position and the known formulas are represented. The critical mass is a precondition for survival. (naw.nl 2006).

In terms of shopping-centers, the quote above states that there should be strived for a central position to chain-store formulas. For shopping-centers, the critical mass is a precondition for survival. Chain-stores are given the power to attract enough consumers to shopping-centers. Their being present is approached to be of great importance for shopping-centers' economic vitality. Besides, real estate developers state that a shopping-center that does well, could be a stimulus for the whole neighborhood's livability. *"There is always an interaction between renewal of the shopping center and the surrounding neighborhood."* (naw.nl 2006).

Having described shopping-centers' central position in early postwar neighborhoods and the importance that is given to the renewal of shopping-centers in the restructuring process, there will be continued to the retailers' perspective on 'their' new shopping-center 'Hart van Hoograven'. Before continuing, a description will be given about the general settlement policy in the new shopping-center, based upon information that the stock broker of project 'Hart van Hoograven' provided.

A market research has been expired about which shops are needful in the neighborhood. The market research has been leading for the branch-report. The branch-report is leading for the selection of shops that are allowed to settle in the new shopping-center. Branching takes place by means of the plan of destination. One needs a license in order to locate in the center (Van Rossum makelaars 2009) Licenses are conferred by the municipality. The municipality's plan of destination forms the framework in which the landlord is free to select its tenants. In the selection, local entrepreneurs received a primacy. However, it is demanded that they are financially 'appropriate'. In order to determine the entrepreneur's financial feasibility, an extern consultancy has been altered. When an enterprise is determined as financially 'inappropriate', he won't become in attention for the shopping-center (Van Rossum makelaars 2009). This is the landlord's policy. The retailer's appropriation is not solely determined by his financial situation. The selection is also based upon the entrepreneur's; capabilities, experience, vision about the branch in which he is operating and the shop's visible display. These criteria have been determined by ING real estate (the investor) and AM wonen (the developer) (Van Rossum makelaars 2009). Important aspect in this story is the shopping-center's expression. The developer wants to merchandize its project, hence benefits from a certain expression. ING is the owner and landlord, who also wants to merchandize its product, hence benefits from a good expression (Van Rossum makelaars 2009).

The retailer: between hope, fear and anger

Nieuw-Hoograven undergoes a restructuring process. In this research, this process has been termed as a process of state-led gentrification, implying that the state aims to redistribute the neighborhood's income population upward. Project 'Hart van Hoograven' is seen as a major intervention in the restructuring process and is advertised as an 'eyecatcher' of the neighborhood. The project also includes a brand new shopping-center. It has been argued that shopping-centers are important for the neighborhood's image, because it is the 'hearth'

of the neighborhood and it provides opportunities to 'express' the neighborhood. The neighborhood does in a large extent borrows its image from the shopping-center. In this subparagraph attention will be given to the independent entrepreneurs, the local entrepreneurs, that nowadays are settled in the deteriorated shopping-center and have to deal with the construction of the brand new shopping-center 'Hart van Hoograven'.

Mr. Binkhuizen is an independent retailer who is located in Nieuw-Hoograven for about 30 years now. Mr. Binkhuizen is the owner of a bicycle shop. He has taken the business over from his father. Mr. Binkhuizen is located in the deteriorated shopping-center and he will invest in the new shopping-center 'Hart van Hoograven', which is located across the street.

"The current situation is the most miserable situation one can imagine. In the shopping-center emptiness is at practice. Over the years this emptiness has increased. Some buildings have been empty for seven years already. The new location will have to prove itself, but I hope that it will become an A-location because it's a new building and it has a well expression. I hope it will remain this way, also concerning the offer of stores...We look forward to settling in the new shopping-center. It is quite a step that we are going to make! The shopping-center will get a better expression, one will receive some attraction from the new stores and we will benefit from that also. I foresee a positive development of our turnover, but our turnover also has to increase, seeing the costs that the removal will bring."

The quote above tells us that the shopkeeper experiences the current shopping-center as: *"the most miserable situation one can imagine"*. The empty units are an indicator of the unpopularity of the center. Mr. Binkhuizen also expresses his hope for a better future and the shopping-center's improvement. However, he is clearly 'traumatized' by the current deteriorated situation. His 'trauma' is expressed by his hope that the shopping-center will maintain its, hopefully to be developed, high-quality expression. He underlines the importance of the shopping-center's 'good' representation. He links the shopping-center's representation up to the presented offer of stores and, obviously, their visible display. What retailers are expected to develop a 'representational' shopping-center? And what shops are expected to deliver an increasing consumer-attraction?

"Well, it is nice when you get a large Albert Heijn next to your store. Look, a bit of diversity in the shopping-center is of main importance. When you get a very unilateral shopping-center, with only one supermarket and a couple of shops than it is not very exciting for my store. I benefit from diversity and I think every entrepreneur does...Some diversity in the offer of shops, will make the shopping-center interesting for a broader public and when a shopping-center becomes interesting for customers to visit then you, as a shopkeeper, will become interesting as well. When people visit a place to shop, they always look a little further than those goods they needed in fist instance. A large Albert Heijn is absolutely a consumer attractor!"

Above, Mr. Binkhuizen invokes for the emergence of a diverse shopping-center. With the word 'diverse' he means a shopping-center that offers different kind of products and therefore will attract a broad public. He believes that the attraction of a broad public will be of great interest for him, because these people are expected to visit his shop also. Interesting is

the focus on a large 'Albert Heijn'. 'Albert Heijn' is a large supermarket chain-store. He expects that this supermarket will attract numerous of customers and therefore becomes important for the economic position of the shopping-center as a whole. Mr. Binkhuizen does not provide questions on above answers, yet it is clear that Mr. Binkhuizen is focusing on strong brands, as a chain-store like 'Albert Heijn' is, that are expected to attract consumers from a wide range.

"The costs will increase in the new shopping-center. At first, because of the investments you have to make. And we will have to pay about € 230 per square meter, so that will be € 66.000 a year. Nowadays we pay € 12.000 a year, so our turnover really has to increase! We do go to a larger surface, thus we do also expect an increasing turnover."

The new shopping-center will imply a larger surface and increasing rents. Converted to his current rent, Mr. Binkhuizen will have to pay almost three times more than he does nowadays. Despite all, Mr. Binkhuizen foresees a prosperous future. However, he also states that when his turnover will not raise substantial, his new situation will not become economically feasible. His turnover has to increase sufficiently in order to survive.

"I don't think another location would be realistic for me.. We have a history over here and built up awareness. We have been located on 't Goylaan for 30 years now, so then you don't say: "I pick up my business and start all over again in Overvecht." I don't think that many customers will come visit me over there."

Independent retailers are embedded into their neighborhood and are not as flexible as chain-stores are in relocating their business. The quote above underlines this statement. He will lose many customers and points out to the history behind his current location. This is comparable to many entrepreneurs in the Dapperbuurt. It does also imply that the retailers have to choose between the end of their business or the continuation in the new shopping-center, accepting a large increasing rent. In order to support the entrepreneurs, the municipality has arranged a subsidy serving as a financial allowance for the costs they have to make due to the demolition of their business unit. Entrepreneurs receive this subsidy when they satisfy several financial criteria. The judgment about the economical 'health' of the businesses is expired by the IMK (Institution for Middle and Small businesses) IMK is an institution supporting middle and small businesses (IMK 2009). Mr. Binkhuizen is dissatisfied that the retailers have become informed badly about this subsidy, he states that he had to search for it, all by himself. Besides the financial allowance, the entrepreneurs at the 't Goylaan received a primacy to settle in the new shopping-center, because their location will become demolished. A primacy implies that local entrepreneurs have more right to settle in the new shopping-center than other entrepreneurs.

"Current landlord is Mitros, who totally did not deliver any contribution to the shopping-center. I mean, when you manage such a shopping-center and don't do anything for ten years, and I mean totally nothing, it won't stimulate entrepreneurs to keep it decently, don't even think about make it decently...Mitros has delivered the greatest contribution to the deterioration of

the neighborhood, they didn't do anything! They hide themselves behind all kind of nice promises, yet they accomplish few."

Mr. Binkhuizen blames the corporation for the deterioration of the shopping-center and the neighborhood as a whole. He states that the corporation has done nothing but making promises. Nevertheless, at the same time he did acknowledge that the neighborhood has improved over the years. Although, he does not give all credits to the main actor in this process, which is the corporation 'Mitros'. Instead, he blames the corporation for turning into action to slow.

Mr. Schrijvers will also invest into the new shopping-center. He is the owner of a flower shop and him, together with his personnel, have been interviewed. Mr. Schrijvers has taken the shop over from his father about 20 years ago and he has always been located in Nieuw-Hoograven.

"On this location, the way it is right now, that is gone glory. The building looks very bad, everyone can see that, and from the back it looks even worse. It has way past its 'best time', it exists 50 years now in an obsolete neighborhood. Then it just has to become demolished. The new shopping-center will have a better expression. I expect to attract more customers and that's why I foresee a positive future due to the new shopping-center. It offers more prospects. I will pay more rent so I have to obtain more turnover... We will get a large Albert Heijn and an Etos and you name it, that will deliver a consumer-attraction to such a shopping-center. A large Albert Heijn, guaranteed that there will walk people, through such stores one develops a run on a shopping-center."

Mr. Schrijvers foresees a prosperous future, although he also has doubts that he will not be able to make the necessarily turnover in order to pay his increasing rent. Nevertheless, he expects that the new shopping-center will attract much more consumers than his current location does, which should provide him an increasing turnover. The quote above underlines the bad situation in the old shopping-center. Mr. Schrijvers claims that renewal of the neighborhood is necessarily. He focuses on to the improved expression of the new shopping-center, although that is the retailer's hope. Mr. Schrijvers further underlines the idea that chain-stores, as Etos—Etos is a chain-store drugstore—and even stronger, an Albert Heijn, will contribute much to the shopping-center's consumer-attraction and its economic vitality as a whole. It is interesting that a small scale independent shopkeeper embraces the entrance of large scale chain-stores. Mr. Schrijvers seems to forget about the Albert Heijn's large flower department which will compete his shop. However, Mr. Schrijvers feels connected with these chain-stores for some reason. Most likely, because they are given the power to turn a shopping-center into an economical success and that these chain-stores deliver a contribution to the shopping-center's 'improved' expression.

"There will be an Etos, yes that is a real contribution. And a good bakery, yes all the shops that will enter into the new shopping-center are a contribution. Bakery Stelleart will enter and a pie-shop and a vivant, that's a bookstore, and a Zeeman. Those are great contributions. There will be fifteen stores, nowadays there are three, a bit converted."

The quote above comes from one of the employers of the flower-shop. The woman gives an enumeration of the stores that will be located in the new center. She mentions a 'good' bakery. This is interesting because in the current shopping-center there are two bakeries located. These are immigrant bakeries and have a 'marginal' representation. The bakeries who settle in the new shopping-center are Dutch chain-stores. This indicates her preference for Dutch oriented (chain)stores. The other stores that she mentions in her enumeration do also include large scale chain-stores, such as; Etos, Zeeman, Vivant and 'multivlaai'—the pie-shop. She also mentions that the new shopping-center will have fifteen shops while the current center has, 'converted', three shops. By 'converted' she means the Dutch entrepreneurs, she doesn't include the immigrant 'marginal' shops. This is striking, she sees the immigrants not as real shops. They represent 'other' people than their store does, in general terms, they represent a disadvantaged neighborhood and a deteriorated shopping-center.

"Most entrepreneurs have, when they had to leave the demolished part of the old shopping-center, ended or continued their business elsewhere. And when I came here, everything was filled up fully. There were solid entrepreneurs located here, but that has turned backwards also over the years. Deterioration took place, the neighborhood went into decline, entrepreneurs left and nothing good came back, that's the problem. Once you become in a negative spiral, it is difficult to stop it, so it has no attraction on such entrepreneurs anymore. Nowadays, when it becomes renewed everyone wants to settle here. The new shopping-center attracts. Albert Heijn want to be here, all those stores want to be here, that says enough about this area! Much has been changed in the neighborhood, 'Hart van Hoograven' obviously has a large impulse on the purchasing power in the neighborhood."

In the quote above, Mr. Schrijvers talks about a couple of developments. First of all, he describes how the old shopping-center became deteriorated and its economic position went into decline. He mentions how the shopping-center use to be filled with 'solid' entrepreneurs. It is interesting what Mr. Schrijvers means with 'solid' entrepreneurs. Based upon previous analyses, 'solid' entrepreneurs are likely to be Dutch oriented entrepreneurs or chain-stores. In all cases 'solid' entrepreneurs are likely to be those entrepreneurs that have a 'well' representation. Over the years, deterioration has started and the neighborhood deprived. Entrepreneurs moved out of the neighborhood or ended their business. Mr. Schrijvers states that nothing 'good' came back. He claims that the shopping-center has lost its attraction on 'solid' businesses. Mr. Schrijvers clearly indicates that the introduction of 'marginal' shops has not contributed to the shopping-centers economical position. The construction of a new shopping-center and the restructuring process that is taking place in the neighborhood, affecting in an introduction of high income residents, have resulted in the fact that nowadays every retailer gladly moves into the neighborhood. *"Albert Heijn wants to be here, all those stores want to be here"*, Mr. Schrijvers states. Mr. Schrijvers, in fact means: "all those chain-stores want to be here". In the eyes of many independents, the presence of chain-stores equal the economic success of a shopping-center. This feeling can be verified by previous analyses about real estate developers' importance that is put upon the presence of chain-store formulas for the economical success of a shopping-center. At the same time, Mr. Schrijvers his story also indicates that chain-stores tend to leave a neighborhood in bad

times and return in better times. It is striking that in particular independents have become the largest victim of the neighborhood's deprivation, while nowadays the same victims do face much difficulty in continuing their business, due to rising costs in their new built environment.

The subsidy—mentioned previously—allowed by the municipality department of economic affairs, is only available for entrepreneurs who's business are proved to be financially 'healthy', over the years. Mr. Schrijvers underlines that he thinks that only 'good' entrepreneurs are able to enter the new shopping-center, he refers to the high rents that have to be paid. He also clarifies, that the judgment of the IMK does not mean that you are not allowed to invest in the shopping-center. However, previously it has been argued by project 'Hart van Hoograven' its broker, that the judgment of the IMK is leading in the real estate investor's selection policy.

"The Moroccan butcher, two doors further, will come along also. He will settle across the street. Well, I think it is gambling. Where he is located now, putting it a bit disrespectfully, that's the place where his public walks, it's just the truth. At here, in a deteriorated center with a low rent, that man easily survives. Across the street, in the new shopping-center, there will walk a whole different kind of public, so the question remains whether he is able to survive in the new shopping-center. Because I don't see any Dutch customer enter his shop."

The quote above provides a clear indication of what Mr. Schrijvers expects from the new shopping-center. It will become a 'decently' Dutch shopping-center, instead of a 'deteriorated' immigrant shopping-center. There exists a border between the Dutch entrepreneurs and the immigrants. The Dutch entrepreneurs associate themselves rather with chain-stores than with their neighbor immigrant shopkeepers. Mr. Schrijvers doubts the economical survival of his neighbor, who runs a (Moroccan) market. Mr. Schrijvers states that his neighbor's current location, a deteriorated shopping-center, represents his target population. Mr. Schrijvers sees his Moroccan neighbor as a 'marginal' business that represents 'marginal' consumers.

Contrary, Mr. Schrijvers foresees that the new shopping-center will attract a more prosperous consumer. He also, in one brief, describes this group as Dutch consumers. Those are the consumers that will enter the neighborhood as a result of the restructuring process. This indicates Mr. Schrijvers his hope for old days. He hopes that the shopping-center will become a 'strong' one, including 'strong' retailers and attracting Dutch consumers. He expects the new center to become Dutch and representing the Dutch.

"When I wouldn't invest in the shopping-center at all, than I would have discontinued my business. Another location is not an option. We are located ad here for 50 years and we are known here, this is my place to be. Independent entrepreneurs are very bounded to place. Butchers, bakeries, they are one with the neighborhood. The people know the entrepreneur, are used to his services and trust the enterprise. Such a thing, you built up in many years."

Finally, the quote above underlines once again the tight link between independent entrepreneurs and their location. Mr. Schrijvers states that independents are considerable bounded to their neighborhood. It is not easy for independents to replace their business. This can largely be explained by their being integrated into the neighborhood, as Mr. Schrijvers tells us. They are locally bounded. Chain-stores, however, have a widely known brand.

People are rapidly familiar to chain-stores, because their retail goods, services and visual displays are the same everywhere. Independent's tight embedding in place makes them less flexible and makes them more dependent of their surroundings. When their surrounding becomes into decline, they will have to face the consequences. At the same time, chain-stores have the possibility to move elsewhere and thus are less dependent of their surrounding neighborhood.

Mr. and Ms. Frini are Turkish immigrants and have taken over the bakery in the old shopping-center five years ago. They started their own business because they had to make a living and faced many problems in receiving a job on a labor market. Their bakery provides an income, but it is not sufficient enough to make a good living. Over the past years, their bakery is doing not so well, because customer attractors such as the post office and the 'Zeeman' have left the shopping-center.

"Yes it is a bit docile lately, really docile, a bad time. We hope that it will be better across the street, but on the moment, at here, it is really bad! Buildings are empty, Zeeman is gone, post office is gone. Much has been gone, therefore less customers visit. The expression has worsened over the years! The number of customers has decreased. In the past many people walked on the street. In the past, when the post office was yet still here, it was really busy. We sold 100 till 150 pizzas, nowadays just 30 a day."

A bakery is, according to Mr. and Ms. Frini, not profitable enough in order to make a decent living, these days. That is the reason why they aim to extend their assortment. They want to transform their business into a kind of lunchroom. They state that they will have to, in order to increase their turnover and become profitable enough to deliver the rising rents of their new business unit in the new shopping-center. They express their concerns about their financial survival in the new shopping-center, however they are willing to cross the street and enter it. They do not yet have received IMK its judgment about the financial situation of their business. That means that they are not sure whether or not they will receive the financial allowance form the municipality. The uncertainty is sensible.

"The rent! Pffff! Not normal! Expensive, way too expensive! That will become hard to earn. Therefore we need more customers. That's why we want a bigger space, more customers and offer more products. Over here everything is old, there it is a nice new building. We hope for it! The rent over there is about € 4100 per month for a surface of 167 square meters, not including gas and electricity. It is a much larger surface than we have in here. Now we have about 88 square meter and we pay € 513 per month."

Mr. and Ms. Frini will have to pay a higher rent because they need a catering licensee. The converted rent will be about four times higher than their current rent. Knowing that they are not satisfied with their current situation, they will need to increase their turnover a lot. It is interesting to see their conspiracy against Mr. Kandoussi, who's story will be described later on, indicating their fear for competition. In the new shopping-center they will have to pay a high rent. Mr. and Ms. Frini are afraid that Mr. Kandoussi will be able find a cheaper location near the shopping-center and competes them out of the neighborhood.

Mr. Kandoussi is a Moroccan entrepreneur who started his pizzeria in Nieuw-Hoograven in 2001 and expanded his business with a bakery, something Mr. and Ms. Frini dissatisfied very much. His shop provides him of enough income, although it does not makes him rich. He will not enter the new shopping-center, however in first instance he was intending to. He tried to negotiate with the broker 'Van Rossum makelaars'. They did not received an agreement.

"Of course you want a unit over there, across the street, but the rent is just not reasonable! I will not work to pay the rent! I have personnel, that won't work. The rent will increase five times! When I would move to across the street, with the surface that I have here, I would pay € 61000 per year. And that's why I decided not to move to the opposite side of the street. On the moment the IMK assesses my enterprise. I have to seek for a building, it has to be applied for and I'll have to move . When IMK doesn't approves the enterprise, no money will be paid and two businesses will drown."

In The quote above Mr. Kandoussi describes the miserable situation he experiences. He is afraid to lose his businesses. The rents in the new shopping-center are too high for him. He finds it not economical reliable to invest in the new shopping-center. Since, his current location will become demolished he has to seek for a new location. Mr. Kandoussi hopes he will receive a subsidy from the municipality in order to relocate his businesses, otherwise he will have to start all over again.

"In the past, when there was much misery in here, we have asked the municipality several times if we could place cameras outside. The municipality has always rejected this request for reasons of privacy. Nevertheless, in the new shopping-center, there will be placed cameras! Of course, because there will become Dutch entrepreneurs, that's bullshit right?! The entrepreneurs that are here nowadays have, despite of all criminality, remained put. And now there will be a new shopping-center and we are not necessary anymore! Without us there would have been totally nothing yet already! We receive 'stench for thanks!'"

Mr. Kandoussi is not satisfied with the policy concerning the entrepreneurs in the old shopping-center. He feels that the immigrants are discriminated apropos of Dutch businesses. He underlines that all the entrepreneurs who are yet still located in the old shopping-center have continued their business in operation, despite of all the problems that the neighborhood faced over the past decade. He is indignant and feels that they have been used and are seen as redundant in the new shopping-center. It expresses Mr. Kandoussi his feeling that they are not welcome in the new shopping-center, because of its new and 'improved' image. What is remarkable is his feeling that the new shopping-center will become Dutch. While the Dutch and immigrants in the old shopping-center have very little contact, they share the same thoughts about what the new shopping-center will become to express and who it will become for. Chain-stores are largely connected up with the Dutch culture and project 'Hart van Hoograven' is in that sense; a capital investment into the built environment, yet also a symbolic 're-prescriber' of space. Who does the neighborhood belongs to? And who does the neighborhood doesn't belongs to anymore? Those are questions that are at real stake in this case and are experienced differently, by different groups of people. While

Mr. Schrijvers feels that the neighborhood shopping-center becomes 'reconceived' by the Dutch, Mr. Kandoussi feels displaced. At the same time, Mr. and Ms. Frini will open a lunchroom, focusing on the new Dutch 'users' of space. However, the only immigrant focused entrepreneur left, is the Moroccan market, who will remain to offer 'exotic' products to the immigrants that are settled in Nieuw-Hoograven. One clearly sees how the neighborhood's representation becomes transformed due to the capital investments that are taking place.

"But trust me, within a year all small entrepreneurs will flee! Those will not remain, really! One sees how it goes in here, it doesn't attract customers. Nobody walks on the street and that will be exactly the same across the street. Well, it is a game, they just don't want us there."

Mr. Kandoussi states that no small entrepreneur will survive the high rents they will have to pay in the new shopping-center. He points to the limited customers that the shopping-center will attract. However, one could also argue that the potential of customers will increase as a result of the restructuring process that is taking place in the neighborhood. The increasing high income residents will affect in an upward consumption pattern. Mr. Kandoussi describes the situation as a 'game' to get rid of them. By 'them' he means in particular the immigrant entrepreneurs. However, there are also Dutch entrepreneurs who are not able to make the switch to the new shopping center. Mr. De Bruijn is one of those entrepreneurs.

Mr. De Bruijn is a barber who is located in Nieuw-Hoograven for 25 years and he has taken the business over from his father about 25 years ago. All 50 years, his business has been located in the Nieuw-Hoograven. His business is providing him of enough income to make a living. Mr. De Bruijn states that many small shops have left the neighborhood because they couldn't survive financially. He claims that the neighborhood's population has dramatically changed—in particular many immigrants entered the neighborhood—and they did not visit the Dutch businesses. His business unit, in the old shopping-center, should have been a temporarily location. In first instance he intended to enter the new shopping-center. However, his temporarily location turned out to be his final destination. The new shopping-center offers not the kind of business unit Mr. De Bruijn needs and he finds himself too old, because the shopping-center should be finished in 2002, to do a large investment that is necessarily in order to enter into the new shopping-center.

"On the moment, this street is not very powerful of course! I wouldn't know how that will develop itself across the street, but there will enter some nice businesses over there. I do expect a lot from it. It is also a nice building and a large Albert Heijn, so yes, that has a huge attraction! I think it's a pity that I can't come along. It is nothing yet, but it will run for sure. New residents that have something to spend, because when you hear about the rents and prices over there, than it have to be people with high incomes. That are potential customers. I think it will become a success, that shopping-center!"

Mr. De Bruijn experiences it as a pity that he cannot invest into the new shopping-center. He expects that the new shopping-center has great chance to become a success. He mentions the upward development of the neighborhood, as a result of an introduction of high income residents, and the 'nice' businesses that will enter the shopping-center. Mr. De Bruijn calls

these 'nice' businesses in one brief with a large Albert Heijn. What Mr. De Bruijn really means to say, is that the new shopping-center will come to house economical strong brands. 'Marginal' retail in the old deteriorated and devalorized shopping-center will become replaced by financially strong retailers—among who, in particular, chain-stores. It is interesting that Mr. De Bruijn thinks it is a pity that he can't invest in the new shopping-center. He is really charmed by it and thinks it will become a great success. Mr. De Bruijn is a Dutch entrepreneur and feels strongly connected to the neighborhood. He has a history in the neighborhood and knew all the people who used to live in New Hoograven, before they moved to the suburbs decades ago. It is considerable that Mr. De Bruijn, just as Mr. Schrijvers and Mr. Binkhuizen, is charmed by the idea that it will become a strong Dutch shopping-center, suggesting that old days will return. However, Mr. De Bruijn doesn't receive this opportunity, he will not continue his business.

"Chain-stores are able to transform a shopping-center to a powerful whole and that is what you see happening everywhere. Small businesses, like myself, have no chance anymore. I can't deliver a rent of € 2000. And you get offered 115 square meters, well I have more than enough with 35 a 40 square meter. In fact, you just get promoted away. They always told me that I had priority and rights, however when you afterwards come with a three a four times larger unit than I need, then they could just as easy have said: "Joh, get the hell out of here, we don't need you anymore!" Of course, that is not what they say, but it is the practical reality. Yes, then you get businesses like Etos and Zeeman, chain-stores one could say, those you see appearing through all of the Netherlands...nowadays when you have to rent in a new shopping-center, you will never be able to as an independent. My current rent provides me enough opportunities to make a living, thus my business is viable. However, as a consequence of the new shopping-center the costs will just become too high. It demands a considerable investment and the rent is not workable for me, with my income. I can't and wouldn't want to pay it."

Mr. De Bruijn describes that he is 'promoted out of the neighborhood', by dramatically high rents in the new shopping-center. He was promised a prior position for entering the new shopping-center. However, a unit of 115 square meters is not; realistic, needful and economically workable for an independent barber. Another barber, a Moroccan one, that is also operating in the old shopping-center will also not enter the new shopping-center. This barber even has an employee, yet the business unit that was offered to them is just too large and the rents are too high. Mr. De Bruijn states that 'rights' were promised to him, however he feels that in practice they just want to get rid of him. Mr. De Bruijn claims that the high rents and large business units in new shopping-centers are major reasons why independents have no chance in entering them. He points out to a general development in the Netherlands that chain-stores take over neighborhood shopping-centers. The rent he pays in the old shopping-center provides him enough opportunities to make a living, however the rents in the new shopping-center are not achievable for his kind of businesses. Painful, is that a chain-store barber will enter into the new shopping-center across the street. Mr. De Bruijn is indignant and angry about his situation, and the situation concerning independents in general. He has the feeling that project 'Hart van Hoograven' is constructed for chain-stores and not for independents, they just don't want him.



The picture on the left shows the old deteriorated shopping-center and the picture on the right shows the new shopping-center and apartment complex 'Hart van Hoograven'.

How the neighborhood becomes 'reconquered' from the urban poor

This case represents a state-led gentrification in an early postwar neighborhood. In this case the border between the 'good' Dutch retailer and the 'marginalized' immigrant entrepreneurs has become very clear. The Dutch independents are not charmed by the immigrants that have settled into the neighborhood. They do not accept them as 'real' entrepreneurs and see them as a representation of the neighborhood's deprivation. "*Nothing good came back*", a statement from Mr. Schrijver that symbolizes the general thoughts about these 'marginal' entrepreneurs and the negative spiral the shopping-center faced over the past decade. The immigrant retailers, on the other hand, are much more focusing inward. They primarily struggle with continue their business and keeping their business in maintenance. However, among them there exists a feeling of displacement, especially among those that haven't reached an agreement to settle in the new shopping-center. They have the feeling that they are not welcome and feel subordinated to the Dutch entrepreneurs. However, some immigrant entrepreneurs do also aim to reach the new Dutch consumers and transform their business's target population, while others remain focusing on the immigrants who still live in the neighborhood by offering 'exotic' products.

All entrepreneurs that will enter into the new shopping-center will have to deal with strongly rising rents. They all live in the uncertainty whether or not they will be able to increase their turnover in the new shopping-center. Although, most entrepreneurs look forward to their new location. Traumatized as they are by the deprived situation in their old deteriorated shopping-center, they hope that the newly built shopping-center will become a success and will provide them a more prosperous future. Other entrepreneurs are more concerned about their decreasing financial position, due to the dramatically rising rents they will have to deliver.

'Hart van Hoograven' is built for financially strong businesses. The business units are large and the rents are high. It looks like they are built for large scale chain-stores. As analyzed previously, chain-stores are expected to attract the critical mass and, they in particular, have the power to turn a shopping-center into an economical success. This is the

hope of many independents also, because they expect to benefit from a strong consumer-attraction towards the shopping-center. The increasing proportion of high income residents that settle in Nieuw-Hoograven as a result of the restructuring program, is expected to deliver a more prosperous potential of consumers. This is given to be the prime reason that the new shopping-center is popular among chain-stores. Therefore, one could state that the introduction of chain-stores into a 'disadvantaged' neighborhood represents its 'improvement'. Chain-stores have, contrary to independent retailers, the financial power to settle in a neighborhood when it becomes profitable and leave the neighborhood when the rate of profitability decreases. Among independents this rate of flexibility is less real. They are often more strongly connected to their location, hence to the neighborhood. Taking this thought into consideration, chain-stores do represent neighborhood's profitability and thus express progress, instead of deterioration. In the case of project 'Hart van Hoograven' this might be even more important since it is advertised as an 'eyecatcher' by real estate developers and investors. The rising rents and a selection policy, based upon financial criteria, make it highly difficult for small independents, in particular financially weak ones, to invest in the new shopping-center. However, there is also an important representational aspect involved. The project has to become merchandized by both the real estate developer and the real estate investor. In this case a radical 'revalued', yet standardized, symbolic transformation is expected. It feels like a tendency in which the neighborhood has to become Dutch again, 'conquered' back from the urban poor immigrants. That is what this development looks like. However, economical forces overrule the social ones in this case. The real estate developer aims to market its property. In this marketing process all kinds of representations are welcome, as long as it is representing 'success'. The real estate developer tries to maintain the 'good' and 'successful' representation by an obligatory 'entrepreneurial-unity'. The overruling economical principles are underlined by the new shopping-center being built for chain-stores. Chain-stores are seen as the prime retailers that turn a shopping-center into an economical success. Nevertheless, at the same time, a struggle is taking place about who the neighborhood belongs to? The Dutch entrepreneurs feel backed up by the project developers, and the chain-stores that enter into the neighborhood. They have the feeling that it will become Dutch again. The immigrant entrepreneurs are less satisfied; they try to find alternative locations, fleeing for the rising rents, they feel displaced and others try to make the best of it and try to survive in the new shopping-center.

In order to conclude, the new shopping-center 'Hart van Hoograven' implies rough standardization. While some independents have the right to settle into the new center and they did, the shopping-center is built in order to house chain-stores. Thoughts about economical principles, yet also thoughts about space are of great importance in the 're-prescribing' of the neighborhood. These thoughts are certainly not always based upon rational grounds. The real estate developer and investor operate conform economic principles, which means that the shopping-center should become an economical and symbolical success. What they don't know or don't realize, is that much more feelings among the entrepreneurs and the shopping center's 'users' are at stake. These different feelings deliver different spaces. Will the new shopping-center become a place where migrant youngsters hang around and migrant elderly find one another for a little chat at the pizzeria?

It is most unlikely. No, the new shopping-center has dealt with these 'problems' by producing an environment that represses these 'street' kinds of identities and transforms it into a controlled, standardized, middle-class, Dutch identity. It has to be said, the new shopping-center 'Hart van Hoograven' is a large improvement compared to the old deteriorated shopping-center. However, these improvements cannot be seen loosely from the restructuring process that is taking place in the neighborhood and the aim to 're-prescribe' the neighborhood upwardly for the Dutch middle class, displacing signs of the urban poor.

Conclusion

Gentrification always goes together with capital investments into the built environment, that was the starting point of this chapter. The Dapperbuurt in Amsterdam and Nieuw-Hoograven are both neighborhoods that deal with capital investments into the built environment of the local entrepreneurs. The restructuring process that is taking place in both neighborhoods, which is typified as a state-led type of gentrification, implies a redistribution of the income population. Concerning the retailers' built environment, the restructuring process implies a renovation of the neighborhood's shopping streets in the case of the older prewar Dapperbuurt and a renewal of the neighborhood's shopping-center in the case of the early postwar Nieuw-Hoograven. The redistribution of the income population in these state-led gentrifying neighborhoods takes place by decreasing the amount of social rental dwellings and increasing the amount of more expensive rental dwellings and owner-occupied houses. By doing this, the neighborhood becomes redefines for a more prosperous income population. The redistribution of the neighborhood's income population should result in an increasing livability. At the same time, policy makers and corporations in the case of the Dapperbuurt and real estate developers in the case of Nieuw-Hoograven, link up the neighborhood economy with the neighborhood's; livability, attractiveness and image. The connection that the 'makers' of space make between the neighborhood economy and the neighborhood's 'quality' is of great interest for this research. It shows the symbolic power that belongs to shopping streets and shopping-centers, and it does also show the connection between gentrification and consumption spaces and their representation. What does livability and attractiveness mean in the eyes of the 'makers' of space? What image do they strive for? Who does this image belongs to? What and who should be represented and what and who should not be represented in these state-led gentrifying neighborhoods? Those are questions that remain the basis of this research and neighborhood consumption spaces offer a great deal of understanding these issues in terms of their representation.

Capital investments into the built environment seem to intertwine largely with institutions' thoughts about space. The capital investments result in increasing rents, however this is not the only feature that is at stake. Institutions, both commercial as non-commercial, aim to 'force' a certain kind of representation. This suggests that capital investment in the built environment are the economical tool to 're-prescribe' the neighborhood upwardly for 'new' high-income 'users', in terms of residents and tourism. At the same time, institutional selection policies seem to be the social tools for 're-prescribing' the neighborhoods. In the perspective of shopping streets and shopping-centers, the social regulatory tools come into practice through selection of retailers that suffice rational economic criteria. However, subjective criteria seem to be involved also., because the entrepreneurs competency and the kind of shop he aims to set up in the neighborhood turned out to be criteria for, both the corporations in the Dapperbuurt as the real estate developer in Nieuw-Hoograven, to allow the entrepreneur to settle in the neighborhood or not. The economical criteria are based upon thought about a 'strong' neighborhood economy. The idea is that when one would only allow those entrepreneurs that are financially strong enough, it would improve the neighborhood economy as a whole. In the Dapperbuurt this idea has largely been connected with the neighborhood's attractiveness and image. This

indicates the subjective thoughts about what a 'strong' neighborhood means. In the case of the Dapperbuurt the neighborhood should become a 'high-quality urban living environment'. The 'makers' of space associate a 'high-quality urban living environment' with the presence of financially strong retailers. The analyses have shown that the renovation can be seen as an attribute in order to redefine the neighborhood. At the same time, there exists a strong tension and suspicion between the corporation and the local shopkeepers. The friction between both parties might be explained by the 'forced' shift that the corporations aim to realize, while the local shopkeepers and their consumers feel comfortable in their neighborhood. A shift that can be compared with two continental plates that clash. In this metaphor, the anger can be compared with an earthquake. The capital investments into the built environment cannot be seen apart from the 'makers' thoughts about space. The renovation and the selection criteria should contribute to the neighborhood's *attractiveness* and *image*, as been analyzed. However, at the same time the neighborhood undergoes a restructuring process. In the theory, these restructuring processes have also been described as a way of 'civilizing' and controlling disadvantaged neighborhoods. The rising financial and segmental barriers for new shops and the aim to 'improve' the neighborhood's attractiveness and image provides a link between the process of gentrification and the consumption space its representation. What and who should be represented? It seems to be a 'high-quality urban living environment' that implies a controlled space that belongs, in an increasingly degree, to those who can afford to consume the 'good urban life' and in a decreasingly degree to those who cannot afford it, and become displaced. It seems that the 'makers' try to 're-prescribe' the Dapperbuurt for a 'new' high-income 'user', hence the neighborhood's image has to become 'revalued'. A 'representational' consumption space belongs to such a 'revaluation'. Of course, this is a rather strong statement and an enhanced visualization of what takes place, nevertheless an upward tendency is strived for.

In the case of Nieuw-Hoograven, a brand new shopping-center has been constructed. The rents will increase radical and many entrepreneurs are not able to make the switch to the new shopping-center, while others that do make the switch remain in the large uncertainty whether or not they will survive the rising rents. In this case economical principles seem to overrule the social ones. The real estate investor demands high rents in order to gain individual profits, however there is also a large representational aspect involved. While the representational aspect is also largely based upon economic principles, the thoughts about space remain quite subjective and of great importance in the 're-prescription' of the neighborhood. Project 'Hart van Hoograven' is a new shopping-center that primarily has been constructed in order to house chain-stores. Chain-stores are given the power to make a shopping-center an economical success, because chain-stores are expected to attract sufficient consumers, known as the critical mass, to a shopping-center in order to make it an economical success. Nevertheless, some independent retailers will settle in the new shopping-center. These businesses are all local entrepreneurs that received a primacy in order to settle into the new shopping-center, due to the fact that their old 'deteriorated' shopping-center will become demolished. In terms of representation, the real estate developer and the real estate investor aim to merchandize their project as a success. They can use it as a showcase in order to receive new projects. However, since the real estate developer presents project 'Hart van Hoograven' as the new 'eyecatcher' of the

neighborhood there seems to exist a relation between the shopping-center's economical function and the neighborhood's image as a whole. Shopping-centers have a great deal in this process, because they function as the 'hearth' of a neighborhood. Shopping-centers express the neighborhood's identity and express what the neighborhood has to offer. While the old deteriorated shopping-center represented 'poverty', the new shopping center should represent 'improvement'. In order to guarantee a well representation, the real estate owner has set up criteria, which the retailers have to satisfy. At first, the retailer is checked upon its financial appropriateness and secondly the retailer himself has to be 'appropriate'. The real estate developer aims to allow only 'strong' entrepreneurs in order to create an economical and representational successful shopping-center.

The neighborhood economy represents who 'uses' the neighborhood and who belongs in the neighborhood. It attracts people towards a neighborhood, yet it also excludes people out of a neighborhood. And especially, exclusion is taking place in the Dapperbuurt and in Nieuw-Hoograven. In both neighborhoods, the 'makers' of space aim to 're-prescribe' who the neighborhood belongs to and what the neighborhood is. What and who should be visible and what and who should not be visible? That is the crucial question that is at stake in here. In the case of the Dapperbuurt, the 'makers' seem to have an idea about 'good' shops and 'bad' shops. There exists a link between these kind of judgments about what is 'good' and what is 'bad' and the 'users' that these shops represent. The shops that represent the 'old' 'users' should transform or disappear, although that is how many of the local entrepreneurs feel it. They feel displaced, displaced by the renovation that is taking place in their shopping streets. However, this process is not happening without any struggles. Many entrepreneurs are strongly social and economical embedded into the neighborhood and thus try to survive by seeking for remaining affordable locations in the neighborhood, while others fight the corporations in court. At the same time, the social impact of these kinds of displacements comes to an expression by the political attention that has urged. The shop's representation and the 're-prescription' of the neighborhood go hand in hand. When shops become displaced or their representation transforms upwardly, their (former) customers won't recognize themselves in their (former) shops. This is a process of symbolic exclusion that seems to come along with a process of gentrification. The former 'users' become less represented and the neighborhood's new 'users' become increasingly represented. That is what a representational shift in the Dapperbuurt implies.

In Nieuw-Hoograven another type of exclusion is taking place. The old deteriorated and devalorized shopping-center offered affordable business units for financial weak entrepreneurs, among who several immigrant entrepreneurs. In this process, a border developed between the Dutch entrepreneurs and the immigrants. While the Dutch entrepreneurs felt that they represented the neighborhood, before it went into decline, they approach the immigrants as newcomers that represent current 'disadvantaged' situation of the neighborhood. The deteriorated shopping-center is seen as a representation of the poor immigrants that live in the neighborhood. The Dutch entrepreneurs associate the construction of the new shopping-center as a kind of 'savior'. The Dutch entrepreneurs feel that their neighborhood becomes middle-class Dutch again, 'reconquered' from the urban poor immigrants. It is interesting to see that also the immigrant entrepreneurs experience it that way. They feel displaced, yet some have made the switch, hoping for a prosperous

future. It seems that the Dutch entrepreneurs rather associate themselves with chain-stores than with their immigrant neighbor. The new shopping-center will become a controlled space, representing a standardized, middle-class, Dutch identity, in which signs of the urban poor have largely become eliminated.

The representation of space turns out to be of great importance. This chapter shows how the 'makers' of space try to 'prescribe' and control space by 'revitalizing' the neighborhood's shopping streets in the case of the Dapperbuurt and a shopping-center in Nieuw-Hoograven. What is important to understand is that in these cases the neighborhood's built environment is largely dominated and controlled by singular institutions, similar to the earlier discussed Project Parkhaven in Utrecht. In these kind of strongly controlled environments radical interventions are taking place in order to 're-prescribe' the neighborhood. This varies from cases such as the 'Oude Pijp' and Lombok, where the ownership of the neighborhood's built environment is more separated into several small landlords.

Conclusion and discussion

In this project's conclusion and discussion an answer will be given on the main research question: *What are the social consequences when people's representation by the symbolic production of neighborhood consumption spaces transform, triggered by a process of gentrification?* After answering the main research question, the results are used in order to discuss and reconsider the theory existing about the issue of gentrification and representation in the theoretical reflection. There will be finish with a critical discussion about this study and its used methodology.

General conclusion

After many words, this research has reached up to its conclusion. In the conclusion this project's main question will be answered. Rarely a research delivers clear cut answers and this research is not an exception on that scientific 'law'. The issue of gentrification and representation is a complex one that connects different 'makers' and different 'users' with all different; ideas, feelings and thoughts, about space. Nevertheless, there has been tried to connect the issue of gentrification and the issue of representation, by focusing on consumption spaces in gentrifying neighborhoods and analyze what is happening with the present shops and their representation, why this is happening and what the social consequences are. What and who should be visible and what and who should not be visible?

Power in the built environment and the 'makers' desired representation

Project Parkhaven is a 'new construction for the better-off'. Nieuw-Hoograven is an early postwar neighborhood that undergoes a restructuring process that is typified as a state-led type of gentrification. The Dapperbuurt is an older prewar neighborhood that also undergoes a restructuring process, hence a state-led type of gentrification. An important similitude between these neighborhoods is the power of singular institutions that own and control the neighborhood's built environment. In the case of Project Parkhaven and Nieuw-Hoograven these are the real estate developers and in the Dapperbuurt it are the corporations. In these cases capital investments into the built environment have much radical consequences for the retailers that operate in the neighborhood, hence their representation. Many will not be able to afford the rising rents and will become pushed out of the neighborhood. Others will have to deal with a decreasing income that they are able to receive from their business due to the rising rents. In order to conclude, this implies increasing barriers for financially weak entrepreneurs, especially those that operate in the lower segments of the market, to set up their business in the neighborhood. At the same time, the neighborhood will become more exclusive for the more 'prosperous' businesses that operate in the higher segments of the market, as a result of the entering high-income 'users' and the renewed business units, increasing the investment willingness among these entrepreneurs.

Besides the effects of capital investments into the built environment, these singular institutions effectively control the neighborhood. They have the power to dominate the neighborhood's policy concerning the selectivity of 'desired' shops. Other than in neighborhoods that are characterized by a differentiated ownership of the built environment—as Lombok in Utrecht and the 'Oude Pijp' in Amsterdam—do neighborhoods

that are dominated by singular institutions are more effectively able to apply a large scale homogeneous policy upon those retailers that are located and those that are willing to locate their businesses in the neighborhood. For the shopping-streets this means that the transformations, due to capital investments into the built environment and the landlords policy, is processing quite radical in neighborhoods that are dominated by singular institutions, while neighborhoods that are characterized by a differentiated ownership of the built environment show a quite ‘fluently’ process of transformation. In this research this is described as a ‘naturally’ kind of gradual transformation of retailers, due to gentrification.

Gentrification and the representational transformation of consumption spaces

Capital investments into the built environment and selection policies are one major trigger for transformations in the neighborhood’s retail, another important trigger that this research describes are changing markets, due to a process of gentrification. Changing markets means that the neighborhood has become a product. The neighborhood becomes commodified for a new prosperous ‘user’, in terms of residents and visitors. Gentrification affects the neighborhood’s ‘users’ and consumers upwardly in terms of income. These new, more prosperous, ‘users’ and consumers of the neighborhood affect retailers’ target population. Retailers have shown to gladly turn their businesses’ target population towards these, high-income consumers, in order to increase their profitability. The transformation of their target population from, their rather ‘marginalized’ consumers into the more prosperous consumers does affect their visual display upwardly. This process has been described as a transformation from ‘marginal’ shops into ‘fancy’ shops. Gentrification does also increase the neighborhoods attraction for other ‘fancy’ retailers and chain-stores that will not hesitate to invest in neighborhoods that offer them rising economical opportunities. ‘Re-prescription’ of the neighborhood by the ‘makers’ of space and the entering high-income ‘users’ of space thus affects the neighborhood’s representation upwardly. However, it remains important to understand the institution’s power in the neighborhoods that undergo a state-led process of gentrification. These neighborhoods show a controlled process of transformation, while those neighborhoods that undergo a classic market-led ‘naturally’ kind of gentrification are strongly transformed in by, free market forces, in terms of the retailer’s upwardly developing target populations.

Case	Type of gentrification	Power in built environment	Transformation, consumption spaces	Transformation, representation
<i>‘Oude Pijp’</i>	Classic gentrification	Differentiated	‘Naturally’	Gradual
<i>Lombok</i>	Classic gentrification	Differentiated	‘Naturally’	Gradual
<i>Project Parkhaven</i>	‘New projects for the better-off’	Limited by singular institutions	Controlled	Radical
<i>Dapperbuurt</i>	State-led gentrification in older prewar neighborhood	Limited by singular institutions	Controlled	Radical
<i>Nieuw-Hoograven</i>	State-led gentrification in early postwar neighborhood	Limited by singular institutions	Controlled	Radical

Table 4: Gentrification and the transformation of consumption spaces and their representation

This research shows how different types of gentrification transform the neighborhood's representation and why consumption spaces are significant producer of symbols. The rate of transformation is strongly depending on; the neighborhood's 'users', the landlord's desired image, the availability of business units in the neighborhood, and the strengths of people's commitment to neighborhoods. While all cases show some kind of upwardly transformation in retail's visual display—hence its production of symbols—the transformation process does not shows the in the same speed, forms and outcomes in all cases.

Representations of local communities or representations of the urban poor?

This project has struggled with the difference between the representation of the urban poor and the representation of local vernacular (multi)culture, in terms of communities. One could describe this as a cultural and a socioeconomically perspective of representation. This is an aspect that should be clarified before turning into further conclusions.

The case of Lombok shows that the immigrant shopkeepers produce sights of multiculturalism. In Lombok the shops represent local immigrant communities. The multicultural image that has been developed has become increasingly embraced by the 'left-winged yuppies'. The multicultural image has developed the neighborhood to become an urban attraction. However, the same shops are also labeled as 'marginalized'. 'Marginal' shops are approached to be financially weak entrepreneurs that operate in the lower segments of the market that are characterized by low profit opportunities. These entrepreneurs often set up a business in order to improve their socioeconomic position. These types of shops represent 'poverty' as a result of their 'low-budget' visual display.

An explanation for the intertwinement between representations of multiculturalism and 'poverty' is that; it are in particular immigrant shops that set up new businesses in the lower segments of the market and mostly in devalorized built environments. These markets are characterized by low entry barriers and thus fierce large competition and low profitability. It is therefore that in particular immigrant shops that represent the urban poor.

Contrary to the representation of the urban poor, the case of Nieuw-Hoograven shows how economically strong chain-stores are seen as a representation of the middle class Dutchman. This can be explained by the concentration of capital in the Dutch retail sector. Many Dutch independent retailers have become replaced or taken over by chain-store formulas, meaning that the independent shopkeeper relatively decreases on the social stratification ladder. This is how independent retailers—in particular immigrants, who moreover tend to operate in the lower segments of the market, competing the chain-stores—have become representing the urban poor. In Lombok this has resulted in a unique and authentic image which has affected in the neighborhood's popularity among tourists and high-income residents. However, in state-led gentrifying neighborhoods, such as; Nieuw-Hoograven in Utrecht and the Dapperbuurt in Amsterdam, 'marginal' retailers are approached to produce an undesired image due to their production of symbols that represent 'poverty' instead of the 'makers' desired image of a 'high-quality urban environment'. However, what does a 'high-quality urban environment really means?

Yuppies and their representation

The high-income 'users' of space, labeled as; gentrifiers, yuppies and urban tourists, seem to be charmed by expressions of local immigrant communities that represents multiculturalism. However, their consumption pattern is different, compared to the immigrants, because transformations of shops are noticeable in neighborhoods where the 'users' develop upwardly.

In the case of the 'Oude Pijp' retailers have slowly become transformed from 'marginal' shops and restaurants that represent the urban poor, into 'fancy' shops and restaurants that represents popular market culture. In this case, the multicultural representation is also embraced by the gentrifiers, however the stores have become more and more focused upon Dutch tourists and yuppies. In this case the multicultural representation doesn't represent local communities, yet it represents 'global' popular culture. Popular multiculturalism in this research is understood to be a multicultural expression and image that has become cultivated by market forces. The Dutch tourists and yuppies are likely to be a more prosperous customer for the retailers, their visual display and retail goods will become orienting onto this new target population, offering them larger profit opportunities. While the 'Oude Pijp' has become a major attraction to yuppies and urban tourists from a wide range, Lombok's shopping streets yet still attract and represent the local immigrant population of Utrecht. Nevertheless, the shops in Lombok do also show signs of transformations towards high-income 'users', however it seems that its local focus remains put in a larger extend than in the case of the 'Oude Pijp'. It is of great interest for this thesis to see what effects the new shopping-center 'Buenos Aires' will have on Lombok's shops and Lombok's future representation. Project Parkhaven is a project that is exclusively constructed for the better-off and symbolizes, in an extreme, what 'yuppie-shops' imply conform the thoughts about the 'makers' of space. In this case the all retailers serve in order to attract a high-class consumer to the neighborhood and border it from the urban poor. The retailers in Project Parkhaven operate in order to pleasure the neighborhood's inhabitants and visitors and should contribute to the real estate developers' desired image of a 'high-quality urban life'.

Consumption spaces as symbolic sights of exclusion and inclusion

The cultural perspective of representation and the socioeconomically perspective of representation do both intertwine along each other, because particular representations are, and are approached to be, popular among yuppies. At the same time, the socioeconomic perspective learns us that 'marginal' retailers are in some cases embraced by yuppies and urban tourists, while these type of retailers do also breed moral rejection, in particular among the 'makers' of space. Popularity and moral rejection contradict and intertwine along each other, which makes the issue of representation quite complex.

Standardized representations that chain-stores produce are rejected by the 'urbanites', who prefer authenticity and uniqueness. At same time, the 'makers' of space approach chain-stores as a sign of improvement in terms of the economical success of the neighborhood shopping street and shopping-center as well in terms of the neighborhood's image. The case of Nieuw-Hoograven shows how a brand new shopping-center should become an 'eyecatcher' of the neighborhood. The new shopping-center should represent

values of 'improvement'. The shopping-center is expected to represent the middle class Dutch consumers rather than the urban poor consumers that live in the neighborhood. The new shopping-center will become a Dutch shopping-center for Dutch customers offering Dutch retailers. Representation is of great importance in this case. The new shopping-center 'safes' the neighborhood from the deteriorated representation of the old shopping-center. Besides the physical aspect that the capital investments imply, the symbolical aspect should not be forgotten. The shopkeepers will have to pay a high rent and are selected upon their entrepreneurial quality and financial strength. Financially weak entrepreneurs are not welcome in the new shopping-center and those that do settle in the new center will have to confirm the developers' desired representation.

Ironically, the restructuring process of this early postwar neighborhood has in the theory described as a state-led type of gentrification in order to 'lure' a middle classes into these kind of disadvantaged neighborhood, in order to control the neighborhood. It seems that the shopping-center should represent the Dutch middle class and 're-conquer' the neighborhood from the urban poor immigrants that were represented by the old shopping-center. The new shopping-center functions directly as a mechanism that controls the neighborhood. The new shopping-center, different from the old devalorized and deteriorated shopping-center, radically displaces the immigrant poor that 'hang around' the old shopping-center. The poor immigrants are barely represented in the new shopping-center and it leaves fewer opportunities for them to meet each other. In this case, the local community has become demolished symbolically, yet also very real because particular types people have become excluded while other types of people have become included. The shopping-center named 'Hart van Hoograven' doesn't implies the 'hearth' of the poor immigrants that live in the neighborhood, instead it turns out to refer to the 'hearth' of the Dutch middle class that should become 'lured' into the neighborhood.

Contrary to the case of Nieuw-Hoograven, standardized chain-stores are not desired in Project Parkhaven. These kinds of retailers do not fit in the neighborhood's 'profile'. In this case independents entrepreneurs should contribute to the real estate developers' desired image. Nevertheless, the retailers that are selectively located in project Parkhaven are described as 'fancy' retailers, representing the yuppies. In other cases there has been analyzed that 'fancy' retailers are mainly focused on the Dutch consumer and in the theory the yup has been described as the new middle class of postindustrial economy. This means that, both Nieuw-Hoograven as Project Parkhaven their retail represents the middle-class, however both projects do not desire the same image. The answer to this question leys in the fact that these consumption spaces do not serve the same goal. The shopping-center in Nieuw-Hoograven is built in order to provide the neighborhood of their daily goods, while the businesses in Project Parkhaven are oriented on pleasure, leisure and entertainment. What both cases connects is that the existence of 'marginal' retail, representing the urban poor, is undesired and being banished.

In Nieuw-Hoograven and Project Parkhaven the number of business units is limited. However, in the Dapperbuurt the number of business units is large. While in this neighborhood 'marginal' retailers are also undesired and banished by means of selection-criteria and rising rents in the retailers' built environment due to capital investments, this built environment will remain offering opportunities for financially weak entrepreneurs to set up

their businesses. The 'makers' aim to 'revalue' the neighborhood by 'revitalization' of the Dapperbuurt's neighborhood economy, yet the structure of the built environment and the entrepreneurial commitment to the neighborhood has developed into a struggle against the corporations that are responsible for the 'revitalization'. The independents try to find new affordable locations in order to retain their business in the neighborhood and they fight the corporation in court. In this case the entrepreneurs have become supported by local politics, providing them money to litigate against the corporations. Lombok and the 'Oude Pijp' show a different kind of development. In these cases the representational transformation develops gradual and shows a more 'naturally' transformation of the consumption space. In these cases the neighborhood primarily become transformed by rising opportunity structures. The 'new' high-income 'users' conduct opportunity structures for 'new' entrepreneurship that operates in the higher segments of the market. It are primarily the upward 'users' that transform the neighborhood's representation. In terms of representation this means that the multi-cultural representation, that intertwines with an expression of the urban poor, slowly transforms towards an assessable 'popular' representation. A shift towards an increasingly assessable representation results in an kind of oppressive process, whereby the 'new' high-income 'users', who aim to enjoy and consume the urban character of diversity, slowly take over the neighborhood's representation and the (former) 'users' become symbolically repressed out of the neighborhood.

All cases show different kinds of social consequences and the link between gentrification and displacement comes to an expression by consumption spaces and their representation. What is happening in the consumption spaces of gentrifying neighborhoods, is not just a displacement of shops and a transformation of shops' target populations, it is also a displacement of people's representation. People recognize themselves in their shops and the neighborhood shopping streets represent, produce and reproduce the neighborhood's identity. When the neighborhood's identity transforms, another type of 'users' feels belonging to the neighborhood and the former 'users' become symbolically repressed. Inclusion and exclusion have become key words in describing the social consequences that gentrification implies when people's representation by the symbolic production of neighborhood consumption spaces transform, triggered by a process of gentrification.

Theoretical reflection

This projects theoretical chapter started with Zukin's statement that we must pay greater attention to the material inequalities that are in stake in cultural strategies of economic growth and community revitalization. Gentrification—in particular state-led gentrification—is a process of community revitalization. Since the 'new middle class' is of main importance in the postindustrial economy, neighborhood's representation can be seen as a cultural strategy in attracting the 'new middle class' labor force of postindustrial economy to the city—this process intertwines with urban tourism; another powerful urban economy. Gentrification connects community revitalization and 'strategies of economic growth'.

In the theory it has been argued that the city takes an important position in the postindustrial mode of production, because it are in particular cities that form a 'creative' environment, which is of great importance for the postindustrial immaterial; service-knowledge- and 'creative' economy. It has also been argued that postindustrial mode of

production creates a social economical polarization. Therefore, it is worthy to analyze the representation of gentrifying neighborhoods. In this project that has been done by analyzing the transformations of retailers' visible displays in gentrifying neighborhoods.

Gentrifying neighborhoods are characterized by a devalorized built environment and a low-income population. Therefore, it can be expected that those environments will offer fruitfully places for financially weak entrepreneurs to set up a business that represent the urban poor. Hence, at the same time, these neighborhoods represent the socioeconomic polarization in cities that derives from the postindustrial mode of production. Gentrification implies a process of upwardly social, physical and cultural transformation of neighborhoods. This would mean that gentrification is an interesting issue to examine the symbolic creative destruction that is taking place in gentrifying neighborhoods. The symbolic creative destruction can be seen as the cultural upwardly transformation that gentrification involves. Retailers, approached as a means of representation, can be seen as a cultural expression of people. Referring back to Zukin's statement; that we must pay greater attention to the material inequalities that are in stake of cultural strategies of economic growth, would call for a notion of the cultural expressions of inequality in the city. Financially weak businesses, in this project referred to as 'marginal' shops, represent these material inequalities. Nevertheless, they—-independent retailers, among who those that operate in the lower segments of the market—remain of importance for the quality of urban life and they—in particular independent immigrant retailers—are able to produce unique and authentic places that 'urbanites' prefer. Independent retailers turn space into place: "sense of place". However, because these businesses are typified and experienced more often as 'marginal' than as 'exiting', they have become disliked and by the 'makers' of space approached to represent 'poverty' rather than uniqueness and authenticity.

In the theory it has been described that the production of space is dominated by capitalistic mode of production. In developed western economies, human capital has become more and more important. Florida describes this as; a people instead of capital oriented economy. One can imagine that the city would become 're-prescribed' in order to connect and attract human capital. It has also been argued that there exists an intimate relation between space and processes of making symbols. Ideologies are created in specific spaces. These spaces then provide pictures in our mind when conceive our identity, structuring, and continue to structure, the ongoing production of spaces. Retailers' production of symbols of 'poverty' expresses the urban socioeconomic polarization. While, current postindustrial mode of production demands a city that attracts and connects the 'new middle class'—in current scientific debate labeled as the 'creative class'—the question arises: who likes to live in a city that represents 'poverty'?

Gentrification and restructuring policies are both an effect and an actor in order to attract and connect the postindustrial middle class ,aka human capital, to the city by the production of; attractive, lively, unique and authentic places to live. One can imagine the position that the neighborhood economy has in creating these kind of neighborhoods, producing images that represent a high-quality of urban life. However, what does a 'high-quality of urban life' really means? What contradictions exists about a 'high-quality of urban life'? What happens to the urban poor and their lifestyles and representation? These are some socially relevant questions that existing theory doesn't tackle. In the scientific debate

macro developments, in economical and social perspective, are broadly and frequently described. In this project these 'big' theories have been used as a starting point, however this research tried to focus upon the complexity of gentrification and people's representation on the micro-perspective of people's everyday live, in order to deliver a contribution to the scientific gap between the issue of gentrification and people's representation.

In the general conclusion a deviation has been described between the 'makers'- and urbanites' thoughts about a 'high-quality of urban life'. It turns out that many 'urbanites' embrace the urban poor's, especially immigrants, representation, see the cases of Lombok and the 'Oude Pijp'. Both cases are the visible example that independent entrepreneurs—also 'marginal' ones—have produced; liveliness and an unique, authentic and ethno-cultural representation which forms a great attraction to urban residents and tourists. This means that not every 'marginal' retailer 'disliked' by everyone. Contrary, the 'makers' thoughts are strongly visualized by Project Parkhaven, in which a new neighborhood has been developed that satisfies all the needs of those high-income groups that prefer to consume a high-quality of urban life, which is represented by the 'fancy' retailers that have selectively been located in the neighborhood. In this case 'marginal' retailers are literally excluded, because they are approached not to contribute to the real estate developer's desired image of the neighborhood and them being blamed to attract people that do not fit in the neighborhood's profile. The present retailers in Project Parkhaven should keep the urban poor out of the neighborhood.

Inclusion and exclusion has become one of the great issues of this thesis. Gentrification does not singularly imply community revitalization, it does also imply human displacement. In this project's empirical research, it has been analyzed how space becomes 're-prescribed' in gentrifying neighborhoods for the better-off by the upwardly transformation of the neighborhood's consumption space. In this process barriers have been created in order to keep financially weak entrepreneurs out of the neighborhood and attract those businesses that are financially strong and operate in the higher segment of the market. This is a clear indication what 'revitalization' really means. It does not singularly imply 'improvement', instead it also implies a processes of inclusion and exclusion. The shops should 'speak' to the neighborhood's visitors and explain to them who belongs there and who doesn't belong there. In all cases some upwardly transformation of retailers' representation is noticeable, however the ways of transformation diverse between a 'controlled' radical process in neighborhoods that are dominated by singular institutions and a 'naturally' gradual process in neighborhoods that show a classic type of gentrification. These results are in line with Zukin's articles on consumption spaces in gentrifying neighborhoods in New York, see Zukin (2008 and 2009). However, Zukin places these developments in a broader economic context of free market capitalism with less notion for the moral order that is at stake. This research shows how economic principles and moral orders intertwine among one another and how moral thoughts about space influence physical space and its symbolic representations.

The cases in which the power in the built environment is limited by singular institutions are; Project Parkhaven, the Dapperbuurt and Nieuw-Hoograven. These cases show large moral attention and the institutions' policy is largely focused on representation. Image is important for their economical and social goals. Moral judgments have been labeled

upon particular retailers. In this research three major categorizations of shops have been distinguished; ‘marginal’ retailers, ‘fancy’ retailers and chain-stores. These different types of retailers have been linked up to different types of representations, respectively; poverty, ‘popular market culture’ and standardization. These types of representations are representing, respectively; the urban poor, yuppies and the Dutch middle-class. The project developers—commercial real estate developers and corporations—have thoughts about what businesses are ‘good’ and desired and what businesses are ‘bad’ and undesired. The shop’s visible display is of great importance in these moral thoughts about space. What image should be developed and what identity should be represented? What and who should be visible and what and who should not be visible?

Process of transformation	‘Naturally’ process of transformation	‘Controlled’ process of transformation
Representational transformation	Gradual	Radical
Trigger force	“Ask and demand”	“Moral judgments”
Prime actor	‘Users’ of space	‘Makers’ of space
Consequence	Tendency towards ‘popular’ space	Tendency towards ‘controlled’ space

Table 5: Consumption spaces’ transformation, its representational transformation and the way how it happens.

In the thoughts of the ‘makers’ of space, the desired production of symbols represent a ‘high quality of urban life’. ‘Marginal’ retail, representing poverty, does not to deliver the ‘makers’ desired image and representation. Therefore, they aim to transform the neighborhood’s image by a process of eradication of those visible displays that produce symbols of poverty. However, this is a moral rationalization of subjective meaning. In practice, the gentrifying neighborhoods; the ‘Oude Pijp’ and Lombok, show how ‘marginalized’ retailers are able to develop new sights of urban diversity, which turns out to be a great attraction to urban tourists and yuppies, despite its representation of ‘poverty’. One should understand that it is not just poverty that is represented. It are entrepreneurs that try to make a living by running an independent business and by doing that they develop a certain liveliness in the neighborhood. At the same time, often immigrant entrepreneurs, reproduce different immigrant communities that live in the city by delivering ‘exotic’ goods. These ‘marginal’ shopping streets reproduce people’s lifestyles and cultures and therefore they represent ordinary people. In these neighborhoods people’s places have become produced by the many independent retailers that are present. That is what people like about the urban life, as Zukin (1996) states: *however these shopping streets have their problems, they do produce the quality of life that urban residents prize, the public space that makes neighborhoods livable, and attaches people to place.* Besides, conform rational criteria, financially weak businesses are not always correctly typified as ‘marginal’, because many deliver enough money to make a living.

Independents, also the financially weak(er) ones, are important in shaping the cities identity. Affordable business units, offering space to all kinds of retailers are important in

order to democratize the construction of the city's identities. They represent what a city really is; they produce a people's "sense of place". While the 'makers' of space tend to hide the social polarization of material inequalities that exist in the city, by the production of commodified places of pleasure instead of people, they forget that the urban poor also has a right to be represented and contribute to the city's identity. This project shows that the 'makers' of space have ideas and thoughts about what is 'good' and what is 'bad', affecting what and who should be visible and what and who should not be visible on uses of aesthetic power. However, the 'makers' thoughts about space do not always equal the 'users' thoughts about space, resulting in a struggle between the 'users' and the 'prescribers' of space. Independent retailers often show a strong economical and social commitment with the neighborhood in which they operate and the 'ordinary' people recognize themselves in their shopping streets. People's commitment to place and the important role of shopping streets and shopping-centers in this process should not be underestimated. Strong feelings of belonging are involved, awakening strong suspicion against the symbolic transformation of neighborhood consumption spaces.

Discussion

The discussion will be the finishing touch of this thesis and it holds a substantive and methodological reflection of the research that has been done.

Substantive

This research is focused upon neighborhoods that show a process of gentrification. Nevertheless, it is not inconsiderable that every neighborhood that offers affordable business units could attract adventuring entrepreneurs that try to seek their prosperity in a business of their own. This would mean that also financially weak entrepreneurs that operate in the lower segments of the market could settle their shops in high-class neighborhoods, while representing the 'urban poor'. The structure of the built environment, especially in terms of the availability of cheap business units seems to be of great importance. While this is acknowledged by this research's theoretical chapter, this would be an issue that leaves openings for further research that focuses on neighborhoods in general, instead of limiting it to gentrifying neighborhoods. Further research, that focuses on the 'larger' macro-developments, could generate interesting knowledge about the relation between entrepreneurs and space in general. Nevertheless, this research provides usable new insights about the connection between space, entrepreneurship, representation and how spaces are perceived differently by the 'makers' and 'users' of space.

This research has focused on perceived spaces and the 'daily life' by connecting neighborhood consumption spaces with people's representation and their feelings of belonging. In doing so, the 'makers' thoughts about space have been analyzed and reflected apropos of people's daily reality. Nevertheless, in contrary to the previous critical call for further research, focusing on the general connection between independent entrepreneurs and the structure of the built environment, an in dept research on a micro scale that focuses on the 'makers'; thoughts, ideas and intentions, about and with consumption spaces would be of great relevance. In this research this issue has been approached in a broader perspective of neighborhood 'revitalization', while struggling with the distinction between

neighborhood 'revitalization' as a whole and the 'revitalization' of shopping streets and shopping-centers exclusively. Further research about the revitalization of consumption spaces could deepen the knowledge about the relation between the 'prescriber's' thoughts about what space should be and the policies that derive from these thoughts. What should neighborhood consumption spaces should become, conform the perspectives of; street managers, consultancies, local governments and the owners of the built environment, despite their relation to gentrification?

Methodology

In this research, different neighborhoods have been studied. Central in this study were neighborhood consumption spaces and their representation. In order to study the cases, qualitative data has been used. The critical question during this whole research remained; how to study 'representation'? In order to measure and judge about 'representation' and all aspects that belong to this subject, variables have been determined and each variable should be measured by a framed dimension. In practice the used variables turned out to be sufficient in order to study and 'unraveling' the neighborhoods and their consumption spaces. Nevertheless, critical notes can be put upon the dimensions. These have been used 'fluently', because they turned out to be subject of diverse interpretations. When is a product that a retailer sells 'ordinary' and when is it 'exclusive'? While an 'exotic' Turkish snack-bar in, for example Lombok, sells 'ordinary' snacks, it become 'exclusive' products in the context of the consumption space, because it goes together with an upward target population of the concerning retailer. In this case, the products that are sold don't change, yet they become presented and experienced as delicacies for the tourists that visit the neighborhood, which result in a different understanding of 'exclusive'. This is what 'fluently' implies, the dimensions of different variables, often, cannot be interpret out of the context in which the variables have been analyzed. 'Exclusive' doesn't mean the same in, a newly built, project Parkhaven as it does in an early postwar neighborhood as Nieuw-Hoograven.

This context-dependency also concerns the other dimensions. Although, many entrepreneurs felt largely committed to their neighborhood, they were strongly critical at the same time: is this a positive feeling and thought or a negative feeling and thought about space? In order to answer this question, the outcomes had to be placed into perspective. While putting the dimensions into a context the dimensions received different meanings. This means that the dimensions were not 'fixed', yet they were 'fluently' and 'multi-interpretable'. In terms of validity and reliability, this means that the 'fluent' use of dimensions resulted in a stronger validity and a weaker reliability. The validity increases, because the data does better reflect reality, yet it is harder to replicate this research.

The final point of discussion is that the data has not been separated from the interpretation. This is a validity problem. While the 'fluently' use of dimensions and the triangulation of different sources should result in a stronger verification, hence increase this research its validity, the interpretations have applied conform a normative approach. A normative study intertwines with a critical point of view, because there is a 'should' involved. This means that data selection takes place conform the researcher's idea of what is critical and what is not, what should be discussed an what should not and how should this be interpret. This point of discussion can be dealt with by means of respondent-validation. In

order to increase validity, it seems to be important, especially in normative and critical qualitative studies, that the findings are shared with the subjects and see if they agree with them. This would be a good point for further research: to what extent do the subjects agree with this research's findings? The answer to this question would be interesting for both this research's validity as for the methodological importance of respondent-validation in qualitative studies.

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