

# Bachelor's thesis

*'Gentrification in the Kinkerbuurt and its effect on the 'sense of place'*

By: Bob Felix



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**Bachelor thesis Geography, Planning & Environment (GPE)  
Nijmegen School of Management  
Radboud University Nijmegen  
June 2018**

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*All the residents of the Kinkerbuurt, who have generously helped me with interviews, coffee or anything else I needed for this research*

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## II. Foreword

This thesis is written as completion of the bachelor Geography, Planning and Environment at the Radboud University in Nijmegen. As the bachelor is very broad, this research mostly focuses on one specific aspect: the Social Geography part. This is in line with my own interests and therefore naturally feels as the right subject of this thesis.

I want to thank all the people I have interviewed for their friendly cooperation. You have given me the information that I needed for my research and I could not have done it without you.

I also want to thank my mentor, Huib Ernste, for guiding me in the right direction when necessary and providing feedback on this thesis.

Lastly, I want to thank all other people who I have confided in for this thesis, be they family, friends or other residents of the Kinkerbuurt. Thanks for brainstorming with me and helping me get to the end of the writing process.

### III. Summary

Gentrification in Amsterdam is an ongoing issue for years now. Issues concerning this phenomenon have been part of many political campaigns of differing political parties, from D66 to GroenLinks. With all this commotion around a term, one starts to wonder if some of those issues are actually truly reflected in the population. Have the residents of these gentrified neighborhoods really changed their view of their home? Their 'sense of place'? This research tries to find an answer to this by taking a look at the Kinkerbuurt, a gentrified neighborhood in the Western part of Amsterdam. The main question is: What is the effect of gentrification on the sense of place of citizens in the Kinkerbuurt in Amsterdam?

To answer this question, multiple theories are used to gain an understanding of the basics of the following topics: gentrification, segregation and sense of place. Gentrification is explained through multiple theories by important scientists. However, the most important will be the dichotomy of gentrification between cultural and economic gentrification, provided by Neil Smith. This will be used to gain a good understanding of the specific effects gentrification has had on the Kinkerbuurt. Segregation is briefly discussed, as it can be an important part of gentrification, but it does not seem to be a huge issue in the Kinkerbuurt. Lastly, the sense of place is defined with the use of three different aesthetics provided by Jean-Paul Thibaud. The environmental aesthetic, aesthetic of modernity and aesthetic of atmosphere are used to define the sense of place.

All of these specific definitions of the important subjects for this research have been used in the making of interviews. This research makes use of a phenomenological case study structure, with in-depth interviews as its most important form of data. Six residents and two civil servants have been interviewed. A guided observation/interview is also part of the data.

The results of all of these interviews has been compiled in the 'results' chapter. Here, every single interviewee's story has been summarized for a better understanding of the various things they have said. This eventually leads to the discussion, which is once again divided between the various subjects mentioned before.

Gentrification in the Kinkerbuurt is happening and its effects are showing, most prominently in tourism, expensive housing and an increasing diversity in the shops, but also in the population. These effects have certainly had an effect on the population, as there has been a group of residents that has been actively opposing the gentrification of the Kinkerbuurt. They argue that the heart and soul of the neighborhood is disappearing and that the newer residents can be demanding and sometimes ignorant. However, they do admit that this is a minority, as most residents, old or new, tend to be very friendly. This is in the end the main trend that has been found during this research; no matter all the different effects of gentrification, most of the population seems to get along just fine.

The main conclusion that can be drawn is that there is mostly a difference between an older community mentality and a newer one. The older community is almost like a small village, where everyone helps and knows each other. The newer community is more fast-paced and international. Both communities are having a hard time learning to live with each other, be it because of ignorance or stubbornness. This difference in community is the main effect gentrification has had on the 'sense of place' in the citizens of the Kinkerbuurt, no matter what community they are a part of.

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Project Framework

There is something happening in Amsterdam. Housing prices are soaring high and new businessmen keep investing in old neighborhoods (Bruinenberg, 2017; Business Insider 2017). These old neighborhoods will be redeveloped, or gentrified, meaning they will become more expensive. This attracts the middle-class, but pushes the lower class citizens out (Hochstenbach, 2017). This dynamic can exist because of a free-market approach for the housing market by the government. But at the same time, the government is trying to counter segregation. This all seems very counterproductive; why allow the housing market to have free reign? This will increase housing prices and push the lower class out; in essence facilitating economic segregation. There is much national conversation about this issue, and political parties like GroenLinks are calling out to stop the market's purchases of social renting projects in other cities like Utrecht (Utrechnieuws, 2018).

There has been some quite a bit of research related to gentrification, but the research focusing specifically on neighborhoods in Amsterdam is mostly missing. An example is Uitermark's study about this "state-sponsored gentrification in Amsterdam" (Uitermark, 2014). Other good examples are the following: a data research conducted by Boterman and van Gent, comparing different regions of Amsterdam and mapping the existing segregation, and also a paper by Hochstenbach, Musterd and Teernstra, which discusses the concept of gentrification and its goods and bads from an Amsterdam perspective (Boterman & Van Gent, 2015; Hochstenbach, Musterd & Teernstra, 2014). These studies, while interesting and important for understanding the roots of the problem, are missing a big social aspect. The talk is mostly about economic effects: how the poor get pushed away and what that does for economies etc. There is almost no scientific debate about the people themselves, or the effect on their personal lives. That is why I started wondering how this affects the view Amsterdam's citizens have of Amsterdam and its social structure. Does everyone feel equally at home in Amsterdam? With or without Gentrification? And what does one group think of the other; is there unity in the city? In general, gentrifiers and *non-gentrifiers* do not really get along, sometimes out of disinterest, sometimes out of hate (Grote, 2015; Bennett, 2015; Lenselink, 2017). Amsterdam has such a powerful identity, that it might be used to revitalize social relations between the people, and the citizens' own sense of place and home. This is also why Amsterdam is an interesting case for this research.

To narrow this research down and make it more applicable in general, one neighborhood will be chosen where multiple citizens will be interviewed, comparing the results with each other. For these purposes, the Kinkerbuurt is a very interesting case. Some research has been done concerning the social effects caused by gentrification in the Kinkerbuurt and specifically about the 'neighborhood trust'; a collective term for the well-being of local residents regarding their neighborhood and fellow residents, and also the confidence in the future of the neighborhood (Veldboer & Bergstra, 2011; Ten Kate, 2011). However, this research is already seven years old and do not take into account the more recent developments, like for example the plans for more hotels, which is an important aspect part of gentrification in Amsterdam

called touristic gentrification (Pinkster & Boterman, 2017). Also, they place all inhabitants in one group, making no distinction between older and newer inhabitants. As Ten Kate (2011, p.65) states in her conclusion:

*However, my expectation is that these these new residents have a higher neighborhood trust because of their conscious choice to live in the Kinkerbuurt. (...) It can be interesting to look at this group of new residents qualitatively in follow-up research and to find out if that actually plays a role. - Ten Kate (2011), p.65 (my translation)*

So, to expand on this research, for this comparative study I would like to distinguish both newer and older residents.

That is why I think a research comparing the older inhabitants and the new inhabitants can be important for the future social structure of the city and neighborhood. No matter if gentrification is good or bad, or if it can, should or needs to be stopped, it does take place. Thinking about how the population can react and live with this and each other is important for the general quality of life in the city. Also, it can help the scientific community by giving an idea of how gentrification affects social and personal relations with the city and its residents.

## **1.2 Objective**

As mentioned in the previous section, the general goal of this research is to help give insight into the effect gentrification has on the social relations of citizens within a specific neighborhood, making a distinction between old and new residents. The scientific contribution that can be made with this can be important for further studies on gentrification and how to solve the social problems around it.

For the city and neighborhood itself, it can be important information as to why and how citizens might not feel at home anymore. The city, and its citizens, can almost immediately start acting towards solutions if the research leads to significant information. This might better the view the inhabitants have of their own neighborhoods and of Amsterdam as a whole, but also the relationship between each other. This can increase the general quality of life in the city of Amsterdam and its neighborhoods, for both the gentrifiers and the non-gentrifiers.

So, the general objective for this research is to find out if there is a difference between older and newer residents and their feelings towards the gentrification of their respective neighborhood, and to use this knowledge in further scientific research and possibly the future policies of the city of Amsterdam.

## **1.3 Research Framework**

To reach the goal stated in the previous section, research will be done according to the following stages:

### *Stage 1: Literature Study*

The first part of the research will start with a literature study. The major concepts of this research (gentrification, segregation and sense of place) will be discussed and elaborated upon in the framework of this research.

### *Stage 2: Empirical Data Research*

After using the literature study to formulate interview questions, the interviews will be held with eight different kinds of people. Six of these will be local citizens, namely from the following significant groups: older and younger citizens, and citizens who have lived for different periods of time in the Kinkerbuurt (longer and shorter). Aside from the citizens, I want to add two other important actors: one from the municipality (to learn more about the overall situation) and one from a local neighborhood organization. These interviews will all be face to face and done by myself. More information on who will be interviewed can be found under the methodology section. Afterwards, these interviews will be transcribed. Also, I will gather other empirical data needed for this research like the data of citizens living in the Kinkerbuurt.

### *Stage 3: Analysis*

When done with transcribing the interviews and gathering the necessary data, this all needs to be analyzed. This analysis will be done through the theoretical research done in stage 1, and will eventually bring out the framework for the answers needed for the Sub Questions and eventually the main question.

### *Stage 4: Conclusion*

After the questions are all answered, it will be time to write the conclusion of the whole research. This tells the story of the research's findings in a summarized and conclusive form. There will also be given an advice to the government of Amsterdam and the citizens of the Kinkerbuurt.

## **1.4 Questions**

*Main Question:* What is the effect of gentrification on the sense of place of citizens in the Kinkerbuurt in Amsterdam?

*Sub Questions:*

1. What is the current residential situation of the Kinkerbuurt?
2. How has gentrification shaped the Kinkerbuurt?
3. What is the resident's feeling of the Kinkerbuurt as a living space?
4. How do the residents of the Kinkerbuurt experience gentrification?

# Chapter 2: Theory

## 2.1 Theoretical Framework

Before this research can be started, an understanding about the various concepts and ideas around this subject needs to be reached. First of all, the underlying basis of this research is gentrification. This is what will be explored first: the concept of gentrification and its theories. This knowledge will then be applied on the housing market of Amsterdam and specifically the Kinkerbuurt. After this, the framework will be expanded by including segregation and all its concepts and theories. This will be necessary to fully understand the current situation in Amsterdam; even though gentrification is not synonymous to segregation, both can play an interchangeable role which is important to understand for this research. This relationship between these two concepts will be further elaborated upon. After solidifying the term 'segregation' and its connection with gentrification, we will use this to further elaborate on economic and ethnic segregation in Amsterdam, and especially in the Kinkerbuurt. As such, this will also be applied to the local situation, gathering any knowledge surrounding the topic. Lastly, the concepts of space and place will be explored, with a specific focus on the sense of place. This is important, as 'sense of place' will be used as a theoretical background for better understanding the social relations between the residents of the Kinkerbuurt. The interview questions will be mostly based on this concept. To conclude the theoretical framework, some information will be gathered on previous research on the relationship between sense of place and gentrification.

### 2.1.1 Kinkerbuurt

Before we talk about the other subjects, it is important to define exactly what is seen as the Kinkerbuurt in this research. The map to the right shows what this research sees as the Kinkerbuurt; the red-bordered area. The interviewees often talk about the Bellamybuurt or the Borgerbuurt, but these are simply smaller parts of the Kinkerbuurt, divided by the Kinkerstraat.



Figure 2.1 : Map of the Kinkerbuurt. Source: Google Maps, 2018

### 2.1.2 Gentrification

The term has been through quite a bit of discussion in the past few decades. In 1994 in *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, it was still defined as a sort of insubstantial urban process, which only affected residential neighborhoods. In 2000, it started to include commercial redevelopment and in 2009 it was regarded as a major global process affecting almost every urban center in the world in some regard (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2010). The definition of gentrification

is ever-changing, and that is also why it is so hard to define. Smith and Williams (1986) perfectly frame this problem by stating that gentrification is a very dynamic process, and we should allow the definition of it to be open to changes that have yet to emerge. Even though this “definition” rings true to me, there still needs to be a slightly more concrete meaning of the word, so it can be used in the context needed. So while accepting the chaos that comes with the concept of gentrification, the following definition by Clark (2005) will be used as a general outline:

*Gentrification is a process involving a change in the population of land-users such that the new users are of a higher socio-economic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through a reinvestment in fixed capital.* – Clark (2005, p. 26)

While not perfect, this definition does outline the basic inclusions of the term and can be used on most situations. Gentrification can happen anywhere, and is not necessarily an inner-city concept. In this case it would be unnecessary to differently define the same process, simply because it happens in a different type of location.

With this definition in mind, we can turn our heads to the different theories of gentrification. What can be important to note, is if there are stage models in gentrification and if so, in what stage is this research’s case? The first person to offer stage models in this regard was Philip Clay (1979). In his work he offers four different stages. The first is the pioneer stage, where daring individuals invest and renovate a specific neighborhood. The second stage is the local investment stage, where more people are daring to invest in this neighborhood, and some promotional advertisements are starting to pop up. The third stage is the turnaround stage, where it will suddenly become increasingly popular to invest in this neighborhood; this will change the view of the neighborhood the most of all the stages. Lastly we have the top status stage, where ‘peak gentrification’ is reached and the middle class citizens start to flow in at an increased rate. This simple model, however, has been criticized many times (Berry, 1985; Bourne, 1993). It is generally seen as too simple, not taking into account the various specificities of certain gentrifying neighborhoods. The situation is never the same in any two given locations. This criticism, while worthy, does miss one point: a model is prone to change and revision (Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2010). Considering this, these models can most definitely be used, if revised for the context one is applying it on. For Amsterdam specifically, Clay’s model needs a bit more context concerning the current policies and state of the housing market. The specific model theory that will be used in this thesis will be further elaborated upon later in this theoretical framework, as there needs to be a discussion about gentrification’s working beforehand. There are also different types of gentrification that have popped up in the literature in more recent years, like for example supergentrification; a type of gentrification that favors the elite and very rich. Even though this could be important to understanding the full picture of gentrification, they are not applicable to the Kinkerbuurt. The Kinkerbuurt is not only filled with the elite; it’s mostly middle-class.

To understand the current state of gentrification in Amsterdam, one must also understand the workings of gentrification. In its most basic form, gentrification can be divided into two categories: cultural and economic (Smith, 1979). The former explains that new lifestyles are emerging. Young urban professionals (Yups) want fewer children and do not marry as quickly as they did before (Lipton, 1977). These people are also known as Dinki’s; Double In-

come No Kids. Even though this statement by Lipton might be outdated, this trend is still ongoing (Eurostat, 2015). This leads these yups to cheaper, smaller apartments and these are mostly found in deteriorated neighborhoods. The economic part of the explanation is based on the rent-gap theory (Smith, 1979). This theory states that gentrification is caused by a gap between the current rental income and the potential rental income. When the second is higher, gentrification will start on the housing market.

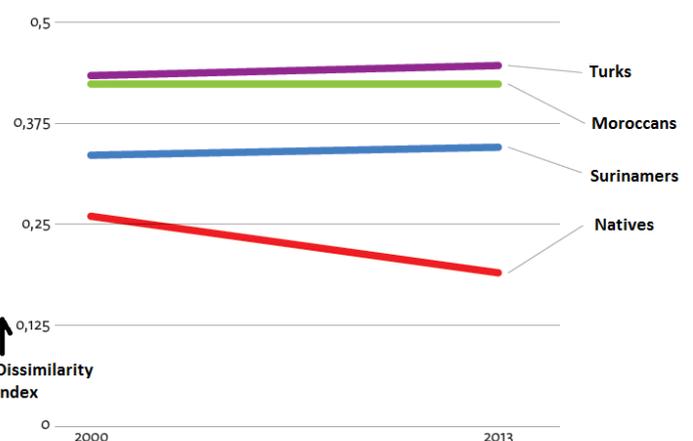
Although these theories find their groundwork in the English housing market, it has been shown that they can also be applied on central European markets, including the Netherlands (Hochstenbach, Musterd & Teernstra, 2014). Gentrification in European contexts is influenced by strong state intervention concerning a lot of major parts of the housing market. In the Netherlands specifically, the gentrified neighborhoods not only include the private housing stock, but also a social-rental stock that maintains a part of the older residents. This shows policy attempts to help counter economical segregation. Other similar policies prohibit the forced removal of lower-income residents, but as Hochstenbach, Musterd and Teernsta state: “... longer-term residents might feel displacement pressures because of changing neighborhood image and service environment” (2014, p.759). This can be a very important indicator for the sense of place this thesis is trying to research.

Amsterdam specifically is quite an extreme case, because the local government has been actively sponsoring gentrification in the last few decades, according to Uitermark & Bosker (2013). The liberalization of the housing market, promoted by the local government, allows the sale of social-rental housing (Hochstenbach, 2017). This allows investors to buy up these low-income houses and increase their value, leading to gentrification. Even though most of Amsterdam’s situation is comparable to the general Dutch situation explained in the previous section, these specific elements make the whole situation that much more precarious.

The theory that will be used in this research is the ‘Waves of gentrification’ by Hackworth and Smith (2001). They put a more temporal focus on gentrification stages, allowing the basic framework of Clay’s stage model to be changed according to specific time periods and its characteristics. Amsterdam’s situation falls under the Third-wave gentrification; a wave known to be linked to large-scale capital and state support (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Clay’s specific stage models are hard to apply in this instance, as Amsterdam does not fall in any of the models. It is in a stage of its own: continuing gentrification, but a low displacement rate (Hochstenbach, Musterd & Teernstra, 2014). The Kinkerbuurt is one of the most prominent examples of Amsterdam’s gentrification and that is why this neighborhood has been chosen as the case of this research.

### 2.1.3 Segregation

The definition of segregation is slightly easier to comprehend than gentrification. Segregation, in its most basic form, is “the action or state of setting someone or something apart from the others” (Oxford Dictionary website, 2017). Applying this to the social city landscape, we get several forms of segregation. As some of these will play a role in this research, I will discuss them accordingly (Musterd & Ostendorf,



1998). The most relevant for this research will be economic segregation and ethnic segregation.

The first form of segregation that plays a significant role in the neighborhoods of Amsterdam is economic segregation (Musterd & Ostendorf, 1998; Ponds, van Ham & Marlet, 2015; Boterman & van Gent, 2015). This form

of

segregation means the dividing of people

based on their economic power (income). This is not something that necessarily happens on purpose; most of the time it is caused by an economic restructuring to accommodate for a globalizing world. What this means is that the flow of people is increasing, and high skilled labor is in high demand. Low-skill jobs decrease and so the social polarization grows (Musterd & Ostendorf, 1998). Why is this important for one neighborhood? For example, the average income in the Kinkerbuurt is €25.300,- (CBS, 2017). However, 42% of the neighborhood has a relatively low income, while 21% has a relatively high income. This difference in income might change the way the residents feel at home in their neighborhood and the city of Amsterdam. However, the Kinkerbuurt seems to be well mixed up, meaning that it's more about the social segregation than spatial segregation in this case.

Figure 2.2: Development of ethnic segregation in Amsterdam between 2002-2013. Source: Boterman & van Gent, 2015; p.39

The second form of segregation is ethnic or racial segregation. In Amsterdam itself, racial segregation is more prevalent than economic segregation (Boterman & van Gent, 2015). Figure 2.2 shows three major minority groups compared to natives with a dissimilarity index. This index has to be read as the part of the population that needs to move house to create an equal distribution in the city. As can be seen, the natives are dispersed more equally than all the three major minority groups. This can be important for this research, because one's relation to the city can very much depend on the racial composition of a neighborhood in this city, in relation to one's own race. Snel and Burgers (2000) do comment on this by stating that race does not matter when considering the feeling of home. However, natives tend to have less negative experiences in neighborhoods with more natives, and the same applies to minority groups (Snel & Burgers, 2000). This can prove useful in this research on how citizens view the city. Important for the comparison that is to be made, is to know the ethnic composition of the Kinkerbuurt. Its population consists of approximately 26% non-western inhabitants (incl. Surinams, Antilleans, Turks and Moroccans) (CBS, 2017). Even though all different ethnicities are mixed pretty well together, there could be a difference between them on the effect of gentrification on the feeling of the neighborhood and city.

Gentrification can also be linked to segregation on a very local level. As the neighborhood gets gentrified, the composition of this neighborhood changes; in ethnicity and in economic-social power. This might cause a disruption in the neighborhood, which causes certain groups to clump together. This might or might not be the case in the Kinkerbuurt, and the motivations of such might be explained through this thesis.

#### **2.1.4 Sense of Place**

To define someone's relation with one's city, a framework is needed to determine what this relation consists of. First of all, the very concepts of space and place need to be shortly discussed. These two concepts are very important to understand one's identity with and within a city. Furthermore, the definition of 'feeling at home' needs to be addressed, together with

other theories that consider how someone connects with a city. This is very important for the operationalization of this subject.

Space and place are hard to see apart. The two are always related, as the two concepts cannot exist without each other. Tuan (1977) has explained this relation very well:

*What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place and we get to know it better and endow it with value (...) The ideas "space" and "place" require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place. – Tuan (1977, p.6)*

In a sense, space can be defined as the areas and volumes we move through to get from place to place. Places, then, are the stable areas where we bind meaning and sometimes emotion to (Cresswell, 2015). With this definition, any space can become a place. To include this research in this discussion, it is important to ask what the residents think of their own neighborhood, but also Amsterdam. It is the place these people exist in. Do they have any emotional connections with the city? If so, how deep are these rooted, and why? Maybe even more important to ask is what they connect more to: the neighborhood or the overall city? These differences, if any, might draw an interesting view of the residents' living in the city.

Probably the most important thing to ask when finding out how someone feels at the place they live, is how much it feels like home. One could interpret Tuan's explanation of pauses to conclude that place is the very definition of home, and that home is a malleable concept (Tuan, 1977). But the problem here is that home feels different for everyone; the concept is widely known for being very subjective. Some would argue that home is the ultimate place for a human to be; a place from where one explores the rest of the existing space and places (Cresswell, 2015). Home in this sense would be a place of ultimate comfort. However, home can also be a place of struggle (Hooks, 1990), which means that home is not this comfort hub where one explores the world from. It might be a place where someone explores the world from, but in a sense of wanting to get away. Considering all these different 'feelings' of home, it is important to ask the interviewees questions about what their home is, but also about how they feel it is home. This can make an important distinction.

To elaborate on this 'feeling' of home, or anywhere else, the specific sense of feeling the world needs to be defined and conceptualized. For this, the term 'atmosphere' as described by Böhme (n.d.) comes to mind. He described it as follows:

*Atmosphere (...) designates that which mediates the objective qualities of an environment with the bodily-sensual states of a person in this environment; the environment in its entirety generates an atmosphere in which I, as a human, feel in one way or another. – Böhme (n.d.)*

This definition mostly applies to commodities and certain art forms in Böhme's papers, but can definitely apply to the lived space too. This atmosphere can be described differently by different people, but for this research I will divide between two aspects: physical and social. Physical atmosphere will focus more on the direct environment and aesthetics, while social will focus

more on the relationships with other residents. For this, three specific indicators suggested by Thibaud (2010) will be used. For him, the different aesthetics that are sensed and felt by people in the city are the following: the aesthetic of modernity, environmental aesthetics and the aesthetic of ambiances (Thibaud, 2010).

The aesthetic of modernity will focus on how gentrification has modernized the neighborhood, through physical means but also social relations. The environmental aesthetic is also about both the physical and social aspects, but focusing more on the direct environment. Has the place changed visually, how do people interact with each other? Lastly, the aesthetic of ambiances is more about Böhme's 'atmosphere', the general feeling of a place. Again, this will incorporate physical and social, while this time focusing more on the hard-to-grasp feeling of the neighborhood. Even though the place might look good and modern, it can still 'feel' bad. The people might be nice, but the general atmosphere might be one of suspicion or something else. This will be measured with questions about the feeling of home and safety. This is what will be discussed as the aesthetic of ambiances.

The above-mentioned theory will be very useful for formulating interview questions and building the framework for this research, but the actual sense of place in the Kinkerbuurt could be defined very differently. That is why this research will be a phenomenological case study, which will be elaborated upon in the methodology section.

## 2.2 Conceptual Model

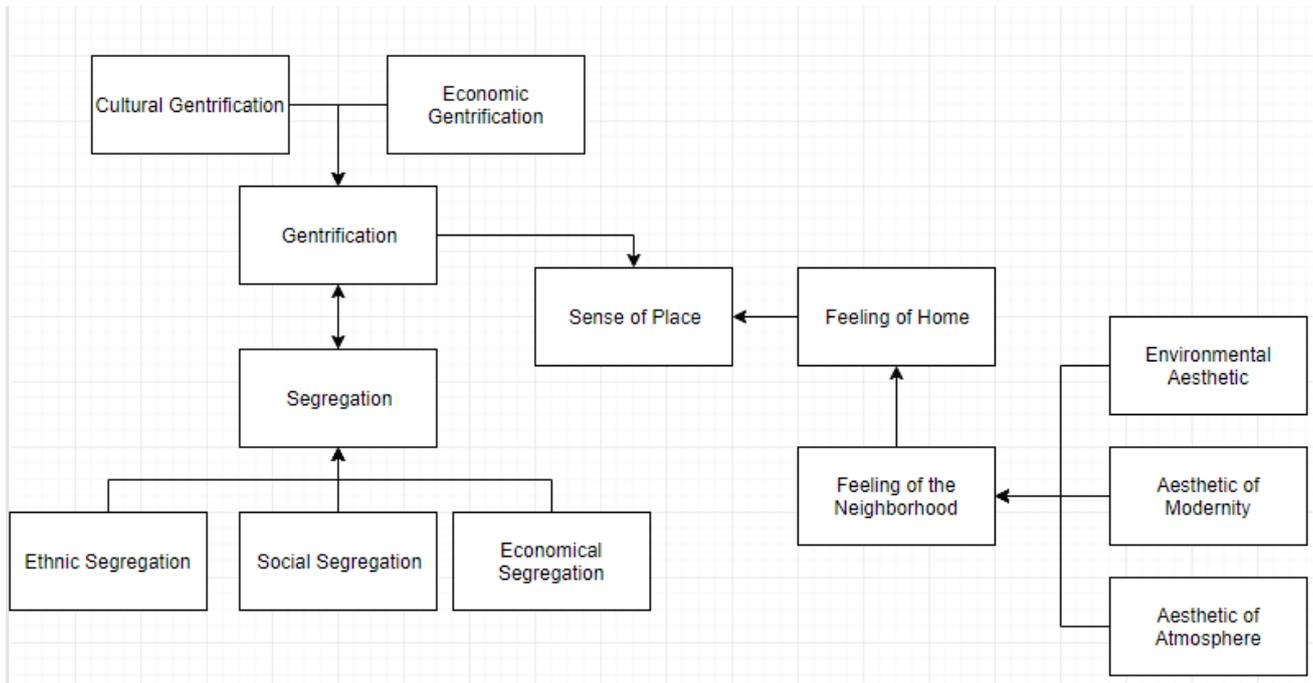


Figure 2.3: Conceptual Model Source: Felix, 2018

## Chapter 3: Methodology

### **3.1 Research Strategy**

The nature of this research is found in humanistic geography. This means that this research is trying to understand the problems on a very human and emotional level. Considering this, the best way to conduct this research is to have an in-depth empirical study of a specific case study, with a lot of personal human interaction. This case study will be phenomenological in nature, as it is trying to give meaning to the 'sense of place' in the Kinkerbuurt. I will elaborate on these choices in the following paragraphs.

This research will be a phenomenological study, because the goal of this research is to gain a "lived experience" of a phenomenon (Cresswell, 2013). This means that one tries to understand a specific situation through the eyes of the people who live it. In this case, the neighborhood is changing due to gentrification and the best way to find out how that changes the sense of place of the residents is to hear the stories of the residents themselves. It is really about the meaning of the experience for them; without this personal level and freedom in the interviews, no true sense of place can be defined.

The reason why it will be a case study, is because the subject of this study can best be researched in a specific situation instead of a broad one. The Kinkerbuurt is only one of the many gentrifying neighborhoods in the world and to try to gain a general understanding of all these neighborhoods is to deny the uniqueness of every single situation. So, a case study chooses to pick one specific case and then elaborate on that case, so as to at least gain a bit of a general understanding of the phenomenon through this one case. The specific kind of case study will be an illustrative case study, as it is a case study that seeks to illustrate a particular situation that is not amazingly unique (Cresswell, 2013). This is at the same time the reason why a critical instance case study would be of no use, as this is not an extreme situation. Exploratory and cumulative case studies also don't fit the picture, as they depend on a larger-scale research before or after, and that is not the aim of this research. It is better to focus intently on one neighborhood so as to understand the relation between gentrification and the sense of place better.

The case study will be conducted through interviews with residents and other important actors. The reason for this personal approach is grounded in the idea of the phenomenological method. The interviews will have the premise of an in-depth conversation, where questions will be asked, but there will be a lot less focus on structure and more on the story of the interviewee. This means that the interviewer will have to ask follow-up questions based on what the interviewee says, instead of only specifically what the interviewer wants to know. This will result in the most relevant data; residents telling of their own personal experiences with and in the neighborhood. The goal of in-depth interviews is to challenge the researcher's ideas with surprising stories. If the research would be based on more focused information, like finding out about very specific aspects to fit the researcher's ideas, a survey would be a better method.

The reason why the Kinkerbuurt in Amsterdam was chosen, is because it is one of the better known examples of gentrification in the Netherlands. Also, Amsterdam has a very

unique allure. Citizens of Amsterdam tend to have a strong connection with the city, one way or another, as I have seen from personal experiences. This makes the sense of place and city possibly very strong, which strengthens this case.

One could also make the case for a focus group or observation, since that would also count as qualitative research, but there are reasons for not doing this. A focus group would put all the diverse people together that I want to research, which would defeat the purpose of diversity. Some people will be louder than others, which will stop this research from being completely fair and reliable. An observation could be worthwhile, but only if my own opinion would be included on this research, which I want to avoid. Observing the neighborhood for any specific phenomena I deem important, would defeat the purpose of letting the inhabitants speak for themselves. It would also cloud my own judgement. However, during the research there was a point where a very knowledgeable resident of the Kinkerbuurt, Nel Banner, offered to show me around the neighborhood. I've used this as a way to gain more insight in the neighborhood, while at the same time not letting my own opinions cloud my judgments. The fact that Banner acted as a guide allowed me to stay in a sort of transcendental passenger role; I would ask questions, but have her lead the way.

### ***3.2 Research Material***

To answer the main question, a total of 8 people have been interviewed to find out the effect of gentrification on the sense of place. Who exactly will be interviewed and what other research methods will be used, will be discussed per question in this chapter.

First, to find out the current situation in the Kinkerbuurt, there will be two interviews with knowledgeable people that could offer a bird's eye view of the neighborhood. These interviews will be used to answer both Sub Questions 1 and 2. The first interview was conducted with Marianne Kieft, one of the 'gebiedsmakelaars' (area broker) of the Kinkerbuurt, which means that she is a sort of ambassador for the neighborhood towards the larger city council. Marianne focuses on the economics of the Kinkerbuurt, helping to increase its economic power. The second interview was conducted with Laurent Staartjes, one of the members of the 'stadsdeelcommissie' (district committee), which is responsible for being the link between the inhabitants and the city council. This committee is composed of multiple different political parties, so as to offer the citizens a broad spectrum of people to speak with. Staartjes is representing the VVD in this committee. Both interviews have been mostly successful at creating a clear image of the current situation of the Kinkerbuurt and the effects gentrification has had on it. However, some details are missing pieces of information, most notably the differences between opinions of people with different ethnicities.

The third and fourth questions have been answered by interviewing the inhabitants of the Kinkerbuurt. During this interview feelings of both the Kinkerbuurt and Amsterdam as a whole have been discussed, as to try to get as much information as possible. The interviews have been done with 6 different citizens; one of these interviews has been conducted during a guided tour through the neighborhood. The interviewees have been chosen based on statistics found on the website of CBS. The newest information that was available for the population of the Kinkerbuurt is a little bit dated; 2015 was the last year that the population was 'categorized' (CBS, 2018). From then on, the statistics talk about Old-West, meaning that the scale has

gone up for the CBS. Since this is the most recent information I have available, and because the essence of it probably did not change too much in the last 3 years, this is the data that will be used. Figures 3.1-3.4 show the composition of the population of the Kinkerbuurt (in 2015).

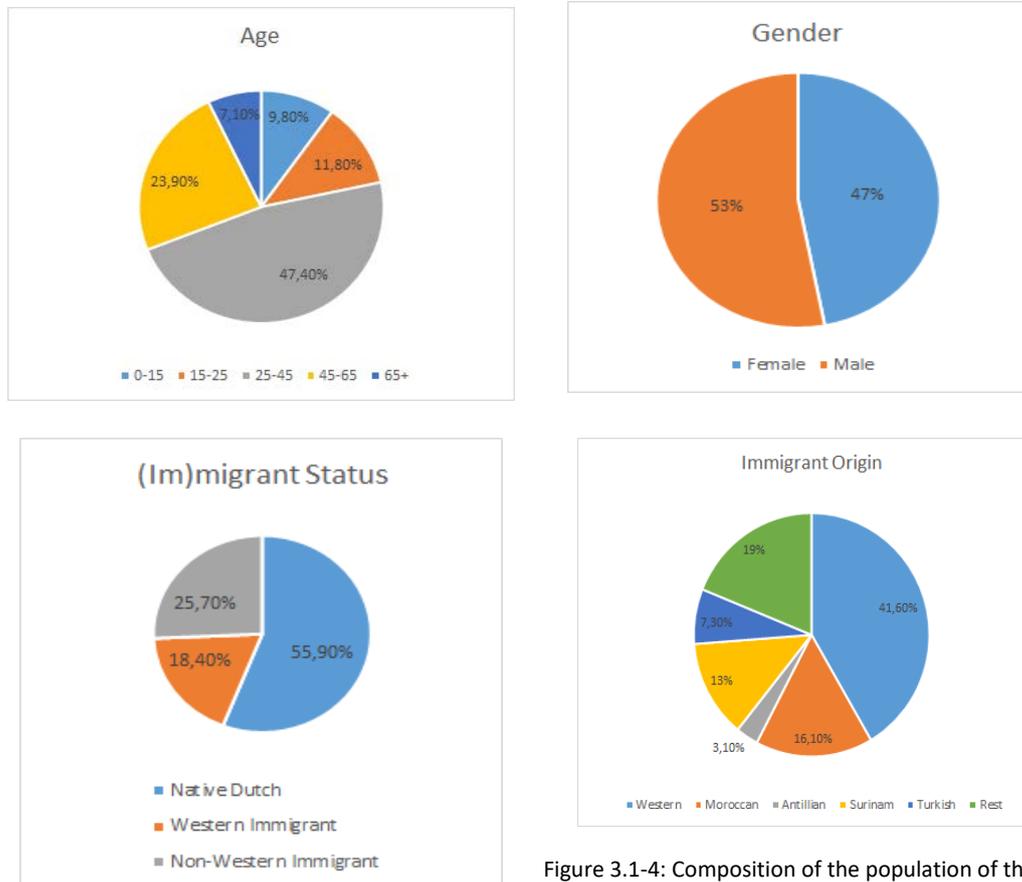


Figure 3.1-4: Composition of the population of the Kinkerbuurt, various factors. *Source: B. Felix (2018) & CBS (2015), CBS (2017)*

Based on this data, I have tried to find at least one resident with immigrant status, and to divide gender and age evenly across the statistics. This would mean three men and three women, and three people between 25-45 and the other half above or below that. However, this was harder than anticipated, so the interviews have been held with mostly people in the age classes of 15-25 and 65+. Only one is from the 25-45 group. I have also found no immigrant interviewee. Gender has been divided evenly.

The first two of these interviews have been conducted with Anna Creemers and Saskia Bos. Both are female students studying at the University of Amsterdam, and both living in the Kinkerbuurt for only a few months. They represent the youngest population of the Kinkerbuurt. The third interview was conducted with Ruud Buijs, an older citizen in the Kinkerbuurt. He has lived in the Kinkerbuurt for a full 45 years, before that living in Bos and Lommer. During this time he was a painter, and now he works as a volunteer/bus driver for the Klinker, a center for the elderly in the Kinkerbuurt. The fourth interview was conducted with Bert Meister, a lifetime Kinkerbuurt-citizen, who is now the owner of a family blacksmith workshop in the neighborhood. Buijs and Meister represent, together with the last interviewee, the older population of the Kinkerbuurt. The fifth interview was conducted with Hans Mol, a member of the

same committee as Laurent Staartjes, and also a citizen of the Kinkerbuurt together with his family. He represents the middle-aged (30-45) population of the Kinkerbuurt.

The last citizen interview was conducted with Nel Bannier and was not an orthodox interview; it has been conducted during a personal tour through the Kinkerbuurt guided by herself. This interview has not been recorded, because of the complexity of this; however, pictures of important changes have been taken and have been compared with pictures of decades ago provided by Bannier.

Then finally, the fifth question has been answered through an analysis of all the different interviews that have been done for the previous two Sub Questions. This, together with corresponding theory and knowledge from the first two Sub Questions, will give an answer to this question and eventually the main question too.

When using the interviews to answer the questions, this research will make use of Atlas.ti to code the transcripts that will be made at the end of every interview. This will allow me to draw conclusions out of the results as effectively as possible. Most of these codes will be divided through the different terms used in the theoretical framework. As an example, figure 3.5 shows a part of the code families that are being used for the citizen interviews that have been conducted.

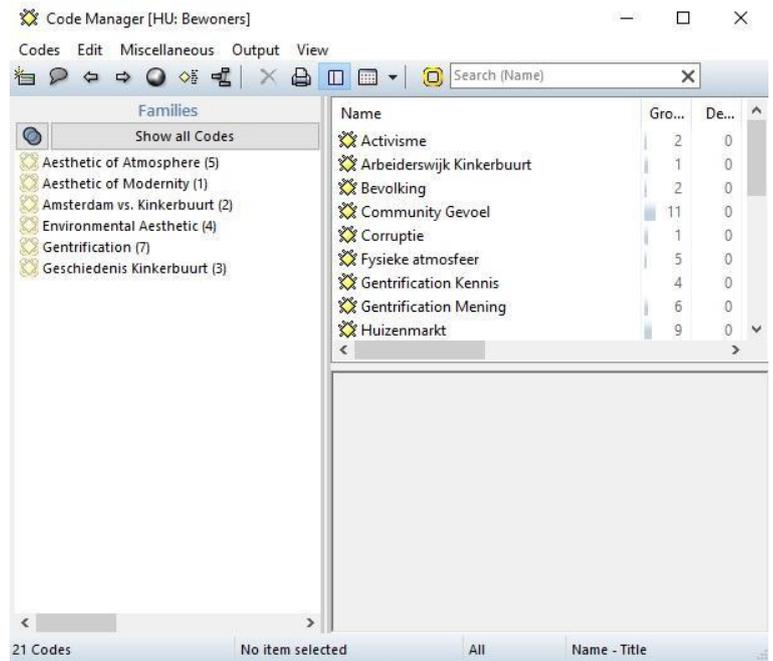


Figure 3.5: Example of the coding process. Source: Felix, 2018

## Chapter 4: Results

In this chapter, every interview will be summarized and analyzed. A total of 7 interviews have been conducted, with a special place for 1 interview/observation, which makes a total of 8 research components. Each interview has been transcribed fully so as to make the analysis as accurate as possible. The exception to this is the interview/observation, the reason for which is explained in the methodology chapter.

This chapter will start with the analysis of the two interviews that have been conducted with actors that have a sort of birds-eye view of the situation in the Kinkerbuurt. This will include the interviews with Marianne Kieft and Laurent Staartjes. Once this basis has been set, the five interviews with the citizens themselves will follow. At the end, the interview/observation with Nel Banner will be analyzed.

A sidenote: all interviews have been done in Dutch, so I have personally translated all the quotes in this chapter (and also chapter 5) to English.

### 4.1 Marianne Kieft

This interview has been conducted with Marianne Kieft as interviewee. She is the 'gebiedsmakelaar' of a few neighborhoods in Amsterdam Oud-West: The Hallengebied, Kinkerstraat and Ten Katestraat.

The interview was held in Café Doppio in the Kinkerbuurt, which added to the atmosphere of this research. Doppio is a big chain of coffee bars, where young professionals tend to do their work on their laptops. This immediately shows the effects of gentrification and is the perfect location for an interview concerning this subject. Before the interview started, Marianne Kieft had a small conversation with the waiter, whom she knew. This implied that she visits this coffee bar more often and also shows that she is known in the neighborhood.

The interview itself started off with a description of her specific position in the Kinkerbuurt. Even though there is no official description of a 'gebiedsmakelaar' yet, she describes herself as the sort of glue between all the different actors in the neighborhood. This includes the citizens themselves, but also the other civil servants, entrepreneurs, police etc. However, she admitted that this description is more specific per person. The various 'gebiedsmakelaars' have different jobs depending on the neighborhood. While Kieft herself is very busy with certain economic factors, another colleague of her might be focused on criminal activity, or getting children to school. The job can therefore be described as very diverse and depending on specific situations. Another important aspect of a 'gebiedsmakelaar' is the fact that they never just focus on one specific area; it transcends the 'home' and incorporates different aspects from multiple areas. This seems logical, as some effects and their consequences can be more widespread than just one place; there should be no isolationist view as a 'gebiedsmakelaar'. As Kieft herself said: *"Some people talk about area-specific work, that is a big word these days. Myself, I like to change that to working effectively, incorporating all important actors"* (Interview 1, p.2).

Above all, the role of a 'gebiedsmakelaar' is to balance the different needs of all the actors. This can oftentimes be hard, as Kieft describes: *"The challenge is to call out the voices of the people who are not speaking"* (Interview 1, p.4). According to Kieft, the loudest people are often the minority, which leads to a discrepancy in opinions. The 'gebiedsmakelaar' should be the one to find the balance between apparent majority opinions and the real majority opinions. Another difficulty lies in the diversity of the neighborhood, which will be reflected on later in the interview.

When asked about her opinion on the general happiness in the neighborhood, she answers that while most people are pretty content with their current situation, some are definitely not. The most common complaints concern: noise disturbance from the nearby bars and restaurants, the dangers of the main road, the lack of locations for the parking of bikes and the ever-increasing housing prices. While she admits that most of these are definitely valid complaints, other complaints can be a bit hard to react on. These complaints mostly come from citizens who don't like the general direction the neighborhood is taking. It is getting more international and therefore also more anonymous. These citizens dislike the fact that their local bars are changing into working bars for young professionals, for example. Kieft's opinion is quite neutral: *"It's not good, it's not bad, it's what they've been used to the past decades. And that is changing"* (Interview 1, p.7).

Talk about such changes inevitably bring up the subject of gentrification. The Kinkerbuurt is a very diverse neighborhood, with multiple ethnicities and socio-economic classes mixed together. A big part of the Kinkerbuurt is social housing, while another big part is middle-class housing or even higher. Still, Kieft admits that it's starting to lean more to a highly educated white population, with other groups moving away from the neighborhood for multiple reasons, an apparent effect of gentrification. This has caused that loud minority Kieft spoke of to speak up against other aspects of gentrification, like the bars, Airbnb, expats and 'yups'.

She finds it hard to say if people are happier now than they were in the past decades in the Kinkerbuurt. On the one hand, some people do say that they feel unhappy in this neighborhood compared with the past, but on the other hand, this unhappy feeling could be caused by a blindness for problems in the past. Kieft notes that there was also quite a bit of noise before, but from different sources like the tram depot; also, there was more criminal activity in the past than there is now. *"So it's also the subjectivity of time, I think you have to be very realistic in that aspect"* (Interview 1, p.13). Kieft also states that some changes just have to happen, even if a minority does not like it. *"Stagnation is deterioration"* (Interview 1, p.14).

Kieft's view towards the gentrification of the Kinkerbuurt is rather positive. She believes that, yes, there are people who do not like the changes, but the majority does approve. They just don't speak up. This is also where the difficulty for her as a 'gebiedsmakelaar' lies: diversity in all different things, including opinion. The Kinkerbuurt is very diverse neighborhood with lots of contradictions; pity the person who has to comply with every complaint of every single actor in the area.

#### **4.2 Laurent Staartjes**

This interview has been conducted with Laurent Staartjes as interviewee. He is a member of the "city-area committee", representing the VVD. The interview was held in Café Luxembourg in central Amsterdam.

The interview started similarly to the one with Marianne Kieft. To understand his opinion, there first needs to be an understanding of what it is exactly that the committee does. The committee is a very new continuation of older, similar organizations, and has as its job to be the bottom-up link in the chain of communication. They give advice to the higher boards in the municipality about the issues going on in their respective neighborhoods. They sometimes give advice that is asked of them, for example when a new policy is implemented, but they also give advice that is not asked for; this is more based on what citizens ask the committee about, their complaints and wishes.

Staatjes states that it can be quite hard to find out the true wishes of the citizens, as there is a loud minority that overshadows the quiet majority. He states that because of this, the basic democratic principles of citizen participation are hard to find. The challenge that the committee faces is one of balance; how to combine the majority and minority opinions into one perfect advice for higher-up. The plan on how to achieve this is still in the concept phase; the committee is only one month old. However, they can use the networks built by the previous organizations that came before them, which helps with communication. This communication is then (unintentionally) divided between the different members, who all represent different political parties.

When asked about the general level of happiness in the Kinkerbuurt, Staatjes states that most are pretty happy, because most recent developments have brought a lot of joy to the neighborhood; new bars, the Foodhallen etc. Even though the population is incredibly diverse, Staatjes thinks that most people are definitely happy in the Kinkerbuurt as of now. He also thinks that the increase in restaurants and bars has increased the safety on the streets compared to previous decades; more 'eyes on the street' lead to better safety.

He does admit that the community-feeling of the past has disappeared over the years. The 'brown café' that is so iconic to Amsterdam/the Netherlands is making way for the 'hipster bars'. *"A new type of contact originates in these hipster bars; (...) one more fleeting and with purpose"* (Interview 2, p.4). Staatjes thinks a new type of community is rising up which is different than before, but not necessarily worse or better. This is also something that sets apart the Kinkerbuurt from other neighborhoods close-by, which are still more focused on the older type of community.

Despite this new community-feeling, most older people still feel at home in the Kinkerbuurt, as citizens of the Kinkerbuurt. Staatjes compares this with the newer, younger inhabitants who tend to not care that much about the Kinkerbuurt itself. They enjoy living there, but also simply because it's close to certain other locations; they don't care if they live in the Kinkerbuurt, Amsterdam-East, or even North. These younger people feel more at home in Amsterdam than in the Kinkerbuurt. The poorer migrant part of the citizens also does not feel at home specifically in the Kinkerbuurt, Staatjes thinks. They have been dropped in the neighborhood, but it could have been any other neighborhood. Staatjes does state that the migrant population is not his area of expertise, though.

When asked about gentrification and its effects on the population, Staatjes states that: *"Gentrification has become a heavy and emotional political topic"* (Interview 2, p.6). The two parties GroenLinks and D66 are the biggest parties in Amsterdam, but have completely different views about gentrification. This divide is also seen in the population of the Kinkerbuurt; some people are fiercely against it, while others fight for it. The fact that it's such a big political debate means that the committee has to harvest opinions about it, as one of the major topics that needs

to be talked about. So, does gentrification actually live in the minds of the citizens of the Kinkerbuurt?

Gentrification as a topic mostly lives in the older population; they have seen both sides of the story and therefore have a strong opinion (leaning more to the negative), while the younger people are living it, which means that they do not notice it that strongly. The problem here lies with the defining of gentrification. All parts of the population see the aspects of it, young and old, but few can actually link it to the larger phenomenon that is gentrification. *“High rent, lack of housing accommodations and noise complaints, those are the problems that fit in with gentrification”* (Interview 2, p.6).

So how can this best be communicated? The trick lies in understanding the problems and complaints and reading them as gentrification, if they are. Talk to citizens about their complaints, talk to the municipality about gentrification; the same thing, but in different communicative contexts. The committee’s task is to make this discussion land among the populace in a clear way.

Staartjes’ view of gentrification is pretty positive; he believes that *“the increase of new blood offers opportunities”* (Interview 2, p.10). So, while poorer citizens move to other cities, the Kinkerbuurt gains a new image which allows for a reconstruction of the social aspect of the neighborhood. This seems like a logical development in a growing city for Staartjes; the Kinkerbuurt was a neighborhood full of factories, so it attracted factory workers. Now that has changed, and it attracts more knowledge-based workers like students and young professionals. The factories have moved out of town, so it feels natural that the workers move with it, while at the same time building new communities in those new locations.

However, others in the committee have different opinions. This naturally causes a divide in opinions about gentrification. While the committee itself tends to have fruitful discussions, the people who complain mostly look for the party they agree with; someone who votes for the VVD will probably talk to Staartjes. The task that the committee then faces is to gather all these opinions from different perspectives, and then bring it all together to construct the best advice to pass on to the higher boards.

Staartjes’ view of the Kinkerbuurt and its developments is positive. While the effects of gentrification might at first feel hostile, it is a social change that might just take a few generations and eventually end up very positive. After all, the newer citizens are quite happy with how they are living. And as Staartjes himself said: *“Who does the city belong to? Does it belong to all of us, the elderly, the students”* (Interview 2, p.9)? Staartjes tries to see all perspectives, but understands that you can never make everyone happy at the same time.

### **4.3 Anna Creemers**

This interview has been conducted with Anna Creemers as interviewee. Creemers is a student who resides in a student home in the Kinkerbuurt, facilitated by Studentenwoningweb and housing society The Key. She is a short-term citizen, only living there since the start of April 2018.

The reasoning for Creemers to live in the Kinkerbuurt is mostly based on what was offered to her by Studentenwoningweb. Before moving in here, she preferred to live in Amsterdam-East, close to Javaplein, because she did not know a lot about Amsterdam-West. When the option opened up for her to live in West, she did embrace it, mainly because it was a cheap and easy way

to find student housing. Later she started to realize that Amsterdam-West is a pretty nice place to live, as it is close to the city-center and multiple other facilities.

When asked if she thinks the neighborhood is socially pleasant, Creemers notes that even though the general atmosphere is very nice, she does feel that a lot of the younger people are always acting hurried. Especially in traffic, people are always in a hurry. However, she does tell me that *"in the supermarket there is always the same man selling newspapers"* (Interview 4, p.1), which makes for some familiarity in the neighborhood. Also, older people tend to live a bit slower, taking it more in while walking around; Creemers does not see a lot of seniors around, however.

Creemers also makes use of a lot of the facilities that the neighborhood offers. She likes the cheap supermarkets like the Lidl and the Vomar, and enjoys the multiple bars and shops in the Kinkerstraat. She mostly visits international restaurants, like the Thai restaurant 'Amoi', bars specialized in craft beers and the Ten Kate Market. She does admit to not knowing that many places yet, since she only lives here for 1.5 months. When the weather is good, she usually gets out of the neighborhood to the close by Vondelpark.

When asked about the modernity of the physical environment, she mentions that the neighborhood has quite an authentic feeling. For Creemers, the houses along the canal which are so iconic to Amsterdam as a whole are the biggest factor in this, along with the houseboats. She feels that it adds to the atmosphere, also because it's clean and not dilapidated in any way. However, she also mentions the newer (student) apartments and the Leboria phone stores; both are less authentic, and therefore in Creemers' view more modern. She does like the fact that these different time periods can be mixed in one neighborhood and enjoys the diversity it brings.

The authenticity of the past is a bit lost in the social connections, however. Even though the Ten Kate Market still stands as a sort of last bastion for authentic neighborhood community, most of the older ways of communicating with customers and other inhabitants is missing, according to Creemers. She compares this with certain bars in the Jordaan, where there still is that personal connection between customers and the bar staff. She did tell me of a bingo-night she visited by accident. They entered the bar to hide from the rain and got caught up in the bar's lively atmosphere; they had some small talk with the owner, too. So, even though it is rare to find that old authentic feel she mentioned, it is still out there.

Creemers feels at home in the Kinkerbuurt at the moment. This can be attributed to her roommates, but also the fact that everything is so close to her house. There is almost no travel time involved; you're in the middle of it all. She compared this with her time in Uilenstede, a student housing complex in the northern part of Amstelveen: *"It's nice to finally truly live in Amsterdam, and not on the edge of it in Amstelveen"* (Interview 4, p.4).

The same feeling can also be applied to her sense of safety; Uilenstede was too far away from the bustle of the city, which meant that she had to cycle home through some pretty shady and quiet neighborhoods. In the Kinkerbuurt, she has never felt scared. The casual drunkard or creepy guy does not instill too much fear, as there are a lot of eyes on the street which makes the Kinkerbuurt a very safe place to live. Creemers did mention that she is never that scared anyway in general.

Even though Creemers feels safe and at home in the Kinkerbuurt, she does not necessarily feel a special connection with the neighborhood. She has lived in Amsterdam (or Amstelveen) for about 4.5 years now and she has always felt more in touch with Amsterdam as a whole. This is because most of her friends and activities exist all around the city; friends all over, university in East, living in West. She does invite people to her home in the Kinkerbuurt, but this will happen

just as many times for other places. The Kinkerbuurt did, however, exceed her earlier expectations.

Concerning gentrification, Creemers does notice the various effects of it, but never really connected it and saw it as one phenomenon. She did not know the term 'gentrification'. She mostly notices its effects in the housing markets and the expensive bars and restaurants. In the housing market she got lucky, also because she was already subscribed to *Studentenwoningweb* for 4.5 years, but she does notice that general housing is very expensive. Also, the general costs of living are pretty high. *"In general, Amsterdam is pretty expensive to live in. (...) One time I wanted to get a salad (...), but that was 12 euros; I thought that was pretty expensive for a salad"* (Interview 4, p.7). She did mention that even though it's all very expensive, the diversity of the various restaurants partly makes up for it.

In general, Anna Creemers enjoys living in the Kinkerbuurt, especially the diversity in restaurants and the authentic community mixed with newer, modern aspects. Even though it can be quite expensive, there are cheaper supermarkets that allow her to live as cheap as she wants. She does feel home in the Kinkerbuurt, but sees herself as a citizen of Amsterdam primarily.

#### **4.4 Saskia Bos**

This interview has been conducted with Saskia Bos as interviewee. Bos is a student who resides in a student home in the Kinkerbuurt, facilitated by *Studentenwoningweb*. She has been living the Kinkerbuurt since the start of March 2018, but has visited the neighborhood frequently in the past, because of personal relations.

The reason for Bos to come to the Kinkerbuurt was influenced by her personal relations there. She already knew it was a nice neighborhood to live in and when she found her house through *Studentenwoningweb*, she did not hesitate. She first lived in Amsterdam-East, which she really liked. However, this was getting a bit too expensive for her.

Bos is a big fan of visiting multiple different restaurants, bars and shops, which she can do very well in the Kinkerbuurt. She is very active in the neighborhood in this way, but she also goes to other parts of Amsterdam, too.

When asked how people interact with each other in the neighborhood, Bos noted that it is very hard to concretely give one answer. There are a lot of tourists in the Kinkerbuurt, too, together with other citizens of Amsterdam who are just passing through or visiting. She says she never really knows if someone is actually from the neighborhood or not. Most social activity is good, but not specifically because of the neighborhood itself.

Bos' favorite types of bars are the coffee bars, like for example the *Coffeeroom*. She also mentions some craft beer bars like *Bar Bax*, which she really enjoys going to. But most importantly, Bos really likes the diversity the Kinkerbuurt brings in its restaurants; also, the food simply needs to be good.

The international and diverse character of the Kinkerbuurts' bars and restaurants is also reflected in other ways. Bos mentions a plant store called 'the *Wildernis*' where you can buy all sorts of house plants. *"But you pay the ultimate price there, for those hipsters who want a cactus in their room, you know? The *Intratuin* sells the same for a third of the money"* (Interview 5, p.3). She also mentions the various phone stores and nail salons, which are situated in buildings that Bos feels look very dilapidated. She does acknowledge that this is part of the charm of the neighborhood, as not everything can and should look modern. Again, she likes the diversity.

She does feel that some of the authenticity that can be found in other neighborhoods in Amsterdam, such as the Jordaan, is not really found in the Kinkerbuurt. Everyone is generally friendly, especially because they also have to accommodate for tourists and expats, but it does not have that personal feeling of knowing each other.

Because of the general friendliness and diversity of services, Bos feels good in the Kinkerbuurt, but does not necessarily feel as if her home is there. She feels at home in Amsterdam, not the Kinkerbuurt specifically. She mentioned that she felt just as much at home in Amsterdam East where she lived before. However, her choice to live in the Kinkerbuurt has been quite conscious and even though she can find her ground anywhere in Amsterdam, the Kinkerbuurt felt good to her.

Bos also generally feels safe here. There have been some occurrences where she got scared because of a weird person cycling behind her, but she did feel safer because of the liveliness of the Kinkerbuurt. She feels the same throughout most of Amsterdam, but she does mention that: *“if you would compare it to the Bijlmer, it would be maybe be different. But yeah, no, I just feel safe here”* (Interview 5, p.5).

Bos has had a keen eye on some changes in the Kinkerbuurt, and does notice that some effects, like the increasing price of housing or certain food prices might be caused by gentrification. She mentions that she really notices the high prices in the Kinkerbuurt; you pay 4-5 euro's for a craft beer or wine. She also mentions a new food trend called 'sharing dinner' where you get multiple smaller dishes and share that with the whole table. If one would do this with two people, you would quickly pay 70 euros, which she admits is quite a lot. She does like the possibilities that it offers, though, because it makes her feel as if she's on a holiday; it brings a sort of relaxation. When I asked her if she knew the term gentrification, she did answer with a 'yes'. She explained that for her, it is mostly seen in the various different stores and shops, as they are the most obvious representation of an area's population.

In general, Bos is a pretty happy citizen of the Kinkerbuurt who really enjoys the various different restaurants it has to offer, and the diversity the neighborhood itself offers. She sees herself more as a citizen of Amsterdam, who just happens to live in the (nice) neighborhood that is the Kinkerbuurt.

#### **4.5 Ruud Buijs**

This interview has been conducted with Ruud Buijs as interviewee. Ruud Buijs is a former painter who now works as a volunteer bus driver for the elderly center 'the Klinker'. He has been living in the Kinkerbuurt for 45 years, living in Bos and Lommer before that.

As a long-time citizen, Buijs has had a keen view of the changes in the neighborhood. Considering the behavior of the population of Kinkerbuurt, Buijs thought that people are still generally friendly. However, in recent years people have become more loud and aggressive, no matter the age. This can lead to more conflict, something which Buijs actively tries to avoid.

When asked if he visits the various shops, bars and restaurants in the Kinkerbuurt, Buijs admits that he does not visit these that often. Most of the time he visits the Klinker, the place he volunteers at, where he would drink a beer and chat with the other locals. Everyone knows him there, and he knows everyone. He does express his dislike of the fact that multiple clothing shops have disappeared to make way for international-minded restaurants. Places Buijs used to shop at

for clothes, for example Elvis, are now gone. He does not make use of these global restaurants; he told me that he has had enough of shoarma and the like. Most of the time when he eats out, he eats at the Hap-Hum, a more classic Dutch restaurant.

When comparing the authenticity of the people in the Kinkerbuurt, Buijs told me that the contact within the neighborhood is disappearing. Buijs himself still finds himself talking a lot to his neighbors, though, and has a general good relationship with the people around him.

Buijs also told me about the working of the shops these days in the Kinkerbuurt. He is not that familiar with the 'hipster shops/bars', probably because he never visits those, but he did tell me about other current-day shops and supermarkets. He misses the clothing shops, as mentioned before, but he is generally happy with the cheap supermarkets like the Dirk van den Broek and the Volmar.

In general, Buijs feels very at home in the Kinkerbuurt; it's calm, everything you need is close by and there is enough green in the neighborhood. He also mentions how he feels very safe around here, despite the problems surrounding drugs in the 90's. The people around these organizations mostly annoyed him, as they made the neighborhood look bad. However, he did tell an exciting story about him letting a detective observe a drugs laboratory from his home. A week later he witnessed the raid of the very same laboratory.

When asked about the housing and living prices in the Kinkerbuurt, Buijs admits that housing prices have gone up considerably. While he only pays 300 euros for his 3-room apartment (which is exceptionally rare in Amsterdam), he sees that some families pay around 750 euros for a 2-room apartment in the very same street he lives in. He did express happiness about the renovations his house has gotten in 1998. The prices for living are pretty alright; he already told me about the cheap supermarkets. The general price of a beer has gone up, though, from 1,90 to 2,50 in same bar. For dinner at Hap-Hum, he now pays double the amount compared to two decades ago (20 euros).

Buijs knows the term gentrification, but is not necessarily familiar with the meaning of it. After an explanation, he does admit to seeing a lot of the effects (as already mentioned earlier in the interview). He did express concern for the poorer people that are being pushed out by the increasing prices of living, but is too busy to actively fight against it. He also mentions the increase in tourism. Even though he personally does not experience any nuisance caused by them, he does know of a few people who do. A good example is the restaurant Hap-Hum, which is jokingly called Jap-Hum sometimes because of the many Asian tourists coming there for an authentic Dutch meal. It has somewhat ruined the authentic feeling the restaurant had.

Buijs himself asked if other people I have interviewed have expressed complains about immigrants. He told me that he notices a lot of unnecessary hatred towards them; Buijs himself sees a lot of them volunteer at the Klinker, so does not understand the hate at all.

In general, Buijs is very happy and go-lucky man, which shows in his attitude towards the neighborhood. He sees no need for unnecessary conflict, and if he does not like something, he just leaves there. The changes that are happening in the Kinkerbuurt don't bother him that much; he sometimes even likes it. He told me that he is as much an 'Amsterdammer' as a 'Kinkerbuurter', meaning he feels at home on both levels. Things change, *"but those are the ravages of time, aren't they"* (Interview 6, p.10).

#### 4.6 Bert Meister

This interview has been conducted with Bert Meister as interviewee. Meister is a blacksmith who owns a workshop in the Kinkerbuurt for metalworking. This workshop is a leftover of a full blacksmith operation that existed at the same place. Parts of it had to be moved to Amsterdam-East due to complaints from some other citizens, and now only the workshop is still left in the Kinkerbuurt; without the forges and anvils. Meister has lived as an active citizen in the Kinkerbuurt for his whole life, even in the same street. The interview itself was conducted at his workshop.

As a life-long citizen, Bert Meister has lived through all the changes the Kinkerbuurt, and specifically his home street, has gone through. The major difference for him lies in the way people interact with each other. Even though most people are very friendly and caring, helping each other wherever they can, there are some people who have a hard time adapting to this sort of neighborhood. *“They think they come to live in a city and don’t have to care about anyone else, but we are a small community here, and you have to grow in that”* (Interview 7, p.2). However, often-times this adaptation is successful. Meister told two stories of different neighborhood citizens; one that couldn’t adapt and is practically on the verge of leaving, and another who had a hard time at first but feels right at home lately. It can go both ways, according to Meister.

This feeling of community is very important for the neighborhood according to Meister. The newer people, even outside his own ‘community street’, tend to care a bit more about themselves. He compares this with a worldwide phenomenon, where people are becoming more single-minded and scared of confrontation; people write letters to the city council with complaints instead of just having a talk with their neighbors. Meister does not want to generalize though, and states that this is definitely not the case for everyone. However, the feeling of the close community of the past is disappearing a little bit, according to Meister, and he admits to being a little concerned about that.

When asked about the shops and bars in the neighborhood, he admits that he does not visit anything regularly. Most of the time he sits at home with friends. However, he does notice that a lot of bars are not trying enough to stay alive in the neighborhood, meaning that they’ll go bankrupt in 2 years, only making place for another bar who’ll do exactly the same. Concerning the shops, Meister admits that at first he really liked all the different places to visit, but it has gotten a bit too much lately. It’s in overdrive. He also told me that a lot of the more classic family shops are making way for bigger chains (for example, a local hardware store becoming a Praxis); Meister doesn’t believe that this happens on purpose, but it is happening and even though the bigger chains are successful and good, it’s not cozy anymore.

The safety in the neighborhood has increased a bit, according to Meister. He says that it was never really that bad, but there was a time when there were a lot of poor squatters in the empty buildings, which sometimes made for precarious situations. He also told me about cannabis plantations and illegal sewing workshops; not something he noticed that much, but they are gone now and it does feel better. He does admit to hearing some noise from drunk bar visitors at night, but he doesn’t like to be bothered by other people: *“You have to live with each other (...) It’s a give-and-take situation”* (Interview 7, p.7).

However things have change in the past decades, Meister has definitely always felt at home here. Even more than in Amsterdam or the Kinkerbuurt specifically, he has felt at home in the Bellamybuurt (part of the Kinkerbuurt), and his own street. He really sees himself as mostly a part of that.

Bert Meister is very much in the right place in his home. He has enjoyed this neighborhood his whole life and has never really left. The conversations I've had with him around before and after the interview have been very insightful in showing how a neighborhood creates a community. I've seen people come and go during the interview and talked with a few other workers at the workshop. The most important thing I got from all the other conversations is that they are also very happy in the neighborhood, but are sad that the furnace and the anvil had to be moved to Amsterdam-East. All in all, the whole community gave a clear view of how a neighborhood is and was, but can also change.

#### **4.7 Hans Mol**

This interview has been conducted with Hans Mol as interviewee. Hans Mol is part of the same committee as Laurent Staartjes is, but this interview has focused on his 'role' as a citizen of the neighborhood itself. He has been living in the Bellamybuurt for about 7 years with his family.

Mol is very content with his current situation. He has lived at multiple locations in Amsterdam, but eventually stayed in the Kinkerbuurt because it was close to his work and he really enjoyed the neighborhood. He compared the general communion between the residents with that of a small town, that's how close everyone is to each other. Mol personally has the most contact with his closest neighbors, but sometimes gets out of the neighborhood because of his son's friends and activities. However, most social contact stays in.

One of the reasons Mol is so happy here is the Foodhallen, a complex that's been built in the old tram depot. He explained how it's not only a great place to eat, but you can also visit a cinema, go to the library, fix your bike there; there is a lot of diversity in what the halls have to offer. He also commented on the ten Kate-market, a market that he and his family use a lot. He described how the market has a very personal feeling; everyone know each other there and it is a general nice place to be.

When asked about the crime in the neighborhood, Mol tells me that it is a very safe neighborhood nowadays. He feels safe there with his family and is not worried at all that there will be a break-in or some other criminal activity. He does tell me of his dislike of 'lurid' bars; they foster criminal activity, and he is happy to see most of them leave the neighborhood. There is no place for them anymore in the neighborhood as it is today.

Mol also tells me that he feels right at home in the Kinkerbuurt with his family. Aside from the good vibes between the citizens and all the great services, the neighborhood has a lot to offer compared to other parts of the city; it is very close to the city center, but at the same time very calm. Everything he and his family need are close by. This confirms even more what he already mentioned earlier in the interview; this place works for him.

When asked about gentrification, Mol describes it as a phenomenon that mostly brings diversity, above all else. This is something that he can only describe as a very positive thing. He does not want to sound too lyrical about this, but he genuinely thinks that there are few negative things about gentrification. The diversity he mentioned is created, according to Mol, by mixing social housing with cheap and more expensive rent and real estate. This means that all different walks of life live in the same place; be it in different types of houses, but together and mixed nonetheless.

He does mention that he understands that some people think it is all going too fast. The multiple coffee shops are a good example of how quickly something can grow out of proportion; however, all of these coffee shops are doing great business, so Mol does not really see the true problem. If things work, they work. Mol says that you can't force shops and bars that no one really wants anymore; they will go bankrupt soon anyway. *"That's part of being an entrepreneur"* (Interview 8, p.5).

Mol also had a lot to say about the real estate market, and how the market in Amsterdam can be fixed by just building new houses along the edges of the city. According to him, this is the one true solution; trying to fix the problem in the inner neighborhoods is too hard. Aside from that, diversity has to be held as a high standard, as he has mentioned before.

When asked about his feeling as a citizen of Amsterdam, he describes himself first and foremost as a citizen of the town he was born in, close to Rotterdam. However, he does very much relate to the neighborhood itself, especially West as a whole. He describes how most citizens in Amsterdam stick to their own part of the city, creating a divide between these different people. He feels very much as if he's part of the neighborhood; after all, he did not choose to become a member of the city-area committee out of boredom. He has a true interest in the now and future of this neighborhood.

All in all, Hans Mol has a very positive view of the Kinkerbuurt, and the Bellamybuurt specifically. He and his family feel very much at home and are not planning to leave anytime soon. His views towards gentrification can be summarized as not all too worried, and mostly positive about the diversity that it brings to the streets, be it as citizens or shops/restaurants.

#### **4.8 Nel Bannier**

This interview has been conducted with Nel Bannier as interviewee. Nel Bannier is a sculptor who partly resides in the Kinkerbuurt. Her workplace is situated there and she has been living there for a few months a year for multiple decades. Even though she is not an official citizen, she has made her own sort of home there and has lived all the changes of the past decades.

As she is not an official citizen, but still quite knowledgeable, we came to the conclusion to conduct a sort of walking interview. We took a walk around the neighborhood itself and she told stories of past and current changes.

We started at her workplace and she spoke of the turbulent history of the Kinkerbuurt. It began as an industrial neighborhood; Nel noted the sound of illegal sewing workshops in the 70s and 80s. In the 80s, migrants and artists also started populating the area more and more. Around the same time, the municipality of Amsterdam started renovating the older buildings. According to Nel, this made the neighborhood lose its charm. In the 90s, and the start of the new millennium, the Kinkerbuurt reached a low point. Around this time the neighborhood was full of illegal drug laboratories and weed plantations. At this point the municipality decided to put some work in the Kinkerbuurt and started to renovate on a large scale. The financial crisis of 2007-2008 halted this progress a little bit, but it eventually got the point where it is today.

Nel talked a lot about the loss of personality and charm of the neighborhood in recent years. The cheap individual restaurants that existed during the industrial period have all made



way for bigger chains, like Spaghetteria. “A croissant with a cup of coffee costs 8,50 euro. Back in the days there was this Turkish kitchen that sold a good, steady meal for 4,50 gulden” (personal communication, 2018) Nel noted that the poorer people have to make way for the rich and frankly spoiled, white population. According to Nel, these people are not very tolerant. “The local tailor’s customers are becoming ruder; they just throw their clothes and the counter and tell him: Here, you’re going to fix this, right” (personal communication, 2018)? The tailor has increased his prices to cope with this.

Nel also noticed a lot of spatial changes that she disliked. The new housing is built too high, with little room for the sun to come through. These ‘sun holes’ are becoming more rare with every building that’s built and the lack of it is giving streets a cold feeling, emotionally and physically. According to Nel, the new buildings are built at this height to gain more money from it, as it makes more real estate.

Another project that Nel is opposing, is the renovation of an old school, the Ten Kateschool. Aside from the high real estate prices, Nel is also scared that they will complain about the market so much that it will eventually disappear. The local market is one of the last remnants of the old neighborhood charm, and the salespeople there have actually improved in the last few years; they’re making more money. Nel thinks it would be sad to lose it.

As a reaction to this money-grabbing and de-personalizing of the neighborhood, Nel has come into action multiple times. At least every 10 years she has been part of a big project: “They shouldn’t think that we’re sleeping” (personal communication, 2018). Even though a lot of plans are moving faster than the citizens can react to, Nel has had some success with her activism. She won two cases. She did note how much work it can be; you need to have a gathering of people with the same opinion and then make an organization of it. Only then do you even have a chance to make a change.

Nel Banner seems to have a negative few of the gentrification of the Kinkerbuurt, as is shown in her fervent activism and her resentment towards the rich population. She misses the old charm of the Kinkerbuurt, even though it was not perfect. It brought life to the neighborhood; today it just feels almost dead to her.

Figure 4.1: Ten Kateschool being rebuilt as an apartment building in Amsterdam. Source: Felix, 2018



Figure 4.2: Ten Katestraat in 2013. Source: Koning, 2013



Figure 4.3 (left): Front view Ten Katestraat in 2018. Source: Felix, 2018  
 Figure 4.4 (right): Back view Ten Katestraat in 2018. Source: Banner, 2018

## Chapter 5: Discussion

Now that the interviews have been held and summarized, the time has come to analyze and discuss the results that came out of these interviews. The first two questions can be answered by using the first two interviews. The questions read as follows:

1. *What is the current residential situation of the Kinkerbuurt?*
2. *How has gentrification shaped the Kinkerbuurt?*

To answer these questions, the interviews with Marianne Kieft and Laurent Staartjes will be used. They have answered questions concerning their view on the neighborhood and the various developments that have played a role there. The focus has been mostly on their specific functions, what they think the citizens of the Kinkerbuurt want, and their view on what kind of effect gentrification has had, and whether that is good or bad.

The rest of the questions will be answered by using the six citizen-interviews. These questions read as follows:

3. *What is the resident's feeling of the Kinkerbuurt as a living space?*
4. *How do the residents of the Kinkerbuurt experience gentrification?*

Five of these interviews have been held in the usual in-depth interview structure, while the sixth one is an outlier. This "interview" with Nel Bannier, a long-time partial citizen of the Kinkerbuurt, is more a sort of mixture between interview and observation.

### **5.1 Current situation of the Kinkerbuurt**

This paragraph will try to answer the Sub Questions concerning the current situation of the Kinkerbuurt and the effects gentrification has had on this. The goal here is to look at the situation from a bird's eye view; civil servants and certain organizations can give the best opinion on this, as they are active in the neighborhood and notice most changes and its effect on the neighborhood and its citizens.

The first subject that needs to be discussed is the socio-economical composition of the neighborhood. While the interviewees did not name specific numbers, their answers seemed to match the data found in the theoretical framework in Chapter 2. The neighborhood is very diverse in its socio-economic situation, as stated by both Marianne Kieft and Laurent Staartjes (Appendices 1&2). However, even though all levels are present in the Kinkerbuurt, there is some segregation in the neighborhood based on socio-economic status. Kieft stated about the Bellamybuurt in particular that *"this is really a highly educated, white neighborhood"* (Interview 1, p.8), while at the same time noting that there are also quite a few social housing projects with more ethnic diversity in the Borgerbuurt. Both neighborhoods are a part of the Kinkerbuurt. Even though the spatial locations are not that different, there is a huge difference in price between different properties, ranging from social housing (€550,- a month for 40m<sup>2</sup>) to more expensive apartments for rent (€2500,- a month for 80 m<sup>2</sup>) (Funda, 2018; Woningnet, 2018). So, for sure one part is mostly highly educated and white, while the other part is low enough in income to apply for social housing. However, the Kinkerbuurt is too small to really make the segregation have drastic effects.

However, the more obvious divide caused by socioeconomic status is in the social sector. Where the spatial segregation's effects are quite small, the social connections seem to be definitely impacted by the difference in economic status. This is mostly caused by the rise of the more expensive 'hipster bars'. *"This makes the price of coffee rise with €1,-. That means that a lot of places become inaccessible for people with a smaller purse"* (Interview 2, p.8). Other examples include the multiple expensive wine and craft beer bars that are popping up (Interview 1, p.17&18). An example by Marianne Kieft places one glass of wine at a minimum of €6,-, and that really is the bare minimum. No matter one's opinion about whether this is fair or not, there is no denying that the poorer part of the population can't really participate in these activities. This has a profound effect on the neighborhood's social composition; where first the neighborhood's community was based around the classic and cheap 'brown café's', now it's shifting towards one based around the various expensive 'hipster bars', which excludes the people who cannot pay for this (Interview 2). This led to quite a few people moving to the cheaper border regions of Amsterdam, where they have built other new communities.

While there is almost no spatial segregation in the Kinkerbuurt itself, the social segregation based on socioeconomic status is causing spatial segregation on a wider scale. When people feel excluded, they tend to get estranged with their neighborhood and potentially move away. This is what both Marianne Kieft and Laurent Staartjes notice in their daily work. This fits with the general conclusion in the theoretical framework; that in this case on the scale of the Kinkerbuurt itself, social segregation is more important and prominent than spatial segregation.

The second subject that will be discussed is ethnic and racial composition. The data found in the theoretical framework does not necessarily comply with both interviews. Even though 26% of the inhabitants are non-Western, there is no specific difference found between their opinions compared to Western inhabitants for both Kieft and Staartjes. However, for Staartjes this can be explained by the nature of his role in the committee (Interview 2). He explained that his natural supporters do not include the migrant group. This is caused by the committee's decision to have different political parties included. Staartjes himself is part of the VVD, which apparently does not get a lot of communication with the migrant group. However, he does state there is a significant migrant group. He notes that, as far as his knowledge goes, this migrant group clumps together a bit and is not very active in the 'hipster bar' community. It is unclear through this research's data whether this group is active in the older Kinkerbuurt communities.

The lack of knowledge about the migrant group can be caused by the migrant group just not being that outspoken and lacking communication with either the committee or the 'gebiedsmakelaar'.

The general conclusion is that the current situation regarding the composition of the population is mostly based on socio-economic factors. Most existing issues of segregation that became apparent through the interviews are based on social communities that are changing and the increasing prices of almost every accommodation in the Kinkerbuurt. The question whether this is actually a problem for the population itself and its satisfaction within the neighborhood is to be answered by the citizens themselves. This will be discussed later in this chapter.

## **5.2 Gentrification's effect on the Kinkerbuurt**

Even though there is little doubt about the existence of gentrification in the Kinkerbuurt, it is important to truly verify its existence with the help of the interviews. When the interviews came to the subject of gentrification, both interviewees immediately recognized its existence. Marianne Kieft acknowledged that it's already been an issue for at least 10 years. Staartjes mentioned that it is one of the most touchy and emotional subjects in Amsterdam's politics. *"There are parties that made this a specific discussion theme during the election; on the one hand GroenLinks, on the other hand D66"* (Interview 2, p.6). Groenlinks seems to want to stop the gentrification process, while D66 is adamant in leaving it as it is. Simply because it is such a big subject, people will react to parties' opinions about it. Coincidence or not, these two loudest parties on this subject also became the two biggest parties in Amsterdam during the local elections in 2018.

The effects that define gentrification as they have been described in the theoretical framework are also confirmed by both Kieft and Staartjes. There is a change of population that the theory about gentrification talks a lot about, where the newer citizens are of a higher socio-economic status (Clark, 2005). However, the Kinkerbuurt does keep its population pretty diverse. Citizen Nel Bannier also noticed a lot of changing real estate; older buildings being renovated to become newer, more expensive apartments. Despite her personal dislike of this, it cannot be denied that this has been done to elevate the neighborhood in certain ways to attract a specific kind of citizen, richer and less locally minded (Bannier, 2018). This change in the housing environment, together with the changes in shops, bars and restaurants which will be discussed in the following paragraphs, concludes the fact that gentrification is most definitely happening in the Kinkerbuurt. Even though some citizens won't recognize it exactly as gentrification, they seem to be noticing the effects (Interviews 3-8). This will be elaborated upon in Section 5.4.

To discuss the specific effects gentrification has had on the Kinkerbuurt, as defined by two experts, it will be divided into the two aspects noted in the theoretical framework: cultural and economic (Smith, 1979). Both will be discussed separately, but since both aspects are constantly interacting with each other there will be some overlap.

### **5.2.1 Cultural**

First, the cultural aspects of gentrification will be discussed. The first possible effect of gentrification is simply a change in the community life of the Kinkerbuurt. This has already been touched upon in the answer to the first Sub Question; there has been a social change which has caused some people to move away. While the first question focused mostly on the economic reasons for this, there is definitely a cultural aspect to it as well. The culture of a few decades ago can be defined with the neighborhood mentality; everyone knows each other and what they do. *"(...) the older citizens (...) they are used to living in unions and associations. You can think of the Klaverjasgroup or billiard groups, neighborhood cafes"* (Interview 2, p.4). And this is changing now. Newer, younger people are moving into the Kinkerbuurt and they are making a new community. The older workers' community of the past is making way for a yuppie-community. This is not any less a community, as they very much connect with each other, but on a different level. *"The contact is more fleeting (...) you go there for meetings, to work and to meet with friends"* (Interview 2, p.4). It is a more work-efficient way of living in the neighborhood. This is mostly caused by the new younger citizens and the coffee/hipster bars which allow for this sort of community; both

very much the outcome of a gentrifying neighborhood. So, gentrification does not only push the older communities out, it could be assisting in making a very new community based on very different ideals.

Other aspects of this change in community are found in the citizen participation and the communication with the local government. According to Marianne Kieft, there is a certain generation that tends to expect that the government has to fix all of their problems. *"I complain and you should fix it"* (Interview 1, p.12). However, it has to be mentioned that not every citizen of the Kinkerbuurt thinks this way; it is more a mentality that some people are used to. Most young people and some older people actually feel like they should do what they can to help. One such an example is the initiative called 'Clean de Kinker' where a group of citizens came together with the local government to clean up the Kinkerstraat of old bikes, trash, loose tiles, etcetera (Interview 1, p.10). This specific mentality is not really new, so it's hard to say if this is actually caused by gentrification. However, some of the older generation living in the Kinkerbuurt definitely show animosity towards the effects of gentrification (Interview 1). According to Kieft, this can be caused by a rose-colored view of the past, not accepting any new developments whatsoever. She called this the 'subjectivity of time'; the past always looks better than the present and one tends to forget the negative aspects of the past. This is also not really caused by gentrification, but gentrification is strengthening this feeling as it does bring a lot of change. Kieft simply states that it's more about the *'changing world'* and that can simply be scary for some people, leading them to animosity towards gentrification, as that is the motor of change in the Kinkerbuurt.

### **5.2.2 Economic**

The second aspect of gentrification's effects are the economic effects. These will be discussed in this section. The economic cause of gentrification as proven already in the theoretical framework also applies to the Kinkerbuurt (Hochstenbach, Musterd & Teernstra, 2014). This has already been established in the framework, but there are other, sometimes unexpected aspects of gentrification that have been noted by the interviewees.

The most obvious aspect, and probably the trademark of gentrification, is the increase of the prices for housing. Some examples of this extremity have already been shown in the answer to the first Sub Question, but it will be elaborated upon what exactly caused this. During the economic crisis of 2007/2008, a lot of contractors took cheap jobs just to stay busy and afloat in the dangerous housing market (Interview 1, p.11). However, these choices have backfired, causing those contractors to go bankrupt; this is happening at this very moment. The prices have gone up considerably, for housing and for a lot of building material, meaning the contractors cannot afford all this with the little money they made during the recession. However, there are still a lot of building assignments, as the richer citizens are expanding their homes by adding basements and other extensions. This will increase the value of their house by much more than it costs. This is boosting the housing prices even more, while at the same time causing a lot of noise disturbance and spatial hindrances. All of this is caused by the ever-increasing prices of real estate (and therefore by gentrification) in the Kinkerbuurt, which actively encourages this behavior.

Another economic effect that has become apparent during the interviews is the addition of a lot of new shops. There are multiple causes for this, which both affect each other. First, it should be mentioned that the Kinkerbuurt, and the Kinkerstraat specifically, is being used as a sort of experimental ground for new shop ideas and other projects (Interview 1, p.10). One example of

this is the Praxis, a hardware store which mostly situates itself on industrial areas. The first 'inner-city Praxis' has been opened in the Kinkerbuurt, which is a risk, but also a compliment for the neighborhood; apparently the Praxis board was sure of the success it would cause there. Other examples include increases in sustainability and measures towards wheelchair accessibility. These projects are in a way forced upon the Kinkerstraat; Marianne Kieft told me that local councils do not have a big say in this, but it's not all negative: *"The drawback is that you're getting a lot thrown at you, the benefit is that it also opens up possibilities"* (Interview 1, p.11). However, even though Kieft might be optimistic, a lot of citizens are not necessarily happy with this, as will be elaborated upon in later Sections.

The reason why the Kinkerbuurt is chosen is because people living there can actually pay for it all. The increase of housing prices naturally attracts a richer population, meaning that shops can be more experimental as a result. Aside from bringing a more diverse variety of shops and restaurants to the neighborhood, prices also increase. Despite the many opinions about this, good or bad, it is something that happens because of a simply increasing demand. *"If there is a demand for more coffee bars, I'm not going to stop that; I'll let it happen"* (Interview 2, p.8). Also, if there would be no demand, no one would visit these bars/shops and they would cease to exist, but apparently people do actually visit these places, as has become apparent through the citizen interviewees and of course the existence of these bars/shops. What is clear is that this demand creates new shops, bars and restaurants, which in itself helps create the environment that these very same stores can thrive in. It is an ongoing circle. Another example of increasing prices is the price for parking. However, this is caused by multiple factors, not only gentrification, but also environmental reasons.

### **5.2.3 Issues in the Kinkerbuurt**

The two aspects of gentrification, cultural and economic, describe most clearly the results of the ongoing process in the Kinkerbuurt. The main issues can therefore be listed quite easily in this short section, to give a very simple overview of the main issues in the Kinkerbuurt:

- The first major issue is the housing famine caused by high rents. A direct effect of gentrification that is an issue in all of Amsterdam.
- The second issue is the nuisance caused by restaurants and bars late at night. This is also an issue that is caused by gentrification and can be found throughout Amsterdam; the closer to the center, the bigger this problem becomes.
- The third issue is (hidden) poverty. It might not be obvious, but it has been stated by Marianne Kieft that even in the richer Kinkerbuurt there are some poverty problems.
- The fourth issue is the need to find balance in the bustle of the city. There needs to be an understanding of the balance of fun and convenience. This directly applies to the second issue.
- The fifth issue is loneliness, oftentimes caused by an aging population that cannot keep up with the changes of the neighborhood. This is an indirect, but important effect of gentrification.

### **5.3 Sense of Place in the Kinkerbuurt**

In this paragraph the third Sub Question will be answered. These will be answered together, as it is hard to view these two separately; answering the question of how the general population feels in a place should be both individual and comparative at the same time. These questions will be answered with the help of the three main aspects of sense of place that have been discussed in the theoretical framework: environmental aesthetic, aesthetic of modernity and aesthetic of atmosphere. After analyzing these three components, there should be a clear picture of what residents truly think of their neighborhood.

#### **5.3.1 Environmental Aesthetic**

First, the environmental aesthetic will be discussed. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, this aesthetic will focus mostly on how the direct environment is perceived. How do the residents perceive the various houses and shops, but also their fellow residents?

One thing that is immediately made clear in the results is that the majority generally likes their environment, both physically and socially. Especially the younger residents, students and yups, feel this way. The older residents are slightly divided, however. This will be elaborated upon in the following Sections.

The physical environment is judged differently based on what specific aspect is analyzed. Here it will be divided into housing and the shops and services. The housing tends to be judged based on the time it was being built. Both young and old tend to like the older architectural styles; Creemers, for example, likes the old canal houses and houseboats, while not really liking the looks of the new architecture: *“You have, for example, the student flat at the Bilderdijkkade, that’s not that good looking from the outside and from the inside it’s also...”* (Interview 4, p.3). Creemers does say that she likes it for the diversity it adds to the neighborhood. Nel Bannier only agrees with the first statement, stating that the new houses are boring and do not let through enough light, causing the streets to get darker even on sunny days. The older houses are liked by everyone and that can be caused by a more authentic feeling, which will be discussed more in the ‘Aesthetic of Modernity’ Section.

The opinions about the shops and services tend to be a bit more diverse. Here, the divide between old and young is very apparent. The two student interviewees really like the different shops, bars and restaurants and visit them often, despite the high costs of it. Hans Mol also visits the Foodhallen a lot with his family. However, the older interviewees tend to not make use of the different shops and services that much. Ruud Buijs and Bert Meister are both disappointed that a lot of the older shops are making way for newer, sometimes more boring shops: *“And because so many of those shops are coming (...), the other nice little shops are disappearing”* (Interview 7, p.8). Even though both made use of some of these places in the beginning, they got bored with it fairly quickly and mostly only visit the familiar old spots. There are still services that both young and old can appreciate, for example the parks, the Ten Kate-market and the various cheap supermarkets like Dirk van den Broek. Most of this can be explained by comparing the services that are liked with the ones that are not, which will show that the universally liked places are more authentic (with the exception of the supermarkets, but those are practically essential for living and do not change that much) than the newer shops, bars and restaurants. Visiting the market and

parks for leisure is something done by people of all ages and walks of life, while the new 'hipster shops' are mostly used by younger students and families. This is not very surprising, as these shops have a younger target audience anyway. This is a phenomenon that can be explained through the passing of time and the changing of the community, as has been talked about in Section 5.2. This will also be explained further in the 'Aesthetic of Modernity' Section.

The social environment can be divided in two parts: the perceived composition of and the interaction with the other residents in the neighborhood. The perceived composition is what kind of people one tends to see when going through the neighborhood. Here, it became clear that younger people seem to think the population of the Kinkerbuurt is for the vast majority also young: *"I think that there are many young people living here, or middle-aged anyway"* (Interview 4, p.1). However, in the statistics it is shown that 'only' 59% of the residents are between 15-45 (CBS, 2017). Even though this is the actual majority, there is still a third of the population that is older than 45. It might be that younger people tend to not notice the older people, because they mostly go to newer shops and, as has been described, older people don't go there that often. This might explain the reason why the population in the eyes of the younger people (students) is a bit askew. Another reason is that they do not tend to have that much connection with the neighborhood as a whole, only knowing their own friends. This will be explained further later in this Section. The diversity of the neighborhood is also noticed by some of the residents. Almost all seem to be aware of the diversity of the neighborhood, whether they like that phenomenon or not. The diversity, in the eyes of the residents themselves, is mostly based on socio-economic status: *"Diversity has increased. Precisely because more owner-occupied properties were created"* (Interview 8, p.1). These owner-occupied properties were built in what was a social housing neighborhood. The fact that there are so many different types of housing in the neighborhood increases diversity and residents do notice that.

The interaction with the other residents is very much connected with the feeling of community that will be discussed in the 'Aesthetic of Modernity' Section. Still, the general way people treat each other in the Kinkerbuurt can still be discussed in this Section. In general, everyone seems to think that people are treating each other very good in the neighborhood. Some of the older residents do compare it to the past; according to them, it was better then. Nowadays people tend to be less personal, louder and even more aggressive. *"Most have become more aggressive these days! (...) You can see it all around you, you know"* (Interview 6, p.2). *"[The personal communication in the Kinkerbuurt] has become less personal, yes"* (Interview 7, p.3). Even some of the students tend to share the idea that the residents are not that personal and very hurried. However, all residents agree that while these aspects do exist more today, they do not define the general population. More often than not people are still nice to each other. *"We shouldn't put everyone in boxes, there are big differences"* (Interview 7, p.3).

Again, the conclusions here are not that surprising. The Kinkerbuurt is not at all known as a problematic neighborhood and therefore it can be expected that most social interaction is very positive. The negative influences tend to come mostly from other sources like tourism. It should be noted that there was almost no one who commented on the migrant population of the Kinkerbuurt. Only one resident stated that he noticed some hatred from the elderly population towards migrant groups. This hatred was based on nothing, according to him, as he has had only positive interactions with migrant groups. What can be concluded from this, is either of two things. It could be that most people in the Kinkerbuurt do not mind the migrant population at all, view them as equals and as such do not comment specifically about them. However, it could also be

that the subject did not come up during the interviews, which means that some data might have been lost. Nevertheless, with the current data, the main conclusion that can truly be drawn is that migrants do not play a very distinctive role in the neighborhood. Otherwise people would have talked about this more.

### **5.3.2 Aesthetic of Modernity**

Second, the aesthetic of modernity will be discussed. In the theoretical framework, this was divided in a physical and social section. This will also be done in the analysis here. Both sections will be taken apart and analyzed in the sense of how they have changed in the previous decades, but also how 'modern' they are considered today.

Physical modernity can be defined in the same way as the physical environment; through houses and shops and services. However, here we will focus more on the authenticity of these aspects. As has already been mentioned in the previous Section, the older architecture is generally more liked than the newer architecture. This has to do with the authenticity of it; both older and younger residents agree on this. However, the reason why they both like it seems to be slightly different. For the younger generation it seems to be more the idea of authenticity, which is hard to define for them. It might have to do with a feeling of awe, but that is entirely speculative. It is hard to pinpoint why exactly this occurs. For the older generation, it can be easier to identify; it might be more based on nostalgic feelings. The buildings that they know and (sometimes) grew up with are important to them, which is why they put value in them. Changing this to newer architecture takes away a part of their past, which can be a woeful thing. Newer architecture has no authenticity, not even for the younger generation. Of course, it can also be that the older buildings are just more diverse and better-looking in general, but this did not necessarily become clear in the data.

The same conclusions can be drawn for the 'authentic' services mentioned in the previous Section. The parks and the Ten Kate market are both authentic and liked by all. The parks are easy to explain; when the weather is good, everyone enjoys going to the park to hang out, no matter what age. However, the market can be a bit harder to explain for young people. It can be the same nostalgic feelings for older people, for younger people it might be just the general nice feeling there; it is hard to tell. The newer services, again as described in the previous Section, are generally not visited by older residents, while newer and younger residents do visit them a lot. This might have to do with the same authenticity phenomenon: it lacks (the old) authenticity and therefore is not that interesting to nostalgic people who are looking for the bars and shops they are used to: *"At one point I just started thinking: well, I feel much better [at home]. I'll just drink a beer here"* (Interview 7, p.5). Younger people do not seem to have these feelings yet and could therefore be more open for new and different styles of living *"I go to a lot of bars here, that is my biggest hobby"* (Interview 5, p.1). This has caused the community to change a bit and even divide into two groups: an older community and a newer community, as Laurent Staartjes already noticed (Interview 2).

This changing of types of communities became very apparent in most interviews. Social life in the Kinkerbuurt is changing. To compare these two communities, the past and present will be compared. In the previous decades, up until about the 90's, the Kinkerbuurt was a classic working-class district. Some artists, like Nel, started living there and really enjoyed the feeling of community one could have here. Other lifelong citizens can attest to this: *"You had more contact with*

*others in the past*” (Interview 6, p.3). Meister even spoke of a small street community, where everyone would help each other when they could. Some of that even exists to this day. Not only Meister himself acknowledges that; Hans Mol, a newer citizen, admits to living in this type of community: *“I live there (...), so we do know that whole street”* (Interview 8, p.1). He also told me of the many things he undertakes with his neighbors. This shows that the old community feeling of the Kinkerbuurt hasn’t really left, but still some feel like it has, as has been described in the previous Section; it has become less personal. To try to explain why that feeling exists, the newer communities have to be analyzed.

For the most part, these newer communities consist of students and young professionals. These people tend to meet in bars and restaurants and live their life fast-paced. *“The contact is more fleeting (...) you go there for meetings, to work and to meet with friends”* (Interview 2, p.4). Students in the Kinkerbuurt confirm this behavior (Interview 4&5). This newer community also tends to move outside of the borders of the Kinkerbuurt more quickly, to visit friends and what-not. In the end, the idea is that they live their lives differently than the older community. This difference might cause the feeling of discomfort some of the older citizens have with how the Kinkerbuurt is today. They do not fit in with these new developments and can feel alienated because of it. Also, because this newer community tends to be less personal (from the older point of view at least), they tend to complain more about certain things:

*We worked in the day at the smithing workshop (...) we welded, hammered metal outside, and the doors were always open. We were here for 106 years, no one complained. But now I’m here, I close my doors and my windows, buy a special sharpening stone that’s extra quiet, and still people are complaining. And back in the day the neighbor just shouted: hey, can you quiet down a bit? But now all they do is send official letters. – Meister, Interview 7, p.3*

Especially the last part of this quote shows the frustration of a lack of communication. The complaining wouldn’t be so bad if they complained in person, but even that has become impersonal.

While these differences can cause frustration and a division between older and newer residents, there are also many signs of positive communication. Students like to mix in with the older community sometimes: *“When I didn’t live here yet, a friend of mine did live here, and we visited a bingo-night nearby. It was funny to be there”* (Interview 4, p.3). The students also explain how they sometimes visit bars and talk with the bartenders, which makes the whole ordeal more personal. On the other side, some elderly people tend to not care too much about all the changes. *“I don’t have any problems. If I have problems, I’ll just turn around”* (Interview 6, p.2). So, aspects of both the older and newer communities can be found in each other; still, the overlap does not seem to be enough to completely mix the two communities.

### **5.3.3 Aesthetic of Atmosphere**

In this last Section on Sub Question 3, the aesthetic of atmosphere will be analyzed. This aesthetic is more about certain feelings, and so the analysis will be divided in feelings of home and feelings of safety. Meaning that, while some people might actually enjoy their life in the Kinkerbuurt, they might not feel necessarily at home, or totally safe, there. This will be discussed in the following Section.

First, the feeling of safety will be addressed. This is probably the most shared feeling in the Kinkerbuurt: the Kinkerbuurt is very safe. Even people that don't like the direction the neighborhood is taking, have to admit that the safety is a big advantage. Concerning safety, the Kinkerbuurt reached a low point around the 90's. At this point there was a lot of crime in the neighborhood, including dubious squatters, drugs laboratories and even murders (personal communication, 2018). The people who have lived through this admit that, while they personally weren't impacted that much by the crime, the neighborhood does feel a lot safer now. *"Back then a lot more happened, regarding unsafety. On that matter it has gotten a lot better"* (Interview 7, p.6). The newer citizens have never lived through this time, but do feel safe in the Kinkerbuurt. Families can live here without problems and, for example, female students can go home safely after a night out. *"I feel really safe here, because there's so much life on the streets, because 80% of the people are just normal people"* (Interview 5, p.4). This life on the streets, the 'eyes on the streets', bring safety to a lot of people. They know their neighborhood, they know most people can be trusted and therefore they trust everyone to keep an eye out for each other. To bring back the community discussion: this is an aspect of community living that is alive in both old and new communities in the Kinkerbuurt.

The feeling of home is a lot more diverse in the Kinkerbuurt. Even though everyone feels at home in the neighborhood, there is a large spectrum of the specific of this 'feeling at home'. This ranges from people who lend their full identity to the Kinkerbuurt, to people that just like the Kinkerbuurt, but could just as well live in any other place. What seems to be clear from the data, is that the older residents, especially the ones living there for the bigger part of their lives, identify more with the Kinkerbuurt. Sometimes they even identify most with one of the sub-neighborhoods in the Kinkerbuurt, like the Bellamybuurt or the Borgerbuurt. *"I am a 'Bellamybuurter'. Yes, definitely, I've even written a lot of history about the Bellamybuurt"* (Interview 7, p.9). Even the more middle-aged people have a sense of duty in the neighborhood. Hans Mol, for example, is active in the 'stadsdeelcommissie' because he feels he can do something for the neighborhood. This feeling of responsibility for the Kinkerbuurt can be found among many of the more active residents, like Mol, Bannier and Meister, and shows a strong affiliation with the Kinkerbuurt.

Younger residents, on the other hand, tend to identify themselves more as citizens of Amsterdam. *"I feel at home in the Kinkerbuurt, but actually I just feel at home in the whole of Amsterdam"* (Interview 5, p.4). This phenomenon can be explained through a variety of aspects. First, younger residents are mostly students and young professionals, meaning that they have a different lifestyle than other types of workers. As also becomes apparent in the comparison between old and new communities, the younger residents visit a lot of different bars to work and/or socialize. They do their activities all over the city. *"I would want to do more [in the Kinkerbuurt], but... I study at Roeters[eiland], which is in East, and my friends live all over the place"* (Interview 4, p.6). The fact that their community is not based around a close community anymore, but rather on friends from work or school, changes their behavior of living in the city.

These differences once again showcase a division between older and newer residents. While all feel at home, the definition of home changes a lot depending on the background of each specific resident. Older people tend to keep more to their close vicinity, while younger people tend to spread out all over the city. This difference of the definition of home can also explain in some parts why the old and new communities do not mix that well, and why the people fighting gentrification in the Kinkerbuurt tend to be mostly older residents.

#### 5.4 Population's view of Gentrification

The previous Sub Question has shown that there are a lot of differences, but also a lot of similarities between the various different groups of the Kinkerbuurt. Many explanations have already been given, including a change in the sense of community, the feeling of home and the passing of time. However, one very important aspect has been omitted from the answer until now, and that is gentrification. Most of these changes, differences, explanations etc. of what is happening physically and, more importantly in this research, socially, can be explained through gentrification. This section will therefore see how and if the various conclusions made in the previous Sub Question can be linked to gentrification. First, the general knowledge and opinion about gentrification in the Kinkerbuurt will be examined. After that, this will be linked to the actual effects of gentrification, and how the subjectivity and objectivity combine to form the social environment in the Kinkerbuurt.

Knowledge about gentrification in the Kinkerbuurt is very present. It acts as a sort of 'trigger term'; when brought up, it brings up a lot of emotion, be it good or bad. Almost everyone is familiar with the term, but there are different degrees of knowledge about the actual phenomenon. Among the younger (student) population, it only plays a small role, if any. For them, it's mostly linked to an increase of 'yups' and new shops. *"(...) it's like the authentic character is being taken over and filled in by something else"* (Interview 5, p.6). The same goes for the older residents, some know of it, some don't. However, the residents that are familiar with the actual workings of gentrification have quite a bit of knowledge about it. This can be caused by the more active role some of these residents take in the neighborhood, be it for or against the current wave of gentrification, as opposed to the younger residents. Regarding the opinion of gentrification, people are almost unanimously positive about it. Most people like the diversity that it brings in people and commodities, but this diversity needs to be balanced. *"So there has to be a good balance, because it would be too bad if all those authentic shops (...) disappear"* (Interview 5, p.6&7). *"I'm not going to say: this is not allowed anymore. But there has to be more diversity (...)"* (Interview 7, p.9). These opinions reflect a sort of fear that gentrification is moving forward a bit too much these days in the Kinkerbuurt. The outcry for balance in diversity is a main theme for almost every resident, regardless which walk of life. *"There has to be a flow. Stagnant water rots. (...) And that's the negative part of gentrification, if it flows too fast. But if it doesn't flow... (...) It just has to flow at a steady pace"* (Interview 8, p.8).

However, there is also a group of residents that is fiercely against gentrification and what it brings to the neighborhood. This group can be seen writing columns in the Parool and fighting lawsuits against housing corporations (Lenselink, 2017) (personal communication, 2018). This group seems to almost not be present in the data, meaning it could only be a small minority. Nevertheless, their opinions are forming policies and build a specific view of the Kinkerbuurt that even brought me to do my research there (Groenlinks, 2018). But, as mentioned before, the majority of the data shows a population willing to accept the effects of gentrification, sometimes even welcoming it. Then, what does the group against gentrification get right and wrong?

The main thing that they do get right, is their stance towards tourism. While most people don't necessarily hate tourists, they do express concerns about either the nuisances they cause. This seems to be only a small problem in the Kinkerbuurt, but that is partly due to the actions of the activist groups. Hotels were to be built in the Kinkerbuurt, but the general population got together to stop this (Parool, 2018). Tourism is a general problem in Amsterdam and the Kinkerbuurt is no exception. Despite all this, it can be hard to define tourism as an effect of gentrifica-

tion. According to Gant (2015), there is a certain extent of commercial gentrification that's committed to tourism and some of this can be applied to the Kinkerbuurt. The increase in AirBnB spots and restaurants based on tourists is part of these effects.

Another effect of gentrification that hits almost every resident is the increase of the price of living. Everyone agrees that prices are going up, whether it be for housing or for a coffee, but not everyone feels this is a negative thing. *"It's not overpriced, that makes no sense. I would be the first to say: guys, this is ridiculous"* (Interview 8, p.8). The opinion about this seems to be based on the type of resident. The richer residents don't seem to mind that much, while student residents feel it in their purse. *"A night out with two people, that's about 70 euro. And I do spend that sometimes, a bit too much actually"* (Interview 5, p.6). However, most recognize that this is just how the economy works; when people with more to spend come to live in a neighborhood, shops will pop up that will profit from this. There are still cheap options, especially on the supermarket level. Almost every resident in the data admits to getting cheap groceries at supermarkets like Dirk van den Broek and Volmar. So, while the increase in the price of living is definitely a phenomenon that's happening in the Kinkerbuurt, it is generally not seen as a huge problem. The housing market, however, hits more people. Long-time citizens don't experience too many problems, as they still live in their cheap houses from decades ago: *"I'm living in this house, which has been built 30 years ago (...) 100 m2 for 500 euro. It's awesome"* (Interview 7, p.7). However, they do admit that the housing is getting ridiculously expensive here, mostly for expats (personal communication, 2018). So, while it is recognized as a problem, most citizens don't really feel the effects, as they have either already been lucky, or can simply afford to pay the price. Citizens that can't pay this price simply will not live here, so the problem won't show in the data.

The activist minority seems to really be a minority. Most residents of the Kinkerbuurt experience the direct effects of gentrification, but don't see it as a major problem. This would mean that the many columns, news stories and other media appearances about the Kinkerbuurt are, according to this data, mostly based on a small minority. The majority that is mostly neutral, doesn't speak up. However, there is still one link to gentrification that needs to be discussed and that is the changing of the feeling of community. This has been elaborated upon a lot in the previous paragraphs, and is definitely something that most residents are noticing, positively and negatively. The increasing diversity of the population and of the various shops, commodities and services bring about a new type of resident (younger, students, yups) that live in a different type of community: fast-paced and more international. This is an indirect effect of gentrification, and the older community does speak out about this, as has been seen in the data points stated in the previous paragraphs. The main problem that lives in most residents of the neighborhood, even though it's still not a very big one, seems to be this very changing of communities. This is a tough process for both communities, as they have to change and adapt to each other. This is something that most residents talked about, more actively and with more passion than about the increasing prices or tourists. It seems like an inevitable event that forces people to change: *"That's the ravages of time, as they say"* (Interview 6, p.10). This passion is shared mostly in the older community, whether they are generally positive or not, but even the new community senses that they are actively bringing about change. Consciously or not, the effects of gentrification are mostly perceived in this phenomenon.

## Chapter 6: Reflection

In this chapter I will reflect on the way I have conducted this research, focusing on every single aspect of the research. Even with the best intentions, a research can never be perfect and therefore a good reflection is needed; to learn and to do better in the future.

The first part of my research consisted of the building of a research framework. This proposal was the first deadline and included a theoretical framework and corresponding research, the then-planned methodology, the objective and the main and Sub Questions. In general, the first part of the research was quite successful. There was a clear gap in knowledge that could be filled. Still, the relevance for general society was a bit harder to pinpoint. I've decided on using the research as a means to inform the municipality, so they can use it in their future policies. However, chances are that they have no specific need for this and will just generally skim it over. Still, it is my hope something can be done with this research. The Sub Questions have also, of course, changed quite a bit during the process. They needed quite a bit of fine-tuning, up until the last week.

The theoretical research has been very useful from the start up until the very end. While there have been some aspects of it that may have been unnecessary, like for example the section about ethnic segregation, it did allow me to at least consider the possibilities. In the end it did not apply that much to the Kinkerbuurt.

The methodology section has undergone quite a lot of changes, however. First, the way I have chosen my interviewees could have definitely been better. I partly used a sort of snowball method using the two policy-based interviews, but this led me to a group of citizens that was generally 'too knowledgeable'. This means that I already knew beforehand what their opinions might be, because they are active in politics or activism. This is not necessarily detrimental to the research, but it is better to have interviewees that bring something new to the table. The other methods I used to find interviewees were Facebook posts and some calling around to local neighborhood centers. In the end, I had 50% 'knowledgeable' respondents, and 50% 'random' respondents. Also, the diversity of the respondents could have been a lot better. I have only found native/ethnic Dutch people to interview and I would have really liked to have a migrant view on the Kinkerbuurt. This can very well lead to a bias in the research towards native Dutch people. Also, I did not include any questions about migrants in the interview guide to make up for this discrepancy. I only realized this after analyzing the last interview, so there is a high possibility that there is a useful bit of information missing for this research.

During the interviews themselves, I have made many rookie mistakes. This was expected, but it should still be noted so as to learn from these mistakes. The main problem while interviewing was that I would finish someone's sentences for them, or give them too much information about the research beforehand. I tried to improve this in later interviews, but for some interviews the damage had already been done. Because of these two problems, together with the fact that I was quite prone to shine through my own opinions on some subjects, I have not conducted entirely transcendental phenomenological interviews. This was the plan at first, but I deviated quite a bit from it. However, I did get all the answers that I wanted for this research, so in the end the interviews have been successful at least for information gathering.

Lastly, the amount of interviews that I have done are too little to really draw big conclusions. Only 6 residents have been interviewed, which was according to plan, but more than that would have been tough regarding the time period I had for this research. So, while the whole thesis is based around the idea that this is definitely a good representation of the Kinkerbuurt as a whole, it might actually not be enough to draw these big conclusions.

## Chapter 7: Conclusion

The Kinkerbuurt is changing and has been changing for a while, fueled by gentrification. That much has been made clear in this research and can be confirmed by the many columns and policies written about it. Gentrification has caused the prices of almost everything are going up; housing, restaurants and many more. New shops are opening up all across the neighborhood to meet the demands of the population. And the population, in general, likes all these commodities. It gives them a very diverse spectrum of things to do and things to eat. The prices may be a bit higher, but there always seems to be some place one can go to. The citizens of the Kinkerbuurt themselves are generally happy.

However, there is also a cultural change going on, which is adding a bit of tension to some residents of the neighborhood. There is a shift in the way that communities are interacting with each other. The older communities that are focused on their own street and know everyone and all their gossips are making way for a newer, younger community. This community consists of students and yups, who are more fast-paced, travel all around the city and beyond and visit a multitude of diverse fancy shops, restaurants and bars. What the data makes you believe at first, is that the two types of communities are inherently different; the new is too fast paced for the old, the old is too personal for the new. But at the same time, the residents told me that they do not mind the other groups at all. Older residents like the diversity the newer community brings, and the newer residents like the familial feeling of the older community. Both groups walk around on the ten Kate market, and both groups feel safe and at home in the Kinkerbuurt. The animosity always seems to be focused on small groups in the end. Only a few of the newer residents do not cope in the neighborhood, and only a few older residents dislike the direction the Kinkerbuurt is taking.

What is special about this cultural phenomenon is that it is an indirect cause of gentrification. When a neighborhood changes in the way the Kinkerbuurt does, room will be made for young professionals and their culture. This culture seeps into the Kinkerbuurt. It is hard to say what came first; did the young professionals come because there was something they liked, or did the neighborhood adjust to its new residents? No matter the answer, the two are definitely interchangeable.

Considering all these effects caused by gentrification, has something really changed in the sense of place in the Kinkerbuurt? The feeling of home, safety and community? According to this research, it has probably only gotten better. Even though there is a group of people that dislikes the current changes, they are a minority. Most people are generally happy with the way the Kinkerbuurt has developed. It's safer, it still has its old charm (at least in most places) and there is still a sense of community, whether it is the old or the new. The small nuisances that accompany the difference in communities are exactly that: small. However, it can be a good idea to make people realize the positivity that flows through most of the residents. People who are fighting gentrification with all their might could confess that it's also just the wheel of time. At the same time, newer residents that complain about the old practices of the Kinkerbuurt could also try to adapt to the older residents. This also counts for policy makers; even though the opposition is mostly a minority, they should also be taken into account. In the end, the Kinkerbuurt has a lot of diversity at this time and that can bring a lot of tension with it. Trying to adapt to each other, even

only a little, seems like it could be very effective for the general feeling of the place that is the Kinkerbuurt.

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## Figures

Figure 2.1: Google Maps. (2018). *Kinkerbuurt*. Retrieved from [https://www.google.nl/maps?q=kinkerbuurt&um=1&ie=UTF-8&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiQxNfGIsTbAhVQyqYKHcanAW0Q\\_AUICigB](https://www.google.nl/maps?q=kinkerbuurt&um=1&ie=UTF-8&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiQxNfGIsTbAhVQyqYKHcanAW0Q_AUICigB)

Figure 2.2: Boterman, W., & van Gent, W. (2015). Segregatie in Amsterdam. *Stedebouw & Ruimtelijke Ordening*, 2015(3), p.39.

Figure 2.3: Felix, B. (2018). *Conceptual Model*. [Model].

Figure 3.1: Felix, B. (2018). *Age statistics of the population of the Kinkerbuurt*. [Graph]. Data retrieved from CBS (2017).

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Figure 3.3: Felix, B. (2018). *(Im)migrant status of the population of the Kinkerbuurt*. [Graph]. Data retrieved from CBS (2015).

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Figure 3.5: Felix, B. (2018). *Example of the Coding Process*. [Screenshot].

Figure 4.1: Felix, B. (2018). *View of the Ten Kate school*. [Photograph].

Figure 4.2: Koning, R. (Photographer). (2013). *Front View of the Ten Katestraat in the Kinkerbuurt in Amsterdam*. [Photograph]. Retrieved from [http://www.studiokoning.nl/Foto\\_Amsterdam\\_3/Ten\\_Katestraat.html](http://www.studiokoning.nl/Foto_Amsterdam_3/Ten_Katestraat.html)

Figure 4.3: Felix, B. (2018). *Front view of the Ten Katestraat in the Kinkerbuurt in Amsterdam*. [Photograph].

Figure 4.4: Bannier, N. (Resident). (2018). *Back View of the Ten Katestraat in the Kinkerbuurt in Amsterdam*. [Photograph]. Retrieved through personal communication.

## Appendices

### Appendix I: Log

<b>Interview Data</b>			
<u>Datum</u>	<u>Interviewee</u>	<u>Locatie</u>	
20-04-2018	Marianne Kieft	Kinkerbuurt	
07-05-2018	Laurent Staartjes	Amsterdam Centrum	
07-05-2018	Nel Bannier	Kinkerbuurt	
14-05-2018	Anna Creemers	Kinkerbuurt	
14-05-2018	Saskia	Kinkerbuurt	
17-05-2018	Ruud Buijs	Kinkerbuurt	
29-05-2018	Bert Meister	Kinkerbuurt	
05-06-2018	Hans Mol	Kinkerbuurt	
<b>Logboek</b>			
<u>Week</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Special Event</u>	
8	Working on Research Proposal		
9	Working on Research Proposal		
10	Working on Research Proposal		
11	Working on Research Proposal		
12	Finish Final Research Proposal	<i>Deadline Final Research Proposal (23-03)</i>	
13	Exams	<i>Easter Weekend (from 30-3)</i>	
14	Exams	<i>Easter (2-4)</i>	
15	Reaching out for interviews		
16	Conducting Interview 1; analysis		
17	Analyzing, Writing & Contacting	<i>King's Day (27-4)</i>	
18	Analyzing, Writing & Contacting	<i>Freedom Day (5-5)</i>	
19	Conducting Interview 2&3; Analyzing & Writing	<i>Family Weekend (11-5 - 14-5)</i>	
20	Conducting Interviews 4,5&6; Analyzing & Writing		
21	Analyzing & Writing	<i>Pentecost (21-5)</i>	
22	Conducting Interview 7		
23	Conducting Interview 8, Analyzing & Writing		
24	Analyzing & Writing, Final Editing	<i>Deadline Draft Version (14-06)</i>	
25	---		
26	---	<i>Deadline Final Version (28-06)</i>	
27	---		
28	---	<i>Deadline Evaluation (13-07)</i>	