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FASHION IN GENTRIFYING URBAN SPACES:

**The case of the Fashion Quarter
in Klarendal, Arnhem**

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Preface

I would like to thank Dustin, Dan and Martin, without whose help and insights this work would have been impossible. I would also like to thank my supervisor Dr. Lagendijk and Freek De Haan, the second reader, for their continuous input.

Abstract

As indicated in the title, this thesis concerns gentrification in relation to fashion. The object of research was to find the role of fashion (as part of a growing symbolic economy) in the gentrifying urban space of Klarendal and relate it to Arnhem's wider social and economic policies. Going beyond the city scale, we included in our research the factors of economic creativity and urban attractiveness as global tendencies. This topic was chosen because there is a gap in the literature regarding the connection of fashion and gentrification, even though many scholars (like Zukin) have approached the issue of fashion markets and transforming urban spaces. In this thesis we measured the presence of fashion in the neighborhood and parameterized its impact. After realizing fashion's real presence and importance, we researched the ways it facilitates gentrification in Klarendal.

The methods used were a combination of quantitative and qualitative research; that is, because we sought for a holistic approach in order to place Klarendal's gentrification in a wider context. Primary sources included long semi-structured interviews, short structured interviews and observation. Secondary sources included municipal statistical data, policy documents and various texts and articles from newspapers and magazines. From those sources we conducted data analysis and discourse analysis.

It was found that gentrification is implemented as a generalized urban policy, which in conjunction with city branding shaped Klarendal as it is today. Fashion functioned as an indictment of gentrification's visual representation, and through fashion the changing of Klarendal's aesthetics and identity was justified and facilitated. The findings are important because we pointed out the importance of aesthetics in gentrification and its practical implementation and we clarified the role of fashion in urban space as an economic activity, a vehicle to livability, a status enhancer and a creativity stimulator.

Glossary

ARCCI	Arnhem's Center for Creative economy and Innovation
ArtEZ	Arnhem, Enschede, and Zwolle's Institute of the Arts
CI	Creative Industries
DOCKS	The trade association of Klarendal, St.Marten and Spoorhoek districts
FnD	Fashion and Design
Horeca	Catering industry
Modekwartier	The Fashion Quarter
OV	(Ontwerp/vormgeving) Industrial design
Rijnstad	The social organization in the field of welfare and social services in Arnhem
SBI	(Standaard Bedrijfs Indeling) Standard Industrial Classification
Stipo	<i>Team for urban strategy and city development</i> located in the Netherlands
Volkshuisvesting	Housing corporation located in Arnhem

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
<i>General description of the topic</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Case Background</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Scientific Background.....</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Thesis contribution</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>Research relevance and current aspects</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>Aim and objective of research</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Research questions</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Research approach</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Methodology</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Thesis structure.....</i>	<i>8</i>
II. THEORY.....	10
1. Suburbanization and the “reclaiming” of the inner city	10
<i>The very early social ecologists.....</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>The “Return” to the inner city.....</i>	<i>11</i>
2. Gentrification going Global.....	13
<i>The first wave (1950s to 1970s).....</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>The second wave (1970s to 1980s).....</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>The third wave (from 1990s onwards).....</i>	<i>15</i>
3. Theories of gentrification.....	17
<i>Neil Smith on Patterns of Investment in the Built Environment</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>David Ley on the Aesthetic Disposition.....</i>	<i>19</i>
<i>Sharon Zukin on the Ideology of Historic Preservation.....</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>Neoclassical models of Commute Cost to Housing Price Tradeoff</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>Damaris Rose on Social Reproduction of Labour</i>	<i>21</i>
III. DESCRIPTION OF THE CASE STUDY	23
1. Arnhem	23
2. Klarendal	24
IV. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.....	27

V. RESTRUCTURING KLARENDAL	30
1. Klarendal Kom Op! (2000- 2004)	30
2. Klarendal Gaat Door (2005- 2008)	31
3. Resetting the goals (2008- ...)	33
<i>Restructuring or gentrifying Klarendal?</i>	35
VI. FASHION AND DESIGN PRESENCE IN ARNHEM AND KLARENDAL	37
1. Intro.....	37
2. What Fashion means for Klarendal and Arnhem.....	38
<i>Fashion as an urban renewal tool</i>	39
<i>Why Fashion?</i>	39
<i>Fashion's functions</i>	40
3. Fashion and Design presence through numbers	46
<i>Methodology/ Approach</i>	46
<i>Klarendal</i>	48
<i>Arnhem</i>	50
4. Conclusions	51
VII. BEYOND FASHION: THE CREATIVE CLASS.....	52
1. Intro.....	52
2. Creative Industry cluster through numbers	53
<i>Methodology/ Approach</i>	53
<i>Arnhem</i>	53
<i>Klarendal</i>	55
<i>Conclusions</i>	56
3. Why creativity is important for Arnhem.....	57
<i>Postfordism and creativity</i>	58
<i>Creativity in Arnhem</i>	59
4. Creative Class identities	60
<i>The novelty of the "new" middle class</i>	61
<i>Creative classes and gentrification</i>	62
<i>Globalization and gentrification</i>	64
<i>Creative Class characteristics</i>	65
a. Conclusions	66

VIII. FASHION IN URBAN SPACE:	
IMPLICATIONS FOR AESTHETICS, IDEOLOGY AND ECONOMY	67
1. Intro.....	67
2. Fashion in the urban realm	68
3. Fashion in Klarendal	70
<i>Aesthetical paradigm.....</i>	<i>71</i>
<i>Economic necessity</i>	<i>72</i>
<i>Urban pioneers as guarantors</i>	
<i>of investments and facilitators of effective governance</i>	<i>73</i>
<i>Class related implications</i>	<i>73</i>
<i>Conclusion: Fashion as a manifestation of a middle class hegemony</i>	<i>74</i>
<i>A twist: Fashion's ability to unify urban, exhibitory and commercial spaces</i>	<i>75</i>
4. Fashion as art	76
5. Conclusions	76
IX. CONCLUSIONS/ DISCUSSION.....	78
<i>Is Klarendal being gentrified?</i>	<i>78</i>
<i>The discourse and presence of fashion in Klarendal.....</i>	<i>79</i>
<i>Why creativity is important for Arnhem and what this has to do with postfordism?</i>	<i>80</i>
<i>Where do postfordism, attracting creativity and gentrification connect?</i>	<i>80</i>
<i>Fashion and gentrification.....</i>	<i>81</i>
<i>How does fashion facilitate gentrification in Klarendal?.....</i>	<i>82</i>
<i>Theoretical remarks</i>	<i>83</i>
<i>Methodological remarks.....</i>	<i>84</i>
<i>Our contribution</i>	<i>85</i>
<i>Recommendations for district development.....</i>	<i>85</i>
<i>Limitations/ Propositions for further research</i>	<i>86</i>
REFERENCES	88
APPENDIX	96

Tables, maps and graphs index

Maps

Map 1: Velperpoort Distict	p. 38
Map 2: Shops of the Fashion Quarter	p. 96
Map 3: Workshops of the Fashion Quarter	p. 96
Map 4: Night of Fashion 2014	p. 104

Graphs

Graph 1: Arnhem's CI businesses profile 2004, 2013	p. 54
Graph 2: Arnhem's CI workers profile 2004, 2013	p. 55

Tables

Table 1: Businesses in cluster Fashion and Design in Klarendal and Arnhem (2004-13)	p. 97
Table 2: Workers in cluster Fashion and Design in Klarendal and Arnhem (2004-13)	p. 97
Table 3: Businesses in cluster Fashion and Design (2004, 2013)	p. 98
Table 4: Workers in cluster Fashion and Design (2004, 2013)	p. 99
Table 5: OV (design) Businesses in Klarendal and Arnhem (2004-13)	p. 100
Table 6: OV (design) Workers in Klarendal and Arnhem (2004-13)	p. 100
Table 7: Design (OV) Businesses in cluster Fashion and Design (2004, 2013)	p. 101
Table 8: Design (OV) Workers in cluster Fashion and Design (2004, 2013)	p. 102
Table 9: Population (2001, 2014), Unemployment (2001, 2014), Average Disposable Income (2007, 2011) in Arnhem's Districts	p. 103
Table 10: Population (2001-14), Unemployment (2001-14), Average Disposable Income (2007-11) in Arnhem and Klarendal	p. 103
Table 11: Businesses in Creative Industries 2004	p. 105
Table 12: Businesses in Creative Industries 2013	p. 106
Table 13: Workers in Creative Industries 2013	p. 107
Table 14: Workers in Creative Industries 2013	p. 108
Table 15: Ethnic composition in Klarendal 1994- 2014	p. 109
Table 16: Ethnic composition in Arnhem 1994- 2014	p. 109

I. INTRODUCTION

If gentrification –as a generalized urban policy– has become so fashionable, it is no wonder it suits fashion itself so uniquely. The topic of the current thesis is gentrification in Klarendal, Arnhem. What makes a small district of Arnhem such a suitable topic for a thesis is the Fashion Quarter. Located in the margins of Klarendal and Spijkerkwartier, the Fashion Quarter is perceived as a realm of creativity; a locus of fashion and design at the heart of a rather inconspicuous city, which nonetheless aspires to stay in the shade no more. Klarendal is not an evident choice for a gentrification study: a sparsely built urban area resembling the rural, with no apparent intense development projects, it seems not much is going on there. While strolling down the streets of the neighborhood on a peaceful November morning, I thought that I would have a hard task filling the pages of this thesis. Alas, I was wrong.

General description of the topic

On the one hand, Klarendal is a poor and ethnically diverse neighborhood in the center of Arnhem. For decades, it has experienced turbulences; the area was until recently famous for its drug trade and was regularly in the newspapers for no good reasons. Until the year 2000, Arnhem's authorities had tried many times to make the area *work* through demolition and rebuilding, only to achieve further decay of the social fabric and a general distrust by the locals. Then, groups of Klarendalers went to the city board demanding a solution to the neighborhood's *insisting* problems: urban space degradation and drug related criminality. Klarendal was not always like that; there was a time when it was a vibrant place, abound in small shops where people stayed out until late and interacted in a way dissimilar to the rest of the city. That was no coincidence; built by Catholics, Klarendal was the “green” note of a Protestant city. The local community, small and tight as it was, carried its own norms and values; solidarity, family bonds, even the “laughter there sounded different” (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14). The Fashion Quarter came as the answer to the locals' demand for small shops, because the economic reality of postfordism did not favor the types of shops thriving in Klarendal in the past.

On the other hand, Arnhem is a medium-sized city, located near the borders with Germany. The city is the capital of the province of Gelderland and was traditionally working class, with numerous industries in close proximity. However its economic profile is changing: Business Services, Tourism & Leisure and Health & Welfare sectors are the most important job positions providers in Arnhem nowadays. Moreover, the city rigorously develops the dynamic and innovative sectors of Energy & Green Technology and Fashion & Design. Arnhem may be spatially marginalized, but it hosts important companies and institutions of a wide variety, rendering its regional economy balanced and diverse. The “traditional” sectors give the city a certain economic sustainability. However, Arnhem is still struggling to find its place on the map: the innovative sectors perform exactly that role; to make the city distinguishable and take it one step ahead.

In the midst of all these, the Fashion Quarter plays a dual role: an answer to Klarendal's urban deterioration and lack of vibrancy, and a powerful tool for the economic stimulation and distinctiveness of Arnhem. Placed in this framework, gentrification in Klarendal is seen as a chaotic concept (Rose, 1984): a multifarious process which incorporates the roles of an

urban planning and economic stimulation tool, a brand name and a cultural and social fermentation for both Arnhem and Klarendal. Besides, we should not forget that gentrification is a generalized urban policy (Smith, 2002): the Spijkerkwartier can be considered as an already gentrified district, Centrum goes through a gentrification process similar to other inner city areas, and after Klarendal the phenomenon “migrates” to the adjacent neighborhood of Sint Marten.

This thesis will engage with the issues of gentrification, urban branding, livability and vibrancy, aesthetics and representation, social mixing and postfordism. This will occur through a prism of social, cultural and economic geography. The Fashion Quarter in Klarendal will be our case study; we will keep a widened perspective, in order to see how the quarter reinforces Arnhem and vice versa.

Case Background

Klarendal is a 19th and early 20th century residential neighborhood, characterized by a wide variety of mostly smaller houses. Until the 60s it was a vibrant working class neighborhood, home for people working in the large industries around Arnhem. Later, Klarendal lost much of its value and this deterioration led to a series of revolts and protests. Since the 70s it is going through constant transformations and renewals that could be called as inner city redevelopment, but until a decade ago they did not bear the distinguishing marks inherent in gentrification (class restructuring, social mixing). However, since 10-15 years now, the municipality and the local housing corporation (Volkshuisvesting) through community identity building campaigns and specific policy decisions managed to attach a gentrification aura in Klarendal’s transformation.

The Fashion Quarter was conceptualized by those two actors, as a vehicle to livability. It was established in a problematic neighborhood, instead of a “posh” area (which was the initial idea), precisely in order to solve Klarendal’s urban problems through vibrancy. Since 2006, when started, it attracts visitors from Arnhem and beyond with its specialized clothing shops, fashion ateliers and distinctive cafes, bars and restaurants. It is considered to be a successful project, and it has nonetheless achieved the goal of vibrancy (at least to some extent). But this success came with certain implications: identity building policies marginalized specific groups of old residents (Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2011). Even though Klarendal may seem as a subtle case of gentrification, a notable number of people left the area for various reasons. The urban spaces and neighborhood identity itself changed completely. Fashion landed as an economic activity, an aesthetical paradigm and a discourse.

Scientific Background

Most academics, urban planners and relevant researchers seem to agree that we can call gentrification, the process of middle class influx in working class quarters; the term itself, literally means the influx of “gentries”. No matter how saturated it may seem, the issue of gentrification still produces fierce debates. Urban planners, academics and relevant researchers cannot agree even on the basics: the causal procedures, the outcome, even the size of the phenomenon. Whyte (1980) took it more or less as a limited process taking place in central areas of a few global cities. However, no matter how small or big they are, gentrification fermentations can unarguably change the face of cities, and nowadays they are

addressed as generalized urban policies. There is already a rich literature that bridges gentrification with a variety of social and economic parameters. The main factor that distinguishes the approaches from each other is the causal factors of gentrification; whether it is economically or culturally generated. Even though scholars tend to agree that the production and consumption relationship is symbiotic, they usually highlight one of the two.

Consumption side engages with gentrification from the side of its “users”, the gentrifiers. The main element identified as the root cause of gentrification is the **desire** and **rationale** of its mediators; those people who leave the obsolete vision of suburbia for the *emancipatory* space of the inner city (Lees, 2000, Caulfield, 1994). Gentrification is perceived as the outcome of three main factors: firstly, the baby boom generation getting into higher education and new ideas were spread (Ley, 2003), secondly, the long economic boom of the postwar era, where large parts of the population got distanced from necessity creates a condition that eventually led to “aesthetic disposition” (Bourdieu, 1984) and thirdly, the maturation of the welfare state which opened the way for a free market critique (Ley, 2003). This approach is different from the next approach because it sees developers and policy makers following the tendencies of urban mobility, rather than creating the conditions that would foster the trends.

Production side on the other hand, supports that no matter how strong the *desire* of the gentrifiers might be, the economic conditions are those generating gentrification. The root cause of gentrification is the **economic viability** of redevelopment and rehabilitation of housing in downtown areas. When this option became economically feasible, and inner city areas started redeveloping, then the middle class, driven by economic and cultural motives, grasped the opportunity (Smith, 1979); in other words, the activation of unused economic capacities caused gentrification. These capacities were “unlocked” until that specific moment in time due to historical and economic factors. After the severe depression of 1893-97, renewal and redevelopment of the inner city, which was already built, was inexpedient. Industrial capital gradually migrated to the suburbs, and only some of this was intended for residential construction. High risk and low return rates discouraged investors and new capital omitted from the center of the city. When investment in the outer city reached a certain point, and specific economic conditions allowed profitable capitalization of the inner city, gentrification occurred as capital revaluation, a rational response of the market following a long period of depreciation (Smith, 1979).

This approach has also identified the changing faces of gentrification over the years: the sporadic, discrete and seemingly marginal process, talking place in central neighborhoods of traditionally global cities in the 50s and 60s (Glass, 1964), the anchoring phase after the fall of fordism (Smith, 1979) and the generalized urban policy of the 90s and 00s (Hackworth, 2000, Hackworth & Smith, 2001).

Besides those two approaches there is a variety of alternative explanations of gentrification. The most important, since this thesis researches a Dutch case of gentrification, is the institutional approach expressed by Uitermark. He explicitly separates the US model – which is the most thoroughly examined in the literature –, from the Dutch one, due to state structure differences; where in the US, cities must rely mostly on their own revenues rather than the help of the federal state, in the Netherlands municipalities are financed by the central state. That means cities in the Netherlands are not in desperate need of ensuring their own revenue basis as a means of survival. Therefore, gentrification in Netherlands occurred because of social crises that broke out in several poor neighborhoods, as an outcome of

fordism's crisis which led to "high levels of advanced marginality" (Uitermark, 2007). Then, urban policy turned into "crisis management"; gentrification was (and still is) used as a means to **create social order** where control is lost (Uitermark, 2007). Under this approach, the middle class gentrifiers are neither mediators of a revanchist reclaiming of the inner city from the lower classes (Smith, 1996, Davidson, 2008), nor urban pioneers leading a social movement (Lees, 2008, Ley, 1986, Caulfield, 1989): they are used by the state as *seeds* of effective governance.

Some other approaches overcome the production/consumption dilemma, and engage with meta-narratives: postfordism is central in many gentrification studies, exactly because it has an impact on all those cultural and economic aspects perceived as causal factors of gentrification (Hamnett, 2000, Ley, 1980).

Thesis contribution

Our case, the Fashion Quarter, is an interesting mix of fashion and neighborhood development. Even though many scholars notice the rise of specialized clothing/ furniture design market (Zukin, 2008, Zukin & Maguire, 2004, Ley, 2003), there has not been a systematized bridging between these tendencies and urban redevelopments. Zukin (2008) arrives there through the notion of authenticity, but she does not draw a clear link between fashion and gentrification. Fashion here is meant in a dual sense: as a narrative of aesthetics and as an entrepreneurial activity and consumption choice (in our case fashion also includes design).

Research relevance and current aspects

Gentrification, as mentioned above, may seem overanalyzed; however, there are many aspects of it that are not covered systematically yet. Besides its association with fashion, we mentioned its deep connection with postfordism. The goal of our research is to reveal the existing gentrification fermentations in Klarendal and place them in the current framework of Arnhem. By current framework we mean the postfordist reality of Arnhem and the implications this has induced. From before, we saw that the city is trying to establish a certain strategic planning which includes prominent production sectors. The main sectors in Arnhem are Business Services, Tourism & Leisure and Health & Welfare. The **production shift** and degradation of traditional industries is more than evident here: Arnhem, a traditionally working class city abound with industrial plants is drastically changing its economic profile. None of the aforementioned three sectors is what one could call industrial. There are also the innovative sectors: Energy & Green Technology and Fashion & Design. The first one is unarguably based on the industrial past of Arnhem (Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a). However, its significance lies in innovation and not in volume of production. Therefore, we see that even sectors which could be considered as industrial are utilized in a completely novel way.

Besides the previous, postfordism is affiliated with a variety of other developments of social nature. These can be summarized under the policies of **social mixing** which in fact is central in the whole Dutch framework (Uitermark, 2003). This seemingly has its roots in economic pragmatism but as revealed in the literature there are issues of class restructuring (Smith, 2000) and effective governance (Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans, 2007, Uitermark, Rossi & Van Houtum, 2005). The intertwining of economic and social policies is

not striking: they are connected through the social reproduction of labour, and since the urban realm is the basic habitus of the labour force, changes in that habitus have direct impact on the reproduction of labour force. Since we accept the approach that gentrification is a prominent urban strategy (Smith, 2002) and that gentrification is shaping the social reproduction of labour (Rose, 1984), we can therefore assume that gentrification is deeply and inextricably connected with shifts in production. We can further support this assumption through the waves of gentrification as presented above (in Scientific Background): the second phase which took place after the fall of fordism was deriving and reinforcing the global shifts in production (Hackworth & Smith, 2001).

Aim and objective of research

The aim of this thesis is to draw a clear link between gentrification and fashion: how these two are connected, how the second facilitates the first, what are the implications of this “marriage”. We deem answering these questions as necessary because the connection of these two (fashion and gentrification) will firstly reveal underlying processes taking place in Klarendal that relate to gentrification as an urban planning tool and an **economic** policy and secondly will clarify the ideological and aesthetical implications of social mixing techniques in our case. Additionally, all these will be put in a postfordist context, where attraction of talent (Florida, 2000) and “production” of culture (Zukin, 1987) are prominent urban policies. Therefore, besides the connection of gentrification and fashion, we will discuss gentrification in relation to urban attractiveness of high-skilled labor; another issue that has not been systematically scrutinized.

Specifically, the objective is to show how fashion in Klarendal translates into aesthetics and ideology. In order to do that, we will have to scrutinize the connection of fashion with the shift in the economic profile of Arnhem (and subsequently Klarendal), placed in a gentrifying neighborhood context.

Research questions

The initial research question that summarize all the above is:

- What is the level of fashion –and subsequently– creativity’s presence in Klarendal and Arnhem, and what does this presence (or lack of) mean?

By answering this question we should reveal the connection of fashion with Arnhem’s economic strategy and Klarendal’s gentrification and relate it to greater global shifts: the postfordist production restructuring and the generalization of gentrification as an urban policy to support this restructuring. The ultimate question this research aspires to answer is:

- How does the Fashion Quarter facilitate gentrification in Klarendal in terms of economy, social stratification and aesthetics and what are the implications of it?

Of course this question may seem general, but it is formulated this way to incorporate all those components deemed necessary to include in this thesis: fashion, gentrification, postfordism and the implications thereof (fashion deriving aesthetics, social mixing and the attraction of talent respectively).

Research approach

At first, it needs to be clarified that through this case study, our intention is to focus on Klarendal and thereby Arnhem and we will not seek to universalize the findings of the research. The emergence of the Fashion Quarter will be seen as a **locality**; a concept taking place in Klarendal, a neighborhood with specific characteristics. If one is thinking about successful implementations of public urban policies, it is a prerequisite those to be based on existing conditions; an urban policy cannot be resilient if it is imposed without a “natural” base. Policy makers that played a role in Klarendal often punctuate that the neighborhood’s development was *organic*; based on already existing elements of the area, slowly implemented; these kinds of policies that would not *scar* the urban and social fabric. Part of the impact deriving from gentrification depends on whether this project is natural or imposed, and we will discuss that in this thesis. Secondly, the emergence of the Fashion Quarter in Klarendal will be seen as a manifestation of **embeddedness**; Klarendal’s case cannot be distinguished from its surroundings: the layer of neighborhood is *muffled* by the layer of the city, which in turn is *obscured* by the layer of the province and so forth. We will mainly focus in the interconnection between the neighborhood and the city. However, we will not disregard intra-european and global networks. To be more specific: Arnhem is aiming at the stimulation of the Creative Industries; this conscious strategic decision was not reached without keeping an eye on the global fashion world and the intra-european creative networks (such as Organza, Arnhem is part of); the province of Gelderland’s city network policies, the national urban stimulating framework, the EU regional development policies; the *generalized* shift to *creativity* and attraction of *talent*. Thirdly, Klarendal will be studied as a separate case and we realize a level of **contingency** in the emergence of the Fashion Quarter. Being a conscious policy and investment decision though, the probability of its emergence was based on existing facts and elements characterizing Arnhem and Klarendal (presence of arts students in the neighborhood, the municipality’s pursuit for original and innovative sectors, the potential of ArtEZ). However, not every neighborhood –part of a creative city–, where arts students reside, ends up being a fashion locus. Therefore, we have to keep in mind that Klarendal is the outcome not only of visible processes but also of underlying fermentations, where part of those is potentially not identified yet.

So as we saw above, the case study of Klarendal will be approached while keeping in mind three elements: its locality, embeddedness and contingency. But how are these three connected? Locality is the *proof* of contingency: seemingly similar cases expose their otherness through locality. Separate cases, spatially focused, under similar conditions, present starkly different results. That is where the geographical factor comes into playing: geography as an assemblage of spatially specialized contingencies. It has to be pointed out that contingency does not refer to *randomness*. Separate cases, dominated by their local characteristics, are still nonetheless parts of a greater *scheme*; they are embedded. Urban devaluation and subsequent valorization are *conscious* political decisions, which deliberately showcase some elements at the expense of other (Smith, 2002). This is where the connection of contingency and embeddedness resides: since we adopt Smith’s point of view, we see this assemblage of contingencies not as a random “sea of probabilities”, but an “orchestrated choreography” that depends on much more than the mere instructions of policy makers (namely surrounding conditions).

Methodology

In order to research our case study we will use the following sources of data:

Policy documents. We use a series of policy documents from the municipality of Arnhem in order to retrieve information about the neighborhood and the city. Besides that, we will often conduct discourse analysis on those documents in order to reveal underlying processes intended to take place. The primary documents chosen are those concerning Klarendal's vision (Klarendal: Colour and Character from 2003, Klarendal: Local Action Plan from 2008 and District Vision Klarendal 2022) and Arnhem's strategic planning (Economic Agenda Arnhem 2015, Structure Vision 2020, Economic Agenda Arnhem: Action Plan 2013-14). Besides those we use a series of reports concerning EU networks (ORGANZA: Crossing borders for creativity, City visit template for URBAMECO) or containing data missing from the municipality's database (Quality of Life and Security in Arnhem report 2010, the Statistical Yearbooks from 2010 to 2012 and In search of the Creative Power of Gelderland from ARCCI).

Interviews with important actors. For the purposes of our research, we conducted eight structured interviews with:

1. Hans Ansems (ArtEZ professor and entrepreneur) (24/2/14): we mainly discussed about the history of Klarendal and Arnhem and the influence of the ArtEZ in the Fashion Quarter project.
2. Berry Kessels (housing corporation manager) (13/3/14): we mainly discussed the housing corporation's strategy and the details of the project implementation.
3. Chris Zeevenhooven (former Klarendal's district manager) (20/3/14): we mainly discussed about the history of Klarendal and the Fashion Quarter project, and details of its implementation.
4. Hans Karssenberg (founder of STIPO, has conducted research on Klarendal) (1/4/14): we mainly discussed about the Fashion Quarter's potential, spatial characteristics and level of success.
5. Rob Klinger (social worker of Rijnstad in Klarendal) (7/4/14): we mainly discussed about Klarendal's social structure and common problems such as poverty and displacement, interactions between old and new residents and cooperation between the social workers and Volkshuisvesting.
6. Esther Ruiten (head of arts and culture and the creative industries of Arnhem, ARCCI) (7/4/14): we mainly discussed about Arnhem's creative potential, issues of talent and urban attractiveness and the Fashion Quarter's details of implementation.
7. Walter De Bes (owner of Caspar Bar/ Restaurant in Klarendal, DOCKS) (7/5/14): we mainly discussed about Klarendal's everyday rhythms, interactions between old and new residents, the Fashion Quarter's level of success, the entrepreneurial spirit of the area and details of the project's implementation.
8. Charly Tomassen (Klarendal's current district manager) (14/5/14): we mainly discussed about the history of Klarendal and the Fashion Quarter project and details of its implementation, such as the stages of Klarendal's gentrification.

Short interviews with Focus Groups. We conducted a series of short structured interviews and unstructured discussions with residents and entrepreneurs of Klarendal. We divided the interviewees in two Focus Groups: Focus Group 1 included fashion and design

entrepreneurs and lately settled cafes/ bars owners. Focus Group 2 included old bars' owners and customers, immigrant shop owners and old residents of Klarendal. The interviewees of first group were asked whether they lived in Klarendal as students, their view of the neighborhood, their view on the changes in the neighborhood over the last 10 years, the Modekwartier's brand name weight and details about their settlement in the neighborhood (why they settled there and if they were personally chosen by Volkshuisvesting). With the second group we discussed about the interactions new dwellers and their view on the neighborhood and the project.

Statistical data. We retrieved a large volume of statistical data, mainly from the municipality's database (arnhem.incijfers.nl) and ARCCI (Snijders, 2013) and formulated a series of tables (can be seen in the Appendix). Those concerned demographic issues, ethnic composition, levels of income, rates of unemployment, fashion and design businesses and workers numbers and creative industries businesses and workers numbers. All data are for Klarendal, Arnhem and all of its districts. We wanted to compare Klarendal's performance to the city's average and see its position among the rest of the districts. Most of the data cover a period from 2004 (before the implementation of the Fashion Quarter project) until 2013 (last available data), but data on ethnic composition cover a period from 1994-2013, in order to have a wider view on Klarendal's social shifts. Some of the data cover the main cities of the Netherlands, in order to evaluate Arnhem's performance in the Dutch framework.

These four ways of approaching the case will be used in a combinational way and will be mixed with theory in a constant comparison, in order to verify and evaluate our findings and place them in a specific context. This way we aspire to reach theoretically aware and concrete findings that take under consideration all three elements of our approach: contingency, locality and embeddedness. This mixed way of presenting the case will serve another purpose as well: to avoid the "certainties" of gentrification. Most of our theoretical insights come from the North American context. Even though the motives of urban redevelopment schemes are the same, the context they are taking place into is completely different. Uitermark (2003) has already stressed out the different organizational structures of the US and the Dutch states that render gentrification necessary for different reasons. But the differences between the US and Dutch models of gentrification are not limited to revenue sources for municipalities; the social context of the Netherlands gentrification takes place into has little to share with the North American one. Historical reasons (different colonial pasts), cultural differences (Klarendal as a Catholic neighborhood in a protestant town) and other must render us very careful when trying to transfer the theory from one shore of the Atlantic to the other. Generally, our main intention is to conduct discourse analysis on our various data sources in order to reveal contingent power relations taking place in Klarendal. Fashion will be addressed as an economic activity and a "narrative", a way the neighborhood's story is told by the main actors. Thereby, in the end of the thesis we will have the whole picture of Klarendal's gentrification, and how it is related to fashion.

Thesis structure

The thesis will start with a theoretical chapter (II). We will not include the entirety of our theoretical influences in this chapter; we will just present a short overview of suburbanization and the "reclaiming" of the inner city and the main approaches on gentrification. As mentioned above, theory will also be presented throughout the rest of the thesis.

In Chapter III we will mark Klarendal and Arnhem's main characteristics: spatial, demographic and economic features. After describing the case study, we will take a retrospective view on the neighborhood by giving mainly Klarendal's (and a bit of Arnhem's) historical background (IV). Chapter V will be about Klarendal's transformation from 2000 to 2012. After we have presented all the background information needed, we will engage with the analysis of the case study.

Initially, we will see into both the neighborhood and the city. We will start by depicting Fashion and Design cluster's presence (chapter VI). There, we will discuss what fashion means, which roles it takes and what functions it undertakes. After researching the discourse (namely how policy makers see fashion and its potential) we will scrutinize the concrete statistical data. This way we will juxtapose discourse with numbers in order to evaluate the potential and real size of the project. But fashion, as we will see, is not the only creative aspect of Arnhem and Klarendal. In chapter VII, we will elucidate the creative aspects of Arnhem. We will widen our perspective, researching the issue of creativity both theoretically and empirically. We will leave the narrow framework of Klarendal aside for a while, and we will look at the city's interaction with its wider context. After starting with the concrete statistical data, we will discuss why creativity and the creative classes are important for Arnhem. There, we will draw influences from the policy makers' discourse and theory: Florida's (2000) notions of creativity and the pursuit for talent attraction will be combined with Arnhem's strategic vision, establishing a link between creativity and postfordism. Lastly in this chapter, we will see into the attributes and characteristics of those "carriers" of creativity, the creative classes; in order to do that, we will have to research them in comparison to gentrification. In the last chapter of the analysis (VIII) we will discuss fashion's impact on the urban space of Klarendal regarding economy, aesthetics and ideology. We will start by generally viewing fashion's impact on urban space and then we will focus on Klarendal. We will conclude the analysis by seeing into the other face of fashion, its artistic nature which varies from its commercial functions.

To summarize the analysis part, we will firstly research fashion's discourse and numbers (Chapter VI) and then creativity's numbers, importance, aspects and characteristics (Chapter VII). Through Chapter VI we will understand fashion's meaning and real size in the neighborhood and the city. Through Chapter VII we will understand why the attraction and breeding of creativity is central in Arnhem's policies, and after discussing the attributes of the creative classes we will identify the impacts and requirements of the aforementioned attractiveness. Thereby, in the last chapter (VIII) we will be able to understand how, and most importantly why, creativity attracting techniques (for our case in the form of **gentrification**) have such a huge impact on urban space. This way, we will connect the city's economic strategy with the neighborhood redevelopment in Klarendal. Schematically expressed, the analysis part is as follows: fashion and design's discourse and numbers → creativity's numbers → creativity's importance → creativity's centrality → creative class attributes → fashion's (as part of Arnhem's plan for creativity) impact on urban space.

In the last chapter of the thesis we will summarize our line of argumentation and round up the answers to our research questions. Lastly, we will discuss the relevance of theory in our case study.

II. THEORY

Shortly before Glass' (1964) insights on gentrification of Islington, London, no urban theorist could predict the birth of this process (Skaburskis, 2010). Inwards movement of the affluent urban dwellers -as opposed to the outwards movement to the suburbs-, came as an unimaginable twist. Gentrification concerned and still concerns countless urban theorists and is the epicenter of fierce debates. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the reader to the history and vocabulary of gentrification and its main theories in a short and concise way.

1. Suburbanization and the “reclaiming” of the inner city

*“Because people prefer new houses, high grade residential neighborhoods must almost necessarily move outward toward the periphery of the city... The wealthy seldom reverse their steps and move backward into obsolete houses which they are giving up”
(Hoyt, 1939, page 121).*

The very early social ecologists

“Richard Melancthon Hurd (June 14, 1865 – June 6, 1941) was a pioneer real estate economist and a political activist” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_Melancthon_Hurd, accessed April 2014). He first described –in his prominent work “Principles of City and Land Values– in 1903, what he saw as movements of urban populations and the rationale behind this mobility. As a noted urban land economist, one of the first even (Skaburskis, 2010), he put urban development and displacement in the picture early on. “(A)ll buildings within the city react upon each other, superior and inferior utilities displacing each other in turn” (Hurd, 1903, p. 148). The *inevitable* city growth and societal changes render conditions within the city fluid, unpredictable, and “keep values in a state of unstable equilibrium” (Hurd, 1903, p. 148). Interestingly enough, he identified the gap between housing stock demand and supply values (Skaburskis, 2010), discrepancies that would eventually lead Smith (see Smith, 1979) formulate his theory about the prerequisites of gentrification (see Smith’s Rent Gap Theory in I.3: Theories of Gentrification). But since conditions in the urban realm are so unstable and changes are keen to come, what are the reasons these variables did not come to full force? Hurd concluded that the institution of private landownership was the preventing factor, however overly attachment to this institution would have negative results (Hurd, 1903). Since he had already opined that city growth was the ultimate goal, he expressed the view that attachment to houses and neighborhoods wards progress off (Hurd, 1903). Cities have to prosper, and in order to prosper they have to adapt and change.

Some decades later, Hoyt (1939) pointed out that people prefer new housing. Due to physical and financial limitations, new and quality housing was (at the time) primarily available in the periphery of the city. This happened because of technical, physical and legal reasons. In the first decades of 20th century the technology of raising structures in limited spaces was not yet advanced at a scale it would be accessible to private developers, even if those were well off enough (Smith, 2002). Secondly, the space for building within the

boundaries of historic inner-city areas was, as already mentioned, limited, therefore the attractiveness of investment carried out by private developers was considerably low. Thirdly, the nature of property rights in these areas was unclear, and this lack of clarity certainly discouraged risky investments (Webster, 2007). Due to these reasons, renewal and redevelopment of already built-up areas (like the inner city) were too costly. Industrial capital -which existed in the inner city during the first half of the 20th century-, was gradually moving out to the outskirts. Moreover, a considerable part of this capital was used for residential construction (Smith, 1979). The only exception to this rule was the development of the Central Business District, which mainly took place during the 1920s.

Relocations of the affluent people always followed an outwards route, namely from the center to the periphery (Skaburskis, 2010, Hoyt 1939). Additionally, Hoyt observed that time was a factor playing its role; as an eroding force, it shoved urban restructuring through the decades. A neighborhood characterized by new houses of the latest modern style, inhabited by young married couples with children was a neighborhood at its finest; a pinnacle of only temporary status though (Hoyt, 1939), because people were subject to decay apart from housing stock.

Hoyt, as well as other early social ecologists, saw the inner city areas as polluted spaces, serving as home to the new immigrants, who were “too poor to live elsewhere” (Skaburskis, 2010, p. 897). Hopefully, with upgraded incomes, their descendants would move outwards to find newer and higher quality housing, “while the rich bought bucolic suburban estates” (Burgess, 1925). However, not all perceived the inner city as a dark and unknown realm, so remote from the middle class values thriving in the suburbs. Burgess saw some *light* at the center of urban cores, writing that within these “submerged regions of poverty, degradation, disease and the underworlds of crime and vice [...], near this purgatory of lost souls, is the Latin Quarter where *creative* and rebellious spirits live” (Burgess, 1925, page 38).

All in all, during the first decades of the 20th century, the inner city was perceived as an unknown space, characterized by delinquency and poverty. On the contrary, the suburbs were *the* destination. If one would be to climb the social ladder, he would move to the suburbs. The suburban model, although still far from what the baby boom generation faced in the 60's, not only represented the neatness of urban planning (as carefully planned areas) or triumph of efficacy, but it was also the concrete crystallization of all these values that defined middle class in western societies in their respectful era. But during the years that followed the American postwar economic euphoria, something changed.

The “Return” to the inner city

The years that followed the Second World War saw American cities changing rapidly due to the automobile revolution. The automobile, symbol of a thriving economy, changed the habits of urban dwellers and rendered the suburbs even more attractive. However, while suburban land and ideology were being shaped, central areas attracted members of the middle class aspiring to distinguish themselves from the stereotype of their predecessors. A considerable part of those were affiliated with art in some way, searching for another *lifestyle* in another *habitat*; they rejected the suburbs and the shopping mall, the “emblems of a mass market and a failure of personal *taste*” (Ley, 2003, p. 2534). Artists appreciated the inner city for its emancipatory power (Caulfield, 1989), the socially tolerant districts, their diverse

environment which *included* poverty groups, and the cheap rents (Ley, 2003). But most of all youths saw suburbia as a *boring* place, where every interaction is prescheduled and the everyday possibilities are predefined and predetermined. On the contrary, inner city appeared in their imaginaries as a vibrant realm, a place where something is always happening, *the place to be* (Ley, 1980, 1986, 2003, Lees, 2000, Caulfield, 1989). Caulfield (1994) praised the inwards movement of formerly suburb dwellers (or of the suburb dwellers' *descendants*) as an "effort by human beings to resist institutionalized patterns of dominance and *suppressed possibility*". He connected this movement with the revolutionary urbanism of May 1968 (Caulfield, 1994, p. 393), where people subvert the "dominance of hegemonic culture, (and) create new conditions for social activities" (Caulfield, 1994).

Moreover, while capital depreciation was continuously creating urban wasteland in the inner city, slums and ghettos were discovered as a problem suddenly in the 1960s (Smith, 1979). One can easily understand that the inner city was not deserted land; the lower classes, these urban pariahs, found shelter in spaces that were affordable but also regulated more loosely by institutions; these places' "sloppyness" allowed for a symbiosis of formal and "informal" activities. The daily struggle in the inner city demanded contrivance; leading some theorists to state that these classes are the real creative classes (Wilson & Keil, 2008 opposing Florida, 2000). This polemic raises class issues, as gentrification always rose. Afro-American director Spike Lee puts it eloquently by saying "(t)hen comes the [...] Christopher Columbus Syndrome. You can't discover this! We've been here. You just can't come and bogart." (Coscarelli, 2014, <http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2014/02/spike-lee-amazing-rant-against-gentrification.html>, accessed April 2014). The discourse of the "return to the inner city" or "reclaiming the inner city" approaches is highly, although not always explicitly, class driven. Besides, the inner city, with the exception of the Central Business City, was until the 1960s destined for lower class residential uses. This is thoroughly depicted in almost every urban land uses model that made its appearance during the first half of the 20th century.

In Park and Burgess' Concentric Zones Theory, cities grow outwards from the center in a ring style (Park & Burgess, 1921, Park, 1925, Burgess, 1925). There, the Central Business District occupies the central ring; the next ring is planned as a zone of transition and industry; the third ring is the low income residential zone. Additionally, it must be pointed out that in the second ring (that of transition and industry) Burgess and Park acknowledged the existence of low income/old housing and ghetto areas (Park & Burgess, 1921). Hoyt's (1939) Sector Model was differentiated as it included both low and medium class residential areas around the inner city. In a similar manner, in Harris & Ullman's Multiple Nuclei Model lower and middle classes occupy adjacent areas located in the inner city (Harris, 1997). However, in both models middle and lower classes do not blend, even though occupying proximal areas. Conclusively, in all three models one can see the class parameter in urban planning: middle class functioning as a wall between lower and upper classes.

2. Gentrification going Global

“The urban is being redefined just as dramatically as the global; the old conceptual containers—our 1970s assumptions about what the “urban” is or was—no longer hold water. The new concatenation of urban functions and activities vis-à-vis the national and the global changes not only the make-up of the city but the very definition of what constitutes -literally- the urban scale.
(Smith, 2002, p. 431)

Jason Hackworth (2000) in his PhD dissertation wrote about the waves of gentrification. Here I will refer to the western context (North America and Europe), examining gentrification transforming through the decades to reach its current state, a generalized urban policy.

The first wave (1950s to 1970s)

The first wave began in the 1950s and lasted until the fall of Fordism in the 1970s (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). It was the type of gentrification Ruth Glass pointed out; a sporadic, discrete and seemingly *marginal* process, taking place in central neighborhoods of *traditionally* global cities, such as London. This is the type Whyte relegated by writing that it is an insignificant and small sized phenomenon (Whyte, 1980). Glass (1964) described it as a middle class (upper and lower) invasion to working class neighborhoods. “Shabby, modest mews and cottages” she writes, “two rooms up and two down, have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period [...] have been upgraded once again” (Glass, 1964: xviii). Since she first identified this process, she warned about the dangers of rapid urban renewal: “(o)nce this process of gentrification starts in a district, it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed” (Glass, 1964: xviii). What Ruth Glass isolated and examined, was a neighborhood class transformation, where new urban *gentry* changed the composition of working class quarters. The period of this first wave ends more or less simultaneously with Fordism; as the very essence of labour changed, so did the habitats of working and middle classes.

Fordism, even though not manifested across the western world equally, had the following basic characteristics: dominance of massive industry (e.g. the automobile industry), thorough technical division of labor (where every blue collar worker was performing a single, separate and recurrent task throughout the whole working shift), consolidation of full and permanent salaried employment (as opposed to part-time and temporary employment) and standardizing of industrial commodities aiming at vast consumer groups (covering a whole country or even part of a continent). All of the above resulted in a sharp increase of productivity and efficiency, therefore, in order to support this model of production, western economies had to match it with a similar model of consumption (Jessop, 1991). Industrial products of mass consumption changed the shape of western societies, without avoiding opposition; the descendants of the middle class baby boom generation reacted to their parents’ lifestyles and fled the suburbs, searching for an alternative way to perform their middle class identity (Ley, 1987).

The second wave (1970s to 1980s)

The second wave Hackworth (2000) identified took place during the beginning of postfordism, and he tagged this wave as the “anchoring phase” of gentrification. During the first years of the 1970s, Fordism presented the first signs of saturation; growth rates were stagnated, mass commodity markets seemed unstable, industry sector presented reduced profits and expansion rates. Unemployment rates replace stable employment and deficiencies of the Fordist model come to the forefront, with stiffness of production and inability to adapt to rapidly changing patterns of demand to be the most important. In the midst of this changing reality, gentrification “became increasingly entwined with wider processes of urban and economic restructuring” (Smith, 2002). The “wider processes of urban and economic restructuring” that Smith describes are this very transition of Fordism to Postfordism; changes in production patterns that affected wider aspects of western societies.

As a result of the fordist crisis, new and adapted policies were implemented regarding flows of labor, commodities, capital and services (Braveman, 1974). The common denominator of all these policies was the flexibility of the production model, namely the level of adaptability to rapid changes in demand. During the 70s but mostly the 80s, a transformation of liberalism took place. Neoliberalism carried the traditional values of liberalism as expressed by John Locke to Adam Smith (Macpherson, 1951) while *enriched* with crucial nuances: that the unconstrained civil exercise of self interest contributes to a collective social benefit and the private property is the foundation of this self interest ideally exercised in the context of the free market (Hayek, 2012, Williamson, 1975).

Additionally, the fordist crisis resulted in a re-stratification of the global production of goods and services. The global financial system expanded and foreign direct investment was characterized not by directly invested capital in sectors of production, but by capital *circulation* through these capital markets (Harvey, 1985). The shift in perspective, from liberalism to neoliberalism, brought a change in the perspective of scale; the new globalism. “(T)he new globalism can be traced back to the increasingly global -or at least international-scale of economic production” (Smith, 2002). The basic manifestation of this shift was that most consumer commodities stopped being produced on a national level, either for consumption in situ or for export, “definitive sites of production for specific commodities became increasingly difficult to identify, and the old language of economic geography no longer made sense” (Smith, 2002, p. 433). Alongside traditional geographical sites of modern capitalism, alternative places emerged; Singapore or Seoul, Sao Paulo and Mexico City. The former used to be crucial sites for national economies during 19th and 20th century, while the latter evolved into vast economies of urban scale, the places where global production takes place (Dicken, 2007). Smith (2002) identified this process as a rescaling of production to fit the metropolitan scale; a manifestation of a global shift. However, it is important to point out that the national state has not lost its power; its essence is still based on territoriality (Harvey, 1985). The difference is that after these developments national states function as “territorially rooted economic actors in and of the market, rather than external compliments to it” (Smith, 2002).

The implementation of neoliberal policies and the reaffirmed significance of the urban scale affected the realm of urban planning in various ways. The location of land uses for production was among the other aspects of modern capitalism that were affected by this “change in approach”, concluding in a more fluid urban context. “Liberal urban policy, which

in Europe dated back in some places to the end of the nineteenth century and in North America to the transition from the Progressive Era to Roosevelt's New Deal, was systematically defeated beginning with the political economic crises of the 1970s and the conservative national administrations that followed in the 1980s. From Reagan to Thatcher and, later, Kohl, the provisions of that liberal urban policy were systematically disempowered or dismantled at the national scale, and public policy constraints on gentrification were replaced by subsidized private-market transformation of the urban built environment. [...] This transformation was intensified by the coterie of neoliberal leaders that followed; Clinton, Blair, Schröder..." (Smith, 2002, p. 440). The deregulation of spatial planning has been pointed out by scholars in both sides of the Atlantic (Tewdwr-Jones, 2012, Wyly & Hammel, 2004). Neoliberal urbanism, as adumbrated by scholars opposing him, emphasizes on the production and circulation of finance capital instead of social reproduction (Wyly & Hammel, 2004). And indeed, social reproduction seems like hard labour in such a fluid urban environment, especially when growth is promoted at the expense of resilience. As Hurd (1903) had put it, cities have to prosper, and in order to prosper they have to adapt and change.

Summarily, new globalism combined with neoliberalism have resulted in a vastly scaled financial deregulation that has mobilized capital and promoted labor force migration more than in the recent past, rendering local economies less dependent on "home grown" labor (Harvey, 1985, Oesch & Menes, 2010). The first development means that global capital is not spatially fixed any more but its importance lies in networks and flows. Therefore, national economies cannot function as containers of capital (Dicken, 2007), while urban centers aspire to become stations in the course of global capital. The second development means that social reproduction of labor has a new role in the transformation of cities and moreover, in order to gain a competitive advantage over others, cities seek to attract *talent* and manage a balance between homegrown and foreign labor. From the above, we are led to the assumption that the key to gain competitive advantage is attractiveness. But we will return to attractiveness later in this chapter.

The third wave (from 1990s onwards)

Hackworth (2000) placed the third wave during the 1990s; when gentrification became generalized urban policy. That happened due to shifts in five different but interrelated aspects of gentrification itself: transformed role of the state, penetration by global finance, changing levels of political opposition, geographical dispersal, and sectoral generalization of gentrification (Smith, 2002).

During the 1980s (the second wave), gentrification was based on subsidies, while in the 1990s it was generated by public private partnerships between local governments and private capital, giving birth to urban developments of larger scale (Barcelona's waterfront, Berlin's Potsdamer Platz) (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). "Urban policy no longer aspires to guide or regulate the direction of economic growth so much as to fit itself to the grooves already established by the market in search of the highest returns, either directly or in terms of tax receipts" (Smith, 2002, p. 15). Moreover, during the 1990s, global capital started playing an updated role in urban development schemes. As pointed out before, the cooperation between local state and global capital allowed for "mega-developments" in urban centers (Fainstein, 1994). However, global capital got involved in developments of lower scale as well (Smith &

DiFilippis, 1999). Nevertheless, until now we were writing about developments taking place in cities regarded as global; London, Berlin, or New York.

Then, we have what Smith calls the “Revanchist City” (Smith, 2000, 2002); the opposition to gentrification, that was the result of intensified urban redevelopment schemes during the 80s and 90s, addressed a much fiercer answer from the state. “(A)ntisquatter campaigns in Amsterdam in the 1980s, attacks by Parisian police on homeless (largely immigrant) encampments, and the implementation of New York’s zero-tolerance techniques by police forces around the world” (Smith, 2002, p. 442) became the standard; and in most cases of urban revolts, gentrification constituted the fuse (Mitchell, 1995, Davidson, 2007). For historical reasons, metropolises of the Global South faced gentrification in a different way than the traditional cities of capitalism. What decayed production-based regions went through was constituted by disintegration and increased dislocation of social reproduction inside the urban realm, which were painful due to the welfare state past (Smith, 2002). On the contrary, in regions of Asia, Latin America and Africa social reproduction was never institutionally linked with the urban realm, which constituted them as more ideal sites for the new globalism of deregulated urban planning (Smith, 2002).

Geographical dispersal refers to the expansion of gentrification from solely inner city areas to the urban periphery, even rural gentrification (Phillips, 1993, 2001, 2004). Generally, this expansion did not affect all urban cities equally, but it depended on the level of recent spatial expansion; where the period of sustained disinvestment in the periphery is longer, the dispersion of gentrification is higher (Smith, 2002).

Sectoral generalization of gentrification means that –in contrast to the past–, urban policies are shaped by various actors, apart from the state. Smith writes that “(a) new amalgam of corporate and state powers and practices has been forged in a much more ambitious effort to gentrify the city” (Smith, 2002, p. 443) and he reminds us of various academics that argue against the monopoly of planning by the state (for example Webster, 2008). Global financial markets, real estate developers and local entrepreneurial associations work alongside the local state, supervised by national or continental policy institutions (like the EU). The most important aspect of this development is that real-estate development is placed at the heart of the “city’s *productive* economy” (Smith, 2002, emphasis original), justified by invoking new job opportunities, increased tax revenues, tourism and in general, competitiveness (Whyte, 2012). Moreover, gentrification during its third wave concern interventions of a much more diverse nature; urban renewal plans that combine housing with recreation areas of all sorts (restaurants, bars, and playgrounds), cultural amenities or open space redesign (Zukin, 1987, Davidson, 2007).

What we saw in this chapter up to now, was how global shifts taken place during the second half of the 20th century affected urbanism and the notion of the urban itself, moreover changing the nature of gentrification. The notions included in this transformation of gentrification are neoliberalism, which in turn shaped a new globalism, which in turn changed the very substance of urbanism.

3. Theories of gentrification

In the subsequent subchapter, I will present some of the basic theories of gentrification. By theories of gentrification, I mean methodological approaches regarding the causes of gentrification (and not the effects). These theories, in combination with the historical approach of the above, will help the reader to understand fermentations that generate change in urban cores. My point of view is that gentrification is not a unified process (for more see Rose, 1984) therefore it cannot be explained in a universal way. As it will become clear, the prominent theories are formulated by US scholars, thereby their line of sight includes mostly (if not exclusively) the North American paradigm. In the later stages of this paper it will become clear that gentrification in North America and Europe can take starkly different forms, due to the different urban histories, geographies and communities. The purpose of this subchapter is to introduce the reader to the basic opinions regarding the causes of gentrification and the basic topics scholars choose to engage with.

Neil Smith on Patterns of Investment in the Built Environment

Neil Smith attempts to approach the gentrification issue in a holistic way. The explanation of gentrification must include not only the gentrifiers' actions alone, but the role of developers, landlords, mortgage lenders, government agencies, construction companies and real estate agents (Smith 1979). In other words, his broad theory reckons in the role of producers and "consumers" of gentrification. He traces the first signs of it during the 1950s (something that is confirmed by William Whyte, 1980), earlier than most of the other scholars engaging with the issue (for example see Ley 2003); intensified in the 1960s and growing into a widespread phenomenon after the 1970s, affecting the majority of the older American cities (Smith 1979). However, Smith highlights the role of producers at the expense of the rest of the agents. He writes that the "so-called urban renaissance has been stimulated more by economic than cultural forces" (Smith 1979). The way he approaches the consumption side is similar to that of Damaris Rose; they are both influenced by Marxist theory, therefore, although they focus their attention on the production side, they do not assume that demand is a mere byproduct. "The consumption-production relationship is symbiotic, but production dominates" (Smith 1979), or in other words, demand for gentrified housing "can be created" (Smith 1982). He deliberately separates the phases of gentrification (as his student Jason Hackworth, for example see Hackworth 2000). This has as a result that he does not assume that the causes of gentrification are the same from place to place and from time to time. He points out that consumer preference, which is the determining factor of gentrification for cultural or neoclassical approaches, is of secondary importance in *initiating* the process, but of crucial importance for the "final form and character" of such areas (Smith 1979).

Consumer preference is not a decisive factor in the initial stages of gentrification because of the attributes of investment in the built environment (Smith 2002). In capitalism, land and property improvements are seen as commodities themselves. Land's value is permanent, which means that it is not affected by time; of course it can be affected by a variety of potential factors, but unlike to property improvements' value, it is unaffected by the ravages of time. Land value's indifference to the impact of time on the one hand and property improvements' value temporariness on the other, mean that ground rent's level reflects on patterns of capital depreciation in the inner city areas (Smith 1979, Harvey 1985).

Additionally, land improvement investment has a long turnover period and initial outlays in built environment investments have to be large. The role of financial institutions in these kinds of investments is therefore crucial (Smith 1979). For these two reasons (importance of financial institutions, effect of patterns of capital depreciation) render the *provision* of gentrification more important than the demand. Moreover, in capitalist economies, profit is considered to measure the range of success. At the same time, competition is the catalyst where success or failure is translated into growth or bankruptcy (Smith 1979, Harvey 1985). In other words, in a highly competitive environment capital stagnation is a potential road to collapse; therefore, there is a *constant* need for further capital accumulation. If this is applied into land investment we understand why inner city redevelopments are perpetuated.

In order to study the production side, Neil Smith formulated the Rent Gap Theory. Rent gap is “the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual rent, capitalized under the present land use” (Smith 1979). Rent gap is the product of ground rent abatement deriving from long term capital depreciation and the model of urban development which relied on urban sprawl for decades, rendering inner city land as a scarce resource. Gentrification is the revaluation of capital, a “rational market response after the depreciation” (Smith 1979). In an attempt to predict gentrification, he wrote that “(g)entrification occurs when the gap is wide enough that developers can purchase shells cheaply, can pay the builders’ costs and profit for rehabilitation, can pay interest on mortgage and construction loans, and can then sell the end product for a sale price that leaves a satisfactory return to the developer” (Smith 1979, p. 545). In short words, rent gap is a way to “measure” land property potential.

The actors that can initiate gentrification are the state, financial institutions and professional developers. The state assembles properties and sell them back cheap; this way, it bears the costs of the last stages of capital devaluation. This scenario occurred during the first recorded cases of gentrification; nowadays it does not play such an active role (at least in the US). Financial institutions can affect the development potential of areas simply by removing long term redlining policies and actively destine a neighborhood as a potential market for “constructing loans and mortgages” (Smith 1979); mortgage capital is also a crucial prerequisite for gentrification. Professional developers through collective planning have acted in many cases as the driving force behind gentrification. Smith leaves some space for exceptions: neighborhoods in close proximity to already gentrifying ones can be *chosen* by gentrifiers as potential sites of rehabilitation. Smith, since the formulation of his theory has received heavy criticism, both from Marxists (see Rose 1984 for example) and neoclassical scholars (see Skaburskis 2010). Consequently, the Rent Gap theory functions good as a theoretical framework, nuanced and pluralist in its essence, however, as a prediction tool, it has been found having serious flaws (see Skaburskis 2010, Rose 1984, Hamnett 2000).

David Ley on the Aesthetic Disposition

David Ley focuses on the consumption side of gentrification. As Smith though, he accepts both sides have their importance. Agency matters for Ley, but it is already structured by specific rules, namely the context it takes place into (Ley 2003). He traces the first signs of gentrification during the late 1960s; “a historical sweep of a form of urban restructuring” (Ley 2003). The first seeds were planted through the establishment of the “artistic urbane habitus”, an environment rich in cultural capital but of weak economic capital (Ley 1993). Gentrification sites, at least at the beginning of this phenomenon, for Ley, are refuges of resistance for youths and artists, whose spaces were often overlapping (Ley 2003).

The circumstances that led to the birth of gentrification were a mixture of demographic contingencies, economic and social conditions. Firstly, the adulthood of the baby boom generation led to the opening of new universities. Tertiary education provided this youth cohort with cultural capital: attributes such as education, intellect and taste that prompted gentrification. Secondly, the long economic prosperity of the postwar era; middle class grew in size and its youth, distanced from necessity, cultivated an aesthetic disposition (Bourdieu 1984). Thirdly, the “maturation of the welfare state” fostered a critique to the market mechanisms and the capitalist model in general (Ley 2003). “The convergence of a large youth cohort, their movement into higher education, a spirit of dissent against the military-industrial complex, corporate capitalism, even the conventions of the bourgeois family—all were tendencies that elevated the prestige and the authority of an oppositional cultural competence for significant fractions of the youthful middle class” (Ley 2003, p. 2537). Ley, as other scholars (Lees, 2000, Caulfield, 1989), conceived the initial cases of gentrification as a social movement, born out of a choice of lifestyle; a starkly opposite point of view compared to Damaris Rose (as we will see later). However, he points out that eventually the cultural capital of a gentrifying area can be traded in for economic capital; these sites of “otherness” can be appropriated. In this theory gentrifiers are perceived as the key actors in the process; however, there is also a set of “facilitators”, the cultural intermediaries in real estate, food industry, arts or home decoration that “disseminates knowledge about the neighborhoods and the rules, resources and rituals of the gentrifiers’ lifestyle (Ley 2003, p. 2538).

Besides the initial stages of gentrification, Ley also identified other aspects of it: super gentrification, disposition of artists, diffusion into cheaper peripheral areas. He schematically depicted it through measuring the economic capital in a neighborhood; a “line of succession. The higher the economic capital, the later the stage of gentrification; artists, who initiated the revitalization process, characterize the first stage; social and cultural professionals such as intellectuals, students, journalists/ media employees, educators, characterize the second stage; professionals with greater economic capital such as lawyers, medical practitioners characterize the third stage. An exaggerated form of the third stage is super gentrification; where these professionals, even of greater economic capital get displaced by an influx of businessmen and other members of the upper classes (Ley 2003).

Sharon Zukin on the Ideology of Historic Preservation

Complementary to David Ley's cultural approach, Zukin's insights provide some further elements of rationale behind the gentrifiers' choices. She writes about the ideology of historic preservation as some sort of civic pride; it can be explained as a *generalized appreciation* of the material and the aesthetic qualities of old buildings and neighborhoods (Zukin 1987). This appreciation of historical structures and neighborhoods is not only based on aesthetic criteria but on economic rationality as well; a "preservationist mode of consumption" which is of dual nature: on the one hand, cultural valorization means practically the valorization of a housing investment and on the other, this "code of conduct" signifies a transition into a semi-pro real estate mentality (Zukin, 1987).

Neoclassical models of Commute Cost to Housing Price Tradeoff

The core of the neoclassical model is the Commute cost / Housing price tradeoff (Skaburskis 2010). Advocators of this approach take as given that on the one hand, consumer demand –independent or not– is the driving force behind urban change while on the other landowners steadily attempt to maximize their profits by satisfying demand the most efficient way (see Alonso 1964, Muth 1969, Mills 1969, 1972). In Neoclassical theory, when income elasticity of commute costs is relatively lower than income elasticity of housing demand the "return to the inner city" occurs (Skaburskis, 2010). Namely, when households value commute costs more than housing costs, they tend to settle in central locations for a variety of reasons. Nonetheless, it is a fact that the incomes of people working in the Central Business Districts in the ten largest US cities are considerably higher than their respective metropolitan averages (Glaeser, Kolko & Saiz, 2001). It is relatively safe to generalize this assumption for the wider region of North America, and neoclassical theorists justified this trend through a variety of shifted conditions.

Through choices of urban housing, it is assumed that the value of proximity has increased the most for higher income workers (Glaeser, Kolko & Saiz, 2001). Additionally, the merging of the financial and commercial centers that took place the last decades widened the range of amenities provided rendering downtown areas more attractive (Clay 1979). Traffic congestion and a general rise of gasoline prices tend to favor inner city areas (Muth 1969). Lastly, an overall increase in housing prices changes the denominator of the commute cost/ housing price fraction in favour of the inner city areas. In this approach, it is assumed that a large cohort of residents can *afford* to express its preferences while those urban dwellers that cannot are not reckoned in. There is also a variety of other social and economic factors indicated: household size, household type and employment conditions. It is a fact that household size has been decreasing since the 1960s. Smaller households use less land so they are benefited by paying more for every square meter of housing and less for commute costs. Additionally, two worker households in downtown areas minimize their joint commute expenses when working in different parts of the city, just by settling in somewhere where is more likely to be at the middle (Skaburskis 1997). Regarding the household type, neoclassical scholars, as the advocators of the cultural explanations, engage widely with single women households, as women professionals are more likely to find jobs in inner city areas (Rose & Villeneuve 1998). Regarding employment conditions, neoclassical theorists, as Marxists alike, pointed out the growing employment insecurity of the 1970s onwards.

Neoclassical model uses the building age/ distance from the urban core fraction to trace gentrifying areas. Where areas are gentrifying, the graph presents repeating peaks of newly built, highly priced property replacing dilapidating buildings that traditionally exist in most urban cores. However, this model works only for gentrifying areas where buildings are being replaced by new ones, not where older buildings are just being rehabilitated (which is the most common course of action in gentrifying areas).

Damaris Rose on Social Reproduction of Labour

Damaris Rose sets another framework for gentrification, distancing herself from most approaches. She does not perceive gentrification as a unified phenomenon with causal processes subsumed under a wider concept. She points out that it is a chaotic concept: its causes can be social fermentations which initially may seem detached to it. The goal is to explain gentrification in a historical and structural way that will allow for empirical variations from place to place and from time to time (Rose, 1984). Her positioning is clearly Marxist; her concern is to unveil the underlying power relations that lead to inner city redevelopment and displacement. She defines the main difference between Marxist and Neoclassical approaches that the latter reduces gentrification to the behavior of individuals taking part on it, while the former seeks to find the *networks of processes* that pave the way. “(G)entrification is neither a natural development at a certain stage in a city's life-cycle nor an aberration. As Holcomb and Beauregard [...] point out, it is important to recognize that the 'necessary conditions' and 'direction' for gentrification are set in motion by *purposive* and powerful actors who are both guided and constrained in their actions by the underlying logic of capital accumulation” (Rose, 1984, p. 50, original emphasis). She stands out from other Marxist explanations because of her explicit feminist positioning; feminism played an active role as a “social force” in urban economies. Not only it pushed forward to an emancipation of women, but it affected the family structure, the household formation and ultimately the daily lives of women across the western world. Many of these developments prompted gentrification in their respective way in several cases (Rose, 1989).

Relations between consumption and reproduction of labour are crucial understanding the issue. She hypothesizes that “the upsurge of renovation activity by and for moderate-income households and those with so-called alternative life-styles, is produced by the interaction of changes in production and reproduction” (Rose, 1984, p. 47). For other scholars reproduction of labour is inextricably connected with consumption; people express their culture and perform domestic labour only in terms of consumption. For Rose, social reproduction of labour outside networks of consumption and commodified cultural expression is a central element of gentrification (Rose, 1984). However, social changes behind gentrification are clearly a product of the current state of capitalism, but these changes take place in a much more subtle way than the theories including middle class identity change infer (see Lees 1994, Ley 2003). Reproduction of labour power cannot be reduced to a tendency or need of capitalism, since it is inseparable of “living, thinking human beings” (Rose, 1984). It is a contingent phenomenon, which should not be assessed in a deterministic way. The agency of individuals takes place inside a specific framework that constrains the extant choices and possibilities. “It becomes necessary”, she writes, “to work out alternative research methodologies to those of positivism. As Thrift [...] argues, such methodologies must do more than merely lurch uncertainly between the twin poles of structure and agency” (Rose, 1984, p. 49).

As a feminist, Rose focuses on the changing patterns of female employment as part of the *changing conditions in white collar work* (Rose, 1984). In other words, she puts postfordism and the restructuring of the tertiary sector in the forefront, scrutinizing how these changes interact with “changing family forms, domestic responsibilities and life cycles, to produce housing and neighborhood consumers with *specific packages of needs*” (Rose, 1984, p. 62, emphasis added). She denies the way cultural approaches (see Lees, Lay, Caulfield for example) view the notion of ‘lifestyle’. Lifestyle cannot be conceived separately from *affordability* and independently of the socioeconomic aspects of white collar employment. Gentrification is presented as a product of necessity rather than choice (Rose 1984). In order to reach that conclusion, Rose mainly engages with marginal gentrifiers; those people who do not *express their otherness* through consumption, but are driven to limited choices of housing (as opposed to the Neoclassical approach). “The phase of restructuring of industrial and clerical labour processes and the associated segmentation of labour markets over space –as well as by sex and race” limit lower income families' chances of upward mobility (Rose 1984). We should not forget that Rose expressed those ideas during the emerging of postfordism that has been marked by unprecedented levels of labour insecurity and uncertainty; many young professionals, “though clearly in a much improved material situation, can also no longer assume job security and steadily increasing incomes” (Rose, 1984). All of these people, marginal gentrifiers but young professionals alike, may be excluded from more traditional white-collar housing markets due to property prices but also social reasons. Many of those who become gentrifiers have important difficulties in carrying on their particular living arrangements in conventional suburbs (Rose, 1983); those groups of gentrifiers may be excluded from suburban communities because they “do not meet the norms of the nuclear family still entrenched in zoning regulations” (Rose, 1984). Contrary to the suburbs, inner city neighborhoods are characterized community services, shared use of facilities and have an overall supportive environment, factors that fostered gentrification (Rose, 1984). Rose sees those (marginal) gentrifiers in an explicitly sympathetic way. She points out that compared to their peers ten years ago, these are significantly “proletarianised” (Rose 1984).

Conclusively, Rose approaches gentrification as a chaotic concept; consisted of many seemingly unrelated processes. Moreover, she studies gentrification under a sympathetic view. She writes that “*some* of the changes which are usually subsumed within the concept 'gentrification' can bring into existing neighborhoods [...] of alternative ways of living, which would never be tolerated if they were not being introduced by 'middle-class' and 'professional' people in the first instance” (Rose, 1984, p. 68). However, experience has proven Rose optimistic; capitalism seeks and succeeds finding ways of appropriating those spaces, either by turning them into sites of spectacle (touristic attractions or sites of alternative consumption) or by proceeding to subsequent stages of “super gentrification” (Lipman 2002, Lees 2000).

III. DESCRIPTION OF THE CASE STUDY

This chapter serves as an introduction to the case study; the reader will get the chance to get familiar with the area under research, and additionally, will get some basic information about the city of Arnhem as well. This way, Klarendal's gentrification that will be presented in the next chapter will be understood in a wider framework.

1. Arnhem

Arnhem is a city of approximately 150.000 inhabitants (<http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>), located in the eastern part of the Netherlands, close to Germany. It is the capital of the province of Gelderland. Arnhem was traditionally a working class city, with numerous industries in close proximity. The city serves as a transit hub for the railway line that connects Amsterdam with Frankfurt. As an attractive area, it has to offer a variety of amenities; a well-preserved historic inner city, numerous cultural attractions, a nearby National Park (Hoge Veluwe) and an internationally-acclaimed Fashion Biennale. Arnhem is also an educational center with HAN (Hogeschool van Arnhem en Nijmegen) and the prestigious ArtEZ Academy of Arts (Gemeente Arnhem, 2006).

Arnhem's economic identity is based upon two innovative sectors: Energy and Environmental Technology and Fashion and Design, plus one additional (Health) (Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a). City's authorities also label Arnhem as a "creative city" (Arnhem City Guide), justifying this branding choice (Made in Arnhem: a center for innovation and creativity) by a variety of cultural activities, good educational institutes and a "creative working environment" (Cito, 2012). One quarter of the workforce consists of creative classes (the term will be defined in chapter VIII) (Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a), and the city is trying to capitalize these numbers to its interest. As mentioned above, Arnhem's development plan is mainly based on two innovative sectors. The former (Energy and Environmental Technologies) is part of the city's history: Arnhem is traditionally an energy locus and focuses heavily on pioneer technologies (Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a). The latter (Fashion and Design) will be the main theme of this paper; fashion and design as a model of economic growth is a scheme including the whole city, not just the neighborhood of Klarendal.

The presence of the Fashion and Design Cluster in Arnhem is relatively strong, even though it pales in comparison to cities like Amsterdam (primarily) and Rotterdam (secondarily) (Snijders, 2012). Nevertheless, this cluster is central to the municipality's planning for good reasons: the ArtEZ Academy of the Arts, a prestigious school as has already been mentioned, guarantees a notable number of creative students in the area. Additionally, Arnhem is home to notable fashion brands (Humanoid, Gsus, Spijkers & Spijkers, People of the Labyrinth etc) and design brands (Viktor & Rolf). Lastly, the city hosts important fashion events such as the Fashion Biennale Arnhem (Cito, 2012). Also, fashion and design offer huge potential; if successfully implemented provide high international awareness and as a plan it is of low transferability (difficult to be implemented the same way elsewhere) and high distinctive quality (Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a).

Following Richard Florida's model for modern cities (2000, 2002), the city's authorities are trying to attract and keep talent: through ArtEZ, Arnhem draws creative workforce part of which remains in the city after graduation. The municipality offers incentives to recently graduated students to become entrepreneurs through targeted acquisition of property in downtown areas and clustering of the creative community. There are numerous start-up and spin-off programs running (Ondernemer in de Wijk, Ik Start Smart and GO! Gelderland Ondernemt) for that reason (Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a). At the same time, authorities are encouraging and financing a variety of cultural activities that would provide Arnhem publicity and elevate its prestige; their goal eventually is to brand Arnhem as an attractive place for high-skilled labour. The numbers though are showing that the city is not performing adequately enough attracting international talent. The percentage of western immigrants for example, those that are considered of *higher quality* by policy makers, is stagnated during the last twenty years (1994: 11,3%- 2004: 11,4%) (Table 15)! Therefore, the success of the Fashion Quarter project (and furthermore the *creative* city campaign) can change Arnhem drastically in many ways.

2. Klarendal

Klarendal is a former working class neighborhood situated in close proximity northeast of Arnhem's city center. It currently serves as the Fashion Quarter in Arnhem. Klarendal may not present the numbers of workers or businesses in the Fashion and Design cluster as other districts (Centrum or Spijkerviertel) but their presence in the district is deliberately more visible (Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14). Arnhem's City Guide calls the neighborhood "the creative heart of Arnhem", famous for its "great cafes" (Cito, 2012). Klarendal is a distinct neighborhood: culturally diverse, a home for artists, art students and immigrants (mainly Turkish); a poor (even after all renewal plans), catholic neighborhood in a protestant city (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14). Due to cheap rents, it attracts all these kinds of people policy makers call "creative". Summarily, Klarendal has three basic spatial characteristics: it is close to the city center, a railway line is standing as a visual and physical barrier between the neighborhood and the rest of the city, and height variation (approximately 15 m.) which creates some nice downhill strolls (Studio Scale & Stipo, 2011).

The neighborhood is not characterized by architectural prominences. As we will see in the next chapter where its history will be presented, Klarendal has few to offer to the eye: mainly the windmill De Kroon which has become the landmark of the area's policies (see "Four Wings of Klarendal" in chapter V) and secondly a few cottage-style houses located in the northern part of the district. Besides the architecture, Klarendal is characterized by carefully conducted facets: as mentioned above, artistic presence –in the form of shops and houses– is highlighted.

In terms of public spaces, three places stick out. Firstly, the "Leuke Linde", the playground of Klarendal is the neighborhood's secret key to success (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14). Planned to be home for modern, small sized families (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14), Klarendal would not be the same without this playground (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14); moreover, it stands as a locus of interactions for the locals, old and new. Secondly, the Klarenbeek Park in the northeast part of the district and thirdly the Sonsbeek Park in the southwest, stand as physical borders and add surplus value to the neighborhood.

Demographically, Klarendal is consisted of three parts: one part of non-western immigrant population, one part of artists and fashion entrepreneurs and one part of the “Oud-Klarendalers” (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). However, the proportion of non-western immigrants, having reached its peak in 2003 (30% of the neighborhood’s population), is rapidly falling back (Table 15). Moreover, their presence even while its peak was disproportionately (in)visible: besides few businesses (food, barbershop, mini markets or grocery stores) their traces are hard to be located. On the other hand, the numbers of *western* immigrants are rising slowly (Table 15), forming a mixed environment.

Klarendal nowadays, having left behind the turbulent days of the 1990s (see chapter IV on Klarendal’s history), is described by policy makers and branding campaigns as a vibrant place; people from other parts of the city visit the neighborhood and its renown designers’ shops and fancy cafes/ restaurants (Caspar, SugarHill, Goet Proeven etc). Being part of a city like Arnhem though, it has to be of a dual nature: “Arnhem is a city with two faces. Fine neighbourhoods with nice housing, high income and quality of environment. And neighbourhoods with a concentration of social problems concentrated. That contains large unemployment, poor housing, unsafety, drug abuse, dumped rubbish, high percentage of migrants, low income etcetera” (Gemeente Arnhem, 2006, p. 4). Unemployment, poverty and number of allowances receivers are higher than the city’s average. Firstly, unemployment, affecting approximately 11% of the district’s population in 2013, has sharply dropped during the last few years, following a general trend characterizing the whole city. Having reached a peak (17,3%) in 2005, unemployment in Klarendal seems to slowly converge with the city’s average (Tables 9, 10). Low income households constituted the vast 20% of the district’s households in 2011; this percentage is one of the highest in Arnhem, and moreover, Klarendal is one of the poorest districts in terms of average disposable household income (Tables 9, 10) (the same applies for standardized disposable household income, <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl>).

As many other districts, Klarendal is not a homogenous area. Rather, it can be characterized by the highly varied sceneries in different parts of the neighborhood. The most “advertized” part of the neighborhood is the south part of Klarendalseweg (near Sonsbeeksingel). There, one can find most of the designer shops in the neighborhood, and its most famous restaurant: the Goed Proeven. Facets are carefully put together, designer shops coexist with residential uses in the upper floors and in terms of activity, it is the most recognizable part of the neighborhood. The part which is beyond the bridge (the one that divides Hommelstraat from Hommelseweg) is another distinctive area of Klarendal. Being the most vibrant of the neighborhood, home to one of the most famous cafes (TAPE) and abound with immigrants’ businesses (bakeries, spare parts shops, kebab and donner shops, mini markets etc). Administratively, this area is part of the district of Spijkerkwartier but many policy documents (as also many interviewees) refer to it as part of Klarendal and the Fashion Quarter project. The “oriental corner” in the beginning of Hommelseweg is another locus for the Turkish community. Barbershops and small food businesses catch the eye, and the presence of non-Dutch people dominates the sidewalks. The “hermitage” (a term we ourselves came up with influenced by the looks and the quietness of the area) on the other hand is the most “indigenous” part of the neighborhood, located in the northeastern corner of the district. Most of the residents here are Dutch, mainly of advanced age. Dwellings are less densely built, houses are bigger, lawn gardens adorn the front yards and quiet *fenced* squares with a lonely tree in the middle serve as public spaces. Here one can see what Berry Kessels (13/3/14) is very proud of: beautifully built, cottage-style housing that gives Klarendal this

rural-like feeling –even though so centrally located– that distinguishes the neighborhood from the surrounding ones.

The last characteristic spot is the area around Onder De Linden and Vijverlaan streets. Here, the height variation is mostly visible, creating nice downhill alleys with stairs. The area is built around the playground (De Leuke Linde) which is as mentioned above one of the key places in Klarendal. Here, narrow and high, vintage-style housing meet more conventional, family-style dwellings and streets are divided by wide stripes of green. The small park with paths around the playground is improving the area overall.

Overall, Klarendal is a busy district when it comes to its southwestern part (around the Sonsbeekseweg, Klarendalseweg and Hommelstraat axis) which becomes gradually more quiet as one draws away from its core. As a district, it shares much in common with the adjacent one of St Marten but at the same time it is evidently distinguishable. Klarendal today is marked by four elements (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14): firstly, it has this feeling of authenticity, which is invoked by the district's history as a 19th century working class neighborhood. Even though policy makers are seeking to directly *modify* Klarendal's character (Charly Tomassen, 14/5/2014), they are constantly using it as a branding technique. Secondly, it is its proximity to the city center. Klarendal is one of the oldest and most central districts of Arnhem, originally built just outside the city's fortifications. Thirdly, it is its high level of livability: low feelings of insecurity, as recorded in the municipality's database (Gemeente Arnhem, 2010a, Berry Kessels, 13/3/14) and high economic activity, stimulated by numerous start-up programs. Fourthly, it is of special architectural interest; even though there are not many prominent structures in the neighborhood, Klarendal is characterized by open spaces, neatly-built and well maintained built environment (mainly due to the urban redevelopment programs), and in the northeastern part, beautiful cottage-style housing. In policy documents, the Fashion Quarter is characterized by the following aspects: Fashion and Design sector's presence, fancy foodservice and quality schooling (Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a, 2012, 2013). All three aspects aim to serve the district's newly established identity: an authentic, former working class neighborhood, currently serving as a home for a diverse crowd of artists, designers and small-sized families of young professionals.

IV. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In this chapter we will follow the district's history. This will help us understand Klarendal's current urban fabric, form and social structure. We will focus on major development projects (such as demolishing and rebuilding processes), historical events (such as epidemics or riots) and political fermentations (such as claims by the locals). The importance of this chapter will be understood in later parts of the thesis, as many of the processes taking place in Klarendal today have their roots in past events and policies.

Klarendal's history as a district begins in the early 19th century (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). Some streets preexisted, especially Rosendaalstraat and Velperweg date back to the middle ages as a part of the medieval city of Arnhem. Before 1830, there were numerous estates, that later grew into bigger complexes surrounded by farmland and gardens (Gemeente arnhem, 2012a).

Klarendal was the first expansion of the city beyond the medieval fortifications. It was built to house the workers that arrived deconstruct the medieval walls, work in Arnhem's factories and the construct the canals and railway lines (Studio Scale & Stipo, 2011). These workers were mostly petty farmers driven out of their land during Europe's rapid industrialization and they came from areas east of Arnhem. The special characteristic of those farmers was that they were Catholics; religious people as they were, they carried their culture to the area and built churches in Arnhem. They were a minority of Catholics in a Protestant-ruled town (Hans Ansems, 24/2/14); their community was small and tight, they had their own norms, and solidarity played a dominant role in their everyday life (Gemeente Arnhem, 2003). The remnants of this culture were evident at least until the 1970s, a period when the neighborhood was once more demolished and rebuilt (Hans Ansems, 24/2/14).

Initially, the district consisted of narrow and sloppy-built structures (Gemeente Arnhem, 2003); cheap housing of bad quality, no toilets included, no sanitation networks and little lighting (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). The years between 1830 and 1880, Arnhem was rapidly expanding without any city plans (Gemeente Arnhem, 2012a) and Klarendal grew to a slum of national prominence (Gemeente Arnhem, 2003). The living conditions were extremely poor, especially in the southwestern parts of the neighborhood (Studio Scale & Stipo, 2011).

By the mid-19th century, the construction of the railway line that crosses tangentially to the district started (Gemeente Arnhem, 2012a). In 1856, the railway line connecting Arnhem with Germany was finished and opened. The impact of this line is still apparent in the neighborhood, since it separates Klarendal from the inner city, visually and practically (Studio Scale & Stipo, 2011). Around 1860, philanthropic institutions (among them the Lutheran Church) took initiatives to build better quality housing for the workers (Gemeente Arnhem, 2012a); most of it took place between Catharijnestraat and Paulstraat (Gemeente Arnhem, 2003).

In 1888 a typhoid and diphtheria epidemic broke out in the slums. Local authorities *responding* to the appalling living conditions evicted, demolished and rebuilt the slums by 1892; however, due to the severe housing shortage many people broke into abandoned houses to find shelter (Gemeente Arnhem, 2003). In the meantime, Arnhem grew to be an important garrison town. Several military buildings were scattered around; a military hospital was

situated in Onder de Linden, in north Klarendal. By the same period, city planning is introduced in Arnhem; streets are planned and authorities leave private developers “fill in” the building blocks. The following years, construction goes on in Klarendal; by 1905 the district is mostly built up (Gemeente Arnhem, 2012a).

The next period sees the emergence of the housing corporations; they take over from private constructors and philanthropic institutions. At the time many working class districts are built under the principles of Ebenezer Howard’s “Garden Cities”: anti-urban, village-like blocks, characterized by low density and front courtyards (Gemeente Arnhem, 2012a). Examples of that model are still visible in northeastern Klarendal, the part we called the “Hermitage”. Built in 1906 by Volkshuisvesting (one of the first projects of the company), this area is a reason for the current manager to be proud of with its cottage style housing (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). The building of parts of Klarendal during that period gave the area this completely distinguishable aura, far from classic inner city examples like the Spijkerkwartier.

In 1926, Klarendal saw the opening of its first “modern shopping center” (Studio Scale & Stipo, 2011). The style drew heavy influences from the French-style Arcades; built as a passage, marking the transition from the *violent* street to the serene and quiet realm of consumption, with a glass ceiling allowing sunlight to disperse harmoniously through the main aisle creating the illusion of an open space (Benjamin, 1999). It is interesting that the small shopping center of the neighborhood nowadays (where the Albert Heijn supermarket is) still has those main features. Alongside the arcade, a remarkable number of small shops existed in the area, at least since the 1930s. The residents of Klarendal, Catholics as they were, they were not allowed to work for government companies and a significant part of them opened little shops; the axis of Klarendalseweg, Hommelstraat and Sonsbeekseweg had grocery and milk stores -the horse butcher of the neighborhood that still exists has a 100 years long history-, ironmongers and bakeries (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). The entrepreneurial tradition of the area has often been pointed out by several interviewees and moreover has been used by the policy makers as a branding element of the area. Worth noting is the fact that the majority of the residents during the beginning of the “Klarendal Kom Op” (in 2000) redevelopment campaign reminisced the vibrancy of the shopping streets, rendering the revival of the area an objective of great priority (Gemeente Arnhem, 2003).

After the Second World War, the city officials focused on rebuilding the city, as it had suffered dire consequences. This period and until the 1970s, major reconstruction programs took place under the influence of the French architect Le Corbusier. Functionality was brought to the forefront, and high rise buildings were its main characteristic (Gemeente Arnhem, 2012a). During the 1960s, the economic growth of the postwar era pushed labour wages up. Many workers living in Klarendal chose to relocate to bigger and better houses away from the city center and to small nearby towns or to newly built districts in the south (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). Klarendal now housed people who could not afford or did not want relocation. When Hans Ansems (24/2/14) moved from Spijkerkwartier to Klarendal in 1971, he found an intriguing scenery: the village-like Klarendal, as opposed to urbanized Spijkerkwartier, was clearly a working class neighborhood, where people spent their spare time sitting outside having conversations with each other; a way of living that indeed did not share much in common with other neighborhoods. Several generations of those families were staying close to each other, and the ties between families were strong (Gemeente Arnhem, 2003). This distinct character, the proximity of the area to the city center and the cheapness of

accommodation were the reason Klarendal appealed to students (mostly from the ArtEZ); their interaction with the neighbors was not intimate, but not bad nonetheless. Design at the time was not popular, so the students had a different mentality (Hans Ansems, 24/2/14).

The “city of light, air and space” period (1945- 1970) was replaced by the “city of human scale” period (1970- 1985) (Gemeente Arnhem, 2012a). Arnhem’s authorities, *fed up* by the monotonous modernist architecture of huge structures of the previous period, revisited the “human scale”; buildings and streets got smaller, in contrast to the huge constructions and streets that drew their influence from Le Corbusier. Neighborhoods at the time were conceived as “islands in the city” and were redeveloped as such (Gemeente Arnhem, 2012a). This means that neighborhoods were planned as distinguishable spatial entities, and not as parts of a huge citywide network. The redevelopment in Klarendal took place in 1972 and included the demolition and reconstruction of a large part of the area; Berry Kessels calls the buildings of this period as “architectural disasters” (13/3/14), however, their interior was of high quality. The redevelopment as such though, aiming to enhance social cohesion (neighborhoods as islands in the city) was an utter failure: many people were forced to leave, the social network was destroyed and people never came back; those who returned did not find their friends again and the houses were completely different (Hans Ansems, 24/2/14). The small shops, trademark of the area for decades, struck by the arrival of big supermarkets and the redevelopment schemes did not open again while people started using the automobile to shop in other parts of the city. Klarendal would not be the same ever since. Additionally, even though the urban renewal led to more and better amenities, the problems of illegal prostitution and drug users were not solved but expanded during the next years (Studio Scale & Stipo, 2011).

Klarendal was a cheap neighborhood, and in the 1970s, besides students, dwellers with “little or no money, bad education, or immigrants who could not speak the language” settled in (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). The aforementioned redevelopment took place partly to evict those residents (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14), but after it was finished the “kind of people who lived there did not change” (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). Klarendal, alongside Malburg, turned into areas of violent crimes and drug problems (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). The now vanished Noppenstraat was the locus of soft drugs throughout the 1970s, and sometimes it had more than a million visitors (mostly from Germany) per week (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). In September 24, 1989, the residents rose up; the problems of drug related crime, illegal prostitution and degradation of public space were once again put at the forefront. The following decade did not differentiate very much: the wounded social fabric of the neighborhood was the reason many problems occurred (deteriorating urban space and drug related criminality), and the authorities mainly addressed the symptoms without intervening substantially to fix the maladies of Klarendal.

V. RESTRUCTURING KLARENDAL

1. Klarendal Kom Op! (2000- 2004)

When after three decades of degradation, the residents of Klarendal went to the city council in 2000 to make a statement that the area was not safe anymore, the mayor of Arnhem at the time, Paul Scholten, decided to take action solving some of the main problems of Klarendal (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14). The main issue people mentioned was the drug trade and the related criminality. Initially, the municipality sent people from the planning department to analyze the situation and organized meetings with people from the neighborhood to discuss the problems (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). As an answer to Klarendal's problems, the mayor visited the neighborhood and gave a speech where he asked the local residents to embrace, support and contribute to the program the municipality and the wijkplatform had conducted. The campaign was named "Klarendal Kom Op!" (Klarendal Come On) and it was the beginning of the district's transformation that took place the following years. The main concern of the council regarding the "Kom Op!" campaign was to foster a *responsible* mentality among the residents; the vision could not be realized without their support and contribution.

The main problems Klarendal was facing during the first years of the millennia were not new at all: chronic deterioration of urban space, with garbage dominating the scenery and drug related crime, caused –according to the authorities– by the numerous coffeeshops in the area and their shady ways of acquiring their wares (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14). The municipality managed to tackle these issues at some level and thereby regained the lost trust of the local dwellers. For the first problem (the garbage), the municipality did its part and at the same time asked the locals to do their own as well; the *inconsiderate* mentality (namely, refusal to put trust on state institutions and the subsequent reluctance to work together with the municipality) which was dominant during the previous years had to be put aside in order for Klarendal's transformation to succeed, and the people had to be more responsible with public spaces than in the past. For the second issue, the municipality implemented a "policy of *extinction*" (this term is mentioned in the documents) regarding the existing coffeeshops (Gemeente arnhem, 2012a). Additionally, the police established a station right at the heart of the problematic area to gain better control of the situation (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). Besides that, the program "Blauw op Straat" (Blue on the Street) brought had officers patrolling instead of "sitting at their desks". In various municipal documents it is mentioned that policing during that initial stage of Klarendal's transformation was extra *rigorous*, often cited as "zero tolerance policy", *popularized* by Rudolf Giuliani's New York administration (Smith, 2002) (Gemeente Arnhem, 2012a, 2012b).

Campaigns promoting Klarendal were also launched; examples of that was the "We love Klarendal" campaign. However, as Chris Zeevenhooven (20/3/14) pointed out, campaigns were aiming people outside the neighborhood. The decisive factor that helped the authorities to regain the locals' trust was the district's newspaper, which was constantly updated with the latest developments concerning Klarendal's renewal. The newspaper was a success; it was (and still is) read by a big part of the locals, which showed their interest by helping the resolution of many local problems (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14).

The fruit of Scholten's and the board's vision was a document called "Klarendal Kleur en Karakter", meaning *colour and character*. It is notable that fashion did not have a role in that vision yet (Gemeente Arnhem, 2003) as the authorities had not come up with it. Generally, the first period of Klarendal's renewal (2000- 2004) "sealed" by the "Klarendal Kom Op!" campaign and topped by the "Klarendal Kleur en Karakter" document did not attribute Klarendal any *tradition* in fashion, as subsequent documents did (Gemeente Arnhem, 2003). The main concern depicted in the pages of the aforementioned document was to revive the neighborhood's entrepreneurial character. This character could take the shape of "art galleries, ateliers, *exotic eateries*, the health center, a Turkish hammam and small workshops such as carpenters'" (Gemeente Arnhem, 2003) but not designers' shops. Daily retail though, for which residents and policy makers discussed extensively, was explicitly planned to concentrate around the district's shopping center (Gemeente Arnhem, 2003). The other major concern in that document was the connection of the neighborhood with the city center. For that reason, Sonsbeekseweg and Hommelstraat gain a special role in the process; measures such as shops' facades rearranged and others are mentioned in order to improve the accessibility and visibility of Klarendal (Gemeente Arnhem, 2003).

Summarily, the first period started when the Mayor of Arnhem gave a speech in Klarendal. There, he invoked the lost responsible mentality on behalf of the locals; in order for the plan to work he would need their contribution. The locals started trusting the municipality when some of the district's big problems were partially solved (the garbage problem for example). The regaining of trust was crucial for the continuation of the project. The "De Kroon" windmill, a visual landmark of Klarendal, became a trademark of the new policy. Four wings, four areas of focus: a clean neighborhood, a safe one, with good schooling and fostering "togetherness", a "mutual coexistence" (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). The actual policies during those very first years were mainly to address pollution and nuisance (Gemeente Arnhem, 2003). Additionally, proper care was taken for the local schools. The schools of the area were all losing students, "because *only immigrant children* stayed, everybody else moved out, the quality of the schools was too bad" (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). As mentioned in the policy documents, Klarendal would be planned as a family area, and high quality schooling became another tool for the improvement of the area.

The "togetherness" element of the policy can be explained by the "Onze Buurt aan Zet" (loosely translated as "Changing our Neighborhood") (2001- 2004) nationwide program. This concerned 30 cities throughout the Netherlands, aiming at safety, livability, integration and social cohesion in deprived districts. It is worth mentioning that prerequisite for including a district was the direct involvement of locals in the planning processes (van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). Many resources used in Klarendal were drawn from that program.

2. Klarendal Gaat Door (2005- 2008)

As mentioned above, the authorities were trying to find a way to revitalize Klarendalseweg and render it the backbone of the whole endeavor. Meetings between the municipality's policy makers and local entrepreneurs were arranged; however, the latter were reluctant to participate. In general, the local entrepreneurs were not willing to cooperate, leading the policy makers seek for a solution elsewhere (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14). Volkshuisvesting

intervened, and undertook the task of finding a viable option (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). At the time, Richard Florida's "Rise of the Creative Class" was a mainstream policy manual for local governments all over the western world (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). It was decided that the municipality and Volkshuisvesting should work with the creative class of Arnhem to revitalize Klarendalseweg. Soon, officials realized that Arnhem's Academy of the Arts (ArtEZ) carried a huge potential as a *container* of creative individuals, with many ArtEZ graduates working in prestigious fashion houses abroad (Studio Scale & Stipo, 2011). Initially, SLAK (organization for finding working spaces for artists in Arnhem) worked alongside the municipality, afterwards Volkshuisvesting took over (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14), and the plan was set in motion; students of ArtEZ that hitherto were leaving Arnhem after graduation, would be the vehicle for Klarendal's renewal. In the beginning, the idea was to establish a fashion quarter by the river; an exclusively expensive consumption area built in an expensive part of the city (Chris Zeevenhooven, 30/4/14). However, this idea was abandoned (partially due to lack of funds, Charly Tomassen, 14/5/14) and it was decided to be combined with the renewal of Klarendal. That is how fashion initially came to Klarendal.

The "Poort naar Klarendal" (Passage to Klarendal) program, around 2004, laid the foundations of a more focused and efficient policy framework (<http://kennisbank.platform31.nl/pages/23579/Projecten/Arnhem-Klarendal.html>, accessed May 2014). The object of this program was to attract small businesses around fashion and design in the area. The final decision about turning Klarendal into a fashion district was taken afterwards. The "Klarendal Gaat Door" program (2005- 2008) followed the logic that, since small shops that characterized the area during previous decades cannot come back, and since local residents and the local government desired the vibrancy of Klarendalseweg back, fashion would be a viable option. As laid down, Klarendal held all the credentials of becoming the Modekwartier (Fashion Quarter): the presence of ArtEZ students and artists in the area (who, as mentioned in the historical background chapter, chose Klarendal because its relative cheapness) was the main argument. Arnhem also held a notable position in the fashion affairs in the Netherlands, through ArtEZ and the Arnhem Mode Biennale which was held every two years (Studio Scale & Stipo, 2011). The case of the Belgian city Antwerp, which is branded as a fashion city, was a great deal of inspiration for the local government and Volkshuisvesting. The main element Klarendal borrowed from Antwerp was the presence of the whole fashion "circle" in the area: design, sampling, cloth colouring, making of accessories, styling, photography, modeling, all present in Klarendal (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14).

The program was partially aligned with the local dwellers' initiatives. The four areas of focus of the previous policy framework (Klarendal Kom Op!) were slightly differentiated: good schooling was replaced by Economic and Spatial Development (<http://kennisbank.platform31.nl/pages/23579/Projecten/Arnhem-Klarendal.html>, accessed May 2014). It was slowly becoming evident that the Fashion Quarter project concerned more than Klarendal itself; it was –and still is– a pursuit of the municipality to attach Arnhem the element of a creative city in general. Something that differentiates the project from other gentrifying areas is that despite this pursuit of vibrancy, Klarendal was intended to become a quiet, family- oriented neighborhood as well. The schooling issue was put at the forefront; schools in the area received constant attention since the area was still planned to house families with children (Studio Scale & Stipo, 2011). Quiteness and vibrancy is one of those special characteristics of Klarendal, when compared to the examples in the literature.

At the initial stages of the Fashion Quarter project implementation, the main goal was to create a platform where creative people could meet “people in suits”. Meetings took place in Hogekekwartier, and functioned as think tanks for the fermentations to come (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). The municipality hired an artist to create nice facades; some of them are still there in Hommelseweg (Chris Zeevenhoven, 20/3/14). Volkshuisvesting examined the possibility ArtEZ graduates, who often followed a career in famous fashion houses, to be interested in opening shops in the area. Since the economic capital of those students was low, subsidies at the initial stages of their involvement would be necessary (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). For that reason, by the end of 2004 and the beginning of 2005, Volkshuisvesting started buying buildings in the district; the initial investment was around 12.500.000 €; at the time they owned around 2.200 dwellings (Chris Zeevenhoven, 30/4/14). Moreover, as an additional motive, the young entrepreneurs were offered the opportunity of having their living space above their shops (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). For the *catering* businesses (bars, cafes, restaurants), Volkshuisvesting *handpicked* the entrepreneurs who would open and operate them, since those were crucial businesses for the project (the Goet Proeven, the Caspar, the Sugar Hill etc) (Walter de Bes, 7/5/14).

The Fashion Quarter project, since its birth in 2005 is organized and discussed on three organizational “tables”; those tables are described as “round” because all participants are equal. The table for the built environment is engaging with issues of pollution, improvement and maintenance of public spaces. The social table discusses ways of gaining the locals’ trust, the tasks of the social workers and other social issues. The third table, the economic one was the most difficult to establish; at first, local entrepreneurs (as mentioned above) were unwilling to cooperate. The policy makers decided to turn to the creative classes; a consulting firm (Seinpost) was brought along to come up with ideas. When the fashion theme came along, the economic Round Table was established. In 2008, this table merged with the Local Support Group, with members –among others– from the DOCKS (the trade association of Klarendal) and Portaal (another housing association mainly engaging in Sint Martins district). All three Round Tables are coordinated by the Steering Committee (Gemeente Arnhem, 2008, 2009b).

3. Resetting the goals (2008- ...)

When Berry Kessels undertook the position of manager in Volkshuisvesting in 2006, there were only 4 shops visible (data though reveal the presence of more relevant businesses) (Table 1). By the end of 2008 the shops grew to be 25, plus the iconic restaurant of the area “Goet Proeven”, situated in the entrance of Klarendalseweg. But these businesses were only concentrated around this restaurant; there was none further down the Klarendalseweg. Volkshuisvesting and the municipality decided to reset the aim: 50 shops would be an acceptable number, as long as there were more around Hommelstraat and Sonsbeekseweg (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). As Mr. Kessels himself pointed out, the project is not following a blueprint; development has to be *organic*, in other words, more self-powered and resilient. Plans are not inviolable, the situation has to dictate the course of action (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14).

The opening of Goed Proeven gave a boost to the area: while other bars and cafes of the area attracted newly established people from Klarendal, this one had a clientele from all over

the city (Walter de Bes, 7/5/14). Its waiting list has been mentioned by various interviewees (see Berry Kessels, Chris Zeevenhooven) and nowadays it is definitely a reason for people to visit Klarendal. This gave the policy makers the idea of investing also in foodservice (besides designers' shops); even though food businesses were explicitly mentioned in previous documents, such as the *Kleur en Karakter* of 2003 and the *Gaat Door* program which ran from 2005 to 2008, Klarendal did not have until then such an *attraction* regarding gastronomy.

The most important element though, for Klarendal to enter its third phase of transformation, was its classification as one of the country's "priority neighborhoods". In 2007, the central government conducted a list of 40 degraded areas (*aandachtswijken*) around the Netherlands which required immediate attention (Studio Scale & Stipo, 2011). It is strange though, that Klarendal, after its improvement throughout the first years of the millennium still to be included in such lists; nevertheless, the economic boost was imminent.

The Local Action Plan for Klarendal of 2008 was conducted after the neighborhood was included in the aforementioned list of 40 priority districts. It was approved by the city council on March 2008 and most of its directions were a continuation of the measures taken during the previous years (Gemeente Arnhem, 2008). However, the spatial and economic measures were more intense and the change that took place from 2008 to 2013 was more important than the change during the 2000- 2008 period. New measures concerned the size of offered housing, a new policy regarding *problematic* households, benefit claimants and juvenile deflection (Gemeente Arnhem, 2008). Problematic households, as profiled by Volkshuisvesting, faced a differentiated addressing (Rob Klingen, 7/4/14); specific streets (among those are Hommelstraat and St. Janskerkstraat) were proclaimed "streets of concentrated problems", and Volkshuisvesting saw to that problematic households were kept away from there, even if the latter wished to relocate in those areas (Rob Klingen, 7/4/14). Rijnstad, which is a social organization engaging in welfare and social services in Arnhem (http://rijnstad.nl/over_rijnstad.html, accessed May 2014) is conducting the reports according to which Volkshuisvesting decides the problematic households among their customers (Rob Klingen, 7/4/14). Regarding the benefit claimants, the municipality follows a policy of reduction (<http://kennisbank.platform31.nl/pages/23579/Projecten/Arnhem-Klarendal.html>, accessed May 2014). The intensive intervention on issues of safety that characterized the municipal policies of the previous years (zero tolerance policies) were now less rigorous, however, the politiehuiskamer was still maintained as its results are encouraging (Gemeente Arnhem, 2008). In 2009, the 100% Mode program was upgraded to Mode XL, incorporating the additional measures mentioned just above (<http://kennisbank.platform31.nl/pages/23579/Projecten/Arnhem-Klarendal.html>, accessed May 2014).

Through this project, many public spaces were rebuilt: in 2008, the citywide program "Buiten Gewoon Beter" (Just Better Outside) for public spaces' improvement, was implemented in order many streets and open spaces to go through restoration works (http://www.arnhem.nl/Wonen_en_leven/Projecten/Buiten_Gewoon_Beter, accessed May 2014). More specifically, "Buiten Gewoon Beter" (2001- 2022) is a citywide program to tackle the maintenance backlog of public space. It concerns streets, sidewalks, playgrounds and urban green; in Klarendal, under this program there were maintenance works in Hoflaan, Agnietenstraat, Rozendaalselaan, Sonsbeeksingel, Hommelseweg and Klarendalseweg of course (http://www.arnhem.nl/Wonen_en_leven/Projecten/Buiten_Gewoon_Beter, accessed May 2014). The greatest part of these works in Klarendal took place from 2008 to 2011, and

the district's urban space changed importantly. Demolition and reconstruction was avoided, since this course of action had been implemented before (during the 70s, 80s and 90s) without success. Moreover, the authorities wanted to maintain the historic character of the neighborhood. Besides the renovation works, an additional number of dwellings was constructed to improve the tight housing market situation. Of these, at least 100 were built in the outskirts of the district by the construction company Proper-Stok (<http://kennisbank.platform31.nl/pages/23579/Projecten/Arnhem-Klarendal.html>, accessed May 2014). More importantly, the entrances to the district were improved so the transition from surrounding districts to Klarendal to be noticeable (Klarendalse and Hommelseweg).

In 2008, the trading association of Klarendal DOCKS was founded. Shortly after their establishment, they participated in the local support group (the economic Round Table of Klarendal's steering committee). The branding of the district was further enhanced by the establishment of the "Night of Fashion", an event which takes place every June since 2009. Lastly, the district confirmed its planning as a family and single-parent family neighborhood through the establishment of the "Home Start" program for parenting advice (<http://kennisbank.platform31.nl/pages/23579/Projecten/Arnhem-Klarendal.html>, accessed May 2014).

The most important development during that third phase is the building of the MultiFunctional Center (MFC Klarendal) in March 2014, which aspires to be the heart of the district. Worth noting is that its size was an issue of disagreements among the city council (for example Chris Zeevenhooven proposes it should be smaller, 20/3/14). Nevertheless, it houses a variety of activities improving the quality of life in the neighborhood: an elementary school (merging of two schools), a kindergarten, a community center, after school care, the Center for Youth and Families, a clinic, a gym, a sports hall, the Wijkwinkel (an organization for Klarendal's renewal) and a meeting place for residents.

Restructuring or gentrifying Klarendal?

This chapter included all the actions revolving around Klarendal's gentrification. As one may have already noticed, the word gentrification is generally avoided and other words such as renewal, change, redevelopment, are chosen instead. However, this does not change the fact that in Klarendal actual gentrification took and takes place. It always depends on how one defines the word; nevertheless, one of the most basic definitions is "the influx of middle class residents in working class neighborhoods", and by that definition the case of Klarendal is definitely gentrification. The process however defies some of the certainties of gentrification. First of all, central slogan for all policy documents and campaigns is the "clean, safe and quiet", of which especially the last element (quiet) contradicts the vibrant spirit of most gentrified areas. However, in order to avoid being unjust to the instigators of these slogans, the authorities of Arnhem did not mean quiet, as contrasted to vibrant; Klarendal's activity, daytime and nighttime alike were improved. Additionally, vibrancy was addressed as an element that by definition contrasts criminality and insecurity.

Secondly, Klarendal is still planned as a relatively less expensive area (contrasted to the expensiveness of gentrified areas); namely, the authorities and Volkshuisvesting are deliberately seeking to maintain rent levels somewhat stable and avoid excessive rent inflation. The rationale behind this policy is functionality: the municipality do not want to put

pressure on the facilitators of the project (the young entrepreneurs), hence putting the whole project in danger. It is evident that if the area gets more expensive, young entrepreneurs, who have low income and lack the experience of managing a business in an unstable environment and thereby are vulnerable, will consider leaving the Fashion Quarter.

Thirdly, even though this is a trend during the last years among gentrifying areas, Klarendal is not planned just for single person households, and families are included in plans. The municipality takes care of schooling, after school day care, parental advice etc. However, as already mentioned, this is not something exceptional for such an area; it just goes beyond the stereotypical gentrification examples of past decades.

Despite all the previous though, Klarendal is being gentrified. Various documents set the goal of acquiring *higher quality tenants* (Gemeente Arnhem, 2008, p. 7), various measures aim rendering Klarendal a more attractive area and various key informants express the desire to *sharpen* or change the identity of Klarendal (for example Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14, 00.09.25). Even though the municipality and housing corporation side categorically deny cases of displacement, it is a fact that the housing market in Klarendal is *tight* and waiting lists are formulated under vague criteria; the population of non-western immigrants has lost 1/3 of its numbers during the last years (Table 15, 16), entrepreneurs are *handpicked* by Volkshuisvesting (Walter de Bes, 7/5/14), old people are obliged to leave the neighborhood (Rob Klingen, 7/4/14, Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14) and the housing corporation addresses people with mental problems (as they are being called) as a problem in itself (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14, Rob Klingen, 7/4/14). Moreover, Klarendal presents some of the highest numbers of departures throughout the 2004-13 period (<http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, accessed July 2014).

VI. FASHION AND DESIGN PRESENCE IN ARNHEM AND KLARENDAL

1. Intro

In the previous chapters we presented Klarendal and Arnhem in general. There, among other features of the neighborhood and the city, we introduced fashion as an entrepreneurial activity. We continued with the historical background of the neighborhood, which helped us understand its current spatial formation; the district still –inevitably– carries its history, even though in most cases it is not visible. Then, we presented the policies Klarendal went through until 2012; policies either local (neighborhood level), intra-urban (city level) or of a wider context (national or province level). We saw how the concept of fashion slowly consolidated through the policy documents: in the beginning, just a side note alongside all other forms of creativity; later, the realization of its economic potential, especially in conjunction with the ArtEZ; in the end, playing a central role in the neighborhood’s regional development as a “promising cluster”, among Energy and Environmental Technology (Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a). However, we did not present fashion in depth: what it really means for the policy makers or the young entrepreneurs (the graduates of ArtEZ or the bar and restaurant owners); how it is being used: as an economic choice, a cultural tool, or an ideological construction; what is its actual presence in the neighborhood and the city (which claims to be a “fashion city”); and what is the impact of its *actual* presence.

In this chapter, we will try to depict thoroughly the dual nature of fashion in Klarendal. On the one hand, its actual presence: through statistics and observation, we will clarify the *density* of fashion activity in the district. On the other hand, we will study the *visibility* techniques used by the policy makers and Volkshuisvesting in order to boost Klarendal’s status. After all, as mentioned in chapter II.2: “Gentrification going global”, urban space nowadays is entering the competitive logic of the market; therefore, such branding and advertizing policies are deemed necessary. Thus, we have two aspects of fashion activity in Klarendal: density and visibility. We will begin with discourse analysis: we will research fashion’s role and functions in Klarendal and Arnhem stemming from policy documents, semi-structured interviews and anonymous structured interviews. Then we will proceed with data analysis, researching the numbers of workers and businesses regarding fashion and design. Therefore, we will juxtapose the discourse with the actual figures, revealing more for the role of fashion in the developmental schemes of the district and the city in general. The last process though will be mainly left for chapter VIII: “Fashion in Urban Space”, where the reader will have already been introduced to all those notions and processes necessary to understand thoroughly how fashion impacts urban space.

What we aspire doing in this chapter, is to answer the initial research question: what is the level of fashion –and subsequently– creativity’s presence in Klarendal and Arnhem, and what does this presence (or lack of) mean? Answering this question entails a discourse analysis on policy documents and interviews (VI.2: What Fashion means for Klarendal and Arnhem) and data analysis (VI.3: Fashion and Design presence through numbers). To summarize all the above, we will firstly take a look on policy makers and influential actors’ view on fashion.

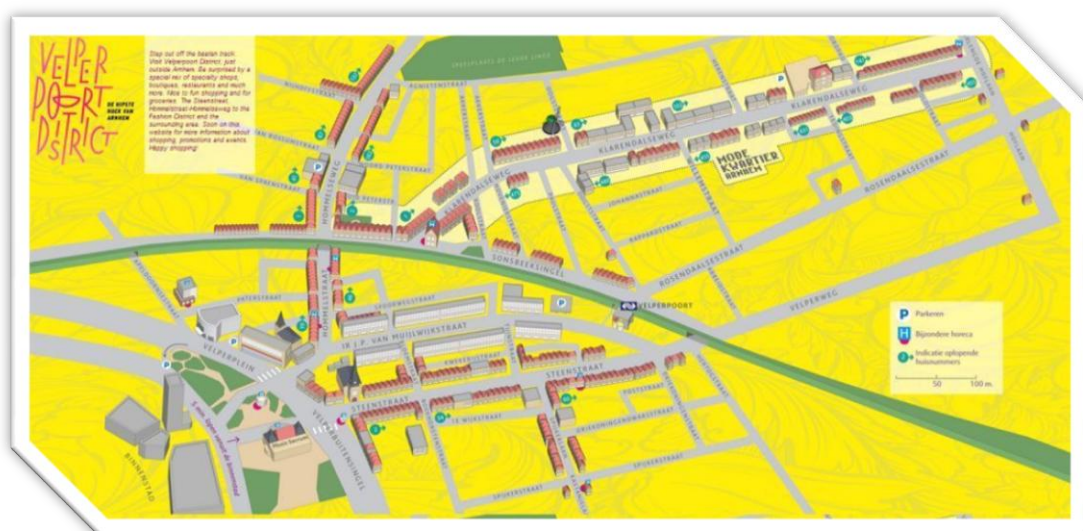
Then, we are going to juxtapose this view to the actual numbers; through this comparison, we will see what is the real meaning of fashion for the neighborhood **and** the city, as a discourse and as an economic practice.

2. What Fashion means for Klarendal and Arnhem

“...our idea was not to create a fashion quarter, our idea was to create a pleasant neighborhood [...], if we had to do it with butchers we would have the Butchers Quarter now...”
(Berry Kessels, 13/3/14)

From the quote above one can easily understand what fashion primarily stands for in Klarendal: as an urban renewal tool, a *vehicle* to livability. However, fashion as a cluster plays a crucial role not only in Klarendal but in Arnhem in general, and its role is far more complex than that of a mere renewal tool. Fashion and design changed the way Arnhem’s officials view the local economy, the city’s aesthetics, the board’s goals. Here we will discuss what fashion means for Klarendal and Arnhem; which forms it takes, where it helps, what are its impacts.

As one can see from the above, fashion is used in two ways: as an abstract theoretical notion, which is yet connected to the term’s literal meaning, and as an economic activity, which includes design as well. The activities classified under Fashion and Design cluster will be quoted in chapter VI.2: “Fashion and Design presence through numbers” (the next subchapter).



Map 2: Velperpoort District

Source: www.velperpoortdistrict.nl, accessed May 2014

The map shows the whole of the Velperpoort District, large part of which is the Fashion Quarter. The quarter mainly consists of three streets: Klarendalseweg, Hommelseweg and Hommelstraat. The municipality’s future plans include the improvement of the

Sonsbeeksingel, extending to the west (which serves as an entrance for those coming from the central station) and to the east (around the Velperpoort station). This street already hosts Hotel Modez and Café Caspar either way, two of the most important spots of the quarter. Administratively, Hommelstraat is not part of Klarendal as a district; however, this street is included in every plan conducted by Volkshuisvesting regarding the present and future of the Fashion Quarter.

Fashion as an urban renewal tool

Before 2000, residents and officials depicted Klarendal as an area of contrasts. On the one hand it was presented as a diverse neighborhood, an “area where many different people lived” (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14), a working class district that manages to maintain its original feeling (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14); an area with a huge potential, mainly due to its close proximity to the city center, its architecturally interesting houses and distinct character (a catholic neighborhood in a protestant city) (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14, Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14). On the other hand, Klarendal was characterized as a dangerous neighborhood, a no-go area (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14) with drug-related crime and low quality built environment (squalor, poorly maintained housing, lack of free spaces etc) (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14, Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14). Volkshuisvesting promised to “rejuvenate the shopping street (Klarendalseweg)” (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14); how were they going to do that? They did not know yet.

Why Fashion?

Richard Florida’s “The rise of the creative class” (2002) was an influential handbook for every policy maker at the time; officials in Arnhem along with Volkshuisvesting decided to proceed with the changes Klarendal needed through the capitalization of the creative classes residing there. Most of those creative people were just students of ArtEZ, however, there were some independent artists as well. The main reason for their presence there was the relative cheapness of the area and its proximity to the city center (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14). The problem was that their presence was not visible (Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14), which is something shown by the answers of the common folks in the neighborhood: almost no one had connected Klarendal with the arts and design. As Charly Tomassen (14/4/14) puts it, urban renewal in Klarendal is an improvement of a situation that was already there; a matter of *visibility* and *representation*.

Additionally, besides the practical reasons (population composition) for choosing fashion as the crucial element, there was something more: fashion is *by definition* attractive. Fashion is immediately connected with *good* aesthetics; this is exactly what Berry Kessels (13/3/14) means by saying that if they had to do it with butchers, they would have a Butchers’ Quarter there now, but in any case, he prefers fashion! Fashion, as an aesthetical factor, renders Klarendal attractive, but there is something more to it: fashion renders Klarendal attractive to the *right* people, those that the municipality and Volkshuisvesting want to attract. “You have to claim public space for *good* people, because if you leave it, *bad* people will take it” (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). This binary division hides much more than the fear of policy makers that Klarendal will revisit its *darker* days, and Mr. Kessels clarifies it by saying that if there are youngsters with *hoodies* at a square, even if they do not perform illegal activities, their mere

presence infuses people visiting the neighborhood with *feelings of insecurity* (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). Therefore, these groups of people (youngsters in hoodies for example) have to be marginalized. And the way to do that is through attracting the *right* people; the presence of “good” visitors marginalizes the presence of “bad” people gradually pushing them aside, making them invisible, or underrepresented (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). In Klarendal, fashion and similar functions (classy bars and restaurants) play exactly that role. As professor Justus Uitermark points out in various papers and interviews (Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2011, <http://www.thepolisblog.org/2011/11/polis-podcast-beta-social-justice-and.html>, accessed June 2014), campaigns of identity building lead to *exclusionary* policies. In other words, Klarendal is building a certain identity through fashion, which marginalizes population groups that do not fit in the newly consolidated environment. In this subchapter we will discuss fashion’s evident functions. In chapter VIII we will discuss the underlying processes.

Summarily, we see that fashion in Klarendal serves two main purposes: as an economic stimulator, and as a *vehicle* to livability.

Fashion’s functions

Fashion and Design is of dual nature: as an innovative and potent cluster, and as a state of mentality, a cultural factor (as mentioned before). Also, it means different things for Klarendal and Arnhem. Synoptically, Fashion and Design for Klarendal is mainly a vehicle for livability and a powerful economic development tool. For Arnhem, Fashion and Design is of threefold importance: it is a unique concept, one that the city can distinct itself with; it is non-replicable, since it is based on local schooling institutions (ArtEZ holds global fame); lastly, it has huge growth potential, since it is a cluster underdeveloped, *authentic*, and stands as the state of the art for the creative industries (Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14). In other words, Fashion and Design is a cluster which can drift the whole city higher; economically, symbolically (status-wise), even demographically (by attracting global talent). In this subchapter, we will see what it means for both spatial scales (district and city level).

Fashion’s importance relies on its urban planning and economic impacts. On the one hand, Fashion and Design cluster has been used by the municipality and the housing corporation as a vehicle to livability. Namely, this means that fashion is one of the main urban planning tools in the district, since Volkshuisvesting’s main goal for Klarendal was to enhance livability (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). On the other hand, Fashion and Design cluster is –in Klarendal–, the main economic stimulator. Through fashion all other non-residential uses are catalyzed (food and drink, hospitality businesses).

Let us start with the livability issue. At this point, it is important to define livability. Berry Kessels (13/3/14) states it is a “horrible term”. Indeed, as a term, livability is generally ill-defined (Uitermark, 2003, Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans, 2007); this very vagueness however, from my point of view, is not coincidental. The term livability, covered in a shroud of mystery, serves as an ideological construction: it is molded according to the purpose it occasionally serves. For some, it is linked with vibrancy (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14), or lack of feelings of insecurity (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14); in other cases it concerns the *quality* of population (Gemeente Arnhem, 2006). It generally refers to lack of feelings of insecurity, pleasantness, low probability of threats (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14, Uitermark, 2003). This probability of threats directly affects one’s “state of mind” when visiting the area. When

“people feel *comfortable* in the area, this is livability. When they look around, they see buildings that are well painted, they look good. When they look around (and) they do not see so much mess on the streets, this is also livability. (When) there are not so many people in the streets who create a nuisance, yell, (cause) fights...” (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). Livability, one could argue, is in the *eye of the beholder*: a rather non-measurable notion, definitely solipsistic; something which consists a problem since livability is the holy grail of urban planning nowadays.

It is important to define who these “people that feel comfortable in the area” are. At various times in policy texts and in interviews (see for example Studio Scale & Stipo 2011, Berry Kessels interview, Chris Zeevenhooven interview, Charly Tomassen interview) it is mentioned that fashion products do not concern the “Old Klarendalers”, people who were living in the neighborhood before 2000. Also, it mentioned that fashion and contiguous functions (bars and restaurants, other types of shops) attract people from outside the neighborhood. From personal observation I can confirm that the Modekwartier receives people from all over the city, mainly people from mid-upper classes. Therefore, feelings of insecurity are partially an ideological notion; it is important to clarify whom we are referring to, how these feelings are produced, and which way we are seeking to solve this conflict. Further clarification arises from the Economic Agenda of Arnhem 2015 (Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a), where it is mentioned that focusing on edgy and promising clusters (Fashion and Design, Energy and Environmental Technology for Arnhem) attracts higher educated labour, thus weaves a more *balanced* social web which in turn leads to “better quality of life in the city”. A one-dimensional connection between quality of labour force and quality of life in a city *in general*, has clear ideological implications. To further base our argumentation line, we have to mention that in various documents it is clearly depicted what a “livable neighborhood” means: consisted of “*better quality* tenants” (Gemeente Arnhem, 2006), with a “sharpened identity” (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14) etc.

Defiance of the social fabric brings conflicts; in the “New Power of Klarendal” (Studio Scale & Stipo, 2011) it is mentioned that old residents complain that the municipality and Volkshuisvesting show “more attention to new residents” (Studio Scale & Stipo, 2011), or from my anonymous interviews (Focus Group 2, 17/5/14) people have mentioned double standards when it comes to entrepreneurs (use of pavements, shop signs regulations etc). The proportion of social housing is also an issue affected by the livability debates. The housing corporation itself, and the municipality even more, have repeatedly mentioned that there is “too much” social housing (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14, Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14). Social housing has been connected, in the contemporary Dutch framework, with a lack of livability (Uitermark, 2003, Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans, 2007). Problems connected with poverty are being solved by limiting social housing (Uitermark, 2003, Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans, 2007) instead of implementing social policies. Volkshuisvesting in Klarendal is following the same line: “(P)eople with little money usually have more problems than people with money. That’s a fact” (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). And indeed, social housing in Klarendal, is dropping rapidly (arnhem.incijfers.nl, accessed April 2014).

As long as “feelings of insecurity” and “livability” remain unchallenged notions, they lead to exclusion and manifestation of hegemony. Or to articulate it otherwise, livability as an ideological construction is one of the most prominent facilitators of gentrification (Uitermark, 2003, 2007); the chase of livability more or less leads to exclusionary tactics, and as we can see in our case in Klarendal as well. Tenant profiling and selective exclusion (Rob Klinge,

7/4/14) with the excuse of “streets of concentrated problems” (Rob Klingen, 7/4/14) is one example where livability and “fashion-driven” neighborhood status justifies exclusionary tactics. But we will come back to fashion’s ideological implications later; there, we will clarify the ideological projections of fashion’s functions in Klarendal (fashion conceptualized through aesthetics, ideology and economy). As for now, it is nevertheless not *just* to condemn the municipality and Volkshuisvesting so easily; several programs are running in order to help the lower social classes of Klarendal; social workers are also close to the people of the neighborhood. Later, we will try to approach the ideological aspects of the issue in a more complex and holistic way, as the inherent injustice of gentrification and urban renewal narratives derive also from far more deeply rooted mechanisms.

Besides those implications, fashion has a much more tactile impact on livability: on the one hand, through vibrancy, which is enhanced by commercial traffic (number of visitors and locals walking through the neighborhood); on the other, through the influx of creative people (Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14). The former simply means that vibrancy renders places safer. Neighborhoods where is a considerable volume of visitors, where the local residents are using public spaces in their everyday life, are in most of cases safer (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14). Districts where the streets are empty, and there are no shops or places potent to attract people, are more vulnerable to a downfall. This simple aspect of vibrancy was one of the most important reasons why the municipality so strongly supported the revival of the commercial streets; vibrancy was deemed the only way possible to render the streets of Klarendal safe once again (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14).

As for the latter (livability through the influx of creative people), Esther Ruiten (7/4/14), even though does not state clearly that the creative classes change the culture of a neighborhood, points out that some activities they undertake can have a decisive impact on a neighborhood. Specifically in Klarendal, she mentions that those newcomers organized the area (mainly through events), improved the visibility, attracted visitors. Therefore, for the municipality, it is not their social attributes that change the neighborhood but their activities. I may add here, that changes through the newcomers’ social attributes, should be visible in depth of time. However, the same does not apply for the policies implemented in order to *support* those very attributes (as we saw in the end of chapter V: double standards for entrepreneurs, locals complaining that authorities “pay more attention” to the fashion designers).

Fashion also plays the role of an economic stimulator. This takes mainly four forms: fashion as an (*the*) entrepreneurship stimulator, as an attractive element that enhances commercial traffic, as a prominent link between local education institutions and economy/labour market and as a producer of innovation throughout the whole spectrum of the local economy (cooperation between traditional sectors and promising clusters) (Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a, 2010b). Firstly, it must be pointed out that fashion is already synonymous to entrepreneurship in Klarendal. The Mode Incubator who provides knowledge for starting entrepreneurs is the most evident manifestation of this function. The municipality and Volkshuisvesting are counting a lot on start up programs (as presented in chapter V). As Esther Ruiten (7/4/14) puts it, Fashion and Design cluster has a huge growth potential when it comes to employment and businesses (Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a). Chris Zeevenhooven (20/3/14) mentioned that due to the area’s entrepreneurship tradition, when the municipality called for new businesses, those rose up “like mushrooms” in the neighborhood. Fashion in

Klarendal served exactly that role: to re-establish the entrepreneurial spirit that was long gone from the neighborhood and revive its vibrant shopping streets.

Regaining vibrancy was attained by attracting visitors from all over the city, and even beyond that. It is a fact that commercial traffic has sharply increased after the establishment of the Fashion Quarter. Consumers are attracted not only by the designers' shops, but by the fancy bars and restaurants that opened to imbibe the amount of visitors, and furthermore by events that are –directly or not– related to fashion (Night of Fashion, parts of Arnhem's Mode Biennale etc). There is a division in opinions though, as to whether the most powerful weapon of Klarendal is its distinct restaurants/cafes (Goed Proven, Caspar, Sugar Hill, TAPE) or its unique fashion shops. The truth is that restaurants such as the Goed Proven changed the course of the neighborhood; its opening is remembered as an important day for the fate of the quarter (Berry Kessels, 2012). Moreover, the volume of visitors for the restaurants may be bigger than those for the fashion shops (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14), however, it is unarguable that those fashion shops infused Klarendal with *their* distinct aroma; without those, it is uncertain if Klarendal would have acquired this status in the first place. And even if vibrancy finally managed to penetrate the veil of Klarendal's introversion, rendering it attractive to the potential customers of such restaurants, still something would be missing from the neighborhood. It is difficult, but possible for an area to rely on gastronomy as its driving force; however, how original this idea looks? On the contrary, when gastronomy serves as a secondary function alongside an appealing consumption environment shaped by an innovative concept, both ends can profit from each other, and foodservice entrepreneurs seem to realize this interdependence (Walter de Bes, 7/5/14). Therefore fashion serves as the **central distinguishing feature** of Klarendal's gentrification.

Thridly, fashion stands as the most prominent link between local education institutions and local economy. By choosing to invest in Fashion and Design, the municipality seeks to keep in Arnhem that talent that is already incubated there. However, since Arnhem does not hold a strong trademark, neither is among the important fashion centers of Europe, this move contains a lot of risk. Until today, the vast majority of ArtEZ graduates leaves Arnhem for Amsterdam (or Rotterdam) and later for the prominent fashion centers of Europe (Hans Ansems, 24/2/14, Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14, Organza, 2012); the municipality seeks to reverse this tendency, aiming to *keep talent* in the city; this is one of the most prominent aspects of today's urban strategic planning (Thrift 2008, Florida 2000). Although risky, since the danger of failing at this task –especially in the context of such a peculiar cluster as Fashion and Design–, this move nonetheless seems logical; the authorities saw what the opportunities of the city were, and identified the huge potential of ArtEZ among those (Studio Scale & Stipo 2011, Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a). On the one hand, it is a tricky task to territorialize fashion and relate a city to it; few are the examples of true fashion cities in Europe (Jansson & Power, 2010). Even in Antwerp, years had to pass until it acquired the image of a fashion city (Martinez, 2007). On the other, investing on Fashion and Design means that the authorities are trying to capitalize on the talent breeding in the city. Besides the risk, the growth potential is sheer (Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a); and Arnhem has the advantage of the ArtEZ being a *globally renowned* arts academy.

Lastly, the municipality and ARCCI (Arnhem's Center for the Creative industries) actively encourage intensive cooperation between promising clusters and traditional sectors of the local economy (Organza, 2012, Esther Ruiten 7/4/14). For example, fashion designers are encouraged to work together with textile, coloring, or other craft industries of the surrounding

area. Moreover, the authorities trust that this intertwining will spill innovation throughout the economy, converting innovation from an issue of a few potent clusters to an element impacting the spectrum of economy horizontally.

Besides those two highly important functions (as an urban planning tool and as an economic stimulator) fashion serves, there is a series of other notable ones. Fashion in Klarendal and in Arnhem builds the creativity pool, define the branding options and holds high symbolical value.

Before we saw how fashion leads to the capitalization of the creativity stocks in Arnhem. How it is a way of not only making use of, but providing incentives to attract and “capture” more creativity in Arnhem. The municipality (as we saw in chapter V) created spaces especially for fashion designers, so that they could stay in Arnhem and *develop more and more*. This way, it started keeping talent instead of only producing it (Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14). Keeping talent in town that would otherwise leave means that the labour force composition of Arnhem will gradually change: the proportion of creative workers will increase. Already, the creative workers make up for 25% of the total labour force of Arnhem (Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a). Furthermore, as Florida indicates (2000), talent attracts talent: Fashion and Design cluster activity will attract –as long as Arnhem has the amenities to support this influx– more creative people (Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14). Fashion fosters creativity not only as in labour force, but as a mentality as well; capacity for innovation increases exponentially and not numerically. That means the limits of innovation will be raised by fostering creativity.

It was mentioned earlier, in the beginning of Fashion’s Functions part: “For Arnhem, Fashion and Design is of threefold importance: it is a **unique** concept, one that the city can **distinct** itself with; it is **non-replicable**, since it is based on local schooling institutions (like the ArtEZ which has global fame); lastly, it has huge growth potential, since it is a cluster underdeveloped, **authentic**, and stands as the state of the art for the creative industries” (based on Esther Ruiten’s view, 7/4/14). The words unique, distinct, non-replicable, authentic, stick out in the text: they constitute some powerful branding weapons. We will analyze their importance later (in Chapter VII about the creative class); here, I will synoptically present fashion’s impact in branding options and status of Arnhem and Klarendal.

The first thing that crosses one’s mind is the brand name of the Fashion Quarter. Arnhem’s authorities have invested a lot in fashion’s power (uniqueness, authenticity, distinguishing capacity, non-reproducible) and the project gains fame steadily. Most of the creative entrepreneurs that settled in Klarendal long after the Fashion Quarter’s opening in 2006, mentioned that the brand name of the project was one of the most important elements attracting them (Focus Group 1, 24/5/14, Charly Tomassen, 14/5/14, Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14, Walter de Bes, 7/5/14). Many of them also stated that the Modekwartier is known beyond the narrow boundaries of Arnhem (Focus Group 1, 24/5/14), even though there the opinions are divided, mainly depending on the type of business (let it be pastry designer, clothes designer, furniture designer, flower bouquets’ designer, bike shop, bar owner etc, the opinion is different). Beyond Klarendal, Arnhem itself desires to consolidate itself as the “Fashion City” of the Netherlands (Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14). However, that is debatable, as Fashion and Design cluster businesses in Arnhem comprise some 1,89% of the total number of related businesses in the Netherlands; a proportion lower than Amsterdam (18,75%), Rotterdam (5,87%), ‘s-Gravenhage (4,55%), Utrecht (4,17%), Eindhoven (2,84%) and Haarlem (2,18%) (Snijders, 2013). Nevertheless, the image of Arnhem as a fashion related city is gradually rising; even if

the city is not attracting yet a notable number of fashion designers or related employees from other cities (or even countries, since these groups of workers are highly mobile), it is definitely gaining fame, mainly through the Fashion Quarter (Focus Group 1, 24/5/14).

Additionally, fashion not only attaches Klarendal a higher status, but also renders it a status elevator. ArtEZ graduates in many occasions are using the Modekwartier as a stepping stone before going to a more prominent fashion center such as Amsterdam or Rotterdam (Walter de Bes, 7/5/14). We have to note here that the department of Fashion and Design in ArtEZ was founded in 1953 and it is already a prominent school at a global level (Hans Ansems, 24/2/14, Berry Kessels, 13/3/14, Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14, Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14, Walter de Bes, 7/5/14, Charly Tomassen, 14/5/14, Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a); its students certainly do not need the Fashion Quarter to move on from Arnhem to a prestigious fashion house. However, as the quarter's status is elevated, and in an uncertain economic environment, many graduates choose to wait for their big step (Focus Group 1, 24/5/14). In any case, as long as the fame of the Fashion Quarter is growing stronger, the number of young entrepreneurs deciding to leave Klarendal for other environments will grow thinner. This is either way the municipality's goal; to render Arnhem home for talent bred either in the city itself or elsewhere.

Fashion, besides its tangible output in the neighborhood, holds great symbolic value. During 2006, right before the Fashion and Design cluster was crystallized in Klarendal in the form of the 100% Mode program, fashion functioned as "a keyword to bring people together; young people, creative people. It worked as a way of communication" (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14). This is becoming evident if one takes under consideration that the 100% Mode program, which changed the face of Klarendal by establishing the Fashion Quarter, is not even solely about fashion. As Walter de Bes (7/5/14) indicated, the word "mode" refers not only to fashion, but crafting in general (and beyond that symbolically we would add). In Klarendal, fashion designers' ateliers, photographers' studios and models' agencies coexist with businesses revolving around furniture design, flowers bouquet design, pastry design; youthful bars and cafes, sophisticated bakeries, innovative hotels and *witty* restaurants. In other words, under the umbrella of a fashion context, one can discover a neighborhood environment that is based on **fashion** (in its literal sense), **crafting** (in its wider sense) and **foodservice** and **hospitality**. What those entrepreneurial endeavors share in common, is the innovative and creative spirit of a starter's enthusiasm. A youthful entrepreneurial vibe is floating around the neighborhood; that is what makes Klarendal distinguishable from the city center (Walter de Bes, 7/5/14). As one can understand, all those designations and fancy adjectives are not something tactile; they derive from the discourse the local entrepreneurs, city officials and Volkshuisvesting make use of; those actors infuse fashion with its symbolic value. But there are practical reasons for doing so.

Fashion in Klarendal stands as the catalyst of those non-residential functions; when the local dwellers asked the municipality to correct the wrong doings of past decades, one of their demands was sticking out: to restore the vibrancy of the old shopping streets. The municipality replied with a vision that was not completely compatible with the one of the residents: both wanted the vibrancy back, but they disagreed on the type of shops that could be established there. For various reasons, the old types of businesses could not return; the 2000s was not the *era* for local grocery stores, butchers and bakeries (although the latter finally found their way into the neighborhood) (Studio Scale & Stipo, 2011). The municipality and Volkshuisvesting (even current entrepreneurs) attributed the inability to

provide these types of shops to the reluctance of the very Klarendalers to visit those (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14, Charly Tomassen, 14/5/14, Walter de Bes, 7/5/14). In any case, fashion contributed to the revival of this old entrepreneurial spirit. Pretty quick, fashion became synonymous to entrepreneurship in Klarendal; even the local dwellers, although skeptic, appreciated the vibrancy which also brought a covetable safety. Therefore, fashion stands not only as a promising economic activity or a livability boost for the neighborhood, but holds as well a very powerful symbolic value already.

To conclude, we saw some of fashion's most important functions in Klarendal and Arnhem. From those, two are the basic: fashion as a vehicle to livability and as an economic stimulator. The first means that the fashion concept paves the way for vibrancy to establish a safe environment (therefore *livable*), that the influx of creative people turns Klarendal into a vibrant and attractive center and that fashion intertwined with livability serve as an ideological construction facilitating gentrification in Klarendal. The second means that fashion works as an entrepreneurial stimulator, that through its attractiveness brings commercial traffic to Klarendal, that it is an ideal link between local education institutions and local economy and that it works as a producer and stimulator of innovation and creativity. Besides those, Klarendal shapes the "creativity pool" by changing the workforce composition, keeping and attracting further talent (talent attracts talent by Florida) and raising the limits of innovation. It also offers widened branding options to Klarendal and Arnhem through its aspects: unique, creating distinct environments, non-replicable, authentic; the "Modekwartier" brand name and Arnhem as a "Fashion City" are prominent examples. Lastly, fashion holds high symbolical value, serving as a code of communication that brings creative and young people together, and most importantly keeping the old entrepreneurial spirit of Klarendal alive.

3. Fashion and Design presence through numbers

As we saw in the previous subchapters, Fashion and Design cluster has a very significant role in Klarendal and Arnhem. In this subchapter, we will see the actual presence of Fashion and Design through statistical data.

Methodology/ Approach

Four different ways will be used to evaluate fashion and design's presence in Klarendal and Arnhem: through total numbers, shares, Location Quotients (LQ) and the Weighted Coefficient of Variation (CVw). First three ways will be implemented on businesses and workers in the Fashion and Design cluster (FnD) (generally) and the design sector (ontwerp/vormgeving, OV) (more specifically). The last one (CVw) will be used to study the temporal evolution of dispersion of FnD and OV businesses and workers dispersion citywide. In other words, the index will show if relative businesses and workers tend to concentrate or disperse over time. The data used are retrieved from the municipality's database (<http://arnhem.incijfers.nl>), Snijders' (2013) report for ARCCI, "In search of the creative power of Gelderland" and the Fashion Quarter's official website (<http://modekwartier.nl/>). Data stemming from Snijders (2013) refer to 2010 unless indicated otherwise. Hereby, we will explain the indexes used.

$$LQ_{ir} = \frac{E_{id}/E_d}{E_{ic}/E_c}$$

E_{id} is the number of FnD/ OV workers or businesses in district (d)

E_d is the total number of workers or businesses in district (d)

E_{ic} is the number of FnD/ OV workers or businesses in the entire city (c)

E_c is the total number of workers or businesses in the entire city (c)

The Location Quotient index (LQ) is one of the most commonly used indexes. It gives the share of a sector in a district in relation to the share of the same sector in the whole city. The same index is used by ARCCI to research fashion presence in Arnhem compared to other Dutch

regions (Snijders, 2013). By using this index, we can locate the districts with high concentration of businesses or workers. If LQ scores below 1, it means that there is low concentration in the specific district, as the quotient is below the city average. If it exceeds 1, it means that the share of fashion businesses/workers is above average, therefore there is high concentration there. Thereby, if LQ scores 1, the share of relative businesses or workers in the district under research is exactly equal to the respective share citywide. Summarily, the LQ index evaluates the performance of districts in conjunction to the city's average.

$$CV_w = \left[\sum_t (X_t - \bar{X})^2 \cdot \left(\frac{P_t}{P} \right) \right]^{1/2} / \bar{X}$$

X_{it} is the number of FnD/ OV workers or businesses in district (d)

\bar{X} is the average number of FnD/ OV workers or businesses (at city level)

P_t is the district's population

P is the city's population

t is the reference period

The Weighted Coefficient of Variation (CVw) is another commonly used index when it comes to regional inequalities. It measures the dispersion of observations around the average. The Weighted Coefficient of

Variation has two main features: firstly, each district is weighted by its population, therefore, districts' scores do not hold equal importance. Secondly, it is a suitable way of showing the temporal evolution of the phenomena under research, since it includes the variable (t). The index values range from 0 (if there is perfectly balanced dispersion) to infinite (if there are sheer inequalities in dispersion).

We will start with the Fashion and Design cluster, as recorded in the municipality database (<http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, accessed June 2014). This cluster includes design and production of textiles and clothing (ontwerp en productie van textiel en kleding), trade in textiles and clothing (handel in textiel en kleding), other trade (handel overig) and design (ontwerp, vormgeving). The last activity (design), may refer to industrial design (SBI code 74.10) or may not; that is, because the numbers differ between the municipality's database and the ARCCI's report on Gelderland's creativity performance (Snijders, 2013); and in the latter, it is clearly stated that the numbers refer to industrial design (74.10: Industrieel ontwerp en vormgeving). Industrial and fashion design include interior design, interior decoration and architecture (ontwerpen van interieurs, binnenhuisarchitectuur), design of fashion products, clothing, shoes, hats (ontwerpen van modeartikelen, kleding, schoenen, hoeden voor persoonlijk gebruik), fashion advice (kledingadviezen), design and production of patterns and designs of customized clothing (ontwerpen en productie van patronen en modellen voor de maatconfectie industrie), graphic design (grafisch ontwerp) and furniture design (ontwerpen van meubels).

The main difference between ARCCI and Gemeente (municipality) classification is that the former (ARCCI) does not include trade. It is obvious that the municipality has clothing retail in mind as well, when referring to Arnhem as a Fashion City. We will avoid engaging

with this dubious argument; therefore we will include both types of classification in our analysis. As expected, those two approaches will give different findings; however, these discrepancies will also be part of our research on Arnhem's fashion discourse.

Klarendal

Klarendal is the locus of fashion branding in Arnhem. As we saw in previous chapters, fashion designers' activities are planned to be concentrated there, in order to avoid competition with other districts (Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14). Today, the fashion related businesses there are 76 (<http://modekwartier.nl/>, accessed June 2014). From those, 44 are shops, 17 workshops (ateliers), 4 catering and hospitality businesses and 11 other functions. More precisely, from 44 shops, 6 concern high fashion, 8 green fashion, 2 customized/ vintage clothing, 2 streetwear/urban, 2 bags, 2 hats, 8 accessories, 10 design and interior and 4 other themes (such as bicycles shops etc) (<http://modekwartier.nl/>, accessed June 2014). The vast majority of shops refer to fashion (as related to clothing and similar themes), but there is a notable number of crafting related shops (furniture design or bike designing for example). From 17 workshops, 6 are related to fashion, 6 to product design, 2 to art and 3 to other themes (for example photography or furniture restoration) (<http://modekwartier.nl/>, accessed June 2014). Spatially, almost all shops are situated on the Hommelstraat-Sonsbeeksingel-Klarendalseweg axis (Sonsbeeksingel refers to the part which connects Hommelstraat and Klarendalseweg and not the whole street) (Map 2 of the Appendix). Ateliers are a bit more scattered in the neighborhood, as some of them are located in alleyways instead of the main streets; their function is either way different, as most of them are available after conducting an appointment. However, also most of the ateliers can be found in the main axis (Map 3 of the Appendix). As we see, the Fashion District is not only about fashion production products but retail as well. The *obvious* goal is to establish a fashion-themed territory; the visibility of fashion related activities is actually more important than their numbers (hence used the term 'themed') (Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14). Therefore, the classification of retail functions as part of the Fashion and Design cluster (in the municipality's database, <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>) is perfectly justifiable.

The number of FnD (Fashion and Design cluster as depicted in <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, see above) businesses during the period 2004-13 (this reference period was chosen because of the 100% Mode program, hence two time references: one right before (2004) one of the latest available data) increased slightly; from 40 to 70 (Table 1). Here we must note that in 2004, the municipality data show that there were already 40 businesses related to fashion in the district. This reminds us of what Charly Tomassen (15/4/14) said: the Fashion Quarter project was the improvement of an already existing situation (regarding the fashion activity). The share of FnD businesses in the area however dropped (Table 1); a sign that, either fashion activity cannot keep up with the pace of the rest of the economic activity in Klarendal or that the district is starting to rely in a more diverse economic model. Evidence however, lead us to support the first scenario, as policy planning is strongly focusing on fashion entrepreneurship (the proliferation of FnD businesses) (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14, Charly tomassen, 15/4/14, Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14). The LQ quotients are showing the same: from 1,13 in 2004, the index's score dropped to 1,07 in 2013 (Table 1). Even though the decrease is slow and subtle, this is certainly bad news for the Fashion Quarter. Compared to other districts, Klarendal does not stick out in terms of numbers; even worse, since the share of FnD businesses in Klarendal fell back during the Fashion Quarter project (2005- today), the district

got “fashion-wise” weaker at the city level (Table 1). Conclusively, on the one hand FnD businesses almost doubled during the 2004-13 period (by 96,97%) –as an outcome of policy planning–, but on the other, numbers show limited activity (70 businesses while in other districts there are multiple more).

The number of FnD workers increased slightly as well; from 70 in 2004 to 90 in 2013 (Table 2), similarly to FnD businesses. The most interesting element is that the number of FnD workers slightly exceeds that of businesses (Tables 1, 2). Which means that either workers in FnD businesses of Klarendal live elsewhere, or that FnD businesses in Klarendal employ a very small number of people (which is very probable through personal observation); which deconstructs the argument of labour growth through fashion activity (Economische Agenda 2015, 2009). Moreover, the average disposable income in the district is diachronically too low, even if it raised a bit from 2007 (22,8) to 2011 (24,1). However, unemployment rate in Klarendal (as shown in Table 10) is decreased in the long run, even though it is still above city’s average. Klarendal had the second highest unemployment rate in 2001 (14,4%) after Malubrgen West; in 2014, with 10,4%, even though still above average, Klarendal had “overtaken” many districts (areas around Presikhaaf and Malburgen, or Geitenkamp as well). So, as we can see, neighborhood development programs may have managed to tackle the unemployment issue, but they did not solve the low income problem. To return to Klarendal’s labour market performance, the proportion of FnD workers in Klarendal increased slightly (4,46% in 2004, 5,26% in 2013). Compared to other districts, Klarendal does not hold any significant concentration of FnD workers, but it is worth noting that in 2004 the concentration was below average (LQ 0,93) while in 2013 it was above (LQ 1,14).

As mentioned before in the methodology, Fashion and Design cluster alone cannot give us a clear picture of fashion activity in Arnhem; trade activity blurs the picture, and even though retail is included in the municipality’s strategic planning concerning fashion, from my point of view, it is not the most important element: design numbers will show us the production activity in Klarendal. So, regarding OV businesses, data show a slight increase in numbers (2004: 40, 2013: 60) (Table 5). It is obvious for the biggest part (60 out of 70 in 2013), Fashion and Design cluster in Klarendal concerns design (OV); interestingly enough, this is a “peculiarity” of Klarendal, as we will see below. Shops situated in the district, are classified as production establishments; quite rightly, from my point of view, as those shops are just the showcases for workshops. Still, as one can see, data reveal an already existing activity in the district before Modekwartier emerging (in 2005). Klarendal is not among the districts with high numbers (those are Burgemeesterswijk, Velperweg, Centrum and Spijkerviertel, Table 7). Share of OV businesses is dropping (2004: 12,12%, 2013: 9,23%), following the general situation in FnD businesses (Table 1, 5). However, it must be noted that despite this decrease, Klarendal had the **highest** concentration citywide in 2004 (LQ 1,95) and the third highest in 2013 (LQ 1,35) (Table 7). It must be noted that even though the number of FnD and OV businesses did not increase importantly, the aim of livability was (at least partially) achieved; and that was the goal from the start. Fashion activity had a limit, because it was focused on the Hommelstraat-Sonsbeeksingel-Klarendalseweg axis and not dispersed all over the neighborhood. It is also notable though, that St. Marten for example, without a project such as the Modekwartier, reached the same number of OV businesses in 2013 even though it had only 20 in 2004 (while Klarendal had 40) (Table 7).

Situation in OV workers is even worse: from 2004 to 2013, workers in the relevant sector increased by 10 (2004: 60, 2013: 70, Table 6)! As in FnD workers, the number of OV workers is marginally higher than the one of OV businesses. However, due to the small increase of the total number of workers in Klarendal, the share of OV workers expanded (2004: 3,82%, 2013: 4,09%) (Table 6). Klarendal is not among the districts with the highest numbers of OV workers, not in 2004, nor in 2013 (those mainly are Burgemeesterswijk, Velperweg, Arnhemse Broek) (Table 8). The district is also not among those with high shares (among those, Burgemeesterswijk sticks out) (Table 8). Location Quotients show that Klarendal is above average regarding OV workers; 1,38 in 2004 and 1,45 in 2013; but that does not mean a lot since many districts have 0 to 20 OV workers dropping the average level dramatically. It is indicative that in 2013, 9 districts had more OV workers than Klarendal (Table 8). In any case, Klarendal's share of OV workers is not among the highest in Arnhem (as it happens for example with the respective share of OV businesses).

Arnhem

Arnhem relies a lot on its branding image as a creative city; fashion and design is part of this creativity. Here, we will see the position of Arnhem in a national context and overall performance regarding fashion activity. Firstly, fashion and design (mode en vormgeving, SBI code 7410) sector businesses in Arnhem represent some 1,89% of all the country's respective businesses; a proportion lower than the ones of Amsterdam (18,75%), Rotterdam (5,87%), 's-Gravenhage (4,55%), Utrecht (4,17%), Eindhoven (2,84%) and Haarlem (2,18%) (Snijders, 2013). However, the location quotient (LQ) of industrial design businesses in Arnhem (2,34) is the second highest in the Netherlands after Amsterdam (2,56), which shows that Arnhem performs adequately **for its size**. Does that suffice to justify the Fashion City discourse? Certainly not, from our point of view, but it shows future potential. The truth is that fashion activity can be more safely measured by the impact of locally situated brands rather than fashion businesses numbers; and those, brands of important influence, Arnhem has a lot (Humanoid, Gsus, Spijkers & Spijkers, People of the Labyrinth, Viktor & Rolf etc) (Economische Agenda 2015, 2009). As mentioned earlier, ArteEZ can be the driving force for consolidating Arnhem among the important fashion and design centers in the Netherlands.

Regarding the municipality's data, FnD businesses in Arnhem are constantly increasing; in fact, they did by 49%, or from 880 to 1.310, during the 2004 to 2013 period (Table 3). However, and this is worth noticing, the share of FnD businesses is dropping due to an even sharper increase in overall number of businesses in Arnhem: 58% change during the same period (Table 3). The most important districts in terms of FnD businesses numbers are: Centrum and Spijkerviertel (Table 3). Dispersion of FnD businesses in Arnhem acquired a bit more equilibrium in 2013 (CVw: 0,90) compared to 2004 (CVw: 1,09) (Table 3). In terms of concentrations, Centrum, Malburgen-West and Klingerbeek stick out (Table 3). FnD workers numbers are barely increasing; from 4.580 in 2004 they got 4.620 in 2013 while reaching a peak in 2007 (5.200) (Table 2). The share of FnD workers however did not drop significantly, due to the slow augmentation in the overall number of workers in Arnhem (95.900 in 2004, 99.840 in 2013, 4% increase) (Table 2). It is evident that Arnhem fails to attract or produce (and keep in the city) fashion related skilled labour force. Dispersion of FnD workers followed the same patterns from 2004 to 2013; CVw values did not vary significantly (6,98 in 2004, 6,91 in 2013) (Table 4). As one can see though, by the high values of the CVw index, the dispersion of FnD workers is imbalanced (in any case, much more than

the respective one of FnD businesses). Most prominent districts in terms of concentrations: Elderveld (its share dropped dramatically in 2013 though), Burgemeesterswijk and Velperweg (Table 4). OV businesses increased significantly by 74,5% (510 in 2004, 890 in 2013) (Table 5). The share of OV businesses raised as well despite the overall sharp increase of businesses in Arnhem. CVw values show a more balanced allocation in 2013 (0,66) than in 2004 (0,84) (Table 7); nevertheless, the dispersion of OV businesses was already balanced (CVw values are close to 0 for both 2004 and 2013). In 2013, the most important districts in terms of OV businesses numbers were Velperweg (90), Spijkerviertel and Burgemeesterswijk (80) (Table 7). In terms of OV workers, we see a more subtle increase in numbers (2.660 in 2004, 2.860 in 2013, 6% increase) (Table 8). The variation follows the patterns of FnD workers and all workers in general (slight increases). The same applies to OV workers' share. CVw values show no notable variation (1,45 to 1,47 from 2004 to 2013). Most important districts in terms of OV workers' numbers in 2013 were: Velperweg (650), Burgermeesterswijk (500) and Arnhemse Broek (370) (Table 8).

4. Conclusions

For Klarendal, what we must keep from the analysis is that there is a high concentration of OV businesses; which shows, that in Klarendal specifically, most fashion establishments refer to production rather than just retail. On the other hand, it is important to note that there is no significant increase in the numbers of OV workers (for 2004-13). For the FnD cluster in total, we must keep that relevant businesses' share is declining, and that workers' share increased over the 2004-13 period, getting finally above city's average. In general, numbers in Klarendal are low, which confirms that **local policies aim for high visibility and attractiveness and not necessarily for high numbers** (as Esther Ruiten admits, 7/4/14). Summarily, the Fashion Quarter concerns livability as much as fashion; livability in order to improve Klarendal, and fashion in order to enhance Arnhem status (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14, Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14).

For Arnhem, we should keep that there is a sharp increase in FnD (generally) and OV (specifically) businesses. On the other hand though, FnD workers' numbers remain stagnant; a striking fact considering the aspired status of Arnhem as a fashion city. In terms of dispersion, FnD workers' allocation show important district disparities; fashion employees prefer *specific* areas, and we cannot say that Klarendal is among them yet. On the contrary, FnD and OV businesses' dispersion can be characterized as quite balanced; **fashion production and retail takes place all over the city, so there are no enclaves of fashion**. In conclusion, even though fashion businesses increased sharply, stagnated fashion workers' numbers show a gradual shrinkage of fashion businesses size (Gemeente Arnhem, 2012c, p.131), which could mark a **turn to a small, specialized and flexible business model**. At a national level, Arnhem holds a very small share of fashion and design businesses, but nonetheless performs good for its size. But do all of the above suffice for Arnhem to proclaim itself as a fashion city (even more as the fashion city)? Certainly not, since the number of workers is stagnated. However, we should point out that the recent financial crisis of 2008 played a crucial role in that, as the numbers got downwards after 2009. It is yet to be seen if Arnhem manages to consolidate itself in the world of Dutch fashion in the following years; the advantage of having ArtEZ is very important to be ignored.

VII. BEYOND FASHION: THE CREATIVE CLASS

1. Intro

In the previous chapter we researched Fashion and Design cluster's presence in Klarendal and Arnhem. We also discussed its multifarious importance for the district and the city. Here we will research the presence and impact of the creative classes in Arnhem (and secondarily for Klarendal, for reasons that will be explained below). The purpose this chapter serves is to introduce the reader to the impact of creativity on cities, in order afterwards, in chapter VIII, to research more specifically, the implications of fashion (as part of creativity) for urban space. Fashion and design are not the only creative aspects of the city; fashion is not the whole story. In order to understand Klarendal's transformation in its entirety and place it within the city's context, we have to see into the creative industries. Arnhem is placed among the nine cultural cities of the Netherlands; it also has a position in the national policy for the stimulation of creative industries; it hosts important and renowned companies in dance, music and theater. So there is a lot more than fashion.

In this chapter we will explain how is the initial research question (What is the level of fashion –and subsequently– creativity's presence in Klarendal and Arnhem, and what does this presence (or lack of) mean?) connected with the main one (How the Fashion Quarter facilitates gentrification in Klarendal in terms of economy, social stratification and aesthetics and what are the implications of it?). Therefore, since we saw that the Fashion Quarter functions in terms of visibility and attractiveness, **the purpose of this chapter is to draw a link between attractiveness and gentrification.** We will do that by juxtaposing discourse and numbers of the Creative Industries (as we did in the previous chapter). Afterwards, we will consult the literature to draw practical insights.

In this chapter we will widen our perspective. By Thematically-wise we mean from fashion to creativity, from the FnD Cluster to the Creative Industries and from fashion designers to creative class. Spatially-wise, the widening of perspective refers to the shift from a local scale (district and city wide) to a wider context. Arnhem competes with other Dutch cities in creativity and innovation production; why that is so important will be explained later (VIII.3: What Creativity means for Arnhem). Besides this scale though, Arnhem has to earn its place in a global framework. The dawn of the postfordist era and the intensified globalization have made labour mobility much easier, and the dominance of the tertiary sector of the economy rendered talent as the ultimate factor of success (scholastic blue collars of the fordist era opposed to talented or creative white collars). Thus, Arnhem, embedded in a global context, is not only competing other urban cores in production (production of innovation, production of talent and production of intellectual or tangible goods) but also in attracting talented labor.

Summarily, firstly we will research the numbers of creativity in Arnhem (and less in Klarendal). Then we will see why (or if) creativity is important for Arnhem, and we will do that through scrutinizing the discourse (from interviews and policy documents). In order to support our findings, we will draw insights from the literature (to see if the authorities' view on creativity is based on wider trends). In the end, we will link creativity to gentrification, through the creative classes. This way, we will connect our case study (attractiveness of the

Fashion Quarter) with gentrification, thus, in the next chapter, to see in which ways this link functions.

2. Creative Industry cluster through numbers

Methodology/ Approach

Statistics will be used as in the previous chapter (VI.3: Fashion and Design presence through numbers). We will see into the Creative Industry businesses and workers numbers for Klarendal and Arnhem. Most of the data come from the municipality's database (<http://arnhem.incijfers.nl>). Data concerning creativity at national scale come from Snijders (2013) and refer to 2010, and data regarding Arnhem student numbers and creativity figures come from Swiggers (2013).

It is useful though, before starting, to define the Creative Industry cluster. Creative Industries' activities are named those based on the creative capacity of individuals, groups, companies and organizations (Braams & Urlings, 2010) and their potential for capital generation and job creation is based on intellectual property (Potts, Cunningham, Hartley & Ormerod, 2008). This sector includes the following activities: advertising, architecture, arts and antique markets, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, television and radio, performing arts, publishing and software (Cunningham, 2002). In the municipality's database the following sectors are classified as parts of the Creative Industries: media and entertainment, creative business services and arts and cultural heritage.

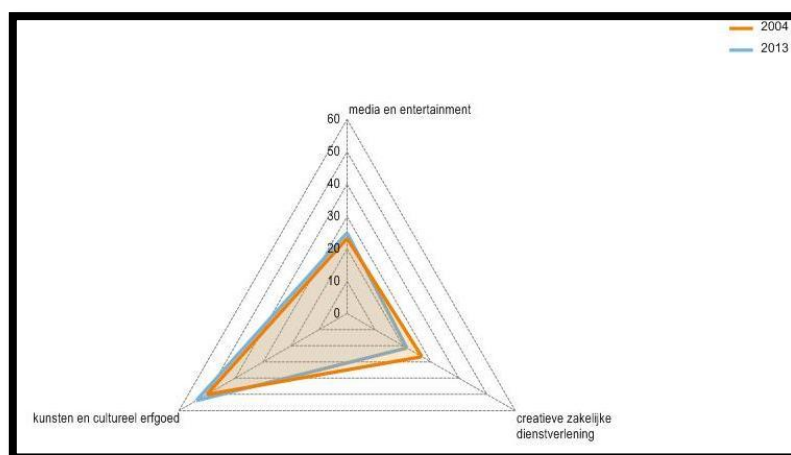
The fact that the municipality classifies FnD separately from the rest of the CI is indicative of the importance FnD has for Arnhem's strategic planning. Therefore, the numbers stemming from the municipality's database will concern all CI activities except for those related to FnD. The same though will not apply to the data coming from Snijders 2013.

Arnhem

Fashion may be the spearhead of Arnhem's innovative clusters, but it is not the only one. Esther Ruiten (7/4/14) highlights Fashion and Design cluster's importance eloquently when saying that "...creative industries were already an important topic for several years in our economic agenda but in 2009 we really looked where we should progress on and fashion and design was the topic", but in fact statistics cannot support this statement in its entirety. Numbers reveal that in 2013, even though in terms of workers (Table 3, Table 14) FnD held a greater share (4.620 workers and 4,63% of total number of workers) than Creative Industries (CI from now on) (3.660 workers and 3,67% of total number of workers), in terms of businesses, CI (1.760 and 13,56% of total number of businesses) held a more prominent position than FnD (1.310 and 10,09% of total number of businesses). Therefore, Fashion and Design cluster may be central in Arnhem's branding strategies but it is not the only aspect of the city's creativity.

Arnhem had 3 hogeschools and over 16.000 students in 2013 (Swiggers, 2013). ArtEZ, which is our main concern due to the thesis' topic, had 900 employees and 3.000 students in

total; 1.800 students only in Arnhem. More specifically, 900 studied Arts & Design, 300 Dance & Theater, 200 Music, 75 Architecture and 25 Arts Education. An additional number of 300 are mentioned as graduating (Swiggers, 2013).

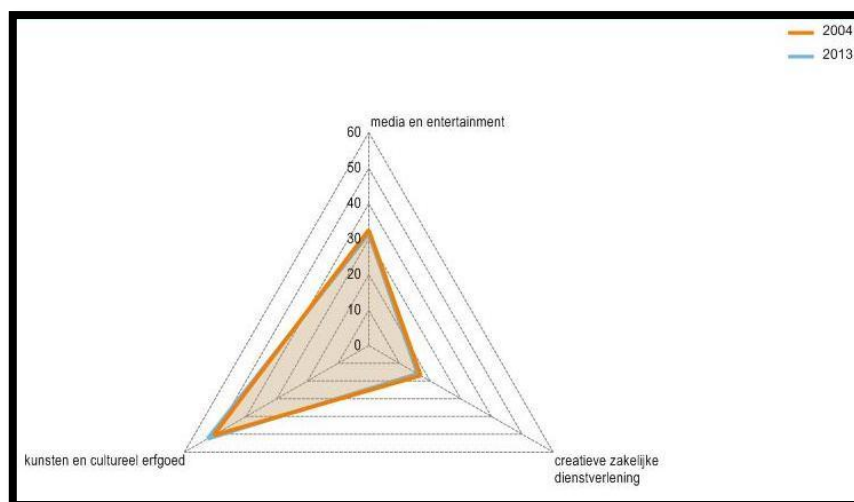


Graph 3: Arnhem's CI businesses profile 2004, 2013

Source: <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, accessed July 2014

CI businesses have almost doubled in Arnhem during the 2004-13 period. In 2004, there were 960 CI businesses comprising 11,69% of all businesses in the city. In 2013, there were 1.760 businesses being 13,56% of the city's businesses (Tables 11, 12). As we see, not only the numbers increased sharply, but the share increased significantly. The profile of the CI cluster did not vary importantly from 2004 to 2013: most of the businesses refer to Arts and Cultural heritage for both temporal points of reference (2004 and 2013). Arts and Cultural Heritage businesses refer to more than 50% of CI businesses, Media and Entertainment around 20%; Creative Businesses Services lost some of their share (over 20% for both 2004 and 2013) (Graph 1).

CI workers numbers did not differ as much as businesses from 2004 to 2013, following a general trend of overall workers numbers in the city. In 2004, there were 3.150 CI workers in Arnhem, or 3,28% of the all the city's workers. In 2013, their number rose to 3.660 (3,67% of all workers). As we see, their numbers did not grow as much (16% increase), but their share got slightly more consolidated (Tables 13, 14). The profile of CI clusters regarding employees also did not vary; in fact, one can hardly notice any difference from 2004 to 2013 (Graph 2). Again, most of the workers are employed in Arts and Cultural Heritage businesses (more than 50%). The biggest difference compared to the businesses picture is that Media and Entertainment workers occupy a notable bigger share (30%) than Creative Businesses Services workers (less than 20%) (Graph 2).



Graph 4: Arnhem's CI workers profile 2004, 2013

Source: <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, accessed July 2014

On a national level, Arnhem, as with FnD, has a very small share of CI business (including FnD). Arnhem, with 1,4% of the country's CI businesses, is left behind Amsterdam (16,5%), Rotterdam (6,6%), 's-Gravenhage (4,4%), Utrecht (4,4%), Eindhoven (2,7%), Haarlem (1,9%), Groningen (1,8%) and 's-Hertogenbosch (1,5%) and it has the same share as Breda and Tilburg (Snijders, 2013). However, Arnhem's LQ is the second biggest in the country (1,7) after Amsterdam (2,3) alongside Groningen (1,7) (Snijders, 2013). We therefore see a similar situation in CI as it was for FnD: Arnhem may not hold an important share of the relevant businesses nationwide, however, comparatively to its size and total businesses number, CI cluster holds a significant role. The question with FnD was whether this LQ value sufficed for labeling Arnhem as a Fashion City. Here, we will not engage with whether Arnhem can be promoted as a Creative City. Local officials have a clear goal to do that; branding is based on the slogan "Made in Arnhem: a center for innovation and creativity". The main reason from our point of view is to render Arnhem a competitive and attractive city, but we will discuss that later (VIII.4: What creativity means for Arnhem).

Klarendal

As mentioned before, this chapter mainly adds up to the thesis by widening our perspective; therefore, Klarendal's numbers are not of utmost importance. Creativity is a notion used by the local government to boost Arnhem's image, and cannot be focused on a single district. Esther Ruiten (7/4/14) punctuates creativity's importance for the entirety of the city by saying that "(t)here are more and more contacts between creative and more traditional entrepreneurs. So the directors (of traditional businesses) really want to work with creative entrepreneurs, because this has added value for his company. More and more entrepreneurs in the city see it that way; so crossovers between creative people and other sectors. Together with the province of Gelderland we are trying to stimulate that. It's the added value of creativity". She makes clear that "Klarendal is (just) one of the projects or activities in the total approach to stimulate the cluster of fashion and design and creative industries were already an important topic for several years in our economic agenda".

However, a glance at Klarendal's numbers reveals important information. Klarendal in fact, performs much more impressively in CI than in FnD. The district in 2013 holds the first

place in CI businesses (as part of a district's total number of businesses) with 30,77% and the second place in absolute numbers; 200, behind only Spijkerkwartier (230) (Table 12). Furthermore, Klarendal hosts the highest number of Media and Entertainment businesses (50) and also has the highest share (7,69%) (Table 12). It has the second highest share of Creative Businesses Services businesses (4,62%) only behind Spijkerkwartier (4,95%) (Table 12). Similarly, it has the second highest number of Arts and Cultural Heritage businesses (120) and has the highest share (18,46%) (Table 12). Compared to 2004, the number of CI businesses has doubled (100 to 200) (Tables 11, 12), and the district's picture in 2004 was similar.

Regarding CI workers, the district does not perform equally well. Overall, in 2013, it holds a satisfactory share (the fourth highest among Arnhem's districts with 12,87%) (Table 14). It does not host many workers in any of CI cluster's subcategories, but it has the third highest share in Creative Business Services (2,34%) and the second highest in Arts and Cultural Heritage (8,19%) (Table 14). It is noteworthy though, that Klarendal's performance improved from 2004; it did not stick out in any of the aforementioned categories back then (Table 13).

We see that Klarendal in overall has a notable position among Arnhem's districts, especially when it comes to businesses (rather than workers). It is a fact that the neighborhood scores much better in the Creative Industries cluster than in Fashion and Design. This confirms the claim of many interviewees (see Berry Kessels, Hans Ansems, Chris Zeevenhooven) that it had a distinct place in the city as a colorful and creative neighborhood. It also reminds us that "mode" (from the Modekwartier) does not solely refer to fashion but crafts in general (Walter De Bes, 7/5/14). One cannot overlook that in 2004 and 2013 alike, almost one out of three businesses in the district were part of the Creative Industries cluster! The picture when it comes to workers is completely different: it seems that CI business size in Klarendal is notably smaller than in other districts (in 2013, 200 businesses/ 220 workers in Klarendal while in Centrum for example the ratio is 180/650). This phenomenon can also be explained by lack of workers locality (workers living in another district than the one they are working): Klarendal presents a similar picture to St Marten, as both districts have a very small businesses/workers ratio while most of the other districts have a notably higher ratio. Klarendal's research through number shows that it could rather be called an Artistic Quarter than a Fashion Quarter!

Conclusions

We saw in this subchapter that Fashion and Design cluster may be central in Arnhem's strategic planning but it is not the only aspect of its creativity. On a national level, Arnhem's CI cluster does not differ a lot from its FnD picture: a low share of the country's total number of CI businesses, but an eye-catching when considering the city's economy size (as revealed by the LQs). It is indeed important that almost 14% of the city's businesses refer to CI; even though not calculated the same way (see VI.3 methodology), ARCCI's report show that CI's share is remarkably high in Arnhem compared to the rest of the Netherlands. Arts and Cultural Heritage activities hold the central position in CI, both in terms of businesses and workers.

Klarendal surprised us with its CI businesses numbers, but the level in terms of workers was not as high. The district has a long history of "alternative" dwellers, mainly due to its

relative cheapness (regarding rents) and proximity to the city's center (as mentioned in IV: Historical Background). It is not necessarily a paradox that, despite the high number of businesses, the number of workers is not as high: as written before, this could be explained by small business size or workers living elsewhere. But if we look into the first possibility, it might be connected with a certain entrepreneurial mentality: artists starting a business do not have the same aspirations as other entrepreneurs. This is why they are distinguished by other middle class groups (in VIII.3: Creative Class Identities will be explained why they are considered part of the middle class in the first place). Other districts may present a much higher business/workers ratio because there are other types of "creative" businesses there. Klarendal has a tradition of "alternative" dwellers other areas do not have.

The neighborhood can certainly be described as "creative" in economic terms. By economic terms it is meant that although numbers show vivid artistic activity, this activity is not reflected on urban space. The impact –or more precisely, the lack of impact– of art on the streets of Klarendal despite its high "performance" unveil a discrepancy which is a typical manifestation of aesthetic hegemonies; only a part of this artistic activity is promoted and rendered visible, but we will discuss that in the next chapter (this is exactly why this chapter is placed before VIII: Fashion in Urban Space; numbers lead the way for reflection).

Arnhem could be described as a creative city of moderate size, certainly unable yet to play a crucial role in Netherland's overall creativity. Being a member of the ORGANZA network, which comprises medium-sized creative cities, Arnhem seems to realize its dynamics. Small size is not necessarily bad, as it adds a crucial level of flexibility, central to the postfordist reality. Additionally, through the aforementioned network, Arnhem acquired and exchanged important knowledge which helped local authorities establish a much more focused strategy in stimulating the creative economy.

From the book *Crossing Borders for Creativity* (Organza, 2012) we see that one of the main issues the network had to address (its function started in 2010 and ended in 2012) was the "creative brain drain" to hotspots in nearby metropolises. That reveals **the local government is surely concerned with issues of competitiveness and talent attraction and breeding**; issues that will be analyzed in the next subchapters of the current chapter. Arnhem's concern is how to limit "creative leaks" to Amsterdam (Organza, 2012), a phenomenon evident in statistical data, as we saw that Amsterdam region centralizes creative people, presenting much higher numbers than the second most important region (Rotterdam). Before seeing how Arnhem tries to attract this sort of talent (besides "breeding" it through the ArtEZ) we have to clarify why this sort of talent is important; so, what kind of talent we are referring to, what kind of processes are set in motion to highlight it and render it so crucial and how these groups are defined and –even more importantly– define themselves.

3. Why creativity is important for Arnhem

In this subchapter we will look at the reasons why creativity is important for Arnhem (and not just Klarendal). Answering this question is substantial because through that we will comprehend creativity attraction strategy's centrality in local policies. In the next subchapter, we will see the attributes of those classes and through that, the impacts and requirements of

the aforementioned attractiveness. Thereby in the last chapter (VIII: Fashion in Urban Space) we will be able to understand how, and most importantly why, creativity attracting techniques (for our case in the form of **gentrification**) have such a huge impact on urban space. This way, we will connect the city's economic strategy with the neighborhood redevelopment in Klarendal. In other words, the rest of the thesis' structure schematically expressed is as follows: creativity's importance → creativity's centrality → creative class attributes → gentrification → fashion's (as part of Arnhem's plan for creativity AND Klarendal's vehicle to gentrification) impact on urban space.

Our case concerns fashion designers, but here we will write about creative classes in general. We will focus on the first in the next chapter.

We also have to clarify here that creativity refers to creative workforce and cultural creativity as well.

Firstly, it must be clarified why creativity is a central element for economic environments on a global level (expressed by the West-deriving normative idea of the urban economies).

Postfordism and creativity

Here, we will draw insights from the literature in order to see why is creativity in the workplace valued so highly by urban and national governments.

The obsession for innovation and intensification of profits occurred during the postfordist era brought talent and creativity for good into the managerial vocabulary. Innovation and creativity are connected to our case through Arnhem's branding slogan; "Made in Arnhem: a center for innovation and creativity". There are indications, that an unprecedented combination of culture, knowledge and capital started taking shape during the first years of the 1970s. "The new economy of postfordism has ushered in many far-reaching possibilities for creative forms of production and work" (Scott, 2006). But how creativity and talent are related to postfordism? Bryan and Joyce (2007: 1) wrote that "(m)ost companies today were designed for the twentieth century. By remaking them to mobilize the mind power of their 21st-century workforces, these companies will be able to tap into the presently underutilized talents, knowledge, relationships, and skills of their employees, which will open up to them not only new opportunities but also vast sources of wealth".

Postfordism could be described as some form of "disorganized capitalism" (Lash & Urry, 1987). One of its central elements is "flexicurity": a fusion of flexibility and security, which set the basis for the contemporary flexible production model (Harvey, 2006). Big firms started implementing the flexibility of small firms and the latter introduced systematized production patterns as used by bigger firms during the fordist era. Besides that, the infamous tertiarization of the western economy, the expansion of atypical employment and another approach to company networking, all appeared during the 1970s and are deeply connected to postfordism and led to the urge for creativity.

The **tertiary sector** demands labour capable of immediate problem solving rather than repeating tasks mechanically (the archetypical blue collar figure); in other words, talent and creativity (Thrift, 2006, 2008). Of course one could think that in any era talent and creativity in the workplace would be appreciated. However, under the conditions of the knowledge

revolution, the very sense of labour changed (Thrift, 2008); innovation became the most crucial competitive advantage (Robertson, 2006). The skills required within this context included not only cognitive abilities, but “all manner of tacit skills and competences, largely *intuitive* skills of the kind necessary to conduct complex interactions in the more extensive and flexible work environments” (Thrift, 2008, emphasis added). The aforementioned **company networking**, besides interrelating with the knowledge revolution on a global level, is among focused policies in Arnhem: creative sectors are expected to give a boost to the city’s overall economic performance through clustering, exchange of knowledge between traditional and innovating businesses (Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a, Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14). **Atypical employment** shaped the creative class’ traits that we will discuss later.

Creativity in Arnhem

In the previous chapter we researched the fashion and design presence in Klarendal and Arnhem. In VI.2 specifically, we saw what it means for the city’s officials and the city itself. It is inevitable that many of the traits Fashion and Design have and the functions it serves, to be similar to those of creativity in general. After all, FnD mainly expresses creativity. As expected, it (as FnD) also stands for as an economic stimulator, a branding label, it also possesses symbolical value; the creative class also functions as a means to livability. But there is more to it.

We can see -influenced by the literature-, that creativity is important for Arnhem for four basic reasons: a) it boosts innovation in the economy, b) it improves the general economic climate c) and the population composition of the city and d) lastly, because creativity works reciprocally: attracting and fostering creativity are intertwined. How are these influences translated in the interviews and policy documents?

A workforce of high quality boosts innovation; moreover, local officials encourage the networking of traditional and innovative businesses. This way, creativity spills horizontally over the business spectrum of the city; it is also an indicator how much innovation is appreciated by city authorities, regardless of the economic sector. “(C)rossovers between creative people and other sectors; together with the province of Gelderland we are trying to stimulate that. It’s the **added value of creativity**” (Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14). Creativity as a generator of culture, has positive impact on the economic climate of Arnhem (Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14).

The general economic climate depends heavily on the level of the (aforementioned) tertiarization of western economies: “(w)ith the disappearance of local manufacturing industries and periodic crises in government and finance, culture is more and more the business of cities– the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique, competitive edge” (Zukin, 1995, p.132). Arnhem’s authorities value symbolic economies so much not only because of their attractive edge, but because they signify an overall health of the urban economy (Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a).

Promising clusters of Arnhem (Fashion and Design, Energy and Green Technologies) attract and occupy higher educated workforce, which leads to a “more balanced population composition”, therefore to a better quality of urban life” (Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a). Of

course the latter refers to social mixing techniques, which constitute a long established trend in Dutch urban policy (Uitermark, 2003).

Lastly, and more importantly, in order to achieve all the previous, Arnhem needs to **establish a creative background of its own**. Fashion Quarter, Music Quarter, promising clusters; all those play this role exactly, because as mentioned above (and will be explained more thoroughly in the next subchapter), creativity attracts creativity (Florida, 2000, 2002, 2006).

In the next subchapter (VII.4) we will see how the creative classes *look like*, and how it is possible to attract them in order to foster creativity.

4. Creative Class identities

But first of all... why identities instead of identity? Through literature overview and data assessment we concluded that **the creative class identity** (if it can be reduced to a unitary definition) **stems from three different elements: its middle class origins, its aesthetic disposition and the undoubted postfordist pressures which changed the very perception of labour**. The first two according to Bourdieu (1993, 1984) and Ley (2003) are interrelated; and we have agreed with this view: the aesthetic disposition characterizing those groups is based on *privilege*, as it is clearly a class-based attribute. Middle class origins refer to a behavioral pattern deriving from class but simultaneously differentiated from the “conventional” culture characterizing this class. The third manifests what mentioned earlier about the widening of perspective: it is a process related to a globalized network of relations of production. So there are three (not entirely) compatible influences upon the creative class.

Additionally, when engaging with the creative classes, we have to define which parts of those we mean. On the one hand, there is the Fashion Quarter: a spatial field rife with what one would define as “traditional creativity”: crafting, designing, producing culture. Those groups of people –could be called as “artistic classes” instead of creative classes– have a deep affinity to gentrification, therefore to our case (Ley, 2003). On the other hand, there is Arnhem in general: a city aiming at establishing creativity in the Florida-ian sense of the term. Hand in hand with Fashion and Design –we should not forget– goes Energy and Environmental Technology (Gemeente Arnhem, 2009a), rendering Arnhem a city *in deep need of* high-skilled labour; in deep need of the creative class (as Florida defines it). Those groups have specific attributes, and attracting them leads to urban space transformations reminding gentrifying areas (Florida, 2000). Therefore, one can see that in this subchapter we have a hard task to perform, to combine two (seemingly different) creative class sides: the literal sense of creativity residing in Klarendal and the widely used notion of the creative class (as high-skilled labour) employed in technology businesses in Arnhem. Both are very important for our analysis, as Arnhem works on both layers: as a city producing culture and images and as a city relying on innovation and talent; but the creative class of Arnhem, and the artistic class of Klarendal are not the same. How could one put a fashion designer and a software engineer under the same umbrella, even though both are part of the so called creative class? The two groups have sharp differences; for example the creative class is expected to have (and has) a much more evident aesthetic disposition. The goal of the entire chapter is to

discuss the importance of creativity for Arnhem (therefore the creative class is highlighted) and the importance of the creative class in gentrification (therefore its part, the artistic class is highlighted).

In the literature, creative classes mainly refer to high-skilled labor; creative class comprises those individuals who “engage in complex problem solving that involves a great deal of independent judgment and requires high levels of education or human capital” (Florida, 2002). It includes the following occupational groups: “computer and math occupations; architecture and engineering; life, physical and social science; education, training and library positions; arts and design work and entertainment, sports and media occupations—as well as other professional and knowledge work occupations including management occupations, business and financial operations, legal positions, healthcare practitioners, technical occupations and high end sales and sales management” (Florida, Mellander & Stolarick, 2008, p. 625). The **super creative core** is a narrower group of creative occupations that Florida (2002) defines as those which involve “more intense use of creativity on the job: computer and math occupations; architecture and engineering; life, physical and social science; education, training and library positions; arts and design work and selected entertainment, sports and media occupations” (Florida 2002). The conceptual framework defining the “creative class” world can be summarized by the triptych of 3T’s: technology, talent, tolerance (Pratt, 2008). Technology and talent will be discussed below; tolerance is an ambiguous and ill-defined term here. Technically it means that these groups of highly skilled workers appreciate societies with low entry barriers: free of prejudices about sexuality or ethnicity. However, the tolerance of high skilled labour is often doubted when it comes to social issues and it is pointed out that neighborhood development and social cohesion cannot be based on this specifically perceived tolerance (Scott, 2006). Therefore, we keep returning to class driven culture and ideology. Moreover, the “creative class” is easily identified as an ideologically driven term causing controversy among scholars; influential theorists (such as Florida) conceptualize the creative workers as those high in the hierarchy. Others (Oesch & Menez, 2011) disagree stating that creativity stemming from higher layers of the workforce is based on the tasks of “pettier” parts of the workforce, which often are more creative in the literal sense of the word (Wilson & Keil, 2008).

The structure of this subchapter will be as follows: firstly, the link between the creative and middle classes will be scrutinized. Then, we will establish the connection between creative classes and gentrification. Lastly, we will conclude by citing creative artistic class’ main attributes.

The novelty of the “new” middle class

Klarendal, as mentioned many times throughout this paper, does not constitute a gentrifying area in the typical sense of the term. Its peculiarity is –among others– located in the way officials (the municipality, Volkshuisvesting) handle class issues. Even though the middle class influx is apparent and pointed out (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14, Rob Klingen, 7/4/14, Hans Ansems, 24/2/14, Walter De Bes, 7/5/14), the neighborhood is still promoted as a working class district. That occurs in order to maintain the district’s authentic character (chapter III.2) and to keep class tensions low. Therefore, it is a bit tricky to address an issue such as the types of middle class settling in the area. However, the Fashion Quarter is about artists and designers –artistic and creative classes–, rendering this subchapter (VII.3) of the

paper important. Artists and designers, although in most occasions part of the middle class, are characterized by some sort of “deviant” to the middle class principles behavior. Historically, those *marginal* groups played a central role in gentrifying areas (see Lees, Ley, Caulfield). In Klarendal, we cannot say that those groups are really marginal (except for those independent artists preexisting in the area) as the Fashion Quarter is a clearly state-led example of gentrification. In the next chapter (VIII: Fashion in Urban Space) we will discuss the issue of marginality. Here, we will justify our opinion why those groups are parts of a dominant class and not of the dominated.

Bourdieu (1984, p. 55) writes that “**(b)ourgeois adolescents** [...] sometimes express their distance from the bourgeois world which they cannot really appropriate by a refusal of complicity whose most refined expression is a propensity towards aesthetics and aestheticism”. Bourdieu links the artistic class with the middle class ways: its main deflection is this inclination toward aestheticism. He names it **aesthetic disposition**, and it is class driven (a class privilege temperament as described in Ley 2003) because it derives from “the suspension and removal of economic necessity and by objective and subjective distance from groups subjected to those determinisms” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 54). Based on Bourdieu’s (1984) social space diagrams, Ley (1993) concludes that those artistic groups can be considered as part of the dominant class for one more reason: the high levels of cultural capital which characterizes them can be acquired through quality education, which is most of the time a *costly* endeavor. Simultaneously, on the opposite side of the social space spectrum, we have the commercial entrepreneurs and industrialists with high levels of economic capital: capital is therefore defined its by level (high/low) and type (economic/ cultural) (Bourdieu, 1984).

High levels of cultural capital are actually producing this aesthetic disposition. Having said all the above, we should not disregard that these groups press the “borders of conventional middle class life” (Ley, 1993) by expressing their cultural preferences and they are deliberately *choosing* the artisan’s life: “an invitation to voluntary poverty” (Ley, 2003). Because of their low economic capital, we could say that these groups, although dominant class, belong to the *dominated part* of their class. When it comes down to Klarendal, interviewees have repeatedly mentioned something very closely related to that: income levels in the neighborhood (Tables 9, 10), despite the middle class influx, are not rising, because – although middle class–, these settlers cannot in any case described as wealthy (Rob Klinge, 7/4/14, Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14).

Creative classes and gentrification

Above we unfolded a *relational triangle* including gentrification, the creative class and postfordism and we engaged with the last two. Here we will discuss the connection between the first two.

The artists Ley (1993) offers a central role in gentrifying transformations of the inner cities share little in common with the actors we met during our research in Klarendal. Ley’s artistic urbanites owe the most to Walter Benjamin’s archetypical characters located in the urban habitus, the *rag-picker* and the *poet*. The Benjaminian rag-picker constitutes a heroic urban figure; collecting scraps thrown away, to reconfigure them into useful or culturally induced objects. The poets “find the refuse of society on their street and derive their heroic subject from this very refuse” (Benjamin & Baudelaire, 1973, p. 79) (keep those figures in mind for

the next chapter's –VIII– “marginal man” notion). Transforming matter includes a reshaping of *meaning* (Ley, 2003). The few independent artists we found in the neighborhood were performing this role; similarly, fashion can often engage with transformative practices (Jansson & Power, 2010). This is one of the few similarities we located between theory and Klarendal's reality. This is no paradox though; the temporal context of the 1960s and 70s is already obsolete. Demographic trends, economic reality and maturation of the welfare state that are perceived to have given birth to gentrification (Ley, 1986, Caulfield, 1994, Lees, 2000) are missing. The only thing among those to be similar is the population age composition, as we see the influx of 25-44 years old dwellers. Besides, the district's gentrification is state-led, therefore, even though the artists' presence gave the idea for the creation of the Fashion Quarter, it should not be addressed as the crucial causal element.

However, the **artistic urbane habitus** (Ley, 2003) is there: Klarendal is presented as a neighborhood of artists and designers. The factors creating such artists' spaces comprise centrality, tolerance and diversity. Centrality offers vibrancy: places where *something happens* constantly (Klarendal is advertised as such, even though the reality is more... rural, as the physical appearance of the neighborhood). Diversity, apart from social diversity which indicates tolerance, unveils *sensational* spaces: spaces where the artist receives visual, sound, social and all kinds of inputs! Tolerance is appreciated by artists as it reveals a society with low entry barriers. We cannot but point out here that this element is questionable in Klarendal (<http://islamineurope.blogspot.gr/2009/06/netherlands-cultural-festival-dropped.html>). Through this controversy, the Floridian notion of tolerance is obscured; namely the actual demand for tolerance on behalf of the creative class (Scott, 2006). Nevertheless, one can now clearly see the connection between gentrifying artistic habitats and the Floridian creative class (for which tolerance and diversity are central). However, the main difference between the artists and the creative class in the broader sense of the word is that after redevelopment, the former find those spaces too sanitized (besides being more expensive!); “the aesthetic disposition inverts the ‘normal’ ranking of stimuli (Ley, 2003, Focus Group 2, 9/11/2013, 14/11/2003, 10/1/14, 17/5/14). In few words, artists vary from the rest of the creative classes because they belong to waves of earlier gentrifiers. In our case, we could say that independent artists living for years in the district constitute the artistic class while the designers' influx refers to the creative class.

Another element besides the artistic urbane habitus connecting theory with our case is the impact of **urban pioneers**; in Klarendal, it took the brave moves of a few bold to set the project in motion (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14, Chris Zeevenhooen, 20/3/14). The early creative class settlers are crucial for all the process because they render investments sufficiently safe (Smith, 2000) and through their collaboration with state mechanisms governance becomes more effective (Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans, 2007, Uitermark & Duyvendak interview in Polis blog, <http://www.thepolisblog.org/2011/11/polis-podcast-beta-social-justice-and.html>, accessed June 2014). These groups (especially through their middle class cultural ‘remnants’) are actually *used* as a generator for gentrification itself (Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans, 2007). “Active citizenship”, homeownership over renting, “civic culture”; all refer to middle class (Loopmans, 2010, Kempen & Bolt, 2009, Kearns & Forrest, 2000), and are notions central to urban regeneration projects– the “sugar-coated” name for gentrification (Uitermark, 2003). But we will leave the discussion about ideological implications for the next chapter (VIII).

To widen our scope from Klarendal to Arnhem, we have to define how the **distribution of the creative class** works. Florida (2000) defines the place based characteristics (there are also the market factors, which include job plurality and companies' clustering), and these are divided in two major groups: amenities and diversity. By amenities we mean a pleasant lifestyle which in turn plays a major role in workers' creativity and by diversity the region's openness to new dwellers. Summarized, "a thriving music scene, ethnic and cultural diversity, fabulous outdoor recreation, and a great nightlife" (Florida, 2002, p.17). All these factors are classified and used systematically by policy makers in the form of the "creativity index" (Florida, 2000, 2002). Arnhem presents itself as offering a wide spectrum of environments, activities and *people*. Firstly, the city promotes its diverse environment: the city center, with its "convivial hustle, but also tranquility and leafy areas", the numerous green parks (Arnhem has been declared the greenest city in the Netherlands), the notable architecture and the historical places and buildings (<http://www.madeinarnhem.nl/>, accessed July 2014). Secondly, Arnhem promotes its diverse cultural and shopping choices: opera, theater, dance and music, vibrant shopping centers, galleries, major department and chain stores, boutiques and specialized fashion shops (Cito, 2012). Thirdly, the city highlights its diverse social environment: a working class city, with a vibrant fashion activity, presenting tolerance to and embracing the foreign element, but also a city of refined pleasures and people (Cito, 2012). All three, combined in branded areas such as the Fashion Quarter, the Music Quarter, the Historical City Center, constitute a carefully conducted, multifaceted strategy to attract talented labour. As one can see, the city's local government abides by the trends following the creative city imperative. And it is no accident, as all local policy makers are well aware of Florida (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14, Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14, Hans Karssenberg, 1/4/14, Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14, Charly Tomassen, 14/5/14), who is one of their major influences – alongside the example of Antwerp and the texts of Jane Jacobs (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14)–, in constructing the next day of Arnhem. These policy makers are also aware of the talent drain Arnhem is suffering (Organza, 2012) and they realize why it is such a crucial issue: due to the **reciprocity of creativity**. Creativity works as a factor of attractiveness, but also needs attractiveness to be fostered (Florida, 2000, 2002). So, branding is the technique to achieve both: a) to promote creativity well in order to attract more talent, funds and companies and b) to use creativity in order to empower the city's position. Let us first conclude with the creative class' basic characteristics, and in the next subchapter (VII.4) look into why creativity and talent mean so much for Arnhem (as contrasted to why they are so important in a general, global context). Before concluding with the attributes of the creative classes, we must clarify why such an abstract process (that of attracting talent) is so crucial for a boarder and small scaled urban center such as Arnhem.

Globalization and gentrification

Gentrification, no matter where it takes place, is a globalized process. It is not globalized because it takes place in global cities of great importance (Los Angeles, New York, London or Rotterdam), neither because it takes place in every corner of the globe. It is a globalized process because gentrification is a way for cities to embed in a globalized goal; the ideal state, which is linked with notions such as livability, vibrancy, diversity and attractiveness (Florida, 2000, 2002). This ideal state constitutes cities that achieve it as pioneers in the global urban race; an advantageous position stimulating the urban economy and prestige. The positioning in this aforementioned race does not only concern a city's comparison with others in a global

level (for example how much London scores compared to New York); it is not a vague neoliberal ideological construction which has a long term impact without concerning common urban dwellers. Good positioning in that race gives city the credentials to gain access to private capital (Harvey, 2006), international talent as a stimulus of efficacy (Thrift, 2006, 2008) and funds and attention for implementing urban policies. In other words, in modern capitalism, a city –even if it is of limited influence– has to function in global terms in order, not to thrive, but to survive. Therefore, as gentrification is one of the ways a city can achieve this connection, it is a globalized process; either we are talking about Rotterdam (which is an urban concentration of global influence) or Arnhem.

This commodification of the urban realm itself implies that cities -deprived from their symbolisms and materiality-, are no longer seen as community and trade forming entities, but are racing for survival in a contested environment (Davey & Walsh, 2013). The recent bankruptcy of the metropolitan area of Detroit depicts eloquently this new urban reality; because competition can be perceived as the ladder to success, but also as the quicksand that lies beneath it. Cities are not only the spatial cores where capital is accumulated, but a part of the capital accumulation itself. This dual status renders the reification of cities a far more complicated process than the fetishization of *smaller scale* commodities, since it affects urban populations in the speed of the stock market.

Creative Class characteristics

We will conclude this chapter as we started: with the triptych constituting creative class' characteristics: postfordist pressures, aesthetic disposition and middle class origins. As a labour force, the creative class has been *shaped* (structure vs agency) to suit well in postfordist environments: low expectations, living on the margins, flexible on job tasks and work hours and their dissatisfaction not leading to protest, as their identity stems from activities outside their job (Zukin, 1995, Florida, 2000, Thrift, 2008). Their aesthetic disposition derives from high education (although their initially low income) which renders it a class temperament (Ley, 2003). In the next chapter (VIII) we will see how this aesthetic disposition plays a role in the consolidation of a unitary aesthetic paradigm in the gentrified neighborhood of Klarendal, constituting aesthetics a class issue. Their middle class origins are manifested in the urge for livability, safe entrepreneurship (also will be addressed in VIII). They are also revealed by their symbolic rejection of privilege, which takes place through means of capital (consuming authenticity and culture, Zukin, 2008), without exposing the underlying processes creating this very privilege. One could wonder, how could it be possible that these *voluntarily poor* groups, express their identity through means of capital?

"That's what they (Old Klarendalers) say (being unable to afford Fashion Quarter's products). It's also about priorities. [...] If you smoke two packages of cigarettes per day, it will be a huge impact on your expenses. I know of people, who do buy a dress, and they save for it, or they buy the dress because they like it that much and they will pay an amount of money each month. [...] But that's a choice that they make."

(Walter De Bes, 7/5/14)

a. Conclusions

In this chapter we saw that fashion is just one of Arnhem's creative aspects. Statistical data showed that the city is indeed a medium-sized creative city, but unable to play a significant role on national level. Exactly because of that, Arnhem suffers from talent drain; therefore, since creativity is so important in the contemporary production model (postfordism), attracting and managing to keep creativity there is crucial for its economic well-being. Creative labour force is attracted by creativity itself (the reciprocity of creativity), therefore Arnhem has to establish a creative background of its own: this is the role the Fashion Quarter plays (or at least being part of). But the creative classes, the carriers of this creativity, bear a middle class heritage that is connected closely with gentrification. Additionally, their living space, the artistic urbane habitus, is marked by a revaluation of urban space that leads to gentrification.

In the next chapter we will focus on Klarendal again and see how fashion (as a signifier of creativity) and its carriers (fashion designers and relevant entrepreneurs) impact on Klarendal's gentrification, and how this impact is translated in local policies.

VIII. FASHION IN URBAN SPACE: IMPLICATIONS FOR AESTHETICS, IDEOLOGY AND ECONOMY

1. Intro

In a previous chapter (VI) we analyzed the discourse and importance of fashion and design for Klarendal and Arnhem and afterwards we researched the actual presence of fashion and design in the city and the district through numbers. We saw that Arnhem is indeed a city with potential; even though its share in the national FnD businesses composition is small (1,89%), it can be proud of many notable and influential brands regarding fashion and design. Klarendal on the other hand, did not present any notable numbers; neither in businesses, nor in workers. However, that was not the goal from the beginning: what was sought was to bring the designers at the forefront, to present a Fashion Quarter with a distinct character that would not remind of the Centrum or Spijkerkwartier; to a large extent, Klarendal is about visibility (Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14). Edwin Marck (until recently chairman of ondernemersvereniging) put this eloquently when he said that “(w)e have the Fashion Quarter much more like a brand into the market” (Douma, 2011); here visibility refers to how good those professionals (the young designers) are *advertised*, how good the whole neighborhood is advertised, without being necessary that the image reflects the numbers. Through the Fashion Quarter project, the municipality aspired to achieve a twofold purpose: on the one hand to boost the fashion image of the city, and on the other, to bring the coveted *livability* (or *pleasantness* as Berry Kessels prefers, 13/3/14) to the once vibrant neighborhood. Then, in the previous chapter we researched the presence of the creative classes. Besides their numbers, we looked at their attributes and their importance for Arnhem. We turned our perspective from local to global: from the presence of the creative classes in Klarendal and Arnhem, to the breeding and attraction of those on a wider scale. In this last chapter of the second part (Part II: Analysis of the case study), we will blend literature with our experience in Klarendal and try to unveil the processes related to fashion unraveled in Klarendal. The reason we left this chapter for the end is because we wanted to close the main part of the thesis by answering the research question: how fashion facilitates gentrification in Klarendal, and ultimately, how gentrification functions in Klarendal. As we stated in the beginning of this thesis, we do not intend to universalize the attributes of gentrification; we perceive our case study as an example with its own characteristics, but at the same time embedded in a wider framework. In other words, how economic imperatives (as shown in VII.3) in conjunction with the identity of their carriers (as shown in VII.4) led to concrete policies in Klarendal.

In VI.2, “What Fashion means for Klarendal and Arnhem”, we researched fashion’s functions in the district and the city. In this chapter, we will engage with the deeper processes deriving from or correlating with fashion. Our intention in this chapter is to focus on the connection of fashion and urban space; while in the previous chapters (VI.2) was to shed light on the role of fashion and creativity for Klarendal and Arnhem as functions. Here we will discuss the role of fashion (including design) in urban space; theoretically, by drawing influences from the literature and empirically, by tapping into interviews, questionnaires and policy documents, and juxtaposing those two. Our foothold in this quest will be the conceptual triad of Aesthetics, Ideology and Economy; otherwise formulated, where fashion comes into the picture regarding aesthetics, ideology and economy in urban space. Aesthetics

refer to the symbolic importance of spectacle; the *looks*. Ideology mainly refers to the normative idea of the city; its class relations and tensions how it is governed the most efficient way. This category will not be used with a good or bad connotation; it is just the pursuit of a certain paradigm. Economy refers to the economic activity of the district; it could be otherwise called economic pragmatism or *necessity*.

In this chapter we will ultimately answer our research question:

- How the Fashion Quarter facilitates gentrification in Klarendal in terms of economy, social stratification and aesthetics and what are the implications of it?

By implications we mean how the centrality of fashion in the gentrification project in Klarendal influence the economic paradigm, class structure and politics and the aesthetical representations. But before focusing on our concrete case study, we will start from a more abstract level, with the connection of fashion and the urban realm in general.

2. Fashion in the urban realm

What is the *contribution* of fashion to urban spaces? On the one hand, where and why fashion is *placed* in urban space, and on the other, how fashion affects urban space shaping?

Fashion holds a gradually greater role in *upgrading* areas, whether those are called gentrified or not. **Aestheticisation of space** that occurs with gentrification (Zukin, 1998) is deeply connected with fashion and design discourse (as a fetishization of aesthetics) and mentality. Fashion has its place in the city; whether it is a developing fashionable area, or the already established commercial locus of a global city. So how fashion intertwines with the reformation of urban space?

Firstly, the background scenery for fashion events is often gentrified areas; therefore it is within our research interests. Shows organized in “derelict” or dilapidated buildings/areas (for instance deserted industrial zones) are adapted to the postmodern spectacle-driven discourse as disneyfied and militarized spaces (see Mitchell 1995, Smith 2000, Zukin 1987, 1998). To further establish this connection between fashion and developing urban spaces, Zukin (1998) proposes that “(b)y the 1990s, re-aestheticisation of public space depends on a large and growing symbolic economy”. Fashion is undoubtedly part of the symbolic economy: for argument’s sake, Jansson and Power (2010, p. 890) clarify that “the firms that clothe us are less and less primarily engaged in the provision of garments than they are in the provision of fashion and design-based images”.

Fashion as a heavy influence in urban space is not a new phenomenon. Freeman (2002) locates a “recent rise of a *putatively* new fashion market for home décor, fancy restaurants and designer boutiques”. Gentrifying areas are often molded under the principles of this combination (Zukin, 2008). UK is experiencing this growing trend: April Glassborow (the senior buyer for the international collections at Harvey Nichols) notices that “(p)eople have become more interested in luxuries in the past five years, such as home decor and fancy restaurants. There is now a market for designer labels outside of London, as evidenced by the number of small designer boutiques in certain (parts of) cities” (Freeman, 2002). Rita Britton

(buying director of Pollyanna in Barnsley, South Yorkshire) says that “there is a general trend back to a smaller, personal kind of shopping” (Freeman 2002). Even though Freeman’s article for the Guardian referred to the UK context, one cannot overlook that this smaller, personalized (customized) type of fashion shopping is the main element of the Fashion Quarter in Klarendal.

Fashion stands in urban space as good aesthetics (for more see VI.2: “What Fashion and Design means for Arnhem and Klarendal”). Conversely, it is said that “poverty is transformed by its spatial concentration” (Lees, 2008); mainly confronted as *bad aesthetics*. Of course poverty is not conceptualized only in aesthetic terms; it is evaluated through its *contagion effects, behavioral pathologies* and *collective socialization erosion* due to lack of *positive adult role models* (Lees, 2008, emphasis added). Aesthetics as we will see later is a crucial aspect in gentrification; they signify not only a change of course, but an overall change of *class*.

Fashion also relates to urban space through its carriers: designers that are part of the creative cohort are the main actors of the early stages of gentrification as mentioned in VII.4 (“Creative Class Identities”) (Caulfield, 1994, Lees, 2000). But these “carriers” are not only related to fashion because they are interested in it; they inherently (by class- as in *nature*) carry fashion’s main concern in them. Redfern (2003) affiliates the creative class with the identity crisis suffered by Park’s (1925) “marginal man” in the modern world (see also in VII.4 for the creative class’ marginality). The status groups involved in gentrification processes are part of “a marginalized proletariat, partly incorporated and partly excluded from the modes of capitalist production” (Cleaver, 2000). We can easily make the connection with the young designers working and living in Klarendal: groups of low economic but high cultural capital, stereotyped as preferring “special neighborhoods” (Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14). The artist’s life as Ley (1986) puts it is an invitation to *voluntary poverty*! Even though public policy does not perceive those as a “marginalized proletariat” (on the contrary, the trend nowadays is to capitalize on them through their appropriation), that does not prevent them to perceive themselves as marginalized in the contemporary urban societal context. But to return to the literature, the marginal man, balancing in the chasm between two worlds, neither of which he fits or is fully accepted by (the middle class background and the working class living environment), “embodies the problem of the maintenance of identity in the modern world” (Giddens, 1991). Identity refers to “recognition, honor and respect” (see Redfern 2003); the obscurity of the public realm –or the “mystification” of the public realm– modernity induced, created a world of strangers who do not recognize us (Sennett, 1992). “Therefore, we seek to proclaim simultaneously two things: that we are individuals, but at the same time we are trustworthy. We seek to show that we are different, but not too different; we seek to fit in, but as individuals” (Redfern, 2003, p. 2359). This conciliation between individuality and embeddedness, or difference and conformity, is the main concern of fashion (Redfern 2003, Jansson & Power, 2010). To return to gentrification, in terms of difference (between opposing groups: gentrifiers and gentrified), it manifests itself in disparate styles or consumption patterns (Zukin, 1987). Summarily, fashion is related to gentrification through “otherness”: the conciliation of –or the conflict between– difference and conformity, which is also the main inherent tension in fashion and the main cultural process of gentrification.

We saw above how fashion relates to gentrification. But how fashion arrived in a poor, ethnically diverse neighborhood? The paradigm of Klarendal is not unique: there is a growing attention for small boutiques and customized clothes shopping; not only that, but the markets

for home décor products and designer furniture are also on the rise. If we reckon in the demand for fancy restaurants and edgy bars (for example pointed out in various texts of Zukin and Lees), we get a mix very similar to the Fashion Quarter. But besides those “global forces”, namely trends taking place at a much wider scale than that of a mere district (the rising markets for furniture, home décor, designers’ boutiques, specialized restaurants etc), we have other tangible elements brought together that mould Klarendal as we know it today. This interesting blend occurred after the fusion of Klarendal and ArtEZ; the school already had some buildings around the neighborhood, but never before the municipality thought of capitalizing on the dynamics and reputation of ArtEZ. “The Fashion Quarter grew out of the relationship between Klarendal and ArtEZ” (Berry Kessels, 2012). In other words, the distinct character and *aroma* of this former working class neighborhood, coming together with the creativity and distinguishable reputation of this school, lead to urban change; Klarendal would have rejoiced! ArtEZ contributed to the Fashion Quarter project in two ways. Firstly, as an academy of arts brought creative students to Arnhem; those students for reasons aforementioned chose Klarendal –among other districts– to reside. Those were the yeast of the Fashion Quarter, since their presence in Klarendal gave the district its artistic character (even though some independent artists were also working and living in the neighborhood). Secondly, the ArtEZ provided the expertise for establishing the fashion concept. The young designers are mainly graduates of the school; the school itself exchanges knowledge with the municipality. The working class character, the authenticity of the neighborhood, did the rest.

But as nothing in life is black and white, at first glance, fashion looks a theme incompatible with this working class character. Policy makers are aware of that: Esther Ruiten thinks the project needs time (7/4/14). Charly Tomassen takes it further: “...the products of the creative jobs are too expensive now. But it attracts people from outside Klarendal and they spend also in the other shops, and they go to the horeca (bars, cafes and restaurants)” (14/5/14). If we think of gentrification in its literal sense, as the influx of more affluent people into a degraded neighborhood (Ley, 2003), there is definitely some of that in Klarendal. But the debate on Klarendal’s gentrification goes beyond that: as we saw, there are fermentations in the physical realm, but also on a symbolic level. Fashion stands as the aesthetic paradigm and changes derive from Klarendal’s established status as the Fashion Quarter. There is evidence leading us to this direction: the numerous fashion events (Night of Fashion, Arnhem Fashion Biennale which partially takes place in Klarendal etc); the changes in the facades of the buildings; the neighborhood’s storefronts. Below we will discuss these issues more thoroughly through the aesthetics, ideology and economy triangular prism.

3. Fashion in Klarendal

“Yet culture is [...] a powerful means of controlling cities. As a source of images and memories, it symbolizes “who belongs” in specific places.”
(Zukin, 1995, p.132)

It is time to talk about status and class groups: creative class can be either, depending on the approach. By perceiving the creative class as a status group, Redfern (2003) notices that they seek to monopolize “the supply of honor, recognition and respect”; an observation that is linked to the hegemony of the middle class ideology manifested in gentrification. Scholars point out that due to this hegemony other behavioral or cultural patterns are disregarded

(Zukin, 1998, Smith, 2000, Davidson, 2007); for example the perception of livability which varies for different class or cultural groups. Here we will explain how the class-wise unevenly perceived notion of livability (which is the ultimate goal of Klarendal's gentrification) impacts local policies and therefore urban space.

Aesthetical paradigm

It has already been pointed out that fashion changed Klarendal through commercial traffic (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14, Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14, Hans Karssenbergh, 1/4/14, Walter De Bes, 7/5/14, Charly Tomassen, 14/5/14); the establishment of shops in the neighborhood should bring visitors and local people out in the streets, rendering the area vibrant. **Vibrancy**, the presence of people on the street, the commercial traffic, the establishment of a different atmosphere –mainly based on the image of the old commercial streets of Klarendal where nostalgia and reality intertwine–, would lead to livability: limited feelings of insecurity, decreased actual threats, an overall “pleasant feeling” someone has when visiting the area (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). Berry Kessels dislikes the term livability and prefers “pleasantness” (13/3/14). As a conceptual schema, this policy could be described as commercial traffic → vibrancy → pleasantness. But commercial traffic, especially when it comes to the designer products being sold in Klarendal refers to an audience with the capacity of expressing such cultural preferences (Charly Tomassen, 14/5/14).

This **specific aesthetical paradigm** that derives from fashion is therefore exclusionary. In the previous chapter, through the research of Klarendal's numbers we saw that, in economic terms, Arts and Cultural Heritage activities are much stronger than Fashion and Design. However this is not reflected on the neighborhood's streets. A quick stroll down the streets of the district hides only few thrills for the eye: no artistic interventions in public spaces, no graffiti's or other indications of a local artistic scene. As mentioned in VII.2, this could be the manifestation of hegemony of a certain aesthetical paradigm. Berry Kessels (2012) writes while describing the event that established the Fashion Quarter that “(a) big green champagne bottle rocks gently in the breeze”, to continue a few lines later that “as celebratory speeches punctuate the champagne consumption, the clouds tear apart. It's a magical moment”. *Champagne references* (as the consolidation of another culture in the area I would assume) are scattered throughout the text. Some economic activities that caused major problems to the area in the past are not welcome any more: “(t)wo ‘coffee shops’ in the row are still functioning. A third one is empty. And that's where today the glasses are being raised” (Berry Kessels, 2012). There is a struggle there: policy makers often boast about getting rid of the drug related criminality (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14, Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14), but also the culture and vernacular that go with it. An atelier taking the place of a coffeeshop; this is not only an economic victory –in terms of choosing the economic model dominating the neighborhood–, but it is also an aesthetical victory, and an ideological one. In the words of a Klarendaler, “I would not buy a dress for five hundred euros, but this sure is better than those *junkies* were” (Berry Kessels, 2012). Fashion signifies a change of course.

But before continuing, there is a dual issue here: firstly, policies of “extinction” (Gemeente Arnhem, 2012a) are implemented against otherwise (semi)legal activities; to me, as a non-Dutch, seems rather strange that coffeeshops are legal but at the same time their legal protection falls upon the intentions and plans of the municipality and its planners. But it is not irrational: the reason those uses are marginalized is the acquired status of the Fashion Quarter;

otherwise the aforementioned policy of extinction would be implemented citywide. Secondly, there is a dubious discourse: drug addicts are confronted by officials (also) in terms of aesthetics. “Addict bleeds to death in the street” (Berry Kessels, 2012) says the headline of the “De Gelderlander” local (province scale) newspaper; and this discourse, is condemned by no one in the municipality or the Volkshuisvesting. This is contrasted to the **good aesthetics fashion represents**. Ultimately, the question remains: why did it take the influx of fashion and design graduates to solve social (drug abuse) and practical (garbage, degraded public space) problems?

Economic necessity

Urban space while gentrified (but of course not only then) is restrained by a market logic and is shaped accordingly (Smith, 2000, 2002, Wyly & Hammel, 2004, Hackworth & Smith, 2001). This has an impact on the very notion of livability, which is not perceived the same way by different classes. The way it used by policy makers has an implied meaning: it perceives certain groups more sensitive than others, focusing on the former more than the latter (exactly because these demand more attention, since they are more sensitive). By sensitive we mean that their “willingness” to use and *consume* public space alters disproportionately when their assessment of (perceptible levels of) safety and appreciation of urban space and provided amenities changes. Remember here the definition of livability as given by interviewees: it refers to levels of insecurity, quality of urban space, and quality of provided amenities. Actual threats is a residual aspect of this notion (of livability). All in all, **livability is aiming for certain types of settlers and visitors**. The reason is obvious and it was mentioned before: those have the capacity of expressing their cultural preferences through capital.

In general, gentrified areas, often present this limited spectrum of aesthetics (Zukin 1987, 1998, Zukin & Maguire, 2004). This aesthetic paradigm produces predefined types of public space where groups of people are discouraged to use because they cause feelings of insecurity to visitors and newcomers (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14); specific types of behavior are marginalized (Loopmans, 2008). Minor incivilities –graffiti or noise nuisance– are perceived as decrease of livability (Gemeente Arnhem, 2008, Berry Kessels, 13/3/14) because they *damage* attractiveness to certain income groups (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14, Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999). They also produce uncertain conditions which do not ensure safe entrepreneurship (Studio Scale & Stipo, 2011, Gemeente Arnhem, 2008). It is an issue why safe entrepreneurship is not pursued for other kinds of businesses (grocery stores, mini markets, electronic spare parts shops, household consumables shops etc) but it is crucial for designer shops. On the one hand, the amount of investment is completely different; actually, the aforementioned businesses are not subject to investment; on the other hand, designers’ shops concern a different type of clientele. A widely differentiated clientele, people of higher income status (the product prices are irrefutable indicators of that) that would not feel welcome in an area where feelings of insecurity “dominate” the urban space. As we see, (a) the investment at stake is much bigger and (b) the groups this investment aims for are much more sensitive to changes in **perceived** safety; therefore, feelings of insecurity is a central issue for local policy makers.

Urban pioneers as guarantors of investments and facilitators of effective governance

Fashion serves as suitable concept not only because it concerns a certain clientele but also because fashion designers can be excellent **urban pioneers**. It has to be pointed out though that the business that made the breakthrough in the neighborhood was about bike designing (so not exactly fashion, but as we already stressed out by fashion we include design as well) (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14). In the previous chapter (VII) we researched the importance of the creative class and the middle class in general in gentrification; here we can say that urban pioneers are those who establish a foothold in areas during the early stages of gentrification. They are those who “crack the walls” of working class neighborhoods, ensuring that gentrification can proceed (otherwise we would say about some separate cases of eccentric people living in precarious places). The reason these are important is because they render gentrifying districts sufficiently safe for investment and because their presence ensures more effective governance. Governance becomes more effective because those settlers –as part of the middle class– have a completely different relation with state institutions; previous, working class dwellers, *suffer* from low trust to such institutions, therefore they are more unwilling to work together (Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans, 2007). Rent gap is the economic prerequisite for gentrification (Smith, 1979) and cultural tendencies provide those few brave who are willing to explore uncharted territories (Ley, 1986); objective and subjective conditions (to paraphrase the Marxian language!) are ripe for investment to commence.

Some influential actors of the Fashion Quarter think that those **behaviors are “residualized”** by the mere presence of the “right” users of urban space (Kessels, 13/3/14). However, things are not always so innocent: “(w)here deemed necessary, they (the threats) are driven off the streets and eliminated from the neighborhood, to be replaced by better people [...] if necessary by force” (Loopmans, 2008, citing the Integral Security Commissioner of Antwerp). In Antwerp, where fashion is also the crucial element, measures seem rather drastic. In the Local Action Plan of Klarendal, feelings of insecurity that derive from the aforementioned behaviors refer to the entrepreneurs solely (and not the dwellers of the area) and the problem’s solving lies in the search for *high(er) quality* tenants (Gemeente Arnhem, 2008, p. 7). Livability, which is at stake, is equated to feelings of insecurity and vibrancy, and is measured by the attractiveness of urban environment to higher income groups (Loopmans, 2007). The problem starts when feelings of insecurity and actual safety/threats boundaries blur, because different social groups perceive insecurity when moving in urban space differently. Here, marginal behaviors are discouraged partially for ideological reasons (and not due to economic pragmatism and threats to fragile investments as before); they can be harmful in two ways: firstly as direct physical threats (actuality) and secondly as elements of insecurity, uncertainty, instability, as *likable* threats (contingency). Both drop livability *scores*.

Class related implications

As mentioned above, gentrification comes with an **aestheticisation of space** (Bourdieu, 1993, Ley, 2003). As livability, aestheticisation means different things to different social groups or classes; it is also deeply connected to Bourdieu’s (1993) notion of aesthetic disposition. As we saw in the previous chapter (VII.4), this disposition is a class deriving temperament. It comes from the high levels of cultural capital the creative classes have

through education, therefore it refers to class privilege. From our point of view, “cultural capital” is an ambiguous and controversial term, since theorists connect it to education as a univocal causal relationship. However, aesthetic disposition, as resulting from class culture, which is fostered by a certain kind of education, serves as a theoretical notion perfectly. So the aestheticisation of space occurring alongside gentrification owes a lot to this aesthetic disposition which characterizes the early gentrifiers (Caulfield, 1994, Lees, 2000). With the risk of generalizing, we should point out their (the early gentrifiers) inclination for a “stylization of life” (Bernauer & Mahon, 1994, Goldman, 1993). The aestheticisation of space in Klarendal takes the shape of a completely renovated public space: artists hired to work on the neighborhood shops’ showcases, facades completely changed after the change in land uses, sidewalks fixed (Studio Scale & Stipo, 2011, Gemeente Arnhem, 2008, Charly Tomassen, 14/5/14). These changes related to the fashion status are not mere aesthetics; Chris Zeevenhooven (20/3/14) calls them a sharpening of the neighborhood identity.

The act of inducing “aesthetic status on objects that are banal or even common” is highly valued (Bourdieu, 1984), something which leads us back to the **connection between fashion, aestheticisation and gentrification**; but it also reminds us that this process stems from class privilege. Fashion, aesthetics, class and gentrification in Klarendal are not only connected through the aesthetic disposition. Descriptions of the “new era” for Klarendal are abound with revealing cultural references: “(w)here once drug addicts and vagrants were hanging around between ruins and squats, now *prestigious* fashion boutiques arose and a large café-restaurant is hosted in a *stately building*” (Douma, 2011, emphasis added).

Conclusion: Fashion as a manifestation of a middle class hegemony

All the above show that gentrification is a **manifestation of a middle class hegemony**, something already stressed out in the literature. As we saw in the previous chapter, the creative classes –which are the vast majority of Klarendal’s newcomers–, are part of the middle class. Zukin (1995) relates this hegemony to the visual strategies dominating gentrified areas. She takes it further, explaining that gentrification aesthetics imply a certain type’s civic culture and social order (that of the middle class) (Zukin, 1995). Conversely, social unrest is often connected to class as a *class characteristic* rather than a social outcome. For example, the 2007 campaign of the Dutch ministry of Housing, Districts and Integration for social integration (“Working Together, Living Together”) presumed that social unrest stemmed from “*over-representation*” of deprived households and non-western minority ethnic groups (Kempen & Bolt, 2009)! The same presumption is manifested in the general shift of Dutch urban policy, where social housing is confronted as a problem in itself (Uitermark, 2003). Many urban theorists –in the Dutch context– have drawn the connection between gentrification, middle class and the pursuit of social order and improved governance. In other words, gentrification as a state-led, crisis management, used to confront the instabilities caused by the postfordist economic –and therefore social– instability (Uitermark, 2003, Uitermark, Rossi & Van Houtum, 2007). However, this hegemony cannot be consolidated and gain legitimacy without the consent of the wider public and a coordination of relevant actors within and outside the “state apparatus” (Loopmans, 2007). That is why the trust of locals, firstly for the urban redevelopment attempts and ultimately for the fashion concept, was crucial (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14, Rob Kligen, 7/4/14).

A twist: Fashion's ability to unify urban, exhibitory and commercial spaces

However, the fashion discourse is **not only a top-down process**: the ArtEZ academy seeks a constant conversation with its surroundings, adopting a “socially responsible” stance. This positioning can be expressed either in the form of social actions (in cooperation with elderly houses etc) and designing for the community or as attempts to render the school part of the society (Hans Ansems, 24/2/14). Besides ArtEZ, the designers settled in Klarendal are trying to highlight another face of fashion by bringing their products to the average local dweller (<http://arnhemsestockdagen.nl/>). The “fashion ideology” can have many faces: actors of the fashion quarter seek to introduce fashion into everyday life, trying to take the discourse from the field of formal regulation to that of spatial practices (Lefebvre, 1991, Langegger, 2013). The constant conflict between appropriation and expression which takes place in every gentrified area is an inherent element of art, therefore design, being part of it. Ley (2003, p. 2542) writes that “(t)he redemptive eye of the artist could turn junk into art. The calculating eye of others would turn art into a commodity”. This approach helps us unveil another layer below the dominant aesthetics, ideology, economy schema. By dominant we mean that aesthetics refer to appropriated, higher status indicating imagery, ideology refer to a consumption culture, middle class related civic culture and social order and economy refers to fashion's embeddedness to dominant circuits of production, distribution and consumption. But the immediate actors of the fashion quarter are young designers; nonetheless idealistic about their craft and probably sympathetic towards avant-garde movements. They see that fashion's domestication steals away the revolutionary aspects of fashion: to shock and question art itself (Martinez, 2007). From their side, aesthetics refer to something far from appropriated, at times shocking; ideology coming in conflict with middle class culture. ArtEZ has kept a low profile in Klarendal, even though it is the central element; fashion as an urban planning tool and art of “rounded edges” does not concern them (Hans Ansems, 24/2/14).

One of fashion's most powerful elements is its **ability to unify the urban, exhibitory and commercial space** (Martinez, 2007); other forms of art could serve the same purpose as well. Events like the “Nacht van de Mode” (Night of Fashion) (or for the whole city the Arnhem Mode Biennale) change the conceptualization of urban space. Designers are opening their ateliers until midnight to display their work, exhibitions and fashion shows are held in every corner of the district, theater, dance and music performances with a little touch of fashion are organized in public spaces (as can be seen in Map 4 of the Appendix and <http://www.nachtvandemode.com/>). This way, the whole neighborhood is turned into a stage for fashion and arts; urban space is not divided into zones of commerce, exhibition and residual uses. Besides the work of Arnhem's designers exhibited, some collections of local residents are displayed as well (<http://www.nachtvandemode.com/>); fashion here could play the role of an adhesive material for the segregated (Charly Tomassen, 14/5/14) gentrifying neighborhood. Similarly, Arnhem's Fashion Biennale unifies spatial functions but at a citywide level. Designer products are exhibited outdoors in public spaces or on the street, fashion shows take place at unusual places, like churches or cafés, artistic performances (poetry, music, dance or others) intertwine with fashion, at the end of the day parties occupy central parts of the city, displays mixes with workshops and a variety of other fusions (<http://moba.nu/>). Of course the discourse of the dominant aesthetic and cultural paradigm is still expressed through these very events; urban space turns into a theme (Zukin 1987, 2009, Mitchell, 1995) and appears homogenized in order to serve as a unified spectacle while sponsors' signs dominate the landscape.

We saw that fashion besides its engagement with the dominant production circuit and use as an urban planning tool has a different side, one of a more artistic idiosyncrasy.

4. Fashion as art

In the previous subchapter we linked fashion with a consumption culture. But fashion is beyond that; by the immediate actors involved (designers etc) it is perceived as a form of art. We consciously choose to close the main part of the thesis taking a look at this overlooked side of fashion.

*“The redemptive eye of the artist could turn junk into art.
The calculating eye of others would turn art into a commodity”*
(Ley, 2003, p. 2542)

Fashion, even in its dominant form could be thought as some form of “resistance” to postmodern de-differentiation, which refers to the loss of distinctiveness in the context of the citizen-state, the public sphere and the market (Lash & Urry 1994). Fashion commodities are often “mythologized and historicized” (Martinez 2007); their distinct status is an aura goods lost with serialization of industrial mass production (Benjamin 1999). This aura can be traced in the continuum between museum curatorship and design retail where design commodities are displayed similarly in the exhibition room and in the shop alike, and their uniqueness is highlighted by displaying only a single example of each product, “just as museum objects are” (Martinez 2007). However, the aforementioned de-differentiation cannot be avoided since –despite their “museum status” –, they are still presented as “affordable and buyable” (Julier, 2000).

This ‘peculiarity’ of fashion commodities often mislead to an identification of a latent artistic character fashion in general is supposed to possess (see Martinez, 2007). Fashion is regulated by “distinct hierarchies”, high culture over low culture (Martinez, 2007), something which comes in conflict with the regular status of mass production commodities (industrial commodities). However, the fetishization of certain commodities is not something new (Debord, 1967) as phenomena as such are as old as Marxism. It is interesting that the rise of fashion is often placed as contemporary with the rise of capitalism (for example Nystrom, 1928, Wilson, 1988), and therefore signifies some of the changes the latter brought upon western societies (fetishization of commodities is a classic manifestation of capitalism according to Marx). In a traditional way of life, clothing denotes rank, not personality (York, 1984); contrariwise, the rise of capitalism and modernity (not accidentally put side by side) led to a culture based on economic capacity: cultural preferences are defined by the financial wherewithal available (Zukin, 2008, Refern, 2003).

However, one cannot ignore that fashion is connected with avant-garde movements. Moreover (or therefore), fashion often engages with themes that are perceived as unorthodox within the dominant context. For example, the Mode Biennale of 2013 in Arnhem had fetishism as its main theme (<http://moba.nu/>, accessed July 2014). Fashion events like the aforementioned often demand the participation of the spectator; in some cases the observer is demanded to reflect and *be aware* of the artificiality of the spectacle. These elements refer to the Situationist International movement (1957-72). Within this context, mass commodity

culture is perceived as merely a spectacle and the general public is described as passive and neutralized by this culture (Plant, 2002). The Situationist Movement raised the claim for situations of “creative resistance” (Plant, 2002), outside the dominant aesthetic paradigm.

Avant-garde movements as such were domesticated historically by their introduction to dominant exhibitory spaces for high art like museums (how ironic if we remember the comparison of design retail and museum curatorship). While initially intended to shock and question art itself, they ended up enlarging the existing field of high art by attracting new audiences! Avant-garde movements ultimately lost their subverting capacity when got fully embedded in the market circuit of high art (Pardo, 1999).

Designers in Klarendal seem to be already functioning within the traditional circuits of consumption, drawing their influence from high fashion status. Martinez (2007) identifies this installment within the dominant circuit as the reason why Antwerp’s avant-garde was domesticated so easily. So if the movement was appropriated from the start, why did it adopt a revolutionary avant-garde discourse? According to Martinez (2007) again, this discourse inculcated a different status to their work and rendered them “mediators of high-culture products rather than (of) commodities”. In Klarendal it is early to reach final conclusions as the process is still at an early stage. But we can surely notice that there are no fermentations for the establishment of a relevant artistic scene in Arnhem (Hans Ansems, 24/2/14), standing on its own feet away from municipal regulations. The consolidation of the Fashion Quarter is a state-led process; state-generated culture often *fades away* after investment flows stop. This is a point for further concern for local policy makers in Klarendal (Charly Tomassen, 14/5/14), as local actors do not have the capacity nor the intention of perpetuating funding. And it is a paradox, that, on the one hand, the Fashion Quarter is branded as “organic development”, a natural progress (see Studio Scale & Stipo, 2011), but on the other, the project is entirely artificial (as contrasted to natural), set up and regulated by powerful local actors (municipality, Volkshuisvesting).

5. Conclusions

In this chapter we saw how fashion is related to gentrification through its very discourse and characteristics. Aestheticisation of urban space, which is gentrification’s central process, is also fashion’s main impact on the urban realm. In Klarendal, fashion facilitated gentrification because it was the manifestation of a middle class hegemony. Through the presence of fashion, economic activities, types of visitors and the very identity of the neighborhood changed.

Additionally, the Fashion Quarter, besides an economic practice has clear ideological implications: vibrancy and livability (vehicle to which is the Fashion Quarter) refer to specific income and status groups. The aesthetic disposition of fashion and related entrepreneurs was revealed in practice to be a class deriving trait (as related to what mentioned in Chapter VII). Lastly, fashion designers and related newcomers proved to be suitable for urban pioneers: they secured the investment’s viability and helped the municipality to achieve effective governance in Klarendal.

IX. CONCLUSIONS/ DISCUSSION

Is Klarendal being gentrified?

Klarendal in general is an unorthodox case of gentrification. In this chapter we will see the main points of the analysis and will compare them to theoretical assumptions.

The district carries much of its history: unlike other cases where gentrification changed the scenery dramatically, Klarendal seems like an upgraded version of its previous self. With that being said, it is not implied that there are no tensions and the coexistence of the old and new elements is peaceful: historical aspects of the neighborhood such as its diverse environment, presence of artists, distinct character or rural structure are appropriated and have become part of a utilized nostalgia. The historical references of Klarendal though do not only carry this sweet scent of nostalgia: the wounds from past demolition and rebuilding processes, such as the punctured social fabric and the absence of small shops –which received the final blow during the redevelopment schemes of the 70s and 80s– are still present and tangible. After all, the social and structural problems of the neighborhood (deteriorated urban spaces, garbage, drug-related criminality) were –at least partially– stemming from those policies.

These problems were prominent until 2000: then, after an appeal by the local residents, the city board decided to take action and “fix” the troubled district. Before implementing the Fashion Quarter project, authorities put Klarendal under tight “probation”. While Volkshuisvesting was buying property to realize the project, the numbers of immigrants were dropping dramatically and the economic activities were changing; the municipality implemented a “policy of extinction” regarding the existing coffeeshops (Gemeente arnhem, 2012a). The pursuit of all the powerful actors involved was to render the neighborhood safe, and their ultimate goal was to achieve livability. The residents wanted shops and the authorities wanted vibrancy; Arnhem sought for creativity and Klarendal was home for many creative students. The Fashion Quarter was the convergence of the city’s economic planning (a shift to creative and innovative industries), the neighborhood’s elements (the distinct character and the student renters) and the ArtEZ’s huge potential. Even though the initial idea was to establish the quarter in an expensive riverside area, ultimately Klarendal was chosen because it was diverse, dynamic and tolerant: a latent artistic urbane habitus which needed a boost in representation of its “proper” elements. The neighborhood was planned to become a family oriented but vibrant area. Therefore, besides fashion, policy makers facilitated Klarendal’s change through the Multi-Functional Center (MFC) (which roofs schools, social workers and works as a community meeting point), upgraded schools around the neighborhood (which reinforced the neighborhood’s character as young-families oriented), the “Leuke Linde” playground (which improved the quality of life in general, became a locus of interactions and established the family oriented planning) and the Politiehuiskamer (which helped reducing feelings of insecurity and carried out the coffeeshops’ extinction policy).

Klarendal’s transformation, even though a paradoxical case, it can certainly be described as gentrification. It is not a conventional case because there is no data proving a notable rent increase; the interviews with notable actors, discussions with the locals and local entrepreneurs and policy documents revealed no such intention. Even our own web search on rent prices showed that the district is still relatively cheap. However, it must be noted that until today, Klarendal is going through the initial stages of gentrification (Charly Tomassen,

14/5/14); officials are trying to avoid a course similar to Spijkerviertel's (which has gotten significantly more expensive and class replacement was a lot faster) (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14), but property values are rising and therefore we cannot exclude the possibility market pushes the rents and prices up once Volkshuisvesting sells more of its dwellings (which is their explicit intention) (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14). Besides rent prices, we have **clear signs of gentrification**. Firstly, data shows immigrant displacement, and even though some of the interviewees supported the displaced are leaving for own reasons (Rob Klingen, 7/4/14, Charly Tomassen, 14/5/14), there is no concrete evidence to support this view. On the contrary, many of the locals interviewed support that the housing market has gone tighter (due to shifts from rented to bought accommodation and the change in use of many buildings that turned to workshops and artists' houses) resulting in involuntary departures (Focus Group 2, 9/11/13, 14/11/13). Secondly, there is a notable middle class influx in the form of young families of professionals and fashion entrepreneurs. The latter are encouraged to settle in the neighborhood by being offered living spaces above their working places. Thirdly, there is a clear change in the character of the neighborhood, and this is the main objection old Klarendalers have about the project. Even though in the project's discourse (Gemeente Arnhem, 2003, 2008, Studio Scale & Stipo, 2011) the neighborhood is still addressed as a working class, authentic, colorful district (see Zukin, 2008, 2009), the old residents feel pushed aside (Studio Scale & Stipo, 2011), and there are concrete evidence to support their view: the authorities are implementing double standards for fashion (and related) and non-fashion entrepreneurs. New cafes, restaurants and designer shops have advantages over older businesses in sidewalk use and shop signs allowances (Focus Group 2, 17/5/14); this tension *resembles* a visual and economic hegemony. Fourthly, there are clear signs of disinvestment- investment sequence (Smith, 1979), even though it cannot be proved they are intended. Nonetheless, basic problems (garbage, criminality) were described as "insisting" for decades and were not taken care of, causing devaluation of urban space. Without this devaluation, Volkshuisvesting would not acquire the amount of property needed for the implementation of the project. Investment and disinvestment are clearly connected with the very devaluation and revaluation of urban space, since the latter has entered the market logic of profit making. The transition from disinvestment to investment marks the initiation of gentrification. In Klarendal we cannot say that there is full-fledged gentrification, but it is intended to intensify it (Charly Tomassen, 14/5/14).

The discourse and presence of fashion in Klarendal

Fashion is at the center of all this planning: as a discourse, it stands as the meta-narrative of Klarendal's change and as a function it catalyzes all other activities. Fashion is the vehicle to livability and not a goal in itself; it increased the visitors to the neighborhood and therefore **vibrancy**; it rendered the Fashion Quarter as a **brand name**; it changed Klarendal's **population composition** through middle class young families and ArtEZ graduates influx. The enhancement of the fashion and design cluster in the district realized the main goal of livability, therefore the project can be considered as (partially) successful; the old Klarendalers appreciated the enhanced safety but they do not like the new face of the neighborhood. However, fashion failed to generate income for the locals (through social mixing) and create new job positions, as the number of relevant workers did not increase notably. Fashion and design businesses remained a small proportion of the neighborhood's total number of businesses, and Klarendal failed to stick out compared to the rest of Arnhem's districts in terms of Fashion and Design (cluster). In terms of design (the technical and not

retail part of FnD, what we called as OV) Klarendal stood out even before the implementation of the project so this cannot be considered as part of the Fashion Quarter's success. FnD's weak presence in Klarendal showed that it was more of an aesthetic element and a general shift in the character of the neighborhood rather than an economic policy. Arnhem, even though performing poorly on national scale, had a high concentration of FnD businesses compared to its size.

Why creativity is important for Arnhem and what this has to do with postfordism?

As said before, fashion in Klarendal is part of a greater strategy for the whole city: a turn to creativity as an economic policy and as an urban discourse. Statistical data support the presumption that Arnhem seeks to enhance its creative industries and it does indeed perform well. The reason city officials appreciate creativity is its **added value**. Creativity can enhance the performance of the economy horizontally- innovative and traditional sectors alike. It boosts innovation and improves the general economic climate (the city looks more competitive). But still, the city's position near the borders and its medium size prevents it from playing a central role on a national level; therefore, the pursuit to enhance this side of its economy in order to avoid talent drain to bigger cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam seems logical. The main factor rendering this pursuit crucial is the reciprocity of creativity: establishing a creative background of its own and attracting external creativity are reinforcing each other, and disparities between those two produce a general stagnation.

Creativity is important worldwide because of the **postfordist shift**: it changed the essence of labour (Thrift, 2008), and put talent and creativity at the forefront of economic activity. This practically translates into demand for immediate problem solving and even intuitive traits (Thrift, 2008) from the workforce, in contrast to demand for the mechanical repetition of task characterizing the previous model (fordism). Arnhem's officials are influenced by these global trends and shifts in economic production. Florida's (2000, 2002) remarks on creativity and the ways he describes attracting and breeding it are central in city's policies.

Arnhem is trying to stimulate and promote its attractiveness through its compact strategic planning in production, its diverse social environment, its quality built and physical landscape and its wide variety of cultural activities and recreational choices. The city bases its production on a wide spectrum of conventional and innovative sectors, boasts a strong –even on national scale– business services sector and is home for numerous notable firms in many sectors such as pharmaceuticals, fashion, goods and finance. Even though tolerance is “claimed” by the whole country, Arnhem can “prove” it through its ethnically, culturally and economically diverse environment. It is also part of the cultural cities of the Netherlands, having many notable monuments and a rich history; it is also one of the greenest cities in the country, therefore it is no coincidence it is an important touristic attraction. Lastly, Arnhem can provide a wide variety of cultural and recreational amenities: many concert halls, a philharmonic orchestra, theaters, restaurants and a vibrant nightlife.

Where do postfordism, attracting creativity and gentrification connect?

All of the above are enhanced and promoted in order to keep and attract high skilled labor in the city; as in any other city's attractiveness discourse, Arnhem's campaign is partially based on exaggeration, but it nevertheless seems to gather these basic characteristics that can

label it as attractive for “creative” workforce. The basic traits of artists and creative classes derive from their middle class origins: they are considered “seeds” of more effective governance, as their trust in state institutions is typically higher than of working class urbanites (Uitermark, 2003), they are more receptive advocates of public resources (for the same reason as before) and they have developed an aesthetic disposition (Bourdieu, 1993). The first relates to gentrification’s property as a crisis management tool (Uitermark, 2003), the second reveals why city governments invest more in gentrified and more expensive areas (Coscarelli, 2014) and the third explains why they usually choose gentrifying spaces for living; but those spaces are benefited because those groups reinforce aestheticisation which is crucial for **the appropriation of space which is central in any case of gentrification** (Zukin, 1998). Additionally, artists and creative classes a) choose to live in vibrant and artistic urban areas (artistic urbane habitus, Ley, 2003), which generate gentrification through urban space revaluation and b) constitute excellent urban pioneers, necessary for initiating and sustaining gentrification. Despite initial gentrifiers’ good intentions, they are ultimately appropriated themselves and used as generators for gentrification (Uitermark, 2003, Ley, 2003, Lees, 2008).

Summarily, attractiveness is crucial in postfordism; the latter, led to commodification of the urban realm that has put it in a market logic: cities are competing each other to attract high skilled labor in order to reach higher economic performance. Blue collars, undertakers of fordism, had a mentality rendering them less mobile; and even if they were moving across space, urban amenities played a minor role compared to job opportunities. Job opportunities on the other hand are just one of the factors attracting high skilled labor; these groups demand more from their place of settlement and working environment, exactly because they have the class privilege of affording to do so.

Gentrification signifies attractiveness in a city, as it is exactly this process where the creative classes’ habitat is being established. Therefore, gentrification is a manifestation of competitiveness and social and economic efficiency; and that is why in turn, Smith and Hackworth (2001) identify the anchoring phase of gentrification during the emergence of postfordism.

Fashion and gentrification

Gentrification in Klarendal though is not facilitated only by those “grand scheme” attributes of postfordism and its carriers. Fashion itself, which is the main distinguishing element of the new version of the neighborhood, has the discourse and characteristics that fit gentrification like a glove; as the creative classes, it is marked by an inherent aestheticisation. Fashion actually is the extreme manifestation of this aestheticisation, expressed through a fetishization of the very notion of aesthetics. However it must be pointed out that aestheticisation is present in the discourse of all symbol-based economies (Jansson & Power, 2010, Zukin, 1998). Fashion “loves” spaces themefied; “tamed” spaces but authentic and intriguing at the same time, just as developers and policy makers described gentrified spaces. Policy makers in Arnhem, carried away by this characteristic of fashion (the fetishization of aesthetics), attach a general aesthetical value to it. In the framework of a gentrified neighborhood, where visual symbolisms play an equally important role as economic efficiency (if not more), fashion stands as inherently good aesthetics, contrasted to poverty or drug abuse (which were the problems of Klarendal before the fashion project). This is

manifested in various texts and documents regarding Klarendal's transformation (Gemeente Arnhem, 2009b, Douma, 2011, Kessels, 2012). Besides fashion itself, its carriers, the actors revolving around fashion and design production, have this class deriving tension between otherness and conformity; the very role of those groups as gentrifiers produces this dipole. The conciliation of this dipole is also the main concern of fashion (Redfern 2003) and the main cultural process ongoing in gentrification (Zukin, 1987). As we see, fashion through its characteristics is very close to gentrification.

How does fashion facilitate gentrification in Klarendal?

Fashion, besides its evident facilitations to Klarendal's gentrification (influx of middle class ArtEZ graduates and young professionals' families, attraction of middle and upper class visitors), it functioned in another way as well: **it set a unitary –and thereby exclusionary– aesthetical paradigm where “deviant” visual representations were residualized** (Focus Group 2, 17/5/14). Part of this shift in the visual strategies of the neighborhood was the attraction of different types of visitors and the operationalization of the project by different types of actors.

The *boulevardiers* the Fashion Quarter (with the whole spectrum of amenities it offers: from fashion and cake designers' workshops to hip bars and restaurants) appeals to, differ from the people visiting the area in the past. That happens not only because of the prices range in products offered, but due to the quarter's visual assemblage. The operators of the project, first time entrepreneurs who just graduated from ArtEZ, young but experienced bars and restaurant owners and older but driven designers who both relocated their businesses from other areas of the city to Klarendal (usually from Spijkerkwartier and Centrum) vary from the typical example of Klarendal's entrepreneurs until the recent past. Both groups, visitors and entrepreneurs today, set a sharp contrast with their equivalents of the past; the new spectacle of the neighborhood reinforced by and attracted the same actors.

The main difference compared to the past though is actually the higher level of social capital, which refers to all kinds of social involvement. There is an evident tendency in the literature to correlate low levels of involvement with low levels of social capital (Kempen & Bolt, 2009, Kearns & Forrest, 2000, Putnam, 1996, 1997). Social capital can be defined as “the norms and networks of civic society that lubricate co-operative action among both citizens and their institutions” (Kearns & Forrest, 2000). It is apparent why recent visitors and entrepreneurs of Klarendal possess higher levels of social capital than those in the past; one of the main reasons Arnhem's authorities decided to establish a new entrepreneurial paradigm in the neighborhood was the reluctance of then business owners to cooperate. Trust and cooperation are often presented as given, and the unwillingness to perform as expected is taken as an inherent cultural or social characteristic.

Besides all the previous, the level of investment of the Fashion Quarter rendered safe entrepreneurship an urgent necessity, something that was not the case before; hence, **it changed the balance of representation**, since deviant behaviors were aesthetically and economically threatening.

All documents and texts regarding Klarendal's transformation are implying there was a class or cultural tension, that fashion was summoned to resolve. **The ultimate facilitation fashion offered is that it was the very visual strategy that helped establishing the middle**

class hegemony, manifestation of which gentrification is (Zukin, 1987, 1998). It did that in a threefold way: it elevated Klarendal's status, as it is considered a form of high art; it "upgraded" Klarendal's community functionality, as it brought actors with higher levels of social capital; and it stimulated Klarendal's economic activity, as it is a unique and innovative production sector. Those three "services" are reinforcing each other in terms of aesthetics, ideology and economy, generating further gentrification.

Theoretical remarks

All told, it was shown that gentrification in Klarendal was implemented as a crisis management tool, verifying Uitermark's (2003) assumptions. Livability, whether it refers to actual threats or feelings of insecurity, proves the motives of the project since it is its ultimate goal (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14).

Disinvestment led to degradation, since the municipality left the neighborhood aside, denying to intervene and solve its most basic problems of deteriorating urban space (squalor, garbage, poor maintenance and bad planning due to constant demolitions and redevelopments) and drug related criminality. Interviewees did not have an answer why it had to take a middle class influx to get these problems solved: Rob Klingen (7/4/14) speculated that the municipality had "lost its faith" in the district and deemed pointless to *invest* there. Others implied that it was impossible for the municipality to intervene since the residents refused to cooperate (Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14, Charly Tomassen, 14/5/14). But still, we cannot see the logic behind such an assertion, since it concerns really basic problems (garbage, criminality). Therefore, even if we cannot claim in any case that it was a long term plan conducted by the municipality, the sequence of disinvestment/ investment verifies Smith's (1979) positions.

However, in order to implement such a project, capital revaluation occurred. The housing corporation played the role of the market response here although it functions as a private company of public interest, a utility; therefore we cannot correlate it directly with profit companies. Here is another particularity of the Dutch context regarding gentrification: the margins of public and private are blurred, preventing us from clarifying whether our case was purely state-led or private-led gentrification. What we can say, is that gentrification would be impossible without the housing corporation's capital, even though the Fashion Quarter project received heavy state funding. The motives behind Volkshuisvesting's intervention do not reside solely in public interest: the value of property the company acquired since the implementation of the project, or already owned from before (Klarendal had until the middle of the previous decade one of the highest rates of social housing) skyrocketed; the second phase of the project had Volkshuisvesting selling most of its dwellings in order to let the neighborhood walk on its own feet (Charly Tomassen, 14/5/14). Thus, Volkshuisvesting, after seeing the value of its buildings in the neighborhood increasing, had to sell it; and they have no problem doing that since the demand got high. Therefore, economically wise, the housing corporation's intervention seems like a logical market response, since it generated profit. It is not wise though to hurry up verifying Smith's (1979) assumption on the causal factors of gentrification, because the scheme in Klarendal now enters its anchoring phase (Charly Tomassen, 14/5/14) and fermentations have not crystallized yet.

Lees' (2008) assumed main motivation of gentrification in the Netherlands includes all aspects of Klarendal's redevelopment: the strengthening of the economic position of Dutch cities. This claim includes Arnhem's economic planning, Klarendal's need for a "fix" AND the mobility of the housing market (in terms of Volkshuisvesting's investment policies and its informal invitation to private developers to take over).

Ley's (2003) artistic urbane habitus may have not been confirmed, since there was no serious artistic scene established in the neighborhood (Focus Group 2, 14/11/13, 10/1/14), but it was appropriated as a concept by the municipality to justify the Fashion Quarter project.

The other theoretical point of major importance, besides the causes of gentrification, is the rationale behind it; why it is considered a positive urban transformation process by policy makers. Social mixing, as encountered in papers (Lees, 2008, Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans, 2007, Kearns & Forrest, 2000, Kempen & Bolt, 2009), policy documents (Gemeente Arnhem, 2003, 2006, 2009b, 2012b) and interviews (Berry Kessels, 13/3/14, Chris Zeevenhooven, 20/3/14, Charly Tomassen, 14/5/14) is seen as the central positive outcome deriving from gentrification. Lees (2008) summarizes the arguments in favor of it in three points: middle class as advocates of public resources is good to be around, socioeconomically mixed neighborhoods boast a stronger local economy and social mixing enhances social and economic opportunities. The first point has been thoroughly analyzed through the thesis (middle class as seeds of effective governance and most efficient users of urban amenities). The rest were shaken down by data. Social mixing in Klarendal failed to improve the old dwellers' income and the recently established entrepreneurs produce until today an impressively low income (Table 9, Berry Kessels, 13/3/14, Charly Tomassen, 14/5/14). Short interviews with old-Klarendalers and new entrepreneurs disproved the third point as well, as we saw that interactions between old and new residents hardly occur and if so, remain on a superficial level (Focus Group 1, 24/5/14, Focus Group 2, 9/11/13, 14/11/13, 10/1/14, 17/5/14). Furthermore, it is particularly interesting that even interviewees promoting these rationales, did not have a clear answer on social mixing's concrete contribution to the neighborhood's general income and opportunities (Hans Karssenbergh, 1/4/14, Esther Ruiten, 7/4/14).

Methodological remarks

In this thesis we used a various spectrum of sources: personal observations, municipal statistics, policy documents and interviews. We had a clear view of our goal from the beginning: gentrification cannot be researched without being put in a specific framework; therefore, we needed a clear and holistic approach that would include not only the neighborhood but all of the city. This was the reason we chose to work with all these sources. In the end, we believe that we reached our goal: we related the city's strategy with the theory, and we were led to Klarendal's gentrification.

This holistic approach also helped us identify the pros and cons of Klarendal's transformation. Even though this case seems to be undoubtedly successful, this is not the whole story. We will mention hidden displacement right after, but this is not the only negative aspect of the story: young entrepreneurs are still vulnerable, but the municipality's future plans is to sell more social housing and let the market pressures become stronger. Therefore, the project's viability is at stake, at least for the future.

We also overcame some of the certainties of gentrification: for example, in our case, displacement did not occur through rent increase but due to the tight housing market and the mechanism of waiting lists. In this example, many interviewees denied that there is displacement, but at the same time, other interviewees were explaining that Volkshuisvesting is working together with social workers profiling customers and keeping them away from big parts of the neighborhood. We would not have reached this conclusion without juxtaposing findings from statistics, interviews and policy documents.

Most importantly, we avoided the standard epistemological fragmentation, where small “parts” or aspects of an issue are isolated and researched, as if the parts added up make the whole. This is a common problem in scientific papers on gentrification, where certain aspects of it are researched, leading to conclusions that scrutinized under a realistic view make little sense. We kept contact with the neighborhood and approached the issue holistically in order to avoid exactly those non- realistic conclusions. Part of this strategy was to deliberately avoid formality in data gathering. We visited working class bars, coffeeshops, immigrant shops; to maintain a scientific formality would lead us losing any sort of credibility, and most importantly, would lead the interviewed give less considered answers.

Our contribution

We combined gentrification and labour force attraction theories. Thereby, we placed Klarendal’s gentrification in a citywide context (which derives from its outer context: European and global).

We also researched gentrification in a tight housing market context: several variations are deriving from this. For example, displacement is produced by waiting lists and not rent increase.

Ultimately, we found the role of fashion in urban space, and not just gentrifying space. Influenced by fashion’s aesthetics, we combined Zukin’s assumptions about gentrification as a hegemonic visual strategy with urban attractiveness. These processes are not taking place only in Klarendal but in many cities throughout Europe. This way, Smith’s assumptions for gentrification as a generalized urban strategy found a place in urban branding techniques: city branding and gentrification are interrelated notions.

Recommendations for district development

Cultural amenities –like music, theater, fashion– in the city are highly profitable for the city itself and its entrepreneurs. Therefore, it is inevitable that local governments will seek to establish cultural environments (like the Fashion Quarter), even if those are imposed and superficial, in order to stimulate attractiveness and revenues. Therefore, it is not realistic to say that the municipality of Arnhem should step back on its plan for Klarendal.

However, it is practical to point out that if the municipality insists on letting market to take over future development, any accomplishments until now will be at stake. That is because the young entrepreneurs who are the backbone of the project are still vulnerable; their very vulnerability is part of the project’s charm. It is very difficult for Arnhem to get established as a notable fashion city on European level; what it can do is to consolidate an alternative fashion realm where locality and distinctiveness play the main role. In order to do that, it must

maintain the vibrant entrepreneurial spirit that is going on now (Walter De Bes, 7/5/14) at all costs. If this “vibe” (to use the terminology used by the very actors in the neighborhood) is lost then Klarendal will lose a considerable part of its attractiveness.

The difference between Klarendal and other gentrifying neighborhoods is that there is a central concept, a distinguishing factor. It is not vaguely about hipster cafes and small workshops; hence, district development depends solely on the viability of the fashion project. Even though in Volkshuisvesting fashion is used just as a vehicle to livability, it is unrealistic to believe that Klarendal will keep progressing if the fashion project fails and young entrepreneurs are pushed out of the neighborhood due to further gentrification.

Practically, the municipality should reconsider about getting Volkshuisvesting to sell most of its property. Thereby, the young entrepreneurs will be protected and there will be the option of letting more kickstarters in the neighborhood. The lack of state funds in the future (something that has been pointed out by various interviewees) could be surpassed by value capturing techniques (something that is already a thought of policy makers according to Charly Tomassen).

If, due to value capturing, market pushes rents up, the only solution is to prevent further gentrification and create protected zones; something like the initial help young entrepreneurs received in the beginning of the project. The short term benefits of further gentrification are balanced out by a long term planning of a consolidated and fully fledged spontaneous fashion quarter. The key here is what mentioned above: mainstream fashion centers lack those bottom-up characteristics Klarendal has now, so the municipality should continue relying on those.

Of course all these bear a mark on the social fabric of the neighborhood. Changing the neighborhood’s character does not only produce displacement but limits the diversity of the neighborhood. Let us point out here that diversity is a central aspect –and goal if you like– of Klarendal’s development. Hence, the neighborhood in its pursuit to reach diversity is losing it. This is a core structural distortion of gentrifying neighborhoods and it is stemming from the commodification of the urban realm that has been mentioned above. Therefore, the municipality should reinvent its very role: now, it is functioning as an investor of some sort. This causes crucial problems in the social reproduction of labor, leading to economic and social instability; in other words, not only moral but practical problems. Urban justice should find its place in the city, and in order for this to occur, the local government should consolidate a different identity, outside the market logic.

Limitations/ Propositions for further research

The most serious practical problem of our research was that we did not gain access to information about real estate offices and private developers: therefore, we researched the state side of Klarendal’s gentrification, and the market response was limited to Volkshuisvesting (even though this was the main actor).

This thesis sought to scrutinize the connection of fashion and gentrification. We did that with a state-led gentrification approach: we did not search for any potential private contribution to the Fashion Quarter project in its initial steps. While this being the most notable preterition of our research, it is our proposition for further research. In other cases –

even in the case of Klarendal—, fashion's nature leads us to believe that private interventions are very likely to occur, and even initiate gentrification schemes. In medium-sized creative cities and, a fortiori, in European fashion centers, relevant strong firms can be directly benefited by gentrification transformations; therefore, since the motives are there, these interventions are yet to be identified and researched. Jansson & Power (2010) have presented some examples from global fashion cities, but relevant literature is far from complete.

A second serious limitation was the language issue, which rendered our touch with the news from Klarendal very restricted. We partially overcame it by using translating software, but ultimately, we missed the slight language nuances (in news presentation for example, or when presenting a problem in a policy document), the chosen words, that make a big difference in discourse analysis. We also used as many officially translated policy documents we could, in order to see how the authorities themselves formulated the issues under attention in English.

A third problem was that we did not get close as much as we wanted with the silent dwellers of the neighborhood. The immigrants and those Volkshuisvesting describes as people with mental problems. Even though we tried to get in contact with the Islamic elementary school of Klarendal, Ibn-i Sina, we ultimately did not. This school's main purpose is integration, but while maintaining the Islamic identity, so their contribution could be pivotal. The other "silent" group, those people with "mental problems" were even harder to find and get to talk. Still, their presence in the neighborhood changes Volkshuisvesting's policy, and as we mentioned at a previous point, they are profiled as "problematic households" and intentionally kept away from specific parts of the neighborhood; thus, their side of the story would be very important.

Theoretically, we tried to avoid the moral pitfall of many gentrification studies when it comes to displacement: a paper about gentrification cannot be limited describing why gentrification is "bad" or "good", by chasing down displaced dwellers. Gentrification, in our point of view, is a manifestation of a highly impractical urban mentality; a general way the authorities, influenced by market pressures, see the city itself. This mentality is the commodification of the urban realm; we saw it in Klarendal and it has been pointed out in countless other cases. The urban realm, caught in the spiral movement of the capitalist economy where everything has to be in perpetual motion (as a mark of growth itself), inevitably is led to constant devaluation, since it is not a flexibly produced commodity, but derives from lengthy economic, social and mainly cultural processes. In general, to commodify the field where the social reproduction of labour takes place can be described as one of the main distortions of postindustrial capitalism. The devaluation that inescapably occurs is leading to decreased attention by the authorities. Therefore, we see that the commodification of urban space has changed the way the urban governments see urban space: as a field for investment. Gentrification studies must point out all these issues, identify the vicious circles, and point out not only the moral side but also the practical drawbacks of otherwise conceived as successful strategies.

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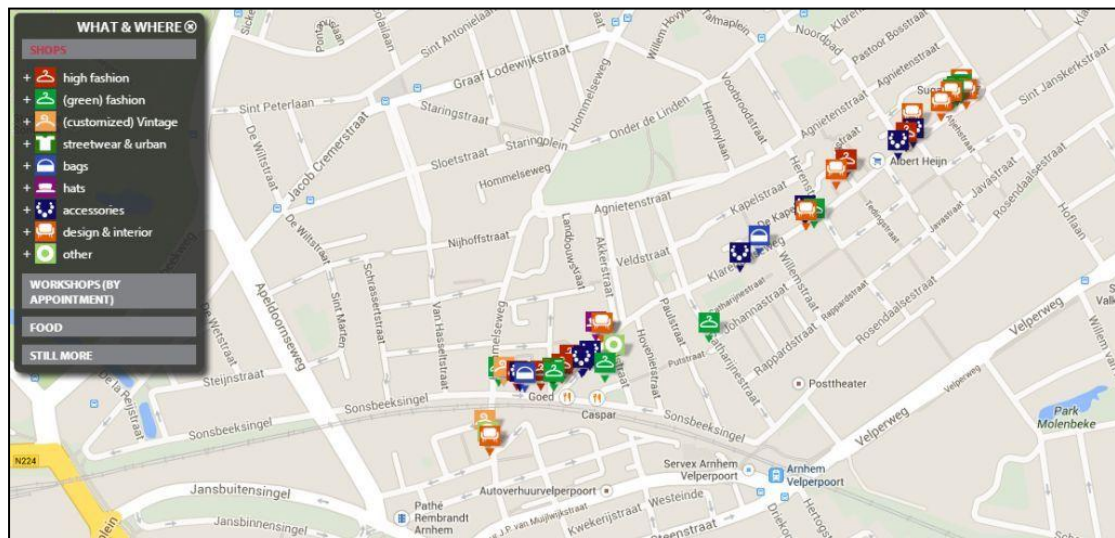
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APPENDIX



Map 2: Shops of the Fashion Quarter

Source: <http://modekwartier.nl/>



Map 3: Workshops of the Fashion Quarter

Source: <http://modekwartier.nl/>

Temporal development of FnD Businesses in Klarendal and Arnhem (2004-13)

Year	KLARENDAL			ARNHEM			LQ
	Total number of Businesses	FnD Businesses	FnD Businesses (%)	Total number of Businesses	FnD Businesses	FnD Businesses (%)	
2004	330	40	12,12%	8.210	880	10,72%	1,13
2005	370	40	10,81%	8.450	900	10,65%	1,02
2006	380	50	13,16%	8.780	970	11,05%	1,19
2007	410	50	12,20%	9.410	1.030	10,95%	1,11
2008	420	50	11,90%	10.050	1.120	11,14%	1,07
2009	480	60	12,50%	10.800	1.190	11,02%	1,13
2010	490	60	12,24%	11.320	1.230	10,87%	1,13
2011	550	60	10,91%	11.930	1.250	10,48%	1,04
2012	620	70	11,29%	12.590	1.290	10,25%	1,10
2013	650	70	10,77%	12.980	1.310	10,09%	1,07

Table 17: Businesses in cluster Fashion and Design in Klarendal and Arnhem (2004-13)

Source: <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, own processing

Temporal development of FnD Workers in Klarendal and Arnhem (2004-13)

Year	KLARENDAL			ARNHEM			LQ
	Total number of workers	FnD Workers	FnD Workers (%)	Total number of workers	FnD Workers	FnD Workers (%)	
2004	1570	70	4,46%	95.900	4580	4,78%	0,93
2005	1520	80	5,26%	94.670	4390	4,64%	1,13
2006	1540	80	5,19%	95.110	4760	5,00%	1,04
2007	1480	90	6,08%	98.110	5.200	5,30%	1,15
2008	1380	90	6,52%	100.220	5.130	5,12%	1,27
2009	1450	90	6,21%	101.050	5.100	5,05%	1,23
2010	1490	90	6,04%	101.950	4.940	4,85%	1,25
2011	1530	100	6,54%	101.230	4.830	4,77%	1,37
2012	1640	100	6,10%	100.570	4.910	4,88%	1,25
2013	1710	90	5,26%	99.840	4.620	4,63%	1,14

Table 18: Workers in cluster Fashion and Design in Klarendal and Arnhem (2004-13)

Source: <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, own processing

Businesses in cluster Fashion and Design (2004, 2013)												
District	Population		FnD Businesses		Total Businesses		FnD Businesses (%)		LQ		CVw	
	2004	2013	2004	2013	2004	2013	2004	2013	2004	2013	2004	2013
Centrum	4.294	4.912	240	290	1320	1530	18,18%	18,95%	1,70	1,88	1.253,77	1.817,02
Spijkerkwartier	5.785	6.193	60	100	650	1010	9,23%	9,90%	0,86	0,98	22,24	85,26
Arnhemse Broek	5.237	5.923	50	70	620	890	8,06%	7,87%	0,75	0,78	6,58	9,40
Presikhaaf-West	8.859	7.814	20	20	230	370	8,70%	5,41%	0,81	0,54	17,38	62,38
Presikhaaf-Oost	6.396	6.524	50	60	440	520	11,36%	11,54%	1,06	1,14	8,03	1,28
St.Marten/Sonsbeek-Zuid	4.306	4.572	30	60	270	550	11,11%	10,91%	1,04	1,08	1,35	0,90
Klarendal	7.663	7.345	40	70	330	650	12,12%	10,77%	1,13	1,07	0,60	11,65
Velperweg e.o.	7.816	8.454	50	90	460	810	10,87%	11,11%	1,01	1,10	9,81	70,78
Alteveer en Cranevelt	4.265	4.328	20	40	260	420	7,69%	9,52%	0,72	0,94	8,37	6,14
Geitenkamp	4.525	4.057	10	20	140	240	7,14%	8,33%	0,67	0,83	22,72	32,39
Monnikenhuizen	3.528	3.471	10	20	140	250	7,14%	8,00%	0,67	0,79	17,72	27,71
Burgemeesterswijk / Hoogkamp	7.429	7.505	60	90	670	1040	8,96%	8,65%	0,84	0,86	28,56	62,83
Schaarsbergen e.o.	1.858	1.954	0	10	210	250	0,00%	4,00%	0,00	0,40	17,64	25,92
Heijenoord / Lombok	3.705	4.095	20	40	230	400	8,70%	10,00%	0,81	0,99	7,27	5,81
Klingelbeek	1.331	1.249	0	20	90	140	0,00%	14,29%	0,00	1,42	12,64	9,97
Malburgen-West	3.683	4.205	20	20	90	220	22,22%	9,09%	2,07	0,90	7,23	33,57
Malburgen-Oost (Noord)	4.693	5.722	0	20	140	310	0,00%	6,45%	0,00	0,64	44,56	45,68
Malburgen-Oost (Zuid)	8.757	7.290	0	20	170	290	0,00%	6,90%	0,00	0,68	83,15	58,20
Vredenburg / Kronenburg	8.660	8.158	40	60	410	530	9,76%	11,32%	0,91	1,12	0,68	1,60
Elden	2.094	2.118	0	10	150	200	0,00%	5,00%	0,00	0,50	19,88	28,10
Elderveld	9.940	9.277	30	40	280	440	10,71%	9,09%	1,00	0,90	3,12	13,17
De Laar	13.398	12.665	40	40	400	620	10,00%	6,45%	0,93	0,64	1,05	17,98
Rijkerswoerd	13.287	13.147	30	60	500	790	6,00%	7,59%	0,56	0,75	4,17	2,57
Schuytgraaf	90	8.843	0	50	20	530	0,00%	9,43%	0,00	0,93	0,85	1,24
Totaal	141.599	149.821	880	1310	8210	12980	10,72%	10,09%	1,00	1,00	1,09	0,90
Average	5.899,96	6.242,54	36,67	54,58	342,08	540,83						

Table 19: Businesses in cluster Fashion and Design (2004, 2013)

Source: <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, own processing

Workers in cluster Fashion and Design (2004, 2013)

District	Population		FnD Workers			Total workers		FnD Workers (%)		LQ		CVw	
	2004	2013	2004	2013	Variation	2004	2013	2004	2013	2004	2013	2004	2013
Centrum	4.294	4.912	1440	1300	-9,72%	17.550	18.210	8,21%	7,14%	1,72	1,54	1.134.159,75	965.853,15
Spijkerkwartier	5.785	6.193	160	140	-12,50%	2.920	3.190	5,48%	4,39%	1,15	0,95	983,24	2.691,15
Arnhemse Broek	5.237	5.923	350	410	17,14%	12.390	14.580	2,82%	2,81%	0,59	0,61	22.252,48	45.056,89
Presikhaaf-West	8.859	7.814	60	110	83,33%	2.040	2.430	2,94%	4,53%	0,62	0,98	26.030,80	8.433,77
Presikhaaf-Oost	6.396	6.524	380	360	-5,26%	9.420	7.900	4,03%	4,56%	0,84	0,98	38.451,55	29.467,28
St.Marten/Sonsbeek-Zuid	4.306	4.572	40	70	75,00%	650	910	6,15%	7,69%	1,29	1,66	16.788,25	10.915,85
Klarendal	7.663	7.345	70	90	28,57%	1.570	1.710	4,46%	5,26%	0,93	1,14	19.226,18	12.261,40
Velperweg e.o.	7.816	8.454	510	660	29,41%	7.600	7.370	6,71%	8,96%	1,41	1,94	134.245,53	296.508,96
Alteveer en Cranevelt	4.265	4.328	40	50	25,00%	5.150	5.150	0,78%	0,97%	0,16	0,21	16.628,40	13.996,26
Geitenkamp	4.525	4.057	30	30	0,00%	740	750	4,05%	4,00%	0,85	0,86	20.045,21	17.073,41
Monnikenhuizen	3.528	3.471	20	20	0,00%	710	850	2,82%	2,35%	0,59	0,51	17.621,85	16.465,34
Burgemeesterswijk / Hoogkamp	7.429	7.505	520	520	0,00%	3.910	4.750	13,30%	10,95%	2,78	2,37	135.741,10	129.275,50
Schaarsbergen e.o.	1.858	1.954	20	20	0,00%	6.040	4.960	0,33%	0,40%	0,07	0,09	9.280,44	9.269,17
Heijenoord / Lombok	3.705	4.095	70	50	-28,57%	1.340	1.660	5,22%	3,01%	1,09	0,65	9.295,71	13.242,77
Klingelbeek	1.331	1.249	20	40	100,00%	3.740	3.970	0,53%	1,01%	0,11	0,22	6.648,15	4.627,69
Malburgen-West	3.683	4.205	30	20	-33,33%	300	460	10,00%	4,35%	2,09	0,94	16.315,25	19.947,21
Malburgen-Oost (Noord)	4.693	5.722	10	20	100,00%	900	1.290	1,11%	1,55%	0,23	0,34	26.251,38	27.143,39
Malburgen-Oost (Zuid)	8.757	7.290	20	30	50,00%	1.040	890	1,92%	3,37%	0,40	0,73	43.739,96	30.679,11
Vredenburg / Kronenburg	8.660	8.158	260	270	3,85%	7.100	6.510	3,66%	4,15%	0,77	0,90	6.853,84	7.933,83
Elden	2.094	2.118	20	10	-50,00%	4.380	4.330	0,46%	0,23%	0,10	0,05	10.459,23	11.248,77
Elderveld	9.940	9.277	340	190	-44,12%	1.690	2.450	20,12%	7,76%	4,21	1,68	37.069,35	6,45
De Laar	13.398	12.665	80	40	-50,00%	1.560	1.650	5,13%	2,42%	1,07	0,52	28.316,41	46.925,29
Rijkerswoerd	13.287	13.147	110	110	0,00%	3.150	3.040	3,49%	3,62%	0,73	0,78	15.019,92	14.189,76
Schuytgraaf	90	8.843	0	50	#DIV/0!	30	870	0,00%	5,75%	0,00	1,24	560,39	28.597,26
Totaal	141.599	149.821	4580	4620	0,87%	95.900	99.840	4,78%	4,63%	1,00	1,00	6,98	6,91
Average	5.899,96	6.242,54	191,67	192,08		3.996,67	4.161,67						

Table 20: Workers in cluster Fashion and Design (2004, 2013)

Source: <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, own processing

Temporal development of OV Businesses in Klarendal and Arnhem (2004-13)

Year	Arnhem			Klaredal			LQ
	Total number of Businesses	OV Businesses	OV businesses %	Total number of Businesses	OV Businesses	OV Businesses %	
2004	8.210	510	6,21%	330	40	12,12%	1,95
2005	8.450	520	6,15%	370	40	10,81%	1,76
2006	8.780	580	6,61%	380	40	10,53%	1,59
2007	9.410	620	6,59%	410	40	9,76%	1,48
2008	10.050	710	7,06%	420	40	9,52%	1,35
2009	10.800	780	7,22%	480	50	10,42%	1,44
2010	11.320	830	7,33%	490	40	8,16%	1,11
2011	11.930	850	7,12%	550	50	9,09%	1,28
2012	12.590	870	6,91%	620	50	8,06%	1,17
2013	12.980	890	6,86%	650	60	9,23%	1,35

Table 21: OV (design) Businesses in Klarendal and Arnhem (2004-13)

Source: <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, own processing

Temporal development of OV Workers in Klarendal and Arnhem (2004-13)

Year	Arnhem			Klaredal			LQ
	Total number of Workers	OV Workers	OV Workers %	Total number of Workers	OV Workers	OV Workers %	
2004	95.900	2.660	2,77%	1.570	60	3,82%	1,38
2005	94.670	2.550	2,69%	1.520	70	4,61%	1,71
2006	95.110	2.880	3,03%	1.540	70	4,55%	1,50
2007	98.110	3.180	3,24%	1.480	70	4,73%	1,46
2008	100.220	3.090	3,08%	1.380	70	5,07%	1,65
2009	101.050	3.090	3,06%	1.450	80	5,52%	1,80
2010	101.950	3.000	2,94%	1.490	70	4,70%	1,60
2011	101.230	2.850	2,82%	1.530	80	5,23%	1,86
2012	100.570	2.980	2,96%	1.640	80	4,88%	1,65
2013	99.840	2.820	2,82%	1.710	70	4,09%	1,45

Table 22: OV (design) Workers in Klarendal and Arnhem (2004-13)

Source: <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, own processing

Design Businesses (ontwerp/ vormgeving, OV)

DISTRICT	Population		Total businesses		OV businesses		OV Businesses % (of district's all bus/es)		LQ		% (of sector's all bus/es)		CVw	
	2004	2013	2004	2013	2004	2013	2004	2013	2004	2013	2004	2013	2004	2013
Centrum	4.294	4.912	1.320	1.530	50	70	3,79%	4,58%	0,61	0,67	9,80%	7,87%	25,07	35,52
Spijkerkwartier	5.785	6.193	650	1.010	40	80	6,15%	7,92%	0,99	1,16	7,84%	8,99%	14,36	76,13
Arnhemse Broek	5.237	5.923	620	890	40	60	6,45%	6,74%	1,04	0,98	7,84%	6,74%	13,00	20,76
Presikhaaf-West	8.859	7.814	230	370	10	20	4,35%	5,41%	0,70	0,79	1,96%	2,25%	7,92	15,22
Presikhaaf-Oost	6.396	6.524	440	520	30	40	6,82%	7,69%	1,10	1,12	5,88%	4,49%	3,46	0,37
St.Marten/Sonsbeek-Zuid	4.306	4.572	270	550	20	60	7,41%	10,91%	1,19	1,59	3,92%	6,74%	0,05	16,03
Klarendal	7.663	7.345	330	650	40	60	12,12%	9,23%	1,95	1,35	7,84%	6,74%	19,03	25,75
Velperweg e.o.	7.816	8.454	460	810	50	90	10,87%	11,11%	1,75	1,62	9,80%	10,11%	45,62	158,01
Alteveer en Cranevelt	4.265	4.328	260	420	20	30	7,69%	7,14%	1,24	1,04	3,92%	3,37%	0,05	1,45
Geitenkamp	4.525	4.057	140	240	10	20	7,14%	8,33%	1,15	1,22	1,96%	2,25%	4,04	7,90
Monnikenhuizen	3.528	3.471	140	250	0	10	0,00%	4,00%	0,00	0,58	0,00%	1,12%	11,25	16,99
Burgemeesterswijk / Hoogkamp	7.429	7.505	670	1.040	60	80	8,96%	7,69%	1,44	1,12	11,76%	8,99%	78,78	92,26
Schaarsbergen e.o.	1.858	1.954	210	250	0	10	0,00%	4,00%	0,00	0,58	0,00%	1,12%	5,93	9,57
Heijenoord / Lombok	3.705	4.095	230	400	20	30	8,70%	7,50%	1,40	1,09	3,92%	3,37%	0,04	1,37
Klingelbeek	1.331	1.249	90	140	0	10	0,00%	7,14%	0,00	1,04	0,00%	1,12%	4,24	6,11
Malburgen-West	3.683	4.205	90	220	10	20	11,11%	9,09%	1,79	1,33	1,96%	2,25%	3,29	8,19
Malburgen-Oost (Noord)	4.693	5.722	140	310	0	10	0,00%	3,23%	0,00	0,47	0,00%	1,12%	14,97	28,01
Malburgen-Oost (Zuid)	8.757	7.290	170	290	0	10	0,00%	3,45%	0,00	0,50	0,00%	1,12%	27,93	35,69
Vredenburg / Kronenburg	8.660	8.158	410	530	0	20	0,00%	3,77%	0,00	0,55	0,00%	2,25%	27,62	15,89
Elden	2.094	2.118	150	200	0	10	0,00%	5,00%	0,00	0,73	0,00%	1,12%	6,68	10,37
Elderveld	9.940	9.277	280	440	20	30	7,14%	6,82%	1,15	0,99	3,92%	3,37%	0,11	3,11
De Laar	13.398	12.665	400	620	30	30	7,50%	4,84%	1,21	0,71	5,88%	3,37%	7,24	4,24
Rijkerswoerd	13.287	13.147	500	790	20	50	4,00%	6,33%	0,64	0,92	3,92%	5,62%	0,15	14,64
Schuytgraaf	90	8.843	20	530	0	40	0,00%	7,55%	0,00	1,10	0,00%	4,49%	0,29	0,50
Totaal	141.599	149.821	8.210	12.980	510	890	6,21%	6,86%					0,84	0,66

Table 23: Design (OV) Businesses in cluster Fashion and Design (2004, 2013)

Source: <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, own processing

Design Workers (ontwerp/ vormgeving, OV)														
DISTRICT	Population		Total workers		OV workers		OV workers % (of district's all workers)		LQ		% (of sector's all workers)		CVw	
	2004	2013	2004	2013	2004	2013	2004	2013	2004	2013	2004	2013	2004	2013
Centrum	4.294	4.912	17.550	18.210	250	170	1,42%	0,93%	0,51	0,33	9,40%	6,03%	587,32	90,37
Spijkerkwartier	5.785	6.193	2.920	3.190	100	110	3,42%	3,45%	1,23	1,22	3,76%	3,90%	4,79	2,33
Arnhemse Broek	5.237	5.923	12.390	14.580	290	370	2,34%	2,54%	0,84	0,90	10,90%	13,12%	1.187,24	2.520,53
Presikhaaf-West	8.859	7.814	2.040	2.430	40	100	1,96%	4,12%	0,71	1,46	1,50%	3,55%	313,91	15,97
Presikhaaf-Oost	6.396	6.524	9.420	7.900	190	180	2,02%	2,28%	0,73	0,81	7,14%	6,38%	283,10	170,10
St.Marten/Sonsbeek-Zuid	4.306	4.572	650	910	30	70	4,62%	7,69%	1,66	2,72	1,13%	2,48%	198,70	68,85
Klarendal	7.663	7.345	1.570	1.710	60	70	3,82%	4,09%	1,38	1,45	2,26%	2,48%	139,84	110,61
Velperweg e.o.	7.816	8.454	7.600	7.370	500	650	6,58%	8,82%	2,37	3,12	18,80%	23,05%	8.359,80	16.000,32
Alteveer en Cranevelt	4.265	4.328	5.150	5.150	40	50	0,78%	0,97%	0,28	0,34	1,50%	1,77%	151,12	131,62
Geitenkamp	4.525	4.057	740	750	20	20	2,70%	2,67%	0,97	0,94	0,75%	0,71%	263,66	257,42
Monnikenhuizen	3.528	3.471	710	850	10	20	1,41%	2,35%	0,51	0,83	0,38%	0,71%	253,32	220,24
Burgemeesterswijk / Hoogkamp	7.429	7.505	3.910	4.750	510	500	13,04%	10,53%	4,70	3,73	19,17%	17,73%	8.359,47	7.328,94
Schaarsbergen e.o.	1.858	1.954	6.040	4.960	10	20	0,17%	0,40%	0,06	0,14	0,38%	0,71%	133,41	123,98
Heijenoord / Lombok	3.705	4.095	1.340	1.660	70	50	5,22%	3,01%	1,88	1,07	2,63%	1,77%	43,63	124,53
Klingelbeek	1.331	1.249	3.740	3.970	20	40	0,53%	1,01%	0,19	0,36	0,75%	1,42%	77,55	50,07
Malburgen-West	3.683	4.205	300	460	20	20	6,67%	4,35%	2,40	1,54	0,75%	0,71%	214,60	266,81
Malburgen-Oost (Noord)	4.693	5.722	900	1.290	0	20	0,00%	1,55%	0,00	0,55	0,00%	0,71%	407,13	363,07
Malburgen-Oost (Zuid)	8.757	7.290	1.040	890	10	20	0,96%	2,25%	0,35	0,80	0,38%	0,71%	628,79	462,56
Vredenburg / Kronenburg	8.660	8.158	7.100	6.510	10	30	0,14%	0,46%	0,05	0,16	0,38%	1,06%	621,82	416,90
Elden	2.094	2.118	4.380	4.330	10	10	0,23%	0,23%	0,08	0,08	0,38%	0,35%	150,36	163,37
Elderveld	9.940	9.277	1.690	2.450	320	170	18,93%	6,94%	6,83	2,46	12,03%	6,03%	3.071,22	170,67
De Laar	13.398	12.665	1.560	1.650	70	40	4,49%	2,42%	1,62	0,86	2,63%	1,42%	157,76	507,73
Rijkerswoerd	13.287	13.147	3.150	3.040	70	90	2,22%	2,96%	0,80	1,05	2,63%	3,19%	156,46	66,36
Schuytgraaf	90	8.843	30	870	0	40	0,00%	4,60%	0,00	1,63	0,00%	1,42%	7,81	354,51
Totaal	141.599	149.821	95.900	99.840	2.660	2.820	2,77%	2,82%					1,45	1,47

Table 24: Design (OV) Workers in cluster Fashion and Design (2004, 2013)

Source: <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, own processing

Population, unemployment, income in Arnhem Districts						
District	population		unemployment		average disposable household income	
	2001	2014	2001	2014	2007	2011
Centrum	4.229	4.980	7,5	7,4	26,3	24,5
Spijkerkwartier	5.462	6.292	10,5	7,6	22,6	24,9
Arnhemse Broek	5.662	5.904	13,6	11,7	22,4	24,2
Presikhaaf-West	8.534	7.853	12,6	12,5	22,1	22,7
Presikhaaf-Oost	6.287	6.592	5,8	7,9	26,2	26,6
St.Marten/Sonsbeek-Zuid	4.076	4.558	8,1	7,0	28,1	29,4
Klarendal	7.353	7.394	14,4	10,4	22,8	24,1
Velperweg e.o.	7.663	8.514	4,2	4,6	38	37,2
Alteveer en Cranevelt	4.221	4.393	3,8	4,9	36,8	38,2
Geitenkamp	4.662	4.002	12,9	14,8	22,8	23,3
Monnikenhuisen	3.037	3.685	7,0	8,6	29,8	31,9
Burgemeesterswijk / Hoogkamp	7.229	7.584	4,1	4,0	46,4	45,3
Schaarsbergen e.o.	1.847	1.960	2,8	3,3	54,2	44,3
Heijenoord / Lombok	3.593	4.088	6,7	6,1	30,2	32,8
Klingelbeek	1.317	1.259	2,0	4,0	27,8	29,4
Malburgen-West	3.785	4.270	16,4	12,8	23,5	26,4
Malburgen-Oost (Noord)	4.728	5.878	13,7	11,0	24,1	27,1
Malburgen-Oost (Zuid)	8.495	7.443	18,2	16,7	22	23,4
Vredenburg / Kronenburg	8.558	8.168	8,0	9,3	26,7	27,2
Elden	2.061	2.115	2,3	5,3	33,9	34,7
Elderveld	9.987	9.227	4,6	8,2	29,7	30,7
De Laar	13.436	12.591	5,9	8,7	30,5	31,5
Rijkerswoerd	12.944	13.032	4,0	7,0	33,2	35,1
Schuytgraaf	122	9.046	2,3	5,7	36,4	40,2
Totaal	139.288	150.828	8,5	8,6		

Table 25: Population (2001, 2014), Unemployment (2001, 2014), Average Disposable Income (2007, 2011) in Arnhem's Districts

Source: <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, own processing

Population, unemployment, income in Klarendal and Arnhem						
Year	Arnhem			Klarendal		
	Population	Unemployment (%)	average disposable household income	Population	Unemployment (%)	average disposable household income
2001	139.288	8,5		7.353	14,4	
2002	140.729	8,6		7.514	14,4	
2003	141.562	9,3		7.599	14,8	
2004	141.599	10,4		7.663	16,0	
2005	141.355	11,0		7.595	17,3	
2006	142.201	10,6		7.555	16,3	
2007	142.577	9,7	29,0	7.478	13,6	22,8
2008	143.596	8,3	29,8	7.418	13,9	24,0
2009	145.571	7,5	30,2	7.335	11,4	23,6
2010	147.038	7,7	30,2	7.235	10,8	23,8
2011	148.073	7,3	30,2	7.261	10,3	24,1
2012	149.277	6,8		7.286	8,9	
2013	149.821	7,8		7.345	10,7	
2014	150.828	8,6		7.394	10,4	

Table 26: Population (2001-14), Unemployment (2001-14), Average Disposable Income (2007-11) in Arnhem and Klarendal

Source: <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, own processing

Businesses per Cluster (Creative Industry) (2004)								
District	media and entertainment		creative business services		arts and cultural heritage		Total Creative industry	
	Total numbers	% all businesses	Total numbers	% all businesses	Total numbers	% all businesses	Total numbers	% all businesses
Centrum	30	2,27%	30	2,27%	50	3,79%	100	7,58%
Spijkerkwartier	40	6,15%	20	3,08%	80	12,31%	140	21,54%
Arnhemse Broek	10	1,61%	20	3,23%	30	4,84%	60	9,68%
Presikhaaf-West	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	20	8,70%
Presikhaaf-Oost	0	0,00%	20	4,55%	10	2,27%	30	6,82%
St.Marten/Sonsbeek-Zuid	20	7,41%	10	3,70%	40	14,81%	70	25,93%
Klarendal	30	9,09%	20	6,06%	50	15,15%	100	30,30%
Velperweg e.o.	10	2,17%	20	4,35%	20	4,35%	50	10,87%
Alteveer en Cranevelt	0	0,00%	10	3,85%	10	3,85%	30	11,54%
Geitenkamp	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	10	7,14%	20	14,29%
Monnikenhuizen	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	20	14,29%	30	21,43%
Burgemeesterswijk / Hoogkamp	20	2,99%	20	2,99%	40	5,97%	80	11,94%
Schaarsbergen e.o.	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	10	4,76%
Heijenoord / Lombok	0	0,00%	10	4,35%	30	13,04%	40	17,39%
Klingelbeek	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	10	11,11%
Malburgen-West	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	10	11,11%
Malburgen-Oost (Noord)	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	10	7,14%
Malburgen-Oost (Zuid)	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	10	5,88%
Vredenburg / Kronenburg	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	10	2,44%	20	4,88%
Elden	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%
Elderveld	0	0,00%	10	3,57%	0	0,00%	30	10,71%
De Laar	0	0,00%	20	5,00%	10	2,50%	40	10,00%
Rijkerswoerd	0	0,00%	10	2,00%	10	2,00%	30	6,00%
Schuytgraaf	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%
Totaal	220	2,68%	260	3,17%	480	5,85%	960	11,69%

Table 27: Businesses in Creative Industries 2004

Source: <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, own processing

Businesses per Cluster (Creative Industry) (2013)								
District	media and entertainment		creative business services		arts and cultural heritage		Total Creative industry	
	<i>Total numbers</i>	<i>% all businesses</i>	<i>Total numbers</i>	<i>% all businesses</i>	<i>Total numbers</i>	<i>% all businesses</i>	<i>Total numbers</i>	<i>% all businesses</i>
Centrum	40	2,61%	40	2,61%	100	6,54%	180	11,76%
Spijkerkwartier	40	3,96%	50	4,95%	150	14,85%	230	22,77%
Arnhemse Broek	20	2,25%	20	2,25%	60	6,74%	100	11,24%
Presikhaaf-West	10	2,70%	0	0,00%	20	5,41%	40	10,81%
Presikhaaf-Oost	10	1,92%	10	1,92%	10	1,92%	40	7,69%
St.Marten/Sonsbeek-Zuid	30	5,45%	20	3,64%	90	16,36%	140	25,45%
Klarendal	50	7,69%	30	4,62%	120	18,46%	200	30,77%
Velperweg e.o.	40	4,94%	30	3,70%	50	6,17%	120	14,81%
Alteveer en Cranevelt	10	2,38%	10	2,38%	20	4,76%	50	11,90%
Geitenkamp	10	4,17%	0	0,00%	20	8,33%	40	16,67%
Monnikenhuizen	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	20	8,00%	40	16,00%
Burgemeesterswijk / Hoogkamp	40	3,85%	30	2,88%	60	5,77%	140	13,46%
Schaarsbergen e.o.	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	20	8,00%	30	12,00%
Heijenoord / Lombok	20	5,00%	10	2,50%	50	12,50%	80	20,00%
Klingelbeek	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	10	7,14%
Malburgen-West	10	4,55%	0	0,00%	10	4,55%	30	13,64%
Malburgen-Oost (Noord)	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	20	6,45%	30	9,68%
Malburgen-Oost (Zuid)	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	20	6,90%
Vredenburg / Kronenburg	10	1,89%	0	0,00%	20	3,77%	40	7,55%
Elden	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	10	5,00%
Elderveld	10	2,27%	10	2,27%	20	4,55%	40	9,09%
De Laar	20	3,23%	10	1,61%	30	4,84%	60	9,68%
Rijkerswoerd	20	2,53%	10	1,27%	30	3,80%	60	7,59%
Schuytgraaf	10	1,89%	10	1,89%	10	1,89%	40	7,55%
Totaal	440	3,39%	380	2,93%	950	7,32%	1.760	13,56%

Table 28: Businesses in Creative Industries 2013

Source: <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, own processing

Workers per Cluster (Creative Industry) (2004)								
District	media and entertainment		creative business services		arts and cultural heritage		Total Creative industry	
	Total numbers	% all businesses	Total numbers	% all businesses	Total numbers	% all businesses	Total numbers	% all businesses
Centrum	150	0,85%	60	0,34%	400	2,28%	610	3,48%
Spijkerkwartier	90	3,08%	50	1,71%	200	6,85%	350	11,99%
Arnhemse Broek	120	0,97%	70	0,56%	30	0,24%	220	1,78%
Presikhaaf-West	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	20	0,98%
Presikhaaf-Oost	20	0,21%	40	0,42%	30	0,32%	90	0,96%
St.Marten/Sonsbeek-Zuid	20	3,08%	10	1,54%	60	9,23%	90	13,85%
Klarendal	40	2,55%	30	1,91%	70	4,46%	140	8,92%
Velperweg e.o.	20	0,26%	30	0,39%	20	0,26%	70	0,92%
Alteveer en Cranevelt	10	0,19%	20	0,39%	20	0,39%	60	1,17%
Geitenkamp	180	24,32%	20	2,70%	10	1,35%	210	28,38%
Monnikenhuizen	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	20	2,82%	30	4,23%
Burgemeesterswijk / Hoogkamp	250	6,39%	40	1,02%	140	3,58%	420	10,74%
Schaarsbergen e.o.	10	0,17%	0	0,00%	150	2,48%	170	2,81%
Heijenoord / Lombok	0	0,00%	20	1,49%	80	5,97%	100	7,46%
Klingelbeek	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	10	0,27%	20	0,53%
Malburgen-West	0	0,00%	10	3,33%	0	0,00%	20	6,67%
Malburgen-Oost (Noord)	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	10	1,11%	20	2,22%
Malburgen-Oost (Zuid)	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	10	0,96%	20	1,92%
Vredenburg / Kronenburg	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	40	0,56%	50	0,70%
Elden	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	10	0,23%	20	0,46%
Elderveld	0	0,00%	10	0,59%	0	0,00%	30	1,78%
De Laar	0	0,00%	50	3,21%	220	14,10%	280	17,95%
Rijkerswoerd	70	2,22%	30	0,95%	20	0,63%	120	3,81%
Schuytgraaf	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%
Totaal	1030	1,07%	530	0,55%	1.590	1,66%	3.150	3,28%

Table 29: Workers in Creative Industries 2013

Source: <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, own processing

Workers per Cluster (Creative Industry) (2013)								
District	media and entertainment		creative business services		arts and cultural heritage		Total Creative industry	
	<i>Total numbers</i>	<i>% all businesses</i>	<i>Total numbers</i>	<i>% all businesses</i>	<i>Total numbers</i>	<i>% all businesses</i>	<i>Total numbers</i>	<i>% all businesses</i>
Centrum	140	0,77%	80	0,44%	430	2,36%	650	3,57%
Spijkerkwartier	110	3,45%	70	2,19%	250	7,84%	420	13,17%
Arnhemse Broek	110	0,75%	40	0,27%	60	0,41%	210	1,44%
Presikhaaf-West	20	0,82%	20	0,82%	40	1,65%	70	2,88%
Presikhaaf-Oost	10	0,13%	30	0,38%	20	0,25%	70	0,89%
St.Marten/Sonsbeek-Zuid	30	3,30%	30	3,30%	90	9,89%	150	16,48%
Klarendal	50	2,92%	40	2,34%	140	8,19%	220	12,87%
Velperweg e.o.	50	0,68%	60	0,81%	60	0,81%	160	2,17%
Alteveer en Cranevelt	10	0,19%	20	0,39%	30	0,58%	60	1,17%
Geitenkamp	180	24,00%	0	0,00%	20	2,67%	210	28,00%
Monnikenhuizen	0	0,00%	10	1,18%	30	3,53%	40	4,71%
Burgemeesterswijk / Hoogkamp	240	5,05%	60	1,26%	130	2,74%	430	9,05%
Schaarsbergen e.o.	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	230	4,64%	250	5,04%
Heijenoord / Lombok	20	1,20%	10	0,60%	80	4,82%	120	7,23%
Klingelbeek	20	0,50%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	30	0,76%
Malburgen-West	10	2,17%	0	0,00%	10	2,17%	30	6,52%
Malburgen-Oost (Noord)	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	20	1,55%	30	2,33%
Malburgen-Oost (Zuid)	10	1,12%	10	1,12%	0	0,00%	30	3,37%
Vredenburg / Kronenburg	50	0,77%	20	0,31%	40	0,61%	100	1,54%
Elden	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	40	0,92%	40	0,92%
Elderveld	10	0,41%	10	0,41%	20	0,82%	40	1,63%
De Laar	20	1,21%	10	0,61%	130	7,88%	160	9,70%
Rijkerswoerd	30	0,99%	20	0,66%	30	0,99%	90	2,96%
Schuytgraaf	20	2,30%	10	1,15%	20	2,30%	40	4,60%
Totaal	1.160	1,16%	580	0,58%	1.920	1,92%	3.660	3,67%

Table 30: Workers in Creative Industries 2013

Source: <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, own processing

Ethnic Composition Klarendal						
Year	Dutch		Western Immigrants		Non-western Immigrants	
	Total numbers	%	Total numbers	%	Total numbers	%
1994	5.058	68,33%	665	8,98%	1.679	22,68%
1995	4.963	66,98%	683	9,22%	1.764	23,80%
1996	4.887	66,49%	677	9,21%	1.786	24,30%
1997	4.823	65,66%	687	9,35%	1.835	24,98%
1998	4.738	65,09%	685	9,41%	1.856	25,50%
1999	4.669	64,37%	677	9,33%	1.907	26,29%
2000	4.528	63,20%	668	9,32%	1.969	27,48%
2001	4.610	62,70%	684	9,30%	2.059	28,00%
2002	4.640	61,75%	715	9,51%	2.159	28,73%
2003	4.653	61,23%	713	9,38%	2.233	29,38%
2004	4.739	61,84%	717	9,36%	2.207	28,80%
2005	4.756	62,62%	704	9,27%	2.135	28,11%
2006	4.745	62,81%	721	9,54%	2.089	27,65%
2007	4.732	63,28%	723	9,67%	2.023	27,05%
2008	4.699	63,35%	736	9,92%	1.983	26,73%
2009	4.690	63,94%	755	10,29%	1.890	25,76%
2010	4.619	63,84%	766	10,59%	1.850	25,57%
2011	4.643	63,94%	787	10,84%	1.831	25,21%
2012	4.687	64,33%	792	10,87%	1.807	24,80%
2013	4.787	65,17%	821	11,18%	1.737	23,65%
2014	4.843	65,50%	823	11,13%	1.728	23,37%

Table 31: Ethnic composition in Klarendal 1994- 2014

Source: <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, own processing

Ethnic Composition Arnhem						
Year	Dutch		Western Immigrants		Non-western Immigrants	
	Total numbers	%	Total numbers	%	Total numbers	%
1994	104.192	77,92%	15.047	11,25%	14.480	10,83%
1995	104.187	77,42%	15.276	11,35%	15.119	11,23%
1996	103.837	76,89%	15.329	11,35%	15.878	11,76%
1997	103.170	76,43%	15.348	11,37%	16.476	12,20%
1998	103.115	75,82%	15.488	11,39%	17.395	12,79%
1999	103.244	75,20%	15.569	11,34%	18.482	13,46%
2000	102.919	74,48%	15.719	11,38%	19.543	14,14%
2001	102.716	73,74%	15.866	11,39%	20.706	14,87%
2002	102.448	72,80%	16.171	11,49%	22.110	15,71%
2003	102.175	72,18%	16.255	11,48%	23.132	16,34%
2004	101.734	71,85%	16.198	11,44%	23.667	16,71%
2005	101.337	71,69%	16.062	11,36%	23.956	16,95%
2006	101.656	71,49%	16.084	11,31%	24.461	17,20%
2007	101.728	71,35%	16.123	11,31%	24.726	17,34%
2008	102.092	71,10%	16.291	11,35%	25.213	17,56%
2009	103.072	70,81%	16.763	11,52%	25.736	17,68%
2010	104.022	70,74%	16.858	11,47%	26.158	17,79%
2011	104.369	70,48%	17.083	11,54%	26.621	17,98%
2012	105.111	70,41%	17.208	11,53%	26.958	18,06%
2013	105.386	70,34%	17.204	11,48%	27.231	18,18%
2014	106.014	70,29%	17.267	11,45%	27.547	18,26%

Table 32: Ethnic composition in Arnhem 1994- 2014

Source: <http://arnhem.incijfers.nl/>, own processing