"YOU CANNOT LIVE IN THE PRESENT, IF YOU FORGET THE PAST."

An insight on how 'in between' residents experience the effects of gentrification in Middelland and Katendrecht

By Marijke Clarisse

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Bachelor thesis Geography, Planning & Environment

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Preface

To complete my third year and thus the bachelor Social Geography, Spatial Planning and Environment at the Radboud University of Nijmegen, I have been working on my bachelor thesis for the last semester. The research I did was on the experiences of gentrification in Rotterdam for residents that are not taken into account in the theories and how the positive governmental policy on gentrification could influence this:

First of all I would like to thanks my mentor Ritske Dankert who guided me through the process of writing this thesis in the many feedback sessions. I also would like to thank the people who took the time and effort to help me by providing me with the information needed through interviews. And all people who helped me through the past three years and especially the last few months: thank you!

Marijke Clarisse

Nijmegen, 12 augustus

Summary

Gentrification has received a lot of attention in the last couple of years. Not only the United States of America or the United Kingdom are dealing with gentrification, the phenomenon has reached the Netherlands as well. In the Netherlands gentrification is used by the government as a strategy for solving the problem of segregation in certain neighbourhoods, which makes those neighbourhoods less liveable.

If the government wants to keep using gentrification as a way to revitalise disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the city, it will have to find a way to meet the needs of both the middle class newcomers to the area, as well as the indigenous residents that want to keep living there. Because at this point the government and the housing associations seem to aim to embrace middle class futures for the city instead of encompassing a wider social base (Atkinson, 2004, p108). This research will try and help find a way to do this, by looking at how indigenous residents that keep living in the neighbourhood while gentrification is taking place experience the neighbourhood and its changes. Therefore the following research question is posed:

"How do the 'in between' residents of the neighbourhoods Middelland and Katendrecht experience the changes taking place in the gentrifying neighbourhoods and does the policy obtained have an influence on these experiences?"

By means of a literature study insight was given on the theory of state-led and positive or smart gentrification. Apart from that theories on the consequences of gentrification were described. In order to answer the central question a multiple-comparative case-study was done with the neighbourhoods Middelland and Katendrecht, in Rotterdam, as the cases. Firstly a document study on the overall gentrification policy in Rotterdam and that in the two neighbourhoods separately was done. Furthermore interviews were held with 'in between' residents of both neighbourhoods. The data collected was then analysed, which led to the following findings.

The first half of the central question on how the residents experience the changes can be overall answered positively. All residents see the changes as something positive for the neighbourhoods because the neighbourhood is evolving. However, not all separate changes are experienced positively by the residents.

As in the theory described there are changes visible in terms of on a social, physical and economic level as described in the theory. There are changes in the housing section of the neighbourhood, the facility and service supply has been changed leading to economic changes in the neighbourhood. Besides that, the social composition of the neighbourhoods have changes with an increasing number of higher-educated middle class residents.

The second half of the central question is how the policy obtained can influence these experiences. In both neighbourhoods there is state-led positive gentrification. The content based part where the government has a clear strategy on gentrification (Geurtz, 2007) is there. In both neighbourhoods the government has demolished social housing to make room for private property or still has the plan to do it. The process-oriented side, in which

opinions of different actors are taken into account (Geurtz, 2007) seems to miss in Katendrecht but is clearly visible in Middelland because of the investments in co-creation. This might be the explanation of why some changes on Katendrecht seem to leave out the 'in between' residents more than in Middelland. The respondents confirm this; in Middelland the residents feel well represented by the government and if they are aware of the project, feel like they have a choice to be involved. On Katendrecht the residents still have to take initiative themselves and feel like the government fails at providing some essential services. In both Middelland and Katendrecht, the information supply can also be increased.

Overall, the 'in between' residents in both Middelland and Katendrecht experience the changes due to gentrification as a positive development for the neighbourhood and they do not want to leave their neighbourhoods. The policy obtained does have an influence on these experiences, especially on Katendrecht, where the positive gentrification policy seems to fail in involving and representing all residents. In Middelland the residents feel well represented but they would like to see the involvement being stimulated more.

Based on this research certain recommendations for follow-up research can be done to obtain a better insight on the subject.

In both neighbourhoods there is state-led gentrification that tries to be positive or smart gentrification. In Middelland the government is quite on track with involving as many people as possible in theory, but seem to fail in the project. On Katendrecht the emphasis is still on luring in the middle class, leaving out the needs and preferences of the other residents. Recommendation for further research therefore can be to investigate both neighbourhoods separately, because the neighbourhoods proved to differ quite a bit from each other. When investigating the neighbourhoods individually, there is an option to go deeper into the specific changes which are typical for the neighbourhoods. Therefore better insight for the governments can be obtained. After this individual investigation of both neighbourhoods, the researcher can then look at how the neighbourhoods can learn from each other.

Another important recommendation is to repeat the research when long term changes are visible. Gentrification in both neighbourhoods has only begun 8 years ago. The neighbourhoods both are still changing a lot with houses being demolished and replaced, shops coming and going and the projects still at the roots of their existence. The changes then can be more distinct and residents might have changed their opinions by then. That is why it is recommended to repeat this research in the future.

Apart from that, what should also be highlighted is that, which is seen in this research as well, neighbourhoods differ a lot from each other. This research can be representative for similar neighbourhoods. All neighbourhoods however have their own dynamics and their own path to follow, which have different influences on the residents, the changes and the experiences.

Contents

1. Introduction

1.1   Framework

Phenomenon

Gentrification has received a lot of attention in the last couple of years. Not only the United States of America or the United Kingdom are dealing with gentrification, the phenomenon has reached the Netherlands as well.

Gentrification is a process that has been defined for a few decades now. Ruth Glass was the first, as an urban geographer in 1964, to put a name to the process of the middle class invading neighbourhoods, predominantly inhabited by the working class in London. The residences, of all sorts, were transformed into 'elegant and expensive' residences (Smith, 2002). According to Ruth Glass, this process of urban renaissance, that she defined as gentrification, continued on until almost all residents of the working class were displaced out of the neighbourhood, changing the image of the neighbourhood drastically (Smith, 2002).

There is however quite a difference between gentrification in London and in the Netherlands. In London gentrification started with the middle class who saw a chance to move to the city, because the houses were cheaper in comparison to those in the suburbs. In the Netherlands the process is mostly used by policy makers as a way of upgrading a disadvantaged neighbourhood. By building new houses they attract the middle class who then revitalise the city quarter. The government uses gentrification to create liveable neighbourhoods. In many Dutch cities this is seen as the only possible solution to present urban problems (Lees et al, 2010).

However, other parties that have an interest in the process of gentrification see this differently. They state: "According to this view, the state acts in the interest of capitalists and legitimates itself by stigmatising the victims of this policy. Many gentrification researchers even define the very process by the harm it causes among lower-class households, precluding the possibility that these households support gentrification or benefit from it" (Lees et al, 2010, p 510). Two different groups are taken into account by these two definitions i.e. the gentrifiers and the displaced residents. What about the residents 'in between' those two groups is the question that rises here.

Dilemma

The problem that gentrification wants to change in the Netherlands is that of the social segregation in a city. This arises from a distinct difference in income and class in certain neighbourhoods. Due to the segregation some neighbourhoods become less liveable than others, mostly the neighbourhoods that are predominantly inhabited by the lower income

class are less liveable. This can be changed by luring in the middle class to these districts and try to civilise and control those (Lees et al., 2010).

However, according to the definition obtained by Pacione (2009, p.211) "Gentrification is a process of socio-spatial change whereby the rehabilitation of residential property in a working class neighbourhood by relatively affluent incomers leads to the displacement of former residents unable to afford the increased costs of housing that accompany regeneration". Meaning that when people of a higher income class move into the neighbourhood and start dominating it, higher rents and more expensive services consequently force the indigenous residents to move out of the neighbourhood. This symptom or consequence of gentrification is referred to as displacement.

In the Netherlands displacement happens as well. There is a trend visible that Dutch state actors together with the housing associations try to promote the neighbourhoods of a city that are least in demand at that moment (Lees et al., 2010). The group of people they want to attract to these neighbourhoods is the middle class; people with higher education and higher incomes. Residents who are not part of this group are not able to profit from the developments that gentrification brings. This is forcing the 'successless' to move to other neighbourhoods, often outside of the city, where rents are cheaper; leading to a smaller social mix in the city and a relocation of the problems the neighbourhood was dealing with (Meershoek, 2015).

If the government wants to keep using gentrification as a way to revitalise disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the city, it will have to find a way to meet the needs of both the middle class newcomers to the area, as well as the indigenous residents that want to keep living there. Because at this point the government and the housing associations seem to aim to embrace middle class futures for the city instead of encompassing a wider social base (Atkinson, 2004, p108). This research will try and help find a way to do this, by looking at how indigenous residents that keep living in the neighbourhood while gentrification is taking place experience the neighbourhood and its changes.

Furthermore a distinction between two types of policy obtained by the national and/or local government of a neighbourhood can be made. Both types have the main goal of wanting to change the image of the city by improving the image of disadvantaged neighbourhoods. However, the focus how to achieve this image change is different in the policies. On the one hand there is a 'district-oriented' policy and on the other hand a residents-oriented policy.

In the district-oriented policy the government tries to create liveable neighbourhoods in more peripheral, disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Liveable refers to 'a balanced neighbourhood with a low level of crime and a sizeable share of middle-class households' (Lees et al., 2010, p. 510). In order to achieve this, the government wants to lure middle class citizens to the neighbourhood so that they can help invest in the neighbourhood and try to civilise and control them (Lees et al. 2010).

The resident-oriented policy also wants to change the image of the neighbourhood by attracting the middle class to it. This, however, is the only thing the government wants to achieve: a neighbourhood where the distribution of high, middle and low incomes is not dominated by the lower incomes (van Eijck, 2015). 'Rotterdam would not mind the city becoming more autochthonic and in order to change the economy in the city, a different population is needed' (van Engelen, 2015). In order to do this, the city invests in dwellings and services fit to the wishes of 'promising' families. Then the problem occurs that there will be less payable houses for the lower income classes.

Scientific relevance

In the literature on gentrification in the Netherlands there is much written about the two main groups in gentrification, namely the gentrifiers and the displaced residents. First is mentioned how great gentrification is for the cities and the neighbourhoods; the social composition changes, which leads to better economics for the neighbourhood and gives it a better image. After that it tells how gentrification does not take into account the lower class residents in the neighbourhoods and how they are mostly displaced in the long run, to make room for new middle class residents. Displacing the neighbourhood problems, together with the indigenous residents (Markus, 2016).

However, what is not raised to attention is how different indigenous residents who do stay in the neighbourhood, and together with the new middle class residents experience the gentrification. This should be of importance because of the positive gentrification policy obtained in the Netherlands. This thesis aims to close this gap of knowledge by looking at how these residents 'in between' experience the changes made in their neighbourhood due to gentrification and how the government plays a role in this. The cases that are therefore used are two neighbourhoods in the Netherlands, more specifically in Rotterdam.

Societal relevance

The one-sided point of view on gentrification affects the gentrifying neighbourhood residents and the displaced residents, leaving out the 'in between' residents. These residents are able to stay in the neighbourhood because of the great number of social housing in the Netherlands (Akse, 2011). The one-sided view however leaves out those residents. With this research the experiences of those residents are looked at and taken into account. As a consequence, the research tries to inform the municipalities better on how people experience the neighbourhood while not being the main target group of the policy obtained. The obtained policy can thus be adapted to these reasons if necessary and might have positive consequences for the researched group.

1.2 Research Objective

In this paragraph the research objective and research model will be given and explained in order to give insight on what the research aims to do. The research objective can be put as follows:

To give insight to how 'in between' residents of the neighbourhoods Middelland and Katendrecht in Rotterdam and other similar places in the world experience the neighbourhood while gentrification is taking place and how governmental policy has an influence on these experiences.

The first goal is to describe the influence that policy has on how the 'in between' residents experience living in a gentrifying neighbourhood. The two neighbourhoods in Rotterdam, Katendrecht and Middelland represent the positive state-led gentrification namely with district-oriented and resident-oriented gentrification policy, respectively. Furthermore, these two cases will critically examine the literature on changes made in the neighbourhood by gentrification and how these can be experienced. Thereby, making it representative for more cases similar to those used in the relevant literature and the research itself (Plyvbjerg, 2006).
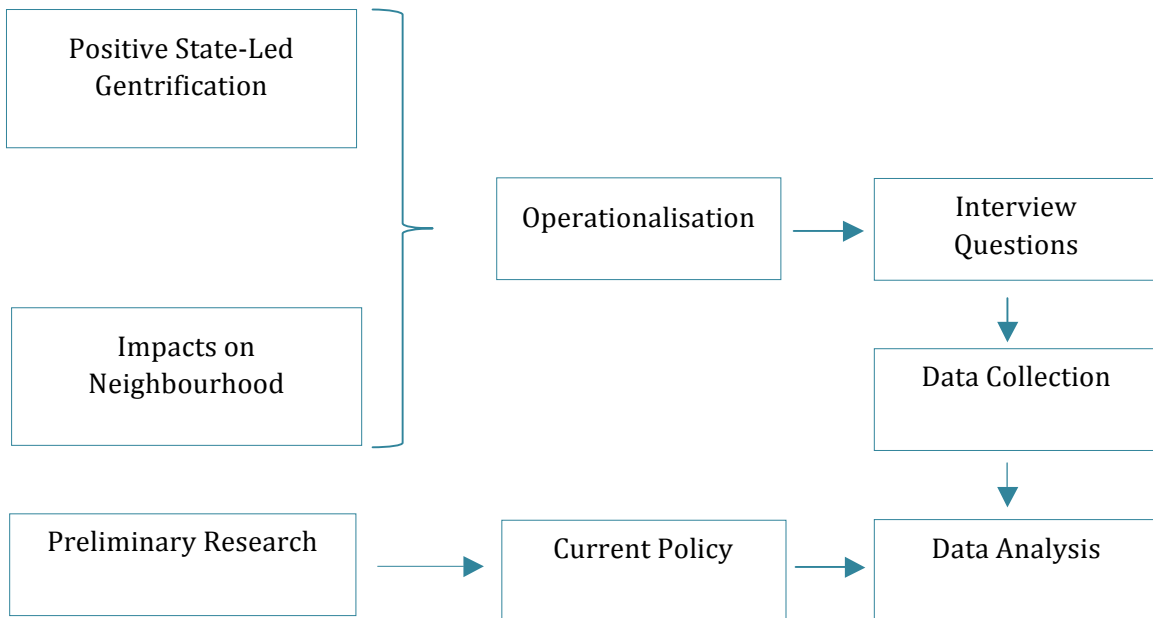
Figure 1 Research Model

In the research model above (Figure 1) the overall structure of this research is shown. Firstly, a literature study will be done on two relevant theories namely, state-led gentrification and impacts that gentrification has on a gentrifying neighbourhood. This state-led gentrification, especially in the Netherlands, is positive or smart gentrification, which is the second theory that will be used in this research (in the model this is shown as one). The main goal of smart gentrification is to make the area liveable and providing it with social mixing so that all residents benefit from the process (Lees, 2008).

[4]

At the same time a preliminary research will take place. In this research the different types of policy will be analysed and the features discussed. Next to that, this thesis will look at different impacts that gentrification can have on a neighbourhood. Three categories of impacts will be discussed and researched in the case study to look at how residents experience the changes that gentrification brings to the neighbourhood.

By means of the literature study different concepts needed for this research will be operationalised, based on these concepts interview questions will be composed and put together in an interview. The interviews enable data collection through case studies in the two neighbourhoods. Thereafter the information obtained will be analysed together with the information obtained out of the preliminary research. In this way the research will work towards reaching the research objective and to answering the research questions.

1.3 Research Question

In this paragraph the main question for this research is presented. Furthermore, the sub questions will be explained in order to help answer the central question in the conclusion in chapter 6. The central question for this thesis is as follows:

"How do the 'in between' residents of the neighbourhoods Middelland and Katendrecht experience the changes taking place in the gentrifying neighbourhoods and does the policy obtained have an influence on these experiences?"

The 'in between' residents in the question intend on people who have been living in the neighbourhood for over eight years. In order to answer this central question, a set of sub questions is formed to help come to a conclusion:

- *What are the changes that the 'in between' residents have experienced in the last 8 years?*
- *How do the 'in between' residents experience the governmental intervention in the neighbourhood?*

Before being able to investigate how the residents in a neighbourhood experience certain changes in that neighbourhood, there needs to be investigated if the residents see changes happening. The changes can be on a social, physical or economical. The moving in of the new residents can have an influence on these three topics and can change the way the 'in between' residents feel about the changes in the neighbourhood. Finally, the impact of governmental intervention can also have an influence on how the residents experience the changes, but also on what changes are made.

Following to this introductory chapter, the theory, methodology, results and conclusions and recommendations will be discussed. Firstly, in the theoretical framework different relevant theories will be elaborated leading to the conceptual model of this research. Thereafter the methodology for this research will be discussed explaining how the data will be collected. Thirdly the data will be analysed leading to conclusions and recommendations for this subject.

2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter aims to give an insight on the three most important theories for this research. The state-led gentrification that is mostly obtained in The Netherlands will be explained leading to positive gentrification as a governmental strategy. After that the consequences of gentrification for three subjects will be elaborated.

2.1 State led Gentrification

Gentrification can be induced in two ways: market-led and state-led. Market-led gentrification is mostly found in the United States, yet not so much in Europe. Especially in the Netherlands state-led gentrification is quite often used in projects to upgrade disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Uitermark et al. 2007). The state makes plans with different housing associations and private developers to invest in those disadvantaged neighbourhoods because of the low rent in those areas. The main goal of that urban restructuring is to 'improve economic appeal' as well as the 'liveability' of designated neighbourhoods (Lees et al. 2010 p. 510). The state and the housing associations are considering this state-led gentrification to be the only solution for the urban problems that cities in the Netherlands are struggling with (Uitermark et al., 2007).

When looking at different definitions of gentrification Uitermark et al. (2007) came to the conclusion that gentrification is not only focussing on how areas in a city change. It is also involving issues such as office development, retail environment, city marketing etc. When adopting the following definition: "gentrification is a process of involving a change in the population of land-users such that the new users are of a higher socio-economic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through a reinvestment in fixed capital" (Clark, 2005, p. 258). Uitermark et al. (2007) translate this into using state-led gentrification as a way to promote certain disadvantaged neighbourhoods to people of the middle class and wanting them to move to those areas to help change the image. Especially in the Netherlands this is applicable, because of the high social housing number in various Dutch areas.

This way of the government 'leading' the process of gentrification can have two different outcomes. The first would be as Pacione (2009) states in his definition to lead to displacement of the lower class residents that live in the area before gentrification takes place. This happens when there is a lack of interest in those residents and only wanting the city to change its image and lure in the middle class. Next to Pacione, many researchers use this displacement as a way to define gentrification (Lees et al., 2010).

The second outcome is to change the image of a neighbourhood by making it liveable This means creating 'a balanced neighbourhood with a low level of crime and a sizeable share of middle-class households' (Lees et al., 2010, p. 510), thus civilising and controlling the neighbourhoods (Uitermark et al., 2007).

However, according to Geurtz (2007) the influence of a top-down governmental policy is not easily made in the process. When a government wants to make policy in order to 'deal with' gentrification in a certain neighbourhood, it has to focus on two different aspects of the process, namely a content-based and a process-oriented part of gentrification.

The content-based part consists of a preconditioned policy with the main goal being gentrification of the neighbourhood. The preconditions for stimulating the process are equal to everything in the neighbourhood when the government decides to stimulate gentrification. The reason behind the policy is a strategy, consciously or unconsciously chosen, with the main goal being gentrification. The strategy is reflected in the choice of policy instruments. An example can be the government buying cheap houses (resulting from the rent gap) and selling them to gentrifiers or corporations as a stimulating measure that is already changing the physical situation in the area (Geurtz, 2007).

The process-oriented side of state-led gentrification could not exist without a network. Geurtz (2007) uses the following definition for a network: "More or less stable patterns of social relations between mutually dependent actors, which form around policy problems and/or clusters of means and which are formed, maintained and changed through a series of games". This definition implies that there are multiple actors involved which depend on each other and form relations. The structure, thus the relations in and of this network change throughout the course of actions implied by the policy.

The actors in the network all have a different view on the problem and thus a different related solution in mind, which leads to different interests in the process. When these interests are put together with the various priorities of the actors, a distribution of power is created and the game of policy can begin (Geurtz, 2007).

2.2 Positive/smart gentrification

Neighbourhoods can gentrify without widespread displacement and that the process provides the opportunity to improve the quality of life of deteriorated neighbourhoods and mix residents from differing socioeconomic strata with benefits for both the indigenous residents and the larger society (Davidson, 2008, p. 2386).

Gentrification, as many researchers define it by, leads to displacement. Whether or not this is the case does not stop governments from different countries from using it as policy to decrease segregation and social polarisation in neighbourhoods around the world. This especially happens in the United Stated of America and in Europe.

The goal of this positive gentrification policy is to make a neighbourhood more socially mixed, less segregated, more liveable and a sustainable community (Lees, 2008). Even in the beginning, when the first neighbourhood of London, Barnsbury in Islington, was gentrifying, some of the gentrifiers were talking about the benefits for the less privileged people and the fact that both classes could do everything side by side, but were supposed to live segregated (Lees, 2008).

The present trend towards a rising proportion of the middle classes in the population will continue. This will help create a better social balance in the structure of the community, and the professional expertise of the articulate few will ultimately benefit the underprivileged population (Pitt, 1977, p. 1).

But there are two sides to the story. Namely, the anti-gentrification groups were sceptical about these assumptions being made about gentrification. They stated that the proof of social mixing and the advantages and disadvantages of it were not yet clear and could not be taken into account when talking about gentrification yes or no. Some authors writing about gentrification in that time shared the same opinion and were unsure if social mixing would work as a governmental policy (Lees, 2008).

The overall new discussions about gentrification however tend to have a smaller concern about displacement and the related injustice issues that come with it (Davidson, 2008). According to Grabinsky and Butler (2015) this risk of displacement is decreasing and neighbourhoods have a bigger chance of becoming mixed, rather than homogenously poor or wealthy i.e. segregated.

These different outcomes of gentrification depend on the way gentrification happens. Residents from one neighbourhood can experience many positive effects of gentrification, while the process can directly hurt other poor residents. The positive effects lay mostly in the introduction of new and better services, this can however also be experienced as negative for example when indigenous residents cannot afford these new services and want to keep their old supermarkets (Meershoek, 2015).

Another positive effect can be the restoration of buildings in the area. When this starts because of the coming of middle class citizens there can be a spill over effect throughout the area (Grabinsky & Butler, 2015).

There are three different arguments used for the government to support social mixing in neighbourhoods (Lees, 2008):

1. 'Defending the neighbourhood': neighbourhoods in which middle class people live are stronger advocates because of the bigger supply in services and public resources
2. 'Money-go-around': mixed neighbourhoods are able to support a stronger local economy than disadvantaged areas.
3. 'Networks and contacts': bridging and bonding social capital to promote social mixing as the way to generate social cohesion and economic opportunity.

The main goal of positive gentrification thus is making the neighbourhoods civilised and incorporated into the main society so that the area is a fair player in that society (Davidson, 2008). Policy for introducing social mixing in neighbourhoods, seeking a solution for the segregation in certain areas by deconcentrating poor residents by luring in the middle class in those neighbourhoods. This 'smells like gentrification' according to Davidson (2008), he, however, tries to point out that these state-led initiatives differ from classical gentrification and come with possible benefits for the indigenous residents.

If this social mixing is indeed the solution to make neighbourhoods liveable, then the government needs to create a policy that makes sure that the poorer residents can stay in

[8]

the area. An example in the United Kingdom shows that the government took good measures by promoting a brownfield development, which actually changed the composition of residents of the neighbourhood. Local and national governments 'pursued low-income housing through affordable housing requirements demanding that between 25 per cent and 50 per cent of all units within new developments be below market costs' (Davidson, 2008, p 2388).

In this way the government could develop for both the lower-income classes and the middle class and both resident groups could benefit from the developments that the coming of the middle class brought to the neighbourhood. In order for this to happen, it is important for this research to look at the consequences of gentrification on a neighbourhood.

2.3 Effect of gentrification on the neighbourhood

As seen in the different definitions of gentrification given previously, the view of gentrification is different for different stakeholders. Some define the process as something positive for the neighbourhood, while others define it by the negative impacts such as displacement. Positive effects are mostly dealing with better economic state for and a revitalisation of the neighbourhood. Negative effects aremostly for the people who do not benefit from the process and who are being displaced by it without having further societal gain of it (Atkinson, 2002). In general politics this division is also seen between on the one hand the liberals and on the other hand the left parties, respectively (Atkinson, 2002).

A summary of the main positive and negative impacts is given in the Table 1 below. Note that these are the general impacts and these can differ per stakeholder, meaning for example that an increase in housing prices for one party can be very negative (e.g. residents) and for another party as very positive (e.g. house owners) (Atkinson, 2002 & Lang, 1982)

Positive	Negative
	Displacement through rent/price increases
	Secondary psychological costs of displacement
Stabilisation of declining areas	Community resentment and conflict
Increased property values	Loss of affordable housing
	Unsustainable speculative property price increases
Reduced vacancy rates	Homelessness
Increased local fiscal revenues	Greater take of local spending through lobbying/articulacy
Encouragements and increased viability of further development	Commercial/industrial displacement
Reduction of suburban sprawl	Increased cost and changes to local services
	Displacement and housing demand pressures on surrounding poor areas
Increased social mix	Loss of diversity (from socially disparate to rich ghettos)
Decreased crime	Increased crime
Rehabilitation of property both with and without state sponsorship	Under-occupancy and population loss to gentrified areas
Even if gentrification is a problem it is small compared to the issue of: - Urban decline - Abandonment of inner cities	Gentrification has been a destructive and divisive process that has been aided by capital disinvestment to the detriment of poorer groups in cities

Housing
Facilities and services
Social networks/cohesion and Place attachment

Table 1 Positive and Negative Effects of Gentrification (Atkinson, 2002)

[10]

2.4.1 Housing and Displacement

In the table above many negative effects on housing as a consequence of gentrification are summed up. There are many negative effects in the table, but these are somewhat compensated by the positive effects that are also strongly represented. For the three different groups (i.e. the gentrifiers, the displaced residents and the 'in between' residents) this is not always the case. The effects affect the groups differently (Atkinson, 2002).

Displacement in most literature and research is considered a significant negative effect of gentrification (Atkinson, 2002). Furthermore, it is one of the most discussed topics in research on gentrification (Atkinson, 2002 & Doucet, 2009). Doucet (2009) defines displacement as lower income populations being removed from their homes.

Displacement is a negative impact for the displaced residents or the residents who face or fear displacement. A negative feeling towards displacement namely is not only a consequence of actual displacement. Many lower income residents see an increase in rental costs as an inevitable consequence of gentrification and are in that way sort of waiting for it to happen and as a consequence to be displaced eventually. Besides that, stories from friends, neighbours or people in a similar situation as them, who have been displaced can also influence the way people feel towards displacement. A third trigger can be the media, especially local media such as neighbourhood newspapers that report the negative consequences for their residents in order to give an honest view of the situation (Doucet, 2009).

Positive sides of the housing situation during gentrification can be for property owners. If a resident owns the house he/she lives in, this house also increases in value, which is positive for the owner. This however is not positive for all because of the fact that the lower-income residents who do not own a house are still losing. In this way the gap between rich and poor in the neighbourhood still remains or even becomes worse (Doucet, 2009).

Another group that is not necessarily losing from the increased housing prices is the group of people that lives in social housing (Doucet, 2009). This price cannot increase drastically (Rijksoverheid, 2016) and so those residents are 'protected' from increasing housing prices.

Another effect of changes in housing is generated by studentification in a neighbourhood wherein college or university students are considered to be 'apprentice gentrifiers' (Lees, 2010). Students increasingly prefer to live off campus in shared rental housing in the city where their university is located. When students move into a neighbourhood, their aesthetic and cultural capital that they bring into the neighbourhood might also trigger increase in housing prices (Hubbard, 2009). This introduction of capital can also create social and physical uplift in the neighbourhood (Hubbard, 2009).

Furthermore, the students that live in the neighbourhood have other influence. Firstly they can be considered as 'gentrifiers-to-be' when they finish their studies. Secondly, because of the arrival of those students in the neighbourhood, the social mix is changing as well. This might lead to tension among the original residents, which could lead to a decrease in social

cohesion in the neighbourhood. When social cohesion decreases, people might no longer feel at home in the place they live of which an out-migration or replacement might be a consequence (Akse, 2011 & Hubbard, 2009).

The last main positive impact of gentrification on a neighbourhood can be the rehabilitation of dwellings with or without sponsorship of the government. The renewal of the neighbourhood is mostly done by the gentrifiers themselves (Atksinson, 2002). This can lead to other residents copying the good behaviour on the long-term, leading to overall benefits for everybody in the neighbourhood and for the neighbourhood itself (Akse, 2011).

2.4.2 Facilities and services

"Gentrification has the power to bring about a distinct change to the character of a neighbourhood, turning it from a decaying, run-down working-class area, to a trendy, prosperous middle-class neighbourhood in a very short time" (Doucet, 2009).

In table 1 shown above, the impacts of gentrification on facilities and services are shown (Atkinson, 2002). There are only two impacts according to Atkinson (2002) and these are negative, namely commercial and industrial displacement and increased costs and changes to local services. The first effect is clearly visible in the neighbourhood; shops and services are being replaced by other, more hip variants. The second effect is less directly visible, but has a great effect on the residents (Atkinson, 2000 & Akse, 2011).

Doucet (2009) however argues that there are two dominant viewpoints when looking at changes in facilities and services in the gentrifying neighbourhood. He states that on the one hand the higher-income class i.e. the gentrifiers are the only group benefiting from the changes and that on the other hand the lower-income residents are again the ones suffering. The new services, shops and amenities are created for the high-income residents, which can lead to greater polarisations in the neighbourhood. This can even cause spatial segregation by creation of two separate retail districts in the neighbourhood. One meant for the original, poorer residents with affordable products and the other for the gentrifying residents (Doucet, 2009). This community polarisation and the possible spatial segregation can cause people to feel certain resentment towards the gentrifiers 'invading' their neighbourhood (Atkinson, 2000).

On the other hand, Doucet (2009) states that changing retail can be inclusive and something all residents can benefit from. From this point of view poor neighbourhoods are often seen as 'food deserts' meaning that in those neighbourhoods access to healthy and/or fresh food is limited. Besides that, they lack basic retail facilities. If such a neighbourhood was to be gentrified, these basic needs would be introduced to the residents and every resident would thus benefit from it (Doucet, 2009). Apart from that, the new services would create new job opportunities for the local residents.

Doucet (2009) also highlights the critique made to this positivity. The critique includes that not all neighbourhoods that are going through the process of gentrification have such a disinvestment to them and actually do have most basic facilities and services before

gentrification took place. Apart from that he names the chance that the new facilities and services might not be positive when they go beyond the financial means and the different tastes and preferences of the local residents.

2.4.3 Social networks/cohesion and Interaction

Again table 1 shows both positive as well as the negative effects of gentrification in a neighbourhood in terms of social cohesion and place attachment. Remarkable is that there are fewer positive effects compared to negative. Apart from that the positive effects 'increased social mix' and 'decreased crime' have a contradictory negative effect (Atkinson, 2002).

Firstly, these two contradictory results will be discussed. The level of crime can on the one hand increase and on the other decrease. Some research results show that crime rate decreases overall; because of displacement of lower-income residents the crime is displaced with it. However, crime can also increase by crime rates changing in different categories. For example, burglaries can increase because of the greater prevalence of affluent households (Atkinson, 2002).

The other effect of increased social mix on the one hand and loss of social diversity on the other is not fully explained in the Atkinson paper. Assumed what is meant is that on the one hand different people are attracted to the neighbourhood, which leads to an increase in social mix. On the long-term most lower-income class residents will be moving away from the neighbourhood and the main resident group will be shifted towards middle to high income residents, leaving the social mix changed but not increased per se.

Doucet (2009) also talks about the consequences on social cohesion and interaction of gentrification. He outlines three important elements of social cohesion, namely being social networks, values and norms and place attachment. Effects on this part of gentrification are considered to be mostly negative, especially for the original residents of a neighbourhood.

Reason for the negativity is that normally in a lower-income class community the social cohesion is very high. When gentrification invades such a community the 'ties are weakened' and those who 'survive' displacement pressures and stay in the neighbourhood are staying in a neighbourhood where together with the other residents, the strong feeling of community is displaced as well (Doucet, 2009).

The feeling of resentment, previously mentioned as a consequence of changing facilities and services, can be reinforced by the different values that gentrifiers have compared to the original residents. Different views of how to live life or how to behave in certain situations can lead to stronger tension between the different resident groups (Doucet, 2009).

Finally, place attachment can also be changed when the process of gentrification is introduced in a neighbourhood. Doucet (2009) states that this happens when different groups of people have different ideas of what the neighbourhood should look and feel like in the future. Spain (1993) conducted a research in Philadelphia in which he says "[...] conflicts arose between local residents and gentrifiers over the idea of what the neighbourhood

should feel like. The local residents felt that they had created the neighbourhood character that was attracting affluent residents, yet they now felt their community was becoming a playground for the rich".

2.4 Conceptual model

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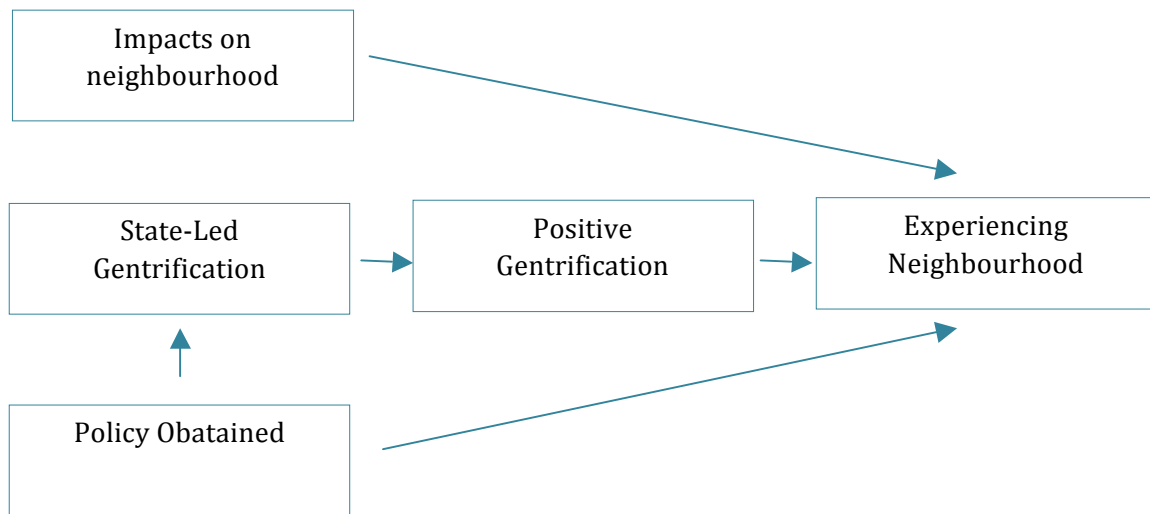
Figure 2 Conceptual Model

In figure 2 above, the conceptual model for this research can be found. The concepts used in this model are based on the theories explained in the first three paragraphs of chapter two. The two main concepts are the policy obtained and the impacts on the neighbourhood. The policy obtained can be defined as state-led gentrification. This form of gentrification can be specified into positive gentrification. The second main concept is the impacts of gentrification on the neighbourhood. In the theory this is subdivided into three categories, namely housing, facilities and services and social cohesion/network in the neighbourhood.

The impacts on the neighbourhood and the policy obtained in the neighbourhood lead to a way of experiencing the changes in the neighbourhood.

3. Methods

After specifying the main question and how the theory gives a background on the research objective, the research continues with the methodology. In what way will the relations in the conceptual model be translated in the field of research? This chapter will explain the methods for both data collection and data analysis. Furthermore, the research strategy and the research design will be discussed.

3.1 Research Strategy

As the first chapter already mentions, this research will look at how different 'in between' residents experience the changes due to gentrification in two Dutch neighbourhoods. 'In between residents' for this research are defined as being residents who have lived in the neighbourhood for over eight years. This is because those residents have experienced the neighbourhood before gentrification started and were there to witness the changes.

Because experiencing something is socially differentiated and because of gentrification being something that affects people very differently, a qualitative research method is chosen to be most adequate for this research. The goal of the research therefore is to create a comprehensive and profound insight into one or more time and space restricted objects or processed (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007).

Because of the reasons and goal above and that two neighbourhoods will be compared to each other, a multiple, comparative case-study is made. A case-study is the analysis of a relatively small amount of cases in an open observation on the chosen location (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2010). The difference between a single case study and a comparative one is that not one separate case is looked at, but multiple cases are studied in mutual comparison.

More specifically a hierarchical comparative case study is done. This means that in the first place the two cases were studied separately from each other. Later, when all data was collected, the cases were brought together and were compared to each other. The insight found in the case-studies are explained and compared to each other. Eventually the comparison led to a well-structured and profound overall view of the cases (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007).

The cases that are chosen for this comparative case study are instrumental cases. They are chosen according to maximal variation to the research subject (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). The two neighbourhoods are selected in order to understand a broader problem, namely the influence of a policy on the experience of changes staying in a certain neighbourhood (Cresswel, 2012). The two neighbourhoods are two perfect examples of the problem this research looks at. Apart from that, the cases can be well compared to each other.

3.2 Case Selection

Despite the big differences between the two cities, Rotterdam is following Amsterdam in its footsteps when it comes to gentrification. In Amsterdam gentrification has been taking place the last couple of years and has transformed the city into a city for the middle class. It is now Rotterdam's turn to be gentrified. The city is found 'cool' and has the image of new, industrial and raw, not as 'raked' as Amsterdam (van Engelen, 2015).

The image is changing throughout the whole city. In almost every old neighbourhood of Rotterdam gentrification is taking place, in a greater or lesser extent. People do not only want to live in the city, people also want to visit the city according to the increasing number of tourist. Furthermore because of the image-change companies want to invest or even establish in the city. So the image problem that Rotterdam used to suffer from is disappearing as more gentrification is appearing (van Engelen, 2015).

For this research two of those old neighbourhoods in Rotterdam will be used as cases to collect data. The two neighbourhoods are Middelland and Katendrecht. These two are chosen because of the state-led positive gentrification policy obtained for the two areas. In Middelland the policy is more focused on changing the composition of the residents rather than changing the neighbourhood for all residents. The main goal is to attract middle class citizens so that the neighbourhood becomes more attractive for this target group. In Katendrecht the government also wants to attract the middle class. However, they do this in order to change the image and the situation of and in the neighbourhood and to make it more liveable. In both neighbourhoods will be looked at how 'in between' residents experience the changes that come with gentrification in the neighbourhood.

Further and more detailed case description can be found in the next chapter.

3.3 Methods of Data Collection

A case study wants to give a 'comprehensive and profound insight' (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007) to a problem, in order to do that many methods of data collection can be obtained. The use of multiple methods is even encouraged to be able to give the most profound conclusion as possible. The use of multiple methods is called 'method triangulation' (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). Apart from that 'source triangulation' is also recommended in a case study, meaning that looking at different sources collects the data. Thus a comprehensive and profound insight is created.

For this research three different ways of data collection are chosen, namely a literature study, a document study and interviewing. These are explained and applied in the next paragraphs.

3.3.1 Literature study

Studying literature is not a form of data collection per se. It consists mostly of theoretical insights and hence is better looked at as a source of knowledge. The theoretical interpretations can lead to a research question and in this way be the base of the whole research.

In this research literature relevant to the topic of gentrification was looked for and is critically analysed. Different concepts as a consequence rolled out of the literature and were used to create a conceptual model fit to the research found in paragraph 2.5, revealing the main concepts that were investigated. These concepts were operationalised and thus turned into indicators, which were later on used to form the interview questions.

3.3.2 Document Study

Within a case study it is important that the research takes place in its 'natural environment' (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). In order to do so data collection should occur on location of the investigated cases. Consequently, documents of the particular location that is researched are looked at.

Documents in fact have a clear addressing which makes it easy to find a document linked to the case. In case of policy documents, these are often linked to a certain area. For this research firstly the main policy documents on gentrification for Rotterdam were looked at. For more specification for the two separate neighbourhoods, documents on the two main projects running are used. These projects emanate from the governmental strategy for gentrification.

What is looked at specifically in the documents were the measures taken for the whole neighbourhood and for the 'in between' residents specifically, if mentioned. Those measures having an influence on the experience of those residents, was the hypothesis in this research. In order to complement the findings in the documents, interviews were held with the residents, more on that in the next paragraph.

3.3.3 Interviews

For gathering further information on why residents choose to stay and on the policy, interviews were held. The interviews were held with respondents, meaning people who give information about themselves, being the main source of data (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). This chapter describes this method in a more detailed way.

Respondents

The respondents for this research preferably were residents of social housing in the neighbourhoods. In Middelland contacting this group was quite difficult, that is why two respondents were residents living in a mixed building, but who themselves do not live in social housing. Furthermore, all respondents had to live in the neighbourhood for over eight years already. In this way the researcher was sure that the respondents have experienced the neighbourhood before the changes took place.

The respondents were found in different ways. The search started out by contacting different community centres in the neighbourhoods to ask for further help. After being referred to different people several times, one contact advised to go meet people on the streets, this led to the first two interviews in Middelland, which led to two more, these were contacts who met the conditions. The respondents on Katendrecht eventually were found via contacts and referrals on Facebook, together with a visit to the community centre. Eventually a total of 4 respondents in both neighbourhoods was reached.

The respondents were asked different relevant questions. All questions concerned the changes taking place in the neighbourhood and how the respondents experienced these changes. The questions were prepared before the interviews took place. The prepared interview guide can be found in appendix I of this thesis. Different opinions and interests came out, helping the research to move forward (Verschuren & Doorewaard).

Interviews

Because of the choice for qualitative methods, the interviews that are held were in depth interviews. These interviews were semi-structured interviews in order to leave room to be able to go deeper in on certain subjects or answers. The interview guide (see appendix I) is based on the indicators that came forth out of the literature study in chapter 2. The subdivision of the three main topics was already made there. Per indicator a minimum of one question was prepared, leaving room for deepening, in order to enhance reliability of the data. That is why the questions were structured and posed in order to be debatable during the interview (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). Through these questions insight on the changes and how these are experienced was gained.

During the interview, the interviewer kept in mind all indicators, so that they would all be discussed thoroughly. Thus the interviewer had the chance to get deeper into interesting answers while linking different indicators to each other. Consequently, not every interview followed the exact same structure. This 'problem' was solved during the analysis of the interviews.

In order to conceive a good analysis, the interviews were recorded or written down if the respondents did not want it to be recorded. This made is possible to then transcribe the interviews. In this way no important information could go missing. After the interviews were transcribed, the transcripts were imported into atlas.ti to be able to code them and make linkages in the data.

3.4 Methods of Analysis

The method for data analysis chosen for this research is grounded theory. Grounded theory concerns a certain process that participants in the study have experienced. Literature however is not up to date with this phenomenon and that is why development of a theory might help explain the practice and provide a framework for further research (Cresswell, 2012). The theory thus is not existent yet, but is generated, "grounded", in data collected from participants who have experienced the process (Cresswell, 2012).

Grounded theory, in this way, "goes beyond description" as Cresswell (2012) states. That is what this research needs. There is no theory that can fully explain the process risen in this research. There are however theories and models that can explain parts of the process, but the theory comes short in how 'in between' residents experience the changes in a gentrifying neighbourhood. Grounded theory can help to provide this general framework for a better understanding of the process.

Furthermore, the research complies with other defining features of a grounded theory. One being that a grounded theory analysis focuses on a process or action, here being the experience of the changes in the neighbourhood. Apart from that the main form of data collection consists of interviewing. During these interviews the researcher kept in mind the former interviews and compared the data from other participants in order to already form ideas on the developing theory (Cresswell, 2012).

After each interview the recordings were transcribed and coded separately while the other interviews in mind. This was a three-step process, namely starting with open coding, followed by axial coding and after that the selective coding. These steps in theory are explained as follows. In the phase of open coding the researcher examines the texts (i.e. transcripts, documents and field notes) for different categories. These can be divided in subcategories that each has certain properties. Next is the axial coding, here the researcher selects one category from the open coding to go deeper into this phenomenon and gather all information said about it. This information is then organised into a figure or coding paradigm, being the theoretical model. In the final phase of selective coding the researcher generates propositions or statements derived out of the theory (Cresswell, 2012).

The coding for this research is done by using Atlas.ti. First open coding was done by giving different codes to different parts of the first interview, explaining the subject of that part. The first few interviews provided many different new codes, which were also used as feedback for the interview guide and the next interviews. After open coding, the codes were grouped into the phase of axial coding. The group codes and their member codes from the open coding can be found in appendix II. In appendix III the network of those group codes can be found. In this network the different relations between the groups codes can be seen, with the changes being the central topic. The network was created after all interviews were held. Out of this network the main conclusions could be drawn per subject and be related to one another. The statements and conclusions from the interviews can be found in chapter 5. They are strengthened by quotes retrieved from different interviews. These quotes are translated from Dutch to English, because the interviews were held in Dutch, the mother

tongue of all respondents. After that the stage of selective coding started, where the link with the theories used in chapter two was made, which can be found in paragraph 5.6.

The theory generated from this research can be seen as a framework for the main question of this research. It tries to put all relevant aspects, on the obtained gentrification policy and experiences of changes in the neighbourhood, together and forms a framework for further research. Apart from that the theory is based on two specific cases but can form an explanation to the broader risen subject.

4. Data

4.1 Case description

For this research two cases are selected in the city of Rotterdam. The cases are two separate neighbourhoods that are changing because of gentrification. These neighbourhoods are Middelland and Katendrecht. A more specific description can be found below.

Middelland

Middelland is a neighbourhood situated in the west of the city of Rotterdam. It could be stated that the area has two faces; that of the big, busy city and of a nice living area. The area verges on the city centre and has a few shopping streets. Consequently, the bustle of the city is still visible, especially on the shopping streets in the neighbourhood. When passed these busy streets, the neighbourhood gradually transforms into a rustic area with beautiful streets and lanes connecting the area (Cityportal Rotterdam, 2016).

Gerrit de Jongh designed the pre-world war I neighbourhood. The main goal of the architect was to give a better allure to the area. This is reached through the static lanes and streets in the area. The part of the neighbourhood that Gerrit de Jongh designed was particularly meant for wealthier citizens. Another part of the neighbourhood that already existed before

1900 has more and smaller houses, meant for the less-fortunate inhabitants of the city (Cityportal Rotterdam, 2016).

With its 12.000 inhabitants, the neighbourhood has a high population density, also when compared to the rest of Rotterdam (Ruimtelijk Economische Ontwikkeling Rotterdam-West, 2014). The so-called 'red lifestyle' is predominant in the neighbourhood, making the people a bit more focussed on themselves. The area, however, is very tolerant and flexible according to many sources. This can be confirmed by the big number of citizens' initiatives (*Burgerinitiatieven*). Furthermore, the neighbourhood has an average number of immigrants compared to the rest of the city. The average age is quite low and the average income is as well. This might be explained by the multitude of creative class and students in the area (REOR-W, 2014).
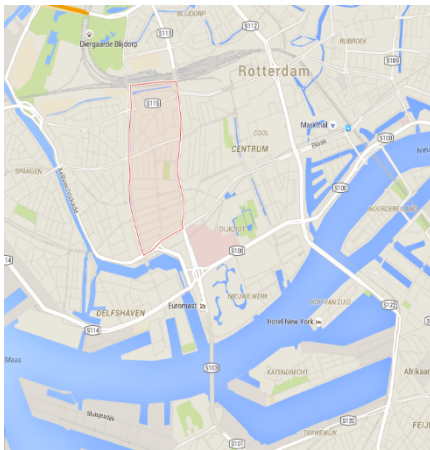

Figure 4 Middelland in Rotterdam (Google Maps, 2016)

Figure 3 Two sides of Middelland (Own material)

Katendrecht

The peninsula in the south of Rotterdam is called Katendrecht. It is situated near the Maashaven, Nieuwe Maas and the Rijnhaven, verging with the Afrikaanderwijk. Not only the population of the neighbourhood is varying, there are also many different kinds of dwellings, varying from historic houses to modern new buildings. In the last couple of years, the neighbourhood has been changing, due to gentrification, transforming it from a 'probleemwijk' that people avoid, to one of the most popular and safe areas of Rotterdam (Cityportal Rotterdam, 2016).

Katendrecht has gone through some drastic transformations since the beginning of this century. Before the two ports, Maashaven and Rijnhaven, were created in the city,

[21]

Katendrecht was a small picturesque village south from Rotterdam. After officially making it a part of the city of Rotterdam, the area quickly changed into a haven for partying, violence and prostitutions known as 'De Kaap' (*The Cape*). This is changed because of government initiatives of demolishing and building many buildings, making the neighbourhood hip and trendy nowadays (Cityportal Rotterdam, 2016).

The area only counts 3.700 inhabitants; however, it can be called very unique. The composition is made up of different types of people; there are the original inhabitants of the island that already lived there when the neighbourhood was not as popular as it is now. Next to that, many dual earners and young families have been coming to the area during the last decade. This variety of citizens varies even more when it comes to ethnicity and cultural background, all making the neighbourhood a vibrant place to live (Cityportal Rotterdam, 2016).

Figure 5 Katendrecht in Rotterdam (Google Maps, 2016)

Figure 6 New and hip Deliplein on Katendrecht (Own material)

4.2 Policy

In 2007 the municipal government of Rotterdam made a 'stadsvisie' *(city vision)* for the main parts of development for the city until 2030. One of the visions they have for the city is that of gentrification. Especially in the north of Rotterdam the government really wants to invest in gentrification.

The main goal of the state-led gentrification is to make the city attractive as a living environment for highly-educated knowledge workers and creative minds. They want to keep the sundry community in the city and use this as an appeal to attract new residents. They also hope by luring in more educated people that this will contribute to the economic power of the city and stimulate the further development of the creative industry (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007).

[22]

In order to reach this goal, the public space should be managed properly and adjusted to the needs of the potential new residents. In the north of Rotterdam this is mainly done by tackling the 's-Gravendijkwal, which is now an obstruction in the area. It causes nuisance in terms of the environment and the accessibility for the people walking or biking in the area. By tackling this problem, the quality of the public space should increase (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007).

Another stimulant to attract middle class citizens is by increasing the number of private property housing. This is done in different ways. One way is by 'pent housing' (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007), this means that new property is built on existing property. In this way the space available in the area is used at its best. Another way is by demolishing social housing to make place for new private property housing. The government of Rotterdam has the plan to demolish 20.000 social housing buildings to make room for middle and high income people (Markus, 2016). This should make the city more attractive for new residents.

Infrastructure is also an important aspect in order to make certain areas more attractive. The areas should be easily accessible by car and by using public transport. Accessibility namely is also one of the aspects to make an area more attractive for the highly-educated potential residents (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007).

Another goal of gentrification in the city of Rotterdam is attracting students. The city has a university and a college, the city however, is not defined as a typical 'student city'. The government wants to change this by stimulating student-based activities around the campus. They also want to keep in mind the wished and preferences of the students for example a good catering industry, cultural events and payable residences. These are namely similar to the wishes and preferences of the middle class residents (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007).

Middelland

Middelland is working on a project together with residents, local entrepreneurs and civil servants to upgrade the neighbourhood and a social, safety and esthetical level. In this project it is not the policy playing the biggest part, but the experiences of all parties involved. Consequently, new and creative ideas might come forward and are given a place to evolve. All this comes together in the project 'Mooi, mooier Middelland' (Desmet, 2016).

The concept of co-creation is central in this project. Co-creation means that residents, entrepreneurs and the municipality, acting as civil servants, strengthen the social and physical characteristics of the neighbourhood. Through stories and experiences of motivated the parties involved, new ideas are seen as opportunities faster than during a 'normal' process of policy (Desmet, 2016). These ideas have led to many initiatives in the neighbourhood.

HUIZE MIDDELLAND

This mind map of the neighbourhood Middelland shows the various citizen initiatives created in the neighbourhood. These are all created to bring people in the area closer together and to offer various activities and places to do so. Each initiative has its own view on how to do this and what to offer. For example, Oostervant focuses especially on exercise and working out, for everybody young and old, while Wijkpaleis tries to offer more creative activities such as cooking classes, woodworking and a neighbourhood cinema (Desmet, 2016).

Figure 7 Mind Map Middelland (Desmet, 2016)

The neighbourhood has two sides to its story. On the one hand the neighbourhood is alive, many formal as well as informal networks work on the liveability and safety in the neighbourhood. As already mentioned before, the various citizen initiatives offer activities and gatherings in order for the residents to come closer together. These come from 'old' residents, but also more from newer residents in the neighbourhood that want to use their expertise and experiences to bring to attention the shortcomings and the successes of the neighbourhood according to them and how to work these in benefit for the neighbourhood (Desmet, 2016).

On the other hand, the neighbourhood has a 'raw' and 'vulnerable' side to it (Desmet, 2016). Alongside the participating residents, there are also residents throwing garbage on the streets, disruption peace from the many coffeeshops, drugs, violence etc. In Middelland particularly drugs and nuisance are the two elements being worse than the city's average. People having to live with this are mostly less fortunate and are the vulnerable group of the neighbourhood. Luckily the money that Middelland has been given is also spent on changing this part (Desmet, 2016).

The causes for the project were several persistent safety problems, like the ones described above. However, safety regulation is not the number one focus of the program. Safety will follow as a natural consequence of all other initiatives in the neighbourhood (Desmet, 2016).

Katendrecht

The main project running on Katendrecht is 'Kun jij de Kaap aan?' *(Can you handle the Cape?).* The name of the project refers to the past of the neighbourhood, where prostitutes and sailors characterised the street scape (Markus, 2016). Since gentrification in the neighbourhood has begun, the area became more popular and talked-about than ever, this

project is a way of showing that the neighbourhood is still alive and still has many, old and new, things to offer (Ontwikkelingsbedrijf Rotterdam, 2016).

The project is a collaboration between the municipal government, the housing cooperation and projects developers on Katendrecht together with local entrepreneurs, residents and other people interested. Together they make the neighbourhood attractive for new residents and entrepreneurs since living and entrepreneurship are the two main things to do on Katendrecht (Ontwikkelingsbedrijf Rotterdam, 2016).

The project has different goals. The members organise different activities such as life music, festivals and street theatres during the year. The municipal government and the housing cooperation also made Katendrecht a beautiful living environment by demolishing social housing and replacing and adding to them new private property housing. Unfortunately, due to the banking crisis the Deliplein could not be tackled anymore. This however made room for young and creative entrepreneurs to settle in the neighbourhood (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016) (Markus, 2016).

Katendrecht also has a project organised by three residents of Rotterdam with the main goal to bring people together and give residents of Rotterdam the opportunity to tell their story. With this aim the Belvédère, a 120-year old building on Katendrecht, became the home to the 'Verhalenhuis' (*Story House)* (Lambert, 2014).

"We have to tell stories to feel connected; connections to the past, connect and deepen acts in the present" – Nelleke Noordervliet (Project Plan, 2013).

The project started when five individual entrepreneurs worked in the Belvédère. They were starting to set up a big photography project on the residents of South Rotterdam. The project started because big investments on social as well as physical developments on Rotterdam South were made. This project was an initiative to bring people together and win their trust (Project Plan, 2013).

Through this project the residents of Rotterdam South were being made aware about the fact that they are part of something bigger, not only their neighbourhood or their sports club, but that they were part of the whole area Rotterdam South. This created a sense of belonging and connectedness to area and the people in the area.

The goal of the project was however not only meant for the residents of Rotterdam South. The area had and maybe still has a somewhat bad reputation. By showing the portraits of the residents in the area, they also wanted to show the possible new residents the 'real face' of the area. They used the exhibition as a way of communicating the new and better reputation of the area (Project Plan, 2013).

After this project, the initiators started thinking further, on how to keep bringing people together and connecting them through the Story House. It became a place where stories are told and heard in many different ways and shapes (Lambert, 2014). The stories are told on different occasions, being different activities organised in the Belvédère.

The activities held, vary quite a bit. The first was a cooking evening, where a resident would cook something from his/her home country while telling his/her story. Also baptisms and birthdays are held in the Belvédère, on the condition that the initiators can invite some

people to stimulate connections (Lambert, 2014). In the first semester of 2016 the project 'The Next Story' is running. In this project ten original residents of Katendrecht tell their stories (Belvédère, 2016).

5. Analysis

The central topic in this thesis is the changes taking place in a neighbourhood and how 'in between' residents experience these. Consequently, these changes are central in the data collected and are what connects the different researched topics to each other.

The main topics on which changes occur in the neighbourhood are housing, facilities and services and social network and composition of the neighbourhood. During the data collection and the data analysis, it became clear that these different topics are all interrelated and play a big role in how the changes are experienced.

These three main topics structured the theory and the interviews, this structure will now be used in this chapter as well. The insight found on these experiences on the three main topics and the policy will be presented in an overview in the following section.

5.1 Housing

The first few questions in the interview focussed on the changes taking place in the aspect of housing. These changes are the increase of rent in the neighbourhood, the increase in personal estate instead of social housing or private rent houses and an increase of student housing, displacement is discussed as a consequence of these increases. Also the overall physical improvement of the neighbourhood plays a role in the changes occurring.

Increase in rent and private property

When asked about the increase of rent in both neighbourhoods for social housing the respondents mentioned that every July the rent increases by the maximum increase allowed, being 4% of the amount before July. As a result, the rent stays relatively low and the residents do not seem to worry about the increase affecting them such a way that they should maybe consider moving someplace else, if it should happen they see it as a problem for the future, making the fear of displacement an irrelevant topic at the moment.

The residents on Katendrecht have not only noticed the increase in prices for their own houses, but also the private rental houses have an increasing rent. Every new building on the island that is up for rent will have a high rent of about 1200-1600 Euros per month as a consequence of the high popularity of the neighbourhood. They think that the policy is changed to purposely make the neighbourhood more expensive.

"The rents are not normal any more, if you pay 600 Euros for a house, I do not think that is normal [...] But this is their goal, to make it a more expensive neighbourhood."

J. van Waardenburg & Kroes (2016).

What also stands out in both neighbourhoods is that the amount of private property housing increases. On Katendrecht many new houses are built at the waterside, this does not happen so much in Middelland, primarily due to a lack of space. However, in both neighbourhoods it seems that almost all vacated rental housing is turned into private property, this is easily noticeable by the 'for sale' signs on many houses in both neighbourhoods.

Many of the houses have already changed from social housing to private property. A perfect example is the street where one the respondents lives, the Zwaerdecroonetraat in Middelland. On this street one side has been completely turned into private property at the same time. The transformation took about three years and changed the physical aspects and the composition of the neighbourhood, more on this further in in the analysis.

In both neighbourhoods the respondents have had the choice of buying their social housing, most of them did not, apart from one respondent, S. Musa. She chose to buy her apartment and as a consequence she now lives in a building where apartments are mixed; social housing and private property. All other respondents did not choose to buy their house, with the main reason being that they found it too expensive.

"You pay 80.000 for this place, that I find messy, 80.000 I have to really think about."

J. Nieuwdorp (2016)

Displacement

This increase in private property is typical for gentrification, however the way how this property is obtained can be different. In most cases the private property are previous rental houses. But in Middelland different ways of obtaining private property are used. In the part of the neighbourhood where S. Musa has bought a house the previous residents were forced out of their houses. She spoke to one of the renters, a single mom with three children, across the streets who told her they were being bullied out of their house by the cooperation, offering 5.000 Euros as a contribution to 'get lost'. Ever since the plan is there to demolish these building and build new ones, the housing association has stopped fixing problems and started dumping waste in the backyards. This could be seen as a form of displacement in the neighbourhood.

"Her cellar is flooded and Woonstad refuses to fix it, and they have created a waste dump in the garden behind the houses and the waste is being thrown in her garden."

S. Musa (2016)

Another way of creating space for new private property buildings in Middelland is the Rotterdamwet. In this law, unique for Rotterdam, it says that 20.000 rental houses will be demolished in order to create space for new buildings. A referendum will be held in the near future to try and stop the city from displacing so many people from their homes.

"They are demolishing houses in the city in order to attract more rich people to the city" N. Haasbroek (2016)

On Katendrecht the people are not being pushed away this easily. The original residents do not fear displacement and are not planning on leaving soon, especially not because of other people coming to the neighbourhood.

Studentification

Both neighbourhoods according to the respondents are not very popular to live in amongst students. On Katendrecht most of the respondents say that almost no students live in the neighbourhood, but that they do see them using the facilities. Kees however says that there are some students who live in certain streets on the island. In Middelland it is quite the same, the students use the facilities a lot, so in that way students are present. The respondents who live near student housing recognise that more students live there, the others seem to hesitate more.

Both neighbourhoods do not have the perfect location for students to live, the Erasmus University namely is quite far away from both neighbourhoods. The Erasmus Medical Centre, the train station and the city centre however, are close to Middelland, according to the respondents this might be the main reason for students to choose to live there.

Physical improvements

Overall, the physical appearance has improved in both neighbourhoods over the last couple of years. Not only the houses in certain areas, but also the street scape in most parts of the neighbourhoods has been improved. According to the respondents this has happened because of the new middle class residents; the neighbourhood has to be made more attractive for them and they invest more in the neighbourhood once they live there. However, all respondents state that it can only be improved more in the next couple of years.

On Katendrecht the improvements have been happening since the 'outer circle' with private property housing has been built and the SS-boat has been docked. The neighbourhood is divided by three circles of different sorts of housing. He outer circle is where the new private property buildings are and where most of the new, middle class residents come to live. The mid circle is where most Turkish and Chinese people live, they are private renters of buyers. The inner circle is where most of the social housing is. According to the respondents, the improvements in the street scape of the inner circle would not have taken place, if those middle class residents would not have been built.

"I think that if those people would not have bought the new houses on the outer circle, that the inner circle would not have been improved" "Yes, and also the coming of the SS-boat."

J. van Waardenburg & T. Melfor (2016)

However, the greenery in the neighbourhood has not changed since decades ago, no trees or plants have been added. The municipality also postpones trimming hedges in the neighbourhood, leaving the members of the Neighbourhood Governs group to do it. Apart

from that, the garbage containers do not seem to help, leaving a lot of garbage on the streets.

In Middelland the improvements are clearly visible, people who visit the city see the changes and applaud the improvements. Some respondents say that the neighbourhood has undergone a total metamorphosis. Not only are many streets now filled with trees, flowers and other greeneries through local initiatives, but also bigger projects have taken place. The façade of the buildings in the main streets of the neighbourhood have been renovated and the less presentable buildings are renovated completely to create a better overall street scape in the neighbourhood. This however, does not happen in one time, but small pieces of the street are changed one by one.

The only thing keeping the neighbourhood from total improvement, is the fact that in some streets or parts of the neighbourhood, the improvements fail. This can have different reasons. One of them being that students do not keep their house as clean as other residents and another that there is a clear difference between the renters and buyers in the neighbourhood, with buyers being more invested. These two factors still play a defining role in the street scape of some parts in the neighbourhood.

"When I look at the student buildings across the streets, it does not look fresh to me, absolutely not actually." B.C. (2016)

5.2 Facilities and Services

The second part of the interview focussed on the subject of facilities and services. Three aspects of facilities and services were investigated, namely how the supply of them has changed in the last couple of years, how these services changed in terms of economic value (cheaper/no change/more expensive) and how and what influence they have on social life and mix in the neighbourhood. These changes might also have an influence on the segregation and integration from the residents of the neighbourhood. Apart from that the service of informing about the changes in the neighbourhood was also investigated

In both neighbourhoods there are big changes in the area of facilities and services. Especially in the supply of those facilities and services, the biggest changes are visible. The respondents think these changes have been made in order to make their neighbourhood more attractive and representable for the new residents and the potential new residents.

Facility and service supply

In Middelland, the respondents all are very satisfied with the supply of shops and facilities. After the changes because of gentrification started happening, the municipality closed down some of the old and run down shops to be able to renovate them and sell them to new owners. The policy was that the new owners could not change the shops in order to maintain the physical improvements in the neighbourhood. With these changes the neighbourhood now exists with a very well-mixed supply of old and new shops. The only thing that one of the respondent misses, is a municipal service in the neighbourhood where residents can ask all sorts of questions.

"All old shops go out and they go in and renovate, then new owners come and cannot change anything, if they only saw a shelf, they will get a fine."

J. Nieuwdorp (2016)

The supply of shops is the first aspect where the two neighbourhoods differ from each other. On Katendrecht the shop supply before gentrification was way better according to all respondents. The Deliplein was full of cafés as well as the rest of the island, with pubs on every street corner, just like Amsterdam one of the respondents said. Every street corner except for 1, is now empty. The Deliplein has undergone a massive transformation since it now exists solely out of small restaurants or hip shops. This supply works for tourist, people coming from other parts in Rotterdam and new residents, but not for the true Kapenezen. The Kapenezen now go to the city centre to go for a drink.

All other stores, such as supermarkets, drug stores and grocery stores have also been removed from the island. Most respondents do not really miss these, because other neighbourhoods are easily reachable by car. For people who do not drive and elderly people this is a great shortcoming in the neighbourhood.

"[...] we used to have a post office, a supermarket, ATM's, and now everything is gone. It is just a residential area with a square where you can only eat and that's it."

T. Melfor

However, the neighbourhood did get the Fenix Food Factory, a hip and old building with many different shops and services in it. The respondents see it as a positive addition to their neighbourhood, but do not seem to use it that often, because of the prices of the products, that seem to be very expensive. J. van Waardenburg however does come there more often and says that prices are not that high, that the residents only think that and that is threshold keeping them from the Fenix Food Factory.

Furthermore, another similarity in the neighbourhoods is the closing down of almost all community centres before gentrification took place. In both cases the closing down was a consequence of cuts in the budget made by the municipal government, leaving both areas without a place for people, old and young, to be able to come together.

In Middelland, since the gentrification and since the municipal investments in the neighbourhood, many community centres have re-opened and new ones have been added. One of the respondents is an active member in one of the many centres and explains that the community centres are mostly there to bring people together. Furthermore, many different activities are organised by the community centres, so that people have a place to go and to learn and be together.

"The community centre mostly focusses on bringing people together, different people in the neighbourhood and fight the loneliness."

B.C. (2016)

On Katendrecht only two out of six of the previous community centres have stayed open or have re-opened. The two that are still open are mostly popular among the older residents and one of them also attracts new middle class residents. However, the younger residents,

who live in social housing do not have a place, a kind of safe haven to go to, consequently causing problems in the neighbourhood.

Influence on social life and composition

Facilities and services in a neighbourhood can play a role in bringing people together or separating them on the contrary. Some of the community centres, despite the overall function of bringing people together, seem to fail at doing this.

In Middelland the community centres mostly bring together two groups apart from each other. On the one hand, the poorer, often foreign residents of the community and on the other hand the middle class residents who want to be involved in the project come together, but mixing the two groups seems to be difficult. An example given by one of the respondents was at a meeting for a project; the people from the meeting were white, middle class residents and foreign women were serving the food and drinks as an effort obligation.

In Katendrecht the two community centres are seen as competition to one another, some of the residents always go to the Verhalenhuis, also many new residents choose this one and other residents go to 't Steiger. These two groups therefore seem to not mix in the community, according to a few of the respondents, this is due to the lack of a place that welcomes everybody.

Other facilities in the neighbourhood can also influence the social life in the neighbourhood. Where, as in what shops, people choose to go to depends, according to the respondents, to different factors.

In Middelland the newer and big supply of facilities plays a big role. Different, old and new, facilities are attractive a different kind of people. The respondents mentioned budget, how much money one is able to spend, the need, what one needs or wants to buy and culture, where people of the same culture go, as three of the main reasons of choice of what facility to go to. The respondents also mention that conversations in the facilities are not common, except with people whom they know.

"I think people are mostly attracted to what they need and to what their finances allow, people are also attracted by what they see, I myself am Surinamese and when I see a place where many Surinamese are, I'm more attracted to that place."

B.C. (2016)

On Katendrecht it is also the financial part that separates the public for the different facilities. The original residents find the restaurants on the Deliplein and the facilities in the Fenix Food Factory too expensive. For this reason, they mostly go to the city centre, away from Katendrecht, to go out for a drink or something to eat. The few cafés that are still there from before the gentrification took place are mostly visited by the alcoholic Kapenezen according to the respondents.

Some of the entrepreneurs on the island are making an effort to get everybody together in the Fenix Food Factory, by spreading the word that the prices are not that high and by organising different activities in the factory. They do this in order to make the threshold a little lower and to bring people together.

"Maybe, since we had that dinner, more people will visit the Fenix Food Factory from now on."

Kroes (2016)

Furthermore, the Deliplein and the Fenix Food Factory are mostly visited and used by tourists or people from other parts of Rotterdam, amongst them also students, who have read or heard that Katendrecht is the place to be in Rotterdam. The tourists also want to visit the SS-Boat that is docked in Katendrecht.

Economic changes in facilities and services

As already mentioned, the financial changes in the facilities are one of the reasons why some facilities fail to bring people together. These financial changes are not visible everywhere.

In Middelland respondents say that the prices in the old facilities and shops have not or hardly risen. In the shops that are added to the supply of facilities are mostly a little more expensive. Specialised stores might be more expensive as well as different supermarkets such as the EkoPlaza. What stands out are the many coffee-houses where coffee is more expensive than it used to be.

Because of these high prices the segregation between for example the single moms and the yuppies is very visible. During the interview with S. Musa, she came up with an idea to mix these two groups by organising a 'coffee hour', wherein the coffee is sold at a discount price, so that more people in the neighbourhood can enjoy the delicious coffee in one of the many coffee houses. This might be a small solution to the problem of the gap between the poorer and the richer, because integration alone does not solve that gap problem.

"Integration increases step by step, this has to improve on itself, however, it does not solve the problem of the gap between the rich and the poor."

N. Haasbroek (2016)

The coffee-houses are not only too expensive for the poorer people. It namely also leads to a different kind of poverty, namely the Latte-Poverty, in which young urban professional (yup) are living the hip life and have to drink coffee in coffee-houses so often that they do not have money left at the end of the month, making them poor in another way.

"If you have to sit here (coffee-house) three times a day and then drink for to five lattes and pay them, and then do that 30 days a month, you have to pay hundreds of Euros a month."

S. Musa (2016)

On Katendrecht the respondents want to buy and live the most profitable way possible. That is why most of them leave Katendrecht when doing grocery shopping. The Fenix Food Factory, however, is not that expensive as many social housing residents think, it is a fable that goes around fast in the neighbourhood. On the contrary, the new facilities on the Deliplein have become more expensive, which is why most social housing residents are not attracted to those places.

In both neighbourhoods the rent of the facility buildings is quite high since the neighbourhoods became more popular. On Middelland this is a threshold for entrepreneurs,

because a facility is not easily profitable. On Katendrecht the places on the Deliplein are subsidised for new and creative entrepreneurs by the municipality for the time of three years. After those three years many of the facilities do not seem to be profitable and have to close down.

"There are many things in the neighbourhood that you have to look through, they look nice, the restaurants, but are closing down fast, you have to keep that in mind."

N. Haasbroek (2016)

Information supply

The respondents in both neighbourhoods were not very satisfied with how the residents are kept informed about the changes in the area. The residents are informed about some of the changes, but when one is less involved in the neighbourhood, most information does not reach those people.

In Middelland the residents are mostly informed by neighbourhood meetings organised to involve and inform the residents on the decision making process. Residents receive a letter, inviting them to these meetings. This information gets lost quite easily and other people are not interested in attending the meetings, leaving them uninformed.

These meetings are often held in one of the many community centres in the neighbourhood. Some of the centres also have an activity where volunteers can go from one house to another to inform people verbally, which seems like a better way of informing the residents in the neighbourhood.

"Not actively (informed), sometimes you receive a letter [...] when something needs to happen, but in general it happens to you and then all of a sudden you cannot park the car anywhere."

B.C. (2016)

On Katendrecht it is quite the same. The respondents are somewhat informed, but the reason therefore is that they are very actively involved in the neighbourhood. They are the ones receiving all information. Other residents however are not being informed about the changes or the happenings in the neighbourhood. Sometimes they receive a letter, but in general the residents are not or too little informed.

"Rarely or never (informed) let's say too little, we had a triathlon here, my neighbour called me in the morning: Kees, why are all the fences down, what is happening? And I saw the district's officer and he told me there is a triathlon and nobody of us knew about it." Kees (2016)

5.3 Social networks/cohesion and interaction

The interview moved on to the part about social networks/cohesion and interaction. The main themes that were discussed are the criminality, the social composition in the neighbourhood, the level of integration and segregation of the people living in the

neighbourhood and how gentrification changes a social network. Furthermore, the involvement in the community and the place attachment of the respondents was questioned.

Criminality

On the subject of criminality, the two neighbourhoods differ largely from each other. In Middelland all respondents felt safer since the changes have been taking place. In Katendrecht, on the contrary, the respondents experienced a rise in criminality on the island ever since the process of gentrification has started.

Middelland used to be a neighbourhood a breeding spot for a bad environment. Especially the drug culture was very big in the neighbourhood, with many junkies on the streets, leaving needles on the ground and sleeping in porches. The junkies did not bother many people, but the image of the neighbourhood decreased by that.

As a consequence of gentrification taking place and people of the middle class moving into the neighbourhood, more attention was put to the image of the area. Safety became more important, that is why police became more active on the streets, during the day and at night. Cameras were also hung in everywhere, so that there would be a constant control. The neighbourhood also invested in a place where the homeless, the junkies and the alcoholics can sleep, 'de Ontmoeting'. With this arrangement they try to keep those people off the streets. Because of this, all respondents feel safer in their neighbourhood, especially at night.

"Maybe there is more safety, in the last couple of years more police officers are active in the neighbourhood, so less junkies are on the streets, I still see them, but less than I used to."

B.C. (2016)

There has, however been a shift in the kind of criminality taking place in the neighbourhood. Drugs and junkies used to be on the streets, but now the crimes happen inside. Burglaries, domestic violence and money laundering in hairdressers seem to have increased in numbers according to the respondents. This shift has made the criminality less visible in the neighbourhood, giving the idea that is decreased overall.

"It has become less visible I think, those junkies used to hang around here, it gives you an unsafe feeling […] also different types of criminality I think." S. Musa (2016)

In this neighbourhood vandalism was never a big problem and that has not changed, according to the respondents. Cluttering on the streets, however, in spite of the small number of garbage bins in the streets, has improved since gentrification has made its introduction to the neighbourhood.

On Katendrecht, the stories are quite different. Criminality was never a big issue on the island, but since the neighbourhood became more popular, criminality did as well. Even though the neighbourhood used to be home to many prostitutes, the only crimes that happened now and then were robberies of people coming out of the café and children stealing candy. The prostitutes however, knew almost everybody, so they were able to tell who did what, which kept the criminality at a low level.

The middle class people in the private property housing are not the ones causing this rise in crimes. The respondents say that the coming of Moroccan families in social housing has been causing problems in the neighbourhood. After a few troubled families moved into the social housing, burglaries started happening more regularly, often multiple times in the same houses.

"Once a week my neighbour stops by to tell me to close my door and window at night, I used to leave everything open, which used to be okay, now it is not anymore."

Kees (2016)

These burglaries were the reason why one of the respondents started taking action. She created the idea of a prevention group called 'neighbourhood prevention'. It did not take long before other residents, old and new ones, were interested in helping. Since the start of the daily walks and the WhatsApp group with residents, they have already red-handedly caught burglars and the burglaries have so decreased in number.

"If you have many burglaries, then yes, you want to see the burglars' faces, and that's when we decided to take action."

J. van Waardenburg (2016)

Just as in Middelland, vandalism has not been an issue. The cluttering on the streets used to be way less than it is now. Before the changes, everybody kept their own porch and street clean, not matter how busy they were. Now people throw their garbage on the streets. Even at places where garbage containers are facilitated, the garbage bags are still on the streets.

"You died of poverty but you kept your street clean [...] sometimes we walk by, we open up the containers and they are totally empty, with 7,8,9,10 garbage bags next to them."

T. Melfor (2016)

Social Composition

The city of Rotterdam consists, according to N. Haasbroek, for fifty percent of people living from social security funds. Because of the changes taking place in the neighbourhood new people are attracted to it. As mentioned before, due to the increase in private property and the governmental policy changes more middle class people are interested in moving to both the neighbourhoods. Also the changes in facilities and services make the neighbourhood attractive for higher-class citizens.

The first difference between the two neighbourhoods is that Middelland originally is a mixed area, there has always been a mix between higher class, middle class and lower class residents. Katendrecht used to be a mono-neighbourhood, meaning that it mostly was inhabited by people living in social housing. In both neighbourhoods changes have occurred.

Middelland was built in a certain way, with the main streets being broad, with chic houses for richer people. The side streets were more narrow and houses were built for poorer people. Some of those side streets are still mainly inhabited by poorer, often foreign

residents. The original composition of the neighbourhood has not really changed the people living there seem to have.

According to all respondents in Middelland, the area has become 'whiter'. In the main streets mostly architects, lawyers and entrepreneurs still live. Some of the side streets have, however, changed. One side of the street where J. Nieuwdorp lives is solely social housing, with a mix of Dutch and foreign citizens. The other side has been in renovation for three years and now consists of private property housing. On that side of the street only Dutch, white people live. This trend, of parts becoming solely white, is visible in more pats of the neighbourhood.

"That is the fun part, on that side, not one foreigner lives."

J. Nieuwdorp (2016)

As a consequence, there is a social mix in some parts of the neighbourhood, in other parts however, segregation is still visible. As already stated, some parts are almost solely white yuppies. While other streets are inhabited by foreigners. Mostly concentrated by one culture or ethnicity, because they tend to look for each other in order to cohabit.

"Yes, whiter, also in the building where I live, the buyers are all yuppies, couples who just started, the older residents are the ones living from social security funds."

S. Musa (2016)

Katendrecht also has a certain division in residences, as already mentioned in the part on (…), in three different circles. The inner circle mostly consists of older residents, who have been living on Katendrecht for a long time now, in social housing. The mid circle are the Turkish and Chinese people, this is a mix between social housing and private property. The outer circle is the new one, here new private property is built, since the neighbourhood has become more popular.

The people who come to live in the new houses mostly are Dutch white people buying property on Katendrecht. Also other ethnicities and cultures come to live there, these are mostly Chinese and Turkish people, who are able to afford the private property. In the social housing in the inner circle, Moroccan and Antillean families are the new inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The respondents all mentioned that these families are often troubled and causing problems in the area. That is why they prefer the Dutch people to move in.

"I'd rather they cram everything with people who can afford it and who work for their money, instead of what is in the social housing now, those people are good-for-nothing."

T. Melfor (2016)

Social Network

The social connections that the respondents have made since the changes have occurred are in both neighbourhoods not really considerable. People mostly interact with their own group of people and friends.

In Middelland in some parts the social mix is good. For example, J. Nieuwdorp now talks to the private property owners across the street and sees them as acquaintances. The two groups meet each other on the street or at the local community centre.

"I also have many conversations with them, with those people, that's what I really like, they all have a job and a nice car […] now I also know those kind of people."

J. Nieuwdorp (2016)

In other, more segregated parts, this is quite different. N. Haasboek describes it as 'Segregation with advantageous exceptions'. Meaning that the mix between classes has become better and is going okay, but the mix between cultures is less. He thinks these people mostly stay in their own circle of people and in the area of the neighbourhood they know. That is why connections with other people are not easily made and, they are not fully provided with all information and happenings in the neighbourhood. So if they stay in their own known world, they might not know what other positive or negative changes are happening in the neighbourhood.

"Their circle is a good place, they do not experience the whole neighbourhood when only staying in one street, that's why they might not be aware of other positive of negative changes in the neighbourhood". N. Haasbroek (2016)

What also comes up in the interviews is that the neighbourhood and most of the people living there are quite individualistic. They stay in their own circle, but contact with neighbours or people living in your block is not that important, unless it concerns a neighbourhood issue or a building related topic.

On Katendrecht the new and old residents are finding it hard to find a connection to one another. The bond with the original residents of Katendrecht is way better than that with the new ones. Most of them have known each other their whole lives and have become family to each other. With the coming of the new people, in the private property but also in the social housing, there is alienation of the residents, making the area more anonymous. There are however some exceptions, especially with the people who are more involved in the neighbourhood.

Luckily, almost all new residents have the same goal:

"First thing that is important is that the neighbourhood is a safe and clean place for everybody, where everybody feels good, does not matter if you're an old or new resident, we all want the same: no burglaries, no vandalism and a clean place."

T. Melfor (2016)

Neighbourhood involvement

Neighbourhood involvement in both neighbourhoods is something that needs to come from own initiative. There are many groups to join, actions to help with and meetings to attend in order to show involvement in the neighbourhood one lives in.

In Middelland this mostly interconnects with the project Mooi, Mooier Middelland, which will be discussed in 5.4. The only problem that this project has, is that communication toward the whole neighbourhood still is quite bumpy, consequently not many people are not aware of the existence of the project. You have to really know somebody involved, to hear about it.

There are however many community centres in Middelland. One can stop by there to attend a workshop or an activity to spread awareness of the project. Other community centres also gather people from the neighbourhood to talk about the area they live in and see what can be changed or what is good.

Some of the respondents in Middelland do attend these kinds of meetings. The two respondents go to those meetings with different intends. One goes because of the connection to the rest of the people living in the area, in this way he can meet new people. The other respondents attend to have a voice in the decisions being made about the area she lives in.

Some respondents mention that mostly the new middle class residents and people living in private property housing are the ones most involved in the neighbourhood. Foreigners and people living in social housing are less likely to put an effort in engaging in the community. J. Nieuwdorp confirms this by telling that when he goes to community meetings, no foreigners are present and that only the Dutch people go there.

On Katendrecht the respondents are very active in the neighbourhood. Three of them are part of the two groups 'Neighbourhood Prevention' and 'Neighbourhood Governs'. One of them also started the prevention group as a consequence of all the burglaries in the area. Therefore, they walk in groups to check the neighbourhood in the evenings and at night. The forth respondent is very active in the community centre 't Steiger, which is close to his house. This centre is kept open on voluntary basis.

The 'Neighbourhood Governs' and the prevention group consist almost out of the same people. The prevention group is to keep the neighbourhood safe, while the government group does many other things. They try to keep the strings with the municipality short, this is necessary because Rotterdam, according to the respondents is a big bureaucracy. They have a list of the most important people in the municipality so that they can directly contact them.

But even so, the respondents do not really feel well represented by the municipal government. Some things, such as trimming the hedges in front of houses is a municipal task. The government group tried to get the municipality to trim the hedges of some of the older residents, when this took too long, the group took the initiative to fulfil the task themselves.

"It all just takes a long time, every action takes six weeks and we try to keep the string shorter […], but it is a disaster, Rotterdam is the biggest bureaucracy there is."

J. van Waardenburg (2016)

The two groups are trying to help the old and the new residents to mix in the neighbourhood, by organising activities for both groups. An example is by helping Mark

Baan to lower the threshold for them to come to the Fenix Factory and make it a place for the neighbourhood to come together.

Place attachment

The place attachment in both neighbourhoods is quite high, almost all respondents claim to be very attached to the neighbourhood, not only because of the area, but also because there is nothing wrong with it.

In Middelland the respondents all really like the neighbourhood and plan to stay there. They do not see a reason at the moment to move away and the habituation plays a role as well. Moving away is not a plan for the near future, however one of the respondents says not to exclude the possibility.

"I want to die in Middelland, I do not want to live anywhere else."

S. Musa (2016)

"If I want to stay here? Well, why not, I never have any complaints, so why would I leave?"

J. Nieuwdorp (2016)

On Katendrecht the place attachment for older residents is very high. All respondents say they do not ever want to leave. No new residents or changes in the neighbourhood can change that attachment to the neighbourhood. They all grew up on the island and it is and will always be their home.

"To leave Katendrecht? That is not an option for the Kapenezen."

Street interview Katendrecht (2016)

"Nobody can take away what is in you, I cannot tell you how old I'll be, but I'm a Katendrechter in heart and soul, how can a stranger stand above that?"

Kees (2016)

5.4 Government and Policy

For the part of the research on government and policy, a preliminary research to the two main projects in the neighbourhoods was already done (see chapter 4). The information obtained in the interviews mostly concerned the knowledge of and the involvement in the projects of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the representation of the residents by the government was questioned, in order to obtain a view of the main goals of the policy.

On the subject of government and policy and the running project the two neighbourhoods differ a lot. Middelland is a trial area for co-creation with a more decentralised government. The municipality has given the neighbourhood a large amount of money in order to accomplish the project of co-creation. In Katendrecht, on the contrary, subsidies have been cut for the most part, creating an enormous difference between the two areas.

Middelland is a trial area for decentralisation to neighbourhoods, by the Rotterdam municipal government. Therefore, the project Mooi, Mooier Middelland is created. The emphasis of this project is on co-creation, meaning that they want to involve as many people as possible in the neighbourhood.

The subsidies available for this project, made many things possible for the neighbourhood. Many closed down community centres have re-opened, with different projects in the different centres. Different workshops are offered, for example in the manufacturing sector, which is popular for foreign people. Also activities to bring people with a similar background together. Every community centre also 'specialises' in a certain goal, so that everybody has a place to go to.

"This community centre focusses on connecting people […] they organise activities for elderly people, but also for mothers, fathers, families, children, they want to reach as many different groups as possible, which they actively do."

B.C. (2016)

However, involvement in the project seems to be more difficult than foreseen. N. Haasbroek calls the project a 'white project', getting foreign people engaged in the project is something one needs to really put an effort in. Another respondent confirms this by telling that she did not feel 100% comfortable at the first meeting she attended. The other attendants mostly were architects, designers, the real coffee shop-goers.

Getting people involved also seems more difficult, because not everybody is aware of the project. Two of the respondents have become active in the last month because they randomly know somebody who is involved as well. The other respondent had not heard about the project once. One of the respondents who is now active in the project, says she only now notices that she receives information about it. The spreading of that information has been made possible by re-opening the centres, but another respondent says that the information she has received is unclear.

"Now that I am involved, I see that I receive messages and pamphlets, informational letters, but many of those are immediately thrown away." B.C. (2016)

The project itself has, apart from the opening of the community centres, not really accomplished much. At the moment they are mostly still talking and communicating about the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the people who are already involved are not very diverse and certain images need to be permeated. These two things still need to be tackled by the different project groups.

"Yes, the image needs to be permeated so that every group is represented by the project." S. Musa (2016)

As already mentioned, the subsidies for Katendrecht have been cut a few years ago. In contrary to Middelland, only 2 community centres have re-opened on Katendrecht. These centres also put in an effort to organise activities in the form of workshops, expositions, story-telling etc. The two community centres are, however seen as competition in the neighbourhood, so they fail in connecting the whole neighbourhood. They are both opened on a voluntary basis, that is why no small district newspaper can be afforded.

The respondents do not really feel represented by the community. The fact that there are no old/normal facilities on the island is one reason why. Another one is that the municipality does not act fast enough on for example the request of trimming the hedges or cleaning the pavements. The respondents do not mind doing it themselves, but it should not be their responsibility.

(about the hedge trimming plan) "The only thing we can do is wait a week for an answer, then send another email and wait another week, then I send the last one and if it does not happen then, we do it ourselves. They say they will do it, but they do not."

T. Melfor (2016)

5.5 Characteristics + overall experience

The interview started and ended with more general questions. The first question was to describe the neighbourhood before and after gentrification started. The final question asked to form an opinion on the overall feeling to gentrification, if the respondents find it a positive or rather negative evolution for the neighbourhood.

Both Middelland and Katendrecht are described differently before and after the changes started taking place. The respondents from Middelland were rather negative about how it used to be and have seen some good changes happening, although not everything is positive. On Katendrecht it was the other way around, they could talk about how the neighbourhood used to be for hours and were less enthusiastic about it now.

The respondents in Middelland had quite the same memory of how the neighbourhood used to be. They all mentioned that the neighbourhood used to be filled with junkies on the street. This made many people feel rather unsafe in the area. They also described the neighbourhood to be multicultural, unique and full of shops.

These last three characteristics have not changed since the gentrification. They still say that it is a unique place in Rotterdam and are still very satisfied with the shop supply, which is one of the main reasons other people come to the area.

The neighbourhood has however changed. It has become safer when the junkies left as a consequence of higher control measures taken by the government. Furthermore, it has become a well rated, hip, multicultural neighbourhood where everybody can live pleasantly. However, people still experience hassles in the neighbourhood and since the area has become more popular, residents have trouble parking their car.

[41]

"I sometimes laugh when looking at people on the street, all those people and their cars, a man who lives here and could not park his car, he drove by eight times and I saw the car again and again until he finally found a spot."

J. Nieuwdorp (2016)

Katendrecht was more the other way around. The neighbourhood, according to all respondents, used to be effervescent, with the Deliplein full of people. They describe it as being a village, but with the same liveliness as Amsterdam. The respondents all see this as better times; one says that it will never be better than that.

Now that the neighbourhood has become more hip the liveliness has gone and they describe is as dreary. The Deliplein has become silent, even when it is crowded, one can still hear nothing. They still see it as their village and nobody can change that. Also because of that hipness, there has been a parking problem as well, more people from other parts in Rotterdam came to park their car on Katendrecht, because it was free. Now everybody has to pay to the annoyance of many residents.

"That is why we say that the neighbourhood now, has zero appeal, nothing lively here."

T. Melfor (2016)

Overall all respondents from both neighbourhoods unanimously agree that the changes for their neighbourhood are positive. They say that it can always be better, but that every neighbourhood has its own problems. This is not different in Middelland or Katendrecht.

5.6 Reflecting on the theory

In this chapter the link between the collected data and the theory, previously discussed in chapter 2, will be discussed and connected to each other. There will be looked at where the theory and the data correspond to each other, where the theory comes short and where they consummate each other. This will be done by answering the sub questions formed in chapter 1.3 which will lead to answering the main question in the conclusion in chapter 6.

The first sub question is:

What are the changes that the 'in between' residents have experienced in the last 8 years?

In the theory there are many changes discussed on the subject of housing. Many of those changes were discussed in the interviews as well. The one thing that stood out was the increase in the number of private property housing. The respondents all mention that almost all rental buildings, when vacated, are changed into private property. Related to this is the increase in property value. Houses in both neighbourhoods have increased in value when sold. This results in a loss of affordable houses in both neighbourhoods.

This increase in value and the loss of affordable housing does, however, not result in displacement according to the respondents. Nobody in their social circle has had to move out of the neighbourhood because of the changes, this is probably because of the, still, great

amount of social housing in the neighbourhood, as Doucet (2009) also states in his theory. Nevertheless, in the surrounding area of Middelland, where social housing needs to make room for private property, there are some families being 'bullied' out of their homes, as Atkinson (2002) also stated in his theory. That is also why some of the respondents think that there is a certain fear of displacement for people in the neighbourhood.

The overall image of the neighbourhood changes in a positive way. The streetscape in Middelland is tackled and piece-by-piece, the neighbourhood is changed. This mostly happens with intervention by the government or the housings association. But also neighbourhood committees are changing the streetscape of the neighbourhood. In Katendrecht, however, there has been an increase in cluttering on the streets, without intervention by the government. One could say that this is a negative impact for the streetscape in the neighbourhood.

In Atkinson's (2002) theory there can be either an increase or a decrease in criminality. In the interviews this came up as well. Some kinds of criminality do increase; this is seen especially in Katendrecht. There was little to no criminality in the neighbourhood before changes occurred and now the level of criminality has risen, also with different kinds of criminality. This is also seen in Middelland, where criminality shifted from drugs-related crimes to more behind-the-door criminality according to the respondents.

The facilities and services changed as well. The respondents in both neighbourhoods mentioned an increase in more hip and speciality-based facilities. They do not see this as a negative development per se, as the theory does do. In Middelland, the residents can still visit the shops they used to and they can still find everything they need in the neighbourhood. On Katendrecht many 'normal' shops have disappeared, but most residents do not see this as a problem, because they own a car. Older residents however, may see this differently.

In both neighbourhoods an increase in facilities and services is seen, as Atkinson (2002) also describes. In Middelland this results in a mix between old and new shops and on Katendrecht to a supply with mostly new shops. In both neighbourhoods the facilities and services that were there before gentrification and still are, mostly stayed the same. If the residents visit the shops seems to depend mostly on what attracts them and what they need.

The number of students in the two neighbourhoods does not seem to increase since the gentrification, on the contrary to what Doucet (2009) states. This however does not seem to be totally related to gentrification. Both neighbourhoods are quite far away from the university campus and the college, which might explain why they are not so popular for students. Middelland seems to have slightly more students, which can probably be explained by its great accessibility. If students stay after their education is hard to say because of that.

Because of gentrification, more middle class residents come to the neighbourhood. This has an influence on the other residents. Firstly, they see that the social composition is changed

to a slightly whiter population. There is however not a clear loss of diversity in this composition, because both neighbourhoods were quite mixed to begin with. This is again different from the theory.

The respondents do think that many of the changes made in the area are made because of the new middle class residents moving in. Safety has improved by hanging cameras and having a more frequent police watch. The streetscape has improved, because more people are engaged in keeping the neighbourhood clean and attractive. The respondents think that these improvements would not have happened if those people did not move to the neighbourhood, so they see it as something positive.

Overall the changes that the respondents see in the neighbourhoods have much in common with the changes described in the theory. But where the theory is rather negative on most changes, especially for the old residents, the respondents seemed to have a rather positive view on the changes, with some exception, mostly on Katendrecht.

The governmental strategy for Rotterdam as described in chapter 4 is clearly based on state-led gentrification. The document study also shows that the project in Middelland really tries to reach and involve all residents in the neighbourhood. On Katendrecht this also happens, but to a lesser extent. By answering the second sub question of this interview, there will be given an insight on how the respondents view the governmental strategy in the neighbourhood. The second sub question of this research is as follows:

How do the 'in between' residents experience the governmental intervention in the neighbourhood?

In Middelland the residents experience this as quite positive. Since the neighbourhood is a trial area for co-creation many community centres have re-opened which try to connect people. This seems to be working well, however most people visit the centre closest to their homes, thus connecting the whole neighbourhood to each other will be difficult. The great amount of subsidies allows the neighbourhood to do great things, but the respondents say that they did not accomplish much yet.

Furthermore, the project Mooi, Mooier Middelland seems to exclude some people. The respondents that are aware of the existence of the project call it a rather white project. Other people who do not have a connection to the project are mostly not aware of its existence, which might lead to segregation, contrary to what positive gentrification wants to achieve.

On Katendrecht less subsidies are available and the respondents notice this by feeling less represented by the municipal government. Only two community centres are open in the neighbourhood and these fail to bring everybody together because they are seen as competition. The shop supply on the island is also adjusted to the new middle class residents and other services like trimming the hedges fail to be arranged. The crime rate also went up in the last couple of years, contrary to what positive gentrification should be doing.

[44]

In Middelland the positive or smart gentrification seems to be working, the neighbourhood is more socially mixed, less segregated and more liveable (Lees, 2008) than it used to be. Katendrecht might not be there yet. Part where the data does agree on the theory is that displacement is held very low, with a few exceptions just outside the neighbourhoods, the social mix is increased and that most services in the neighbourhood are seen as a positive outcome of the governmental policy.

6. Conclusion

In this chapter the main conclusions will be described by answering the central question of the research posed in chapter 1. This will be done by connecting the theory and the data analysis, previously discussed in this thesis. The central question of this research is as follows:

"How do the 'in between' residents of the neighbourhoods Middelland and Katendrecht experience the changes taking place in the gentrifying neighbourhoods and does the policy obtained have an influence on these experiences?"

The first half of the question on how the residents experience the changes can be overall answered positively. All residents see the changes as something positive for the neighbourhoods because the neighbourhood is evolving. However, not all separate changes are experienced positively by the residents.

As in the theory described there are changes visible on a social, physical and economic level as described in the theory. There are changes in the housing section of the neighbourhood and the facility and service supply has been changed leading to economic changes in the neighbourhood. Besides that, the social composition of the neighbourhoods has changed with an increasing number of higher-educated middle class residents.

Furthermore, the liveability of the neighbourhoods has increased. Lees (2010) defined a liveable neighbourhood as 'a balanced neighbourhood with a low level of crime and a sizeable share of middle-class households'. In both neighbourhoods this can be seen by the changing social composition and the increase in private property. However, crime rates have not decreased per se in the neighbourhoods, it is better to say that there has been a shift in crime, making the crime less visible. In Middelland this mostly has to do with the increase of middle class households, which led to an increase in surveillance by police and cameras. In Katendrecht the crime has decreased when the residents took the initiative to start a prevention group.

Another development that is typical for gentrification is the change in facilities and services. In both neighbourhoods new facilities have been added. In Middelland this resulted in a great mix between old and new facilities, which provide for all different residents in the area. In Katendrecht however, almost all old facilities has to close their doors and make room for new restaurants. These new facilities are almost never used by the old residents, because they are found too expensive, which is one of the consequences that Atkinson (2002) and Doucet (2009) mentioned in their theory.

Another positive development of gentrification is the re-opening of community centres in the neighbourhoods. In Middelland many new ones have been added as well, giving residents the opportunity to visit the centre closest to their homes. On Katendrecht only two are still open, they are seen as competition to most residents, that is why they fail in bringing the community together. Thus, in both neighbourhoods the community centres are

a positive change, but might cause segregation for some, disagreeing on the theory that positive gentrification can create a strong feeling of community.

This can also be seen in the changes on behalf of social network in the neighbourhood, which are minimal. The coming of new facilities and houses may have made the gap between rich and poor slightly bigger as Doucet (2009) also mentions. In Middelland some of the mixed streets give way for the opportunity for residents to meet each other. But in other areas and on Katendrecht there are close to no places where new and old residents can meet and socialise with each other, leaving the close social networks mostly untouched.

The second half of the central question is how the policy obtained can influence these experiences. In both neighbourhoods there is state-led positive gentrification. The content based part where the government has a clear strategy on gentrification (Geurtz, 2007) is there. In both neighbourhoods the government has demolished social housing to make room for private property or still has the plan to do it. The process-oriented side, in which opinions of different actors are taken into account (Geurtz, 2007) seems to miss in Katendrecht but is clearly visible in Middelland because of the investments in co-creation. This might be the explanation of why some changes on Katendrecht seem to leave out the 'in between' residents more than in Middelland. The respondents confirm this; in Middelland the residents feel well represented by the government and if they are aware of the project, feel like they have a choice to be involved. On Katendrecht the residents still have to take initiative themselves and feel like the government fails at providing some essential services. In both Middelland and Katendrecht, the information supply can also be increased.

Overall, the 'in between' residents in both Middelland and Katendrecht experience the changes due to gentrification as a positive development for the neighbourhood and they do not want to leave their neighbourhoods. The policy obtained does have an influence on these experiences, especially on Katendrecht, where the positive gentrification policy seems to fail in involving and representing all residents. In Middelland the residents feel well represented but they would like to see the involvement being stimulated more. In both neighbourhoods the past is not forgotten, but they are most certainly ready to live and experience the present and its changes.

7. Discussion

In this chapter the recommendations for potential follow-up research and the reflection on this research will be described. These two complement each other. Recommendations are important to show why further research is interesting to deepen this subject. The reflection will give insight on which stumbling blocks can be foreseen, in order to make further research easier.

7.1 Recommendations

In the conclusions the research came to a positive answer on the central question. The 'in between' residents see the changes due to gentrification in both neighbourhoods as a positive development. However, there are still many footnotes to be made with this conclusion.

In both neighbourhoods there is state-led gentrification that tries to be positive or smart gentrification. In Middelland the government is quite on track with involving as many people as possible in theory, but seem to fail in the project. On Katendrecht the emphasis is still on luring in the middle class, leaving out the needs and preferences of the other residents. Recommendation for further research therefore can be to investigate both neighbourhoods separately, because the neighbourhoods proved to differ quite a bit from each other. When investigating the neighbourhoods individually, there is an option to go deeper into the specific changes that are typical for the neighbourhoods. Therefore better insight for the governments can be obtained. After this individual investigation of both neighbourhoods, the researcher can then look at how the neighbourhoods can learn from each other.

Another important recommendation is to repeat the research when long-term changes are visible. Gentrification in both neighbourhoods has only begun eight years ago. The neighbourhoods both are still changing a lot with houses being demolished and replaced, shops coming and going and the projects still at the roots of their existence. The changes then can be more distinct and residents might have changed their opinions by then. That is why it is recommended to repeat this research in the future.

Apart from that, what should also be highlighted is that, which is seen in this research as well, neighbourhoods differ a lot from each other. This research can be representative for similar neighbourhoods. All neighbourhoods however have their own dynamics and their own path to follow, which have different influences on the residents, the changes and the experiences.

7.2 Reflection

First of all what should be taken in mind in follow-up research is the difficulty in finding respondents. People do not give personal information away to strangers easily, which will not lead to many respondents via email. Going on the streets to talk to people is quite hard as well. People tend to be restrained and are not always willing to participate in the research. Important to note is that the willingness of certain groups of people is less than others and not everybody is able to speak the same language as the researcher. Still, it is important to involve residents from all ethnic groups. Both neighbourhoods namely have a large share of immigrant groups with different ethnic backgrounds. They however were hard to approach or did not feel the need to express their opinions in an interview; this might give a distorted image of the research.

Because of this, the representativeness of the research can be harmed. The respondents were mostly found by the snowball effect, where one respondent shared contact information for another potential respondent. Other respondents were found because they were known and more involved in the neighbourhood and therefore easier to find. This might lead to similar experiences of the neighbourhood, because the respondents are in similar social contexts or living areas. This makes it more difficult to generalise the findings to the whole group of 'in between' residents. Adding quantitative research to it, where the biggest changes are questioned, to be able to generalise more, could maybe change this. It is however important to do both because otherwise the depth of the research will be lost.

In the end it can maybe be said that those people who have interesting opinions about the neighbourhood and who care about what is done, are the ones willing to talk about the neighbourhood in order to help change it in the best way they can. These are the people who are interviewed and are the ones who can make a change in the neighbourhood.

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Appendix I Interviewguide

Radboud University Nijmegen
Bachelor thesis GPM
Marijke Clarisse

Interview guide

Introduction:

- Who am I?
- What is the research about and why is it relevant?
- Is it okay if I record the interview?
- Mention that the recordings will not be used for anything but transcribing

Gentrification overall:

Can you introduce yourself? (How long have you been living here, what do you do…?)

What characteristics would you give the neighbourhood before gentrification/changes started? (physical or social e.g. cosy, divers, not really nice…)

How has this changed in the last couple of years?

How would you now, after the changes have occurred, describe the neighbourhood? (shop supply, social structure…)

What is, according to you, the reputation of the neighbourhood in the rest of Rotterdam?

Consequences of gentrification:

How are you informed about the changes taking place in the neighbourhood? (e.g. letters, information meetings, social media…?)

Housing:

Reports state that because of gentrification the rents are getting higher, in Rotterdam the private rent has gone up with 9% since 2015. It also states that there is an increase in private property housing and a decrease in social housing.

- Do you recognise this?
- How has this affected you?
- Have you ever been scared of having to leave this neighbourhood because of these changes in housing?

Reports also state that the number of students in the neighbourhood increases.

- Do you recognise this?
- What consequence does this have for the neighbourhood? (Social and physical)
- Do you feel like students will stay here after their studies more than they used to?

Overall: how has the neighbourhood been physically refurbished in the last couple of years? Do you think this has to do with gentrification?

Facilities and services:

To what extent are you pleased by the shop supply in the neighbourhood?

To what extent has this supply changed over the last couple of years?

- Have shops disappeared or new ones appeared?
- Mix between old and new?

To what extent have the shops changed on an economical level?

- Are there more expensive shops than there used to be? Or a mix?
- Are there different kinds of shops? (e.g. more speciality shops/organic?)

To what extent do the changes in facilities and services have an influence on the social life in the neighbourhood?

- More segregation between old and new residents?

Social network and cohesion:

Research states that as a consequence of gentrification criminality can increase or decrease (In Rotterdam a decreasing trend is visible)

- To what extent do you see changes concerning criminality?
- Pay attention: burglaries in the street can have a big influence on a small scale
- Cluttering and vandalism?

Research also tells us that the social composition of the neighbourhood can change as a consequence of gentrification

- Do you see changes in the composition?
- What consequences does this have for your own social circle with people in the neighbourhood?

To what extent are you attached to your neighbourhood?

- Has gentrification changed this?
- Do you feel at home in the neighbourhood?

Governmental role:

To what extent are you informed about Mooi, Mooier Middelland?

To what extent are you informed about Kun jij de Kaap aan and Verhalenhuis, Belvédère?

Do you know why these projects started?

Do you feel involved in the changes being made in the neighbourhood?

Overall: Do you see gentrification as a positive or negative development for the neighbourhood?

Are there things you want to add to the interview?

Appendix II List of code groups + members

◇ **Betrokkenheid**

Members:

○ acties ○ Alleen naar eigen buurthuis ○ Alleen Nederlanders komen ○ Allochtonen minder betrokken ○ Arabische les ○ Betrokkenheid ○ Buurt Bestuur ○ Buurt Preventie ○ Buurtcommissie ○ Buurthuis ○ Buurthuis als oplossing ○ Eerst zien dan geloven ○ Functie buurthuis ○ Gemeenschappelijke inspanningsverplichting ○ Hoeft geen inspraak ○ iedereen betrokken ○ Inspraak ○ Inspraak = Strijd ○ Inspraakavonden ○ Komen bij verhalenhuis met buurt bestuur ○ Komen niet zo vaak in het verhalenhuis ○ Komt er regelmatig ○ Maakindustrie ○ Mark Baan - Fenix Loods ○ Meer voor middenklasse bewoners ○ Minder betrokken mensen niet geïnformeerd ○ Minder community ○ Minderheid mee laten doen ○ MMM buiten de boot vallen ○ MMM Verdelen van de taart ○ NL = Verwarrend ○ Opzoomeren ○ Samen schoonmaken ○ Sommigen snappen het niet ○ VVE vergadering ○ Wegbezuinigd ○ Workshops ○ Zelf initiatief ertegen ○ Zwaerdecroonstraat

◇ **Criminaliteit**

Members:

○ Binnen en buiten het gebouw overlast ○ Broeiplek voor slechte milieus ○ Buurt Preventie ○ Buurthuis als oplossing ○ Camera's ○ Coffeshops ○ Criminaliteit ○ Criminaliteit daalt/stijgt ○ Daling criminaliteit ○ Goede relatie met junken ○ Grimmigheid weg ○ Hoerenbuurt ○ Ijssalons ○ In Rotterdam daalt criminaliteit ○ Inbraak ○ Inbraken ○ Junks gingen weg ○ Kapsalons ○ Louche zaken ○ Marokkanen ○ Marokkanen = enige probleemgroep ○ Meer controle ○ Middenklasse zorgt voor verandering ○ Minder vandalisme en verrommeling ○ Nieuwe huis = Rust ○ Nieuwe Middenklasse in de wijk ○ Nog steeds af en toe slecht ○ Overlast ○ Politie kwam ertussen ○ Reden buurt preventie ○ Rotterdamwet ○ Stijging criminaliteit ○ vandalisme ○ veiliger ○ verrommeling ○ Verschuiving criminaliteit ● Vroeger Junk-achtif ○ Vroeger Junk-achtig ○ Vroeger slechter ○ Witwaspraktijken

◇ **Displacement**

Members:

○ Displacement ○ Fear of Displacement ○ Geen reden om te verhuizen ○ Huurverhoging ○ Huurverhoging = Weggaan ○ Huurverhoging = zorgen voor later ○ Mensen trekken sowieso weg ○ Niet bang voor huurverhoging ○ Prijs om te kopen is te duur ○ Slopen van woningen ○ Van huur naar koopwonignen ○ Verhuizen buiten Rotterdam ○ Vroeger sociale huur ○ Zelf huis kopen

◇ **Fysieke opknapping**

Members:

○ Aantrekkelijk voor nieuwe mensen ○ Andere mensen zijn ook onder de indruk ○ Bestemming ○ Containers helpen niet ○ Deliplein ○ Fysieke opknapping wijk ○ Groen zelfde gebleven ○ Huizen opgeknapt ○ Indeling wijk ○ Kan alleen maar beter worden ○ Kan nog

beter ○ Kruiskade verbeteren ○ Liever als Witte de Whitstraat ○ Minder vandalisme en verrommeling ○ Natuur ○ Niet meegegaan met gentrification ○ Nu hele blok opgeknapt ○ Opzoomeren ○ Redenen voor opknapping ○ Regels over fysieke uitstraling gebouw ○ Renovatie ○ Slopen van woningen ○ straatbeeld ○ Veranderingen in wijk ○ Verhelpt het probleem niet ○ Verpauperd = Weg ○ Verschil kopers en huurders ○ Verschil opgeknapt en niet opgeknapt ○ Vuilnis ○ Winkels opgeknapt ○ Zelf initiatief ertegen ○ Zwaerdecroonstraat

⬡ Informatie

Members:

○ Geen wijkkrant ○ Informatie dmv brieven ○ Informeren ○ Inspraak ○ Inspraakavonden ○ Minder betrokken mensen niet geïnformeerd ○ VVE vergadering

⬡ Initiatief

Members:

○ Buurt Bestuur ○ Buurt Preventie ○ Buurtcommissie ○ Camera's ○ Mark Baan - Fenix Loods ○ Meer controle ○ Politie kwam ertussen ○ Reden buurt preventie ○ Regeling buurt preventie ○ Zelf initiatief ertegen ○ Zelf regulerend

⬡ Inleiding + Voorstellen

Members:

○ Altijd in MIddelland ○ Inleiding ○ Opgegroeid in Middelland ○ Ouders naar Noord ○ Voorstellen

⬡ Integratie

Members:

○ Arabische les ○ Deïntegratie ○ Etnisch label ○ Etnische profilering ○ Geen last van Chinezen/Turken ○ integratie van Klassen ○ Sommige Marokkanen doen niks

⬡ Kenmerken wijk

Members:

○ Aantrekkelijk voor nieuwe mensen ○ Allochtonen minder betrokken ○ Als Amsterdam ○ Begint leven in te komen ○ Bereikbaarheid ○ Broeiplek voor slechte milieus ○ Bruisend ○ chique huizen met burgermensen ○ Co-Creatie ○ Coöperaties ○ Daling criminaliteit ○ de 'Bas' ○ de 'Ontmoeting' ○ Deliplein is stil ○ Eenzijdige populatie ○ Eigen aanpassingen huis ○ Eigen huis ○ Eigen karakter ○ Eten, drinken, lezen, schrijven ○ Geen reden om te verhuizen ○ Gezellig ○ Goed aangeschreven buurt ○ Heel goed winkelaanbod ○ Iedere wijk heeft problemen ○ Kan nog beter ○ Kenmerken ○ Keurige buurt ○ Kipwinkel ○ Latte Armoede ○ Liever als Witte de Whitstraat ○ Meer plezier ○ Natuur ○ Net een dorp ○ Nieuwe Middenklasse in de wijk ○ Nu hippe buurt ○ Parkeerprobleem ○ Positieve verandering ○ prettige buurt ○ Reden voor vertrek ○ Reputatie ○ Rotterdam is hip ○ Sociale controle minder ○ SS boot ○ Typisch voor gentrification ○ Uitgestorven ○ Uitstraling van nul ○ Uniek stukje Rotterdam ○ veiliger ○ Verschuiving criminaliteit ○ Vroeger beter ○ Vroeger Bruisend ○ Vroeger Junk-achtig ○ Wereldburgers

◇ **Meer koopwoningen**

Members:

○ Als ze weg konden gingen ze weg ○ chique huizen met burgermensen ○ Constructiefout ○ de 'Ontmoeting' ○ Hoge prijs ○ Huizen opgeknapt ○ Iedereen heeft auto, dus niet erg als je iets vergeet ○ Inleiding huisvesting ○ Kant koopwoningen ○ Meer voor middenklasse bewoners ○ Nieuwbouw ○ Nieuwe eigenaars ○ Nieuwe woning meer contact ○ Nu hele blok opgeknapt ○ Nu koopwoningen ○ Prijs om te kopen is te duur ○ Sociale huur ○ Van huur naar koopwonignen ○ Vroeger sociale huur ○ Zelf huis kopen

◇ **Nieuwe voorzieningen**

Members:

○ Ah = Klasse ○ Arabische les ○ Biologisch = hip ○ Buurtcommissie ○ Buurthuis ○ Cafés ○ CoffeHour? ○ Containers helpen niet ○ Deliplein ○ Deliplein is stil ○ Deliplein trekt mensen van buitenad ○ Fenix Food Factory ○ FFF weg in 2018 ○ Geen plek om samen te komen ○ Geen vaste openingstijden ○ Goede kwaliteit ○ Heel goed winkelaanbod ○ Het Deliplein werkt ○ Huis van de wijk ○ Iedereen heeft auto, dus niet erg als je iets vergeet ○ Ijssalons ○ Kapsalons ○ Koffiehuisjes ○ komt er zelf ook ○ Markthal ○ Marokkaanse Slager ○ Mensen samenbrengen ○ Minder acties ○ Missen geen voorzieningen verder ○ Mist drogist en supermarkt ○ Mix tussen oud en nieuw ○ Niet rendabel ○ Nieuwe eigenaars ○ Nieuwe ondernemers weten niet beter ○ Nieuwe winkels ○ NL = Verwarrend ○ non profit ○ Parkeerprobleem ○ Slecht winkelaanbod ○ Slechte winkels ○ Sommige winkels beter dan andere ○ Speciaalzaakjes ○ Van natte naar droge horeca ○ Vaste klant ○ Veel concurrentie ○ Verhalenhuis ○ Verhalenhuis concurrent van Steiger ○ Verkeer ○ Verpauperd = Weg ○ Viszaak ○ Voorzieningen ○ Voorzieningen van de kaap af ○ Voorzieningen voor iedereen ○ Willen ook normale dingen ○ Willen voordelig ○ WInkelaanbod in de wijk ○ Winkels opgeknapt ○ Winkels zijn veranderd ○ Zelfde soort winkels

◇ **Oude voorzieningen**

Members:

○ ALcoholisten onder de Kapenezen ○ Bier drinken ○ Cafés ○ Coffeshops ○ de 'Bas' ○ Eigen winkel ○ Geen drogist ○ Geen supermarkt ○ Groen zelfde gebleven ○ Hoerenbuurt ○ Jos Eertmans ○ Junkenwinkel ○ Kapenezen kregen geen vergunning meer ○ Kipwinkel ○ Lidl/Bas = Slechter ○ Lokale supermarkt ○ Mix tussen oud en nieuw ○ NL = Verwarrend ○ Oude voorzieningen ○ Oude voorzieningen moesten weg, ookal draaiden ze goed ○ Ouderwetse bruine kroegen ○ Slechte winkels ○ Stamcafés ○ Verpauperd = Weg ○ Vrienden gaan wel ○ Wegbezuinigd ○ Winkels zijn veranderd ○ Zelf komt hij er nooit ○ Zit er al lang

◇ **Overheid**

Members:

○ 4 Clusters ○ Andere visie ○ Bureaucratie ○ COELO ○ Eerst zien dan geloven ○ Gemeente ○ Gemeentelijke interventie ○ Gemeenten bovenaan ○ Inspraakavonden ○ Investeren in de arme vrouw ○ Jos Eertmans ○ Katendrecht ○ Klagen bij Woonstad ○ koloniaal gevoel ○ Nieuwe eigenaars ○ NL = Verwarrend ○ Onheldere communicatie ○ Ontwikkeling haven ○ Profileren van Rotterdam ○ Projectgroep veiligheid ○ Representatie door gemeente ○

Rol overheid ○ Rotterdamwet ○ Slecht geregeld ○ Slopen van woningen ○ Sommigen snappen het niet ○ Stedelijk Dillemma ○ Wegbezuinigd ○ Woonstad

◇ **Place attachment**

Members:

○ Place Attachment

◇ **Project**

Members:

○ Buurteconomie ○ Buurthuis ○ Buurthuis brengt mensen bij elkaar ○ Co-Creatie ○ Decentralisatie ○ decentralisatie van buurten ○ Gemeenten bovenaan ○ Grens? ○ Komen bij verhalenhuis met buurt bestuur ○ Komen niet zo vaak in het verhalenhuis ○ Komt er regelmatig ○ Maakindustrie ○ Meer voor middenklasse bewoners ○ Middelland Proefgebied ○ MMM buiten de boot vallen ○ MMM communicatie ○ MMM groepen niet vertegenwoordigd ○ MMM je moet connecties hebben ○ MMM ongemakkelijk ○ MMM Verdelen van de taart ○ Mooi, Mooier Middelland ○ Niet van gehoord ○ Projectgroep veiligheid ○ Samen schoonmaken ○ uitleg project ○ Veel Kapenezen gaan wel ○ Verhalenhuis ○ Verhalenhuis concurrent van Steiger

◇ **Segregatie**

Members:

○ Betere klik Kapenezen ○ chique huizen met burgermensen ○ Etnisch label ○ Etnische profilering ○ Geen 1 buitenlander ○ Geen segregatie in voorzieningen ○ Kant koopwoningen ○ Kloof tussen arm en rijk ○ Marokkanen = enige probleemgroep ○ minder Segregatie ○ Nederlanders in koopwoningen ○ Segregatie in fysiek straatbeeld ○ Segregatie in soorten winkels ○ Segregatie in straten ○ Segregatie van culturen ○ Tussenring veel Turken ○ Verschil Kapenezen - Katendrechters ○ Zoeken elkaar op

◇ **Sociaal netwerk**

Members:

○ Alleen naar eigen buurthuis ○ Anonimiteit in buurt waar ze woont ○ Betere klik Kapenezen ○ Dagelijks leven ○ Door werk contact met veel verschillende mensen ○ Fijn dat hij met 'hogere klassen' contact heeft ○ Goede relatie met junken ○ Huurders asociaal ○ Individualistisch ○ Katendrechters bij elkaar ○ Klein contact ○ Leren kennen na verhuizing ○ Opleidingsniveau maakt ook verschil ○ Sociaal contact ○ Sociaal contact met iedereen ○ Veel Kapenezen gaan wel ○ Vervreemding ○ Voor jongeren niks ○ Voor oudere mensen ○ Vooral eigen kring ○ Vrienden van overal ○ Zelfde doel ○ Zoeken elkaar op

◇ **Sociale samenstelling**

Members:

○ 50% uitkering ○ chique huizen met burgermensen ○ Iedereen zelfde behandeld ○ Kapenezen komen terug ○ Koop en huur door elkaar ○ Kopers investeren meer ○ Liever nette mensen ○ Marokkaanse kinderen vaak tot laat op straat ○ Marokkanen ○ Marokkanen verspreid over de

wijk ○ Middenklasse ○ mix qua buitenlanders ○ Nederlanders in koopwoningen ○ Nederlandse studenten ○ Nieuwe eigenaars ○ Nieuwe Middenklasse in de wijk ○ Ook arme mensen ○ Ook veel Chinezen ○ Probleemgezinnen in sociale huur ○ Probleemgroep: Antilianen en Marokkanen ○ Samenstelling buurt ○ Sociaal contact met iedereen ○ Sociale mix ○ sociale samenstelling ○ Studentification ○ Tussenring veel Turken ○ Veel buitenlanders ○ Veel wittere bevolking ○ Verhuizen buiten Middelland ○ Vroeger rijke mensen ○ Weinig studenten ○ Wereldburgers

⬡ Stijging Huurprijzen

Members:

○ Buurman krijgt voor het eerst huurverhoging ○ Geen prijsverhoging ○ Goedkope huur ○ Hoge huur ○ Huurverhoging ○ Huurverhoging = Weggaan ○ Huurverhoging = zorgen voor later ○ Merkt niks van Huurstijging ○ Niet bang voor huurverhoging ○ Sociale huur ○ Verschuiving probleem sociale huur

⬡ Studentification

Members:

○ Buitenlandse studenten ○ door de vingers zien ○ Echte studentenstad ○ Geen last van ○ Gevolgen door studentification ○ Nederlandse studenten ○ Nu meer dan vroeger ○ Studenten bezorgen last ○ Studenten bij Fenix Loods ○ Studenten door ZKH ○ Studenten feesten vaak ○ Studenten komen erbij ○ Studenten kopen vaker lunch ○ Studentification ○ Veel lawaai, geen last van ○ Weinig studenten

⬡ Veranderingen

Members:

○ Als Amsterdam ○ Camera's ○ Criminaliteit daalt/stijgt ○ Daling criminaliteit ○ Eigen aanpassingen huis ○ Eigen huis ○ evolutie prijzen ○ Fijn dat hij met 'hogere klassen' contact heeft ○ Fysieke metamorfose ○ Fysieke opknapping wijk ○ Groen zelfde gebleven ○ Huizen opgeknapt ○ Kan alleen maar beter worden ○ Kapenezen snappen het niet ○ Koop werd huur ○ Latte Armoede ○ Latte armoede in eigen kring ○ Mensen trekken sowieso weg ○ Minder community ○ Niemand heeft alst van de veranderinge ○ Oude voorzieningen moesten weg, ookal draaiden ze goed ○ Positieve verandering ○ Renovatie ○ Rotterdamwet ○ Slecht winkelaanbod ○ Trip Advisor ○ Van huur naar koopwonignen ○ Veranderingen in wijk ○ Verschillende redenen om weg te gaan ○ Voor jongeren niks ○ Wanneer je geld genoeg hebt, verhuis je ○ Winkels zijn veranderd

⬡ Voorzieningen economisch vlak

Members:

○ acties ○ Bonus bij AH ○ CoffeHour? ○ Door winkesl ○ Drempel omlaag ○ Economisch vlak ○ Eigen koffie ○ Geen prijsverhoging ○ Geld speelt belangrijke rol ○ Hoge prijs ○ Kloof tussen arm en rijk ○ Latte Armoede ○ Latte armoede in eigen kring ○ Mensen kopen meer ○ Middenklasse wordt arm ○ Minder acties ○ Niet duur ○ Niet prijzig ○ Niet rendabel ○ non profit ○ Pas open als volgereserveerd ○ Prijs = drempel voor Kapenezen ○ Prijzen stijgen ○ SS

boot ○ Subsidies betalen eigenaars ○ Te veel uitgeven naar hun kunnen ○ Verkooptruc ○ Willen voordelig

⬨ Voorzieningen invloed sociaal leven

Members:

○ Aantrekkelijk voor nieuwe mensen ○ ALcoholisten onder de Kapenezen ○ Alleen naar eigen buurthuis ○ Begint leven in te komen ○ Deliplein trekt mensen van buitenad ○ Goede relatie met junken ○ Goede service ○ Iedereen zelfde behandeld ○ Invloed voorzieningen op sociale leven ○ Kapenezen gaan Katendrecht af ○ Komen bij verhalenhuis met buurt bestuurt ○ komt er zelf ook ○ Lidl/Bas = Slechter ○ Mark Baan - Fenix Loods ○ Opkomende plek ○ Segregatie in soorten winkels ○ Stamcafés ○ Studenten bij Fenix Loods ○ Toeristen ○ Voorzieningen van de kaap af ○ Winkels zijn veranderd ○ Zelfde mensen naar AH

⬨ Vroeger slechte wijk

Members:

○ 3 jaar spookstraat ○ Broeiplek voor slechte milieus ○ Criminaliteit ○ Daling criminaliteit ○ Fysieke opknapping wijk ○ Hoerenbuurt ○ Huizen opgeknapt ○ Iedere wijk heeft problemen ○ Inbraak ○ Inbraken ○ Junkenwinkel ○ Junks gingen weg ○ Meegegaan met de tijd ○ Minder vandalisme en verrommeling ○ Nog steeds af en toe slecht ○ Nu hele blok opgeknapt ○ Nu meer dan vroeger ○ Renovatie ○ Rotterdamwet ○ Slechte winkels ○ Stijging criminaliteit ○ veiliger ○ Veranderingen in wijk ○ Verpauperd = Weg ● Vroeger Junk-achtif ○ Vroeger slechte reputatie ○ Vroeger slechter

Appendix III Group code network