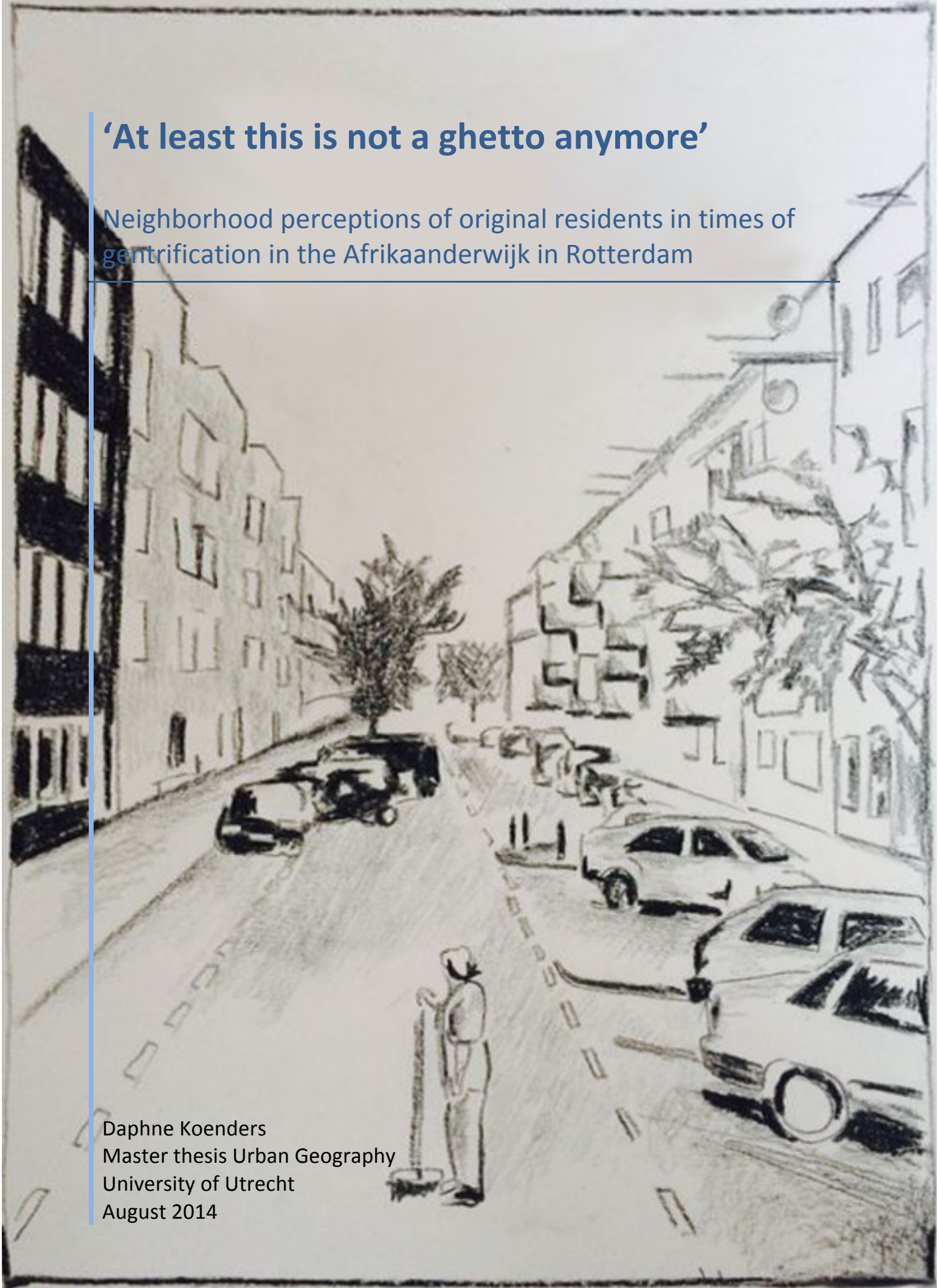


'At least this is not a ghetto anymore'

Neighborhood perceptions of original residents in times of gentrification in the Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam

Daphne Koenders
Master thesis Urban Geography
University of Utrecht
August 2014



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Foreword

It was a cold night in December when I decided the Afrikaanderwijk was going to be the case study area for my thesis about gentrification. The neighborhood has always interested me because it is so colorful and at the same time has a bad reputation. I have to note that I never felt unsafe myself though. On the contrary, I went to the weekly market often and I always had wonderful encounters with people who seemed to be proud of their neighborhood. That night in December my friends and me visited a local pub, because I went there a few days before while I was orientating on the Afrikaanderwijk as case study for my research. While I was there during the day, I had interesting conversations about the neighborhood with the people who were there. They invited me to come that Saturday night because a Dutch folksinger was performing. I brought six friends. It was crowded in the pub that had a temporary location in a builders hut because the old brown café was demolished as part of the state led gentrification plans. When we came in, the bartender recognized me and greeted friendly, as were the people who were there during the day. But the rest of the people immediately saw we didn't belong there. Everyone was looking at us, conversations stopped. Compounding the problem we decided to stand in the corner. This was not a good idea, because we were standing in the way of one of the regular costumers.

"Who are you guys?", he asked annoyed. "Are you from those new houses over there?" He pointed towards the gentrified part of the neighborhood. "No, I answered, I am researching how residents like you experience all those changes in the neighborhood. I am a student from the University of Utrecht." "University?" The man frowned, looked at me and took a sip of his beer. "Okay", he said. "As long as you don't write all these negative things about us, while you don't even know the Afrikaanderwijk, like all the others do." I told him I was planning to do in-depth interviews with longtime residents. "Then it is alright", he said. The other guests saw we were accepted by the regular costumer at the bar and stopped staring. But they stayed distant. When we left the folksinger said through his microphone: "Close the door, because the wind is coming through". Then we heard all the costumers laugh. This is the moment where I decided the Afrikaanderwijk would be an interesting case study area, because I was interested in tensions between original residents and newcomers and after that night I assumed this was definitely the case in the Afrikaanderwijk.

Nothing could be further from the truth. However, reality was even more interesting than my expectations. During the past months I mostly met people who were very tolerant towards gentrification and hoping it would change their neighborhood for the better. Even though the older Dutch residents, like the regular costumer at the pub, were the least positive of the respondents of different ages and ethnicities, they still were curious about the developments and hoping it would bring change.

I would like to thank students Jacques and Paula for working together and my supervisor Brian for the meetings where I came with doubts and questions. I would also like to thank my partner Sake, because I could share my thoughts with him and the interesting discussions we had, but also for all the times he did the dishes because I wanted to work on my thesis. But most of all, I would like to thank all the residents that made time for me, invited me into their homes, drank coffee with me and told me so much about how they perceive their neighborhood. Without them this thesis wouldn't have any content. I especially want to thank Maria and Frank from the Afrikaandertuin for sharing their network, Appie from community center 't Klooster for his hospitality and the residents he introduced to me, and Fouad from Stichting Dock who also helped me finding respondents. Also I would like to thank Zoë, who showed me her photo exhibition and brought me in contact with one of the younger residents of the Afrikaanderwijk, who were hard to reach. Finally, I want to thank the people from the Afrikaandertuin with whom I ate lunch a few times and with whom I could talk about my research and things that I encountered in the Afrikaanderwijk. I hope my thesis will be an interesting read, giving a vivid picture of the neighborhood perceptions of residents living through gentrification.

Daphne Koenders
Rotterdam, August 2014

Synopsis

Gentrification is a theme much researched in urban geography, but often the focus is on how gentrifiers and displaced people perceive gentrification. Furthermore, gentrification in ethnic neighborhoods is a theme not much researched. This thesis contributes to these gaps in the academic literature by focusing on residents that are able to stay in their neighborhood during and after the process by conducting a case study in the Afrikaanderwijk, an ethnically diverse neighborhood in Rotterdam. It deals with the question how residents living through gentrification perceive their changing neighborhood. The data is collected by qualitative methods; 21 semi-structured interviews with residents from different ages and ethnicities. They all lived in the neighborhood before the gentrification started. Three themes are researched: 'public space and facilities', 'place attachment and identity' and 'values and common values with new residents'. Together these components lead to a vivid picture of neighborhood perception. Although residents had different feelings about gentrification, no one was principally against it. Most people liked some of the changes, while they disliked others. Nonetheless almost all residents thought it was good for the neighborhood, mainly because they hoped it would counter ethnic tensions. Overall, gentrification gives them hope that the Afrikaanderwijk would change for the better.

Keywords

Gentrification, public space, facilities, place attachment, identity, common values, ethnic neighborhoods.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background and motives

From a movement of artists and bohemians who moved into the decaying old city center neighborhoods, to a governmental strategy to fight poverty and upgrade particular neighborhoods, to large scale private development of condominiums in former working class areas: gentrification is a term with many different faces. Ruth Glass first introduced the term in 1964, describing how a London neighborhood became an 'affluent place', displacing the indigenous working class population. A large body of literature has developed since. In each stage of gentrification a different type of research was conducted and different aspects of gentrification were highlighted (see Hackworth & Smith, 2000, Slater, 2006). For example, in the 1970's gentrification was small scale and carried out by the public sector, while in the 80's and 90's it was lead by private development (Hackworth & Smith, 2000, p. 467).

In the present, gentrification is characterized by the large scale on which it occurs, the shift from cultural factors to economical motives to upgrade an area and – most relevant - the fact that gentrification is now more than ever supported by the state (Hackworth & Smith, 2000, p. 468). In the academic literature there are fears that gentrification has become a 'strategy of regeneration' for cities (Atkinson, 2003, p. 2346). Especially in The Netherlands there is an ambitious policy for state led gentrification, in order to overcome segregation and improve the areas housing stock and livability. This approach is widely criticized (see Kleinhans, 2005, Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009, Uitermark et al, 2007). The government intervenes in the regeneration of working class neighborhoods, in order to change the social composition from mainly working class residents to a higher share of middle class residents. By doing this, governments aim to achieve certain social and economical goals (Kleinhans, 2005, Uitermark et al, 2007). For example, the new middle class is assumed to spend money in the neighborhood to upgrade the facilities. Also, they have a higher level of social capital, which leads to more social interactions, rolemodels and such. This is assumed to lead to higher levels of social cohesion and thereby improvements in the overall functioning of the neighborhood.

Central in the gentrification debates is the class dimension. According to Atkinson (2003) gentrification is characterized by a class-based colonization of poorer neighborhoods and investments in the housing stock. Hackworth (2002, p. 815) defines gentrification as *'the production of space for more affluent users'*. According to Davidson (2012) gentrification is a neoliberal strategy to get more affluent residents to live in poorer neighborhoods. A lot of research has been done on this group of gentrifiers in many different neighborhoods (see for example Butler, 2003, Butler & Robson, 2003). Of course this influx of more affluent residents has an impact on the original residents. For them, there are two possible scenarios (Kleinhans, 2005). First, getting displaced and move to another area. Second, somehow stay in the neighborhood during and after gentrification and see the changes occur. On the displaced a lot of research is conducted (for example Atkinson, 2000, Sumka, 2010), but the second group is often overlooked (Doucet, 2009, Slater, 2006, Freeman, 2006). Actually this group is quite important for the functioning of the new neighborhood, because they form the existing networks and often have a strong attachment to the neighborhood. More research is needed about the experiences, expectations, perceptions and anxieties of these 'stayers'.

This thesis contributes to this gap in the literature by focusing on the perception of residents who stay in their neighborhood during and after gentrification. They have seen their neighborhood change: from displacement to an influx of new residents and the accompanying changes in shops, restaurants and other facilities. The question this thesis is trying to answer is how gentrification affects the perception of these 'stayers' regarding their neighborhood. Do they still see the neighborhood as their same old neighborhood, or do they feel they live in a totally new place where they lost their contacts and saw their daily activity patterns changed? This is an important question, because often the social consequences of gentrification are being measured (for example Kleinhans, 2005, Bolt & Van Kempen, 2011, Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen, 2003), without knowing how these residents actually *feel* about their neighborhood and the influx of the new inhabitants. Much of this research is quantitative, so it focuses on the measurable outcomes of gentrification. This thesis uses qualitative methods as an addition to the quantitative findings to investigate how the perception of the originals residents changed during the process of gentrification, because this actually underlies their new

behavioral patterns that the studies mentioned above focus on. Also the use of qualitative methods helps to get insight and adds to the theory development of what gentrification actually means to a neighborhood and its original residents beyond the binary scope of quantitative measurements.

Because 'perception of the neighborhood' is a broad term, this is further narrowed down to three components of perception, which are researched in this thesis. The themes are the perception of gentrified spaces (chapter 5), place attachment and identity (chapter 6) and the values of residents and perceived common values with the new inhabitants (chapter 7). Perception of gentrified places is embedded in the exclusion literature (for example, Madanipour, 2004, 2010) and in empirical outcomes of gentrification research (Doucet, 2009, Freeman, 2006). This is useful for this research, because with the creation of affluent spaces, geographies of difference are created. Attachment to the neighborhood and identity, and also common values are measurements of social cohesion, which are constituting components of perception. These elements are derived from the literature about social cohesion by Kearns and Forrest (2000), who divided social cohesion into many different elements useful for neighborhood research.

This study takes place in a case study neighborhood: the Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam. This area is chosen for three reasons. First, gentrification is happening right now. In some streets the new residents already moved in, in other streets old houses are still being demolished. This makes it possible to capture the original residents' feelings about gentrification, while on the one hand the process is still going on, and on the other hand the first consequences of neighborhood change are visible. Second, the gentrification in the Afrikaanderwijk is initiated by the government. It is used as a strategy to solve the prominent social problems in the neighborhood by attracting more affluent inhabitants to the area. Third, the Afrikaanderwijk is known for its diversity. For years it has been an immigrant neighborhood with a high residential turnover, so the residents are used to an influx of new people. So it is assumed that the perception of the neighborhood is impacted by the process of gentrification, and not by the fact that the residents' perceptions of the neighborhood are influenced by newcomers, or perceived strangers in general since this is status quo. Also there is not much research done on gentrifying ethnic neighborhoods (Walks and Maaranen, 2008), so the findings can contribute to the academic debate on gentrification.

1.2 Research questions

As positioned in paragraph 1.1 the goal of this thesis is to explore how gentrification affects the perception of the neighborhood pertaining to the original residents who stay in the neighborhood. This leads to the research question:

What is the influence of gentrification on the perception of the neighborhood of residents who are living through gentrification in the Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam?

The main research question will be answered by using three sub questions.

- *How does gentrification influence the perception of public space and facilities of residents living through gentrification?*
- *How do residents who live through gentrification in de Afrikaanderwijk experience attachment to the neighborhood and identity built upon the neighborhood now their environment is changing?*
- *To what extent do the values of non-gentrifying residents and the perceived differences in values of the new residents influence the perception of the neighborhood?*

These three sub questions investigate different aspects regarding the perception of the neighborhood. Together they compose the perception of the neighborhood this thesis explores. The questions are based on the concept of social cohesion. This broad term has different assets (Kearns and Forrest, 2000) and some of them are useful to get insight in the way people perceive their neighborhood.

The first sub question is based on public space and facilities. This is not directly a dimension of social cohesion, but accessible public space is a way of creating social cohesion (Madanipour, 2010, p. 17).

Where different groups of residents live together, public space is important to develop social ties and an understanding of each other. To get insight in this element of perception, this thesis draws on the literature of public space and social inclusion and exclusion (for example Madanipour, 2004).

The second sub question draws on an element of social cohesion, defined by Kearns and Forrest (2000): place attachment and identity. Place attachment refers to a strong attachment to place. Identity investigates whether or not personal and place identity are intertwined. In this thesis this aspect is operationalized by the terms ‘neighborhood attachment’ and ‘identity built upon the neighborhood’, because the neighborhood is the unit of analysis.

The third sub question is also based on an element of social cohesion, as defined by Kearns and Forrest (2000): common values. This is further specified as: *“members share common values which enable them to identify and support common aims and objectives, and share a common set of moral principles and codes of behavior through which to conduct their relations with one another* (Kearns & Forrest, 2000, p. 997). The function of this third sub question is to get insight in an important element of the staying residents perception of the neighborhood: how their values and differences in values with the new residents influences their perception of the neighborhood.

Altogether these sub questions constitute the influence of gentrification on perception of the residents on their neighborhood and provide an answer to the main question. Figure 1 is a graphic conceptual model based on these research questions.

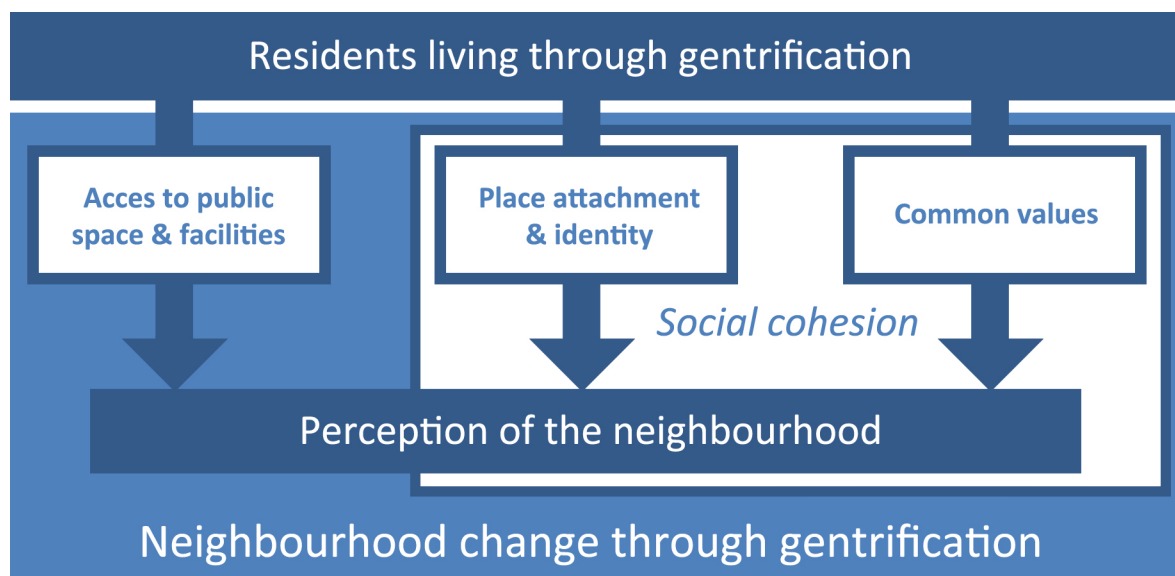


Figure 1 Conceptual model of research

On top are the residents that live through gentrification, because they are the research subjects. On the backdrop is the neighborhood change through gentrification because this encompasses all the changes in neighborhood perception. The residents are placed outside the framework of neighborhood change, because while they undergo the changes they are not personally part of the neighborhood change. Residents have access to public space and facilities during the neighborhood change. Through the use of these spaces they develop feelings about this and might experience tensions. This influences the way residents perceive their neighborhood. Place attachment and identity and common values are aspects of social cohesion. Through the different elements of these concepts, social cohesion is a determinant of resident perception of the neighborhood.

1.3 Academic relevance

The academic relevance of this thesis is threefold. First, as concluded in the introductory section, it tries to fill a gap in the academic literature. A lot of research is conducted on the gentrifiers and on the displaced, but a significant body of literature on the people who live through gentrification is lacking (Doucet, 2009, Slater, 2006). Moreover, the thesis also contributes to a gap in the literature in the sense that not much research is done on ethnic gentrifying neighborhoods (Murdie & Texeira, 2011,

Lees, 2007). This study focuses on non-gentrifying residents, and especially on how they experience gentrification in their ethnic neighborhood, so it fills a twofold gap in the literature. Second, much research is done on the social consequences of gentrification. For example scholars look at the mutations of social capital in the neighborhood (Kleinhans, 2005) or at the social interactions and use of facilities (Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen, 2003). Often the goals of the policy are empirically tested and criticized (Bridge et al, 2012). This thesis does not directly emphasize the extent to which policy goals are achieved, but seeks to highlight the more subtle, underlying processes of how gentrification impacts the perception of the neighborhood. This underlies other, more visible outcomes of gentrification. So by researching perception it is expected to gain more insight in how these direct consequences of gentrification (use of facilities, social interaction etc.) arise. Finally, a lot of research on gentrification is quantitative and focuses on measurable outcomes of gentrification as mentioned above. This thesis uses qualitative methods to add to these explanations by looking at the perceptions of residents that underlie the more visible, quantitative measurable outcomes of gentrification. The methods used are in-depth interviews, to reveal the way residents experience gentrification and how this affects the perception of the neighborhood. This might be additional or refining to the existing knowledge about the social processes in a gentrifying neighborhood.

1.4 Societal relevance

The societal relevance of this thesis is built upon the fact that gentrification is a prominent theme in Dutch policy (Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen, 2003). Especially state led gentrification is seen as a strategy to upgrade old, poor and decaying neighborhoods by adding middle class households (Uitermark et al, 2007, Atkinson, 2003). This thesis takes a critical view on how the processes behind the goals of this kind of policy operate, in particular for the original residents who stay in the neighborhood. Policy makers often focus on the new affluent residents in gentrifying neighborhoods. This thesis gives more insight in a group of residents in gentrifying areas that is often overlooked: the residents who live through gentrification without displacement. This is important for two reasons. The first reason is part of the goal of this study: analyze the impact of gentrification on the perception of the neighborhood of staying inhabitants. The perception of the neighborhood of different groups is important for the internal and external reputation of an area. This is part of overcoming stigma, one of the goals policy makers want to achieve by gentrification (Wood, 2003). Further, the perceptions of residents contribute to the social sustainability of the neighborhood, an important policy theme these days (Dempsey et al, 2011).

Second, it is important for policy makers to get more insight in the group of stayers. Although these residents might be vulnerable, because they live in a poor, old, decaying neighborhood, for them the neighborhood is still important in a time of globalization (Van Kempen, 2010). Because of this, they often are frequent users of the neighborhoods' facilities and foster a lot of social contacts and social ties in the area. By gentrification their daily activity patterns might be disrupted and many of their social contacts may disappear. Consequently an existing social structure, often with high levels of social cohesion, is interrupted. This is contradictory, because creating social cohesion is one of the goals of government led gentrification (Kleinhans, 2005). If policy makers get more insight in this group of stayers, it might be possible to keep this interruption in mind and maybe even take advantage of the existing social ties by connecting the original residents to new ties in the future. This may lead to more sustainable gentrification.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

In order to answer the research questions outlined in paragraph 1.2 a research plan has been developed. The different parts of this plan lead to the answers of the sub questions and finally in the conclusion paragraph to the answer of the main question.

First it is important to have a thorough overview of the existing literature. This is the content of chapter 2. All the themes related to the research question are being elaborated on: gentrification and her different faces and viewpoints. It also contains the literature surrounding the themes of the sub questions that lead to the perception of the neighborhood: inclusion/exclusion and social cohesion. Finally, the chapter contains a theoretical framework around the concept of neighborhood perception.

Chapter 3 tells more about the case study neighborhood the Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam and how and why gentrification occurs in this area. Also it sheds light on how this is placed in the Dutch context

of gentrification and it shows some important statistics of the neighborhood, in order to understand the findings better.

Chapter 4 elaborates on the methods chosen for this research, qualitative semi structured interviews. Also it reflects on the strengths and limitations of this research.

Next follow three chapters of findings of this research on the different sub themes that are reflected in the sub questions. Chapter 5 presents the findings about the perceived change public space and facilities. Chapter 6 clarifies attachment with the neighborhood and identity built it. Chapter 7 is about the values of the old residents and the common values they experience with the new residents and how this influences their perception in times of gentrification.

In chapter 8 the main question will be answered by using the findings from chapter 5, 6 and 7 and drawing on the literature from chapter 2.

Table 1: Content of this thesis

Chapter	Content
1.	Introduction
2.	Theoretical Framework
3.	Case study area: The Afrikaanderwijk
4.	Methods
5.	Public space and facilities
6.	Place attachment and identity
7.	Values and common values
8.	Conclusions

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

To answer the main question of this thesis, how gentrification influences the perceptions of the neighborhood for residents that live through gentrification, it is important to have knowledge about gentrification theory and indicators of neighborhood perception. This theoretical framework first positions gentrification as it is used in this thesis in the wider context of gentrification theory, with an emphasis on state led gentrification (paragraphs 2.1 and 2.2). In paragraph 2.3 depicts what is meant by 'residents that live through gentrification' and is elaborated on their perspectives of gentrification. Paragraph 2.4 is about the outcomes of gentrification for these residents, with a special focus on social cohesion since that is the indicator variable of neighborhood perception in this thesis. Then in paragraph 2.5 the use of public space and facilities of this group is outlined. Also feelings and tensions around the use of these amenities are taken into account. Paragraph 2.7 elaborates on place attachment and identity built upon the neighborhood. This section also looks at different aspects of place attachment and identity: sense of belonging, symbolic bond to people and sense of security. Paragraph 2.8 is about common values in a gentrified neighborhood and looks at the dimensions common codes of behavior, participation and tolerance. At last, paragraph 2.9 provides some theoretical conclusions.

2.1 State led gentrification

Classic gentrification literature poses that gentrification occurs when more affluent residents move into a formerly working class neighborhood. Ruth Glass (1964) was the first to define the phenomenon gentrification. She defined gentrification as an influx of capital and the accompanying displacement of the working class and the transformation of the social character of a neighborhood (Glass, 1964). Later on the definitions encompass the 'strategy' of gentrification to improve neighborhoods, or even whole cities. Hackworth (2002, p.839) defined gentrification as the "*The production of space for progressively more affluent users*". This definition implies that gentrification is nowadays about more than the influx of more affluent residents in poor neighborhoods. First, it encloses more than just the housing side of gentrification; also the changes in commercial space and public space are taken into account. This characterizes contemporary gentrification, because nowadays the discourse is not only about changes in housing, but about changes on the street level in life style, trendy stores and other things visible in gentrified neighborhoods (Slater, 2006). Second, 'the production of space' implies that there is some kind of actor that produces the gentrified space, that space doesn't exist by itself, but that it is (un)intentionally produced.

The situation of the Netherlands and the Afrikaanderwijk can be positioned in the context of state led third wave gentrification. Hackworth and Smith (2001) examined different waves of gentrification in history. The first wave started with the first examples of early gentrification and ended with the oil crisis in 1973. Gentrification mainly happened in decaying inner city neighborhoods and was funded publicly. A second wave of gentrification followed when at the end of the '70's the real estate market recovered. This wave lasted to the end of the 80's and was characterized by the bigger scale and was funded by private investments. After a short time of recession in the nineties, the third wave of gentrification followed. This third wave is different from former waves, because the scale on which gentrification occurs, the shift from cultural to economical factors as motive for gentrification and the fact that neighborhoods located further from the city center are also undergoing the gentrification process. And in the part of the residents, there is almost no resistance anymore. Further, most of the gentrification is conducted from above by big real estate companies, or, in the Netherlands, by housing cooperatives. Additionally and most of important of all: more gentrification is led and initiated by the national and local government.

The involvement of the government in gentrification can be seen from different perspectives. The divide between the traditional views of gentrification - happening from below in certain neighborhoods with the new middle class as agents - and urban restructuring - planned from above - is diminishing. Urban restructuring as it is happening in the Afrikaanderwijk can be seen as a form of gentrification, mainly because it can be positioned in the third wave of gentrification with the accompanying government involvement (Doucet, 2014, Van Gent, 2013). Another reason urban restructuring is seen as gentrification is the fact that governments try to create a social mix in disadvantaged neighborhoods by demolishing houses and replace them by more expensive new build development. This also leads

to the class divisions that are so typical in gentrification research (Uitermark et al, 2007). The third reason that the terms 'urban restructuring' and 'social mix' can be incorporated into the gentrification literature, is the fact that the term gentrification has become controversial and will be received negatively when put in policy documents. It is associated with displacement, while social mix remains uncriticized and is seen as something positive (Bridge et al, 2012, Doucet, 2014).

Smith (2002) elaborates further on the role of the governmental, corporate, or corporate-governmental partnerships in third wave gentrification. He thinks gentrification in the third wave is part of a sectoral generalization, a standard for cities in this time of neoliberal urbanism and globalization (p. 427). He states: "Whereas urban renewal in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s sought a full scale remaking of the centers of many cities and galvanized many sectors of the urban economy in the process, it was highly regulated and economically and geographically limited by the fact that it was wholly dependent on public financing and therefore had to address issues of broad social necessity, such as social housing. (...) What marks the latest phase of gentrification in many cities, therefore, is that a new amalgam of corporate and state powers and practices has been forged in a much more ambitious effort to gentrify the city than earlier ones" (p. 442-443).

This illustrates the fears in the academic literature that state led gentrification has become a 'strategy of regeneration' (Atkinson, 2003, p. 2346, Smith, 2002, Uitermark et al, 2007). According to Smith (2002, p. 443) gentrification is a strategy for capital accumulation for competing urban economies. Areas in and around the city are transformed to whole new landscapes "*that pioneer a comprehensive class infected urban remake*" (p.443). This remake is not only about housing, but also about new complexes of recreation, consumption, production and pleasure. For example, when the housing stock is changed by the influx or attraction of a new more affluent class, shops and restaurants are also changing. This way real estate development becomes a crucial part of the cities economy and by this a capital accumulation strategy.

Smits' (2002) way of seeing gentrification as a generalized strategy is much cited, but also much criticized. Van Gent (2013) writes for example that his thoughts are an abstract middle range theory and that he overlooked gentrification as a variegated phenomenon. He thinks Smits' generalization argument is just an abstract explanation for a wide variety of local changes. Only one general part of the story is told, while the rest is seen as local variations on the same story. Van Gent (2013) argues that examining the contextual mechanisms that cause and shape gentrification is needed to understand the government involvement better. He also thinks the third wave is not a generalization, but that neighborhoods and cities in different areas of the world would be incorporated in this wave in various ways. Here comes Lees' (2000) 'geography of gentrification' into the picture: seeing gentrification in her context and temporality. This way of seeing gentrification leaves room for analyzing the different ways governments are involved in gentrification. Gentrification in the Netherlands is for example in some ways different from the third wave of Hackworth and Smith (2001), but also has similarities.

2.2 Gentrification in the Netherlands

When taking into account Lees' (2000) 'geography of gentrification', it can be concluded that Dutch gentrification is different from her Anglo-Saxon counterparts, which are much more researched. In the US for example the housing situation is more market driven with some interventions of the government in gentrification, while Dutch gentrification is more driven by housing policies (Van Gent, 2013). Policy driven gentrification is the most common form in Western Europe, incorporating some aspects of third wave gentrification, especially regarding the role of the government. Further, the gentrification has moved beyond the city center and there is little resistance. But there are also differences, for example regarding corporate actors who play a secondary role and the fact that "global financial capital is hardly directly involved in the production of space" (p. 518).

Gentrification has a history of three decades long in Dutch policy and it is mainly focused on privatization and deregulation of the social housing tradition (Van Gent, 2013). In the nineties the state started to promote owner-occupied housing in order to make the middle classed move out of the cheaper social housing in order to make room for the less affluent residents waiting for a house. Also social rent houses were being sold. In disadvantaged neighborhoods also mixing between rent and owner-occupied dwellings was promoted. This opened the door for state led gentrification, still going

on today. When compared to other countries Dutch gentrification is said to be milder and less extreme, because of the strong welfare state and interventionist policies (Doucet, 2014). At the same time, Dutch gentrification stands out for the role of policy in the process, especially policies of urban restructuring and social mixing. Since Uitermark and colleagues (2007) positioned it as strategy to conduct social order and control in disadvantaged neighborhood, he opened up a whole new discourse on state led gentrification in the Netherlands (Doucet, 2014).

In contemporary Dutch policy local governments use state led gentrification as a strategy for diversification in terms of income, race and class (Kleinhans, 2005, Uitermark et al, 2007). Especially adding more expensive dwellings to the housing stock is seen as a way to keep the middle classes from moving to the suburban regions (Musterd & Van der Ven, 1991). This is also one of the driving forces behind the gentrification in the Afrikaanderwijk. Uitermark and colleagues (2007) argue for example in the Netherlands, state actors and housing associations attempt to use gentrification as a strategy to generate social order and control in disadvantaged neighborhoods. By changing the housing stock to attract a more affluent class, tensions are being pacified. Further, it's a way of diluting concentrated poverty by displacing poor residents and replacing them with more affluent residents (Van Bergeijk et al, 2008) or to overcome segregation and stimulate integration of minority groups (Blokland & Van Eijk, 2010). This automatically leads to economical goals, because when there are users willing to spend more money in stores and restaurants, the facilities of the area are also being more successful and eventually even change in other more affluent facilities.

Most of the neighborhoods where state led gentrification takes place in the Netherlands are pre-WWII estates or post war neighborhoods quickly built to take care of the post WWII housing shortage. These are often areas with a homogenous housing stock (Kleinhans, 2005), because after the war there was a huge demand for housing and the builders didn't need to think about preferences of residents or mixing (Priemus, 2006). Later in the second half of the 20th century, these city dwellings didn't meet the preferences of families with children anymore. Also people with middle and high incomes preferred a dwelling with more space in a less dense environment. So a selective migration to the outskirts of the city and rural areas occurred. The homogenous city estates were left behind with a vast amount of old and cheap social housing. The neighborhoods became a place to live for poor people, starters and immigrants, who moved as soon as their financial situation became better. Nowadays there is still a selective immigration of poor and immigrant groups to these neighborhoods.

Policy makers see this situation in the old city neighborhoods as a problem, because it creates a concentration of low incomes, non-Dutch residents and even crime and disorder. State led gentrification is seen as the solution, because it is a way to rebuild the neighborhood with different types of housing to create a mix of social rental housing, private rental housing and privately owned housing. Homeowners are expected to be more active in maintaining order in the neighborhood and creating social networks (Blokland & Van Eijk, 2010, Kleinhans, 2005). For example they are expected to maintain their homes better in order to make the neighborhood look tidy. So state led gentrification brings diversity and this is the reason it is seen as a solution to the problems in homogenous Dutch neighborhoods.

In the academic literature there is a lot of critique on Dutch gentrification-policy, because the social goals of it are often not achieved (see for example Kleinhans, 2005). Further, many research pose question of how desirable social mix actually is (see Van Kempen et al, 2009). Most research focuses on the legitimacy of the social and economical goals of state led gentrification and test their outcomes empirically. Van Kempen and colleagues (2009) dismantled the assumption of gentrification leading to an extension of social networks of old residents. Old residents mostly have contacts with other stayers than with the newcomers. Besides, new people don't spend a lot of time in the neighborhood, because they tend to spend more time at the place where they work and also for their social contacts they are not dependent on people in their neighborhood (Kleinhans, 2005). The different groups do not necessarily create networks. Research (Kleinhans, 2004) also shows that a shared life style is a more important factor for social relations than living in proximity of each other. Many researches show that the idea of mixing incomes leading to social and economical goals often doesn't work out. However, there are also positive effects of gentrification that are empirically proved. There is for example academic consensus that neighborhoods physically improve by state led gentrification (Van

Beckhoven et al, 2003). In particular residents experience improvements in public space and infrastructure, which lead to old residents perceiving their neighborhoods more positive.

2.3 Residents that live through gentrification

Gentrification has a great impact on neighborhoods. Some residents have to move in order to make place for the new more affluent residents (Kleinhans, 2005). The new residents are newcomers in a neighborhood with residents who are not like them in terms of class, income and sometimes ethnicity. Original residents that stay in the area during and after the process of state led gentrification see all the changes occur. First, they see people getting displaced, after that they live in the middle of the building activities and see the new houses rising, then they see the new people moving in and this is all just the beginning of neighborhood change. Later on the new residents will carve out their identities in the neighborhood.

Although there is a large body of literature on the gentrifiers and the displaced, not much is known about the people living through gentrification and the not directly displaced (Doucet, 2009, Slater, 2006). But it is clear that not all old residents get displaced, there are residents that stay put in their neighborhoods. Others are able to stay in their neighborhood for a longer time, but know they will eventually get displaced, but in the meantime live through gentrification. In academic literature the non-displaced didn't get much attention so far. If any research is done, than it is mostly about the tensions with the new residents. Atkinson (2002) reports that most studies show a negative impact of gentrification, for example because of displacement, conflict, and loss of affordable housing. Spain (1993) wrote for example about the conflicts between been-here's and come-here's. These conflicts arose during the rapid 'inmigration' of new residents and the accompanying changes in the neighborhood, for example in public space or different values of the newcomers. Still this piece does not solely focus on the perspective of residents that live through gentrification. Another author that gives these residents some attention is Butler (2003), when he writes about the new residents in a gentrifying London neighborhood. Here the original residents are described from the viewpoint of the new residents and by these depicted as the strange 'other' with whom they do not want to get in touch. According to Doucet (2009, p. 3000) the experiences, expectations, perceptions and anxieties of residents that live through gentrification have yet to be fully developed in the gentrification literature.

'Residents that live through gentrification' is a group that is hard to define, because being able to stay in a social rent dwelling is subjugated to changes in the neighborhood. In gentrifying neighborhoods in the Netherland also vast amounts of displacement occur (Van Gent, 2013, Huisman, 2014), even though gentrification is seen as milder because of the welfare state and regulations (Doucet, 2014). In the Afrikaanderwijk for example, there are residents that know that they can stay in their houses at least until 2020. Depending on the success of gentrification in the Afrikaanderwijk and the economic situation by then the housing corporation will decide what to do (Personal communication with residents and community worker, May-June, 2014). So residents are in insecure situations waiting whether or not they will be displaced. Sakizlioğlu (2014) wrote about a neighborhood in Istanbul where residents were in the same situation that waiting for displacement leads to undesirable situations. The atmosphere changed drastically as crime increased, further disinvestment was evoked and community feeling and support networks eroded slowly. Some of these elements can also occur in the Afrikaanderwijk, while some would be different because of the different context and temporality in the Netherlands. There is no consensus in Dutch literature whether displacement is negative for residents from disadvantaged neighborhoods. Posthumus and colleagues (2012) researched displacement in different Dutch cities and concluded that most residents in the end benefit from displacement, because they often found better dwellings and were compensated financially. Huisman (2014) argues that most displaced are worse off, because it is hard to find a place with the same size and rent.

The residents who live through gentrification can roughly be divided in two groups: the ones that adapt to the new situation and the ones that resist gentrification. In the literature there are some examples of both strategies. There are examples of original residents being aggressive against or protesting against the yuppies or newcomers (Atkinson, 2000, Keating, 2007). The residents adapting to gentrification or even seeing it positively are harder to find. Most of the times it is found that residents have mixed feelings about it (Doucet, 2009, Freeman, 2007). Doucet (2009) writes about a gentrified neighborhood in Leith where the original residents are on the one hand happy the neighborhood improved and became a popular place to live, but at the same time they were worried about

displacement. They were concerned that the new houses being built are not affordable for the people from Leith.

Another description of residents' mixed feelings is that of Freeman (2007). He interviewed residents that lived through gentrification in two former predominantly black neighborhoods during the process of gentrification and concludes that the original residents are dualistic about gentrification. On the one hand they like their neighborhood getting safer, getting more stores (especially for fresh food) and better-maintained amenities. But on the other hand they don't like that all this happens, because white people demand this and they weren't able to get all that in the years before. Also they don't like the change in norms and codes of behavior on the streets. Some even see gentrification as a conspiracy. Besides, although they are happy with the new supply in the neighborhood, simultaneously some of the residents feel the facilities are not for them, but meant to meet the needs of the new people. Also they fear displacement, because landlords can get much higher rents now.

Considering the relatively small body of literature on residents that live through gentrification, it can be expected that residents of the Afrikaanderwijk are either resisting gentrification or have mixed feelings about it. They might be happy with the upgraded image of the neighborhood and the new facilities, like the residents in Leith (2009), but also fear displacement and higher rents. Gentrification in the Afrikaanderwijk has just started, so it can be expected that residents are afraid of some of the future developments and fear displacement. Although Freeman provides an interesting take, it is not possible to translate these findings directly to the Afrikaanderwijk because Freeman's work is about a typical American predominantly black neighborhood, while the Afrikaanderwijk is much more diverse. It is interesting to see how gentrification works out in an ethnically diverse neighborhood like the Afrikaanderwijk.

2.4 Gentrification in ethnically diverse neighborhoods

Although there is a large body of literature on the different groups in gentrifying neighborhoods, most research focuses on class, income and gender. There is little consideration for the effects of gentrification on ethnically diverse neighborhoods (Murdie & Texeira, 2011, Lees, 2007). An exception to this is the impact of gentrification on African American communities in the U.S; this group got more attention in the recent years of gentrification research. Further, the question rises whether it is justified to portray the white residents as gentrifiers and the ethnic minorities as the displaced (Lees, 2000). At least in the Afrikaanderwijk as stems from this thesis, ethnic minorities often become gentrifiers themselves. The Afrikaanderwijks gentrification policy is partly aimed at upwardly mobile ethnic residents, who are making the next step in their housing career by moving out of their rental houses and purchase the new built gentrified dwellings (City of Rotterdam, 2014c). By this, the Afrikaanderwijk differs from assumptions and findings from the general gentrification literature, especially works from the Anglo-Saxon world, where the focus is often on winners (white) and losers (black/ethnic), while in reality and especially in the Dutch context there are much milder forms of gentrification (Doucet, 2014).

Nevertheless, the impact of state led gentrification on ethnic communities is important, because often neighborhoods change a lot and lose their original character, which has a particular significance for immigrant groups (Murdie & Texeira, 2011). They argue that the symbolic representations of immigrants and their activities in the neighborhood can also get displaced. For example the expression of ethnic identities by local religious institutions, ethnic retail and community organizations can disappear when a new middle class who doesn't use these facilities moves into the neighborhood. Also new residents can be uncomfortable with ethnic celebrations or ways of behavior in public space. On the other hand, the ethnic population can perceive the changes in the neighborhood that come along with the new middle class as a form of discrimination, as a threat to their cultural expressions.

Robson and Butler (2001) show that gentrification in ethnically diverse areas can lead to 'social tectonics', which means that relations between different ethnic groups in their research area in London are rather parallel than integrative. Governments often see gentrification as a way to achieve social goals in disadvantaged neighborhoods, which often suffer from ethnical tensions between different groups (Kleinhaus, 2005, Uitermark et al, 2007). The ambition to create social cohesion doesn't work out if there are even more tectonic relations between different groups after state led gentrification. Even though some policy makers see gentrification as a way to perform control over disorganized

neighborhoods with different ethnic groups (Uitermark et al, 2007), in no way but proximity does gentrification counteract the economic and racial polarization of most urban populations (Zukin, 1987).

Walks and Maaranen (2008) studied gentrification and ethnicity in Canada and found that declining levels of social mix, ethnic diversity and immigrant concentration followed after gentrification. It even led to more inequality in the immigrant neighborhoods. Also it was found to have a deleterious impact on the immigrant-reception function of innercity neighborhoods. Freeman (2006) found that the social ties of gentrifiers and long-term residents in two black gentrifying New York neighborhoods rarely crossed class and racial lines. The social networks of the residents were not changing by gentrification and there were clashes between norms and lifestyles. Also they moved in different spaces, using different public spaces and facilities. Zukin (1987) warns that gentrification in ethnic neighborhoods can even lead to more divisions on racial levels and economic integration at the neighborhood level may be disaggregated into traditionally segregated enclaves within the neighborhood. The fact that gentrifiers choose an ethnic diverse neighborhood to live in does not imply they integrate with the non-gentrifying ethnic neighbors. According to Zukin (1987, p.133) *"in street encounters, they approach each other warily until familiarity with neighborhood routine ensures politeness"*. Also Butler and Robson (2001) note that notions of diversity are more in the mind of the gentrifiers than reflected in their actions.

On the other hand, it is not only the new middle classes that gentrify and the non-gentrifying residents that fear displacement or feel threatened in their ethnic identity by the influx of the new middleclass, there are also members of ethnic minority groups that become gentrifiers themselves. This also accounts for some of the native indigenous residents, who change their life style and adapt and even contribute to the gentrification. Rose (1984) included 'marginal gentrifiers' to the gentrification theory, arguing that much gentrification theory (especially Marxist) overlooks the 'production of gentrifiers' (Rose, 1984, p.198-199). According to Rose, other authors focus too much on a stereotype gentrifier; the wealthy, social upward professional individual or childless couple. But she points out that there are also people from 'marginal groups' that (unintentionally) become gentrifiers, for example single mothers. This can also apply for members of ethnic minority groups who see gentrification as a chance to move upward in their housing career. The state led gentrification in the Afrikaanderwijk is partly aimed at attracting this group of second generation immigrants who are higher educated (with an accompanying higher income) compared to their parents, but still want to live in their own neighborhood (City of Rotterdam, 2011). Furthermore, there might be original residents that Rose (1984) calls 'cultural rich' and 'money poor' that can become 'agents of change' (Ehrenfeucht & Nelson, 2012). These might be original residents that are higher educated or above average creative that contribute to the gentrification, because they like the new artistic climate of boutique shops and cafés and use these facilities. Also this group is present in the Afrikaanderwijk, because quite a few artists have their (temporary) atelier in the neighborhood.

2.5 Outcomes of gentrification on social cohesion

The last decades the gentrification literature stresses outcomes of gentrification. In the case of state-led gentrification, many studies look at the social consequences of the gentrification policy. There are plenty examples of research that looks at specific outcomes of gentrification in a certain case study neighborhood or compares different neighborhoods (see for example Atkinson en Kintrea, 2000, Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen 2003, Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen, 2006, Bolt & Torrance 2005, Kleinhans, 2005, Van Bergeijk et al, 2008). The findings of these studies vary, but it can be concluded that the social goals policy makers try to achieve with state led gentrification are not achieved. Many of these studies focus on social outcomes, like social cohesion. According to Van Bergeijk and colleagues (2008, p. 151) the essence of this term is that citizens feel involved with their neighbors, identify themselves with the social systems and assent to solidary norms and values.

It may be clear that state led gentrification leads to a change in the existing social cohesion in neighborhoods. There is a turnover of the population: some residents have to move and new residents settle in the area. This may lead to a change in social contacts in the neighborhood, public trust and other aspects of social cohesion. Also the structure of the amenities and the activities of the people involved may change (Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen, 2003, p.858). This seems contradictory because the goals of state led gentrification or urban restructuring policies often include creating social cohesion (Kleinhans, 2005, Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). Social cohesion is seen as the solution for

problems in pre- and postwar decaying neighborhoods in the Netherlands, which are the neighborhoods where state led gentrification takes place. Social cohesion would lead to more social control, better facilities, more social capital and advantages in the eyes of policy makers (Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). But these expectations lack empirical underpinning.

What is known for years in the academic literature is that people look for people who are similar to them to have interaction with, the so-called similarity hypothesis (Brislin, 1971). It is not to be assumed that old and new residents are mixing well and have social interaction, common values and such. The different groups in the neighborhood often differ in life style, norms and values and in general orientation; it is even stated they live 'parallel lives' (Van Kempen et al, 2009). According to Davidson (2012) the academic literature is unanimous: residents from different social classes do not mix with each other and social distance between the classes is not fading when they live in proximity of each other.

Van Bergeijk and colleagues (2008) researched the effects of state led gentrification on social cohesion in six Dutch neighborhoods and found that a mixed neighborhood offers less chances for meeting people who are like them and this is negative for social cohesion. Uitermark and colleagues (2007) argue that interaction between low-income and higher-income households is often superficial or even hostile. So in their view gentrification undermines social cohesion, which reduces the chance that the social goals of the gentrification policy are achieved. Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen (2009) researched social cohesion in two recently gentrified neighborhoods in the city of Utrecht and found that residents had problems with the norms and values and life styles of the other group of residents. The respondents would rather live in neighborhoods where more people were like them, which would lead to more social interactions. Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) found that owners and renters in a mixed neighborhood in Scotland lived in totally different social worlds. The introduction of more affluent residents to a neighborhood doesn't change the social networks of the renters; it only changes their surroundings. This is mainly because the buyers do not feel the neighborhood is significant for them, because they have their social contacts elsewhere. At the same time the renters are quite isolated, because they spend much more time in the neighborhood and are not able to have social contacts elsewhere.

Furthermore, it appears that the social landscape in gentrified areas is divided among different groups of residents, who voluntarily segregate themselves (Butler & Robson, 2001, p. 2156-57). Butler and Robson (2001) researched social cohesion in different gentrified neighborhoods in London and found in one of their research areas a model of social cohesion that might be characterized as 'tectonic'. By this the authors mean that different groups lead parallel lives and self-segregate themselves. There was almost no interaction between different groups. For the new inhabitants the area serves as *"ideologically charged and desirable backdrop for lives conducted at a remove from its multicultural institutions."* Blokland and Van Eijk (2010) report similar findings in a gentrified neighbourhood in Rotterdam. Despite the fact that a high share of the new residents mentioned that they moved to the neighbourhood because of its diversity, the networks turned out to be homogenous and divided along lines of income, ethnicity, class and level of education.

On the basis of this empirical literature it can be expected that gentrification in the Afrikaanderwijk doesn't lead to social cohesion, but that the two groups have a different life style, daily activity patterns and that the relations between them vary from indifferent to hostile. Because the gentrification is happening in a certain part of the neighborhood, it can also be expected that old residents don't go to this part anymore. This might lead to the voluntary segregation and social tectonics where Butler and Robson (2001) write about.

The concept social cohesion is useful for exploring behavior, feelings, norms and values in gentrifying neighborhoods (Dekker & Bolt, 2005). It should be noticed that social cohesion cannot be seen as a single concept, but as a *"domain of causally interrelated phenomena or as a class of causal models, in which some of the major dimensions of social cohesion occupy different theoretical positions with respect to one another as antecedent, intervening, or outcome variables"* (Friedkin, 2005, p. 409). In this thesis aspects linking to social cohesion are seen as intervening variables to explore the construct of neighborhood perception. The next paragraphs will outline the different elements researched in this thesis.

2.6 Public space and facilities in gentrified areas

Access to public space is linked to social cohesion and the perception of the neighborhood. If residents avoid certain public spaces or facilities because too much is changed by the gentrification, that tells something about how they behave conducting their daily activities and also about how they perceive their new neighborhood. Moreover, public space is a way of creating social cohesion and public spaces are seen as nodes of social cohesion (Madanipour, 2010, p. 113, 124). Facilities are also important features of a neighborhood, because through the use of facilities residents get attached to the neighborhood. Public space as well as facilities can change a lot during gentrification, this may cause different feelings, from satisfaction to feelings of dismissal and displacement.

2.6.1 Public space in a gentrified neighborhood: use, feelings and tensions

When we think about public space, most of the times this space is actually not really public, because today nearly all space is owned by someone (Minton, 2006). Squares and parks, places that generally are considered public space are in reality owned by the government. This sheds light on the debate concerning inclusion and exclusion in gentrified neighborhoods. It can be stated that public space is a reflection of the economic requirements of the owner of the space (Minton, 2006). Minton (2006, p.9) uses the example that the old Greek agora was only used by free male citizens and that this reflects the political culture of that time. Nowadays in gentrified neighborhoods public spaces are mostly modified for the gentrifiers and this may reflect the political culture of these days. Public space is where the goals of state led gentrification should be achieved, because this is where residents of different groups are supposed to meet and create social cohesion. On the one hand the state led gentrification policy is aimed at creating livable, safe, inclusive public spaces, while on the other hand public space is set up to fit the tastes and image of the gentrifiers.

Bélanger (2012) provided an example of research on the use of public space of non-gentrifying residents in her study examining how different groups used a park in a gentrified area in Montréal. Some long time residents thought the change in public space was positive, because it created a better image for the neighborhood. But most of them didn't use the new park much. Although they didn't feel that the middle class users were excluding them, they didn't feel they belonged in the park as much as other people or as much as they used to belong there before the gentrification. However, other authors argue that the marginal groups like poor or migrant residents often keep on using the public space after gentrification. According to Madanipour (2010), the disadvantaged neighborhoods where the marginal groups live are often targeted for state led gentrification. Due to the lack of mobility of the original residents, the neighborhoods' public spaces are often one of their few resources (Madanipour, 2004). This might be why original residents keep on using the public space, even though they face the risk of being excluded or may judge the places as being 'not for them' (Freeman, 2006).

Academic commentators agree that use of public space in gentrified areas can lead to tensions between the different groups of users (Bélanger, 2012, Freeman, 2006, Madanipour, 2004, Minton, 2006) According to Madanipour (2004) this is the consequence of competition for the limited resources available. Some groups are dominating public space, while others feel intimidated. Especially in gentrified areas the users of public space are from different socio-economic backgrounds and have different norms and values (Freeman, 2006). Madanipour (2004) states that the public space can become a display of the incompatibility of the different groups who find it hard to live together in the absence of supporting mechanisms.

Tensions are often generated by different patterns of use by the old and new inhabitants in gentrified areas, and this can lead to feelings of exclusion (Madanipour, 2004). For example immigrants may see public space as an extension of their house, because of the large size of the family, while gentrifying people use it only to walk their dogs or play with their children. In some cultures it is normal to barbecue in the parks, while the new people may fear that their children inhale too much smoke. These are examples of how different norms and values are expressed and sometimes clashing when using public space (Freeman, 2006, p. 137).

The fact that gentrifiers and original residents have different emotional links with the area can also lead to tensions over public space (Madanipour, 2004). Length of residence is an important factor in the extent to which people have developed emotional links with the area, for example place

attachment or their identity build upon memories of the area. Residents who arrive later can be considered intruders in the eyes of the original residents (Madanipour, 2004). Sometimes this sense of territory can lead to the feeling of being invaded by unwanted newcomers and this can lead to certain behavior. On place attachment and identity will be elaborated further in paragraph 2.6. And about the behavior is written in paragraph 2.7.

There is a lot to elaborate concerning public spaces in gentrifying areas, but the bottom line is that different groups use the same public spaces, which can lead to different feelings from appreciation to feelings of exclusion. Tensions can arise when spaces are transformed into places of competition and fragmentation, because different groups use them to express their identities and carry out norms and values. Although gentrification policies often promote social cohesion that can be created by inclusive public space, in reality the places often mirror the fragmentation and tensions of an area (Minton, 2006). In the Afrikaanderwijk it is also possible that tensions develop between new residents and original residents. Although the gentrification is taking place mostly in one part of the neighborhood, the residents are likely to share the central public spaces like the marketplace, park and shopping street. Also many different ethnic identities are likely to be expressed in the neighborhood and these could be different from the expressions of gentrifiers in public space.

2.6.2 Facilities in a gentrified neighborhood: use, feelings and tensions

It is clear that not only housing and public space are changing in gentrifying neighborhoods, there are also changes in facilities, such as stores, restaurants and public services. The influx of new inhabitants leads to different consumption patterns in the neighborhood. The gentrifiers for example are preoccupied with the consumption of fresh, healthy food and recreation (Spain, 1993), things that are not generally consumed much in former disadvantaged areas. This may lead to a change in shops and an increase in restaurants. But the influx of more affluent people can also lead to a change in public facilities, for example a decline in public transport, public facilities like libraries and subsidized leisure centers and a change of the local schools. The richer the community, the less pressure there is on the local authority to provide services (Atkinson, 2000, p. 320). However, in the Netherlands the government will always provide a basic level of services. Some authors argue that the changes in facilities can improve the area for longtime residents (Freeman, 2006), while others see it as a form of displacement because the new facilities are inaccessible to long time residents (Zukin, 2008, Atkinson, 2000).

In his work about Harlem and Clinton Hill, former black gentrifying neighborhoods in New York, Freeman (2006) states that gentrification can lead to a normalization of commercial activity in neighborhoods after years of disinvestment. The arrival of more affluent people makes certain types of investment more likely. *“A supermarket with decent produce, a drugstore, and a moderately priced restaurants are taken for granted in many neighborhoods but were short in supply in inner city areas like Clinton Hill and Harlem”* (p. 62). Respondents stated they were happy with the new supply and they were using the new facilities, even though they didn't have a lot of money. It should be nuanced that this is mainly about daily use facilities, like supermarkets and not the upscale restaurants. They praise the opportunity to buy fresh food in the neighborhood, because before they used to go out of the neighborhood for groceries. In Dutch context this discussion is different, because even in the most disadvantaged areas there are possibilities to buy fresh food, due to the large ethnic entrepreneurs who own little stores with fresh meat and vegetables. However, some Dutch research also concluded that residents were positive about the changes in facilities caused by gentrification. For example, Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen (2003) concluded that residents found that their facilities improved due to more expenditure in local outlets.

For the part of local community centers it is expected that things stay quite the same, because the non-gentrifying residents see these places in the neighborhood as their only resources (Madanipour, 2010), so they are keeping on using them. Because they are less mobile, they don't go out of the neighborhood for their daily activities (Van Kempen, 2010), so they use the neighborhoods facilities more. At the same time the new residents do not spend a lot of time in the neighborhood and do not use the facilities like activity spaces and community centers at all. The schools are quite a different story. The gentrifiers moving into the neighborhood have generally different orientations on choosing schools for their children than non-gentrifying residents (Butler & Robson, 2001). Where original residents often put their children on the nearby schools, these schools are often not the schools where

gentrifying parents are looking for (Karsten, 2003). Especially in gentrified, former disadvantaged neighborhoods the local schools often have a lower class, ethnically colored population. The gentrifying parents often want to send their children to mixed schools, not too white and not too black. So in gentrifying areas where the schools are mixed, it is expected that the schools improve because gentrifying residents are able to demand better schools and services (Freeman, 2010). But if the schools in the area are homogenous, there is a chance that gentrifiers send their children to other schools outside the neighborhood. In the case of the Afrikaanderwijk it is expected that original residents perceive their neighborhood more positively when gentrifiers send their children to schools in the neighborhood.

Other authors focus on negative outcomes of the change in facilities in gentrified neighborhoods. Most significant is the change in shops. New stores come into the area, and existing stores often start catering to the new residents because of their spending power or even get displaced because of the higher rents. Fancy delicatessen stores can displace cheap retail like ethnic food shops and cosmopolitan bars replace the local pubs. This can lead to negative perceptions of the long time residents (Doucet, 2009, p. 302). Doucet (2009) discovered in the Edinburgh neighborhood Leith that original residents feel like these new facilities are *'not for us'*. Respondents in Freeman's (2006) work noted that they did not feel welcome in the new restaurants, as put by one respondent: *"Obviously they don't want too many of us in there"* (p.64). Zukin (2008) states that facilities in gentrified areas are intended for specific sets of consumption practices; a space for consumers to perform their difference.

Most of the times these feelings of exclusion are caused by the high prices of the goods or services. Residents who cannot afford to use the new facilities do not have access to the improvement in their own neighborhood. Having or not having access to facilities relates to displacement (Atkinson, 2000). Not the traditional sense of displacement that people are forced to move because of gentrification, but in the more liberal sense: displacement as a process that might include the pricing out of residents and the changing of shops and services (p. 309, 310). When this happens, this can lead to a negative perception of neighborhood change and the new residents and to tensions. Atkinson (2000, p. 321) reports that the original residents in his longitudinal study in London felt a sense of separation from the gentrification-boom and they expressed attitudes of resentment and racism towards the new inhabitants.

On the basis of this literature it can be expected that residents of the Afrikaanderwijk perceive the change in facilities in the neighborhood in a dualistic way. On the one hand they might like the upgrading of the neighborhood in facilities and some stores, but on the other hand they might not be able to use all of them caused by their limits in what they can afford. Because the Dutch context is slightly different from the United States and Great Britain, residents don't have to fear that they won't have access to public facilities anymore.

2.7 Place attachment and identity in gentrifying neighborhoods

Place attachment and identity involve the idea that people have ties with the place where they live (Dekker & Bolt, 2005, p.2452). They identify themselves with their neighborhood and this can lead to a feeling of safety, builds self-esteem as well as an image of oneself and bonds people from different cultures, ethnicities or classes. This is why this dimension of social cohesion is important to research in gentrifying neighborhoods. Place attachment and identity are usually based on a sense of belonging to a street or the neighborhood as a whole (Dekker & Bolt, 2005). It is built on the use of the neighborhood for daily activities and historical narratives (Blokland, 2009), but also on past experiences, ideas and culture (Dekker & Bolt, 2005).

Place attachment is an individual process often shaped by race and class, but in a neighborhood it also occurs on the collective level because places are a reflection of the social relations in the area (Minton, 2006, Blokland, 2009). This way places become sites that certain groups can identify with. In a gentrified area different groups of people can live in the same neighborhood but experience it in a totally different way. An example of this is when original residents avoid public spaces, which they formerly used a lot. But this process can also lead to individuals with very different life styles that live in the same neighborhood in different 'sociospheres' (Blokland, 2009, p. 1594).

There is a difference between groups of residents: higher income groups experience more attachment

to the neighborhood than low income groups, but when these two groups live in the same neighborhood, the higher income group feels less attached (Dekker & Bolt, 2005). Also it appears that ethnic groups experience more place attachment when they live in a diverse neighborhood, while whites get more attached in predominantly white areas. Also, elderly have a stronger neighborhood attachment than younger residents, probably because they are less mobile and might have spent a long time in the area. Finally, the time spent residing in a neighborhood has an impact on the level of place attachment.

Place identity can be seen as the outcome of memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas and related feelings about specific physical settings (Minton, 2006, p. 28). Identification with a neighborhood is usually apparent when the area consists of a homogenous population, because then it is easier for people to associate themselves with the place they are from and people like them while dissociating from other places and people (Dekker & Bolt, 2005). The goal of gentrification is to create diversity, so the assumption is that, through the process of gentrification, the place attachment and identity of longtime residents is decreasing. At the same time the place becomes more and more suitable to the identity the new residents want to assume.

Van Duin and colleagues (2011) researched place identity in the Afrikaanderwijk. They found that age, length of residence and social networks in the neighborhood were important predictors for identity built upon the neighborhood. People who grew up in the area were for example most attached. Further, the more a respondent identified with Rotterdam the less he tended to identify with the neighborhood. Identification with the country on the other hand, turned out to work the other way around: the more somebody identified with The Netherlands, the more somebody tended to identify with the Afrikaanderwijk. Also, the more somebody had a positive perception about how people get along in the neighborhood in the sense of knowing each other, pulling together to improve the neighborhood and being welcome when new residents are moving in, the more they tend to identify with Afrikaanderwijk.

Due to state led gentrification neighborhoods change in a superficial way and this might influence residents place attachment and identity. The process interrupts existing perceptions of the neighborhood from residents that live through gentrification. Residents can develop the feeling of being a stranger in their own neighborhood (De Kam & Needham, 2003, p. 18). But at the same time the new infrastructure and facilities can also foster their pride (Doucet et al, 2011, p. 137). Doucet and colleagues (2011) researched different perceptions on flagship developments from residents in other areas, especially their perceptions on the flagship project 'The Kop van Zuid'. One of the adjacent neighborhoods of this case study area was the Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam. Surprisingly residents from the Afrikaanderwijk were quite positive about the area. In spite of their background and the affluent image of the area they could relate to it. It made them feel proud of their city, whereas assertions from the literature would suggest that residents would be negative about the flagship project (p. 141). In the case of the Afrikaanderwijk it can be expected that there is a difference in native Dutch residents and ethnic residents. The first group is expected to feel less attached than the second. But overall the group of original residents is expected to feel quite attached because of their longer stay in the neighborhood and their memories.

2.7.1 Sense of belonging, sense of security, symbolic bond to people

Important facets of place attachment and identity are a sense of belonging (Blokland, 2009), a sense of security and a symbolic bond to people (Kearns and Forrest, 2000).

A sense of belonging to the neighborhood can lead to the development of place attachment and identity (Dekker & Bolt, 2005). This means that a resident feels part of the neighborhood, instead of seeing it just as a place to live (Riger & Lavrakas, 1981). This is usually the case when a person is rooted in the neighbourhood in terms of length of residence, social relations and memories in the neighbourhood. Atkinson (2000) described in his paper on displacement in three London neighbourhoods that the more the neighbourhood changed by gentrification the less original residents felt they belonged in their neighbourhood. "(...) Gentrification cumulatively eroded both their ability and their desire to remain in that location as social, physical, economic, and environmental changes took place unrelated to the patterns of their own lifestyles and the resources on which they lived" (p. 321).

A symbolic bond to people is a more abstract dimension of place attachment and identity, but it

reveals a lot to the place attachment of residents and how they relate to new inhabitants of gentrifying areas. Atkinson (2000) for example, found in London that longtime residents felt a sense of separation from the changes going on around gentrification and expressed attitudes of resentment and racism towards the new inhabitants. This is an example of a negative symbolic bond with the new residents. Atkinson (2000, p. 322) illustrates this with an example: "Other groups, like the 'Roughlers', a now defunct gathering of drinkers and self-proclaimed yuppie-haters on the Portobello Road in Kensington, indicate that the visible signs of a front-line have been replaced by a more insidious geography of privilege and antipathy that is more difficult to locate. The landlord of the pub where the Roughlers met described how they 'retreated' from pub to pub as the area grew ever more popular with yuppies who 'took over' the pubs."

The notion of a symbolic bond to people is based on Putnam's (2000) concepts of bonding and bridging capital. The Roughlers, mentioned by Atkinson (2002), have strong bonding capital, which refers to horizontal social relations. In other words, these are intensive relations within their own group, for example between family and friends. What is actually much more needed in gentrifying areas is bridging capital, vertical relations between heterogeneous individuals such as friends of friends, neighbors, colleagues etcetera (Kleinmans et al, 2007). These relationships can help people ahead, for example information about job opportunities, passed on between loosely connected people.

A sense of security, the third dimension of place attachment and identity, is important to maintain for residents when their surroundings are changing. Especially in times of population turnover in the case of state led gentrification there are many vacant homes and less people living in the neighborhood, which can lead to increased crime. Also it is assumed that huge disparities in welfare in areas can lead to increasing burglar rates (Chiu & Madden, 1998). Moreover, by gentrification tight knit relation networks are broken down and often little social fabric is left (Atkinson, 2000). This is associated with increases in crime and antisocial behavior, which can reduce the sense of security of long time residents. Freeman (2006) points out another factor that reduces the sense of security of original residents: the fear of displacement. In gentrifying areas rents are getting higher and properties are increasing in value, which often lead to landlords selling their property and renters getting displaced. On the other hand Freeman (2006) also notes that gentrification can improve residents sense of security on other fronts. For example the fact that after gentrification there were more police patrols in the area and this fostered a sense of security to long time residents.

2.8 Common values in a gentrified neighborhood

Common values are an important benchmark for a social cohesive community (Kearns & Forrest, 2000). Common values as a dimension of social cohesion refers to people having a common set of values that enables them to support common aims and objectives and share a common set of moral principles and codes of behavior through which they conduct their relations with one another (Kearns & Forrest, 2000, p. 997). These aspects can also create a civic culture of social order and social control, in which citizens know how to conduct collective affairs. Societies with strong common values usually have a widespread support of political institutions and a general engagement with political systems and institutions, instead of indifference (Kearns & Forrest, 2000, p. 997). In disadvantaged neighborhoods social renewal programs to build social cohesion are often aimed at recognizing one's skills to take responsibility to participate in society in order to generate or maintain tolerance and social harmony.

In gentrified areas the question is whether the different groups of residents can be integrated in the social order of the neighborhood and respecting cultural differences, while at the same time subjugate to the codes of behavior. Common values can lead to understanding of each other (Dekker & Bolt, 2005). But a socially cohesive neighborhood is not necessarily characterized by a homogeneous set of norms (Kearns and Forrest, 2000), because too much cohesion within one group can lead to a lack of tolerance for others (Dekker & Bolt, 2005). Because of the ethnic composition of the neighborhood it is not expected that the Afrikaanderwijk has strong common values. It is expected that some people participate actively, while others barely participate and that the people who do participate perceive the neighborhood more positive. The history of the neighborhood as a harbor area might cause a high tolerance towards new gentrifying neighbors, but on the other hand these people might have different codes of behavior to which the original residents might not adapt.

2.8.1 Common codes of behavior, participation and tolerance

Common codes of behavior are the visible part of common values. The way people act is based upon their values. Different authors provide examples of value differences between newcomers and longtime residents in gentrified areas. Spain (1993) for example writes about the different views on consumption and production both groups had. While the newcomers liked going out to eat, drinking in bars and recreation, the old residents felt like their neighborhood became a playground for the rich and they wondered whether the new people actually worked for a living. Their own norms were much more based on working hard and taking rest and they didn't understand the obvious displays of leisure. Freeman (2006) writes that different ways of behavior lead to clashes about norms between old and new residents. For example, before gentrification it was normal to socialize with neighbors in the courtyards and let the kids play there, but because the new residents do not like the noise, this has changed. The old residents go somewhere else, because the new people do not like the children playing outside. Another example is that longtime residents used to barbecue in the park, but they don't do it anymore, because the new residents living nearby complain about the smoke. These are examples in which the new residents determine the codes of behavior, and the old residents adapt to it while disagreeing and feeling powerless. It can be expected that longtime residents perceive the changes in their neighborhood more negatively if they feel like they have to adapt their behavior in order to fit the new common codes of behavior in the neighborhood.

Participation has to do with residents taking responsibility to use their skills to maintain social harmony (Dekker & Bolt, 2005). Civic participation encompasses membership of formal or voluntary associations, for example political involvement or church membership (Putnam, 2000). Often these memberships are also an indicator of community involvement. So it can be expected that if many residents are members of associations, there will also be more participation in the neighborhoods. An indicator of participation is whether or not people attend events of organized social life, like street theater, picnics, dances and such. Also neighborhood watch groups, for example the Moroccan "neighborhood fathers" in Dutch disadvantaged neighborhoods, play an important role in neighborhood participation. It can be expected that residents who are involved in these kinds of events are getting more in touch with the new residents and perceive the neighborhood more positively.

Tolerance is a useful concept to measure to what extent people accept the changes in their neighborhood. To what extent people subjugate to or resist the changes? Common values are necessary to create consensus over what type of behavior is acceptable. In a neighborhood where people have competing notions of what is acceptable, it will be difficult to enforce norms, while in homogeneous neighborhood it will be relatively easy (Freeman, 2006, p. 136). Measuring tolerance is a way to measure common values of residents, for example tolerance towards deviant behavior (Dekker & Bolt, 2005). Dekker and Bolt (2005) reviewed in their paper the work of Friedrichs and Blasius (2003) who researched this. It appears that in general people are not tolerant towards highly deviant behavior, but they are tolerant towards smaller deviances. They found a difference in attitudes towards deviant behavior linked to job status. People who work outside their homes are not only influenced by the people in the neighborhood, but more by their social situation elsewhere and are less susceptible to deviant behavior. They also found that homeowners are less tolerant of deviant behavior, because by buying a home they invested in their surroundings and decay and deviant behavior can even lead to a decreasing house price. It can be concluded that different interests in a gentrified neighborhood can lead to differences in tolerance.

On the part of political participation and tolerance towards the gentrification process in general, it is expected that residents of the Afrikaanderwijk do not protest much against the developments in their neighborhoods, even though they might risk displacement. This is common for third wave gentrification (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Further, in the Netherlands there are many examples of housing corporations presenting displacement as tenant's only choice and facilitating it by offering other housing and financial compensations (Huisman, 2014). For example physical decay is invoked first and then renovation (with accompanying higher rents) is presented as the only solution. Residents in disadvantaged neighborhoods like the Afrikaanderwijk often do not know what their rights are and feel protesting wouldn't make any effort. Many times they are less successful in demonstrating and resisting than higher educated and wealthier residents that live in different kind of neighborhoods. It is expected that they just wait for what happens during the gentrification process and fear displacement or even wait for it. This makes them quite tolerant towards the changes in their neighborhood, because

they do nothing against it.

2.9 Conclusion and expectations

Gentrification seen from a Marxist perspective as the '*production of space for more affluent users*' (Hackworth, 2002) causes a change in a neighborhood's residents, as well as in public space, facilities and also in the way people perceive their neighborhood. Gentrification went through different waves in the past decades in the way it is carried out and perceived. In the Afrikaanderwijk third wave gentrification is occurring. Strong government involvement, a shift from cultural to economic factors and its scale, characterize this wave (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Smith (2002) states that nowadays gentrification has become a neoliberal strategy for capital accumulation in competing urban economies. But governments also aim at achieving social goals with gentrification, although a huge body of research can hardly find any prove of this assumption. Most of the times gentrification leads to different groups of people that live in proximity of each other, but live totally different lives.

This thesis looks at residents who lived through gentrification; long time residents who have seen their neighborhood change. The way they perceive their changing neighborhood is researched by using three elements: access to public space and facilities, place attachment and identity and common values.

Regarding access to public space and facilities, it can be concluded that the influx of more affluent people also brings a change in stores, services and public space and that original residents perceive this in different ways. In some areas they praise the possibility to buy more fresh food (Freeman, 2006), while in other areas they complain about their own shops getting replaced by expensive gourmet food (Spain, 1993). And in some neighborhoods old residents keep on using the public space, while in other neighborhoods the residents avoid the new public space (Madanipour, 2004). This literature leads to the expectation that original residents have mixed feelings about the changes in public space and facilities. It is expected they like the upgrade of the public space, but different expressions of identity between original residents and gentrifying might lead to tensions. The new facilities catering for the newcomers are expected to lead to feelings of exclusion, because of the limits of what original residents can afford.

Place attachment and identity is influenced by length of residence (Dekker & Bolt, 2005). Long time residents often experience a strong place attachment and by creating memories as they base their identity on the neighborhood. Gentrification causes a disturbance in this place attachment and it can cause a decline in their sense of security, symbolic bond to people and sense of belonging. Residents can develop the feeling of being a stranger in their own neighborhood, but at the same time the new infrastructure and facilities can also foster their pride. Of both situations there are examples in the literature. For the case of the Afrikaanderwijk it can be expected the group of original residents is expected to feel quite attached because of their longer stay in the neighborhood and their memories, but there might be a difference between native and minority residents. Also gentrification might cause a change in their place attachment, because of the change in surroundings, and in their identity, because the neighborhood can be changed so much that they don't feel at home anymore or cannot identify with the new residents.

Gentrification is a disruption in the values of a neighborhood. Before gentrification, disadvantaged neighborhoods are often composed of people with the same values and the same codes of behavior. When gentrification brings a social mix, this is changing (Spain, 1993, Freeman, 2006). There are many reports that old and new residents have different codes of behavior (Dekker & Bolt, 2005). Also there are different patterns of participation of different groups in neighborhood activities like events in the park and such. It is expected that whether people participate or not has a strong influence on how they perceive their neighborhood. This study might find that some people participate actively, while others barely do so. The history of the neighborhood as a harbor neighborhood might cause a high tolerance towards new gentrifying neighbors, but on the other hand these people might have different codes of behavior to which the original residents might not adapt.

Finally these three dimensions of public space and facilities, place attachment and identity and common values determine how longtime residents perceive their neighborhood during the process of gentrification. On the basis of the reviewed literature it can be expected that residents living through

gentrification the Afrikaanderwijk have mixed feelings about the changes in their neighborhood (Doucet, 2009, Freeman, 2007). Some outcomes they might like, for example upgraded public space and facilities, but they might fear higher rents and displacement. Residents might have different ways of coping with the changes (Atkinson, 2000), but it is expected there is not much resistance because this is characteristic of third wave gentrification (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Although the Afrikaanderwijk is an ethnic neighborhood it is not expected that there isn't a lot of interaction between old and new residents, because literature concludes that new residents mainly like the idea of a mixed cultural neighborhood, rather than the real interaction (Blokland & Van Eijk, 2010, Zukin, 1987). Also the distinct character of the neighborhood that is crucial for ethnic members might disappear, which is expected to lead to tensions. On the other hand it is expected that the different groups, although voluntary segregated (Walks & Van Maaranen, 2008) have a public familiarity based on politeness (Zukin, 1987).

How residents experience the changes caused by gentrification is in the end influenced by many factors, because it is dependent on individual factors, like their own memories, sense of belonging, place attachment, identity and other factors that intermediate how someone perceives a neighborhood. This thesis tries to shed light on a few domains of gentrification that are not yet fully developed. First, it will give insight in a group that is often overlooked: the people that are not immediately displaced and live through gentrification in their neighborhood (Doucet, 2009). Second, by choosing the case study area Afrikaanderwijk this thesis will provide more insight in state led gentrification in an ethnically diverse neighborhood (Murdie & Texeira, 2012). This will shed light on the discussion about groups affected by state led gentrification.

Chapter 3: Case study area the Afrikaanderwijk

The Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam is chosen as the case study area for this thesis, because it is a neighborhood in the process of state-led gentrification which is known for its diversity. In Rotterdam and in the Netherlands in general, a lot of state led gentrification is taking place in former disadvantaged neighborhoods. Often the displacement rate in the Netherlands is not as high as in foreign countries (Posthumus et al, 2012) and many original residents live through gentrification. The Afrikaanderwijk is such a (former) disadvantaged neighborhood where state led gentrification takes place and where many residents stay in their houses and see their neighborhood change. This makes the Afrikaanderwijk an interesting case study. In this chapter information on the characteristics of the area is provided and also the neighborhood is placed in the context of state led gentrification in Rotterdam.

3.1. Facts and figures

The Afrikaanderwijk is a neighborhood of 8.316 residents located on the South bank of Rotterdam. The size of the neighborhood is 47 hectare. The administrative boundaries are the Hillekopplein in the north, the Posthumalaan/Hillelaan in the west, the Laan op Zuid in the east and in the south the Putselaan. The neighborhood is adjacent to the former docks of the city and to the recently gentrified neighborhoods Kop van Zuid and Katendrecht.



Figure 2 The Afrikaanderwijk
(Source: Google maps edited)



Figure 3 The Afrikaanderwijk related to Rotterdam.
(Source: Google Maps edited)

The Afrikaanderwijk is known for its ethnic diversity. Around 80 percent of the residents have a non-Dutch background (City of Rotterdam, 2013). This is due to the history of the neighborhood as a place where harbor workers lived. It is one of the first neighborhoods in The Netherlands where a lot of guest workers lived (Van Duin et al, 2011). Mainly Moroccans, Turks and South-Europeans moved in since the 70's to work in the harbor. In the present, the most common backgrounds are Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Dutch and Dutch Antilles. The level of education and income are below average. Another remarkable thing is that the residents are relatively young, compared to Rotterdam as a whole.

In the middle of the neighborhood the Afrikaanderplein is located, a public square of 7 hectares. Part of it is a park and another part houses the famous open air Afrikaander market, for which the neighborhood is known. The most important shopping streets are the Pretoriaal and the Paul Krügerstraat. These are also the main roads crossing through the neighborhood. This area is known for ethnic shops, restaurants and bars, but has been changing lately due to gentrification, which brings more exclusive stores from Dutch entrepreneurs. Also there are more upmarket ethnic restaurants from successful ethnic entrepreneurs (often not from the neighborhood) aimed at the new (Dutch) residents. Around the central square are facilities and there are many restaurants and bars in the area.

Most of the facilities in the Afrikaanderwijk are still aimed at the non-gentrifying residents and centered on the central square Afrikaanderplein. A community center, playground, Het Gemaal (neighborhood building for activities), several schools, a park, library, public garden, sports center and swimming pool are situated here, as well as several shops, restaurants and cafés. The areas surrounding this square are the streets where the residents live. The north part of the neighborhood is where most

gentrification took place, while the south part mainly belongs to the old residents. However, there are plans for the future to also gentrify this part. The gentrification movement is reflected in some of the facilities. There is, for example, a new eco-playground in the gentrified part, which is used by gentrifiers and non-gentrifiers. At the beginning of the Pretorialaan there is one block of gentrified shops and restaurants. Apart from this there are also some other gentrified places, like the new sustainable clothing boutique and cultural café Raaf.



Figure 4 Afrikaanderpark



Figure 5 't Klooster

Figure 6 provides the most important statistics about the neighborhood. This is important to understand the findings of the study and place them in a geographical framework. In comparison to Rotterdam the Afrikaanderwijk is a young neighborhood. The Turks are the largest ethnic group in the neighborhood. With more than 30 percent this group is by far larger than other ethnic groups. This is why the Afrikaanderwijk is sometimes perceived as a Turkish neighborhood or why residents talk about 'Turkish domination'. After them, the largest groups are the Moroccans and autochthones or non-immigrants, followed by the Surinamese and 'other non westerners'. In comparison to Rotterdam the group Turks and Moroccans is relatively high. The average annual income in the neighborhood is below the average of Rotterdam and 71 percent of the residents are in the group with the 40 percent lowest incomes. Around 10,9 percent of the households in the Afrikaanderwijk is depending on social benefits. This is twice as much as the average neighborhood in Rotterdam.

Figure 7 shows the differences in average standardized income between the Afrikaanderwijk and Rotterdam. It details the widening of the income divide in spite of gentrification. This is a remarkable statistic, because when a neighborhood gentrifies one would expect that the divide between a disadvantaged neighborhood's average income and the cities average income would shrink instead of increase. The specifics of this shift are beyond the scope of this thesis, but it leads to insight into the depth of welfare differences in this case study neighborhood. According to chapter 2, gentrification adds more affluent residents to former working class neighborhoods (Glass, 1964), so one would assume the average income difference between Afrikaanderwijk and Rotterdam would decrease. With the gentrification more expensive dwellings were added to the neighborhood. There are a myriad of factors that could have lead to the deepening of the income divide between the Afrikaanderwijk and Rotterdam, but it is possible that the gap between old and new residents is widening, because the old residents got poorer.

According to the Center of Research and Statistics (2010) the Afrikaanderwijk had 3.800 houses in 2010, of which 90 percent was social housing. Before the gentrification the neighborhood didn't have a lot of single-family dwellings. Mostly there were multifamily buildings. This is changing rapidly, because gentrification provides mainly single-family dwellings and apartment buildings. Around 1.800 new houses are being realized, and most of these are privately owned. Figure 8 shows the change in tenure of the past years. It is a slow shift from only social rent to more and more privately owned houses. The data doesn't go further than 2012, but given the continuous construction during my research, there are by now even more new-built and renovated gentrification projects being realized.

	Afrikaanderwijk		Rotterdam	
	Absolute	Percentage	Absolute	Percentage
Age division				
0-14 years old (2005)	2.196	23,31	102.334	17,15
15-64 years old (2005)	6.419	68,13	408.712	68,51
65+ (2005)	807	8,57	85.549	14,34
Total (2005)	9.422	100	596.597	100
0-14 years old (2013)	1.634	19,65	101.953	16,54
15-64 years old (2013)	5.741	69,04	423.419	68,70
65+ (2013)	940	11,30	90.944	14,76
Population (2013)				
Surinames	1.077	12,95	52.726	8,55
Antillans	378	4,55	22.973	3,73
Capeverdians	221	2,66	15.312	2,48
Turks	2.706	32,54	47.900	7,77
Marrocans	1.218	14,66	41.124	6,67
Other non westerners	1.018	12,24	48.521	7,87
Autochtones	1.120	13,47	316.632	51,37
Other European Union	344	4,14	42.471	6,89
Other westerners	234	2,81	28.657	4,65
Total (2013)	8.316	100	616.319	100
Average annual income x 1000 (2005)				
Per household	21,7		25,5	
Per household, standardised	14,7		18,8	
Percentage in lowest 40 %		71		51
Percentage in middle 40 %		25		34
Percentage in top 20 %		4		15
Average annual income x 1000 (2011)				
Per household	23,5		29,3	
Per household, standardised	16,5		21,7	
Percentage in lowest 40 %		75		51
Percentage in middle 40 %		21		34
Percentage in top 20 %		4		15
Social assistance (bijstandsuitkeringen)				
Special assistance total (2006)	1.392	14,78	46.403	7,88
Special assistance (2006) < 1 year	160	1,70	6.083	1,03
Special assistance (2006) < 2 years	139	1,48	5.054	0,86
Special assistance (2006) 2 < 3 years	98	1,04	3.653	0,62
Special assistance (2006) > 3 years	699	7,42	23.181	3,93
Total	9.419	100	588.718	100
Special assistance total (2012)	963	10,98	34.128	5,54
Special assistance (2012) < 1 year	170	1,94	7.520	1,22
Special assistance (2012) < 2 years	194	2,21	6.895	1,12
Special assistance (2012) 2 < 3 years	112	1,28	3.545	0,58
Special assistance (2012) > 3 years	691	7,88	20.034	3,25
Total	8.772	100	616.456	100

Figure 6 Table of most important characteristics of the Afrikaanderwijk.
(Source: Center for Research and Statistics Rotterdam)

Differences in income between Afrikaanderwijk and Rotterdam.

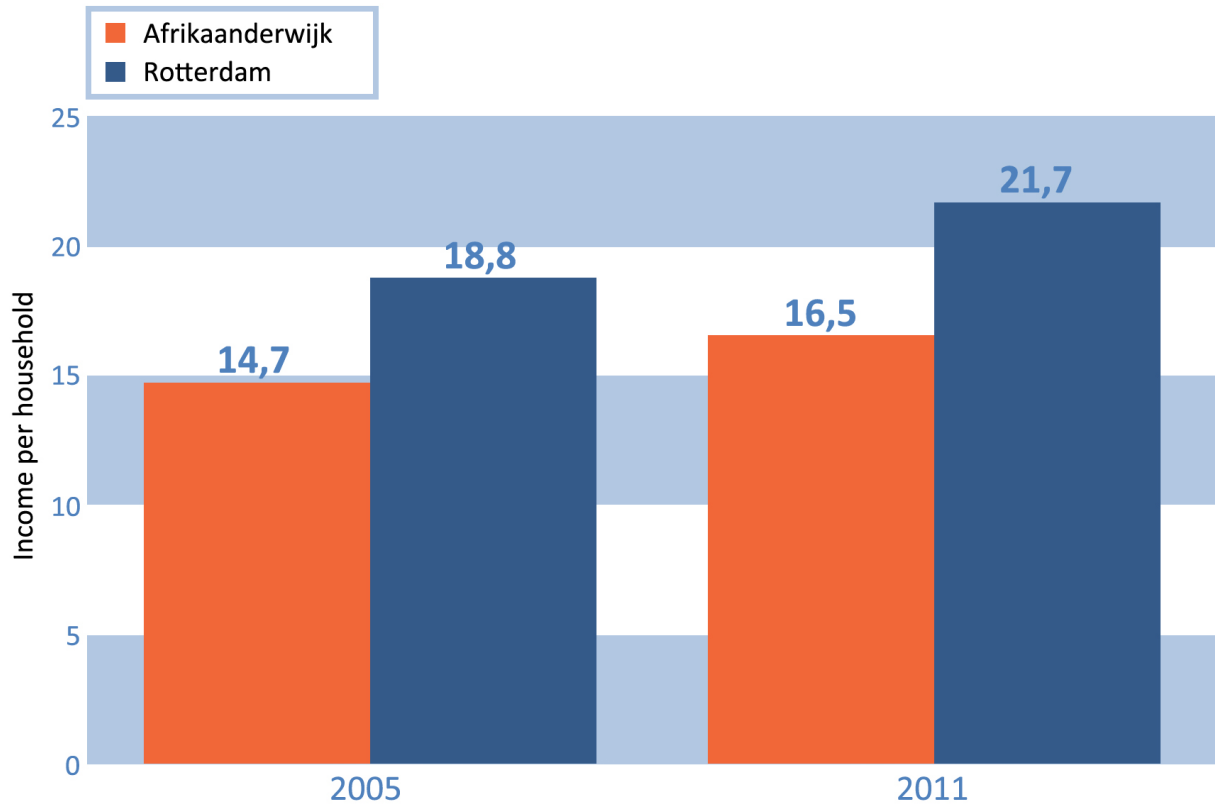


Figure 7 Income differences Afrikaanderwijk and Rotterdam. (Source: Center for Research and Statistics Rotterdam, 2014b)

Eigendomsverhoudingen in de Afrikaanderwijk

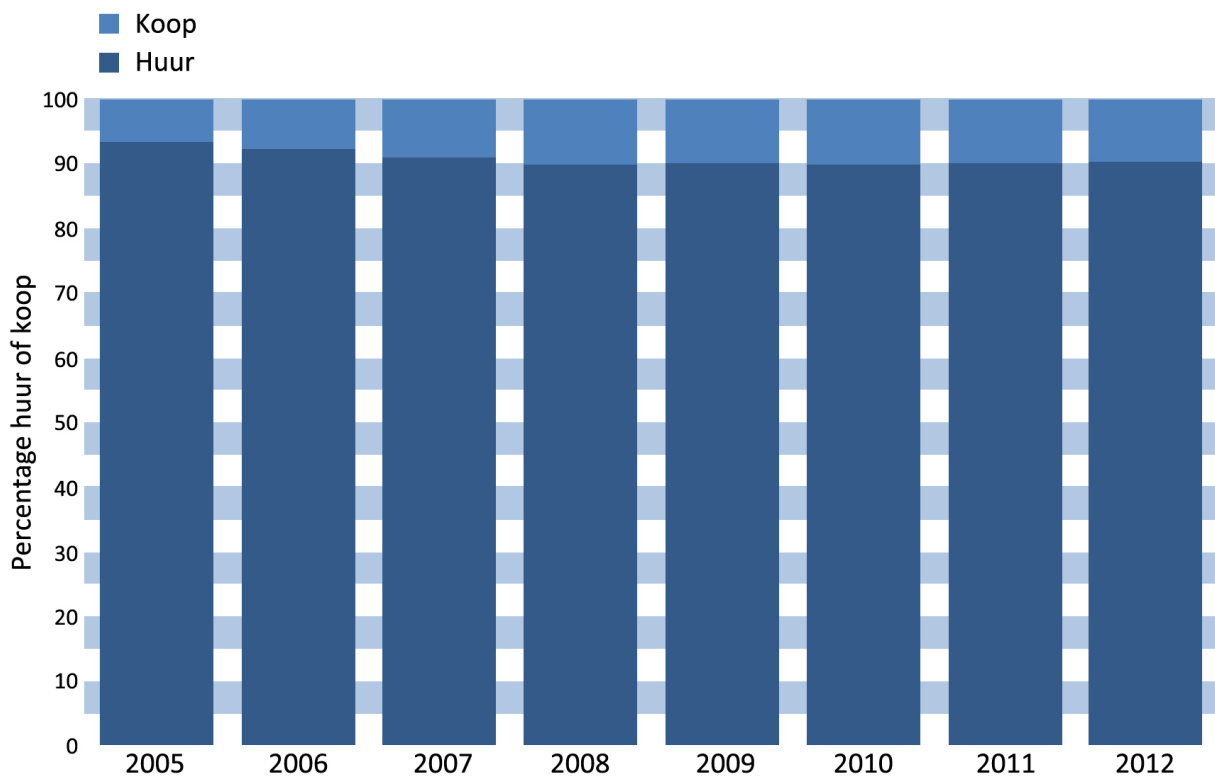


Figure 8 Tenure division of the Afrikaanderwijk. (Source: Center for Research and Statistics Rotterdam, 2014b)

3.2 History of the Afrikaanderwijk

The Afrikaanderwijk became part of Rotterdam 1869. Before it belonged to Charlois, another municipality and it existed of empty polder and land was used for agriculture. Rotterdam needed the area because it wanted to expand harbor activities beyond the inner city and needed room for warehouses (City of Rotterdam, 2011). Around 1900 houses were built to house the dockworkers that migrated from Dutch rural areas like Brabant and Zeeland to Rotterdam (City of Rotterdam, 2013). During that time the harbor activities of the city were expanding, so houses had to be built quickly in order to keep up with the demand for housing of workers. This is why most of the houses on the Southbank of Rotterdam are homogenous multifamily dwellings of four stories. The area was built in a triangle form, relatively closed from the other neighborhoods, because the area was surrounded by docks. The streets were named after places in South Africa and leaders of the revolt of 'Afrikaanders' against the British settlement during the Second South African War, with whom the Netherlands were sympathizing (Vestia Rotterdam Feijenoord, 2007). Except from the docks that were bombed during World War II, the Afrikaanderwijk was not damaged. But in 1953 there was a flood in the neighborhood, because the dikes were broken due to high water of the river. As a consequence of this "water disaster" the dikes were elevated.

Later on the Afrikaanderwijk became less dynamic, because the harbor activities scaled up and moved to places further from the city center. The houses were decaying quickly and families that could afford to leave left, mostly to the suburbs. The Afrikaanderwijk became a neighborhood for immigrants, starters and poor people. In the 60's a new wave of immigrants came to the Netherlands. They were called 'guest workers', because the idea was that they came to the Netherlands to work in the factories and would leave when the job was done. The Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam became a neighborhood for these immigrants mostly from Spain, Italy, Turkey and Morocco. In the end it turned out that these immigrants wouldn't go back to their home countries, instead they stayed, brought their families over and got children who went to Dutch schools and got the Dutch nationality. In the 60's and 70's homeowners started to rent their houses to these immigrants and put many people in one house and asked a high rent (Vestia Rotterdam Feijenoord, 2007). There was no policy to stop this. At the same time Dutch families had to wait years to get a family dwelling. In 1972 this led to riots between indigenous Dutch residents and Turkish residents. After these riots the City of Rotterdam implemented a spreading policy that every neighborhood could house a maximum of 5 percent immigrants. In 1974 this policy was declared invalid.

In the years after that ethnic diversity was increasing. The neighborhood became a real immigrant neighborhood and more and more Dutch people decided to move (Priemus, 2006). The white flight in the area was impressive (Van Duin et al, 2011). From more than 2500 native Dutch residents in 1996, there are fewer than 1500 left. This accounts for around 13 percent. Since then there were problems like unemployment, poverty, lack of intergroup social cohesion, crime and also an old and decaying housing stock. In the eighties there was an urban renewal program. Social rent houses were improved and new facilities came to the area. Moreover, different neighborhoods on the South bank of Rotterdam became the administrative political unit called "Deelgemeente Feijenoord" (Vestia Rotterdam Feijenoord, 2007) in order to do something about the problems in the area and reconnect the citizens and the government. However, the problems were not solved. The Afrikaanderwijk scored as the worst neighborhood in The Netherlands in a list of 643 made by the 2000 Johan Remkes, secretary of the ministry of Housing, (Musterd and Ostendorf, 2009). In 2011 it became part of the national policy intervention 'Kwaliteitsprong Zuid' (Rijksoverheid, 2011), a program financed by the national and local government with the goal to improve the area in terms of talent development of residents, economy and the physical environment.

3.3 Gentrification in Rotterdam

“Rotterdam has more disadvantaged neighborhoods than other Dutch cities and the city uses the strategy of urban regeneration to make the housing stock attractive again”, is a statement made in the Development Vision of 2007 (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007). This is done by a large-scale renovation, demolishing and rebuilding of the old pre and postwar neighborhoods. So the strategy of state led gentrification is also occurring on a large scale in Rotterdam, especially in the South where most of the disadvantaged neighborhoods are located. In 2013 a prominent political figure, Marco Pastors, called it ‘the worst part of the Netherlands’ (Trouw, 2013). State led gentrification is used as a strategy to improve this part of the city. There has been a vast amount of investment in the construction of middle-class, owner-occupied housing in disadvantaged urban neighborhoods with mostly low-cost social rented dwellings (Uitermark et al, 2007). Social mixing is seen as an answer to homogeneity, segregation and concentrated poverty. Some parts of the area are already gentrified and others are in the middle of the process or on the waiting list. The percentage of social housing is decreasing rapidly. Most of the houses that are demolished are small multifamily dwellings. Until 2030 a huge amount of these old dated estates are being demolished and replaced by apartments and single-family dwellings.

The history of gentrification of the Southbank of Rotterdam, of which the Afrikaanderwijk is part, dates back to the 1980’s. This is when the urban revitalization of the Kop van Zuid, the neighborhood adjacent to the Afrikaanderwijk, took place. Old neighborhoods were replaced by housing for families and the prestigious Erasmus Bridge was built. This is seen as a successful example of gentrification (Doucet & Van Weesep, 2011). However, the expected trickle-down effect didn’t occur. It was assumed that the success of the Kop van Zuid would also affect the Afrikaanderwijk, for example by rolemodels, employment opportunities at the new companies and stores and because of a better business climate and the fact that more affluent people might spend money at services in the Afrikaanderwijk. This didn’t happen. The contrast with the old city neighborhoods around it is still high, although another adjacent neighborhood Katendrecht has already been gentrified and the Afrikaanderwijk is still in the process of gentrification.

In the renewal of the old city neighborhoods of the South of Rotterdam, not only new residents are targeted, but also residents that are from the old neighborhoods who are ready to take the next step (City of Rotterdam, 2011). For example renters who are willing to buy a house, formerly left the Afrikaanderwijk, but now they can choose to stay. According to the City of Rotterdam (2011) this is the group that leaves the area because there is no suitable housing for them. The gentrification is especially targeted at upwardly mobile young ethnic groups. They are assumed to have positive effects on the neighborhood because of their higher education, moderate incomes and social networks in the area. This is also the case in the Afrikaanderwijk, where many not too expensive houses are built to attract this group to stay, return or settle with their families.

3.4 Gentrification in the Afrikaanderwijk

The Afrikaanderwijk is now in the middle of the process of state led gentrification. In 2005 the first gentrification projects started (City of Rotterdam, 2014c). Since, the tenure and social situation of the area is changing. In 2011, 89 percent of the housing stock was rental and 11 percent was owner-occupied. The latter is already increased and still increasing, in 2000 for example only one percent was owner occupied. The change is a result of the physical restructuring of the housing in the area, part of the gentrification policies (Van Duin et al, 2011).

The demolishing and rebuilding and renovation of houses should achieve social and economical government goals. The gentrification focuses on three points of attention: a better connection of the Afrikaanderwijk and the surrounding environment, making a housing career possible in the neighborhood and an impulse for the economy in the neighborhood (City of Rotterdam, 2011). In order to create a better connection with the environment, the main road of the Afrikaanderwijk will connect with the roads around the neighborhood, which makes the site less isolated.

The housing career goal goes hand in hand with the demolishing, rebuilding and renovation of the old houses. The Afrikaanderwijk has many young people who know the neighborhood well but leave once they earn enough money. This group is aimed at, mainly because they already have social contacts in the neighborhood. To interest them there is a marketing campaign with billboards with the text “Wii have a dream” on which multi ethnic couples are depicted. The text is a reference to a poem of Ramsey Nasr about the street language of Rotterdam-Zuid (Vestia Rotterdam Feijenoord, 2014). Another target group consists of young creative professional people (City of Rotterdam, 2007). This group already lives in the adjacent gentrified neighborhoods Katendrecht and the Kop van Zuid. This group is also aimed at with the changes in facilities and the proliferation of the Afrikaanderwijk as multicultural site to eat and shop for food. It is a citywide strategy to attract this group to stay in the city, because before Rotterdam got gentrified these people moved to the outskirts of the city or rural areas when they were ready to start a family.

In order to give the neighborhoods economy an impulse room is made for different kind of facilities. Before the gentrification process the Afrikaanderwijk was known for ethnic stores, but nowadays some are replaced for young creative entrepreneurs. Stores that are realized are for example a coffee bar where they sell home made jellies, a restaurant called ‘The Sate Man’, an artisan bakery and a new organic food store. One strategy to brand the new small-scale restaurants and food stores is by the slogan “Afrikaanderwijk, area for food” (Afrikaanderwijk Eetwijk) (Rosenbrand & Van der Voordt, 2006). This name is used to attract the new middle classes to visit the Afrikaanderwijk and try the different kinds of ethnic food offered. The slogan should improve the image of the area.

Table 2: Changes in housing stock during thesis time:

Demolished	Leeuwenkuil
Being built or renovated	Bloemfontein (done autumn 2014)
Ready	Centree, Zuiderspoor, Kasteel, Pretoriablok, Zuiderster, Pretorialaan ‘kluswoningen’, Wielslag

(Source: Vestia Rotterdam Feijenoord, 2014, City of Rotterdam, 2014c)



Figuur 9 Renovated gentrified housing



Figuur 10 New build gentrified housing

Figure 11 shows a map of the planning of the restructuring of the Afrikaanderwijk. In total 1.800 new dwellings will be realized (City of Rotterdam, 2014a). This rebuilding of the neighborhood will create more differentiation in housing types, tenures and prices, in order to attract new residents but also create a new place to live for the displaced residents. During the interviews conducted for this thesis most of the projects were already finished. During the period of March till July one project was finished, eight building projects were already finished in the years before (City of Rotterdam, 2011). In 2005 the first new houses and entrepreneurial sites were realized and the last project before the most recent one was done in 2012. During the period that the interviews were conducted one large social housing project was demolished. This side will be empty for a while. It is planned to become a green side until there is funding to start building again. Another project, the Bloemfontein, has been built during the period of this thesis and will be finished in September 2014.

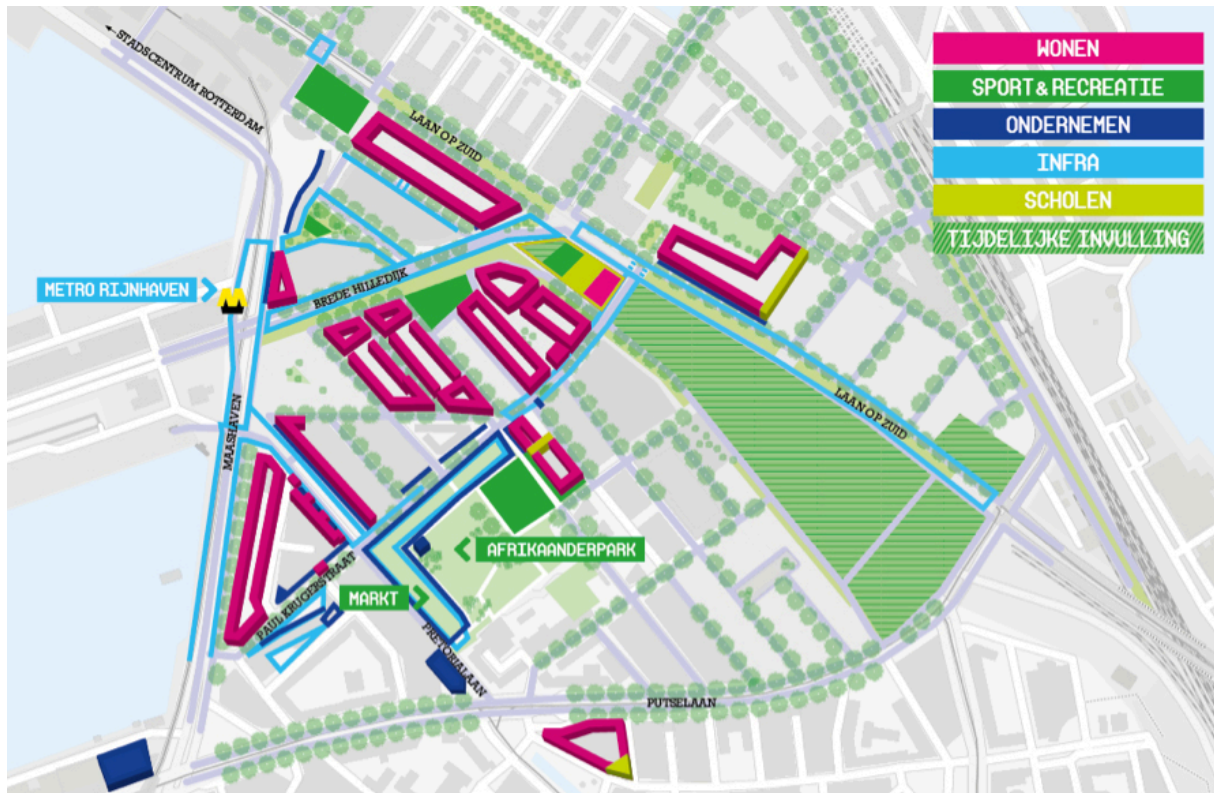


Figure 11 Planning of state led gentrification in the Afrikaanderwijk. The pink blocks are planned renovation and new build housing. (Source: Vestia Rotterdam Feijenoord, 2014)

Chapter 4: Methods

The intentions of this research, the theoretical framework and context are made clear in chapters 1, 2 and 3. Now it is time to provide more background about the methods used in this thesis. Paragraph 4.1 is about the general orientation towards the research: research strategy and research design. Paragraph 4.2 clarifies the research methods and operationalization and does this also for every research question. Paragraph 4.3 introduces the definitions and gives some more information on the operationalization. Paragraph 4.4. is about reliability, validity and the limitations of this research.

4.1 Research strategy and research design

A qualitative research strategy is chosen as a general orientation to the conduct of this research. It emphasizes words rather than quantification. The data that is collected will consist of words, which are analyzed to answer the research questions. There is an inductive relationship between theory and data, because the aim of this research is to give insights to build upon out of the data, instead of testing theory as is common in the deductive tradition. The process of induction involves drawing general inferences out of observations (Bryman, 2012, p. 26). This thesis started with a theoretical framework, but following the data analysis it is checked whether or not the results of this research correspond with the theory presented in the theoretical framework.

The research design of this thesis is a case study design, because it entails a detailed and intensive analysis of a single case, the Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam. This thesis is concerned with the nature of this case, in the sense that it investigated the gentrification in the Afrikaanderwijk, especially the way it impacts a specific group of residents. The Afrikaanderwijk serves as a representative or exemplifying case (Bryman, 2012, p. 70), because the developments in the neighborhood are part of a bigger state led gentrification movement in pre and postwar Dutch neighborhoods.

Inherent to a qualitative research strategy are some epistemological considerations and traditions in which this study is embedded. Where quantitative research is based on a positivist fundament, qualitative research is based on interpretivism (Bryman, 2012, p.28). This tradition is founded on the view that the subject matter in social science is fundamentally different from that of the natural sciences. The main point is that positivist approaches emphasize the explanation of human behavior and interpretivist views emphasize the understanding of human behavior. This understanding is derived from the German word 'verstehen', introduced by Max Weber in the 19th century. These studies are also categorized as hermeneutical-phenomenological, because central in this tradition is the interpretation of human action. It is concerned with the question how individuals make sense of their social world (Bryman, 201, p. 30). In order to understand the meaning of a person's behavior, this study attempts to see things from the resident's point of view.

Besides epistemological considerations there is also the position this study takes in ontological considerations. This study is rooted in the notion of constructivism, which means that the visible social world is not pre-given but that the social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors (Bryman, 2012, p. 33). Accordingly, this thesis assumes that neighborhoods, especially gentrifying ones, are constantly changed by the actors and that conceptualizations of gentrification by residents are constantly established, renewed, perceived etcetera.

4.2 Research methods

The collection of the data of this thesis draws on qualitative research methods, specifically qualitative interviewing. Most of the data is collected by fieldwork, only a little information is collected by desk research. The data to answer the research questions was collected in the Afrikaanderwijk. Desk research is used to get some background information about the neighborhood, for example information on the population or to collect some basic neighborhood statistics.

The interviewing part consisted of 21 semi-structured in-depth interviews with residents who lived through gentrification in the Afrikaanderwijk. Most of them took 50 to 60 minutes, with two exceptions of 25 and 35 minutes. One interview is a double interview with two respondents at the same time and took 70 minutes. These interviews are the main source of data for this thesis and most of the answers

of research questions are drawn on these interviews. As a tool to make talking about gentrification easier and to be sure that residents understand what is meant by gentrification, pictures of the gentrified parts of the neighborhood and a map with gentrification efforts are shown. A purposive sample is used to find participants for the semi-structured interviews. Participants were assumed to live in the neighborhood before the gentrification started and they are supposed to experience the process of gentrification. Residents that lived through gentrification with different socio economic and ethnic backgrounds were selected for interviewing.

By using different gatekeepers in combination with the snowball technique potential participants were approached. In order to select participants from different social groups, different gatekeepers from different social settings were asked to help the researcher finding respondents. The participation worker of the neighborhood provided 3 residents to interview and the worker from the coffee corner of community center 't Klooster provided 2 participants. A resident who the researcher met at a neighborhood event has been interviewed herself and she provided 3 other participants. Another gatekeeper was the head of the community garden Afrikaandertuin at the Jacominastraat. He provided 3 participants, of which one provided 3 other respondents. Also another community garden worker of the organization Creatief Beheer provided me 2 more respondents, who provided me one other respondent. Also the postman of the neighborhood provided two respondents, of which one connected to another respondent from her network. This makes 21 respondents.

The respondents have different economic and ethnic backgrounds. There were 10 Dutch respondents, 2 Eastern European (former Yugoslavia, Romanian), 1 middle European respondent (Italian), 3 Turkish respondents, 2 Moroccan respondents, and 1 respondent from the Cape Verdean Islands, 2 from the Dutch Antilles (Aruban, Curacao) and one Surinamese respondent. This means roughly half of the sample (9 respondents) is from a Dutch background and the other half (11 respondents) are from different ethnic minorities. Most of them live on a low income¹: 14 respondents earn less than 1383 euro's a month. Another 4 respondents have a medium income and another 3 have a high income.

In the next paragraphs the research methods and operationalization are described for every sub research question separately.

4.2.1 Sub research question 1

How does gentrification influence the perception of public space and facilities of residents living through gentrification?

As seen in the previous chapter there can be tensions between old and new residents regarding the public space and facilities in the neighborhood (Madanipour, 2010, Belanger, 2012). Public space gets reformed to fit the taste of the new inhabitants and shops get displaced by more expensive stores, or start catering for the new residents. The method to get this question answered drives on semi-structured in depth interviews with residents on their subjective experiences of public space and facilities in a gentrifying neighborhood. With public space in this thesis being squares, parks, streets and the like. Facilities are mainly stores, but also community centers or leisure facilities. In order to be clear about what is meant by gentrified public space and facilities, interviewees are showed three pages of picture to which they could refer in order to give examples and be more specific. The theme is divided in three subthemes that respondents are asked about:

1. Use of the changed public space and facilities

This subtheme is about whether or not residents use the changed public space and new facilities in their neighborhood. First is indicated which neighborhood facilities and public spaces are used by the respondent. Some basic themes discussed are:

- Use of public space and facilities

¹ For income classifications the classification of the CBS Regional Incomes is used. Incomes are measured per household. Low income is a maximum income of 1383 euro's a month, a medium income is maximal 2208 euro's a month, and a high income is all incomes higher than 2208 euro's a month.

- Use of gentrified stores
- Changes in use by gentrification

2. Feelings about the changed public space and facilities

This subtheme is about how residents feel about the public space and facilities in the neighborhood during and after the gentrification. Some basic themes discussed are:

- Feelings about gentrified public space and facilities
- Changes respondents experience

3. Tensions about the changed public space and facilities

This subtheme goes a step further than the previous subtheme about feelings. It zooms in on possible tensions about the public space and facilities from the viewpoint of the original residents. A limitation of this part is that this study doesn't examine the feelings of the new residents about this, so it is only one side of the coin. Some basic themes discussed are:

- Places that don't exist anymore because of gentrification or are taken over by new residents
- Perceived differences in patterns of use between old and new residents
- Suitability of the gentrified facilities for the neighborhood

Inherent to using the method of semi-structured interviewing is exploring. This means that the researcher not only asked these questions outlined above, but that she also had leeway to follow the train of thought of the interviewee and explored the concepts that residents add to the list outlined above. This accounts also for the other sub-questions in paragraph 4.2.2 and 4.2.3.

4.2.2 Sub research question 2

How do residents who live through gentrification in de Afrikaanderwijk experience attachment to the neighborhood and identity built upon the neighborhood now their environment is changing?

As became clear in the previous chapter, place attachment and identity are based on a sense of belonging to the place where someone lives. It is built on the use of the neighborhood for daily activities and historical narratives (Blokland, 2009), but also on past experiences, ideas and culture (Dekker & Bolt, 2005). Semi-structured interviews have been conducted to collect the data to provide an answer to this question. To be more specific, residents were asked about three subthemes relating to place attachment and identity:

1. Sense of belonging

This element is derived from the work of Blokland (2009), who states that a sense of belonging to a neighborhood is important to get attached to a place and to merge personal identity and the place where one lives. In order to measure 'sense of belonging' some basic themes are discussed:

- (Changed) neighborhood attachment
- Sense of belonging, feeling at home and being an 'Afrikaanderwijker'
- (Changed) feelings of belonging?

2. Symbolic bond to people

This subtheme comes from Kearns and Forrest (2000) who defined a symbolic bond to people as a measure for place attachment and identity. Basic themes and questions about this theme are:

- Perception of new residents
- Perceived difference between the old and new inhabitants
- Relations and contacts with new residents

3. Sense of security

This subtheme is also defined by Kearns and Forrest (2000) to constitute elements of place attachment and identity as a dimension of social cohesion. Basic themes and questions about this theme are:

- Feelings of security
- Changes in feelings of security by gentrification

4.2.3 Sub research question 3

To what extent do the values of non-gentrifying residents and the perceived differences in values of the new residents influence the perception of the neighborhood?

Common values are defined by Kearns and Forrest (2000) as a dimension of social cohesion. With common values is meant that people have a set of values that enables them to support common aims and objectives and share a common set of moral principles and codes of behavior through which they conduct their relations with one another. To answer the question about common values, residents are asked about their own values and the way they see differences in values with new residents. Semi-structured interviews are conducted, in which residents are asked about three subthemes: common codes of behavior (1), participation (2) and tolerance (3).

1. Common codes of behavior

Common codes of behavior are part of the common values aspect of social cohesion as defined by Kearns and Forrest (2000). Basic questions asked about this theme are:

- Different codes of behavior in the neighborhood because of gentrification
- Differences in behavior between old and new residents
- Adjustment of behavior after the gentrification

2. Participation

Participation is also mentioned by Kearns and Forrest (2000) as part of the common values aspect of social cohesion. Basic questions asked about this theme are:

- Responsibility for the Afrikaanderwijk
- Participation of old residents and perceived participation of new residents

3. Tolerance

Dekker and Bolt (2005) defined tolerance as an important indicator of common values. Here is focused mainly on tolerance of outcomes of gentrification.

- Feelings about gentrification
- Boundaries to tolerance

Access to public space & facilities			Perception of the neighbourhood			Place attachment & identity			Common values		
Use	Feelings	Tensions	Sense of belonging	Symbolic bond to people	Sense of security	Common codes of behavior	Participation	Tolerance			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Which public spaces and facilities do you use? - Do you shop at new stores? - In what way gentrification change your use of playgrounds/stores/community centers? - Which are places where you used to go or pass through that you now avoid? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What do you think about the new public space/facilities? - To what extent do you experience a change in public space and facilities after gentrification? - Do you think the new facilities/public space improve the neighborhood? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Are there places where you used to go that do not exist anymore due to gentrification? - What are the differences in patterns of use between old and new residents? - To what extent do you find the new facilities suitable for everyone? - Are there any facilities in the neighborhood that you feel are taken over by new residents? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How would you describe your neighborhood attachment and has this changed since gentrification? - Do you consider yourself an "Afrikaanderwijkler" or do you see the neighborhood just as a place to live? - In what way has gentrification impacted your feeling of belonging? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What do you think of the new residents? - What is the difference between the old and new inhabitants in the way you relate to them and have contact with them? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What factors contribute to your feelings of safety in the neighbourhood? - What factors detract from your feelings of safety in the neighbourhood? - In what way has gentrification changed your feelings of safety? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In what way, if any, has gentrification led to different codes of behavior in the neighbourhood? - What are the differences in behavior between old and new residents? - In what way have you adjusted your behavior after the gentrification? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In what way do you feel responsible for the Afrikaanderwijk and how do you express that? - Do you feel capable to participate to solve problems in the neighbourhood? - How do old and new residents participate in the neighborhood and what are the differences? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How do you feel about the adjustments made in the neighborhood to accommodate the needs for housing and facilities of the new inhabitants? - How do you feel about the new residents? Do you think you would lose them since the gentrification or things that would make you angry when you would loose them to gentrification? 			

Figure 12 Themes of research, sub themes and interview questions.

4.3 Definitions and operationalization

Although most concepts are defined in the previous section on operationalization, there are some concepts left that need to be defined or outlined. It is for example important to know what is meant by the neighborhood, neighborhood perception, and also who residents living through gentrification actually are. This section is important in order to define what is part of this research and provide background information on how some concepts are used.

4.3.1 The neighborhood

In this thesis the Afrikaanderwijk, a neighborhood in Rotterdam, is the unit of analysis. The term neighborhood refers in this thesis to the named area inside administrative boundaries.

4.3.2 Residents that live through gentrification

Because the Afrikaanderwijk is in the middle of the gentrification process, it is hard to define which residents are living through gentrification. Some people are able to stay in their own house in the neighborhood, but others get displaced initially but found a new house in the neighborhood. Others do still live in the neighborhood, but already know they are going to be displaced in the future. And then there is the group that knows they have to move and are actively trying to move to another neighborhood. In the meantime all these different types of residents experience the process of gentrification. In this thesis residents that live through gentrification are considered residents that lived in the neighborhood for at least three years and experience the process in their daily lives. They should be renters, because when they purchased a home in the time of gentrification they can also be considered gentrifiers. Some interviewed residents know they might get displaced from 2020 on. These residents are also residents considered to live through gentrification, because they don't get immediately displaced and do have to live in a changed neighborhood for quite a few years.

4.3.3 Public space and facilities

Public space is seen in this thesis as every space where residents can freely move, even though it might be owned by someone (Minton, 2006). Residents are interviewed about facilities such as the parks, playgrounds, community centers, community gardens, shops, cafés, restaurants and anything

else they come up with themselves. Gentrified facilities are in this thesis: the Pretoriablock (with new stores and restaurants), Raaf, the eco-playground and Damage Playground (sustainable clothing).



Figure 13 Gentrified facilities: Raaf, eco-playground and stores and restaurants in the Pretoriablock

4.3.4 Operationalization of neighborhood perception

In this thesis social cohesion is used as a mediator variable for neighborhood perception. The used concepts 'place attachment and identity' and 'common values' are dimensions of social cohesion. So social cohesion helps to get to know more about how residents perceive their neighborhood. The way this mediator variable is used is emulated from other research. Sampson (2009, p. 14) for example researched perceived social disorder by assessing three different elements of an area: observed disorder, social position and the racial composition. According to the author these elements lead to perceived social disorder. This example shows how the concept 'perceived disorder' is divided into three researchable variables, and also how researchers use other variables to create their own theoretical construction to get to know more about a specific construct. Sampson in essence wanted to know about the abstract concept of perceived disorder and researched three elements of neighborhood social organization. Because perception is also such a construct, the basis of this thesis is a comparable theoretical construction used to explore how residents regard, understand and interpret their living environment, in other words how they perceive their neighborhood. Perception of the neighborhood is measured by assessing different elements of a gentrified neighborhood that residents who live through gentrification encounter. Social cohesion is used as a mediator variable, because it consists of different constituting components regarding how people experience their neighborhood (Kearns & Forrest, 2000). The components are the perceived access to the gentrified spaces, attachment to the neighborhood and common values with the new inhabitants.

4.4 Reliability, validity and limitations of the research

For the evaluation of the quality of research there are different criteria. Some are very general and more based on quantitative research, such as reliability, replication and validity. But these are also widely used to evaluate qualitative research (Bryman, 2013). In this section the different criteria are elaborated on in order to give insight in the reliability and limitations of this research.

Reliability in social research is concerned with the question whether the measured devised for concepts are consistent (Bryman, 2013, p. 47). This is more of an issue in quantitative research, because it is about how to measure concepts with variables. More of issue for this research is the criterion of validity. Validity concerns the integrity of conclusions that are generated from a specific research (Bryman, 2013, p. 47). There are different types of validity: internal validity, external validity and ecological validity.

Internal validity is concerned with the question whether a conclusion that incorporates a causal relationship between two or more variables holds water (Bryman, 2013, p. 47), or in qualitative research how the match is between the researchers' observations and the theoretical ideas developed (p. 390). This is usually a strong point of qualitative research, because the time the researcher spends in the neighborhood. This thesis is written going back and forth between the research area conducting interviews and the theoretical framework. Also the researcher has spent around six weeks conducting interviews in the area. This fits to this criterion of spending time and drawing conclusions based on the literature.

Another criterion is external validity, a concern in all qualitative research because it is based on the question whether the results can be generalized beyond the specific research context (Bryman, 2013, p. 47). It is a limitation of this research that the outcomes cannot be generalized. Qualitative research has the tendency to focus on the small scale and provide a lot of details on one single case. Also purposive sampling is used, so the sample is not representative. Unless the fact that generalization is difficult, qualitative research has other qualities that might compensate. It is for example a way to really understand what is happening in gentrifying neighborhoods instead of only measuring the outcomes.

Ecological validity is concerned with the question whether the findings of the research are applicable to people's everyday life, because often people behave different when they are the subjects of research. In case of interviews people might give political correct answers. In this research this can be a limitation, because they could say different things than they think, because they might want to say things that the researcher wants to hear or example be afraid to look stupid when they say they avoid gentrified places. This issue was tried to be diminished by making clear that the research is about the perception of the respondents themselves and everything else doesn't matter, but it remains hard to control if they really told what they think.

There are also some limitations concerning the data collected. The division of ethnic backgrounds of respondents is not in proportion with the ethnic division of the neighborhood. In the sample are for example 3 out of 21 respondents Turkish, while for the Afrikaanderwijk as a whole it is 33 percent. This makes it hard to generalize, but also hard to draw conclusions about different views by different ethnicities, because the Dutch respondents are with 9 respondents overrepresented. This is the same with age. Residents between 40 and 60 are overrepresented compared to younger and older respondents.

Another thing that influenced the data is the fact that sometimes respondents didn't understand the questions, because they were not used to the words of the interviewer (even though it was attempted to keep everything as simple as possible) or some immigrant respondents who encountered language barriers. Whenever a respondent didn't understand the question the researcher had no other option than ask the questions in a different way or giving examples. This can be seen as the researcher 'laying words in the mouth of respondents', which can influence the outcomes of the thesis. It has been attempted to limit this as much as possible and when it happened the respondents were asked if they could come up with additional examples themselves.

It can be concluded that this thesis has its strengths and weaknesses concerning the data and quality of the research. Weaknesses occur because due to the case study design it is hard to generalize findings. Also ecological validity might be of risk, because the data is not always in proportion with the neighborhood characteristics and given the fact that for some respondents it was hard to understand the questions. Strengths of the research are internal reliability, because the researcher spent a lot of time in the neighborhood and talked thoroughly with people by conducting semi-structured interviews. This makes that findings are highly compatible with the concepts from the literature used.

Chapter 5: Public space and facilities in a gentrifying neighborhood

Because access to public space and facilities is important for the perception of the neighborhood of residents, the respondents that are living through gentrification are asked about their use of public space and facilities and how they feel about this and the tensions that occur. This chapter will answer the first sub question to what extent gentrification does influence the perception of public space and facilities of residents living through gentrification. Respondents are asked to indicate if they experience changes in public space and which facilities they use and whether or not they experience a change now the Afrikaanderwijk is gentrifying. These findings are elaborated on in paragraph 5.1. Paragraph 5.2 is about the feelings respondents have about the changes in public space and the new facilities that are in their neighborhood due to gentrification. Paragraph 5.3 reveals findings on a few tensions that respondents encounter, although compared to the literature, not much tensions are present in the Afrikaanderwijk.

5.1 Public space in the changing Afrikaanderwijk

5.1.1 Use of public space

Public spaces are nodes of social cohesion (Madanipour, 2010) and facilities create neighborhood attachment. This is definitely the case in the Afrikaanderwijk. Almost all respondents indicate they use the public space and facilities a lot. Some stay only in the areas relatively close to their homes, but most of them make a lot of use of public space. Almost all respondents use many different facilities, like the Klooster community center, the park, the pool, the shops and such. People with children do even use more facilities, like Vogelklas Karel Schot (an educative bird shelter), playground Afrikaanderplein and other facilities aimed at children. The respondents that do not use a lot of facilities, only a handful, also appear to know less about the things related to gentrification, like new public space and facilities, new inhabitants and future plans for the neighborhood. Most of them are older or people who are working during the day and therefore, spend less time in the neighborhood.

Because the Afrikaanderwijk is still in the process of gentrification it is not the case that all public space is modified for the gentrifiers as Minton (2006) stated. It is still possible for the old residents to use the same public spaces, without feeling excluded, because not so much has changed yet. Madanipour (2004) states that non-gentrifying residents often keep on using public space, because due to their lack of mobility those are their only resources. Most respondents indeed spend a lot of time in the neighborhoods' public spaces, because they are not very mobile and don't have the resources to go to other places in the city. But it is not the case that they keep on using the spaces, even though they face the risk of being excluded or think the places are not for them, as stated by Freeman (2006).

The old residents actually dominate the public spaces of the Afrikaanderwijk, simply because there are far more non-gentrifying residents in the neighborhood and because those are the ones that have time to be in public space. Another reason may be, that except from the new streets, there are not much elements that symbolize gentrification in public space. The only exception is the beginning of the shopping street Pretoriaaan, the entrance of the neighborhood. Here an old block of stores is renovated and restored to the style of the original architecture. In this residents understand the symbols of gentrification, which is analyzed in paragraph 5.2.2.

Gentrification doesn't seem to influence the use of the central public space of residents such as the main square, park and playground, but these are also the places that have changed the least. The biggest change is visible in the gentrified streets where the environment transformed from old social housing units to single family dwellings. Many residents indicate that they don't come in the new streets because *'they have no reason for going there'* ("niets te zoeken") or they *'don't know anybody over there'*. Also there are not many facilities in the new streets, which is also a motive why some residents don't go to the area. As one respondent puts it:

"Ik kom er niet. Ja ik loop ik er langs met mijn kleinzoon met de fiets. (...) Er is daar niks gezelligs, heb je nou een leuk kroegje ofzo, dan trekt het. Wij hebben daar voor de nieuwbouw dertig jaar een kroeg gehad op die hoek. (...) De hele buurt zat er. Dat mot je hebben, stukkie kaas en een olienoot."

(Ria, female, Hillelaan, 58, low income, Dutch)

Most respondents don't need to go through the gentrified part in order to conduct their daily activities, because the new streets are for a large part separated from the old houses. Some streets are mixed, with old houses and new houses, and some renovated streets also have new build social housing, but most of the old residents live on the other side of the Paul Krügerstraat, where no gentrification took place yet. This is illustrated by a respondent declaring she doesn't go to the gentrified streets:

Daphne: Op welke manier hebben de nieuwbouw en renovatie uw gebruik van de pleinen en straten veranderd?

Fatima: Niet. Ik kom niet vaak bij de nieuwbouw.

Daphne: Maar heeft het uw gebruik van andere plekken in de wijk veranderd?

Fatima: Nee ik blijf meestal aan deze kant (zuid, red.). Dus ik merk er niet veel van.

(Fatima, female, Bothastraat, 39, low income, Moroccan)

5.1.2 Feelings about public space

In the previous paragraph it became clear that many respondents don't see the new streets and public space as a place where they should go, because they have no reason for going there. There are no facilities, or they don't pass through it in their daily activity patterns. This closely links to how they feel about the new spaces. It became clear from the interviews that most old residents don't feel connected to the new public space and don't see it as theirs, like they do with the other parts of the neighborhood. So this shows that residents can feel a sense of separation from the gentrified parts of an area (Atkinson, 2000). Some even call it 'a different neighborhood', because they feel it is not part of their environment anymore now it has changed so much.

"Het is toch een andere wijk. Wij hebben er geen band mee. Misschien om een keer te kijken van ja leuk, maar ik weet niet wie die mensen zijn en of ik ze kan vertrouwen."

(Yvette, female, Martinus Steinstraat, 50, medium income, Dutch)

There are a few respondents who are not enthusiastic about the new streets. Only two respondents express negative feelings about the changed streets. They feel it is a little cold and inhospitable, or not green enough.

"Ik heb er geen goed woord voor die nieuwbouw (...) Je ken daar, vind ik, doodgaan en dat niemand naar je omkijkt. (...) je ziet er nooit geen mens. Het zijn net van die weermannetjes weetje wel? Van deurtje open, deurtje dicht en wegwezen."

(Mw. Vervoort, female, Hilledijk, 78, low income, Dutch)

"Het is zo kaal. Ik zou zo graag meer groen willen. Ik hoop dat die nieuwe bewoners de tuintjes nog een beetje op gaan fleuren."

(Paul, male, Christiaan de Wetstraat, 57, low income, Dutch)

Other respondents, of which most of them live closer to the renovated streets, expressed feelings of appreciation. To them it feels inclusive, because in some streets also social housing is built. So residents living there, or the ones knowing people who do, see it in a different way:

Meriam: Het wordt steeds netjeser en alles wordt gerenoveerd of nieuwgebouwd en er komen nieuwe mensen wonen en mensen van hier. Ik vind het wel interessant.

Daphne: En vindt u dat de publieke ruimte er anders uit ziet sinds de nieuwbouw en renovatie?

Meriam: Ja veel netter en nieuwer. Mooier.

(Melek, female, Cronjéstraat, 39 jaar, low income, Turkish)

Although some respondents perceive only differences in the gentrified parts, others also feel that the neighborhood as a whole has changed by the gentrification. The ones that experience this are all quite positive. Maybe it fosters their pride that the neighborhood looks nicer, as Doucet and colleagues (2011) found that residents of the Afrikaanderwijk felt proud about the flagship developments at the Kop van Zuid, a revitalized waterfront area north of the Afrikaanderwijk.

Umberto: Kijk, vroeger was het gewoon niet gezellig hier. Nu is het beter. Het is vooruitgegaan sinds de renovatie.

Daphne: Waar merkt u dat aan?

Umberto: Ja het ziet er anders en meer openbaar uit. Openbare plaatsen zijn goed opgeruimd, overal is een doelstelling aan gegeven.

(Umberto, Male, Tweebosstraat, 56, low income, Dutch Antilles)

Annabella: Het heeft zo'n chique allure gekregen nu, dat het de hele entree van de wijk wel een oppepper geeft. Dat vind ik wel leuk

Daphne: Vindt u dat de nieuwe voorzieningen de wijk verbeteren?

Annabella: Nouja voor nieuwe doelgroepen is het geschikt en dat is wel fijn, waardoor je met de nieuwbouw waarschijnlijk ook weer andere groepen aantrekt.

Daphne: En vind je het geschikt voor iedereen?

Annabella: Nee, maar dat maakt het juist goed. Je kan niet een voorziening hebben voor alle bewoners, een beetje differentiatie is juist goed. (...) Als je nou zes belwinkels hebt op een plek is dat geen goed visitekaartje. Dit is veel unieker, voor de nieuwe mensen hier en waarschijnlijk trekt het ook mensen uit heel Rotterdam.

(Annabella, female, Hillelaan, 38, high income, Italian)

Annabella recognizes that the gentrification of the Afrikaanderwijk excludes people, and even though she is an old resident, she perceives this as a good thing to help the neighborhood move forward. This illustrates the way more residents feel about gentrification in their neighborhood. They like the new developments because it makes the neighborhood more equal to the rest of Rotterdam in terms of mix and differentiation. This is in line with the literature, for example with Freeman (2006) who says gentrification can lead to normalization after years of disinvestment. Residents see that also the government and the housing corporation see the area as important to invest in and this gives them hope for the future.

5.2 Facilities in a changing Afrikaanderwijk

When speaking about facilities residents have much more to say, compared to their views on public space. This is probably because facilities are much more tangible. It is remarkable that the respondents can be divided in two groups: the group that barely uses any facilities and the group that uses a lot of facilities. If people for example use the park, they are likely to also use the market, the community center and the shops in the neighborhood. Also the feelings differ. Most of the residents have nothing against the changes in facilities aimed at gentrifiers, but don't use them themselves. Others have used the new facilities, but also understand that other residents have trouble with affordability and accessibility. And some are very enthusiastic about it; this last group uses the new facilities a lot.

5.2.1 Use of facilities

It can be concluded that the facilities in the Afrikaanderwijk are very much used by non-gentrifying residents. With no exception all respondents with little children or grandchildren use playground Afrikaanderplein. Except for one respondent, all interviewed people use the shops in the neighborhood. Almost all respondents use the market and the stores in the neighborhood, except for one respondent that states her husband does all the shopping. Most of the respondents used the community center 't Klooster, except 3 people with a medium to high-income and except one older respondent who wasn't mobile enough. The reasons the higher income residents didn't use 't Klooster is the fact that most activities are during the day, when they are at work. And one of them has another reason:

"Ik behoor niet echt tot de groep die naar buurthuizen gaat. Maar ik weet ook niet wat ik ervan vindt, vaak zit er een groep Marokkaanse mannen aan de voorste tafels, dat is dan wel een drempel."

(Elma, female, Beyerstraat, 62, high income, Dutch)

Only a few other respondents state that they are reluctant to use some facilities because of ethnic divisions in the neighborhood. They feel it is a pity that the neighborhood has gained so much ethnic facilities over the years and don't feel comfortable using them.

Daphne: En maakt u gebruik van de markt?

Mw. Vervoort: Nee niet zoveel. Het is allemaal buitenland geworden. Ik koop er appels bij m'n vaste groenteboer en brood bij het stoepje, maar voor de rest, ik heb er niets te zoeken met al die buitenlanders. Zonde hoor.

(Mevr Voorthuis, female, Hilledijk, 78, Dutch, low income)

However, most of the general facilities are used by respondents from different cultural backgrounds. But certain places are typified as places for one certain group: the teahouse in the park is for example for Turkish ladies, and the coffeehouse in the Paul Krügerstraat for the Moroccan men. These are the places where respondents from another ethnic background don't go. Also the Afrikaanderpark is such a place. It is remarkable that especially the few Turkish and Moroccan respondents in the sample state they use the park a lot, while other ethnicities in the sample say to use the park 'not at all', 'only sometimes' or 'only when there are events'. A few years before the gentrification started the park has been upgraded in order to make it more suitable for different groups, but it is not the case that different groups use it. This has not so much to do with gentrification right now, but this may change when the developments are finished, because then there are expected to be less Turkish and Moroccan groups and more gentrifiers. Maybe even the other groups start using the park again once gentrification makes the park look different.



Figure 14 Afrikaanderpark

“Ik vind het park fantastisch, veel mensen die ik ken maken er gebruik van. Met kinderen, voor sporten, zitten op een dekentje. En vooral omdat onze markt echt in de buurt is en dan kan je gelijk inkopen wat je wil.”

(Meriam, female, Bothastraat, 39, low income, Turkish)

Most of the people do not use the park because they are not satisfied with it.

“In dat park is ook niks te beleven eigenlijk. Dooie boel. Ja, als het mooi weer is zitten ze (Turken, red.) er allemaal te barbecueën, maar daar ga ik ook niet tussen zitten.”

(Ria, female, Hillelaan, 58, low income, Dutch)

“Het park is echt verschrikkelijk, met al die hekken eromheen. Het ziet eruit alsof het geen park meer is, alsof je er niet mag spelen en met een nagelschaartje elk grassprietje is geknipt. Het is een 'kijk-naar-mij-park. (...) Vroeger was het een groot bosrijk gebied en er was veel overlast van junkies en hangjongeren en toen hebben ze er hekken om geplaatst en het overzichtelijk gemaakt. Maar of dat nou echt nodig was...”

(Annabella, female, Hillelaan, 38, high income, Italian)

“Het is een functionele ruimte, maar geen aantrekkelijke plek. Het leeft niet. Het heeft zoveel geld gekost om het op te knappen en nu is het net een gevangenis.”

(Zelda, female, Pretoriaan, 51, medium income, Romanian)

Of all the facilities touched upon in the interviews, the Afrikaanderpark can be considered the most criticized, mainly because of the physical and emotional barriers of the fence and the occupation of just members from the Islamic culture. It became clear that residents appreciate efforts to improve a central amenity as this park, but for many it doesn't appear attractive to use the space for their daily activities. This resonates the findings in a case study of Bélanger (2012), who found that non-gentrifying residents really liked a new gentrified park, but most of them didn't use it. They didn't have the feeling of belonging in the park as much as other people or as much as they used to belong before the gentrification.

5.2.2 Feelings about gentrified facilities

When asked about gentrified facilities, respondents mainly talked about the change in retail and

restaurants, especially the gentrified block at the beginning of the Pretoriaaan. These restaurants and shops can be considered the most gentrified facilities, because in the other facilities mentioned before the gentrification is not so visible yet.

The influx of new inhabitants leads to different consumption patterns in the neighborhood (Spain, 1993). The gentrifiers for example, are preoccupied with the consumption of fresh, healthy food and recreation. Although the Afrikaanderwijk has many amenities, the stores are mainly selling different kinds of ethnic produce. But the starting gentrification has led to a change in shops and restaurants. A few new stores established in the neighborhood. For example one with sustainable clothing, a gallery, a gentrified Antillean restaurant, an arty café, an organic food store and a hip coffee place where they also sell home made marmalade. These are items that are generally not consumed much in the Afrikaanderwijk. When asking people if they use these new shops, most of them say no. Reasons given are mainly financial and the perceived accessibility.

Daphne: Maakt u gebruik van de nieuwe winkels?

Emma: Nee financieel kom ik daar niet aan toe. In het verleden had ik het wel gedaan. Alles wat nieuw is, is aantrekkelijk. Maar even een proefje nemen is financieel nu niet haalbaar.
(Emma, female, 59, Hilledijk, low income, Yugoslavian)

Many residents indicated that they feel the gentrified stores are not accessible to them, for example because they are different than what they are used to or they do not feel welcome. This finding is comparable to Freemans' finding (2006) that longtime residents in his research did not feel welcome in the new restaurants.

“Als ze nou leuke aanbiedingen hadden dan zou ik wel gaan kijken, Maar ik zie ook geen uithangbord die je welkom heet ofzo.”

(Roel, male, 26, Bloemfonteinstraat, medium income, Dutch)

Ria: Nieuwe winkeltjes is wel gunstig natuurlijk, maar dit is niet mijn doelgroep zeg maar.

Daphne: Voor welke doelgroep denkt u dat het is?

Ria: Meer voor studenten is. Beetje, kil, koel, eng. Mij trekt het niet, maar ik ziet het wel liever dan beluizen en weetkhetwat. (...) Het is wel gevarieerd enzo, maar ik heb niet zoiets van daar gaat ik morgen even de deur platlopen, dat nou ook weer niet. Ik ben een keer bij die Satéman geweest, denk gaat eens kijken of ie pasteitjes heeft. Zegt ie, ik ben al uitverkocht, om 11 uur en er zit geen kip binnen! Dan denk je ook, ja dat zal wel. Ik gaat er niet meer heen. Daag. Nee mijn doelgroepen zijn het niet. (...) Laat ik het zo zeggen. Bij dat zaakje hier om de hoek zitten ze opeens met 20 man. Er staat wel een bord buiten dat je er kan eten, maar voor de rest staat er helemaal niks bij. Heel onduidelijk. Wie ken er eten? Wie ken er niet eten? Wat hebben ze te eten?”

(Ria, female, Hillelaan, 58, low income, Dutch)

“Van de nieuwe winkels maak ik geen gebruik. Ten eerste ken ik ze niet. (...) Het is allemaal zo vreemd omdat je het niet gewend bent. Alleen ken ik het niet. Ook niet wat ze daar hebben.”

(Paul, male, Christiaan de Wetstraat, 57, low income, Dutch)

From this quotes can be concluded that the interviewed residents feel a little bit excluded from the new stores, because they do not immediately understand what they offer because it is hard to see from the outside. They perceive the stores as closed or unclear, because they are used to signs in front of stores with offers. This they see as a confirmation that the stores are not for them. This is in line with what Doucet (2009) found: residents that live through gentrification sometimes like the new retail, but often perceive it as being 'not for them'.

There are also some respondents that emphasize that they are positive about the new stores and say that they might go visit the shops in the near future. Because the stores sell something that is not common in the Afrikaanderwijk they are curious, but also feel reluctant to go inside, because they don't know the products they sell and feel that it is not necessarily aimed at the old residents.

“Ik vind het best interessant. Ze hebben ook die Antillianen-eten en die Satéman. Alleen moeten we er wel gebruik van gaan maken af en toe. (...) Misschien ga ik wel een keer met een groepje vriendinnen

kijken daarbinnen.”

(Meriam, female, Cronjéstraat, 39, Turkish, low income)

Hussam: Ik ben ook nieuwsgierig en ik wil wel gaan, maar ben nog niet geweest. Ik ga zeker nog daarbinnen en vragen wat ze daar doen.

Daphne: Waarom heeft u dat nog niet gedaan?

Hussam: Het ziet er een beetje dicht uit. Het geeft niet echt een open huis gedachte. Ik weet niet wat de mensen daar doen. Misschien maken ze eten en bezorgen ze het aan de andere kant van de brug ofzo. Maar ik ben wel nieuwsgierig om nog langs te gaan.

(Hussam, male, Bothastraat, 44, Moroccan, low income)

Especially the remark of Hussam that he thinks a restaurant caters for ‘people from the other side of the bridge’ shows his feeling that the restaurant is catering a different clientele, because Rotterdam is divided by a river, and the South bank where the Afrikaanderwijk is situated, generally houses people from lower socio-economic classes compared to the North bank.

There are also a few residents that went to the new stores. They said they went there out of curiosity, but that they immediately understood that it is not affordable or accessible for many other old residents.

“Ik ben er wel geweest. Ik heb er jam gekocht, kostte 6,50. Dat kopen mensen hier niet zo makkelijk.”
(Umberto, male, Tweebosstraat, 56, low income, Dutch Antilles)

“Puur als bewoners stap ik er makkelijk binnen, ik ben op zoek naar nieuwe prikkels. Ambachtelijke producten. Hoe meer er gevestigd wordt, hoe leuker voor de wijk. (...) Maar je zit nog steeds met het draagvlak. Mensen hebben gewoon een kleine beurs, dus er moeten creatieve mensen komen die wat te bieden hebben en de prijzen moeten gewoon wat gangbaarder zijn.”

(Bernice, female, Hilledijk, 41, low income, Surinamese)

These findings are partly in line with the literature about the use of facilities of longtime residents in gentrifying neighborhoods. Also in the Afrikaanderwijk consumption patterns changed to stores and restaurants focused on food consumption and leisure, in other words, things gentrifiers like (Spain, 1993). The residents have to get used to it and have to see what they offer and then they might go and use these stores. As Freeman (2006) notes that residents do use some of the new stores and restaurants, even though they are different from what they are used to in his case study area. But they also complain about high prices and feel a little excluded because of the differentness of everything. In the Afrikaanderwijk residents feel the same way. They experience the changes in public space and facilities in a dualistic way (Doucet, 2009). On the one hand they are attached to their neighborhood and want it to improve, but on the other hand they fear their own displacement and exclusion.

Daphne: Vindt u de nieuwe winkels geschikt voor iedereen?

Yvette: Misschien voor hun (nieuwe bewoners, red) maar niet voor deze wijk. Je loopt er niet gauw binnen omdat je al ziet dat je ervoor gaat betalen. (...) Ik denk wel dat als er heel veel van die winkeltjes dure winkeltjes komen dat mensen wel in opspraak komen. Dan worden wij natuurlijk weggestopt, zo'n gevoel hebbie dan.

(Yvette, female, Martinus Steinstraat, 50, medium income, Dutch)

However, gentrification is still in an early stage in the Afrikaanderwijk and there are still enough stores that cater for the old residents and also enough different ethnic retail suitable for low incomes. This seems to be the reason why residents don't worry so much about the new retail catering for a different clientele. Moreover, because the Afrikaanderwijk is an ethnic neighborhood, people are used to different stores catering for different groups of people. They just perceive the gentrifiers as another group and some of them perceive the new store as improvements because with these additions the Afrikaanderwijk finally shows some Dutch culture, instead of only ethnic cultures.

“De gemiddelde Turkse huurder hier heeft er denk ik niks mee. Die heeft de portemonnee er niet voor. Maar is dat erg? Er zijn nog genoeg Turkse winkels over. Dat nieuwe blok staat aan de rand en kan gezien worden als een visitekaartje.”

(Elma, female, 62, Beyerstraat, high income, Dutch)

“Ja wel geschikt. Het moet een mengel zijn van alles. Hier wonen verschillende nationaliteiten en het is toch leuk als er voor iedereen verschillende restaurants en winkels zijn?”

(Rabia, female, Hillekopplein, 56, low income, Turkish)

Two respondents also typify the new restaurants as being for a different group, but they also have cultural and religious reasons. This illustrates how residents in the Afrikaanderwijk think in different groups and place themselves in the group of their ethnicity and see people from different ethnicities as ‘others’.

“Ik denk niet dat iedereen naar die plekken toe zou gaan. Ik denk dat het veel mensen uit mijn cultuur niet trekt. Het lijkt meer een Hollandse plek waar de Hollandse gemeenschap naartoe kan.”

(Osman, male, 24, Parallelweg, low income, Turkish)

“Nou het is niet mijn smaak. Ik weet niet, is dat satéman met kip of varken? Dat is ook een beetje probleem hier. Wij eten geen varkensvlees. En is het halal? We leven wel helemaal hier, maar iedereen gaat naar eigen restaurantje en winkels. Als het niet halal is, kun je het niet eten. Maar als het wel halal is, dan nog, in onze geloof moeten alle spullen apart zijn. Dan mogen we eten. Maar als ze dezelfde pan gebruiken voor lam en varken, we vertrouwen niet. Mensen willen wel even kijken, maar het gaat denk ik niet zo goed. Maar er zijn natuurlijk ook een hoop Nederlandse bewoners en die kunnen er wel naartoe. Maar voor een grote groep moslims hier is het niet geschikt.”

(Rabia, female, Hillekopplein, 56, low income, Turkish)

There is also a group of residents that really like the new shops, restaurants and other changes that are aimed at gentrifiers. Zukin (2008) states that facilities in gentrified areas are intended for specific sets of consumption practices; a space for consumers to perform their difference. These quotes are examples of situations where not only gentrifiers, but also non-gentrifiers perform their differences in the Pretoriaaan. Most of them earn a medium to high income or are higher educated and they use the new retail and restaurants.

“Op zaterdag gaan we naar de markt en dan gaan we hier (Bij Rotterdamse Confituur, red.) een kopje koffie drinken en een krantje lezen. (...) En de Raaf gaan we regelmatig naartoe en op dat nieuwe deel wonen ook een paar vriendinnen van mij. (...) Ik vind dat het er wel op vooruitgaat hoor (...) Het is nu nog niet zo'n grote groep (...) Maar dat het hier een grote, artistieke, levendige gebeuren wordt. Ja dat zou leuk zijn.”

(Margaret, female, Bloemfonteinstraat, 55, high income, Dutch)

“Mensen van de hele wijk komen nu naar de speeltuin hier voor de deur, omdat het een natuurspeeltuin is. Heel mooi. Ook mensen van de Kop van Zuid. Je merkt wel gelijk in de speeltuin dat het opleidingsniveau van de ouders hoger is. Dat is goed voor de wijk. (...) En de nieuwe biologische winkel is bijvoorbeeld heel bijzonder dat dat hier is. Dat had je hier vroeger niet. Ik ben blij met de ontwikkelingen. Het is niet vanuit de middelmaat. De jonge ondernemers brengen veel energie en hebben goede warden, bijvoorbeeld zuinig zijn op de natuur. Dat spreekt mij aan.”

(Elma, female, Beyerstraat, 62, high income, Dutch)

“Vorige week hadden we dag van het internationale restaurant en toen zag je dus heel veel yuppen. Was heel leuk. Het kan dus wel, zie je.”

(Bernice, female, Hilledijk, 41, low income, Surinamese)

These are examples of the few respondents that really liked the new gentrified facilities and are fervent users. These are mainly residents that have a higher income or are what Rose (1984) calls ‘money-poor-cultural-rich’, although not all of the respondents are money poor varying from low to high incomes. But one thing they have in common, is that they support the gentrification movement and may even become gentrifiers themselves. They now have a place where they can perform their difference and thereby contribute to the gentrification of the Afrikaanderwijk. They are ‘agents of change’ (Ehrenfeucht & Nelson, 2012).

5.2.3 Gentrified facilities: hope or fear?

It became clear that some residents fear the gentrification developments and others like it. A remarkable finding is that residents in the interviews started to compare the Afrikaanderwijk to an adjacent gentrified neighborhood, Katendrecht. Without asking any questions about this, residents started to talk how they hope the Afrikaanderwijk will become like Katendrecht, or, how they would hate it if this happens. So this says a lot about different feelings longtime residents have about gentrification. Mainly they talked about the public space and facilities.

“De nieuwe ondernemers trekken andere mensen aan, omdat ze iets bijzonders hebben. Het trekt ook een groep aan die hier nog niet veel is, maar langzaam begint te komen. Je hebt bijvoorbeeld de naar binnen gekeerde groepen, zoals zeg maar de Turken en de gewone burgerman, maar ook een extraverte groep. Die gaan veel naar buiten en uit. Vaak ook met kinderen. Nu wonen ze vooral op Katendrecht, maar dat is ook de groep die hier de koopwoningen koopt. De beleving van het centrum komt hier. Het wordt een interessante wijk voor die groep.”

(Elma, female, Beyerstraat, 62, higher income, Dutch)

“Kijk maar naar Katendrecht, daar was het vroeger ook levensgevaarlijk. Als er yuppen hier komen kunnen de mensen er wat van leren, ook zien dat het niet eng is om te veranderen. En ook voor de mensen die zich hier willen vestigen, geef je mensen het vertrouwen dat ze hier in de wijk kunnen komen wonen, want als de yuppen zich vestigen dan wordt het een goede wijk.”

(Bernice, female, Hilledijk, 41, low income, Surinamese)

These are examples of residents that really like the developments. It is not clear how to put this in context of literature. Mostly it is written that residents are dualistic about changes caused by gentrification and not highly enthusiastic. Because one of them talks about *‘the experience of the city center’*, it might be that gentrification fosters her pride, which is also described in the literature (Doucet et al, 2011). It is remarkable that when respondents compare the Afrikaanderwijk to Katendrecht they are not dualistic, but either positive or negative. Elma and Bernice are very positive, others describe it as their fear and some are only indignant.

“Mijn angst is dat het hier niet een Katendrecht gaat worden, want Katendrecht verliest zijn authenticiteit en het wordt een soort hippe plek. Dat hele Deliplein is een en al hippe plek (...) Maar hier moet het wel de Afrikaanderwijk blijven en levendig blijven met de Turkse en Marokkaanse gemeenschap en de oude Nederlanders.”

(Zelda, female, Pretoriaaan, 51, medium income, Romanian)

“Ik vind het een beetje worden zoals op Katendrecht. Vroeger was dat allemaal sfeer, kroegjes, leven in de brouwerij. En als je nu gaat kijken lijkt het een beetje op het nieuwe stukje hier. Niks aan”

(Ria, female, Hillelaan, 58, low income, Dutch)

5.3 Tensions

In the literature, most of the times it deals with the loss of places for long-time residents, when speaking about tensions around public space and facilities (Atkinson, 2000, Bélanger, 2012, Freeman, 2006, Madanipour, 2004, Minton, 2006). They can feel they lost public space, because they don't feel comfortable using the gentrified space, or they can feel that new facilities are not suitable for them. Residents are asked about places they used to go and now avoid, places that do not longer exist due to gentrification and whether or not they have the feeling that some places are taken over by new residents.

5.3.1 Lost places

Almost all the respondents were able to mention places where they used to go that are gone because of gentrification. Many respondents had daily activities in the social housing streets that now have been demolished. One respondent lost her atelier that she rented for a low price, another respondent misses the 'belhuis' (ethnic store for calling, internet and convenience) at the Jacominastraat where he went daily. Many respondents mention the loss of the drug store and the Chinese shop in the now renovated Pretoriablock. But no one expresses hard feelings about the loss of these stores. Most respondents say they regret it, but found another solution.

“Heel jammer dat ie weg is (drogist, red.) Bij de Maashaven is gelukkig nog wel een apotheek en voor de drogist kun je naar Zuidplein.”

(Meriam, female, 39, Cronjéstraat, low income, Turkish)

Most respondents indicate some shops they miss, but still think the gentrification is a good thing, because they believe it improves the neighborhood and the new shops lead to a more differentiated retail supply.

“Ik ziet dat de gemeente gewoon diversiteit binnen culturen wil hebben en dat daarom deze winkels zijn gekomen. Ik zie de ontwikkeling van nieuwe panden voor verschillende culturen, maar vroeger zag ik vooral Turkse dominantie van de wijk, gelukkig wordt dat doorbroken.”

(Hussam, male, 44, Bothastraat, low income, Moroccan)

Only one younger respondent says the gentrification movement makes him sad because he has lost so many places and he feels like he has no place to play football anymore. He rather would not see his neighborhood gentrified, but he is an exception in the sample.

“Ik heb liever niet dat het verbouwd zou worden. Het geeft een andere sfeer zeg maar. Ik heb ook veel herinneringen aan die plekken die nu weg zijn, zeg maar. Vooral hierachter in de straat hadden we een pleintje waar we elke dag gingen voetballen, En die hebben ze door die nieuwbouw gesloopt. En eigenlijk, in onze straat had je een trap om de hoek waar we met vrienden de hele dag gezellig praatten, muziek luisteren, dingen doen, maar die is er ook niet meer.”

(Osman, male, 24, Parallelweg, low income, Turkish).

5.3.2 Avoided places

For respondents it hard to mention places where they used to go but now avoid due to gentrification or places that are taken over by new residents. They start mentioning places that they avoid because those are taken over by one ethnic group. There is only one place mentioned by different respondents that they first used but now avoid, because it changed since gentrification: Het Gemaal. Het Gemaal is a historical building that was used as a restaurant where ladies from the neighborhood cooked and some other community activities were organized. Now it is still a place to eat and conduct activities but more focused on creative entrepreneurs, the group that is living in the adjacent gentrified areas and also starts to live in the Afrikaanderwijk.

Umberto: Eerst was het een restaurant waar iedereen welkom was. En nou vind ik dat je eigenlijk niet meer welkom bent. Het is nog steeds een één of andere vorm van een restaurant gebleven, maar ik weet niet hoe het nu in elkaar zit. Maar nu als je ernaartoe gaat word je meer weggejaagd dan dat je welkom bent. (...) Gelijk komt iemand tegen jou zeggen ‘er is nu niks’. Een hele rare manier dat ik zelf niet zou kunnen verklaren. Dat je gewoon het gevoel hebt dat je er niks te zoeken hebt.

Daphne: Hoe denk je dat het komt dat ze zo doen?

Umberto: Ik weet het niet, kan zijn dat ze denken dat ze aan jou niks kunnen verdienen.”

(Umberto, male, Tweebosstraat, 56, low income, Dutch Antilles)

“Ik kom er nog af en toe. Maar ik heb nu wel minder met het gemaal sinds ze een nieuw concept hebben. (...) Soms vind ik persoonlijk dat ze te hoog gegrepen activiteiten organiseren, waarbij niet altijd, je kan niet de hele bevolking erbij betrekken. Dat is jammer.”

(Zelda, female, Pretorialaan, 51, medium income, Romanian)



Figure 15 Het Gemaal

This is the only place that residents mention, that causes gentrification-invoked tension in the neighborhood. Other new places don't. The difference is that Het Gemaal started catering for new residents since the gentrification, while the other new shops and restaurants are new additions to the neighborhood. The respondents do recognize that the new facilities are for a different group, but this doesn't cause tensions. Most of them just classify the places as being for 'richer people', 'students', 'yuppies', or as one respondent calls them: 'arty thirtiers'.

Why do tensions not occur as much as expected? The main reason is that respondents are used to different groups using different facilities because of the ethnic composition of the neighborhood. They see the gentrifiers not as one homogenous group, but categorize the ethnic gentrifiers as Turks, Moroccans or the ethnicity they belong to or in some cases just as 'foreigners'. The higher educated Dutch people coming in, are associated with the other Dutch people in the neighborhood. A second reason why it doesn't cause tensions is that the new residents don't use the public space as much as the old residents. Many respondents say they don't see the new residents in public space, they think they are working during the day and at home in the evenings. When asked about places taken over, many immediately start talking about ethnic groups that have taken over places, more so than gentrifiers.

Daphne: Kunt u plekken noemen waarvan u het gevoel heeft dat de nieuwe bewoners ze hebben overgenomen?

David: Nee ik mijn God niet weten wie er in die nieuwe huizen wonen. Die mensen werken alleen maar en komen 's avonds thuis en blijven binnen. Het zijn eerder de Turkse mensen die alles overnemen. Dat gebeurt hier wel veel.

(David, male, Martinus Steinstraat, 50, medium income, Dutch)

Daphne: Kunt u plekken noemen waarvan u het gevoel heeft dat de nieuwe bewoners ze hebben overgenomen?

Ria: Nou eh de meeste buitenlandse mensen wel natuurlijk.

Daphne: Maar niet de mensen uit de koopwoningen?

Ria: Daar zitten ook allemaal buitenlanders in.

(Ria, female, Hillelaan, 58, low income, Dutch)

"Ik mis café met gezellige muziek in het weekend. Die zijn overgenomen door bepaalde gemeenschap en die zijn vrouwonvriendelijk. (...) Alles is overgenomen door Turken."

(Emma, female, Hilledijk, 59, low income, Yugoslavian)

One Turkish respondent noticed that due to gentrification there are less facilities for her ethnic group. Also members of the Turkish community that first lived close to each other do live dispersed now. The displacement makes her angry. She lost a place called 'wooncafé' (resident café) where she organized activities for people from the Turkish community. However, she doesn't feel the specific group of gentrifiers took over the places, even though she lost 'her' space to make place for the gentrified bar Raaf. It is not about the groups taking over places, but she blames the overall development and the housing corporation that no new places are made available and ascribed to her group. This made her feel displeased.

"Door de slopen kwijt een heleboel plekken hier, bijvoorbeeld buurthuis Arend. En we maakten gebruik van een pand van Vestia waar nu de Raaf in zit. Nu mogen we daar geen gebruik meer van maken. We hebben als ontmoetingsplekken nu alleen nog maar het Klooster en de speeltuin, verder niks. Ja nu de slopen allemaal klaar is gaat ook de Wooncafé in de Cronjéstraat nog weg. (...) Dat is jammer, omdat hier is meestal Turkse en Marokkaanse mensen met taalbarrière, ze kunnen Nederlands helemaal niet praten of niet voldoende. We willen wat aanbieden voor hun. We zijn grote families en vroeger woonden iedereen bij elkaar, maar door al die ontwikkelingen woont iedereen steeds meer door elkaar. En die ouderen wonen alleen en kunnen geen Nederlands praten. Dus we hebben een ruimte om iets te kunnen bieden. Gewoon voor de spreekvaardigheid. Dat kunnen we nu niet meer doen. Alles is weg weg weg."

(Rabia, female, Hillekopplein, 56, low income, Turkish)

5.4 Hope

It is remarkable that many respondents see hope in the gentrification development instead of tensions as became clear from paragraph 5.3. They see gentrification more as a solution to ethnic tensions than something that creates tensions between different groups. Different respondents gave different examples of how they see hope in the gentrification movement.

5.4.1 Schools

Especially people with children or grandchildren (that live in the neighborhood) thought gentrification is hopeful. They hope gentrification makes that their children come in contact with children from gentrifiers at the local schools or when playing outside. Most parents talked about letting their children encounter diversity, or sometimes bringing them in contact with children that have different norms and values than the children from non-gentrifying parents in the Afrikaanderwijk, about which some parents are concerned. Father of three young children Hussam provides a good example of how residents think hopeful about the developments in the Afrikaanderwijk. Especially for the future of his children he sees gentrification as a good way to create diversity, and by this, also change the schools in the neighborhood.

“Ik hoop dat er met de bewoners ook meer nieuwe voorzieningen komen, zoals nieuwe scholen. (...) Mijn buurvrouw is uit Drenthe en hierheen gekomen. Ze heeft mij gezegd toen ze verhuisde hier naar woonhuis, dat ze de kinderen naar de school dichtbij wilde sturen. Maar ze zei dat ze daar kwam en dat er gewoon 90 procent allochtonen zijn. Ze kan niet haar kinderen daarheen sturen, want dan zijn ze als enige Nederlands en worden ze gepest. Ja ze heeft gelijk, want ook mijn Marokkaanse kinderen worden gepest door de Turkse kinderen. (...) Ze heeft toch besloten naar de andere kant te gaan (Kop van Zuid, red.), dat is wel even wandelen maar daar is het gewoon 50/50. Vijftig blank en vijftig andere culturen. Dat is toch beter voor school, dus een bepaalde gedachte die nieuwe bewoners ook hebben. Ze moeten opletten voor diversiteit en dat is hier niet makkelijk nog. Ik hoop dat dat gaat veranderen in de toekomst.”

(Hussam, male, 44, Bothastraat, low income, Moroccan)

From this stems that the improvement of the neighborhood for respondents with children relates to the existence of good mixed schools. This is confirmed by some other parents, of which a few send their children to schools outside the Afrikaanderwijk.

“Het zou goed zijn voor de scholen als er meer autochtone mensen in de wijk kwamen. Ook al ben ik zelf allochtoon, mijn vriendinnen en ik willen onze kinderen juist op een school die niet alleen uit allochtonen bestaat. De integratie is soms ver te zoeken. Je hebt het over zwarte school, witte school, kom op zeg, het is geen apartheid. Ik ben met mijn jongste een periode aan het overbruggen, mijn andere zoon zit op de RSV, Rotterdamse Schoolvereniging in het centrum en die kleine gaat er nu ook naartoe.”

(Bernice, female, Hilledijk, 41, low income, Surinamese)

These findings correspond with the literature. The residents hope that the local schools improve because gentrifying residents are able to demand better schools and services. Often this is the case (Freeman, 2010). But if the schools in the area are homogenous, there is a chance that gentrifiers send their children to other schools outside the neighborhood (Karsten, 2003). The gentrification in the Afrikaanderwijk is in a too early stage to draw conclusions on what will happen with the schools, but it can be concluded that the hope of parents is expected in some parts of the literature.

5.4.2 Gentrification to counter ethnic tensions

Not only residents with children put hope out of gentrification. Many respondents see gentrification as way to counter racial tensions in public space and facilities, even though most of them are not planning on using any gentrified facilities themselves. They hope that there will be more different shops and restaurants in the neighborhood, because now it are mainly stores each occupied by their own ethnic clientele. Also they hope it counters the trend going on that when a shop becomes empty it is often taken over by Turkish entrepreneurs. Gentrification should – in the eyes of the respondents – lead to a more typical Dutch neighborhood and they hope the new Dutch people will put effort in making the neighborhood a better place and counter ethnic tensions.

“Omdat ik merk dat bepaalde groepen extreem veel naar elkaar toetrekken en niets van Nederlanders aannemen. (...) De concentratie van ghetto’s moet doorbroken worden door hogere hand zeg maar. Woonstichting, politiek, noem maar op. (...) Hopen, hopen, hopen dat er Nederlanders terugkomen. Dat is zeg maar, eh ja, een manier van bouwen, culturele dingen, alles weer Nederlands maken. En zij moeten dan het voortouw nemen.”

(Maria, female, Hilledijk, 59, low income, Yugoslavian)

Although residents experience changes in facilities, that some of them like and others don’t, overall they are positive about the changes. It can be concluded that residents see gentrification as a means to break ghettoization of their neighborhood. They rather deal with new residents, changed facilities, displacement and the like, than staying unsatisfied with ethnic tensions in their neighborhood.

Chapter 6: Place attachment and identity in a changed environment

Place attachment and identity as dimensions of social cohesion are important elements in order to understand how residents perceive their neighborhood. In this chapter the second research question is answered: how do residents who live through gentrification in de Afrikaanderwijk experience attachment to the neighborhood and identity built upon the neighborhood now their environment is changing? In this chapter the findings on place attachment are revealed by analyzing different aspects of place attachment and identity (after Blokland, 2009, Kearns & Forrest, 2000). These aspects are 'sense of belonging' (6.1), 'symbolic bonds to people' (6.2) and a 'sense of security' (6.3).

6.1 Sense of belonging

Place attachment and identity involve the idea that people have ties with the place they live (Dekker & Bolt, 2005, p 2452). Ties are created when people use the neighborhood for daily activities and create historical narratives, for example built on past experiences they had in the Afrikaanderwijk (Blokland, 2009). Place attachment and identity are built on a sense of belonging to the neighborhood, in which place attachment and their identity is reflected, and also the other way around: the place attachment and identity of residents of the Afrikaanderwijk is reflected in their sense of belonging.

When speaking of place attachment most residents in the sample express that they have close ties to the neighborhood and feel very attached to it. Many of them describe their place attachment in terms of length of residence, the relationships they have and memories from the past. Other respondents describe their place attachment by mentioning the facilities that are important for their use of the neighborhood. A few mention the activities they conduct to express their neighborhood attachment, for example their voluntary work in the neighborhood. In this purposive sample it is impossible to draw conclusions about the differences for different groups, but to exemplify, it can be concluded that in this sample the native residents mention a feeling that they belong in the Afrikaanderwijk because of their memories and activities, while non-Dutch respondents mention social contacts and length of residence.

6.1.1 Changes in sense of belonging by gentrification

The question is whether their sense of belonging has changed because of the state led gentrification in their neighborhood. This is researched by asking about neighborhood attachment. The reactions differ between the 21 respondents on the spectrum of '*I didn't even know that there were new build developments*' to reactions like '*I lost my neighborhood*'. Around one third of the respondents state their sense of belonging hasn't changed. They feel comfortable with their houses, networks and use of the neighborhood and not enough has changed in the neighborhood to change their sense belonging.

"Ik heb altijd gezegd, ik ga weg tussen zes plankies, eerder niet. Ik heb het naar m'n zin, goed contact met de buurt."

(Yvette, female, Martinus Steinstraat, 50, medium income, Dutch)

One of the respondents links her sense of belonging to her identity that's build upon the neighborhood, which shows that the elements place attachment, identity and sense of belonging are different in theory, but in practice interconnected.

Daphne: Hoe is uw buurtverbondenheid de afgelopen jaren veranderd?

Annabella: Niet, het is echt wel mijn wijk. Ik ben echt een meisje van Zuid, en echt in de Afrikaanderwijk.

(Annabella, female, Hillelaan, 38, high income, Italian)

Another third of the respondents state that the gentrification changed their sense of belonging in a positive way; they feel more attached because of the changes in the neighborhood.

"Het zorgt voor verbetering. Mensen die nu hier komen hebben een andere opleiding en een andere denkwijze en dat is goed voor deze buurt. Ik voel me daar eigenlijk meer bij thuis."

(Bernice, female, Hilledijk, 41, low income, Surinamese)

The respondents that state their sense of belonging and place attachment have changed negatively after gentrification, are the most expressive and emotional about their answers. Most of them do live in the neighborhood for a long time and most of them are from a Dutch background, although there are some exceptions. Some blame the lack of social contact with new residents, like this respondent that cannot identify with the new residents:

Daphne: En is uw buurtverbondenheid veranderd sinds de nieuwbouw en renovatie?

Mw Vervoort: Ja toch wel, ja

Daphne: Waar merkt u dat aan?

Mw Vervoort: Wat is dat nou, het zijn net weermannetjes die nieuwe mensen. Ze komen thuis, doen de deur open met de eigen boodschappen en doen de deur weer dicht. Soms heeft iemand vier pakken wc papier bij zich. Verder zie je ze de hele dag niet meer.

(Mw Vervoort, female, Hilledijk, 78, low income, Dutch)

Others say their sense of belonging has changed because the neighborhood became more anonymous or they feel like they lost their neighborhood, or feel like a stranger in their own neighborhood (De Kam & Needham, 2003).

“Soms ben ik mijn wijk een beetje kwijt, omdat er zoveel gesloopt wordt en alles ziet er anders uit. Ik vind toch wel dat de nieuwbouw zorgt dat ik bepaalde straten ga missen. Er moet toch wel iets overblijven van wat er toen was.”

(Paul, male, Christiaan de Wetstraat, 57, low income, Dutch)

Some residents were bitter about the changes in places they were familiar with. A few of those residents fear displacement (Freeman, 2006); others feel like it's unfair to demolish houses for the aims of state led gentrification. This respondent stopped feeling she belonged in the neighborhood when she first heard about gentrification plans. Also she stopped being an active resident, and doesn't use the facilities in the neighborhood anymore.

Daphne: Wanneer is uw buurtverbondenheid dan minder geworden?

Nadine: Een paar jaar geleden zijn er voorstellen geweest vanuit het stadhuis om hier een groen lint aan te leggen en daarvoor huizen te slopen. Ook huizen die er nog niet lang stonden zouden afgebroken worden, van die passen niet in de wijk ofzo. Dat heeft bij mij geloof ik wel de deur dicht gedaan.

(Nadine, female, La Reystraat, 64, medium income, Cape Verdian)

6.1.2 Belonging in Afri, feeling an Afrikaanderwijker

One of the questions asked the respondents that reveals something about their sense of belonging is 'Do you consider yourself an Afrikaanderwijker or someone who just lives here?' Most of the respondents immediately responded with 'Afrikaanderwijker'. An amount of 15 out of 21 respondents considered themselves a real Afrikaanderwijker, among which were also all the Turkish and Moroccan respondents. An example of an answer is:

“Ik voel me echt Afrikaanderwijk, echt zuidelijk. Meer dan Rotterdammer. Feijenoord gemeente. Eerst Afrikaanderwijk, dan Rotterdam.” (Hussam, male, Bothastraat, 44, low income, Moroccan).

Only four respondents said they do not consider themselves an Afrikaanderwijker at all, for the reason that they felt a Rotterdammer, rather than an Afrikaanderwijker. This corresponds with findings of earlier quantitative research in the Afrikaanderwijk that residents who identify strongly with Rotterdam as a city, identify less with the neighborhood (Van Duin et al, 2011). This research also concluded that length of residents also influences identification with the neighborhood. The respondents of this thesis that didn't feel an Afrikaanderwijker were people with a short length of residence, but also people with a long length of residence and they have different backgrounds. No pattern is visible here. It is remarkable in the context of gentrification that two respondents said they didn't feel an Afrikaanderwijker *anymore*, just one of them indeed links that to gentrification, the other to what she calls 'ghetto formation'.

Nadine: Op dit ogenblik als iemand die hier gewoon woont omdat het praktisch is.

Daphne: En vroeger vond u uzelf wel een Afrikaanderwijker?

Nadine: Ja vroeger wel, maar dat is langzaam weggeëbd.

(Nadine, female, La Reystraat, 64, medium income, Cape Verdian)

“Tot jaren 90 een Afrikaanderwijker en nu als vreemdeling in mijn eigen buurt (...) Veel anderstaligen, zoals ik, buitenlanders, ik voel me hier extreem vreemd, omdat ik naar Nederland ben gekomen om in Nederland te wonen, maar nu heb ik het gevoel dat ik woon in Turkije en Marokko. En dat is zo bedrukkend.”

(Emma, female, Hilledijk, 59, low income, Yugoslavian)

The result of the interviews that 15 respondents feel a real Afrikaanderwijker is a high score, based on the expectations from the theoretical framework. It was expected for example that natives that lived in a mixed neighborhood would feel less attached to the neighborhood; this is not the case in this sample. Also ethnic minorities felt a strong sense of belonging to the Afrikaanderwijk and just one resident actually felt the gentrification caused she doesn't feel an Afrikaanderwijker anymore.

6.1.3 Feeling at home in the Afrikaanderwijk

Another part of sense of belonging that follows from feeling an Afrikaanderwijker is whether respondents feel at home in the Afrikaanderwijk, and how gentrification influences their at-home-feeling. The majority of the respondents believe the developments in the neighborhood will lead to a neighborhood where they feel more at home. For a large part it has to do with physical improvements, but also new residents, new entrepreneurs and the change in general.

“Het geeft me een prettig gevoel, dan denk ik aan duurzaamheid, gesprekken met jonge ondernemers doen me ook goed. Vrolijk me op en geeft me hoop.”

(Emma, female, Hilledijk, 59, low income, Yugoslavian)

“Ja ik vind de nieuwe huisjes erg mooi, dus gaat wel goed komen met thuis voelen denk ik.”

(Zelda, female, Pretoriaaan, high income, Romanian)

Another resident tries to give words to what other respondents also try to illustrate but don't say literally. He feels more at home since gentrification started because of the fact that the City of Rotterdam and the housing cooperation acknowledge the Afrikaanderwijk as a valuable place, a place where people with a higher income can live, where it looks nice, where there is access to good facilities and a place that's not the 'drainage' of Rotterdam anymore, as it was often called. In other words, gentrification makes that the Afrikaanderwijk and her residents are seen by the city and the housing corporation and that they make effort to improve the situation.

Daphne: Op welke manier hebben de nieuwbouw en renovatie invloed op de mate waarin u zich thuis voelt in de buurt?

Hussam: Ja er gebeurt veel in de buurt en dat is goed. Het wordt beter hier. Ja echt prachtig veranderingen van de gemeente, echt positief over wat de gemeente doet hier in de wijk. Echt goed.

(Hussam, male, Bothastraat, 44, low income, Moroccan)

Also there are a few respondents that said gentrification doesn't influence their at home feeling, because they live on the other part of the neighborhood, or because they do not notice a lot of changes due to gentrification yet. Some other respondents say they feel less at home because of the changes in the neighborhood. Most of them blame that to the physical changes, that their neighborhood looks totally different. Many of the people that said gentrification changed their home feelings negatively are lower educated than the ones that do like it, but within the group that like the changes are also lower educated people.

“Toch wel dertig procent minder. Omdat al die oude huizen weg zijn en onze oude pleintje en de oude trappen in de straat waar we met vrienden zaten. En dat alles er anders uitziet.”

(Osman, male, Parallelweg, 24, low income, Dutch)

Only one respondent believes the new residents are the cause of his changed feelings. This respondent considers the fact that different people live in the Afrikaanderwijk a reason to feel less at

home, which may have to do with different norms and values as is elaborated on in chapter 8.

“Nee ik voel me eigen wel minder thuis tussen die nieuwe mensen. (...) Vroeger wel, maar sinds die huizen zijn gekomen zijn er allemaal van die bekakte mensen ingekomen en eh dat was hier niet vind ik.” (David, male, Martinus Steinstraat, 50, medium income, Dutch)

Overall it can be concluded that in general respondents feel the same or even more at home after gentrification. This might have to do with the fact that the Afrikaanderwijk is an disadvantaged neighborhood where an accumulation of problems was present. Gentrification changes this, or at least it helps perceiving the neighborhood positively for respondents, who get feelings of hope from the development. Also, some places they use already changed in a positive way, so residents see things changing after years of disinvestment (Freeman, 2006).

6.1.4 Renovation versus new build gentrification

When speaking about neighborhood attachment, sense of belonging and feeling at home it was remarkable that quite a few respondents started talking about how new build gentrification has another impact on their perception of the neighborhood compared to renovation.

“Ik wilde graag dat de oudbouw kon blijven als het kan. Ik ben dol op oude huizen, karakter, leuk om te zien. De nieuwe huizen zijn allemaal hetzelfde. Het zegt me niks, gewoon steen. Renovatie vind ik fijn, maar die nieuwbouw niet.”

(Rabia, female, Hillekopplein, 56, low income, Turkish)

“De nieuwe gebouwen vind ik goed, maar er zijn nu wel veel veranderingen en daar moet ik aan wennen. Maar waar ik heel blij mee ben is dat veel oude gebouwen blijven en vanbinnen opgeknapt worden. Het witte kasteel bijvoorbeeld. Beter dan nieuwbouw, dan blijft de wijk mooi.”

(Fatima, female, Bothastraat, 39, low income, Moroccan)



Figure 16 Renovation in the Afrikaanderwijk (left) and new build gentrification (right)

Renovating old buildings is something respondents really liked, because it made them proud of their beautiful neighborhood and they could still relate to it, in order to build and keep their identity and feel attached. But new build gentrification, in their eyes, changed the neighborhood much more and they cannot relate to it. As respondent Peter puts it: for the old residents it is better to keep old buildings:

“Het opknappen van oude gebouwen is positief, zoals het kasteel. Dat is heel mooi geworden. Je moet niet al het oude weghalen, maar laten staan en de binnenkant verbeteren. Ook kan je er wel een andere bestemming aan geven, maar als het er hetzelfde uit blijft zien is dat voor de bewoners wel fijn. Die nieuwbouw is heel saai.”

(Paul, male, Christiaan de Wetstraat, 57, low income, Dutch)

It can be concluded that these old buildings that help respondents to feel at home and be proud of

their neighborhood are an important factor for maintaining place attachment and identity. They are attached to the way the neighborhood looked before the developments and it is possible that the more the neighborhood changes, the less people are attached. This has to become clear in the coming years, because now the Afrikaanderwijk is still in an early phase of gentrification.

6.2 Symbolic bonds to people

Speaking about symbolic bonds to people reveals how longtime residents relate to new inhabitants in gentrifying areas. The way people think about new inhabitants and the intensity of the contact or lack of contact with them can tell whether they experience bonding or bridging capital (Putnam, 2000). In gentrifying areas bridging capital is needed, vertical relations between heterogeneous individuals such as friends of friends, neighbors, colleagues etcetera (Kleinhans et al, 2007). These relationships can help people ahead. First is presented how respondents think about new residents, these are the symbolic bonds. Then the question how these symbolic bonds lead to different kinds of relating to the new residents is answered.

6.2.1 Symbolic bonds with new residents

When asked about the residents, almost everyone recognized that new residents with a different socio-economic background moved into the neighborhood. Reactions on this vary from acceptance to very welcoming, concerning the typical gentrifying household: higher educated, often two incomes and/or children. But in the Afrikaanderwijk there are also many ethnic gentrifiers, members of ethnic minority groups that bought a house in the neighborhood. Some of them already lived in the neighborhood in a rental house; others are new in the Afrikaanderwijk. So when talking about the new residents some respondents are talking about one of these two groups. Many feel like they can relate to the Dutch people and not to the ethnic gentrifiers, while others don't make this distinction.

Emma: De nieuwe bewoners zijn vriendelijk. Nouja nodig hier, welkom hier. Maar hier in de Bloemfontein ken ik alleen mensen op gezicht en dat zijn toch voornamelijk Turkse mensen, weer een groepering maar dan in koophuizen. Dat is extreem, dat doet zeer. Denk je oh, daar gaan we weer.

Daphne: En de Nederlandse nieuwe bewoners?

Emma: Nederlandse mensen: oh ja dat is andere liedje. Ze komen ook bijvoorbeeld hier naar de tuintjes kijken, praatje maken. Ik heb ze ook vaak planten gegeven voor op het balkon en hoe ze dat moeten verzorgen. (interview took place in community garden, red.)

(Emma, female, Hilledijk, 59, low income, Yugoslavian)

Another respondent thinks that only new Dutch people can improve the neighborhood, because they can break the existing stigma on the Afrikaanderwijk as an ethnic neighborhood.

“Het is wel zo dat we hier eerder Turkse families krijgen en dan Nederlanders. Maar als het zou veranderen dat er minder allochtonenfamilies komen, dan heb je best kans dat de buurt opknapt.”

(Yvette, female, Martinus Steinstraat, 50, medium income, Dutch)

Some residents are very enthusiastic about the new residents. They relate them to the same hope they get from the new facilities (see chapter 5). These are actually a lot of the same respondents that also really liked the new facilities.

“Ja leuk, absoluut. Kun je gelijk mee levelen, je merkt gelijk wie het zijn, je hoort het aan hun spraak en dingen (...) Ik ben nu bevriend met een nieuwe bewoner die ik heb leren kennen. Ja dat voelt heel prettig. Je merkt ook gelijk dat ze een hoger opleidingsniveau hebben.”

(Bernice, female, Hilledijk, 41, low income, Surinamese)

There are also less enthusiastic reactions, but none of the reactions are negative. They vary from ambivalent, to uninterested, to acceptance. Important for many respondents is that they are not disturbed by the new residents.

“Ik heb geen verband met hun.”

(Osman, male, Parallelweg, 24, low income, Turkish)

“Ik heb geen last van de nieuwe bewoners. Ze zijn wel anders, maar als het maar goede mensen zijn.”

(Fatima, female, Bothastraat, 39, low income, Moroccan)

There were also two respondents who weren't aware of new residents that moved into the Afrikaanderwijk. These were both respondents that are not in the neighborhood a lot, due to work somewhere else for one of them and due to illness for the other. One of the respondents thought the new houses were still empty because he never saw people over there. Maybe this has to do with the fact that the residents do work during the day, as other respondents commented on. The other respondent didn't see an influx of new people with a different socio-economic background:

“Nee. Nieuwbouw? Er is altijd wel nieuwbouw hier. Dit is al gaande vanaf de 90'er jaren. Iedereen gaat gezellig met iedereen om en er verandert niet veel. Er komen hier altijd veel nieuwe mensen wonen. De Afrikaanderwijk staat erom bekend dat de bevolkingssamenstelling veel verandert. Toen ik hier kwam wonen was de bevolkingssamenstelling dominant Nederlands. Veel zijn er uitverhuisd en toen kwamen er, ook met de stadsvernieuwing, vooral Turkse mensen wonen. Toen kwam de renovatie in Hoogvliet. Veel Antillianen gingen toen op Katendrecht wonen en toen kwam de renovatie op Katendrecht en zijn ze hier gekomen. En nu is er hier weer renovatie. Zo gaat het. In 20 jaar is er hier zoveel veranderd. Iedereen die hier langer woont is daaraan gewend. We passen ons aan en maken nieuwe vrienden.”

(Elma, female, Beyerstraat, 62, high income, Dutch)

This respondent knows gentrification is going on, but does not have symbolic bonds with the gentrifiers per se. For her, it is not necessarily a new group, just another group of people that moves to the neighborhood. This also links to the perception of old residents towards gentrifiers, that differs from theory. In theory the gentrifiers are often a distinct group (see for example Butler & Robson, 2001), while in the Afrikaanderwijk residents keep on judging in terms of ethnicity instead of class. This has to do with the ethnic situation in the Afrikaanderwijk, where it is normal to label people by their ethnicity. People are not labeled gentrifiers, but for instance Dutch, Surinamese or Turkish; even though they're all gentrifiers they do not belong to one perceived group.

It is remarkable that some residents assume that the new residents did choose consciously for the Afrikaanderwijk in order to contribute to a change. They assume they are 'agents of change' (Ehrenfeucht et al, 2012). Apparently, they cannot imagine that people are willing to live in the neighborhood as it is. Also they expect the new residents to need a period to get used to the neighborhood before they would feel at home.

Hussam: Ja er zijn zeker nieuwe bewoners. Ja ik zie vooral de panden. En ik zie dat de blanken terug komen naar de Afrikaanderwijk. Ja ik vind het echt leuk, echt waar. Eerst was het toch een ja ghetto, ja alle allochtonen bij elkaar. Waar zijn alle blanke mensen? Die waren gemigreerd naar buiten en nu komen ze terug. Ik vind het echt goed, die diversiteit van de maatschappij. Het beweegt nu, echt goed. (..)

Daphne: Denkt u dat het niet makkelijk is voor de nieuwe bewoners om hier te komen wonen?

Hussam: Nee niet makkelijk, ze moeten erg wennen. Maar ik denk best dat de besluit om hier te wonen dat hebben ze allemaal van te voren bedacht. Dus ik denk niet dat mensen hier komen huis kopen en ze weten niet dat er veel allochtonen wonen. Ze hebben vast een bepaalde voorbereiding genomen. Maar dan is het toch nog wel anders en wennen”

(Hussam, male, Bothastraat, 44, low income, Moroccan)

Zelda: Ja ze zijn wel anders, ze zijn hoger opgeleid en hebben andere interesses. (..) Ik denk dat zij bewust gekozen hebben voor de wijk. Ja ik denk dat zij hier gekomen zijn omdat ze een bijdrage willen leveren aan de wijk. (...) Misschien moeten die buurtbewoners zich meer ook, zich inzetten om, om iets te veranderen in de Afrikaanderwijk.

Daphne: Dus u verwacht wel van de nieuwe mensen dat ze bijdragen aan de wijk.

Zelda: Ja dat ze echt iets gaan doen, dat zou leuk zijn. Maar ze werken natuurlijk, ik kan niet verwachten dat ze daar tijd voor maken”

(Zelda, female, Pretoriaaan, 51, high income, Romanian)

This quote of Zelda clearly shows that residents are ambivalent about the gentrifiers. On the one hand they expect they change and improve the neighborhood, on the other hand they doubt their efforts

because they comment a lot on the fact that new residents do not spend a lot of time at home and do not take part in activities in the neighborhood.

“Ik maak ze niet zoveel mee, maar wel rustige mensen. Bij mij zijn ze vrij rustig. Achter mij wonen veel nieuwe bewoners. Je ziet ze niet veel. Het zijn gewoon mensen die echt werken van 8 tot 5, daarna zijn ze thuis.” (Shirley, female, Brede Hilledijk, 19, low income, Antillian)

“Het is zo jammer dat je er geen contact mee hebt, laat ik het zo zeggen. Je kan dan ook niet helemaal een oordeel vellen over die nieuwe bewoners. Ik spreek ze niet. (...) Hier in 't klooster (community center, red.) maak ik wel gauw nieuwe contacten, maar hier komen de meeste nieuwe bewoners niet.” (Paul, male, Christiaan de Wetstraat, 57, low income, Dutch)

This corresponds with the literature. Kleinhans (2005), for example, writes that new residents are often not dependent on their neighborhood for use of facilities and meeting people. Also they often do not spend much time in their homes, because they are working during daytime. This clarifies why the longtime residents do not see the new residents much. They are working and have their social contacts at different locations than the neighborhood where they live.

All in all it seems like most residents experience positive symbolic bonds with the new residents, although some feel less positive symbolic bonds to ethnic gentrifiers. But overall, longtime residents are not negative about the new neighbors, some are indifferent and others very enthusiastic. Also it became clear that the old residents in the sample expect a lot from the new residents in terms of social cohesion. They hope they will improve the neighborhood by their presence, spending power, networks and other kinds of contribution. This is in line with the social and economical goals of gentrification; policy makers state that it improves cohesion (Kleinhans, 2005). But one of the conditions for social cohesion is that citizens feel involved with their neighbors (Van Bergeijk et al, 2008). Although they might have positive symbolic bonds, that doesn't necessarily lead to involvement. For this contact is needed.

6.2.2 Contact with new residents

The question whether or not positive symbolic bonds lead to social interactions is important to answer in order to examine the place attachment and identity-aspect of gentrification. To create social capital, it is enough to have symbolic bonds (Kearns and Forrest, 2000) and public familiarity (Blokland, 2010). For this it is not necessary that residents speak to anyone (Blokland, 2010) and it is possible to draw conclusions for neighborhood perception by this. But this is just one aspect of social cohesion (Kleinhans, 2005) and because social cohesion is the mediating variable in this thesis, the interactions between residents are also important to reveal more of their place attachment and identity and finally also their perception of the neighborhood.

When examining the social contacts in the Afrikaanderwijk of the interviewed residents, it is clear that a vast majority has the most social contacts with other non-gentrifying residents. Even though in paragraph 6.2.1 it became clear that most residents experience positive symbolic bonds to the new residents, many have no contact with them. Reasons for this according to respondents are that the new people live in a different part of the neighborhood (see par. 5.1.2) or that they work during the day (see 6.2.1) and do not spend a lot of time in the neighborhood. The following quotes tell more about these reasons:

“Nee er is heel weinig contact tussen dat gedeelte en dit gedeelte.”
(David, male, Martinus Steinstraat, 50, medium income, Dutch)

“Ik heb er een paar gezien, maar geen contact. Maar meestal komt dat werkende mensen die zijn sowieso niet thuis, geen mogelijkheid om ze te zien en kennis te maken. Misschien moet Vestia een straatfeestje bouwen zodat we kennis kunnen maken. Het zijn een soort grenzen. In de straten aan die kant wonen de oude bewoners en aan de andere kant de nieuwe bewoners. Ze gaan zeg maar zelf de straat op in hun eigen plek en geen contact. Ze pakken de auto en rijden weg.”
(Rabia, female, Hillekopplein, 56, low income, Turkish)

Again it is proved that residents feel less attached to new residents because they spend less time in

the neighborhood, this is also the reason they do not have contact (Kleinhans, 2005). This corresponds with the literature. Also, the respondents indicate they don't have contact because the gentrifiers live in other streets. This corresponds with the findings of Butler and Robson (2001), that the relationships between original residents and new residents can be characterized as tectonic. The residents are voluntarily segregated. The old residents avoid the new streets, because they feel they do not belong there and also do not try to have interactions with them. They simply accept that they are not around. However, the option to arrange to an activity for old and new residents in order to meet each other is mentioned twice. First by Rabia (quote above) and also by Zelda:

“Ja ik ken er een paar, maar niet allemaal. Het zou wel fijn zijn als wij elkaar op de een of andere manier zouden ontmoeten.”

(Zelda, female, Pretoriaaan, 51, high income, Romanian)

Only three respondents say they have as much contact with old residents as with new residents. And just one respondent indicate she has more contacts with new residents, this is the resident that is used in chapter 6 as an example of a non-gentrifying resident who is cultural rich and contributes to gentrification.

“Nou ik heb nu het meeste contact met twee nieuwe bewoners. Denise en Sherida, ja, de yuppen, toch wel. Ze hebben een nieuw woonhuis enzo. En onze kinderen groeien samen op.”

(Bernice, female, Hilledijk, 41, low income, Surinamese)

The other residents that contribute to gentrification still have more contact with the old residents. This affirms findings presented in paragraph 6.2.1 that a symbolic bond with new residents is enough to contribute to a different perception of the neighborhood. The respondents that do have contacts with new residents were merely positive about their relationships with them. They consider them to be social people, even though they also noticed that they are different from themselves. So for these few residents that have contact with gentrifiers the similarity hypothesis of Brislin (1971) does not apply. Despite the differences people choose to build relationships with gentrifiers.

Roel: Het is wel ander volk daarzo

Daphne: En kan je dat beschrijven?

Roel: Ja mijn broertje was bijvoorbeeld een keer uitgenodigd bij die mensen terwijl ze een soort van feestje hadden in de buurt. Het zijn sowieso ander soort mensen, maar wel socialere mensen. Ze gaan wel met anderen om en sluiten zich niet af.

(Roel, male, Bloemfonteinstraat, 26, medium income, Dutch)

“Mooi dat ik die autochtone dame heb leren kennen die hier is komen wonen. Zij komt altijd naast mij zitten in de speeltuin, zij vindt leuk, gezellig. Altijd praten over de buurt, de kinderen, over culturen en traditie.” (Hussam, male, Bothastraat, 44, low income, Moroccan)

Only one respondent mentions an example of tensions she experiences in the contact with the gentrifiers. She feels a sense of separation (Atkinson, 2000), because of the different lifestyle they have:

“Het is een bepaald publiek dat eigenlijk niet kan aansluiten op de arme buurtbewoners. Sommige organiseren een soort tour in de wijk en dan komen een beetje eh, ja hoe moet ik het zeggen, een beetje kakmensen en dan gaan ze een soort aapjes kijken, Ze liepen ook langs de wijksschool en ik zei hallo, en dan gaan ze snel weg, want ze schrikken van onze jongeren.”

(Zelda, female, Pretoriaaan, 51, high income, Romanian)

Again, for the part of social contacts with new residents it seems that gentrification is not an important theme for some residents. Many respondents indicate that they are not sure if the people they have interactions with on the street are old or new residents, because they don't talk about tenure status when they meet them.

“Het kan zijn iemand daar woont, maar ik weet dat niet van die persoon. (...) Ik ken mensen die meedoen aan activiteiten in de wijk. Zo zou ik ze kennen en beoordelen. Ik vraag ook niet gelijk of

iemand in een nieuwbouwwoning woont of in een ouder huis.”
(Umberto, male, Tweebosstraat, 56, low income, Dutch Antilles)

“Tsja het is niet dat mensen met een sticker lopen van 'ik heb een koophuis'. Ik heb daar geen overzicht over.”
(Annabella, female, Hillelaan, 38, high income, Italian)

It can be concluded, that non-gentrifying residents have more contact with other non-gentrifying residents. They know them for a while and they have the same socio-economic status, which can be classified as bonding capital. These are horizontal relations, but for successful gentrification there should be bridging capital, vertical relationships between residents that differ from each other. The relationships Roel and Hussam have, are examples of bridging capital. Bridging capital seems harder in the Afrikaanderwijk but is also needed to create social cohesion after so much has changed because of gentrification. In order to be attached to the neighborhood and to build one's identity upon the neighborhood, it is a good thing if residents also have social relations with new residents. Otherwise there will remain to be social tectonic relationships or different residents will even lead parallel lives (Van Kempen et al, 2009).

6.3 Sense of security

When gentrification changes the surroundings of residents, it is important for their place attachment and identity that they still have a sense of security. This paragraph first describes which factors contribute to and detract from respondents' sense of security and then the influence of gentrification on this.

6.3.1 Feelings of security

Most residents that are interviewed still felt this sense of security in the changing Afrikaanderwijk. Most respondents said they feel this sense of security because they know a lot of people in the neighborhood and have a lot of interactions with them. Other respondents indicate they feel secure because they *'know the neighborhood'* or *'are used to the neighborhood'*.

“Ik voel me veilig doordat je iedereen gedag zegt en hoe meer mensen je kent, hoe beter je de buurt kent en hoe veiliger je je voelt”
(Margaret, female, Bloemfonteinstraat, 55, high income, Dutch)

This is something that might be changing in the coming period; because even more state led gentrification is going on. Some people already indicated in paragraph 6.2.2 that they don't have a lot of contact with gentrifiers and don't know them. Also respondents indicated they feel secure because their length of residence, something that is really interrelated with place attachment, just like knowing the people. Other respondents say they feel secure because of things that are likely to increase by gentrification, for example police patrols and the cameras that are everywhere. In the literature there are examples that in gentrified neighborhoods it becomes safer because of the increase in police support (Freeman, 2006).

When talking about what distracts people from their sense of security, a quarter of the interviewed respondents cannot mention anything. They feel completely safe and secure, while others can mention many things, mostly related to crime and ethnic tensions. For some other respondents it is *'fear because of negative media attention'* and *'the mentality of some residents (...) Racism'*.

Ethnic tensions that detract people from their sense of security are rooted in different norms and values between different groups. For example one resident mentions that she doesn't feel secure because of *'ghetto behavior of certain groups'*, she clarifies this by illustrating how in case of a conflict whole families are ready to fight. Others just mention that practices of Turks and Moroccans differ too much from the practices of other residents. Some also fear that there will be race riots again, like in the 70's.

“Ik heb altijd gezegd: het gaat nog een keer goed los hierzo en dan verliezen wij. (...) De Turken en Marokkanen klikken nog wel, maar er zijn nu ook Bulgaren en Antillianen en Polen en die klikken ook niet met hun. Ik denk de Turken en Marokkanen tegen de rest. (...) Elk jaar voel je het grimmiger

worden in de wijk.”

(David, male, Martinus Steinstraat, 50, medium income, Dutch)

Another dominant theme that detracts people's sense of security is crime. When asked about security many people start talking about the shooting incident that happened during the time the interviews were conducted in May 2014. Also many people mentioned burglary and drugs dealing. Another source of fear are the cafés where groups of men gather and from which residents believe crime is organized.

“Vanuit daar organiseren ze inbraken. We werken samen om dit tegen te gaan. Het is verschrikkelijk, 36 inbraken de afgelopen maanden. Je zit gewoon te wachten tot ze bij jou komen. Ik neem mijn portemonnee 's avonds mee naar boven.”

(Elma, female, Beyerstraat, 62, high income, Dutch)

For three other respondents groups of youth on the street diminish their sense of safety. They complain about 'Moroccan youth', or 'youth groups hanging around' and some do not dare to go outside alone during the evening.

6.3.2 Influence of gentrification on sense of security

Gentrification has for most respondents an influence on their sense of security. Most of the respondents feel less secure since gentrification, but this has mainly to do with the current situation of gentrification in the Afrikaanderwijk. Many respondents for example indicate they don't feel safe because of the empty buildings where no one lives anymore. The Afrikaanderwijk is still in the process of gentrification, so some streets are done already and new residents live there, but other parts are still being demolished or being built. The empty places are mentioned because there is less social control, because there don't live people at the moment. Also residents fear squatters and burglars.

“Nu ze begonnen zijn met de sloop van de Leeuwenkuil, is er veel minder toezicht. Daar woonden oudere Nederlandse mensen, die hielden alles scherp in de gaten. En nu die weg zijn, zie je ook ander gedrag hier.”

(Elma, female, Beyerstraat, 62, high income, Dutch)

“Een kleine kritiek is dat er de laatste tijd veel inbrekers zijn, dieven. Omdat er veel leegstand is door de renovatie en niemand het kan zien. Alles is helemaal leeg. Ik hoor gewoon dat het mensen zijn die uit Oost-Europa zijn gekomen en jongeren op het verkeerde pad.”

(Hussam, male, Bothastraat, 44, low income, Moroccan)

Fatima: Ja door de sloop komen mensen in de lege huizen wonen voor ze slopen. Hoe noemen jullie die woord?

Daphne: Krakkers?

Fatima: Ja, want de laatste tijd zijn er veel junks in de oude huizen gekomen, Dat mensen stiekem er wonen. En omdat er minder normale mensen wonen ben ik ook bang voor inbrekers.

(Fatima, female, Bothastraat, 39, low income, Moroccan)

Another respondent links the burglary to the lack of trust she experiences since the gentrification:

“Gedeeltelijk ja, want de nieuwe bewoners jij kent niet ze, daardoor soms onveilig. Veel vertrouwen weg. Maar oude gebouwen waar jij makkelijk binnen kan komen en door de leegstand en sloop ik heb gehoord veel inbraken. Dat is niet goed natuurlijk. Sommige blokken zijn leeg en hebben één bewoner. Ja dan ziet niemand wat er gebeurt.”

(Rabia, female, Hillekopplein, 56, low income, Turkish)

There are also respondents that feel more secure because of the gentrification developments in the neighborhood. Most of them ascribe that to the physical improvements, like better looking streets and more camera's. Some residents also mention the improved police patrols in the neighborhood, corresponding to Freemans (2006) findings that residents felt safer after gentrification because there is more police activity in the neighborhood.

“Het ziet er in ieder geval beter uit. Dus dan eh, dan heeft het ook veel invloed op hoe je je voelt qua veiligheid. Als het er mooi en netjes uitziet is dat toch fijn.”
(Roel, male, Bloemfonteinstraat, 26, medium income, Dutch)

“Er is nu een goede wijkagent, daar hebben we goed contact mee.”
(Yvette, female, Martinus Steinstraat, 50, medium income, Dutch)

According to Freeman (2006) the new residents demand better services. This is also how some respondents in the Afrikaanderwijk think about this:

“Veiliger, meer licht bijgekomen en camera’s bijgekomen en misschien lopen er ook meer mensen rond (...).”
(Umberto, male, Tweebosstraat, 56, low income, Antillean)

“Jazeker, die (nieuwe bewoners, red.) dwingen het ook af he. Die willen niet in zo'n rotzooiwijk wonen waar dit allemaal gebeurt. Maar dat afdwingen lukt ook niet altijd. Het hangt er vanaf wat voor mensen er straks allemaal zijn. Er komen ook veel Turkse mensen wonen, en die ervaren dat anders.”
(Bernice, female, Hilledijk, 41, low income, Surinamese)

This last quote reveals that the respondent thinks it depends on the type of gentrifier that comes in whether or not the police services and such improve. When it concerns classic native gentrifiers she expects the neighborhood becomes safer and gets different norms in the sense of racism and behavior, but ethnic gentrifiers won't change so much. This is in line with the findings about the behavior of new residents (paragraph 7.1) in which it became clear that some residents expect different outcomes from ethnic and 'classic' gentrifiers.

It can be concluded that the sense of security for some residents decreased and for others increased. This is in line with the literature. Some scholars argue residents feel more secure, because a positive change in their surroundings (Van Beckhoven et al, 2003) or because of more police patrols (Freeman, 2006). Others feel less secure, because they do not know the new residents because the social fabric has changed (Atkinson, 2000) and fear for burglary (Chiu & Madden, 1998).

In the literature an important theme for sense of security is displacement (Freeman, 2006). In the Afrikaanderwijk this doesn't detract most residents from their sense of security. Only a few residents indicated that they feared displacement.

“Ik heb geen problemen met de nieuwe bewoners, maar wel vervelend dat mensen die ik ken hebben moeten verhuizen. Veel zijn er naar een andere wijk gegaan. (...) Ik ben zelf ook bang dat ik moet verhuizen.”
(Fatima, female, Bothastraat, 39, low income, Moroccan)

However, for most respondents displacement appeared to be something they find important, but do not really fear. For them it's a boundary to their tolerance towards gentrification in their neighborhood as is described in paragraph 7.4. This corresponds with the research of Freeman (2006), who found that even though residents do not fear displacement for themselves, there was a general concern about it. This is exactly the same in the Afrikaanderwijk.

Although two respondents fear displacement, the majority doesn't. A reason for this is that displacement is less of a risk in the Netherlands, compared to other countries. Some of the interviewed residents live in a new build social dwelling and others know people that had to move, but found a new house in the neighborhood. Because there is also social housing added with the state led gentrification displacement doesn't seem to be a fear of the residents, although the residents that live in the new houses fear that their rents will increase, which also corresponds with Freeman's (2006) findings. Other residents know they have to move eventually, but most of them are told that this will be around 2020. In contrary to findings from somewhere else (see for example Sakizlioğlu, 2014) they do not fear, because they know they will end on top of the list of the housing cooperation and will be able to choose from different housing options, so there is a big chance that they actually move to a dwelling that they like better (Posthumus et al, 2012)

Chapter 7: Common values and neighborhood perception

In this chapter the focus lies on the values of non-gentrifying residents and the extent to which they experience common values and differences in values with gentrifying residents. These aspects are important to understand the perception of non-gentrifying residents in a gentrifying neighborhood. The question that will be answered in this chapter is: To what extent do the values of non-gentrifying residents and the perceived differences in values of the new residents influence the perception of the neighborhood? Common values are a dimension of social cohesion (Kearns & Forrest, 2000) and it is divided in different subcategories: common codes of behavior (7.1), participation (7.2) and tolerance (7.3).

7.1 Common codes of behavior

Common codes of behavior are important to discover when researching neighborhood perception. Investigating the way that longtime residents experience differences in behavior with the new residents is a way to measure common values (Dekker & Bolt, 2005). In this paragraph the focus lies on the different codes of behavior between old and new residents and, new residents as role models and the adaption of old residents to the values of the newcomers.

7.1.1 Different codes of behavior in the Afrikaanderwijk

In order to find out whether there are common codes of behavior or large differences, residents are asked if they experience different codes of behavior in the neighborhood since the gentrification. Some residents could talk about this for hours; while others were short and said they didn't see differences between themselves and the new residents. The residents that didn't see a difference were for most part the same residents that said they neither have a lot of contacts with new residents, nor symbolic bonds to them. One of them said about the behavior of new residents: "*Ik zie ze alleen lopen, dus kan er niks over zeggen. Ze zien eruit gewoon als rustige mensen.*" Another answered: "*Nee, niks van gemerkt*". Some other respondents said they don't see the difference between their own behavior and the behavior of new residents.

When asked about different codes of behavior between old and new residents many respondents started talking about differences between what *they* perceive as old and new residents: longtime Dutch residents and the newer residents from different ethnicities. The same became clear in a different context in paragraph 6.2.1, when asked about symbolic bonds to new residents. Most of the people who make this distinction, are Dutch except from one lady from former-Yugoslavia. They are aged 50 to 78. They express themselves very negatively about the behavior of especially Turks and Moroccans, as also became clear in the previous chapters.

"Bijvoorbeeld als ze met z'n tweeën zijn en je bent er zelf bij, dan blijven ze desnoods uren Turks praten. Je merkt het ook bij kinderen, samen spelen, dat ze die kinderen zomaar loslaten. En ze mogen overal aankomen. Bijvoorbeeld als ze onenigheid hebben met autochtonen, dat moeder dan niks onderneemt. Moeder blijft zitten en gaat met eigen gemeenschap door."
(Emma, female, Hilledijk, 59, low income, Yugoslavian)

"Er was een periode dat de prullenbakken hier elke avond in de fik stonden. Die brandlucht komt zo de slaapkamer in. En dan zeg je er wat van en dan ben je een dikke Nederlandse kankerhoer, weet je wel?"
(Yvette, female, Christiaan de Wetstraat, 50, low income)

Irritations like this are the first reactions of a handful of people. When asked further, they also experience differences in behavior concerning the gentrifiers. As has been written in paragraph 6.2.1 about symbolic bonds, for some residents the gentrifiers are not perceived as one homogenous group, but they categorize them in terms of ethnicity instead of income and class, like one would expect from the literature (Butler, 2003). This is because the Afrikaanderwijk houses a lot of ethnic gentrifiers. It is not clear whether the deviant patterns of behavior residents ascribe to the Turks and Moroccans (also Pakistani and Bangladeshi, let's say the Muslims in general) also apply specifically to the ethnic

gentrifiers. Because some residents do not make a distinction between them, it is sometimes hard to derive from the data whether they mean Muslims in general or Islamic ethnic gentrifiers. One case where the respondent for sure means ethnic gentrifiers is the quote of David when he points out a street where many Islamic Pakistani gentrifiers live.

David: Ik heb ze een paar keer gezien weetje en het is toch een andere groep mensen. Ik weet niet. (...) Ja, de houding, dingen die ze doen voor de deur. Dat straatje met die voortuintjes weet je wel, dat zijn hele andere mensen joh. Daar merk ik dat wel aan.

Daphne: Wat doen ze dan voor de deur?

David: Ja ah dan zitten ze met mekaar ook weetjewel, Die straat met die voortuintjes weetjewel, dan zie je ze buiten, aan de houding zie je dat het een andere groep is.

(David, male, Martinus Steinstraat, 50, medium income, Dutch)

This respondent is not able to be more specific what he means by a different attitude. In general residents found the question about codes of behavior the most difficult to answer. It can be concluded that residents see the ethnic gentrifiers in the neighborhood (mainly Muslims) as part of their ethnic group in general. About the 'classic' gentrifier – Dutch, higher socio-economic status from a different class – they are more positive and welcoming.

Others do not specify so much between ethnicities but see the gentrifiers as a general group with members from different ethnicities, that all live in a privately owned dwelling. The way Bernice, an immigrant woman herself, for example describes the behavior of an ethnic gentrifier is different. In the first place, because she talks about an individual and doesn't generalize a whole group. Second, she describes the behavior of a gentrifier she encountered at the playground at the Afrikaanderplein and later points out her ethnicity, but the meaning of this quote in the context is mainly addressing the way this gentrifier dissociates from the non-gentrifying residents:

Bernice: Maar je merkt wel dat de nieuwe bewoners vaak ook zoiets hebben van: ik kom hier vooral om te spelen hoor. En dat ze zoiets hebben van ik moet mijn kind hier niet op school. Gelijk. Direct. Nee maar mijn kind zit wel op de Pijler, of op de montessori in de andere wijk. Terwijl met andere (oude, red.) bewoners is het weer anders. Als zij een voorbeeld kunnen zijn voor anderen, dan doen ze dat ook.

Daphne: Zijn de nieuwe bewoners dan wat afstandelijker in het algemeen?

Bernice: Met deze twee dames heel toegankelijk hoor, absoluut (nieuwe bewoners waar respondent mee omgaat, red). Maar die mensen die alleen komen spelen in de speeltuin, als je die toevallig ontmoet, sommige proberen zich heel erg te identificeren naar de Kop van Zuid. En die vrouw die zei van 'ik doe mijn kind hier niet op school', probeert zich ook heel erg te identificeren naar de witte maatschappij, maar toevallig was het een Marokkaanse. Ze wilde totaal niet geassocieerd worden met een school hier. Het eerste wat ze zei is 'mijn kinderen zitten op de Pijler' en ze wilde verder niet met de wijk geassocieerd worden. Toen dacht ik: waarom kom je dan naar deze speeltuin? Ze moest het echt kwijt. Ze wil niet met tokkies geassocieerd worden. Terwijl ik met iedereen contact heb, als jij aardig doet tegen mij, doe ik aardig tegen jou.

The majority of the respondents do not distinguish ethnic gentrifiers and 'classic' gentrifiers. They just talk about the 'new people' in general, this can be either Dutch or ethnic gentrifiers. Most of what they said about the behavior of the gentrifiers is that they are more distant: they do not use the neighborhoods facilities a lot; neither want a lot of contact. An example is that many residents of the Afrikaanderwijk are used to greet each other on the streets, but the new residents are not accustomed to this. The old residents perceive this lack of greeting as distant and they find the gentrifiers more distant in general.

"Ehh ja geen sociaal zijn ze, ze zeggen geen hallo en gedag."

(Yvette, female, Martinus Steinstraat, 50, medium income, Dutch)

"Ze zitten op de eigen nu. (...) Nu blijven ze op die nieuwe kleine speeltuintjes hangen allemaal. Je hebt hier een schitterende speeltuin!"

(David, male, Martinus Steinstraat, 50, medium income, Dutch)

The lifestyle of new residents differs from the lifestyle of longtime residents of the Afrikaanderwijk, of whom many see each other everyday and also meet at the neighborhood facilities. They have a common lifestyle, while they perceive differences in lifestyle with the new residents. They believe the new residents just see the neighborhood as a place to live, while for them it is an important resource of social contacts (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000, Van Kempen, 2010).

“Zij zijn van buiten gekomen, misschien zijn het wel mensen die geen contact willen, omdat ze continu werken. En dan doen ze thuis eten en slapen. Daar moeten we ook respect voor hebben. Maar bij ons is het gewoon anders. Wij wonen, wij doen boodschappen en alles voor elkaar. We zijn gewoon de buurt. Ook al werken we, we hebben toch contact met elkaar. Maar sommige mensen, vooral die van buiten zijn gekomen, bijvoorbeeld op de Hillekop, die zijn daar puur om te wonen.”
(Meriam, female, Cronjéstraat, 39, low income, Turkish)

In this quote Meriam draws a difference in lifestyle. The old residents *are* the neighborhood she says, and the new residents *live* in the neighborhood. Somehow she finds this a pity, because she is still trying to incorporate the new residents into her value system of being neighbors, as the interview goes further:

Daphne: Op welke manier hebben de nieuwbouwwontwikkelingen geleid tot verschillende gedragscodes in de wijk?

Meriam: Oude mensen zijn natuurlijk gewoon veilig, op z'n plek. Met nieuwe mensen merk ik dat als ze contact willen, dan doen ze dat sowieso. Maar als ze dat niet willen dan merk je dat ook. Oké, die wil gewoon afstand denk je dan. Met gedrag tonen ze dat wel, tot hoe ver je bij hun kan gaan.

Daphne: Merkt u dan dat veel mensen afstand willen of juist niet?

Meriam: Grootste deel toch wel, vind ik.

Daphne: Hoe merk je dat dan, als iemand afstand wil?

Meriam: Door hun gedrag, door hun blik, door hun groeten of zelfs niet groeten, want ik ben echt een persoon die met iedereen groet en praat. Maar als ik merk, die wil het niet, dan houdt het op voor mij dus. Volgende keer doe ik het anders, dan neem ik een bepaalde afstand. Dan geef ik ze gewoon de privacy die ze willen.

Daphne: Heeft u daar een voorbeeld van?

Meriam: Ja hallo enzo, hoe gaat het. En we letten op elkaar, als ze bijvoorbeeld iets laten vallen, een brief, post, dan breng ik het bij hun. Soms zeggen ze van oké, dank je. En pats deur dicht. De oude bewoners zouden zeggen: lief dank je. Dat verschil in gedrag kun je wel zien.

Daphne: Hmm.

Meriam: Ja. Want hier, mensen die hier al jaren wonen, zitten thuis en komt er zo'n geur. Lekker denken ze, apart. En over een paar uur wordt er een bordje bij jou gebracht. En dan breng je over een bepaalde tijd weer een bordje terug. Dat doen wij met elkaar, met Marokkaanse, Turkse, Nederlands. Want ik heb ook best wel Nederlandse burenen gehad. Die hebben dan stampot en aardappelen en puree, want ik heb ook Nederlands gekookt echt vroeger. Daar was ik echt dol op. En ik bracht hun dan lahmachun of pizza of dingen. Dus dat was ook apart.

(Meriam, female, Cronjéstraat, 39, low income, Turkish)

The respondent tries to change the values of the new residents by trying to have interactions and trying to help them, but she experienced that new residents want more distance and tries to adapt to that. Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen (2009) researched social cohesion in two recently gentrified neighborhoods in the city of Utrecht and found that residents had problems with the norms and values and lifestyles of the other group of residents. The respondents would rather live in neighborhoods where more people are like them, which would lead to more social interactions.

At first this respondent is focused on giving information about differences in norms, but a few seconds later she became a little emotional and started talking about how the common values were before gentrification, that residents brought each other food and had much more social ties. This value difference leads to the fact that she now still shares these values with the old residents, so she still shares food with them. Although there are differences in values it doesn't necessarily lead to a clash of values as Freeman (2006) describes for the case of Clinton and Harlem in New York, that old residents have to adjust their behavior concerning barbecuing in the courtyard, because this doesn't

match the values of the new residents. In the Afrikaanderwijk this is more an example of voluntary segregation on the part of the new residents as described by Butler and Robson (2001).

Others mainly see differences in behavior regarding the use of public space. Most of the old residents, especially the ones that do not have a job, make a lot of use of the neighborhoods public space. This is in line with Madanipour (2010) who states that the neighborhoods' public space and facilities are often the only resource of longtime residents. This is also where respondents observe different behavior from new residents, who do not spend much time in public space.

“De oude bewoners zijn huurders, vaak mensen met een uitkering en die zie je meer en hebben alle tijd. De nieuwe bewoners zijn kopers en die werken allemaal en hebben geen tijd voor een kletspraatje en op straat hangen. Dat is het grote verschil.”

(Margaret, female, Bloemfonteinstraat, 55, high income, Dutch)

And later on in the interview she said: (...) *Nee ik denk dat ze het dan te druk hebben met hun eigen besognes. (...) Maar ik denk wel dat de oude bewoners meer gebruik van de publieke ruimte maken. (...) Oude bewoners is meer dat ze zich thuis voelen op straat en nieuwe bewoners veel minder.*

De mensen van de Hillekop die slenteren. Ze kopen van alles, meer dan op hun lijstje staat denk ik. Ze drinken ook een kopje koffie en vinden het gezellig. Turkse mensen en andere mensen uit de wijk daarachter kopen meer alles wat goedkoop is en wat ze nodig hebben.

(Elma, female, Beyersstraat, 62, high income, Dutch)

This last quote is about different lifestyles in terms of class (Atkinson, 2003). The new residents are probably richer and often from different social backgrounds than the old residents. They see the market for example not only as a place to buy cheap food, but also as a place where they can have fun and spend their free time. This corresponds with the literature in the sense that old and new residents often have different values (Spain, 1993). New residents spend more time on leisure and consumption, while old residents don't understand that. A few other respondents also indicated they saw class differences in terms of clothing and attitude.

Fatima: Ja nieuwe bewoners hebben wel ander gedrag een beetje

Daphne: Hoe gedragen zij zich anders?

Fatima: Ik weet niet. (...) Ze lopen anders, meer haast lijkt het. Ook hebben ze andere kleren. Meer rijk, meer chique. Maar ik kan niet zoveel zeggen, taal is lastig.

(Fatima, female, Bothastraat, 39, low income, Moroccan)

“Ja ik zie het aan de manier waarop mensen gekleed zijn, de houding, de manier waarop zij iets bestellen misschien.”

(Zelda, female, Pretorialaan, 51, medium income, Romanian)

7.1.2 New residents as rolemodels

Other respondents go far further than just accepting the behavior differences. They hope the behavior of the gentrifiers will influence other groups in the neighborhood with the objective they change their behavior. Again, as was also the case with public space and facilities (chapter 5) and with their perception on the influx of new residents (paragraph 6.2), the old residents get hope out of the different behavior of new residents, hope for change.

Emma for example was very negative about the way many parents in the Afrikaanderwijk do not correct their children properly. She saw the new residents have different, in her eyes better, values on raising children. She hopes they will be rolemodels for the old residents.

“Ja want bij speeltuintje verderop waar geen heg is, dat moeder kinderen exact corrigeren zoals het hoort. En dan horen die andere moeders dat ook. Hopen dat ze dat aannemen.”

(Emma, female, Hilledijk, 59, low income, Yugoslavian)

Rolemodels are also an expected outcome of gentrification for policymakers, while in practice this doesn't seem to work, because the different residents are in different networks and spheres of

influence (Atkinson, 2003, Kleinhans, 2005). According to Freeman (2006, p. 136) it is unlikely that the socialization of residents will change in the face of gentrification, due to the social distance between the two groups. As the interview goes further, Emma explicitly expresses hope that the new residents bring the values that are now missing in the neighborhood, for example positivity, sustainability, social control, correcting people and being rolemodels. She ascribes that to the higher education the gentrifiers have and to their openness to do things differently. She hopes their values lead to solutions for problems in the neighborhood. This is in line with Kearns and Forrest (2000) stating common values lead to the achievement of common goals. Social order in this case is the common goal new and old residents are assumed to admire, and the respondent hopes this is achieved by gentrification. She hopes the new residents will make these values visible in the neighborhood by intervening and participating.

Emma: Dat ze juist, omdat ze juist bevorderen wat hier nu tekort is. Ook qua positiviteit, qua meestal komen ze van buitenaf en zijn ze kat uit de boom kijken en later gaan ze zich gesetteld voelen. En dan komen ze ook hier (in the Afrikaandertuin, red).

Daphne: Dat als ze zich gesetteld voelen meer bij gaan dragen?

Emma: Ja. Zeker. Ze bezoeken de winkeltjes, die zeg maar nieuw zijn, maar ook modernachtig duurzaam en up to date. Wat we nu bezig zijn met in het algemeen in de wereld. In de wereld van natuur bevorderen en andere kleine dingen. Ja duurzaam eigenlijk. De nieuwe mensen letten daar absoluut meer op. En we merken ook veranderen. Ik kom niet op het woord. Ze spreken zich meteen uit hoe het zit. op een nette manier gaan ze ergens op wijzen.

(...)

Daphne: U denkt dus dat de nieuwe mensen eerst de kat uit de boom kijken en daarna gaan ze participeren?

Emma: Volledig. En dan zien ze gelijk nieuwe ideeën en mogelijkheden. (...) Nieuwe ideeën en duurzaamheid. Dat vind ik leuk dat ze dat hebben. En dat ze ook minder auto's willen en desnoods betaald parkeren. Zo bevorderlijk dat ze constant aan dat soort dingen denken.

Daphne: En hoe denkt u dat dat komt?

Emma: Waarschijnlijk doordat ze een hogere opleiding hebben. En voorlichting en ze horen van opa en oma wat ze vroeger anders deden en doen dat nu op een andere manier.

Another respondent said she liked that new residents have other values about caring for public space. This links to the sustainability Maria talked about. She hopes the streets will be cleaner and that this behavior of the new residents changes the neighborhood.

“Je ziet nu ook koopwoningen, waardoor de betrokkenheid voor de buitenruimte wel iets is toegenomen. Dat is het idee wat ik heb. Het ziet er schoner uit.”

(Annabella, female, Hillelaan, 38, high income, Italian)

Even though differences in behavior of old and new residents were for some residents hard to put into words, all together they provided a lot of information on common values and especially different values. It became clear that the values of the new residents are quite different in the eyes of the old residents, but longtime residents do not seem to worry about this. They are not angry, aggressive or emotional in another way about the differences in behavior; nor does it lead to clashes as is exemplified from the literature (Freeman, 2006). On the contrary, a group of respondents is actually very hopeful about the introduction of different values in the neighborhood. They hope this will lead to changes in the collective socialization of the neighborhood.

7.1.3 Adaption to different values of new residents

The fact that residents are accepting and even encouraging the different values of the new gentrifying neighbors probably has to do with the fact that the Afrikaanderwijk already was a neighborhood with different types of residents with different values, behavior and lifestyles. This is also why most respondents answered ‘no’ when asked if they changed their behavior after the new residents came. Most of them gave no reason for this, or even looked like it was a weird question to ask. The ones that commented their answer said for example that they consider themselves as ‘flexible’ but not changing their behavior. Only three residents said they changed their behavior, all with the purpose to please the gentrifiers, make them feel at home. One respondent said that she feels new residents seek affirmation for their choice to live in the Afrikaanderwijk:

“Nee: Nee mijn gedrag is goed genoeg. Ik kan me er wel mee identificeren. Ze vinden het prettig dat je in de ghetto woont en toch een bepaalde voorkomen hebt. Daardoor denken zij: ik heb een goeie keus gemaakt om hier een koophuis te nemen. Stel dat ik heel negatief zou zijn dan zouden ze denk ik overwegen van heb ik wel een goede keus gemaakt. Ik merk wel dat de nieuwe mensen wel eens denken van heb ik een goede keus gemaakt. Dat ze dat bevestigd willen zien.”
(Bernice, female, Hilledijk, 41, low income, Surinamese)

Because Bernice is an old resident who considers herself to have characteristics of a gentrifier too (although she has a low income because she is divorced, she knows a different lifestyle from the one she has now, forced to live in the Afrikaanderwijk), she feels like she can affirm the gentrifiers that they made a good choice. According to her many new residents want to be affirmed in their choices.

Paul and Meriam also indicate they adjusted their behavior to make the new residents feel more comfortable by adjusting to their values. This is completely opposite from the literature. Most of the records of value differences in gentrified neighborhoods present tensions and resentment towards different behavior, let alone adaption to this behavior.

“Ik probeer zoveel mogelijk mijn gedrag aan te passen ja. Door ze in ieder geval wel te begroeten, dat zeer zeker. En als ze een praatje proberen te maken dan maak ik ook een praatje. Ook als ik ze eigenlijk niet aardig vind.”
(Paul, male, Christiaan de Wetstraat, 57, low income, Dutch)

“Tot hun recht, tot hun privacy die zij willen. Daar pas ik me aan aan. Dat zou voor mij ook gelden als ik moet verhuizen naar Barendrecht ofzo. Als je dan geen contact wil, dan houdt het op.”
(Meriam, female, Cronjéstraat, 39, low income, Turkish)

Only one respondent feels a little bit of resentment, even though she is also welcoming towards the gentrifiers.

“Je bent afhankelijk van wat mensen van jou verwachten. En je hoopt dat het andersom ook zo is, en dat is de vraag meestal, moet ik zeggen. (...) Op het moment dat ik praat met iemand die zich anders gedraagt moet ik me ook anders gedragen. Soms heb ik de neiging om te zeggen: Hé het is hier onze eigen manier, maar dat doe ik niet.”
(Zelda, female, Pretoriaaan, 51, medium income, Romanian)

She feels like she has to adapt to the values of new residents, while sometimes she wants them to adapt to ‘the ways of the Afrikaanderwijk’, but she doesn’t say it and keeps this to herself. Probably she finds another common value of the neighborhood ‘being welcome to change and improvements’ more important than her own feelings on this aspect.

The fact that longtime residents don’t change their behavior towards the new residents can mean different things. It can mean that it is not necessary; that the different values for example can exist next to each other without conflicts. Or that it is not needed because the two groups live in completely different ‘socospheres’ (Blokland, 2003). Or it can mean that the gentrifiers adapt themselves to the behavior of old residents, but this is beyond the scope of this thesis. Furthermore, this might change in the future, because now the gentrification in the Afrikaanderwijk is still in an early stage.

7.2 Participation

Participation is seen as an aspect of common values (Kearns & Forrest, 2000). In order to know whether they have common values in the Afrikaanderwijk it is important to know how residents view participation and to what extent they experience common values regarding participation with the old residents.

7.2.1 Participation as common value

Participation is an important value of the old residents from the Afrikaanderwijk. It should be noted here that respondents are gathered via the networks of social institutions like the community center and community garden, and that it is possible that the gatekeepers introduced the researcher to

people who are in their networks because they know each other from participating in the neighborhood. This is why these findings might be biased and should be interpreted with concern.

More than half of the respondents said they feel responsible for the Afrikaanderwijk and most of these respondents express this feeling by collaborating in the existing civic culture and the creation of social order. Kearns and Forrest (2000) see this as outcomes of participation, one of the dimensions of social cohesion. The people that did not feel responsible think they do not have the power to change things and most of them are also less attached to the neighborhood. Half of this group is under the age of thirty. Of the older people not feeling responsible, most also indicated they feel less attached to the neighborhood. Also one respondent is very attached but became bitter because of the ethnic changes in the neighborhood of the last decennium.

Respondents express their feeling of responsibility for example by voluntary work for the neighborhoods institutions, mostly the community center, the community garden or the playground. This also links to supporting and engaging in institutions (Kearns & Forrest, 2000), instead of indifference. In the literature this is mainly about political institutions, but in the Afrikaanderwijk this is translated to neighborhood institutions that play a role, for example participation intervention teams from social engineering organizations and other community initiatives. Almost all of the respondents said they participated in the neighborhood in order to solve problems or contribute to the wellbeing of the community. Most accomplish that by doing voluntary work, talk to problematic teenagers, keeping order on the square, engage in social relations to conduct collective affairs, help people finding their way in the neighborhood or becoming a (social) entrepreneur in the Afrikaanderwijk. Some examples of what residents stated about their participation:

“Ik geef rondleidingen om vooroordelen weg te nemen. Mensen die meedoen staan altijd verbaasd dat het hier zo leuk is, dat je zulke leuke plekken hebt en zulke groene plekken.”

(Margaret, female, Bloemfonteinstraat, 55, high income, Dutch)

“Ik kom er gauw tussen. Ik probeer nog steeds hulpverlener te zijn, niet officieel maar gewoon.”

(Emma, female, Hilledijk, 59, low income, Yugoslavian)

For the Turk respondents it is found that they are mainly participating in their own ethnic group. Especially when it is about correcting teenagers that are hanging around in the neighborhood:

“Ik ken de jongeren ook en als ze stoer doen. Ik ken hun ouders ook. Dan zeg ik gewoon pas op. En soms zie ik ze op de verkeerde plek. Bij de coffeeshop. Dan haal ik ze eruit en zeg ik jij hoort hier niet. (...) Mijn doel is zo veel mogelijk Turkse mensen taalvaardig te maken en te activeren. Ze hebben een heleboel talenten, maar die taalbarrière. Of ze kunnen het wel maar durven niet praktijk te maken.

(Rabia, female, Hillekopplein, 56, low income, Turkish)

“Jongeren spreek ik ook wel aan, maar als ik iets niet of wel goed vindt. Ik ken ze ook van mijn straat. Veel jongeren maken hier groepjes in de Afrikaanderwijk, maar we letten op elkaar. Communiceren en op elkaar letten.”

(Meriam, female, Cronjéstraat, 39, low income, Turkish)

These two Turkish respondents indicate they feel responsible to talk to the teenagers from their own ethnic group, because they know that teenagers hanging around don't fit the values of the other residents in the neighborhood. Also they participate in other ways in their own ethnic group, but the second respondent says overall she doesn't feel capable of participating in order to solve problems. So in her own ethnic group she does participate, but not for the neighborhood in general:

“Denk het niet, want met problemen kun je gewoon naar Vestia of gewoon naar andere dingen. Misschien met kleine dingetjes wel helpen, maar met grote problemen vind ik dat je afstand moet nemen. Gewoon in orde laten.”

Only three other respondents said they didn't participate in the neighborhood, these are for a large part the same residents that also didn't feel responsible for the neighborhood, but this a much smaller group. Maybe also the way the respondents are found is of influence on this. In other words, there are

people that participate in the neighborhood, even though they said they do not feel responsible. Probably this is because participation is a strong common value in the Afrikaanderwijk, because many people are unemployed and do voluntary work as their day activity. The residents that do not feel responsible are mostly bitter because of the ethnic changes in the neighborhood or because they feel they cannot contribute to anything because all decisions are made above their heads.

“Ik heb er geen invloed op, dus kan me er ook niet verantwoordelijk over voelen.”

(Roel, male, Bloemfonteinstraat, 26, low income, Dutch)

The question is whether gentrification has influenced the participation of the longtime residents. A few residents said they participated less because of the gentrification. They overlap with the same residents who said they experience less place attachment because of the gentrification. Nadine for example, indicated in paragraph 6.1.1 that gentrification ‘closed the door for her neighborhood attachment’. About participation she says ‘I used to participate, but now not anymore’. Another respondent said she participated less because she doesn’t know the people anymore:

Ria: Vroeger wel maar nou ook niet meer. Je wordt steeds makkelijker he?

Daphne: Ja, waarom?

Ria: Nou omdat je geen contact met die mensen heb

(Ria, female, Hillelaan, 68, low income, Dutch)

This single quote indicates that a less tight social cohesion caused by gentrification can lead to less participation (Dekker & Bolt, 2005), but most residents don’t say anything about a change in their activities since gentrification. The ones that do voluntary work often do that for years already and don’t get discouraged by gentrification. This might have to do with the participation patterns of new residents that might not come across the activities of the longtime residents. Research of the participation of new residents is beyond the scope of this thesis, but longtime residents have been asked how they perceive the participation of new residents, in order to find out whether they experience common grounds with them in terms of participation.

7.2.2 Perceived participation of new residents

In order to achieve common goals as the outcome of common values it is important that different groups work together to create a harmonic cohesive community. Although it is a limitation of this research that the new residents are not interviewed, old residents are asked what they think the differences are between the participation of old and new residents. This is done to find out if the two groups live in different worlds regarding participation or if they perceive participation as a common value. This influences their perception of the neighborhood and can be changed due to gentrification, because it is possible that residents will stop participating whenever they experience less common grounds with the new residents, and because they might then not have the motivation to participate anymore.

It seems like the new and old residents live in separate worlds concerning participation efforts. As written in paragraph 7.2.1 most of the residents participate conducting social control, helping people or doing voluntary work within the own group. In their group it is a common value, which they don’t seem to share with the new residents. Most of the respondents said they didn’t see any new residents participate. Either they didn’t notice any new residents in public life, or they stated that the new residents don’t participate in the way they do, for example by organizing activities in the community center. As a reason for this they assume that the residents are too busy working during the day and just see the neighborhood as a place to live.

“Ik zie het niet gebeuren, dus kan daar niks over zeggen”

(Osman, male, Parallelweg, 24, low income, Turkish)

De nieuwe bewoners komen hier wonen en voor de rest hebben ze niets met de buurt en de oude bewoners die doen mee en organiseren activiteiten. Volwassen van de oude bewoners doen dat meer, want dat vinden ze leuk en ze kennen de mensen. En een nieuwe bewoner, ik zeg niet dat het niet kan of niet gebeurt, maar ik zie het ze niet zo snel doen. Omdat ze hier puur wonen en niets met de buitenwereld te maken hebben. (Shirley, female, Brede Hilledijk, 19, low income, Dutch Antillean)

“Nee ik merk daar niks van. Die nieuwe bewoners zijn, wat ik zei, toch wel meer van gewoon een huis huren en eten en slapen enzo. (...) Omdat ze werken zijn ze altijd pas heel laat terug en dan hebben ze rust in huis nodig.” (Meriam, female, Cronjéstraat, 39, low income, Turkish)

Other respondents think the new residents do participate, but in their own institutions and in their own group in their own streets and they believe they have different interests for participation.

“Ik heb nog niet zoveel nieuwe bewoners gezien met participeren, tenzij je naar de Raaf gaat natuurlijk, daar zitten alle nieuwe bewoners.”
(Margaret, female, Bloemfonteinstraat, 55, high income, Dutch)

“Ze gaan net twee straatjes verder dan waar ze wonen en dat interesseert ze. Misschien durven ze de stap niet te nemen.” (David, male, Martinus Steinstraat, 50, low income, Dutch)

Viewed this way, it corresponds to the literature findings of Blokland (2003) that old and new residents live in different ‘sociospheres’. In this research it is not uncovered whether or not the new residents only participate in their own institutions, but it became clear that they do not participate together with the old residents. According to respondent Dave the new residents are not interested, but most respondents just conclude they are too busy with other things and they respect this. Some respondents even believe new residents would want to participate and do even make attempts, but that it is hard for them because of the strong in-group cohesive structures in the neighborhood. According to Emma new residents are open to participate, but stop doing it when they find out how the civic culture of the neighborhood functions.

“Ze merken later dat het hier toch ghetto is en dan is het even weer kat uit de boom kijken. Sommigen stoppen ermee en andere niet.” (Emma, female, Hilledijk, 59, low income, Yugoslavian)

Other respondents think the new residents are doing well participating in the neighborhood. This is reflected in the quote of Bernice, who also thinks that residents are really willing to participate but that it is hard for them because of time constraints:

“De nieuwe bewoners willen graag. Ik kan goed op ze terugvallen. Alhoewel sommige wel met hun werk zitten en daardoor geen tijd om te participeren, maar degenen die dat niet hebben zijn absoluut een grote aanwinst. De mensen die werken hebben geen tijd, zouden misschien wel graag willen.”
(Bernice, female, Hilledijk, 41, low income, Surinamese)

In the opinion of Roel (see below) the new residents already participate by choosing the Afrikaanderwijk as their living place, and improve the neighborhood by spending money. This is in line with the literature that new residents in gentrified neighborhoods can create more support for facilities and that can improve neighborhoods (Van Bergeijk et al, 2008). However, this is not proven empirically and for the Afrikaanderwijk there are also reasons to believe the new residents are going elsewhere in their free time and do not spend much money in the neighborhood (Kleinans, 2005).

Roel: De nieuwe bewoners doen sowieso al iets extra's , want ze zijn tenslotte hier komen wonen
Daphne: Hoezo doen ze dan iets extra's?

Roel: Nou als het een verbetering is doen ze in ieder geval iets

Daphne: dus het hier komen wonen is eigenlijk al iets doen voor de wijk...

Roel: Ja als daardoor het bestedingsvermogen omhoog gaat

(Roel, male, Bloemfonteinstraat, 26, low income, Dutch)

Other respondents hope that new residents can demand things that make the neighborhood better, for example in terms of facilities, safety and other neighborhood improvements. This is also in line with the literature. Freeman (2006) wrote for example that new residents are able to demand things that old residents cannot acquire. The residents in the Afrikaanderwijk think the new residents have more power to demand things because of their education and language skills:

“Nieuwe bewoners beheersen de taal, dus voor hen makkelijk.”

(Rabia, female, Hillekopplein, 56, low income, Turkish)

“Het is niet makkelijk voor mensen om hier te participeren. De nieuwe bewoners zijn hoogopgeleid en voor hun is het makkelijker om dingen voor elkaar te krijgen. Maar oude bewoners, niet opgeleid, is moeilijker om dingen voor elkaar te krijgen.”

(Hussam, male, Bothastraat, 44, low income, Moroccan)

In this aspect residents see once again hope in gentrification, even though the new residents do not even participate a lot compared to the old residents. It can be concluded that participating is a strong value for old residents of the Afrikaanderwijk. These longtime residents believe this is not such a strong value for new residents, but they don't mind. They accept the new residents are busy working and some respondents even appreciate that the new residents have the potential to demand stuff when it is needed or even think the new residents already participate just by living in the Afrikaanderwijk. In other words, the residents perceive their neighborhood positively even though the gentrification changed the common ground for participating and the newcomers don't participate much.

7.3 Tolerance

Another value that is of influence on the neighborhood perception of residents living through gentrification is their tolerance towards the gentrification process. Measuring tolerance is a way to measure common values of residents (Dekker & Bolt, 2005). In paragraph 7.1.1 is already reported how residents cope with different behavior of the new gentrifiers and concluded they were very tolerant towards the newcomers. In this paragraph the focus lies on the tolerance of residents towards neighborhood change by gentrification.

7.3.1 Coping with diversity and change

Most of the interviewed residents stated they thought of themselves as very tolerant towards the gentrification and the accompanying neighborhood changes. This is opposed to the literature where residents often are not so tolerant (Atkinson, 2003, Sakizlioğlu, 2014). Other records show a dualistic attitude of residents living through gentrification (Doucet, 2009, Freeman, 2006, Huisman, 2014). But the residents of the Afrikaanderwijk, at least most of them, are merely tolerant towards gentrification, except for a few aspects like displacement, on which is also elaborated on in paragraph 6.3.2. Most of the respondents said things in the range of acceptance to approval, like it was the case with many other topics of this research.

“Ik ben er zeker niet tegen. Op die manier ben ik tolerant. Wat ze met de Pretoriaaan gaan doen vind ik ook heel erg leuk. Dat het wat groener wordt en meer allooi krijgt.”

(Margaret, female, Bloemfonteinstraat, 55, high income, Dutch)

“Ik zeg ja, als het een verbetering is, waarom zou ik dan niet tolerant zijn ervoor?”

(Roel, male, Bloemfonteinstraat, 26, low income, Dutch)

“Ik ben heel tolerant. Ik ben er juist wel blij mee dat er iets gaat veranderen in de wijk. Al moet ik er wel aan wennen.” (Paul, male, Christiaan de Wetstraat, 57, low income, Dutch)

A few respondents indicated they are tolerant as long as their facilities are staying. This is still the case in the Afrikaanderwijk, but it might be the case that this changes in the coming years. As seen in paragraph 5.2, there are also residents that are not tolerant about the new facilities that accompany gentrification, but this already described in that chapter. One respondent says he's not tolerant because he feels like the government has a strategy to change the neighborhood and he can't do anything about it. This makes him angry:

Nou over de veranderingen word ik wel een beetje pissig om, maar het ligt niet in mijn hand om dat te veranderen. Ik kan er niks aan doen dat alles veranderd, de gemeente besluit dat hier andere mensen moeten komen en daardoor wordt alles veranderd. Natuurlijk kunnen hier andere mensen komen wonen, maar de mensen die hier al woonden moeten niet belemmerd worden of gevraagd om weg te gaan. (Osman, male, Parallelweg, 24, low income, Turkish)

Next to the lack of control, he also introduces displacement. Although most residents are tolerant, there are boundaries to their tolerance.

7.3.2 Boundaries to tolerance

Even though most residents typify themselves as extremely tolerant, there are aspects of the change towards which they are not tolerant. One of these aspects is displacement. Even though in paragraph 6.3.2 is concluded that residents do not fear displacement so much, some of them clearly define it as a boundary to their tolerance. A handful of residents indicated that their tolerance stops when gentrification causes too much displacement. This is in line with the literature. Freeman (2006) writes longtime residents are concerned about displacement, but do not necessarily fear it for their own situation.

“Zolang het maar niet al teveel overlast geeft en ik in mijn huis kan blijven wonen. Het ergert me dat ze huizen neerzetten en bestaande bewoners daarvoor weg moeten. Als ze terug willen kunnen ze het niet betalen.” (Nadine, female, La Reystraat, 64, medium income, Cape Verdian)

It was not expected that the residents would care about displacement so much, because it was not the first thing that came up when talking about the sense of security people feel in the neighborhood (par 6.3). Moreover, the Afrikaanderwijken's gentrification is state led gentrification. This fits in the third wave of gentrification (Hackworth & Smith, 2001) characterized by little displacement. Furthermore, in the Netherlands displacement would not happen as much as in for example the USA, because the Netherlands has a strong welfare state and an extensive social rent sector (Doucet, 2014). But still residents fear to get displaced, and even more they fear higher rents. The residents living in new build social housing, fear that the rents will increase after a few years.

“En de huur is erg verhoogd. Ik heb gehoord vanaf 700, 800 euro, voor iemand met bijstand is dat echt een probleem.” (Rabia, female, Hillekopplein, 56, low income, Turkish)

“Bijvoorbeeld dat alles echt financieel achteruitgaat. Dan zeg ik ho. Ik ben er ook zolang ik woon, maar mensen die van buitenaf komen laten ze 500-600 euro huur betalen voor 1 slaapkamer.” (Meriam, female, Cronjéstraat, 39, low income, Turkish)

It also became clear that residents of the Afrikaanderwijk are only tolerant towards building developments when they see a common goal in it and when it is not against their values. Before the most recent plans there was a plan to transform part of the Afrikaanderwijk into a neighborhood only for Turkish people, with Turkish architecture (AD, 2013). When asked about the tolerance towards gentrification, many respondents indicated that they were satisfied with the current developments, but were really angry about the plans for the Turkish neighborhood.

“Maar ze willen ook, was ter sprake, een Turkse wijk maken. (...) Waar ben je dan mee bezig? Ga naar Turkije dan! Dat gaat echt te ver voor ons” (Yvette, female, Martinus Steinstraat, 50, low income, Dutch)

“Het was eigenlijk de bedoeling dat ze hier een Turkse wijk zouden zetten, maar dat gaat gelukkig niet door. Een Turkenwijk, waar ik ik weet niet hoe lang woon. En dan moet je daarvoor ruimen. Daaag.” (Mw. Vervoort, female, Hilledijk, 78, low income, Dutch)

It became clear that residents are much more tolerant towards the current developments of gentrification because this is in line with their values, to improve the neighborhood and make it better for the future. But the Turkish neighborhood doesn't match their values and about this they are very angry. This also shows how tolerant residents actually are towards the current gentrification, because this lead to reactions of acceptance or even liking.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

In this final chapter the answers to the research questions are provided, starting with the three sub questions. Then a personal reflection of the researcher is given, in order to understand the strengths and limitations of this research. The chapter ends with the final conclusion, the answer to the main question.

8.1 Public space and facilities

Sub question 1:

To what extent does gentrification influence the perception of public space and facilities of residents living through gentrification?

The perception of the neighborhood regarding the public space and facilities of residents that live through gentrification is still considerably positive. Even though most people do not use the gentrified spaces and facilities a lot, they are still positive about what it contributes to the neighborhood. They hope it counters the ethnic tensions that are present right now and make the neighborhood a nicer place. The fact that respondents are still positive about the public space while the neighborhood is changing is in line with some literature (Doucet et al, 2011) and contrasting other literature (for example Minton, 2006, Madanipour, 2004, 2010).

The main reason why respondents are positive about the public space is the fact that their surroundings look nicer and tidier and that they are not marginalized or excluded. Most of the places they frequently use still remained unchanged. Old and new residents in the Afrikaanderwijk use the same public space. This contrasts findings from the literature (for example Madanipour, 2004, 2010, Minton, 2006) that public space in gentrified areas reflects the economic requirements of the owner of the space and excludes long-term residents. The difference in findings might have to do with the fact that there is a difference between private space in city centers that is often owned by companies and public space in disadvantaged neighborhoods, which is often owned by the city. When places are privately owned it is easier to exclude poorer people, but in a neighborhood like the Afrikaanderwijk poorer residents are not marginalized, because the city has planned the public space for their use. Moreover, most of the residents are non-gentrifiers so it would be harder to modify public space only for the gentrifiers, while they are not the most frequent users.

Another contrast to Madanipours' (2004) statements is that there is no competition between the old and new residents over the scarce resource of public space that influences the perception of original residents negatively. Reason for this is that the long-term residents are the dominant users of the public space, because most of them are dependent on the neighborhood for their daily activities and leisure (Van Kempen, 2010). They are accepting the new residents in public space, but they are rarely there, because they are not dependent on the neighborhood for their activities. Ethnic residents are still able to express their ethnic identities and the neighborhood still has significance for immigrant groups, contrasting other findings about gentrification in ethnic neighborhoods (Walks & Maaranen, 2008). This might have to do with the 'geography of gentrification' (Lees, 2000), that the context of gentrification in the Netherlands differs from Walks and Maaranen's (2008) Canadian findings. In the Netherlands gentrification is more government initiated in contrast to the developer-led gentrification common in Canada. In addition, Dutch gentrification is known for being milder and smaller scale (Doucet, 2014), which can influence the outcomes for original residents.

It is remarkable that a certain part of the neighborhoods' public space is perceived different than the central public space. The streets where old houses are demolished and where now many new residents live, are avoided by many of the respondents. Some feel a sense of separation, confirming findings from Atkinson (2000). They feel the gentrified part is a different neighborhood and don't use the public space there. When this happens, the policy goal of gentrification creating a social mix is achieved only on paper (because the average income is higher) but not in reality, because the different groups that should be mixed live in different social and physical worlds. The gentrified parts in the Afrikaanderwijk can be compared with 'islands of renewal in seas of decay' (Wyly & Hammel, 1997) and the residents of the different parts voluntarily segregate themselves (Butler & Robson, 2001). The way gentrification

is conducted in the Afrikaanderwijk is the way that is much criticized: the mixing occurs on neighborhood level instead of a smaller level like street, block or micro level (see Kleinhans 2004, Galster, 2007). Now there are basically two neighborhoods with their own public space, with the central public space that is used by both gentrifiers and original residents in the middle. By creating an island of higher incomes with barely facilities or a central road it is a consequence that the old residents will not use the public space in the gentrified part. The policy goal of the city is to improve the neighborhood by gentrification, in this way only one part 'improves' but thereby displacing old residents and deepening the gap between old and new residents, because they don't really live together. To nuance this: there are some exceptions, for example the new built social housing in the gentrified part, where old and new residents use the same public space.

The perception of the facilities in the Afrikaanderwijk was influenced positively by gentrification. Even though it is clearly visible that gentrification led to different consumption patterns between old and new residents, respondents were enthusiastic about the change in retail and restaurants, mainly because it brings diversity and counters the ethnic domination of the facilities in the neighborhood. This is why there are barely tensions about gentrification in the Afrikaanderwijk. Tensions in public space and facilities were more about ethnic differences than about the class differences gentrification is often causing (Smith, 2002). All in all it seems that gentrification normalizes the tensions over public space and facilities after years of ethnic tensions and disinvestment (Freeman, 2006).

The fact that respondents like the changes doesn't mean they use the new facilities. They feel they do not belong there, due to income constraints and cultural barriers. Many respondents felt like the facilities are for a different group. This finding corresponds with findings of Doucet (2009) in Leith, where non-gentrifying residents liked the new facilities, but at the same time felt it was 'not for us'. Likewise, Freeman (2006) found that longtime residents did not feel welcome in the new restaurants, but were not negative about the changes. In this a general tendency is visible that original residents like to see their neighborhood improved, even though most of them cannot profit from the changes themselves. Some even have to sacrifice places where they used to go and have memories, but feel okay about that, because they think the image of the neighborhood and the safety are much more important. In the Afrikaanderwijk residents found countering the ethnic dominance with new facilities very important, even though there were ethnic members themselves among the respondents. Apparently a negative stigma harms the residents so bad that they are willing to trade things for a better image.

In the literature there are even a few examples of residents actively contributing to gentrification (see Rose, 1984). In the Afrikaanderwijk there are a few residents that support the developments so much that they became agents of change (Ehrenfeucht & Nelson, 2012) that contributed to gentrification by attending the new restaurants and shop at the new stores. This is the opposite from examples from the literature where residents resist and oppose gentrification (for example Atkinson, 2000). It can be concluded that they were so unsatisfied with their neighborhood the way it was, that they see gentrification as a savior or at least as something that gives them hope. Hope that gentrification counters ethnic tensions and brings new facilities like better schools. They hope the process will change the neighborhood in a way that they couldn't do themselves because of the accumulation of problems and their (mostly) poor skills and participation in politics.

8.2 Place attachment and identity

Sub question 2:

How do residents who live through gentrification in de Afrikaanderwijk experience attachment to the neighborhood and identity built upon the neighborhood now their environment is changing?

Most of the respondents still have close ties to the Afrikaanderwijk even though the neighborhood is changing. The things that create their ties are mainly related to their identity, for example the relationships they have and the memories of their time in the neighborhood. Other ties are related to place attachment; people mentioned for example facilities and length of residence when asked about their sense of belonging. This is in line with the literature. According to Blokland (2009) place identity is

built on the use of the neighborhood for daily activities and historical narratives and Dekker and Bolt (2005) state it is built on past experiences, ideas and culture. Because most original residents spend a lot of time in the neighborhood conducting their daily activities, often have a long length of residence and history in the area and also most of their friends and family members live in the vicinity, one can imagine they have a strong neighborhood attachment and identity, which is heavily influenced by gentrification but in this sample not necessarily in a negative way. Contrary to the expectations gentrification didn't cause a decline in their sense of belonging, symbolic bonds to new residents and sense of security. In order to understand the why and how of these outcomes, the most remarkable findings are discussed.

The interviewed residents have a strong identity built upon the neighborhood that is overall not changed by gentrification. Most of the respondents said they really feel an Afrikaanderwijker, even though the neighborhood is changing. This contradicts expectations from the literature that the place attachment and identity of longtime residents should decrease during gentrification, because these elements are stronger in homogenous neighborhoods (Dekker & Bolt. 2005). The Afrikaanderwijk was a diverse neighborhood already and it even became more diverse by gentrification. This is probably the reason why it differs from expectations from the literature: The Afrikaanderwijk has always been diverse, people already built their identity on a diverse neighborhood and this diversity is even part of their identity. In other words, when identity is build on diversity an instead of homogeneity, this remains the same when gentrification brings even more diversity.

The findings oppose the expectations even further in the fact that most respondents feel more at home because of gentrification. Most research finds the opposite (for example Spain, 1993, De Kam & Needham, 2003). In the Afrikaanderwijk gentrification contributes to respondents' identity built upon the neighborhood because residents feel like their neighborhood is now seen as a valuable place to live. A place that the City of Rotterdam and the housing cooperation perceive as being suitable to build houses for richer people. Longtime residents get the affirmation that they are not part of the 'drainage' of Rotterdam anymore, designed to catch only the refuse, but instead they feel part of a new neighborhood where people who are successful also want to live. This is such a change in what the area used to be, that residents feel they are part of something bigger. This feeling helps them to identify with the neighborhood as is also concluded by Dekker and Bolt (2005).

Symbolic bonds to new residents are also influencing residents' neighborhood attachment and identity. When people dissociate with the new residents, something that happens often in gentrifying neighborhoods (see Van Kempen et al, 2009, Atkinson, 2000, Freeman, 2006), place attachment and identity are influenced negatively. Residents from the Afrikaanderwijk vary from accepting new residents to having high expectations of them in order to improve the neighborhood. Reason for this open attitude is that being welcome to newcomers is probably part of the collective identity of the Afrikaanderwijk. It is a diverse neighborhood with a history as a settling place for harbor workers and later economical migrants from Mediterranean countries. Despite the fact there were some tensions in the past, there have always been new people in the Afrikaanderwijk and because of the (ethnic) diversity that already exist, it is easy for original residents to accept new residents even though they are different from themselves.

This also explains why interviewees do not see the gentrifiers as one group of a different class. They make the distinction between Dutch and ethnic gentrifiers, because they are used to categorize people on the basis of their ethnicity. This way of seeing gentrifiers is probably based on the ethnic divisions that already were in the neighborhood before gentrification. Especially the influx of Dutch gentrifiers influences the identity of residents. They have high expectations of their efforts to improve the neighborhood, but at the same time they know that the new residents spend a lot of time working. This corresponds to theory that gentrifiers are supposed to contribute to social cohesion in the neighborhood, but in reality they do not spend much time there (Van Bergeijk et al, 2008, Kleinhans, 2005). But even though they know this, because it is the reason why most of them do not have a lot of social contacts with the newcomers, their presence still has a positive influence on their place identity. This is because they feel like gentrifiers made a conscious choice to live in the Afrikaanderwijk. In the literature there are not many examples of original residents seeing gentrifiers as helpers that will make their neighborhood better. Often non-gentrifiers are vigilant and distrusting them because of differences in life style and fears of displacement. An explanation for this can be found concerning the

geography of gentrification (Lees, 2000) in the unique context of gentrification in the Netherlands. Here gentrification is said to be milder (Doucet, 2014) because of the welfare state and people are often benefitting from displacement because of regulations and the compensation they get (Posthumus et al, 2012).

However this positive view should also be nuanced, concerning the finding that gentrification also caused a sense of separation from the neighborhood for longtime residents. Place attachment is influenced positively and negatively at the same time. Some respondents feel less attached because the developments take place on one side of the neighborhood and they dissociate themselves from this part, because they have no ties here anymore (Dekker & Bolt, 2005). This is mainly because it physically changed and new residents live there now. The respondents feel this separation mainly considering the new built gentrification. The renovations on the other hand, increased place attachment, because this doesn't change respondents' sense of belonging in terms of memories and historical narratives. So, there is a clear distinction between areas that are gentrified by building anew versus old buildings that are renovated.

Overall, non-gentrifying residents of the Afrikaanderwijk have a strong identity built upon the neighborhood that is reinforced by gentrification because of the physical improvements, the acknowledgement for the neighborhood that gentrification brings, the hope they get from the influx of gentrifiers and the symbolic bonds they experience with them. Place attachment on the other hand is influenced both positively and negatively by gentrification. Especially the fact that gentrification is taking place on one side of the neighborhood reduces place attachment with that part, from which respondents dissociate. Also the new built gentrification has a negative influence, while the renovation on the other hand has a positive influence together with the fact that there is more police. The increased burglary in contrary reduces their place attachment. These are things that might change when the gentrification is completed.

8.3 Common values

Sub question 3:

To what extent do the values of non-gentrifying residents and the perceived differences in values of the new residents influence the perception of the neighborhood?

The original residents' values are in many ways different from the values of the new residents. Old residents find certain ways of behavior, participation and tolerance for example very important. For them it is important to greet, be close to each other and participate in the neighborhood. These are values that the new residents in their perception don't share. They think working during the day is more important for new residents than building relations and participating in the neighborhood. From the literature one would expect that this would be a problem for the old residents and it would lead to clashes because both groups want to hold on to their values (Spain, 1993, Freeman, 2006). In the Afrikaanderwijk this is not the case. It can be concluded that the values of the longtime residents make that they are very tolerant towards the new residents and their values, even though they are sometimes annoyed by some aspects of their behavior that are totally different from their own codes of behavior. This makes that their perception of the neighborhood doesn't change negatively by perceived differences in values and for some the values of the new residents do even lead to a more positive neighborhood perception.

There are different reasons why the value differences do not influence the neighborhood perception of longtime residents as much as expected. First, the differences in norms and values are not that big that they can't exist next to each other. They don't even disturb the values of the others. New residents can go to work and drink coffee at gentrified places in the weekends, while original residents do their voluntary work and hang out with each other in public space. This is a different situation than in Freeman's (2006) work, where the old residents were asked not to make noise in the courtyard because silence at night was an important value of gentrifiers. Second, there are already many residents with different values living next to each other in the Afrikaanderwijk because it is an ethnic neighborhood. The values of the Antillean and Moroccan residents for example are also very different from each other. It is not that the Afrikaanderwijk was a homogenous working class neighborhood

where yuppies now try to change everything. On the contrary, many residents even hope the values of the new residents will bring change to the neighborhood. Before gentrification the crime and some extreme asocial outings reflected the values of some residents that lived in the neighborhood. The values of new residents will probably not incorporate criminal and extreme antisocial behaviors. So, in lieu of that they can bring good things to the neighborhood. Some original residents hope the newcomers will function as role models and influence the collective socialization of the neighborhood. Even though they have different values, that old residents sometimes find annoying, they know it is better than some value differences they experienced in history, with tensions between different religions and ethnicities.

Also on the part of participation, the fact that the new residents do not participate as much as old residents doesn't influence their neighborhood perception negatively, even though participating is an important value for most interviewed residents. This is because they believe the new residents would be willing to participate if they had more time, or some of the respondents have the opinion that new residents participate by just living in the Afrikaanderwijk, because that is their contribution to making the neighborhood better. Also they think the new residents have the ability to demand things for the neighborhood, because of their higher education and skills (Freeman, 2006). It can be concluded that differences in values do not influence the neighborhood perception of old residents negatively but rather positively. They generate hope from it, the same way they did from the new facilities and the influence of the influx of new people on their place attachment and identity.

This hope wouldn't have common ground if residents of the Afrikaanderwijk weren't very tolerant towards the changes in their neighborhood. They are extremely tolerant and even encouraging the gentrification movement, but there are also a few aspects to which the residents are not tolerant. Displacement is a boundary to their tolerance. They encourage the developments, as long as they do not get displaced (Freeman, 2006, Doucet, 2009). The fact that the Afrikaanderwijks state led gentrification also encompasses new built gentrification, leads to a lesser fear for displacement, but still residents are alert on displacement. However, there is a distinction in tolerance reasons for displacement. The current gentrification efforts have the sympathy of the non-gentrifying residents, because they think they improve the neighborhood so much that they like it even though they risk displacement. Towards earlier plans, on the contrary, residents were not tolerant at all. Residents were angry about the former plans to transform the neighborhood into a Turkish area. Maybe this also is why residents are so tolerant towards the current developments: at least the Afrikaanderwijk will not become a Turkish neighborhood.

8.4 Critical reflection

Before proceeding to an answer to the main question, the researcher provides a critical reflection on these results and the way they have been generated. This can put things in perspective and highlights and clarifies the limitations and strengths of these results.

8.4.1 Reflections from the student

“Even though it sounded like a good idea to research three aspects of neighborhood perception and further narrow them down to smaller bits to operationalize the research, in the end I feel that this research entailed too much concepts. It was hard to answer the sub questions from the perspective of three smaller subthemes, sometimes not fully encompassing the broader themes place attachment and identity and common values. It was the advise of my supervisor to narrow every broad theme down in three subthemes, but in the end I felt like it were still too much subthemes. It was not a bad advise, but the way it was carried out made it really difficult; using one simple aspect and two different aspects of social cohesion all divided in three subthemes. This broadness and complexity restrained more in-depth findings. With respondents I talked briefly about all the different subthemes while at the same time keeping gentrification and neighborhood perception in my mind. Looking back, I would rather have researched fewer themes more in depth. But all in all, the different themes lead to the answer of the main question, so it was working out in the end.

It was a good choice to change the group of respondents to residents living through gentrification only. At first the idea was to interview both groups about their neighborhood perception in a gentrifying neighborhood. But taking the workload of interviewing and transcribing into account, it was a good

choice to conduct 21 interviews with members from one group, rather than 10 interviews with new and 10 interviews with old residents, because it is better to have one good dataset than two less good and fragmented datasets.

The fact that I took a lot of time to conduct and transcribe interviews is a strong point of this research. The interviews were equal conversations about the neighborhood, more than oral questionnaires. But the choice for qualitative interview methods also brought some limitations, especially in the case study neighborhood with the research subjects chosen for this thesis: mainly lower educated longtime residents of a disadvantaged neighborhood and members from ethnic minority groups, sometimes with language barriers. Often I felt the residents I interviewed considered me more alike to the gentrifiers than as one of them, and I felt some were careful what to say. A few times it happened that residents didn't understand the interview question, due to language barriers or a less developed vocabulary. Many residents for example didn't know the word participation. I then tried to describe the word and when this didn't work out, I gave them examples how they could participate and asked if they did this. In this way it is hard not to push respondents in a certain direction, but I couldn't find ways to do this in a different way.

I conducted the first two interviews without any extra tools, but then decided to use some pictures of what I meant by gentrified housing, public space and facilities. This way, residents had places to refer to and this made their answer much more clear and specific. On the other hand I don't know what residents would have come up with without showing these pictures. Maybe they would think of different places and examples to mention, because now they are mainly referring to the ones pictured. But overall I don't think this is a problem, because the pictures showed different examples and when respondents wanted to they came up with different examples.

Furthermore, in the interviews I asked about 'the gentrifiers', which is quite a general term. Then respondents came up with their perception of gentrifiers in the Afrikaanderwijk. But actually 'the uniform gentrifier' doesn't exist, especially not in a place like the Afrikaanderwijk where there are many ethnic gentrifiers and original residents who contribute to gentrification. It would have been better to ask residents specifically who they mean when talking about gentrifiers. Sometimes it was not really clear as I only discovered when analyzing the interviews, whether respondents differentiated ethnic gentrifiers and Dutch gentrifiers and, if they made any difference between the two, which of these they were talking about.

Another limitation is that this thesis is written in English and not in my native language Dutch. This made it hard to translate the findings from the Dutch interviews to English, without losing the distinct meaning. And the other way around, it was also hard to translate the content of the theoretical framework to suitable interview questions in Dutch. I can mention one example where this caused damage. I translated 'sense of security' to something that meant rather 'sense of safety'. This happened because I was reading in theory about neighborhoods getting safer, more police control and such, because of gentrification. But when analyzing I found out that security means feeling secure in terms of displacement and other insecurities rather than feeling safe or unsafe. (The Dutch word 'zekerheid' rather than 'veiligheid'). This is something that wouldn't have happened when writing the thesis in Dutch. Luckily I also talked about displacement with the respondents, so I could add these findings to the 'sense of security'-chapter.

All in all, there are some things that I would have done differently if I could perform this study one more time, but mainly a majority of things that I would do exactly like I did this time.

8.4 Final conclusion and answer to main question

What is the influence of gentrification on the perception of the neighborhood of residents who are living through gentrification in the Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam?

Even though respondents were critical about some aspects of change, the majority of the residents interviewed for this thesis believes gentrification changes their neighborhood for the better. The best word to describe their feelings about the changes is 'hope'. The Afrikaanderwijk is in the middle of the gentrification process and the neighborhood perception of longtime residents seems to slowly start changing from seeing their neighborhood as a 'disadvantaged neighborhood' or even 'ghetto', to a 'desirable place to live'.

Although the literature often shows the opposite (see for example Atkinson, 2000, Spain, 1993), in the context of the Afrikaanderwijk it is not really surprising that residents of the Afrikaanderwijk view their neighborhood more positive because of gentrification. This has to do with the situation before gentrification. The Afrikaanderwijk was known as a dangerous place best avoided. All the attention the neighborhood got in the media or in the discourse about the city, was negative. It was seen as a place where all Dutch people moved out, because of the influx of ethnic minorities and decay in general. After years of disinvestment, residents see that finally something is changing. The new build developments and renovation make the neighborhood look better and fosters the pride of the longtime residents. The better image, new gentrified stores and working middle class residents are an affirmation to them that their neighborhood is now seen as a desirable place that has the right to exist. The joy and benefits the respondents are experiencing is expressed in a significant quote of one of the respondents:

"En ik zie dat de blanken terug komen naar de Afrikaanderwijk. Ja ik vind het echt leuk, echt waar. Eerst was het toch een ja ghetto, ja alle allochtonen bij elkaar. Waar zijn alle blanke mensen? Die waren gemigreerd naar buiten en nu komen ze terug. Ik vind het echt goed, die diversiteit van de maatschappij. Het beweegt nu, echt goed."

An important finding of this thesis is that the neighborhood perception of residents is more influenced by ethnic tensions than by gentrification. They hope gentrification counters the ethnic tensions in the neighborhood by bringing more diversity in shops, restaurants, stores and people. For years ethnic tensions were of large influence on the way residents saw their neighbors and on the way people from outside saw the Afrikaanderwijk. Members from different ethnic groups didn't have anything in common, except for the assumption from the outside world that they all lived in the same ghetto. A place where there were problems with drugs, crime and ethnic tensions, where no one wants to live and where people would leave as soon as they could afford it. This place is now slowly becoming a neighborhood where successful people want to live. It is not that gentrification doesn't matter in the Afrikaanderwijk, because of course it changes the character of the neighborhood, people get displaced and there are other things that residents don't like. But at least it is not a ghetto anymore. Also, the bad outcomes reported in much of the literature like social tectonics (Butler and Robson, 2001), different lifestyles (Kleinhaus, 2005), tensions between different groups (Atkinson, 2000) and different consumption patterns (Spain, 1993) were already present in the Afrikaanderwijk before gentrification. Thus, it is not the case that gentrification brings extra social problems that weren't there already.

Ethnicity plays an important role in the gentrification of the Afrikaanderwijk. Embedded in the strategy of restructuring of the city of Rotterdam is the ethnic diversity of the neighborhood as a unique selling point. The area is promoted as a place where diversity is thriving and expressed in different types of restaurants and stores, which are worth visiting. On the billboards promoting gentrification multicultural couples are displayed. Promoting the neighborhood as the 'ethnic food area' of Rotterdam also helps improving the image. Also the ethnic residents themselves play an important role in the gentrification, because among them there are upwardly mobile residents who can now take the next step in their housing career by moving to an owner-occupied dwelling without having to leave the neighborhood. A part of the new houses are aimed at this group. This also makes that gentrification is not only a phenomenon of yuppies in the eyes of longtime residents, but it something that they experience up close as acquaintances move up without actually leaving. Others see the new residents are also part of 'their' people based on ethnicity. Another group of respondents, mostly older Dutch respondents

judge the new residents because many of them are foreigners again, while they hoped that new Dutch people would move in and some younger Dutch people see the new people as yuppies, but welcome them. It can be concluded that the gentrifiers are not seen as a different class as is often the case in literature, but as new people who are Dutch, Turk or Pakistani. So residents keep on judging by ethnicity and because of the diversity in gentrifiers they are not experienced as one group who is richer and has values that clash with old residents. Respondents just don't see the class dimension of gentrification as the most important factor.



Figure 17 Billboards promoting the new houses to gentrifiers

The spending power, skills and the choice for the Afrikaanderwijk in itself displayed by the new residents are valued by the original residents, because they expect these will improve the neighborhood. At the same time they also notice that the new residents do not spend a lot of time in the neighborhood, so there are not a lot of encounters between the two groups. The attitude of the original residents can be put to words as: *we are* the neighborhood and they just *live* in the neighborhood. This lack of encounters might also play a role in the fact that residents are not worried about gentrification. Moreover, most of the facilities used by original residents are not changed by gentrification, so they still have more or less the same activity pattern in the neighborhood. Another important finding is that residents of the Afrikaanderwijk are very tolerant towards gentrification, which results in a positive perception of the changes in the neighborhood. The Afrikaanderwijk has always been a neighborhood with 'new people' and it is not the first time there are large building developments.

Nonetheless, some of this positive reception of gentrification should be nuanced. In some aspects there is a sense of separation towards the gentrification developments among non-gentrifying residents. Most of the gentrification takes place on one side of the neighborhood, where not many facilities are located, nor a central road. Because of this there isn't much contact between old and new residents and they do not tend toward sharing facilities. This is why original residents that do not live there don't use the gentrified part and do not experience much of the changes. It is possible that they change their perception of the neighborhood when gentrification becomes more visible when the development proceeds.

In the small spectrum of the academic literature about residents living through gentrification, the findings of this thesis are closest to scholars who argue that these residents experience gentrification in a dualistic way (Doucet, 2009, Freeman, 2006). It is positioned further away from literature that states longtime residents resist gentrification (Atkinson, 2000, Spain, 1993). Just like in the findings of Freeman (2006) and Doucet (2009), residents of the Afrikaanderwijk are welcoming gentrification and the advantages for them, for example a better image, more diversity and upgraded public space. But they are critical about other aspects like displacement and the demolishing of places where they have memories. However, there are also points of discussion. Residents in Freeman's work (2006) are for instance much more ambiguous. They mention good aspects like new shops and restaurants, but there are also very negative aspects like resentment towards new residents and clashes in norms and values. It is as if they weight the good aspects against the bad on a scale. In this thesis a scale is not even needed, the general consensus that gentrification changes the neighborhood for the better, even though residents have to trade things in, like security or facilities.

Doucets (2009) findings show that overall, residents are fine with gentrification, but a closer look reveals that they feel like the changes are not for them. In the Afrikaanderwijk this is not the case. Respondents feel like the changes are also for them, even though they do not use the new facilities or cannot afford the new shops and sometimes they even risk displacement. The most important reason residents feel like it is also for them are the new build social housing developments that are being build in the gentrifying parts of the neighborhood, as one respondent puts it: *'They make it nice and new for us'*. So even though residents are excluded from gentrifying facilities, or they feel like it is for a different clientele, they do not perceive it as being not for them. Rather they view it as something for a

different group. They are fine with things being not for them, because residents of the Afrikaanderwijk are used to divisions in public space and facilities on the lines of ethnicity, gender and income. This means that the changes in retail lead to the perception it is for just another group, and they are fine with it as long as they keep their 'own' facilities.

This thesis shed light on how longtime residents of the Afrikaanderwijk perceive their neighborhood in times of gentrification. The interviews lead to a vivid picture of neighborhood perception, in which similarities surface together with big differences. Sometimes residents disagreed among each other on what they thought about the different gentrification outcomes. Some for example liked the new stores, but didn't have any contacts with new residents, while others became friends with new residents but didn't like the gentrified stores. This is just an example of the many differing views of residents. What stands out in this thesis, is that residents living through gentrification have one thing in common: they like the fact that gentrification brings change. It gives them hope that the neighborhood won't be a ghetto anymore.

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Appendices

I: List of respondents

II: Topic list semi-structured interviews (Dutch)

III: Topic list semi-structured interviews (English)

III: Pictures showed during interviews

Appendix I: List of respondents and characteristics

Respondent nr	Name	Street	Length of residence (years)	Age	Income	Ethnicity
1	Emma	Hilledijk	32	59	Low income	Yugoslavian
2	David	Martinus Steinstraat	50	50	Medium income	Dutch
3	Yvette	Martinus Steinstraat	50	50	Medium income	Dutch
4	Umberto	Tweebosstraat	26	56	Low income	Dutch Antillean (Curaçao)
5	Elma	Beyerstraat	30	62	High income	Dutch
6	Mw. Vervoort	Hilledijk	54	78	Low income	Dutch
7	Annabella	Hillelaan	38	38	High income	Italian
8	Zelda	Pretoriaaan	6	51	Medium income	Romanian
9	Meriam	Cronjéstraat	35	39	Low income	Turkish
10	Nadine	La Reystraat	36	64	Medium income	Cape Verdian
11	Ria	Hillelaan	58	58	Low income	Dutch
12	Fatima	Bothastraat	20	39	Low income	Moroccan
13	Wim	Paul Krügerstraat	20	60	Low income	Dutch
14	Paul	Christiaan de Wetstraat	52	57	Low income	Dutch
15	Roel	Bloemfonteinstraat	9	26	Low income	Dutch
16	Hussam	Bothastraat	17	44	Low income	Moroccan
17	Margaret	Bloemfonteinstraat	12	55	High income	Dutch
18	Osman	Parallelweg	24	24	Low income	Turkish
19	Shirley	Brede Hilledijk	3	19	Low income	Dutch Antillean (Aruba)
20	Bernice	Hilledijk	5	41	Low income	Surinamese
21	Remziye	Hillekopplein	24	56	Low income	Turkish

Appendix II: Topic list semi-structured interviews (Dutch)

Gebruik, gevoelens en spanningen rondom publieke ruimte en faciliteiten

1. Van welke nieuwe winkels en voorzieningen maakt u gebruik?
(noem: Winkels pretoriaalaan en Rijnhaven, speeltuintje Hillekop, vernieuwde speeltuin Afrikaanderplein)
2. Op welke manier hebben de nieuwbouwwontwikkelingen en renovatie in de wijk uw gebruik van pleinen/speeltuinen/winkels en buurthuizen veranderd?
3. In hoeverre denkt u anders over de publieke ruimte en voorzieningen door de nieuwbouwwontwikkelingen en renovatie?
4. Denkt u dat de nieuwe publieke ruimte en voorzieningen de buurt verbeteren?
5. Kunt u plaatsen of faciliteiten noemen waar u voorheen naartoe ging maar nu vermijdt?
6. Kunt u plaatsen of faciliteiten noemen waar u naartoe ging die nu niet meer bestaan dankzij de nieuwbouwwontwikkelingen en renovatie?
7. Wat zijn de verschillen in het gebruik van publieke ruimte tussen oude bewoners en de nieuwe bewoners?
8. Vindt u dat de nieuwe voorzieningen geschikt zijn voor iedereen?
9. Kunt u plekken of voorzieningen noemen waarvan u het gevoel hebt dat de nieuwe bewoners deze hebben overgenomen?

Buurtverbondenheid en identiteit

10. Hoe is uw buurtverbondenheid de afgelopen jaren veranderd?
11. Hoe zou u het imago van de wijk omschrijven en bent u het daarmee eens?
12. Beschouwt u uzelf als Afrikaanderwijker of ziet u de buurt slechts als een plek om te wonen?
13. Op welke manier hebben de nieuwbouw en renovatie invloed op de mate waarin u zich thuis voelt in de buurt?
14. Wat vindt u van de nieuwe bewoners?
15. Zijn er verschillen in de mate van contact die u hebt met nieuwe en oude bewoners? (Met wie voelt u zich verbonden? Wie groet u op de markt?)
16. Welke factoren dragen bij aan uw gevoel van veiligheid en welke factoren verminderen uw gevoel van veiligheid?
17. Hebben de veranderingen in de wijk hier invloed op?

Gemeenschappelijke waarden, gedragscodes, participatie

18. Op welke manier hebben de nieuwbouwwontwikkelingen geleid tot verschillende gedragscodes (verschillende manieren van gedragen en omgang met anderen) in de wijk?
19. Merkt u verschil in gedrag tussen de nieuwe en oude bewoners?
20. In hoeverre heeft u uw gedrag aangepast na de komst van nieuwe bewoners?
21. In hoeverre voelt u zich verantwoordelijk voor de Afrikaanderwijk?
22. Voelt u zich in staat tot participeren om problemen in de wijk op te lossen?
23. Hoe participeren nieuwe en oude bewoners in de wijk en is er verschil?
24. In hoeverre bent u tolerant tegenover de aanpassingen op het gebied van woningen en voorzieningen gericht op de smaak en behoeften van de nieuwe bewoners?
25. Zijn er delen van de buurt waarvan u voelt dat u ze verloren heeft door de nieuwbouwwontwikkelingen of plaatsen waarvan u boos zou worden als u ze zou verliezen?

Persoonlijke kenmerken

- Wat is uw leeftijd? Geslacht? Huishoudenssamenstelling?
- Straat?
- Woontijd in Afrikaanderwijk?
- Etnische achtergrond?
- Nationaliteit?
- Opleidingsniveau?
- Inkomen?

Appendix III: Topiclist semi-structured interviews (English)

Access to public space and facilities

1. In what way gentrification change your use of playgrounds/stores/community centers?
2. Which are places where you used to go or pass through that you now avoid?
3. Do you use new facilities?
4. In what way you think differently about the public space/facilities after gentrification? (Mention specific places, stores etcetera)
5. To what extent do you experience a change in public space and facilities after gentrification?
6. Do you think the new facilities/public space improve the neighborhood?
7. Are there places where you used to go that do not exist anymore due to gentrification? (Ask about playgrounds, leisure places, hang outs, benches, sidewalks)
8. What are the differences in patterns of use between old and new residents?
9. To what extent do you find the new facilities suitable for everyone?
10. Are there any facilities in the neighbourhood that you feel are taken over by new residents?

Place attachment and identity

11. Do you have memories in the neighbourhood that are tight to specific places over here?
12. Do you consider yourself an 'Afrikaanderwijker', would you describe yourself as someone from here?
13. In what way has the gentrification impacted your feeling of belonging?
14. How do you feel about the new residents coming to the Afrikaanderwijk?
15. What is the difference between the old and new residents according to you?
16. Is there a difference between the old and new inhabitants in the way you relate to them? (for example, do you greet residents from both groups, with whom do you talk on the market place? With whom do you feel connected?)
17. What factors contribute to your feelings of safety in the neighbourhood?
18. What factors detract from your feelings of safety in the neighbourhood?
19. In what way has gentrification changed your feelings of safety?

Common values

20. What do you think about people with different norms and values?
21. In what way, if any has gentrification led to different codes of behavior in the neighbourhood?
22. In what way have you adjusted your behavior after the gentrification?
23. In what way do you feel responsible for the Afrikaanderwijk?
24. Do you feel capable to participate to solve problems in the neighbourhood?
25. How do different groups of people participate in the neighbourhood?
26. How do you feel about the adjustments made in the neighborhood to accommodate the needs for housing and facilities of the new inhabitants?
27. What behavior displayed by new residents would offend you?
28. Are there parts of the neighborhood you feel you have lost since the gentrification or things that would make you angry when you would loose them to gentrification?

Appendix 3: Pictures showed during interviews



