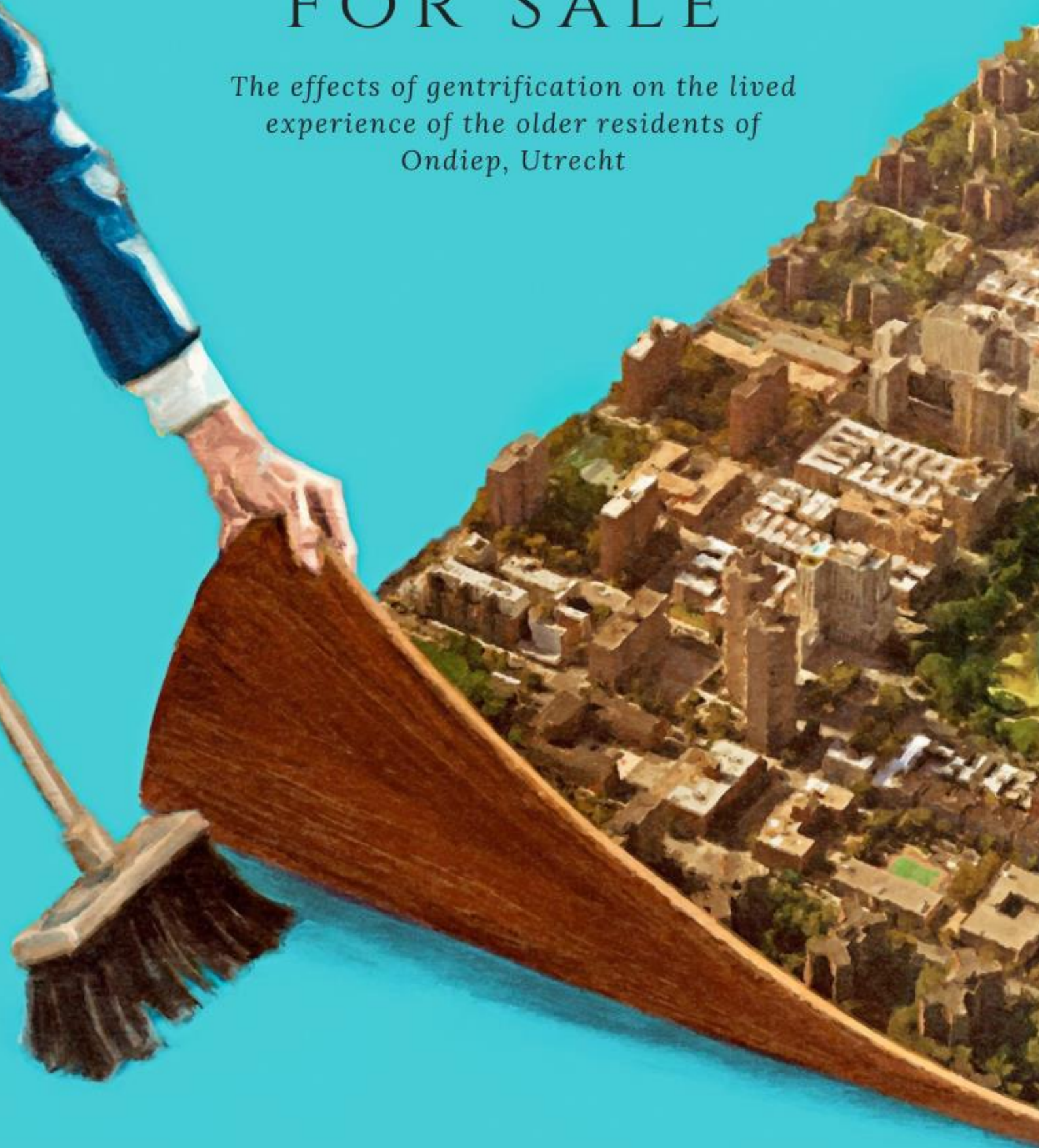# Neighborhood for sale

The effects of gentrification on the lived experience of the older residents of Ondiep, Utrecht

Master Thesis
Cultural Anthropology: Sustainable Citizenship

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February 5th, 2020- a community center full of Ondiep residents, waiting for the start of the neighborhood consultation with housing corporation Mitros. After introducing myself to the chairwoman of the meeting, I move to a seat at the corner of the room with my (until then) still-empty notebook. Soon thereafter, the consultation starts, and when I make the first note, I realize that field research in Ondiep has started!

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Ondiep TV February 9, 2020

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ABSTRACT

Drawing on my fieldwork research in Ondiep, a neighborhood in Utrecht, the Netherlands, I examine the effects of gentrification on the lived experience of its older established residents. In the context of neoliberalism, the Dutch redifferentiation policy will be explained as an urban strategy causing gentrification under the guise of 'social mixing'. This policy of bringing higher-income residents into deprived neighborhoods creates a very real threat, that of the displacement of the incumbent working-class residents. However, rather than concentrating on the often-discussed physical displacement, this research focuses on the social effects of gentrification through the concept of 'indirect displacement'. This concept, together with Bourdieu's *Theory of Capital* (1986), shows how the renewal and the redifferentiation of the housing stock has changed the neighborhood into a place where the older established residents and *newcomers* live *next* to each other, instead of *with* each other. I will thus sketch a critical view on Dutch urban policy, positing that *space itself* becomes a "marker of class identity" (Herzfeld 2009, 22). In addition, I will use the concepts of mobility and collectivity, to give a brief, broader perspective on social transformations within the neighborhood.

KEYWORDS Redifferentiation [policy], social mixing, strategy, gentrification, Neoliberalism, indirect displacement, and capital.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

UNDERSTANDING ONDIEP

Gezellig[heid]   A Dutch term that is difficult to translate, but comes closest to sociable/conviviality.

Newcomers   The residents of Ondiep who came to live in Ondiep *after* the first urban renewal and housing stock redifferentiation projects. This can therefore also be residents who have lived in Ondiep for almost ten years.

Ondiep   A neighborhood in Utrecht, The Netherlands [see figure 1].

Ondieper   A resident of Ondiep.

Older residents   The residents who already lived in Ondiep before the start of the renewal and housing stock redifferentiation in 2003.

Restructuring [policy]   In the Netherlands, the idea of social mixing has been incorporated into a restructuring policy. Here, restructuring means the redifferentiation of the housing stock of a so- called disadvantaged neighborhood in order to prevent further decline. The supply of owner-occupied houses is increased in order to increase the quality of the living environment (Uitermarkt 2003, 532). This form of restructuring will therefore be called redifferentiation in order to avoid confusion with other forms of neoliberal restructuring.

Vogelaarwijk   A term used for deprived neighborhoods in the Netherlands. Named after the former Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA) Minister for Housing, Communities, and Integration.

Yuppen   Young urban professionals. In the Netherlands also called the 'Bakfiets (cargo bike) culture' and used to describe young middle-income class persons, couples, or families.

INTRODUCTION

A PANDEMIC – the whole world is currently dealing with the spread of a contagious and deadly disease. The news is awash with COVID19 topics like the prevention of further spread, the symptoms, possible cures, and timeframes and progress with the search for a vaccine. These are important and relevant topics, however, at a time of a pandemic, we must not lose sight of other 'pandemics' affecting our populations. Gentrification is one such 'pandemic', it is in fact a process that is spreading rapidly through cities around the world.

Nowadays, cities are the place where there is room for everyone, regardless of age, religion, sexuality, class, et cetera. That is, at least, the prevailing narrative. Cities are increasingly promoted as an inclusive place, and the dominant way of life which everyone can enjoy, but is that true? The marketing of a city as a mixed and inclusive place attracts more people, which causes prices to go up, and drives out lower-income residents; this process underpins the definition of gentrification: *"the original working-class residents of a neighborhood are displaced by new, often middle-class, residents"* (Arkaraprasertkul 2016, 3; Glass 1964 *in* Glass 2010, 23). As regards gentrification, it is therefore important to look at the growing promotion of the social mixing policy. Such policy direction is increasingly seen as an important neo-liberal urban strategy as there is little evidence that gentrification actually leads to socially mixed neighborhoods (Rose 2004; Lees 2008, and Doucet 2013).

Rose (2004, 280) even calls the combination of social mixing and gentrification an "uneasy cohabitation". The policy of social mixing goes hand in hand with the promotion of private investment through the reorganization of the State, rather than its withdrawal, as is often assumed in the context of neoliberalism (Van Gent 2013; He and Wu 2007, 285; Hackworth and Smith 2001). These private investments are stimulated in order to achieve urban renewal and urban redifferentiation under the guise of 'development' (Harvey 2007, xv). This process of enclosing the commons, privatization and depletion of public resources, such as public housing, is often described as a process of "accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey 2003; Wacquant 2012).

However, these so-called 'developments' create tensions between different socio-economic classes, where everyone populates their own "class bubble", leading to a mentality of 'us' versus 'them'. This thesis shows that living next to each other does not necessarily mean living together or with each other. Therefore, I go beyond the idea that the neoliberal process of accumulation by dispossession is only about assets. The concept of indirect displacement must therefore be introduced. Indirect displacement expresses the dispossession of social relations, and the sense of integrated community, that gentrification can entail, despite the absence of physical displacement. Instead of the romanticized notion

of inclusive cities, the restructuring policy of social mixing can actually create greater social distance and exclusion.

In the Netherlands, urban renewal and redifferentiation has been a major policy since 1997 (Smith 2002, 431). However, research on these policies in relation to gentrification has mainly been done in the context of Amsterdam or Rotterdam. This thesis focuses on a neighborhood in Utrecht, a city centrally-located in the Netherlands. Instead of the often-discussed physical displacement of residents of gentrified areas, this research focuses on the sense of indirect displacement older residents may experience as a result of gentrification. This research, therefore, seeks to answer the following question:

What are the effects of gentrification on the
lived experience of the older residents of Ondiep?

Answering this question will illustrate how indirect displacement is woven into everyday life; the arrival of new residents, who are often better-educated and with higher incomes than the existing residents, can lead to older residents feeling a sense of isolation and inferiority. The diverse nature of the concepts of gentrification and neoliberalism are highlighted by addressing and analyzing Dutch urban policy. Discussion of this policy will illustrate how it makes *space itself* a "marker of class identity" (Herzfeld 2009, 22). In this way, insights are offered into the processes of displacement, of accumulation by dispossession, and of concepts discussed in the *Theory of Capital* by Bourdieu (1986). Moreover, for a broader perspective, this thesis will also touch upon societal changes, showing that the social alterations of Ondiep are not entirely the result of urban renewal and redifferentiation alone, but also of the increased mobility of people, and shifting ideas about collectivity.

1.1 THE FIELD

For this thesis, I performed three and a half months of fieldwork in Ondiep, a neighborhood of 5,298 inhabitants in Utrecht, the Netherlands (Gemeente 2020). It was originally referred to as a 'volksbuurt' ('working-class neighborhood'). However, as a result of urban renewal and redifferentiation, this connotation has faded as Ondiep is now specified as a neighborhood of mixed socio-economic class (Gemeente 2020).

The district is built in the shape of a tuning fork; the two 'teeth' are formed by Royaards van den Hamkade together with Ahornstreet for one, and Laan van Chartroise together with de Omloop for the other. Over the years, however, the boundaries of the district have become increasingly indistinct. For this research, I have, therefore, chosen the demarcation of Google Maps. In Figure 1 below, you will find the map of Ondiep, bordered by De Vecht, De Royaards van den Hamkade, the railway, and Marnixlaan. It is within these borders that this research was undertaken.

Figure 1 *Map Ondiep*

1.2 METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In order to answer the main question of this research, I used a qualitative ethnographic research design during three and a half months of fieldwork, starting in February, and ending in mid-May of 2020. The preparation for this research began in October 2019, consisting of literature research, and of contacting neighborhood organizations. The latter was not always easy; often I could not reach a particular organization, or the organization could not help me any further with my enquiries.

The neighborhood meeting that took place in Ondiep on the 5th of February, 2020, was very helpful. At this neighborhood meeting, I met Rob[1], a very committed social worker of the neighborhood. After the meeting, he introduced me to several Ondiep residents; Rob can, therefore, be seen as what O'Reilly (2012, 114) calls a 'gatekeeper'. Thanks to Rob's help, I was able to make use of the 'snowball effect', by which I used initial contacts to create further contacts (O'Reilly 2012, 44). However, since these were mainly older residents, I also contacted the residents' association of 'Het Kleine Wijk', a sub-neighborhood of Ondiep, in order to get in touch with *newcomers*. The combination of these networks led to 11 semi-structured interviews with several residents from Ondiep.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen in order to give the participants enough room to talk about their experiences. In addition, it gives room for participation, observation, and discussion, which, according to O'Reilly (2012), are important aspects for promoting the quality of the interview. Some interviews were conducted by telephone, as physical meetings were not yet possible in that period, due to COVID-19 restrictions. The lack of face-to-face dialogue entails limitations and possible misconceptions, due to an inability for body language interactions. I tried to mitigate these limitations as much as possible by being careful to ask for clarification when any ambiguity existed, for example by using explicit intonation.

In addition to interviewing older residents, as well as *newcomers*, I consciously chose a mix of men and women, and people of different ages, in different stages of life. I also interviewed a representative of Mitros, the housing association responsible for a large part of the housing stock in Ondiep. Here I opted for a more structured format, with a time schedule of one hour. The representative of Mitros, as well as the participating residents, are anonymized through the use of pseudonyms, out of respect for their privacy. This also applies to all other participants, including those with whom I had informal conversations.

I opted to include these informal conversations in the study, precisely because it is an informal setting that can place the neighborhood dynamics in a broader perspective. I did, however, verify the interpretations of these conversations through the use of other methods, such as participant observation, in order to prevent or limit the possibility for bias.

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[1] Real name by permission; other names are pseudonyms in order to protect participant privacy

The use of participant observation relies on "the anthropologist as recorder/interpreter living among the people studied within their cultural setting, and the process by which he/she learns about local social, political, and economic life" (Low 2014, 16). According to DeWalt and DeWalt (2011, 2), this method use the perspective of the participants to yield a broader understanding of the most important processes of the field. For example, observing and participating in the neighborhood meeting at the beginning of my research was very enlightening. The intention was to participate more actively in neighborhood activities in order to shine a clear light on the routines that structure the social life of the neighborhood (Jaffe and De Koning 2015, 4). Unfortunately, this was not possible due to the measures concerning COVID-19. As a result, this method was restricted to observation. Despite this restriction, observation alone has brought many insights into neighborhood dynamics.

After the first easing of the measures of COVID-19, I tried to clarify these observations as much as possible by means of walking ethnographies, at a distance of 1.5 meters. According to Low (2014, 25), this is a good way to investigate urban contexts, since research methods for a non-static setting should not be static either. This mobile method of "walking with" helped me to understand and to reframe the meaning of social interactions and to grasp the experience of the residents (Jaffe and De Koning 2015, 18; Ingold and Vergust 2008, 2).

In addition, according to Pink (2008), visual methods have proven to be useful for research into urban placemaking, as it helps us understand how images are used to construct and to represent place identities (Jaffe and De Koning 2016, 16). Therefore, I have used self-made photos, together with photos from the Utrecht Archive, to show the changes in the neighborhood. Moreover, photographs based on what residents have indicated as typical Ondiep, are used to give an "intimate glimpse" of life in Ondiep through the eyes of the Ondiepers (Low 2014, 16).

I also used online articles, videos and TV programs about Ondiep. Ondiep TV, an online platform with videos created for and by Ondiepers, sheds light on the neighborhood from many different perspectives, and was a welcome additional source of information, especially during the lockdown. The aggregation of various forms of data collection has helped to gather insights into the dynamics of social life in Ondiep, after the implementation of the renewal and the redifferentiation of the neighborhood.

1.3 ETHICS AND RESEARCH POSITION

The conducting of ethnographic research raises many ethical questions. The role of the researcher is of great importance, since ethnographic research relies on the researcher as interpreter and recorder (Low 2014, 16). The great power of ethnography to map in-depth empirical and embodied understandings of all daily life is also a pitfall, because of the feedback loops; fieldwork can shape your writing, and writing can shape your relationships in the field. Ethnographic research, therefore, does not always produce neutral and objective knowledge, nor a clear separation between the researcher and the participants (Mosse 2006). According to DeWalt and DeWalt (2011, 93), this makes all researchers and investigations biased.

My research took place in Utrecht, the city where I had lived for a year and a half before the research. This is also called research 'at home' or research as 'insider' (Mosse 2006). However, Ondiep was still relatively unknown territory to me until my research, and I had previously held no active role in the neighborhood (Alvesson 2009, 159). It is, nonetheless, a neighborhood in a Dutch city, and therefore interacts with the same national society and dynamics as do I. This makes reflection all the more important, in the context of limiting bias as much as possible. According to DeWalt and DeWalt (2011, 93), 'being reflexive' involves researching the 'place from which you observe' in order to gain a better understanding of the relationship between the researcher, 'the investigated' and the reporting of observations. It is, for this reason, less important *whether* you are biased, but more important *how* you are biased.

Therefore, it is significant to mention that the study is based on my personal frame of reference: I am a twenty-five-year-old, middle-class, white Dutch woman with higher-education credentials. A different researcher, with different characteristics, a different background and different interests may have reported very different aspects of the same event. There was, for example, a lot of talk about the 'negative influence' of the arrival of the *yuppies* (young urban professionals), by the older residents. This was sometimes uncomfortable, as I could potentially be seen as a *yuppie* in the future. However, by being aware of this context, by always being open about my role, and by showing that I had delved into the neighborhood and its history, I was able to gain the trust of the residents. Here, the building of rapport with residents was very important (O'Reilly 2012). This rapport has helped me to discuss issues about my position; these discussions then provided additional insights into the neighborhood and the experiences of its residents.

As a researcher, it is also important to think about how you represent the information obtained. The concept of 'informed consent' is therefore very relevant; this concept implies that "people have the right to freely choose whether to participate in a research project or not" (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011, 215). That is why I have always been open about my role and

purpose in the neighborhood. On the basis of this information, I gave people the choice to participate, or not to participate, in the research. However, 'informed consent' is not just about the participant's consent to participate in the investigation; the recording of certain conversations or information never took place without the participant's consent. Furthermore, in the context of the privacy of the participants, I have chosen to protect participant privacy through the use of pseudonyms.

1.4 OUTLINE

This outline lays the foundation of the research. The foundation of this research is divided into four chapters, with each chapter divided into different sections. The chapters forming a chronological progression for the thesis, starting with the history of Ondiep, and the emergence of redifferentiation policy in the Netherlands. On the basis of this policy, Ondiep's situation is further highlighted, and discussed in the context of academic findings concerning gentrification, and the phenomenon of 'indirect displacement'.

In the following chapter, this general context is critically examined through a neoliberal lens, with an exploration of the struggle between ideology, and the political practice of neoliberalism. By highlighting the process of 'accumulation by dispossession', I will critically examine redifferentiation policy, in the context of its application as a neoliberal urban strategy. In chapter four, we shift from a focus on economic and political concerns, to the broader context of the use of capital. Using Bourdieu's (1986) *Theory of capital*, the three forms of indirect displacement are further explained and applied to Ondiep's case. In doing so, 'the right to the city', which is approached from an economic capital perspective in chapter three, will now be discussed and studied from a cultural and social capital perspective.

The final chapter discusses the changes in the neighborhood, and whether these were necessary. In addition, insight is provided into Ondiep's search for a new 'soul'now that it is no longer a 'real working-class neighborhood'. Attention is given to changes concerning mobility and collectivity, in order to place the changes in the neighborhood in a broader social perspective.

I conclude with a reflection on the effects of gentrification, due to urban renewal and redifferentiation, on the lived experience of the residents. Finally, an overview of photos has been added to the appendix, for a visual understanding of the field.

CHAPTER 2: THE BEGINNING

Het Utrechts Archief

Let's start from the beginning. This chapter dives into the history of Ondiep, and of Dutch urban policy, using these histories as an introduction to the concepts of urban renewal and urban redifferentiation. On the basis of these concepts, the forced changes in Ondiep will be placed into a broader theoretical perspective. Using this theoretical context, further consideration will be given to how these phenomena can be applied to the concept of gentrification.

2.1 ONDIEP

Ondiep is a district in the catchment area of 'de Vecht', an important boundary and namesake of the neighborhood with 5,298 residents (Gemeente Utrecht 2020). Ondiep has always been seen as a traditional working-class neighborhood, where a high proportion of the residents were born and raised in Utrecht (Baetens 2011, 25; Beckhoven and Van Kempen 2002, 29-30). The neighborhood coalesced around 1900, as two important industrial companies started to settle in this area: Werkspoor in 1914, followed by Demka in 1915 (Baetens 2011, 25). People from all over the country came to Utrecht to work at one of these companies. In order to offer housing to these new employees, additional housing was needed in the area. Several housing associations, each with links to these companies, started to build houses for their members. Ondiep was thus built by several different housing associations, leading to diversity
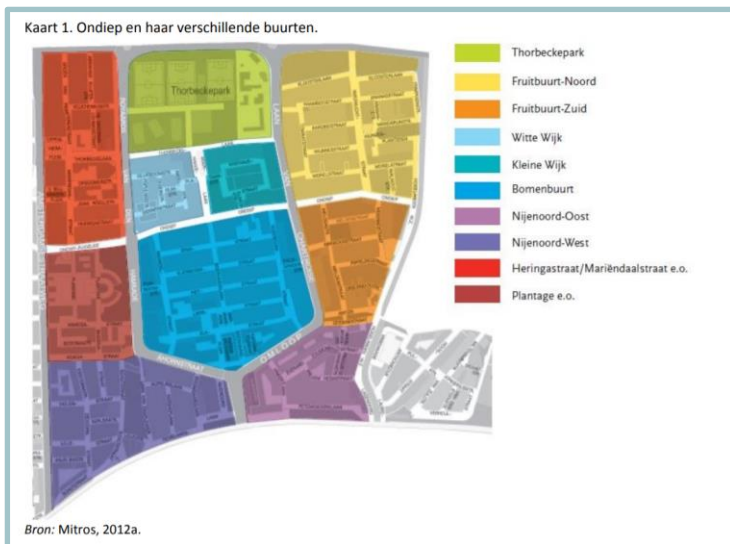
Figure 2 *Map of the sub-neighborhoods in Ondiep*

in courtyard and building styles, which, despite the renewal and redifferentiation of Ondiep, is still very visible today. *Figure 2* shows the different areas of the neighborhood. Rob explains the map of Ondiep as "a patchwork quilt of little neighborhoods".[2]

The socio-economic situation in the neighborhood changed when Demka first reduced its activities in the late 1970s and went on a complete cessation of activities in 1983. A similar story applies to Werkspoor; in 1969, the company struggled in the face of rising input prices and wages. In August 1969 Werkspoor's first department closed down, followed by a permanent closure in July 1970 (Baetens 2011). Although not entirely unexpected, the factory closures had a major impact on the district, as many residents were employed by the factories. The Eighties are, therefore, seen as difficult years for the neighborhood due to the sharp rise in unemployment and poverty. Besides the economic changes in the district, the district was also changing socially; from a community of hardworking people with their hearts on their sleeves, the district changed into a place with 'too much free time' (Baetens 2011, 35).

The trend of a neighborhood in 'decline' continued in the 1990's (Beatens 2011, 35). Ondiep was increasingly seen as a deprived neighborhood, and was the subject of several municipal reports and much research. The quality of both the housing stock, and the living environment, were far below the acceptable standards. At the beginning of the 1990's, the neighborhood was clearly in need of renewal and revitalization (Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen 2002, 30).

In 2004, Minister Dekker of the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM) wrote about the '50-neighborhood approach' in a letter to the House of Representatives: "It is necessary to achieve interventions that are sustainable in the sense that the city also for the future for all (target) residents offers an attractive living environment. [...] A combination of socially and physically necessary [changes] to improve the quality of the living environment to be guaranteed also in the longer term" (VROM 2004, 13). Ondiep was included in this plan, in which later 56 'priority neighborhoods', where renewal and housing redifferentiation had to take place, were ultimately included.

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[2] Conversation Rob February 18, 2020

The clear message from the Ministry was that the neighborhoods needed improvement not just physically, but also socially, as was the case for Ondiep (Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen 2003, 853-54). The neighborhood received a very low score on socio-economic indicators. No less than 52 percent of households had a low income in 1995, and 42 percent of residents were unemployed (Beckhoven van Kempen 2002, 30). These numbers gave extra impetus to calls for renewal and housing redifferentiation, in accordance with the Dutch urban policy implemented in 1997.

2.2 URBAN RENEWAL AND URBAN REDIFFERENTIATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

In the 1990s, the Dutch government became aware that many households that were not able to continue residing within their own neighborhood. In certain neighborhoods there was a shortage supply of suitable (expensive) houses, which made increasingly relatively well-off households decide to leave. Low incomes in particular remained behind, as a result of which neighborhood populations became increasingly homogenous from a socio-economic point of view (Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen 2003). According to Sarkissian (1976), the composition of the populations of disadvantaged neighborhoods has been the focus of public intervention. This intervention came in 1997, with the Memorandum of Urban Renewal and Redifferentiation (VROM, 1997).

This new policy offered a solution to these undesirable developments in homogeneous neighborhoods (Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen 2002), with the concept of 'social mixing' being introduced as the silver bullet. The mixing groups of people from different socio-economic backgrounds would be, according to the policy, the solution for the 'problematic concentration' of the lower socio-economic class in neighborhoods (Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen 2003, 853-54). This policy can, therefore, be seen as the implementation of the physical pillar of the 'Grotestedenbeleid' (Big Cities Policy), which was launched in 1995. For this policy, covenants were concluded between the central government and a number of cities. The participating cities were given extra policy facilities in the form of financial incentives and policy freedom. This is a clear example of neoliberal reorganization of the State, rather than its withdrawal, which will be further discussed in the next chapter.

These traditions of urban renewal policy have their roots in the 1960's (Priemus (2004). We will examine the different stages of urban renewal policy, through to today, where urban redifferentiation is the leading school of thought.

After the Second World War, the policy focus was mainly on remedying the housing shortage in the Netherlands. In order to do so, many houses needed to be built in a short period of time, which led to house that were often small, and of uninspired and derivative design. In the Sixties, the focus shifted to improving the quality and differentiation of building

design (Priemus 2004), and thereafter the existing housing stock was also taken into account. In neighborhoods of pre-war housing, the negligence or financial restrictions of landlords led to rising issues of major maintenance being required. Demolition was often the only viable option, which led to a wave of demolition between 1968 and 1972 (Priemus 2004, 230). In the 1970s, the policy that had previously indicated demolition was adapted to demonstrate a preference for the renovation of buildings. "Building for the neighborhood" was the slogan of the changed policy (Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen 2003, 858), with a stated goal of ensuring that there were newly refurbished houses made available, and affordable for everyone. When the policy of urban renewal was evaluated, it soon became apparent that while the quality of houses in the city had clearly improved, that the policy had focused too much on physical improvement alone, and that social problems, both visible and subtle, had increased over the same period (Priemus 2004, 230).

According to Priemus (2004), the demand from young people, the unemployed and other low-income groups for cheap housing was now accompanied by a growing demand for high-quality urban housing, which in most cities is not or cannot be met. According to Priemus, the position of young people is particularly interesting; when they discover that their neighborhood does not offer housing that meets their higher demands, they feel compelled to move to other neighborhoods within the city, or even to areas outside the city. If certain offers did exist, they would potentially stay in the city or neighborhood, and the geographic concentration of low incomes could be avoided, at least according to the 'philosophy of social engineering' (Priemus 2004, 231). According to Priemus (2004), this perspective forms the basis of the current Dutch policy on urban renewal, in which redifferentiation plays a major role. Maintaining the 'purchasing power' of city residents also means that urban renewal and redifferentiation is often seen as a strategy which fits well within the neoliberal context of neoliberal restructuring (Weesep 1994; Doucet 2013, 123; Brenner and Theodore 2002). I elaborate on this in the next chapter. First, we will examine urban redifferentiation, by way of introduction to the subject of gentrification.

2.2.1 REDIFFERENTIATION OF ONDIEP

As we established earlier in this paper, Ondiep was originally a working-class neighborhood, consisting of small public housing. With the advent of the urban renewal policy at the end of the 1990s, Ondiep was also clearly identified as a neighborhood that needed to be renewed. This renewal would be shaped by interventions in the housing stock in order to improve Ondiep from both a physical and a socio-economic perspective (Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen 2002, 33). This intervention is also referred to as urban restructuring or redifferentiation. Whereas the original policy was mainly focused on the incumbent residents, and proudly

expressed the slogan "building for the neighborhood", today's policy is aimed at a diverse urban population, with a particular focus on reducing the supply of public housing, and increasing the supply of owner-occupied housing in a certain area (Priemus and Van Kempen 1999)

In 2003, in cooperation with the residents, the first renewal and redifferentiation plans were implemented as part of the De Utrechts Opgave (DUO) approach. This urban policy of Utrecht, which arose in 2001, is based on the national 'Grotestedenbeleid' and the policy on urban renewal and redifferentiation (DUO 2005). The plan 'Ondiep, dorp in de stad' (Ondiep, village in the city) aimed to maintain Ondiep's village character, despite undergoing redifferentiation and the renovations necessary. Besides the aesthetic focus, attention was paid to the social aspects of the neighborhood. For example, the plan stated that by 2015 the district was to change into a 'city village with opportunities for the residents' (PMB Report 2003). It is now five years after this target date, and the redifferentiation is not yet completed; the project de Omloop and the entrance of the Laan van Chartroise are two projects that are as yet to be completed.

Despite this, the redifferentiation is already clearly visible in the neighborhood; several projects have already been tackled (see figure 3 and appendix), various renovation projects have been completed, and a number of areas are "labeled for sale" (e.g. Het Witte Wijk and part of Ondiep street). This designation indicates that when a tenant of a rent-controlled property moves or passes away, that it will be sold.

2004	2006	2008	2010	2011	2016-2020
New Build Ahornstraat demolished in 2001	**New Build Heringastraat & Ondiep Zuidzijde**	**New Build Vijgenboomstraat & Laan van Chartroise**	**New Build Het kleine wijk**	**New Build Fruitbuurt zuid**	**2016: New Build Fruitbuurt Noord** 2020: Project de Omloop & Laan van Chartroise Zuid
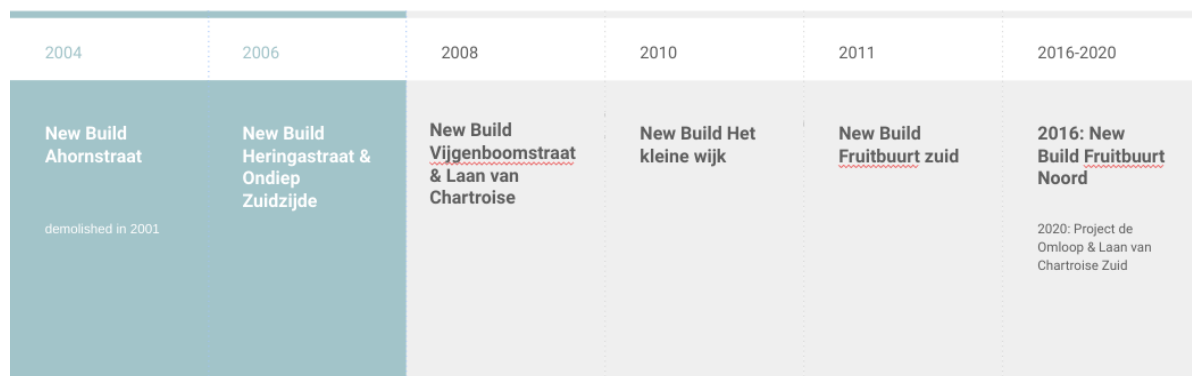
Figure 3: Approximate years of renewal projects Ondiep by R.Steinebach DOCK 2020

All three aspects: new construction, renovation, and sale are intended to create the mix of residents and housing. Whereas Ondiep used to consist almost entirely (for 82%) of public housing, the plan 'Ondiep, dorp in de stad' states that after the redifferentiation there should be a ratio of 59% owner-occupied houses and 41% public housing (PMB Report 2003, 27). This would mean that, at the end of the redifferentiation, Ondiep would still have more public housing than the average target set by the municipality of Utrecht, which is 35% social rent and 25% middle rent (Woonvisie Utrecht 2019).

Despite maintaining proportions of social rental housing that exceed the Utrecht municipality target, the drop from 82% to 41% of available housing stock represents a steep decline in available public housing. In order to keep the housing stock in the district at the same level, this drop in public housing was offset through the construction of owner-occupied houses. This also means that some tenants chose, or were required, to move in favor of incoming home-owners; this process whereby "the older working class residents of a neighborhood are displaced by new, often middle class, residents" is called gentrification (Arkaraprasertkul 2016, 3; Glass 1964 *in Glass* 2010, 23). However, gentrification has a much broader context than just the physical displacement of residents; as we will discuss in the following section.

2.3 GENTRIFICATION

Gentrification is a very complex phenomenon, our understanding of which has changed over the years, and is a much broader phenomenon than simply the physical expulsion of the residents of a gentrifying area. However, despite our changing understanding of gentrification, the concept still contains a number of the same expressions that have existed since the emergence of the term (Hackworth and Smith 2001). For a better understanding of the concept and its changes, this paragraph will give a brief overview of the dynamics of gentrification in a Western European context.

In 1964, the term gentrification was coined by Ruth Glass, who described and understood it as a process of *"demographic change by which the original working-class residents of a neighborhood are displaced by new, often middle- class, residents"* (Arkaraprasertkul 2016, 3; Glass 1964 in Glass 2010, 23). Glass further explains the term as a persistent and fast process, a process that, in her opinion, only stops when all the working-class residents have been 'removed' from the neighborhood and the entire [social] character of the neighborhood has changed (Glass 2010, 23). However, in the next chapter on neoliberalism, it will become clear that gentrification in Ondiep is slowly developing towards the displacement of the middle class as well. Gentrification is therefore perhaps a more relevant concept than ever, despite the fact that the term is now more than 50 years old. Over the past 50 years, we can observe several general 'waves' of gentrification, each of which exhibit different dynamics (Hackworth and Smith 2001).

The first wave, prior to the economic recession of 1973, was sporadic, State-controlled, and often government-funded, in an attempt to counter the city's economic decline (Hackworth and Smith 2001, 466). State involvement was often justified under the guise of urban development, however the effect was "very class specific" (Hackworth and Smith 2001, 466). The second wave in the 1980s was characterized by the shift of gentrification from an urban

scale to a more national and global scale (Hackworth and Smith 2001, 468). This expansion led to increasing pushback and opposition, because of the direct relationship between gentrification and increasing socio-economic inequality (Hackworth and Smith 2001, 468).

During the recession of the early 1990s, gentrification had reached an impasse, but investment resumed in earnest in 1993, and sparked a third wave of gentrification (Hackworth and Smith 2001, 468). The third wave is distinguished from the other waves in various ways. Firstly, gentrification was extended to the neighborhoods outside the direct core of the city. Secondly, globalization created a context for the involvement of larger developers in the gentrification of neighborhoods (Hackworth and Smith 2001, 468).[3]

Under the third wave's expansion, Ondiep became interesting for gentrification because of it's significant changed demographic focus outside the core of the city center. The housing redifferentiation forced some tenants to leave, primarily for places nearby, other neighborhoods in the city, or places outside the city. (e.g. Nieuwegein, Ijsselstein, and Maarssen). All this shows the "classic" pattern of gentrification, i.e. the physical displacement of the lower-income class residents, and the homogenization of the social composition of the neighborhood by what is typically either several developers acting independently, or a coalition of developers (Herzfeld 2009; and Arkaraprasertkul 2016). According to Herzfeld (2009, 5), the conflicts that emerge over displacement are primarily about living spaces, and economic rights and goals. "Classic" gentrification, therefore, is about power; who possesses the economic means to live in a certain place, and who does not? The ownership of a certain space, therefore, becomes a "marker of class identity" (Herzfeld 2009, 5).

An example of a "marker of class identity" is "Het Kleine Wijk" in Ondiep. This sub-neighborhood was previously full of public housing and known for its folksy *gezellige* character. However, since the redifferentiation, this part of the neighborhood now consists primarily of owner-occupied houses, and is now called "the posh neighborhood" by some *older residents*. As Loren, an older resident, says: "the *older residents* of the Ondiep call the new arrivals in Het Kleine Wijk 'posh', because of their fancy cars and different manners".[4]

The place where once stood the houses of the working class has now changed into a symbol of socio- economic distinction. Doucet (2013, 125), describes gentrification as one of the greatest forces forming today's cities. Gentrification is, therefore, much more significant than just competitive disadvantage and inequality as manifest in the housing market (Neil Smith 1996, 39), it incorporates social issues with deep roots; one need not be *physically* displaced to feel *out of place*. Loren's quote, for example, shows how different tastes in cars and manners create a sense of contrast and otherness. In the next section, we will discuss

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[3] Paragraph 'waves' > research proposal G.A. Engberts
[4] Interview Loren April 1, 2020

what gentrification can entail for people who chose (and were able) to stay in the neighborhood, and how differences in preference can manifest into categories of 'us' versus 'them'.

2.3.1 INDIRECT DISPLACEMENT

As mentioned earlier, gentrification refers not only to the physical displacement of residents, but also to the replacement of the neighborhood's character and social identity. Although Chernoff (1980) introduced the concept of 'social displacement' in 1980, the consequences of gentrification, and social justice issues for existing residents, remained relatively underexplored. By failing to consider the broader context of displacement, the many ways in which gentrification can lead to rejection of *place* are obscured: 'dis*place*ment' (Davidson 2008, 2389). Therefore, I will go beyond the most obvious and blatant physical displacement process, to discuss and examine a broader set of displacement processes.

For this examination, I will draw on the concept of 'indirect displacement', which is a substitute concept (Davidson 2008) for the rather broad concept of 'social displacement' established by Chernoff (1980). Davidson (2008) divides indirect displacement into the following three forms: indirect economic, community, and neighborhood resource displacement. These three forms of indirect displacement can change neighborhoods, and result in unjust outcomes. We will begin by considering indirect economic displacement.

According to Davidson (2008), it is important to distinguish between indirect and direct economic displacement. Direct economic displacement is best exemplified by residents being forced to leave due to the redifferentiation of the neighborhood (Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen 2002), whereas indirect economic displacement is typified by 'price shadowing' (Hall and Ogden, 1992; Davidson 2008). In a 'price shadowing' scenario it may *appear* that residents leave the neighborhood 'voluntarily', but there are often problematic economic reasons for this, such as an extreme increase in rents or radical rents and prices of properties around them, which can create pressure on those with fewer economic resources (Davidson 2008).

This form is less common in the Netherlands than, for example in Great Britain and the United States, due to the Netherlands' extensive housing corporation ownership and rent protection (Hochstenbach 2017; Ronald and Dol 2011). The rental protection provided by the law makes large rent increases for public renting impossible, which facilitates tenants of public housing to stay where they live, as long as the houses are not demolished. The consequence, however, is that these are then precisely the people who have to deal with other forms of displacement, such as community displacement.

Several studies show that gentrification changes not only the character of the neighborhood, but also its governance (see Fraser 2004; Slater 2002). According to Davidson (2008), extra attention should be paid to how this change can cause displacement. Chernoff (1980) and Betancur (2002) made this connection, and showed how social and political changes are strongly linked to the loss of place experienced by many *older residents*. It is therefore important "to connect issues of place (re)creation and power to displacement" (Davidson 2008). Fraser (2004) points out that redifferentiation in a neighborhood involves a struggle about the fundamental meaning of the city, and for whom it exists. This results in a battle about reclaiming rights and (re)creating a place which ties in with cultural and social capital issues, and which we will discuss in greater detail later (Bourdieu 1986). This type of struggle is often divided into two camps: the camp of *older residents* who are 'defending their neighborhood', and the camp of new residents, who wish to remodel the neighborhood based on their own tastes and desires (Fraser 2004; Lees 2007, 2451). The ability of the *newcomers* to define the identity and politics of a place clearly implicates community displacement issues, which, according to Davidson (2008), cannot be separated from attempts to understand gentrification through the use of Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*.

Habitus is a system of dispositions and is formed within a particular social field. Individuals with a similar capital, as explained by Bourdieu (1986) will not only develop a similar *habitus*; they will also tend to accept the reality surrounding them and their place within it as a matter of course. They thereby reproduce the way in which that world is structured, with all the accompanying social differences, in their thinking, judgements and actions (Bourdieu 1968). *Habitus* also extends to our taste. In the book Distinction, Bourdieu links the taste of French citizens in art to their social class position, strongly stating that aesthetic sensitivities are formed by the culturally ingrained *habitus* (Bourdieu 1984). *Habitus* and taste can give rise to different ideas about the neighborhood, which can also be found in the following form of displacement: neighborhood resource displacement.

Neighborhood resource displacement is a result of the changing orientation of the neighborhood services, but it also concerns the creeping sense of unease, and notion of being 'out-of-place' felt by the pre-existing residents (Davidson 2008). In addition to the social changes in the neighborhood, the composition of services such as meeting places and shops changes; the places that previously defined the neighborhood become spaces that the *older residents* no longer associate themselves with.

The rise of hip bars, barber shops and galleries is perhaps the most famous and visible image of gentrification. This change shows that displacement affects many more people than just those who have been displaced. "The pressure of displacement is already severe" is how Marcuse (1986) describes the situation regarding indirect displacement. When friends and neighbors leave the neighborhood, and the well-known shops close their doors, it is only a

matter of time until the remaining *older residents* leave. It is important here to note that upgraded local services are not necessarily a bad thing, on the contrary, they can be seen as improvements to the neighborhood.

However, we should not forget about the neoliberal urban strategy which often appears in academic texts on gentrification, wherein it is illustrated as a strategy to retain or bring back more capital-rich people to the city (Davidson 2008; Slater 2006; Weesep 1994; Harvey 2003). The stereotype of *newcomers* as "the bad guys" is an overly simplistic, 'black and white' interpretation. Neoliberal urban policy will be further discussed in the next section, and by looking in greater detail at this policy, we can develop a more nuanced perspective of the often disadvantaged position that *newcomers* face.

CHAPTER 3: THE NEOLIBERAL LENS

Redifferentiation, and social mixing, are terms that are often linked in urban studies (e.g. Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen 2002; Slater 2006), whereby neighborhood redifferentiation is used to achieve the desired outcomes of social mixing initiatives (Davidson 2008). Davidson (2008, 2385) is clear about his position on such initiatives, and argues that it "smells like gentrification". This chapter will examine the finer details of this policy, and its function in the context of neoliberalism. According to Peck (2008,3), neoliberalism has *"always been an open ended, plural and adaptable project."* To show this plurality and adaptability, the connections between urban redifferentiation and neoliberalism will be demonstrated, and we will see how cities have become central to the evolution of neoliberal programs of restructuring. I will also examine the contentious issue of the ways in which neoliberal restructuring strategies interact with the unequal use of space in a city.

3.1 NEOLIBERALISM: THE IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL PRACTICE STRUGGLE

According to Harvey (2007), the world has been increasingly 'neoliberalised' since the 1970s. He explains neoliberalism as: *"a theory of political economic practices proposing that human well-being can best be advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterized by private property rights, individual liberty, unencumbered markets, and free trade. The role of the State is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices"* (22). Thus, neoliberalism entails a combination of privatization, deregulation, and reduction of the interference of the State in the lives of its citizens and corporations (Wacquant 2012, 69).[5] At the same time, despite the deregulation and privatization of State-provided services, a new type of State intervention with greater entrepreneurial capacity has been introduced, in order to develop new forms of governance claimed to be suitable for a free market, globalizing economy (Harvey 2010, 1; Wacquant 2012). According to Ferguson (2006), neoliberalism is characterized by the simultaneous withdrawal of the State and the expansion of the free market.

This shows a gap between the ideology of neoliberalism, consisting of the free market which is unencumbered by any form of state intervention, and its everyday political practices and social effects, which involve a coercive form of State intervention to facilitate market regulation across a broader social-spatial spectrum (Harvey 2010). According to Harvey (2010), this reorganization of the State brings contradictions and tensions into everyday life. At the urban level, this primarily manifests itself through privatization, and increasing gentrification, in order to create space for 'elitist consumption' (Harvey 2010). Cities are

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[5] > Research proposal G.A.Engberts

therefore significantly impacted by the propagation of neoliberal ideology across the world, and urban landscapes undergo significant transformations as a result.

Not all cities receive the same support and stimulus, however, to develop into places of transnational flows of capital and information, and these imbalances in focus contribute to the relative inclusion and exclusion of specific cities and groups of people. These imbalances play out on a global level; with thinking constrained by the narrow labels of 'the west', which is often used for the place where the 'money flows', and 'the east', seen as the undeveloped 'other' (Said 1985). This also appears on a national/local level, and is clearly, and frighteningly, visible in the Netherlands in a similar way. In the Netherlands the term 'the Randstad' literally and figuratively exists 'the west' of the country, the place where the large flows of capital and information take place while the north and the east often lag behind. It is important to be aware of the geographical differences at *both* a global and a national level, which helps to contextualize the situation in the Netherlands' central cities, such as Utrecht.

3.1.1 THE URBAN STRATEGY: NEOLIBERALISM AND SOCIALS MIXING

It is clear that there is a dilemma in the role of government in the context of neoliberalism. Where neoliberalism stands for State withdrawal, the government still has a very important role in creating the optimal conditions for the private sector and capital accumulation under the guise of development and improvement (He and Wu 2007, 292-95). This role increasingly lies with local authorities, as processes of decision-making and governing are shifting downward to local levels, as seen earlier within 'het Grotestedenbeleid' (Hackwarth and Smith 2001).

According to Ong (2007, 13), neoliberalism can therefore be approached as "mobile calculative techniques of governing". Through this shift, State power is mobilized and organized on different geographical scales, giving local governments more authority to arrange local growth (Smith 2002). This trend seems to fit into the third wave of gentrification, whereby the [local] State becomes more involved in processes of reinvestment, in order to optimize economic and urban growth (He and Wu 2007, 291). This has the potential to have a great impact, since an estimated 55.3 percent of the world's population lived in urban settlements in 2018. By 2030, it is even expected that urban areas will house 60 percent of people globally (UN 2018).[6]

Cities have, therefore, become crucial in the process of "mutation, reproduction and reconstitution" of neoliberalism (Harvey 2010). In several studies on gentrification (e.g. Davidson 2008; Slater 2006), social mixing is cited as a neoliberal policy strategy with aims of

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[6] > Research proposal G.A. Engberts

not only improving a neighborhood, but above all to bring more capital holders [back] to the city. This is reflected in the policy program 'the Urban Renaissance', which was established by the United Kingdom (UK) Labor government in 2000 (Davidson 2008). This policy embraces ideas of social mixing under the banner of 'sustainable communities' (Raco 2007, 172), with an emphasis on creating vibrant and economically 'viable' urban communities (Allen 2008, 134). Similar policies have been developed all over the world, including in the Netherlands; Uitermark *et al.* (2007) even claim that Dutch urban policy is a reflection of that enacted in the UK. The Dutch policy is a State-run renewal program, based on neighborhood redifferentiation, that stimulates gentrification in order to counteract the concentration of poverty, and to ensure that an 'inclusive' place is created in which the quality of life of residents is improved (Uitermarkt *et al.* 2007; PMB 2003).

Because the reduction of poverty in social mixing policy is seen as the key for upgrading the neighborhood, these kinds of programs are also seen as have an agenda of gentrification (Smith 2002), or, as an Ondieper said at the neighborhood meeting, "a commercial agenda".[7] To say that these kinds of policies are directly aimed at displacing the lower income class is a one-sided view of the situation; real improvements for the neighborhood, and opportunities for its residents, are clearly possible.

However, as made clear in the previous chapter, gentrification concerns a much broader context than just the physical relocation of residents. Social mixing is achieved by the redifferentiation of the neighborhood's housing stock and its residents; urban land is commodified, and public services, including public housing, become privatized (Herzfeld 2010; He and Wu 2007, 285-289), illustrating the process of accumulation by dispossession (Harvey 2003). Such a process indirectly influences the lived experience of the residents of the area, and this process will be the next topic for discussion.

3.2 'THE RIGHT TO THE CITY': ACCUMULATION BY DISPOSSESSION

An important tenet of neoliberalism is the 'withdrawal of the State' (Harvey 2010), however, in practice, this typically is manifest in a shift of State powers and control to local governments. In the Netherlands, public housing associations became autonomous, self-financing organizations in 1995, and shifted away from a focus on public care, to aiming towards financial and economic goals (Ronald and Dol 2011). Responsibilities were transferred from the State to local authorities, and ultimately to independent housing associations and market agents. This demonstrates a neoliberal restructuring of public facilities, additionally it shows how the neoliberal restructuring of government mandates is linked to urban redifferentiation and gentrification.

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[7] Fieldnotes February 5, 2020

According to Wacquant (2012), these kind of shifts are only intended to create a capitalist climate, and to suppress resistance to the neoliberal aspiration of 'accumulation by dispossession'. He argues that neoliberalism is not an economic, but a political project, in which the State is not dismantled but reorganized, which is expressed by four institutional logics, including commodification (Wacquant 2010).

Here, the policy of social mixing, as implemented by housing redifferentiation, reappears. Such a policy can be seen as a way of promoting the conversion of the housing stock, with a strong preference for owner-occupied housing. Housing becomes no longer a resource which is accessible to all, and it changes from a common good to a commodity. This process is called commodification; a process with many more dynamics than may be apparent at first glance (Sharp 2000) .

Marx (1971 in Appadurai 1986) described a commodity as a product that must be "transferred to another, whom it will serve as a use-value, by means of exchange", whereas Appadurai (1986) posited that a commodity goes beyond a value transfer alone. According to him (1986, 3), "commodities, like persons, have social lives"; they are often intertwined with meanings that are framed by socio-political interests, and are symbolically charged with hierarchy and power, as demonstrated by the example given earlier of the "posh neighborhood" Het Kleine Wijk (Sharp 2000). It has already been shown that a political strategy has been woven into the formation of policies on urban renewal and redifferentiation, and is played through the commodification of housing; such a strategy sees city life itself is becoming a commodity, and the mutation of neoliberal restructuring processes (Harvey 2010, 8; Brenner and Theodore 2002) .

This process of enclosing the commons, and the privatization and depletion of public resources, such as public housing, is often described as a process of "accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey 2003; Wacquant 2012). This process deepens class divisions by an 'epidemic of evictions' (Herzfeld 2010); more and more urban space is colonized for the wealthy to meet their urban needs. Harvey (2003) calls it 'the new imperialism', due to the manner in which cities and districts are taken over by the 'elite', with the eviction of old residents, through the privatization of houses, turning space into a "marker of class identity" (Herzfeld 2010). The next story shows how through the privatization of housing, the house prices move with the market creating space for *new* even higher classes.

While walking through the street Ondiep I see a house for sale. A terraced house with three floors. Out of curiosity I decided to look up the house online when I am back home. The house turns out to be for sale for 475,000 euros. This discovery reminds me of what Loren told me earlier about her house in Ondiep. She, together with her husband, bought a house for a price

around 260,000 euros; a completely new house. Now, nine years later, a house, nine years older, is for sale for almost double the price. [8]

House prices in Ondiep have almost doubled over the course of nine years, and as a consequence are only affordable to an even higher income class than nine years ago. Due to rent protection, the rent paid by residents of public housing is rising much less rapidly than the property prices, which exacerbates and inflates not only the [social class] differences between the tenants and homeowners, but also between different groups of homeowners. In a single street, with identical houses, can be found people who bought their home for 260,000 euros, living alongside people who bought their home for 480,000 euros. Likewise, *newcomer* Mary told me the following:

"When I bought this house two years ago it was still 120,000 euros cheaper than it would be now. Had it cost 120,000 euros more I could never have bought this house." [9]

It turns out that Mary is not the only one, *newcomers* Carli and Luc also mentioned that their house value has increased enormously.[10] The price for which they could sell their house for now, is a price that they could never have paid themselves. Nikkie even indicates that "the houses are again being taken over, but now by even a higher class than before."[11] As a result, the city is increasingly becoming a commodity for those with deep pockets, and displacing those who do not (Harvey 2010). That raises the question of: who has the right to the city?

Ever more rights are winding up in the hands of private interests (Harvey 2010). In Ondiep, public housing has been demolished, owner-occupied houses have been built, and several parts of the district have been marked for sale, however, in Ondiep, you can certainly not speak of full privatization. It is still a neighborhood with significant stock of public housing - 40% in Ondiep, compared to the Utrecht average of 35% (Gemeente Utrecht 2020). In Ondiep it is therefore better to speak of 'the right to the sub-neighborhood'.

Figure 4: Visibility of privatization. These houses in Ondiep have been temporarily labelled for sale. During the major renovation by the housing corporation, the houses that were sold were not included into the renovation.

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[8] Fieldnotes April 25, 2020
[9] Interview Mary April 14, 2020
[10] Interview Carli April 6, 2020 and Interview Luc April 9, 2020
[11] Interview Nikki April 6, 2020

Some sub-neighborhoods have been, or are in the process of being, transformed from full public housing areas to almost full owner-occupied housing places, the prices of which have risen enormously in recent years; a right for those who can afford it. This was the first indicator that gentrification is gradually shifting upwards to the next income class.

This leads us to Eriksen's (2016) metaphor of 'overheating', which describes the accelerated rate of change in modern times. According to Eriksen (2016), modernity has always been associated with change, speed, and development, but this speed has accelerated, even since the 1990's. These rapid changes characterize the time we live in now, and have "important, sometimes dramatic, unintended consequences", such as tensions, contradictions and conflicts (Eriksen 2016, vii). Of all the overheating processes, urbanization is perhaps the best-known and has the greatest social implications.

The city is often known for the myriad opportunities you will have to fulfill your dreams, when compared to the countryside, and this is partly caused by the marketing of inclusive cities. According to Eriksen (2016), cities gobble up new residents "like a person who has eaten too much too quickly", which leads to overheating in major cities, and an increasing scarcity of housing (DNB 2017). Between 2001 and 2020, for example, the population of Utrecht increased by 101,315 residents (Gemeente 2020). According to De Nederlandsche Bank (the Dutch Bank) the demand for houses in big cities is rising faster than supply, with a halving of the average time-to-sale for houses, compared to the period preceding the economic crisis of 2008. The tightening of the housing market is driving up prices; 46% of the houses in Utrecht are eventually sold for more than the asking price (DNB 2017). This massive wave of urbanization, and the overheated housing market, puts the inclusiveness of the cities in jeopardy, with the unfolding of the paradox whereby the inclusive city actually leads to the exclusion of lower socio-economic groups.

Gentrification seems to be a 'effective' tool to control and organize the tremendous growth and overheating of the city by shifting it elsewhere. Here, it is often clear that the main focus lies on addressing the needs of those with large capital holdings. According to Harvey (2010), this overheated urbanization has played an important role in the absorption of capital, through investment in housing that benefits the rich, as we have seen in the paragraph about social mixing. But what about those with less capital?

CHAPTER 4: THE CAPITAL GAME

In this chapter, we will consider more closely the concept of indirect displacement, in the context of Ondiep and its residents. For this purpose, Bourdieu's (1986) *Theory of Capital* will be used, as the four forms of capital (cultural, social, economic and symbolic) are the foundation of social life, and decide one's role in society, or, in this case, in the neighborhood.

Earlier in this study, it emerged that homeownership is seen as the key to a 'positive' change in the neighborhood; homeowners or *newcomers* could lift the lives of tenants by increasing the social capital of the residents. They are seen as the embodiment of upward social mobility, and a role model in property maintenance (Koster 2015, 221). In addition to the neoliberal idea that people take good care of their private property in order to increase its value, the government also assumes that the new residents take care of the entire neighborhood on a social level. This chapter, however, will show that living *next to* each other does not necessarily mean living *with* each other, and that the belief that social mixing leads to a greater social capital of the incumbent residents is too superficial an analysis.

4.1 INDIRECT ECONOMIC DISPLACEMENT

A form of displacement that is perhaps less well known in the Netherlands is indirect economic displacement. Due to rent protection in the Netherlands, rent contracts cannot simply be terminated, and rents can only be increased incrementally by a maximum percentage per year (Rijksoverheid 2020a and 2020b). As a result of these protections, 'price shadowing', as Hall and Ogden (1992) call it, is a rare phenomenon in the Netherlands, when it comes to public housing, and incumbent residents are often able to stay where they live. I do not want to go into too much detail, but there are a number of aspects that show how indirect economic processes can lead to indirect displacement, as well as physical displacement. For example, indirect economic displacement is not only about extreme rent increases for the occupant himself, but also about the radical rent and house prices that can give those with fewer resources a feeling of being 'out of place'.

As previously described, the prices of owner-occupied houses are rising sharply in Ondiep, while rental properties are experiencing a much slower rise due to rent protection. The difference, when it comes to economic class, is therefore also increasing in the neighborhood itself. Whereas ten years ago it was perhaps the middle class who bought the houses, now the purchasers are tending towards even higher income classes. Henry, an old resident, summed up the difference as: "My neighbor is worried about his Tesla, while I am just worried about my bike's flat tire".[12] This illustrates the difference in 'status' when it comes

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[12] Interview Henry May 1, 2020

to economic capital, but also to symbolic capital; riding a tesla is a manifestation of both lifestyle and preferences (e.g. eco-friendly cars). This shows how preferences function as a marker of 'class' (Bourdieu 1984, xxv).

In some sub-neighborhoods of Ondiep, *older residents* even mentioned the existence of a 'rich enclave'. Examples of these sub-neighborhoods are: 'Het Kleine Wijk', that used to consist entirely of public housing, but now consists of 114 owner-occupied houses and 18 public housing units, and 'Het Witte Wijk', the sub-neighborhood that has the 'sale label' which means that every vacant rental house will be put up for sale. This so-called 'rich enclave' ensures that some *older residents* no longer feel completely at home in the neighborhood, due to the large economic differences. Consider the following comments from Suzie, a resident of Het Kleine Wijk:

"Before COVID-19 we already had the coming and going of AH deliveries and Picnic[13] vans. Something that for me is a luxury but for them a habit. I think I am still one of the few who gets my groceries at the market." [14]

This anecdotes are not based on hard figures, but it does show how a gap is created by economic differences, and how these differences can create a feeling of 'being misplaced'. I certainly do not want to interpret it as pressure being exerted, which ultimately leads to real physical displacement, as is often assumed with indirect economic displacement (Davidson 2008). Nonetheless, a feeling of misplacement due to differences in economic capital is about the indirect processes involved in gentrification, and of symbolic embodied capital issues (Bourdieu 1986). It is about who has capital, and who does not, and it creates a division of 'us versus them'.

Another point I would like to briefly address is how indirect economic displacement can lead to physical displacement, by means of a common story within Ondiep. Stories abound of children of *older residents* who cannot stay in the neighborhood, because of the "absurdly high prices" in the neighborhood, and the extreme queues for public housing.

"Things used to be different," Henry tells me as I walk with him through the neighborhood. "You see that house there?" - he points to a vacant house down the street. "It used to be possible to just go to the housing corporation and say that you want that house you have seen. Often, not always, you were assigned to that house." (A small nuance should be made to this story, when it turns out that this is about 30 years ago.) "Now, when you have been registered

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[13] AH deliveries is the delivery service of the supermarket chain Albert Heijn.
  Picnic is an online supermarket.
[14] Fieldnotes April 27, 2020

for publichousing for ten years and you want that house" again pointing to the empty house, "you are probably still 60th in line." He tells me that times have changed, Ondiep has become much more popular. "In the old days, you only wanted to live here if you had grown up in Ondiep. "I do not think the housing corporations got many housing applications to live in Ondiep from people outside the neighborhood" he says while laughing. But then he gets serious again and looks at me while he asks: "Surely there must be another way, right? There is no more room for our children. And those houses for sale... by now you have to be a Masters graduate with a very good job, although I doubt if even they will be able to afford it…" [15]

This is a common story in Ondiep. Many *older residents* mentioned that their children were so eager to stay in Ondiep, but that the house prices and the long queues for public housing in Ondiep, "especially now that there is less public housing in Ondiep," [16] forced them to leave. Many of them left for places outside the city (e.g. Maarssen, and Nieuwegein). "A loss, I would have liked to have had my child around. We as a family have always lived near each other. Just like a lot of other Ondiepers," explains Kyra.[17]

This indirect form of forced displacement shows how capitalism creates its own 'other', with a focus on inclusion and exclusion. According to (Harvey 2003), this 'other' is recreated by dispossession. As a result of the redifferentiation, there are fewer public housing units for rent in Ondiep than before, in addition the owner-occupied houses are often too expensive for the *older residents* or their children, thus depriving them of their rights to live in the city. These residents are forced to move to more affordable places outside the city, or, in other words, they are excluded from the city. This form of displacement, as well as direct physical displacement, dispossesses the residents not only from their neighborhood/home but also from their social relations; this applies to the displaced, but also to the ones who were able to stay, who see their social connections diminish, as friends and family leave the area. It shows that accumulation by dispossession also requires looking at other aspects that form the fabric of a life, and of a person's lived experience.

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[15] Walking interview Henry May 1, 2020
[16] Fieldnotes February 5, 2020
[17] Interview Kyra May 5, 2020

4.2 COMMUNITY DISPLACEMENT

February 5th, 2020, a community center full of Ondiep residents waiting for the start of the neighborhood consultation with the housing corporation Mitros. After introducing myself to the chairwoman of the meeting, I move to a seat at the corner of the room with my (until then) still-empty notebook. I nod to the gentleman next to me as a sign of "hello", to which the gentleman says, "Busy, isn't it?" "Is it?" I ask, and explain that I have never been to such a meeting before and that I am here for my research. "It is much busier than usual. Probably because of the presence of Mitros" he says. When I ask him why, he mentions that Mitros does not have a good reputation and that this only gets worse as they sell more houses. He indicates that there is a feeling that sales are getting out of balance. "What exactly do you mean by that?" I ask. He answers that in recent years more and more houses are being sold, and with that, more and more newcomers are entering the neighborhood. I ask him how he feels about that. "I do not mind that they are selling houses, but it has just been going a little too fast lately. We barely got used to the new residents in the new owner-occupied houses, when all of a sudden public houses were, and still are, being sold." While he is finishing his sentence the people who are not yet seated are asked to find a seat for the start of the meeting. As with every meeting, this one starts with announcements, after which various topics are discussed.

And then it is Mitros' turn. The man next to me looks at me and nods in the direction of the Mitros director; for me this is the signal to pay extra-close attention. It soon becomes clear from the number of questions asked to Mitros, that many residents have indeed come due to their presence. Questions are raised about the maintenance of the houses, the renovations of the houses, new construction projects, and also the sale of houses. Several residents pleaded to stop the sales. According to them, besides the new owner-occupied houses, the sale of rental houses is too much. "There is a rich enclave emerging in "Het Witte Wijk" [subpart of Ondiep]" mentions a resident. Another occupant indicates that the social cohesion in the neighborhood is being lost, to which several residents respond by nodding fiercely. The director comments on this by indicating that society itself is changing: "Neighborhoods do not stay the same. Residents come and go, and sooner or later everyone contributes in his or her own way to the cohesion in the neighborhood." "What cohesion?" I hear a gentleman whispering to his neighbor. Meanwhile, the director continues his story; he explains that of the 1500 rental properties Mitros has in Ondiep, only fifteen were sold by 2019. Since 2015, a total of 97 have been sold. The man sitting next to me taps me on the shoulder and says "you should not believe this!". I feel the unrest in the center. To everything Mitros says there is a whispering reaction and the word 'hautain' is used several times to describe the attitude of Mitros. Because of the time, the meeting will be completed and closed not much later.

After the consultation, there is the opportunity to have a drink, and to discuss what has been said. I chat over a drink with one of the residents, meanwhile, I can overhear a conversation between two women behind me; again the word 'hautain' is used. This time not to describe Mitros' attitude but that of the newcomers. I wonder what exactly they mean by that.[18]

Clearly, many different points, concerns and interpretations were raised during the consultation. And the use of the word *hautain* is particularly interesting here. This word has a great deal of meaning and covers many other aspects that came up during the consultation. On the basis of the concept of 'community displacement', I will take you through the meaning of this word for the *older residents* and all its underlying dynamics. But first of all, what does *hautain* actually mean? The Cambridge dictionary describes *hautain* as follows: "seeming to consider yourself better than the other". This would mean that the *older residents* see the *newcomers*, or also called the 'Yuppen', as people who place themselves above the *older residents*. However, there is more to the story.

In some cases, *hautain* is indeed used to explain the attitude of the *newcomers* towards the *older residents*, for example, one of the *older residents* called the *newcomers* 'betweters'.[19] Yet, you can also interpret the meaning of *hautain* in Ondiep differently. It is not always about the behavior of the *newcomers*, but more about how their status is filled in by the *older residents*. Remarks like: "they will know better, because they have a good education", "I have the feeling that they know better how to find and approach the right people at the municipality", "I will keep my mouth shut, because he seems to know more about it than I do", and "people listen to them more anyway". Now I have to say that of course this is not the case for everyone. *Older residents* of Ondiep are known for their directness, are often not afraid to say what they think and are not easily put aside. That is why I am surprised when I regularly hear similar remarks. When I ask Henry where these kinds of remarks come from, he responds as follows:

"It is partly based on reality. The newcomers are often just more highly-educated than the older residents. For me, by the way, I have no reason to think that they always know better, but for many it feels like this. This feeling is due to the fact that we have been thinking for a long time.., yes how can you say that… that we are seen as the scum of the city. We used to have the so-called 'hooipoort' here, a part of the neighborhood where the 'onaangepasten'[20]

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[18] Fieldnotes February 5, 2020
[19] Betweters is a term in Dutch that refers to people who think they 'know-it-all'
[20] The socially inept

of society were placed. Later, Ondiep was labeled as a 'vogelaarwijk' [problematic neighborhood]. The new residents are, therefore, seen as the change-makers." [21]

In Ondiep, *hautain* does not always seem to refer to actual *hautain* behavior by the *newcomers*, but rather to an expectation of *hautain* behavior, initiated by *older residents* placing themselves lower than the new residents; and by their own feelings of inferiority. What effect does this have on aspects of community displacement - the claiming rights and of recreating the space - which are clearly linked to the cultural and social capital context? Who has is more highly-educated? Who has the better connections with the municipality? Who speaks the language of the 'powerful decision-makers'? In the next paragraph I would like to look at the previously-discussed 'right to the city' from a different perspective. Earlier we discussed how economic capital gives an individual the right to the city, now we will be consider how cultural and social capital contribute to the granting of rights to the city.

4.2.1 'THE RIGHT TO THE CITY': RECLAIMING RIGHTS AND RECREATING SPACE

We live in an era where there is a lot of fighting for collective rights (Harvey 2010). In this paragraph I want to talk about 'the right to the city', but what exactly does this mean? It has already been said that this right consists of more than just the right to *live* in the city. Urban sociologist Park (1967 *in Harvey 2010, 1)* provides great insight on this issue, describing the city as:

"man's most consistent and on the whole, his most successful attempt to remake the world he lives in more after his heart's desire. But, if the city is the world which man created, it is the world in which he is henceforth condemned to live. Thus, indirectly, and without any clear sense of the nature of his task, in making the city man has remade himself."

If the city is indeed the place in which man has made an attempt to reconstruct the world of life, then, according to Harvey (2010), we cannot separate it from questions such as what kind of social relationships are we looking for, what kind of people do we want, what outer values do we hold, what style of everyday life do we want? The right to the city is, therefore, much more than just having sufficient economic resources to enter or stay in the city, it is a right to adapt the city according to our own needs. And it is precisely at this point where the two aspects of community displacement come together: reclaiming rights and recreating space.

Here we move from considering economic capital to considering cultural and social capital. Cultural capital can be divided into embodied, objectified and institutionalized capital.

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[21] Interview May 1, 2020

Embodied capital consists of passively-acquired and consciously-acquired characteristics, the form of long-term dispositions of the mind and the body. It can be about accents, skills, preferences and manners, and can differentiate you from others through the way you behave and how you look (Bourdieu 1984, 1986). For example, in Ondiep there are differences in accent, and the pronunciation of neighborhoods and streets, where a knowledgeable listener can discern whether it is an older resident, or a newcomer, speaking. Examples are De Laan van Chartroise which is pronounced by the *older residents* as 'De laan van sjartreuze' and by the *newcomers* as 'De laan van sjartroize'. In addition, the *older residents* say 'Het Kleine Wijk' and the *newcomers* often say 'De Kleine Wijk'.

But perhaps more striking is the emergence of differences in manners and preferences. According to Goffman (1959 *in* Baetens 2011, 54), the distinction between "decorum" and "manners" is important here; decorum refers to the presentation of actors, while manners point to the customs in the setting or place. This setting is often demarcated by a certain perception of 'performance'. In many places in Ondiep, for example, it was normal to pass the time on the street. In Ondiep, drinking a beer on the pavement with the neighbors [during the day] was symbolic of a *gezellige* and close-knit working-class neighborhood, whereas to *newcomers* this is seen as a sign of decay and unemployment. These perceptions come from specific cultural factors such as upbringing, education and socio-economic origin which can determine our *habitus*. Objectified capital, on the other hand, is more about your material belongings that indicate social class, such as films, music, works of art or literature (Bourdieu 1986).

Finally, institutionalized cultural capital is demonstrated by symbols of social competence and authority. It refers to diplomas and certificates; degrees are a powerful form of institutionalized capital and give you the skills that embody cultural capital. In addition, the higher the diploma, the more institutionalized cultural capital you have (Bourdieu 1986). According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital can, therefore, be a source of inequality. For example, it would be difficult for the working-class to gain the forms of cultural capital that are appreciated in society, as each degree gives the person more prestige. This form of capital and prestige can then be exchanged for economic capital.

When people share cultural capital with others, a sense of collectivity or inclusion is created. With the plan 'Ondiep, dorp in de stad', the intention was to create a new neighborhood with more opportunities for the residents, by mixing and sharing 'capital' (PMB 2003). However, it is clear that this results in more of a 'combination of' than a mix. This creates not one collective but two separated, yet interleaved groups: that of the *newcomers*, and that of the *older residents*. This does not mean that they do not speak or interact with each other at all, but it *does* mean that they still regard each other as 'the other'. Mary, a newcomer, who has lived in Ondiep for about three years now, told me the following: "I very much like that

'folksy' nature. That social cohesion really appeals to me. But I am glad that they do not live right next door, but a bit further down the road. They have other ways of doing things". [22] Or as Luc says: "very charming those front gardens with white arch gates and frills, but not next to me. They have a different taste".[23] Taste here becomes a social implement that people use to distinguish 'us' from 'them' (Bourdieu 1984).

The *older residents* also have certain ideas of the *newcomers*, who are sometimes seen as "boring" or "difficult". Something that would be good for the neighborhood according to the *newcomers*, is sometimes an "unnecessary hassle" for *older residents*. For example, a number of *newcomers* in Het Kleine Wijk would like to plant a grape vine in the playground. John, an old resident of Ondiep, who does not live in Het Kleine Wijk himself, said the following about this: "So much unnecessary whining about a vine, while the playground is already beautiful and green."

Another idea that *older residents* have about *newcomers*, is that they are educated to a higher level, or have had a better quality education, and that they will therefore "probably know better". The latter is of course an important factor in who has the right to claim rights and who does not. *Older residents* actually relinquish some kind of power by thinking that the *newcomers* are 'superior' because of their diplomas. This is not to say that *newcomers* should not have rights in relation to *older residents*, but would it be really better to only listen to the *newcomers*? One can imagine that people in powerful decision-making positions are often highly-educated, like many *newcomers* in Ondiep, and that the *newcomers* speak 'the same language' as those in positions of municipal authority. This makes it easier to claim their rights and thus to manifest their desires in the neighborhood.

These mechanisms are strongly related to theories of social capital. Bourdieu (1986) explains social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition''. The amount of social capital you have depends on the size of your network, the number of connections that you can 'mobilize', and the amount of different types of capital (e.g. cultural, economic or symbolic) that these connections possess (Bourdieu 1986). Social capital can have many advantages because it can be used to obtain resources in combination with other forms of capital (Bourdieu 1986).

As mentioned in previous chapters, this is also something that is put forward as a great advantage in the policy of social mixing. The arrival of the new middle- or higher-class residents *in theory* would increase the social capital of the *older residents* and thus perhaps the economic capital (Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen 2003). However, in practice, it appears that differences based on cultural capital, such as level of education, taste and

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[22] Interview Mary April 14, 2020
[23] Interview Luc April 9, 2020

manners, prevent a 'natural connection' [24] between the *older residents* and the *newcomers*, and by consequence the social capital that *newcomers* bring does not necessarily make a positive contribution for the *older residents*, but rather for fellow *newcomers.*

Bourdieu (1986) recognizes the potential detrimental aspects of social capital, since it can also cause the exclusion of specific individuals from the ability to obtain resources or rights. It is therefore not the *newcomers* themselves, but the capital they bring with them, which makes the *older residents* uncertain. The so called 'rich enclave', creates a fear of change, or a fear of losing control.[25] According to the *older residents*, enough has changed already, and they feel that the *newcomers* have more to contribute when it comes to creating the space; "soon there will be nothing left of the old neighborhood."[26] The *older residents* feel that their voice is being lost because they cannot build on the resources that the *newcomers* have, because of the great disparity between them in social capital.[27] Or as Rob puts it: "When people feel unheard, they become silent".[28]

However, we should not underestimate the influence of neighborhood organizations such as DOCK [social agents]. They offer, among other things, help in connecting the champions of neighborhood initiatives and ideas with the 'right people', e.g. municipal decision-makers. In this way, a voice is also given to those with less social or cultural capital. The idea that social mixing leads to more mutual contact and increasing social capital seems to have been clearly debunked.

4.3 NEIGHBORHOOD RESOURCE DISPLACEMENT

Another form of indirect displacement mentioned by Davidsons (2008) is neighborhood resource displacement, and concerns the changing orientation of services in the neighborhood. The disappearance of local shops, restaurants, and other businesses can lead to a feeling of what Davidson (2008) called 'out of placeness'. Interestingly enough, few changes have taken place when it comes to resources in Ondiep. However, it is very important to again clarify what specific geographic area we are discussing, as Ondiep has not always clear boundaries. For some the Amsterdamsestraatweg is the border, and for others it is the Royaards van den Hamkade; like the rest of this thesis I will take the Royaards van den Hamkade to be the border. Clarifying the borders is important because the circumstances on Amsterdamsestraatweg are very different from Ondiep. On the Amsterdamsestraatweg, there are more and more new coffee vendors, lunchrooms and shops opening, while in Ondiep these kinds of changes are still lagging behind.

[24] Interview Luc April 9, 2020
[25] Interview Henry May 1, 2020
[26] Fieldnotes February 5, 2020
[27] Fieldnotes February 14, 2020
[28] Fieldnotes February 18, 2020

Despite the Amsterdamsestraatweg being nearby, it is striking that in a gentrifying neighborhood such as Ondiep, few gentrifying effects of commercial gentrification have been seen. Commercial gentrification is a "process by which businesses are replaced by either higher value, more competitive or more profitable businesses" (Ferm 2016, 402); this is part of the discussed third wave of gentrification, and is, according to Doucet (2013), a spatial expression of gentrification as we know it today. How is it then possible that in a neighborhood like Ondiep there is so little evidence of commercial gentrification?

Figure 5: Bakery Boonzaaijer

Two important enterprises in Ondiep are the butcher's and the bakery, and in particular Baker Kees, of the bakery Boonzaaijer, is a well-known personality in the neighborhood. Boonzaaijer is a family business that was established in Ondiep long before the redifferentiation of the neighborhood. In every conversation I had, the baker was mentioned, older as well as newer residents buy their bread at this bakery, and even before the outbreak of COVID-19, long queues outside the bakery were common. This has not only to do with the number of customers, but also with the personal contact the baker has with his customers, as Nikkie, who has lived in Ondiep for nine years now, told me:

"It's always busy, but the long queue also has to do with the fact that the baker seems to know everyone. Everyone likes to have a chat with him and discuss the ins and outs of the neighborhood together".[29]

Newcomer Carli calls it a place where you meet other residents of the neighborhood. However, she indicates that you are more likely to speak to the people you know.[30]
Mary, another newcomer, explained the situation as follows: "Going to the bakery is a real experience. You are standing in line there anyway, times of COVID-19 or not. It is nice, as a lot of people chat with each other. You see that especially the older residents know each other

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[29] Interview Nikkie April 6, 2020
[30] Interview Carli April 6, 2020

very well, just like baker Kees. I myself also have short conversations, but the real conversations take place between the older residents." [31]

What makes this baker so successful, and not susceptible to commercial gentrification, seems to be explained by several *older residents* who noted that the baker has adapted his product range to *newcomers*' tastes: "he started selling wheat, spelt and keto bread".[32] However, according to the *newcomers* there is no "yuppie assortment" yet:

"I can imagine it has been adapted a bit, but there are still a lot of cream sandwiches and other unhealthy things. You do not have oatcakes and gluten-free bread. However, he does have carbohydrate bread. For me it is especially important to support local businesses as there are relatively few facilities in Ondiep."[33]

Supporting local businesses was raised several times during conversations with the *newcomers*; "as long as I can support the local entrepreneurs, I am very happy to do so", says "*newcomer*" Carli, who has been living in Ondiep for nine years. [34] Still, it seems like only a matter of time before more businesses open in Ondiep as many *newcomers* say they miss having a nice local restaurant, lunchroom, or a nice coffee shop where they can work.

"We do not have a coffee shop or a nice restaurant, I do miss that. Of course you have the Amsterdamsestraatweg close by, and there you have many different businesses."[35]

"I really think it is a district of missed opportunities. The Oppenheim Plein is a nice open spot with the water tower in the background, and on the other side is a nice old building, but there is a carpark where there should have been terraces."[36]

"A coffee shop where you could work would be ideal."[37]

"I just miss a nice café where you can have a drink in the evening, but Café Murk is a little too 'exclusive' for me. That is more for a small group of 'real' Ondiepers."[38]

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[31] Interview Mary April 14, 2020
[32] Interview John February 14, 2020
[33] Interview Mary April 14, 2020
[34] Interview Carli April 6, 2020
[35] Fieldnotes March 6, 2020
[36] Interview Luc April 9, 2020
[37] Conversation March 29, 2020
[38] Conversation May 9, 2020

These wishes are far less common among the *older residents*, which brings us back to the 'theory of capital' of Bourdieu (1986). The shared cultural capital that the new residents have contributes to a similar *habitus*, which in turn contributes to similar ideas and taste about what the neighborhood should look like. This perpetuates the idea that there need be separate places for "us" and for "them", based on differing taste and an incompatibility in social interaction. The right to the city is therefore more a collective right, rather than an individual right, as to change the city requires collective power, which is firmly based on cultural, social, and economic capital (Harvey 2010, 2).

CHAPTER 5: A NEW NEIGHBORHOOD

"Dat dorp van toen, het is voorbij. Dit is al wat er bleef voor mij een ansicht en herinneringen"

"That village back then, it is over. This is all that remained for me: a postcard and memories."

Wim Sonneveld

In the song 'Het Dorp', Wim Sonneveld sings about the village where the writer of the song was born. He sings about the simplicity of life and the 'simple houses' in which they lived:

"Maar blijkbaar leefden we verkeerd	*"But apparently we lived wrongHet*
dorp is gemoderniseerd	*The village has been modernized*
En zijn we op de goeie weg	*And now they are on the right track*
Want zie, hoe rijk het leven is	*See how rich life is*
Ze zien de televisie quiz	*They see the television quiz*
En women in betonnen dozen" [39]	*And live in concrete boxes."*

The song was written in 1965, which shows that change occurs in different periods throughout history, but also how the type of changes themselves may remain very much the same. In this song from more than fifty years ago, Sonneveld sings of modernization as "being on the right track". The only thing that is left of the village of that time, as described in the song, is a postcard and memories. Someone who echoes this sentiment for Ondiep in a very concrete manner is Gerard Klein, an older resident of Ondiep.

While looking for alternative forms of research during the first weeks of the lockdown, I remembered the suggestion from John, an older local resident, to watch Ondiep TV, an online channel with videos made by, and for, Ondiepers. This brought me to the video called "The Postcards of Gerard Klein", in which Gerard Klein uses old postcards from Ondiep to show how the neighborhood has changed over the years:

"What has the change of the neighborhood entailed?" asks the host, to which Gerard reacts: "people come and go. This used to be different. When you came to live somewhere, you often stayed there for the rest of your life." According to him, you do still notice these changes. He concludes with: "However, there are also people who did stay" (U in de Wijk 2018).

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[39] Songtext Het Dorp, Wim Sonneveld

Two things Gerard Klein has mentioned here are interesting. Firstly, the greater [need for] mobility compared to the past, but he also mentions the group of residents that remained in Ondiep. Therefore, in this chapter I would like to introduce you to Ondiep's search for a new interpretation of the neighborhood, or as an older resident put it: *"Ondiep has to keep its own stamp but you see it a bit less sharp at the moment. Is it bad that instead of, for example, a lion and a bunny, there is a lion and a rabbit? I do not think so. We have to look for a new stamp together."* [40] But first of all, the redifferentiation and gentrification has so far been framed in a negative light, but does this mean that the redifferentiation of Ondiep is one big failure?

5.1 "THOSE RENEWALS WERE VERY MUCH NEEDED"

The sun is shining abundantly and the mercury has risen to 26 degrees. While cycling along Ondiep [the street] I decided at the last moment to turn left into Het Kleine Wijk. A part of the neighborhood where you do not really go when you do not live there. That is why it always feels a bit uncomfortable when you cycle into the courtyard without a purpose. In the middle of the courtyard is a playground around which the houses are built. While I cycle around the courtyard, I see a woman sitting in front of one of the public houses. I get off my bike: "can I ask you something?". "Natuurlijk wijfie!" she responds, which means something like 'of course, wench'. While inside I still have to laugh a bit about her wonderful reaction, I ask her how she likes living in Ondiep. "Lovely, I have lived in this house for 10 years now and before that, I always lived in Ondiep. They cannot get me out of here." When I later ask her about the changes in the neighborhood, she puts her phone away, which she used to look at from time to time when there was another beep of an incoming message. "Oh girl, those renewals were very much needed!"

She tells me about how small and how poorly maintained the houses were. Now she has experienced living in a new house, she would never want to go back to the old days. "It is still just a nice neighborhood. I sit here in front of my house enjoying the mothers and children at the playground." However, she says that now she does not have any young children of her own anymore, it is harder to make contact, while many newcomers do have contact with each other because of the children. It used to be easier, according to her, since everyone sat on a bench in front of the house when the weather was nice.

When I tell her that I hear that more often and that the old days are often 'missed', she laughs. "Miss it? It was easier for making contact maybe, but that did not mean it was always better." I look at her questioningly as a kind of encouragement to tell me more. She seems to be picking up my signal and telling me about that time. According to her, there were a lot of contacts which were often pleasant, but very often also caused a lot of gossip, interference

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[40] Interview Henry May 1, 2020

and sometimes even fierce arguments. "No, it really was not always that pleasant. I have really been afraid that fights would get out of control." She tells me that this has become less common nowadays because people just interfere less with each other; "it often comes down to just saying hello and goodbye, and of course, it has to come from two sides, but at least by being open you make a good start."

She indicates that as a tenant with a lot of newcomers around her, she likes to have a chat with them once in a while. "They are friendly people, but different." When I ask her what exactly is different about them, she laughs and says "we call them goat-wool socks types"[41] and by 'we' she means the older residents. "They are sometimes a bit difficult about very simple things". She tells me about that time she went door-to-door to raise money for the Red Cross. When she rings the doorbell of one of the newcomers in her street, the first thing she hears when the door is opened, is: "why are you ringing the bell so loud while my children are sleeping?". "Older Ondiepers think you should not whine like that", she says. She admits that it is only something very small, but there are more of those small differences that, according to her, causes friction between older residents and newcomers. The sub-neighborhood activities are, therefore, something that many older residents do not participate in because they simply do not feel like "talking about whether or not there should be a grape vine in the playground. They think that is typically something the newcomers are unnecessarily occupied with". She herself tries to be present at the activities: "You have to make something of it together".[42]

This story does not stand alone. That something had to happen in the neighborhood was clear to everyone, or as Loren, an older resident, said: "it was absolutely necessary".[43] The houses were poorly maintained and almost dilapidated (van Beckhoven and Van Kempen 2002). In addition, the plan 'Ondiep, dorp in de stad' also indicates that there were many problems behind closed doors, problems such as financial worries, neglect, and unemployment. Moreover, the developmental delays of children, school absenteeism, school drop-out rates and youth unemployment are also mentioned in this 2003 plan (PMB 2003).

Residents also faced problems at street level. As the woman above indicated, the cohesive village feeling also has a downside. Within the sub-neighborhoods of Ondiep were close social connections which provided mutual help and care, however these social ties also caused tensions between these groups of residents, which could sometimes get out of control. According to the plan of 2003, people would no longer be tolerant towards each other and

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[41] Etymologiebank.nl: "persons who testify to an idealistic attitude that many people experience as floaty or impractical".
[42] Fieldnotes June 2, 2020
[43] Interview Loren April 1, 2020

there would be a blurring of standards. This blurring of norms meant that some residents did not dare to intervene (PMB 2003).

Therefore, at first, many of the *older residents* did not take a completely negative view of the changes brought by redevelopment. The physical changes in the neighborhood are often experienced as positive; the quality of the houses improve, and the new buildings have mostly been restored in the old style (see figure 6). Like older resident Loren says: "I really like it. It is more spacious than it first was [...] they really tried to keep the village feeling, and in my opinion those houses are well-built, not on cutbacks, so I think that is really successful".[44] But "changes also go hand-in-hand with an uncomfortable feeling", according to an old neighborhood counsellor. [45] This so-called uncomfortable feeling seems to get worse over time. Common quotes are: "At first I was positive about the changes, but it gets out of balance. The social cohesion is gone."; "By now it is clear to me what is meant by 'prachtwijk'[46]: giving way to the rich instead of tackling deprivation"; "Actually, I am getting less and less positive about the changes now that I see what effect it has on the social cohesion of the neighborhood" or "It is no longer a village in the city, like it was in the past".[47]

Figure 6: Comparison of old and new construction in Ondiep. The first picture shows the old houses and the second picture the new houses.

What is striking here, is that a lot of reference is made to the neighborhood as a whole, despite *older residents* normally referring to the sub-neighborhood they live in, like "one neighborhood is not the other" or "those who live in the Bomenbuurt do not want to go to the Fruitbuurt". Nevertheless, when it comes to the renewal and redifferentiation in Ondiep, the

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[44] Interview Loren April 1, 2020
[45] Fieldnotes May 1, 2020
[46] Another name for underprivileged neighborhoods or also called Vogelaarswijk
[47] Fieldnotes February 5, 2020, May 1, 2020 and May 6, 2020

residents are very involved in 'the other part of Ondiep' where the changes take place. Looking at each other with a crooked eye is suddenly out of the question; *older residents* from different sub-neighborhoods then stand up together against further changes in the neighborhood.

Several *older residents* of the Bomenbuurt[48] do, for example, indicate that the neighborhood has changed too much, that the "gezelligheid is gone" and that too many houses are being sold. Yet it is precisely the Bomenbuurt where the fewest changes have taken place, compared to the rest of the neighborhood. Only a few houses have been earmarked for sale; most of the houses have been renovated and is still public housing, allowing many residents from before the redifferentiation to stay in the neighborhood. The composition of this sub-neighborhood has thus not changed much. How is it then possible that it is 'less sociable/gezellig' there too? A nuanced observation can be made with regards to the 'negativity' felt towards the entire redifferentiation, without neglecting the feeling that clearly prevails in Ondiep.

Understanding of this nuance is necessary, because many of the remarks made are not only similar, but more importantly, they often refer to what another person said, such as: "where a friend of mine lives, nobody sits in front of the house anymore, since all those houses are sold", and "an acquaintance of mine, her son wants to live in Ondiep, but there is no place for him". This means that these stories are not always based on personal experiences, but are the stories of others, being retold, and can be seen as a way of expressing the uncomfortable feeling *older residents* have about the transformation of Ondiep. This shows the vulnerability of social life, a vulnerability that often evokes contrasts with the nostalgic memories of the past. According to (Herzfeld 2009, 21), nostalgia perpetuates a strong sense of class identity. Ondiep was a predominantly working class in the remembered past, when "the working poor" lived 'comfortably' side-by-side. However, because of the so-called 'rich enclave' this is no longer the case, according to the *older residents*.

Nonetheless, according to John, the neighborhood's past is too often romanticized. "It was a very poor neighborhood. That is what connected everyone; you could identify with the neighbor's situation. But because of the redifferentiation, the financial situation in the neighborhood has really improved." To which his wife responded: "yes, and the neighborhood has become safer". Nevertheless, this uncomfortable feeling is real, whether exaggerated or not, and is a feeling that will take time to diminish. This is still a period of searching for a new interpretation of the neighborhood, but how do you do that when society is also changing?

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[48] Sub neighborhood in Ondiep

5.2 INCLUSIVE ONDIEP: COLLECTIVITY AND MOBILITY

"In 2015 different groups of residents will live next to each other in Ondiep. Tolerance is great, and the residents take care of each other" (PMB 2003); this quote is part of the social pillar of the plan 'Ondiep, dorp in de stad'. Moreover, Ondiep must become a 'levensbestendige' (life resillient) and inclusive neighborhood.

In times of uncertainty, of refugee crises, polarization and globalization, increasingly more attention is paid to inclusive cities and neighborhoods, or rather, more attention to their marketing as such (Rose 2004). The image given of a model city is one with neighborhoods 'capable of harmoniously supporting a blend of incomes, cultures, age groups and lifestyles' (Rose 2004, 281). However, it is precisely these differences that make some people feel ill at ease; every group and individual needs specific aspects in order to feel comfortable. For example many *older residents* lack the conviviality, sociability and intensive contact in the neighborhood. *Newcomers* also find neighborly contact important, but are generally less looking for that 'intensive contact' as used to be present in Ondiep.

In addition, the aspect of age differences makes residents less likely to meet each other. According to one resident: "Many *older residents* are already a bit older, 50 plus or so, while the *newcomers* are often young families. So where you used to meet at the school, this also declines, because we simply do not have any young children anymore".[49] However, it is of course not the case that all *older residents* are aged 50 plus, and that all *newcomers* have young children.

Nevertheless, Butler and Robson (2003) found that the middle-class *newcomers* are more inclined to associate with other middle-class *newcomers* in their neighborhood, especially through their children, and thus show that there is little "cross-class" intensive interaction. According to Butler and Robson, this even plays out through the contact the children have, and there is no evidence that the children play outside these middle-class networks. I would not go quite so far as that, but it is a striking reality that middle-class *newcomers* do not automatically choose a school in Ondiep:

"I will just choose a school that is good even if I have to cycle a little further,"[50]

"The Boemerangschool just looks bad already. It is like prison. The playground is completely made of concrete with high fences around it."[51]

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[49] Interview Henry May 1, 2020
[50] Interview Luc April 9, 2020
[51] Fieldnotes February 14, 2020

"My kids will go to the Rietendakschool because I do care about the mix. But if the education is not good, we will choose another school."[52]

Figure 7: *Rietendakschool*

Figure 8: *De Boemerang school*

To clarify, the Boemerangschool and the Rietendakschool are the two schools in Ondiep. According to the *newcomers*, the Boemerangschool is the school of the *older residents*, 'the other' school, while at the same time they call it an ugly school, a school that looks like a prison. This shows again how taste classifies, but at the same time also classifies the classifier (Bourdieu 1984). By classifying the Boemerang school as an ugly school, and as a school for the children of the *older residents*, the attitude of *newcomers* towards the old residents is expressed. The Rietendakschool on the other hand is, according to the *newcomers*, more class-mixed; several *newcomers* indicate that they find this mix important and therefore give this school "a chance".

Interestingly, *newcomers* already seem to assume that schools in Ondiep are worse than schools in other neighborhoods of the city. According to them, the bad image of the past would play a role in this. School choice therefore provides an insight into how one positions oneself in the neighborhood. Despite the fact that the diversity in the neighborhood is often celebrated by the *newcomers*, choosing a 'better' school outside the neighborhood shows just the opposite.

These 'other' schools are often schools with children with the same 'type' of parents. According to Butler (2003, 2469), this is about the relationship the middle-class have with each other - 'people like us' and excludes those who are not like them. By sending your child to a school outside the neighborhood, where mainly children from families with the same background go to, social (in)equality and *habitus* will be reproduced (Butler and Robson 2003).

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[52] Fieldnotes May 14, 2020

This shows again that social mixing of the neighborhood does not automatically lead to an increase in the social and cultural capital of all residents in the neighborhood.

However, it is not only the choice of school that influences the integration in the neighborhood. According to Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen (2002, 92), the socio-economic class to which many *newcomers* belong influences their pattern of activities. According to their research, people with a high level of education and [often] relatively high income have [often] a broad network of activities. They tend to orient themselves towards the whole city and therefore make more limited use of neighborhood facilities. The neighborhood is, therefore, increasingly seen as merely a place to live, and is no longer the primary frame of reference for daily activities.

Despite the fact that *newcomers* of Ondiep also find it important to invest in local businesses [e.g. bakery, butcher and bicycle mechanic], they also indicated that they lack a number of such facilities, such as a coffee shop, restaurant or bar. Café Murk [now called Café 1899] which is Ondiep's only café, is considered by many *newcomers* as a place "for the older Ondiepers". The *newcomers*, therefore, look for this kind of facility outside the neighborhood. Even though the *older residents* seem to have less need for these facilities, some also indicate that they are now looking for such facilities outside the neighborhood more often. In the words of Rose, an older resident: "now that the kids are living independently, my husband and I are increasingly going to the center for lunch, or we are going to the Bagels and Beans on Amsterdamsestraatweg for our Saturday morning coffee".[53] The policymakers of social mixing have therefore assumed too easily that the lives of all local residents largely take place within the boundaries of the neighborhood. Due to the growing mobility of school choice and other activities, the influence of the neighborhood on the lives of its residents is weakening.

Finally, the perspective of 'length of stay' plays an important role when it comes to the cohesion of the neighborhood; many *newcomers* are at the beginning of their 'housing career'. The house in which they now live is therefore often not seen as the house in which they will continue to live for years to come. So says *newcomer* Carli:

"In our street there is a considerable flow of residents. For various reasons: a divorce, because of a new job, the need for more greenery or the desire for more space. Remarkably, of the fifteen residents, nine have moved in the past nine years".[54]

Luc, another newcomer, mentioned that he enjoys living in Ondiep right now, but hopes to move somewhere outside Utrecht in a few years: "[To] a place where there is more green".[55]

[53] Interview Rose May 7, 2020
[54] Interview Carli April 6, 2020
[55] Interview Luc April 9, 2020

According to van Beckhoven and Van Kempen (2002), people who are at the beginning of their 'housing career' are less concerned with neighborhood life, and will engage in fewer activities in the neighborhood than people who are at the top of their 'housing career'. However, this is not entirely the case in Ondiep. For example, in Het Kleine Wijk you see a very active residents' association, where the *newcomers* are very involved. Carli, a resident of the Laan van Chartroise also indicated concern regarding the people who live in the same part of the street despite the change of residents in the past nine years.[56] However, you can see that this interrelationship is mainly between the middle-class *newcomers*, and less with the *older residents*.

  Older residents, on the other hand, have been living in Ondiep for years and often indicate that they want to stay in Ondiep indefinitely; the importance of mutual contact is therefore something that is mentioned more often by them. The difference in the 'residential career path' therefore also brings a difference in neighborhood interpretation and thus neighborhood cohesion. As a result, there is not necessarily a sense of community building based on shared values between *newcomers* and *older residents*, instead the paradigm remains 'the other' versus 'us', instead of an inclusive 'we'.

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[56] Interview April 6, 2020

CONCLUSION

Through the use of a qualitative ethnographic research design, this research aimed to identify the effects of gentrification on the lived experiences of the older residents of Ondiep, a neighborhood in Utrecht, the Netherlands. By consideration not only the physical displacement effects of gentrification, but by also paying attention to the social effects, I have contributed to the broader academic knowledge of the concept of gentrification. The academic text is supported by a paragraph on the history of Ondiep, and by photos and vignettes, which help to paint a more complete picture of Ondiep, and of the lived experiences of its residents.

Bourdieu's (1986) *Theory of capital* and Davidson's (2008) explanation of indirect displacement proved to be very suitable for the debate on the social effects of gentrification. The concept of indirect displacement, which can be subdivided into indirect economic, community, and neighborhood resource displacement, showed that the physical displacement of residents is not a prerequisite for feeling 'misplaced' in one's own neighborhood. This was made particularly apparent in Ondiep, through the analytical framework of 'community displacement', which concerns the right to recreate the city and reclaim rights.

In the introduction I established the threat of the marketing of inclusive cities and social mixing. This research has shown how the perverse outcome of a marketing message of inclusivity actually leads to the *exclusion* of groups of people; instead of an inclusive 'we', the arrival of *newcomers* in Ondiep gave rise to an idea of 'us' versus 'them', and the older residents often saw themselves as inferior to those with greater cultural capital [the newcomers]. This inferiority creates a sense of "losing control" about what will decisions will be made concerning the direction of the neighborhood; a sense of displacement of the right to recreate and to reclaim space. This thesis has shown that one cannot separate the ability of *newcomers* to define the identity and politics of the place, from attempts to understand gentrification through the use of Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*. The fact that the concept of *habitus* also extends to preferences, was shown to be an important distinguishing factor in creating an 'us' versus 'them' mentality. Moreover, *habitus* and preferences give rise to different ideas on what the neighborhood should look like, as illustrated through the model of 'neighborhood resource displacement'.

Using the model of 'indirect economic displacement', on the other hand, helped reframe the concept of 'accumulation by dispossession', and showed that it requires a much broader discussion than one focused merely on the loss of assets. By considering the concept of accumulation by dispossession in a social context, I have shown that the *indirect*, as well as the physical displacement, of the older residents of Ondiep contribute strongly to the dispossession of social relations [de gezelligheid]. These forms of displacement are created by the housing redifferentiation policy, where mixing is considered the silver bullet for

countering the homogeneity of neighborhoods. It has been demonstrated that the neoliberal restructuring of public facilities plays a major role in these policies; the research has demonstrated that certain urban policies are a neoliberal urban strategy to achieve gentrification, and to create space for 'the rich'. This piece did not describe the withdrawal of the State, but rather a reorganization of the State, in which the power of the State was transferred to local authorities.

In addition to the consequences of the neoliberal urban strategy of redifferentiation, this thesis also discussed the changing society, and the increasing mobility of citizens, and how these factors have influenced changes in opinion on the inherent function of a neighborhood. This was demonstrated clearly in the *newcomers*' choice of schools for their children; choice of school became based on the quality of the school, rather than on distance, and therefore also expanded to include schools outside of the neighborhood; schools with the 'same type of people' which reproduces Habitus.

It was also shown that a mobile 'residential career' has an influence on how the *newcomers* and older residents often have different interpretations of the neighborhood, and of social contacts; living next to each other does not necessarily mean living *with* each other. I have therefore presented evidence that the policy of social mixing should be correctly considered as having been only superficially adopted.

This thesis showed, nonetheless, that the renewal of the neighborhood was necessary because of the social unrest and physical neglect of the neighborhood, when viewed from the street level, as well as from 'behind closed doors'. It would be very interesting for a follow-up study to be undertaken in five years' time, after the complete implementation of the redifferentiation project, to see whether this fragmentation has changed, and, if so, in what ways it has changed. Such analysis would provide insights into the timeframe over which a redifferentiation project affects the lived experiences of the residents concerned.

A final note.
"Doing ethnographic research through fieldwork has proven to be an effective way to understand and grasp the perspective of the residents of Ondiep. However, as a result of COVID-19 restrictions, this research suffered from significant limitations; over the course of six weeks of fieldwork, no physical encounters or interviews were possible. I suggest taking this limitation into consideration when planning the recommended follow-up research. I would suggest bringing old and new residents together, through a focus group, in order to further examine, explore and observe the reality and experiences of "living next to each other" instead of "living with each other."

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A selection of the visual recordings of the field for a better [visual] understanding of the neighborhood Ondiep.

Preserve Het Kleine Wijk
Source: NRC 2008

"On Monday, October 20, 2014, a house was reoccupied on Ondiep [street]. The house, owned by Mitros, was squatted in protest against Mitros' policy in the Ondiep district."
Source: Indy Media 2014

Source: Duic 2016

Utrecht. Ondiep.

Artwork in Ondiep (ondiep means shallow)

Het Witte Wijk

De Laan van Chartroise

New

Will be demolished

Bakery Boonzaaijer

New

The Butcher

Still to be demolished

Project 'De Omloop'

"This property is protected
by temporary habitation."

Project Entrance Laan van Chartroise

Het Kleine Wijk

1. The courtyard
2. Entrance 1
3. Entrance 2
4. The border