Master's Thesis

Migrant Food Entrepreneurs and Gentrification in Lombok

Sacha Huss (9275088)

s.o.j.huss@students.uu.nl

Source: TDN Emmen (1989)

Thesis Supervisor:

Sara Brouwer

Second reader:

Femke van Noorloos

Utrecht University

Faculty of Geoscience

Course: GEO4-3509

Word count: 22457

Abstract

In this research, I investigate the relations at play between migrant entrepreneurship and gentrification in the neighbourhood of Lombok in Utrecht. A specific focus is set on food entrepreneurs due to the socio-cultural relevance food has for immigrant communities. Gentrification and its effects on the population of a neighbourhood and on the existing businesses established there have been extensively studied. The worldwide phenomenon has received much attention, both in media and academia. Gentrification is commonly seen as achieving consistently negative outcomes for local residents and businesses. However, previous research on the subject suggests that the relationship between gentrification and migrant entrepreneurs is more complex. It cannot only be thought of as defined by retail gentrification. In many cities, migrant entrepreneurs are concentrated in areas with high immigrant populations. Their socio-cultural importance confers them with an invaluable role in the inclusion of immigrants in these cities. However, the appeal of culturally diverse neighbourhoods can often be a factor in gentrification. The case study of Lombok is a neighbourhood containing a large immigrant population and numerous migrant-owned businesses and is currently experiencing gentrification. A series of in-depth interviews with migrant food entrepreneurs were conducted during the process of this research. I employ the notion of “the right to the city” to explore and understand how migrant food entrepreneurs in Lombok contest the process of gentrification. Moreover, I use the concept of “mixed embeddedness” to grasp how migrant food entrepreneurs are affected by the changes caused by gentrification and how they adapt to them. The research findings indicate that migrant food entrepreneurship in Utrecht is changing. Some shops are facing closure. On the other hand, some migrant food entrepreneurs adapt to the neighbourhood's changing demographics, and some even become agents of gentrification.

Acknowledgements

I would like to give my acknowledgements to everyone who took part in this master's thesis. I would first like to thank all the participants of my interviews, our conversations were, in my eyes, more than simply a tool to gather information, and I learned a lot from their experiences. I would like to thank the staff of buurthuis ROSA for introducing me to the neighbourhood's history. I also like to thank the staff in Wijk West of Gemeente Utrecht for providing me with relevant information concerning gentrification in Lombok. I would like to thank everyone involved in the *de Voorkamer* project for giving me the possibility to witness first-hand the beautiful connections that exist among the residents of Lombok.

I would like to offer my gratitude to my supervisor, Sara Brouwer. Thank you for your supervision. Your feedback and advice guided me throughout this thesis's research and writing processes. Finally, I wish to thank Dana, Megan and Hector for your company during these past seven months.

Table of Content

List of Figures:

List of Tables:

List of Abbreviations

CBS – Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek

COVID-19 – Coronavirus disease 2019

EU – European Union

SDG – Sustainable Development Goals

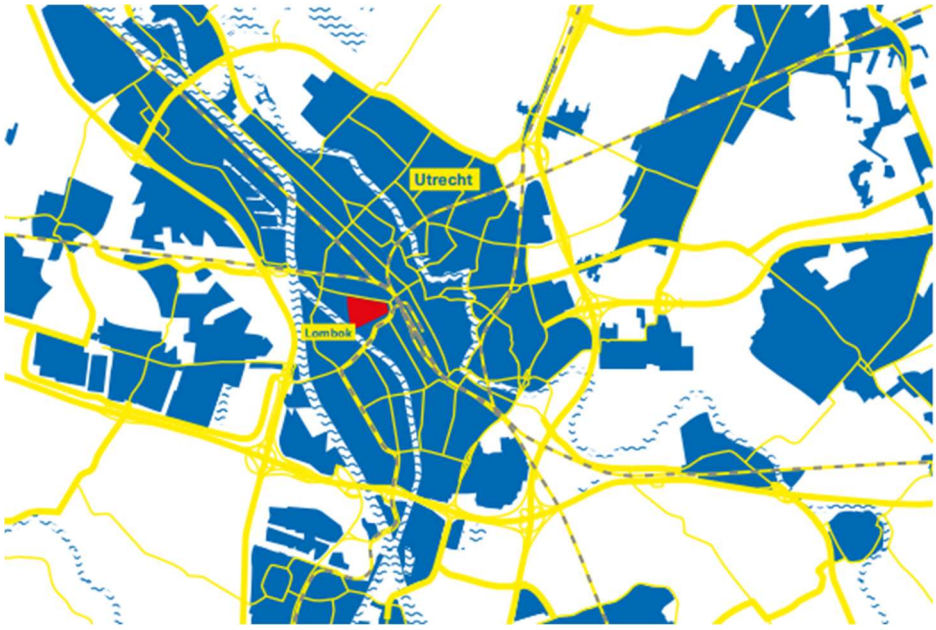
UN – United Nations

UPI – Urban Policy Initiative

1. Introduction

"Whatever ingredients you might need, you are sure to find them in Lombok" (Discover Utrecht, s.d.). This statement is a fitting way to talk about Lombok. Indeed, the neighbourhood is often considered to be the multicultural heart of Utrecht. The area's multicultural identity is deeply linked to the presence of numerous ethnic shops, primarily those involved in food. Indeed, Kanaalstraat, the central shopping street of Lombok, is brimmed with grocery stores, bakeries, spice shops and butchers. However, since the 1990s, the area has undergone significant changes (Couperus, s.d.). The district is becoming an attractive, diverse neighbourhood. Traditionally associated with its large and diverse immigrant population, this neighbourhood is increasingly home to highly skilled young professionals.

Figure 1: *Location of Lombok in Utrecht*



Source: Werkgroep Visie Kanaalstraat/Damstraat (2017).

As the fourth largest city in the Netherlands, Utrecht has experienced, over the years, growth in its immigrant population. Since 2001, Utrecht's immigrant population has risen by 8.4 per cent (Gemeente Utrecht, s.d.). The two largest immigrant groups in Utrecht hail from Turkey and Morocco, as in most large Dutch cities (Nortier, 2008). In the city of Utrecht, 8.8 per cent of the population is a first or second-generation immigrant from Morocco. In comparison, 4 per cent of the population is a first or second-generation immigrant from Turkey (Gemeente Utrecht, s.d.).

Table 1: *Population by migration background – Utrecht %*

	2001	**2022**
Dutch background	71.2%	62.8%
Morocco	8.2%	8.8%
Turkey	4.4%	4.0%
Suriname/Antilles	3.4%	3.0%
Other non-Western	3.2%	9.1%
Other western	9.7%	12.4%

Source: Gemeente Utrecht (s.d.)

However, in the neighbourhood of Lombok, a different phenomenon is taking place. There, the immigrant population is decreasing. In the area of Lombok-East, the immigrant population represented 53.5 per cent of the total population in 2001, and today, it represents 43.9 per cent of the population. In other words, the proportion of the immigrant population has declined by almost 10 per cent in the past 20 years. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, Lombok has seen an influx of young and educated professionals. This neighbourhood has been experiencing a growing trend of gentrification (Permentier, van Ham, & Bolt, 2008). Like in many cities, the cosmopolitan atmosphere associated with the neighbourhood made Lombok increasingly popular for highly educated people (Ioannides, Röslmaier, & van der Zee, 2019; Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019). This influx of middle-class residents is often comprised of ethnically white Dutch populations (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019).

Table 2: *Population by migration background – Lombok-East %*

	2001	**2022**
Dutch background	46.5%	56.1%
Morocco	17.9%	10.4%
Turkey	16.9%	8.6%
Suriname/Antilles	3.8%	2.9%
Other non-Western	4.3%	8.3%
Other western	10.6%	13.7%

Source: Gemeente Utrecht (s.d.)

Table 3: *Population by migration background – Lombok-West %*

	2001	**2022**
Dutch background	65.0%	66.2%
Morocco	9.1%	6.1%
Turkey	9.8%	4.9%
Suriname/Antilles	2.6%	2.4%
Other non-Western	3.1%	6.5%
Other western	10.4%	13.9%

Source: Gemeente Utrecht (s.d.)

1.1 Problem

The phenomenon of gentrification that has been taking place in Lombok over the years is partly the consequence of an institutional change in the Netherlands' housing policy (van Kempen & van Weesep, 1994). This institutional change is characterized by selling social rental units and deregulating the private rental sector (Boterman & van Gent, 2014).

Since the end of the Second World War, welfare state policies in Western countries have significantly impacted poverty levels (Hochstenbach & Musterd, 2019). Policies relating to housing greatly influenced the extent to which people experienced poverty. However, since the late 1970s, the world has experienced a dramatic shift in terms of socio-economics (Harvey D. , 2007). In the West, politicians like Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan initiated radical policies minimizing the state's role. In countries throughout the world, the new reality created by these neo-liberal policies was an increase in inequality (van Gent & Musterd, 2016). As states began restructuring their welfare states, policies liberalising and privatising the housing market were often introduced (Hochstenbach & Musterd, 2019). Governments are actively promoting home ownership in line with the active privatisation of the housing stock.

In European cities, this translated into increasing segregation along the line of class and origin. As the social housing sector decreases in size, low-income households are increasingly forced to turn to the private housing sector (Hochstenbach & Musterd, 2019). In the private housing sector, rents are higher, and a larger share of the household income is used to afford rent. Thus, leading to more precarious living conditions. As the Netherlands rolled back their welfare state and deregulated the housing market, polarization between rich and poor neighbourhoods increased (van Kempen & van Weesep, 1994).

In recent years, the Dutch government has been involved in large-scale city renewal projects to house the middle-class (van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). This institutional change is characterized by selling social rental units and deregulating the private rental sector (Boterman & van Gent, 2014). Unlike previous urban renewal projects in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, the newer projects do not seek to build affordable social housing where run-down private rental housing once stood (Aalbers, 2011). It instead pursues the replacement of affordable social housing in neighbourhoods with poor images, with less affordable social housing and owner-occupied housing.

According to Boterman and van Gent (2014), privatisation and liberalisation of the housing market can be a tool used by governments to shape the social composition of neighbourhoods. By increasing owner-occupancy and decreasing rental housing, governments seek to alter the social make-up of communities (Boterman & van Gent, 2014). Lees (2008) outlines three policy motives for social mixing. The first states that the middle class is better at advocating for public resources. The second affirms that the new middle-class population's money will help strengthen the local economy. The third one holds that both low-income and middle-class residents can benefit from each other's social capital. Social mixing policies are considered to be a contraption for gentrification strategies. As Lees (2008) argues, “It is difficult to be for gentrification, but who would oppose 'social mixing’?”.

These policies have increased spatial inequality in the Netherlands as more and more low-income residents are forced to rent in the private housing sector (Hochstenbach & Musterd, 2019). Moreover, the conversion of rental housing units into owner-occupied units in the Netherlands does not only affect the social compositions of neighbourhoods. As Boterman and van Gent demonstrate (2014), social mixing policies also alter the ethnic make-up of the areas. Indeed, these policies often target neighbourhoods characterised by high immigrant populations (Fiore & Plate, 2021). The marginalisation of the immigrant population has dramatically affected Dutch cities' social and cultural dimensions.

Fiore and Plate (2021) argue that the Dutch government’s active involvement in the commercial redevelopments of neighbourhoods often results in the disappearance of immigrant-owned businesses. They contend that policymakers encourage the development of higher-quality retail to strengthen the local economy. Thus, policymakers do not support the already existing local economy. Ultimately, the cultural diversity of a neighbourhood is managed aesthetically and quantitatively, and foreign cultures appear to be on display. Those who adapt to this new reality seek to be aesthetically pleasing to the new white residents, while those who do not often face difficulties and have to close shop. This phenomenon of retail

gentrification comes hand in hand with gentrification. The gentrification of a neighbourhood affects the customer base as well as the daily operations of business owners (Williams & Needham, 2016).

1.2 Research Aim and Questions

This research focuses on the effects of gentrification on migrant food entrepreneurs in Lombok and how they adapt to this phenomenon. This research aims to understand the challenges faced and possible opportunities for migrant entrepreneurs in the neighbourhood of Lombok. This research will encompass both first and second-generation immigrants. It focuses primarily on non-Western immigrants, who face higher levels of marginalization than European migrants (van den Bossche). Moreover, the neighbourhood of Lombok is associated with its non-Western population and ethnic shops (Discover Utrecht, s.d.).

- **How are migrant food entrepreneurs affected by the ongoing process of gentrification in the neighbourhood of Lombok in Utrecht, and how do they adapt and contest this process?**

1. How is the food retail changing in Lombok?
2. What are the pressures faced by Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs?
3. How do migrant food entrepreneurs accommodate to Lombok's changing demographic makeup?
4. How do migrant food entrepreneurs influence the development occurring in their neighbourhood?

1.3 Scientific and Development Relevance of the Research

Most research on gentrification focuses on the winners and losers of gentrification (Doucet, 2009). With winners being investors, new residents or homeowners. At the same time, losers are seen as the renters, low-income residents and minorities, such as immigrants. Some studies focusing on the relation between food and gentrification exist (Alkon, Cadji, & Moore, 2019; Bourlessas, Cenere, & Vanolo, 2021; Magno, 2000; Rath, Bodaar, Wagemaakers, & Wu, 2018; Zukin, 2008). However, these studies often focus on the United States.

Despite gentrification being a phenomenon that takes place worldwide, it does not necessarily develop in the same ways. Research often focuses on gentrification in the English-speaking world. However, gentrification does not occur in the same ways everywhere (Miura, 2021). The context of gentrification is relatively different in the Netherlands than in the United States. As van Weesep (1994) argues, gentrification studies in Europe emphasize the role of public policies in gentrification. Early research on gentrification in the Netherlands essentially focused on the changes in urban governance that led to the emergence of this phenomenon (van Weesep, 1994; van Kempen & van Weesep, 1994). While more recent studies research primarily on the social fracture caused by gentrification (van der Berg, 2013; Boterman & van Gent, 2014; Uitermark & Boske, 2014).

Çağlar and Glick Schiller's (2018) research highlights migrant entrepreneurs' dual position as actors and victims of neo-liberal urban regenerations. Furthermore, existing studies focusing on food and gentrification in Europe explore how food can participate in this process (Bourlessas, Cenere, & Vanolo, 2021; Stock & Schmiz, 2019; Fiore & Plate, 2021). Indeed, 'authentic food' can be a selling point that appeals to the multicultural aspects of neighbourhoods. Fiore and Plate's (2021) research in Amsterdam's Javastraat explores how migrant food entrepreneurs adapt the aesthetics of their businesses to fit into the newly gentrified neighbourhood. However, this research does not explore other ways migrant food entrepreneurs may adapt to and contest the gentrification process of their neighbourhood. Thus, this research expands our understanding of the strategies employed by migrant food entrepreneurs to adjust to the different pressures and opportunities presented by gentrification.

This research enhances the knowledge concerning the challenges faced by migrant food entrepreneurs in neighbourhoods experiencing gentrification. Gentrification is an increasingly important phenomenon in cities and is essential to understand; and it informs us of the challenges the most vulnerable and marginalised groups face in cities. Moreover, research in the Netherlands exploring gentrification's effects on food entrepreneurs is exclusively conducted in Amsterdam (Ernst & Doucet, 2014; Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019; Fiore & Plate, 2021). Hence, this research contributes to expanding the literature on the impact of gentrification on migrant business by focusing on Utrecht rather than on Amsterdam, a well research world-class city. Therefore, this research provides a framework to understand better how gentrification may challenge or offer opportunities to migrant food entrepreneurs. Thus, it gives insights into strategies to follow within gentrifying neighbourhoods.

As of 2015, it is estimated that 3.3 per cent of the world's population were international migrants (UN Migration Agency, 2018). This number equates to approximately 244 million

people. Projections put this number at 405 million by 2050. Studying the flows and impacts of migration is of increasing relevance, and migration is now included in the UN's Sustainable Development Goals. Moreover, migrants are primarily inclined to move to cities, and thus, it is there that their integration in a foreign country takes place. Making human settlements more inclusive is of primary international concern, and SDG 11 refers explicitly to making "cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable" (United Nations, s.d.). Research like Çağlar and Glick Schiller's (2018) book investigating the position of migrants in neo-liberal urban settings is crucial as it observes the inclusion of migrants in cities. Therefore, this research on how migrant food entrepreneurs adapt to and contest the gentrification processes in Utrecht informs us of the position occupied by migrants in cities in the Global North.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

To answer the research question, this thesis follows five steps. First, a conceptual framework is established. There, the concept of gentrification is explained, and the concepts of the right to the city and mixed embeddedness used to address this topic are discussed. Second, information regarding the geographical context of this research is presented. It sheds light on the history of immigration in the Netherlands and the urban policies of the Dutch government and presents the neighbourhood of Lombok in Utrecht. Third, the methods used to carry out this research are developed. Fourth, the results obtained are presented and analysed. Finally, their implications are discussed, the research question is answered, and some of the possible limitations of the research are outlined

2. Conceptual Framework

This chapter elaborates on the relevant theoretical concepts. This research looks at how migrant food entrepreneurs adapt to the ongoing process of gentrification in Lombok. The conceptual framework first establishes knowledge concerning the theme of gentrification and its implications for the position of migrants in cities. Subsequently, the chapter scrutinises concepts relating to methods that help understand how migrant food entrepreneurs adapt to the process of gentrification. Two additional concepts are employed to address the research question: the right to the city and the mixed embeddedness approach. These concepts help to explore the position of Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs within the neighbourhood and the city of Utrecht.

2.1 Gentrification

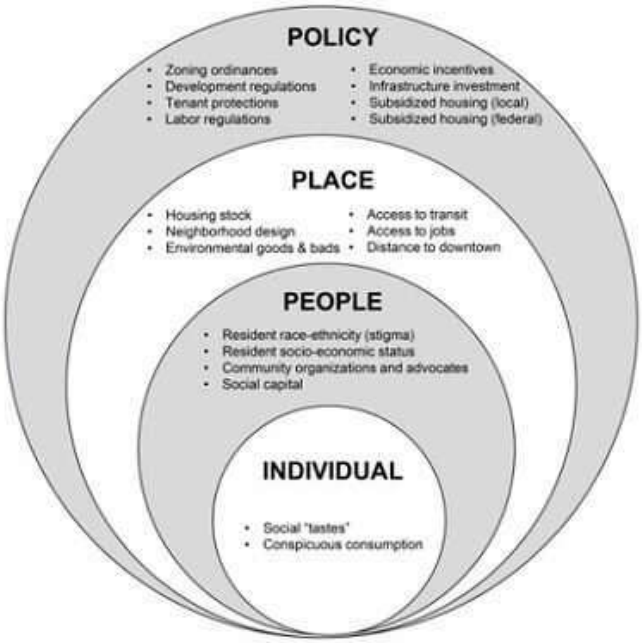
Gentrification is an increasingly studied phenomenon in cities. Despite emerging as a concept almost fifty years ago, the topic has received increased attention over the past twenty years (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2013). Glass first coined the term in 1964 (Doucet, 2009). It originally referred to the gradual displacement of the original working-class inhabitants of a neighbourhood by the middle-class (Freeman, 2016). This process culminates in the removal of most of the working class occupiers and the total change of the social character of the neighbourhood. Displaced residents, by gentrification, tend to be older, have lower education, have lower income and are of ethnic minorities (Rigolon & Németh, 2019). In comparison, the newer residents are overwhelmingly young, highly educated, middle and upper-class white people. Gentrifying neighbourhoods can undergo rent increases, rising home values and real estate speculation.

Gentrification can be brought about by improvements in transit, walkability, utilities and infrastructures (Rigolon & Németh, 2019). Therefore, gentrification may often be seen as beneficial to the neighbourhoods. Indeed, it can be said that gentrification leads to the stabilisation of neighbourhoods and brings an end to their declines (Murdie & Teixeira, 2011). Thus, encouraging further development, assuming that the benefits of gentrification would reach the lower class (Lees, 2008).

Glass' concept initially alluded to individual household decisions, but it is now seen as a part of a strategy to redevelop inner city neighbourhoods (Doucet, van Kempen, & van

Weesep, 2011). According to Smith (Smith, 2002), the process of gentrification has become generalised worldwide as a liberal urban policy. Gentrification can be seen through the proliferation of new condominiums, new festivals, boutiques and modern office buildings (Davidson & Lees, 2005). Thus, gentrification is not only a purely housing-related topic but refers to the complete reshaping of central urban areas. Studies on gentrification often outline the same adverse outcomes, such as an increase in rent prices, a decrease in affordable housing, rising property values, demographic changes and losses in social diversity (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, Gentrification, 2013; Williams & Needham, 2016).

Figure 2: *A socioecological model of gentrification*



Source: Rigolon and Németh (2019)

2.1.1 Displacement

During the gentrification process of a neighbourhood, many long-time residents are forced to move out. Murdie and Teixeira (2011) argue that displacement is the most damaging outcome of gentrification. The displaced residents are, more often than not, those who do not own their houses and who are, thus, renting (Boterman & van Gent, 2014). Indeed, rent

increases are one of the main consequences of gentrification. Rigolon and Németh (2019) argue that gentrification may also lead to changes in the character and culture of a neighbourhood and the loss of social networks and social services. Moreover, people who are affected by displacement have to deal with the emotional burden of being removed from their usual social networks and community structures (Murdie & Teixeira, 2011).

In the specific housing context of the Netherlands, many low-income residents live in social housing. Thus, the government's policy of liberalising the market affects large swaths of the population in these low-income neighbourhoods. The displacement caused by liberalising the housing market can be seen through its direct and indirect effects (Boterman & van Gent, 2014). Indeed, the selling of housing units on the private market can lead directly to the people renting the unit being displaced as they are unable to afford to buy it. Furthermore, the reduction in renting units in a neighbourhood can increase competition between renters to obtain the remaining units. Thus, resulting in an increased cost of rent throughout the neighbourhood and the city overall.

Moreover, as in most European cities, ethnic minorities are over-represented in the social housing sector (Boterman & van Gent, 2014). Thus, the privatisation of these dwellings often forces out these residents. Boterman and van Gent (2014) argue that ethnic minorities' over-representation in social housing is partly due to lower incomes among minorities. However, other conditions of the housing market are also at play. They contend that being able to access a mortgage is not only a question of income levels but that forms of discrimination influence the outcome.

2.1.2 Social Changes

When gentrification is a government-driven policy, as is the case in the Netherlands, the goal is often to de-concentrate poverty. Thus, the government encourages higher-income residents to settle in lower-income neighbourhoods (Boterman & van Gent, 2014). These social mixing policies have been some of the primary drivers of gentrification worldwide (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019). The outcome is the creation of neighbourhoods that mix people of different income groups, education and origin (Boterman & van Gent, 2014). The stated intention is to improve inter-ethnic and inter-class relations through spatial proximity (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019). These improved relations, thus, can benefit the low-income, often minority, residents through middle-class role modelling and increased investments. Supporting socially mixed neighbourhoods is becoming an increasingly important policy in many Western European and North American cities (Lees, 2008). Lees (2008) contends that cities seek to market themselves

in the globalised world by having diverse and inclusive neighbourhoods. Çağlar and Glick Schiller (2018) argue that migrant-owned businesses contribute to an ambience that gives cities a competitive advantage.

However, Sakızlıoğlu and Lees (2019) point out that the middle classes often do not engage with the local community. They also argue that they tend to exercise control of diverse neighbourhoods' local spaces and social life in their own interests. Moreover, all these groups are characterized by different norms and consumption patterns.

Nevertheless, these ethnically diverse neighbourhoods are attractive to the middle class. Sakızlıoğlu and Lees (2019) argue that it is in part due to the affordability of these neighbourhoods. Moreover, they say that the middle classes' "exotic gaze" towards ethnic minorities also plays a role. May (1996) explains that gentrifiers can view ethnic minorities through specific lenses that fanaticise exoticism. This exoticism appears on display in an ethnically diverse neighbourhood. Therefore, the new middle-class residents interested in experiencing and consuming other cultures are attracted to live in these neighbourhoods (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019).

Despite the focus on research on the drivers of the middle-classes gentrification of multicultural neighbourhoods, there seems to be limited knowledge on how ethnic minorities experience and cope with the changing demographic make-up of their communities (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019). Overall, research focused on the loss of culture experienced or the enthusiasm for the upgrades neighbourhoods were going through.

2.1.3 Retail Gentrification

In addition to the displacement of residents, gentrification can also displace retail. Indeed, one of the main consequences of gentrification is its impact on retail. Gentrification poses a challenge to the established businesses of a neighbourhood. According to Sakızlıoğlu and Lees (2019), retail gentrification accompanies residential gentrification. Williams and Needham (2016) argue that gentrification does affect not only the people living in a neighbourhood but also the business that operates there. For entrepreneurs in a gentrifying neighbourhood, the new residents can represent an increase or decrease in patronage (Meltzer, 2016). According to Meltzer (2016), preferences in retail are greatly influenced by factors such as an individual's educational attainment, income and ethnicity. Thus, if most newcomers in a neighbourhood have preferences that do not match what a local business offers, the business may suffer.

Moreover, the small businesses operating in the area are also challenged by increasing rent and property prices. As the demand for a particular neighbourhood increases, so does the rent. Thus, operating costs will increase unless businesses can increase their revenues (Meltzer, 2016). This increase may become unattainable and lead to closure.

According to Hubbard (2018), retail gentrification significantly impacts low-income residents in gentrifying neighbourhoods. His research in London focuses on the gentrification of the neighbourhood of Brixton. This neighbourhood's ethnic stores and street market often served as an essential source of social and cultural capital for the black Caribbean population. The rising rents in Brixton have resulted in many Caribbean pubs, food stores and cafés having to close up shop.

Local neighbourhood businesses play an important cultural and economic role in urban neighbourhoods (Meltzer, 2016). These businesses often serve as a source of entrepreneurship and employment for minority communities. In Europe and North America, shops in inner city districts cater to the needs of the. In Europe and North America, shops in inner city districts cater to the needs of the working class, especially migrants' (Hubbard, 2018). It is often the case as migrants' tastes are rarely well served in other areas. Thus, 'ethnic' grocery stores, restaurants, beauty salons and other stores catering to migrants are ubiquitous in inner-city districts.

However, the relative lower value of the land in these 'ethnic' districts has recently attracted higher value investors (Hubbard, 2018). These newcomers can be big-name brands, but, more often, they are independent 'hipster' stores drawn to the area by its multicultural aesthetic. Thus, transforming local shopping streets into areas fit for the middle classes' usage.

On the one hand, the multicultural aesthetic of a neighbourhood is a driving factor of gentrification. The visible diversity is often viewed as a value of the neighbourhoods. Indeed ethnic diversity in a neighbourhood is often celebrated as a positive trait and used as a marketing tool (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019). This phenomenon has been referred to as "ethnic packaging". Diverse neighbourhoods have the potential to attract gentrifiers, in part due to the "exotic gaze" that gentrifiers have on ethnically diverse areas. Hence, this diversity can be exploited to encourage gentrifiers to move into the neighbourhood (Hackworth & Rekers, 2005). Through the intentional or unintentional marketing of an ethnic neighbourhood's commercial space.

The diversity is most observable in the existing shops of a neighbourhood. Thus, ethnic stores are celebrated as authentic. Ethnic shops attract the newly arrived middle-classes seeking "authenticity" and those searching for affordable products (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019).

However, these establishments are often replaced by more high-end businesses that meet the desires of the new inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Fiore and Plate (2021) observed that numerous small migrant-owned stores in the Indische Buurt in Amsterdam have disappeared over the years. They were replaced by shops catering to the new inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Sakızlıoğlu and Lees (2019) explain that ethnic entrepreneurs can sometimes participate in the early stages of gentrification as they actively pursue the "ethnic packaging". Stock and Schmiz's (2019) research in Berlin also suggests that the authentic appeal of ethnic entrepreneurs can turn them into agents of gentrification. However, the rising rents engendered by gentrification can also increase pressure on these entrepreneurs (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019). Thus, ultimately displacing them.

Murdie and Teixeira (2011) argue that gentrification's impact on ethnic neighbourhoods has significant repercussions for ethnic minorities. Ethnic neighbourhoods play a substantial role within ethnic communities. As Kraise (2005) argues, "Not only are local residents and businesses displaced, but the symbolic representations of people and their activities are as well". Gentrification can lead to the elimination of the multicultural identities of neighbourhoods.

As D'Sylva and Beagan (2011) argue, food may become an avenue to express ethnic identity and preserve one's culture within the diaspora. Moreover, Srinivas (2006) argues that changes in food consumption contribute to the fears of identity loss of immigrants. Indeed marginalised groups can rely on food to express their cultural traditions and identities. Thus, the displacement of migrant food entrepreneurs can reduce the access to food for migrant communities, contributing not only to the loss of diversity in a neighbourhood but also to the estrangement of the immigrant community.

Fiore and Plate's (2021) research approaches the attractivity of multicultural neighbourhoods through ethnic foods in a critical manner. They argue that while multicultural neighbourhoods may be celebrated for their diversity, this diversity must fit into the white middle-class's aesthetical conception of diversity. They noticed that the migrant entrepreneurs had to adapt to the new population brought in by gentrification, and they did so by changing the aesthetic of their shops.

Nevertheless, research on how entrepreneurs experience and approach the changing demographic of their neighbourhood is limited (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019). Ernst and Doucet (2014) argue that white, Dutch, non-gentrifier entrepreneurs welcome the arrival of white Dutch residents in their neighbourhood. However, research focusing on entrepreneurs of different ethnic backgrounds is rare (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019).

In the face of the pressures they experience, migrant entrepreneurs must devise strategies to adapt to the changes taking place in their neighbourhood. One of the most studied forms of approaches contesting gentrification is urban social movements. Indeed, urban activism is increasingly perceived as a potent force within urban governance (Domaradzka, 2018). Social mobilization is, thus, a way to resist gentrification. Through grass root neighbourhood initiatives advocating the particular needs of individuals, people can influence urban policies. This appeal for more participation in decision-making within cities relates to the concept of the right to the city. Williams and Needham (2016) argue that small business owners should develop strategies to adjust to gentrification by increasing their customer base.

2.2 The Right to the city

As gentrification becomes increasingly prominent, it causes increasing conflicts and controversies. It is a phenomenon caused by neo-liberal policies that affect local neighbourhoods and may lead to strife in these neighbourhoods (Balzarini & Shlay, 2016). These conflicts raise the issue of ownership of the city. Given growing inequalities and segregation in cities over the years, the issue of who owns the city is increasingly becoming important. This questioning has led to increasing debate over the concept of the right to the city.

A growing body of literature, among both scholars and activists, has been dedicated to this concept (Purcell, 2002). This concept first emerged in 1968 as a direct response to the disenfranchisement taking place in cities. In the late 1960s, Henri Lefebvre was one of the first to observe the end of the industrial city. His work 'Le Droit à la Ville' describes the splintering of cities into centres and peripheries (Costes, 2010). In the years that followed, his finding appears to have been confirmed. Indeed, suburban growth is characterised by the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. The argument for the right to the city maintains that through the ongoing processes of globalization and the increase of capital in cities, the most vulnerable population reaps the least benefit and suffers the most (Harvey D., 2008).

Current debates on the right to the city offer various interpretations of what constitutes a right. Lefebvre argued that the right to the city was composed of numerous classical rights, such as the rights to freedom and individualisation. Hence, his conception of the right to the city also implied many individual rights. However, he never defined what this right would look like in practice. King (2018) believes that Lefebvre viewed the right to the city as a

"participatory socio-political process, inclusive of, in part constituted by (but not exhausted through) political struggle". At the core of Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city is the notion that the city is an "oeuvre" (Attoh, 2011). A city results from the labour and activities of all those who inhabit it. Thus, according to Attoh (2011), the right to the city means: "the right to produce urban life on new terms (unfettered by the demands of exchange value), and the right of inhabitants to remain unalienated from urban life". In other words, the right to the city, according to Lefebvre, is the right for individuals to inhabit and remain part of the city. This conception of the right to the city stands in stark contrast to gentrification's displacement and exclusionary aspects.

When it comes to defining what kind of right is the right to the city and who has this right, there exists an extensive acceptance. Attoh (2011) argues that accepting different groups with different struggles can enable marginalized groups to unite. Harvey (2008) shares a similar opinion as he does not see the right to the city as an individual right but a common one. He argues that the power to reshape urban areas must be exercised collectively. Furthermore, Mitchell & Heynen (2009) say that the right can be used for solidarity across a wide range of political struggles as it focuses on "the most basic conditions of survivability, the possibility to inhabit, to live".

Purcell (2002) argues that the right to the city involves two primary rights. The right of urban residents to participate and the right to appropriate. The right to participate maintains that residents should have a key role in the decision-making process within the city. It refers to participation in all areas relating to inhabiting the city. Thus, it can be manifested through political participation, social movements or protests. These activities are examples of political agency. The right to appropriate stands in opposition to the valorisation of urban space under capitalism. Where property rights shape urban space in order to maximize financial value. Thus, the right to appropriate refers to prioritizing the value of use by residents over the profit value. Therefore, challenging the prevailing system intends to put the users' rights first.

A broad way to understand this right is as follows " the Right to the City is the right of all inhabitants, present and future, permanent and temporary, to inhabit, use, occupy, produce, govern and enjoy just, inclusive, safe and sustainable cities, villages and human settlements, defined as commons essential to a full and decent life." (Global Platform for the Right to the City, s.d.). This right, thus, underscores the linkages between social, economic, environmental and cultural rights. This broad understanding of the right to the city leads it to be advocated by critics of the modern, daily, and social conditions endured in urban areas (Costes, 2010). This right is materialised in attempts to shift cities away from capitalist values such as pursuing

profits. As Tsavdaroglou & Kaika (2021) argue, too often, cities are viewed as commodities and residents, tourists and investors are considered to be customers.

Hence, this shift in perception leads to a revaluation of our understanding of cities. Cities cannot only be seen through their material aspect, such as their buildings. Cities are also constituted by residents' ideas, social values and cultures, thereby making cities into social, political and economic entities. According to Domaradzka (2018), the city should embody the values of "justice, the rule of law, democracy, capacity development, as well as balance and diversity".

Figure 3: *The Right to the City*

Source: Global Platform for the Right to the City (s.d.)

Due to its focus on inclusion, the right to the city is often used in the context of migrants in cities. As Tsavdaroglou and Kaika (2021) argue, this right is manifested by different forms of solidarity between newcomers and locals. Solidarity between city residents can provide avenues of contestation of cities' neoliberal agendas.

Nevertheless, Balzarini and Shlay (2016) claim that it cannot always be used to understand neighbourhood struggles. However, they argue that current gentrification trends bring renewed attention to Lefebvre's concept. The profit-driven phenomenon of gentrification is seen as contrary to the needs of urban residents. For this research, the right to the city is used as a framework to understand how gentrification affects migrant food entrepreneurs in Lombok. This framework enables the research to focus on how they face displacement and manifest agency. The right to the city offers a lens through which we can understand how people resist the pressures caused by gentrification.

2.2.1 Political Agency

Lefebvre's observation of the expulsion of the working class from the city centre seems to be as contemporary then as now. The population segregation depending on education levels, wealth or origin continues to this day. Nowadays, phenomena like gentrification are clear examples of this occurrence. In many cities in the West, gentrification forces many long-time residents out of the city centres. Moreover, the 2008 financial crisis has enormously impacted cities and significantly increased inequalities. These phenomena illustrate the larger trend of residents losing their influence on their own cities. Thus, causing many protest movements to spark in cities. Indeed, both the Taksim Square protests in Istanbul and the Nuit Debout protests in Paris can be seen as the manifestation of a desire for the Right to the City (Perry, 2016). These protests are far from being the only ones that occurred in the post-2008 era. However, the most potent example of the right to the city's political manifestation can be observed in Barcelona. In 2015, Ada Colau was elected as the city's new mayor. She had previously been the spokeswoman of a protest movement against tenant evictions in the city.

These examples and Domaradzka's (2018) observations offer a less theoretical understanding of the concept. Indeed, overall, the right to the city is a concept that can be used to scrutinize urban movements as these movements challenge the existing neoliberal conditions in cities. Urban popular movements are manifestations of political agency.

Broadly speaking, political agency is understood as someone's participation in social movements or the institutional political process (Häkli & Kallio, 2014). Thus, it refers to any ways through which individuals can influence the decision-making process in their cities. However, Häkli and Kallio (2014) argue that political agency can be understood in a much broader way. Indeed, as they put it "it refers to a variety of individual and collective, official and mundane, rational and affective, and human and non-human ways of acting, affecting and impacting politically". This understanding of political agency can therefore apply to any human actions that can potentially have an impact. In relation to the right to the city, this means that political agency can be seen as any activity that challenges the for-profit city-making process and enhances the position of marginalised people.

2.3 Mixed Embeddedness Approach

This research seeks to understand how migrant food entrepreneurs are affected by gentrification and how they respond to it. Thus, it is necessary to understand better how migrant entrepreneurship develops and what influences the rises and falls of migrant entrepreneurs. To do so, this research applies the mixed embeddedness approach. Sakızlıoğlu and Lees (2019) argue that this notion is helpful in interpreting the changes caused by gentrification and the responses to these changes.

Self-employment among migrants has greatly increased in Europe over the past thirty years (Sahin, Nijkamp, & Baycan, 2006). Thus, researchers have attempted to understand the phenomenon of migrant entrepreneurship better. Kloosterman, Rath, and van der Leun's mixed embeddedness approach has sought to do that (Barberis & Solano, 2018). First developed in the 1990s, this approach has garnered much attention ever since. It has now become one of the leading analytical tools concerning migrant entrepreneurship. It emerged regarding the specific context where immigrants are exploiting many different opportunities to set up small businesses in cities (Kloosterman, 2006).

When referring to migrant entrepreneurs, it is important first to explain what this term alludes to. It includes more than simply first-generation immigrants. In most studies, it is understood as immigrants, children of immigrants or grandchildren of immigrants in a country (Ram, Jones, & Villares-Varela, 2017).

The mixed embeddedness approach focuses on the social, economic and institutional contexts (Kloosterman, Rath, & van der Leun, 1999). The term mixed embeddedness is used to emphasize that migrant entrepreneurs' activities are embedded in the structure of where the business is located, such as the laws, rules and market characteristics (Barberis & Solano, 2018). Simultaneously, migrant entrepreneurs are embedded in their personal relations network.

Thus, the analysis blends the embeddedness of migrants in their specific "ethnicised networks" with the different influences of the broader structures (Cain & Spoonley, 2013). Therefore, this is why migrant entrepreneurs' dual embeddedness is referred to as mixed. These two different types of embeddedness are the social embeddedness which refers to the embeddedness of migrant entrepreneurs within their networks (Barberis & Solano, 2018). In contrast, the institutional embeddedness refers to migrant entrepreneurs' embeddedness within the structures.

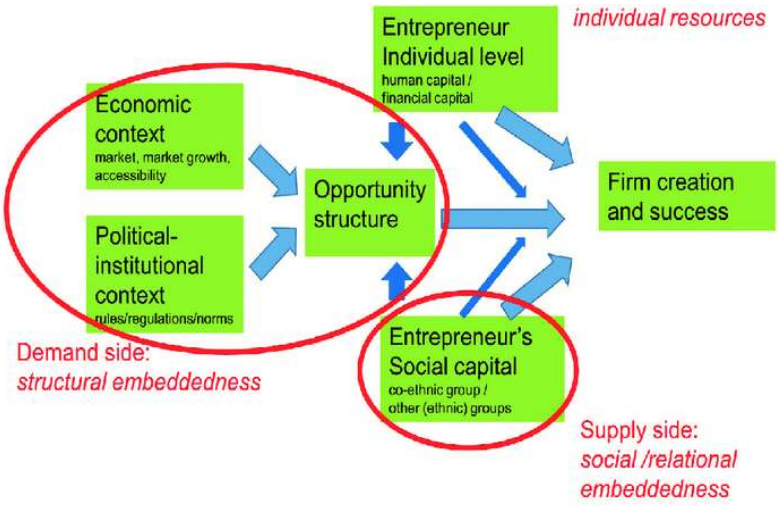
To put it simply, social embeddedness is "the extent to which communities and networks act as a source of social capital to the migrant" (Cain & Spoonley, 2013). In comparison,

institutional embeddedness “refers to the integration of migrants into the wider society and labour market” (Cain & Spoonley, 2013). To illustrate this, Kloosterman et al. (1999) explore how Muslim immigrants can run their halal butcher shops thanks to their network. Indeed, their business is embedded within a network of co-religious who seek halal food, thus providing customers and employees. Thereby demonstrating their social embeddedness. On the other hand, Muslim immigrants had to receive official permission to be able to slaughter animals according to the Islamic rite, reflecting their institutional embeddedness.

According to Kloosterman (2018), migrant entrepreneurs running small shops or restaurants offering ethnic foodstuffs do not require high levels of human capital and represent stagnating activities. Therefore, migrant entrepreneurs often focus on specific economic activities (Kloosterman, Rath, & van der Leun, 1999). Due to low human capital, they can, generally, only set up shop towards the lower end of the market. Indeed, the business of selling ethnic products is relatively easy to enter, but growth is limited, and the market is quickly saturated. Thus, Kloosterman (2018) highlights the importance of developing a more heterogenous social capital to increase opportunities and expand into more mainstream markets.

The mixed embeddedness approach seeks to explain entrepreneurship patterns by linking the entrepreneurs' specific resources with markets and opportunities (Kloosterman, Rusinovic, & Yeboah, 2016). The mixed embeddedness approach is, therefore, an analytical tool to explain the phenomenon of migrant entrepreneurship. It enables researchers to grasp how migrant entrepreneurs are able to establish their businesses and how these businesses survive. Moreover, according to Kloosterman et al. (1999), it is a way to properly understand migrant entrepreneurs’ socio-economic positions within cities. In the context of this research, the mixed embeddedness approach is used to analyse how migrant food entrepreneurs successfully establish themselves in the neighbourhood of Lombok and how they continue to exist in relations to the gentrification of their neighbourhood.

Figure 4: *Schutjens' Mixed Embeddedness Model*



Source: Schutjens (2014)

2.3.1 Social Embeddedness

Social embeddedness refers to relations between the different economic actors (Kloosterman, 2006). This can range from the links migrant entrepreneurs have due to being part of a specific social or ethnic group but also migrant entrepreneurs' access to finance (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019). Thus, migrant entrepreneurs are "embedded in a network of social relations with customers, suppliers, banks, competitors, and, not to be ignored, law enforcers." (Barberis & Solano, 2018).

2.3.2 Structural Embeddedness

Structural embeddedness relates to the markets and institutions shaping the market opportunities and constraints (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019). These are present both at the local and national levels. Sakızlıoğlu and Lees (2019) explain that these can be the labour market conditions, regulations of commercial spaces, existing subsidies and market trends.

Thus, structural embeddedness can further be divided into two parts, an economic context and a political-institutional context (Barberis & Solano, 2018). The economic context refers to the economic conditions, such as the labour market conditions, and the market conditions, like the market trends. The political-institutional context refers to the laws, rules and policies relating to business and migration issues that may directly or indirectly affect the migrant entrepreneur's activities.

In this chapter I delved into the concept of gentrification. Especially how it changes a neighbourhood's social makeup and its effects on local retail. Furthermore, the concepts that are used to approach the research question were explored.

3. Methodology

This chapter explores the research design and methods used for the case study. This research was conducted over a period of six months, starting from the beginning of March 2022 to the beginning of August 2022. The study focuses on the case study of the neighbourhood of Lombok in Utrecht. This chapter first identifies indicators that relate to the concepts developed in the theoretical framework. It then describes the research design and methods that will be used during the research. After, , it provides an overview of this research's possible limitations and risks. Finally, it offers a personal reflection concerning the ethical position of a researcher.

3.1 Justification of the Research Design and Research Methods

The research aims better understand how gentrification affects migrant food entrepreneurs and how they adapt to and challenge this process. Thus, it seeks to uncover the nature and explain and understand phenomena. Therefore, this thesis consists primarily of qualitative research (Frances, Coughlan, & Cronin, 2009). Indeed, qualitative research stresses understanding the social world by examining people's interpretations of it (Bryman, 2012). Moreover, this research focuses on how migrant food entrepreneurs adapt to the reality of a gentrifying neighbourhood. Thus, this research operates on the assumption that social actors accomplish and give meaning to social phenomena. Hence, this research is taking a constructivist approach.

The primary research method used to answer the research questions is through interviews. Interviewing is an appropriate method to gather an extensive array of information concerning people's thoughts, ideas and understandings. This research focuses on the personal stories of individual migrant food entrepreneurs and their experience with the gentrification of Lombok. The research aims to uncover what kind of pressures migrant food entrepreneurs face and how they adapt to and challenge gentrification.

Previous research in the Netherlands, which focuses on gentrification's effects on food entrepreneurs, has been carried out (Ernst & Doucet, 2014; Fiore & Plate, 2021; Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019). These researches have demonstrated the potential for in-depth interviews with food entrepreneurs to better understand their approach to gentrification and their agency in relation to this phenomenon. By gathering information about migrant food entrepreneurs' personal experiences, it is possible to construct narratives concerning experiences with

gentrification. Therefore, in-depth interviews are an appropriate data collection method. Indeed, in-depth interviews are deeply personal, enabling researchers to grasp individuals' personal stories and unique experiences (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2020). This research aims to capture how migrant food entrepreneurs are affected by changes and how they adapt to them in their neighbourhoods. Moreover, as Hennik et al. (2020) argue, in-depth interviews help observe the respondent's social, cultural and economic contexts. Thus, it informs us about migrant food entrepreneurs' social capital and economic embeddedness.

The in-depth interviews carried out during this research took the form of semi-structured interviews. This form of interview provides the possibility to use predetermined topics but also to consider unanticipated answers and issues brought up by the respondents, which is considered one of its greatest strengths (Frances, Coughlan, & Cronin, 2009). In this way, the data collected throughout this research is more adapted to reflect the individual answers gathered from the respondents concerning a specific phenomenon studied, in this case, gentrification. The interviews were then analysed in an interpretative approach. It is acknowledged that reality is socially constructed, meaning that reality is experienced in different manners by different people (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2020)

3.1.1 Operationalisation of the Variables

The concepts presented in Chapter 2 have been adapted to be observed in the empirical data collected. To do so, the concepts were divided into identifiable variables. These variables were further operationalised.

The concept of gentrification was divided into three different variables. These are social changes, displacement and retail/food gentrification. The variable social change is observed by inquiring about the population that frequents the establishment. The primary focus is on whether or not there have been changes in this population. The assumption is that the changes in the population that lives in Lombok can be observed first-hand by paying attention to the people that patronize a shop. The variable displacement is operationalised by investigating if the shops and restaurants face pressure to move away. This can be due to higher rents. Indeed, if the shop owners have seen their rents increase, it is possible to assume that they are more at risk of having to close or relocate. The variable retail/food gentrification is operationalised by investigating whether there have been changes in retail offering in Lombok and the importance of shops/restaurants for the immigrant community of the neighbourhood. This informs us of the changes in retail in Lombok. It also tells us about the perceived socio-cultural importance of migrant food entrepreneurs.

The concept of the right to the city was divided into two different variables. These are individual political agency and collective political agency. These variables are assessed by an individual's participation in social movements and neighbourhood organisations, such as 'winkeliers Vereniging Lombok' and their relations with Gemeente Utrecht. It is assumed that involvement within organizations that impact the neighbourhood gives Lombok's local entrepreneurs more influence in decisions concerning the neighbourhood. Moreover, the nature of relations with the local government can also tell us about the influence migrant food entrepreneurs may have on the decision-making process in the city.

The concept of the mixed embeddedness approach was divided into two different variables. These are relational embeddedness and structural embeddedness. The variable relational embeddedness is assessed through the interviewee's social capital. Indeed relations with the community, with co-ethnic and with other businesses in the neighbourhood can tell us about the importance these relations play for migrant food entrepreneurs. The variable structural embeddedness considers the market conditions, the potential for growth as well as the norms of the market. This variable is assessed through the interviewee's changes in their business model. If, for example, they follow modern market trends or accommodate the gentrifier. The concepts and variables were further translated into questions (Annex 2).

Table 4: *Operationalisation of the Variables*

Concept	**Variable**	**Operationalisation**
Gentrification	Social Change	Population frequenting establishment
	Displacement	Higher rents
		Rising property values
	Retail Gentrification/ Food Gentrification	Changes in retail offering
		Role of shops/restaurants for the immigrant community of the neighbourhood
Right to the City	Individual Political Agency	Relation with Gemeente Utrecht
	Collective Political Agency	Participation in social movements
		Participation in neighbourhood associations

		Involvement with winkeliers vereniging lombok
Mixed Embeddedness Approach	Relational Embeddedness	Social capital
		Relation with the community
		Relation with other businesses in the neighbourhood
	Structural Embeddedness	Market trends
		Market accessibility
		Rules and regulations

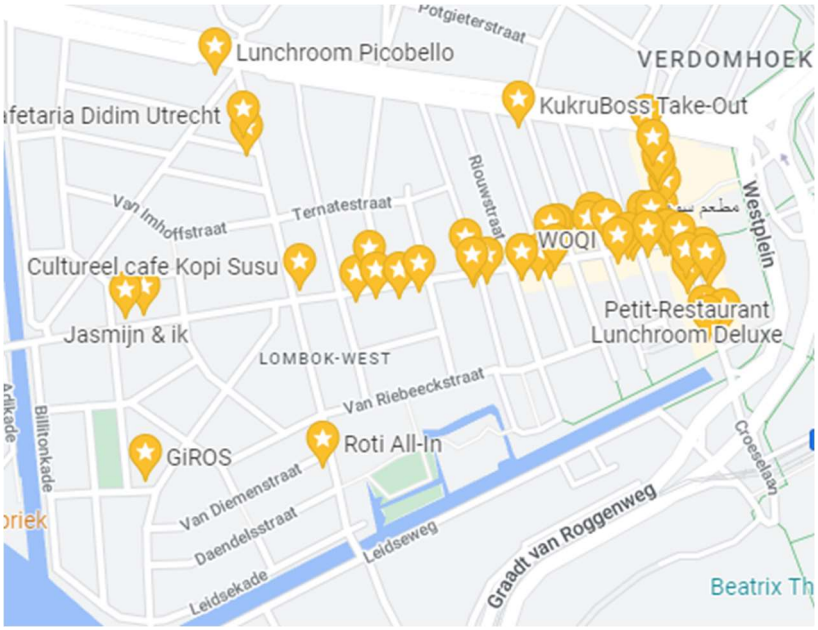
3.1.2 Justification for the Selection of the Study

The research takes place in the neighbourhood of Lombok in Utrecht. A high proportion of this neighbourhood's population is made up of immigrants or people with immigrant backgrounds (Gemeente Utrecht, s.d.). This cements the area as the city's multicultural heart of (Discover Utrecht, s.d.). It is known for its numerous shops selling exotic specialities. Thus, making it a key area to approach migrant food entrepreneurship. Indeed, there is a high concentration of migrant food entrepreneurs in Lombok, especially along Kanaalstraat and Damstraat, so the neighbourhood offers a large sample. Moreover, as previous research has shown, migrant entrepreneurs can also play a vital role in the process of gentrification (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019). Therefore, Lombok offers an ideal case study with its large concentration of migrant entrepreneurs and its ongoing gentrification.

3.2 Data Collection and Analysis

3.2.1 Data Collection

Figure 5: *Locations of food businesses in Lombok*



Source: Google Maps (Google, s.d.)

The first step to conducting interviews is the recruitment of the participants. A list of locations for possible interviews was established by using Google Maps. Google Maps enabled me to look for all the existing shops and restaurants in the neighbourhood of Utrecht. This list was further expanded by multiple visits to the neighbourhood of Lombok to look out for possible other shops. I started by parking my bicycle on Moskeeplein, then walked along Kaanalstraat and Damstraat, where most establishments are located. I then walk along other streets to find establishments that maybe did not appear on Google Maps. Overall, most establishments were registered on Google Maps. Nonetheless, I still came across many locations that did not appear.

Certain establishments were eliminated as they do not represent 'migrant food entrepreneurs', and thus, they would not fit within the context of this research. However, for certain establishments, it is not evident whether or not they are owned and operated by migrant food entrepreneurs. Therefore, they were not eliminated and will still be approached. Moreover, certain establishments (on Moskeeplein) are inside new buildings. Consequently, they were

eliminated as they cannot provide information on the changes that have occurred in the neighbourhood over the past years and fit more into retail gentrification.

Overall, I came up with a list of almost 60 possible locations to conduct interviews. Over half of the establishments are restaurants, and around 20 are shops. The next step was approaching the potential interviewees. To do so, I first inquired whether or not they could speak English. I then introduced myself after I introduced my research, and finally, I asked if they would be interested in participating in interviews. This method was often unsuccessful as many respondents did not speak English, and even among those that did, many were not interested in participating in the research. However, I was able to have potential interviewees be willing to participate. Appointments were then scheduled to realise the interviews (Annex 1).

When I saw that it was challenging to have positive answers to my requests from interviews, I also reached out to local organizations and the municipality. This way, I was able to conduct an interview with a social worker in Lombok. I also approached a member of Gemeente Utrecht in Wijk West. This person sent me official documents concerning gentrification in Lombok. These documents were presentations given by urban geographers and the report of a meeting in Lombok with local residents and entrepreneurs about the theme of gentrification.

3.2.2 Data Analysis

The interviews with migrant food entrepreneurs were all transcribed and carefully written down in Microsoft Office Word. Once transcribed, the interviews were analysed to develop codes using the software NVivo. The coding on NVivo helped to determine the existence and importance of the variables introduced in Chapter 2. Hence, enabling me to organise the data and find insights and links in the interviews. The coding resulted in a coding tree that further helped me put my findings into context and link them with the previously developed concepts in Chapter 2 (Annex 3).

3.3 Limitations and Biases

As previously mentioned, one of the main limitations of this research is the language barrier. As the target group of migrant food entrepreneurs have not necessarily grown up in the Netherlands, where the use of English is relatively common, they do not always master this language. Thus, as I do not speak Dutch, this has affected the selection of respondents.

Moreover, certain potential interviewees did not desire to be interviewed. Some told me they were not interested. In some instances, the persons approached said to me that they had started this business recently or that they had started working here recently. Thus, they suggested that I should approach other stores in Lombok that could know more than them. Therefore, not being able to communicate in Dutch prevented me from conducting interviews with certain groups of people. Indeed, overall, older residents from foreign origins do not often speak English. Therefore, my respondents were overwhelmingly young adults or middle-aged.

Moreover, it is important to consider that gentrification is not an overnight process. It is a phenomenon that develops over time. Therefore, it is not always easy to identify specific phenomena caused by gentrification. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, this research acknowledges that reality is subjective (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2020). The backgrounds of the interviewees shape their perceptions. Therefore, it is necessary to realise that this is a source of potential biases.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

As this research focused on migrant entrepreneurs, I had to consider that, in most cases, I was addressing immigrants. As a French citizen living in the Netherlands, I am also an immigrant. However, it is essential to note that I originate from an EU country, so I do not necessarily have the same experiences in Dutch society. Therefore, this is something I needed to consider while I was pursuing my research. I also chose to keep my interviewees anonymous, which I explicitly mentioned to all of them. Their consent for the interview to be recorded was asked, and participants were made aware of the purpose of the research they were participating in.

Moreover, as a researcher, I must ensure that my position is impartial. Thus, I had to show this through my attitude and behaviour. Furthermore, Frances et al. (2009) argue that paying attention to the possible perceived status differences while conducting the interviews is crucial. This was always kept in mind when I was leading the interviews.

The first interview was conducted in French. When introducing myself, I mentioned being French, and the interviewee said that he also spoke French. I then asked if he preferred to conduct the interview in French or in English, and he said he would rather do the interview in French. The implications of French being spoken by immigrants are directly related to the colonial past. In this case, France's colonial presence in Morocco. Thus, it made me feel slightly

uncomfortable to use this language. Nonetheless, it was the respondent's suggestion to do it in French, as I offered him the possibility of conducting it in English.

In this chapter, I demonstrated why interviews are used to carry out this research. I highlighted the approach to the analysis of the data. I explained how I carried out my interviews. Finally, I considered the possible limitations and biases of this research and its ethical considerations.

4. Contextual Background

The following chapter presents the national context and the neighbourhood where this research takes place. Hence, setting the stage to understand the different factors currently influencing migrant food entrepreneurship and gentrification in the Netherlands. First, this chapter provides an overview of migration to the Netherlands. It examines the history of migration to the Netherlands, the current migration policies, and the situation of non-Western immigrants in the country. Thus, helping to grasp the current conditions for immigrants in Dutch cities.

Further, it explores the development of migrant entrepreneurship in the Netherlands. Then, this chapter delves into the urban policies in place in the Netherlands, especially concerning the promotion of gentrification. Finally, the history and situation of the neighbourhood of Lombok are given, establishing the ongoing process of gentrification.

4.1 Immigration in the Netherlands

The Netherlands is home to a significant immigrant population. In 2010, the foreign-born population of the country was 1 832 500. By 2018, this number had risen to about 2.1 million (Selm, 2019). The Netherlands has a long and storied history of immigration (Selm, 2019). Since the 16th century, it has welcomed numerous people fleeing religious persecutions, such as protestants from France (Selm, 2019) or Jews from the Iberian peninsula (Jewish Historical Museum, s.d.). Moreover, throughout the 17th century, Amsterdam attracted migrants from all of Europe (World Economic Forum, 2017). During WWI, close to a million Belgians found refuge in the Netherlands (Selm, 2019). Before the beginning of the Second World War, thousands of German and Austrian Jews left for the Netherlands.

Nevertheless, it is since the end of the Second World War that immigration to the Netherlands started in large numbers (Selm, 2019). Indeed, in the context of decolonisation, numerous people from former Dutch colonies emigrated there. Moreover, at the same time, so-called guest workers arrived in the Netherlands. They came primarily from Mediterranean countries like Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Morocco.

Currently, in most large Dutch cities, immigrants from Turkey and Morocco represent some of the largest minority communities (Nortier, 2008). These two immigrant groups arrived from the middle of the 1960s to the early 1970s as guest workers (University College London,

s.d.; Nortier, 2008; Euwals, Dagevos, Gijsberts, & Roodenburg, 2007). These workers were overwhelmingly males. The economic crisis of the early 1970s resulted in the ending of the guest workers program in 1973 (University College London, s.d.). However, immigration from Turkey and Morocco continued to rise due to a 1974 law facilitating family reunification.

Since the early 2000s, migration flows to the Netherlands were mainly in relation to the EU's Eastern expansion as a growing number of citizens of Eastern European countries emigrated to the Netherlands (Selm, 2019). More recently, the country experienced a large inflow of refugees forced to flee war-torn Syria.

Table 5: *Population; migration background, 1 January*

	2001	**2022**
Total	15 987 075	17 590 672
Dutch background	13 116 851	13 151 772
With migration background	2 870 224	4 438 900
Africa	436 777	749 780
America	519 806	751 689
Asia	657 558	1 023 304
Europe (excluding Dutch background)	1 238 682	1 889 704
Oceania	17 401	24 423
European Union (excluding Dutch background)	744 219	1 164 767
Caribbean Netherlands		6 216
Indonesia	403 894	349 301
Morocco	272 752	419 272
Surinam	308 824	359 814
Turkey	319 600	429 978

Source: CBS (2022)

4.1.1 Immigration Policy in the Netherlands

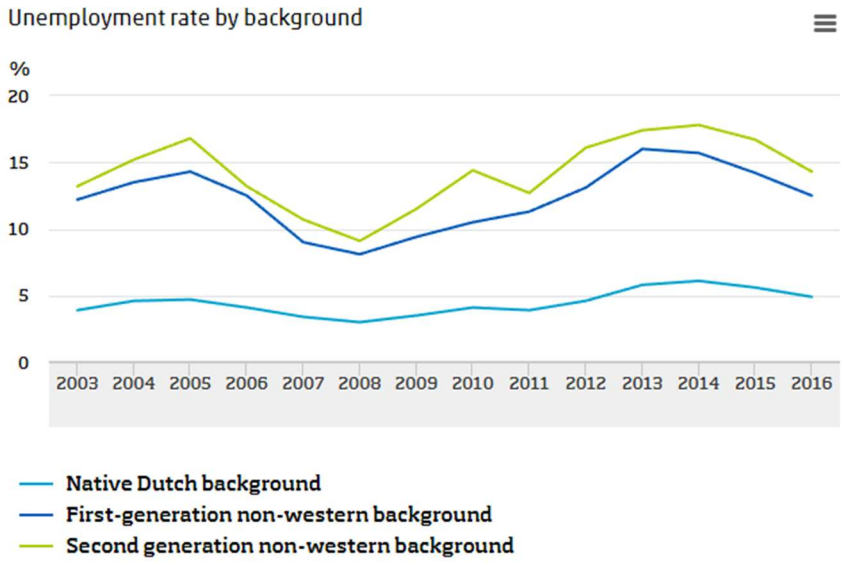
The government decided to embrace a wide-ranging comprehensive approach to engage with the complex topic of migration in the Netherlands. As of 2019, the Dutch government has adopted a "six-pillar agenda" aiming to make migration policy in the country future-proof (EMN Netherlands, 2019). These pillars are: preventing irregular migration, improving

reception and protection for refugees and displaced persons in the Region, achieving a robust asylum system based on solidarity in the EU and the Netherlands, combating illegal residence and stepping up returns, promoting legal migration routes and encouraging integration and participation (Government of the Netherlands, s.d.). When it comes to integration, the Dutch government considers successful integration conditional on "people taking responsibility for their own lives and on society offering opportunities for everyone" (Ministry of Justice and Security, 2018). The dominant view is that this successful integration is more assimilating into Dutch society, like adopting the 'modern' cultural values, beliefs and norms (Snel & Custers, 2019). Therefore, there is little consideration for cultural consideration of the migrant population.

4.1.2 The Situation for Non-Western Migrants

Non-Western migrants experience much higher rates of unemployment compared to native Dutch people. In 2016, while the unemployment rate for native Dutch people stood at 4.9 per cent, it stood at 12.5 per cent for people of first-generation non-Western background and at 14.3 per cent for people of second-generation non-Western background (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2017). This phenomenon has been taking place for a long time in the country. Moreover, it increases during economic crises. There are numerous reasons for this higher unemployment rate, such as lower levels of educational attainment, limited work experience, limited knowledge of Dutch and discrimination (University College London, s.d.).

Figure 6: *Unemployment rate by background*



Source: CBS (2017)

4.1.3 Migrant Entrepreneurship in the Netherlands

Migrant entrepreneurship is a phenomenon that refers to the business activities that migrants or people of migrant origin engage in (Sahin, Nijkamp, & Baycan, 2006). In Europe, this phenomenon has greatly increased since the early 1980s. The concentration of migrant entrepreneurs occurs heavily in areas with large immigrant populations (Kloosterman, Rath, & van der Leun, 1999). Thus, the growth in migrant entrepreneurs was also primarily located in neighbourhoods with large shares of immigrant residents. This growth in migrant entrepreneurs was also heavily directed toward "businesses at the lower end of the market" (Kloosterman, Rath, & van der Leun, 1999). Three out of every five migrant entrepreneurs in the Netherlands' largest cities are involved in wholesale, retail or restaurants (Kloosterman, Rath, & van der Leun, 1999).

Moreover, Kloosterman et al. (2010) argue that the rise in migrant entrepreneurship cannot be explained simply by the increase in migrants in the Netherlands. The proportion of this particular group in self-employment is not proportionate to its share of the total population (Kloosterman, van der Leun, & Rath, 2010). Furthermore, the growth in migrant entrepreneurship was not evenly spread out geographically. Indeed, 40 per cent of all migrant entrepreneurs could be found in only four cities (Kloosterman, Rath, & van der Leun, 1999).

The relatively large proportion of migrants being self-employed is the result of multiple factors (Sahin, Nijkamp, & Baycan, 2006). Indeed, overall, migrants have lower rates of participation in the labour force, lower employment rates and fewer qualifications. Thus, the rise in migrant entrepreneurship has much more to do with the socio-economic and ethnic-social characteristics of the specific group. Even at a time when the Dutch economy was booming, the average unemployment rate among immigrants was almost three times higher than what it was for the non-immigrant workforce (Kloosterman, Rath, & van der Leun, 1999). Consequently, the exclusion from the labour market led many immigrants to start their own businesses.

4.2 Urban Policy in the Netherlands

Urban policies in the Netherlands are increasingly striving for urban regeneration, which often implies gentrification. Housing in the Netherlands has gone through multiple shifts during the 20th century. After the Second World War, the Dutch government took control of the housing system (van Kempen & van Weesep, 1994). Indeed, due to the destruction as well as the lack of construction brought on by the war, the country was experiencing a housing

shortage. This situation was compounded by the post-war population growth, making the housing shortage even direr. Thus, by the 1960s, social housing made up around forty per cent of the housing stock in the country.

Moreover, the government introduced policies ensuring price controls, equitable allocation and tenure security. This system was highly centralized, and control was in the hands of the Dutch national government. As the housing market was deregulated in the 1990s, and the government's role in the housing market was reduced, housing policy was decentralised (van Kempen & van Weesep, 1994).

As in most European countries, the government in the Netherlands took a leading role in the country's housing system after the Second World War (van Kempen & van Weesep, 1994). Until the 1990s, in the largest cities of the Netherlands, the majority of the population lived in the low-cost rental sector (van Kempen & van Weesep, 2008). However, since then, the government has steadily deregulated the housing market. Growing government deficit throughout the 1980s in the Netherlands led to budget cuts, and social housing became less of a priority (Aalbers, 2011). These new policies cause increasing stress on the housing situation of low-income groups (van Kempen & van Weesep, 1994). Furthermore, neighbourhoods with a high concentration of immigrants in the Netherlands generally have a high amount of low rent subsidies housing. Thus, such districts in city centres were particularly affected by these policies.

Throughout the second half of the 20th century, local governance in the Netherlands has been closely tied to the national government. Indeed, local governments became local agents in implementing national policies and were financially dependent on grants from the central government (Denters, 2021). However, this situation changed after the 1980s and the ensuing neo-liberal public sector reforms. The national government embarked on a large-scale public spending cut and privatization of public services.

During the 1990s, the government started developing the Urban Policy Initiative (UPI) to enable local actors to deal with urban challenges (Denters, 2021). Despite the changes in governments, this policy was maintained throughout the years. In the early 2000s, the UPI shifted increasingly from the city to the neighbourhood level. It focused on issues like social deprivation and the integration of immigrants in urban neighbourhoods. However, funds were significantly reduced due to the Great Recession.

Moreover, in the Netherlands, as in most European countries, the government is often actively involved in the processes of gentrification (van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). This policy is done to prevent the migration of the urban middle-class outside of the city. By the late

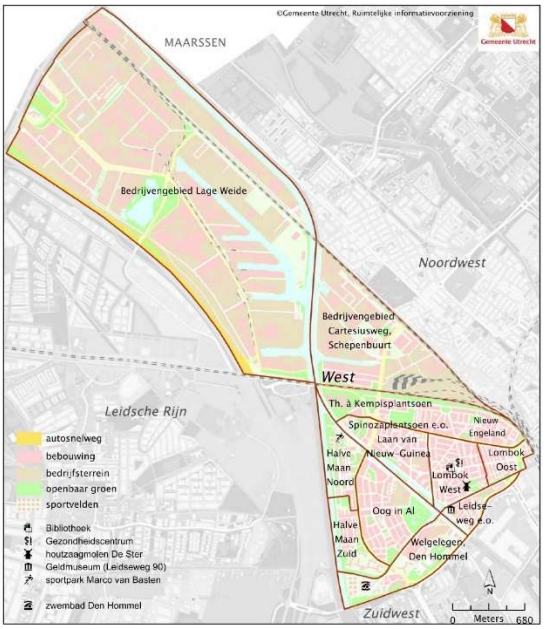
1980s, it was realised that urban economies had significantly declined due to long-term trends of suburbanization and government focus on low-income housing within the city (Aalbers, 2011).

Therefore, policies were introduced to restructure the urban housing market, revitalise urban economies and deconcentrate low-income households in specific neighbourhoods (Aalbers, 2011). According to van Kempen and van Weesep (1994), gentrification in the Netherlands does not result in the complete displacement of low-income residents from the neighbourhood. Indeed, they argue that local authorities still seek to maintain a socially mixed population in the neighbourhoods. This pursued policy of social mixing aims to improve interclass and interethnic relations by bringing different groups closer (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019). This is based on the assumption that contact with middle-income residents will benefit lower-income residents. Moreover, Sakızlıoğlu and Lees (2019) also point out that the ethnic diversity of a neighbourhood is an essential tool for the local government's push toward gentrification. This can be attributed to the fact that ethnic communities are attractive to middle-class residents (Huse, 2014).

4.3 The Case Study

4.3.1 Presentation of Lombok

***Figure** 7: Location of Lombok in Utrecht Wijk-West*



Source: Gemeente Utrecht (s.d.)

Lombok is a neighbourhood located in the west of Utrecht. Utrecht's central train station separates it from the city centre. Its development occurred from the 1880s to the 1920s (Couperus, s.d.). It was originally built to house part of the city's factory workers. During the 1960s, labour migrants settled in the neighbourhood. Initially, small numbers of Spanish, Italians and Greeks moved in. In 1964, large numbers of Turks arrived, and in 1967, many Moroccans settled in Lombok (Dibbits & Meder, 1999).

During the 1970s, multiple factories closed down, resulting in increased unemployment, and Lombok started to decay (Dibbits & Meder, 1999). In the 1980s, the neighbourhood had a bad reputation and was associated with its foreign population and neglect. People were ashamed of their neighbourhood. According to Dibbits and Meder (1999), people did not name the neighbourhood when asked where they lived. Initially, the Dutch population of Lombok was welcoming toward the newcomers. However, over the years, tensions in the neighbourhood rose. Some of the Dutch residents rejected the foreign population. Gradually, the Dutch and immigrant populations turned away from each other.

Table 6: *Non-Dutch Population of Lombok 1996*

	Nationality	**Origin**
Turks	604	967
Moroccans	685	933
Surinamese	5	251
Antilleans	-	37
Greeks	72	96
Italians	24	31
Ex-Yugoslavians	43	69
Spanish	56	58
Other countries: Southern and Eastern Europe, Asia, Central and South America and Africa	66	258
Other countries: North-West Europe, North America, Australia and Japan	88	457
Total	1643	3157
% of the total population	21.5	41,4

Source: Dibbits and Meder (1999)

In 1988, the city government started to focus on urban renewal (Dibbits & Meder, 1999). This resulted in large-scale renovations, demolitions and new constructions. In a 1989 municipal report, Lombok's qualities and flaws were highlighted. The report indicated that the neighbourhood had affordable housing, a village-like atmosphere and was multicultural. On the other hand, it also specified that Lombok was dirty, lacked green spaces, and there was vandalism.

In 1996, the district, Wijk West, where Lombok is located, started implementing its urban program (Dibbits & Meder, 1999). This program received fifteen million guilders, or almost eight million euros, in EU funding. By the year 1999, Lombok's reputation had improved and was no longer associated with decay and ethnic tension but was viewed as a liveable and diverse place. Nonetheless, the growing gentrification in the neighbourhood was already seen as a threat to some residents. In March 1998, a journalist conveyed that Lombok's low-income ethnic minorities would be priced out in the future and would have to move to cheaper neighbourhoods (Dibbits & Meder, 1999). Thus, resulting in Lombok becoming an increasingly white neighbourhood. In 2019, Lombok's gentrification was fully underway as housing prices and average incomes were still rising (Pols, 2019). Consequently, causing tensions as the neighbourhood's gentrification is seen as a problem by some of Lombok's residents (DUIC, 2017).

Table 7: *Population of Lombok 2018*

	Lombok-Oost	**Lombok-West**	**Total**
Population	2290	5115	7405
Western immigrants	300	725	1025
Non-Western immigrants	660	1045	1705
Moroccans	245	345	590
Antilleans	20	40	60
Surinamese	50	80	130
Turks	195	290	485
Other non-Western	155	295	450

Source: Drimble, (2018; 2018)

Lombok's location close to the train station and its housing stock dating back from the late 19th and early 20th centuries played a role in the neighbourhood's gentrification. As Rigolon and Németh (2019) argue, gentrification is more prone to take place in areas that have "good physical "bones" such as a desirable location with historic housing stock and easy access to central business districts and public transit stations".

Like the rest of Utrecht, Lombok has experienced an increase in its population over the past few years. Currently, there are 3720 homes in Lombok. Almost a third of them, 1030, are social housing (Werkgroep Visie Kanaalstraat/Damstraat, 2017). Since 2006, the proportion of owner-occupied households has decreased slightly in Lombok but remains higher than in Utrecht overall. On the other hand, private rentals have increased since 2006. Meanwhile, the proportion of social housing is higher in Lombok East than in Lombok West. However, since 2006, the proportion of social housing has slightly increased in Lombok West but decreased in Lombok East. The ratio of couples with children households in Lombok is much lower than in Utrecht, while the proportion of single households is much higher in Lombok than in Utrecht. This may reflect the high number of students and young professionals living in Lombok.

4.3.2 Retail in Lombok

Kanaalstraat is the main shopping street of Lombok and has always occupied a leading role in the neighbourhood. Before the Second World War, people from all over Utrecht came to shop on this street (Dibbits & Meder, 1999). By the mid-1970, a Moroccan shop opened on Damstraat, a street perpendicular to Kanaalstraat. A few years later, the first grocery store was opened by a Turkish immigrant on Kanaalstraat. Throughout the 1980s, more and more immigrants took over or opened new shops on Kanaalstraaat. The growth of these migrant-owned businesses resulted in Lombok becoming an active shopping neighbourhood. Compared to neighbourhoods in many other cities, older neighbourhoods where shops close down and new ones are not opened, Lombok remained a lively neighbourhood with no closed storefronts (Dibbits & Meder, 1999).

By the late 1990s, the diversity in the foods existing in the neighbourhood was being highlighted. In 1998, H. Neggers published a book entitled *Lombok kookboek. Een culinair portret van een stadswijk*, (Lombok Cookbook. A culinary portrait of a city district) (Dibbits & Meder, 1999). This book emphasized the existing diversity of Lombok's culinary culture. Lombok's unique multicultural aspect is now famous all over the country (Werkgroep Visie Kanaalstraat/Damstraat, 2017). The shops and restaurants in Lombok attract not only customers from the neighbourhood but also the whole of Utrecht and the rest of the country.

***Figure 8**: Kanaalstraat*

Source: DUIC (2020).

4.3.3 Buurtvisie Kanaalstraat Damstraat

Lombok's residents, local entrepreneurs and the municipality are currently working together to make the area a safer and more welcoming place to live in and visit. Despite the ongoing gentrification of the neighbourhood, Lombok has maintained some of its rough edges (Pols, 2019). Unlike in the United States or the United Kingdom, gentrification does not result in the same decrease in crimes in the Netherlands. According to Cody Hochstenbach, this is partly due to the high amount of social housing in Dutch neighbourhoods (Pols, 2019). This results in less displacement of low-income residents. Nevertheless, in 2019, the crime rate had decreased, but many people still reported nuisance caused by the youth in the neighbourhood (DUIC, 2020).

A remaining nuisance experienced by residents and local entrepreneurs is the driving situation along Kanaalstraat. Local residents, entrepreneurs and the municipality formed a working group to improve road safety in the neighbourhood and make Kanaalstraat and Damstraat more attractive (DUIC, 2019). The plan they devised, the Buurtvisie Kanaalstraat Damstraat (neighbourhood vision Kanaalstraat Damstraat), outlines propositions to improve the neighbourhood. This neighbourhood vision has multiple goals. These goals set out to keep the right balance between living and shopping, between liveliness, cleanliness and safety, between

having sufficient space for pedestrians, bicycles and cars and between new developments and the preservation of the multicultural character of the neighbourhood (Gemeente Utrecht, s.d.).

Regardingetail, the project envisions greater diversity of shops but retaining the existing ones (Werkgroep Visie Kanaalstraat/Damstraat, 2017). The proposal suggests more control from the local entrepreneurs and the municipality when looking for new tenants for retail space. This could prevent the establishment of too many shops selling similar kinds of products.

Figure 9: *Redesign of Kanaalstraat and Damstraat*

Source: Gemeente Utrecht (s.d.)

In this chapter, I have shown how the immigrant population in the Netherlands has considerably increased since the 1960s. I explained the reasons behind the growth in migrant entrepreneurship and the changes in housing policies that led to the emergence of gentrification. Finally, I presented the neighbourhood of Lombok, its past, present and future developments.

5. Lombok's Multicultural Identity and Functions

In this chapter, I discuss how migrant food entrepreneurs contest the process of gentrification. I explore how they enable immigrants in Utrecht to enjoy their respective cultures and, thus, contribute to a feeling of inclusion. Lombok is perceived as a melting pot of different cultures at the heart of Utrecht. This identity is itself influenced by those who live and work within the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood's diversity is experienced primarily within its retail space. Moreover, food consumption is an essential part of migrants' experiences to express their identity (D'Sylva & Beagan, 2011; Srinivas, 2006).

Hence, understanding Lombok's multicultural identity informs us of its role for the immigrant population of Utrecht, especially how it contributes to the expression of their culture and integration within the city. To analyse the findings relating to Lombok's multicultural identity and functions, the right to the city, developed in the conceptual framework, proves to be a relevant tool. As detailed in Chapter 2, political agency may refer to mundane acts enhancing the position of those who are marginalised.

5.1 A Culturally Diverse Neighbourhood

Understanding how Lombok's migrant entrepreneurs perceive the neighbourhood informs us of its function in the city of Utrecht. Lombok's vibrant identity is one of the main features that transpired from the interviews. The large population with a very varied background appears to be a key way to describe Lombok. Hasan is an entrepreneur from Morocco who owns a halal butcher shop with his brother. He highlights Lombok's diversity and Kanaalstraat's, especially by describing it in the following way. *"It's a multicultural street where you can find everything, everything you are looking for, here, without any problems"* (own translation). Hasan's assessment reflects the diversity of origins present in Lombok.

Moreover, he emphasized this diversity by detailing some of the origins of the people of Lombok. *"Because there are many immigrants here, some Arabs, some Moroccans, some Turks and also the Syrians, the people from Iraq too"* (own translation). This enumeration evidently points out the wide range of origins represented in the neighbourhood. Carl, the owner of a Surinamese restaurant, also reported that Lombok was a diverse place that represented different origins. *"Different kind of cultures, people from different countries".*

Yasmina, whose parents came to the Netherlands from Morocco in the 1970s, is a Dutch employee working in a café. She further emphasised the diversity of the neighbourhood. *"Like the diversity, you have from students to foreigners, to Dutch people, like born and raised Dutch people".* Her statement reflects the diversity of origins but also the social diversity that exists in the neighbourhood. Respondents' opinions regarding Lombok reflect the image that is associated with Lombok. They associated Lombok with its multicultural image first and foremost. Based on the interviews conducted, this cultural diversity of Lombok enables Utrecht to be a more inclusive city overall as the immigrants that reside within the city can meet their needs. The wide variety of cultures showcased along Lombok's streets allows these cultures to be included and represented in the city. Nevertheless, this concentration of cultural diversity contributes to the 'ethnic packaging' of the neighbourhood, as will be explored in the following Chapters.

Jamal is an employee in a grocery store who came to the Netherlands from Syria in 2014. Like Yasmina, he also attested to students' presence in the neighbourhood.

> *"Yeah, most of them are young because a lot of students here. This neighbourhood has buildings you know, big buildings with small…Yeah, with the different types of rooms, that's why for students most of them."*

His statement further reflects Lombok's diversity. It is diverse not only in terms of cultural diversity but also in terms of social diversity.

5.2 The Social and Cultural Relevance of Migrant Food Entrepreneurs

The interviewees also highlighted the importance of Lombok for the immigrant communities in Utrecht. Indeed, migrant food entrepreneurs play a critical social and cultural role for the immigrant population in Lombok and Utrecht. It is apparent that migrant food entrepreneurs are aware of the significance of their food offerings for immigrants living in the Netherlands to retain their cultural needs and customs. They knew immigrants would visit their establishments when seeking to eat their traditional foods. When asked about his restaurant's importance for the Surinamese community in Utrecht, Carl was keenly aware of its significance. *It's important. They know it's our culture and our food culture that's important.* This reflects the link between food and culture.

Carl believes that his restaurant enjoys considerable recognition and popularity. He explained that his restaurant was known around the city. *"The people know us. If you now talk*

about Suriname food, then Aarti everyone knows also other side of the city you know people know us.". He argued that his popularity was due to the quality and price of his food. *"You know, like the social friends: 'That's nice, you know, it's not so expensive. Get great food. You know it's nice.'"*. He likewise mentioned that hearsay and the internet play an essential role in this popularity. *"With the Internet and it will be: hey if you go Lombok and nice places to eat, you know, they say I have come here or there."*

Migrant-owned restaurants serving 'foreign' foods can contribute to a sense of belonging for residents with foreign backgrounds. Moreover, ethnic grocery stores also provide an essential service for the immigrant populations. Jamal attested to this when he was asked about his opinion on the importance of the store he worked for the immigrant population living in Utrecht. He explained that immigrants seek foreign products that are not sold in most Dutch supermarkets.

> *"For the immigrants, yeah, because they can find their own needs. You know because it has a lot of foreign products. You cannot find them in the in the normal Dutch supermarkets"*.

Sanjay is an entrepreneur on Kanaalstraat, running an Indian grocery store opened by his parents more than thirty years ago. He also shared a similar perspective on the importance of his store for the immigrant population in Lombok. He explained that migrants did not favour the typical Dutch supermarkets as they did not necessarily sell the products that immigrants eat or cook.

> *"I think it's very… It's very important because on this street you'll find products which you won't find in the Albert Heijn or Jumbo or other supermarkets, and those are basically, staple products for people's daily life"*.

Moreover, Hasan highlighted the role of his butcher shop within the community as it provides the Muslim population with Halal produce. *"Because there are Muslims, so..."* (own translation). Hasan's store and other Halal butcher shops allow Muslim residents of Utrecht to eat meats that would be almost impossible to have access to otherwise.

Moreover, Sanjay explained that his shop did have a website and a delivery system in place. It is important to note that these online and delivery services make his products more accessible. It can increase peoples' possibility to access his products. Therefore, enabling an even greater number of immigrants to access the products they need to maintain their lifestyles. The convenience of his services can make it easier for immigrants to search and find specific products that are specific to their culture. This was very apparent when someone visiting his

shop told Sanjay that he was saving his life. This exaggeration is a reflection of the ways through which immigrant food entrepreneurs can make cities more liveable for their inhabitants.

These examples show that migrant food entrepreneurs play a significant role in immigrant communities. They provide access to specific foods that are not accessible to immigrants otherwise. Thus, they enable immigrants to consume foods that would not necessarily be easily accessible to them. Thereby, they are preventing alienation based on food consumption.

5.3 Analysis

Migrant food entrepreneurs play a key role in shaping urban space. Most respondents highlighted the role of ethnic food for the immigrant population residing in Utrecht. By providing a space where immigrants are included within a foreign country. Having access to their cultures' respective food can prevent identity loss for immigrants (Srinivas, 2006). This illustrates how ethnic grocery stores can significantly enhance immigrants' well-being and sense of home in Dutch cities. As previously established, food is an essential vector of identity (D'Sylva & Beagan, 2011). Preparing and consuming food from immigrants 'homeland' is important for immigrants to constitute their identity (Bailey, 2017). The Interviewees are keenly aware of their relevance to their respective co-ethnic and co-religious communities.

Migrant food entrepreneurs play a significant role in making cities more inclusive. Research on inclusive cities often focuses on explicit government policies involving civil society, the private sector and the communities in the context of neo-liberal urban realities (Brail & Vinodrai, 2000; Gerometta, Häussermann, & Longo, 2005; McDuie-Ra, 2013). However, Gerometta, Häussermann and Longo (2005) identify alienation as contributing to exclusion in cities. Migrant food entrepreneurs give immigrants access to an essential aspect of their culture: food. Lombok's great diversity of cultures in its shops and restaurants makes the neighbourhood indispensable for immigrants to feel at home in Utrecht. Migrant food entrepreneurs, therefore, by providing the possibility to experience and live one's own culture, prevent further alienation of immigrant populations. Thus, by reducing the risk of alienation by making cities more liveable for immigrants, migrant food entrepreneurs ultimately contribute to making cities more inclusive.

While this may not appear as active political action, political agency may be observed in mundane acts that enhance marginalised people's position. Thereby, it remains a compelling

demonstration of their agency. Lombok's immigrant food entrepreneurs provide an almost indispensable service to the immigrant population of Utrecht. Moreover, by preventing the further alienation of the city's immigrant population, they challenge the exclusionary practices of neo-liberal urban development. Therefore, they contribute to the immigrants' right to the city. Nevertheless, the inclusivity provided by migrant food entrepreneurs remains nuanced, as will be discussed in the following chapter.

In this Chapter, I discussed how migrant food entrepreneurs contest the process of gentrification by contributing to more inclusivity. I demonstrated that Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs are an invaluable asset to the city's immigrant population.

6. The Effects of Gentrification

In this Chapter, I present how migrant food entrepreneurs are affected by gentrification. This research aimed to understand better the effects of the gentrification of the neighbourhood of Lombok. It primarily sought to discover what were the implications of gentrification for Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs. Gentrification often causes the displacement of the local low-income residents of a neighbourhood by the middle class. Moreover, retail space is one of the most obvious occurrences of gentrification as the social and economic changes are observable at the street level (Hubbard, 2018). Hence, perceived changes in the people living in Lombok and the retail existing along its streets inform us about the gentrification process. Furthermore, by establishing a portrait of the gentrification happening along the streets of Lombok, we can perceive the pressures facing migrant food entrepreneurs.

6.1 Lombok's Changing Demographics

Lombok's diversity is the result of its large immigrant population. This multicultural identity was developed over the years as migrants moved into this neighbourhood. The findings from the interviews suggest that the metamorphosis of the district of Lombok is a phenomenon that is broadly observed by most people living and working in it. This is especially the case among those who have lived and worked there for an extended period of time. Furthermore, respondents whose families previously lived in the neighbourhood can also attest to these changes. Indeed, they can recount their parents' early experiences in Lombok. However, some migrant food entrepreneurs only moved to the Netherlands and Lombok recently. Thus, they have not had the time to observe the demographic changes that occur in the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, it is a widely observed phenomenon for those who have seen the area over the years.

A common theme that emerged during the interviews is that Lombok's neighbourhood has undergone multiple population shifts. The first one being a significant increase in its immigrant population and the second one being an increase in the native Dutch population. These two phenomena clearly reflect Lombok's progressive change from a working-class neighbourhood to one inhabited by the middle-class. Thus, showing signs of a primary indicator of gentrification, as Freeman (2016) described in his commentary.

The first of these described population changes occurred in the distant past. Yasmina, whose parents emigrated from Morocco to the Netherlands in the 1970s, described the change that took place in Lombok as an originally white neighbourhood to one populated by people of different backgrounds. *"For example, my parents came here in the 70s, so maybe it was a white neighbourhood back then, and it changed into a more mixed community".*

Carl, who moved from Suriname along with his parents to the Netherlands in 1976, also attests to this phenomenon.

> *"Yeah, I was like in the in the 70s - 80s and then like people from different countries come then they rent the shop and then just like the and they live here in this neighbourhood. So the Dutch people they move to the other part of city and then like people from other countries, they take the shops, you know, like us like…".*

Kavan is the owner of a grocery store on Kanaalstraat and came from Iran to the Netherlands in 1996. He likewise observed the growth of the immigrant population in Lombok. *"Uh, more immigrants came in".* Lombok's existence as a neighbourhood influenced by the different waves of migration specific to the Netherlands reflects its working-class identity.

The second population change described during the interviews is the growth in the Dutch population, especially among young professionals and students, which has been happening since the late 1990s. This phenomenon is an ongoing process. Sanjay attests to the increase in the young population in Lombok. *"I think the crowd of the whole neighbourhood has changed over the years, so there're more youngsters coming".*

This was further substantiated by Jamal and Yasmina, who explained that many students are moving into the neighbourhood. Likewise, Carl agreed with the fact that more and more Dutch people have been moving into Lombok recently.

Sanjay expressed a high degree of enthusiasm related to this population change. He expressed his opinion that it was healthy for neighbourhoods to receive periodic inputs of new people. *"I think for any neighbourhood it's important that once in a while there is a refreshment".* Furthermore, he maintained that an inflow of young professionals was good for Lombok. *"And I think that's very important for any kind of neighbourhood to develop".* He conjured the example of Brooklyn in the United States as a comparison. He argued that Brooklyn went from a poor and criminal neighbourhood to a hip and young one. *"You can see it all over the world if you look, for example, Brooklyn used to be a ghetto, but if you look at Brooklyn now, it's a completely hip place".* Thus, Lombok could experience the same trajectory. *"It started also with the same thing. You know, youngsters moving into Brooklyn. So you see that in all cities. Across the world".*

Carl also held a positive outlook on this demographic change. He argued that the new residents were good for business as they were consuming from the local shops.

> *No it's good. Positive. They buy everything. They go in the street for shopping you, I think that's attractive… The attraction, you know? Yeah, attractive. People come see. They say: aww they have the grocery, you have the Butcher, you have fruits, you have spices, you have different kind of shops, you know, that's interesting.*

This statement reflects what Sakızlıoğlu and Lees (2019) called the "exotic gaze". This idea depicts middle-class residents as viewing ethnically diverse neighbourhoods as exotic places. Therefore, these diverse neighbourhoods are attractive places to live if one seeks to experience diversity. According to Carl, Lombok's new residents want to consume other cultures and are attracted to the neighbourhood for this reason. The middle classes' desire to live in a neighbourhood where they can experience diversity is perceived as one of the primary drivers of gentrification. The findings clearly attest to the occurrence of this phenomenon in Lombok.

Nevertheless, Sanjay and Carl's opinions concerning the gentrification of Lombok are overall very positive. However, their views are not shared by all. Gijs is a social worker at buurthuis ROSA in the Wijk West district, where Lombok is located. He perceives the new inhabitants in a much less favourable light. He explained that, in his opinion, the newcomers in Lombok did not necessarily get along well with older residents. *"The traditional inhabitants, and the new match not"*. He also berated what he viewed as a lack of involvement within the neighbourhood. *"Most of them, there's no connection with neighbourhood"*. He explained that most of the new residents were young families with both parents working. Thus, once they come back home from work, they stay there. Overall, he felt that they did not develop a connection to Lombok because of this. He illustrated this with examples. First, he explained that some of the new residents who moved into the recently built buildings around Moskeeplein were complaining about the noise made by the mosque. Secondly, he told me that some of the new residents preferred to do their groceries in typical Dutch supermarkets rather than in one of the numerous ethnic stores that dot Kanaalstraat. Some of Lombok's entrepreneurs share this perception. According to them, the newer residents of Lombok tend to shop in Albert Heijn rather than in the grocery stores along Kanaalstraat (Gemeente Utrecht Wijk-West, 2017).

These statements reflect other studies on gentrification (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019). Gijs' perspective seems to indicate that there is a lack of engagement from the new residents of Lombok with the rest of the community. It also indicates that the influx of Dutch residents may be causing a decrease in patronage for some of the shops in Kanaalstraat. Moreover, the

anecdote concerning the complaints about the noise concerning the mosque is an unmistakable attempt by the gentrifier to shape the diverse social life of Lombok for their own interest.

Yasmina explained that she was unsure about gentrification's exact effects on the neighbourhood, and she knew it resulted in higher prices.

> *"So maybe the prices are going up as well, like before you would pay. I don't know, not… for example here, but everywhere you would pay in the neighbourhood. Uh, less than you pay now for coffee, for example".*

Moreover, she expressed her opinion that many of the opening new vegan or vegetarian shops and restaurants in the neighbourhood did not fit well the immigrant population. Indeed she pointed out that this was not really part of Moroccan culture.

> *"I think, for example, if you look at the vegan and vegetarian shops in the neighbourhood I, I think through… throughout Utrecht that has changed a lot and that's not common for immigrants. For the… in their culture to be vegetarian. Not, for example, in the Moroccan culture. So I think that has a lot to do with it as well.".*

She further explained how retail is changing in the city. She also used the example of oat milk to illustrate how more and more establishments were geared toward the needs and desires of the gentrifier.

> *"For example, you couldn't buy oat milk anywhere in the shop and now everything is like coffee with oat milk, and I think that has something to do with the gentrification as well, so I think in that way it has changed, yeah".*

The oat milk and vegan/vegetarian examples reflect the changing consumers that frequent Lombok. Yasmina depicts the gentrifiers' food habits as out of place with those of the older residents. Furthermore, she implied that the older residents of Lombok are not consumers of oat milk and that consuming oat milk is a relatively modern trend. Thus, the availability of coffee with oat milk everywhere shows the changes in tastes, or more precisely, the changes in the population in Lombok. This illustrates the progression of shops that cater to the preferences of the middle-class Dutch instead of satisfying the needs of the immigrant population (Ernst & Doucet, 2014).

6.2 Lombok's Changing Retail

Yasmina is not the only respondent who observed retail changes within Lombok's neighbourhood. Indeed, as for the changing populations observed in the neighbourhood, only

long-time residents or people who have worked there long can genuinely relate to this phenomenon. Indeed, it is a phenomenon that has taken place over many years. The shopping street of Kanaalstraat has gone through numerous changes.

Until the 1960s and 1970s, Dutch-owned stores mainly occupied the street. However, the immigrant population started to open new shops after settling in the neighbourhood. Thus, over the years, numerous shops were opened by immigrants while Dutch-owned stores closed. This was a phenomenon that most respondents who have seen Lombok over the years could attest to. Carl, who started working in his parent's restaurant when he was 16, argued that over the years, the neighbourhood of Lombok underwent changes in the kinds of shops and the origins of the shop owners. Indeed, he explained that migrants opened their own shops once they moved to the neighbourhood. *"The shop change you know from Dutch shops to like other… other culture's shops you know from Syria, Turkey or any kind of shops".* This was also observed by Kavan, who watched on as Dutch-owned shops closed in Lombok. *"Less Dutch shops. Uh, more immigrants came in. That that I've seen. Yeah yeah and less and less Dutch"*. Gijs explained that he remembered going to Kanaalstraat as a child, and the street was full of more high-end Dutch-owned shops. He reminisced his childhood when he would go to Kanaalstraat with his family and felt like he was on holiday. Then, when the immigrants began settling in Lombok, these shops began to close and were replaced by migrant-owned stores. He recounted that there were around fifteen migrant-owned grocery stores at some point. *"It was in the beginning about 15 groceries."*

Gijs's account reflects the high proportion of migrant entrepreneurs involved in business activities at the lower end of the market. As owning a grocery store does not require a high level of human capital, it is a relatively easy business to start. However, this also means that there is fierce competition as the market can easily be saturated. Thus, the presence of around fifteen grocery stores along Kanaalstraat reflected a saturated market. Therefore, certain shops were forced to close.

Gijs explained that numerous grocery stores and butcher shops have closed and were replaced by restaurants and hair and beauty salons. *"Now it's less grocery and the vlees… slagh… Butcher! What you now see is hair shop many here […] and restaurant ".* Moreover, he remarked that recently, there had been an increase in more high-end retail within Lombok. *"And now you see that (high-end shops)… coming. This shops coming back".*

Sanjay corroborated Gijs's account of the closure of numerous grocery stores. Indeed, he observed that many shops along Kanaalstraat have closed. He recalled when the street was bustling with activity. *"I know that this this street used to be much more busy back in the days*

there used to be more stores, so used to be more activity". He explained that there are many shops that open and close in a short time spend. He thought this was mainly due to bad decisions, arguing that certain shops are irrelevant to this specific street.

> *"No, there's a uh ... in this street you see a lot of businesses changed quite quickly. We've been here for a very long time. But we've seen stores change on a yearly basis because sometimes people just make bad choices or are not very good in running a business or open a store which doesn't make much sense in this street, you know."*

Moreover, he believed that certain shops are at risk of closing if they do not change to adapt better to the neighbourhood. This is because older entrepreneurs still operate many shops. Thus, they may be stuck in their ways of doing business. Therefore, they do not make changes regarding the new situation in the neighbourhood.

> *"If you ... you have some shop owners which are ... like my dad's age and they don't have a son who's taking over. So yeah, they're a bit stuck in that same old thing. So you have to be willing to anticipate on what's happening around in the neighbourhood."*

Sanjay's statements make apparent the risk of retail closure for immigrant entrepreneurs. Nevertheless, despite the evident threat of closure for many shops, none of the respondents appeared to be particularly worried about the future. When pressed about the future of the store he works in, Jamal, an employee in a grocery store, expressed optimism.

> *"It is developing, I hope for better. I hope for better."*

Thus, fears of closure do not appear to be widespread. Moreover, none expressed worries about possible displacements. Most of the migrant food entrepreneurs interviewed stated that they were not the owners of the buildings where their shop was located. Only Carl owns the building. *"Yeah, we own the building.".* Thus, all the others had to pay rent to their landlords. Therefore, it could be at risk of closure and displacement when rents would be increased. However, the gentrification of Lombok has not caused rents to become too expensive and cause displacement.

Furthermore, it was overall reported that they maintain good relations with their landlords. When asked about the nature of his relations with his landlords, Hasan was very optimistic. *"Very good relations"* (own translation). Kavan, the owner of a grocery store, explained that his landlords were the former owners of the store whom he had worked for. He bought the shops from them three years ago and had excellent relations with them. Sanjay, whose store opened more than thirty years ago, reported a case of a recent rent increase. However, it was also said that it had been the first time over the past fifteen years. *"He (his*

landlord) increased the rent this year for the first time in fifteen years, so he's pretty is pretty reasonable".

Thus, it does not seem that the current gentrification process has led to much of an increase in rent for retail space. Nonetheless, some migrant food entrepreneurs do perceive that prices are rising in the neighbourhood. According to Kavan, housing is becoming more expensive, especially along Kanaalstraat. *"Kanaalstraat is a very expensive neighbourhood".* Moreover, Yasmina also made the same observation concerning the price of housing in Lombok. *"Housing is going up".* These findings demonstrate the increases in rents, rising home values and real estate speculation that neighbourhoods experiencing gentrification undergo (Rigolon & Németh, 2019). Carl also notes that ethnic Dutch are starting to open shops in Lombok. *"You see, there's Dutch people, they open like a restaurant or bar, café"*. However, he notes that the new Dutch-owned stores are not opened along Kanaalstraat. *"You see like in the other street… It's Vleutenseweg".*

6.3 Analysis

The observations made during the interviewing process reveal interesting information. The findings corroborate numerous assumptions concerning the effects of gentrification. One of the primary aspects of gentrification is the progressive displacement of the original working-class inhabitants of a neighbourhood by the middle-class (Freeman, 2016). As previously established, this phenomenon is more challenging to observe within Dutch cities due to the presence of large amounts of social housing. Nonetheless, respondents did attest to the growth of the middle-class in Lombok.

Based on previous research (Hackworth & Rekers, 2005; May, 1996; Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019), one can assume that the multicultural identities of neighbourhoods are key drivers of their gentrification. My findings corroborate this assumption. The interviews revealed the possibility of the "exotic gaze" contributing to the growth of the white Dutch middle-class population as they sought to live in areas they perceived as culturally diverse. This inflow of the middle-class population is a cause of the gentrification of neighbourhoods (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019). This is because it contributes to an increase in real estate prices and rents. This "exotic gaze" is linked to the multicultural identity of neighbourhoods. The multicultural identity that exudes from Lombok further cements the different migrant-owned stores as a critical part of the "ethnic packaging" of the neighbourhood. This concept refers to the

valorisation of a neighbourhood through its ethnic characteristics, especially in its retail space. Therefore, by shaping Lombok's identity, Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs ultimately contribute to its gentrification.

The price rise commonly associated with gentrification is clearly observed around Lombok (Williams & Needham, 2016). However, it does not appear that the rental price for retail space has increased too much, as it did not transpire from the interviews that Lombok's entrepreneurs were currently at risk of displacement from their landlords. The research revealed that few entrepreneurs currently own the building where they operate their business, yet, non seem to think they could ultimately be forced to move out of the neighbourhood.

The respondents did express the threat to local retail that gentrification poses. Indeed, the interviewees did recognise the occurrence of retail gentrification in Lombok, yet none seemed to believe it would affect them. Sanjay warned about the potential risk for migrant food businesses if they did not change their ways of conducting business. This remark, while remaining vague, did highlight the need to adapt to the changing populations of the neighbourhood. Indeed, while most migrant entrepreneurs do not appear to face immediate pressures, retail along Kanaalstraat has changed. Therefore, their position is not necessarily safe. This can be seen by the assertion that some Dutch residents of Lombok tend to shop in Dutch supermarkets rather than in migrant-owned grocery stores. Thereby, leading to a decrease in patronage (Meltzer, 2016). Moreover, the often assumed purpose of official gentrification policies of 'upgrading' a neighbourhood by encouraging more social mixing between low-income and higher-income residents appears to be accepted and even wished for by certain migrant entrepreneurs (Boterman & van Gent, 2014).

In this Chapter, I have shown that Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs are witnessing the changes in the neighbourhood. They have observed how retail has been changing. Nonetheless, it does not appear that the shops where the respondents work are at risk of immediate displacement. Furthermore, I explored how Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs contribute to the gentrification of Lombok by assisting in the 'ethnic packaging' of the neighbourhood.

7. Adaptative strategies to the Gentrification of Lombok

In this Chapter, I present how migrant food entrepreneurs accommodate to the changes brought on by gentrification in Lombok. To understand how migrant food entrepreneurs adapt to a gentrifying neighbourhood, the mixed embeddedness approach, developed in detail in the conceptual framework section, is used. This chapter focuses primarily on Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs' embeddedness at the market level.

Lombok's key role within Utrecht is highlighted by the people who patronize its stores. Multiple respondents stressed the specific ethnic and religious groups that visited their stores. Moreover, the changing demographics have resulted in changes in who visits their establishments, as different populations have different tastes (Meltzer, 2016). Therefore, seeing who frequents a store can tell us about the effect of gentrification on that store.

Sanjay explained that his grocery shop initially focused more on providing offer for Surinamese and South American immigrants. However, as the population of Utrecht changed over the years, he started to change and alter his focus.

> *"Uh, well, I've seen the crowd change over the years because let's say, 30 years ago, we used to focus a lot on Surinaam people, African people, people from Latin America. But over the past 10-15 years, there was a big boom of Indian ex-pats."*

The boom in Indian expatriates led him to focus more on the offer for the Indian community. Moreover, as his family is originally from India, he said that this change in focus was easy. *"So that's why we started focusing more on Indians and we are also from India so…".* Sanjay's store became, through the years, an essential fixture for Utrecht's growing Indian population. He further explained that this focus on Indian food has also helped to reach new customers. Indeed, he argued that as Indian cuisine has a strong emphasis on vegetarian food, he was attracting different people. Sanjay believes that the new residents of Lombok, which are often younger Dutch, were attracted to this.

> *"So Indian cuisine is quite big in vegetarian food as well, and it offers a lot of vegetarian options. And because of the vegetarian options, we get a lot of customers also from different ethnicities."*

Yasmina also explains that the café she works at offers vegetarian options. *"All kinds of products, from vegetarian dishes to meat, fish, everything".* The focus on vegetarian food options shows that some entrepreneurs follow modern market trends.

Sanjay thought younger Dutch people were more interested in cooking other cultures' cuisine than the previous generations. Moreover, he believed that the COVID-19 pandemic had led to more people cooking. The lockdowns that ensued since 2020 have caused people to stay home more than usual. Thus, people started cooking more frequently and trying out new things. *"Yeah, I get a lot of Dutch customers, young customers. Because you know, nowadays I think also during COVID, people have been experimenting more in cuisines."*

Carl, who owns a Surinamese restaurant on Kanaalstraat, holds a similar opinion regarding the younger Dutch residents. This generation, he believed, is more progressive and has visited many countries around the world. Carl argued that the Dutch urban youth were more appreciative of diversity and thus enjoyed consuming ethnic foods. This was a positive development for him as he saw more young Dutch people come to his restaurant.

> *Yeah, the urban… the people they like … They show that… like the link, the people from the left side you know left side politic, you know they travel around the world and enjoy the culture and the foods. So they come here. So yeah, yeah, yeah… Everything like that, it's good.*

Patronage by the Dutch population of the neighbourhood was also something experienced by Kavan, who owns a grocery store on Kanaalstraat. He expressed the fact that his grocery store was the most popular store for Dutch shoppers along Kanaalstraat.*"Uh, yes, I think I think I have the most Dutch clients."*. He attributed this situation to his wide variety of products. Thus, he believed that this variety of products was more to the liking of Dutch clients.

> *I have a great variety of products and the surface, and we provide is more, more, more, more. How do you call it? They like the way we provide the surface. It's more to their taste, liking, than other shops in the street.*

He explained that, unlike most grocery stores in the neighbourhood, he focused on all sorts of products. This is visible inside the store as one may find products ranging from fresh fruits and vegetables, Mexican chillies, Italian pasta, Middle Eastern sweets and East Asian sauces. Kavan further described how he sought to learn what the Dutch customer wanted. *"You need to know what the Dutch customer wants."*. He mentioned that this was one of his shop's strengths and was probably the reason why he was popular among Dutch shoppers. He further explained that this was the result of his efforts. He can better know how to appeal to Dutch customers through his own research. He puts in much effort to understand better how to provide for the Dutch customers. *"So I know it because I researched and I talked and I listened, but that that makes me why they come here."*. His work appears to translate into success. Indeed, he believes that Dutch customers represent the main part of his business. *"the main business*

are the Dutch clients". Kavan demonstrates a desire to broaden his customer base. This adaptative strategy to the gentrification of Lombok seems to be a success for him.

Sanjay mentioned the positive impact his store's website had on his business. He explained that his store website was increasingly garnering publicity for the store. Thus, he believed his shop's online presence had successfully attracted people to the store. *"I think because of the webshop we're getting a lot of publicity"*. His website enables customers to buy online and have their groceries delivered to their doorstep. During the process of Sanjay's interview, a customer asked whether or not his groceries could be delivered. Customers can buy their groceries in-store or online and have them delivered to their doorstep the next day. *"OK, so they can just buy that goes like this client. He's now leaving his groceries here, so and tomorrow it will be delivered so we have this E-bike."*

He stated that this was because many of his customers did not own cars and thus could not easily carry their groceries if they did large groceries. He also believed that deliveries were becoming increasingly important for his shop, especially with the COVID-19 pandemic. *"Yeah, I mean deliveries has become like a fixed component of this whole grocery store business because of COVID."*

Sanjay's website for ordering and deliveries shows ingenuity and adaptations to the modern online economy. This contributes to increasing his reach and, thus, his customer base. Moreover, he explicitly mentions COVID-19 as a reason for expanding this part of his business. Therefore, exhibiting a grasp of potential market opportunities that can be seized. This is a relatively explicit example of his embeddedness within current market trends.

7.1 Analysis

Lombok's food entrepreneurs showed different strategies to deal with the changes engendered by gentrification. Some expressed their initiatives to attract more customers by adapting their offer to the specific tastes, for example, by offering more vegetarian foods or by focusing attentively on Dutch needs. Indeed, it seems that attracting more of the newer Dutch population to their store might be an effective strategy. Moreover, the increasing presence of the web and offering house deliveries also reflect innovative strategies in line with the growing use of the internet and the current digitalisation of shopping. The findings suggest that this adaptation to new market trends demonstrates migrant food entrepreneurs' embeddedness at the market level. Lombok migrant food entrepreneurs adapt to the existing economic and market

conditions, reflecting their structural embeddedness (Barberis & Solano, 2018). These strategies allow Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs to appeal to and reach as many potential customers as possible. Thus, by broadening their consumer base, these food entrepreneurs are able better to weather the possible adverse effects of Lombok's gentrification.

The adaptative strategies demonstrated by Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs confirm Williams and Needham's (2016) ideas on how small entrepreneurs should adapt to gentrification. With one of the key suggestions on how to adapt is to attract new customers. Numerous interviewees detailed their personal strategies to expand their customer base. Moreover, this shows great similarities to Fiore and Plate's (2021) observations in Amsterdam's Indische Buurt. Their article investigated the inherent racial inequality experienced by migrant entrepreneurs during the gentrification of an area. The article highlights the need for migrant food entrepreneurs to adapt to a more ethnically Dutch population. The examples they provide show two different approaches to doing so. One is to de-ethicise the appearance of the shops. The other is emphasising exotism to appear more authentic to the Dutch customers. The approach of emphasizing the exotism of a shop is also observed in Berlin by Stock and Schmiz (2019). There, they observed an entrepreneur who adopted a folkloric staging to differentiate himself from other establishments owned by Arab immigrants. While these exact strategies do not seem to be employed in Lombok, being acceptable and attractive to the Dutch customers is undoubtedly a strategy taking place in Lombok.

When migrant food entrepreneurs seek to appeal more to what the Dutch customers need, they assist in the branding of Lombok as a desirable diverse place to live. Thus, they contribute to the 'ethnic packaging' of Lombok. Hence, these migrant food entrepreneurs become active players in the gentrification of their neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, Sakızlıoğlu and Lees (2019) warn that migrant entrepreneurs who actively participate in their neighbourhood's 'ethnic packaging' can still face displacement due to rent increases. Therefore, this strategy can still ultimately lead to closure.

This chapter explored the different strategies that have been developed by some of Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs. It highlighted how modern tools like the internet or circumstances like the COVID-19 pandemic have led to changes. Moreover, this chapter also analysed the contribution of migrant food entrepreneurs to the gentrification process.

8. Migrant Food Entrepreneurs' Agency

In this Chapter, I demonstrate how migrant food entrepreneurs can have an influence on the developments occurring in Lombok. One of the main topics brought up during the interviews was the relations the individual migrant food entrepreneurs had within the neighbourhood. These relations concerned their respective customers, the residents of Lombok, the local organisations and the municipality. The information gathered throughout the interviewing process reveal a wide range of agency demonstrated by the migrant food entrepreneurs in Lombok.

Two main theories from the conceptual framework prove relevant to analysing findings relating to migrant food entrepreneurs' agencies. Indeed, the right to the city provides a framework to understand how entrepreneurs can assert the influence of the developments occurring in Lombok and explores their political agency. The mixed embeddedness approach, on the other hand, is used to understand the different changes that may result in the successes or failures of Lombok's migrant entrepreneurs.

One of the aims of this research is to understand better how migrant food entrepreneurs can actively influence the developments in their neighbourhood. Indeed, most research on gentrification approaches the people affected by gentrification as victims of gentrification (Doucet, 2009). For this research, it was essential to investigate migrant food entrepreneurs' agencies. Understanding how they demonstrate their agency shows us the possible avenues to contest or influence the development that occurs in the neighbourhood. Moreover, it enables us to explain better the adaptative strategies developed.

8.1 Relations with the Customers

Some respondents reported that they had clients that came on a regular basis. Yasmina explained this by stating that some clients in the café where she works are regulars. They have been going there for more than ten years. *"Yeah, definitely a lot of people that come here that have been… have had like the same table for I think ten years, someone told me".* Carl also emphasized his restaurant's strong links to its customers. *"because we are like almost forty years here, we've built our customer tradition, you know clients"*. Furthermore, many rely on proximity networks due to their ethnic origins or religious affiliation.

Indeed, Sanjay, who owns a shop specialising in Indian food, describes this phenomenon. *"But over the past ten-fifteen years, there was a big boom of Indian expats. So that's why we started focusing more on Indians and we are also from India so…"*. Hence, Sanjay clearly outlined how his co-ethnic customers play a crucial role in shaping his business.

Hasan, the owner of a Halal butcher shop, stressed his link to his co-religious community. *"Of course. Because there are Muslims here, so…"* (own translation). He expressed how many of his customers are Muslim because his shop sells halal meat. These connections to their customers are illustrations of migrant food entrepreneurs' social capital. Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs demonstrated the different relations they could have due to their belonging to specific social and ethnic groups (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019). Thereby reflecting how migrant food entrepreneurs in Lombok are socially embedded with their customers.

8.2 Community Involvement

Migrant entrepreneurs' participation within the community was a key theme of this research. Migrant food entrepreneurs demonstrate different ways of participating and engaging with the residents of their neighbourhood. The nature of the relations between the food entrepreneurs and Lombok's residents can indicate insights into their individual social capitals. Moreover, involvement within the local community can consist of everyday actions that ultimately make cities more welcoming spaces for the most vulnerable.

Yasmina mentioned that the café she works at provides weekly dinners for low-income residents. *"They have like a social eating table, so they make food for people that are less fortunate in the neighbourhood"*. Furthermore, she also explained that despite being available to everyone, these meals were offered at a reduced price for low-income residents.

> *"So the price, for example, for a dish would be five euro instead of fifteen for example, so they try to make it a place where everyone can come even though they don't have a, uh, a larger income as other people have"*.

Sanjay also mentioned how his grocery store provides food for low-income people at a food bank. He explained that he was giving some groceries to a kitchen that cooked meals for low-income residents. *"They cook food for people who don't have enough money or homeless people, so then we provide groceries for them"*. He also stated that they delivered groceries to asylum seekers in the Netherlands. *"We delivered to different asylums across the Netherlands"*.

This type of initiative may contribute to low-income residents' ability to continue inhabiting the city. Thus, enabling vulnerable residents to be included in the city. These signs of solidarity can be perceived as a manifestation of the right to the city, as through local solidarity Lombok's migrant entrepreneurs help low-income residents to carry on living in the city.

Various food entrepreneurs also engage with the local shop owners association in Lombok, the Winkeliers Vereniging Lombok. Participation in the neighbourhood's shop owner association can be a tool to make entrepreneurs' voices resonate. By acting as a group rather than individually, Lombok's shop owners can express their consideration with coordination. Overall, by working as a group, Lombok shop owners can organize themselves better.

A number of the respondents said that they were members of this organization. However, their participation in it varied widely. Carl, who owns a restaurant, explained that he could not take an active role as he was always busy with his work and taking care of his children.

> *"Yeah, not so many because I'm busy. When I have like a meeting. I'm always with my with my kids, you know. So I cannot go. I say that when I it's my kids, you know and goes…. Kids are going before work and business."*

Moreover, Kavan stated that he felt that the organisation was less active in the neighbourhood than previously. He believed this was partly due to the COVID-19 pandemic, as they could not coordinate certain events. He explained that the shop owners association used to organise a market for King's day, but unfortunately, they have not organised it recently.

> *"For example, we used to have the market every Koningsdag. It was organised by the organisation. And since few years we don't have it, yeah. Due Corona, but also because the new leaders didn't organize so…"*

Nevertheless, for him, the association's loss of steam comes mainly as a result of the departure of many Dutch shop owners, who he said were more active in the organisation than the newer members. *"Since there were less Dutch owners, the organization stopped being…[important]"*.

However, this view is not shared by all. Indeed, Hasan explained that the organisation met at the mosque every two or three months to discuss different issues. *"Every… two months, three months. If there is something to talk about, we make meetings at the mosque."*(own translation). He also said that a representative of the municipality was always present during those meetings. "*And every time there is someone from the city that comes. To help out.*" (own translation).

8.3 Relations with Gemeente Utrecht

Migrant food entrepreneurs expressed different opinions regarding the role of Gemeente Utrecht in the neighbourhood. Understanding migrant food entrepreneurs' relations with the municipality informs us of their approach to the political process in Utrecht. Individual migrant food entrepreneurs experience a wide variety of relations with the Gemeente. Certain describe their relationship as good, others not so much. Most entrepreneurs have mentioned the existence of a person from the municipality who comes along Kanaalstraat on a daily basis. Thus, providing close contact between the Gemeente and the entrepreneurs. Sanjay describes this relationship positively.

> *"There is one guy from Gemeente Utrecht who comes here… Once in a while, but he's more like a friend so, but he's a guy who looks over the neighbourhood and knows what's going on. And we once in a while have a chat with him or have a beer with him. And then he updates me about what's going on in the neighbourhood".*

Jamal also attested to the relation with this person. *"they have person, they are… They're walking every day here. Yeah, to see that everything is OK, everything is under control".* Moreover, he explained that this was his primary way to be in contact with the municipality. *"Yeah, we communicate with the Gemeente or the municipality through these people".*

Hasan reported his good relations with the municipality. He indicated that they were helpful to him. *"How should I say… a friendly relationship, they are helpful. If we need anything then they are helpful. I can call... They are always ready to help"* (own translation). Moreover, he explained that the municipality was active in helping organise celebrations. For example, the municipality is giving a helping hand to the organisation of Islamic celebrations. Hasan related the fact that they will help with traffic during the celebration of Eid-ul-Kabir.

> *"For example, for the feast of Muslims, in helping all Muslims here. How can I say… to prepare for the party. For example... for the feast of the sheep (Eid-ul-Kabir) here. In two months, it will be the feast of the sheep. And for the help, you can see people from the municipality here who can help with traffic and to make the feast a very good event"* (own translation).

However, this did not imply that the relationships with the Gemeente were necessarily good for everyone. Some describe their relationship as relatively insignificant. Indeed, Sanjay explained that his contact with this person was all that he really needed from the Gemeente. *"I don't also don't see a reason to have that. Maybe only for my parking permit".*

Moreover, Kavan held a relatively negative view of the Gemeente. *"No, it's not not a good relationship, I think"*. He complained that the municipality did not do enough in the neighbourhood. For example, he said that the neighbourhood was too dirty in his opinion. He showed me the sidewalk next to his street and told me that after calling the Gemeente and complaining that it was filthy, he had to clean it himself.

Furthermore, he explained that there was not enough police presence in Lombok. *"You have other neighbourhoods where the police is driving all day. Here, we will see one police car in two-three days"*. This went hand in hand with his feeling that much crime was occurring in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, he also expressed his bewilderment at the municipality's disregard for the neighbourhood's cleanliness despite Lombok's growing attractiveness.

> *"Has (Gemeente Utrecht) let it go for many years [..] But location is one of the best locations. You are nearby the city. Nearby the central station. Expensive homes, but if you look at the street…"*.

However, Kavan did have a positive outlook on Gemeente Utrecht's plan to make Kanaalstraat a one-way street. He believed that it could solve one of his main complaints about the neighbourhood, the speed of traffic. *"Yeah, yeah yeah we hope to get less speeding."*. He also thought that this plan would suit his customers. *"Yeah my my my customers cheer for that."*

Hasan explained that he had previously attended a meeting where the municipality explained how Kanaalstraat would change to local entrepreneurs.

> *"I know that Lombok will change. Because we've had already… it's been two years that we had a meeting with someone from the municipality who is in charge of Lombok, his name is Peter. And he showed all the entrepreneurs of Lombok, the street is going to totally change."* (own translation)

Overall he thought that this project would have a positive impact on his business. *"Positive I think. I hope"* (own translation). Carl shares this positive outlook. Indeed, he thought that this would make the street more manageable.

> *"Yeah, yeah better! Not, not so many traffic you know. From two directions to just only for one direction, it's better, it's easy. It's more easy to control, you know for the, for the police or the… the local government."*

On the other hand, Jamal, who currently works in a grocery store on Kanaalstraat, did not share this enthusiasm. While not disliking the plan, he did have doubts about it. Moreover, Jamal feared the possible loss of business during the construction phase. Indeed, he believed fewer people would walk along the street during that time, thus fewer potential customers on

this usually busy street. *"I don't know how… we are going to see, I don't know. But while they are working is not good […] because people are not… Because they are not be able to walk."*

Nevertheless, it appears that Buurtvisie Kanaalstraat Damstraat is a relatively popular initiative among Lombok's entrepreneurs. The only doubts expressed were regarding its implementation rather than its final outcome. Moreover, it seems that Gemeente Utrecht communicated well with the entrepreneurs.

8.4 Analysis

Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs show their embeddedness at the social level, especially with their customers. For example, some expressed how being part of a specific ethnic or religious group positively impacts them, as they can easily access this network of customers. This form of embeddedness plays a vital role in the success or failure of migrant entrepreneurs and attests to the entrepreneurs' social capital.

Some migrant food entrepreneurs' engagement within the community shows clear signs of solidarity between the entrepreneurs and the residents, especially those with lower incomes. Low-income residents are the most vulnerable to increasingly neo-liberal urban policies (Harvey D., 2008). Thus, this form of solidarity contributes to the fundamental condition of surviving in a city, the possibility of inhabiting the city (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009). By helping to feed low-income residents, these migrant food entrepreneurs, in effect, "produce urban life on new terms" and contribute to the "right of inhabitants to remain unalienated from urban life" (Attoh, 2011). Thereby they are demonstrating their individual agency in influencing the developments that occur in their neighbourhood.

Lombok's migrant entrepreneurs also demonstrate, in varying degrees, forms of collective political agency. Many entrepreneurs are part of the local shop owners association, the Winkeliers Vereniging Lombok. Participation in such neighbourhood organisations enhances migrant food entrepreneurs' voice in the city as a representative of the municipality is often present at their meetings. However, active participation seems to be somewhat limited. Thus, the exact impact that participating in this organization has on influencing the development in their neighbourhood is hard to assess.

The overall relations between Gemeente Utrecht and the migrant food entrepreneurs are very mixed. Thus, the collective participation in the decision-making process envisioned in the right to the city is not assured (Häkli & Kallio, 2014). Some seemed relatively happy with the

municipality's role in the neighbourhood and praised their involvement. Furthermore, it does seem that the city seeks to establish closer relationships with Lombok's entrepreneurs. The presence of municipal employees daily along the streets of Lombok reflects the city's desire to show the local entrepreneurs that they can talk easily and freely about their concerns. This initiative started in June 2020 (Gemeente Utrecht, s.d.). This shows a genuine desire to become more actively involved with local entrepreneurs in Lombok. Moreover, Gemeente Utrecht's direct involvement in gentrification aims to pursue both new developments and keep the neighbourhood's identity as is. Hence, it appears to consider the intrinsic value of the local entrepreneurs to the neighbourhood.

However, this feeling of proximity was not felt by all. Some complained that the municipality was not taking enough care of the neighbourhood, that it was being neglected, and that the city should be doing more. Therefore, there is not a clear picture of the way the municipality interacts with Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs.

The Buurtvisie Kanaalstraat Damstraat project does reflect some of the migrant food entrepreneurs' desire for improvement along Kanaalstraat. The Buurtvisie Kanaalstraat Damstraat seems to be an initiative that reflects well Lombok's food entrepreneurs' perspectives. Indeed, one of its goals is an attempt to solve the safety issues in the street. By making the street one way, it is hoped that there will be less speed riding along the Kanaalstraat. Moreover, the issue of crime is also considered attentively in this initiative, a topic that was brought up numerous times during the interviews.

Thus, we can see that the Gemeente Utrecht is considering some of the specific demands through working with residents and entrepreneurs. Thereby, the findings suggest that migrant food entrepreneurs' inputs were valued when preparing this plan and can influence policies concerning the neighbourhood of Lombok. Therefore, it hints at their institutional embeddedness.

Moreover, it reflects their political agency through involvement within the institutional political process (Häkli & Kallio, 2014). Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs play a crucial role in the decision-making process within the city of Utrecht. The findings seem to confirm that they exercise their right to participate, which is central to the right to the city (Purcell, 2002).

This chapter demonstrated the importance of social capital for migrant food entrepreneurs. Moreover, it showed that some of Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs actively contribute to the right of residents to inhabit the city. Likewise, it explored how they exhibited their political agency.

9. Discussion & Conclusion

This thesis sought to understand the consequences of gentrification for Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs and explore how they accommodated or challenged this process. This was done by conducting interviews with Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs. Moreover, the findings were analysed through the lens of two concepts. The right to the city is used concerning the political and socio-cultural agency of migrant food entrepreneurs. Meanwhile, the mixed embeddedness approach looks at the adaptative strategies employed.

This research aimed to answer the following main research question: *How are migrant food entrepreneurs affected by the ongoing process of gentrification in the neighbourhood of Lombok in Utrecht, and how do they adapt to and contest this process?* The following sub-questions supported this research question:

1. How is the food retail changing in Lombok?
2. What are the pressures faced by Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs?
3. How do migrant food entrepreneurs accommodate to Lombok's changing demographic makeup?
4. How do migrant food entrepreneurs influence the development occurring in their neighbourhood?

Overall the findings suggest that retail in Lombok is changing. Many shops have closed over the years, especially grocery stores, as there was a strong concentration of these stores just along Kanaalstraat. Thus, leading to a redundancy in the market. This is because markets that do not require high levels of human capital are accessible for migrant entrepreneurs to enter (Kloosterman, 2006). Moreover, new shops have opened that cater more toward the Dutch population, while older shops are also seeking to appeal to them. This is one of the ways through which shops are accommodating to the changing demographics. Other ways suggested by the interviewees were an increase in focus on current market trends and the development of online retail. The need to develop new strategies was highlighted by the warning issued by one of the shop owners, who explicitly stated that shops stuck in their old ways were at risk of closing. Therefore, it is clear that Lombok's migrant entrepreneurs face the potential risk of retail closure. It is especially apparent when considering the observation that the new Dutch residents of Lombok do not necessarily shop in Kanaalstraat but rather in supermarkets.

Nevertheless, it does not appear that they are currently at risk of displacement due to increasing rent prices. This finding contrasts with Hubbard's research on retail gentrification

(2018). Furthermore, Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs demonstrated their agency in relation to the process of gentrification. They attested to their socio-cultural relevance within the city by preventing further alienation of the immigrant population. Moreover, their involvement within neighbourhood organizations and with the Gemeente Utrecht strengthens their voices to influence the further development occurring in Lombok.

This research shows that migrant entrepreneurs are not simply victims of gentrification but can demonstrate multiple ways of adapting to it. These findings show similarities to Sakızlıoğlu and Lees' (2019) research in the gentrifying Indische Buurt in Amsterdam and Stock and Schmiz's (2019) research in gentrifying neighbourhoods in Berlin. However, like Sakızlıoğlu and Lees' (2019) study, this research also highlights that not all migrant entrepreneurs adapt. Moreover, not all the newer Dutch residents in Lombok will regularly visit the shops on Kanaalstraat. Therefore, gentrification remains a threat to retail in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods in the Netherlands.

Furthermore, migrant food entrepreneurs can actually be active players in gentrification. While not all of Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs are actively involved in this process, some contribute to this "ethnic packaging" phenomenon since making retail more attractive to the Dutch customers raises the neighbourhood's attractivity. This phenomenon is also observed in research conducted in other cities (Stock & Schmiz, 2019; Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2019; Bourlessas, Cenere, & Vanolo, 2021; Fiore & Plate, 2021; Çağlar & Glick Schiller, 2018). In Berlin, Amsterdam, and other cities, the appeal of consuming authentic food is attractive and unintentionally contributes to gentrification.

Thus, this research suggests that the effects of gentrification on migrant entrepreneurs should not only be looked at through the lens of its possible negative consequences. Gentrification also encourages local entrepreneurs to develop new strategies. Moreover, in the case of Lombok, their voices are considered by the municipality for further plans to develop the neighbourhood. The inclusion of migrants' voices within the decision-making process in cities reflects the desire to make cities more inclusive spaces for all. However, this research also raises the problem of migrant food entrepreneurs' active contribution to gentrification. Nevertheless, it recognises that they have agency in this development.

Both the right to the city and the mixed embeddedness approach are helpful concepts to assess the agency of migrant food entrepreneurs. The mixed embeddedness approach helped highlight the different changes and accommodations made by migrant food entrepreneurs. The differences and changes in embeddedness at the social and structural levels show how and in what ways gentrification affects them. The right to the city asserts that local control should

derive from members of the community but does not provide a solid framework for community action (Balzarini & Shlay, 2016). It remains an elusive concept, and its manifestation among Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs was not obvious to observe. Confirming Balzarini and Shlay's (2016) doubts concerning the universal application of the right to the city. Nevertheless, looking at the agency demonstrated by Lombok's migrant food entrepreneurs remains an interesting approach.

This research does have some limitations. Due to the language barrier mentioned in Chapter 3, the sample size is small. Therefore, it does not reflect all the different possible effects of gentrification on migrant food entrepreneurs nor all possible ways through which they adapt and challenge this process. However, the interviewees come from varied ethnic backgrounds. Thus, providing an insight into the diversity of the neighbourhood of Lombok.

Further research conducted in Dutch could expand the knowledge developed concerning Lombok. Indeed, conducting more interviews could contribute to creating a more comprehensive approach to the themes explored throughout this investigation. Moreover, focusing on other neighbourhoods experiencing gentrification in different regions of the world would be interesting. As previously mentioned, the Netherlands and Western Europe, in general, still have considerable amounts of social housing in cities. Thus, the process of gentrification is less evident as a proportion of low-income residents can still inhabit the socially rented houses in the neighbourhood. Therefore, research on the effects of gentrification on migrant food entrepreneurs in a country where urban areas have less social housing, like in the United States, would be interesting.

Reference List

Aalbers, M. (2011). The Revanchist Renewal of Yesterday's City of Tomorrow. *Antipodes, 43*, 1696-1724.

Alkon, A. H., Cadji, Y. J., & Moore, F. (2019). Subverting the new narrative: food, gentrification and resistance in Oakland, California. *Agriculture and Human Values, 36*, 793–804.

Attoh, K. (2011, February 14). What kind of right is the right to the city? *Progress in Human Geography, 35*(5), 669-685. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132510394706

Bailey, A. (2017). The migrant suitcase: Food, belonging and commensality among Indian migrants in The Netherlands. *Appetite, 110*, 51-60.

Balzarini, J., & Shlay, A. (2016). Gentrification and the Right to the City: Community Conflict and Casinos. *Journal of Urban Affairs, 38*(4), 503-517. doi:DOI: 10.1111/juaf.12226

Barberis, E., & Solano, G. (2018, December 12). Mixed Embeddedness and Migrant Entrepreneurship: Hints on Past and Future Directions. An Introduction. *Sociologica, 12*(2), 1-22.

Boterman, W., & van Gent, W. (2014, April). Housing Liberalisation and Gentrification: The Social Effects of Tenure Conversions in Amsterdam. *Journal of Economics and Human Geography, 105*(2), 140-160.

Boterman, W., & van Gent, W. (2014, April). Housing Liberalisation and Gentrification: The Social Effects of Tenure Conversions in Amsterdam. *Journal of Economics and Human Geography, 105*(2), 140-160.

Bourlessas, P., Cenere, S., & Vanolo, A. (2021). The Work of Foodification: An Analysis of Food Gentrification in Turin, Italy. *Urban Geography*.

Brail, S., & Vinodrai, T. (2000). The elusive, inclusive city: Toronto at a crossroads. In S. Bunce, N. Livingstone, L. March, S. Moore, & A. Walks, *Critical Dialogues of Urban Governance, Development and Activism* (pp. 38-53). UCL Press.

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods* (4th ed.). Oxford University Press.

Çağlar, A., & Glick Schiller, N. (2018). *Migrants & City Making: Dispossession, Displacement, and Urban Regeneration.* Duke University Press.

Cain, T., & Spoonley, P. (2013, April). Making it Work: The Mixed Embeddedness of Immigrant Entrepreneurs in New Zealand. *Discussion Paper, 7332*.

Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. (2017, 09 05). *Unemployment down among non-western migrant group*. Retrieved from CBS: https://www.cbs.nl/en-gb/news/2017/32/unemployment-down-among-non-western-migrant-group

Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. (2022, 05 31). *Population; sex, age, generation and migration background, 1 January*. Retrieved from CBS: https://www.cbs.nl/en-gb/figures/detail/37325eng

Costes, L. (2010). Le Droit à la ville de Henri Lefebvre : quel héritage politique et scientifique ? *Espaces et sociétés, 140-141*(1-2), 177-191. doi:DOI : 10.3917/esp.140.0177

Couperus, E. (n.d.). *'Overcoming' gentrification in Lombok, Utrecht*. Retrieved from Department of Geography, Trinity College Dublin: https://planetgeogblog.wordpress.com/2020/04/09/overcoming-gentrification-in-lombok-utrecht/

Davidson, M., & Lees, L. (2005). New-build `gentrification' and London's riverside renaissance. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 37*(7), 1165-1190. doi:doi.org/10.1068/a3739

Denters, B. (2021). National urban policies in the Netherlands: an urban renaissance? In K. Zimmermann, & V. Fedeli, *A Modern Guide to National Urban Policies in Europe* (pp. 103-126).

Dibbits, H., & Meder, T. (1999). Kasbah in de Kanaal straat: Beeldvorming in en rond een multi-etnische stadswiik: een verkenning. *Volkskundig Bulletin*, 39-70.

Discover Utrecht. (n.d.). *Lombok*. Retrieved from Discover Utrecht: https://www.discover-utrecht.com/location/lombok/

Domaradzka, A. (2018, August). Urban Social Movements and the Right to the City: An Introduction to the Special Issue on Urban Mobilization. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations, 27*, 607-620. doi:https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-018-0030-y

Doucet, B. (2009, May 9). Living through gentrification: subjective experiences of local, non-gentrifying residents in Leith, Edinburgh. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 24*, 299–315.

Doucet, B., van Kempen, R., & van Weesep, J. (2011). `We're a rich city with poor people': municipal strategies of new-build gentrification in Rotterdam and Glasgow. *Environment and Planning, 43*, 1438-1454.

Drimble. (2018). *Buurt Lombok-Oost (Utrecht)*. Retrieved from Drimble: https://drimble.nl/buurten/3440121/lombok-oost.html

Drimble. (2018). *Buurt Lombok-West (Utrecht)*. Retrieved from Drimble: https://drimble.nl/buurten/3440123/lombok-west.html

D'Sylva, A., & Beagan, B. (2011). 'Food is culture, but it's also power': the role of food in ethnic and gender identity construction among Goan Canadian women. *Journal of Gender Studies, 20*(3), 279-289. doi:https://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2011.593326

DUIC. (2017, 03 25). Wat betekent veryupping voor oude Utrechtse wijken? *DUIC*. Retrieved from https://www.duic.nl/algemeen/veryupping-utrechtse-oude-buurt/

DUIC. (2019, April 21). *Plannen voor aantrekkelijke Kanaalstraat verder uitgewerkt*. Retrieved from DUIC.

DUIC. (2020, July 17). *Gemeente Utrecht: 'Leefbaarheid Lombok-Oost toegenomen, maar wordt nog niet zo ervaren'*. Retrieved from DUIC: https://www.duic.nl/algemeen/gemeente-utrecht-leefbaarheid-lombok-oost-toegenomen-maar-wordt-nog-niet-zo-ervaren/

EMN Netherlands. (2019). *Migration and Asylum in the Netherlands Annual Report 2019.* The Hague: European Migration Report The Netherlands.

Ernst, O., & Doucet, B. (2014). A Window on the (Changing) Neighborhood: The Role of the Pubs in the Contested Spaces of Gentrification. *Tijdschrift Voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, 105*(2), 189–205.

Euwals, R., Dagevos, J., Gijsberts, M., & Roodenburg, H. (2007, March). Immigration, Integration and the Labour Market: Turkish Immigrants in Germany and the Netherlands. *Discussion Paper Series*(2677).

Fiore, E., & Plate, L. (2021). Food and White Multiculturalism: Racial Aesthetics of Commercial Gentrification in Amsterdam's Javastraat. *Space and Culture, 24*(3), 392–407. doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/12063312211001290

Frances, R., Coughlan, M., & Cronin, P. (2009, June). Interviewing in qualitative research: the one-to-one interview. *International Journal of Therapy and Rehabilitation, 16*(6), 309-314. doi:DOI: 10.12968/ijtr.2009.16.6.42433

Freeman, L. (2016). Commentary: 21st Century Gentrification. *Cityscape, 18*(3).

Gemeente Utrecht. (n.d.). *Buurten in Cijfers*. Retrieved from Utrecht in Cijfers: https://utrecht.incijfers.nl/dashboard/buurten-in-cijfers/algemeen

Gemeente Utrecht. (n.d.). *Kanaalstraat en Damstraat opnieuw inrichten*. Retrieved from Gemeente Utrecht: https://www.utrecht.nl/wonen-en-leven/verkeer/verkeersprojecten/kanaalstraat-en-damstraat-opnieuw-inrichten/

Gemeente Utrecht. (n.d.). *Verbeteren Kanaalstraat en Damstraat*. Retrieved from Gemeente Utrecht: https://www.utrecht.nl/wonen-en-leven/wijken/wijk-west/wat-gebeurt-er-in-de-wijk/verbeteren-kanaalstraat-en-damstraat/

Gemeente Utrecht. (n.d.). *Wijk West*. Retrieved from Gemeente Utrecht: https://www.utrecht.nl/wonen-en-leven/wijken/wijk-west/

Gemeente Utrecht Wijk-West. (2017, January 31). Verslag thema-avond gentrification Visie Kanaalstraat/Damstraat.

Gerometta, J., Häussermann, H., & Longo, G. (2005, October). Social Innovation and Civil Society in Urban Governance: Strategies for an Inclusive City. *Urban studies, 42*(11), 2007-2021.

Global Platform for the Right to the City. (n.d.). *What is the Right to the City?* Retrieved from Global Platform for the Right to the City: https://www.right2city.org/the-right-to-the-city/

Google. (n.d.). Retrieved from Google Maps: https://www.google.nl/maps

Government of the Netherlands. (n.d.). *Migration policy*. Retrieved from Government of the Netherlands: https://www.government.nl/topics/asylum-policy/migration-policy

Hackworth, J., & Rekers, J. (2005). Ethnic Packaging and Gentrification: The Case of Four Neighborhoods in Toronto. *Urban Affairs Review, 42*(2), 211-236.

Häkli, J., & Kallio, K. (2014). Subject, action and polis: Theorizing political agency. *Progress in Human Geography, 38*(2), 181-200.

Harvey, D. (2007). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism.* Oxford University Press.

Harvey, D. (2008, September/October). The Right to the City. *New Left Review, 53*, 23-40.

Hennink, M., Hutter, I., & Bailey, A. (2020). *Qualitative Research Methods.* SAGE.

Hochstenbach, C., & Musterd, S. (2019, May). The suburbanization, segregation and changing geography of different forms of poverty in Dutch metropolitan regions. *Centre for Urban Studies, Working Paper Series, 37*.

Hubbard, P. (2018). Retail Gentrification. In L. Lees, & M. Phillips, *Handbook of Gentrification Studies* (pp. 294-309). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Huse, T. (2014). *Everyday Life in the Gentrifying City. On Displacement, Ethnic Privileging and the Right to Stay Put.* London: Routledge.

Ioannides, D., Röslmaier, M., & van der Zee, E. (2019). Airbnb as an instigator of 'tourism bubble' expansion in Utrecht's Lombok neighbourhood. *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment, 21*(5), 822-840.

Jewish Historical Museum. (n.d.). *Four hundred years of Dutch Jewry*. Retrieved from Jewish Historical Museum: https://web.archive.org/web/20160220092104/http://www.jhm.nl/culture-and-history/the-netherlands/introduction

King, L. A. (2018). Henri Lefebvre and the Right to the City. In S. Meagher, S. Noll, & Joseph Biehl, *Routledge Handbook of Philosophy of the City* (pp. 76-86).

Kloosterman, R. (2006, January). Mixed Embeddedness as a Conceptual Framework for Exploring Immigrant Entrepreneurship. *Eurex Lecture, 8*.

Kloosterman, R. (2018). Migrant entrepreneurs and Cities: New Opportunities, Newcomers, New Issues. In T. Caponio, P. Scholten, & R. Zapata-Barrero, *The Routledge Handbook of the Governance of Migration and Diversity in Cities* (pp. 63-74). London: Routledge.

Kloosterman, R., Rath, J., & van der Leun, J. (1999, June). Mixed Embeddedness: (In)formal Economic Activities and Immigrant Businesses in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Urban and, 23*(2), 253-267.

Kloosterman, R., Rath, J., & van der Leun, J. (1999, June). Mixed Embeddedness: (In)formal Economic Activities and Immigrant Businesses in the Netherlands. *International Journal of Urban and, 23*(2), 253-267.

Kloosterman, R., Rusinovic, K., & Yeboah, D. (2016). Super-diverse migrants—similar trajectories? Ghanaian entrepreneurship in the Netherlands seen from a Mixed Embeddedness perspective. *Ethnic and Migration Studies, 42*(6), 913-932.

Kloosterman, R., van der Leun, J., & Rath, J. (2010). Mixed embeddedness: (in)formal economic activities and immigrant businesses in the Netherlands. In M. Martiniello, & J. Rath, *Selected studies in international migration and immigrant incorporation* (pp. 315-338).

Kraise, J. (2005). Poland and Polonia: migration, and the re-incorporation of ethnic aesthetic practice in the taste of luxury. In R. Atkinson, & G. Bridge, *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism* (pp. 185-208). London: Routledge.

Lees, L. (2008, November). Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance? *Urban Studies, 45*(12), 2449-2470.

Lees, L., Slater, T., & Wyly, E. (2013). *Gentrification.* New York: Routledge.

Magno, N. (2000). Filipino Food Ways in Japan: A Case of Filipino Migrant Women Married to Japanese Men in Tokyo. *Philippine Sociological Review, 48*, 52-71.

May, J. (1996). Globalization and the Politics of Place: Place and Identity in an Inner London Neighbourhood. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 21*(1), 194-215.

McDuie-Ra, D. (2013, June). Beyond the 'Exclusionary City': North-east Migrants in Neo-liberal Delhi. *Urban Studies, 50*(8), 1625-1640.

Meltzer, R. (2016). Gentrification and Small Business: Threat or Opportunity? *Cityscape, 18*(3), 57-86.

Ministry of Justice and Security. (2018). *Concerning Comprehensive agenda on migration.* Directorate-General for Migration, Migration Policy Department.

Mitchell, D., & Heynen, N. (2009). The geography of survival and the right to the city: Speculations on surveillance, legal innovation, and the criminalization of intervention. *Urban Geography, 30*(6), 611-630.

Miura, R. (2021). Rethinking Gentrification and the Right to the City: The Process and Effect of the Urban Social Movement against Redevelopment in Tokyo. *International Journal of Japanese Sociology, 30*, 64-79.

Murdie, R., & Teixeira, C. (2011, June). The Impact of Gentrification on Ethnic Neighbourhoods in Toronto: A Case Study of Little Portugal. *Urban Studies, 48*(1), 61-83.

Nortier, J. (2008). The Moroccan Community in The Netherlands. In H. N.H., *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* (2nd ed., Vol. 9, pp. 195-203). Boston, MA.: Springer.

Permentier, M., van Ham, M., & Bolt, G. (2008, October 27). Same Neighbourhood … Different Views? A Confrontation of Internal and External Neighbourhood Reputations. *Housing Studies, 23*(6), 833-855. doi:10.1080/02673030802416619

Pols, G. (2019, June 6). *In het Utrechtse Lombok verdwijnen de rafelranden in een zee van Tesla's en yuppenfietsen*. Retrieved from Trouw: https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/in-het-utrechtse-lombok-verdwijnen-de-rafelranden-in-een-zee-van-tesla-s-en-yuppenfietsen~bb8b9f1f/?referrer=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.fr%2F

Purcell, M. (2002). Excavating Lefebvre: The Right to the City and its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant. *GeoJournal, 58*, 99–108.

Ram, M., Jones, T., & Villares-Varela, M. (2017). Migrant entrepreneurship: Reflections on research and practice. *International Small Business Journal, 35*(1), 3–18.

Rath, J., Bodaar, A., Wagemaakers, T., & Wu, P. (2018). Chinatown 2.0: the difficult flowering of an ethnically themed shopping area. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 44*(1), 81-98.

Rigolon, A., & Németh, J. (2019). Toward a socioecological model of gentrification: How people, place, and policy shape neighborhood change. *Journal of Urban Affairs, 41*(7), 887-909. doi:DOI: 10.1080/07352166.2018.1562846

Sahin, M., Nijkamp, P., & Baycan, T. (2006, February). Migrant Entrepreneurship from the Perspective of Cultural Diversity. *research memorandum.*

Sakızlıoğlu , B., & Lees, L. (2019, November 15). Commercial Gentrification, Ethnicity, and Social Mixedness: The Case of Javastraat, Indische Buurt, Amsterdam. *City & Community, 19*, 870-889. doi:https://doi.org/10.1111/cico.12451

Schutjens, V. (2014). Etnisch ondernemerschap: blijf kijken. *Universiteit van Amsterdam*.

Selm, J. v. (2019, May 1). Migration in the Netherlands: Rhetoric and Perceived Reality Challenge Dutch Tolerance. *Migration Policy Institute*. Retrieved from Migration Policy Institute: https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/migration-netherlands-rhetoric-and-perceived-reality-challenge-dutch-tolerance

Smith, N. (2002, December 16). New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy. *Antipode, 34*(3), 427-450.

Snel, E., & Custers, G. (2019, September). 'Segmented assimilation' Meerdere wegen naar economisch succes? *Sociologie, 15*(1), 1-18. doi:DOI: 10.5117/SOC2019.1.001.SNEL

Srinivas, T. (2006). 'As mother made it': the cosmopolitan Indian family, 'authentic' food and the construction of cultural utopia. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family, 32*(2), 191–221.

Stock, M., & Schmiz, A. (2019). Catering authenticities. Ethnic food entrepreneurs as agents in Berlin's gentrification. *City, Culture and Society, 18*.

TDN Emmen. (1989). Oost "Utrecht".

Tsavdaroglou, C., & Kaika, M. (2021, March 29). The refugees' right to the centre of the city: City branding versus city commoning in Athens. *Urban Studies*, 1-18.

Uitermark, J., & Boske, T. (2014, April). Wither the 'Undivided City'? An Assessment of State-Sponsored Gentrification in Amsterdam. *Journal of Economic and Human Geography, 105*(2), 221-230.

UN Migration Agency. (2018). *World Migration Report 2018.* Geneva: International Organization for Migration.

United Nations. (n.d.). *Goal 11*. Retrieved from Department of Economic and Social Affairs: Sustainable Development: https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal11

University College London. (n.d.). *StudiePakket Multicultureel Nederland*. Retrieved from History of immigration in the Netherlands: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/dutchstudies/an/SP_LINKS_UCL_POPUP/SPs_english/multicultureel_gev_ENG/pages/geschiedenis_imm.html

van den Bossche, C. (n.d.). *Inequalities in the Netherlands. Netherlands - Above Average in the EU but there are Worrying Trends.* Women Engage for a Common Future.

van der Berg, M. (2013, March). City Children and Genderfied Neighbourhoods: The New Generation as Urban Regeneration Strategy. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 37*(2), 523–536. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2012.01172.x

van der Graaf, P., & Veldboer, L. (2009, January). The effects of state-led gentrification in the Netherlands. In J. W. Duyvendak, F. Hendriks, & M. van Niekerk, *City in sight: Dutch dealings with urban change.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

van Gent, W., & Musterd, S. (2016, January 6). Class, migrants, and the European city: spatial impacts of structural changes in early twenty-first century Amsterdam. *Journal of Ethnic, 42*(6), 893-912. doi: https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1126092

van Kempen, R., & van Weesep, J. (1994, Month). Gentrification and the Urban Poor: Urban Restructuring and Housing Policy in Utrecht. *Urban Studies, 31*(7), 1043-1056.

van Kempen, R., & van Weesep, J. (2008, March). Segregation, housing and ethnicity in Dutch cities. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, 88*(2), 188 - 195. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9663.1997.tb01597.x

van Weesep, J. (1994). Gentrification as a research frontier. *Progress in Human Geography, 18*(1), 74-83.

Werkgroep Visie Kanaalstraat/Damstraat. (2017). *Buurtvisie Kanaalstraat/Damstraat.*

Williams, T., & Needham, C. (2016, October 16). Transformation of a City: Gentrification's Influence on the Small Business Owners of Harlem, New York. *SAGE Open*.

World Economic Forum. (2017). *Migration and Its Impact on Cities.*

Zukin, S. (2008). Consuming Authenticity. *Cultural Studies, 22*(5), 724-748.

Appendix

Annex 1

Table 8: *Annex 1 – List of interviews*

Pseudo	Date	Location	Subject	Notes
Hasan	13/05/2022	Kanaalstraat 86, 3531 CM Utrecht	Entrepreneur	From Morocco, moved to the Netherlands 5 years ago. Interview conducted in French.
Sanjay	15/05/2022	Kanaalstraat 132, 3531 CP Utrecht	Entrepreneur	Born and raised in the Netherlands. Parents from India.
Kavan	24/05/2022	Kanaalstraat 82, 3531 CL Utrecht	Entrepreneur	From Iran, moved to the Netherlands in 1996.
Jamal	25/05/2022	Kanaalstraat 73, 3531 CB Utrecht	Employee	From Syria, moved to the Netherlands in 2014.
Yasmina	31/05/2022	Jan Pieterszoon Coenstraat 69, 3531 EP Utrecht	Employee	Born and raised in the Netherlands. Parents from Morocco.
Carl	20/06/2022	Kanaalstraat 75, 3531 CB Utrecht	Entrepreneur	Born in Surinam, moved to the Netherlands in 1976.
Gijs	22/06/2022	Malakkastraat 6, 3531 HM Utrecht	Social administrator	Interview with social worker in Lombok

Annex 2

Table 9: *Annex 2 – Interview guide*

Intro	Background:
	• What does the name of the shop/restaurant mean?
	• Where do the products you sell come from?
	• What type of food do you sell?
	• Have you been here for a long time?
	  o Are you from the Netherlands?
	  ▪ Where are you from?
	• What is your opinion of the neighbourhood of Lombok?
	  o What do you think is the identity of Lombok?
	  o Do you think it is an important place for immigrants in Utrecht?
	  o What do you think is the role of food shop/stores in Lombok?

	Opening:
	• How long have you been working here?
	• Are you the owner?
	  o How did you establish this business?
	  o How long have you had this business?

Gentrification	Social Changes:
	• Have you seen changes in the people that live in Lombok?
	  o How do you perceive these changes?
	  o What are the consequences for you?
	  o What do you think is the impact of these changes?
	  o How do you think this affects the neighbourhood? Prices?
	• Have you seen changes in the people that come to this establishment?
	  o How do you perceive these changes?
	  o What are the consequences for you?

	○ What do you think is the impact of these changes? • Are these changes observed by the other shops? ○ Is this something that you talk to with your peers? • What do you think attracts new residents to the neighbourhood? • Do you think Lombok is a safe neighbourhood?
	<u>Displacement:</u> • Are you considering moving elsewhere with your shop in the near future? ○ Why? Why not? • Are you familiar with the concept of Gentrification? • Do you own the building where this establishment is located? • Have you/ Are you experiencing pressures from the owners ? ○ Increase rent?
	<u>Retail Gentrification:</u> • Could you tell me more about how the street used to look like when you opened it and how it changed throughout the years? • Have you noticed new shops established in Lombok recently? ○ Are these shops similar to yours? ○ How do they differ? • Do you think these shops are here for people who have lived in Lombok for a long time, or for the newer residents? ○ How do they impact Lombok's traditional residents? • What is your opinion on these new shops? • What do you think is the role of food (food shops) for migrants in the city of Utrecht?
Right to the city	<u>Individual:</u> • Do you have the feeling you can influence what is happening in Kanaalstraat/Lombok? • Are you aware of the municipality's plan to make Kanaalstraat one way? ○ What is your opinion about this?

	◦ Are you satisfied with it? ◦ How do you think it will affect the shops along Kanaalstraat? • Do you have interactions with the municipality? ◦ How frequent are they? ◦ Would you consider them to be positive or negative? • Are you currently involved in any projects with the municipality, or were you in the past? • Do you have any contact with members of the Gemeente ◦ How did you get to know them? • Do you know what Gemeente Utrecht is currently doing in Lombok? ◦ Do you think it is good or bad? ◦ Do you have concerns about their activities? ◦ What do you think it should do better?
	<u>Collective:</u> • Do you participate in any neighbourhood organizations in Lombok? ◦ Which ones? What is their purpose? ◦ How do you participate? ◦ Are you a member of 'winkeliers vereniging Lombok'?
Mixed embeddedness	<u>Relational:</u> • Do you engage with residents of the neighbourhood? ◦ What are your relations with older members of this neighbourhood? ◦ What are your relations with newer members of this neighbourhood? • How are your interactions with other entrepreneurs in Lombok? • Is your shop important for your community/ migrants in Utrecht?
	<u>Structural:</u> • Did the change in demographics lead you/this establishment to accommodate this change? ◦ How?

	• Have you tried to bring in more different types of customers? (how)
	  o Have you tried to appeal more to the new residents of the neighbourhood?
	  o Is this a common approach?

End	<u>Closing questions:</u>
	• How do you think Lombok will be in the future?
	• What do you think is the future for this establishment?
	  o If negative:
	  ▪ What would you do?
	  ▪ Where would you go?
	  ▪ How would that affect the neighbourhood?

Annex 3

Table 10: *Annex 3 – Coding Tree*

Codes	**Nodes**	**Frequency**
Security	Speeding Cars	5
	Not Safe	7
Individual Political Agency	Gemeente	10
	Solidarity	3
	Other	2
Collective Political Agency	Winkeliers Vereniging Lombok	4
	Other	2
Structural Embeddedness	Social capital	6
Relational Embeddedness	Relations with landlords	2
	Relations with the community	17
	Relations with other businesses	4
	Other	2
Importance of Food for Immigrants		7
Identity of Lombok		10
Social Changes	New housing built	1
	More immigrants	7
	Less immigrants	7
	Other	3

Retail Gentrification	Retail closure	3
	Retail change	3
Displacement	Rising property values	3
	Higher rents	1
	Other	1