

Who are the gentrifiers in new-build gentrification?

A study on the “Kop van Zuid”-developments in Rotterdam, the Netherlands



Master Thesis

**Human Geography and Planning, specialisation: Urban Geography
University of Utrecht, Faculty of Geosciences**

**Linda Anna Maria Elise Bletterman
(UU student number: 3008991)**

Supervisor: Dr. Brian Doucet

Nov 2010

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Picture on the cover page: apartment building on Landtong, ‘Kop van Zuid’

Source: CIE Architects, Photo derived in Oktobre 2010

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Preface

“Gentrification, isn’t that the refurbishing of old property by bohemians and artists in Berlin?”

As I have always been interested in the cultural and creative side of cities as well as in urban development, over the past years I have tried to study these two subjects in relationship to each other. ‘The creative city’, ‘backpackers in Amsterdam’, ‘the literary climate in The Hague’, ‘the Berlin nightlife’... these are just some subjects that have had my full attention, before I discovered gentrification as a research topic.

In contemporary cities around the world and in the places I visited, gentrification is setting the stage. This has confronted me repeatedly and I found the working of gentrification fascinating: pioneers, bohemians and artist who are moving into old and deteriorated parts of inner cities and their surrounding neighborhoods; that are renovating their dwellings and changing the image of neighborhood in a way that it attracts more and more people; displacing the former inhabitants of the neighborhood. Remarkable is that at a certain stage, the increasing popularity of the neighborhood amongst middle- and even upper income class households also causes the ones that first started the process of gentrification (i.e. the pioneers, bohemians) to move.

It seemed however that this image of gentrification has become partly obsolete, in a sense that the more recent ‘types’ of gentrification are including new-build developments, large scale restructuring or regeneration projects and even prestigious flagships and landmarks. First I did not agree in that the meaning of gentrification should be stretched this far. What had happened?

When I started orientating on this subject, I reminded a story that I had read once for one of the courses in the Human Geography Bachelor program. It was the story of “the Blind Men and the Elephant” that Hamnett (1992) used in his paper on gentrification as a metaphor to describe gentrification studies. In a rather different way he tried to show how partial approaches to understanding neighborhood change led to unnecessary debate and a failure to grasp the scope of the problems involved. The thing is that during my master’s thesis I did not wanted to be like these blind men. So I made an attempt to unravel lots of different aspects of gentrification, and in doing so I tried to keep open-minded to the different approaches and meanings that I found.

Hamnett used the story to point at the intellectual battlefield between the cultural and the structural approach, between consumption and production, between the liberals and Marxists. Because several authors and scientists (such as Chriss Hamnett, Sharon Zukin, Loretta Lees) have plead for complementarity, instead of supplementarity, of the demand-side approach (David Ley) and the supply-side approach (Neil Smith), this debate has been brought to an ending. However another debate regarding gentrification has made it to the scientific agenda already, namely: the debate on whether new-build developments can be accounted for as being a new type of gentrification as well, either called ‘new-build’ gentrification or ‘third wave’ gentrification.

This report documents the results of a study that has been carried out as the final part of the Master's degree program in Urban Geography, offered by the Academic School of Human Geography and Planning (Faculty of Geosciences), University of Utrecht.

I would like to thank my supervisor for his expertise and his enthusiasm. I would also like to thank my fellow students, friends and family with whom I have had several discussions regarding my thesis and who sent me back into the library again for a numerous amount of times. And, of course, this research could not have been carried out without the 134 residents of the "Kop van Zuid", who were willing to participate in the survey. I will send the summary of this thesis together with some statistics to the ones who mentioned that they were interested in the results of the data research.

Utrecht, 18-11-2010

Summary

Gentrification as originally coined referred primarily to the renovation and upgrading of old and deteriorated dwellings in the more rundown inner city areas. The gentrifiers in this process were pioneers, bohemians and students who wanted to renovate the relatively cheap and often 'historic' housing, as well as they wanted to express their lifestyles. And in a later stage, also the more 'middle class' childless couples moved into these areas, who enjoyed the culture and aesthetics of the (gentrified) inner city. In this process, the original inhabitants become displaced and the neighborhood becomes a more attractive and popular place to live. The so-called 'first wave' (1960's until 1970's) of gentrification took place in the centers of several large cities in north eastern USA and in Western Europe. During the 'second wave' of gentrification (1980's until 1990's) the neighborhoods that surrounded these city centers transformed into gentrified areas as well; and gentrification became also visible in several smaller regions. All because of the changing demands of the gentrifying group.

However, in a world in which cities increasingly have to compete for residents, investment and visitors, governments are looking out for some new strategies to attract them. The attraction and retention of middle- and upper-income households through the manipulation of the built environment has become an explicit or implicit urban policy aim for local governments. Governments are initiating or stimulating restructuring and new-build development projects, in order to achieve further social and economical urban policy objectives. Several authors and scientists have argued that these new-build developments, restructuring projects and flagship regeneration projects (of for example urban waterfronts, wasteland and Brownfield sites) can be accounted for as the post-1990's new type of gentrification; namely the "third wave". This change in the definition and the meaning of gentrification lies intrinsic to the problem statement of this thesis.

The question rises whether these developments can be accounted for as being gentrification? And do the residents of new-build developments have the same characteristics, motivations and preferences as the gentrifiers? This thesis focuses on these new-build gentrifiers, since they are an important element of new-build gentrification (constituting the demand side). Investigating the social and cultural characteristics of the gentrifiers is crucial for an understanding of the gentrification process (Ley, 1996). Next to that, scant research has been done before on the characteristics, motivations and preferences of these new-build gentrifiers. In order to gain new insights on the topic of the new-build gentrifiers, the "Kop van Zuid"-developments in Rotterdam (the Netherlands) will be used as a case study, since these new-build developments are seen as an example of third wave gentrification. The objective of this thesis is moreover to investigate the characteristics, the motivations (for moving to the "Kop van Zuid") and the housing preferences of the "Kop van Zuid"-residents as the so-called new-build gentrifiers; and to compare them to the existing literature on the more 'traditional' / 'first and second wave' gentrification. These insights may lead to a deeper understanding of the concept of new-build gentrification.

The socio-demographic, socio-economic and housing situation characteristics of the gentrifiers will influence their preferences, as well as their motivations for moving to a gentrifying or gentrified (new-build) area. Therefore these characteristics, motivations and preferences of the "Kop van Zuid"-residents were explored, by using a survey (quantitative research). Characteristics of the new-build gentrifiers investigated were amongst others household composition, level of education and labor participation. Motivations for moving to

the “Kop van Zuid” were for example life-cycle related (such as marriage or the birth of a child), and former dwelling related (such as the absence of a garden, terrace or balcony; or the rather poor reputation of the former neighborhood). The overall housing preferences could be dwelling or neighborhood specific. The survey has been carried out in May 2010 and a total of 214 inhabitants of the “Kop van Zuid”-neighbourhoods *Stadstuinen*, *Landtong* and *Entrepot* were interviewed via a written door-to-door questionnaire.

It resulted from the survey that the residents in the “Kop van Zuid”-sample did have some remarkably (often shared common) characteristics. The participants, who were mainly in between 30 and 50 years old, were relatively higher educated, earning higher wages; and they were having a higher labor participation, than averagely is the case in Rotterdam. Next to that, ‘only’ 30% of the residents of the “Kop van Zuid”-sample mentioned that they were working in the city centre of Rotterdam, whereas it is assumed in existing literature (Ley, 1996; Florida, 2002) that the gentrifiers are working in the Central Business District. What differs as well to most of the theories about the gentrifiers, is that almost half of the “Kop van Zuid”-households that were in the sample, consisted of couples with one or more children. In existing theory, gentrifiers are often described as childless couples. And there’s more, because this household composition differs significantly from that of the city of Rotterdam, having relatively large numbers of single-parent and one-person households. Furthermore, most respondents mentioned the (positive) reputation and the luxury or rich appearance of the neighborhood as being important factors in their choice of moving into the “Kop van Zuid”. In existing theory it is argued that the traditional gentrifiers sought for an affordable place where they could express their lifestyles. Therefore they often moved into deteriorated and rundown neighborhoods. One of the results from the survey was also that safety in a neighborhood was of (high) importance to their ideal location choice of the “Kop van Zuid”-residents. It is often argued in the existing literature, that the traditional gentrifiers are willing to take more risks, such as potential value loss and the presence of crime. At the same time, the “Kop van Zuid”-sample mentioned that they preferred modern elements in the built environment more than historical elements; whereas the ‘traditional gentrifiers’ were often attracted by the historical characteristics of the inner city.

Most researchers and scientists have agreed to the fact that the concept of gentrification has been expanded to include amongst others new-build developments (Davidson and Lees, 2010). However, the findings about the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the “Kop van Zuid”-residents, their motives for moving into these new-build neighborhoods, as well as their overall preferences regarding housing, show that there exists a group of new-build gentrifiers that can be distinguished from the more traditional gentrifiers. On the other hand, there are similarities between the two groups of gentrifiers as well, such as their (relatively high) educational level and income category. It is on the basis of these two characteristics that governments are trying to attract the new-build gentrifiers / middle and higher income households to their cities, by manipulating the built environment.

1.1 Introduction: reasons and motives

‘How, in the large context of changing social geographies, are we to distinguish adequately between the rehabilitation of nineteenth-century housing, the construction of new condominium towers, the opening of festival markets to attract local and not so local tourists, the proliferation of wine bars and boutiques for everything and the construction of modern and postmodern office buildings employing thousands of professionals, all looking for a place to live? ...Gentrification is no longer about a narrow and quixotic oddity in the housing market but has become the leading residential edge of a much larger endeavour: the class remake of the central urban landscape’ (Smith, 1996, p.39).

Gentrification as an upward transformation of the neighborhood (Glass, 1964; Smith, 1979), a class remake of the inner city driven by consumption (Ley, 1980), and being part and parcel of the new urban renaissance (Atkinson, 2004), is a hot topic in research and policy. In the last 40 years, many authors have been conducting research on a variety of ‘case studies’ in which gentrification played a role (such as Murphy, 1980; Smets and Van Weese, 1995; and Davidson and Lees, 2005); or have written about the complexity of the process in general (such as Hamnett, 1991; and Van Weese, 1994). Gentrified areas in the city centre and its surroundings are often marked by, and therefore associated with the rehabilitation, renovation and upgrading of ‘old’ and deteriorated dwellings. It is said that the ‘first wave’ of gentrification took place in the period from the 1960s’ until the 1970s’ and occurred mainly in the city centers of the major cities in north eastern USA and in western Europe. While during the 1980s’ and 1990s’, a ‘second wave’ of gentrification transformed the character of the inner city surrounding neighborhoods, as well of the city centers in several smaller regions (Hackworth and Smith, 2000).

In contemporary cities, gentrification is used by both local and national governments as a policy instrument. It is a common strategy to restructure and rebuild neighborhoods in order to solve neighborhood problems, as well as to create a higher potential in terms of economic value in the area that is being transformed. Gentrification has become a global urban strategy (Smith, 2002), implemented by governments and planners in order to attract the affluent middle and higher income classes, investment and visitors to their cities. Some scientists (like Doucet, Van Kempen and Van Weese, 2009), state that these new-build and state-led neighborhood developments can be seen as being part of the recently emerged ‘third wave’ of gentrification that started after approximately the year 1995. It is argued as well that this ‘new-build gentrification’ can be seen as an expression of the recently more risk taking ‘entrepreneurial state’ (Harvey, 1989). Several authors ask the question whether middle-class recolonization of rural locations and the construction of new-build luxury housing developments in city centres can be seen as forms of gentrification (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010). Critics prefer to call these new-build redevelopments ‘processes of residentialization’ (Lambert and Boddy, 2002).

Fact is that the concept of new-build gentrification has received a lot of attention lately, and research has already been conducted on the meanings, histories and trajectories of new-build gentrification (Davidson and Lees, 2010). However, scant research has been done about whom exactly the ‘new-build’ or ‘third wave’ gentrifiers are, and in what manner they possibly differ from the ‘first and second wave gentrifiers’.

Further on, as investors and governments are easily making investments in the built environment (regarding the supply side of gentrification), the counterpart would be to look at *the potential residents* that are attracted to gentrified or gentrifying neighborhoods (and who constitute the demand side). Because investigating the social and cultural characteristics of the gentrifiers is crucial for an understanding of the gentrification process (Ley, 1996).

The question rises who specifically are the gentrifiers in these new-build developments: who are the people that move into the gentrifying new-build areas? What are their socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics? And why did they move into these new-build neighborhoods and dwellings? What are their overall preferences regarding housing?

1.2 Research questions and the “Kop van Zuid” in Rotterdam, the Netherlands

In this thesis new-build developments are seen as part of the recently emerged ‘third-wave’ of gentrification. The inhabitants of these new-build developments are called the ‘new-build gentrifiers’, since ‘new-build gentrification’ will be used as a synonym for these new-build developments. Several characteristics of these new-build gentrifiers will be examined, in order to make a comparison possible between the gentrifiers in new-build gentrification (the empirical part of this thesis) and the existing theory about the ‘traditional’ first and second wave gentrifiers. The thread that runs through this thesis is to compare the existing theory on the processes of gentrification that are taking place or have been taken place in these more ‘traditional’ first and second wave gentrified areas, with the processes of gentrification in a ‘new-build’ gentrified area; *with the gentrifiers as the central point of view*. As will be explained further on in this section, the empirical research will be carried out on the “Kop van Zuid” new-build developments in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. The purpose of this thesis is moreover to shed further light on the ‘third-wave gentrification phenomenon’, starting with the ‘new-build gentrifiers’.

This thesis is based on the following problem statement:

“To what extent do there exist differences between the characteristics, motivations and preferences of the inhabitants of new-build developments and the existing literature on the ‘traditional’ / first and second wave gentrifiers; and in what way can these differences be related to the expansion of, or the change in the definition of gentrification?”

For conducting a research on who the gentrifiers are, a large scale new-build development project has been selected, namely the “Kop van Zuid” project in Rotterdam. Within the last 20 years, the new-build “Kop van Zuid” has been realised on the former deprived harbour area of Rotterdam, and it is by now, 2010, almost completed. What is interesting about the developments on the “Kop van Zuid” is that they have been controlled by the Rotterdam City Council. So in fact, the government initiated the developments, as is common in ‘top-down’ planning and policy. Therefore this form of state-led new-build gentrification significantly differs from traditional gentrification, which is more ‘bottom-up’ initiated: investments of private initiative and households in their dwellings are causing neighborhood change.

Because investigating the social and cultural characteristics of the gentrifiers is crucial for an understanding of the gentrification process (Ley, 1996), the socio-demographic, socio-economic and housing situation characteristics of the ‘Kop van Zuid’ residents; as well as their motivations for moving into the ‘Kop van Zuid’; and their overall housing preferences; will be explored in this thesis via quantitative research.

This results in the following sub-questions:

- 1 *What are the socio-demographic, socio-economic and housing situation characteristics of the inhabitants of the ‘Kop van Zuid’; and to what extent do they differ from the existing literature on the characteristics of the gentrifiers?*
- 2 *What were the motivations of the ‘Kop van Zuid’-residents for moving into this area and into their current dwellings; and to what extent do these motivations differ from the existing literature on the motivations of the gentrifiers?*
- 3 *What are the housing preferences of the ‘Kop van Zuid’-residents and to what extent do they differ from the existing literature on the housing preferences of the gentrifiers?*

1.3 Social relevance: new-build gentrification as a global urban strategy

Gentrification is a process of urban development that concerns many urban residents. They can be for example the ‘gentrifiers’, the ‘replaced’, or the ‘stayers’, who are involved in the numerous and diverse processes of renovation and investment, but also of displacement, that occur in the historic neighborhoods in and around the contemporary city centers. But the residents can be spectators as well, watching (and experiencing) some previously mediocre neighborhoods slightly changing into thriving areas. Since the urban environment contains physical buildings and streets as well as people and their social processes, networks, interaction etcetera, changes in the built environment may influence the lives of its inhabitants, as well as their perception and that of ordinary visitors on the environment, more than is commonly thought. Both urban developments and urban policy do have an effect on (specific socio-economic groups of) the city’s residents, and therefore it can be said that urban planning is of social importance.

As cities are increasingly products of the post-industrial consumer economy, created through a fundamental shift between production and consumption, ‘it is consumption that is set to shape the future of our cities’ (Jayne, 2006, p.3). Related to this, the role of the government has been extended to that of entrepreneurial investor in former deprived neighborhoods or urban wasteland. The cry for residents, firms and tourists is expressed in the urban landscape by large scale renovations and developments, mega ‘flagship’ regeneration projects and the placing of prestigious landmarks. But is it not that the local government should in the first place provide safe and suitable homes for all of the city’s residents? Critics argue that gentrification could lead to direct or indirect displacement, increasing polarization and the so-called ‘waterbed effects’ of area based policy. The way in which the government acts on these points, is thus quite socially relevant.

The “Kop van Zuid” is one of those mega development projects, financed almost completely by the government of Rotterdam. It is said that in this project ‘everyone benefits’ (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007): the (future) residents who live on the “Kop van Zuid”; the residents who live in the neighborhoods adjacent to the “Kop van Zuid” (amongst others Feyenoord); as well as the economy in Rotterdam because of the incoming ‘creative’ (potential) and ‘wealthy’ (spending) groups, who are increasingly attracted by the aesthetics of the city, such as its postmodern skyline, and the positively changing image of Rotterdam. The question rises whether the “Kop van Zuid” project could serve as an example of decisive entrepreneurialism for other city governments as well? The criticisms on several other new-build development projects is that they were achieved mainly for profit-making, and that there was few reflection on the design of the public space, nor were there any well-considered plans to integrate the new-build developments with the city(centre) as a whole (Doucet, 2010). Intelligible, these issues are very interesting for research and policy.

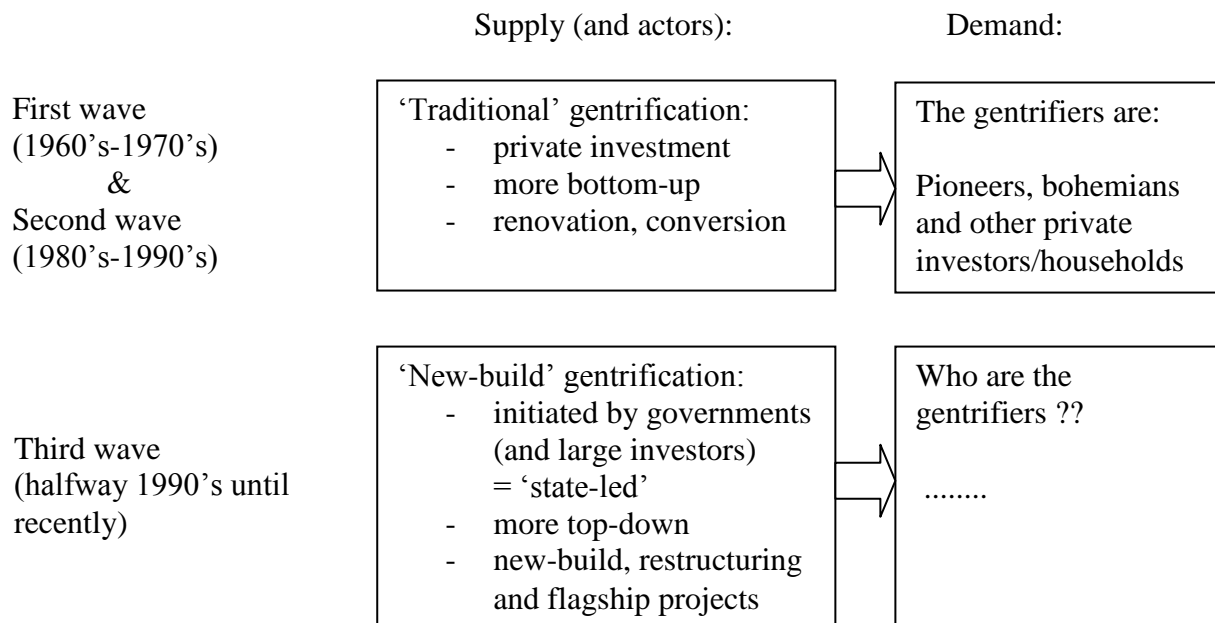
However in order to come even to the slightest explanations and recommendations, first more comprehensive as well as more in-depth information is needed regarding the topic of new-build gentrification. This thesis focuses on one of such essential research fields, namely that of ‘the gentrifiers in new-build gentrification’. By examining who the gentrifiers are that migrated into the “Kop van Zuid” after this area has been redeveloped, insights can be gained in this important aspect of new-build gentrification. In other words: examining the socio-demographic and socio-cultural characteristics of the gentrifiers, as well as their preferences regarding housing and their motives for moving into the “Kop van Zuid”, contributes to a better understanding of the concept of new-build gentrification. Which could, in turn be translated into efficient and innovative policy; since the attraction or retention of middle- and upper-income households through the manipulation of the built environment has become an explicit or implicit urban policy aim for local governments worldwide (Doucet, Van Kempen and Van Weesep, 2009).

1.4 Scientific relevance: new-build gentrification as the new research frontier

In 1991 Chriss Hamnett explained that: ‘gentrification represents one of the key theoretical and ideological battlegrounds in urban geography, and indeed in human geography as a whole, between the liberal humanists who stress the key role of choice, culture, consumption and consumer demand, and the structural Marxists who stress the role of capital, class, production and supply’ (p.174). More recently, it is argued that the different approaches towards gentrification (David Ley versus Neil Smith) should be seen as being complementary to each other (Hamnett, 1991; Lees, 1994). As this debate has been ‘resolved’, another one has made it to the scientific agenda, namely the debate on the concept of new-build gentrification. Because when gentrification is described as an upward neighborhood transformation in which pioneer households and private investors are increasingly investing in their dwellings so that the overall appearance of the neighborhood changes (Glass, 1969; Smith, 1996; Ley, 1996), does it then counts as gentrification as well when public housing is knocked down by the government in order to make way for new-build middle-class homes? There are authors, researchers and scientists who argue that the development of former Brownfield sites or industrial land and even the largest flagship regeneration projects can be accounted for as ‘third wave’ gentrification (Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Doucet, 2010).

Though critics argue that new-build developments should rather be seen as processes of residentialization (Lambert and Boddy, 2002); or even as re-urbanisation (Boddy, 2007). Davidson and Lees (2010) state that until relatively recently, it is generally agreed upon that ‘new-build gentrification is a type of gentrification, although the mechanisms behind new-build gentrification differ to the ones that are behind ‘traditional gentrification’. These mechanisms are presented in figure 1.1 below, and include the difference in promoter, the difference between renovation and new-build and, feasibly, a difference between the gentrifiers as the (potential) inhabitants of both neighborhoods as well. The theoretical goal of this thesis is to find out in what way these new-build gentrifiers differ from the gentrifiers in ‘traditional gentrification’. In the end, this thesis will try to provide, through empirical research, some new insights on ‘who the gentrifiers are’ in the large-scale new-build developments on the ‘Kop van Zuid’, Rotterdam. These insights may lead to a deeper understanding of the concept of new-build gentrification.

Figure 1.1: Who are the gentrifiers in new-build gentrification?



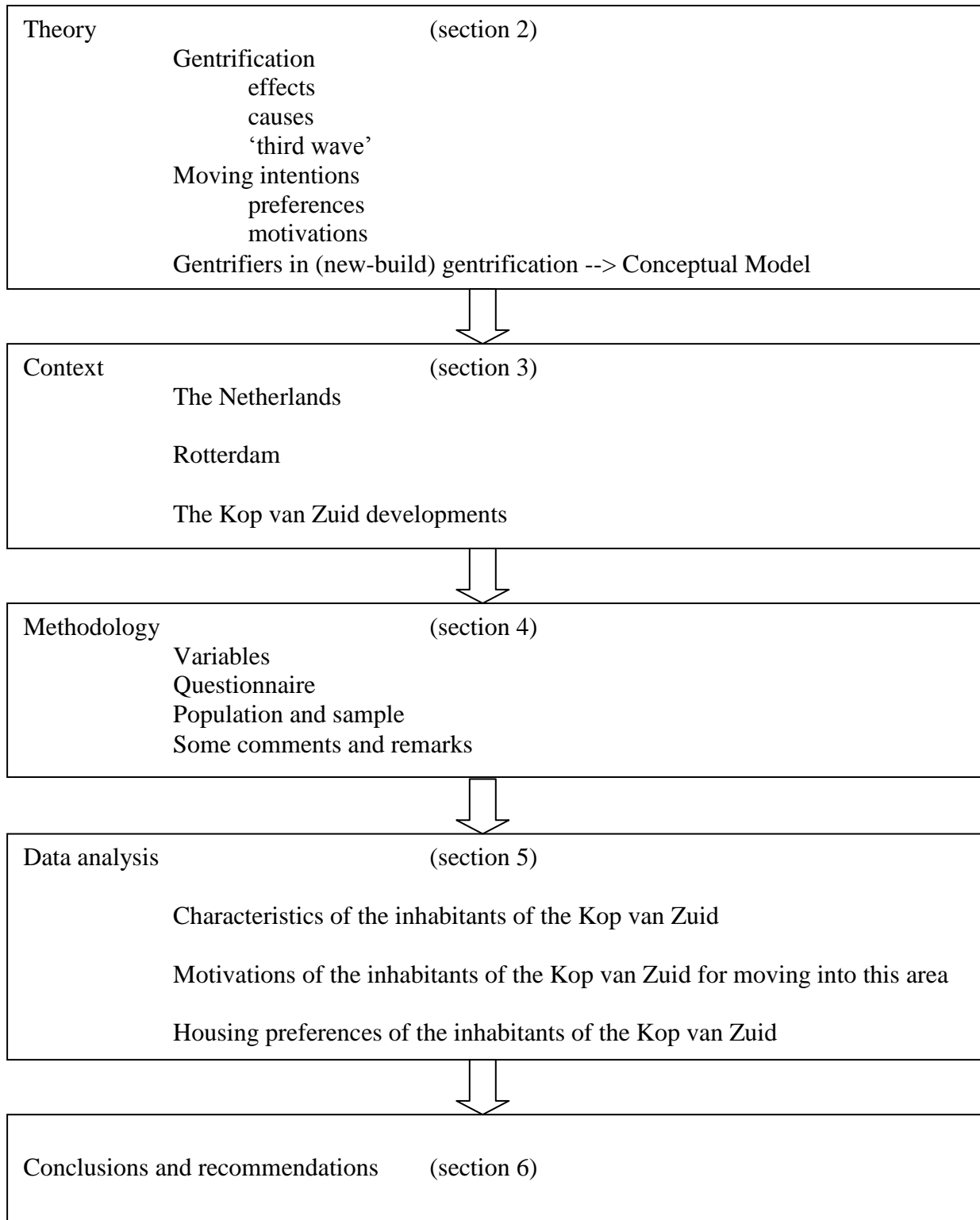
1.5 Structure of the report

In order to come to an answer on the main question of this research, and in order to achieve the main (social and scientific) goals of this thesis, a research plan has been developed, of which the research steps have led to the different sections of this thesis (see figure 1.2 on the next page). As has been explained in the former section, the purpose of this thesis is to compare the characteristics, motivations and preferences of the inhabitants of new-build gentrifiers with the existing theories about the more ‘traditional’ groups of gentrifiers. In order to perform such a comparison, a thorough literature has been done regarding the theory about (new-build) gentrification on the one hand, and the theory about the behavior of households on the housing market on the other hand. This thesis will therefore start by describing the process and concept of gentrification, as well as the structures that lie underneath the process (2.1) and the effects that gentrification can have on the neighborhood and on the regional level (2.2). The recently emerged ‘third wave’ of gentrification (2.3) will be explained in this first part of the theoretical section as well, whereas the second part of it will focus on the moving intentions of individuals and households: their housing preferences in general (2.4.1); and their actual moving behavior on the housing market (2.4.2). Section 2.5 draws the metaphorical bridge between these two subjects, while dealing with the gentrifiers in the (new-build) gentrification process. Last, the conceptual model that is derived from this literature has been included in section 2.6.

Because the context in which gentrification takes place matters to the process, the third section includes an overview of the political and economic climate in the Netherlands and in Rotterdam, as well as some demographic and social trends that occur here. The working of the Dutch housing market (3.1.1) as well as the role of the government in Dutch urban planning are discussed (3.1.2). Next to that a part of the history of the city of Rotterdam is dealt with (3.2.1), before turning to the Rotterdam housing market (3.2.2). In order to come to an understanding of the gentrification process that is happening on the ‘Kop van Zuid’, the new-build developments are briefly sketched and the (policy) goals of the ‘Kop van Zuid’-project are summarized (3.3.1). One of these goals was to attract business, residents and tourists to the city and logically, the literature of section 2.1-2.5 provides the backbone of, as well as the causes for the empirical part of this research. The methodology for the empirical part of this thesis is accounted for in the fourth section of this Research Report. Sequentially this section deals with the operationalization (4.2.1) of the conceptual model into different variables (4.2.2); the questionnaire (4.2.3) that is used for the survey; and the sample (4.2.4) that is drawn out of the ‘Kop van Zuid’-inhabitants as the research population.

As the questionnaire has been carried out in a correct and sufficient manner, the fifth section of this report includes a comprehensive paper on the data analysis. Both the statistics and outcomes of the survey, as well as a comparison with the existing literature on the gentrifiers are presented in three separate sections, namely: a section on the characteristics of the inhabitants of the ‘Kop van Zuid’, compared to the characteristics that were mentioned in the existing literature on the gentrifiers (5.1); a section on the motivations of the inhabitants of the ‘Kop van Zuid’ for moving into this area, compared to the motivations that were mentioned in the existing literature on the gentrifiers (5.2); and a section on the housing preferences of the inhabitants of the ‘Kop van Zuid’, compared to the preferences that were mentioned in the existing literature on the gentrifiers (5.3). In last section the main question will be answered, from which the conclusion will be drawn as well.

Figure 1.2: An overview of the structure of this thesis



2 Gentrification and moving decisions: an overview of the existing literature

Gentrification is basically the upgrading of old property, going hand in hand with a displacement of the existing population and therefore an upward transformation of the character of the neighborhood. Since the first description of the phenomenon by Ruth Glass in 1964, the concept of gentrification has become more broad and dynamic in research. During the last 40 years, several authors and scientists have given their view on gentrification and have written about the complexity of the phenomenon, as well as the occurrence of gentrification, and more recently of new-build gentrification in many cities all over the world. The first section of this theoretical part of the thesis will sum up the different meanings that have been given to the concept of gentrification through time, as it will also shortly explain the effects that gentrification can have on a city or a specific neighborhood. Section 2.2 will provide insights in the ongoing debate that exists around the causes of gentrification. Whereas section 2.3 will deal with the ‘first and second wave’ in the history of gentrification, as well as with the more recently new-build developments which are by some called the ‘third-wave’ of gentrification. Section 2.4 elaborates on people’s preferences regarding their home and neighborhood and their motivations for moving to another place, whereas section 2.5 will conclude with a brief description about the characteristics and the role of the new-build gentrifiers. Finally, the conceptual model on which this research is based, will be presented in section 2.6.

2.1 Towards a definition of gentrification

The original meaning that Ruth Glass (1964, p.xviii) gave to gentrification is as follows: ‘One by one many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle class... have been taken over when their leases expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences... once this process of “gentrification” starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed’. She used this metaphor in her research on the move of middle-class households into working-class neighborhoods in London, to describe the old habit of the ‘landed gentry’ to maintain a house in the city in addition to their country homes. But linking gentrification to neighborhood change as a significant event soon became superseded, as it was put later in the context of economic, demographic and socio-cultural restructuring in society by several scientists (for example Smith, 1979; Rose, 1984; Chaney, 1996). The definition of gentrification was mainly related to class (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010), such as Berg, et al., (2009, in: Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010) argue that: ‘Gentrification, to put it bluntly and simply, involves both the exploitation of the economic value of real estate and the treatment of local residents as objects rather than the subjects of upgrading. Even though population movement is a common feature of cities, gentrification is specifically the replacement of a less affluent group by a wealthier social group’ (p.xv).

Ever since the introduction of the concept of gentrification in 1964, the term has been mentioned numerous times in temporary urban planning and research. As Rowland Atkinson (2003) explains in his introduction to the gentrification debate: ‘Conspicuous changes in central-city neighborhoods have provided a sparring-ground for academics, policy-makers, practitioners and, not least, community activists. These groups have variously cast the ‘upward’ neighborhood changes associated with gentrification as both saviour and destroyer

of central city vitality' (p.2343). Through time, a large group of scientists is arguing that gentrification can be understood in a more expansive way. The extent and meaning of gentrification changed remarkably (Davidson; Lees; Slater; Smith; Wyly).

As gentrification is seen as the transformation of a working-class or vacant area of the central city into an area for middle-class housing or commercial purposes (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010), the definition has been extended with the development of vacant area in the inner city as well. Smith and Williams (1986) mention in addition the redevelopment of urban waterfronts for recreational and other functions, the decline of remaining inner-city manufacturing facilities, the rise of hotel and convention complexes and central-city office developments, as well as the emergence of modern "trendy" retail and restaurant districts as being integrally linked to 'residential gentrification' (p.3). Through time, the government has been assigned a larger role in the gentrification process, starting with the renewal projects. The so-called 'entrepreneurial state' (Harvey, 1989) initialises large scale (new-build) urban regeneration, to get the same upward transformation effects that gentrification is known for. Section 2.3 will deal with this subject - point is that the definition of gentrification has been extended (Doucet, Van Kempen and Van Weesep, 2009) to include new-build developments.

'Whether a result of city council policies or real estate pressures, gentrification stands in contrast to earlier attempts to improve deprived neighborhoods by addressing the built environment, the central objective of urban renewal up until the 1970s' (Berg, Kaminer, Schoonderbeek & Zonneveld, 2009, in: Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010, p.xv). In current gentrification, the higher and middle class residents are directing the process. Thus the improvement of living conditions can be seen as a side effect of the development and emancipation of this group of residents. Whether gentrification has an overall positive effect on the city, is questionable. Critics argue that: 'gentrification has become a means of solving social malaise, not by providing solutions to unemployment, poverty, or broken homes, but by transferring the problem elsewhere, out of sight, and consequently also geographically marginalising the urban poor and ensuring their economic location and political irrelevance' (Berg, Kaminer, Schoonderbeek & Zonneveld, 2009, in: Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010, p.xv). This is why a lot of scientists assign negative effects to the definition of gentrification, such as displacement, community conflict, loss of affordable housing and even homelessness (among others Atkinson, 2000).

In this thesis the change in the definition of gentrification through time lies inherent to the main question whether new-build developments can be seen as a new form of gentrification; or even as a 'third wave' of gentrification which has different characteristics in comparison with the first and second wave of gentrification. The question rises whether it is legitimate to expand the meaning and definition of gentrification with for example the new-build developments as a form of third wave gentrification?

The definition of Davidson and Lees (2005) on gentrification is selected to make a comparison between the recently emerged new-build gentrification, and the existing literature on 'traditional' gentrification, because these scientists have focused on the four core elements of the process. Namely: the reinvestment of capital, the social upgrading of locale by incoming higher income groups, landscape change, and a direct or indirect displacement of low income groups. These four core elements of gentrification will be explained further in the next section.

2.1.1 Effects of gentrification on the neighborhood- and city-level

In order to find out what the effects of gentrification on the neighborhood level could be, it is insightful to provide a framework including generalisations about the gentrification process. Clay (1979) suggested that gentrification could be understood in terms of four distinct categories: In the first stage of gentrification, a small group of risk-oblivious people move into the neighborhood, investing in and renovating the dwellings for their own use. The term 'risk-oblivious' has actually been used by sociologists to characterise groups who demonstrate that old lofts are habitable, indeed charming, by using their creativity. These groups often choose vacant housing or housing that is part of the normal market turnover in what is often an extremely soft market. Therefore there is little displacement in this first stage of gentrification. At the same time, these renovations are given little public attention as well. The pioneer group accepts the risks of such a move (for example value loss of property; relatively more crime and 'hassle').

In the second stage, a few more of the same type of people moves in while again fixing up the properties for their own use. The neighborhood is attracting small-scale speculators as well, who want to renovate a few houses in visible locations for resale or rental. At the same time, subtle promotional activities begin and the neighborhood is seen by some as 'upcoming'. The third stage is crucial because it is at this stage that major media or official interest is directed to the neighborhood. Next to individual investors who restore or renovate their own homes, the developers are coming as well, to start small-scale urban renewal processes. This forms the start of the kind of rehabilitation activity that will dominate the neighborhood in the following years. In the fourth stage, a larger number of properties are gentrified, and the middle-class continues to come. Remarkably is that as the gentrification process goes further, the new residents are more often from the business and managerial middle class than from the professional middle class.

Stage models, like this one of Clay (1979) have been criticized and revised many times, because of the trend to emphasise the unique circumstances and context of a gentrified area. Next to that, Kernstein (1990) argues that the models provide a helpful framework, but gentrification is a more chaotic concept than the models do acknowledge. Another interesting view comes from Lees, Slater and Wyly (2010), who state that 'gentrification is a process and not a final state. It is always incomplete, never finished' (p.36).

Though there is no such thing as an end result of the gentrification process, a few changes can be noticed often in gentrified or in gentrifying neighborhoods. Clark (2005, in: Atkinson and Bridge, 2005) mentions two of the biggest characteristics of a gentrifying neighborhood: 'Gentrification is a process involving a change in the population of land-users such that the new users are of a higher socio-economic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through a reinvestment in fixed capital. The greater the difference in socio-economic status, the more noticeable the process, not least because the more powerful the new users are, and the more market will be concomitant change in the built environment. It does not matter where, and it does not matter when. Any process of change fitting this description is, to my understanding, gentrification' (p.257).

So there exists, to start with, the displacement of inhabitants of a gentrifying neighborhood, which has been described by Berry (1985, in: Peterson, 1985, p.81) in this way: 'After rehabilitation was complete, about half of the neighborhood was composed of younger couples and half was of mixed age but significantly younger than the previous residents.

Professional and white-collar employees assumed control of neighborhood politics and pressure groups activities for public improvements'. Several authors (such as Atkinson, 2000) mention the tensions between the old residents who have been living in the neighborhood for years, and the gentry who are moving into the neighborhood, as being a characteristic of gentrification as well. Next to the displacement of inhabitants, physical improvements can be visible in the changing urban landscape of a gentrifying neighborhood. Often gentrification involves the rehabilitation of architecturally attractive but unmaintained buildings (Clay, 1979). The conversion of existing dwellings or the realisation of complete new dwellings after demolishing the old ones can also be seen as a result of gentrification (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010).

Critics argue that because of the popularity of gentrification in research and policy, the negative aspects of gentrification, such as the costs of increased demands for service, infrastructure, and amenities and the impact on the existing public services, are sometimes forgotten. The opportunity costs of investment capital or the problem of speculative increases in blighted property values that might be unsupportable in the long run should be taken into account as well (Berry, 1985, in: Peterson, 1985).

Another remarkably result of gentrification is that the image of a neighborhood often (slowly) changes after the renovation or restructuring, the displacement and the upgrading of property (Levine, 2004). Negative images of the former deteriorated neighborhood can exist in the media, politics and in the minds of the city's residents, such as poor housing and impoverished streets, abandoned properties, relatively high rates of criminality and hassle, concentrations of social and socio-economic problems etc. But as gentrification 'solves' or as the critics say: gentrification 'relocates' (so-called 'waterbed effects') these problems, the image of the neighborhood can become more positive, leading to a situation in which the neighborhood is getting more and more popular to live or to go out in. Next to that, and partly because of this, a gentrifying neighborhood is getting more and more media attention. Sometimes even the name of the neighborhood has been changed and new boundaries are identified (Clay, 1979).

Next to a transformation on the neighborhood level, gentrification could also have effects (benefits) for the city as a whole. A gentrified neighborhood is seen as a popular place to live in, or perhaps to live even nearby. Therefore a gentrified area will attract residents, firms and tourists to the region. Jane Jacobs (1969) already stated that diversity (of externalities) within a region could lead to innovation and thus to economic growth. Landry (2000) even argues that cities should try to attract the 'creative class' in order to gain innovation and economic growth. Richard Florida first wrote about this group of people in his book "The rise of the creative class" (2002), on which will be elaborated further in section 2.5. Ley (1996) mentioned the 'new middle class' as being potential residents that prefer the urban lifestyle. The idea that a city economically benefits the presence of the creative class can be translated into policy: local authorities should use culture and creativity as instruments to compete with other cities for the creative class (Landry, 2000).

The question rises whether it was the lucrative opportunity of investing in formerly deteriorated property, or the preference to live in or near the city centre, that made the pioneers to start the process of gentrification in the first place? The next section is therefore about the causes of gentrification: production-side versus consumption-side explanations.

2.2 Causes of gentrification: production-side v/s consumption-side explanations

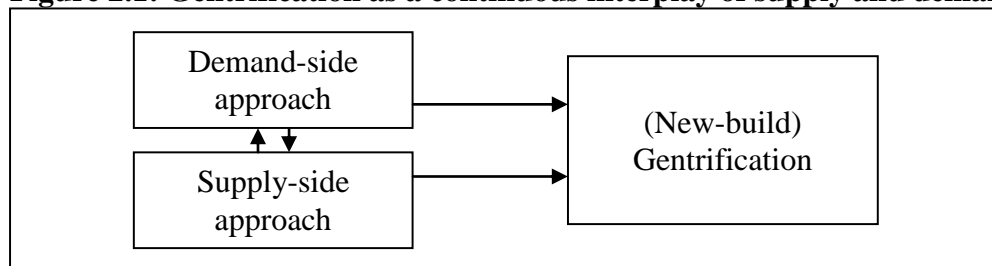
The contemporary 'advanced capitalist societies' have undergone several transformations during the last century: a restructuring of the old industries, a shift to the service-based sector, a transformation of the working class towards a white collar board, a transformation of the class structure in general, and shifts in state intervention and political ideology (privatization, deregulation) (Smith and Williams, 1986, p.3). All of these developments can be held responsible for a major reshaping of city centers and urban areas. While transforming and upgrading whole neighborhoods, gentrification processes occurred, from the fifties on, in cities all over the world (Neil Smith, 2002; Lees, Slater & Wyly, 2010).

In existing literature, different views are given on the causal mechanisms underlying gentrification. Neil Smith (1979) states that behind neighborhood change, there is a combination of economic processes which determine the orientation of neighborhood change. Neighborhoods experiencing gentrification first went through a 'devalorization cycle', in which the house prices kept on decreasing, so that the 'rent-gap' was increasing. The 'rent-gap' theory describes the disparity between the actual price of a plot of land, and the potential ground rent that might be gleaned under a higher and better use (Smith, 1979). When the gap is sufficiently wide, real estate developers, landlords etc. remark the potential profit to be derived from re-investing in inner city properties and redeveloping them from new occupiers. As such, the rent-gap theory explains gentrification as an economic process. Criticisms of Smith's work were rooted in the fact that he stressed the importance of production at the expense of consumption: 'Smith's work prioritizes economic processes over the cultural conditions of their operation' (Bondi, 1991, p.194). Hamnett (1991) adds to this: 'Although the gentrification process does involve capital flows, it also involves people, and this is a lack of Smith's supply side thesis' (p.180).

Another approach comes from David Ley (1996), who was concerned with the embourgeoisement of inner-city and down-town landscapes. His approach is known as the 'demand side approach'. Ley (1996) states that the rise of the new urban middle class has led to an increasing popularity of inner city living and because of that to an increase in the house and ground prices. According to him, it is therefore crucial for an understanding of the gentrification process, to investigate the social and cultural characteristics of the gentrifiers. He refers to 'the new middle class' as the gentrifying group, including higher educated professionals and other groups that can best be described as Florida's (2005) 'creative class'. This new middle class wants to live nearby the Central Business District and/or in a cosmopolitan environment: they enjoy arts and leisure, even as the aesthetics in their cities and neighborhoods. Ley (1980) explains that 'a new ideology of urban development was in the making. Urban strategy seemed to be passing from an emphasis on growth to a concern with the quality of life; the new liberalism was to be recognised less by its production schedules than by its consumption styles' (p.239). So it was said that Ley (1980, 1996) focused on the demand aspects of the gentrification process: 'He noted the role of the real estate industry, but he accorded it a secondary or reinforcing role in the gentrification process' (Hamnett, 1991, p.178). Marxists, as Neil Smith, do not agree with this: 'To explain gentrification according to the gentrifiers' actions alone, while ignoring the role of builders, developers, landlords, mortgage lenders, government agencies, real estate agents and tenants is excessively narrow (Smith, 1979, p.540). Another critic on the demand side approach on gentrification is that it ignores the role of developers and speculators (Hamnett, 1991).

The question rises whether the demand-side approach and the supply-side approach can be seen as ‘two sides of the same coin’, just like Hamnett (1991) argued? They can be heavily interrelated to each other as well, as in a continuous interplay between supply and demand (see figure 2.1 below).

Figure 2.1: Gentrification as a continuous interplay of supply and demand



Several authors (Hamnett, 1991; Lees, 1994; Zukin, 1982) have plead for complementarity of both the supply side approach and the demand side approach, rather than supplementarity, because ‘gentrification is economically and culturally complementary’ (Lees, 1994, p.138). There should be a ‘productive tension’ between economic Marxism and cultural postmodernism, in order to get closer to a fully understanding of the gentrification-phenomenon (Hamnett, 1991). ‘The principle of complementarity attempts to overcome duality. Not by looking for a new universal theory, but by comparing and informing one set of ideas with another’ (Lees, 1994, p.139). The mainstays of the gentrification debate (amongst others Neil Smith, David Ley and Chris Hamnett) agreed that the way forward was to integrate the production and consumption arguments. Further on, the context in which gentrification occurs, matters: ‘it is clear from research, that the relative importance of economic and cultural factors varies in different cities; for example, the rent gap seems to have been much more important in New York than in Canadian cities’ (Knox and Pinch, 2006, p.147).

2.3 ‘Third wave’ gentrification

In contemporary cities, the government is increasingly active in the demolition, restructuring and reconstruction of existing residential areas, as well as in the regeneration of reclaimed Brownfield sites (Hackworth and Smith, 2000; Rérat, Söderström and Piguet, 2009; Davidson and Lees, 2010). It almost looks like the neoliberal state has turned into a consummate agent, rather than a regulator of the market (Neil Smith, 2002). Of course this dominant role of the government in new-build developments has received many criticisms. Some argue that governments are using the popular concept of gentrification, to demolish and rebuild whole areas which were formerly known as being problematic (for example high crime rates; or concentrations of low-incomes households or ethnic minorities). The question rises whether or not the circumstances in cities legitimise using gentrification as ‘global urban strategy’ (Neil Smith, 2002) and whether state-led restructuring projects really solve problems, instead of causing for example ‘waterbed effects’ (i.e. restructuring shifts crime and other social problems to other neighborhood)? Next to that, the popularity of the concept in policy and

research almost makes us forget that gentrification is not only about benefits for the city and its citizens. Critics talk about displacement of the primary inhabitants, segregation and exclusion of particular low-income or ethnic groups, and polarisation between rich and poor people, the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' in cities (Atkinson, 2000; Newman and Wyly, 2006). What is actually more interesting is that restructuring, new-build and flagship developments can be seen as the so-called 'third wave' of gentrification; although not everybody agrees on this matter. Therefore, in this section a brief explanation of the 'first wave' and 'second wave' of gentrification will be given, followed by an explanation of the occurrence of large scale new-build and regeneration developments and the discussion on the relating concept of 'third wave gentrification'.

The so-called 'first wave' of gentrification took place in the period from the 1960s on and occurred mostly in the city centres of major cities. This first wave occurred mainly isolated in small neighborhoods in the north eastern USA and in Western Europe. During mid 1970s, 'in New York and other cities, developers and investors used the down-town in property values to consume large portions of devalorised neighborhoods, thus setting the stage for 1980s gentrification' (Hackworth and Smith, 2000, p.467). During the 1980s, a 'second wave' of gentrification transformed the character of the inner city surrounding neighborhoods, leading to an upgrading of the housing stock and an increase of the ground prices in these areas. In this period, gentrification became also visible in smaller cities. 'The process becomes implanted in hitherto disinvested central city neighborhoods [...] Intense political struggles occur during this period over the displacement of the poorest residents' (Hackworth and Smith, 2000, p.467). Gentrification became integrated into a wider range of economic and cultural processes at the global and national scale.

'Gentrification today is quite different to gentrification in the early 1970s, late 1980s, even the early 1990s' (Lees, 2000, p.16). In several European cities (as well as in other cities all over the world) there exists nowadays a tendency in which public housing is demolished in order to make way for new-build middle-class homes. Governments are letting this happen, or are even stimulating this process, under the guise of 'rehabilitation'. Hackworth and Smith (2000) argue that state intervention has returned in the process of gentrification for three reasons: local governments are stimulating redevelopment and gentrification as ways of generating tax revenue (as a reaction on the continued devolution of the federal states); it is risky for private investors to invest in the more remote areas of the city, but the government can and will take this risk; and because of post-Keynesian governance (Elander and Blanc, 2001) there is less protection of the working class, which can thus easily be replaced. It is said that gentrification has recently been used as a global urban strategy (Neil Smith, 2002). It is in this respect, that R erat, S oderstr om and Piguet (2009) mention the regeneration of 'Brownfield sites' and the demolition and/or reconstruction of existing residential areas as being new high-status developments as an extension of the gentrification phenomenon. Atkinson (2004) explains that: 'the aims of an inclusive renaissance agenda appear to have been discarded in favour of policies which pursue revitalization through gentrification' (p.130). Harvey (1989) speaks of the 'entrepreneurial state': the managerial form of urban government has been transformed in entrepreneurial governance. In line with this concept it has become a trend in urban planning that governments are increasingly realising large scale flagship regeneration projects on for example former wasteland, former industrial land, or besides the cities waterfronts; in order to attract tourism, inward investment and high-income households to the city. These 'flagships' can be seen as manifestations of the entrepreneurial

city (Doucet, 2010). Critics state that these mega projects are more concerned with wealth creation, rather than wealth distribution (Loftman and Nevin, 1995).

Third wave gentrification has thus been described as a new phase of gentrification, which has different characteristics in comparison to the first and second wave of gentrification. Gentrification is in this third wave for example more governmental led; it is even said to be an urban strategy, while the first and second wave of gentrification occurred more 'naturally' and more 'bottom-up' through the behavior of the gentrifiers on the housing market. So when the existence of this third wave of gentrification is recognized, the meaning and definition of gentrification have been expanded (see also section 2.1).

For this thesis, it is of importance to determine in what way this 'new wave' differs from the first and second wave of gentrification. Hackworth and Smith (2000) mention four ways in which third-wave gentrification can be distinguished from the first and second wave of gentrification. First of all 'gentrification is expanding both within the inner-city neighborhoods that it affected during earlier waves, as well as in the more remote neighborhoods beyond the immediate core' (p.468). Next to that, large developers in the real estate industry can make profit out of gentrifying neighborhoods, due to restructuring and globalisation (Logan, 1993, in: Knox ed., 1993, p.33-55). It is also the case that towards third wave gentrification there is less resistance, because the working class mainly has been displaced from the inner city, and the most militant anti-gentrification groups of the 1980s are 'morphing' into housing service providers. And final, in the third wave of gentrification, the state is much more involved in the process than was the case in first and second-wave gentrification. Hackworth (2002) speaks of 'post-recession' gentrification.

Lambert and Boddy (2002) prefer to call the new-build developments 'residentialisation', because the new-build sites often used to be non-residential, before the redevelopments begun. They state that 'there are parallels: new geographies of neighborhood change, new middle class fractions colonizing new areas of central urban space, and attachment to a distinctive lifestyle and urban aesthetic. But 'gentrification', as originally coined, referred primarily to a rather different type of 'new middle class', buying up older, often 'historic' individual housing units and renovating and restoring them for their own use, and in the process driving up property values and driving out former, typically lower income working class residents. Discourses of gentrification and the gentrification literature itself do represent a useful starting point for the analysis of the sort of phenomenon discussed above. We would conclude, however, that to describe these processes as gentrification is stretching the term and what it set out to describe too far' (Lambert and Boddy, 2002, page 20).

Boddy (2007) even prefers to use the class neutral definition of 're-urbanization', to describe new-build developments and the related neighborhood / demographic transition. This term was initially introduced to describe the process of the stabilization of inner-city residential districts by increasing in-migration and decreasing out-migration, driven by the 'second demographic transition'. Boddy (2007) argues as well that the demographic transformations stimulated by city centre new-build developments are relatively innocuous, because they do not cause population displacement and higher rent prices. After Lambert and Boddy (2002) stated that inner-city new-build developments in the British city centres should not be viewed as a form of gentrification, a new debate about the existence of 'third wave' gentrification occurred amongst several authors and scientists.

Several authors and scientists (amongst others Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010) acknowledge the concept of new-build gentrification, including an upward transformation process of an urban environment that differs to the historical inner city and its surroundings (that previously have been gentrified); in which new-build developments are initiated either by the government, or by large investors and developers; and in which the (future) residents that are attracted to these developments can be called the gentrifiers. Davidson and Lees (2005) claim that the recent new-build developments in a range of cities do actually qualify as a form of gentrification because of four reasons, namely: 'new-build gentrification causes displacement, albeit indirect and/or socio-cultural; in-movers are the urbane new middle classes; a gentrified (aesthetic) landscape is produced; and capital is reinvested in disinvested urban areas' (Lees et al., 2008, p140, in: Visser and Kotze, 2008, p.2567).

Some authors (Butler, 2007; Buzar et al., 2007) who vote for the term 're-urbanization' instead of 'new-build gentrification', argue that the new-build developments do not result in displacement, but rather in 'replacement'. According to Davidson and Lees (2010) these authors do 'forget the scale biases in their theses' (p.5). It is indeed not direct, but indirect replacement that takes place in the redevelopment of the Brownfield sites, in the form of 'exclusionary displacement' (Marcuse, 1986, in: Smith and Williams, 1986) or price shadowing: lower income groups would be excluded from the newly gentrified landscapes with their expensive and sometimes luxury apartments. Apart from this, Davidson and Lees (2005) also mention 'socio-cultural displacement', because of the new inhabitants who could take control of existing community apparatus. Another perspective comes from Hamnett (2003), who argues that neighborhood population change in general should be seen as a form of replacement, rather than displacement. He argues about London that this city is 'professionalizing' - not gentrifying - via population replacement: the group of middle-class professionals is getting larger, whereas the size of the working class is declining.

In this thesis, it is assumed that new-build developments are indeed part and parcel of the gentrification process, or are at least related to the phenomenon. This assumption fits the definition that Smith (1986, in: Smith and Williams, 1986) gives on gentrification as being 'a highly dynamic process, which is not amenable to overly restrictive definitions' (p.3). New-build gentrification is a process of urban transformation that significantly contributes to the reconfiguration of the socio-demographic characteristics of the population in cities or neighborhoods. Therefore, it is argued that this form of gentrification is not different from the gentrification processes that were mentioned by Ruth Glass in 1964.

As Smith used to say: 'I make the theoretical distinction between gentrification and redevelopment. Redevelopment involves not rehabilitation of old structures but the construction of new buildings on previously developed land' (1982, p.139). And then later he argued that it was no longer possible to make this distinction, because the nature of gentrification had changed (Smith, 1996, p.39): 'Gentrification is no longer about a narrow and quixotic oddity in the housing market but has become the leading residential edge of a much larger endeavour: the class remake of the central urban landscape' (see also section 1.1). Also Davidson and Lees (2005) acknowledge the stark contrasts between the renovated Victorian and Georgian landscapes and the new-build residential developments with their post-modern architecture; however they argue that: 'despite the different character of new-build developments there are striking parallels between those developments and previous waves of gentrification, such that new-build developments can, and should, be identified as landscapes or as forms of gentrification' (p.1166-1167).

2.4 On preferences, moving intentions and actual moving behavior

People often want to move to a better dwelling or neighborhood. From time to time, they can be unsatisfied with their present housing situation and will have the intention to move – even if it were only for dreaming. Fact is that there exist certain aspirations amongst individuals and households about their future dwelling or neighborhood, which constitute the demand for housing. Both the gentrifiers as described first by Ruth Glass (1964), and the alleged ‘new-build gentrifiers’ in urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989), may have certain ideals or preferences regarding housing, such as a backyard, or a large number of rooms. Though, when it comes to an actual ‘move’, i.e. if there is a certain ‘trigger’ that leads to housing behavior, the choice for a new dwelling or neighborhood can be a very complex process. However, understanding the gentrifiers’ behavior on the housing market provides insights into the process of gentrification. Why would the pioneers in gentrification move to the more rundown areas of the inner city, and why are the gentrifiers in the later stages of the process attracted to the gentrifying neighborhood? Next to that, if there exist any differences between the motivations of the new-build gentrifiers, and the motivations of the more traditional gentrifiers that are described in the existing literature, the motivations could be an important aspect on which new-build gentrification (as part of third wave gentrification) is distinguished from the first and second wave of gentrification. As will be explained in this section, the motivations of both the gentrifiers and the new-build gentrifiers will be influenced by their overall preferences regarding housing. Therefore this section will provide some insights from several existing theories on people’s preferences regarding housing (2.4.1), as well as on their motives for moving to another place (2.4.2).

2.4.1 People’s preferences and neighborhood reputations

Moving behavior exists of a continuous interplay between what people want, also taking into consideration what their possibilities and constraints are (constituting the demand side of the housing market), and the situation on the regional or national housing market (constituting the supply side of the housing market). Preferences of people can be influenced by their socio-demographic, ethnic-cultural and socio-economical characteristics, norms and values, and their lifestyles; whereas the presence of (suitable) dwellings on the housing market can be generated by private initiative, real estate agents, and the government. Next to the functional/physical ‘match’ of a household and a dwelling, in which the number of rooms fits for example the number of household members, households also base their relocation choice on emotional values, such as the neighborhoods’ reputation. There is actually much literature on people’s housing preferences, as this section will only deal with some of it. Consequently, Priemus’ (1969) theory on the ‘ideal and the aspiration image’, the ‘activity approach’ of Hagerstrand (1970), the ‘life cycle approach’ (amongst others Clark and Dieleman, 1996), the ‘career approach’ (amongst others Pickles and Davies, 1991), and the concept of ‘lifestyle’ (amongst others Smid and Priemus, 1994) will be explained; in order to provide a theoretical background on which several expectations (in section 2.6) will be made about the new-build gentrifiers in comparison with the more ‘traditional gentrifiers’ in existing literature. Since emotional aspects (next to physical aspects) of the different neighborhoods can attract as well as push off individuals and households, the concept of ‘neighborhood reputation’ will be dealt with as well in this section.

Theories on moving patterns and housing choices

To start with, Priemus (1969) makes a distinction between the 'ideal image' that a person can have about his or her housing situation; and the 'aspiration image'. The **"ideal image"** is the living situation in which households would find themselves if it was not for financial constraints or limitations in the housing supply. In most cases this ideal image can be compared to an unrealistic dream. The **"aspiration image"** is a more realistic image, which a person is striving for in his life (or in a specific 'phase' in his life): this image can be described as the housing situation which is reasonable, taking into account the persons' possibilities (for example financial) and the situation on the housing market (Clark and Dieleman, 1996). Priemus (1969) explains that the dynamic concept of housing mobility therefore exists of two sides, namely the continuous strive to make the living situation the same as the aspiration image, which is created by the consideration of the available practical possibilities; and the continuous strive to equal the aspiration image with the ideal image, resulting out of the consideration of theoretical possibilities (Musterd, 1989). The theory of Priemus (1969) illustrates the difference between the overall preferences of the gentrifiers, constituting the 'ideal image' as well as the 'aspiration image'; and their motivations for actually moving into a certain dwelling or neighborhood. The moving behavior (and thus the motivations) of the gentrifiers will be determined by the continuous strive to make the living situation the same as the preferred situation. Therefore it is of importance to examine the new-build gentrifiers' preferences as well as their motivations for moving.

Another, more functional perspective gives Hägerstrand (1970): Individuals participate in all kinds of place-based activities, such as work, education or leisure, during the day - and even during the night. This perspective is called the **"activity approach"**. For households, it is important that these places are located nearby; or as Golledge and Stinson (1997) put it: 'a person's residence is a primary node in that individual's action space' (p.278). Though the overall mobility of individuals and households has increased over the last centuries, households will take their 'daily patterns' and their preferred 'action space' into account, when they are looking for a new dwelling. So it can be stated that a person's housing preferences will be influenced by his or her daily activity patterns. The gentrifiers prefer to live somewhere in between their working place and the several cultural amenities (like shopping or cinema) that the city centre has to offer, because they are likely to work in the Central Business District, and they enjoy arts and culture as well as the aesthetics of the (often historic) inner city (Ley, 1996; Florida, 2002). The question rises whether or not the new-build gentrifiers are working in the CBD as well? And is it true that the new-build gentrifiers moved into their current homes because of the presence of a variety of shops and stores nearby as well as cultural services and nightlife?

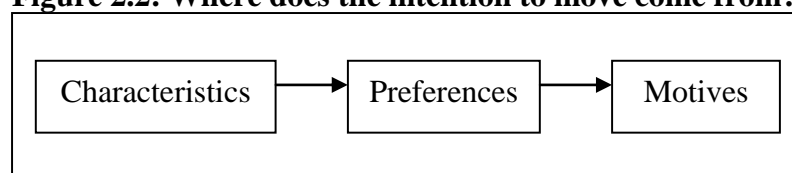
Furthermore, it is argued that through the 'life cycle' or 'life course' (Stapleton, 1989) and through time, daily activity patterns and housing preferences will change, because of the changing 'housing market position' of the household; and because of the changing structure of the supply. According to the **"life cycle approach"** 'migration is a part of the adjustment process in which individuals and families bring their housing consumption into equilibrium with their changing needs' (Clark and Dieleman, 1996, p.53). This means that young children will move as part of the larger household, whereas they would 'move away from home' as they become older. Marriage, the birth of children and widowhood affect the moving behavior as well. Out of the existing literature on the gentrifiers, it can be concluded that they

were mostly couples without children, either ‘urban pioneers’ (such as the cultural creatives moving into the more rundown areas in the inner city); or ‘yuppies’ (who can afford to live in the the more popular living places such as the gentrifying inner-city neighborhoods). Now what about the new-build gentrifiers? In a study of Karsten (2003) it is argued that contemporary gentrifiers could be families as well. However, the presence of children in a household will influence the daily activity patterns of the household, and could thus influence the moving behavior of a household. A couple with children may want to move for example to a larger dwelling in a neighborhood which is quieter and greener. Also Robson and Butler (2001) found that the presence of children (or even the intention of raising children) has an important influence on the nature and stability of middle-class settlements in inner London.

Other authors mention the “**career approach**” as being necessary for explaining the housing conditions, since the housing career of an individual or an household cannot be seen separately from decisions that were taken earlier (Bolt and Van Kempen, 2002). A housing career can be defined as ‘the sequence of dwellings that a household occupies during its history’ (Pickles and Davies, 1991, p.466). The decisions taken on the labor market and the decisions regarding the household itself are of major importance. ‘In market societies – even in a welfare state – anyone’s freedom of choice is largely determined by his or her socio-economic position. This position is mainly derived from a person’s role in the labor market. At this individual level, the link between the labor market and the housing market is forged by income. Consequently, as developments in the labor market affect household incomes the positions in the housing market of the various population categories will be affected’ (Van Kempen and Van Weesep, 1994). Not that this relates strongly to the displacement aspect of gentrification as well, in which the middle and higher income groups are able to displace the lower income groups in certain neighborhoods. Furthermore, the pioneers in the first and second wave of gentrification were usually the more marginal households, including for example artists, bohemians and students. Whereas in the later stages of gentrification (see also Clay, 1979; or section 2.1.1) the gentrifiers were more middle class households. It can be expected that the new-build gentrifier are mostly consisting of middle and higher income class households, because new-build developments and urban regeneration projects are initiated by governments in order to attract these household groups.

So one’s phase in the life cycle as well as one’s housing career can be included in the category ‘characteristics’ of the individual. These characteristics are having a large influence on the housing preferences of an individual or a household. The motivations for moving and the resulting moving behavior are then influenced by the the individual’s or the household’s preferences (see figure 2.2 as well for a schematic overview of these factors).

Figure 2.2: Where does the intention to move come from?



The concept of ‘lifestyle’

Changes in the life cycle or the course of the housing career only explain part of the story of housing preferences. What should be included also, is the influence of individual norms, values and different ‘tastes’ due to different backgrounds and personal differences (such as educational level, ambition, openness), which can and will be expressed thanks to increasing individualization. It is to this respect, that **“lifestyle”** can be used as an overarching concept, explaining the ways in which people spend their time and money (Smid and Priemus, 1994). Several authors (such as Hägerstrand, 1970; Golledge and Stinson, 1997; Hubbard, 2009) state that daily activity patterns and related housing preferences are influenced by the individuals’ lifestyle. In operational terms, where would these individuals (or households) prefer to live, according to their lifestyles? De Jong and Fawcett (1981, in: De Jong and Gardner, 1981, p.13-58) identified a list of potential goals possibly related to residential movement. They are divided into 7 categories, namely: wealth, status, comfort, stimulation, autonomy, affiliation and morality. The category stimulation includes having fun and meeting people, whereas the affiliation-category includes for example ‘living nearby family’. Morality has everything to do with living in a community with a favourable moral climate - such as role models for children. These 7 goals could influence the lifestyle of a person or a household. Therefore they could together influence the moving behavior of the household. At the same time, ‘lifestyle’ has been described as a dynamic but vague concept (Chaney, 1996). Therefore this concept is not operationalized in this thesis into concrete measurable variables; however it is important to mention that different characteristics of the new-build gentrifiers could influence their lifestyles and these lifestyles could in turn influence their decisions on the housing market.

Ley (1980) saw gentrification as a part of wider social changes, such as the shift of the industrial economy towards a service-based economy; the increasing role of technology in society; the growing demand for higher educated workers in the city; the more active role of the government (in for example the allocation of resources) has decreased the power of the housing market; and finally the rise of the individual, who is focused on self-actualisation, status and development, and who enjoys good taste and the aesthetics in society. It is in the line of this story that Ley (1994; 1996) pointed out to the rise of the ‘new middle class’: a group of individuals who have different lifestyles and preferences than members of the former existing classes. And it is because of these different lifestyles and the relating preferences of these individuals, that there has been a change in the demand for houses as well (Ley, 1980; Hamnett, 1991).

Neighborhood reputations

Until now, this section has dealt with theories that focus on the moving behavior of households and gentrifiers, constituting the demand side of the housing market as well as of gentrification. The supply side (see also section 2.2) is equally important in moving behavior. The attractiveness of physical aspects of the housing stock in a city or in a specific neighborhood speaks for themselves: dwellings could differ according to size and level of maintainance; and households could prefer a garden, terrace or balcony. A neighborhood could for example be situated close to the city centre, or actually close to the forest. However the emotional aspects of a neighborhood are of importance as well in the decision of where to move. According to several authors (Wacquant, 1993; Buys and Singelenberg, 1989, in:

Musterd, 1989, p.10-19), people will take “**neighborhoods reputations**” into account, when they are making their choices of where to live, to work or to locate a business. Because, when examining preferences, it turns out that they are partly formed through a person’s earlier experiences, either direct (his or her own experiences) or indirect (for example through his or her parents’ experiences). Through experience, people get to know what they do or do not want. A bad experience with an apartment having thin walls can make a person to prefer a stand alone or a semi-detached house in the future. At the same time, not a lot of people prefer to move to a neighborhood with a negative reputation (based on indirect experiences). Certain characteristics of the living environment could influence the consumer’s choices regarding the housing market. Lee, Oropesa and Kanan (1994) distinguish social, functional and physical characteristics of a neighborhood. Social factors of a neighborhood include socio-cultural and socio-economic position, whereas functional factors address the location and accessibility of a neighborhood, even as facilities as a commercial centre and green spaces. Examples of physical factors are the building density, the infrastructure, the quality of the housing stock and the mix of dwellings in the neighborhood.

Buys and Singelenberg (1989, in: Musterd, 1989, p.12) argue that: ‘In practice it turns out that the housing-images will be examined, not only on grounds of the information that exists about the dwelling, but also on grounds of associations that the respondents have with the accompanying living environment’. However, this perception of a living-image does not always correspond with reality (Van Erkel, 1991). In fact, the emotional opinion about a neighborhood can be stronger than objective information. Studying moving intentions leads indeed to the insight that the neighborhood reputation is of significant importance in moving decisions (Van Ham and Feijten, 2008). Neighborhood reputation can be described as ‘the meaning and esteem that residents and other involved parties attribute to a neighborhood’ (Hortulation, 1995, p.42). Reputation also refers to the relatively stable image a neighborhood has among city residents and to its place in the urban neighborhood hierarchy (Semyonov and Kraus, 1982). Neighborhood reputations are socially constructed images of particular areas, based on, amongst others, (personal) experiences, information from the media and easily observable functional and physical attributes of neighborhoods. Therefore, they do not necessarily have to be ‘true’. Permentier, Van Ham and Bolt (2009) find that neighborhood reputations were assessed more positively when the social composition of the neighborhood matched the residents’ ethnic and socio-economic characteristics. The reputation of the neighborhood is rated higher by the residents of the neighborhood, than by the other city residents (Permentier, Van Ham and Bolt, 2008). Apart from all this, a neighborhood is increasingly functioning as a status symbol. The place where one lives can be seen as a reflection of one’s position in society and one’s preferences (Bourdieu, 1984; Forrest and Kearns, 2001).

In short: preferences are related to moving intentions. But the fact that certain housing or living preferences exist (reflecting a certain demand), and that there exist a certain supply of dwellings in certain neighborhoods, which does - or does not - match these households preferences, does not necessarily imply that there is actually households mobility going on. The next section will deal with the opportunities and constraints that individuals and households can have on the housing market, and the so-called ‘trigger’ that leads to actual movement.

2.4.2 People's motivations, 'triggers' and housing decisions

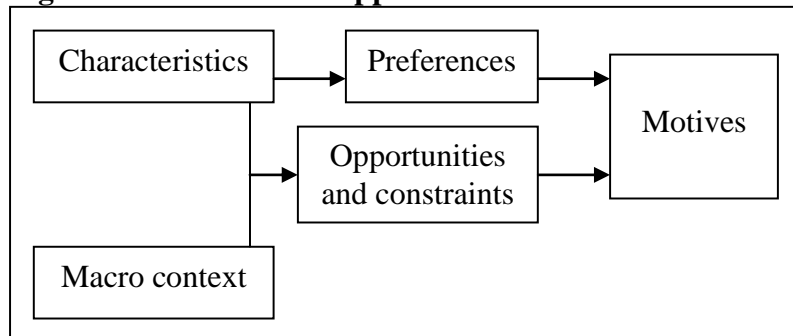
Ask people where and in what type of dwelling they would like to live, and one answer will dominate above all: the one family dwelling with a garden. Why is it then that a large share of the inhabitants in every city is living in all kinds of (small and/or high-rise) apartments? Households do prefer the maximum possible number of rooms, as many facilities around the house as possible, and they want a lively, but quiet neighborhood, close to the city centre and at the same time close to green, and for all this, they want the lowest price possible, of course. But the perfect dwelling that meets all of one's requirements and is still affordable does not exist most of the time. In reality, those in search of housing are accepting compromises (Buys and Singelenberg, 1989, in: Musterd, 1989, p.10). The question that is central to this section is therefore whether (and if so, under what circumstances) moving intentions will lead to actual moving behavior?

It can be stated that household characteristics, such as the age of the 'head of the household' and the household composition, have a strong influence on the propensity to move and on housing preferences (Floor and Van Kempen, 1997). But preferences have diversified within these demographic categories as well, as they have become more and more individualized (Floor and Van Kempen, 1994). As explained in the former section, several characteristics of people could influence their choice for a certain dwelling and a certain neighborhood or location within the city, as well as their personal experiences, taste and lifestyle. It is argued for example that students like to live nearby the city centre, because of its centrality and the numerous facilities (Darren Smith, 2002). Whereas it is often thought that a family with young children prefers the space and green that a suburb has to offer (Wulff and Lobo, 2009). But it is not to say that every student wants to live in the city centre: there can be some great student houses or apartments far from the centre, and it is possible that students even dislike the crowded and commercial city centre. At the same time households with young children can be found living in every city centre. Solving this puzzle, people's choices on the housing market will partly be influenced by individual preferences: When mobility starts with an incentive, the incentive is based on preferences. People want to move to another place or dwelling, because they feel like they can have some more. Even when the movement to a new dwelling is forced (for example because of political reasons), a person or a household has preferences influencing the choice for a new dwelling.

The second part of this puzzle then includes the housing "**opportunities**" and the personal or context-related "**constraints**" (see also figure 2.3 on the next page). Given that 'rich people' prefer to live in a rich and luxurious neighborhood, where would the 'poor people' like to live? Some characteristics of the inhabitants could lead to personal "opportunities and constraints" regarding the housing market, like a larger choice of dwellings because of a higher income; or discrimination because of ethnicity. These opportunities and constraints will influence one's motives for moving or one's choice for a specific dwelling and location/neighborhood. 'Actual moving behavior only occurs when there are no restrictions or constraints preventing an intention from being realised' (Permentier, Van Ham and Bolt, 2009, p.2163). The opportunities and constraints that are influencing the housing behavior of individuals and households can be related to financial capital, social capital and human capital (Forrest and Kearns, 2001), which are characteristics of these individual residents and households. Structures on the regional or national level, such as the economic and political climate, will determine the macro context in which individual opportunities and constraints

are embedded (Davidson, 2007); so they will influence one's opportunities and constraints on the housing market as well. These structures are included in figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3: What about opportunities and constraints?



For example, the characteristics of the gentrifiers that were mentioned in the former section were (amongst others) their childless household composition; the fact that they are working in the city centre; and their interest in culture and consumption. These three factors will not only determine the lifestyles of these gentrifiers, as they will also influence the gentrifiers' housing preferences. At the same time the fact that these gentrifiers are childless couples or one person households indicates that they do not have to take account of a childfriendly and quiet home that is just large enough to raise children in. The fact that they are working in the city centre could be a constraint in their decision of where to move, because they cannot move too far away from their job. In the macro context there are several factors which influence a households (opportunities and) constraints on the housing market as well, such as for example high (rent) prices of property in and nearby the city center. In this case, the higher income households will have more opportunities to actually move to the place that they prefer to live in. Furthermore, it is possible that the gentrifiers chose to live nearby the city centre because of their work and because of the high availability of culture and consumption in the inner city. These two motives or motivations for moving to a particular area are interesting for gentrification- and other kinds of urban research, because the increase in popularity of 'urban living' has caused an upward transformation of inner city neighborhoods.

While having sketched the general situation in which housing behavior takes place, it looks like it is missing an important element, namely the timing of the actual movement. In this respect, more and more attention has been drawn to the “**trigger**” that leads to moving. Mulder and Hooimeijer (1999, in: Wissen and Dykstra, 1999, p.159-186) associate the 'trigger' with a preference for a certain new location or type of dwelling: 'such a preference might be anything from very precise (to live in a specific neighborhood, in a specific type of dwelling) or rather vague (to live within commuting distance from a certain place of work)' (p.164). Smid and Priemus (1994) explain that one of the results of their research was that there were households that said they wanted to move as soon as possible (urgent to move), but two years later it turned out that they were still living at the same place. On the other hand, there were households that said to have no plans to move at all, but instead they did move within two years. The propensity to move can be influenced by the supply of housing alternatives: it is possible that a household which does not want to move in the first place,

will actually move when an attractive dwelling or location is offered (Floor and Van Kempen, 1997). ‘So the ‘trigger’ is of substantial importance for the manner in which the preferences are formulated, and for in what way they are used in search for a new dwelling’ (p.5). The ‘trigger’ can result out of the situation of the dwelling or location (such as rising rents or a change in the neighborhood’s population composition); or out of the situation of the individual household (events in the life course, like the birth of a child, a change in job, or a marriage/divorce) (Mulder, 1996). A certain amount of stress between situation and aspiration (Brown and More, 1970), or a certain level of dissatisfaction (Speare, 1974) can - but does not always have to be - lead to a decision to move. Therefore it is interesting to look at the former dwellings and neighborhoods of the (new-build) gentrifiers as well. Did their reasons for moving to the new-build developments had for example something to do with the size of the former dwelling; or with the fact that it was too far from the city center? The next section is about the new-build gentrifiers and their motivations for moving into a new-build gentrified area, as well as their overall preferences regarding housing.

2.5 Who are the gentrifiers in (new-build) gentrification?

During the first and second wave of gentrification, the first group of gentrifiers was mainly looking for a place to live and to express their life-style. They were pioneers, cultural creatives and bohemians, often seen as being open-minded towards others, and living a cosmopolitan lifestyle (Clay, 1979). However, in new-build ‘third wave’ gentrification the reasons for moving into a gentrifying neighborhood seem to have changed, as has the profile of the gentrifier. Contemporary gentrification therefore requires an understanding of new household forms and their migration behavior (Wulff and Lobo, 2009). As gentrification has been described in sections 2.1-2.3, and moving decisions in section 2.4, this section will link these two subjects by looking at the characteristics and the motives of the gentrifiers. First there will be elaborated on what it was that ‘created’ the gentrifier; because the gentrifiers have been called ‘the new middle class’ (by amongst others Ley, 1996) and ‘the creative class’ (by amongst others Florida, 2002) as well. Second, a sketch is made of who exactly the gentrifiers are. And third, some nuances in the concept of the ‘traditional’ gentrifier are given, because there does not exist such thing as one uniform type of ‘traditional’ gentrifier. Last, the concept of the recently emerged ‘new-build gentrifier’ will be introduced and explained.

There are, to start with, some ‘classical theories’ about who the (first and second wave) gentrifiers are. These gentrifiers were first described as the middle classes who were rapidly displacing the working classes in some neighborhoods in the city centre (Glass, 1964). The concept of “**the new middle class**” has been described and explained in the work of David Ley (1996) as well: the concept of the new middle class dates back to the switch from manufacturing industry to service-based industries which were dominated by white-collar professionals, managers and technical workers in the financial, cultural and service industries which are concentrated in major cities (Hamnett, 2003). Because of their higher budgets (incomes) and the associated greater power, the middle class groups were able to slowly displace the working class from the inner city neighborhoods. Hackworth (2002) explains that: ‘gentrification is the production of space for progressively more affluent users’ (p.815).

Another approach comes from Richard Florida, who saw “**the creative class**” as the drivers of innovation and economic prosperity in a city. According to Florida (2002), the creative class exists of people who use their creativity and innovative ideas in their profession, no matter in what employment sector they are working. A higher education is not essential to the creative class, though the larger part of the group has had a higher education. They can be scientists, engineers, artists, cultural creatives, managers, professionals, and technicians (Florida, 2005, p.272). For cities, Florida (2005) states, it is a matter of attracting the creative class with its Calvinistic work ethic (‘working hard’) and its hedonistic lifestyle (lots of spending on culture, arts and nightlife). He explains that new firms will establish near the living places of the creative class and existing firms will (re)locate to these ‘new urban consumption places’. These firms will bring more employment to the region, leading to a circle of upward growth. Van Aalst, Atzema, Boschma & Van Oort (2006, in: Hofstede and Reas, 2006, p.123-154) acknowledge the presence of the creative class in a region as being an important driver of economic growth in that region as well. In this respect, the gentrifying group has been related to consumption.

David Ley, who assigned consumption a large role in the gentrification process as well, wanted to find out in his research (1986) what the reasons were for the growing demand for inner-city housing. He mentions different reasons for this trend, such as the impact of more expensive commuting (because of the 1973 oil shock), the tumbling birth-rate, and the emancipated woman who wanted to start careers in the city. He questions also if the single family homes in the suburbs still matched the recent trends. But then finally, he comes up with the statement that it could be ‘the more cosmopolitan and permissive opportunities of the central city’, that attracted youngsters (p.9). Ley (1996) actually relates these new values and aspirations (partly) to the cultural rebellion inspired by hippies in the 1960s (Knox and Pinch, 2006, p. 146). The main concept here is that of lifestyle (see also section 2.4).

Characteristics of the gentrifiers, according to the existing literature

Next to these classical theories and trends, Ley (1996) argues that it is important to know exactly **who the gentrifiers are**, in order to come to an understanding of first and second wave gentrification and the recently emerged third wave new-build gentrification. There are several authors and scientists who wrote something about the characteristics of the gentrifiers, as for example Berry (1985, in: Peterson, 1985). He argues that the gentrifiers, who moved in, predominantly did not have any children. The gentrifying group consisted of white adult households, many of them single parents in their late twenties or early thirties. These professionals or managers were well educated (up to 80 percent with college degrees), and therefore affluent enough to handle self-financing. They were called yuppies, ‘young urban / upwardly mobile professionals’ and they were highly politically and socially motivated as well. Smith (1979) agreed with the fact that there was a trend amongst the gentrifiers toward fewer children, postponed marriage, and fast rising divorce rate. And he added to this that the gentrifiers were often younger homebuyers and renters who were dreaming of urban living rather than suburban. Gentrification is linked to gender and sexuality by Rose (1984), who mentioned the increasing participation of women in the job market as a driver of gentrification; and Markusen (1981), who stated that ‘gentrification is in large part a result of the breakdown of the patriarchal household. Households of gay people, singles and professional couples with central business district jobs increasingly find central locations attractive’ (p.32).

Beauregard (1986, in: Smith and Williams, 1986, p.36) explains that the gentrifiers in general 'are willing to take on the risk of investing in an initially deteriorated neighborhood and the task of infusing a building with their sweat equity. Presumably, they desire to live in the city close to their jobs, where they can establish an urbane life-style and capture a financially secure position in the housing market. Their lack of demand for schools, commitment to preserving their neighborhoods, support of local retail outlets and services and contribution to the tax base are all viewed as beneficial for the city'.

Ley (1986) mentioned that the emphasis of the gentrifiers was more on consumption and amenity, than on work. Ley (1996) stated as well that the gentrifiers preferred to live in, or nearby the Central Business District of an urban area and/or in a cosmopolitan environment, because they enjoy arts and leisure, and the aesthetics in their cities and neighborhoods. Butler (1997) argues that there have been changes in cultural orientation, preferences and working patterns of a part of the new middle class that have stimulated this group of people to live in or nearby the city centre. Gentrified areas are indeed well-known for their cultural and catering industry facilities, such as bars, restaurants, galleries, cinemas, clothing boutiques and bookstores.

Apart from the motives of the gentrifiers, there is the question of where they came from; where did they live before they decided to move to the gentrifying neighborhood? Early reporting by national and regional media developed the idea that inner-city revitalization was caused by a back-to-the-city movement from families who were returning from the suburbs. However, when this hypothesis was tested, it appeared that the gentrifiers mostly came from other parts of the central city, so there was in fact a stay-in-the-city rather than a back-to-the-city movement (Berry, 1985, in: Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010, p.43).

While having reflected upon some theories on gentrifiers, the question rises whether there 'exists' only **one uniform type of 'traditional' gentrifier**? As the gentrification process itself, the characteristics, preferences and motives of the gentrifiers might differ according to time and context. To start with, there are differences between the gentrifiers of the first, the second, and the more recently emerged third wave of gentrification. As already described in section 2.3, the first wave of gentrification occurred mainly in the city centers of major cities, whereas in the second wave neighborhoods adjacent to the city centre and city centers of smaller cities started to gentrify as well. In the so-called third wave of gentrification, the upward transformation of a neighborhood happens as well on the former Brownfield sites situated on the edge of town and along the city's waterfronts. Therefore it can be argued that the gentrifiers in the first, second and third wave of gentrification could have slightly different reasons for moving into the gentrifying neighborhoods.

Next to that, different stages in the gentrification process can be distinguished, in particular during the first and second wave of gentrification (see section 2.1.1 as well). The first group of gentry (first stage) included for example artists, students, and homosexuals as well, who were mainly looking for a place to live and express their life-style (Karsten, 2003). These urban pioneers were 'risking themselves and their savings to turn a deteriorated and undesirable neighborhood into a place for good living' (Beauregard, 1986, in: Smith and Williams, 1986, p.35). The gentrifiers who arrive later (third stage), include increasing numbers of people who see the housing as an investment in addition to being a place to live. These newer middle-class residents begin to organize their own groups or change the character of the pioneers' organization (Clay, 1979). In the third wave of gentrification it seems like there is no such strong division between the ones who moved into the new-build area at first and the ones who joined them later on.

The characteristics of the gentrifiers and their housing motivations could be different regarding the context as well. Van Weesep (1994) explains that local circumstances, such as population and labor market structure, housing stock characteristics and housing market controls, do influence the character of gentrification: 'In the Netherlands, for instance, a preference for living in inner-city locations has become evident, even among mature, affluent households. But in each Dutch city, the demand is structured differently' (p.77). It is argued by Beauregard (1990), that gentrification processes in different neighborhoods within the same city, could proceed very differently as well, due to the characteristics of the neighborhoods and the residents that are involved in the process.

Through time, new insights on gentrification made it to the debate. In some cases, scientists speak of 'studentification' (Hubbard, 2009; Darren Smith, 2002) as well; processes of neighborhood change in which students are taking over the neighborhood. Another term that is previously heard several times is 'yuppification' (Criekingen and Decroly, 2003). It describes the process in which lots of yuppies are moving into a particular area. Karsten (2003) found that families could be gentrifiers as well, the so-called yupps: 'young urban professional parents' (p.2573).

Who are the gentrifiers in new-build gentrification?

In the recently emerged 'third wave of gentrification', the government and large investors are initiating the process of gentrification by restructuring a neighborhood, or by leading and controlling certain new-build developments, such as flagship regeneration projects and the conversion of former industrial buildings into housing or commercial activities. The new residents that move into these gentrifying or gentrified neighborhoods can be called 'gentrifiers' as well, although the new-build gentrification process differs significantly from traditional gentrification (see also section 2.3). In order to maintain this distinction, these groups of new residents are called the 'new-build gentrifiers'. What is known already about these 'new-build gentrifiers', is that they are part of the new middle class, consisting of middle- and upper-income households, that local governments are trying to attract to and retain within their cities. Therefore it is expected that they are having several middle-class characteristics, such as a higher educational level and a higher income. What is however still a mystery, is what reasons these new-build gentrifiers had to move into the new-build neighborhoods, and what overall preferences they are having regarding housing. Therefore in the next section several expectations about the new-build gentrifiers will be drawn out of the literature that has been dealt with in the theoretical part of the thesis (sections 2.1-2.5).

2.6 Conceptual model and expectations about the new-build gentrifiers

In the last 10-20 years, governments are increasingly stimulating gentrification in order to attract residents, investment and visitors to their cities. More recently, they are using new-build gentrification in their strategies as well. As is suggested in sections 2.1- 2.5, there exist differences between the ‘traditional’ gentrifier and the ‘new-build’ gentrifier, regarding their characteristics, housing preferences and their motivations to move to a gentrified or gentrifying (new-build) neighborhood. And in order to come to a better understanding of new-build gentrification, it is essential to look at these differences. Therefore, in this section a conceptual model on (new-build) gentrification is presented (figure 2.4 on the next page), that forms the backbone of this thesis, as gentrification is embedded in a complex web of wider social, economic and political structures. Out of the traditional theories and the more recent insights on the gentrifiers (section 2.5), expectations are drawn about the new-build gentrifiers, forming the input for the data research. These expectations are presented in table 2.1 later on in this section.

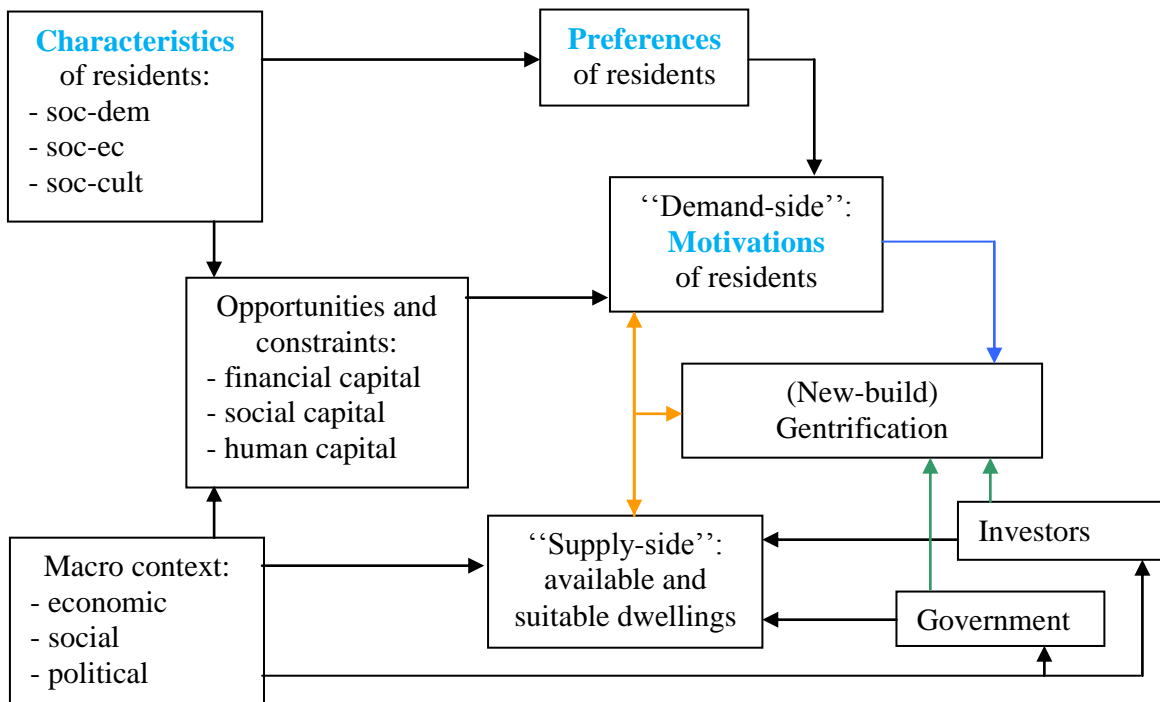
Gentrification: supply and demand

According to the theory (section 2.2), gentrification is caused by a continuous interplay between supply and demand. This interplay has been highlighted in the conceptual model (on the next page) in orange. The gentrifiers in traditional gentrification that are investing in their dwellings, because they want to live for example in or nearby the city centre, or they want to express their lifestyles; are as important as the available housing stock in certain neighborhoods, which could be upgraded, renovated or restructured. Therefore in the conceptual model, they are presented as having strong causal relationships to ‘traditional’ gentrification (blue arrows). At the same time, little influence is assigned to the local or national government as well as some investors / business, because they are creating the setting and are part of the (macro) context in which gentrification occurs. What is interesting is that in new-build gentrification the government and large investors are playing a significant larger role in the gentrification process; this is presented in the conceptual model by the green arrows. Of course the demand and supply side are important as well in new-build gentrification, because there should be residents that want to live in the new-build areas; and there is the supply of housing or former industrial buildings or wasteland, that is restructured, newly build, or converted into housing or commercial activities.

Characteristics, preferences and motivations of (new-build) gentrifiers

This thesis focuses on the gentrifiers, as the demand side of gentrification, because for even the slightest understanding of (new-build) gentrification it is essential to know who the gentrifiers are (Ley, 1996). All of these gentrifiers are having (or have previously had) certain motivations for moving into a gentrifying or gentrified neighborhood. As is set out in section 2.4 these motivations are influenced by the activity patterns, phase in life cycle and phase in the housing career of the gentrifiers, in short: the characteristics of the gentrifiers. These characteristics do have an influence on the aspirations and preferences of the gentrifiers, as well as on their opportunities and constraints, of which both can be translated into the gentrifiers motives. Of course these opportunities and constraints are influenced by the macro context as well. The economic and political ‘climate’ and the social context of households, neighborhoods and cities are setting the stage in which the behavior of residents on the housing market takes place.

Figure 2.4: Conceptual model on (new-build) gentrification



The conceptual model as the basis for this thesis

The causal relationships between the characteristics of the gentrifiers, the macro context and the different causes of (new-build) gentrification are presented in the conceptual model on the former page (figure 2.4). Remarkably is that this model contains two different types of gentrification, namely the traditional form and the new-build form of gentrification. They are however included in the same box, in order to make clear that the two are comparable to each other: the same structures are underlying both of them, be it to a different extent. For example, investors and governments may have influenced ‘traditional’/first and second wave gentrification; but they largely initiated the new-build gentrification of the current third wave of gentrification. In this thesis, a distinction is made between these types of gentrification, as well as between the two corresponding types of gentrifiers. This thesis focuses furthermore on the characteristics of the new-build gentrifiers; the relationships between these characteristics and the motivations of the gentrifiers; and the intermediate housing preferences of the new-build gentrifiers.

Expectations

On grounds of the theoretical part of this thesis (section 2.1-2.5), several expectations were drawn about the new-build gentrifiers, and about in what way they could possibly differ from the traditional gentrifiers. To start with, next to couples without children, the new-build gentrifiers could include families with children (according to the theory of Karsten, 2003). It is expected that the new-build gentrifiers do have a higher educational level and that they do have higher incomes than average, because these are the households that governments are trying to attract to their cities, using (new-build) gentrification. It is possible that the household composition as well as the socio-economic characteristics differ between new-build gentrifier households that are living in different neighborhoods. Another expectation is that although there could be differences in household composition as well as in the socio-

economic position of the new-build gentrifiers in different neighborhoods, there are no (risktaking) ‘pioneers’ - such as the cultural creatives, the bohemians and the students, who are often described in the existing literature as being gentrifiers - in new-build gentrification. Instead of that, it is argued that the new-build gentrifiers would prefer safety and convenience (see also section 2.3). It can be expected as well that they prefer to live in a neighborhood or a dwelling which has a more luxury and rich appearance, as well as modern characteristics (instead of historic) since new-build developments as the ones on the ‘Kop van Zuid’ do mostly have a post modern appearance, full of architectural highlights. Last, it is expected that the new-build gentrifiers are employed in the city centre as well; just like the ‘traditional gentrifiers’ (Ley, 1996).

These expectations are summarized in table 2.1 below. Whereas the characteristics in table 2.1 about the traditional gentrifiers are entirely derived from the theory, the described characteristics of the new-build gentrifiers are only based on expectations. Therefore it could be the case that some of these expectations will be met in the end of the research, and some won’t. Next to that, it is also possible that it turns out that there are other differences or similarities between the traditional and new-build gentrifiers, than the ones that are mentioned here.

Table 2.1: Expected characteristics of ‘new-build’ gentrifiers

| Traditional gentrifiers | New-build gentrifiers |
|---|---|
| | |
| Socio-demographic: | |
| in between 30 and 40 years old | in between 30 and 40 years old |
| postponed marriage and rising divorce rates | postponed marriage and rising divorce rates |
| childless couples and one-person households | childless couples and families with children |
| | |
| Socio-economic: | |
| pioneers were ‘marginal’ households | no pioneers |
| higher educated | higher educated |
| job in the ‘creative sector’ | job in the ‘creative sector’ |
| earn wages which are above the average | earn wages which are above the average |
| | |
| Preferences and motives: | |
| pioneers wanted to express their lifestyles | no pioneers |
| (pioneers) are more risktaking | prefer safety and convenience |
| ‘love the urban life’ (culture and consumption) | ‘love the urban life’ (culture and consumption) |
| dream about urban, not suburban | dream about urban, not suburban |
| emphasis on consumption, not on work | emphasis on consumption, not on work |
| want to live nearby workplace in CBD | want to live nearby workplace in CBD |
| want to invest in their dwelling | want to move into luxury dwelling at once |
| like historic characteristics and appearance of dwelling and neighborhood | like modern characteristics and appearance of dwelling and neighborhood |
| | |

3 ‘Flourishing’ neighborhoods in Rotterdam, the Netherlands

Though (new-build) gentrification is a global phenomenon, the spatial distribution of the process varies greatly between cities and countries (Knox and Pinch, 2006). At the same time, each new-build development project is unique due to the political-economic context, which influences the main actors of the project, their roles and the subsequent goals and visions which are guiding them (Doucet, 2010, p.76). Therefore, in order to get a deeper understanding of what is happening on the neighborhood level, it is essential to analyse the contextual trends and structures that are occurring at the local, regional, as well as at the national level. Subsequently this section is consecutively about gentrification in the Netherlands (3.1), gentrification in the city of Rotterdam (3.2) and finally the new-build developments on the “Kop van Zuid” (3.3).

3.1 Gentrification in the Netherlands

Gentrification has been taking place in some neighborhoods of Dutch cities (Van Weesep and Musterd, 1991). School examples of gentrification can be found in the historic and traditional ‘folk’ neighborhood De Jordaan in Amsterdam, and in the ‘multicultural’ neighborhood Lombok in Utrecht. As these examples occurred ‘from the bottom-up’, like in the first and second wave of gentrification in which private initiative caused an upward investment and development; there are several examples of state initiative regeneration in the Netherlands as well. Since ages, the Dutch government plays an active role in urban planning and development (Priemus, 1995).

This section is divided into two parts. First it will give an overview of some dynamics on the Dutch housing market, setting the context in which gentrification occurred in several neighborhoods during the past few decennia (3.1.1). And second it will make an attempt to describe and explain the role of the government in Dutch urban planning (3.1.2).

3.1.1 The Dutch housing market: trends and troubles

In the Netherlands, several political, economic, demographic and social trends form the context in which gentrification occurred in several Dutch neighborhoods during the past decennia: A new housing policy characterised by decentralisation, deregulation and privatisation has gradually been implemented; the labor market changed in a rapidly way due to deindustrialisation and the growth of the service sector; the demographic and household composition of the Dutch population has been changing (i.e. higher divorce rates, increasing numbers of one-person households, and declining birth rates); as well as their preferences for housing and residential movements. Van Kempen et al. (2000) argue that the possibilities of individuals and households have been increased in number and compexity, not only on the housing market, but also on the labor market, in their spare time (leisure), in their way of living together, and in organising their own lives. At the same time there are increasing restrictions as well, such as time constraints, which do have a large influence on individuals’ and households’ spatial behavior (p.11).

As is explained in section 2.4, the daily activity pattern of an individual depends on the location of where he or she lives, as well as on his or her mobility possibilities. In this daily activity pattern the factor labor comprehends a large role, thus people want to live nearby their work place. At the same time the factor leisure is important, be it for certain populations more than for others (elderly and students do have more free time to spend than employed people). Thus the (quality and location of the) dwelling and the neighborhood are of large importance as well for individuals and households.

In the Netherlands a trend of ‘aging’ has recently been occurred in the population pyramid, caused by the ‘baby boomers’ after the Second World War (1940-1945) which have turned by the year 2010 into ‘elderly’. This aging is most visible in the Dutch cities. At the same time there has been a decrease in births in the Netherlands, in the first half of the 70’s, which has caused a significant drop in the number of people in their twenties and thirties in 2000-2010. This could lead to a decrease in first-time buyers on the housing market by the year 2015 (Van Kempen et al., 2000). Another trend regarding the Dutch housing market is regarding the rich-poor distribution. In the last decades, both the number of low-income households and the number of professionals are growing in the Netherlands (Vrooman and Hoff, 2004). Van Kempen and Van Weesep (1994) have an explanation for this trend, namely: ‘The simultaneous increase in the numbers of the poor and the affluent is expressed most vividly in the big cities. For the poor, this is largely because of lack of choice; suburban municipalities offer hardly any inexpensive housing to outsiders. For the affluent, it results partly from their changing attitude towards the city’ (p.1045).

Van Kempen and Van Weesep (1994) state as well that Dutch cities have not (yet) become socially and spatially segregated, because a large share of households is still earning an intermediate income. Next to that, in the Netherlands even the neighborhoods dominated by social housing are still mixed-income areas, because of the fact that many of the more affluent households continue to live in the (social) rented sector. But Van Kempen (1992) also found that low-income households, including ethnic minorities, are becoming increasingly concentrated. At the same time several authors (such as Van Weesep and Musterd, 1991) noticed that gentrification has been or even is taking place in some of the Dutch urban neighborhoods. In some of the older city centre neighborhoods and their surroundings, gentrification resulted from private-sector investment in the renovation or conversion of old dwellings. The private sector consists in the Netherlands of both Dutch residents and (large) housing developers, sometimes sponsored by local authorities in the form of subsidies, who are willing to stimulate the upward developments in housing, as well as in the Dutch neighborhoods. At the same time, local governments have been investing actively in the urban environment as well: whole neighborhoods have been restructured and large parts of the housing stock have been renovated (Priemus, 1995). These developments resulted in the recent situation in which large parts of the regional housing stock have gradually been ‘upgraded’ and several socio-economic problems in the formerly impoverished neighborhoods have been reduced (Decker, 2003); although Bergeijk, Kokx, Bolt and Van Kempen (2008) are critical of these assertions. They state that in several area-based restructuring policies it often was not clear which actors were actually involved in the plans (certain groups of residents weren’t) and who of the actors was responsible in the end (shared responsibility), and they argue for a more coherent policy and lasting, instead of short-time, effects as well.

Several authors and scientists (such as Van Kempen et al., 2000) argue that there is a certain ‘mismatch’ on the Dutch housing market. A shortage is concentrating strongly on a regional scale, whereas in other places there is certain saturation. Even in between segments of the housing market there exist large imbalances. In certain market segments there exists long-temporal abandonment, whereas for other market segments there are long waiting list. Next to that, in the Netherlands a lot of households live in dwellings that are not suitable for them in terms of rent prices: on the one hand households with a low or below middle income live in too expensive dwellings, and on the other hand the more affordable housing is captured by household with a higher income (Dieleman and Van Kempen, 1994). It is also the case that larger households (consisting of more members) are living in relatively small dwellings, whereas households existing of (one or two) elderly still live in their relatively large dwellings, which are often relatively cheap as well. This mismatch exists because of the lack of available housing for the elderly (Bontje, 2001).

3.1.2 The role of the government in Dutch urban planning

The housing policy of the Netherlands is widely known because of the active role that the government plays on the housing market. The Netherlands has, after Sweden, relatively the biggest stock of social rented dwellings in the EU (Priemus, 1995). Next to that, they are largely involved in restructuring policies, to cause interference in (deteriorated) neighborhoods. Concerning the welfare state, decent housing has been a key element in Dutch policy for decades. In the period of 1950-1990 the social housing sector was expanded, an elaborate system of housing market regulations was adopted, and diverse housing subsidies were instituted (Hallet, 1993). ‘The urban renewal program that was carried out during the 1980s contributed significantly to the improvement of the Dutch housing stock and, to a certain extent, to the increase in socio-economic status’ (Smets and Weesep, 1995, p.361). The result of all of these policies was an improvement of the overall housing conditions and an improvement of housing for the poor.

Historically, the Netherlands used to be a decentralized state, with a strong focus on local collaboration (as in the so-called ‘polder mentality’). After the Second World War (1940-1945), the Dutch central government gained more power, due to the call for a larger welfare state, the need for large scale provision of housing and the repair of damaged urban areas. However in the early 1990’s a major housing policy shift occurred in the Netherlands, with the focus on decentralisation of control from the national to the regional level. The main reason for this shift was the fact that the welfare state was getting too expensive to maintain. Critics argue that deregulation and decentralisation of the housing market will lead to polarization in society: ‘The new housing will be built for middle- and high-income groups and they will gentrify attractive neighborhoods; low-income groups will have to depend on the filtering of dwellings (Van Kempen and Van Weesep, 1994, p.1043). Because of the decentralization however, Dutch cities can be flexible regarding the implementation of national policies, allowing them to take a more proactive and entrepreneurial approach in urban planning. In literature this form of ‘urban governance’ has been described as being part and parcel of the ‘new urban politics’ (Cox, 1993) as well.

In the Netherlands, 'state-stimulated' and 'state-led' forms of gentrification do occur, and they are clearly visible in certain neighborhoods. Often, policy instruments leading to gentrification are used in neighborhoods which could use some: they are deteriorated or even 'pauperized'. An example of this governmental influence on development is given in the study of Smets and Van Weesep (1995). This study elaborates on state-stimulated gentrification in a neighborhood in Arnhem (city in the East of the Netherlands), though the authors do not explicitly call it 'state-stimulated'. They explain that with its social urban renewal program, the local government first broke the spiral of decline that was occurring in this area in Arnhem. After that, it facilitated the social and physical improvement of the area, by implementing rent subsidies, rigid rent ceilings, statutory tenure protection, and housing allocation rules. Subsidies for renovation were used for the improvement of the local housing stock. At this point the authors of the article stress some inconsistency with the definition of gentrification: 'From this angle, it appears that the notion of gentrification does not apply to the entire development. Using a stricter definition [of gentrification], private money would have to be invested in the improvement of dwellings. [...] No private money was invested here' (Smets and Van Weesep, 1995, p.360). The study concludes that the public sector set the stage for gentrification in the owner-occupied housing sector in this area, since private landlords and homeowners made the decision to invest in their houses, albeit influenced by attractive subsidies. In the Netherlands, it occurs often that renovation subsidies are instrumental to the improvement of the housing stock and thus to the process of gentrification.

In the context of the housing shortage and the influx of immigrants, the mayors of the four large cities in the Netherlands (namely: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) lobbied the national government for greater support regarding urban renewal, because a strong focus on inner city neighborhoods was needed. The resulting 'Grote Steden Beleid' (in English: 'The Major Cities Policy', which is implemented in 1994) had a bottom-up approach to implementation and was aimed at creating 'complete cities' through economic, social and physical measures, funded by the central government (website of Dutch Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and Environment, VROM, August 2010). One of the major challenges to housing policy-makers both at the national as well as at the local level, is the task of providing adequate housing for even more and increasingly diverse households (Van Kempen and Van Weesep, 1994, p.1047). The next section is more specific about the situation on the Rotterdam housing market and the Rotterdam urban policies.

3.2 Stimulating gentrification in Rotterdam

During the past decennia, a trend of degradation became visible in the old neighborhoods around the city centre of Rotterdam. From the year 2002 on, it became an important goal for the government of Rotterdam, to increase safety and liveliness in these neighborhoods again and to attract more middle- and higher income classes to the city in general. See also action program ‘Rotterdam Goes Ahead’ (Rotterdam Zet Door), the filtering ‘Rotterdam-law’ (Rotterdamwet), and the new ‘City vision until 2030’ (Stadsvisie tot 2030). One of the key strategies to achieve these goals is through gentrification. As is explained in section 2.3, governments can stimulate gentrification processes in a specific neighborhood in two ways: First, by creating the right conditions under which gentrification can ‘happen’. And second, by using instruments to stimulate gentrification in a direct manner. Before explaining the role of the local government in Rotterdam, it is necessary to briefly sketch the context of certain urban problems which are concentrating on the neighborhood level, and the Rotterdam policies on these topics. This section therefore starts with a brief introduction of the city of Rotterdam (3.2.1), followed by a description of the current situation on the Rotterdam housing market (3.2.2).

3.2.1 Rotterdam and the river: a brief story about the city of Rotterdam

The city of Rotterdam has a population of 600.000 people, who are spread out over 319 km² (of which 206 km² is land), situated in the west of the Netherlands. The greater Rotterdam area, the municipality plus its suburbs, known as the ‘Rotterdam-Rijnmond region’, contains around 1.3 million people. This region forms the southern part of the Randstad conurbation, a metropolitan area with a population of 6.7 million inhabitants. The river Nieuwe Maas (in English: ‘New Meuse’) divides the city into two parts: the northern part and the southern part. The river forms the waterway to the North Sea and provides excellent access via the Meuse and the Rhine to the upstream hinterland (Basel, Switzerland and France).

The city of Rotterdam thus has a long history of experience with waterfront developments. Actually, the name ‘Rotterdam’ derives from a dam in the river Rotte. From 1200 on, lots of dikes and dams were built to protect the city from large floods, because the overall part of the city is below sea level. The greatest spurt of growth, both in port activity and population, was after the completion of the Nieuwe Waterweg (in English: ‘New Waterway’) in 1872. Since ages, Rotterdam has been worldwide known for its port, which is the largest in Europe and the second busiest port in the world, after Shanghai surpassed Rotterdam in 2004. The port of Rotterdam, once situated in the historic Delfshaven, used to be one of the six ‘chambers’ of the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (in English: the ‘Dutch East India Company’). Nowadays the Rotterdam harbour, which has been relocated in the first half of the twentieth century westward towards the North Sea and out of the city centre of Rotterdam, still functions as an important transit point between the European continent and continents overseas. Next to the river-access, the harbour is also well-connected with the hinterland via railways and roads (freight traffic). Its main activities are petrochemical industries and general cargo handling and transshipment (Meyer, 1999).

Remarkably is that the centre of Rotterdam was almost completely destroyed by German bombing during World War II (1940-1945). Though the decades after the war were dedicated to the rebuilding of the city, the city centre remained quite windy and open. Some argue that it was not an attracting environment at all to live in. From the 1980s on, the policy of the Rotterdam city council was aimed at designing a more liveable city centre. The city is nowadays known for its modern skyline. The population of Rotterdam is now rising again after a sharp decline in the 1970s and 1980s.

The Rotterdam City Council is responsible for the economic, spatial and social development of the city. At the economic level, the Council is working at the strengthening of the position of the Rotterdam harbour and the logistics sector. At the same time, it is a challenge to diversify the city's economy and to expand its facilities, in order to create an attractive location for the so-called 'knowledge industries' and their 'knowledge workers'. The city of Rotterdam is home to international giants such as Unilever, Mittal Steel Company N.V., Robeco, Fortis, ABN AMRO, ING, the Rotterdam World Trade Centre, and Maersk Line. The Erasmus University has a strong focus on research and education in management and economics. The Erasmus Medical Centre is ranked third worldwide for medical research. Rotterdam is also home to three Hogescholen (in English: 'Universities of applied sciences').

In 2001, Rotterdam was selected as European Capital of Culture. Some argue that the city is currently going through a phase of 'urban renaissance' (Atkinson, 2004). The City Council, together with local companies, is focusing on both urban renewal projects (with ambitious architectural design), and culture (night-life and festivals). The next section will therefore deal with trends in the overall housing market, developments in specific neighborhoods and a positive change in the image of the city.

3.2.2 Current situation on the Rotterdam housing market

Given the maritime history of Rotterdam, it is not strange that traditionally Rotterdam has been a predominantly working class city, consisting mostly of 'dock workers'. After the relocation and modernization of the docks, large areas of land became derelict and especially among the unskilled workers the unemployment rates rose. Inhabitants of the city of Rotterdam 'flew' to the suburbs, and at the same time, large numbers of immigrants from former Dutch colonies and elsewhere came in their place. Nowadays, the city has the highest percentage of foreigners from non-industrialised nations. Almost half of the population is of non Dutch origin, or has at least one parent born outside the Netherlands (COS, City of Rotterdam, 2006). The unemployment rates in the Rotterdam are higher than the Dutch average, and average household income is below the national average. Next to that the city has a low percentage of highly educated persons in comparison to the other major Dutch cities (City of Rotterdam Regional Steering Committee, 2009, p.19).

These facts about the population, together with the legacy of the former industrial city and its bombed inner city, Rotterdam used to have the image of a 'working class city' or a 'grey city' (referring to the rather concrete buildings in the city centre). The city was seen less attractive for visitors and business in comparison to for example Amsterdam or The Hague. However more recently, Rotterdam is going through a phase of urban renaissance (Evans, 2001): new

employment has been created in the northwest of the city and Rotterdam has recently become a place for creative business as well. The image of the city has been changed and Rotterdam is currently seen as a dynamic city. At the same time, some neighborhoods in Rotterdam are still facing some socio-economic problems, such as high unemployment, low educational attainment, high crime rates and a high proportion of immigrants. To combat poverty and social exclusion, the government of Rotterdam started a 'social activation program', in which people are returning to participate on the labor market. A 'Mutual Benefit program' (in Dutch: 'Wederzijds Profijt') was implemented as well, funded by the City Development Corporation. Next to that and in the context of 'The Major Cities Policy', the Rotterdam local authorities set up several local urban renewal organizations and campaigns mid 1990s', in order to renovate and modernize the existing housing stock in certain deteriorated neighborhoods in Rotterdam. An 'Integral Area Approach' was developed as well; focusing on employment, quality of life and physical improvements in several 'priority areas'. Keywords in these policies are 'working together' as well, in a sense that local politicians, local agencies (such as housing associations), residents, landowners and businesses should all communicate with each other. Another priority on the agenda of Rotterdam policy is 'social inclusion', because of the large numbers of immigrants that are living in the city.

Local governments such as in the city of Rotterdam increasingly have to work on the competitiveness of the city, mostly in the form of partnerships with local companies and residents organisations ('urban governance'), in order to compete with other cities and to attract residents, business and tourists to the city. Therefore, in Rotterdam, the gentrification process is stimulated by the government in two ways. First, the government is attracting higher income households into rundown neighborhoods in order to start local gentrification processes. And second, the government is restructuring and redeveloping large parts in the city, in order to attract 'the new middle class' into these neighborhoods. 'One of the most common strategies to gain wealth and create growth has been through the manipulation of the built environment. By constructing iconic, high-end projects, cities hope to attract inward investment, stimulate growth and project a new image' (Doucet, 2010, p.15). The next section is about one of such 'flagship projects', namely the development of the "Kop van Zuid".

3.3 New-build developments on the “Kop van Zuid”

The port area of the “Kop van Zuid” dates from the nineteenth century and covers an area of about 125 acres on the south bank of the Nieuwe Maas (see also figure 3.1 below). The “Kop van Zuid” is located in between the residential areas of Afrikaanderwijk, Feyenoord and the peninsula Katendrecht, which are all part of the district Rotterdam-Zuid (in English: ‘the South of Rotterdam’). In the twentieth century the Rotterdam harbour extended enormously, mainly as a transit port, due to its central location and its waterway and infrastructural connections (see also section 3.2.1). However, when the port relocated to the seaside in the east of Rotterdam, and after the deindustrialisation and World War II there was not much left of it except for a decayed port area and some undeveloped land (‘Brownfields’). Buildings were deteriorated and stood empty. Economic functions had disappeared. The area was isolated, poor connected to the city centre and largely hidden. Besides from that, the neighborhoods that were surrounding the “Kop van Zuid” had a rather negative image as they were not attractive places to live.

Because of the necessary post-World War II reconstruction (‘Wederopbouw’), Rotterdam has been given the change to rebuild its city centre in the most modern way. There have been numerous regeneration projects throughout the city as well. What was still missing however was an answer on the question of what to do with the old port area? Since 1968 researchers and policy makers have been studying on this matter. Plans of the realisation of 4000 new-build houses; an ‘Eroscentrum’ in the former Poortgebouw (in English: ‘Gatehouse’; this plan was approved in 1978 and halted again in 1980); and a plan for the realisation of mainly social housing on the ‘new’ “Kop van Zuid” (in 1979), have passed the revue. But it was not until the mid-eighties, when the focus of urban policy shifted towards the attractiveness of the city for business, residents and tourists. In line with these thoughts, a new initiative for the “Kop van Zuid” has been presented in 1987.

Figure 3.1: Map of Rotterdam



3.3.1 The “Kop van Zuid” project

In 1987 a new design of Teun Koolhaas was presented as a development plan for the ‘new’ “Kop van Zuid”. This plan has further been developed by the Rotterdam municipality in the years after the presentation, under the commission of the new director of urban planning Riek Bakker. The resulting master plan was accepted by the Rotterdam City Council in 1991. First, several investors were approached, but because these investors were little interested in developing the south side of the river, it was the government who started restructuring by improving the connectivity and accessibility of the area. At the same time ‘the city also had a desire to build a development beyond the realm or interest of private parties’ (Doucet, 2010, p.83). Eventually the “Kop van Zuid” became more popular for private investors.

The “Kop van Zuid” developments have been controlled by the Rotterdam City Council. They had some clear visions about what the “Kop van Zuid” should contribute to the entire city of Rotterdam and in what way this could be achieved. One of the core aims of the “Kop van Zuid” was to create a new business centre. They wanted firms and organizations to relocate to the new competitive and international “Kop van Zuid” business environment. But a new business centre was not the only focus of the developments. According to the master plan the “Kop van Zuid” area had to be developed as a high-quality mixed use area, with residential, commercial, educational and leisure uses. Next to social housing, dwellings that fall into the higher price ranges, tourist attractions and a large amount of offices, facilities and premises were included in this development plan. The plan was to create a remarkable environment with eye-catching buildings and a lively waterfront. And indeed several buildings on the “Kop van Zuid” have been designed by world-famous architects.

Another core idea was that the ‘new’ “Kop van Zuid” area should be connected directly to the city centre. Therefore, the Erasmusbrug (in English: ‘Erasmus Bridge’) was built in 1993. It was Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands herself, who opened the bridge in 1996. From this moment on, the new-developed “Kop van Zuid” was heralded as a prime location of international allure. The connectivity of the area has been improved through the opening of the new metro station Wilhelminaplein and a new tram line as well. What is also new is that socio-economic connections between the newly developed area and the surrounding neighborhoods should stimulate development in Rotterdam-Zuid (according to the project ‘Wederzijds Profijt’, in English: ‘Mutual Benefit’). Traditionally the neighborhoods that are surrounding the “Kop van Zuid” used to have a poor image; they were not attractive for private investment or for people who can chose where they want to live. These areas are also known because of their low educational achievement and high unemployment rates. A relatively large share of the population exists of immigrants. Because of this rather negative situation, one of the aims of the “Kop van Zuid” project was to use the project to reduce the polarization in the society; for example by creating more jobs for local people. The developments on the “Kop van Zuid” are said to make the connection between the north and south of Rotterdam stronger as well. With the developments on the “Kop van Zuid” the city centre of Rotterdam, which used to be only on the northern bank of the river, has been extended to the south.

The “Kop van Zuid” transformed from an old industrial port into a ‘Manhattan on the Maas’. In line with these expressions and slogans, the image of the “Kop van Zuid” has changed as well. It has become an attractive place for people to live and for commercial activities to relocate to, and the area is currently attracting the much desired middle and higher income households.

3.3.2 Discussion on the “Kop van Zuid” developments

In the beginning of the redevelopments, the “Kop van Zuid” area has been divided into different projects, namely: Entrepot, Landtong, Stadstuinen, Parkstad, Vuurplaat, Zuidkade and Wilhelminapier. Each of these projects resulted in a neighborhood with a character that differs from that of the other neighborhoods on the “Kop van Zuid” and in the Feijenoord borough as well. By the year 2000 almost half of the planned residential, business, commercial, educational and tourist places were realized. Currently, the “Kop van Zuid” counts 15 000 inhabitants; as well as 18 000 people employed in the area (Stuurgroep “Kop van Zuid”, 2005). The “Kop van Zuid” has a remarkably view, with its new architecture, combined with some historic elements of the port. The tidal river and the ports are giving the area a unique sense of freedom, as well as they emphasize the historic bond between Rotterdam and the water.

It is said that the “Kop van Zuid” project is playing an important role in repositioning the entire economy in Rotterdam, because it has put the city on the map by ‘branding’, and it made the city more attractive to modern industries and to the people who work in these industries (City of Rotterdam, 2003). However, some critics argue that there could have been more profit out of the “Kop van Zuid” developments. As is explained in Doucet (2010), one developer noted that ‘the move towards more housing, particularly at the middle, rather than higher segment, of the market, was a missed opportunity to develop the land to its highest use’ (p.84). Of course, the new-build developments on the “Kop van Zuid” are frequently compared with other urban ‘flag-ship’ projects in the Netherlands and international. These ‘prestige projects’ (Loftman and Nevin, 1995) or ‘megaprojects’ (Fainstein, 2008) are described by Bianchini et al. (1992, in: Healey et al., 1992, p.254) as ‘significant, high-profile and prestigious land and property developments which play an influential and catalytic role in urban regeneration’. While investing in the deteriorated and deprived “Kop van Zuid”, the Rotterdam municipality became a risk-taking developer. Governmental like, there were both economic and social aims attached to the project. Still the “Kop van Zuid” counts as an example of the entrepreneurial state, as described by Harvey (1989). The fact that the project was of national importance in Dutch spatial planning as well, also ensured its size and outcomes. Large-scale regeneration projects such as the “Kop van Zuid” developments are products of their visions, goals and roles of actors; therefore they cannot be seen apart from their political-economic context: ‘In Rotterdam, the combination of the city owning the land, reluctance from the private sector, and a municipal vision for a grand project created the context for the type of project we now see’ (Doucet, 2010, p.88). It can be said that new-build gentrification, as traditional gentrification, differs according to context (Rérat, Söderström and Piguet, 2009).

After having explained the “Kop van Zuid”-developments and after having set out the goals and visions behind this large-scale new-build project, it can be argued that the “Kop van Zuid” is an example of third wave gentrification. Urban developments like the Kop an Zuid-project indicate an expansion of the meaning and definition of gentrification (see also section 2.1), in which the (future) inhabitants that are attracted by the modern and luxury character of the new-build housing, are in fact the gentrifiers who constitute the demand side of gentrification (see also section 2.2).

Since it can be concluded from section 2.3 that third wave gentrification includes several recently appearing urban developments, such as the demolition and restructuring of existing residential areas, the regeneration of reclaimed Brownfield sites, and high-status developments such as flagships and mega projects; it should be emphasized that the “Kop van Zuid”-developments are an example of one of these urban developments.

The “Kop van Zuid”-project indeed includes a redevelopment of the waterfront, the conversion of industrial buildings into housing and commercial activities, and the realisation of high-rise offices (on the Wilhelminapier) and housing for middle and higher income households on former docklands. However, the “Kop van Zuid”-developments should be distinguished from other forms of third wave gentrification, such as the demolition of existing social housing in order to make way for more upscale housing; and such as the rehabilitation of former Brownfield sites in the city centre by building large shopping centres and expensive housing. Logically, the outcomes of this thesis could only be applied to this specific form of third wave gentrification, namely the new-build waterfront development.

In addition, the term third wave gentrification denotes to the differences with the first and second waves of gentrification, which were time and place specific. Therefore henceforth in this research the more time and place neutral term ‘new-build gentrification’ will be used, instead of broader concept of ‘third wave gentrification’, to describe the new-build waterfront developments on the “Kop van Zuid” (see for a definition of new-build gentrification section 2.3). While keeping this thought in mind, the following section is about the methods and techniques behind the empirical research part of this thesis.

4 Who are the gentrifiers? - A survey held on the “Kop van Zuid”, Rotterdam

In the previous sections, the theory behind (new-build) gentrification and the context of the “Kop van Zuid” developments are outlined. Together they form the basis of this research. The goal of this thesis is to present data derived directly from the inhabitants of the “Kop van Zuid”, to examine the significance of these results in terms of the theory on the gentrifiers, and to make an attempt to deepen our theoretical understanding of ‘new-build gentrification’. Therefore the following section includes a fully explanation of the data research: it will start with the motives for carrying out the research, the specific goals of the research, and an explanation of the relevance of the research (4.1). The question of why the “Kop van Zuid” developments are interesting for this research will be answered in section 4.1.1. Subsequently, the operationalization of the conceptual model, the research methods and the data collection will be explained in section 4.2.1-4.2.5.

4.1 Motives, goals and relevance of the research

The problem that lies underneath this thesis is that there is certain unclarity about the concept of new-build gentrification (Davidson and Lees, 2010). Some state that these new-build developments represent a form of third wave gentrification (Hackworth and Smith, 2000), whereas others do not agree in this matter and prefer to call them ‘residentialisation’ (Lambert and Boddy, 2002) and ‘re-urbanization’ (Boddy, 2007). So the debate in literature on new-build gentrification, as is also elaborated on in section 2.3, actually forms the basis for the main question of who the gentrifiers are in recent new-build developments. The goal of the thesis is neither the solution nor the clarification of this debate, but to shed further light on it, perhaps leading to new insights on the topic of new-build gentrification. For this thesis an empirical research will be carried out, looking at the gentrifiers being the central aspect of the gentrification process, and comparing these new-build developments with gentrification as is first described by Ruth Glass (and later on by David Ley, Neil Smith, Chris Hamnett etc.), in order to come to a broader understanding of what new-build gentrification actually involves.

So, this thesis does have a theoretical goal, namely the comparison of the ‘first and second wave’ with the mentioned ‘third wave’ of gentrification. In order to make such a comparison, it is essential to define what ‘third wave’-gentrification is. What does it contain and why does it occur? Third wave gentrification relates to new-build gentrification (see also section 2.3). It is argued that new-build gentrification is being used as a policy instrument (Atkinson, 2004). The government tries to attract the ‘new middle class’ (Ley, 1996) or even the ‘creative class’ (Florida, 2002) into the city, in order to create a higher potential of the city in general, or in order to rehabilitate a former deprived area of the city in specific. But why attract the gentrifiers? What is so special about these gentrifiers? These questions lead to the main question of who these gentrifiers actually are. A more critical question could be whether these (large) investments and (possible) replacement were necessary for creating prosperity for the city and a nice environment for all of its inhabitants. From the point of view that the gentrifiers could be beneficial for a city or a neighborhood, the practical goal of this thesis could be to find out how to attract the gentrifiers. What do they need? What are their motives for moving into a neighborhood and what are their preferences with regards to housing? Again, also these questions are leading to the main question of who these gentrifiers are.

Through gathering information about who the gentrifiers are and about their preferences and motives, something suitable can be realized for this group of resident-consumers. It will provide insights as well on what it is that makes this group of people so ‘wanted’ by city-governments. Clearly, there exists a certain need for new information on this topic.

Via empirical research, new information can be obtained, to gain more insights on who these gentrifiers are. It is within this respect, that the research has a certain scientific relevance. And because of new knowledge could lead to new, different or adapted policy, the research also has a certain social relevance. Next to that, also for the investors who are willing to pay for the realization of these large scale development projects, it is necessary to know what their target group is. Via market research, more information about the motives and preferences of the target group is gained, that could have a commercial relevance.

4.1.1 Why Rotterdam and why the “Kop van Zuid”?

The new-build developments on the “Kop van Zuid”, Rotterdam, are suitable for carrying out a research on the alleged concept of new-build gentrification, in which the focus lies on the ‘gentrifiers’ that are living in such a ‘gentrified’ area. As is said in section 3.2, Rotterdam is one of those cities which suffered from deindustrialization the most, because the city was oriented largely on industrial activity. After the deindustrialization and modernization of the Rotterdam harbor, large numbers of (dock) workers became unemployed. At the same time lots of (middle class) inhabitants of Rotterdam flew to the suburbs, while large numbers of (lower educated) immigrants came in their place. The city council of Rotterdam had to do something about the increasing social and economic problems of the city and its inhabitants. Therefore as entrepreneurial city (Harvey, 1989), consumption was stimulated, the city became more culturally-oriented, and urban development projects were aimed at attracting the middle- and higher-income class households (back) to the city. In the city center and along the waterfronts, several examples of this urban entrepreneurialism can be found - of which the largest is the “Kop van Zuid” project.

The city centre of Rotterdam, which lies on the north side of the river, has a remarkably history. As explained in section 3.2, the city centre was almost completely destroyed by German bombing during World War II (1940-1945). Even after the rebuilding of the centre, people argued that it was not an attractive environment at all to live in. Therefore, from the 1980s on, the Rotterdam city council has been focusing on the creation of a more liveable city centre, with an appealing modern skyline as well. In line with these policies, the “Kop van Zuid” has been developed including both a busy urbane sphere (at the Wilhelminapier) and a more family-oriented environment (in other parts of the “Kop van Zuid”, such as Stadstuinen). The eastern part of the “Kop van Zuid”, around the former warehouse Entrepot, has been developed as an area for leisure, shopping and recreation (City of Rotterdam, 2009). What is interesting as well in this matter, is that the development of the “Kop van Zuid” is about the conversion of wasteland (former dockland) into residential area, offices and commercial activities, rather than the ‘traditional’ upgrading of (residential) property.

The fact that the “Kop van Zuid” consists of several different neighborhoods, indicates that it once used to be a very large development plan. As mentioned in section 3.3, the “Kop van Zuid” developments are part of a ‘mega’ or ‘flagship’ regeneration project. It was no coincidence that the developments were planned in an area very close to the city centre of Rotterdam, namely at the opposite south side of the river, across the newly build Erasmus Bridge. Before the redevelopments, the north and south of Rotterdam were divided strongly in an economic, social, psychological as well as physical way (Doucet, 2010, p.80). It is also interesting to see which actors in this large scale project are having most of the power and in what way this translates into the goals of the project and the resulting developments (section 3.3.2). Interesting as all of these developments are, they are all focusing on the gentrifiers as the new residents of the “Kop van Zuid”.

4.2 Data and methods

All research should have a research strategy and a research design. Both strategy and design depend on the problem statement that is underlying the research (Baarda & De Goede, 2006). In this section, some important choices and considerations regarding the research process will be explained. Sections 4.2.1 until 4.2.4 will present the route map of the quantitative research, whereas section 4.2.5 will briefly sum up a few remarks on the questionnaire as research tool.

4.2.1 Operationalization of the conceptual model

While approaching the concept of ‘new-build gentrification’, three different questions come up. The first one is an exploratory question: what does this type of gentrification look like? Or: which mechanisms are behind it, who are the gentrifiers, what is their role in the process? The second one is a comparable question: to what extent are characteristics of new-build gentrification comparable to characteristics of the more traditional type of gentrification? The following explanatory question could then be: ‘why do these characteristics of new-build gentrification differ from the characteristics of the more traditional type of gentrification?’

The exploratory part of the research covers the collection of information about certain characteristics of the gentrifiers in new-build gentrification. The mapping of these characteristics is done in a descriptive research. Often, exploratory research precedes descriptive research and descriptive research generally goes before explanatory research (Babbie, 1989). The selection of descriptive statistics which are needed for this thesis will be explained on the basis of the conceptual model (section 2.6). According to this model, gentrification is caused by both the demand for housing and the supply of housing in a certain area. From literature, it is known that new-build gentrification is largely initiated by the government, instead of by resident’s motives (section 2.3). So when governments and large investors are ‘creating the supply’, the respondents’ motives and preferences, which are representing the demand side, could differ in this supposed ‘third wave’ of gentrification. It is on the basis of the collected information about these ‘new-build gentrifiers’, that their profiles can be compared to that of the ‘traditional gentrifiers’ from the theory, which happens in a comparable research, based on certain expectations.

So first, in order to compare the ‘traditional gentrifiers’ and the inhabitants of the ‘Kop van Zuid’ who could be seen as the gentrifiers of that area, an explorative collection and analysis of quantitative data is needed, based on the first three sub-questions of this research:

The first sub-question ‘*What are the socio-demographic, socio-economic and housing situation characteristics of the inhabitants of the ‘Kop van Zuid’; and to what extent do they differ from the existing literature on the characteristics of the gentrifiers?*’ results in: What are the demographic, socio-economic and housing situation characteristics of the inhabitants of the ‘Kop van Zuid’? These characteristics were determined by using a survey. The results of this part of the survey are presented in section 5.1.

The second sub-question ‘*What were the motivations of the ‘Kop van Zuid’ - residents for moving into this area and into their current dwellings; and to what extent do these motivations differ from the existing literature on the motivations of the gentrifiers?*’ results in: What were the motivations of the inhabitants of the ‘Kop van Zuid’ to move to this area? These motivations were also asked for in the survey. The results of this part of the survey are presented in section 5.2.

And the third sub-question ‘*What are the housing preferences of the ‘Kop van Zuid’ - residents and to what extent do they differ from the existing literature on the housing preferences of the gentrifiers?*’ results in: What are the housing preferences of the inhabitants of the ‘Kop van Zuid’ in general? Again, the survey offered the opportunity to ask for people’s preferences. The results of this part of the survey are presented in section 5.3.

After the ‘composure’ of certain profiles of the residents of the ‘Kop van Zuid’, it is possible to compare these statistics with the theory about the ‘traditional gentrifiers’. Section 5 will therefore contain a data analysis, as well as a comparison between the ‘new-build gentrifier’ and the ‘traditional gentrifier’ from the literature.

4.2.2 Exogenous and endogenous variables

As in every deductive research, the supposed causal relationships between several variables form the basis on which hypotheses are formulated (Bryman, 2008). The theory about the gentrifiers in new-build gentrification has led to the distinction of several variables. The conceptual model in section 2.5 presents an overview of these variables, as well as their underlying relationships. The exogenous variables in this research are the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the inhabitants of the ‘Kop van Zuid’, as well as their position on the housing market. These variables are independent, meaning that they do not have causal links leading to them from other variables in the model. It can be stated that the position on the housing market is caused by motives and decisions to move somewhere as well. But since the motivations for moving into a previous dwelling are not integral to this research, this link will be left out.

The endogenous variables in this research are the housing preferences of the inhabitants, as well as their motivations for moving to the ‘Kop van Zuid’. These are called the dependent variables, meaning that they do have causal links (which are visualised in the conceptual

model by arrows) leading to them from other variables. These variables have explicit causes within the model, namely: the characteristics of the inhabitants will probably influence their preferences, and these preferences of the inhabitants will perhaps be reflected in their moving decisions (motivations). Variables as age and level of education are easy to ‘measure’, because they are concrete numbers or categories. Other variables, as preferences and motives, have to be operationalized into measurable factors. In order to ‘measure’ for example the preferences of people regarding their housing situation, they are asked to give ratings to several attributes of a dwelling, such as the size of the dwelling. In this research a five-point Likert scale has been used, ranging from 1 (not important at all) to 5 (the most important factor).

The process of operationalization has been summarized in table A1, A2 and A3, in Appendix A. For example, the socio-demographic situation of the residents can be described through asking for their age, gender and household composition. Other characteristics that are often used in housing market research – such as ethnicity – were not included in this list, because of time constraints and because of their supposed limited relevance for this research.

For the measurement of the variables regarding the motivations and preferences of the residents, a 5-point Likert scale has been used. The next section is about these methodological choices that were made before (and during) the development of a survey.

4.2.3 The questionnaire

Different attributes of the respondents will be explored in this research by using a structured questionnaire that mainly consists of closed questions, and that is printed on paper. In this relatively time-saving (and thus also cost-saving) way, several characteristics of a large group of residents (the sample, see also section 4.2.4) of the “Kop van Zuid” can be explored, as well as their motivations and preferences, which can be given anonymously (which could tackle down the problem of ‘social desirability’). A Dutch version of the complete survey has been included in Appendix B.

As in every questionnaire, the questions have to be clearly defined: the respondent has to understand them and they may not be interpretable in more than one way (Baarda and De Goede, 2006, p.234). This counts for the pre-coded answer-possibilities as well. The order, in which the questions were asked in the survey, has been set accurately, in order to get people to fill in the questionnaire effectively and in a quick manner. The intention was that the researchers would ask the “Kop van Zuid” residents in a face-to-face contact, whether they wanted to fill in the survey, as well as explaining the respondents what the questionnaire is about. If the respondent agrees to participate, the questionnaire starts with a brief introduction, informing the respondent about what is expected of him or her, and what the purpose of the research is. At the start of the questionnaire the respondents were asked for their age and gender, since these questions are very easy to answer and they prepare the respondent for a list of questions about him- or herself and his/her meaning.

Section A in the questionnaire is about the characteristics of the current dwelling and the position of the respondent on the housing market. It activates the respondent to think about his or her current dwelling and the fact that it is on the “Kop van Zuid”. Section B is about

the characteristics of the respondents' previous dwelling. This section contains the for this research important question about where the respondent came from. This question is an open question about the former address of the respondent in postal code, though the answers will later be categorized. The first two sections are kind of neutral, in comparison with what is coming next in the questionnaire. Section C starts with the reasons for moving to the "Kop van Zuid", and is followed by section D, which is about the overall preferences of the respondent. This order is maintained because of the possible 'order-effect' (Baarda and De Goede, 2006, p.243) in which the respondents' answers on the first question could influence his/her answers on the second question. When asked for the respondents' preferences first, there would have been the risk that the respondent thinks about his/her preferences too prominently while answering the question about the motives for moving, while in the theory on behavior on the housing market (see also section 2.4) it is explained that the new home is a so-called 'package deal' rather than a 'dream house', and that there is always a certain 'trigger' (main reason, opportunity, or change in lifestyle) for moving. The questions in section C and D require some concentration and thinking of the respondent and should therefore not be asked in the end of the questionnaire (the respondent could be 'tired' or 'bored' by then). After these 'difficult' questions, the questionnaire continues with some general 'easy' questions about the respondent, such as household composition and income, in section E. While starting with these questions, the respondent knows that he/she has almost finished the questionnaire. The questionnaire concludes with some general questions about the respondent's partner, provided that he/she has one living at the same address, in section F.

Out of the answers given in the questionnaire, quantitative data can be derived. While the variables regarding the characteristics of the residents were measured as nominal data (see former section), the variables regarding the motivations and preferences of the residents should be measured on an ordinal scale. This means that for answering the questions in sections C and D, the respondent had for example to tick on a 5-point Likert scale to what extent a certain factor was of importance in the decision to move to the "Kop van Zuid" (the motives of section C). On the 5-point Likert scale, a rating of 1 meant that this factor was 'not important at all' in the decision to move; 2 meant that the factor was 'not so important'; whereas 3 meant 'neutral'; 4 meant that this factor or motivation was 'important' in the decision to move; and 5 meant that the factor was even 'very important'. Note that the categories on both sides of the 'neutral'-category are symmetric, so that the distances between the pre-coded answer-categories could be seen as being similar/equal distances. An extra category 'not applicable' has been included, to give the resident for who the situation as described by the factor is not relevant, the opportunity to mention this.

In several questions, respondents were given the opportunity to describe their own specific situation. Therefore, the category 'else...' has been included in the questions on household composition, sector of employment (partner), type of (former) residence, and motivations for moving to the "Kop van Zuid". Next to that, the respondents who came from abroad could write this down as an extra option in the question about the postal codes of the former address. After the last question, an extra space for optional remarks has been included in the questionnaire. In this space, the respondent can add some extra information about his/her situation, or explain one of his/her answers in some more detail.

4.2.4 The sample

In this thesis, the units of research are the people that live on the “Kop van Zuid”. Since there are a lot of people living on the “Kop van Zuid” (see also section 3.2), a sample of around 150 households has been drawn a-selective from the entire research population. An interview with representatives of these households will provide insight into their socio-demographic, socio-economic and position-on-the-housing-market characteristics, their preferences regarding their home and neighborhood, and their motives for moving into the “Kop van Zuid”.

The method of going ‘from door to door’ to find some response on the interview has been chosen, because of its direct and personal character. Response at internet or via mobile phone will bear a relatively low response (Baarda & De Goede, 2006). The best way to study the inhabitants of a certain neighborhood is to go to that neighborhood and talk to / ask them. Two interviewers carried out the survey in May and June 2010, in three different neighborhoods on the “Kop van Zuid”, namely: Stadstuinen, Landtong and Entrepot. For every address holds that the interviewers tried once whether the residents were at home. When they were not, the address was skipped. The exact numbers of addresses where no one was home, or on which the residents did not wanted to participate in the survey, are not tracked because of time constraints.

Figure 4.1: Map of situation of Stadstuinen, Landtong and Entrepot



Source: Google images, Picture derived in Oktobre 2010

To start with, Stadstuinen has been developed as a neighborhood with mainly spacious, low-rise dwellings, which were located in the streets around the Witteveenplein (landscaping and playground) in order to provide suitable accommodation for families with children near the city centre of Rotterdam. In this neighborhood, approximately 50 questionnaires were completed. The interviewers have ringed every doorbell in these streets, which mainly consisted of one-family-dwellings and terraced houses. The first day of the survey research, the interviewers started in the early afternoon. Because they found that very few people were at home by that time, they continued after dinner time. Some residents of Stadstuinen still were not at home, others did not want to participate in the survey. The response rate in this neighborhood was around 25%. Remarkably is that in this neighborhood people were more willing to participate in the survey than in Landtong and Stadstuinen, and they were more enthusiastic about our research on the “Kop van Zuid” and about their neighborhood as well. Figure 4.2 below presents a photograph of the neighborhood Stadstuinen. This neighborhood consists of the Witteveenplein (which is on the right side of the picture, situated around the lawn) and its side streets.

Figure 4.2: Photograph of neighborhood Stadstuinen



Source: Website van Flickr, Photo derived in Oktobre 2010

Landtong is known for its many (often luxury) city-apartments, situated in the cascading apartment buildings. The interviewers randomly picked flats in this neighborhood, each in which they surveyed for a few hours. It should be noted here that the interviewers had difficulties entering the apartment buildings. While talking through the intercom downstairs and outside the apartment buildings, people directly refused to cooperate and to let us in. This

emphasizes again the importance of face-to-face contact in carrying out a survey research. When the interviewers succeed to enter the apartment buildings, 30% of these residents seem to be at home at the time of the survey, and about 40% of them wanted or could participate in the survey (there were some English speaking residents who could not complete the questionnaire, since it was in Dutch). So the total response rate in this neighborhood was about 10-15%.

Picture 4.3: Photograph of neighborhood Landtong (by night)



Picture 4.4: Photograph of neighborhood Landtong (by day)



Source: CIE Architects, Photo derived in Octobre 2010

Neighborhood Entrepot lies in the eastern part of the ‘‘Kop van Zuid’’, around the small harbour and the ‘Entrepot warehouse’, which has been converted into shops and restaurants. In the Entrepot area, again apartment buildings were ‘chosen’ randomly; that is: if they succeeded to enter them. The same response rates were achieved here as in Landtong: 10-15% of the households completed the questionnaire.

Picture 4.5: Photograph of the Entrepot warehouse



Source: Website of Peter, Photo derived in Oktobre 2010

4.2.5 A few remarks on the survey

As with every research design, there exist some critical notes, as well as some possible pitfalls. Surveys on housing preferences (such as ‘Woononderzoek Nederland’, carried out by the Dutch Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and Environment) have received, to start with, some critics regarding the structure and nature of the questionnaire. First of all, it is said that the restricted amount of pre-coded questions is based on the characteristics of dwellings that are often mentioned in housing market research. In this research, preferences on the neighborhood are asked for as well. Still it is possible that there exist other preferences that can influence one’s moving decisions, which are not specifically asked for in this survey. Therefore, an extra space has been included in this question about preferences, to give the respondents the option to mention another preference, which they can rate as being important to them as well. Second, it still is not clear whether the sum of the different preferences that the respondents have mentioned, is comparable with the dwelling that they would like to have. An evaluation of the total image of the dwelling is missing. For example, it occurs often that respondents do not choose the - according to the preferences mentioned ‘perfect house’ out of a list of ‘housing deals’ (see also section 2.4).

Questionnaires about housing preferences are often too fragmented and therefore they lose their meaning (Buys and Singelenberg, 1989, in: Musterd, 1989, p.11). Third, the range of answers that the respondents can choose from in the preferences-question, (namely from 'not important at all' to 'most important') does not result in a picture of the 'perfect house'. There exists a difference between aspects of a dwelling or neighborhood that can be compensated in some way, and the more 'irreplaceable' aspects. Some criteria are 'hard', whereas others can be negotiated about or can be replaced by other preferences (Smid and Priemus, 1994, p.8). And fourth, it is not clear whether respondents would actually move to another dwelling, even if they have been talking and dreaming about it for a long time. The 'propensity to move' that has been calculated through research is therefore not as hard as often looks like (Mulder, 1996). Because of these remarks, it is still unclear in what way the preferences are influencing the choice on concrete 'housing deals' with a restricted amount of alternatives (Smid and Priemus, 1994, p.8). People that want to move on the housing market, base their decisions on 'trade-offs' (see section 2.4.2). They do not mind for example to move to another neighborhood, when the dwelling is of good quality and/or is as large as they had wanted. Others base their decision on the affordable housing price, 'as long as the dwelling is not of the poorest conditions'.

Another possible problem in the research process regarding the validity of the outcomes can be caused by the non-response: select groups of respondents could occur because of the non-response (Baarda and De Goede, 2006, p.222). It could be problematic as well to derive statements on causal relationships out of a one-off survey, because the findings regarding the sample often do not provide the 'generality' to make statements about a whole population (Baarda and De Goede, 2006, p.132). The Likert scale also summons some criticisms. When responding to a Likert questionnaire item, respondents specify their level of agreement to a statement. Therefore, the Likert-scale is often used in social research in which the researcher wants to investigate the meaning of the respondents. However, Likert scales may be subject to distortion from several causes. Respondents may for example avoid using the 'extreme' response categories, which in this case means that they would cross the categories 'not so important' and 'important' more often than the 'not at all important' and the 'very important'-categories (central tendency bias). Next to that, respondents who doubt can agree with all of the statements (acquiescence response bias). At last, the respondents could try to portray themselves or their group (in this case for example their neighbors) in a more favorable light (social desirability bias). All of these biases could influence the results (Bryman, 2008).

5 Who are the inhabitants of the “Kop van Zuid”?

In 1964 Ruth Glass described in what way the middle-class households were increasingly moving into the working-class neighborhoods of London. At that time, the concept of gentrification was born, and although the concept has been recently extended to include all kinds of urban developments, it started once with the signalisation of the gentrifying group of residents; and the gentrifiers are still an important element of gentrification. After Ruth Glass, numerous authors and scientists have made an attempt to describe these gentrifiers as well. They were called ‘the creative class’ (Florida, 2002), or ‘the new middle class’ (Ley, 1996), referring to the fact that these gentrifiers were often higher educated and therefore earning a higher income than averagely was the case. Berry (1985, in: Peterson, 1985, p.81) explained the situation of a gentrifying area: ‘after rehabilitation was complete, about half of the neighborhood was composed of younger couples and half was of mixed age but significantly younger than the previous residents. Professional and white-collar employees assumed control of neighborhood politics and pressure groups activities for public improvements’. Next to a distinction in education and income, the gentrifiers are said to have a different lifestyle and different preferences regarding housing as well. Ley (1996) argues that this new middle class wants to live nearby the Central Business District and/or in a cosmopolitan environment, because they enjoy arts and leisure, and the aesthetics in their cities and neighborhoods.

In order to understand the process of gentrification and in order to compare the ‘first and second wave’ (see also section 2.3) with the recently emerged ‘third wave’ of gentrification, it is crucial to investigate the social, economic and cultural characteristics of the gentrifiers. For this thesis a sample of 132 households living on the “Kop van Zuid” has been interviewed, via a door-to-door method. This section presents the resulting statistics, of which can be said that they are representative for all of the people living in the “Kop van Zuid” neighborhoods Landtong, Entrepot and Stadstuinen (albeit that the outcomes of another sample could be slightly different). The figures in this section are derived from the data using SPSS 16. It should be noted here that while analyzing the statistics, the missing values are left out of the percentages per category. So for example, if it is argued that 45.4% of the respondents mentioned that they have graduated on the university, it means that 45.4% of the “Kop van Zuid” -sample that answered the question on education, graduated on the university. Whereas the two respondents that did not answered this question in the questionnaire, are left out.

The section starts by describing some general characteristics of the sample (5.1). After this, the motivations of the households for moving to the “Kop van Zuid” will be outlined (5.2), before the visualization of the housing preferences of the gentrifiers by means of bar chart figures (5.3).

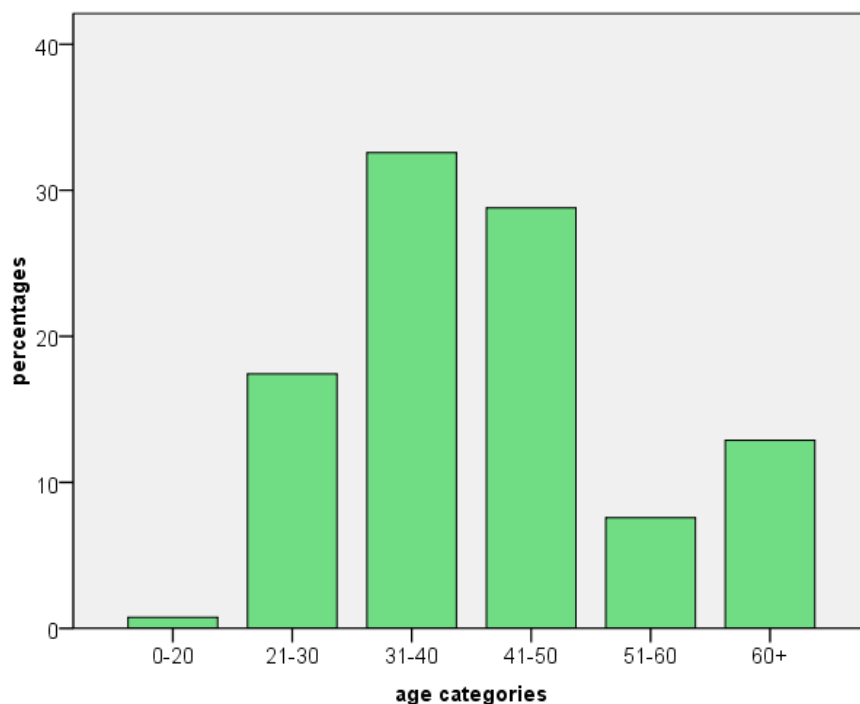
5.1 Characteristics of the inhabitants of the “Kop van Zuid”

As is said in the introduction of section 5, it is crucial for an understanding of gentrification, to investigate the social, economic and cultural characteristics of the gentrifiers. These characteristics have been operationalized in section 4, leading to the questionnaire that 132 inhabitants of the “Kop van Zuid” have completed. This section will provide an overview of the main statistics regarding the socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the inhabitants of the “Kop van Zuid”, as well as of their position on the housing market.

5.1.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of the “Kop van Zuid”-sample

The sample population, consisting of 73 men and 55 women, differed greatly in age. All of the residents, who participated in the survey, were in between 19 and 80 years and the average age mentioned was 40 years. A population pyramid of this sample is included in Appendix C (figure C1). Figure 5.1 below shows the age of the sample, divided into six age-categories. It is remarkably that most respondents in the survey were in between 31-40 years (32.8%), or in between 41-50 years (29.0%), because according to the statistics about the total population of Rotterdam, the percentages of the children and young adults (22%), and the elderly (19%) are highest (COS, City of Rotterdam 27/04/2010). It seems that there are far less children, young adults and elderly living on the “Kop van Zuid”, than there are in the city of Rotterdam as a whole. Actually the numbers on children living on the “Kop van Zuid” can give a distorted image, since it was their parents who participated in the survey. Therefore the share of inhabitants under 20 years old has been left out of this part of the research (see table 5.1 on the next page).

Figure 5.1: Age of the respondents in six categories (in percentages)



Still, it seems like there are relatively few elderly (60+) living on the “Kop van Zuid”, in comparison to the city as a whole: the share of elderly living in Rotterdam is with 25% twice as high as it is in the “Kop van Zuid” area. When looking at the other age categories, it seems like the population in Rotterdam is slightly ‘younger’ than that of the “Kop van Zuid”. The biggest age group in Rotterdam is that of in between 21 and 30 years old (21.3%). As already mentioned, most respondents in the survey were in between 31-40 years (32.8%), or in between 41-50 years (29.0%). Whereas in Rotterdam as a whole, the inhabitants seem to be more spread over the different age categories, with the largest share (21.3%) in between 21-30 years, after the group of elderly (25.3%, but note that the group of elderly has a larger range, because people can reach the age of 80-90 as well).

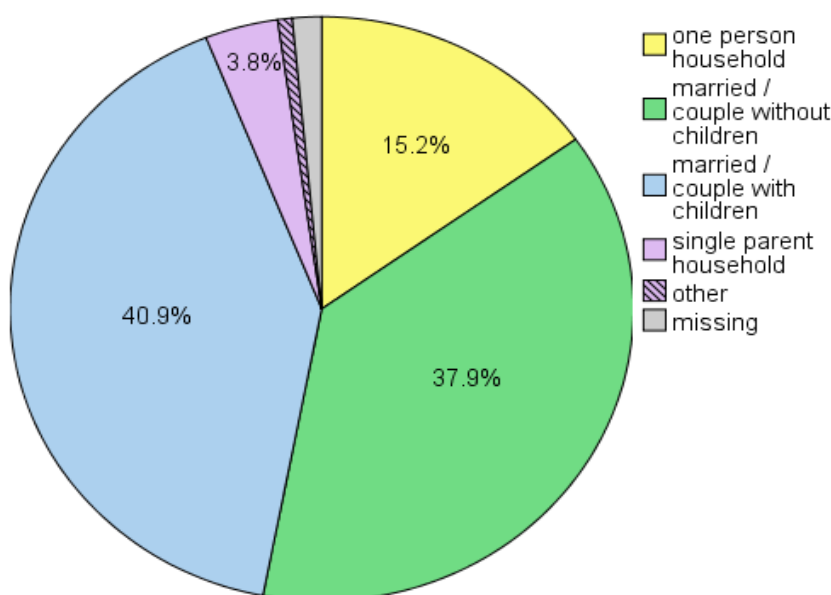
Table 5.1: Age of the people in the “Kop van Zuid”-sample and the residents of the city of Rotterdam in total, divided into five age categories

| age categories | respondents of the “Kop van Zuid”, in abs. numbers | percentage of respondents of the sample 20+ | inhabitants of Rotterdam, in absolute numbers | percentage of inhabitants of Rotterdam 20+ |
|----------------|--|---|---|--|
| 21-30 | 23 | 17,6 | 98.095 | 21,3 |
| 31-40 | 43 | 32,8 | 90.048 | 19,6 |
| 41-50 | 38 | 29,0 | 85.240 | 18,5 |
| 51-60 | 10 | 7,6 | 70.530 | 15,3 |
| 60+ | 17 | 13,0 | 116.260 | 25,3 |
| in total: | 131 | 100 | 460.173* | 100 |

(COS, 27/04/2010) *132.763 inhabitants of Rotterdam with an age under 20 are left out of this part of the research; when included, the population of Rotterdam counts 592.939 people.

Next to the statistics on age, the statistics on household composition of the inhabitants of the “Kop van Zuid” are interesting to look at. 100 out of 132 respondents in the sample stated that they had a partner living at the same address. This can be deduced from figure 5.2 below as well, which shows the division of the sample into categories of household composition: 37.9% of the respondents were married or living together without children and 40.9% of the sample were married or living together with children.

Figure 5.2: Household composition of the sample



Only five respondents in the sample stated that they were ‘single parents’ (3.8%). One person explained that he was living alone (one person household), but that he should take care of the children during the weekends and the holidays. This particular case is included in the category ‘other’ in the circle diagram (figure 5.2). Out of conversations with several respondents there could be concluded that there are more ‘part-time parent’-households in the sample of people living on the “Kop van Zuid”, but these people did not mention it in the questionnaire (because it was not specifically asked for).

There are some differences in household composition between the sample and all of the households in Rotterdam (see table 5.2). First of all, there are relatively far more one person households in the city of Rotterdam, than there are in the sample that was drawn from the “Kop van Zuid”-population (43.3% against 15.3%). Next to that, relatively fewer households in Rotterdam consist of couples (who are married or living together), than there are in the sample. The presence of children makes the couple-statistic for the Rotterdam-population somewhat higher (18.9%). On the other hand, the relative number of single parent households in Rotterdam is as high as 23.0% for all households, whereas this number is 0.8% in the “Kop van Zuid”-sample. In Rotterdam, the average size of a household is 1.94 persons (COS, 2010). This number is significantly higher in the sample of the “Kop van Zuid”, since already about 80% of the sample consists of ‘couples’ (2 persons) and half of them do have a child – or even a couple of children as well. *Note that these percentages may differ from the ones in figure 5.2 because in table 5.2 the category ‘missing’ has been left out.*

Table 5.2: The household composition of “Kop van Zuid”-sample compared to the household composition of all households in Rotterdam

| household composition: | households in sample (abs.) | households in sample (in %) | households in R'dam (abs.) | households in R'dam (in %) |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| one person households | 20 | 15,4 | 116.130 | 43,3 |
| couples with children | 50 | 38,5 | 50.760 | 18,9 |
| couples without children | 54 | 41,5 | 27.270 | 10,2 |
| single parent households | 5 | 3,8 | 61.710 | 23,0 |
| other households | 1 | 0,8 | 12.600 | 4,7 |
| total: | 130 | 100 | 268.460 | 100 |

Data on households in Rotterdam derived from CBS, 17-02-2010

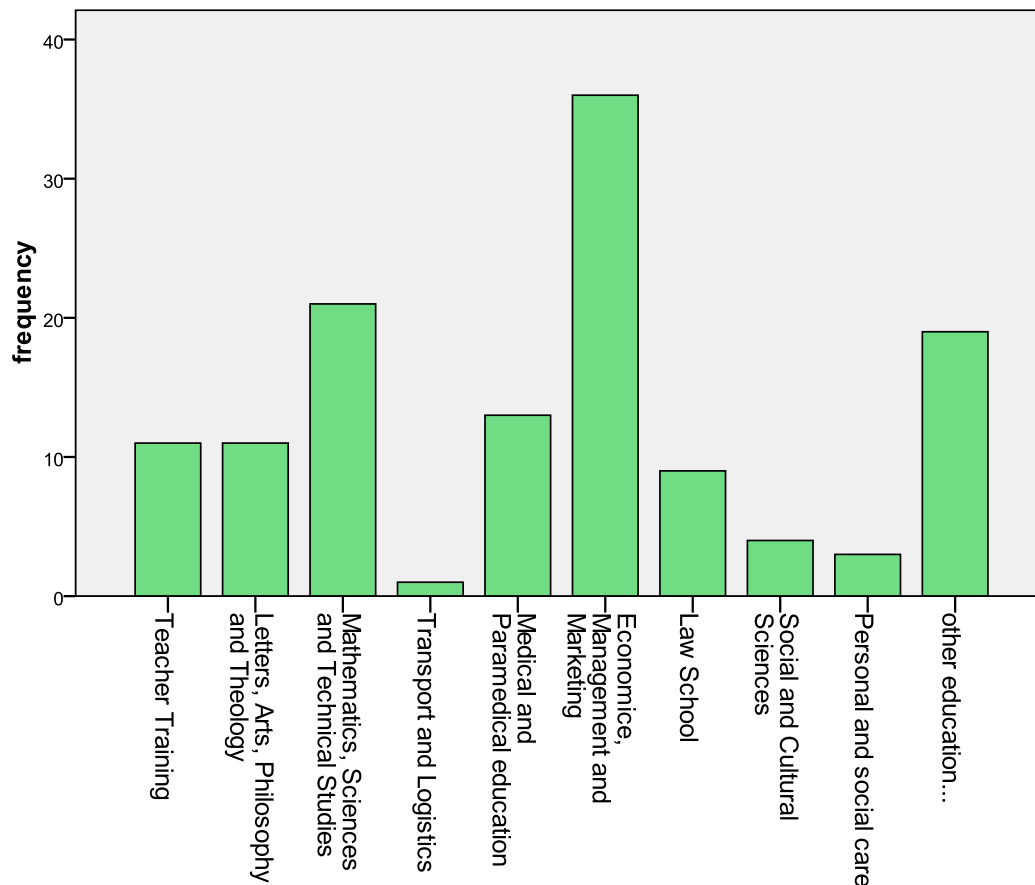
Different neighborhoods within the same city can differ regarding for example their history (year that it was built; or restructured), character (green, quiet; or busy, metropolitan) and population (age, class, ethnicity etc.). In this way different parts of a city can often be distinguished. Marcuse (1989) mentions for example ‘the luxury city’ as a location for power and profit; ‘the suburban city’ of the traditional family; ‘the tenement city’ in which the lower-paid workers live; ‘the ghetto’, which is the place for the economically and/or racially excluded; and of course ‘the gentrified city’ which serves the professionals, managers, technicians, yuppies in their twenties and college professors in their sixties (p.703-705). Although the “Kop van Zuid” does not fit perfectly into one of these descriptions of Marcuse (1989), fact is that in contemporary cities different types of neighborhoods can be distinguished still. According to the sample, this part of the “Kop van Zuid” can be characterised as an area in which people are in between 30 and 50 years, mostly couples, and about half of them with children. This image slightly differs from that of Rotterdam as a whole. Let’s see what the socio-economic statistics can add to this.

5.1.2 Socio-economic characteristics of the “Kop van Zuid”-sample

As is stated in a report of the City of Rotterdam Regional Steering Committee (2009), Rotterdam has a low percentage of highly educated persons in comparison to the other major Dutch towns. The unemployment rate in the city is higher than the Dutch average, and average household income is below the national average (p.19). It seems however that the residents of the “Kop van Zuid” can be excluded of this rather negative image. According to the literature on gentrification, one of the most remarkably and important characteristics of the gentrifiers is that they do have a higher socio-economic status than averagely is the case in a city, and significant higher than the people that are replaced by gentrification – otherwise there would not be any direct or indirect ‘displacement’ (Davidson and Lees, 2005). As seen in section 4.2, the socio-economic status can be operationalized in terms of education, labor participation and income.

The majority of the respondents in this sample have had a higher education: 45.4% of the sample population graduated from college and 34.6% graduated in higher professional studies (table C1 in Appendix C). Richard Florida and Charles Landry state that a higher education is not essential to the creative class, though the larger part of the group actually has had a higher education (Florida, 2002; Landry, 2000). The most popular direction of studies in the “Kop van Zuid”-sample was that of Economics, Management and Marketing, which was ticked 36 times (28.1%), followed by Mathematics, Sciences and Technical Studies, which were mentioned 21 times (16.4%). Figure 5.3 below shows the frequencies on other studies (see also table C2 in Appendix C).

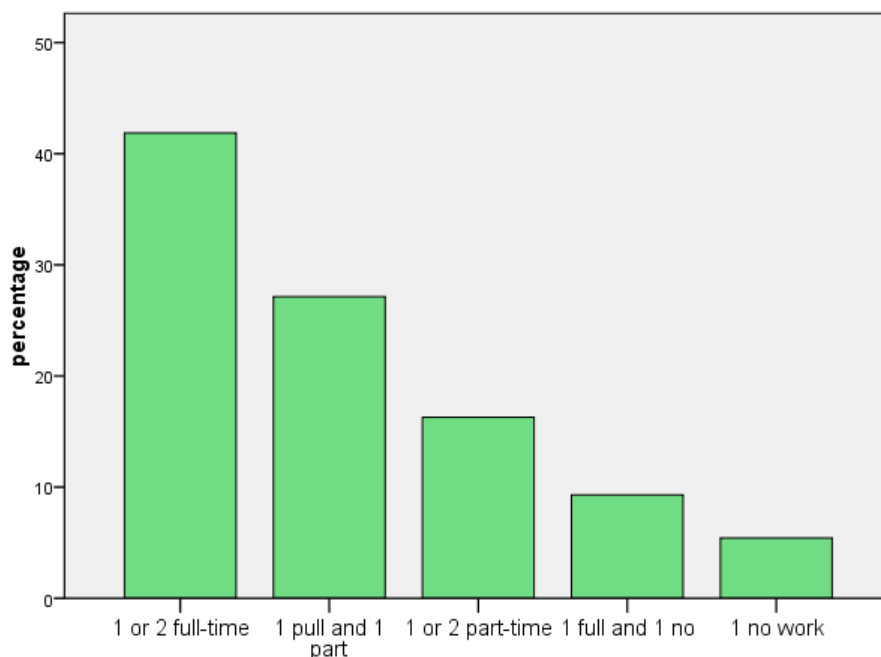
Figure 5.3: Sector of education in which the respondents of the sample graduated



Another prominent result was that more than 14% of the respondents mentioned they had finished an education that was not in these pre-selected directions (option ‘other education’ in the survey and visualised in figure 5.3 as well). Fortunately there is no data on what kinds of ‘other’ studies these respondents had followed, due to the fact that it simply was not asked in the survey.

128 People responded on the question about labor participation. 64.8% of them are working full-time and 25% of them are working part-time. There were very few pensioners, students and unemployed. As turned out from the survey, 100 respondents of the sample are in a relationship with – or they are married to a partner who is living at the same address. Most of these partners are working: 53 partners (42.4%) do work full-time and 38 partners (30.4%) do work part-time (see also tables C3 and C4 in Appendix C). Figure 5.4 provides an overview of the labor participation of both the respondents of the sample, and their partners. The statistics on the labor participation of the respondents and their partners have been included in the same figure, in order to provide an overview of the labor participation per household. In most households (42%) either 1 person was working full-time, in the case of a one person or a single parent household; or both partners were working full-time. In 27% of all ‘couple households’ 1 person was working full-time and the other was working part-time at the moment this survey was carried out.

Figure 5.4: Labor participation of the respondents and their partners



According to Florida (2002), the gentrifiers are often working in the Central Business District of an urban area, which is commonly located close to or even in the city centre. The place where one is working could have an effect on where one wants to live. Some prefer to live in a near distance from their jobs, whereas others prefer to live in a place that provides amongst other things a good connection to their work (such as a highway or a train station).

Note that in recent years, more and more people prefer to work (part time) from their homes, making use of ICT-connections rather than to commute to a central work place every day.

Figure 5.5 presents the workplaces of the respondents in the sample. 31.3% of the respondents are working in the city centre of Rotterdam. 27.0% of the respondents are working elsewhere in the Netherlands. Another 6.1% is working from their homes. Figure 5.6 presents the workplaces of the respondents' partners as well. 29.3% of the (91) working partners are working in the city centre of Rotterdam. 30.4% of them were working elsewhere in the Netherlands. 10.9% of them were working from their homes.

Figure 5.5: Workplaces of the respondents

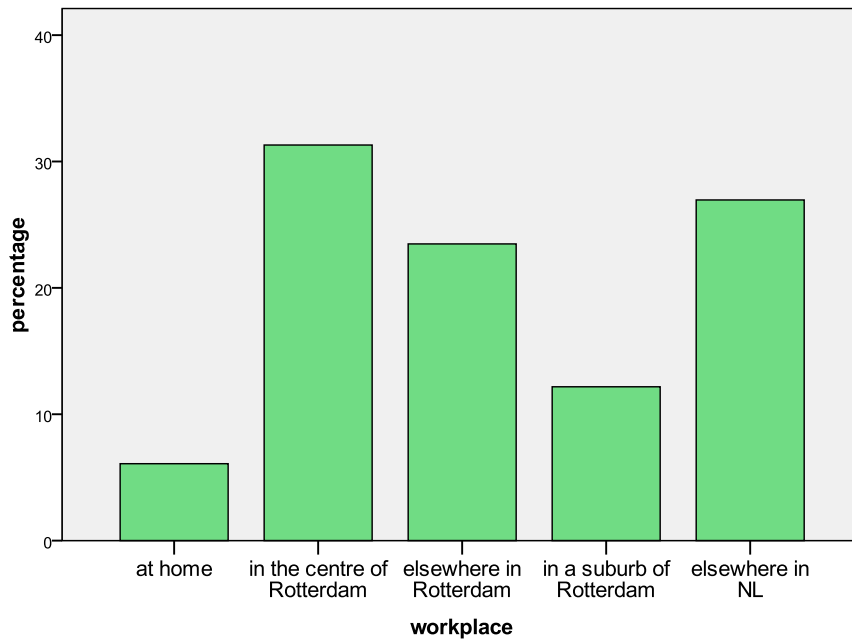
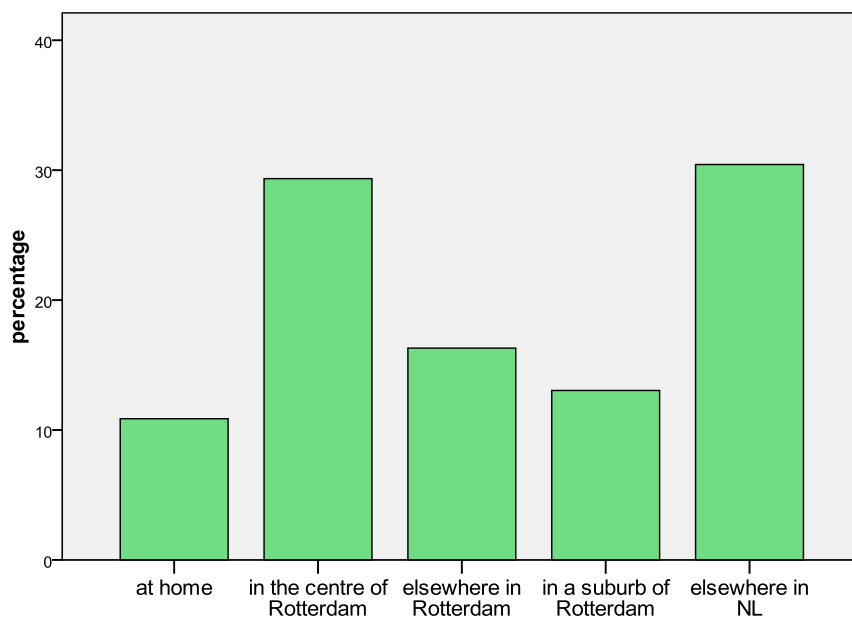
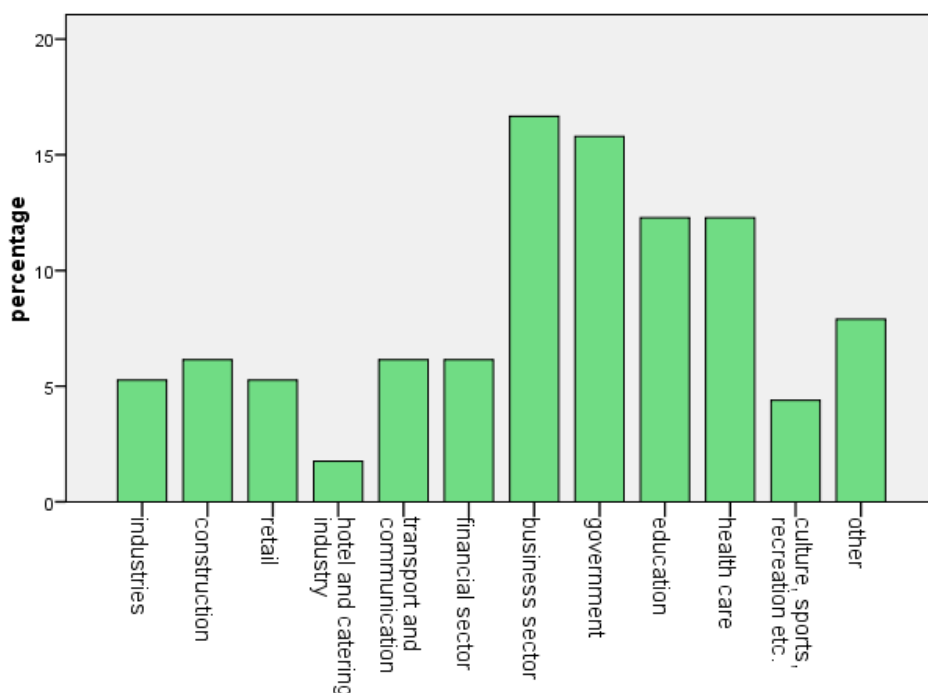


Figure 5.6: Workplaces of the respondents' partners



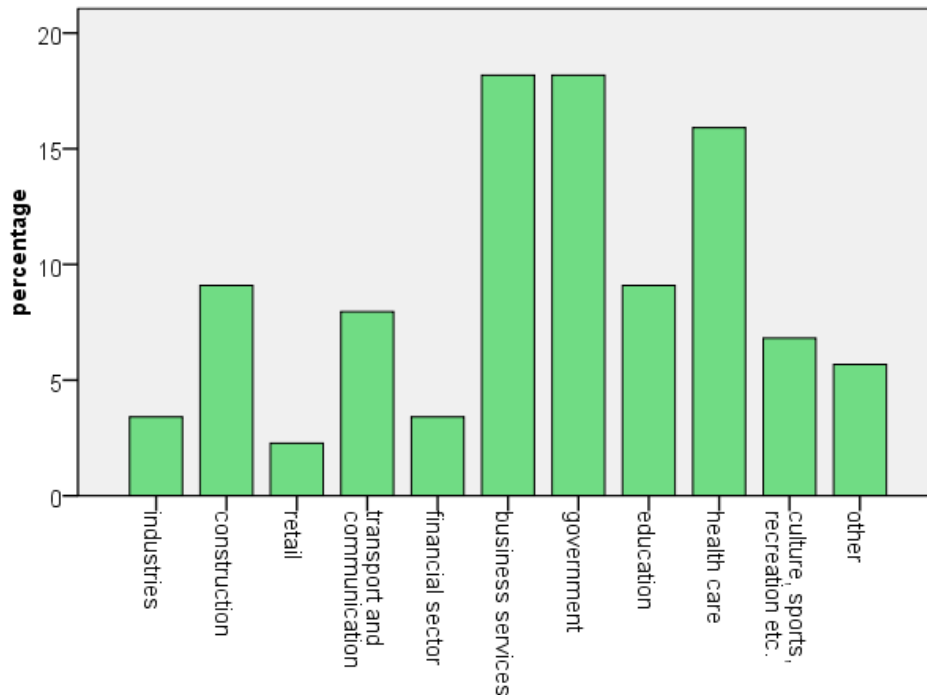
Gentrifiers are often associated with the ‘creative class’ (see also section 2.5), which includes people who use their creativity and innovative ideas in their profession, no matter in what employment sector they are working. They can be scientists, engineers, artists, cultural creatives, managers, professionals, and technicians (Florida, 2002). Likewise, these gentrifiers are called the ‘new middle class’ (Ley, 1996), aiming at the fact that they have derived their status from the shift to the service based sector. In the line of these theories, a question about the employment sectors of the respondents and their partners has been included in the survey, to give an indication of the (service) sectors in which the respondents of the sample are active. It turned out that 16.7% of the respondents are working in the business service sector and 15.8% of the respondents are participating in governmental functions. The sectors education and healthcare did ‘score’ high as well (both 12.3%). See figure 5.7 for an overview of the sectors in which the respondents of the survey are employed. Among the working partners, the sectors business services (18.2%) and government (18.2%) were also popular. Again, healthcare (15.9%) and education (9.1%) followed. See figure 5.8 on the next page for an overview of the sectors in which the respondents’ partners are employed.

Figure 5.7: An overview of the sectors in which the respondents are employed



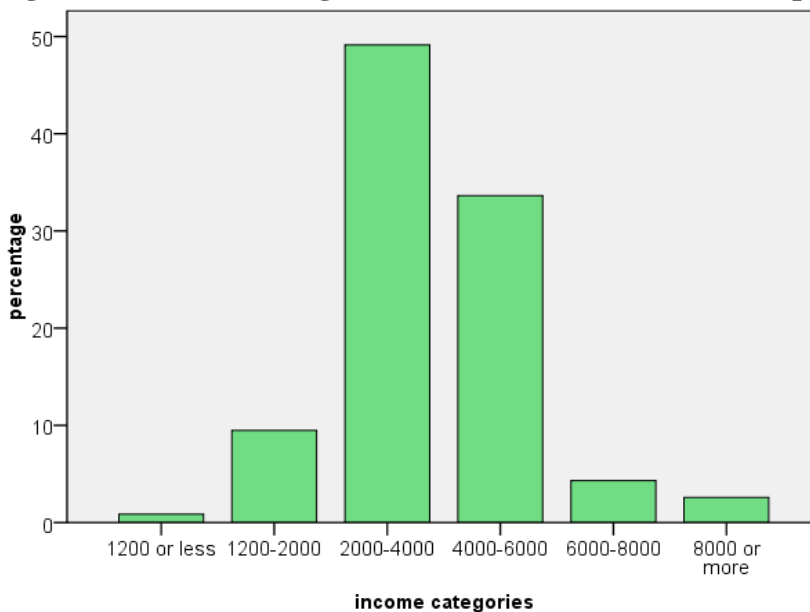
There has been included a question in the survey about the specific professions of the ‘Kop van Zuid’ residents that were in the sample. However the answers that were given by the respondents resulted in a maze of appeals and activities, which were difficult to characterize. Apart from one or two ‘artists’, no ‘bohemians’ (according to the definition of the pioneer-gentrifiers that has been given in the existing literature on the gentrifiers) were found in the sample. At the same time, it can be argued that in a lot of professions one has to ‘think creative’ (Florida, 2002).

Figure 5.8: An overview of the sectors in which the respondents' partners are employed



At last, 116 of the 132 respondents answered the question about their income. Several respondents explained that according to them their income data were private. Figure 5.9 shows the income division. From the residents that did answer the question, the largest group (49.1% of the respondents) has a net household income in between the 2000 and 4000 per month. A smaller group (33.6% of the respondents) is earning 4000-6000 a month, whereas five respondents (4.3%) pointed out that they were making 6000-8000 a month, and 3 respondents (2.6%) were even at the level of 8000 euro or more, that they were earning net per month.

Figure 5.9: Income categories of the households in the sample



In Rotterdam, as in more cities in the Netherlands, there is a difference between the native citizens and the migrants. ‘The education level of the migrant labor force in Rotterdam is lower than that of the native citizens’ (City of Rotterdam Regional Steering Committee, 2009, p.20) ‘There are relatively more non-western households living below the poverty line, and on average in 2005 non-native households had 3.500 euro per year less to spend than native households’ (p.19). The exact statistics on labor and income of the “Kop van Zuid” residents who were in the sample, are included in Appendix C: table C3 – C9.

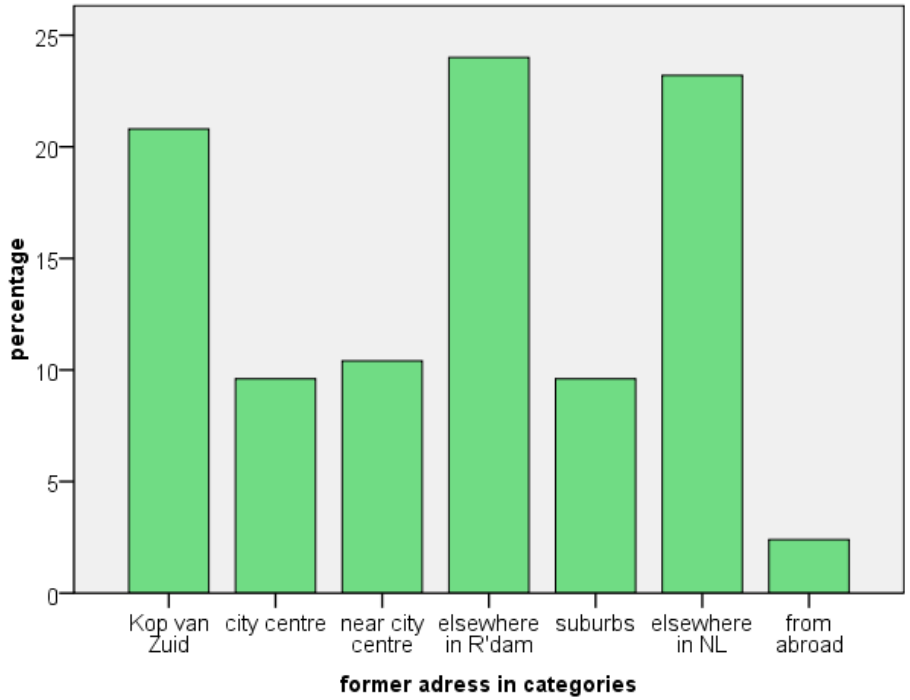
So the “Kop van Zuid”-residents who participated in the survey are relatively higher educated, earning higher wages and have a higher labor participation, than averagely is the case in Rotterdam. This may indicate that the neighborhoods Stadstuinen, Landtong and Entrepot fall into the category ‘gentrified part of the city’ (Marcuse, 1989). Further it is suggested that the gentrifiers are working in the CBD (Florida, 2002), but this applies to ‘only’ 30% of the “Kop van Zuid”-sample. Almost 40% of the respondents and 40% of their partners are working in the suburbs of Rotterdam, or elsewhere in the Netherlands. Apparently next to ‘living close to work’, there were other reasons for moving to the “Kop van Zuid”. These reasons will be examined in section 5.3. First the position of the “Kop van Zuid”-residents that were in the sample will be outlined in the next section.

5.1.3 Position of the “Kop van Zuid”-sample on the housing market

As the process of gentrification consists of both question and demand, the potential inhabitants of a city have a major role in this process: they constitute the demand. These potential inhabitants are first of all the inhabitants of a city, who will want to move to another neighborhood and/or to another dwelling in the city. And second, the people from outside of the city, who also prefer to live within (a specific part of) the city. According to Bolt and Van Kempen (2002), the housing career of an individual or a household cannot be seen separately from decisions that were taken earlier, regarding housing.

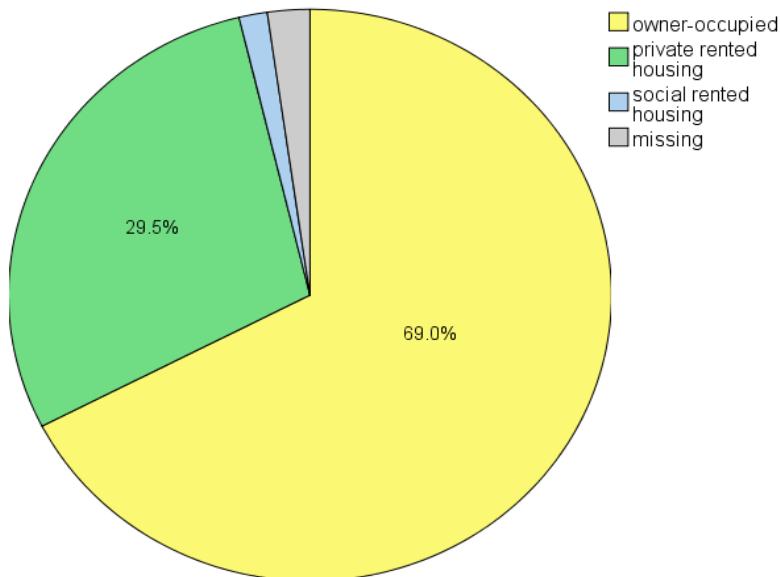
The inhabitants of the “Kop van Zuid” that were in this sample averagely do live at their recent address for almost 6 years. A living time of 12 years has been mentioned most often (16 times) by the respondents of the sample, and the longest living time was 15 years. The next question is therefore: where did the gentrifiers of the “Kop van Zuid”-sample come from? For an overview of all postal codes see table C10 in Appendix C. The summary of where the respondents came from is included in Appendix C as well (table C11). Figure 5.10 on the next page has been derived from this summary, showing where the respondents came from. 20.8% of the respondents stated that their previous house was already in one of the neighborhoods of the “Kop van Zuid”. Another 20.0% of the respondents came from the city centre of Rotterdam (9.6%) and its’ surrounding neighborhoods (10.4%). 24.0% of the respondents came from somewhere else in Rotterdam, whereas 9.6% came from the suburbs of Rotterdam. The rest of the respondents migrated to the “Kop van Zuid” from elsewhere in the Netherlands (23.2%) and even from abroad (2.4%). Note that there was not an explicit back to the city movement of people returning from the suburbs (only 10%), as some researchers and media suggested that gentrification would comprise. This research therefore agrees with Smith (1979), who criticized this theory as well. And it should be noted also that there are rather more ‘expats’ living on the *Wilhelminapier* (neighborhood southwest on the “Kop van Zuid”) than in Stadstuinen, Landtong and Entrepot.

Figure 5.10: Where did the people in the “Kop van Zuid”-sample came from?



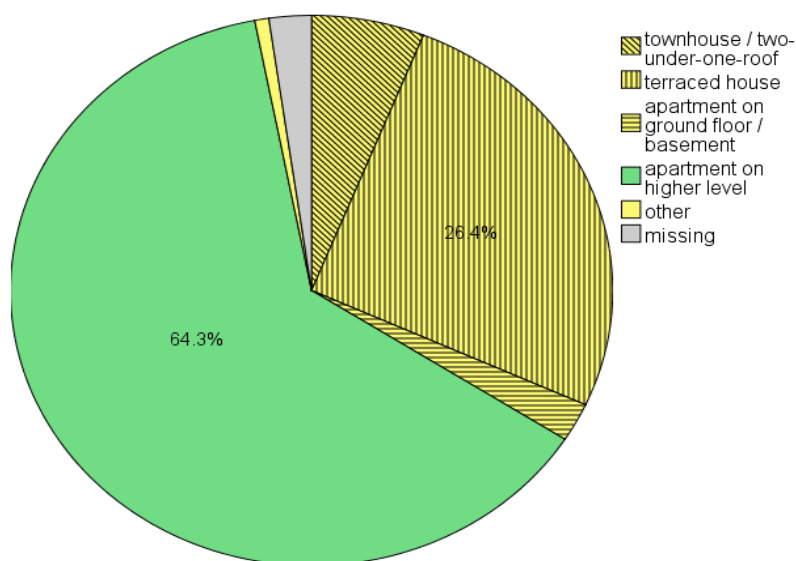
The respondents were also asked for information about their current homes which could be of interest for this research. The first question was whether the respondents were living in an owner-occupied, a private rented, or a social rented dwelling. It turned out that 69.0% of the respondents have bought its own house. 29.5% of the respondents is renting their apartment or dwelling in the private sector. And only 2 respondents (1.6%) are living in social housing. Figure 5.11 presents this subdivision (see also table C12 in Appendix C).

Figure 5.11: The recent address of the respondents: Owner-occupied, private or social rented



The second question about their recent homes was what type of dwelling it was. Figure 5.12 shows the frequencies of the types of dwellings that the respondents were living in. The apartment building on a higher level was mentioned mostly (83 times, in 64.3% of all cases), whereas the ‘terraced house’ was ‘only’ mentioned 34 times (in 26.4% of all cases). This had of course something to do with the places where the survey was carried out. Therefore this question resulted in several answers, which could be classified into two categories: ‘the dwelling or apartment on the ground level’ (35.7% of the respondents) and ‘the apartment on a higher level’ (64.3% of the respondents). See also table C13a and C13b in Appendix C.

Figure 5.12: Type of current dwelling of the respondents



About the characteristics of the “Kop van Zuid” sample

From the data analysis on the characteristics of the “Kop van Zuid”-sample, it can be concluded that the largest share of the residents of the “Kop van Zuid”-neighborhoods *Stadstuinen*, *Landtong* and *Entrepot* are in between 30 and 50 years old; they are mostly couples; and about half of them has one (or more) child(ren). They are relatively higher educated, earning higher wages and have a higher labor participation than averagely is the case in the city of Rotterdam. ‘Only’ 30% of them are working in the city centre of Rotterdam, whereas about 40% of them are working in the suburbs of Rotterdam, or elsewhere in the Netherlands. ‘Only’ 10% of the sample came from the Rotterdam suburbs; whereas a relatively large part (around 65%) of the respondents mentioned that they came from somewhere in the city of Rotterdam. Around 70% of the respondents has bought a house on the “Kop van Zuid”, whereas another 30% has rented it (in the private sector). At the same time, around 35% of the respondents lives in a house or an apartment on the ground floor level, whereas around 65% lives in an apartment on a higher level. On the basis of these statistics several conclusions can be drawn about the characteristics of the “Kop van Zuid”-population. At the same time, these characteristics would have influenced the motivations of the “Kop van Zuid”-residents for moving into this area once. Therefore these characteristics are also used in the next section, which is about these motivations.

5.2 Motivations of the “Kop van Zuid”-inhabitants for moving into this area

The literature on people’s motivations for moving to another place, that is relevant for this study, has been dealt with in section 2.4. Next to the characteristics of a dwelling such as the size and the presence of a garden, the physical and social characteristics of the neighborhood are influencing moving behavior towards a certain place as well (Floor and Van Kempen, 1994). It is for example argued that the neighborhood reputation is of significant importance in moving decisions (Permentier, Van Ham and Bolt, 2008). Furthermore, the ‘trigger’ that leads to an actual move can result out of the possible dissatisfaction with the situation of the previous dwelling, as well as out of the personal situation (for example birth of child, divorce etcetera) of the members of the household (Mulder, 1996). As is explained in section 2.6 there could be a difference in the motivations of the new-build gentrifiers in comparison to those of the ‘traditional gentrifiers’, regarding aesthetics (the modern, luxury appearance of new-build housing), the reputation of neighborhood, and other factors.

In order to find out what these possible differences are, the residents of the “Kop van Zuid” that were in the survey were asked about their reasons and motivations for moving into the “Kop van Zuid” area. Was it just a ‘matter of availability’, because they were looking for a home and the apartments on the “Kop van Zuid” were available at the moment, or were they attracted by for example a good ‘price-quality ratio’? Was it because of practical dwelling specific reasons only, like the size of the dwelling, or were there also ‘emotional reasons’ involved, for example regarding the reputation of the neighborhood, which influenced the choice? This section presents the answers given by 132 respondents who once moved to the “Kop van Zuid”. It will start with a number of life-cycle related motivations, since the change to another ‘phase of live’ is often an inducement to move. The section will then turn to the current dwelling and current neighborhood specific motivations for moving into the “Kop van Zuid”. What specific characteristics of the current dwelling and the “Kop van Zuid” as current neighborhood attracted the residents? Last, it will engage the previous dwelling and previous neighborhood specific motivations as well, because these could have been important triggers to move to the “Kop van Zuid”.

Explanation of the Likert-scale:

The reasons and motivations for moving to the “Kop van Zuid” were measured on a 1-5 point Likert scale, in which a rating of 1 means that this factor was ‘not important at all’ in the decision to move; 2 means that the factor was ‘not so important’; whereas 3 means ‘neutral’; 4 means this factor or motivation was ‘important’ in the decision to move; and 5 means that the factor was even ‘very important’. It is interesting to count and to visualise the weighted means of the responses on the Likert scale, because the resulting numbers provide insight in which direction the average answer is. For example, when the average score on the question of how important the respondents thought that the nearness of the city centre was in their decision to move, is a 4.24; it means that this factor was (very) important in comparison to the value ‘neutral’ that was expected as an outcome. The standard deviation indicates the average distance from the mean. For example, a low standard deviation would mean that most responses on one Likert item cluster around the mean of that item. Whereas a high standard deviation would mean that there was a lot of variation in the answers. A standard deviation of 0 can be obtained as well, but only when all responses to a question are the same.

5.2.1 Life-cycle related motivations

As is mentioned in section 2.4, the moving behavior of an individual could be related to a change in his or her lifestyle, due to a change in life-phase along one's life-cycle (Stapleton, 1989). For example marriage or the birth of a child often causes a movement to another place or another dwelling which is larger or for example more child-friendly. Via participation in the survey, the residents of the "Kop van Zuid" who were in the sample were asked about these life-cycle motivations for moving. It turned out that the changes in or aspects of the life path that had the largest influence on the decision to move to the "Kop van Zuid" were 'employment', 'marriage or a relationship', and the birth of children or the presence of young children. Table 5.3 presents an overview of the mean statistics on the life-cycle related motivations. It should be noted here that there were two cases in which the respondents did directly answered the question about the importance of the factor children in their decision to move to the "Kop van Zuid"; but their main reason for moving (category 'other reasons' in the survey) actually had something to do with the presence of children (namely: 'the house was too small for up-growing children' and 'we were looking for a place with more opportunities for children'). When included in the result, the mean of the factor 'birth of / young children' increases from 2.50 to 2.58.

Since the factor 'employment' has been given the highest rate of importance in the moving decisions of the "Kop van Zuid"-sample, the statistics on this factor will be explained as an example. To start with, the mean rating of the factor 'employment related motivations' was 2.99 on the 1-5 Likert scale. This indicates that the employment factor was mentioned to be 'important' by some, though 'not important' by others, constituting a balance which can be explained by looking at the relative size of these groups of people. Table D1 in Appendix D shows that in 24% of all cases the motivations regarding employment were mentioned as being 'very important'; 26% of the respondents answered that employment was an 'important' motivation for moving; 31.5% of the respondents thought employment had not at all influenced their decision to move; 12% pointed out that employment was not such an important factor in their decision to move; and 6.5% of the respondents assigned this factor a 'neutral'. Thus a mean rating of 3 indicates that this motive was not the determinant for moving to the "Kop van Zuid" for all of the respondents of the interview-sample. Table D2 in the same appendix shows that 92 of the 132 respondents answered this question; which is in comparison to the other life-cycle related factors a high percentage of the total "Kop van Zuid"-sample (namely 69,7%).

Table 5.3: Motivations - Life-cycle related

| | mean rating of respondents on a 1 - 5 Likert scale* | standard deviation |
|-------------------------------|--|--------------------|
| studies | 1,70 | 1,102 |
| employment | 2,99 | 1,621 |
| nearness of family / friends | 2,34 | 1,368 |
| marriage or relationship | 2,76 | 1,655 |
| divorce / ending relationship | 1,75 | 1,418 |
| becoming independent | 2,06 | 1,554 |
| birth of / young children | 2,50 | 1,695 |
| other reasons | 4,67 | 0,896 |

* 1 = not important at all, 5 = most important

What is striking about the statistics on peoples' motivations for moving (to the "Kop van Zuid") is that 38 respondents (29%) of the "Kop van Zuid"-sample mentioned another reasons as being a (*very*) *important* factor for moving, which caused the rather high statistic on 'other reasons' (4.67 on a scale of 1-5). Reasons that were mentioned in this category were for example 'we wanted to buy a house near the city centre', 'easy living', and 'the preference to live in the city, rather than to live in a village'; but also 'a fight with the former neighbors'.

Furthermore, it can be derived from table 5.3 on the former page as well that none of the life-cycle related motivations 'scored' a mean rating higher than 3.00 (on a 1-5 Likert scale).

The next step would be to investigate different 'groups' in the "Kop van Zuid"-sample, such as categories according to age and household composition. For example, in order to find an answer on the question of why the "Kop van Zuid"-residents mentioned that the factor 'studies' was of no importance (at all) in their decision to move to the "Kop van Zuid", there could be looked at differences in this rating between different age groups. To what extent have different 'categories' (based on their characteristics) of respondents assigned different values to some of the given motivations for moving to the "Kop van Zuid"? Cross tabulation E1 in Appendix E shows, amongst others, the 'ratings' of the life-cycle related motivations for moving to the current dwelling, for both the men and the women that were in the "Kop van Zuid"-sample. And it can be concluded from this cross tabulation that the men mentioned both the two factors 'studies' and 'divorce / ending of a relationship' as being slightly more important reasons for moving to their current homes on the "Kop van Zuid", than the women did (1.8 against 1.5 on 'studies' and 1.9 against 1.5 on 'divorce / ending of a relationship', both on a scale of 1-5). Although these findings *could* indicate that there are more men studying or more men moving to another home after a divorce, these results are not of relevance to this thesis.

What is however more interesting is that cross tabulation E1 also shows the 'ratings' of the life-cycle related motivations *per age category*. It can be concluded from this cross tabulation that the factor 'studies' has been a motivation which was of higher importance for the respondents in the age group 21-30 than for the respondents in the other age groups in their decision of moving to the "Kop van Zuid". The respondents that were in between 31 and 60 years old, mentioned that they found the factor 'employment' more important in their decision to move than the factor 'studies'. Which makes sense because residents in between 21 and 30 years old are more likely to study than their older neighbors, who in turn are more likely to be employed.

Next to that the statistics indicate that the 21-30 age-group thought for them the factor marriage or living together in a relationship was an important factor in the decision to move (to the "Kop van Zuid"). Whereas in the 31-50 age-group, the factor 'birth of / young children' has been mentioned as a neutral/important factor for moving to the "Kop van Zuid". These differences between the age groups confirm the relationship between behavior on the housing market and life-cycle theories, who argue that the one's phase in the life-cycle (Stapleton, 1989) influences one's lifestyle (Smid and Priemus, 1994); and will therefore influence one's housing motivations and general preferences as well (Golledge and Stinson, 1997). Furthermore there should be noted here that the high ratings of the factors employment and marriage/relationship by the 0-20 age-group could give a distorted picture, because there was only one person of 19 years old who participated in the survey. Since no conclusions can be drawn out of the meaning of one person, these findings have been left out of further analysis.

When the life-cycle related motivations are specified regarding the household composition of the respondents in the sample, it is striking that the 50 couples without children mentioned 'marriage / relationship' as a neutral-important factor in their decision to move (to the "Kop van Zuid"). See again cross tabulation E1 in Appendix E. After a short data research it could be concluded that this group of couples without children include more or less the same respondents as the earlier mentioned 21-30 years old-group. The respondents that fall into the category 31-50 years old could then include the same respondents as the group 'couples with children'. It is perhaps unnecessary to mention that the couples who had children mentioned the factor 'birth of / young children' as a significant factor in their decision to move to the "Kop van Zuid" (3.5 on a scale of 1-5); whereas the couples without children did not, of course.

Another difference lies in the motivation-statistics of the 20 one-person households that participated in the survey, as they were more likely to mention the 'divorce/end relationship' and the 'becoming independent' factors as motivations for moving (to the "Kop van Zuid") than the other household types. Since there were only 5 respondents who were 'single parents' in the survey, the associated statistics of these households are left out of further research the same way as with the one person that was under 20 years old.

There were no remarkably differences between different groups of the sample based on the socio-economic status of the respondents (working full or parttime; and place where one is working), as there wasn't to their position on the housing market (home ownership or private/social rented; ground floor or flat/apartment; and time of living in current home). So it can be concluded that one's phase in the life-cycle (operationalized in this quantitative research into 'age' and 'household composition') will influence his or her decisions on the housing market. Changes in the life cycle however only explain part of the story of moving patterns, housing preferences and lifestyle. Therefore, and as already has been explained in section 2.4, the influence of norms, values and different 'tastes' due to different backgrounds and personal differences should also be included in a research on these topics.

5.2.2 Current dwelling and neighborhood specific motivations

Traditional research methods often focused on characteristics of the dwelling as the number of rooms and the size of the dwelling, or the presence of a garden, terrace or balcony (Floor and Van Kempen, 1994). Table 5.4 on the next page shows the importance of this factor, in the moving behavior of the "Kop van Zuid"-residents that were in the survey: the factor 'size of the dwelling' scored an average of 4.38 on a scale of 1-5. Obviously, the move to another house often is related to the need for space. Next to the size of the dwelling, a good or sufficient condition or quality of the dwelling has been mentioned as a (very) important factor as well in the choice of where to move: 4.31 on a scale of 1-5 (see again table 5.4 on the next page). The other current dwelling specific motivations for moving (to the "Kop van Zuid") were mentioned as being important factors as well. Floor and Van Kempen (1997) criticize the fact that in traditional research designs, these dwelling characteristics are considered more important than characteristics of the physical and social environment (p.32). In this research, the focus lies precisely on the neighborhood characteristics as well, since the "Kop van Zuid" is a newly developed area (including both new-build as well as converted

‘historical’ buildings), existing of different neighborhoods, having each its own defining characteristics. When looking at the current neighborhood specific motivations for moving, it is remarkable that the respondents mentioned that they were attracted by the ‘modern, luxury appearance’ of the “Kop van Zuid”, when in contrast it was stated that the pioneers in gentrification often choose for deteriorated or abandoned housing in which they could express their lifestyle (Clay, 1979). Although, while the “Kop van Zuid” is in fact well-known about its architectural aesthetics, it could also be the case that the respondents valued this factor ‘unconsciously’ higher.

Furthermore, it is argued that the gentrifiers in the first and second wave of gentrification preferred to live in or nearby the city centre (Ley, 1996). In the “Kop van Zuid”-research, ‘the nearness of the city centre’ has a very high rating of 4.24 on the 1-5 Likert scale as well. As has been described in section 2.4, Van Ham and Feijten (2008) stated that studying moving intentions leads to the insight that the neighborhood reputation is of significant importance in moving decisions. Indeed the reputation of the neighborhood was mentioned by the respondents of the “Kop van Zuid”-sample as being an important factor in housing behavior (3.84 on a scale of 1-5). However, also the other factors regarding the current dwelling and neighborhood of the respondents were mentioned as being important as well in the decision to move to the “Kop van Zuid”, except for perhaps ‘culture and nightlife’. See also Appendix D for more extensive statistics on the current dwelling (table D3 and D4), and on the current neighborhood specific motivations (table D5 and D6).

Table 5.4: Motivations regarding current dwelling and neighborhood

| | mean rating of respondents on a 1 - 5 Likert scale* | standard deviation |
|---------------------------------|---|--------------------|
| Current dwelling: | | |
| condition / quality of dwelling | 4,31 | 0,743 |
| size of dwelling | 4,38 | 0,589 |
| garden, terrace of balcony | 4,19 | 0,935 |
| wanted to rent/wanted to buy | 3,73 | 1,073 |
| availability of dwelling | 3,78 | 1,005 |
| good price-quality ratio | 4,14 | 0,742 |
| Current neighborhood: | | |
| modern, luxury appearance | 4,09 | 0,898 |
| low ratio of criminality | 3,74 | 0,861 |
| public services | 3,81 | 0,784 |
| shops and stores | 3,60 | 0,817 |
| culture and nightlife | 3,13 | 0,944 |
| accessibility / parking spaces | 3,72 | 0,964 |
| nearness of the city centre | 4,24 | 0,804 |
| reputation of neighborhood | 3,84 | 0,860 |
| other reasons | 4,50 | 0,756 |

* 1 = not important at all, 5 = most important

The question is whether there exist again (like in section 5.2.1) differences between several groups that can be distinguished based on the characteristics of the respondents? Crosstabulation E2 in Appendix E presents the exact statistics on the relationship between socio-demographic characteristics of the sample and their current dwelling specific motivations for moving to the “Kop van Zuid”. Based on this cross tabulation it can be argued that the state or quality of the current dwelling, as well as of the presence of a garden, terrace or balcony, have been slightly higher rated by the age category 51-60 years, than by the 21-50 years old age categories (4.7 against a mean rating of 4.3 on a scale of 1-5) as being a motive for moving to their current homes. This could indicate that these two factors were of a relatively higher importance to the “Kop van Zuid”-respondents in between 51 and 60 years old, in their decision of moving to the “Kop van Zuid”; than it was to their neighbors who are included in the other age categories. Although the difference could as well statistically be explained, since there were ‘only’ 10 respondents in the 51-60 years old age group, causing a relatively larger impact of high ratings on the mean rating.

At the same time there is a difference between the respondents aged between 21-40 years old, and the other age categories that could be significantly distinguished in the survey, regarding their rating of the two factors ‘wanted to rent/wanted to buy’ and ‘the availability of the dwelling’ (see also Crosstabulation E2 in Appendix E). Table 5.5 therefore shows the rounded ratings of the different age groups on these factors. In order to compare the ratings of these different age groups, the categories of 21-30 and 31-40 years old have been combined. This ‘younger’ age group mentioned in the survey that the factors ‘wanted to rent/wanted to buy’ and ‘the availability of the dwelling’ were more important (around 3.9 on a scale of 1.5) in their decision to move, than the ‘middle’ (around 3.6) and the ‘older’ age groups did (around 3.3). Again these differences could statistically be explained as well, since there were ‘only’ 10 respondents in the 51-60 years old age group, causing in this case a relatively larger impact of low ratings on the mean rating. In comparison, there were 66 respondents in the 21-40 age groups, whereas there were 38 respondents in the 41-60 years old group (see also section 5.1 on the socio-demographic statistics of the “Kop van Zuid”-sample). However the difference in rating of the two factors between the 21-40 years old and the 41-50 years old age groups then still remains.

So these findings could as well indicate that as one gets older, the motivations ‘wanted to rent/wanted to buy’ and ‘the availability of the dwelling’ become less important for finding a new home, and other factors could instead become more important (such as the state or quality of the current dwelling, and the presence of a garden, terrace or balcony!).

Table 5.5: Rating of two factors regarding the current dwelling, by age categories

| | wanted to rent / wanted to buy | the availability of the dwelling |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| age categories: | | |
| 21-40 years old | 3.9 | 3.9 |
| 41-50 years old | 3.6 | 3.6 |
| 51-60 years old | 3.3 | 3.3 |

* 1 = not important at all, 5 = most important

Another aspect of the current dwelling that could be a strong motivation for moving to it is the size of the dwelling. And indeed the size of the current dwelling was mentioned by almost every respondent in the survey as a (very) important factor in the decision to move (to the “Kop van Zuid”). So for example the presence of children in the household did not lead to an increase of the importance of the size of the dwelling. Fortunately, the respondents were not asked about the (minimum) number of rooms or the (minimum) square meters that they preferred.

What has been noticed is a relationship between the rating of the importance of current dwelling specific motivations for moving, and one’s position on the housing market. This relationship is presented in crosstabulation E3 in Appendix E. Note that the ratings of the 2 respondents that were living in social housing at the time of this survey have been left out of this analysis. The crosstabulation shows first of all that the “Kop van Zuid”-respondents who are home-owners assigned a higher rating of importance (4.4 on a scale of 1-5) to the presence of a garden, terrace or balcony, in their decision to move to their current homes; than those who are privately renting their homes (3.8 on a scale of 1-5). This finding could have several explanations; however none of them could be related to the theories or the statistics that are used in this thesis. A possible explanation could for example be that people who want to buy a house are more aware of their long time investment, and therefore the home should be perfect according to their wishes; whereas the one’s who are privately renting could bear in mind that they could more easily move to another place, so they are more willing to accept a compromise.

A similar difference can be found in the ratings of the “Kop van Zuid”-respondents that are living in a home which is on the ‘ground floor’, such as a terraced house or a two-under-one-roof house, (they averagely rated a 4.5 on a scale of 1-5); and the “Kop van Zuid”-respondents that are living in a flat / apartment (they averagely rated a 4.1 on a scale of 1-5). Fortunately the home ownership-group does not include exactly the same respondents as the ‘ground floor-group’; so the assumption that the higher ratings were caused by the presence of a garden, cannot be confirmed (it may partly explain the outcomes).

Another difference that can be induced out of the crosstabulation on current dwelling related motivations and one’s position on the housing market, is that the “Kop van Zuid”-respondents who have been living in their current homes since 0-3 years, have mentioned ‘the availability of the dwelling’ as a higher factor (4.0 on a scale of 1-5) in their decision to move, than the “Kop van Zuid”-respondents who have been living in their current homes since 3-9 years (with a rating of 3.6 on a scale of 1-5) and their neighbors who have been living in their current homes since 10-15 years (with a rating of 3.5 on a scale of 1-5). Could it be that in the past 3 years it has become more difficult to find a suitable home, than it was before? Again, this explanation cannot be supported by the theories or by the statistics that are used in this thesis.

Crosstabulation E4 in Appendix E shows the means scores of the recent neighborhood related motivations, within distinct socio-demographic categories of the “Kop van Zuid”-sample. The differences in rating between the men and the women in the survey are again not of relevance for this survey, although it can be concluded from the crosstabulation that their ratings differ, regarding the presence of ‘public services’ and ‘shops and stores’. Another difference concerns the household composition of the “Kop van Zuid”-residents: It is remarkably that the one person households have mentioned that they found it (very) important that the neighborhood has ‘low crime rates’ (a rating of 4.2 on a 1-5 scale),

whereas the couples without children rated this factor as slightly less important (3.9 on a 1-5 scale), and the couples who were having children even rated this factor neutral-important (3.5 on a 1-5 scale). Again, there could be several reasons for this finding, such as the idea that one person households are more aware of the risks of criminality and hassle in general, than the couples (with children), because they are living alone. On the other hand, couples with children may prefer to move to a place in which criminality and hassle are low as well, because of their children's safety. What is therefore more interesting is the difference in rating on the current neighborhood motivations, between the different age groups. To start with, the factor 'culture and nightlife' has been mentioned as being slightly more important (3.3 on a scale of 1-5) as a motivation for moving to the "Kop van Zuid", by the "Kop van Zuid"-respondents that were in between 21 and 30 years old; than by their neighbors in the other age groups (who rated around a 3.1 on a scale of 1-5). Based on the statistics on 'culture and nightlife', one would expect similar statistics on the factor 'near the city centre', as center of culture and nightlife. However the reverse is true: The factor 'near city centre' has been rated relatively high by the 51-60 years old age group (around 4.6 on a scale of 1-5), in comparison to the other age groups (who rated around 4.2 on a scale of 1-5). At the same time, the factor 'accessibility of the neighborhood / availability of parking spaces' has been rated relatively low by the 21 and 30 years old age group (3.4 on a scale of 1-5), in comparison to the other age groups (who rated around 3.8 on a scale of 1-5). Last, the factor 'reputation of the neighborhood' has been rated relatively low by the 21 and 30 years old age group (3.7 on a scale of 1-5), in comparison to 51-60 years old age group (who rated 4.1 on a scale of 1-5).

While comparing the ratings on the current neighborhood specific motivations for moving to the "Kop van Zuid" between the different categories of the "Kop van Zuid"-respondents based on their socio-economic characteristics and their position on the housing market; no remarkable or relevant differences were found regarding these relationships. Therefore the next section will be about the motivations for moving to the "Kop van Zuid", regarding the previous dwelling and neighborhood of the respondents.

5.2.3 Previous dwelling and neighborhood specific motivations

The propensity to move can be influenced by the supply of housing alternatives: it is possible that a household which does not want to move in the first place, will actually move when an attractive dwelling or location, in comparison to their current housing situation, is offered (Floor and Van Kempen, 1997). Sometimes, in moving behavior, the push factors of a current dwelling or neighborhood could be triggers to move to another place (Permentier, Van Ham and Bolt, 2009). At the same time, choices that were made earlier in the housing carrier, could be of influence on the recent choices regarding housing (Pickles and Davies, 1991). Table 5.6 shows the mean ratings of the "Kop van Zuid"-residents that participated in the sample, on their current dwelling and current neighborhood related motivations for moving into the "Kop van Zuid". Again, the size of the dwelling (often too small, but not always) and the presence of (more often: the lack of) a garden, terrace or balcony were mentioned as being important motivations for moving to another dwelling. See also table 5.4 in the former section about the importance of these factors in the decision to move. More extensive statistics on the previous dwelling related motivations are included in table D7 and D8 (Appendix D).

Furtheron, the factors ‘criminality or hassle’ in the neighborhood and ‘the bad condition or deprivation’ of the neighborhood have been mentioned by 9.1% of the ‘‘Kop van Zuid’’-sample as being very important reasons for moving. This could explain the relatively ‘high ratings’ on these factors, in comparison to the other factors. Appendix D includes more extensive statistics on the previous neighborhood specific motivations (table D9 and D10). None of the neighborhood related motivations for moving had a mean rating above 3.0 on the 1-5 Likert scale.

The rather high rating on ‘other reasons’ has been caused by the 19 respondents who mentioned another reason as main motivation (*very important*) for moving out of their previous homes. Other reasons were for example ‘the previous dwelling was abroad’, ‘there were no playgrounds for children in the previous neighborhood’ and ‘an increase in the number of households belonging to an ethnic minority’.

Table 5.6: Motivations regarding previous dwelling and neighborhood

| | mean rating of respondents on a 1 - 5 Likert scale* | standard deviation |
|---------------------------------|---|--------------------|
| Current dwelling: | | |
| condition / quality of dwelling | 2,99 | 1,292 |
| size of dwelling | 3,76 | 1,277 |
| garden, terrace or balcony | 3,46 | 1,509 |
| Current neighborhood: | | |
| criminality or hassle | 2,78 | 1,277 |
| bad condition or deprivation | 2,63 | 1,340 |
| poor public services | 2,36 | 1,110 |
| poor shops and stores | 2,28 | 1,092 |
| poor culture and nightlife | 2,46 | 1,160 |
| bad accessibility / parking | 2,49 | 1,085 |
| city centre is too far away | 2,58 | 1,287 |
| bad reputation of neighborh. | 2,39 | 1,144 |
| other reasons | 4,64 | 0,757 |

* 1 = not important at all, 5 = most important

Crosstabulation E5 in Appendix E presents the mean scores on the previous dwelling related motivations, within distinct socio-demographic categories. Again there is the difference between the men and the women in the ‘‘Kop van Zuid’’-sample, this time regarding their ratings on the absence of a garden, terrace or balcony at their previous homes, that is not of direct relevance to this thesis. Next to that there is a difference regarding the rating of the poor state or quality of the dwelling as an important motivation for relocating, between the 51-60 years old age category and the other age categories (2.2 against around 3.0 on a scale of 1-5). The fact that the dwelling was too small, as well as the absence of a garden, terrace or balcony has been rated slightly higher as a reason for moving by the 31-50 years old age group (3.9 on a scale of 1-5), than by the other age groups (around 3.45 on a scale of 1-5). This could be explained while looking at the couples *with children* statistics, as this group includes almost the same ‘‘Kop van Zuid’’-respondents as the 31-50 years old age group

does. And couples who have children indeed rate the ‘limited size of the dwelling’ and the ‘absence of a garden, terrace or balcony’ as two characteristics of their previous homes that were for them important reasons (4.2 and 4.0 on a scale of 1-5) for moving to their current homes. Whereas a large share of the the “Kop van Zuid”-respondents in the other household composition categories rated these characteristics as ‘neutral’ (3.0 on a scale of 1-5).

Crosstabulation E6 in Appendix E presents the mean scores on the previous dwelling related motivations, within distinct socio-economic categories. To start with, there is a striking difference in the rating of the ‘crime or hassle’ factor as a characteristic of the previous neighbourhood for which the “Kop van Zuid”-respondents moved out of this neighborhood. Namely the respondents that were in the 21-30 years old age group, as well as those that were in the 60+ age group, rated ‘crime or hassle’ as a lower factor for moving, than their neighbors who were in the intermediate age groups (2.4 and even 1.9 against around 3.0 on a scale of 1-5). At the same time, this factor as well as the factors ‘deprivation’ and a ‘bad reputation’ of the previous neighborhood, have been rated slightly higher by the one person households, than by the other household types. This contradicts the idea that the one person households are either in between 21-30 years old, or 60+, because these respondents did not mention these three factors in their previous neighborhood as important reasons for moving, whereas the one person households did.

Another difference that can be concluded from crosstabulation E6 is the difference between the 41-60 years old age groups and the other age categories regarding their ratings of ‘poor public services’ and ‘poor shops and stores’ in their previous neighborhood as a reason to move (around 2.6 against around 2.2 on a scale of 1-5).

Last, the ‘older age groups’ of “Kop van Zuid”-respondents above 50 years old stand out, first because of their high ratings on the factors ‘bad accessibility’ of the previous neighborhood and the fact that the ‘city centre was too far away’ from it; in comparison to the ratings of the other “Kop van Zuid”-respondents. And second because of their relatively low ratings on the factor ‘bad reputation’ of the previous neighborhood as a motive for moving to another neighborhood/moving to the “Kop van Zuid”.

Some differences in the motivations of the ‘new-build gentrifiers’ in comparison to those of the ‘traditional gentrifiers’, that were expected (see also section 2.5) in this research, were actually found as well. These include first of all the aesthetics of the neighborhood in which the gentrifiers migrated. In the “Kop van Zuid” the modern, luxury appearance of new-build housing attracted the gentrifiers, whereas in earlier theory about the ‘traditional’ gentrifier it is argued that the pioneers were attracted by the historic elements of old and even deteriorated housing that could be renovated. Also the (positive) reputation of neighborhood was mentioned by the “Kop van Zuid” residents that were in the sample as being an important factor that attracted them to this neighborhood. Whereas from literature on the gentrifiers it is known that the pioneers choose to move to the neighborhoods that had a negative reputation. It is possible that the gentrifiers, who moved into the gentrifying neighborhoods in a later stage than the pioneers, were attracted by the hip and popular culture that occurred there as a result of the incoming artists and students.

About the motivations of the “Kop van Zuid”-sample for moving into this area

This section has dealt with the life-cycle motivations at first. Changes in or aspects of the life cycle regarding ‘employment’, ‘marriage or a relationship’, and ‘the birth of children / the presence of young children’ do have the largest influence on the decision of where to move; in comparison to the other life-cycle related motivations. When dividing the respondents into different age groups, it can be concluded that the factor ‘marriage or living together’ is much more mentioned by the respondents who were in the 21-30 years old age category, than by the other respondents, as an important reason for moving to the ‘Kop van Zuid’. At the same time the factor ‘birth of / young children’ has been mentioned slightly more by the respondents who were in the 31-50 years old age group, as an important factor in the decision of where to move. Differences like this one, between the age groups, confirm the relationship between one’s phase in the life-cycle (Stapleton, 1997) and one’s behavior on the housing market (Smid and Priemus, 1994).

When examining the dwelling-specific motivations for moving to the ‘Kop van Zuid’, it can be concluded that ‘the size’ and ‘the condition or quality’ of the dwelling are mentioned by the ‘Kop van Zuid’-sample as being very important factors in the decision of where to move. Again there were some differences between the different age groups and the different categories of household composition. It is argued (see also table 5.5) that the factors ‘wanted to rent / wanted to buy’ and ‘the availability of the dwelling’ become less important in the decision of where to move, as one gets older. At the same time if one gets older, other factors could become more important, such as the state or quality of the current dwelling or the presence of a garden, a terrace or a balcony.

The motivations for moving to the ‘Kop van Zuid’ regarding the neighborhood are of importance as well in carrying out a research on peoples’ behavior on the housing market. The ‘Kop van Zuid’-mentioned almost unanimously that they thought the ‘modern and luxury appearance’ as well as the ‘nearness of the city centre’ were most important factors involved by their decision to move to the ‘Kop van Zuid’. Although other neighborhood related factors, such as the reputation of the neighborhood were mentioned relatively often as being (very) important factors as well. A remarkable result is that although the younger age category (21-30 years old) mentioned the factor ‘culture and nightlife’ more often than the other age categories did, actually the older age category (51-60 years old) mentioned the factor ‘near the city centre’ more often as an important factor for moving to the ‘Kop van Zuid’, than the other age groups.

Further on, it is said that the propensity to move can be influenced by the supply of housing alternatives (Floor and Van Kempen, 1997), and that actual moving behavior only occurs when there are no restrictions or constraints preventing an intention from being realised (Permentier, Van Ham and Bolt, 2009, p.2163). Buys and Singelenberg (1989, in: Musterd, 1989) conclude that those in search of housing are in fact accepting compromises. These compromises are in fact ‘trade-offs’ between different housing preferences. So in order to understand the motivations of the (new-build) gentrifiers for moving to a gentrified or gentrifying neighborhood, it is essential to explore their overall housing preferences as well. Therefore the next section is about these dwelling and neighborhood specific preferences.

5.3 About the housing preferences of the inhabitants of the “Kop van Zuid”

In the former section, the socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the inhabitants of the “Kop van Zuid”-sample were investigated, as well as their position on the housing market. It can be concluded that the new inhabitants of the “Kop van Zuid” are mostly couples, about half of them with children, and that they fall within the middle or higher income classes. As is said in section 2.4, household characteristics have a strong influence on housing preferences, but housing preferences have become diversified within these demographical categories as well, as they have become more and more individualized (Floor and Van Kempen, 1997). Preferences regarding housing are part of the ‘ideal image’ (Priemus, 1969) that a person can have about his or her housing situation, consisting characteristics of the ‘perfect’ dwelling, as well as characteristics of the ‘perfect’ neighborhood. Preferences could be related to a one’s life course (Clark and Dieleman, 1996), one’s housing career (Bolt and Van Kempen, 2002), or one’s daily patterns (Hägerstrand, 1970). Individual preferences, such as lifestyle or consumption-related preferences could influence the decision of where to move as well. Ley (1996) already argued that the gentrification process can be explained through the rise of the ‘new urban middle class’, which has led to an increasing popularity of inner city living. He first mentions different reasons for this trend, such as the impact of more expensive commuting (because of the 1973 oil shock), the tumbling birth-rate, and the emancipated woman who wanted to start careers in the city. But then finally, he comes up with the statement that it could be ‘the more cosmopolitan and permissive opportunities of the central city’, that attracted youngsters (p.9).

This section presents the housing preferences of the “Kop van Zuid”-sample, as it will also compare these preferences with the preferences of the first and second wave gentrifiers. There were 24 questions in the questionnaire regarding the dwelling and neighborhood specific preferences of the gentrifiers in the sample. However not all of them generated relevant information for answering the research questions of this thesis. Therefore, the preferences of the sample considered being remarkable results and/or of importance for this research are presented in this section. The rest has been included in Appendix 8 as background information about the “Kop van Zuid”-residents who participated in the survey.

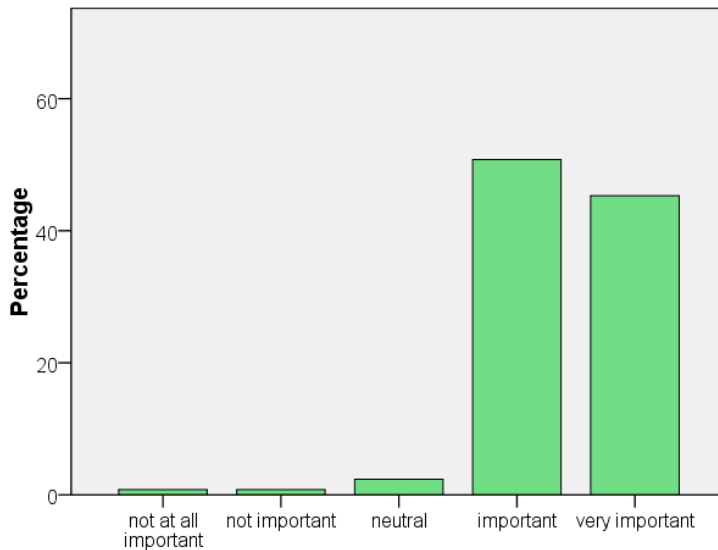
Note that there is no ranking of the preferences in relative importance to each other. As already described in section 4.2.5, some criteria are ‘hard’ and ‘irreplaceable’ aspects of a dwelling or neighborhood, whereas others can be negotiated about or can be replaced by other preferences (Smid and Priemus, 1994, p.8). As Floor and Van Kempen (1997) explain, there is a difference between absolute, trade-off and relative preferences. However, conclusions regarding this matter cannot be derived from the data analysed in this research. The statistics about all of the ratings done by the “Kop van Zuid” residents who participated in the sample, on both the dwelling specific and the neighborhood specific preferences are included in Appendix E.

5.3.1 Preferences regarding dwelling

As is mentioned in section 2, the pioneers in the first and second wave of gentrification choose, to start with, vacant housing or housing that is deteriorated or obsolete, because they like to reinvest in these dwellings by renovating them for their own use. In stark contrast to this theory, almost all of the respondents in the “Kop van Zuid”-sample find the condition or quality of the dwelling (very) important (see figure 5.13 below). It should be noted here that it were the first-stage gentrifiers (the ‘pioneers’) who preferred dwellings facing a relatively bad condition or quality. Whereas from the third stage of gentrification on, it were more ‘middle class’ households who moved into the gentrifying or gentrified neighborhoods (Clay, 1979).

It is increasingly the (real estate) developers who are investing in the properties in order to sale or rent them to middle class households. In other words, these incoming households, who are more often from the business and managerial middle class than from the professional middle class (Clay, 1979), are rather moving into renovated and upgraded housing which is obviously in a good condition or of a good quality.

Figure 5.13: Good condition or quality of the dwelling



It is suggested that Florida’s (2005) ‘creative class’ enjoys the aesthetics in their city and neighborhood. Ley (1996) stated that inner city living, within an environment characterized by (renovated) historical elements, has increasingly become more popular. But on the question of to what extent the “Kop van Zuid” residents do prefer historical characteristics in the appearances of their homes, the opinions were divided, with a noticeable tendency towards the rating of ‘important’ (figure 5.14 on the next page). A significant larger share of the respondents in the survey mentioned that they prefer modern characteristics as being an important or even a very important characteristic of their ‘ideal’ house (see figure 5.15 that is on the next page as well). Therefore, a characteristic of ‘new-build gentrifiers’ could be that they relatively prefer a neighborhood with modern elements (such as a skyline or prominent post-modern architecture) over a neighborhood with historic elements, based on the opinions

of the new-build gentrifiers that were in this survey. However, the evidence for such a comparison is little (based on only 2 questions, together with the 2 questions in section 5.2.2); plus it is difficult to interpret such outcomes (i.e. to find causalities). It could also be the case that the “Kop van Zuid” respondents highlighted the modern characteristics, because they are aware of the fact that the “Kop van Zuid” as well as the city of Rotterdam are well-known because of their modern architecture.

Figure 5.14: Historical characteristics

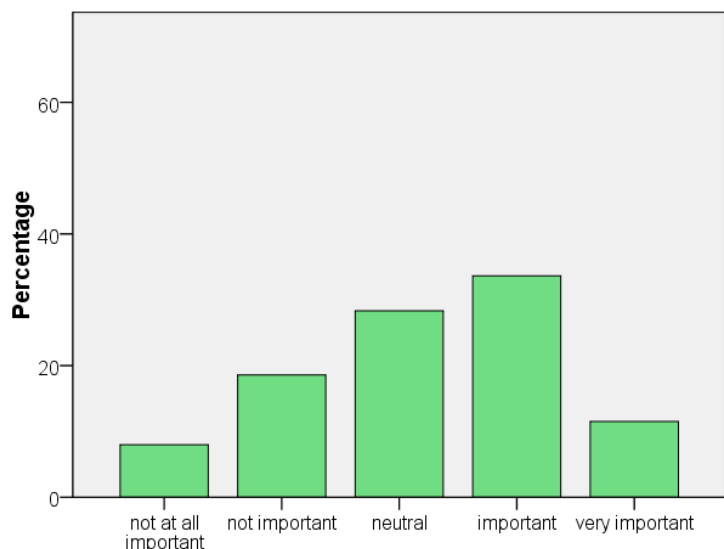
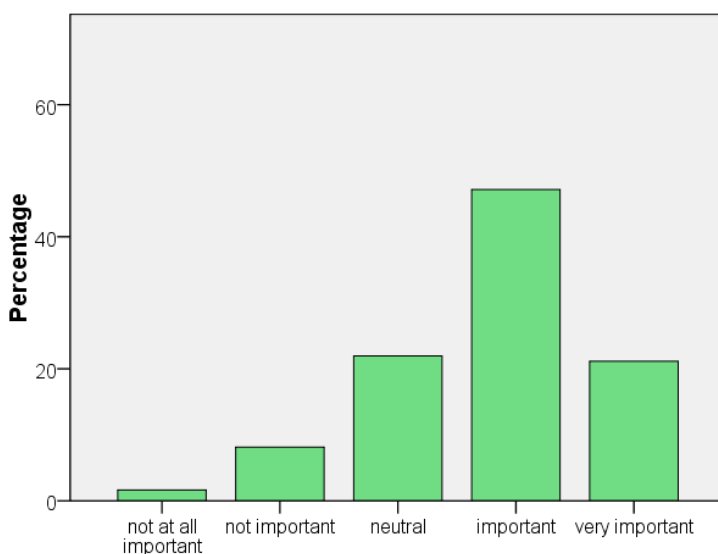


Figure 5.15: Modern characteristics



5.3.2 Preferences regarding neighborhood

As Ley wrote in his ‘Liberal ideology and the post-industrial city’ (1980): ‘A new ideology of urban development was in the making. Urban strategy seemed to be passing from an emphasis on growth to a concern with the quality of life; the new liberalism was to be recognized less by its production schedules than by its consumption styles’ (p.239). This citation indicates that besides the general characteristics of a dwelling, such as the size of it, other, more on the neighborhood level, characteristics are currently seen as being more important. The sphere in the neighborhood (urbane, lively), but also the quality of the environment (clean, green), are examples of pull factors for households (Floor and Van Kempen, 1997). It is remarkably that the majority of the “Kop van Zuid”-residents who participated in the survey mentioned quietness and green spaces in the neighborhood as being (very) important (see figure 5.16 and 5.17 as well). This contradicts the theory that gentrifiers are attracted by the busy metropolitan and consumption-based character of the inner city (Florida, 2005). However, these outcomes are in line with the above mentioned ideas about a growing concern with the quality of life.

Figure 5.16: Quietness

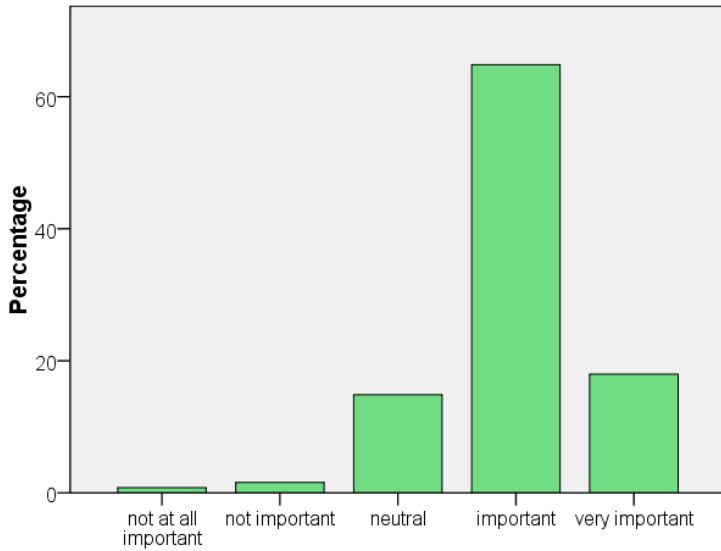
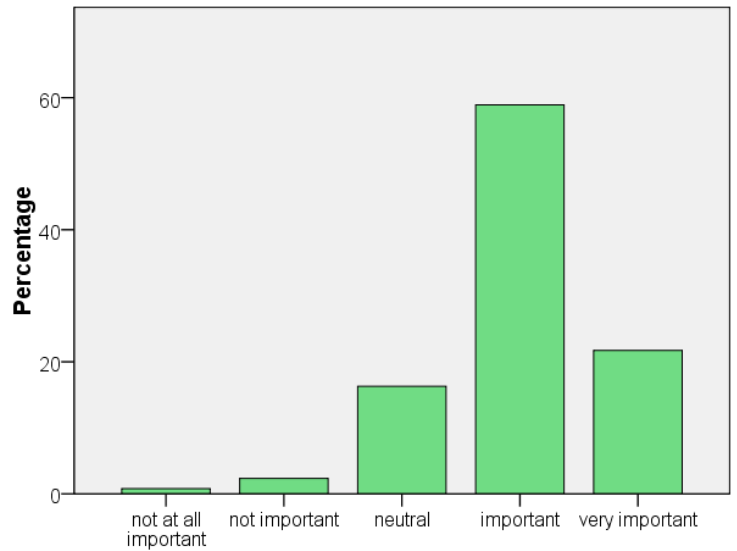


Figure 5.17: Green spaces



Another issue is that green spaces and a quiet environment remind of suburban housing; together with the spatial character and a population consisting of families, they are typical characteristics of a suburban neighborhood. But it is mentioned that the gentrifiers ‘dream about urban, not suburban’ (Lambert and Boddy, 2002; Florida, 2005). So it can be concluded here that the residents of the “Kop van Zuid”-sample do prefer some elements of suburban living, although they are in fact living very near to the city centre of Rotterdam. The next question would be whether the “Kop van Zuid” is seen as a green and quiet place by its inhabitants.

Liveliness could be seen as opposite to quietness. Therefore one would expect that the same people, who would opt for a quiet and green environment, would mention the liveliness of the neighborhood as undesirable. But it is quite different: a large share of the “Kop van Zuid”-residents who participated in the sample prefer a lively neighborhood (see also figure 5.18 on the next page). Perhaps it depends on what definition the images of quietness, green spaces and liveliness have been given by the respondents (and this could in turn differ to the definition that was meant by the researcher). There could be small nuances in both the perception of the neighborhood, as well as in the stated preferences. It is for example possible that the respondents prefer the whole package, namely: they want to live in a relatively quiet environment with some green spaces around, and at the same time they want to live close to the vibrant city centre. Stadstuinen, Landtong and Entrepot are indeed relatively more quiet and green (especially Stadstuinen) than for example Wilhelminapier and then, of course, the city centre of Rotterdam. It could also be the case that these are the preferences of the respondents, but that they did not manage to realise them all within their current neighborhood. For gaining more insights on this matter, research has also been done on the respondents’ motives for moving to the “Kop van Zuid” (section 5.3).

Another subject regarding housing, on which people can have different opinions, is safety. It makes sense that people prefer to live in a safe environment. However, this was not particularly the case with the first and second wave gentrifiers. According to the theory on the

pioneers in the these periods of gentrification, they were willing to take more risks as potential value loss of property, or the presence of relatively more crime and ‘hassle’ due to the fact that the neighborhood is more ‘remote’ and impoverished. The residents of the “Kop van Zuid” are not like those pioneers, because everyone in the “Kop van Zuid”-sample agrees in that safety is (very) important in a neighborhood (figure 5.19).

Figure 5.18: A lively neighborhood

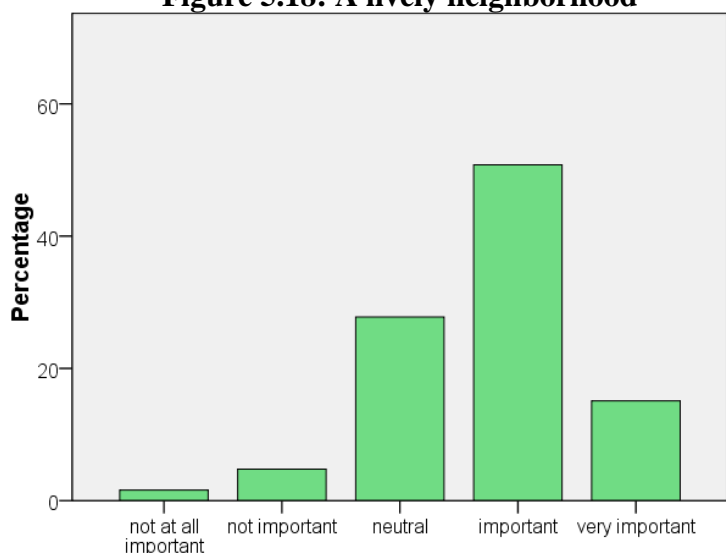
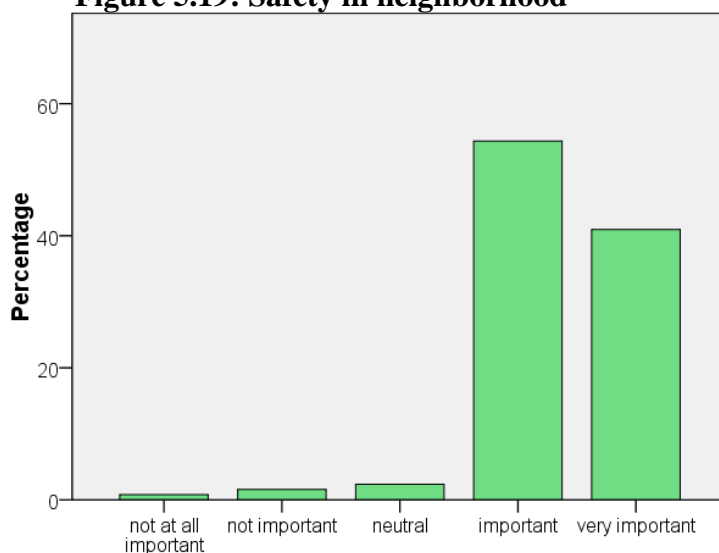


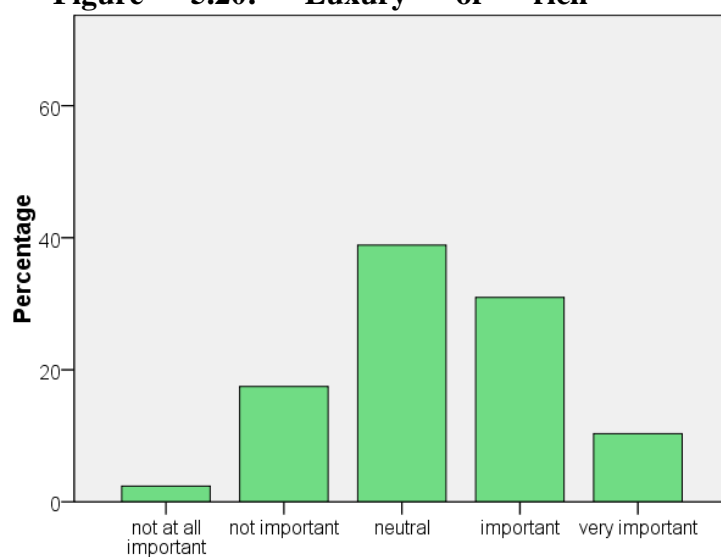
Figure 5.19: Safety in neighborhood



‘In practice it turns out that the housing-images will be examined, not only on grounds of the information that exists about the dwelling, but also on grounds of associations that the respondents have with the ‘accompanying’ living environment. These characteristics of the living environment will therefore have an important impact on the consumer’s choices regarding the housing market (Buys and Singelenberg, 1989, in: Musterd, 1989, p.12).

Of course, the preferred appearance of a neighborhood could be seen as a question **appearance** of individual taste. Next to that, the fact that one can afford to live in a neighborhood that looks luxury or rich, could also be seen as a status symbol (Bourdieu, 1984). It was already mentioned that gentrifiers like the aesthetics of their cities and neighborhoods (Ley, 2003); but they are not so much driven by status and luxury, as their primary goal of housing was to live nearby the cosmopolitan city centre and to express their lifestyles. The “Kop van Zuid”-residents in the survey did not stated unanimously that they preferred to live in a neighborhood with a luxury or rich appearance very badly. Remarkably is that the largest group, namely 40% of the respondents, ticked ‘neutral’ (see also figure 5.20).

Figure 5.20: Luxury or rich



This could be an example of the ‘social desirability bias’ (as explained in section 4.2.5), but without any further evidence, this cannot be concluded at once. Further on, it seems that the respondents did appreciate a neighborhood with some modern elements in it slightly more than a neighborhood with some historical elements (see also figure 5.21 and 5.22 below). Though on both questions, again a relatively large share of people answered that they felt ‘neutral’ about it. It is said that gentrifiers often like the historical appearance of a certain neighborhood. During the first and second wave of gentrification, they preferred to invest in old and deteriorated property and they often took up residence in (by themselves or by speculators) renovated buildings. As already mentioned in 5.2.1, a characteristic of ‘the new-build gentrifier’ could be that he or she prefers a neighborhood with modern elements (such as a skyline or prominent post-modern architecture).

Figure 5.21: Historical elements

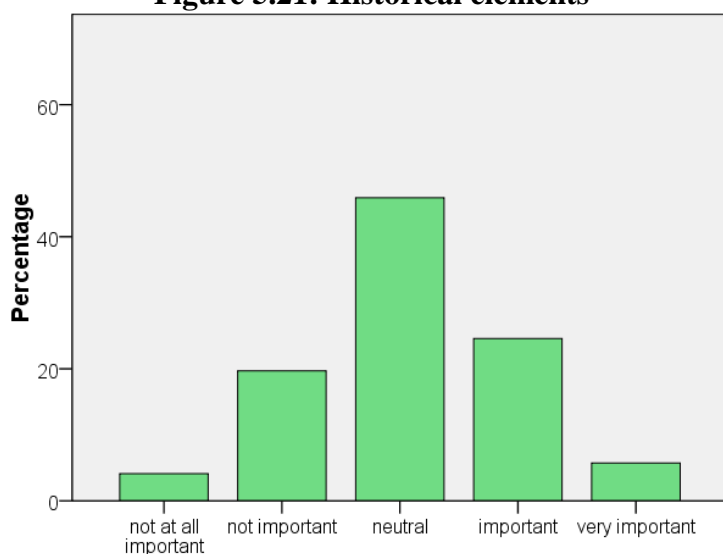
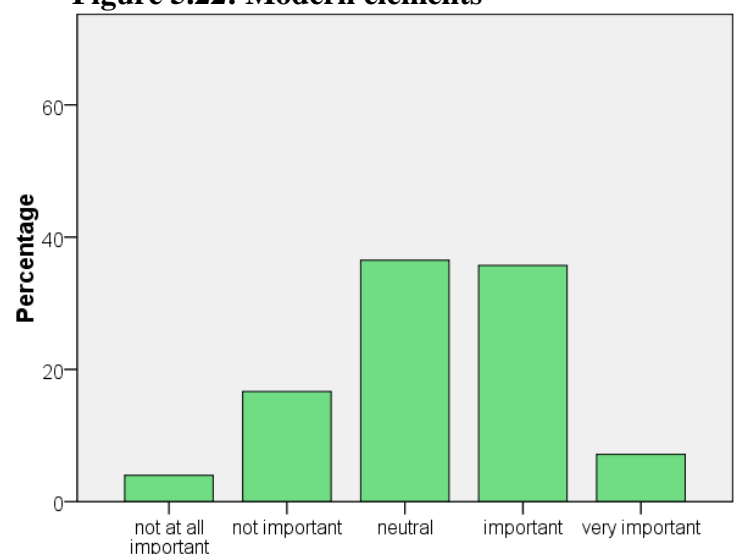


Figure 5.22: Modern elements



Gentrified areas are well-known for their cultural and catering industry facilities, such as bars, restaurants, galleries, cinemas, clothing boutiques and bookstores (Knox and Pinch, 2006). According to several authors and scientists (such as Ley, 1996; Landry, 2000; Florida, 2005), it is these characteristics of a lively neighborhood that attract the gentrifiers. The presence of shops, restaurants and cultural amenities will increase the neighborhoods’ popularity as a living place. Returning to the ‘Kop van Zuid’-sample, both the presence of ‘public services’ and the presence of ‘shops and stores’ in a neighborhood were seen as being (very) important by the vast majority of the ‘Kop van Zuid’-residents who participated in the survey (see also figure 5.23 and figure 5.24 on the next page). ‘Culture and nightlife’ were rated as being rather less important than the public services, and shops and stores, although the presence of sufficient culture and nightlife-facilities was still assigned an average score of 4.04 on the 1-5 Likert scale, in which a 4 means that the factor/ preference is of significance importance (figure 5.25 on the next page).

Figure 5.23: Public services

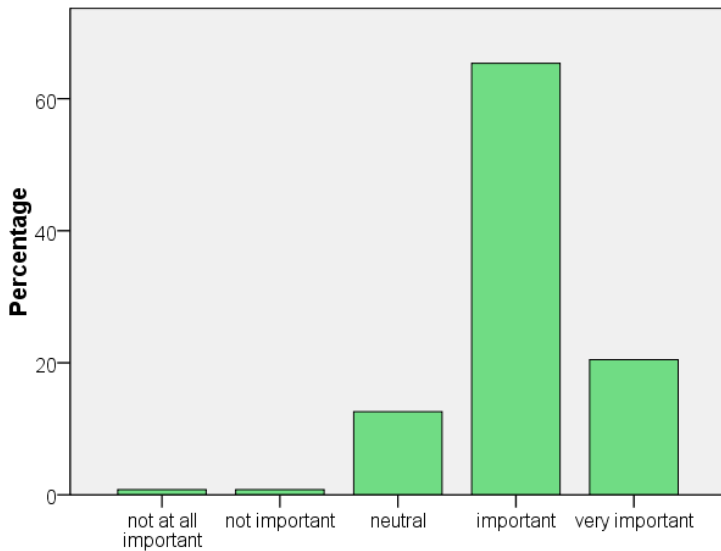


Figure 5.24: Shops and stores

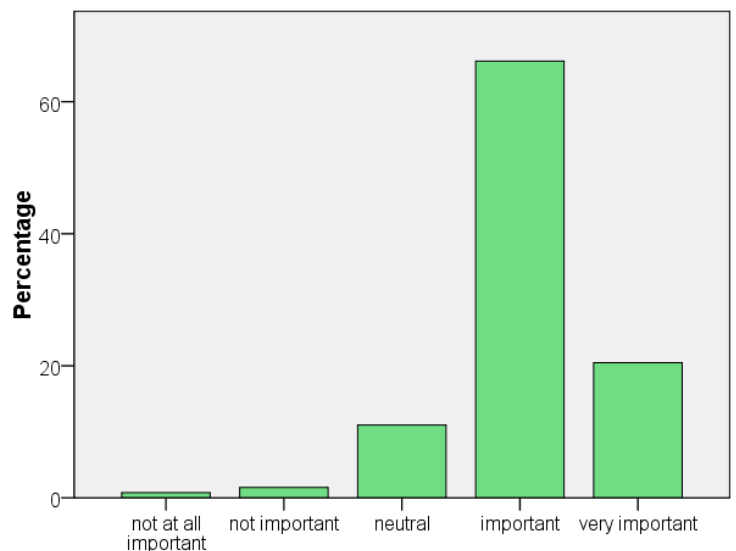
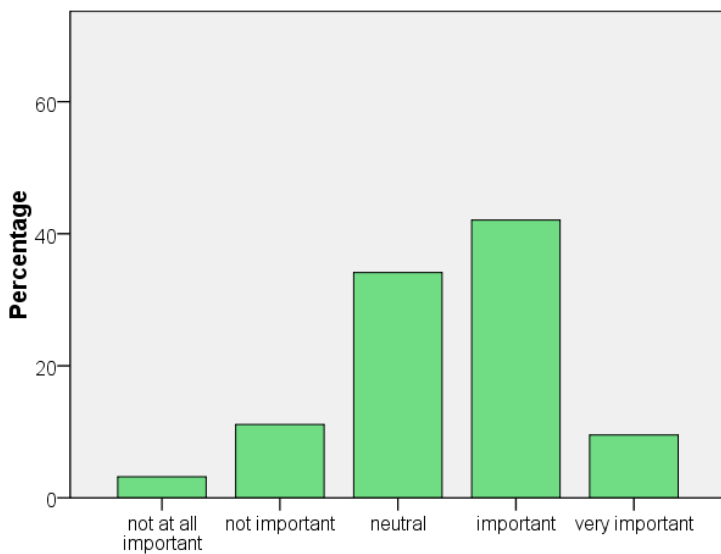


Figure 5.25: Culture and nightlife



It is argued that households partly base their relocation choice on emotional values, such as the neighborhoods' reputation (Buys and Singelenberg, 1989, in: Musterd, 1989). In a study of Van Ham and Feijten (2008) indeed it turned out that the reputation of a neighborhood is of significant importance in moving decisions. Next to that, it is argued that a neighborhood is increasingly functioning as a status symbol (Bourdieu, 1984; Forrest and Kearns, 2001), because the place where one lives can be seen as a reflection of one's position in society. These theories contradict the movement of the pioneers in the first and second wave of gentrification, because they actually did move to neighborhoods which had a bad reputation. They moved for example into the impoverished and remote areas of the city, because they wanted to invest into deteriorated dwellings. They wanted to renovate the buildings or to express their lifestyles, rather than to move into a 'safe', comfortable and luxurious area.

This is perhaps also the case because this group of pioneers were at some point predominantly consisting of artists and bohemians, and they did not have the financial opportunities to live in the more popular or rich neighborhoods. However, the respondents of the “Kop van Zuid”-sample mainly mentioned that they preferred to move to a neighborhood which is known for its good reputation (see also figure 5.26 below). This indicates that there is a difference between the (pioneers from the) first and second wave gentrifiers and the residents of the “Kop van Zuid” that were in the survey, regarding the neighborhoods’ reputation.

What is relatively higher rated, in comparison to the reputation of the neighborhood-aspect, is the ‘nearness of the city centre’ as being a (very) important characteristic of the neighborhood where one wants to live (see also figure 5.27 below). Gentrifiers prefer to live nearby the city centre, or Central Business District (Ley, 1996). It can be said that they feel attracted by the presence of public services, shops and stores, and culture and nightlife (see figure 5.23, 5.24 and 5.25 on the former page) that the busy and lively city centre has to offer. But it also can be said that the vast majority of the households in the “Kop van Zuid”-sample simply are having a daily pattern which is dynamic and extended over a large area. Then the choice of where to live in terms of location, is indeed related to the (reach of, and the possibilities in) the action space of an individual or a household (Hägerstrand, 1970).

Figure 5.26: Reputation of neighborhood

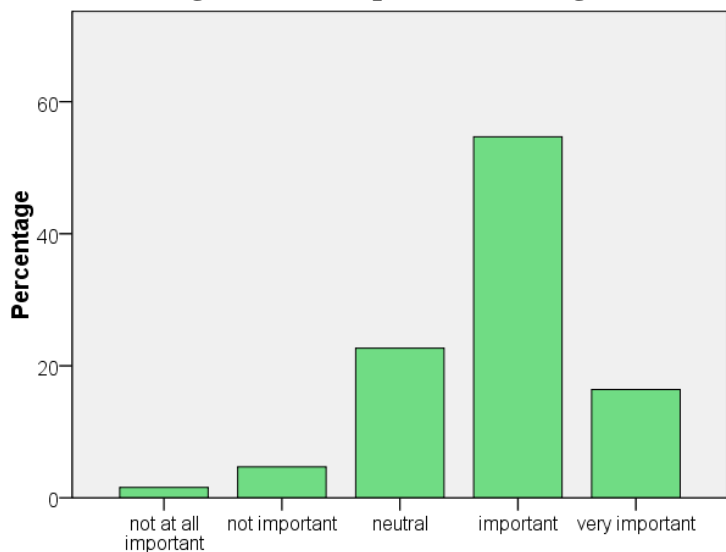
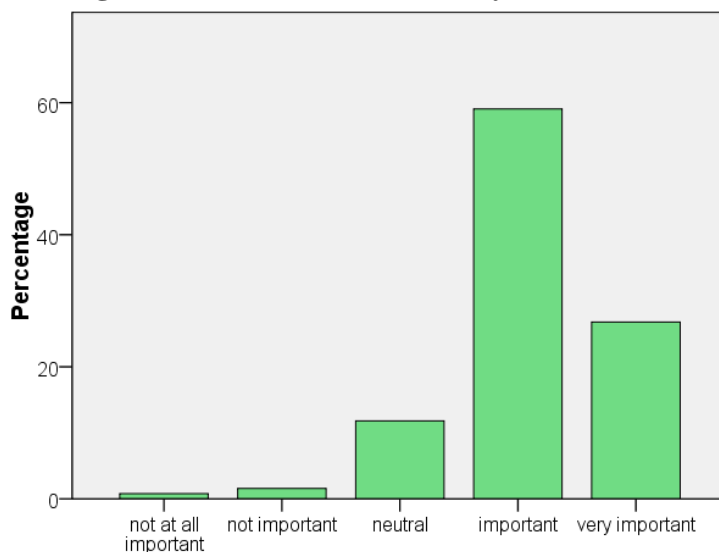


Figure 5.27: Nearness of the city centre



About the housing preferences of the “Kop van Zuid”-sample

Ley (1996) argued that the gentrification process could be explained through the rise of the new middle class and the increasing attractiveness of the more cosmopolitan and permissive opportunities of the central city for youngsters, turning the inner city and its surroundings into popular places to live. Whereas the first ‘change’ is about the gentrifiers, the second ‘change’ is regarding the gentrifiers’ preferences. This section has shown that not only the group of new-build gentrifiers differs from the (pioneers in the) first and second wave gentrifiers in terms of characteristics (former section); they differ in terms of housing preferences as well.

Although in this quantitative research, no difference has been made between absolute, trade-off and relative preferences (Floor and Van Kempen, 1997), several assumptions can be made regarding the housing preferences of the “Kop van Zuid”-sample, representing the new-build gentrifiers in this research. The new-build gentrifiers and the gentrifiers of the first and second wave of gentrification do have one preference in common: they argue that it is very important for them to live near the city centre. On other preferences, such as the condition, quality and appearance of the dwelling and neighborhood; the amount of risk that they are willing to take; and the influence of the neighborhood reputation on their moving decisions, the opinions differ. While having these results compared with the theory on the traditional gentrifier, it can be argued that these two groups do have slightly different preferences.

Note that housing preferences do not immediately result in a movement (see also section 2.4). Priemus (1969) makes a distinction between the ‘ideal image’ that a person can have about his or her housing situation; and the ‘aspiration image’. The ideal image is the living situation in which households would find themselves if it was not for financial limitations or constraints in the housing supply. In most cases this ideal image can be compared to an unrealistic dream. Therefore, it is more accurate to distinct people’s (more general) preferences, from their motivations for an actual movement to another house of neighborhood. The motivations of the “Kop van Zuid”-residents who participated in the sample are therefore presented in the next section.

6 Conclusion and recommendations

Quantitative research has been done on the “Kop van Zuid” in order to find out who the gentrifiers are in new-build gentrification. Logically, the context matters in exploratory research; therefore the results of the survey do, strictly spoken, only apply to the three “Kop van Zuid”-neighborhoods *Stadstuinen*, *Landtong* and *Entrepot*. This research could however lead to some new insights in and some new understandings of the process of new-build gentrification.

The goal of this thesis has been to compare the recently (from the 1990s on) emerged third wave of gentrification, in which new-build developments play a central role, with the theory on the more ‘traditional’ type of gentrification that occurred during the first and second wave of gentrification (1950s until the 1980s). And this comparison has been done by focusing on the gentrifiers; because according to Ley (1996) it is essential for an understanding of the gentrification process to investigate the social and cultural characteristics of the gentrifiers. Next to the argument of Ley (1996), another reason for conducting research on the characteristics of the new-build gentrifiers is that not much research has been done before about these new-build gentrifiers. Comprehensible, this thesis may be a (small) start in exploring this subject and in the resulting mapping of the characteristics of the new-build gentrifiers, since the survey has been carried out amongst the residents of the new-build waterfront developments on the “Kop van Zuid”, Rotterdam.

In order to come to an answer on the problem statement of this thesis, first the three sub-questions will be answered (in section 6.1), resulting in a conclusion of the “Kop van Zuid”-data analysis and the comparison of these outcomes to the existing theory on gentrification. This section will provide the basis on which the main question will be answered (in section 6.2), followed by some critical reflection and some nuances regarding the conclusion of this thesis (section 6.3). Subsequently, the final section (6.4) will deal with some recommendations that could be done from the results of this thesis.

6.1 Differences between “Kop van Zuid”-residents and ‘traditional gentrifiers’

It resulted from the survey that the residents in the “Kop van Zuid”-sample did have some remarkably (often shared common) characteristics. The statistics on this matter showed that the “Kop van Zuid”-residents who participated in the survey were mainly in between 30 and 50 years old, relatively higher educated, earning higher wages; and that they were having a higher labor participation, than averagely is the case in Rotterdam. Thus it seems like the new-build and redeveloped neighborhoods *Stadstuinen*, *Landtong* and *Entrepot* are home to the professionals, managers and technicians of Rotterdam. So far so good: this image of the gentrifier also showed from the theory about the gentrifiers (amongst many others Ley, 1996). There are however some differences between the “Kop van Zuid”-sample and the theory on the gentrifiers. To start with, Florida (2002) suggested that the creative class, alias the gentrifiers, do enjoy the culture and consumption in the city centre, but do also work in the Central Business District. However ‘only’ 30% of the residents of the “Kop van Zuid”-sample mentioned that they were working in the city centre of Rotterdam. Almost 40% of the respondents and 40% of their partners are working in the suburbs of Rotterdam, or elsewhere

in the Netherlands. What differs as well to most of the theories about the gentrifiers, is that almost half of the “Kop van Zuid”-households that were in the sample, consisted of couples with one or more children. This household composition differs significantly from that of Rotterdam as a whole, having relatively large numbers of single-parent and one-person households.

When the comparison between the pioneers in gentrification, who were the first people that moved into a gentrifying neighborhood (in the first stage of gentrification - Clay, 1979), and the new-build gentrifiers, there are slightly more differences between the two groups. These pioneers included for example artists, students and bohemians; so the distinction with the wealthy new inhabitants of large-scale flagship new-build developments can be quickly made. Therefore the new-build gentrifiers can be better compared to the third and fourth stage (Clay, 1979) gentrifiers in the first and second wave of gentrification. This conclusion applies to the motives for moving into the gentrified or gentrifying neighborhood as well. The first findings on this matter show that apparently next to ‘living close to work’ (in which the respondents could have meant that they were living close to work in terms of time and relative space, for example by car or by using the metro), there were other reasons for moving to the “Kop van Zuid”. To start with, the “Kop van Zuid”-residents that participated in the survey mentioned that they were attracted by the modern and luxury of the new-build housing. Whereas in the theory about the more ‘traditional’ gentrifiers it is argued that the (pioneers in) gentrification were attracted at first by the historic elements of old and even deteriorated housing that they could in turn renovate.

The second interesting finding was that the (positive) reputation of the neighborhood was mentioned by the respondents as being an important factor in their choice of moving into the “Kop van Zuid”. This insight differs from the theory about the pioneers of whom was said that they cared less about the reputation of the neighborhood (as they often choose the more rundown areas of the inner city and its surroundings); and more about a place where they could express their lifestyles. The (often more middle and higher income) households who moved into the gentrifying neighborhoods later on in the gentrification process, were however more attracted to the hip and trendy atmosphere (and thus reputation) in these areas; so it can be stated that the new-build gentrifiers are more alike this group regarding their motivations for moving into a gentrified neighborhood.

As is shown in the conceptual model of this thesis (section 2.6), the motivations for moving to the “Kop van Zuid” are related to the general preferences of the “Kop van Zuid”-gentrifiers. Almost all of the “Kop van Zuid”-residents that participated in the survey, find the condition or quality of the dwelling (very) important, whereas the pioneers in the first and second wave of gentrification often choose for vacant, deteriorated or obsolete housing. This finding accounts for the reputation of the neighborhood as well: the new-build gentrifiers mentioned in the survey that a (positive) reputation plays an important role in conducting their ‘ideal home’, whereas the (pioneers of the) first and second wave gentrifiers moved exactly into the neighborhoods more negative reputation. Next to that, it turned out that the “Kop van Zuid”-respondents seem to prefer modern characteristics of their dwelling and neighborhood over historical characteristics. Whereas literature on the gentrifiers describes the traditional gentrifiers as people who love the historical characteristics and aesthetics of the old city centre; i.e. they want to renovate them.

Another difference between the new-build gentrifiers and the (pioneers of the) first and second wave gentrifiers, according to this quantitative research, is that the first group argues that the safety in a neighborhood is of (high) importance to their ideal location choice. Whereas it has been mentioned in literature quite often that the traditional gentrifiers were willing to take more risks as potential value loss and the presence of crime.

Furthermore, it is interesting to see that the “Kop van Zuid” residents mentioned in the questionnaires that they find both quiet streets and the presence of green spaces (very) important aspects of a neighborhood; and at the same time they state that they prefer to live in a more lively neighborhood as well. The lively-aspect of a neighborhood is related to the presence of amenities in that neighborhood. The “Kop van Zuid”-sample stated that both the presence of public services and the presence of shops and stores were seen as being more important (‘very important’), than the presence of culture and nightlife (‘important’). And to conclude with, the new-build gentrifiers and the gentrifiers of the first and second wave of gentrification actually do have one preference in common: both groups argue that it is very important for them to live near the city centre.

Table 6.1 below presents a summary of the differences between the “Kop van Zuid” residents, alias the new-build gentrifiers in this research; and the (pioneers of the) gentrifiers in the first and second wave of gentrification.

Table 6.1: Summary of the results from the survey

| | |
|---|---|
| | |
| | <i>“In what way do the new-build gentrifiers differ from the traditional gentrifiers?”</i> |
| | The new-build gentrifiers: |
| 1 | - can be families as well (42,3% of the households in the “Kop van Zuid”-sample does include one or more children) |
| 2 | - do not work primarily in the city centre (12% of the sample works in the suburbs of Rotterdam; and even 30% works elsewhere in the Netherlands) |
| 3 | - (all) prefer a dwelling which is in a good state or quality |
| 4 | - prefer modern characteristics of a dwelling more than historical characteristics |
| 5 | - prefer green spaces in a neighborhood |
| 6 | - (all) think safety in a neighborhood is (very) important |
| 7 | - think that a luxury or rich appearance of a neighborhood is important |
| 8 | - prefer modern elements in a neighborhood more than historical elements |
| 9 | - prefer to move to a neighborhood which has a good reputation |
| | |

6.2 What do these results say about new-build gentrification? (Towards an answer on the problem statement)

In contemporary literature there is a debate about whether the new-build developments on, and restructuring of, former industrial land (for example the waterfronts) are comparable to the small private investments that are done in a neighborhood that is transforming as a result of these investments (and the attention) from ‘bad’ to ‘popular’ because of the pioneers, bohemians, cultural creatives, creative class, etcetera. After having carried out this research, it can be stated that at least the processes of change in both locations are not the same; and apparently the residents as the ‘new-build’ and ‘traditional’ gentrifiers in these locations are not common on several points as well: There exist differences in demographic characteristics of the new-build gentrifiers in comparison to the more traditional gentrifiers, as well as there exist differences in their motives for moving into the gentrifying or gentrified neighborhoods and in their overall preferences regarding their ‘ideal’ dwelling and neighborhood. These differences increase when the new-build gentrifiers are compared to the pioneers in the first stage (Clay, 1979) of the first and second wave of gentrification.

Therefore the problem statement of this thesis “To what extent do there exist differences between the characteristics, motivations and preferences of gentrifiers in a ‘traditional gentrified area’ and gentrifiers in a ‘new-build area’, and in what way can these differences be explained?” results in an complete (new) image of the new-build gentrifier as is summarized in table 6.1 in section 6.1. The fact that there exists in fact a new-build gentrifier, who differs from the earlier described or ‘traditional gentrifier’, assumes that new-build gentrification includes a type of gentrification which can be distinguished through certain points. These factors are, according to this research, its postmodern character and architecture; the safety of the luxury neighborhood and the housing which is in a good state and of a good quality; and its positive reputation. These are the characteristics of new-build developments which attracted the recent inhabitants, alias the new-build gentrifiers, as well.

These findings about the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the “Kop van Zuid”-residents, their motives for moving into these new-build neighborhoods, as well as their overall preferences regarding housing, show that there exists a group of new-build gentrifiers that can be distinguished from the more traditional gentrifiers. By the concept of ‘traditional gentrifiers’ the (pioneers in the) gentrifiers of the first and second wave of gentrification are meant. When the group of people that are attracted to and living in new-build developments is added to the group of ‘gentrifiers’ as being ‘new-build gentrifiers’ (a type of gentrifier), on the basis of the characteristics that they do have in common with the ‘traditional gentrifiers’, the concept of gentrification has automatically been extended as well. There are several authors and scientists (Davidson and Lees, 2010; and Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010) that argued that the concept of gentrification has been expanded to include the new-build developments, flagships, regeneration projects and the conversion and redevelopment of former industrial, waterfront and / or Brownfield sites. Critique on this ‘stretching the concept of gentrification too far’ to include new-build developments (Lambert and Boddy, 2002) argue that there is no displacement in the assumed new-build gentrification (Boddy, 2007). And displacement is seen as one of the key results of gentrification, as (earlier) theories about gentrification describe a transformation of the neighborhood caused by an immigrating wealthier group of people.

Davidson and Lees (2005) argue that instead of direct displacement of former residents in most new-build developments that are initiated by the government and large investors, there may be 'indirect displacement'. At the same time what is left of the process is that it is still an upgrading of the neighborhood, namely often from former rundown industrial or Brownfield sites into new-build upper scale housing. So according to some authors and scientists these new-build developments can be seen as the third wave of gentrification (amongst others Doucet, Van Kempen and Van Weesep, 2009).

New-build developments initiated by the government have been given a lot of critique, such as they have only been build for the rich (Van Weesep and Musterd, 1991), they are displacing the poor (Atkinson, 2000), they are causing increasing polarisation (Newman and Wyly, 2006), etcetera. And as came out of the survey, these "Kop van Zuid" residents do indeed earn significant higher incomes as is mainly, and averagely, the case in the city of Rotterdam. For the Rotterdam City Council the attraction of these middle and higher income households is one of the priorities in urban policy, as these groups flew to the suburbs from the 1950s and 1960s on. However, one of the outcomes of the survey-research was that 20% of the residents of Stadstuinen, Landtong and Entrepot, who participated in the survey, already lived on the "Kop van Zuid" before they choose to move to their current dwelling. Another 20% of the respondents came from the city centre of Rotterdam and its surrounding neighborhoods, whereas 'only' 10% came from the suburbs.

It can be argued that the Rotterdam City Council did integrate the "Kop van Zuid" developments into wider plans of urban policy focusing on the 'problem areas' in the city, because one of the goals of the "Kop van Zuid" project was to connect the "Kop van Zuid" with the rest of the city in a way that it formed a bridge between the north and the south of Rotterdam. At the same time lots of social rented housing has been realised on the "Kop van Zuid" (in the neighborhood Peperklip) as well, so the project was not exclusively for the rich. There was also a difference in income between the households that are living in the apartments in Landtong and Entrepot, and the households that are living in the one family houses in Stadstuinen. So there is mixed income housing on the "Kop van Zuid"; be it to a certain extent, because the poorest inhabitants of Rotterdam are certainly not living there. When the questionnaire was also held in for example the Peperklip, the expectation is that this image of mixed housing will increase.

6.3 Critical reflection on these outcomes

The (new) found image of the new-build gentrifiers, and the resulting insights and arguments about new-build gentrification with reference to the earlier described or the more 'traditional' type of gentrification, count as a significant result of this thesis; however some nuances should be made in the outcomes of this research.

Top-down versus bottom-up gentrification

First of all a strong difference has been made throughout this thesis between the more governmentally lead new-build gentrification and the more private initiative and private investment type of gentrification that 'traditional' gentrification is known about. This top-down versus bottom-up division is however not so black and white as it sounds. There was

already some governmental influence in some gentrification processes which occurred during the first and second wave of gentrification. And at the same time, it can be large private investors as well who are not only financing but also realising several new-build developments.

There is no such thing as one ‘uniform’ type of gentrifier

Another point that should be kept in mind is that there does not exist such thing as one ‘uniform gentrifier’. This was said before already in section 2.5 and it is still worth to mention in this conclusion. There exists a difference between the gentrifiers in the first and second wave of gentrification against the gentrifiers in the recently emerged third wave of gentrification, as well as between the gentrifiers in the different stages (Clay, 1979) that can be distinguished in the first and second wave of gentrification. The ‘pioneers’ in gentrification, often described as being cultural creatives, bohemians and artists, were for example more risktaking than the people who moved into the gentrifying neighborhood in later stages.

There are no ‘pioneers’ in new-build gentrification

There is no mention of the pioneers in the third wave of gentrification, because here again the principle that the (local) government and large investors will plan and realize the restructured and/or new-build neighborhoods relatively long before the future residents move in to these areas. At the time the ‘gentrifiers’ move into the new neighborhoods, they will come together with many. New-build gentrifiers can be distinguished according to the time that they have been living in their current dwelling already (for example 0-3 years, 3-9 years and 9-12 years). In this research however, there is no evidence found of possible differences between these groups. The fact remains that it is possible that in the years yet to come, the new-build neighborhood will age as well. This could have an effect on the future residents that are attracted to and that can afford to live in these neighborhoods. Perhaps the different stages in new-build gentrification will occur in another way than in the first and second wave of gentrification, although there are no examples of these developments yet since new-build gentrification has been recognised not earlier than 1990s. Also because several authors and scientists argued that gentrification is ‘never finished’ (Lees, Slater and Wyly, 2010, p.36).

Gentrification is context-related

Gentrification can thus be seen as a process, a transformation of the neighborhood, whether it is through direct displacement or through the entrepreneurial state; it is at least not the beginning or the ending of a process. Where gentrification starts, where the phase of strongest transformation lies, as well as where the process of upgrading is on a saturation level, depends mainly or even entirely on the context.

Critical reflection regarding the survey

A final point of critical evaluation is regarding the statistical outcomes of the survey. Because the quantitative research was carried out in the “Kop van Zuid” neighborhoods *Stadstuinen*, *Landtong* and *Entrepot*, it may be wrongly to make generalisations out of these results for all kinds of new-build gentrification. Furthermore there are statistical difficulties in the survey that are explained in section 4.2.5. They include for example the central tendency bias, the acquiescence response bias and the social desirability bias.

6.4 Recommendations

On account of this thesis, several recommendations can be done regarding further research as well as ideas and insights for urban planning. What is often heard in (critical) literature (such as Atkinson, 2000) is that gentrification causes direct or indirect displacement. When large scale restructuring or new-build projects (flagships) are being implemented as catalysts for the surrounding areas, indirect displacement of people in these areas may occur, because these people cannot afford the increasing housing prices as a result of the restructuring and new-build developments.

Next to attracting the middle and higher income households to (a certain part of) the city, governments should focus on areas where socio-economic problems have been concentrated as well, through for example area based policy and in the form of governance (cooperation between government, local organisations and firms); instead of trying to ‘displace’ these people through gentrification or restructuring.

Furthermore the attention of the government should go to all the inhabitants of the city, because of the increasing socio-polarisation between the poor and the rich. It is argued by several authors and scientists that gentrification could lead to further polarization (such as Newman and Wyly, 2006), thus local authorities should minimise these effects while planning a large scale new-build development project such as the ‘Kop van Zuid’. Therefore these flagships should be integrated into the overall urban planning of a city, including infrastructure and the overcoming of physical and emotional boundaries.

In order to get a more complete image of the new-build gentrifiers that live on the ‘Kop van Zuid’, it is recommended that further survey research should be done in the other neighborhoods of the ‘Kop van Zuid’. Carrying out the survey on the Wilhelminapier (where there are for example living relatively large groups of expats) and on the Peperklip (where there has been build for social housing) may diversify the results. It is remarkably that the initiators of the ‘Kop van Zuid’ put these diversity in housing in their plans as well, instead of going only for the highest amount of profit (which is done in some other flagships around the world). Therefore the ‘Kop van Zuid’ developments could be an example of decisive urban planning. And these findings show as well that there is not such thing as one uniform new-build gentrifier: the type of gentrification and the type of gentrifier are both influenced by the context in which the gentrification takes place.

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Appendix A Summary of the process of operationalization

Table A1: What to ask for in a survey: characteristics of the residents

| Characteristics of residents: | Independent variables: | Operationalization: |
|-------------------------------|--|------------------------|
| Socio-demographic | age | in number of years |
| | gender | male or female |
| | household composition | 5 categories |
| Socio-economic | level of education | 7 categories |
| | sector of education | 11 categories |
| | labor participation | 5 categories |
| | working in Rotterdam? | 5 categories |
| | sector of employment | 12 categories |
| | net income of household | 6 categories |
| | partner living on same address | yes or no |
| | labor participation of partner | full-time or part-time |
| | partner working in Rotterdam? | 5 categories |
| | sector of employment partner | 12 categories |
| Position on housing market | owner-occupied, private rented, or social rented housing | 3 categories |
| | type of residence | 7 categories |
| | time of residence | In number of years |
| | first independent house or not | yes or no |
| | former address | in postal codes |
| | type of former residence | 7 categories |

Table A2: What to ask for in a survey: motives for moving to their recent address

| Characteristics of residents: | Independent variables: | Operationalization: |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| life-cycle / life path related | studies | five-point Likert scale |
| | employment | five-point Likert scale |
| | nearness of family / friends | five-point Likert scale |
| | marriage or relationship | five-point Likert scale |
| | divorce or ending relationship | five-point Likert scale |
| | becoming independent | five-point Likert scale |
| | birth of / young children | five-point Likert scale |
| current dwelling specific | state or quality of dwelling | five-point Likert scale |
| | size of dwelling | five-point Likert scale |
| | garden, terrace or balcony | five-point Likert scale |
| | wanted to rent / wanted to buy | five-point Likert scale |
| | availability of dwelling | five-point Likert scale |
| | good price-quality ratio | five-point Likert scale |
| current neighborhood specific | modern, luxury appearance | five-point Likert scale |
| | low ratio of criminality | five-point Likert scale |
| | public services | five-point Likert scale |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| | shops and stores | five-point Likert scale |
| | culture and nightlife | five-point Likert scale |
| | accessibility / parking spaces | five-point Likert scale |
| | nearness of the city centre | five-point Likert scale |
| | reputation of neighborhood | five-point Likert scale |
| previous dwelling specific | state or quality of dwelling | five-point Likert scale |
| | size of dwelling | five-point Likert scale |
| | garden, terrace of balcony | five-point Likert scale |
| previous neighborhood specific | criminality or hassle | five-point Likert scale |
| | bad condition or deprivation | five-point Likert scale |
| | poor public services | five-point Likert scale |
| | poor shops and stores | five-point Likert scale |
| | poor culture and nightlife | five-point Likert scale |
| | bad accessibility / parking spaces | five-point Likert scale |
| | city centre is too far away | five-point Likert scale |
| | bad reputation of neighborhood | five-point Likert scale |

Table A3: What to ask for in a survey: preferences on dwelling and neighborhood

| Characteristics of residents: | Independent variables: | Operationalization: |
|-------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| dwelling specific | state or quality of dwelling | five-point Likert scale |
| | size of dwelling | five-point Likert scale |
| | garden, terrace of balcony | five-point Likert scale |
| | prefer an apartment | five-point Likert scale |
| | prefer a family house | five-point Likert scale |
| | historical characteristics & appearance | five-point Likert scale |
| | modern characteristics & appearance | five-point Likert scale |
| neighborhood specific | quietness | five-point Likert scale |
| | green spaces | five-point Likert scale |
| | safety | five-point Likert scale |
| | liveliness | five-point Likert scale |
| | luxury or rich appearance | five-point Likert scale |
| | historical elements | five-point Likert scale |
| | modern elements | five-point Likert scale |
| | multi-culturality | five-point Likert scale |
| | lot of students | five-point Likert scale |
| | lot of yuppies | five-point Likert scale |
| | lot of young children families | five-point Likert scale |
| | neighbors that look like me | five-point Likert scale |
| | public services | five-point Likert scale |
| | shops and stores | five-point Likert scale |
| | culture and nightlife | five-point Likert scale |
| | nearness of the city centre | five-point Likert scale |
| | reputation of neighborhood | five-point Likert scale |



Appendix B

Vragenlijst naar woonvoorkeuren en verhuismotieven (Kop van Zuid)

Beste lezer,

Deze vragenlijst heeft u van een student van de Universiteit Utrecht ontvangen. Het is de bedoeling dat de hoofdbewoner van dit adres, indien aanwezig, de vragenlijst invult. Het invullen van deze vragenlijst duurt ongeveer 10 minuten. Kiest u bij elke vraag slechts 1 optie, tenzij anders is aangegeven. Eventuele opmerkingen kunt u onderaan op de laatste bladzijde kwijt. Wanneer u vragen kunt overslaan wordt dit duidelijk aangegeven in de vragenlijst.

Met dit onderzoek willen we meer te weten komen over de bewoners van de ‘‘Kop van Zuid’’ en de redenen waarom men er gaat wonen. De resultaten zullen verwerkt worden in een onderzoek naar stedelijke herstructureringsprojecten van de Universiteit Utrecht. Uw gegevens zullen vertrouwelijk behandeld worden en wat u invult in deze vragenlijst blijft anoniem.

Indien u nog vragen heeft, kunt u contact opnemen met Dr. Brian Doucet van de Universiteit Utrecht (030) 253 2966.

Bedankt voor uw medewerking aan dit onderzoek.



Start vragenlijst

1. Bent u een:

- Man Vrouw

2. Wat is uw leeftijd?

.....

A Kenmerken van de huidige woning

De volgende vragen gaan over de woning waarin u nu woont.
Kruist u één hokje aan of vul de regel in.

3. Is uw huidige woning een huur of koopwoning?

- Koopwoning
 Particuliere huurwoning
 Sociale huurwoning

4. Wat voor een soort woning is dit?

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Vrijstaand | <input type="checkbox"/> Woning in bedrijfsgebouw (winkel, kantoor, werkplaats) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hoekwoning / twee onder één kap | <input type="checkbox"/> Tehuis of inrichting (bejaardenhuis, verzorgings- of verpleeghuis) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tussenwoning | <input type="checkbox"/> Anders, te weten: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Flat of etagewoning op de begane grond of souterrain | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Flat, etagewoning, appartement, maisonnette | |

5. Hoeveel jaren woont u op dit adres?

.....

6. Is dit uw eerste zelfstandige woning?

(Let op: een studentenkamer wordt in dit geval ook gezien als een zelfstandige woning)

- Ja
 Nee



B Kenmerken van de vorige woning

De volgende vragen gaan over uw vorige woning.

Kruist u weer één hokje aan of vult u de regel in.

(Let op: wilt u deze vragen beantwoorden, ook al was uw vorige woning geen zelfstandige woning, maar woonde u bijvoorbeeld bij uw ouders)

7. Kunt u aangeven wat de vier cijfers van de postcode van uw vorige woning waren?

.....

Mijn vorige woning was in het buitenland, namelijk in:

.....

8. Wat voor een soort woning was uw vorige woonadres?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Vrijstaand | <input type="checkbox"/> Woning in bedrijfsgebouw (winkel, kantoor, werkplaats, boerderij) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hoekwoning / twee onder één kap | <input type="checkbox"/> Tehuis of inrichting (bejaardenhuis, verzorgings- of verpleeghuis) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tussenwoning | <input type="checkbox"/> Anders, te weten: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Flat of etagewoning op de begane grond of souterrain | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Flat, etagewoning, appartement, maisonnette | |

C Verhuismotieven

De volgende vragen gaan over waarom u bent verhuisd naar de Kop van Zuid. Kunt per

mogelijke reden om te verhuizen aangeven in hoeverre deze reden belangrijk voor u was?

Graag bij iedere reden één mogelijkheid kiezen.

9. In hoeverre waren onderstaande gebeurtenissen in uw persoonlijke situatie een belangrijke reden voor u om te verhuizen naar uw huidige woning in de ‘Kop van Zuid’? *Let op: wanneer een situatie zich niet heeft voorgedaan, kiest u dan de laatste kolom ‘niet van toepassing’ (n.v.t.).*

| Redenen om te verhuizen: | volstrekt onbelangrijk | onbelangrijk | neutraal | belangrijk | heel erg belangrijk | n.v.t. / geen mening |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. U of uw partners' studie | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. U of uw partners' baan | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. De wens om dichtbij familie, vrienden of kennissen te wonen | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. Huwelijk of samenwonen | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. Scheiding of beëindiging relatie | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g. Omdat u zelfstandig bent gaan wonen | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| h. Het krijgen van kinderen | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| i. Andere reden, namelijk: | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |



10. In hoeverre waren onderstaande eigenschappen van uw huidige woning en de ‘‘Kop van Zuid’’ voor u een reden om juist naar deze woning te verhuizen?

| Redenen om te verhuizen: | | volstrekt onbelangrijk | onbelangrijk | neutraal | belangrijk | heel erg belangrijk | n.v.t. / geen mening |
|---------------------------------|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. | De goede staat en/of kwaliteit van de woning | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. | De grootte van de woning | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. | De woning heeft een tuin, terras of balkon | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. | U wilde een huis huren of juist kopen | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. | De woning was beschikbaar | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. | Een goede prijs / kwaliteit verhouding | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g. | De moderne, luxe uitstraling v/d buurt | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| h. | Geen of weinig criminaliteit of overlast | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| i. | De openbare voorzieningen in de buurt | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| j. | De (kwaliteit) van winkels in de buurt | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| k. | De uitgaansmogelijkheden in de buurt | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| l. | Bereikbaarheid / parkeergelegenheid | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| m. | De nabijheid van het centrum | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| n. | De goede reputatie van de buurt | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| o. | Andere reden, namelijk: | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

11. In hoeverre waren onderstaande eigenschappen van uw vorige woning en buurt waar u eerst woonde voor u een reden om te verhuizen?

| Redenen om te verhuizen: | | volstrekt onbelangrijk | onbelangrijk | neutraal | belangrijk | heel erg belangrijk | n.v.t. / geen mening |
|---------------------------------|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. | De woning was te klein of juist te groot | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. | Ik/wij misten een tuin, terras of balkon | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. | De staat en/of kwaliteit van de woning | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. | Overlast (vb geluid en stank) of criminaliteit in de buurt | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. | Slecht onderhoud en/of verloedering van de buurt | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. | Slechte openbare voorzieningen in de buurt | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g. | Te weinig (leuke) winkels in de buurt | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| h. | Te weinig uitgaansmogelijkheden in de buurt | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| i. | Te ver van het centrum af | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| j. | Slechte bereikbaarheid, parkeervoorzieningen of onveilig verkeer | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| k. | De slechte reputatie van de buurt | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| l. | Andere reden, namelijk: | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |



D Woonvoorkeuren

De volgende vragen gaan over wat u **over het algemeen** belangrijk vindt aan een woning of woonomgeving. Dit hoeft niet overeen te komen met uw huidige of vorige woning. Kunt u per kenmerk aangeven in hoeverre het belangrijk voor u is?
Graag bij ieder kenmerk één mogelijkheid kiezen.

12. Hoe belangrijk vindt u onderstaande eigenschappen van een woning?

| Eigenschappen woning | volstrekt onbelangrijk | onbelangrijk | neutraal | belangrijk | heel erg belangrijk | n.v.t. / geen mening |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. De grootte van de woning | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Een tuin, terras, balkon of loggia | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Ik wil graag een appartement | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Ik wil graag een eengezinswoning | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. Een goede staat en kwaliteit van de woning | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. De historische kenmerken of uitstraling van de woning | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g. De moderne kenmerken of uitstraling van de woning | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

13. Hoe belangrijk vindt u onderstaande eigenschappen van een woonomgeving?

| Eigenschappen woonomgeving | volstrekt onbelangrijk | onbelangrijk | neutraal | belangrijk | heel erg belangrijk | n.v.t. / geen mening |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. Rust | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Groen (parken, plantsoen) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Veiligheid | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Levendigheid | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. Luxe of rijke uitstraling | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. Historische elementen in de buurt | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g. Moderne elementen in de buurt | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| h. Multiculturaliteit in de buurt | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| i. Relatief veel studenten in de buurt | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| j. Relatief veel yuppen in de buurt | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| k. Relatief veel gezinnen (met jonge kinderen) in de buurt | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| l. Buren die op mij lijken (leeftijd, samenstelling, klasse, etniciteit) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| m. Openbare voorzieningen (aanwezigheid en kwaliteit) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| n. Winkels (aanwezigheid en kwaliteit) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| o. Uitgaansvoorzieningen (aanwezigheid en kwaliteit) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| p. De reputatie van de buurt | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| q. De nabijheid van het centrum | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |



E U zelf

De volgende vragen gaan over u zelf en uw huishouden. Kunt u per vraag aangeven welke categorie het beste bij uw situatie past.
Graag bij iedere vraag één mogelijkheid kiezen.

14. Wat is de samenstelling van uw huishouden volgens onderstaande verdeling?

- Alleenstaand
- Getrouwd/samenwonend, zonder kind(eren)
- Getrouwd/samenwonend, met kind(eren)
- Alleenstaand, met kind(eren)
- Samenwonend met vrienden / studentenwoning
- Anders, namelijk

15. Tot welke categorie behoorde uw hoogst voltooide opleiding?

- Geen opleiding / lager (basis) onderwijs
- Lager Beroeps Onderwijs (VBO, Vmbo, basisberoepsgerichte of kaderberoepsgerichte leerweg)
- MAVO (Vmbo+, (M)ULO, 3-jarige HBS)
- HAVO, MMS, HBS, VWO (Gymnasium, Athenaeum)
- Middelbaar Beroepsonderwijs
- Hoger Beroepsonderwijs
- Universitaire opleiding

16. Tot welke sector behoorde uw hoogst voltooide opleiding?

- Opleidingen tot onderwijzend personeel
- Letteren, kunst, filosofie en theologie
- Agrarische opleidingen
- Wiskunde, natuurwetenschappen, technisch onderwijs
- Transport/verkeersonderwijs
- Medisch en paramedisch onderwijs
- Economisch, administratief en commercieel onderwijs
- Juridisch en bestuurlijk onderwijs
- Sociaal-cultureel onderwijs
- Onderwijs in de persoonlijke en sociale verzorging
- Overig onderwijs

17. Welke situatie is voor u het meest van toepassing?

- Fulltime werkend
- Parttime werkend
- Gepensioneerd (Gaat u verder met vraag **21**)
- Student (Gaat u verder met vraag **21**)
- Werkloos (Gaat u verder met vraag **21**)

18. Waar werkt u momenteel?

- Thuis
- In het centrum van Rotterdam
- Elders in Rotterdam
- In een aangrenzende gemeente van Rotterdam
- Elders in Nederland



19. In welk soort bedrijf of instelling werkt u op dit moment en wat zijn uw werkzaamheden daar?

Bijvoorbeeld: Winkel, verkoop van witgoed of: Zorginstelling, administratie.

.....

20. Tot welke sector kan dit bedrijf of instelling worden gerekend?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Industrie | <input type="checkbox"/> Overheid |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bouwnijverheid | <input type="checkbox"/> Onderwijs |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Landbouw en visserij | <input type="checkbox"/> Gezondheids- en welzijnszorg |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (Detail) handel | <input type="checkbox"/> Cultuur, sport, recreatie en overige diensten |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Horeca | <input type="checkbox"/> Anders, namelijk |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Transport en communicatie | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Financiële sector | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Zakelijke dienstverlening | |

21. Kunt u aangeven hoe vaak u de volgende activiteiten heeft ondernomen het afgelopen jaar door het hokje aan te kruisen dat het dichtst in de buurt komt?

| Activiteiten | Geen enkele keer | Minder dan één keer per maand | 1-3 keer per maand | één keer per week | Meer dan één keer per week |
|---|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| a. Een toneel of cabaret voorstelling bijwonen | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Een balletvoorstelling/ opera of klassiek muziek concert bezocht | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. Een (pop) concert musical | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| h. Een bioscoop | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| i. Een filmhuis | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| j. Een kunstgalerie | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| k. Een museum | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| m. Een mode/ kleding/ lifestyle evenement | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| n. Een (verzamel)beurs, tentoonstelling of (auto)show | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| o. Eten/ drinken in een café, bar of restaurant | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| p. Een cultureel/ kunst of muziek Festival | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

22. Kunt u aangeven wat ongeveer het netto maandinkomen is van uw huishouden? (We bedoelen het netto inkomen van u en uw eventuele partner na aftrek van belastingen, sociale premies etc.)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> € 1.200 of minder per maand | <input type="checkbox"/> € 4.000 tot € 6.000 per maand |
| <input type="checkbox"/> € 1.200 tot € 2.000 per maand | <input type="checkbox"/> € 6.000 tot € 8.000 per maand |
| <input type="checkbox"/> € 2.000 tot € 4.000 per maand | <input type="checkbox"/> € 8.000 of meer per maand |



F Uw partner

De volgende vragen gaan over uw (eventuele) partner.
Graag bij iedere vraag één mogelijkheid kiezen.

23. Heeft u op dit moment een partner, die op hetzelfde adres woont?

- ja
- nee (gaat u verder naar deel '**G opmerkingen**' van de vragenlijst)

23. Heeft uw partner op dit moment betaald werk? (in loondienst of als zelfstandig ondernemer)

- ja
- nee (gaat u verder naar deel '**G opmerkingen**' van de vragenlijst)

24. Waar werkt uw partner momenteel?

- Thuis
- In het centrum van Rotterdam
- Elders in Rotterdam
- In een aangrenzende gemeente van Rotterdam
- Elders in Nederland

25. Werkt uw partner fulltime, of parttime?

- fulltime
- parttime

26. In welk soort bedrijf of instelling werkt uw partner op dit moment en wat zijn, zijn of haar werkzaamheden daar? *Bijvoorbeeld: Winkel, verkoop van witgoed.*

.....

27. Tot welke sector kan dit bedrijf of instelling worden gerekend?

- Industrie
- Zakelijke dienstverlening
- Bouwnijverheid
- Overheid
- Landbouw en visserij
- Onderwijs
- Handel
- Gezondheids- en welzijnszorg
- Horeca
- Cultuur, sport, recreatie en overige diensten
- Transport en communicatie
- Anders, namelijk:.....
- Financiële sector

G Opmerkingen

Hier kunt u nog eventuele opmerkingen of vragen kwijt over wat er in de vragenlijst aan bod is gekomen.



Wilt u een samenvatting van de resultaten van het onderzoek?

Wanneer het onderzoek ten einde is wordt er een samenvatting beschikbaar gesteld voor alle deelnemers. Als u een kopie van de samenvatting van dit onderzoek wilt ontvangen, zou u dan zo vriendelijk willen zijn om uw postadres of e-mailadres onderaan dit formulier in te vullen? Dit formulier wordt apart gehouden van de rest van de enquête om de anonimiteit van de gegevens te waarborgen.

- Ja, ik wil een samenvatting van het onderzoek ontvangen

Wilt u misschien meedoen aan een vervolg interview?

Verder willen we vragen of u in de toekomst ook mee wilt werken aan verder onderzoek, middels een vervolg interview. Hiermee maakt u diepgaand onderzoek naar de ‘‘Kop van Zuid’’ mogelijk. Wanneer u dit ziet zitten, kunt u dit aangeven door onderstaand hokje aan te kruisen (en uw gegevens in te vullen).

- Ja, ik wil mee werken aan een vervolg interview

Gegevens:

Naam:

Straat: Huisnummer:

Postcode:

Of:

E-mailadres:

Telefoonnummer:
(optioneel)

Appendix C Characteristics of the “Kop van Zuid”-residents who participated in the survey

Figure C1: Age and gender of the population sample

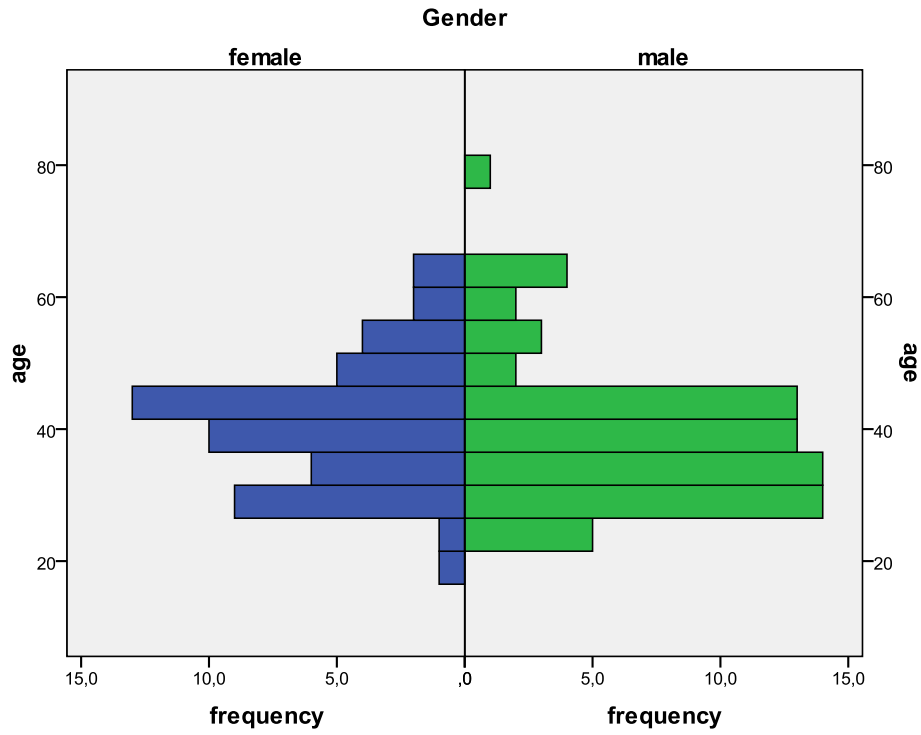


Table C1: Education

| | frequency | percentage |
|--------------------------|-----------|------------|
| No education at all / LO | 1 | 0.8 |
| LBO | 2 | 1.5 |
| MAVO | 7 | 5.4 |
| HAVO/MMS/HBS/VWO | 6 | 4.6 |
| MBO | 10 | 7.7 |
| HBO | 45 | 34.6 |
| WO | 59 | 45.4 |
| total | 130 | 100 |

2 respondents did not answer this question at all (=missing values)

Table C2: Sector of education

| | frequency | percentage |
|--|-----------|------------|
| Teacher Training | 11 | 8.6 |
| Letters. Arts. Philosophy and Theology | 11 | 8.6 |
| Mathematics. Sciences or Technical Studies | 21 | 16.4 |
| Transport and Logistics | 1 | 0.8 |
| Medical and Paramedical Studies | 13 | 10.2 |
| Economics. Management and Marketing | 36 | 28.1 |
| Law School | 9 | 7.0 |
| Social and Cultural Sciences | 4 | 3.1 |
| Personal and social care | 3 | 2.3 |
| other education ... | 19 | 14.8 |
| total | 128 | 100 |

4 respondents did not answer this question at all (=missing values)

Table C3: Labor participation

| | frequency | percentage |
|------------|-----------|------------|
| full-time | 83 | 64.8 |
| part-time | 32 | 25.0 |
| retired | 8 | 6.25 |
| student | 2 | 1.6 |
| unemployed | 3 | 2.3 |
| total | 128 | 100 |

4 respondents did not answer this question at all (=missing values)

Table C4: Labor participation of partner

| | frequency | percentage |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| No partner living at same address | 25 | 20.0 |
| full-time | 53 | 42.4 |
| part-time | 38 | 30.4 |
| unemployed | 9 | 7.2 |
| total | 125 | 100 |

7 respondents did not answer this question at all (=missing values)

Table C5: Workplace of respondent

| | frequency | percentage |
|---------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| at home | 7 | 6.1 |
| in the city centre of Rotterdam | 36 | 31.3 |
| elsewhere in Rotterdam | 27 | 23.5 |
| in a suburb of Rotterdam | 14 | 12.2 |
| elsewhere in the Netherlands | 31 | 27.0 |
| Total | 115 | 100 |

17 respondents did not answer this question at all (=missing values)

Table C6: Workplace of partner

| | frequency | percentage |
|---------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| at home | 10 | 10.9 |
| in the city centre of Rotterdam | 27 | 29.3 |
| elsewhere in Rotterdam | 15 | 16.3 |
| in a suburb of Rotterdam | 12 | 13.0 |
| elsewhere in the Netherlands | 28 | 30.4 |
| total | 92 | 100 |

40 respondents did not answer this question at all (=missing values)

Table C7: Sector of the company / institution of respondent

| | frequency | percentage |
|----------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| industries | 6 | 5.3 |
| construction | 7 | 6.1 |
| retail | 6 | 5.3 |
| hotel and catering industry | 2 | 1.8 |
| transport and communication | 7 | 6.1 |
| financial sector | 7 | 6.1 |
| business services | 19 | 16.7 |
| government | 18 | 15.8 |
| education | 14 | 12.3 |
| health care | 14 | 12.3 |
| culture. sports. recreation etc. | 5 | 4.4 |
| other | 9 | 7.9 |
| total | 114 | 100 |

18 respondents did not answer this question at all (=missing values)

Table C8: Sector of the company / institution of respondents' partner

| | frequency | percentage |
|----------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| industries | 3 | 3.4 |
| construction | 8 | 9.1 |
| retail | 2 | 2.3 |
| hotel and catering industry | 0 | 0 |
| transport and communication | 7 | 8.0 |
| financial sector | 3 | 3.4 |
| business services | 16 | 18.2 |
| government | 16 | 18.2 |
| education | 8 | 9.1 |
| health care | 14 | 15.9 |
| culture. sports. recreation etc. | 6 | 6.8 |
| other | 5 | 5.7 |
| total | 88 | 100 |

44 respondents did not answer this question at all (=missing values)

Table C9: Monthly net income of household

| | frequency | percentage |
|--------------|-----------|------------|
| 1200 or less | 1 | 0.9 |
| 1200 - 2000 | 11 | 9.5 |
| 2000 - 4000 | 57 | 49.1 |
| 4000 - 6000 | 39 | 33.6 |
| 6000 - 8000 | 5 | 4.3 |
| 8000 or more | 3 | 2.6 |
| total | 116 | 100 |

16 respondents did not answer this question at all (=missing values)

Table C10: Where did the inhabitants of the “Kop van Zuid” came from?

| Postal code: | Former address: | frequency | percentage |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| | Kop van Zuid: | | |
| 3071 | Rotterdam | 25 | 18.9 |
| 3072 | Rotterdam | 1 | 0.8 |
| | Rotterdam city centre: | | |
| 3011 | Rotterdam | 5 | 3.8 |
| 3012 | Rotterdam | 2 | 1.5 |
| 3013 | Rotterdam | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3014 | Rotterdam | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3015 | Rotterdam | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3016 | Rotterdam | 2 | 1.5 |
| | Around the city centre of Rotterdam: | | |
| 3022 | Rotterdam | 3 | 2.3 |
| 3024 | Rotterdam | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3031 | Rotterdam | 4 | 3.0 |
| 3032 | Rotterdam | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3038 | Rotterdam | 2 | 1.5 |
| 3039 | Rotterdam | 2 | 1.5 |
| | Elsewhere in Rotterdam: | | |
| 3025 | Rotterdam | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3026 | Rotterdam | 2 | 1.5 |
| 3034 | Rotterdam | 2 | 1.5 |
| 3035 | Rotterdam | 3 | 2.3 |
| 3037 | Rotterdam | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3053 | Rotterdam | 2 | 1.5 |
| 3054 | Rotterdam | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3061 | Rotterdam | 2 | 1.5 |
| 3063 | Rotterdam | 2 | 1.5 |
| 3068 | Rotterdam | 3 | 2.3 |
| 3069 | Rotterdam | 2 | 1.5 |
| 3074 | Rotterdam | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3076 | Rotterdam | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3077 | Rotterdam | 2 | 1.5 |
| 3078 | Rotterdam | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3082 | Rotterdam | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3083 | Rotterdam | 2 | 1.5 |
| 3086 | Rotterdam | 1 | 0.8 |

| | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------------|------------|--------------|
| | Suburb of Rotterdam: | | |
| 2931 | Krimpen aan de IJssel | 1 | 0.8 |
| 2992 | Ridderkerk | 1 | 0.8 |
| 2993 | Ridderkerk | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3116 | Schiedam | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3132 | Vlaardingen | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3137 | Vlaardingen | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3161 | Hoogvliet | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3181 | Hoogvliet | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3205 | Spijkenisse | 2 | 1.5 |
| 3286 | Oud Beijerland | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3291 | Oud Beijerland | 1 | 0.8 |
| | Elsewhere in the Netherlands: | | |
| 1012 | Amsterdam | 1 | 0.8 |
| 1013 | Amsterdam | 1 | 0.8 |
| 1018 | Amsterdam | 1 | 0.8 |
| 2182 | Lisse | 1 | 0.8 |
| 2281 | Rijswijk | 1 | 0.8 |
| 2512 | 's-Gravenhage | 1 | 0.8 |
| 2562 | 's-Gravenhage | 1 | 0.8 |
| 2613 | Delft | 1 | 0.8 |
| 2651 | Delft | 1 | 0.8 |
| 2715 | Zoetermeer | 1 | 0.8 |
| 2807 | Gouda | 1 | 0.8 |
| 2841 | Gouda | 1 | 0.8 |
| 2871 | Gouda | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3245 | Middelharnis | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3332 | Zwijndrecht | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3342 | Zwijndrecht | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3351 | Papendrecht | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3411 | IJsselstein | 1 | 0.8 |
| 3555 | Utrecht | 1 | 0.8 |
| 4811 | Breda | 2 | 1.5 |
| 4812 | Breda | 1 | 0.8 |
| 5126 | Tilburg | 1 | 0.8 |
| 5374 | Oss | 1 | 0.8 |
| 5582 | Valkenswaard | 1 | 0.8 |
| 6224 | Maastricht | 1 | 0.8 |
| 6524 | Nijmegen | 1 | 0.8 |
| 6717 | Ede GLD | 1 | 0.8 |
| 7331 | Apeldoorn | 1 | 0.8 |
| | From abroad: | 3 | 2.3 |
| | Missing: | 7 | 3.8 |
| Total | | 132 | 100.0 |

Table C11: Summary of where the “Kop van Zuid”-respondents came from

| | frequency | percentage |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| elsewhere in “Kop van Zuid” | 26 | 20.8 |
| city centre of Rotterdam | 12 | 9.6 |
| adjacent to Rotterdam city centre | 13 | 10.4 |
| elsewhere in Rotterdam | 30 | 24.0 |
| suburbs of Rotterdam | 12 | 9.6 |
| elsewhere in the Netherlands | 29 | 23.2 |
| from abroad | 3 | 2.4 |
| total | 125 | 100 |

7 respondents did not answer this question at all (=missing values)

Table C12: Current dwelling: owner-occupied or private/social rented?

| | frequency | percentage |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|
| owner-occupied | 89 | 69.0 |
| private renting | 38 | 29.5 |
| social housing | 2 | 1.6 |
| total | 129 | 100 |

3 respondents did not answer this question at all (=missing values)

Table C13a: Type of current dwelling

| | frequency | percentage |
|--|-----------|------------|
| Townhouse / two-under-one-roof dwelling | 8 | 6.2 |
| Terraced house | 34 | 26.4 |
| apartment on ground floor level / basement | 3 | 2.3 |
| apartment building on higher level | 83 | 64.3 |
| other | 1 | 0.8 |
| total | 129 | 100 |

3 respondents did not answer this question at all (=missing values)

Table C13b: Type of current dwelling in 2 categories: ground level and flat

| | frequency | percentage |
|---|-----------|------------|
| dwelling or apartment on ground floor level | 46 | 35.7 |
| apartment building on higher level | 83 | 64.3 |
| total | 129 | 100 |

3 respondents did not answer this question at all (=missing values)

Appendix D

Motivations of the “Kop van Zuid”-residents for moving to their current dwelling and into the “Kop van Zuid”

Table D1: Motivations - Life-cycle related (total ratings per subject)

| | not at all important abs. & % | | not so important abs. & % | | neutral abs. & % | | important abs. & % | | very important abs. & % | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|------|------------------------------|------|---------------------|------|-----------------------|------|----------------------------|------|
| studies | 46 | 63.0 | 12 | 16.4 | 9 | 12.3 | 3 | 4.1 | 3 | 4.1 |
| employment | 29 | 31.5 | 11 | 12.0 | 6 | 6.5 | 24 | 26.1 | 22 | 23.9 |
| nearness of family / friends | 35 | 41.2 | 14 | 16.5 | 14 | 16.5 | 16 | 18.8 | 6 | 7.1 |
| marriage or relationship | 33 | 39.3 | 9 | 10.7 | 5 | 6.0 | 19 | 22.6 | 18 | 21.4 |
| divorce / ending relationship | 50 | 74.6 | 4 | 6.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 6 | 9.0 | 7 | 10.4 |
| becoming independent | 41 | 65.1 | 2 | 3.2 | 2 | 3.2 | 11 | 17.5 | 7 | 11.1 |
| birth of / young children | 36 | 50.0 | 5 | 6.9 | 6 | 8.3 | 9 | 12.5 | 16 | 22.2 |
| other reasons | 2 | 4.3 | 0 | 0.0 | 1 | 2.2 | 5 | 10.9 | 38 | 82.6 |

Table D2: Statistics on the respondents’ motivations - Life-cycle related

| | number of respondents that answered this question abs. & in % of 132 | | mean rating of respondents on a 1 - 5 Likert scale* | standard deviation |
|-------------------------------|---|------|---|--------------------|
| studies | 73 | 55.3 | 1.70 | 1.102 |
| employment | 92 | 69.7 | 2.99 | 1.621 |
| nearness of family / friends | 85 | 64.4 | 2.34 | 1.368 |
| marriage or relationship | 84 | 63.3 | 2.76 | 1.655 |
| divorce / ending relationship | 67 | 50.8 | 1.75 | 1.418 |
| becoming independent | 63 | 47.7 | 2.06 | 1.554 |
| birth of / young children | 72 | 54.5 | 2.50 | 1.695 |
| other reasons | 46 | 34.8 | 4.67 | 0.896 |

* 1 = not important at all. 5 = most important

Table D3: Motivations - Current dwelling specific (total ratings per subject)

| | not at all important abs. & % | | not so important abs. & % | | neutral abs. & % | | important abs. & % | | very important abs. & % | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----|------------------------------|-----|---------------------|------|-----------------------|------|----------------------------|------|
| state or quality of dwelling | 1 | 0.8 | 3 | 2.3 | 6 | 4.5 | 62 | 47.0 | 54 | 40.9 |
| size of dwelling | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 7 | 5.3 | 66 | 50.0 | 55 | 41.7 |
| garden. terrace of balcony | 2 | 1.5 | 7 | 5.3 | 11 | 8.3 | 49 | 37.1 | 54 | 19.7 |
| wanted to rent / buy | 7 | 5.3 | 4 | 3.0 | 26 | 19.7 | 45 | 34.1 | 26 | 19.7 |
| availability of dwelling | 5 | 3.8 | 5 | 3.8 | 30 | 22.7 | 49 | 37.1 | 29 | 22.0 |
| good price-quality ratio | 1 | 0.8 | 2 | 1.5 | 15 | 11.4 | 69 | 52.3 | 40 | 30.3 |

Table D4: Statistics on the respondents' motivations - Current dwelling specific

| | number of respondents that answered this question abs. & in % of 132 | | mean rating of respondents on a 1 - 5 Likert scale* | standard deviation |
|------------------------------|---|------|--|--------------------|
| state or quality of dwelling | 126 | 95.5 | 4.31 | 0.743 |
| size of dwelling | 128 | 97.0 | 4.38 | 0.589 |
| garden. terrace of balcony | 123 | 93.2 | 4.19 | 0.935 |
| wanted to rent/wanted to buy | 108 | 81.8 | 3.73 | 1.073 |
| availability of dwelling | 118 | 89.4 | 3.78 | 1.005 |
| good price-quality ratio | 127 | 96.2 | 4.14 | 0.742 |

* 1 = not important at all. 5 = most important

Table D5: Motivations - Current neighborhood specific (total ratings per subject)

| | not at all important abs. & % | | not so important abs. & % | | neutral abs. & % | | important abs. & % | | very important abs. & % | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----|------------------------------|------|---------------------|------|-----------------------|------|----------------------------|------|
| modern. luxury appearance | 2 | 1.5 | 6 | 4.5 | 15 | 11.4 | 58 | 43.9 | 44 | 33.3 |
| low ratio of criminality | 1 | 0.8 | 6 | 4.5 | 41 | 31.1 | 50 | 37.9 | 24 | 18.2 |
| public services | 1 | 0.8 | 3 | 2.3 | 38 | 28.8 | 62 | 47.0 | 23 | 17.4 |
| shops and stores | 1 | 0.8 | 6 | 4.5 | 51 | 38.6 | 48 | 36.4 | 17 | 12.9 |
| culture and nightlife | 2 | 1.5 | 29 | 22.0 | 48 | 36.4 | 29 | 22.0 | 10 | 7.6 |
| accessibility / parking spaces | 3 | 2.3 | 9 | 6.8 | 33 | 25.0 | 51 | 38.6 | 26 | 19.7 |
| nearness of the city centre | 2 | 1.5 | 2 | 1.5 | 11 | 8.3 | 60 | 45.5 | 52 | 39.4 |
| reputation of neighborhood | 1 | 0.8 | 4 | 3.0 | 37 | 28.0 | 49 | 37.1 | 29 | 22.0 |
| other reasons | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 1 | 0.8 | 2 | 1.5 | 5 | 3.8 |

Table D6: Statistics on the respondents' motivations - Current neighborhood specific

| | number of respondents that answered this question abs. & in % of 132 | | mean rating of respondents on a 1 - 5 Likert scale* | standard deviation |
|--------------------------------|---|------|--|--------------------|
| modern. luxury appearance | 125 | 94.7 | 4.09 | 0.898 |
| low ratio of criminality | 122 | 92.4 | 3.74 | 0.861 |
| public services | 127 | 96.2 | 3.81 | 0.784 |
| shops and stores | 123 | 93.2 | 3.60 | 0.817 |
| culture and nightlife | 118 | 89.4 | 3.13 | 0.944 |
| accessibility / parking spaces | 122 | 92.4 | 3.72 | 0.964 |
| nearness of the city centre | 127 | 96.2 | 4.24 | 0.804 |
| reputation of neighborhood | 120 | 90.9 | 3.84 | 0.860 |
| other reasons | 8 | 6.1 | 4.50 | 0.756 |

* 1 = not important at all. 5 = most important

Table D7: Motivations - Previous dwelling specific (total ratings per subject)

| | not at all important abs. & % | not so important abs. & % | neutral abs. & % | important abs. & % | very important abs. & % |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| state or quality of dwelling | 15 11.4 | 23 17.4 | 16 12.1 | 30 22.7 | 11 8.3 |
| size of dwelling | 11 8.3 | 4 3.0 | 16 12.1 | 34 25.8 | 33 25.0 |
| garden. terrace of balcony | 16 12.1 | 8 6.1 | 9 6.8 | 23 17.4 | 28 21.2 |

Table D8: Statistics on the respondents' motivations - Previous dwelling specific

| | number of respondents that answered this question abs. & in % of 132 | mean rating of respondents on a 1 - 5 Likert scale* | standard deviation |
|------------------------------|--|---|-----------------------|
| state or quality of dwelling | 95 72.0 | 2.99 | 1.292 |
| size of dwelling | 98 74.2 | 3.76 | 1.277 |
| garden. terrace of balcony | 84 63.6 | 3.46 | 1.509 |

* 1 = not important at all. 5 = most important

Table D9: Motivations - Previous neighborhood specific (total ratings per subject)

| | not at all important | not so important | neutral | important | very important |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|---------|-----------|-------------------|
| criminality or hassle | 17 12.9 | 28 21.2 | 23 17.4 | 17 12.9 | 12 9.1 |
| bad condition or deprivation | 22 16.7 | 27 20.5 | 18 13.6 | 13 9.8 | 12 9.1 |
| poor public services | 23 17.4 | 34 25.8 | 24 18.2 | 9 6.8 | 5 3.8 |
| poor shops and stores | 26 19.7 | 32 24.2 | 24 18.2 | 8 6.1 | 4 3.0 |
| poor culture and nightlife | 23 17.4 | 30 22.7 | 24 18.2 | 14 10.6 | 5 3.8 |
| bad accessibility / parking | 21 15.9 | 25 18.9 | 32 24.2 | 13 9.8 | 3 2.3 |
| city centre is too far away | 25 18.9 | 23 17.4 | 24 18.2 | 15 11.4 | 9 6.8 |
| bad reputation of neighbor. | 24 18.2 | 25 18.9 | 25 18.9 | 11 8.3 | 4 3.0 |
| other reasons | 0 0.0 | 1 0.8 | 1 0.8 | 4 3.0 | 19 14.4 |

Table D10: Statistics on the respondents' motivations - Previous neighborhood specific

| | number of respondents that answered this question abs. & in % of 132 | mean rating of respondents on a 1 - 5 Likert scale* | standard deviation |
|------------------------------|--|---|-----------------------|
| criminality or hassle | 97 73.5 | 2.78 | 1.277 |
| bad condition or deprivation | 92 69.7 | 2.63 | 1.340 |
| poor public services | 95 72.0 | 2.36 | 1.110 |
| poor shops and stores | 94 71.2 | 2.28 | 1.092 |
| poor culture and nightlife | 96 72.7 | 2.46 | 1.160 |
| bad accessibility / parking | 94 71.2 | 2.49 | 1.085 |
| city centre is too far away | 96 72.7 | 2.58 | 1.287 |
| bad reputation of neighbor. | 89 67.4 | 2.39 | 1.144 |
| other reasons | 25 18.9 | 4.64 | 0.757 |

* 1 = not important at all. 5 = most important

Appendix E ‘Grouping’ based on the respondents’ characteristics

Cross tabulation E1: mean scores of lifecycle related motivations for moving to the “Kop van Zuid”, within distinct socio-demographic categories

| | studies | employment | nearness family/friends | marriage/relationship | divorce/end relationship | becoming independent | birth of/young children |
|-------------------------|---------|------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| male | 1.833 | 3.037 | 2.373 | 2.725 | 1.943 | 2.091 | 2.586 |
| female | 1.533 | 2.917 | 2.375 | 2.875 | 1.548 | 2.069 | 2.619 |
| 0-20 years old | 0 | 4.000 | 0 | 5.000 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 21-30 years old | 2.412 | 2.737 | 2.353 | 3.750 | 1.385 | 2.667 | 1.571 |
| 31-40 years old | 1.500 | 2.867 | 2.145 | 2.379 | 1.636 | 2.200 | 3.269 |
| 41-50 years old | 1.722 | 3.360 | 2.500 | 2.700 | 2.000 | 1.875 | 3.048 |
| 51-60 years old | 1.286 | 3.000 | 2.500 | 1.500 | 2.143 | 1.667 | 1.800 |
| 60+ | 1.000 | 2.800 | 2.333 | 2.500 | 1.667 | 1.000 | 1.000 |
| one person household | 1.636 | 2.500 | 2.692 | 2.182 | 2.125 | 3.091 | 1.429 |
| couple without children | 1.893 | 3.000 | 2.500 | 3.286 | 1.318 | 2.182 | 1.435 |
| couple with children | 1.531 | 3.133 | 2.132 | 2.444 | 1.710 | 1.536 | 3.500 |
| single parent household | 1.000 | 2.000 | 2.000 | 4.000 | 3.250 | 4.000 | 2.000 |

* 1 = not important at all. 5 = most important

Cross tabulation E2: mean scores of current dwelling related motivations for moving to the “Kop van Zuid”, within distinct socio-demographic categories

| | state or quality of dwelling | size of dwelling | garden. terrace or balcony | wanted to rent/wanted to buy | availability of dwelling | good price-quality ratio |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| male | 4.362 | 4.386 | 4.174 | 3.831 | 3.791 | 4.100 |
| female | 4.245 | 4.370 | 4.255 | 3.609 | 3.681 | 4.170 |
| 0-20 years old | 4.000 | 4.000 | 0 | 3.000 | 4.000 | 5.000 |
| 21-30 years old | 4.391 | 4.391 | 4.304 | 3.952 | 3.818 | 4.273 |
| 31-40 years old | 4.357 | 4.372 | 4.209 | 3.892 | 3.951 | 4.071 |
| 41-50 years old | 4.222 | 4.389 | 4.171 | 3.552 | 3.594 | 4.143 |
| 51-60 years old | 4.700 | 4.400 | 4.750 | 3.286 | 3.250 | 4.400 |
| 60+ | 4.000 | 4.333 | 3.643 | 3.615 | 3.929 | 3.941 |
| one person household | 4.474 | 4.500 | 3.842 | 4.077 | 4.118 | 4.158 |
| couple without children | 4.333 | 4.319 | 4.371 | 3.762 | 3.771 | 4.248 |
| couple with children | 4.235 | 4.415 | 4.255 | 3.587 | 3.652 | 4.059 |
| single parent household | 4.800 | 4.400 | 3.200 | 4.000 | 3.750 | 4.000 |

* 1 = not important at all. 5 = most important

Cross tabulation E3: mean scores of current dwelling related motivations for moving to the “Kop van Zuid”, within distinct categories of the position on the housing market

| | state or quality of dwelling | size of dwelling | garden. terrace or balcony | wanted to rent/wanted to buy | availability of dwelling | good price-quality ratio |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| home ownership | 4.337 | 4.391 | 4.430 | 3.878 | 3.725 | 4.151 |
| private renting | 4.343 | 4.389 | 3.758 | 3.448 | 3.939 | 4.194 |
| social housing | 2.500 | 4.000 | 2.500 | 2.500 | 2.000 | 2.000 |
| ground floor | 4.205 | 4.478 | 4.524 | 3.615 | 3.632 | 4.163 |
| flat/apartment | 4.367 | 4.329 | 4.051 | 3.803 | 3.818 | 4.111 |
| time of living 0-3 years | 4.370 | 4.327 | 4.132 | 3.792 | 4.041 | 4.132 |
| time of living 3-9 years | 4.313 | 4.344 | 4.188 | 3.500 | 3.625 | 3.938 |
| t. of living 9-15 years | 4.213 | 4.500 | 4.361 | 3.839 | 3.471 | 4.282 |

* 1 = not important at all. 5 = most important

Cross tabulation E4: mean scores of current neighborhood related motivations for moving to the “Kop van Zuid”, within distinct socio-demographic categories

| | modern / luxury | low crime rates | public services | shops & stores | culture & nightlife | accessibility / parking | near city centre | reputation |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------|------------|
| male | 4.130 | 3.667 | 3.657 | 3.463 | 3.138 | 3.701 | 4.257 | 3.785 |
| female | 4.058 | 3.808 | 4.019 | 3.811 | 3.118 | 3.769 | 4.222 | 3.923 |
| 0-20 years old | 5.000 | 5.000 | 5.000 | 3.000 | 4.000 | 5.000 | 5.000 | 5.000 |
| 21-30 years old | 4.136 | 3.952 | 3.913 | 3.696 | 3.318 | 3.364 | 4.136 | 3.714 |
| 31-40 years old | 4.186 | 3.714 | 3.581 | 3.558 | 3.071 | 3.698 | 4.186 | 3.881 |
| 41-50 years old | 4.000 | 3.647 | 3.971 | 3.706 | 3.000 | 3.848 | 4.314 | 3.853 |
| 51-60 years old | 4.200 | 3.700 | 4.000 | 3.600 | 3.100 | 3.889 | 4.600 | 4.125 |
| 60+ | 3.800 | 3.643 | 3.733 | 3.333 | 3.231 | 3.857 | 4.125 | 3.643 |
| 1 pers. household | 4.263 | 4.222 | 3.737 | 3.588 | 3.111 | 3.667 | 4.053 | 3.947 |
| couple 0 children | 4.204 | 3.896 | 3.837 | 3.633 | 3.292 | 3.787 | 4.327 | 3.771 |
| couple + children | 3.980 | 3.458 | 3.827 | 3.560 | 2.935 | 3.680 | 4.288 | 3.870 |
| single parent hh. | 4.000 | 3.000 | 3.800 | 3.800 | 3.400 | 4.000 | 4.200 | 4.000 |

* 1 = not important at all. 5 = most important

Cross tabulation E5: mean scores of previous dwelling related motivations for moving to the “Kop van Zuid”, within distinct socio-demographic categories

| | state or quality of dwelling | size of dwelling | garden, terrace or balcony |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| male | 2.964 | 3.726 | 3.255 |
| female | 2.861 | 3.735 | 3.903 |
| 0-20 years old | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 21-30 years old | 3.176 | 3.474 | 3.143 |
| 31-40 years old | 3.031 | 3.882 | 3.806 |
| 41-50 years old | 3.034 | 3.933 | 3.741 |
| 51-60 years old | 2.167 | 3.400 | 3.000 |
| 60+ | 2.909 | 3.500 | 1.857 |
| one person household | 3.000 | 3.500 | 2.889 |
| couple without children | 2.892 | 3.278 | 3.000 |
| couple with children | 3.068 | 4.234 | 3.976 |
| single parent household | 2.000 | 3.000 | 2.500 |

* 1 = not important at all. 5 = most important

Cross tabulation E6: mean scores of previous neighborhood related motivations for moving to the “Kop van Zuid”, within distinct socio-demographic categories

| | crime or hassle | deprivation | poor public services | poor shops & stores | poor culture & nightlife | bad access. / parking | city centre is too far | bad reputation |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| male | 2.847 | 2.679 | 2.351 | 2.255 | 2.481 | 2.538 | 2.491 | 2.472 |
| female | 2.686 | 2.515 | 2.371 | 2.306 | 2.436 | 2.342 | 2.641 | 2.212 |
| 0-20 years old | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4.000 | 0 | 4.000 | 0 |
| 21-30 years old | 2.444 | 2.529 | 2.158 | 2.105 | 2.474 | 2.176 | 2.389 | 2.250 |
| 31-40 years old | 2.969 | 2.710 | 2.258 | 2.133 | 2.258 | 2.367 | 2.100 | 2.433 |
| 41-50 years old | 3.033 | 2.800 | 2.552 | 2.483 | 2.500 | 2.483 | 2.586 | 2.500 |
| 51-60 years old | 3.000 | 2.800 | 2.667 | 2.667 | 2.833 | 3.286 | 3.833 | 1.833 |
| 60+ | 1.900 | 1.889 | 2.300 | 2.200 | 2.545 | 2.818 | 3.333 | 1.889 |
| 1 pers. household | 3.000 | 3.250 | 2.273 | 2.333 | 2.462 | 2.545 | 2.273 | 2.778 |
| couple 0 children | 2.514 | 2.353 | 2.353 | 2.147 | 2.667 | 2.571 | 2.838 | 2.242 |
| couple + children | 2.891 | 2.739 | 2.348 | 2.318 | 2.256 | 2.432 | 2.409 | 2.372 |
| single parent hh. | 3.500 | 1.500 | 3.000 | 3.000 | 3.000 | 1.500 | 3.500 | 2.500 |

* 1 = not important at all. 5 = most important

Appendix F **Housing preferences of the “Kop van Zuid”-residents who participated in the survey**

Table F1: Preferences – dwelling specific (total ratings per subject)

| | not at all important abs. & % | | not so important abs. & % | | neutral abs. & % | | important abs. & % | | very important abs. & % | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|------|------------------------------|------|---------------------|------|-----------------------|------|----------------------------|------|
| state or quality of dwelling | 1 | 0.8 | 0 | 0.0 | 3 | 2.3 | 66 | 50.0 | 58 | 43.9 |
| size of dwelling | 1 | 0.8 | 0 | 0.0 | 1 | 0.8 | 79 | 59.8 | 47 | 35.6 |
| garden. terrace of balcony | 1 | 0.8 | 1 | 0.8 | 8 | 6.1 | 53 | 40.2 | 64 | 48.5 |
| prefer an apartment | 16 | 12.1 | 27 | 20.5 | 27 | 20.5 | 23 | 17.4 | 11 | 8.3 |
| prefer a family house | 9 | 6.8 | 26 | 19.7 | 29 | 22.0 | 25 | 18.9 | 17 | 12.9 |
| historical characteristics | 9 | 6.8 | 21 | 15.9 | 32 | 24.2 | 38 | 28.8 | 13 | 9.8 |
| modern characteristics | 2 | 1.5 | 10 | 7.6 | 27 | 20.5 | 58 | 43.9 | 26 | 19.7 |

Table F2: Preferences - dwelling specific (mean and standard deviation)

| | number of respondents that answered this question abs. & in % of 132 | | mean rating of respondents on a 1 - 5 Likert scale* | standard deviation |
|------------------------------|---|------|---|--------------------|
| state or quality of dwelling | 128 | 97.0 | 4.41 | 0.620 |
| size of dwelling | 128 | 97.0 | 4.34 | 0.579 |
| garden. terrace of balcony | 127 | 96.2 | 4.40 | 0.716 |
| prefer an apartment | 104 | 78.8 | 2.87 | 1.231 |
| prefer a family house | 106 | 80.3 | 3.14 | 1.207 |
| historical characteristics | 113 | 85.6 | 3.22 | 1.124 |
| modern characteristics | 123 | 93.2 | 3.78 | 0.928 |

* 1 = not important at all. 5 = most important

Table F3: Preferences - neighborhood specific (total ratings per subject)

| | not at all important abs. & % | | not so important abs. & % | | neutral abs. & % | | important abs. & % | | very important abs. & % | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|------|------------------------------|------|---------------------|------|-----------------------|------|----------------------------|------|
| quietness | 1 | 0.8 | 2 | 1.5 | 19 | 14.4 | 83 | 62.9 | 23 | 17.4 |
| green spaces | 1 | 0.8 | 3 | 2.3 | 21 | 15.9 | 76 | 57.6 | 28 | 21.2 |
| safety | 0 | 0.0 | 2 | 1.5 | 3 | 2.3 | 70 | 53.0 | 52 | 39.4 |
| liveliness | 2 | 1.5 | 6 | 4.5 | 35 | 26.5 | 64 | 48.5 | 19 | 14.4 |
| luxury or rich appearance | 3 | 2.3 | 22 | 16.7 | 49 | 37.1 | 39 | 29.5 | 13 | 9.8 |
| historical elements | 5 | 3.8 | 24 | 18.2 | 56 | 42.4 | 30 | 22.7 | 7 | 5.3 |
| modern elements | 5 | 3.8 | 21 | 15.9 | 46 | 34.8 | 45 | 34.1 | 9 | 6.8 |
| multi-cultural | 7 | 5.3 | 25 | 18.9 | 51 | 38.6 | 33 | 25.0 | 7 | 5.3 |
| lot of students | 16 | 12.1 | 51 | 38.6 | 51 | 38.6 | 6 | 4.5 | 0 | 0.0 |
| lot of yuppies | 25 | 18.9 | 41 | 31.1 | 43 | 32.6 | 13 | 9.8 | 0 | 0.0 |
| lot of young children | 14 | 10.6 | 28 | 21.2 | 41 | 31.1 | 33 | 25.0 | 12 | 9.1 |
| neighbors look like me | 9 | 6.8 | 24 | 18.2 | 45 | 34.1 | 43 | 32.6 | 5 | 3.8 |
| public services | 1 | 0.8 | 1 | 0.8 | 16 | 12.1 | 83 | 62.9 | 26 | 19.7 |
| shops and stores | 1 | 0.8 | 2 | 1.5 | 14 | 10.6 | 84 | 63.6 | 26 | 19.7 |
| culture and nightlife | 4 | 3.0 | 14 | 10.6 | 43 | 32.6 | 53 | 40.2 | 12 | 9.1 |
| nearness of the city centre | 1 | 0.8 | 2 | 1.5 | 15 | 11.4 | 75 | 56.8 | 34 | 25.8 |
| reputation of neighborhood | 2 | 1.5 | 6 | 4.5 | 29 | 22.0 | 70 | 53.0 | 21 | 15.9 |

Table F4: Preferences - neighborhood specific (mean and standard deviation)

| | absolute number of respondents that answered this question | percentage of respondents that answered this question | mean | standard deviation |
|--------------------------------|--|---|------|--------------------|
| quietness | 128 | 97.0 | 3.98 | 0.681 |
| green spaces | 129 | 97.7 | 3.98 | 0.739 |
| safety | 127 | 96.2 | 4.35 | 0.611 |
| liveliness | 126 | 95.5 | 3.73 | 0.833 |
| luxury or rich appearance | 126 | 95.5 | 3.29 | 0.956 |
| historical elements | 122 | 92.4 | 3.08 | 0.914 |
| modern elements | 126 | 95.5 | 3.25 | 0.954 |
| multi-cultural | 123 | 93.2 | 3.07 | 0.964 |
| lot of students | 124 | 93.9 | 2.38 | 0.771 |
| lot of yuppies | 122 | 92.4 | 2.36 | 0.928 |
| lot of young children families | 128 | 97.0 | 3.01 | 1.140 |
| neighbors look like me | 126 | 95.5 | 3.09 | 0.987 |
| public services | 127 | 96.2 | 4.04 | 0.660 |
| shops and stores | 127 | 96.2 | 4.04 | 0.671 |
| culture and nightlife | 126 | 95.5 | 3.44 | 0.925 |
| nearness of the city centre | 128 | 97.0 | 4.09 | 0.718 |
| reputation of neighborhood | 127 | 96.2 | 3.80 | 0.826 |

* 1 = not important at all. 5 = most important

Preferences regarding dwelling

The majority of research that has been done on housing preferences focuses on the choice between renting and owning, on prices that a household wants to pay for a dwelling, and on the size, type and location of the dwelling that a household prefers (Floor and Van Kempen, 1997). These general aspects of a dwelling are not the most interesting for this research, though they are aspects that should not be overlooked as well. First of all, the move to another house is often related to the need for space. When there is for example an increase in the amount of household members, the household will want to look out for a larger dwelling. Almost every participant in the ‘‘Kop van Zuid’’-survey thus agreed in that the size of a dwelling is a (very) important preference (see figure G1). The presence of a garden, terrace or balcony was (highly) preferred as well (figure G2). The opinions on the apartment versus one-family house question were more divided (figure G3 and G4). For both questions, there were around 27 respondents who did not give their opinion, which is a rather high ‘non-response rate’ (for the majority of the other questions, the non-response rate was around 5 or 6 respondents).

Figure G1: Size of dwelling

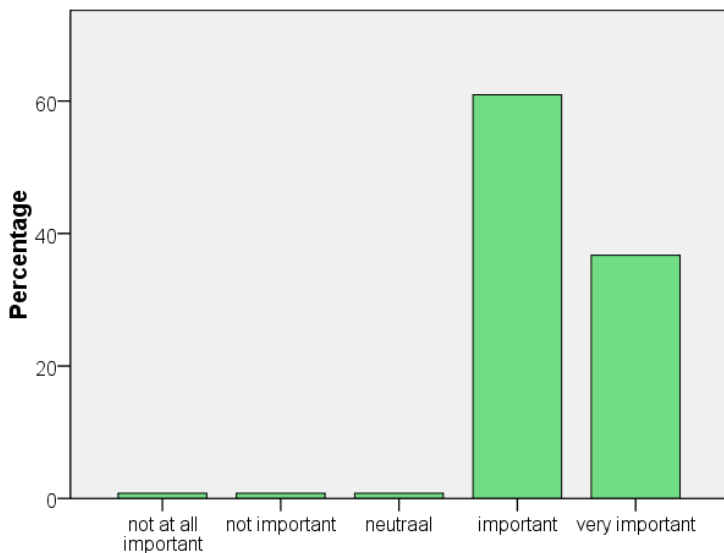


Figure G2: Garden, terrace or balcony

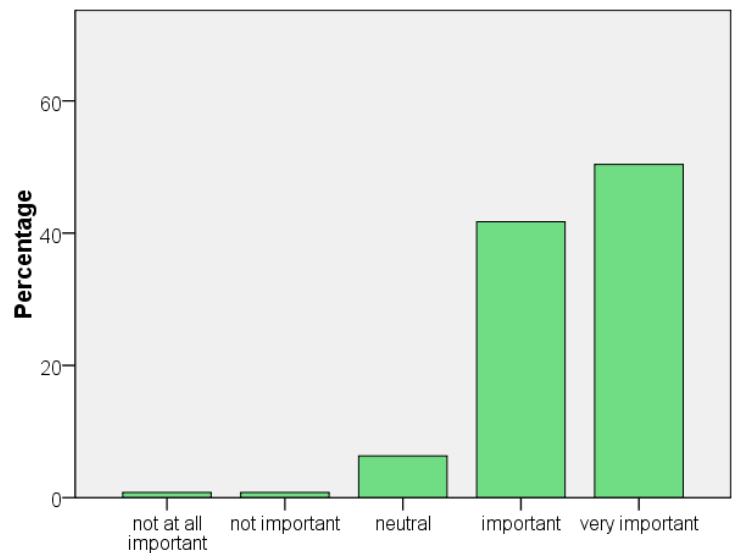


Figure G3: Prefer an apartment

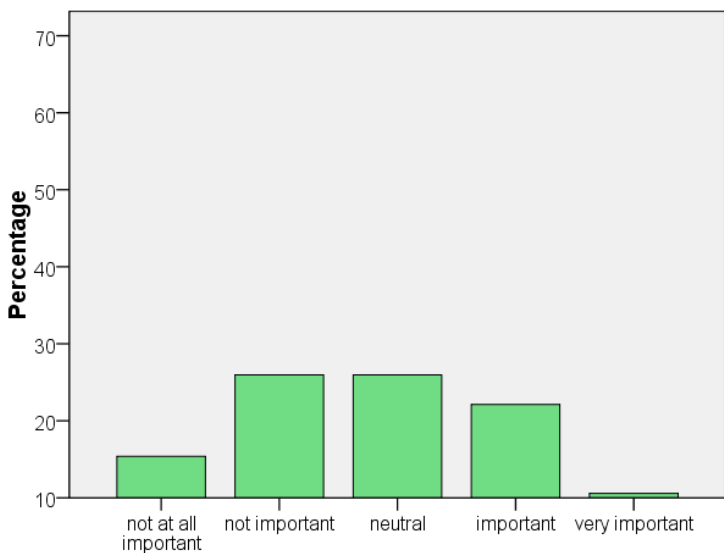
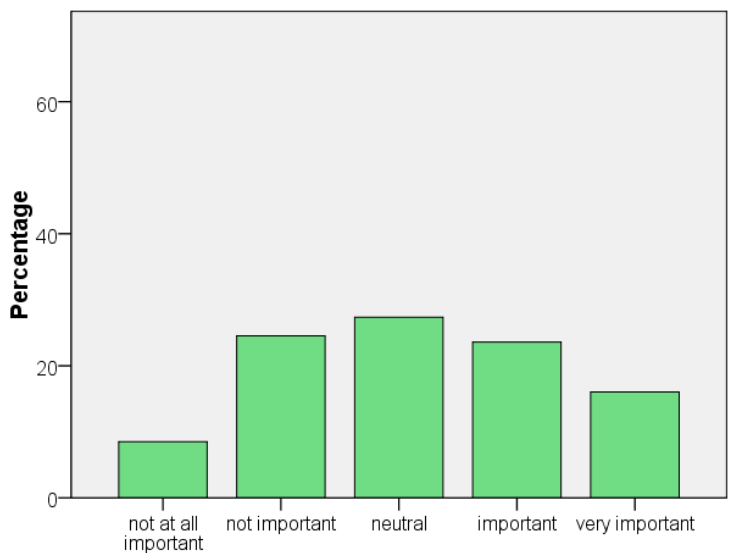


Figure G4: Prefer a one-family house



Preferences regarding neighborhood

Residents tend to move to a neighborhood in which they feel a certain conformity with the existing population (Florida, 2002).

This could be in terms of socio-demographic, socio-economic, as well as socio-cultural characteristics. Almost 40% of the residents of the “Kop van Zuid” that participated in the survey, agreed to this (see figure G6 as well). Next to that the respondents assigned that the presence of students and yuppies were not important elements (at all) that they wanted to see in their neighborhood (figure G7 and G8). About the presence of families with (young) children and a certain level of multi-culturality, the opinions were more divided (figure G9 and G10).

Figure G7: The presence of students

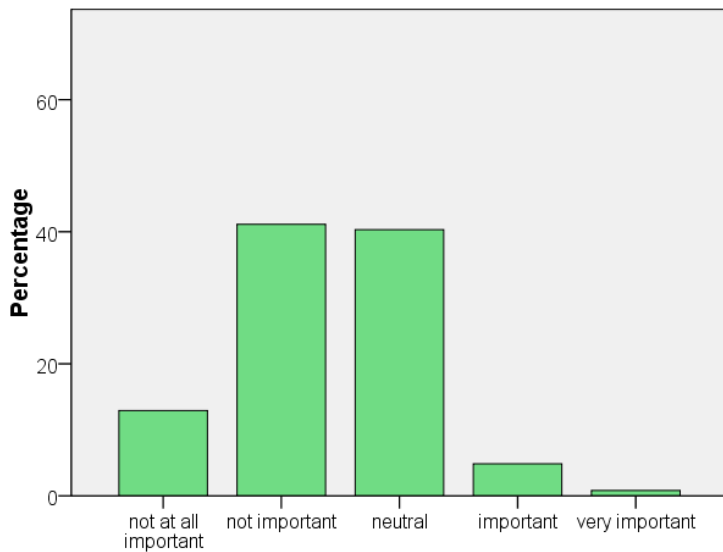


Figure G9: Families with (young) children

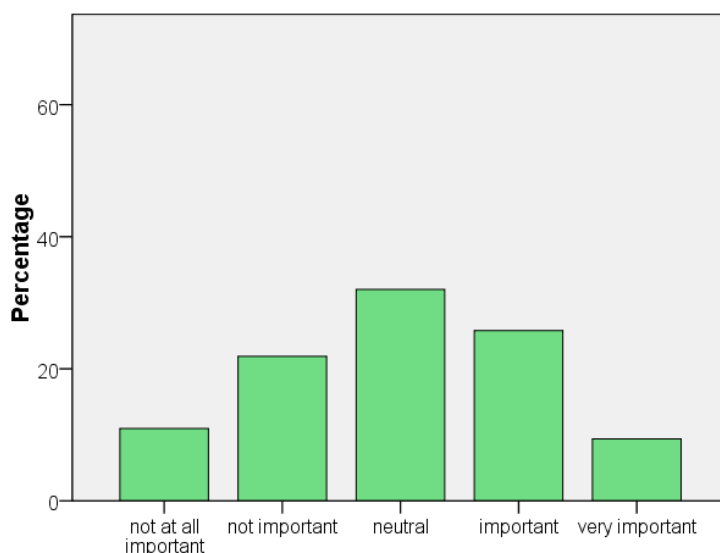


Figure G6: Neighbors that look like me

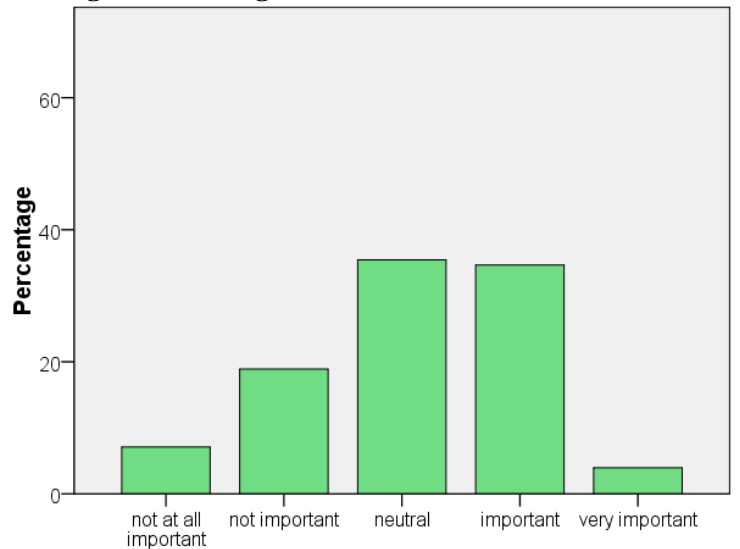


Figure G8: The presence of yuppies

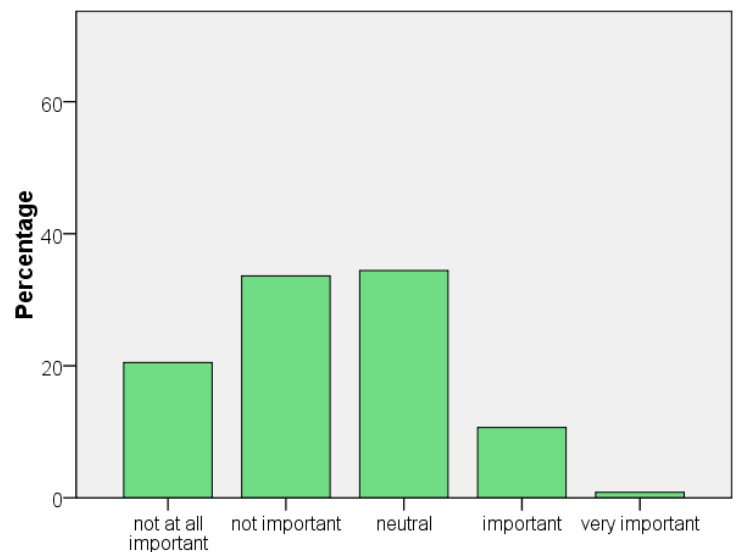


Figure G10: Multi-culturality

