

Neighborhood interaction and place attachment among family gentrifiers

The case of the Kop van Zuid, Rotterdam

Sander Link – 3132110 – S.Link@students.uu.nl

1-7-2011

Neighborhood interaction and place attachment among family gentrifiers
The case of the Kop van Zuid - Rotterdam

Sander Link

Rotterdam - July 1st 2011

Master Thesis - GEO4-3313
Utrecht University – Faculty of Geosciences
Degree program: Human Geography and Planning
Master Program: Urban Geography
Supervisor: dr. B.M. Doucet
Second reviewer: dr. J. Prillwitz

CONTENTS

- FIGURES AND TABLES.....6**
- PREFACE.....7**
- 1. INTRODUCTION.....8**
 - 1.1 Who are the gentrifiers living in new-build developments?8
 - 1.2 Research questions9
 - 1.3 Approach10
 - 1.4 Scientific relevance: daily activities and experiences of family gentrifiers11
 - 1.5 Social relevance: attracting the kind of citizens the city needs.....12
 - 1.6 Structure.....12
- 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....14**
 - 2.1 The changing nature of gentrification.....14
 - 2.2 Characteristics and lifestyle of the traditional gentrifier16
 - 2.2.1 Cultural gentrifier17
 - 2.2.2 Economic gentrifier18
 - 2.3 Characteristics and lifestyle of the new gentrifying middle class.....18
 - 2.3.1 The global gentrifier20
 - 2.3.2 The aging gentrifier20
 - 2.3.3 The student gentrifier.....21
 - 2.3.4 The family gentrifier21
 - 2.4 Neighborhood interaction of new-build gentrifiers: neighborhood socialization.....24
 - 2.4.1 The neighborhood as a unit of analysis for investigating social ties.....24
 - 2.4.2 Social ties as a constituent of social capital.....24
 - 2.4.3 Social ties in the neighborhood.....26
 - 2.4.4 Neighborhood socialization of the new-build gentrifier26
 - 2.4.5 Gentrification as a strategy of residential disaffiliation.....27
 - 2.4.6 Neighborhood socialization in the Dutch context.....29
 - 2.5 Neighborhood interaction of new-build gentrifiers: neighborhood facilities30
 - 2.5.1 The city and its facilities.....30
 - 2.5.2 The changing character of neighborhood facilities in gentrified areas.....30
 - 2.5.3 The manipulation of neighborhood facilities by family gentrifiers.....31
 - 2.6 Neighborhood interaction of new-build gentrifiers: place attachment.....31
 - 2.6.1 Place attachment defined.....31
 - 2.6.2 Determinants of place attachment32

2.6.3 Influence of tenure and the built form on feelings of place attachment	33
2.6.4 Staying put or moving out.....	33
2.7 Conceptual Model	34
3. RESEARCH BACKGROUND.....	35
3.1 Introduction to the case study.....	35
3.2 Introduction Rotterdam	35
3.3 Introduction Kop van Zuid	37
3.4.1 Introduction Stadstuinen	47
3.4.2 Socio-demographic statistics Stadstuinen	50
4. RESEARCH METHODS	53
4.1 Research methods – semi-structured interviews	53
4.2 Research Population.....	53
4.3 Operationalization of research questions	57
4.3.1 Neighborhood socialization	58
4.3.2 Neighborhood facilities.....	59
4.3.3 Place Attachment	60
5. NEIGHBORHOOD INTERACTION IN STADSTUINEN.....	62
5.1 Quantity and quality of neighborhood social ties in Stadstuinen.....	62
5.2 Positive indicators of social contacts	64
5.3 Places of social interaction	66
6. USE OF NEIGHBORHOOD FACILITIES IN STADSTUINEN	72
6.1 Distinction through Consumption.....	72
6.2 Perceptions about the target audience of neighborhood facilities	73
7. PLACE ATTACHMENT AMONG STADSTUINERS	76
7.1 Home sweet home	76
7.2 Feelings of connectedness.....	78
8. CONCLUSION	81
8.1 In light of developments in the structure of the personal network of new-build gentrifiers, are the amount, nature and quality of neighborhood social ties of family gentrifiers growing feeble?.....	81
8.2 Can the habitus of family gentrifiers be characterized by the use and neglect of certain social, cultural and leisure neighborhood facilities?.....	83
8.3 Can family gentrifiers be characterized by strong feelings of place attachment?.....	83
REFERENCES	86
APPENDIX A	92
APPENDIX B.....	93

APPENDIX C	94
APPENDIX D	95
APPENDIX E	99
APPENDIX F	100
9. SAMENVATTING (DUTCH)	101

FIGURES AND TABLES

• I: Panorama of the Wilhelminapier. Source: author;	8
• Table 2.1: Different segments of contemporary gentrifiers. Source: author;	23
• Table 2.2: Two types of social capital. Source: Kleinhans et al. (2007);	25
• Table 2.3: A typology of residential disaffiliation. Source: Atkinson (2006);	28
• Figure 2.1: Conceptual Model. Source: author	34
• Figure 3.1: Location of Rotterdam. Source: CBS - Statline;	36
• Figure 3.2: Map of the Kop van Zuid. Source: Doucet (2010);	36
• Figure 3.3: 1913, a ship docks at the Wilhelminapier. Source: http://www.rotterdam010.nl ;	37
• Figure 3.4: The Erasmusbrug. Source: author;	39
• Figure 3.5: The Wilhelminapier as it was in 2011. Source: author;	39
• Figure 3.6: Artist impression of the Wilhelminapier. Source: http://www.wilhelminapier.nl/beeld ;	40
• Figure 3.7: The Luxor Theater. Source: author;	41
• Figure 3.8: Pakhuismeesteren. Source: http://www.top010.nl ;	42
• Figure 3.9: Lantaren Venster. Source: author;	42
• Figure 3.10: Hotel New York. Source: author;	43
• Figure 3.11: Cruise Terminal hall. Source: author;	43
• Figure 3.12: De Zuidkade. Source: author;	44
• Figure 3.13: InHolland College and Cité student housing. Source: author;	44
• Figure 3.14: Landtong. Source: author;	45
• Figure 3.15: De Vuurplaat. Source: author;	45
• Figure 3.16: The Entrêpot-haven. Source: author;	46
• Figure 3.17: De Peperklip. Source: author;	46
• Figure 3.18: Residential developments to the south-east of Vuurplaat. Source: author;	47
• Figure 3.19: Typical four stories high terraced housing in Stadstuinen. Source: author;	48
• Figure 3.20: The public park in Stadstuinen. Source: author;	48
• Figure 3.21: Terraced houses in Stadstuinen. Source: author;	49
• Figure 3.22: Custom homes in Stadstuinen. Source: author;	49
• Table 3.1: Inhabitants, number of households and percentage of non-western minorities (all data derived from CBS Statline, 2009);	51
• Table 3.2: Household composition (all data derived from CBS Statline, 2009);	51
• Table 3.3: Age distribution of the inhabitants living in different sub-areas of the Kop van Zuid and Rotterdam South (all data derived from CBS Statline, 2009);	51
• Table 3.4: Occupation rate, number of people living on benefits and percentage of household with low incomes (all data derived from CBS Statline);	52
• Table 3.5: Number of Dwellings, tenure percentage and mean house prices in 2007€ (all data derived from CBS Statline);	52
• Table 4.1: Demographic statistics of interviewees. Source: fieldwork;	54
• Figure 4.1: Ethnic Background of the interviewees. Source: fieldwork;	55
• Figure 4.2: Educational attainment of the interviewees. Source: fieldwork;	55
• Table 4.2: Specialization of interviewees. Source: fieldwork;	56
• Table 4.3: Area of Employment of interviewees. Source: fieldwork;	56
• Table 4.4: Income distribution of interviewees (net household income in Euros). Source: fieldwork.	57

PREFACE

During my childhood in a quiet suburb of Rotterdam, I was always drawn to the thrills and the spectacle of the inner-city. I visited Rotterdam on numerous occasions in my teenage years, and when I got into college I finally made the move into the city with my two best friends. Although I attend my classes at Utrecht University, I never considered a move to Utrecht. I am a Rotterdamer and this city runs through my veins. I am however very interested in cities in general. It is for this reason that I choose to do a masters degree in Urban Geography after I completed my bachelors degree in Earth Sciences. During the last year I have learned a great deal about some of the social, cultural and economic processes which shape contemporary cities. While they were all very appealing to me, the process of gentrification struck me as one of the most compelling urban processes. During the *Living in the City* course I read two seminal works on the process of gentrification: *The new middle class and the remaking of the central city* by David Ley (1996) and *The New Urban Frontier: gentrification and the revanchist city* by Neil Smith (1996). This furthered my interest in the topic even more.

In the meanwhile every time I would cycle to work I could see the progress of the redevelopment efforts taking place in the Kop van Zuid with my own eyes. It was very obvious that something big was going on here. Since then several high-rise apartments have created a new skyline for the city, making me proud every time I crossed the Erasmus Bridge. When I saw the master thesis topic on *'who are the gentrifiers living in the Kop van Zuid'* all the pieces fell into the right place. It didn't take me a very long time to apply. Since then I have spent the last six months working very hard to be able to present to you the work you hold in your hands right now. It has been a very dynamic process, working on the theoretical foundation of the study, conducting a lot of interviews (and unfortunately spending countless hours of transcribing them afterwards), but I think it has all worked out pretty well.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank Dr. B.M. Doucet for his comments on earlier drafts of this work, the use of some of his empirical data in order to come into contact with some of the inhabitants of Stadstuinen and his valuable insights and helpfulness during the entire research process. I would also like to thank dr. I. van Aalst and the participating students attending my mid-term presentation on the progress of my master thesis for their useful comments. A further acknowledgement goes out to Michiel van Langevelde, with whom I had some discussions regarding the topic of gentrification and our research on the Kop van Zuid. Finally I want to give out a special thanks to the interviewees who gave up some of their time to take part in this research.

Sander Link
July 2011



Figure 1: Panorama of the Wilhelminapier from the Erasmus Bridge.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Who are the gentrifiers living in new-build developments?

While we can explain the emergence of new-build developments within the city in the context of contemporary gentrification (Hacksworth & Smith, 2000; Davidson & Lees, 2005), research about who actually lives in these places is less comprehensive. What is clear is that the restructuring of a neighborhood results in a considerable temporary turnover of residents, caused by residential mobility within, into and out of the area (Kleinhans et al., 2007). Questions remain as to who the people coming into these new-build developments really are. What role does the neighborhood play in the lives of the contemporary gentrifier? Has their feeling of place attachment to the neighborhood changed in recent years? And what do these things tell us about the gentrifiers themselves?

Previous research usually tried to answer these questions by examining socio-economic characteristics of the incoming middle classes into gentrified developments (Gouldner, 1979; Ley, 1996; Butler, 1997). This has led to the stereotypical image of the gentrifier as being a young urban professional with a high socio-economic status (Robson & Butler, 2001; Seo, 2002; Hamnett, 2003; Ray et al., 2010). However, just characterizing groups by looking at their objective class and occupational features when analyzing middle classes does not provide us with an answer to the questions posed above. The differences between the traditional gentrifier - who bought derelict property and renovated it with sweat equity (Ley, 1996) - and the new-build gentrifier - who buy themselves into newly-build developments - go further than just differing statistics on professional occupation and household incomes.

There have been several qualitative studies which have shed some light on the characteristics and motivations of contemporary new-build gentrifiers. While new-build gentrifiers are looking for the same urbane lifestyle entrenched in culture and history as traditional gentrifiers did (Caulfield, 1994), several differences between their ways of living have been identified. First of all, contemporary gentrifiers do not have the time to create a traditional gentrifiers lifestyle, so instead they buy (or rent) their way into mass-produced, commodified versions of gentrification (Davidson and Lees, 2005). Economic capital plays a much larger role in this form of corporate gentrification. This has enticed private parties to buy and invest in new-build developments which they rent out to the urban-seeking middle class. These people are primarily young, have advanced education qualifications, are very career-orientated and are geographically more mobile than the traditional gentrifiers (Bondi, 1998).

Combined with their lack of engagement with the process of creating their gentrified dwelling and neighborhood the lifestyle of new-build gentrifiers is thought to lead to several consequences. Some authors (Hägerstrand, 1970; Hubbard, 2009) state that an individual's lifestyle influences his or her daily activity patterns and related housing preferences. According to the literature new-build gentrifiers invest much less time in their neighborhood than traditional gentrifiers did (Murphy, 2008). They live in "*privatized circuits of consumption*" (Davidson & Lees, 2005, p. 1183) and choose to interact as little as possible with their social environment. In this way the environment becomes a kind of social wallpaper (Lockwood, 1995). The private lifestyle of new-build gentrifiers is demonstrated furthermore by their use (and neglect) of certain neighborhood facilities. Davidson and Lees (2005) found that while the use of local restaurants and private gyms among new-build gentrifiers in London's riverside was very high, public facilities like the community centre and the public library were almost totally neglected. Abovementioned developments have changed the role that the neighborhood plays in the lives of contemporary gentrifiers. While the social and cultural diversity of the neighborhood were some of the primary reasons for moving into a certain area for the traditional gentrifiers (Ley, 1996), these neighborhood characteristics play a much smaller role in

the locational choice of the new-build gentrifiers of today. The privatized lifestyle of new-build gentrifiers has some direct consequences for the residential stability of new-build developments (Seo, 2002). The limited amount of neighborhood interaction prevents people from creating bonds with their social and physical environment. Consequently feelings of place attachment are underdeveloped (Lewicka, 2008). Lesser feelings of place attachment are enhanced by the geographic mobility of the young, career-orientated segment of the new-build gentrifiers. They often live in rented apartments which give them more freedom to move into other areas when better job-opportunities arise there. New-build gentrifiers in general are believed to feel less connected to the area (Bondi, 1998).

Up until now the distinction has been made between new-build gentrifiers and more traditional gentrifiers. However what all the above mentioned studies fail to do is take a more detailed look at the fragmented social class of new-build gentrifiers. An inspection of contemporary studies on *'who are the gentrifiers?'* reveals that it is impossible to speak of *the* new-build gentrifier in general. Several differentiations in the class of new-build gentrifiers can be made. Next to the young urban professional – which is the stereotypical image of the gentrifier - Rofe (2003) suggests the rise of the global gentrifier that sees gentrified space as translocal. According to his argument, transnationals all over the world are part of the same global gentrifier class. Then there is the aging gentrifier, who has reached the age of retirement and is faced with the decision of either aging in the city or moving out to a more quiet environment (Bonvalet & Ogg (2008). Students as a gentrifying population have also received quite a lot of attention in recent years (Duke-Williams, 2009; Munro et al., 2009). The process of studentification can transform working class neighborhoods into areas primarily occupied by students living in purpose-build developments, which sometimes resemble new-build developments geared to young urban professionals in their built form and appearance (Hubbard, 2009). Finally there is the family-gentrifier (called the 'yupp' or young urban professional parent), that combines having children with continuing their career and a preference for an urban lifestyle (Karsten, 2003). Until recently households containing dependent children were a relatively neglected topic in gentrification research (Robson & Butler, 2001). Differences regarding their daily-activity patterns and deployment of social assets at the neighborhood level remain underexposed topics in need of further exploration. This study will try to make a contribution to this gap in the literature by investigating three topics which - when combined - will tell us a lot about the daily lives of family gentrifiers: neighborhood socialization, the use of neighborhood facilities and feelings of place attachment.

1.2 Research questions

Questions could be raised about whether the image of the new-build gentrifier lifestyle that has been presented in section 1.1 is a valid image for all segments of the new-build gentrifier class. The various types of gentrifiers (young urban professionals, global gentrifiers, family-gentrifiers and aging gentrifiers) differ from each other on several characteristics (e.g. age, household composition, education, occupation and tenure of their dwelling). These characteristics are all influencing their motivations for choosing to live in the city. These differences can be hypothesized to have a distinct influence on whether or not people are willing to engage in social activities in the neighborhood. Current research on the number, nature and quality of the social ties of new-build gentrifiers shows several trends towards lower amounts of neighbors in people's personal network, which is increasingly made up of people who share similar personal backgrounds (Kleinhans et al., 2007; van der Land, 2007). Research question one will investigate whether these trends are also true for family gentrifiers:

1. *"In light of developments in the structure of the personal network of new-build gentrifiers, are the amount, nature and quality of neighborhood social ties of family gentrifiers growing feeble?"*

The differences in lifestyle of the abovementioned segments of the new-build gentrifier class will most likely be translated into differences in the use of neighborhood facilities. Throughout this study neighborhood facilities are defined as: shopping, social, cultural and leisure facilities present in the neighborhood or in the direct vicinity of the neighborhood. Gentrification can be seen as a strategy of residential disaffiliation (Furedi, 1997), through which family gentrifiers try to minimize contact with lower social classes in order to reproduce structures, status and social classes over time (Bourdieu, 1984). Gentrifiers actively try to create a specific *habitus* for themselves, through a distinction in housing, lifestyle and consumption. It can therefore be hypothesized that family gentrifiers will be characterized by the use of certain neighborhood facilities while neglecting others. This will be investigated in research question two:

2. *“Can the habitus of family gentrifiers be characterized by the use and neglect of certain social, cultural and leisure neighborhood facilities?”*

A consequence of living a certain lifestyle associated to a particular segment of the new-build gentrifier class will be certain feelings of place attachment to the home and the neighborhood. People who are socially active in the neighborhood are hypothesized to have greater feelings of place attachment than people who prefer to live in a ‘gentrification bubble’ (Butler, 2003). In this sense it can be hypothesized that the trend towards a more private lifestyle among new-build gentrifiers might lead to lesser feelings of place attachment on their side. However the presence of children in these households will at the same time stimulate neighborhood interaction and might very well increase feelings of place attachment (Robson & Butler, 2001). The built form and tenure of developments might also be of interest here since people who are living in owner-occupation are more likely to engage in neighborhood socialization and develop greater feelings of place attachment than people who are living in rental apartments (Gifford, 2007; van der Land, 2007; Lewicka, 2010). Related to the tenure of residential developments is the residential mobility of its inhabitants, with people living in rented apartments hypothesized as being more geographically ‘footloose’ than people living in owner-occupation (Seo, 2002). Since family gentrifiers tend to live in owner-occupied terraced houses, feelings of place attachment among family gentrifiers might be very well developed. This will be investigated in research question three:

3. *“Are family gentrifiers characterized by strong feelings of place attachment?”*

By investigating the abovementioned topics this research fits into the more general research on *‘who are the gentrifiers?’* These processes allow us to gain an insight into how these people lead their daily lives in the city and how this lifestyle influences their feelings of place attachment. This will hopefully provide us with a better understanding of some of the similarities and differences present within the class of new-build gentrifiers.

1.3 Approach

In order to deepen our knowledge of family gentrifiers this study will present a case study among family gentrifiers living in Stadstuinen – Rotterdam – the Netherlands. It took Rotterdam a long time to make the transition from an industrial to a service-based economy. Nowadays, 63 percent of its highly-educated workforce does not live in the city itself (van der Land, 2007). In order to increase the tax base for the city urban policy is geared to saving the existing middle class households for the city by providing them with opportunities to make a housing career. In the meantime the city also tries to attract more members of the new middle class currently living outside the city. This is being done by creating attractive residential environments for the new middle class in the centre of the city. The *Kop van Zuid* (translated as the head of the South) is the city’s flagship development. Located in the subordinated southern part of the city, the area is being restructured as a new waterfront development (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007; Doucet, 2010). The new-build developments

in the Kop van Zuid meet the criteria pointed out by Davidson and Lees (2005) to be considered as a contemporary form of gentrification. The developments involve: (1) the reinvestment of capital; (2) social upgrading of the locale by incoming higher-income groups; (3) landscape change; and (4) direct or indirect displacement of lower-income groups. The occupants of the new-build developments located on the Kop van Zuid can therefore be typified as new-build gentrifiers.

Located in the Kop van Zuid is the subarea of Stadstuinen, characterized as a quiet, family-orientated environment primarily consisting of terraced housing. The empirical starting point for this study is the hypothesis that the population of Stadstuinen will primarily consist of multi-person households with children. This hypothesis is based on three factors, namely the tenure of residential developments (owner-occupation), the housing stock (terraced housing) and the child friendly character of the neighborhood (wide sidewalks, presence of a central playground and a primary school inside the neighborhood). Using semi-structured qualitative interviews with the residents of the area (Stadstuiners), this study will try to find satisfying answers to the three research questions posed above. The choice for a qualitative approach is grounded in the desire to gain insight into the experiences and feelings of new-build gentrifiers. This would be harder to obtain when using quantitative methods (e.g. questionnaires or surveys). By using semi-structured interviews this study will have a basis on which to compare the interviews while at the same time giving the interviewee a great deal of leeway in how to reply. In this way questions not in the interview guide may be asked as the interviewer picks up on things said by the interviewee. This will give insight into what the respondents, not the interviewer, see as relevant and important (Bryman, 2008).

1.4 Scientific relevance: daily activities and experiences of family gentrifiers

Research on 'who are the gentrifiers?' usually focuses on already existing traditional neighborhoods. This study takes a novel approach by focusing on households which have chosen to move into new-build developments. This will provide an interesting new look into the lives of family gentrifiers living in the city, since new-build developments differ from the dwellings of traditional gentrifiers in very distinctive ways. As has been mentioned in section 1.1, new-build gentrifiers do not have the time to create a traditional gentrifiers lifestyle. Instead they buy or rent their way into mass-produced new-build developments, which can be characterized as a commodified, easily accessible version of gentrification (Davidson and Lees, 2005). The developments are being built in new parts of the city which have not seen residential developments before, at an unprecedented level of scale. Aforementioned will be reflected in the lifestyle of family gentrifiers.

Hitherto very little is known about the lifestyle and experiences of new-build gentrifiers. Most of the previous research has focused on socio-economic characteristics of the incoming middle classes instead. In order to gain insight into who the gentrifiers living in new-build developments really are, this study will go further than just provide their basic socio-demographic characteristics. By examining the neighborhood interaction and feelings of place attachment of family gentrifiers this study will contribute to this knowledge gap. Several studies which investigate a certain segment of the new-build gentrifier class have been carried out. As has been discussed in section 1.1, a distinction can be made between the young urban professional (Robson & Butler, 2001; Seo, 2002; Hamnett, 2003; Ray et al., 2010), the global gentrifier (Sklair, 2001; Smith, 2002, Rofe, 2003), the student gentrifier (Hubbard, 2009; Duke-Williams, 2009; Munro et al., 2009) the aging gentrifier (Bonvalet & Ogg, 2008) and the family gentrifier. However, as has been stated before, family gentrifiers were a relatively neglected topic in gentrification research (Robson & Butler, 2001). Most of the previous research either focused on the causes of the influx of families into gentrified areas (McDowell, 1997; Karsten & van Kempen, 2001; Jarvis et al., 2001) or on community formation and child education (Robson & Butler, 2001; Karsten, 2003). Little is known about the neighborhood socialization, the habitus and the feelings of place attachment of family gentrifiers. This study is an attempt to fill at least some part of this gap in the literature.

1.5 Social relevance: attracting the kind of citizens the city needs

Despite developments in communication and transportation the neighborhood remains a focal point for contemporary urban policy. Social capital (section 2.4.1) is proclaimed to be the foundation of a neighborhood. Neighborhoods that lack people with social capital will inevitably fall into decline (Middleton et al., 2005). Several urban strategies like the social mixing of residents operate at the scale level of the neighborhood. It is through social interaction with neighbors that people build supportive networks and gain social capital. It is important to study the nature and quantity of social ties in a neighborhood because they are a key indicator of the strength of local communities (Flap and Völker, 2007) and they can lead to produce a variety of resources (e.g. neighborliness, trust, participation, shared norms and values and social control), all leading to a more favorable social climate. The new middle class is said to possess high amounts of social capital (Kleinhans et al., 2007). For a city retaining and attracting these people is therefore not only a strategy to increase tax revenues, they are also brought in as the saviors of declining neighborhoods (Slater, 2006). These strategies of social upgrading are translated into urban policies of residential mix and new-build gentrification and can be found in the policy documents of many contemporary cities, including those of the city of Rotterdam (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007). The underlying assumption of social mixing is that affluent people transfer their social capital by interacting with lower social classes and at the same time act as a role model for them. However, several studies indicate that this is not happening in neighborhoods where a social-mix policy is introduced (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Lees, 2008). Contrary to what policymakers aim for, the new middle class exclusively interact with people with similar socio-economic backgrounds (Allen, 1984; Davidson & Lees, 2005; Atkinson 2006). Their private lifestyle is further enhanced by their use of exclusive neighborhood facilities like certain restaurants and educational facilities (Buzar et al., 2007). It is therefore very relevant to study neighborhood interaction of family gentrifiers to see whether this image fits them as well. Several studies have been conducted that either study the regeneration of the Kop van Zuid area in general (McCarthy 1996; McCarthy 1998) or the consequences for its different population groups (Doucet, 2010). However little is known about the nature and quality of social ties at the neighborhood level. Van der Land (2007) examined the urban ties of the new middle class working in Rotterdam but his work did not distinguish in which neighborhoods his respondents currently live in. Kleinhans et al. (2007) investigated residents social capital in two recently restructured neighborhoods in Rotterdam, but their case studies did not involve the Kop van Zuid. This work will therefore be the first to study the quality and nature of social ties of residents living in Stadstuinen and the Wilhelminapier.

As has been stated in section 1.1 the geographic mobility of at least a segment of the new-middle class living in new-build developments poses a threat to the sustainability of these residential environments (Seo, 2002). This is a serious issue for cities keen on attracting members of the new middle class since it can undermine their efforts to revitalize their city in economic, social and cultural ways. Cities worldwide spend millions of taxpayer's money on redevelopment programs aimed at creating attractive residential environments. Therefore it is important to at least study the feelings of place attachment of their target population in greater detail. By examining the role of tenure (owner occupancy) and the built form (terraced housing) on feelings of place attachment, Rotterdam and other cities might be able to adjust their current and future residential policy in such a way so that they will attract the kind of citizens they need.

1.6 Structure

This study is organized into nine sections. First a thorough examination of the literature on neighborhood socialization, the use of neighborhood facilities and feelings of place attachment in general and of new-build gentrifiers in particular will be presented (chapter 2). This will provide the theoretical framework for this study. After this chapter the Kop van Zuid as the site for a case study will be introduced, as will the sub-neighborhood where the fieldwork has taken place (Stadstuinen,

chapter 3). This section will include neighborhood census data on items such as household composition, age and tenure. This section is followed by a chapter where the choice for the research methods used will be substantiated and discussed (chapter 4). The empirical chapters will present the findings of the semi-structured interviews with the inhabitants of Stadstuinen and compare these findings with the theoretical framework (chapters 5, 6 and 7). The study will end with some conclusions (chapter 8) and an abstract in Dutch (chapter 9).

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 The changing nature of gentrification

"The underlying processes of gentrification and the material changes they produce seem to have been stretched over time and space. Contemporary gentrification has become increasingly complex because different actors and locations have become involved and the landscapes produced have changed." (Davidson & Lees, 2005, p.1168).

Gentrification is one of the most debated topics in the field of urban geography. It is not my intention to provide a full account of the development of the process, nor do I want to focus on the 'roots debate' on gentrification, which started from the time when the term gentrification was first coined by Ruth Glass in 1964 and has continued up until this day. What I want to do in this section is provide a short introduction to gentrification highlighting the changing nature and effects of the process. This will provide readers novel to the subject with a contextual framework in which this research can be placed. Trough time there have been many attempts to re-conceptualize the term gentrification in such a way that contemporary developments could be included. This study will use the definition as proposed by Clark (2005):

"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, the more marked will be the concomitant change in the built environment. It does not matter where, it does not matter when. Any process of change fitting this description is, to my understanding, gentrification." (p.258).

With this description in mind gentrification can be seen as a multi-faceted process which enables us to link macro-level changes such as deindustrialization to changes on the micro-level such as neighbourhood change (Hamnett, 2003). Gentrification cannot be described through either a production- (Smith, 1996) or a consumption-based (Ley, 1996) model alone. One all-inclusive model is needed (Slater, 2006), which takes into account both approaches to the subject. According to Hackworth with Smith (2000) gentrification has gone through several 'waves', closely related to global economic and political restructuring. Unlike first-wave gentrification, which was sporadic and small-scale and second-wave gentrification, which was led by the private market, third-wave gentrification is characterized by a more interventionist state. Three reasons are mentioned for the increased state-interference: 1) the decreasing tax-base of many postindustrial cities, which calls for new strategies of capital accumulation, 2) the diffusion of gentrification into new areas such as brownfield sites poses profit risks that only the government can manage and 3) the shift from managerialism toward post-Keynesian governance, which led to a more entrepreneurial/revanchist state, who more easily contests measures to protect the working class (Hackworth & Smith, 2000). Third wave gentrification has become a global phenomenon, being identified in cities at different tiers in the world city hierarchy worldwide. This has led Davidson and Lees (2005) to argue that:

"A 'gentrification blueprint' is being mass-produced, mass-marketed, and mass-consumed around the world." (p.1167).

The spread of gentrification has gone further than just transforming the physical appearance of cities. Trends in the cultural life of many cities resemble each other worldwide. As Zukin (1998) puts it:

"The near-universality of latte bars suggests that many consumption practices related to urban middle class lifestyles have become widespread." (p.832).

Gentrification is no longer tied to inner-city neighborhoods; the process has reached suburbia (Slater, 2006) and it can even be found in rural areas (Stockdale, 2010). Other characteristics of third-wave gentrification include a larger stake for corporate developers in the process. While the state has increased its interference with the process of gentrification, governments no longer have the financial means to undertake large-scale developments by themselves. They can only entice private parties to build the developments they deem necessary for the city's economy by providing land- and financial subsidies. This is being done through public-private partnerships which have developed alongside the entrepreneurial approach as an important form of local governance (Painter, 1991). Furthermore the process has expanded to both inner-city neighborhoods and to more remote areas beyond the immediate core and, consequently, community opposition to the process has declined because people are not directly displaced anymore (although this is being questioned by many, for example see Seo (2002) and Slater (2006)).

The transformation from an industrial to a post-industrial city has led to the professionalization of the urban labour market. Substantial growth occurred in finance, business services and the creative industries, contrasted by a consistent decline in the size and proportion of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manual work (Hamnett, 2003). The traditional manufacturing working class has been replaced with managerial and professional workers. They are members of the new middle class and are transforming inner cities worldwide in both social and tenure terms (Hamnett, 2003). While high wages and employment opportunities were enough to lure these people into the city in the time of Howard (1902), these attractions are no longer sufficient for the city of today. Amongst other strategies (e.g. the creation of flagship-projects or offering an attractive business climate to companies) many cities have turned to the attraction and retention of these middle and higher income classes (Varadaya & Raffel, 1995). This is deemed necessary for the future development of cities because these people are the driving force behind the knowledge- and service-oriented economy, which have become the main occupational strands in post-industrial societies (see section 2.2). Furthermore these people are considered as great potential contributors to consumption and participation in civil society. They are heralded by policy makers as having an intermediate position in society, disseminating new products, services, opinions and meanings within mainstream society (Van Der Land, 2007). The city needs these people if it wishes to remain competitive on a regional, national and international level. It is very important for a city to be known as a good place to live since this will help to attract companies in the creative and knowledge-intensive industries (van der Land, 2007). In order to offer housing career opportunities to the existing middle class residing in the city as well as to lure new members of the middle class into the city today's cities are actively trying to create attractive residential environments. These new-build developments could be seen as a contemporary form of gentrification, since they meet the criteria set up by Davidson and Lees (2005):

"By concentrating on the core elements of gentrification: (1) the reinvestment of capital; (2) the social upgrading of locale by incoming higher-income groups; (3) landscape change; and (4) direct or indirect displacement of low-income groups, and by not attaching it to a particular landscape or context, we should be able to keep hold of 'gentrification' as an important term and concept for analyzing urban change in the 21st-century city." (p.1187).

The process of displacement of working-class residents deserves some further explanation, since this subject has become less of a defining feature of the process in some of the more recent literature on gentrification (Slater, 2006). While it might be a less visible result of contemporary gentrification than it has been under earlier waves of gentrification, working-class residents are still being (indirectly) displaced by the process. As Seo (2002) puts it:

"The creation of new housing in the central city areas is, however, physically separate from existing inner residential areas and use land and buildings which were previously not in housing use. The process of new housing-developments in the areas does not, therefore, directly displace existing inner-city residents.[...] Although the process that has happened in the central city areas does not directly prevent low-income households from living in the areas, it systematically discourages low-income households by providing expensive housing. Therefore, the current urban policy directly creates gentrified areas for high-income, white-collar workers, and generates a spatial separation between residential areas of poorer people and residential areas of affluent people." (p.119).

This separation is further enhanced by the changing character of neighborhood facilities in gentrified neighborhoods, which are specifically catered to the tastes of the new urban middle class. These facilities are accompanied by new complex retail strategies, combining several dimensions such as consumption and entertainment with real estate development (Zuking, 1998). The aestheticization of public space is the final component of neo-liberal strategies pursued by many cities. Zukin (1998) calls this the "*Disneyfication*" (p.832) of urban space. The visual component of public space has become very important, leading to safe, clean, 'public' space in which people can apparently trust each other and just have fun. This has led to the privatization of some of these now not so public places and the exclusion of certain unwanted groups such as skateboarders and homeless people. In this way central city space is being reordered in both physical and symbolic ways, set against working class history as well as middle class suburbia (Bridge, 2001).

As has been mentioned in the introduction, gentrification research up until now primarily focused on more traditional gentrified neighborhoods. Associated with these traditional neighborhoods are traditional gentrifiers as described by Neil Smith (1996) and David Ley (1996). In the following section some views on the traditional gentrifier will be described, since some of their characteristics and motives for choosing the city as a place to live still remain important to understand the gentrifiers of today.

2.2 Characteristics and lifestyle of the traditional gentrifier

Through time a torrent of studies has focused on providing descriptions of the gentrifier. In their study of a gentrified neighborhood in Manchester, Ray et al. (2010) distinguished between the *community* and the *marginal* gentrifier. The first group already lived in the neighborhood before the gentrification process had started. They are people with regular occupations who were lucky enough to have bought their homes while prices were still on average and they have renovated their homes themselves by sweat equity. Opposed to this is the second group of gentrifiers who did not take part in the renovation of their dwelling by themselves. They have bought their homes after the process of gentrification has occurred. What this study illustrates is the changing role of cultural and economic capital that occurred in the transition from community to marginal gentrification. This difference stems from the biggest and most debated subdivision of gentrifiers, namely that between the *cultural* gentrifier (or *consumption* gentrifier, as put forward by David Ley's (1996) consumption-side approach to gentrification) and the *economic* gentrifier (or the *corporate* gentrifier, as put forward by Neil Smith's (1996) demand-side approach to gentrification). Both will be discussed below. In order to fully understand the distinction between these two types of gentrifiers some background information on David Ley's and Neil Smith's take on the gentrification process will be described as well.

2.2.1 Cultural gentrifier

According to Ley (1996), the gentrifier was a product of the transition from a Fordist to a post-Fordist society. The inner-city changed from a place where manufacturing was the dominant land-use to a place where the newly formed middle class resides and enjoys the festive atmosphere of the convivial city. They were professionals with an occupation in technical, managerial and administrative fields as well as public sector employees working in HEW (Health, Education and Welfare). They are often typified as *yuppies* (young urban professionals; Savage et al., 1992). Their figures more than doubled between 1971 and 1991 (Ley 1996, p84). Gentrification - defined by Ley as the renovation of older properties and redevelopment of new units like the condominium - dramatically changed the aesthetic, morphology and population composition of inner-city neighborhoods. Ley described the typical gentrifier as unmarried, childless, female employed in the vastly expanded quaternary sector, primarily under 35 years of age and highly educated. These people do not live in inner-city neighborhoods because they provide cheaper housing circumstances, nor do they live there because of a tight housing market in the suburbs. These people choose an urban residential location because they have a strong desire to be at the heart of things. They are the baby-boomers, a generation who grew up in the years of cultural rebellion, where the Fordist model of consumption and the *grand projects* of modernization of the 1940s-1950s were rejected (Ley, 1996 p42). Instead of in the sterile, clean, artificial suburbs these people want to live in a post-modern city where people can live and enjoy and quality of life is very important. This resistance did not take place in a vacuum, as:

"the social, spatial and political reshaping of Canada's major cities was part of a larger national, indeed international set of events and changing values." (Ley, 1996 p.5).

Ley's theory describes gentrification as a stage model, in which a continuing sequence of households occupy dwellings throughout the gentrification cycle:

"As the cycle unfolds, and house prices inflate, successively higher-income households enter the market and the protection and enhancement of their investment assume increasing significance." (Ley, 1996 p.41).

In this model, gentrification of a neighborhood is usually pioneered by "*small organic entrepreneurs*" (Ley, 1996 p45) with low economic but high cultural capital; mainly professionals in the arts, media, and other cultural fields, accompanied by students. The cultural capital used in the process of gentrification refers to the set of values that privileges a pro-urban lifestyle. The gentrified neighborhood can be seen as the spatial manifestation of these values and as a strategy of distinction from the conventional middle class living in the suburbs (Bridge, 2001). They select the depreciated sites surrounding the city centre which appeal to them and which will consequently receive revalorization by their sweat equity. After the initial phase of gentrification, the decreased risk of investment brings in more members of the new middle class, as well as developers and speculators. They start with buying old properties and - after a more capital intensive renovation - sell them to succeeding middle class-groups, which are attracted to the social and cultural climate in these now popular neighborhoods. The arrival of this group of economic gentrifiers marks a swift change in the character of services and facilities in the area, with a surge in restaurants, cafes and shops catered to a specific niche of the new inhabitants. This group paves the way for additional redevelopment like conversions of old warehouses to condominiums, and the arrival of "*the most conservative members of the property industry*": international developers and pension funds (Ley, 1996 p57). Their arrival signals the end of the gentrification cycle; the neighborhood has transformed from a run-down area into a fully gentrified neighborhood.

2.2.2 Economic gentrifier

Opposed to the cultural gentrifier is the economic gentrifier. Gentrification according to Smith (1996) is not a matter of demand, as many consumption side theorists argue, but depends heavily on investment decisions taken by redevelopers, landlords and homeowners. These decisions have everything to do with the condition of the world economy, but the configuration of the urban housing market and the layout of the city is important as well. His explanation of gentrification is based on the theory of the rent-gap. When a neighborhood has attracted investments for a long time, it will be harder for an investor to receive sufficient returns. A phase of devalorization in a certain neighborhood (due to physical decay, disinvestment and so on) offers opportunities for investment (and causes valorization). The devalorization of the inner city offered new opportunities to economic actors in the housing market, when a rent gap emerged. Smith highlights the role of capital flowing through the city but he doesn't deny other relevant explanatory factors. The understanding of patterns of capital investment and disinvestment in urban regions is vital to explain why, where and when gentrification occurs. Homebuyers, landlords and developers are looking for the highest return of their investments. Gentrification occurs when the rent gap is sufficiently wide so that developers can buy structures cheaply, can pay the builder's costs, can pay interest on mortgage and construction loans and are able to sell the end product for a good price in order to receive a satisfactory return.

People who buy themselves into these already commodified gentrification landscapes are labeled *economic* or *corporate* gentrifiers by Rofo (2003), or *marginal* gentrifiers by Ray et al. (2010). These households are often very focused on their career, leaving them with little time to perform other tasks. They did not take part in the renovation of the properties by sweat equity and are paying a very high price for their renovated dwellings. They see their property primarily as an economic investment. Their decision to move into the neighborhood was not based on existing social networks there, nor do they intend to invest social or cultural capital in the neighborhood now (section 2.4.1). For them the proximity of the city-centre allowed them to combine their professional career with childcare. The arrival of this group marks a swift change in the character of services and facilities in the area with a surge in restaurants, cafes and shops catered to the specific desires of the new inhabitants. Cultural gentrifiers resent this commodification of the urban landscape, because it undermines the sense of social distinction for them (Bridge, 2007).

2.3 Characteristics and lifestyle of the new gentrifying middle class

It is in the growing numbers of the new middle class that we can find a reason for the production of the contemporary gentrifier (Hamnett, 1994). In some ways these people are reminiscent of the traditional gentrifier as it was discussed in the previous sections. They are typically members of non-traditional households (e.g. single or dual households without children) in a phase of their life course between the completion of their education and the commencement of child-rearing which is often postponed or abandoned altogether (Bondi, 1998). They are young, strongly career-orientated and have advanced education qualifications. What distinguishes them from the traditional gentrifier is the fact that most of them come from out of town and are geographically 'footloose' (Seo, 2002; Davidson & Lees, 2005). This stereotypical image of the contemporary gentrifier however does not take into account the diversity that can be found among this group of urban residents. With the emergence of new-build developments as a form of contemporary gentrification, the gentrifier population has diversified. Bondi (1998) suggests that there are several differentiations to be found, not only in the class and gender dimensions of socioeconomic groups, but in their composition as well. Several different types of contemporary gentrifiers have been identified in the literature, which will be discussed in the following sections.

As has been mentioned in the introduction, the daily activity patterns and related housing preferences of an individual are influenced by their lifestyle (Hägerstrand, 1970; Hubbard, 2009). While the gentrifiers of the 20th century had diverse lifestyles ranging from social liberals to hippies (Ley, 1996) new middle class gentrifiers generally sport a different, more hedonistic lifestyle (Florida, 2005). They spend their spare time on visiting city-centre cultural and leisure attractions which they can afford because of their high wages (Zukin, 1998). Their lust for pleasure and excitement is being translated into the build environment of cities worldwide (section 2.1) through the production of exclusive cultural and leisure facilities. Instead of landscapes of production, the cities of today have become landscapes of consumption dedicated to cater to the needs of the new middle class.

Where you live is becoming increasingly important in the process of identity construction (Butler, 2007). Robson and Butler (2001) state that: "*The relationship between place, class and identity are of central significance*" (p. 71). In today's world one's residence represents his or her place in society. High demand for gentrified central city locations is in part the result of the alternative lifestyles and cultural value systems of the new middle class (Wang & Lau, 2009). Symbolism plays an important part in the lifestyle of the contemporary gentrifier. They are willing to pay the prize for the symbolic value of living in certain residential areas or developments. The gentrification aesthetic is a central part of this identity. It balances the symbols of an aestheticized past while at the same time including contemporary markers of good taste (Jager, 1986). A central city residential location will provide the professional middle class with specific cultural and leisure facilities for which only they have the cultural competence to unravel and appreciate them as part of an urbane lifestyle (Wang & Lau, 2009). This lifestyle is translated into specific daily-life patterns. For some members of the new middle class engaging in certain kinds of symbolic consumption or cultural activities in the neighborhood represents a self-conscious way of expressing the new middle class *habitus* (section 2.4.1). This habitus is reflected in an infrastructure of certain *nouvelle cuisine* restaurants, wine bars, boutiques, art galleries and coffee bars specifically catered to the tastes of the new middle class (Zukin, 1998). In this way the inner-city neighborhoods become the performance stage for new-build gentrifiers (Bridge, 2001). They are the most visible protagonists of the urban lifestyle and it is through the city-streets, advertising offices, glossies, television and the new media that express their complex social identities (Zukin, 1998).

However not all members of the new middle class are willing to spend large amounts of time on such activities. Wang with Lau (2009) found that despite similarities in the socio-economic background of a gentrifying population in Shanghai, they do not seem to share a homogeneous lifestyle. Their daily life activity patterns strongly deviated from each other. On the one hand they found workaholics who tend to spend most of their days working in the office, while at the other hand they found a group characterized by a more extroverted urban lifestyle who would spend up to 8 hours on a single 'hang-out'. What this study illustrates is the fact that the urban middle class cannot be tarred with the same brush. Recognizing the differences within the urban middle class Savage et al. (1992) have proposed a three-fold distinction of middle class lifestyles. These lifestyles are not only based on differences regarding occupational positions, but also on differences in consumption and leisure-based activities and the deployment of material and cultural assets. Hence these people will have different preferences regarding housing options and the neighborhood in general. The first group, labeled *liberal professional* or *ascetic*, can be found among public sector welfare professionals. They are also typified as cultural or consumption gentrifiers (Ley, 1996) and engage in more traditional forms of gentrification (i.e. renovating old or derelict properties by sweat equity or by hiring workmen). While this form characterized the gentrification process in its first wave, nowadays it is being overshadowed by large-scale new-build developments. This however does not rule out the possibility that these people can be found in the case study presented in this work. Contrary to what one would expect from the stage model of gentrification as proposed by Ley (1996), Bridge (2003) found a diversity of types of gentrifiers living in a neighborhood at the same time. This implies that the process of gentrification will not necessarily lead to several groups succeeding each other in a

gentrifying neighborhood but instead a diversity of inhabitants can be found living in them at the same time. The second group, *corporate* or *undistinctive*, has its social base among private sector professionals. They are referred to as corporate or production gentrifiers (Bridge, 2003). Their high wages enable them to buy themselves into already gentrified developments. New-build gentrifiers are primarily aligned with this group (Robson & Butler, 2001). They are colonizing new areas of urban space and are characterized by their attachment to a distinctive gentrification aesthetic and lifestyle. They differ from earlier middle class gentrifiers in their deployment of social, cultural and economic capital (see below). This puts them apart from the traditional new middle class who bought up older properties and renovated them for their own use (Lambert & Boddy, 2002 in Davidson & Lees, 2005). Finally a third group of gentrifiers can be found among managers and government officials. This group, labeled *post-modern*, choose to reside in highly exclusive residential developments such as high-rise apartments and gated communities. They are linked to the process of super-gentrification by Lees (2003), which involves the social and physical upgrading of already gentrified areas.

2.3.1 The global gentrifier

Gentrification has grown to become a global phenomenon in recent decades and this has had some consequences for the landscapes that are being produced. From New York to London, and from Sydney to Tokyo, similarities between the economic- and urban policy characteristics of gentrification can be observed, leading to the creation of comparable gentrified neighborhoods and waterside new-build developments in cities worldwide (Sassen, 2000). This has led some to believe that gentrifiers are part of the larger transnational capitalist class and could therefore be dubbed *global gentrifiers* (Sklair, 2001; Smith, 2002). This argument is also made by Rofo (2003), who sees gentrifying landscapes as translocal spaces which are:

"increasingly enmeshed in global networks of flows and meaning and gentrifying spaces provide the territory for the articulation of ... a global person" (p.2521).

Bridge (2007) opposes to this argument stating that although gentrifying landscapes might be seen as increasingly translocal, the whole idea of a gentrification-derived transnational identity is directly related to strategies over middle class social reproduction which are not bound to certain standardized consumption landscapes but are actually "intensely localized" (p. 34). He then goes on to point out the distinctions in the professional cultures of gentrifiers, using Gouldner's (1979) classification of the 'new class' between *technical managerial occupations* and the *liberal intelligentsia*, with the first group having a degree in science or business studies, and the second group having a degree in the arts, humanities, or social sciences. Gentrifiers can be found in both occupational-strands, but with greater numbers in commercial and cultural occupations. This diminishes the potential for cultural similarities in the gentrification class and thus the likelihood of a *global gentrifier* who has the same characteristics as gentrifiers elsewhere on the planet. Within the *liberal intelligentsia* another distinction can be made between private sector and public sector occupations. This distinction goes further than just occupational differences alone, with those with public sector occupations showing up early in the gentrification process (cultural or consumption gentrifiers) and those with private sector occupations buying themselves into the gentrification process at a later time (economic or corporate gentrifiers; Smith, 1996; Bridge, 2007). The latter group might be especially relevant to the case study presented in this work since the housing stock in Stadstuinen exclusively consists of new-build developments requiring no renovation by the homeowners themselves.

2.3.2 The aging gentrifier

As a second type of gentrifier, the baby boom generation can be distinguished. Defined as people being born between the years 1945-1954 these now aging gentrifiers have been identified by Ley as

gentrification pioneers, re-colonizing the inner city as early as the late 1960's (Ley, 1996; section 2.2.2). While many left the city to move to the suburbs when they made a career, some of these people have remained in the city until today. Bonvalet & Ogg (2008) further divide these gentrifiers into two groups: *newcomers* – those who moved into run-down neighborhoods during the early days of gentrification, and *locals* – those who grew up in these neighborhoods and never left while their neighborhood underwent the process of gentrification. Complementing their division a third group of aging gentrifiers can be distinguished for who the move into new-build developments might mean a return to their place of birth. Whatever the type, all these groups are now reaching the age of retirement and the locals and newcomers are faced with the decision of either aging in the city or moving out (the third group already made this decision because they moved into the city at a later age). These residential choices need to be kept in mind when investigating the factors that influence neighborhood interaction of this cohort of new-build gentrifiers.

2.3.3 The student gentrifier

As a somewhat surprising addition to this discussion of types of contemporary gentrifiers, the student as a gentrifier can be named. According to Munro et al (2009) the 'studentification' of an area leads changes on the physical, social, cultural and economical level. When students relocate to their university towns they tend to concentrate into certain areas. These areas, which usually had a typical working-class socio-demographic structure, are transformed into areas where the majority of inhabitants are full-time students (Duke-Williams, 2009). The studentification of an area leads to a high amount of 'houses of multiple occupation (former dwelling houses which have been converted into rental student apartments). Rents are high because of strong demand and high occupancy rates. This may lead to the displacement of the traditional residents of the area. Furthermore these areas are characterized by high residential turnover rates, leading to an unstable population. The self-segregation of students lead to neighborhoods that are characterized by low levels of social cohesion (Hubbard, 2008). The way of living in these neighborhoods is severely changed, and the lifestyle of students is usually incompatible with that of working families or families with children. Positive consequences of studentification include a revitalized cultural life in the area and a contribution to the economic situation through the participation of students in the local labor market. Business hours of local shops can be extended because of the flexible nature of students and service might be improved because students are often used for service-oriented jobs which match their educational-background (Munro et al, 2009). The strong growth of the student-population in the last decade has led to the rise of purpose-built developments (PBD's): new-build developments specially geared to students. These developments are considered as a form of gentrification since they (indirectly) prevent other households to move into an area. Moreover these developments show aesthetic similarities to other new-build gentrification developments and they usually contain some starter homes as well.

2.3.4 The family gentrifier

Until recently households containing dependent children were a relatively neglected topic in gentrification research (Robson & Butler, 2001). There have been some studies investigating parental practices and strategies with respect to community formation and child education (see for example Robson & Butler, 2001; Karsten, 2003). Following urban restructuring processes a modest counter process to the suburbanization of middle class families with children can be observed (Karsten & van Kempen, 2001). These families, called *yupps* (or young urban professional parents) combine having children with city-living whilst at the same time continuing their career. Two developments have made this possible: the increased labour market participation of women and the resulting improved income position of these family households. The combination of paid work with the care of young children makes their daily activity-space confined (McDowell, 1997; Jarvis et al., 2001). This requires these families to live in close proximity to their workplace because this greatly reduces commuting-

times. Living in the city is in this way a strategic decision making the combination of work and childcare not too onerous. The presence of children in the household (or the intention of raising children) has a profound effect on the nature and stability of middle class settlements in the inner city (Robson & Butler, 2001). Karsten (2003) has performed a case-study on family-gentrifiers living in a newly-build owner-occupied apartment block in a gentrified neighborhood in Amsterdam. She concluded that other factors that influence these people to live in the city include: the cultural appeal of the city, the liberal climate of the city, and the more challenging gentrification aesthetic of the newly-build developments when compared to the aesthetics of suburban houses.

The case study presented in this work is an excellent area to study the neighborhood interaction of family-gentrifiers. Because of traffic restrictions the neighborhood presents itself as a very family-friendly environment (McCarthy, 1996). The housing stock of this quiet metropolitan environment mainly consists of terraced houses with a garden. These dwellings are very suited for families with children (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007). This targeted population demographic has led to a very homogeneous neighborhood where the social climate is very comparable to that of new-build suburban neighborhood in the surroundings of Rotterdam and will consequently be very attractive to family-gentrifiers. For more information on Stadstuinen see section 3.4.1.

What has become clear in the previous sections about different types of gentrifiers is that they differ a great deal in their characteristics and reasons for choosing to live in a central-city gentrified neighborhood (for a summary see table 2.1). Consequently their daily activity patterns and the interaction they have with the neighborhood they live in are being influenced by their different urban lifestyles. This chapter will now turn to the literature covering some of these forms of neighborhood interaction and daily-activity patterns by looking into the number, nature and quality of social ties new-build gentrifiers have in their neighborhood (section 2.4.1), their use of neighborhood facilities (section 2.4.2) and their feelings of place attachment (section 2.4.3). By investigating these topics this study will go further than just provide basic socio-demographic characteristics of the new-build gentrifiers. This will tell us a lot more about who the family gentrifiers living in new-build developments really are.

Gentrifier segment	Household composition	Stage in the lifecycle	Characteristics	Reasons for choosing to live in the city
Young urban professional ¹	Nontraditional household	Between the completion of education and the commencement of child-rearing	Well-educated, strongly career-oriented, child-rearing stage postponed	Living in the city to be at the heart of things
Student gentrifier ²	Single or multiple person household	Attending college	Self-segregated, conflicting lifestyle, possible future gentrifiers	Living in or close to the city where they attend college
Family gentrifier ³	Dual person household with children	Combination career + child-rearing	Well-educated, parents combine career with socially- reproductive tasks	Living in the city as a strategic decision Living
Global gentrifier ⁴	Variable ⁶	International career, possibly child-rearing	Well-educated, part of the transnational capitalist class, lives in translocal neighborhoods	Living in the city for occupational reasons
Aging gentrifier ⁵	Single or dual person household	Retired	Gentrification pioneers, newcomers, locals, returning group	Always lived in the city/to be at the heart of things/returning to place of

Table 2.1: Different segments of contemporary gentrifiers

¹Source: Robson & Butler (2001); Seo (2002); Hamnett (2003); Ray et al. (2010)

²Source: Hubbard (2008); Munro et al. (2009); Duke-Williams (2009)

³Source: McDowell (1997); Jarvis et al. (2001); Karsten & van Kempen (2001); Karsten (2003)

⁴Source: Sklair (2001); Smith (2002); Rofe (2003)

⁵ Source: Bonvalet & Ogg (2008)

⁶ Households can consist of single-person or dual-person households with or without children

2.4 Neighborhood interaction of new-build gentrifiers: neighborhood socialization

2.4.1 The neighborhood as a unit of analysis for investigating social ties

Neighborhood social ties refer to the social ties people forge with their neighbors. It is debated whether the neighborhood should still be used as the unit of analysis for research regarding the social ties of individuals (van Kempen, 2010), since developments in transportation and communication have made maintaining social ties over long distances much easier than in the past. Cities have become spaces of flows and this has changed the meaning of *place* for individuals (Castells, 1996). According to some theorists these developments have weakened the neighborhood as a basis for social interaction in economically developed societies. This has been described as a shift from *Gemeinschaft*, the traditional neighborhood consisting of dense social networks, to *Gesellschaft*, where social ties are much weaker and primarily based on "ends-means relationships" (Guest & Weirzbicki, 1999, p. 94). Wellman with Leighton (1979) have translated these developments into three types of contemporary forms of community: 1) *the community lost*, in which individuals have few social ties at the neighborhood and the extra-neighborhood level, 2) *the community liberated*, in which individuals primarily engage in extra-neighborhood socialization, and 3) *the community saved* in which individuals primarily engage in neighborhood socialization. As will become clear in later sections this research will take a more nuanced take on this division, since every segment of new-build gentrifier is characterized by a different stance towards social ties at the neighborhood-level and will be inclined to one of the above mentioned types of community.

However, regardless of technological developments the local neighborhood remains in principle a place where all inhabitants can interact and engage in relationships with each other. Neighborhood relationships are a key indicator of the social cohesion of a neighborhood (Guest and Weirzbicki, 1999; Flap and Völker, 2007). Neighborhood ties are often weak and based on practical help such as borrowing a cup of sugar or watering the plants while the neighbors are on vacation (outward looking social capital, section 2.4.2). Bridge (2002) calls these small services and supporting acts, acts of 'neighborliness'. More serious issues such as discussing personal matters or lending each other large sums of money are usually not part of a neighbor-to-neighbor relationship (Flap and Völker, 2007).

2.4.2 Social ties as a constituent of social capital

The quality of relationships can differ between certain social groups. For some people investing in neighborhood social ties is a conscious decision because it is not only a means for help in the present, it might also be of use to them in the future. In this way neighborhood relationships become part of a person's social capital in the form of supporting networks which can be very useful in times of need. Social capital is a multidimensional concept defined by Putnam (1993) as:

"Social capital refers to features of social organization such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit. Social capital enhances the benefits of investment in physical and human capital" (p. 35).

The neighborhood can be seen as an example of such a social organization. However for co-ordination and co-operation to occur social interaction between the members of a social organization is a necessity. Kleinhans et al. (2007) recognized this condition and have defined social capital in a neighborhood context as:

"The benefits of cursory social interactions, shared norms about how to treat each other and behaviour in space, trust and collective action for a shared purpose" (p. 1070).

This is the definition of social capital that will be used throughout this study. In the scientific literature social capital is seen as the foundation of a neighborhood. Without social capital neighborhoods are prone to fall into a circle of decline (Middleton et al., 2005). Middle class homeowners living in single-family dwellings are believed to possess high amounts of social capital. This is most likely the result of their high incomes which are associated with higher levels of cultural capital (i.e. education; Kleinhans et al., 2007). Evidence further suggests that a connection exists between the number of years of residence and the existence of social capital in the neighborhood, with people who have lived in an area for some time deploying more cultural capital in their neighborhood (Dipasquale & Glaeser, 1999). However this might not necessarily be the case in new-build developments since people more or less move into the neighborhood at the same time. Often these people are very homogeneous when it comes to socioeconomic and household characteristics, which gives them a social capital 'head start' according to Kleinhans et al. (2007). The more social capital people have the better will they be able to achieve their goals and safeguard their living conditions. It follows that people who are believed to possess a great amount of resources make an interesting addition to an individual's personal network.

An important part of an individual's social capital is made up by its social ties. By making connections with other people and maintain these networks over time these connections will provide individuals with access to resources which could otherwise not be utilized (Kleinhans et al., 2007). Social ties can lead to produce a variety of resources (e.g. neighborliness, trust, participation, shared norms and values and social control) all leading to a favorable social climate in the social organization. The occurrence of these resources will depend on the quality of the social interactions taking place in the social organization (Kleinhans et al., 2007). A distinction can be made between *inward-looking social capital* and *outward-looking social capital* (table 2.2). Inward-looking social capital primarily concerns the strong ties of individuals to acquaintances such as family members or good friends. These ties are of a homophilous nature, excluding outsiders from the network (Lin, 2001). They are a major source of material and emotional support (Kleinhans et al., 2007). Gittel & Vidal (1998) and Putnam (2000) prefer the term *bonding capital*. For some (primarily poor or excluded) communities inward-looking social capital is of crucial importance to get by (Briggs, 1998). More interesting to this study is outward-looking social capital. Termed *bridging capital* by Putnam (2000), this form of social capital consists of weak ties to indirect-acquaintances such as colleagues from work and more importantly to neighbors. These heterophilous ties (Lin, 2001) will help you to get ahead by providing access to opportunities and resources which could otherwise not be accessed (Briggs, 1998). In this way these ties create specific linkages between different social groups (Woolcock, 1998). Bridging capital is the underlying mechanism of the policy of social mixing and is therefore a very important tool in contemporary urban policy. Of course outward-looking social capital can develop into inward-looking social capital over time.

Social capital	Granovetter (1973) Henning and Lieberg (1996)	Briggs (1998)	Woolcock (1998)	Gittel and Vidal (1998) Putnam (2000)	Lin (2001)
Internally	Strong ties	Social support (to get by)	Integration (group)	Bonding capital	Expressive action (homophilous ties)
Externally	Weak ties (bridges)	Social leverage (to get ahead)	Linkage (between groups)	Bridging capital	Instrumental action (heterophilous ties)

Table 2.2: Two types of social capital. Source: Kleinhans et al. (2007).

In

2.4.3 Social ties in the neighborhood

In order to forge social ties with their neighbors people need to spend time with each other. As van der Land (2007) puts it:

"Social ties arise from many chronological interactions between individual and social or geographical environments, within the context of a diversity of social functions." (p. 481).

The chances of interaction with neighbors to occur are better in neighborhoods that are homogeneous in their socio-economic makeup. People with the same level of education often hold the same kind of jobs and this will translate into similarities in life rhythms. According to Fischer (1982) this is the reason why neighborhood contacts are more common in affluent neighborhoods, since the personal backgrounds of people living there is usually more alike than that of people living in poorer neighborhoods. However when interdependency is high neighborhood contacts are more likely to arise, and this is more often the case in poorer than in richer neighborhoods (Flap and Völker, 2007). Other factors increasing the amount of social ties in the neighborhood are: the duration of one's residence (with long term residents having more social contacts in the neighborhood), the intention of an individual to stay in the area and the presence of school-attending children in the household (see below).

There have been few studies on the longitudinal nature of social ties confirming these ideas. Guest and Weirzbicki (1999) are one of the few who performed a longitudinal study on the changing character of neighborhood interaction. They used a large American database (the General Social Survey (GSS), with over 20.000 respondents annually) to compare responses on two topics regarding social ties: the number of social ties within the neighborhood and the number of social ties outside the neighborhood. Their analysis covered a period of 22 years. Their general findings are in support of the community liberated perspective (section 2.4.1) although differences can be observed between certain demographic and social groups within their results. Education and occupational status seemed to make only a slight difference in the number of social ties in the neighborhood. This conflicts with the findings of Flap and Völker, (2007), indicating that besides the importance of the locational context, the influence of personal background on the amount of social ties in the neighborhood might decrease with increasing time of residence. The importance of age and number of children as factors which increase the number of neighborhood ties was also found in the American study, suggesting that some determinants of the amount of neighborhood ties are valid in both contexts. A final positive determinant of neighborhood socialization is being unemployed. This might not be of interest to the case study since unemployment numbers in new-build developments tend to be relatively low (see for example Flap & Völker, 2007). However, in the end the decision to engage in neighborhood socialization will always be based on a voluntary nature (Guest and Weirzbicki, 1999).

2.4.4 Neighborhood socialization of the new-build gentrifier

While there are some agreements new-build gentrifiers seem to diverge from the trends observed in the previous sections in several ways. How, how much, and if residents interact with their neighborhood at all is increasingly a matter of choice (Guest and Weirzbicki, 1999; Blokland, 2003). While the decision to live in the city is a strategic one distance from other 'risky' classes will be maintained in both material and cultural ways (Allen, 1984, Atkinson 2006). The lifestyle of new-build gentrifiers is quite private. Several authors suggest that the urbane middle class is unwilling to invest social capital in the local neighborhood (Murphy, 2008). In a study performed by Seo (2002) only 18% of the respondents mentioned the local neighborhood as a reason for moving into a new-build development. Rather than putting down roots gentrifiers tend to stick to their self-contained development (Davidson & Lees, 2005), preferring the social homogeneity and the predictability and safety this is thought to engender (Atkinson, 2006). This stands in stark contrast with the role that

the neighborhood played in people's lives in the past, including that of more traditional gentrifiers. But at the same time it is consistent with the view that the neighborhood continues to play an important role in the social life of individuals (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). New-build gentrifiers are living apart from people with different socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds. One of the reasons for this is the location of new-build gentrification developments can often be found on previously derelict sites (Davidson & Lees, 2005). The developments are specifically geared towards the new middle class and as a consequence these people often live in areas with people with the same personal backgrounds. Some of these people might even be from their own personal network built up during the years they attended school and university. Individuality and collectivity are being combined in a way that Savage describes as:

"People who come to live in an area with no prior ties to it, but who can link their residence to their biographical life history are able to see themselves as belonging to the area." (Savage et al., 2005, p. 29).

This is being described by Ray et al. (2010) as an *elective community*, where a sense of geographical attachment is fostered through people's social position and relationship with other places. These relationships are very homogeneous and a strong tendency to socialize with 'people like us' can be observed (Butler, 2003) forming so-called *communities of interest* (Talen, 1999). These findings are replicated by Howley (2009) who demonstrated that new-build developments are characterized by a lack of neighborliness amongst its inhabitants and their neighbors. These developments hint at social and occupational polarization and hence a disrupted sense of community which might even lead to a level of unease between the 'incomers' and the 'native' population (Butler, 2003). It contrasts with the celebration of diversity normally indicative of a cosmopolitan urban-seeking population. There is only room for 'allowed' differences which have been approved by the tastes of the new middle class (Kirstie, 2004). It may come as no surprise that these developments are especially relevant for gentrified neighborhoods where the housing stock mainly consists of new-build developments, since population mixes in these areas are generally very unilateral. Paradoxically then, in order to maintain their distance to the 'others' residents of these areas actually need to achieve a degree of cohesion with other members of the middle class residing in their neighborhood (Robson & Butler, 2001). These findings are in line with the findings of Flap and Völker (2007) with regards to the social capital model mentioned earlier.

2.4.5 Gentrification as a strategy of residential disaffiliation

The desire to live apart from others has been described as a *culture of fear*, which is associated with living in the city (Furedi, 1997). Middle class residents are hesitant of interaction with lower social classes because these people are believed to possess norms and values incompatible with those of themselves. In gentrification these feelings are translated into a specific *habitus* for the middle classes, with *habitus* referring to an *"array of inherited dispositions that condition bodily movement, tastes and judgments according to class position"* (Bridge, 2001, p 207). The *habitus* is characterized by a distinction in housing, lifestyle and consumption. It is through the *habitus* that structures, status and social classes are reproduced over time (Bourdieu, 1984). The manipulation of educational facilities in the neighborhood is one example of how the new middle class gentrifiers actively try to create a *habitus* for their children. This will be discussed in further detail in section 2.5.3.

Social and spatial segregation of affluent households is made possible by the rise in real income. The middle class is now able to effectively shield themselves off the risks of crime, violence and other dangers which might accompany city-life. Atkinson (2006) describes three strategies deployed by higher-income households in their desire to distance themselves from the rest of the city, which are set out in table 2.3. As a first step to social distinction households insulate themselves from others by choosing to reside in particular neighborhoods. The place where one lives might very well be the

crucial identifier of who these people are (Savage et al., 2005). Residing in a particular neighborhood will provide people with status. In the meanwhile the social homogeneity of these places will help to shield them from negative externalities such as crime, disorder and anti-social behavior.

	Insulation	Incubation	Incarceration
Household type	Professional singles and couples	Professional singles, couples and families	Couples, retirees and families
Income Objective	Moderate/high Social distinction	High Social/spatial distance	Very high Secession
Residential strategies	New urban owner-occupation Tenure diversification Pioneer gentrification	Gentrification 'Executive' housing	Gated communities Ghettoised poverty
Mobile strategies	Cars Taxis	Cars SUVs	Cars SUVs Private highways

Table 2.3: A typology of residential disaffiliation. Source: Atkinson (2006).

Gentrification can be seen as a residential strategy of incubation. Incubation is seen as a way up the hierarchical ladder of self-disaffiliation where the link between work, schooling, leisure and other social activities is of great importance. The social life of these people is characterized by the use of exclusive social, cultural and leisure facilities (see section 2.5.2) which reduces the chance of contact with other classes to a minimum. The most extreme form of self-containment is the gated community. Through this form of voluntary incarceration the greatest degree of insulation from the immediate environment is achieved. The neighborhood context is guaranteed to be safe and predictable in this way while geographical location of the development still offers quick access to the benefits of the central city. Barriers may be in the form of legal, social or architectural form (Atkinson, 2006). As an example of this form of incarceration in new-build developments the high rise apartments on the Wilhelminapier might be mentioned where access to the buildings and their facilities is restricted to those who live there.

As an exception to these strategies of self-disaffiliation the aging gentrifier can be mentioned. The aging gentrifiers are embedded in social networks created through time and are often related to the education of their children and other activities. These links to the neighborhood tend to differ somewhat between the newcomers and the locals. Butler (1997) states that newcomers are more often embedded in homogeneous, *elective* communities (see section 2.4.4) while locals tend to be related to people with more diverse backgrounds. This leads to different feelings of place attachment for each group (Bonvalet & Ogg, 2008; see section 2.6.4).

While all of the three strategies mentioned in table 2.3 will lead to a degree of social segregation they will at the same time lead to some form of social cohesion within the neighborhood. Social cohesion denotes the networks, shared norms and values and solidarities through which inhabitants gain access to the resources made available by their social capital (Kleinhans et al., 2007). Localities will however become very homogenous in their social make-up, as is argued by Atkinson (2006) and has been hypothesized before. While social mix remains an important point on the urban agenda contemporary urban policy is geared to the creation of these insulated spaces in order to encourage the more affluent classes to return to the city by making the risks associated with these neighborhoods manageable. While this might not seem harmful to other population groups in the first place the processes of middle class segregation is expressed through more means than the residential area alone. Examples will be discussed in section 2.5.3. This has several negative

consequences for more marginal groups living in the city and urban policy is effectively producing this inequality (Atkinson, 2006).

2.4.6 Neighborhood socialization in the Dutch context

Research on neighborhood socialization in the Dutch context remains scarce. Some of the findings indicate that neighbors constitute but a small part of an individual's social capital (Kleinhans et al., 2007) usually around 7 – 19% of a person's personal network (Van der Poel, 1993). Flap and Völker (2007) found in their study of a national representative sample of the Netherlands that half of their respondents did not include any neighbor in their personal network at all. However those that did include a neighbor in their personal network were often found to include more than one. This is in line with earlier research (among others Verbrugge, 1977) showing that having one neighbor in your personal network increases the chance of meeting another. And while it might seem that neighbors play a small role in the personal networks of the Dutch, half of their network can still be reached within 15 minutes of the home, indicating that not all networks have become placeless today (Flap & Völker, 2007).

In a study on the nature of urban ties of the new middle class in Rotterdam van der Land (2007) found that the residential ties of Rotterdammers are increasingly of a cursory nature. While proximity and participation are considered important contributors to the social ties of the new middle class (especially for people born in Rotterdam) symbolic consumption plays an increasingly important role in the creation of social ties. More than half of the people surveyed worked in Rotterdam but lived elsewhere, so the picture might be a little bit different when only considering people who work and *live* in the city as well. Despite earlier statements about the increased mobility of the new middle class local origin still plays a vital role in determining the number and quality of social ties an individual has in the city, as well as his or her feelings of place attachment (van der Land, 2007).

In light of these findings it is very relevant to study the neighborhood socialization of new-build gentrifiers living in the Kop van Zuid. This will be done through research question one. While this section has discussed some of the differences which can be found among different segments of new-build gentrifiers regarding their neighborhood socialization many other studies have focused on the contemporary gentrifier in general. More information is needed on the behaviors and daily-life routines of specific types of gentrifiers, so by studying the social ties of the people living in Stadstuinen this study will hopefully make a contribution to this knowledge gap. Important for the case study presented is the fact that it takes place in a highly urbanized setting. This presents people living here with ample opportunities for social contacts outside the confinements of their neighborhood and might therefore lower the amount of neighbors in an individual's personal network. The availability of facilities in the area has a direct influence on neighborhood relationships as well. A great number of facilities in the neighborhood (e.g. childcare facilities, supermarkets) might reduce the dependency on neighbors and as such the need for neighborhood relationships. However facilities can at the same time act as a focal point in the neighborhood. An example of this is the schoolyard where parents wait to collect their children after school. Similarities in the life course and personal backgrounds might stimulate interaction between these people.

2.5 Neighborhood interaction of new-build gentrifiers: neighborhood facilities

2.5.1 The city and its facilities

As has been stated in the introduction neighborhood facilities refer to shopping, social, cultural and leisure facilities within the neighborhood or in the direct vicinity of the neighborhood. People with a preference for living in the city have always been attracted by the great range of facilities offered by central city locations (Ullman, 1954). The city has always been a place where you can shop for a whole range of products, go out for dinner or just to have a drink and visit cultural facilities like theaters and museums. Quality of life - in this case determined by the availability of facilities - is an important determinant of where people choose to live and is consequently reflected in population density (Rappaport, 2008). Many governments have tried to create high-amenity central city locations by committing public funds to cultural and environmental facilities in order to lure in both consumer demand and private sector reinvestment (Ley, 1986). On the consumer side changes in the family and housing career call for a changing need for "*space and other facilities within the dwelling or in the immediate environment*" (Mulder, 1996, p.215). But the use of facilities can also have a more symbolic meaning as has already been discussed in section 2.3. This section will begin by describing the character of neighborhood facilities in gentrified areas, followed by a description of the use and role of neighborhood facilities for several types of contemporary gentrifiers.

2.5.2 The changing character of neighborhood facilities in gentrified areas

The proximity of neighborhood facilities was stated as one of the main benefits of living in a gentrified neighborhood in Manchester by consumption gentrifiers who had lived there for a long time (Ray et al., 2010). The convenience of not having to travel by car to do your shopping at a peripheral shopping centre can be seen as one of the benefits of living in a city-centre neighborhood which has facilities that cater to daily needs. Furthermore these people were attracted by small-scale cultural facilities such as art galleries and secondhand stores (Ley, 1996). With the influx of more prosperous people into the neighborhood, facilities which have served the local population for decades might change their wares and clientele. This might lead to not-for-us-feelings among former customers (Doucet, 2010). New residents with higher disposable incomes show characteristics of a hedonic lifestyle (Florida, 2005). To attract these people cities have translated this lifestyle into the built environment by providing regulated space designed to accommodate certain types of high status consumption and festivities (Murphy, 2008). This conceived space provides dedicated commercial, cultural and civic facilities specially catered to the contemporary gentrifier (Buzar et al., 2007). Examples of such facilities include new cuisine restaurant, art galleries and niche boutiques. By using these facilities the new middle class can avoid the use of more ordinary facilities in the neighborhood and distinguish themselves from others through an exclusive and private lifestyle.

A prime example of the changing character of neighborhood facilities can be seen in the process of cultural upgrading. This process is thought to lead to a more positive and hence attractive image of the neighborhood, making the old industrial image of the city a thing of the past and attracting people to live in the city. Instead of small art galleries and cultural events the cultural upgrading of neighborhoods is often closely interconnected with flagship developments such as concert halls, museums, theaters and convention halls, developed in tandem with the private sector through public-private partnerships. This is done because there is a need to develop attractive events drawing in large crowds in order to pull in investment and this might not be achieved by projects geared to a niche crowd (Imrie & Thomas, 1993). While these attractions might seem a very promising tool utilized in the city's quest for positive recognition the long-term sustainability of these developments (as well as who really benefits from them) remains an unanswered question in this kind of urban policy (Seo, 2002). It is suggested that only private partners really profit from these kind of

developments, leaving the public sector (and thus the tax-payer) to bear the costs and cover the risks (Eisinger, 2000).

2.5.3 The manipulation of neighborhood facilities by family gentrifiers

One of the most common strategies deployed by parents in their efforts to separate themselves from the 'local community' is their attempt to manipulate primary educational facilities by sending their children to schools where most of the other children are from middle class families as well. This might mean sending them to schools well outside of their own neighborhood (Butler, 2003). Alternatively if a dwelling falls into the catchment-area of a 'good' school, this factor is now competing with other determinants of locational choice such as housing and employment opportunities (Robson & Butler, 2001). But why is education deemed so important? Robson with Butler (2001) point out several reasons of which the most important is social and cultural reproduction. Urban parents deploy several strategies in order to retain middle class position for their children when they grow up to become adults (see also Bondi, 1998). Education might very well be the most important tool of intergenerational cultural reproduction. Systems of middle class education offer children a comparative advantage in matters of cognition, personality and language (Bernstein, 1990). It enables us to think of middle class families and class formation over time.

While class differences are produced and maintained through the education system parental strategies of middle class cultural retention do not stop at the limits of the schoolyard. These networks extend into socialization around parks, community centers and sporting venues in gentrified areas as well (Karsten, 2003). Children participate in all kinds of leisure and club activities such as attending sports and cultural activities. It is in these places where they make friends with children from similar backgrounds. Furthermore parents can benefit from the proximity of leisure and cultural facilities. They can go out for dinner, or choose to visit nearby facilities such as cinemas, museums and galleries. So it is through these activities that children will barely come into contact with non-middle class children. They live their life in a bubble, protected from the 'others' living in the city (Butler, 2003). This does not only concern children; parents are actively segregated in their social and leisure activities well, as has already been discussed in the previous sections.

2.6 Neighborhood interaction of new-build gentrifiers: place attachment

2.6.1 Place attachment defined

The final topic under scrutiny will be resident's place attachment to the neighborhood. While the definition of place attachment remains to be debated in the literature there is an agreement on the fact that the concept refers to bonds that people develop with their social and physical environments (Brown & Perkins, 1992; Giuliani, 2003; Lewicka, 2008). Throughout this study the definition of Burns et al. (2000) will be used:

"That people feel connected to their co-residents, their home area, have a sense of belonging to the place and its people." (p.2140)

Literature on the place attachment of new-build gentrifiers remains scarce. Two studies will be discussed below. The first study (carried out by Seo (2002) investigates the link between the process of place attachment and the sustainability of new-build gentrification developments. The second study by Bondi (1998) discusses place attachment for different types of new-build gentrification households. But before we can go deeper into these studies, first the concept and determinants of place attachment will be discussed.

2.6.2 Determinants of place attachment

The interest in the topic of place attachment is a reaction to processes of globalization and the associated process of homogenization but also to processes like migration. What these processes have in common is the fact that they undermine the uniqueness of places (Lewicka, 2010). The physical aspects of place attachment can be in the form of attachment to dwellings or neighborhoods, but also to recreational areas like lakes, forest or wilderness (Lewicka, 2010). Three components of place attachment have been identified in the literature: 1) *affective*, 2) *cognitive* and 3) *behavioral* (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001) of which the affective component is the one that has received most attention from scholars so far. Regardless of definitional squabbles, there is an agreement over the necessity of developing a feeling of place attachment for a place to become successful. Lewicka (2008) states several topics that are related to place attachment: it is a prerequisite of psychological balance and good adjustment to the neighborhood, it helps to overcome identity crises, gives people a sense of stability and it may facilitate involvement in local activities.

Several predictors of place attachment have been identified in the literature ranging from socio-demographic and social to environmental predictors. First the length of residence plays an important role in people's feelings of place attachment. This is one of the most stated positive predictors of place attachment and it is often referred to as the *systemic* model (Lewicka, 2010). However some critical voices can be heard stating that frequent movers actually develop feelings of place attachment as well since they have worked out efficient ways of adapting to new circumstances (Bolan, 1997). Related to residence length is the variable of age which is often found to be a positive indicator of place attachment (McAndrew, 1998). Home-ownership is a further socio-demographic variable having a positive influence on feelings of place attachment. The role of family-structure is less clear. While being married seems to be a positive indicator of place attachment, family size and the presence of children in the family are both negative predictors (Lewicka, 2010). The relationship between socio-economic status and place attachment remains vague with some studies indicating a positive relationship between higher SES status and place attachment but many other indicating higher SES status as a negative predictor. This can be explained by the fact that while people with a high SES status are often homeowners - which is positively related to feelings of place attachment - they are often very mobile (negative indicator) and their social relationships are often located outside the neighborhood (as has been discussed in section 2.4). Furthermore, the number of social ties in the place of residence are an important asset in creating a sense of place attachment. It goes without saying that people who develop a lot of social ties in their neighborhood generally have a stronger feeling of place attachment than people who have not developed an extensive social network in their neighborhood. It can be hypothesized that the private lifestyle of new-build gentrifiers will not lead to a plethora of social ties in the neighborhood and this might suggest a lack of place attachment on their side. Another positive social predictor of place attachment is sense of security, which can be operationalized in the form of objective sense of security (history of criminality in the area) or subjective sense of security (related to perceived notions of disorder; Sampson, 2009).

Place exerts its influence on place attachment through its built form and associated symbolic meanings. While the history of a place can intensify the feelings of attachment to a neighborhood (Lewicka, 2008) this might be irrelevant for people living in new-build developments since these developments have either eradicated signs of the built past or are built on completely new sites with no history of previous developments at all. However, on different levels of scale place attachment can be connected to positive feelings about the building of residence, or the city, and this might well be the case for new-build gentrifiers. Further positive environmental predictors of place attachment include the presence of features such as greenery, quiet areas and aesthetically pleasing buildings. Relevant to the case study presented in this study is the work of Gieryn (2000) on the relationship of environmental features and place attachment. He identified a positive relationship between place

attachment and proximity to landmarks. Building onto the study carried out by Doucet (2010) on resident's opinions about the flagship redevelopment of the Kop van Zuid, one could hypothesize that the proximity of Stadstuinen to the landmark Erasmusbrug (figure 3.4) and the associated feelings of pride found in Doucet's study may lead to increased feelings of place attachment among the people living in the case study neighborhood. Other positive environmental predictors of place attachment found by Gieryn include easily identifiable edges of the neighborhood and good quality of the housing stock. While the latter is a subjective theme the borders of the sub-neighborhoods Stadstuinen are clearly visible because of the distinct location and the characteristic housing stock. Finally the built form of the neighborhood exerts a considerable influence on place attachment since it is not only the form itself that influences residents feelings about the place they live in, it also influences several other of the above mentioned indicators such as number of social ties in the neighborhood and sense of security (Lewicka, 2010). A study by Gifford (2007) indicated that living in high-rise apartments is negatively related to feelings of place attachment. However his may not influence the presented case-study here since the developments in Stadstuinen do not reach above 7 floors. Before turning to the case study three studies on place attachment of new-build gentrifiers will be discussed.

2.6.3 Influence of tenure and the built form on feelings of place attachment

Seo (2002) found in his case-study of regenerated areas in Manchester and Glasgow that it is very hard to sustain urban regeneration. His interviews with residents of new-build developments made clear that respondents consider different factors to be important to persuade people to move in as opposed to when they have actually lived in their new residences for some time. Factors important for moving in included: the stylishness of city centre living (Bromley et al, 2007), proximity to work, value for money and central location. Factors important to people who have lived in the area for a while included: central location, availability of cultural and social facilities in the neighborhood and satisfaction with the housing. While many people living in new-build gentrification developments are owner-occupiers, a considerable part of the new residents rent their accommodation, generally in flats. This is being associated by Seo (2002) with a young and flexible population, since 'better employment opportunities' was stated as the major reason for relocation in his study (p. 120). This finding is confirmed by Bondi (1998), who emphasizes the geographic mobility of young people in pursuit of a professional career (see also van der Land, 2007). This footloose attitude of these people and the resulting lack of place attachment may lead to a less sustainable population in these particular areas in the city. The sustainability is further weakened by the provision of a large number of small size dwellings which are only suitable for households without children. When these couples enter the child-rearing stage of their lifecycle these types of dwellings will not provide them with enough space to raise their children, and they will have to relocate. As a consequence of the lack of housing career options this type of developments effectively prevents couples with children from moving in. This trend is reflected in the age and household structure of the area which shows an overwhelmingly young and single or dual household occupation of these developments (Seo, 2002).

2.6.4 Staying put or moving out

Place attachment can be assumed to differ between different types of households. Bondi (1998) found a distinction between young geographically footloose households who had no specific connections with the neighborhood and an older group who had strong social ties in the area in her case-study of Leith (a gentrifying neighborhood in Edinburgh). The latter, she suggests, is an unusual group in studies on gentrification because while their socio-economic status might place them within the middle class their strong local ties and their degree of place attachment are unusual for new-build gentrifiers. This can be explained by the nature of these connections with most of them being with relatives. However several factors which drew these aging gentrifiers into the city (e.g. employment opportunities, educational facilities for their children) will not play a big role in their

decision to remain in the city anymore. In the meanwhile the built environment and the population structure of their neighborhood is changing because of processes such as third wave gentrification and immigration. This is especially hard for locals since they have a longer referential framework because they grew up in these now gentrified neighborhoods. Their feelings of disengagement with the neighborhood are being expressed through memories of bygone happier times (Bonalet & Ogg, 2008). But for some aging gentrifiers the city might still hold the original appeal it had when they first moved in. The changing nature of city-living combined with the level of retirement incomes will result in the choice of moving out or staying put. In the words of Bonalet & Ogg (2008):

"Does the city still offer the opportunities that it had some thirty years previously and importantly, is it an appropriate environment for old age?" (p. 67).

While their reasons will be different family gentrifiers are faced with the same choice to either stay put in the city or to move out when their children grow up. The previous sections have discussed several positive and negative determinants of place attachment for different socio-demographic, social and environmental factors. What these studies tell us in general is that place attachment of (young) single-person households and that of people who come from outside the city can be expected to be less strong than that of a family with children or that of people who are actually born in the city and are now living in a gentrified neighborhood (the aging gentrifiers).

2.7 Conceptual Model

In the previous sections several topics regarding the neighborhood interaction and feelings of place attachment of different segments of the new-build gentrifier class have been discussed. The findings have been summarized in the following conceptual model. The model describes how the dependent variables (use of neighborhood facilities; amount, nature and quality of social ties; and place attachment) are being influenced by the independent variables described in the previous sections.

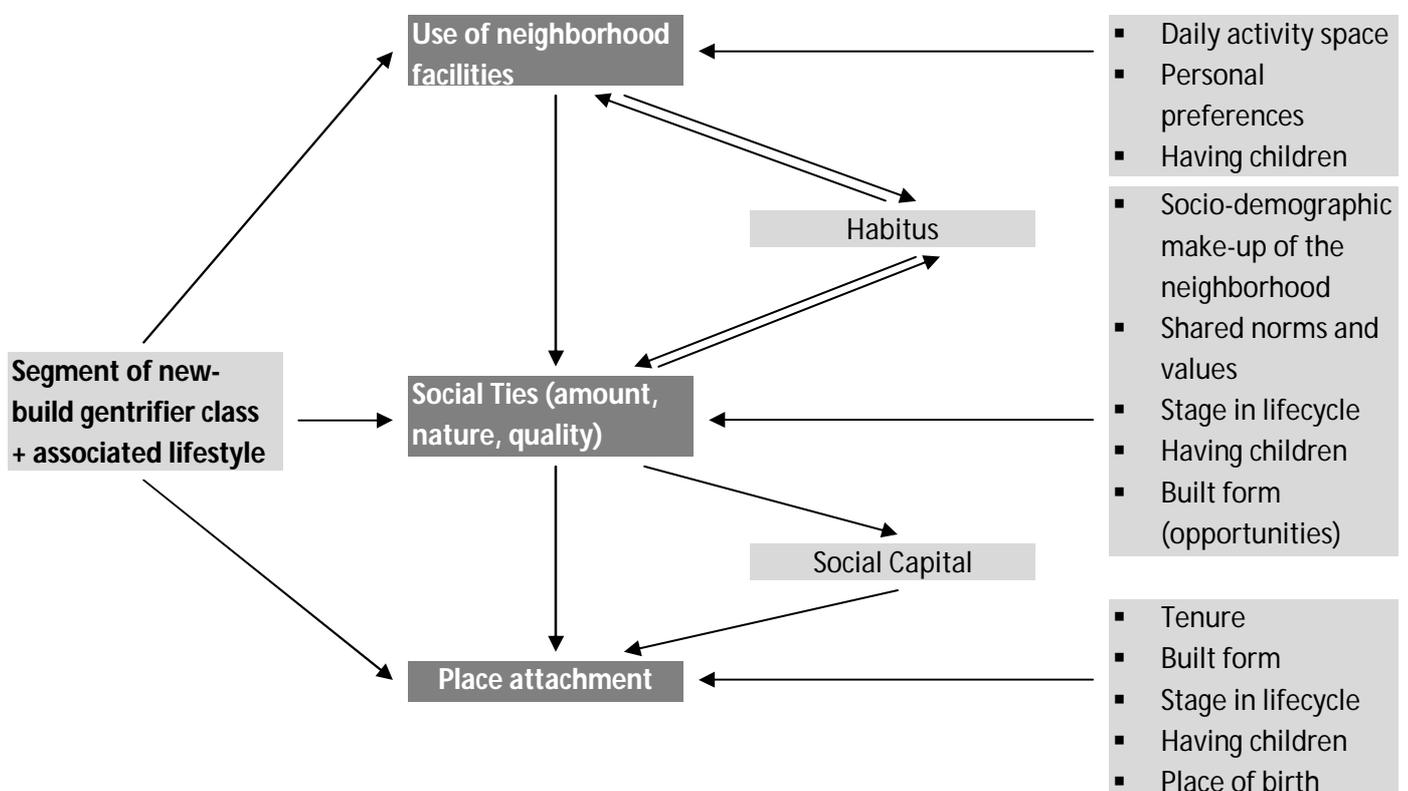


Figure 2.1: Conceptual Model

3. RESEARCH BACKGROUND

This chapter will start with a general introduction to the case study (section 3.1), Rotterdam (section 3.2) and the Kop van Zuid (section 3.3). Then the redevelopment policy for the Kop van Zuid will be discussed. After that an introduction of the case study area Stadstuinen will be given (section 3.4.1), followed by an overview of the socio-demographic statistics of the inhabitants of Stadstuinen (section 3.4.2). To give readers an idea about the locational context in which the research area is located, some impressions of the different sub-areas of the Kop van Zuid are provided in the form of some pictures taken by the author throughout this chapter.

3.1 Introduction to the case study

In order to study social ties at the neighborhood level, as well as the use of neighborhood facilities and feelings of place attachment among family gentrifiers, qualitative fieldwork has been conducted in a sub-area of the Kop van Zuid, Rotterdam. The choice for a qualitative approach will be further elaborated upon in chapter four, while the choice for Rotterdam as the site for a case study was inspired by the diversity of new-build developments which can be found in this city. This is the result of the city's contemporary urban policy which is primarily focused on retaining middle and higher income households for the city by offering them ample opportunities to continue their housing career within city boundaries while at the same time it tries to attract new middle and higher income households from outside the city to come and live in Rotterdam. The case study zooms in on Stadstuinen, a sub-area in the Kop van Zuid area. The Kop van Zuid currently stands at the center of restructuring efforts in the city and the sub-areas each offer a distinctly different housing stock and different social, cultural and leisure facilities, as will become clear in the following sections. These differences will consequently attract different segments of the new middle class to visit and to come and live in each sub-area. This hypothesis is based on the work of Robson & Butler (2001) who state that there are patterns of connection between specific occupational groups, household types, housing-market strategies, patterns of consumption and particular areas of the city.

3.2 Introduction Rotterdam

Rotterdam is the second biggest city of the Netherlands housing 587.130 inhabitants in 2009 (table 3.1). The city is located in the province of South Holland in the southwest of the Netherlands (figure 3.1). Rotterdam flourished as the industrial capital of the Netherlands in the 19th and early 20th century earning its fortunes from the heavy industries and port-activities. After the internationalization of labour and the consequent demise of its industrial activities, it took Rotterdam a long time to make the transition from an industrial to a service-based economy. Nowadays Rotterdam is known as a city for business, entertainment and festivals. The city hosts several annual international cultural events and festivals like the International Film Festival Rotterdam (IFFR) and North Sea Jazz and the city was rewarded the title European Capital of Culture in 2001. This has however not led to a very prosperous population. As of today Rotterdam remains a poor city. The share of the new middle class as a part of the total population of Rotterdam is lower than in other Dutch cities (van der Land, 2007). Out of all the highly-educated people who are working in the city's service-sector industry 63 percent currently lives outside Rotterdam (van der Land, 2007). In this way these people contribute very little to the economic and social well-being of the city. Combined with a primarily poor (section 3.4.2), aging and shrinking population this means that Rotterdam will face serious demographic problems in the future. This has led to the image that Rotterdam is a polarized dual city (Kauko, 2009). If the city wishes to remain competitive on a national and international level it needs to attract new and more affluent households to the city (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007). In order to attract mobile capital the city municipality has applied multiple policies aimed at reconstructing, regenerating and re-imaging the city. Next to policies aimed at improving the knowledge-intensive service economy and the accessibility of Rotterdam the

city is actively trying to create attractive residential and living environments. These areas have a dual objective. First they are intended to offer appealing opportunities for the middle class currently residing in Rotterdam to make a housing career in the city, in the hope that this will prevent them from moving out to the suburbs. Second these areas are intended to attract more highly educated people, people working in the creative sector and more middle and higher income households to the city (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007). In this way the city municipality hopes to ensure a healthier population demographic in the coming years.



Figure 3.1: Location of Rotterdam.



Figure. 3.2: Map of the Kop van Zuid.

3.3 Introduction Kop van Zuid

Located on the southern bank of the river *Nieuwe Maas* the Kop van Zuid (figure 3.2) is a neighborhood very much in motion. At the end of the 19th century it was sprawling with industrial activity. Indeed the whole southern part of the city flourished because of the explosive growth of the harbors. The Rijnhaven and Maashaven were created and the Wilhelminapier and Katendrecht became the starting point for many international ships including those of the historic Holland Amerika Line (figure 3.3). The growth led to the inflow of many working class families into the Kop van Zuid. As was the case in many other industrial cities at the time working class families were housed in small cheap cottages which were built in large working class districts such as Katendrecht, Noordereiland and Feijenoord. After the boom of the 19th century the area saw a steady decline during the 20th century. Rotterdam was bombed heavily during World War II and it took the city more than 30 years to finish reconstruction efforts. As a consequence the city now has a very distinctive modernist look which cannot be found in other cities in the Netherlands. The reconstruction efforts strengthened the identity of the Rotterdammers, characterized by values such as decisiveness, innovation and an entrepreneurial urban culture (van der Poel, 2007). Part of the reconstructions efforts included the relocation of harbor-activities to the western side of the city. Those who were able to moved out of the Kop van Zuid into so-called growth cores (*groeikernen*) on the fringes of the city leaving a low-skilled, unemployed, ethnically diverse population to remain in the area (Team Deetmans, 2011). This changing population demographic resulting from selective migration could be observed in other big cities in the Netherlands as well with unemployment rates in the four biggest cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht) rising from 7 percent in 1981 to 12 percent in 1985 (Priemus et al., 1997).



Figure 3.3: 1913, a ship docks at the Wilhelminapier.

The initial plan for the derelict industrial site was to redevelop it into an overspill area for social housing residents who were temporarily displaced. The construction of 4.000 social housing units, as well as a red-light district were being proposed by the city's 1978 municipal master plan. Some of the developments were built in the early 1980s (McCarthy, 1996). But after Riek Bakker took office as

director of urban development in 1986 it was decided that - because of its location - the site could be put to a higher use than social housing (Doucet, 2010). The river Nieuwe Maas effectively separates the South and the center of the city, not only in a physical but also in an economic and a social way. Statistics on the earnings of residents in the southern subareas Feijenoord, Afrikaanderwijk and Katendrecht show that more than 50% of the people living in these areas had a low income in 2007, compared to 42% in Rotterdam and 40% in the Netherlands as a whole (see section 3.4.2). The northern bank of the city is perceived to have a more favorable residential climate in both physical and social ways. The central business district is also located on the northern bank of the river. The centre of the city was in dire need for space as the last vacant sites in the central area had been developed in the 1980s. With this division in mind the redevelopment of the Kop van Zuid was intended to encourage investment in the marginalized southern part of the city by expanding city centre functions to this part of the city (McCarthy, 1998).

The regeneration policy of the Kop van Zuid is part of a much broader attempt of the Dutch government to increase the competitiveness of the Randstad as an international business environment. Several features of the regeneration policy have received subsidies from the national government (McCarthy, 1996). In order to change the situation on the southern bank of the city the municipality of Rotterdam set out a distinctive strategy. Several areas in the Kop van Zuid (including the Wilhelminapier, the Laan op Zuid, the Entrépothaven and Stadstuinen) were to be restructured. These efforts were to offer physical improvements to the area as well as improvements to the social-well being of its residents and the inhabitants in the adjacent neighborhoods as well (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007; Kleinhans et al., 2007). The latter is said to be caused by the higher social capital of incoming middle class families which are believed to enhance existing social networks and act as role models for lower-income households (Uitermark 2003). Applying the concept of the compact city policy the scheme offered a combination of retail, leisure and residential functions (McCarthy, 1996). The redevelopment program was approved by the city in 1991 followed by the provincial government in 1993 and the national government in 1994. Underlining the crucial importance of accessibility one of the first priorities was the creation of a transportation link between the center of the city and the South. The Erasmusbrug was completed in 1996, offering a direct link between the city center and the Kop van Zuid (figure 3.4). Public transportation is deemed to be a vital component of the regeneration of the area. Several tram lines cross the Erasmusbrug and a metro station (Wilhelminaplein) has been created as well. Furthermore the Kop van Zuid is linked to the national rail network and excellent data- and communication-networks are available as well.

Improving the residential climate is one of the two main priorities set out in the policy paper *Urban Vision Rotterdam (Stadsvisie Rotterdam; Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007)*. In order to retain and attract more affluent households several city-center uses such as cultural and leisure facilities alongside luxury residential apartments have been introduced in the Kop van Zuid. Multiple living environments are being created in order to cater to different segments of the middle and higher income groups, of which the metropolitan and quiet metropolitan environments can be found in the Kop van Zuid (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007). A prime example of modern day waterfront redevelopment can be seen at the *Wilhelminapier* (metropolitan) where the rise of several skyscrapers has created a new skyline for the city (figure 3.5).



Figure 3.4: The Erasmusbrug. The architect designed the cable-stayed bridge in such a way that it symbolically pulls some of the city centre functions to the poorer south side of the city, reflecting the regeneration efforts of the city municipality.



Figure 3.5: The Wilhelminapier as it was in 2011. The Rotterdam is currently under construction.

The Wilhelminapier is the most important pillar of the regeneration efforts of the Kop van Zuid. It became famous for its Cruiseterminal Hall which served as the starting point for the Holland Amerika Line. The area became a derelict industrial site in the 20th century, until city municipality decided it could be put to a higher use. Nowadays the Wilhelminapier is one of the most urbane residential areas of the city sporting several city-centre functions. It is the showcase of Rotterdam's regeneration efforts. It is a prime example of modern day waterfront redevelopment; a true flagship for the city (Doucet, 2010). Several high-rise mixed-use towers have been completed (World Port Centre, Montevideo, New Orleans) with many more to follow in the coming years (figure 3.6). In 2007, 500 dwellings had been completed, as had 78.908m² of office space and 39.125m² of other amenities (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2009). The revised zoning plan of the Kop van Zuid indicates that the final goal of the redevelopment efforts will be the completion of 1.575 dwellings, 179.910m² of office space and 92.720m² of other amenities. Most of the developments have a mixed-use character combining retail, leisure and office space with residential apartments. The Wilhelminapier is the new cultural centre of Rotterdam housing several large (movie)theaters (Nieuwe Luxor (figure 3.7), Lantaren Venster (figure 3.9)), art facilities (Las Palmas, The National Museum of Photography and many restaurants and cafes. In the words of Rogers and Fisher (1992) a "new urban culture" is being created in which "artistic and cultural life is a central element of regeneration" (Rogers & Fisher, 1992, p. 4). Several remnants of history can still be found on the Wilhelminapier, however with different functions than before. Examples include Pakhuismeesteren (residential developments, figure 3.8), Hotel New York (restaurant and cultural venue, figure 3.10) and the Cruise terminal hall (housing Café Rotterdam and host to numerous events, figure 3.11).



Figure 3.6: Artist impression of the future of the Wilhelminapier. Showing (from left to right): Montevideo, World Port Centre, Baltimore, New Orleans, San Francisco, The Rotterdam, Boston, Philadelphia, Toren op Zuid, Havana.



Figure 3.7: The Luxor Theater has been relocated from the city centre to the Kop van Zuid in 2001.



Figure. 3.8: Pakhuismeesteren. Current state of the old warehouse (left), artist impression of future mixed-use development at the site (right).

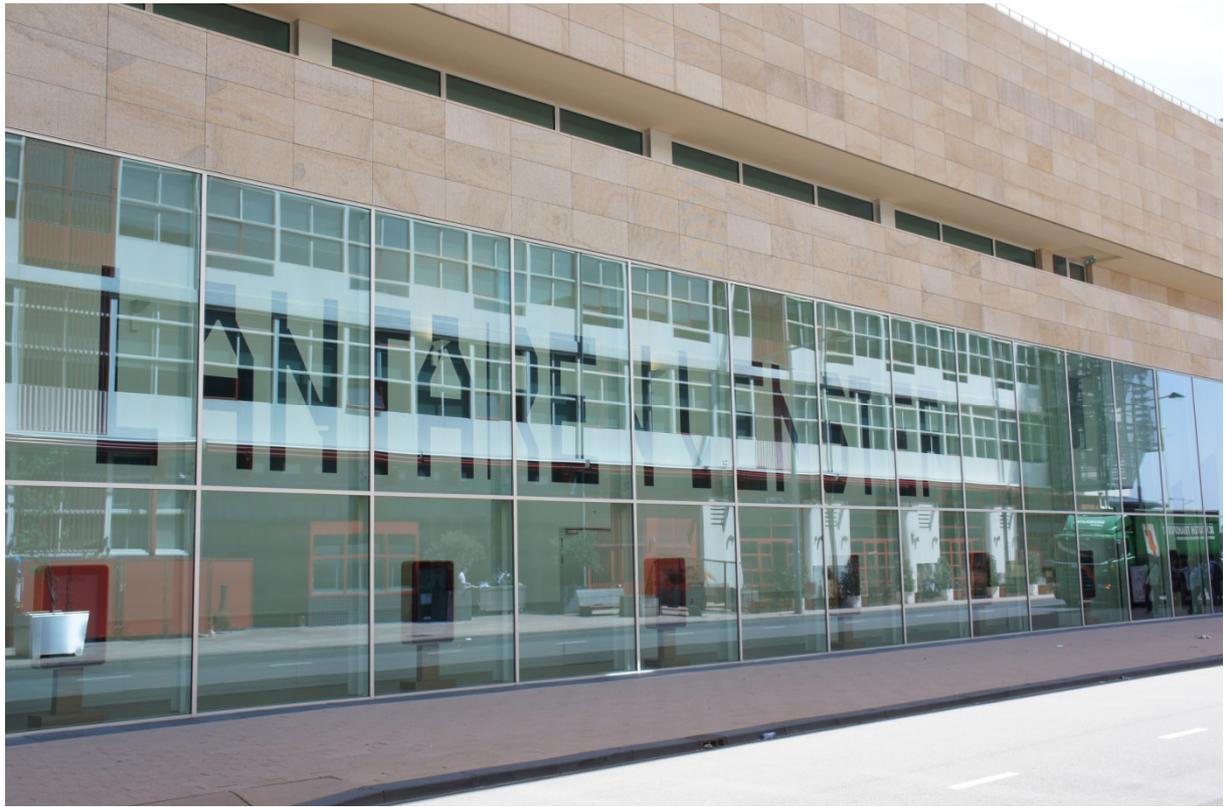


Figure 3.9: Lantaren Venster.



Figure 3.10: Hotel New York.



Figure 3.11: Cruise Terminal hal.

The spacious metropolitan atmosphere continues at *De Zuidkade* where high-rise residential and office towers face both sides of a wide boulevard (figure 3.12) featuring *InHolland College* with its purpose-built student housing development *Cité* (figure 3.13). Hidden behind the boulevard are the terraced houses of *Stadstuinen* (quiet metropolitan, section 3.4.1) and the spacious apartments of *Landtong* (figure 3.14), while retail and residential functions are combined in *Vuurplaat* (figure 3.15) and *Het Entrépot* (figure 3.16). Contrasting these new-build developments are old social housing projects like *De Peperklip* (figure 3.17) and the developments to the south-east of *Vuurplaat* (figure 3.18).

As has been mentioned in the introduction the developments on the *Kop van Zuid* meet the criteria set out by Davidson and Lees (2005) to be considered as examples of contemporary gentrification. The restructuring process on the *Kop van Zuid*, led by the municipality of Rotterdam, involves the reinvestment of huge amounts of public and private capital. This has created a vastly different physical landscape than before redevelopment efforts took place. While some remnants of history remain the majority of the area has been transformed from a place which was once home to heavy industry and dock workers to a place where the affluent middle classes currently reside. The arrival of these incoming groups has signaled the beginning of the process of social upgrading of the locale. Fifteen years ago no middle class household would think about living in the *Kop van Zuid*. Yet in these days developments in areas like *Wilhelminapier* and *Stadstuinen* are very popular amongst the middle classes. Because housing and amenities are targeted towards the middle and higher classes, lower incomes might get the feeling that this area is no longer for them. These feelings might be strengthened by the fact that the developments are highly privatized: the high-rise towers and their facilities can only be accessed by their residents. In this way current restructuring policies in the *Kop van Zuid* effectively rule out the possibility for lower-income groups to reside and do their shopping in these places. This can be seen as a form of indirect displacement.



Figure 3.12: De Zuidkade. High rise residential and office towers face the Laan op Zuid.



Figure 3.13: InHolland College and Cité student housing.



Figure 3.14: Landtong middle class residential developments.

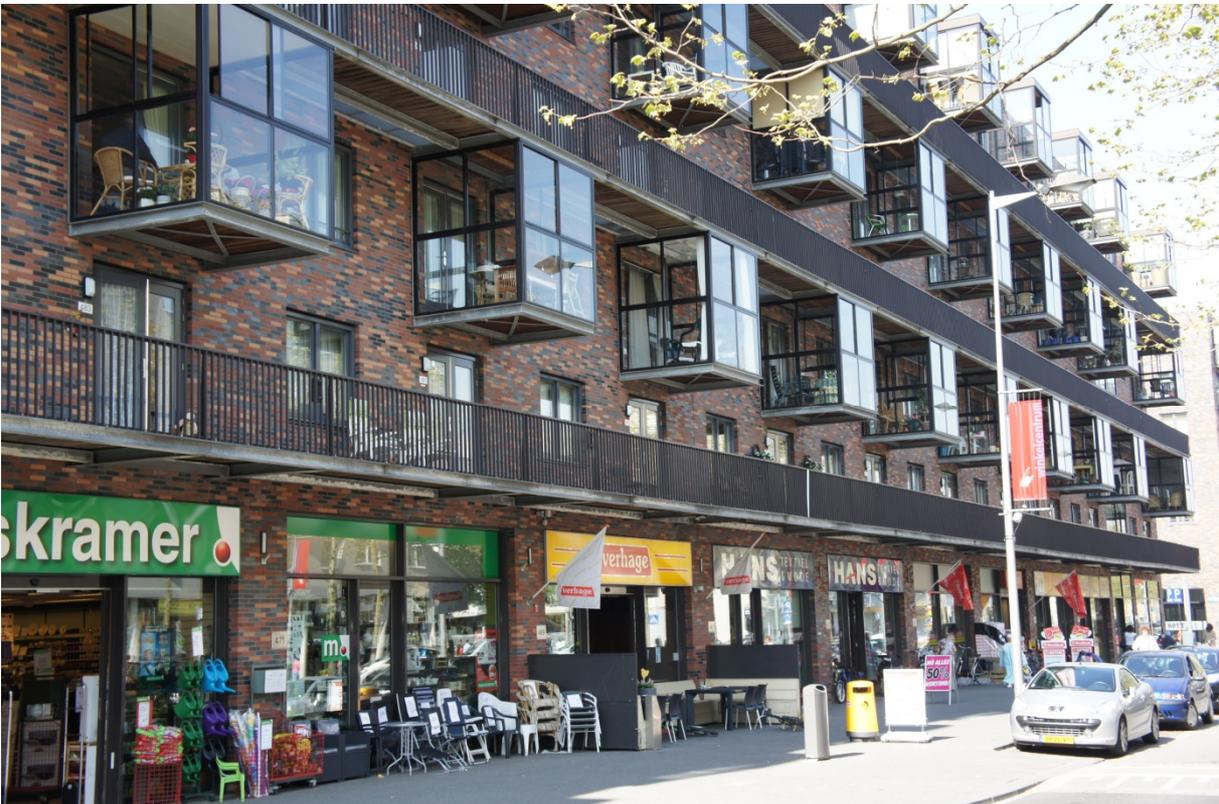


Figure 3.15: De Vuurplaat offers senior apartments with commercial activities on the ground floor.



Figure 3.16: Entrépot-haven. The Entrépot area features gentrified apartments with restaurants and bars on the ground floor located in a harbor setting.



Figure 3.17: De Peperklip social housing project to the east of Stadstuinen.



Figure 3.18: Social housing developments to the south-east of Vuurplaat.

3.4.1 Introduction Stadstuinen

While the redevelopment of Wilhelminapier is still under way redevelopment of the sub-area Stadstuinen has been completed in the late 1990s. It is located in the former port area of the Kop van Zuid in between other residential areas: Kop van Zuid – Entrèpot, Vuurplaat, the Laan op Zuid and the rest of Feijenoord. The division between these sub-neighborhoods is rather stark with very contrasting housing and populations (section 3.4.2). Stadstuinen is a quiet metropolitan area offering 943 dwellings and 6.700 m² of office space designed in a rectangular layout (Doucet, 2010; ERAC, 2011). Dwellings range from multi-level apartments located at the fringes of the neighborhood close to the through roads Laan op Zuid and Vuurplaat to terraced houses centered around a public park. According to the website of the owners association Stadstuinen (<http://www.stadstuinen.com>) this park acts as the centre of the neighborhood. Several neighborhood events are hosted in this park each year, ranging from barbeques and kids camp in summer to the decoration of a Christmas tree in winter (figure 3.20). Most of the neighborhood activities are geared to children between the ages of 6-12. This is in line with the population that lives around the public park in Stadstuinen which primarily consists of families with children. Traffic in Stadstuinen is restricted in order to provide a family-oriented environment (McCarthy, 1996; Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007). This is very exceptional for Rotterdam and it makes Stadstuinen a unique neighborhood in the city.

But while households with children make up most of the neighborhood, it is not just families that live in Stadstuinen. The multi-level apartments at the edges of the are range from three to seven stories high (figure 3.21). Some of these apartments are specifically designed for disabled or older people (figure 3.22) while others are trying to attract single- or dual income households. The housing supply in Stadstuinen leads to a very diverse population in which several segments of new-built gentrifiers can be found, ranging from family-gentrifiers and yuppies in the terraced houses and apartments to aging gentrifiers in the custom homes. This population mix is hypothesized to show very different activity-patterns inside the neighborhood and in this way represents a good opportunity to study the

neighborhood socialization, use of neighborhood facilities and feelings of place attachment of family gentrifiers.



Figure 3.19: Typical four stories high terraced house in Stadstuinen.



Figure 3.20: Public park in Stadstuinen, which also acts as a playground and the site for neighborhood activities.



Figure 3.21: Terraced houses with multi-level apartments in the background in a street perpendicular to the public park in Stadstuinen.



Figure 3.22: Custom homes for the disabled and the elderly in Stadstuinen.

3.4.2 Socio-demographic statistics Stadstuinen

Before this study will turn to census data on the socio-demographic statistics of Stadstuinen, a side-note should be given. The datasets used in this study divide the Kop van Zuid into two areas. While statistics on the first area (Kop van Zuid) provide a good impression of the Wilhelminapier because it only includes the Wilhelminapier and the northern part of the Laan op Zuid, Stadstuinen is but one out of five sub-areas covered by the second dataset (Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot). This dataset further includes the sub-areas Landtong, Het Entrêpot, Vuurplaat and Parkzicht. This will lead to some difficulties when discussing the socio-demographic statistics of Stadstuinen.

In 2009 the Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot had 7.560 inhabitants divided over 3.790 households (table 3.1). 47% of its inhabitants are non western minorities. This figure is assumed to be much lower for Stadstuinen since the housing stock in this sub-area mainly consists of terraced housing which is only affordable to dual earning households. When compared to other sub-areas in the Kop van Zuid, the percentage of minorities is much lower in the Wilhelminapier (33%) and the city-wide average (36%), and much higher than in surrounding lower-income neighborhoods like the Afrikaanderwijk (79%) and Feijenoord (76%). Regarding age-structure the Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot shows a somewhat smaller peak in the 25-44 year age cohort (30%) than the Kop van Zuid but this is still higher than the city-wide average of 31%. The percentage of multi person households with children is twice as high as in the Kop van Zuid at 30%. This partly confirms the hypothesis that the housing stock of Stadstuinen – with an emphasis on terraced housing - will primarily attract family-gentrifiers (although this figure is lower than in the surrounding poorer neighborhoods (table 3.2)). However since the housing stock of the other sub-areas in the dataset of Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot primarily consist of multi-level rented apartments it can be hypothesized that the number of households with children in Stadstuinen will be much higher (assumed that they live in terraced houses rather than in apartments).

The Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot has an occupational rate of 69%, which is lower than the Wilhelminapier but still higher than the city-wide average of 61% and much higher than in surrounding sub-areas (table 3.2). Just as in the Wilhelminapier 69% of the households have a middle to high income. 13% of the inhabitants of the Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot live off benefits and again this figure is much higher in surrounding low-income neighborhoods (27.5% in Afrikaanderwijk and 25.9% in Feijenoord, table 3.4). Stadstuinen has the highest percentage of owner-occupiers of the investigated sub-areas with 70% of its inhabitants living in owner-occupation. This is a huge contrast to neighborhoods like Afrikaanderwijk (93% (socially) rented) and Feijenoord (98% (socially) rented). The mean value of a dwelling in Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot is €183.000 (in 2007 euro's) which is much higher than in the other sub-areas in table 3.5. The terraced houses in Stadstuinen carry an even higher price-tag (web agents cite prices starting over €300.000) suggesting a large presence of family gentrifiers in this sub-area. This hypothesis is strengthened by the percentage of households with medium or high incomes in the Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot. Again this percentage is assumed to be even higher in Stadstuinen because of the higher value of its dwellings.

Area	Inhabitants	Number of households	Percentage % non western minorities
Afrikaanderwijk	9.110	4.040	79
Katendrecht	3.660	1.760	53
Feijenoord	7.260	3.300	76
Kop van Zuid ¹	1.120	710	33
Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot ²	7.560	3.790	47
Rotterdam	587.130	296.420	36

Table 3.1: *Inhabitants, number of households and percentage of non-western minorities* (all data derived from CBS Statline, 2009).

¹Kop van Zuid consists of the sub-areas Wilhelminapier and the northern part of the Laan op Zuid;

²Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot consists of the sub-areas Stadstuinen, Landtong, Het Entrêpot, Vuurplaat and Parkzicht.

Area	Household composition		
	Single person household	Multi person household with children	Multi person household without children
Afrikaanderwijk	44	39	17
Katendrecht	43	35	22
Feijenoord	43	40	16
Kop van Zuid ¹	61	15	24
Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot ²	43	30	26
Rotterdam	48	29	23

Table 3.2: *Household composition* (all data derived from CBS Statline, 2009).

¹Kop van Zuid consists of the sub-areas Wilhelminapier and the northern part of the Laan op Zuid;

²Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot consists of the sub-areas Stadstuinen, Landtong, Het Entrêpot, Vuurplaat and Parkzicht.

Area	Age distribution (%)				
	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Afrikaanderwijk	21	16	30	23	10
Katendrecht	21	12	31	25	12
Feijenoord	23	15	30	22	10
Kop van Zuid ¹	9	18	52	17	3
Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot ²	19	11	38	24	8
Rotterdam	17	14	31	24	14

Table 3.3: *Age distribution of the inhabitants living in different sub-areas of the Kop van Zuid and Rotterdam South* (all data derived from CBS Statline, 2009).

¹Kop van Zuid consists of the sub-areas Wilhelminapier and the northern part of the Laan op Zuid;

²Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot consists of the sub-areas Stadstuinen, Landtong, Het Entrêpot, Vuurplaat and Parkzicht.

Area	Employed Residents (Occupation %) ¹	Welfare recipients (number of households per 1000) ²	Percentage % of households with medium or high incomes ³
Afrikaanderwijk	42	275	47
Katendrecht	50	230	51
Feijenoord	44	259	50
Kop van Zuid ⁴	78	5	69
Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot ⁵	69	130	69
Rotterdam	61	117	58

Table 3.4: Occupation rate, number of people living on benefits and percentage of household with low incomes (all data derived from CBS Statline).

¹Data from 2005;

²Data from 2007;

³Data from 2008;

⁴Kop van Zuid consists of the sub-areas Wilhelminapier and the northern part of the Laan op Zuid;

⁵Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot consists of the sub-areas Stadstuinen, Landtong, Het Entrêpot, Vuurplaat and Parkzicht.

Area	Number of dwellings ¹	Percentage % rented and percentage % owner-occupied ²		Mean Value of dwelling in 2007€ ³
Afrikaanderwijk	3.690	93	7	107.000
Katendrecht	1.925	86	14	123.000
Feijenoord	3.195	98	2	111.000
Kop van Zuid ⁴	505	65	35	103.000
Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot ⁵	3.575	67	33	183.000
Rotterdam	288.675	72	28	150.000

Table 3.5: Number of Dwellings, tenure percentage and mean house prices in 2007€ (all data derived from CBS Statline).

¹Data from 2008;

²Data from 2005;

³Data from 2007;

⁴Kop van Zuid consists of the sub-areas Wilhelminapier and the northern part of the Laan op Zuid;

⁵Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot consists of the sub-areas Stadstuinen, Landtong, Het Entrêpot, Vuurplaat and Parkzicht.

4. RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter will describe the research methods underpinning this study. Section 4.1 explains the choice for semi-structured interviews. Furthermore it covers the way in which each interview has been conducted and subsequently the method of analysis of the raw data will be discussed. Section 4.2 will discuss the way in which the research sample has been drawn followed by a description of the socio-economic characteristics of the research population. Finally section 4.3 will discuss the operationalization of the research questions. This section provides - per research questions - descriptions for the used variables, the research hypotheses and finally integrates this into questions for the interview guide.

4.1 Research methods – semi-structured interviews

Each interview consisted of two parts: a semi-structured part guided by a pre-determined interview guide and a small survey on some socio-demographic characteristics of the interviewees (Appendix D). As has been stated in the introduction the choice for a qualitative approach is based on the desire to gain insight into the experiences and sentiments of family gentrifiers regarding their levels of neighborhood interaction and feelings of place attachment. By using semi-structured interviews this study has given interviewees some freedom in how to respond to the questions asked by the interviewer and this has stimulated them to venture into directions they deemed to be relevant and important (Bryman, 2008). It also presented the interviewer with an opportunity to vary the sequence of the questions. The advantage of this research method is that one will gain access to a wide variety of views. Qualitative data will allow one to gain access to the perspectives of different people. During the interviews a map showing street names, neighborhood boundaries and neighborhood facilities has been used as a reference (Appendix E).

The interviews have been conducted in a face-to-face manner and have all been tape-recorded. Each interview has been conducted in Dutch. The interviews have been transcribed on the same day that the interviews took place. The quotes used throughout this work have all been translated by the author. The name of each interviewee has been anonymized and their information has been used in a strictly confidential manner. The transcribed interviews have been analyzed by reading through them thoroughly several times and by using colors to code the answers to each of the questions posed in the interviews. In order to uncover recurring themes the answers with the same codes have been grouped together. This led to a list of the answers of every interviewee per question. These lists were analyzed one by one allowing for a separate discussion on each subject. The qualitative data has been contextualized through the use of some quantitative data on the socio-demographics of several subareas of the *Kop van Zuid* (accessed through the website of CBS/Statline (<http://statline.cbs.nl/statweb>), section 3.4.2). In this way one can arrive at a more comprehensive account of the answers of the interviewees. Greater utility has been achieved in this way which will help in generating better findings (Bryman, 2008). As has been stated before, socio-demographic characteristics of the research population have been collected by the interviewer.

4.2 Research Population

In order to find a satisfying answer to each research question a total of 28 interviews with residents of the newly-build developments in the neighborhood of Stadstuinen - Rotterdam have been carried out. The selection of Stadstuinen as the site to carry out the case study is based on the hypothesis that this neighborhood will primarily house family gentrifiers because of its housing stock (terraced housing), tenure (owner-occupied) and child friendly environment (section 3.5.1). In order to come in contact with the residents of Stadstuinen, dr. B. Doucet allowed me to use some of the empirical data which he collected during his research in the Kop van Zuid during the past few years (Doucet, 2010). After a selection based on residential address a letter has been drafted in which those

residents currently living in Stadstuinen were asked to participate in this study (see appendix B and C for the letter). Of the seven households contacted eventually two households participated in the study. Another letter has been drafted and spread in the neighborhood which announced the research and included the researcher's contact details. Through this way three people contacted the researcher and participated in the study. The remaining interviewees have been selected through purposive sampling and snowball sampling. The selection was based on residential address (inside Stadstuinen) and household composition (multi-person households with child(ren)). The snowball method resulted in two more interviews. The remaining interviewees were found by going into the neighborhood at different times (morning, afternoon, evening) and days (including the weekend) of the week. A total of 28 interviews have been carried out of which 24 interviews turned out to be useful. Some interviews were conducted with two persons at once, when both the mother and the father were available. This has led to a total of 28 interviewees. The interviews were conducted over a time period of eight weeks from April 6th until May 30th

Of the 28 people that have been interviewed, 10 (or 35,7%) are male and 18 (or 64,3%) are female with a male average age of 43.3 years and a female average age of 38.1 years old (table 4.1). These figures are in accordance with the age-structure for the whole area (table 3.3). Six (or 21.4%) of the interviewees has a foreign background, of which two persons (7.1%) were born abroad (first generation immigrant) and four persons were born in the Netherlands but have at least one parent who was born abroad (second generation immigrant, figure 4.1). This figure is much lower than the figure in table 3.1 but this can be explained by the fact that the interviews took place in the most exclusive part of the statistical area Kop van Zuid-Entrêpot and housing prices here prevent immigrants (which often have lower incomes than non-immigrants in the Kop van Zuid) from moving into this area.

	Absolute	Percentage (%)
Total nr. of respondents ¹	28	100
Male	10	35.7
Female	18	64.3
Mean Age Male (years)	43.3	-
Mean Age Female (years)	38.1	-
Owner-occupier	28	100
Average number of years of residence in current home	7.3	-

Table 4.1: Demographic statistics of interviewees. Source: fieldwork

¹Total nr. of respondents (28) is larger than total number of interviews (24) because in some interviews both male and female participated.

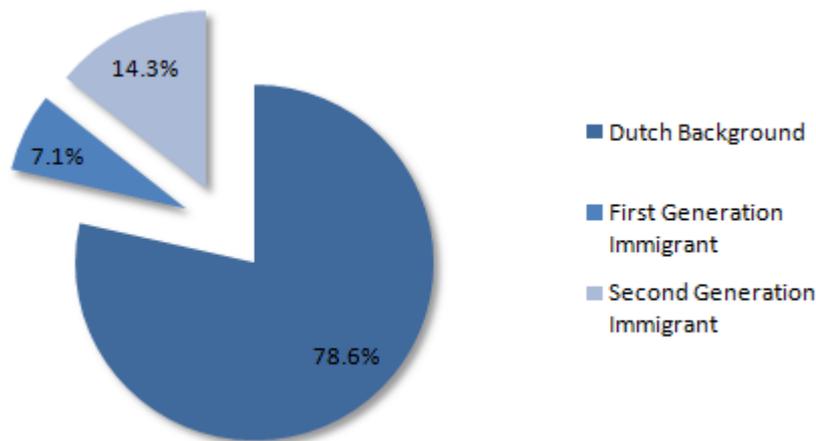


Figure 4.1: Ethnic Background of the interviewees. A first generation immigrant is defined as a person who is born abroad. A second generation immigrant is a person who is born in the Netherlands, but has at least one parent who is born abroad. Source: fieldwork.

Most of the interviewees already lived in Rotterdam before they took residence in Stadstuinen (18 out of 24 interviews). However, few people were actually born in Rotterdam. Most of the people either stayed in Rotterdam after the completion of their education or have chosen to move to Rotterdam because of job-related issues (for more on this see section 5.4). The average interviewee has lived in his or her home for 7.3 years. 10 out of 24 households are first residents of their home. All the interviewees live in owner-occupation. A very big proportion of the interviewees has a higher educational degree with the majority (78.6%) having attained a master’s degree (figure 4.2). Most people graduated in either Law, Economic and Governance, Life Sciences and Social or Behavioural Sciences (4.3).

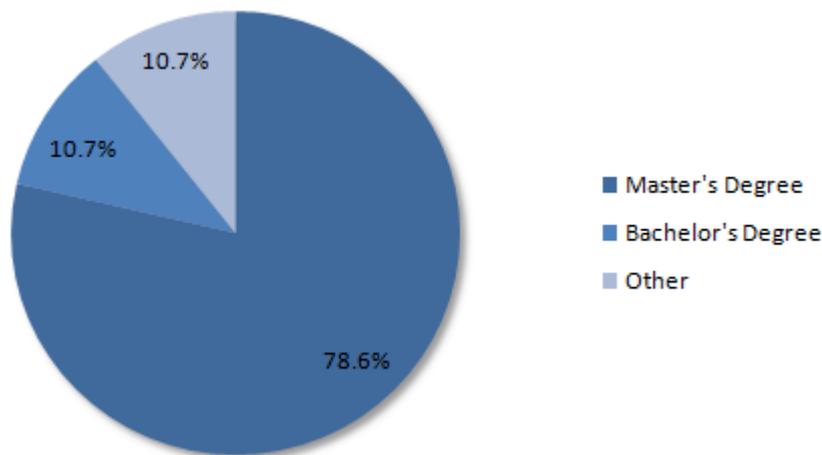


Figure 4.2: Educational attainment of the interviewees. Source: fieldwork.

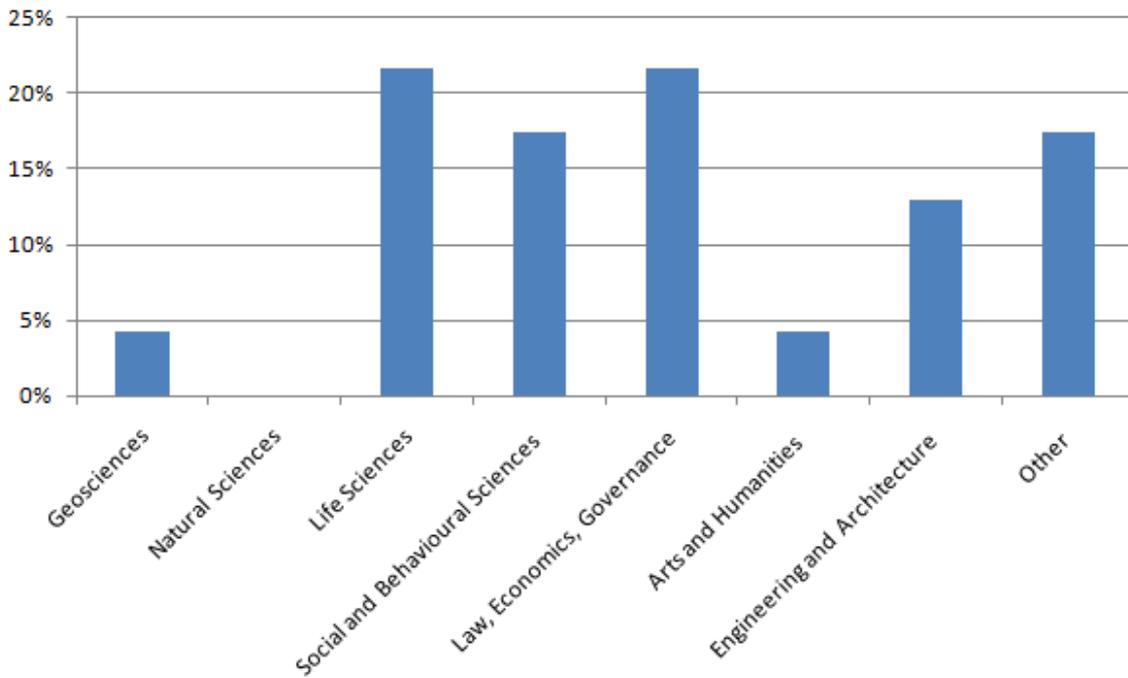


Table 4.2: Specialization of interviewees. Source: fieldwork.

The biggest areas of employment for the interviewees are Consultancy/Policy - Health and Social Services - and Education and Research (figure 4.3). Using the three-fold distinction of gentrifier lifestyles from Savage et al. (1992) as has been discussed in section 2.3 this places a considerable part of the interviewees in the *corporate* or *undistinctive* group (private sector professionals employed in areas such as Consultancy/Executive, Finance, Real Estate and Insurance and Sales, Marketing, PR and Advertisement. This is no surprise as new-build gentrifiers are primarily aligned with this group (Robson & Butler, 2001). Around 12% of the interviewees has its own business. The income distribution of the neighborhood (figure 4.4) shows that these people are very capable of paying for the high prices of real estate in Stadstuinen. The percentage of households with a high income is much higher than the area-average (table 3.4).

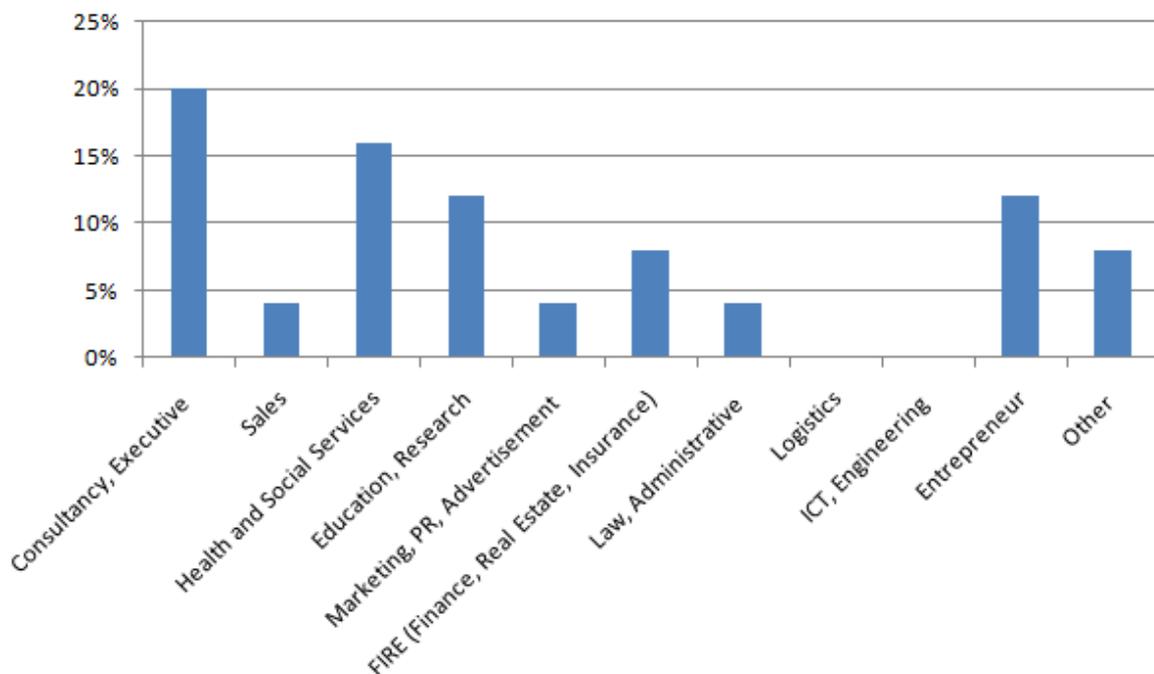


Table 4.3: Area of Employment of interviewees. Source: fieldwork.

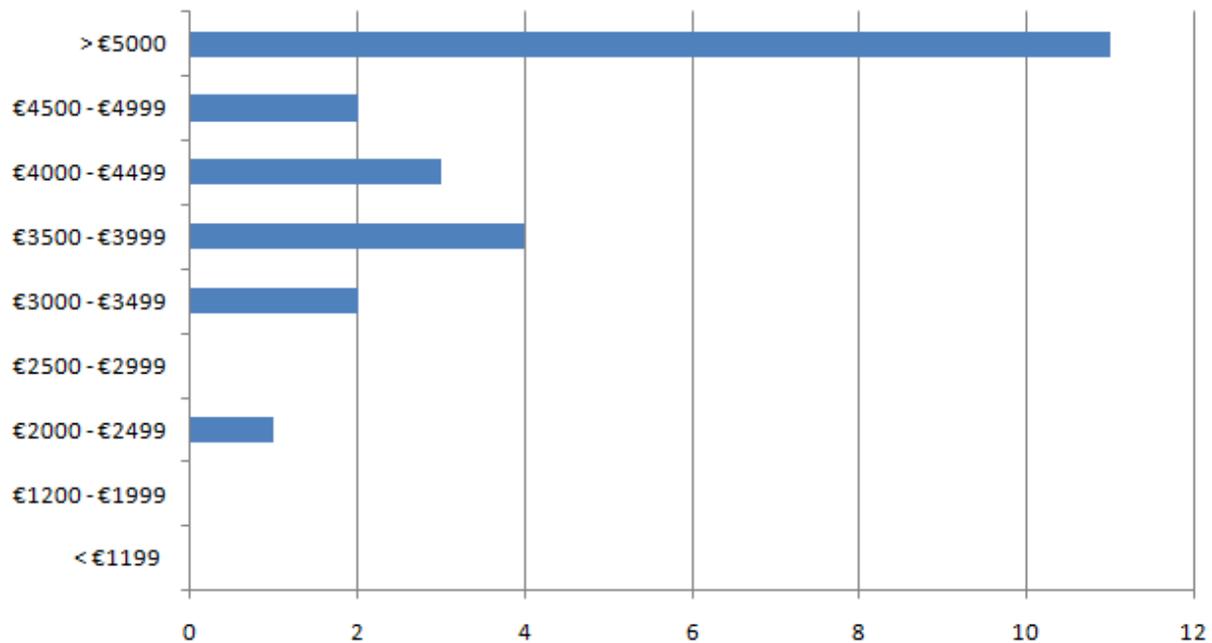


Table 4.4: Income distribution of interviewees (net household income in Euros). Source: fieldwork.

4.3 Operationalization of research questions

It is hypothesized that different segments of gentrifiers will be living in different types of new-build developments because of the marked differences in tenure (owner-occupied vs. private rented) the built form (high-rise developments vs. terraced housing) and the lifestyle and preferences of these people. These differences will result in different levels of neighborhood interaction and place attachment among the inhabitants of these developments. In the following sections the operationalization of the research questions will be discussed. Specific hypothesis relating to neighborhood socialization, the use of neighborhood facilities and place attachment among family gentrifiers will be stated. For each research question the relevant variables will be described followed by an overview of the hypotheses and the associated topics in the interview guide (for a complete version of the interview guide see appendix D).

Description of variables:

New-build gentrification development: A newly-build development that meets the four criteria set out by Davidson and Lees (2005) for a development to be considered a form of contemporary gentrification. A development must involve (1) the reinvestment of capital; (2) the social upgrading of locale by incoming higher-income groups; (3) landscape change; and (4) direct or indirect displacement of lower-income groups.

New-build gentrifier: An individual living in a new-build gentrification development. Several segments of new-build gentrifiers have been distinguished in the literature and they have all been discussed in section 2.3.

Family gentrifier: Particular segment of the new-build gentrifier class that is also the population under scrutiny in this work. Family gentrifiers are households with children living in new-build gentrification developments in the inner-city (section 2.3.2).

4.3.1 Neighborhood socialization

1. *“In light of developments in the structure of the personal network of new-build gentrifiers, are the amount, nature and quality of neighborhood social ties of family gentrifiers growing feeble?”*

DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES:

Neighborhood: Delineated, geographically localized community within a larger city.

Neighborhood social ties: The formation of social ties and supportive network(s) in the neighborhood through social interaction.

Amount: The number of social ties an individual is engaged in within the neighborhood.

Nature: Neighborhood social ties are increasingly of a cursory nature. Some ties however remain very strong. The nature of social ties will influence the quality of social ties.

Quality: The quality of social ties. Social ties can either be weak and based on small acts of neighborliness (these ties are also referred to as outward-looking social capital or bridging capital) or be strong and be a major source of material and emotional support (these ties are also referred to as inward-looking social capital or bonding capital).

According to Burns et al. (2000) both neighborhood socialization and place attachment are part of an individual's social capital. They have operationalized social capital as a multi-dimensional process consisting of eight domains: empowerment, participation, associational activity and common purpose, supporting networks and reciprocity, collective norms and values, trust, safety and belonging. For this study, the following relevant constituents of social capital have been used (Burns et al., 2000):

Participation: That people take part in social and community activities; local events occur and are well attended.

Associational activity and common purpose: That people co-operate with each other through the formation of formal and informal groups to further their interests.

Supporting networks and reciprocity: That individuals and organizations co-operate to support one another for either mutual or one-sided gain; an expectation that help would be given to or received from others when needed.

HYPOTHESES:

- (1) Because of the highly urbanized setting of the case study people are presented with ample opportunities for social contacts outside the confinements of their neighborhood. This is hypothesized to lower the amount of neighbors in an individual's personal network;
- (2) Family gentrifiers will primarily socialize with people who share similar personal backgrounds because these people often hold the same kind of jobs and this translates into similarities in their life rhythms. This will lead to social networks which will be very homogeneous in their social, cultural and economic makeup (see section 2.4.1);

- (3) Family gentrifiers tend to stick to their self-contained development, preferring the social homogeneity and the predictability and safety this is thought to engender. This will help them to achieve their goals and safeguard their living conditions (see section 2.4.4). So in order to keep their distance to 'others', they will achieve a degree of social cohesion with other members of the middle class residing in their neighborhood;
- (4) New-build gentrifiers with children will most likely have more social ties in their neighborhood than new-build gentrifiers without children, because schools, playgrounds and other social spots will serve as a meeting place for people with similarities in their life course and personal background;

TOPICS IN INTERVIEW GUIDE:

In order to get an idea about the amount, quantity and nature of neighborhood ties of family gentrifiers the interviews focused on neighborhoods at a scale level relevant to the individuals. Most of the time this meant no more than two or three streets from their homes (Kleinhans et al., 2007). An exception is made for local facilities such as primary schools, because children attending these schools are more likely to reside in different neighborhoods. The following topics have been discussed during the interviews:

- Amount of social ties in the neighborhood;
- Quality of social ties in the neighborhood;
- Characteristics of social contacts in the neighborhood;
- Presence of supportive networks in the neighborhood;
- Participation in neighborhood activities.

4.3.2 Neighborhood facilities

2. ***“Can the habitus of family gentrifiers be characterized by the use and neglect of certain social, cultural and leisure neighborhood facilities?”***

DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES:

Habitus: *“An array of inherited dispositions that condition bodily movement, tastes and judgments according to class position”* (Bridge 2001, p 207).

Neighborhood facilities: *Shopping, social, cultural and leisure facilities present in the neighborhood or in the direct vicinity of the neighborhood.* They may be accessible to everyone (public facilities), or access might be restricted to an exclusive group of people (e.g. private gyms in new-build developments). Cafes, restaurants, museums, community centers and educational facilities can be named as examples of neighborhood facilities. Neighborhood facilities are an important constituent of the gentrifiers' habitus.

HYPOTHESES:

The private lifestyle of family gentrifiers will be demonstrated by their use of neighborhood facilities:

- (5) The use of exclusive social, cultural and leisure facilities will be high among family gentrifiers (e.g. Hotel New York, Lantaren Venster, Las Palmas, etc.) see sections 2.3, 2.5.2);

- (6) The use of public facilities like the community centre and the public library will be low among family gentrifiers, resulting in a reduced chance of coming into contact with other classes (see sections 2.2.3, 2.4.2);
- (7) This will be translated into a specific *habitus* (section 2.4.5) for family gentrifiers, warding off contacts with people from other classes;
- (8) The primary school (located either in or outside the neighborhood) will be one of the most important sites in the *habitus* of the new-build gentrifiers, because it is an important site for the social reproduction of their children.

TOPICS IN INTERVIEW GUIDE:

- Use of exclusive social, cultural and leisure facilities (e.g. *nouvelle cuisine* restaurants, wine bars, boutiques, art galleries, high-end coffee bars etc.) among family gentrifiers;
- Use of public facilities (e.g. public library, community centre etc.) among family gentrifiers;
- Family gentrifiers' perceived neighborhood quality;
- Role of the primary school in the habitus of family gentrifiers.

4.3.3 Place Attachment

3. "Can family gentrifiers be characterized by strong feelings of place attachment?"

DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES:

Place attachment: That people feel connected to their co-residents, their home area, have a sense of belonging to the place and its people (Burns et al., 2000).

Collective norms and values: That people share common values and norms of behavior.

Trust: That people feel they can trust their co-residents and local organizations responsible for governing their area.

HYPOTHESES:

- (9) It can be hypothesized that in general the private lifestyle of new-build gentrifiers will not lead to a plethora of social ties in the neighborhood (section 2.4.1 and 3.1.3), and consequently this might suggest a lack of place attachment on their side;
- (10) The built form of new build developments will be a decisive factor in determining feelings of place attachment; terraced houses will positively influence feelings of place attachment;
- (11) When people have children this will most likely increase their feelings of place attachment, since it is very plausible that they will come into contact with other parents living in the neighborhood, for example at the schoolyard or at the local playground;
- (12) People who live in (or in close proximity to) the neighborhood they were being born are more likely to have developed strong feelings of place attachment than people who were not born in the neighborhood.

TOPICS FOR INTERVIEW GUIDE:

There is no agreement whether place attachment is a multidimensional or a unidimensional concept. However, the majority of place attachment scales is based on a simple, one-dimensional structure (Lewicka, 2010). The scales are often geared to attachment to the neighborhood. Bonaiuto et al. (2006) devised a comprehensive scale to measure neighborhood attachment (see appendix A). This scale has been used during the interviews in order to be able to 'measure' some feelings of place attachment of the interviewees. The following topics have been discussed during the interviews:

- Residents identification with the neighborhood;
- Residents identification with people living in their neighborhood;
- Residents feelings about the physical aspects of the neighborhood and their homes and how this influences place attachment;
- Residents willingness to move out of the neighborhood.

5. NEIGHBORHOOD INTERACTION IN STADSTUINEN

In the following chapters the empirical results of this study will be discussed. The outcomes of the 24 interviews with family gentrifiers living in Stadstuinen will be presented. All three subjects - neighborhood socialization, usage of neighborhood facilities and feelings of place attachment - will be discussed in a separate chapter. The transcribed interviews will be the basis for a comparison between the empirical findings of the fieldwork and the theoretical framework as it was presented in chapter two and the hypotheses as they were stated in section 4.3. Results of these comparisons will be discussed for each of the three subjects. Direct quotes from the 24 transcribed interviews will be used to underpin the statements. Satisfying answers to the three research questions as they were stated in section 1.2 and 4.3 will be sought. Throughout these chapters it will become clear whether current knowledge about the neighborhood socialization, usage of neighborhood facilities and feelings of place attachment of new-build gentrifiers is enough to sufficiently understand the doings of family gentrifiers living in Stadstuinen or that new perspectives are needed. In this way this study will try to contribute to the current knowledge about *who are the new-build gentrifiers?* All names are pseudonyms.

5.1 Quantity and quality of neighborhood social ties in Stadstuinen

While the highly urbanized setting presents Stadstuiners with ample opportunities for social contacts outside the confinements of their neighborhood this has not led to a low amount of neighbors in most people's personal network as was expected in hypothesis 1. Family gentrifiers living in Stadstuinen have many social ties at the local level. The quantity and quality of these social ties varies between each interviewee, as will become clear through the following pages. First in order to get an idea about the number of people Stadstuiners know the interviewees were asked how many people in the neighborhood they know by sight. The majority answered somewhere in between 50 to 100 people. Of course these contacts weren't all friends. In accordance with findings of van der Land (2007) from his study of social contacts in Rotterdam, most of the contacts in the neighborhood can be described as cursory. The quality of this huge number of social contacts was described as anything in between 'just neighbors' to 'vague acquaintances' and 'friends'. To be able to say something about the nature and the quality of the social contacts in the neighborhood several follow-up questions were asked. For example, the question was raised whether people discussed personal matters with their neighbors like problems at work, financial difficulties or medical troubles. It was found that in general Stadstuiners do not discuss personal matters with their neighbors. Furthermore the interviewees were asked if they consider some of their social contacts in the neighborhood as true friends. Contradicting the findings of Flap and Völker (2007) almost every interviewee stated that they have made several friends in the neighborhood as well, with whom they do discuss personal issues and who are visited on a regular basis. The number of friends varied from only one other family to up to ten people in the neighborhood, with direct neighbors being mentioned most:

Sander: Do you consider a certain percentage of these people as friends?

Christina: "Yes, especially the direct neighbors [laughs]. (Christina, [T5], 35 years, resident in the neighborhood for 7 years)."

Contact with these people is well maintained and trust amongst these people is high. They discuss personal matters, take care of each other's children in times of need and they regularly visit each other or go out for dinner. The people living in Stadstuinen help each other out with all kinds of chores, for example borrowing various items from each other, taking care of the mail and watering the plants when people are on a holiday, or looking after each other's children when they are playing

on the streets. This is perfectly normal in Stadstuinen, as is shown by the following comment from Abbey, [T1], full-time employee in Consultancy, Executive and mother of one:

Sander: Do you also help your neighbors when they go on a holiday by doing their mail for example?

Abbey: "Yes, always. That is totally normal."

A lot is being done in order to maintain these contacts. Practical help in the form of acts of neighborliness (Bridge, 2002) is the norm in Stadstuinen so these contacts can be described as outward looking social capital, providing access to opportunities and resources which could otherwise not be accessed (Briggs, 1998). As a result of the social nature of many Stadstuiners the social climate in the neighborhood is very favorable. People living in Stadstuinen are engaged in several supporting networks which were said to be very useful at times. This is illustrated by the existence of resources such as neighborliness, trust, participation, shared norms and values and social control. Watching over each other's kids, taking care of each other's homes when people are on vacation or taking each other to the hospital in times of need are but a few of the examples mentioned by the interviewees as some practical outcomes of these rather abstract concepts. In this way neighborhood relationships become part of the social capital of Stadstuiners. However not all the interviewees have such intensive contacts in the neighborhood. About half of the interviewees stated that they do not have real friends in the neighborhood. They consider their neighborhood contacts as somewhere in between acquaintances and friends. Personal matters are rarely discussed with these people. This statement is illustrated by the following quote from Herbert, first inhabitant:

Sander: Do you consider some of these people as friends?

Herbert: "No. Contact with some of the neighbors is OK, you have a cup of coffee together sometimes and some food [...] It's, say, somewhere in between acquaintances and friends." (Herbert [T17]).

A small percentage of interviewees mentioned that their lives were too busy and they had no time to invest in intensive neighborhood contacts. Comments exemplified this:

Lizbeth: "You greet each other and you have a talk once in a while."

Locke: "But we don't actually visit these people." (Locke and Lizbeth, [T19], 34 and 33 years old, man full-time employed, woman part-time, residents in the area for 6 years).

"No, no friends of us live in the neighborhood and to be honest, we did not put a lot of effort in making any." (Mae, [T21], 39 years old, full-time employee in Health and Social Services, household income > €5.000).

"Everyone's busy with their own things. And for us, it's like, when we actually are home, we already have trouble to maintain ties with our existing friend [living outside the neighborhood]. And, well ... we simply do not have the time. It's sounds like a poor excuse but it is our reality." (Fred, [T12], 34 years old, full-time employee in Health and Social Services).

So while these people could very well be befriended with their neighbors, they simply do not have the time. This doesn't mean however that there is no interaction with the other people living in the area.

5.2 Positive indicators of social contacts

While the inhabitants of Stadstuinen did not take part in yielding their homes, it would be wrong to immediately characterize them as economic gentrifiers. As was discussed in section 2.2.2 economic gentrifiers are characterized by Rofe (2003) as people who are – besides not taking part in the renovation or rebuilding process of their real estate - unwilling to invest social capital in their neighborhood (Murphy, 2008). Social ties make up an important part of social capital (section 2.4.2) and what the previous section has illustrated is that the inhabitants of Stadstuinen in general do have many social contacts in their neighborhood (between 50 and 100). To understand the unusually high amount of social contacts in the neighborhood several explanations are provided. The best predictor of the amount of social contacts a household living in Stadstuinen has is the presence of children in the family. This can be illustrated by the following quotes:

“Sander: So did you make many contacts in the neighborhood in the nine years that you have been living here?”

Reynold: In the beginning we really had to make an effort in order to come into contact with other people. At that time we only knew our direct neighbors but once you have kids, through schools and nurseries and stuff and also your kids playing in the streets. Then you get more contacts.” (Reynold, [T26], full-time employee in finance).”

“You can live here for a long time without children and people will not know that you live here, but as soon once you have kids and your kids start playing in the back paths then your kids will know the neighborhood before you do. Then you start hearing things like: “Oh are you the mother of ..?” Contact is made very fast in this way.” (Darla, [T8], unemployed, mother of two kids).

The importance of having kids for making social contacts in the neighborhood was confirmed by almost all of the interviewees, including Darla's neighbors who have been resident in the area for over 10 years:

“We just recently got children and if you don't have children ... well you are just living alongside each other .. So now we get loads of comments like “hey you must be new in the neighborhood”. But we have been living here for over 10 years but we were just never in our home [...] So it does matter if you are more at home. Children just give you a different rhythm.” (Emily, [T9], working in sales, mother of two).

Another important and intuitive predictor of the amount of social contacts in the neighborhood is the number of years a household has been living in the neighborhood. Confirming the findings of Dipasquale & Glaeser (1999), people who have been living in the neighborhood since it was yielded are most socially active. Because of their social capital head start (Kleinhans et al., 2007) they are enmeshed in the oldest social networks in the neighborhood. Every household who has been living in the neighborhood since the homes were completed reports to have 50 or more social contacts in the neighborhood. These contacts are of course for most part in the street or the block a household lives in:

“We primarily know people in the direct vicinity to where we live, say in this block we know many people. Especially the people who are first inhabitants.” (Herbert, [T17], first inhabitant, resident in the area for 11 years)

For Petunia, 44 years old, self-employed as a cultural event manager and resident of Stadstuinen for four years, the lack of such a social capital 'head start', as Kleinhans et al. (2007) describe it, is the main reason for her families lack of friends in the neighborhood:

"[Stadstuinen] is a pretty tight-knit community, but because we took residence in the neighborhood years after it was completed we ... the first residents who have been living here for over 10 years they really have become friends. They have experienced the development of the neighborhood, they have been living on the sands and they still talk about that time with each other. When they visit each other's birthdays it really goes on until the early morning. We also visit our neighbors' birthdays and we always have a great time, but real friends .. no." (Petunia, T23)

As was expected in hypothesis 2, family gentrifiers living in Stadstuinen primarily socialize with people who share similar personal backgrounds and in general have the same interests as they do. Since the neighborhood is very homogeneous in its socio-economic makeup, it provides Stadstuiners with ample opportunities to socialize with people who are like them inside the confinements of their own neighborhood. Next to having children, being able to identify oneself with fellow neighbors has been found to be a very important predictor of the amount and quality of social contacts in the neighborhood. This is in line with Fischer (1982) who stated that chances of interacting with neighbors are better in neighborhood with a homogenous socio-economic make-up. When asked about similarities in personal backgrounds and mode of life, the majority of the interviewees replied that they have very much in common with their neighbors. Common grounds include: the desire to live in or close to the city, family structure (presence of children), age structure (most people fall in the range of 30-50 years old), highly educated, both parents employed full-time, high household income, a venturesome attitude and shared interests. According to the majority of the interviewees, there's not a lot of variation between them and their neighbors:

"Well yes, actually it's all tweedledum and tweedledee [laughs] if you ask me. Yes! Reasonably well-educated, a lot of people who work for the (semi)government by the way. People who have made the conscious decision to live in the city. And other people with children or people who want to live in a child-friendly environment. So it's all quite .. white. It's a bit of a white stain on this area [Kop van Zuid] really." (Reynold [T26], father of 2, 42 years old, master's degree, household income > €5.000).

"We were really looking for this kind of neighborhood, one where people of our age live, with children, people with the same interests. It's quite bad actually because when you look inside all the homes in this neighborhood they all kind of look like each other! [laughs]. Like attracts like I guess." (Christina, [T5]).

"Nevertheless, you are looking for people who resemble yourself." (Lizbeth, [T19]).

This has led to so-called 'communities of interest' as described by Talen (1999). It may come as no surprise that Stadstuiners report a strong sense of identification with their fellow neighbors. Distance from people in surrounding lower-income neighborhoods is maintained in both material and cultural ways (Allen, 1984; Atkinson, 2006). However, a few interviewees did not have this feeling of identification. For example, one interviewee with a foreign background stated:

"Yes and no. With some people I can identify myself and with others to a lesser extent. I think it has got something to do with my origin. I'm not from the neighborhood so to speak. [...] I am just a foreigner and I look at things and act differently." (Ariin, [T3], 37 years old, resident in the area for 1,5 years, born in Israel).

Other differentiating factors mentioned include differences in educational background (bachelor's vs. master's degree) and the mixed character of the neighborhood's population, as can be seen in the next statement:

Cloë: "And what I like [about the neighborhood] is that the population is very diverse because underneath us there lives a Chinese family and next door a, where are they from?.. Moroccan people?"

Eden: "Turkish, they are Turkish people."

Cloë: "Yeah so, a really diverse population." (Cloë and Eden, [T6] both 34 years old, resident in the area for 4 years, parents of one child)."

This cosmopolitan attitude - so typical for the cultural gentrifier as described by David Ley (1996) - can be found amongst almost half of the interviewees. They celebrate the city's diversity and find it important to come into contact with people with different backgrounds and cultures. Their decision to live in the city is a conscious decision in order to become what one interviewee described as a world citizen:

"What I like about this neighborhood is that it has a very mixed character, both in color as in personal background because you might just as well find successful immigrants living in this neighborhood. I like the schools very much. It educates you into becoming a world citizen so to speak." (Petunia, [T23]).

5.3 Places of social interaction

According to Van der Land (2007) the creation of social contacts in a neighborhood requires people to meet each other. Several locations in Stadstuinen offer opportunities for social interaction. The most striking feature is the public park (figure 3.20) in the centre of the neighborhood. This park with its playground equipment is used by all the children in the neighborhood to meet and play. On both sides of the park benches are placed so that parents can keep an eye out on their kids. Neighborhood events are also held in this park and are a very important way to create and strengthen neighborhood social contacts:

"And this [neighborhood activities] works marvelously as a way to create social bonding and cohesion" (Richard, [T25], 49 years old, first inhabitant and organizer of the 'running dinner' (a feasts in his block)).

About half of the interviewees stated that they regularly attend these neighborhood activities, which range from BBQ's in the summer to decorating a Christmas tree in winter. From the people that attend neighborhood activities a small percentage (25%) works in the organization of these activities through special committees and the buyers association. These are people who have many social contacts in the neighborhood (100+). This is not to say that other people just attend the activities and do nothing in their effectuation, as can be read from the following quote:

"But actually it is the intention that every parent participates. You do not just dump your children at the activity and leave. Everybody contributes something." (Tracy, [T27], 44 years old, working full-time and resident in the area for 12 years).

Another very important place for social interaction to occur is the local primary school. The primary school is the most important meeting-place in the neighborhood (confirming hypothesis 4). Having children attending the local primary school is the single most important predictor of the amount of

social contacts a Stadstainer has. Contacts acquired at the schoolyard are maintained in the neighborhood as most of the children living in Stadstuinen visit the local primary school. Three primary schools can be found in the vicinity of Stadstuinen: De Kleine Peiler, De Clipper and De Wissel. Almost every child living in Stadstuinen attends De Kleine Peiler. It is the only primary school located inside Stadstuinen. Unlike De Clipper and De Wissel De Kleine Peiler is a school where the majority of the children is white (about 65%). Waiting lists for this school are long and classes are crowded. It is however the most wanted school in the wider area with parents from adjacent neighborhoods trying very hard to get their kids in. The participation council and volunteers on the school reflect the ethnic diversity of the area which is heralded as a positive thing by most parents. The following quotes illustrate how social contacts are being made at the schoolyard:

Sander: is it also an important site in the neighborhood regarding social contacts?

Herbert: "Yes, it has come to be so yes. It's located in the middle of the neighborhood and well, everybody goes there in the morning to bring in their children and come back in the afternoon to pick them up again and because of this it is a meeting place for parents. So in this way it is an important site." (Herbert, [T17]).

Sander: Alright, so that's [school] also a place where social contacts begin?

Fred: "Yes absolutely. It is a hangout for parents." (Fred, [T12])."

Because classes in De Kleine Peiler reflect the ethnic diversity of the larger area in their classrooms and in the school staff, parents and children of Stadstuinen come into contact with parents and children from the surrounding neighborhoods as well:

"Yeah it [De Kleine Peiler] is very mixed. My son is in a class with about seven other white children and about 20 non-white children. And well, he has friends on both sides [laughs]." (Harry, [T16], 50 years old, cosmopolitan, father of one child).

Richard: "Our children attend the neighborhood primary school. That's a real binding factor."

Sander: And do you also know people living in the surrounding neighborhoods?

Richard: "Yes. A couple, through the schools. The school is a real catalyst through which you make contact with people from outside the neighborhood. So through the child side it's very easy to make contacts outside your own neighborhood." (Richard, [T25]).

Despite the fact that children come into contact with children from other neighborhoods in their classes and on the schoolyard, this doesn't automatically mean that they see each other after school as well. Several parents stated that cultural differences between them and the immigrant parents make it hard to arrange for a play date:

Kate: And age has got nothing to do with it but it is just really hard. To arrange for a play date. With immigrant children. [...] And that surprises me sometimes. In itself it is understandable since many immigrant children do not play in their own rooms. They play outside. When our children play with their friends it's usually in their own room. Yeah if the weather is nice then they play outside. But I think this is a major difference.

Sander: Yes a cultural difference.

Kate: Yes exactly, you know they just don't go over and play at each other's homes. You really need to make an appointment. Like two weeks before. A real spontaneous play date is really hard to arrange. (Kate, [T18], 45 years old, part-time worker in Consultancy, Executive, resident in the area for 12 years).

Stadstuiners do not have many social contacts in the surrounding neighborhoods. When asked about contacts in surrounding neighborhoods the majority of the interviewees replied that they do not have any. The ones that do have contacts in the surrounding neighborhoods stated that contacts are few and of a cursory nature. Many interviewees had very clear ideas about why there was a lack of contact with people from outside the neighborhood:

"Yes I can indicate why, it's because we have totally different backgrounds. Different education, eh some people have problems with the language, eh different cultural backgrounds. These gaps are not easy to bridge." (Reynold [T26]).

"And I also think that it is a different kind of people. You will notice that at the school. It's easier to make contact with people who live in your own neighborhood and who also lead a comparable life. It's harder to make contact with people that .. I also talk to [parents of] other friends of my daughter, but they are from another country, and that requires me to rethink some things, it's difficult you know. So it is much harder for them to become friends." (Nancy, [T22], 37 years old, employed in Industrial sector, household income > €5.000).

"There is nothing in our lives that binds us. I go to work she [wife] goes to her work you come home eat your dinner do your groceries and in that life there is simply no exchange between us and them [people from surrounding areas]. That doesn't necessarily mean that we've got nothing to say to each other or that they are not people like us but there's just [2.0] nothing that binds us." (Locke, [T19])

"Well with all due respect and no further judgment, but [inhabitants of] the Peperklip really are a different breed of people so to speak." (Mae, [T21]).

For many Stadstuiners, local social life in the area ends at the borders of the neighborhood. Some borders are physical, such as the Binnenhaven in the northeast, but the interviewees described the separation between Stadstuinen and some of the surrounding neighborhoods more in terms of a social separation:

There's an invisible, eh, fence around this neighborhood. [...] And research shows that, if you look at shopping for example, that people from Stadstuinen for example do not do their shopping on the Oranjeboomstraat [street in an adjacent low-income neighborhood]. And that the people from the Oranjeboomstraat do not do their shopping on Vuurplaat. [...] That could very well be caused by the fact that they are .. I don't like to generalize but .. another kind of people. That might sounds awful but it is the truth." (Edgar, [T4], 50 years old, resident in the area for 11 years, full-time employee at a law firm, father of 2).

Surrounding low-income neighborhoods like Feijenoord and Afrikaanderwijk are no-go areas. As Petunia [T23] described:

"Personally I don't like going to the neighborhood of Feijenoord and I also don't like to be near the Afrikaanderplein, despite the fact that there is a market over there I just don't like

being there. I don't feel comfortable over there. The times that we did visit there was always a mugging or something else. It really is a poor neighborhood in that sense. So no, I prefer not to go to the South." (Petunia, [T23]).

Most of the interviewees mentioned that they do not have any reason to visit surrounding low-income neighborhoods. Next to feelings of insecurity, these neighborhoods don't offer any incentives in terms of attractive facilities to go and visit them. As will become clear in section 5.3 on the use of neighborhood facilities, people living in Stadstuinen are very focused on their own neighborhood, the Entrépot area, the Wilhelminapier and the city-centre for the fulfillment of their needs. This leads to strong feelings of closure from the surrounding neighborhoods and their people amongst many interviewees. This is being explained by Harry [T16]:

Sander: Do you feel that this neighborhood [Stadstuinen] is very closed off from the other surrounding areas?

Harry: "Not in a physical way but it is in some ways a little area on itself. The borders, it is all called Kop van Zuid but eh, I think that the real boundary already starts at the Peperklip. If you go down the Rosestraat it's the beginning of a new area. [...] Within this wider area it [Stadstuinen] really is like a little village on its own. With its own shopping area and its own people in the streets and its own school and that pretty much sums up your world around here."

Sander: Is that a good thing?

Harry: "Is that a good thing? [2.0] It does give you a sense of seclusion I guess. So in terms of oneness and contacts it is a good thing. But integration-wise it is not. So then it is a bad thing in my opinion. Because it creates a distance between us and people who come from outside. They will have the feeling that they just happen to be in the neighborhood to do their groceries but ..."

Sander: There is no interaction?

Harry: "no, no there isn't."

So what we have seen so far is that at the local level Stadstuinen is a very inward-looking community. Stadstuiners live their lives parallel to the inhabitants of surrounding lower-income neighborhoods like Feijenoord and Afrikaanderwijk. This separation is in part caused by differences in life rhythms (i.e. people hold different kinds of jobs). This is translated into distinct day-to-day rhythms in which very little exchange takes place between Stadstuiners and people from surrounding neighborhoods. However differences in life rhythms are not the most important cause of the social separation, or even segregation as one interviewee named it, which characterizes the different neighborhoods in the area. It's all about perception. Stadstuiners perceive people from the surrounding low-income neighborhoods as *"a different breed of people"* who poses different norms and values. Stadstuinen was described as a little village by many other interviewees as well. And while the neighborhood is located in the Kop van Zuid area, most people feel like their neighborhood is an extension of the city centre. For most people this is one of the big advantages of the neighborhood, as will be further discussed in chapter seven. However, for some interviewee's who had a more cosmopolitan outlook on life in the city, the (socio-economic) separation of the neighborhoods on the Kop van Zuid was seen as a rather negative development:

"You'll notice this when you look at the inhabitants of those areas. And I think that's a very sad thing. If you visit the Oranjeboomstraat or the Peperklip you'll come across very different people. [...] That's not a real city to me." (Arin, [T3]).

While several of the surrounding neighborhoods are excluded from the habitus of the family gentrifiers interviewed, other areas are not. Katendrecht and Kop van Zuid-Entrépot were often mentioned as places where the interviewees have some social contacts. Reason for the inclusion of these neighborhoods into the habitus of Stadstuiners is the fact that they are very similar in their socio-economic makeup (section 3.4.2).

"Yes there are some people who moved to that place [Katendrecht]. There's also a lot of newly-build developments over there, yes I know some people over there. But apart from them, I don't know anybody here on the Southside." (Christina, [T5]).

Next to this similarity in personal background, the facilities on Kop van Zuid-Entrépot and Katendrecht are more to the taste of the Stadstuiners. This further narrows down the habitus of most of the family gentrifiers living in Stadstuinen. More examples of the closeness of their habitus can be seen in the following quote from Reynold [T26] about sports clubs:

"There's a couple of sports clubs and an athletic association [outside the neighborhood]. An awful lot of people from this neighborhood go to these sport clubs by car. And on the Kop van Zuid there's a new tennis club somewhere inside one of those apartment complexes."

So even when the Stadstuiners go outside their neighborhood at least some tend to visit the same places and facilities as their fellow neighbors. More about the usage of (neighborhood) facilities can be read in chapter six. The people living in Stadstuinen in general are characterized by a very specific habitus in which there is no place for people who are deemed different (confirming hypothesis 7). While this is certainly not the case for every interviewee the majority of Stadstuiners seem to live in a *culture of fear*, which is associated with living in the city by Furedi (1997). As has been predicted by Robson & Butler (2001) this has strengthened social cohesion in the neighborhood (confirming hypothesis 3) with all kinds of initiatives being undertaken to protect the neighborhood from the nuisances of surrounding low-income inhabitants, as can be read from the following quotes:

Selma: "If there is something going on then we keep each other well informed. And we do something about it."

Richard: "People are easily mobilized here. If there is a riot or they are dealing drugs, then [...] Then you get an enormous force, a counterforce. [...] We already had several meetings. You get to know the local police officer through communication, and then there's also a lawyer, in short there is a lot of control." Richard and Selma [T25]).

Hypothesis 3 is therefore confirmed as Stadstuiners are very active in safeguarding their living conditions. A practical example of the family gentrifier habitus in operation is the fact that - while Stadstuinen lies in the catchment area of three primary schools - most of the children living in Stadstuinen attend De Kleine Peiler. Distance might be the most important factor here, since the school is located on the edge of the neighborhood (the other two schools are located not far outside the neighborhood) but De Kleine Peiler is also by far the whitest school in the larger area. By all sending their children to the same (overcrowded) school, it seems that people living in Stadstuinen use the school as an important tool of intergenerational cultural reproduction (Robson & Butler, 2001, confirming hypothesis 8). Schoolyard contacts with parents from surrounding neighborhoods (the primary school has a mixed character) are not maintained. Several parents indicated that it is very hard to arrange a play date for their children with children from outside Stadstuinen because of

cultural or linguistic barriers. An exception is being made for people from Katendrecht and Entrépot, since these people live in similar conditions and have similar personal backgrounds as Stadstuiners have.

What we can see up to this point is that Stadstuinen is a rather atypical city-centre neighborhood. In contrast to what might be expected from new-build gentrifiers people living in Stadstuinen have many social contacts, although these contacts are exclusively with people who have similar personal backgrounds. Contradicting Howley's (2009) findings new-build developments are not necessarily characterized by a lack of neighborliness. On the contrary, trust amongst people living in Stadstuinen is high and high amounts of bonding social capital can be found in the neighborhood. However, outside their own neighborhood the distribution of the social contacts of Stadstuiners is limited to very specific other areas.

6. USE OF NEIGHBORHOOD FACILITIES IN STADSTUINEN

Next to distinctions in housing and lifestyle, the gentrifiers' habitus is characterized by distinctions in consumption (Bridge, 2001). This section will investigate if the habitus of the family gentrifiers living in Stadstuinen can be characterized by the use and neglect of certain social, cultural and leisure neighborhood facilities.

6.1 Distinction through Consumption

Neighborhood facilities in Stadstuinen are limited to a primary school and some sole proprietorships. However, Stadstuiners do not have to go far if they want to do some shopping. Vuurplaat and the Entrépot-building are just a five-minute walk away, and Zuidplein, the Wilhelminapier and the city centre are easily accessible by bike, car or public transportation. Most people do their groceries nearby at the Vuurplaat. Petunia [T23] is one of them:

"And then you've got the Albert Heijn or the Lidl if you're looking for something else so I like the supermarkets around here. Also one of our neighbors has got a Turkish store. So that's where I get my bread or fresh vegetables. So in that sense I really like the range of shops [on Vuurplaat]."

However if Stadstuiners go out for shopping they neglect the low range clothing shops at Vuurplaat. And while they have the opportunity to go to both Zuidplein (a shopping mall further to the south) and the city-centre, the latter is preferred by every single interviewee. Accessibility has got nothing to do with this choice since both Zuidplein and the city-centre are perfectly reachable and travel times are about the same. For most interviewees the choice for the city-centre as a place to do their shopping has become a habit. The fact that Zuidplein is a mall with a limited variety of shops was also often stated as a reason for not going there, combined with feelings of anxiety which arise when shopping at Zuidplein:

Selma: "The Southside (Zuidplein) it is more just a collection of local people doing their shopping."

Sander: So you don't like the kind of people that go there?

Selma: "Well no because we don't know them. That's also the case in the city-centre of course, but still .. But in the city centre you have really posh [stores], while the Southside is more focused on chain-stores. You will also see that in the Koopgoot [shopping area in the city-centre], but I like it better over there."

"Well it [Zuidplein] is more an eh, reflection of the local population I guess. That might as well have something to do with the aspiration level." Locke, [T19]

"I think Zuidplein is unpleasant. [...] I used to come by Zuidplein when I needed to transfer on my way to college and then I had to wait there and I always thought it was .. well it just feels insecure, oppressive, cheerless cold chilly the wind was always blowing [laughs]. [...] I just think it is unpleasant I would never go there to go shopping." Nancy, [T22].

What can be concluded from these quotes is that – next to other reasons – the preference for shopping (neighborhood) facilities of some family gentrifiers is being influenced by the shopping audience. It is interesting to see if the exclusion of certain spaces of consumption from the habitus of the family gentrifiers is a recurring phenomenon, as is being suggested in gentrification literature

(section 2.5). Therefore the interviews also turned to the use of restaurants and cultural facilities in the direct vicinity of the neighborhood. The Wilhelminapier and the Entrépot-building both offer a wide range of restaurants. While many interviewees stated that they were confined in their opportunities to go out for dinner because of their (young) children most families did occasionally visit a restaurant. The restaurants in the Entrépot-building were praised for their child-friendly character. However many people also noted that it's usually very quiet in these restaurants stating that the area never really got off the ground. The Wilhelminapier offers more upscale establishments like Café Rotterdam and Hotel New York which most of the family gentrifiers visited during weekdays for business-related activities and during the weekends with their families. As a final note some interviewees indicated that they ate a takeaway meal every now and then.

Cultural life on the Kop van Zuid is primarily focused on the Wilhelminapier. As has been mentioned in the description of the case study area, several cultural facilities can be found on the Wilhelminapier, such as het Nieuwe Luxor, Lantaren Venster and the National Museum of Photography. The proximity of these facilities (and restaurants) to Stadstuinen was heralded as one of the advantages of the neighborhood but most of the interviewees only occasionally visited a performance. When they did visit a show their choice for a cultural venue on the Wilhelminapier was influenced by the shows on offer, not by the fact that it is located nearby. A slight preference for the theater Lantaren Venster can be observed indicating the cultural preference of the Stadstuinen for Arthouse productions. For some families the restaurants and cultural facilities in the Entrépot area and the Wilhelminapier are too far away to walk. As a result they mentioned how they would skip the facilities in these areas because when they choose to go by car they could just as well drive straight into the city-centre.

6.2 Perceptions about the target audience of neighborhood facilities

In order to find out if the choice for certain eateries and cultural facilities in the neighborhood is influenced by the people who visit them the interview then turned to some questions about the supposed target audience for these facilities. The interviewees agreed that they were not for everyone:

Sander: Do you think that the facilities are geared to a specific audience?

Nancy: Yes to us [laughs] We're the target audience! I rarely see somebody from Afrikaanderplein over there if I may say so." Nancy, [22].

"People from this neighborhood [Stadstuinen] I guess. [...] There's a lot of posh eateries and for the moviefan there's Lantaren Venster, for the culture-aficionado there's the National Museum of Photography. [...] It's way too expensive if you live on the other side [Feijenoord] [...] There's a huge gap in prosperity." Reynold [T26].

"Well of course someone from Feijenoord can go there. It's just that I don't have the impression that it really happens. No, that's reserved for, in quotation marks - and that's not different than in any other city neighborhood or region - a selected audience. Yes. Or a self-selecting audience." Edgar [T4].

"I feel that .. of course everyone can just walk in but the range and the style, I think it's more geared to a eh, highly educated, high socio-economic status like, a higher segment of people

than to eh, lower educated people. The movies for the lower kind of people are in Pathe and the movies for the higher kind of people are in Lantaren Venster.” Harry, [16].

So the general perception about the target audiences for the eateries and cultural facilities in the Entrépot-area and the Wilhelminapier is that they are geared to people from Stadstuinen, or at least to people with comparable backgrounds. When asked if this lack of socially-mixed facilities is regrettable, a slight majority of the interviewees agreed that there should be more mixing (hypothesis five and seven are therefore rejected for this group). For them the target audience of facilities is not perceived as an important factor in deciding whether or not to visit a certain facility. Instead they base their decision on what’s on offer and in whatever mood they are. Most of these interviewees replied in line with Abbey’s [T1] answer:

Abbey: “Yes. Where you go .. it depends on the mood of the evening, not ..”

Sander: Not on the audience?

Abbey: “No.”

The other half of the interviewees did not regret the lack of social mixing in eateries and cultural facilities in the neighborhood. They welcome the homogeneous audience in these facilities:

Sander: But you wouldn’t go to a particular restaurant because it has a specific target audience?

Harry: “Actually that does influence your decision. In some ways a target audience of like-minded people does play a role in your decision.”

Sander: [...] Should it be more mixed?

Harry: “I don’t know if it should .. I think it is a good thing if you attract like-minded people in this way. Then you get an audience that gets along with each other and this makes sure that you can do normal, sociable things in the way you like it.” Harry [T16].

Vallerie: The differences, from a social point of view, socio-economically and also socio-culturally [...] I wonder if we will ever see the day that everyone living on the Southside of the city will go to the Wilhelminapier [laughs].”

What we see here is that the habitus of half of the Stadstuiners is characterized by the use of a specific range of local eateries and cultural facilities (confirming hypothesis 5). It makes them feel more comfortable to be among people with comparable personal backgrounds, just as their social networks are characterized by people with an unilateral background. For them hypotheses five and seven are partly confirmed, since their chances to meet people with different personal backgrounds are reduced by their patterns of consumption. However, only two of the interviewees that indicated that they have a preference for non-mixed eateries and cultural facilities also explicitly stated that their preference for shopping facilities is influenced by the shopping audience. If we add another indicator of a closed habitus: not knowing people in surrounding neighborhoods, then only one interviewee who meets these three criteria remains. What can be concluded up to this point is that the habitus of Stadstuiners is characterized by the use but also the neglect of certain social, cultural and leisure facilities. However we cannot speak of a single gentrification habitus wherein every family gentrifier from Stadstuinen lives. Differences between the interviewees in their use of social,

cultural and leisure facilities can be observed, indicating that individual preferences or aversions for certain facilities play an important role in the creation of a personal habitus.

The same can be observed when people are asked about their use of public facilities in the neighborhood. Some facilities have only recently become relevant to couples who have young children; for instance the public playground. Usage of other public facilities like public libraries and community centers differs. For example, slightly more than half of the interviewees visits a library once in a while (contradicting hypothesis 6). Of these people half occasionally visit the local library located at the Oranjeboomstraat or the Afrikaanderplein. The other half exclusively visits the library located on the Blaak in the centre of the city, thus neglecting the local libraries (confirming hypothesis 6). Again a preference for certain neighborhood facilities can be seen amongst certain individuals, which are included into these people's habitus, while others are being neglected. These usage patterns are not influenced by preferences regarding other neighborhood facilities. Most families make use of the local medical facilities and public transportation to the city-centre. As has already been discussed in section 5.2.2 the local primary school is a very important site in the habitus of almost every interviewee. It is a very important site for the cultural reproduction of their children (Bondi, 1998; Robson & Butler, 2001). While over half of the interviewees would like to see more social mixing in certain neighborhood facilities, the local primary school is excluded from this desire. It is the most middle class-esque school in the wider area. For some family gentrifiers the strategy of middle class cultural retention doesn't stop at the schoolyard. Their homogeneous network is extended into sporting and other venues in gentrified areas as well. This is certainly not the case for everybody as some parents deliberately sent their children to schools that *"reflect the wider area in their classrooms and not just this niche"* (Reynold, [T26]).

As was hypothesized in section 4.3.2, family gentrifiers living in Stadstuinen are characterized by the consumption of certain social, cultural and leisure facilities. However, individuals differ in their preferences. What this section has shown is that whilst the literature suggests that gentrifiers are living in a gentrification "bubble" (Butler, 2003), this isn't necessarily true for all gentrifiers. Individual preferences or aversions for certain facilities play an important role in the creation of a personal pattern of consumption. It is not possible to describe the habitus of family gentrifiers living in Stadstuinen in an unambiguous way.

7. PLACE ATTACHMENT AMONG STADSTUINERS

7.1 Home sweet home

In line with earlier findings on place-attachment of child-rearing families living in owner-occupation (Robson & Butler, 2001) family gentrifiers living in Stadstuinen are generally characterized by strong feelings of place attachment. Only four interviewees had some reservations about their feelings of attachment to the neighborhood, and this could in two cases be explained by the personal background of these people (they were first-generation immigrants). But overall Stadstuiners are very positive about their neighborhood. Numerous advantages were summed up. First and foremost the village-like character of the neighborhood was mentioned:

“Well the most important advantage is the fact that you have contact with your neighbors. Usually you do not have contact with your neighbors when you are living in the city. We experienced that on Noordereiland, we didn’t know our neighbors over there. And here that’s just totally different, you just walk into your neighbors home and you know a lot of people by name it is like a little village within the city and that is very appealing to me.” Herbert, [17].

“And you live in a very quiet area, it’s like a little village around here. With its own little square. You have a shared personal background with the rest of the block. It just has the feeling, the feeling of something small. You’ve got your own little garden where you can sit and relax. And if you take the tram you’ll be on the Coolasingel in five minute, that’s, yeah that’s perfect.” Fred, [T12].

As can be seen in the second quote having neighbors with a shared personal background is seen as an important advantage of the neighborhood. This is in line with findings in section 5.2 where social networks in Stadstuinen were described as communities of interest. Contradicting hypothesis 9 feelings of place-attachment among this studies’ interviewees are not influenced by the amount of social contacts in Stadstuinen. Some people with few social contacts in the neighborhood were found to have strong feelings of place-attachment, while the opposite was true for other interviewees. This result is however not contradicting earlier studies in which people with many social contacts in their neighborhood generally had stronger feelings of place-attachment than people with few social contacts in their neighborhood since Stadstuiners in general have far more social contacts in the neighborhood than usual (averaging about 50 persons each). So what is perceived as a small network in Stadstuinen actually is a rather large network in general terms.

Not everybody in Stadstuinen feels the same way about the homogeneity of their fellow neighbors, as some people with a more cosmopolitan outlook on life actually praise the neighborhood for its mixed character, as could be seen in section 5.2.1. For people who are too busy or are unwilling to invest in neighborhood contacts, the neighborhood has a place too:

“Well it [the neighborhood] really suits us well. You know, we like to socialize from time to time, but not too much. You can find about anything around here. It’s really modern, as I mentioned before people are entrepreneurial, so it is really in line with who we are.” Nancy, [T22].

The proximity of Stadstuinen to the city-centre itself is also a valued asset of the neighborhood. Stadstuiners appreciate the proximity to city-centre facilities. The combination of paid work with the care of young children requires Stadstuiners to live in close proximity to their workplace or good infrastructure so that they have good accessibility to jobs. This is what makes Stadstuinen such a popular neighborhood in Rotterdam, since it is one of the few options families have if they want to

live in a terraced house with a garden in close proximity to the city-centre. The majority of the interviewees has a job in Rotterdam so for many families living in Stadstuinen is also a strategic decision:

"We came here because we want to live close to the city-centre while at the same time we want to have a garden and a safe place to play [for the children]." (Betty, [T2], part-time employed in Education and Research, mother of two.)

For people that do not work in Rotterdam most of the jobs in the Netherlands are based in the Randstad, and the different nodes in this region are all accessible within the hour. Others are very flexible regarding their place of residence as job-opportunities might arise in other places. This finding is very much in line with results of Bondi (1998) and Seo (2002) who found that new-built gentrifiers in general are characterized by a lack of place-attachment and a very geographically footloose attitude when it comes to employment opportunities:

"If you look at Rotterdam than this is a very nice neighborhood but .. it's not sacred to us or anything. It's not that I would quit my job if my employer decided to move, per se." Emily, [T9].

Thirdly, the child-friendly character of the neighborhood is very important to Stadstuiners. The big sidewalks and playground equipment on the Witteveenplein combined with traffic-restrictions ensures that children have a safe place to play:

"There a big square in front of our doorstep so the kids can just go out and play without getting knocked down by a car [laughs]. That's a big plus." Herbert. [T17].

Other child-related facilities like primary schools and kindergartens are also inside the neighborhood or within walking distance. Stadstuinen is one of the few neighborhoods in the inner-city of Rotterdam that offers such a child-friendly character and interviewees indicated that they didn't really have an alternative when it comes to living in the city with children. Other positive indicators of physical place attachment include the public park in the centre of the neighborhood and the proximity to the landmarks of the Kop van Zuid including the high-rise office- and residential towers and the Erasmusbrug. The fact that Stadstuiners live in terraced houses instead of high-rise developments may influence their feelings of physical place attachment (Lewicka, 2010, confirming hypothesis 10), since the latter have been found to negatively influence these feelings (Gifford, 2007). The houses themselves were good value for money according to most interviewees. Contrary to what Karsten (2003) found in her case study on gentrifiers living in new-built developments in Amsterdam, the aesthetics of the homes did not influence the decision of most of the interviewees to come and live in the area. While some people mentioned that they liked the playful character of the facades (figure 3.19), it wasn't a major factor in the decision-making process. Some interviewees even considered the houses "ugly". The design of the houses did receive some positive comments, with the gardens, although sometimes conceived to be too small, being appreciated. The back paths are prized as well:

"Well, if you look at the design of the houses, with the fences closing off the back paths. It's really ideal. From childhood children can play outside without having to worry too much. They can go beyond our own backyard. They can go and play with their friends, neighbors, or look for other kids, and they play together here that's really nice too. I think they designed it [the closed back paths] in this way because they wanted to keep other people out. Well, it works the other way around too." Vallerie [T28].

In most cases the abovementioned made people proud of their neighborhood:

Well .. by itself yes. I do not experience it like that every day but .. I think that it is a very nice neighborhood and .. we're not the first inhabitants but I do think that – especially the people that moved in early – when there was nothing there .. well they have turned it into quite something nice actually.” Lizbeth, [T19].

7.2 Feelings of connectedness

So Stadstuiners in general are very happy with their neighborhood. They feel at home in the neighborhood and living in Stadstuinen makes them proud. The question that remains is if these feelings of place attachment are translated into a distinct connectedness to the area. As has been discussed in section 5.2.2 Stadstuiners invest an unusually high amount of social capital in their local neighborhood contradicting popular belief that new-build gentrifiers are characterized by having a private lifestyle which will not lead to many social ties in the neighborhood (hypothesis 9, section 2.4.1). While it is true that the social life of family gentrifiers in Stadstuinen is being framed by a specific habitus, conditioning with whom and where they invest their social capital, the fact remains that Stadstuiners are unusually active in their neighborhood. Contrary to what the abovementioned results would suggest only eleven families stated that they feel connected to Stadstuinen. When asked whether it would be easy for them to move out of the neighborhood the following argument recurred in many interviews:

“Well I wouldn't move out of the city that easily but that isn't influenced by potential new employers, it's more that my wife also works in the city and the children are attending school here so that has produced too much relationships with the city to just pack your belongings and go. [...] Especially when the children are still attending primary school. So we will not be moving out in the next couple of years.” Herbert, [T17].

Almost half of the interviewees stated that school-attending children, combined with dense social networks in the neighborhood prevent them from moving out of the neighborhood. Local origin also plays a role here. All interviewees who were born in Rotterdam reported strong feelings of connectedness to the area. This is in line with earlier research of van der Land (2007). Their figure was however relatively small. What can be noticed furthermore is that people whose roots lie in cities or villages in close proximity to Rotterdam also report strong feelings of connectedness (confirming hypothesis 12). So for them Rotterdam is a very attractive city to live in too. These feelings seem to diminish as the distance of the place of birth from Rotterdam increases. Another important predictor of connectedness is the number of years of residence. The *systemic* model of place attachment (Lewicka, 2010) has been proven for this neighborhood as well. Stadstuiners who report strong feelings of connectedness have on average lived 3 years longer in their homes than Stadstuiners who do not report these feelings. This might have something to do with the social capital head start (Kleinmans et al., 2007), as has been discussed in section 5.2.2:

“Yes the home owners association, we've been a member since the beginning, so that also creates a bond. In the beginning we had the same nuisances and we had to borrow stuff from each other. So yes, I feel connected to that.” Tracy, [T27].

More than half of the interviewees stated that they do not have feelings of connectedness to Stadstuinen. For them the geographical location of Stadstuinen has been found to be a negative indicator of place attachment. Stadstuiners indicated that they feel more connections with the city-centre than to the South. Located on the Southern bank of the river Maas, Stadstuinen is a higher-income island in a sea of poverty (section 3.1.3). Residents increase their isolation through the upkeep of their own specific habitus, as has been discussed in the previous sections. They most certainly do not identify themselves with most of the other residents of the South:

“Well this [Kop van Zuid] is the Southside but .. I like to see it more as the most southern part of the city-centre. And not as the most northern part of the Southside.” Fred, [12].

“I have to admit that I have nothing to do with the Southside. I feel like an extension of the city-centre. [...] Almost everything I do is on that side of the river.” [points to the city-centre]. Eden, [T6].

After these questions all interviewees were asked to think of possible reasons to consider a move in the coming years. Again job opportunities were mentioned. However the most stated reason to consider a move was the lack of greenery in the neighborhood. There are only a handful of green spaces in the wider area, as the following quote illustrates:

“What I really miss here is green space. That’s just .. we’ve got our little park over here .. the Witteveenplein. Well they call it a little park but you can see the end when you enter it. Especially the width it just isn’t sufficient enough. And eh, behind the Albert Heijn they are going to demolish half of the green space over there so in that way we won’t have much left around here. It’s all being fragmentized, like little drops in the direction of the Afrikaanderbuurt. It’s just not satisfactory. So as to the environment and green spaces this area just doesn’t deliver.” Harry, [T16].

As has been mentioned in section 5.2.2, Stadstuinen is experiencing some trouble with loitering youths. The trouble seems to focus around the Witteveenplein in the centre of the neighborhood. While most of the interviewees recognize the problem, they often state that they themselves are not experiencing any inconveniences. However some interviewees indicated that if the problems persist or become worse, they will consider a move from the area. One interviewee highlighted an interesting related problem:

I think that problems relating to loitering youths .. I mean if all the children in this neighborhood grow up, how will this affect the neighborhood? I don’t know. Will we get problems with mopeds on the back paths? I really don’t know. Are people going to leave?” Vallerie, [T28].

As to disadvantages related to the houses themselves, some interviewees mentioned the fact that they don’t have south-facing gardens. More important however is the fact that there’s very little room for expansion, as Tracy [T27] indicated:

“The tricky part of this neighborhood is the fact that there’s a lot of people with high incomes .. dual earners and there’s little room for expanding the houses. You have a very small garden and an additional storey on top of your home is also prohibited according to the zoning scheme. It’s not that we want to .. I know a lot of people who would like to stay here but I want a bigger house. And that’s just not possible. So then you get people who are moving out because of this reason, despite the fact that they really enjoy this neighborhood.”

The abovementioned disadvantages are however no reason for a massive exodus of inhabitants from Stadstuinen. Somewhat surprisingly the abovementioned leads to a very stable middle class settlement in the city. Urban regeneration of the Kop van Zuid is sustained in Stadstuinen as only 6 out of 24 households were considering moving out at the time of the interviews. Two families were actually in the process of moving and their reasons for moving were primarily related to their own changing preferences (e.g. a more spacious home, more greenery), not the neighborhood itself:

"So what you have in front of you is a relocating but satisfied Stadstuiner [laughs]." Edgar, [T4].

The other interviewees are happy as they are right now and are not considering a move from Stadstuinen. While a high socio-economic status has been associated with weak feelings of place attachment because of the geographically footloose attitude among the career-orientated new-build gentrifiers, this case study has showed that the presence of children and the favorable social climate in Stadstuinen prevents people from moving out. While the presence of children in the family has been found as a negative predictor of place attachment by Lewicka (2010), this study found that the presence of school-attending children is actually one of the most important indicators for a strong sense of place-attachment (confirming hypothesis 11). Contrary to findings of Davidson and Lees (2005), the family gentrifiers investigated in this study do put down their roots. Many interviewees put their own wishes aside and indicated that as long as their children are attending local primary schools they are staying put in the area. This is what binds them to the neighborhood, not their personal feelings of place attachment. So while family gentrifiers in Stadstuinen in general fall into the category of new-build gentrifiers as to their feelings of place attachment, their actual relocation behavior is not influenced by their lack of it.

8. CONCLUSION

Households containing dependent children have been a relatively neglected topic in gentrification research thus far. Most of the previous research on new-build gentrifiers either looked at the socio-economic characteristics or the housing preferences of the incoming middle classes in redeveloped areas. The experiences and daily life activities of family gentrifiers have been underexposed topics. This study has tried to make a contribution to this knowledge gap. By performing semi-structured interviews this study has explored three subjects which tell us a lot about the experiences and daily lives of family gentrifiers: neighborhood socialization, the use of neighborhood facilities and feelings of place attachment. These interviews took place in Stadstuinen - a redeveloped neighborhood in a poor area of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. The new-build developments of Stadstuinen can be considered as an example of new-build gentrification since they meet the criteria set out by Davidson and Lees (2005). The housing stock in the heart of Stadstuinen primarily consists of terraced housing. Combined with the child-friendly character of the neighborhood this has led to a large population of households with dependent children. It is therefore an excellent neighborhood to study the behaviors of family gentrifiers.

8.1 In light of developments in the structure of the personal network of new-build gentrifiers, are the amount, nature and quality of neighborhood social ties of family gentrifiers growing feeble?

Contemporary literature on neighborhood socialization suggests that city dwellers are no longer depending on their neighborhood for the acquisition of social contacts. Living in the city presents them with ample opportunities for social contacts outside the confinements of their neighborhood and developments in communication and transportation make it much easier to sustain contacts over long distances. What's more new-build gentrifiers are believed to have a very private lifestyle and it is unlikely that this will lead to many social ties in the neighborhood. Whilst these developments are true for Stadstuinen as well this has not led to a low amount of neighbors in their personal networks. On the contrary, family gentrifiers in Stadstuinen have many social ties at the local level. The quantity and quality of these social ties varied between each interviewee. In general Stadstuineners know 50 – 100 of their neighbors by sight. While most of these contacts are of a cursory nature almost every interviewee stated that they have made several friends in the neighborhood as well, with whom they discuss personal issues and who are visited on a regular basis. The number of friends varied from only one other family to up to ten people in the neighborhood with direct neighbors being mentioned most.

People in Stadstuinen take care of each other by helping each other out with all kinds of acts of neighborliness. Trust is high amongst each other and this is translated into looking after each other's kids and taking care of each other's homes when they are on a holiday. People living in Stadstuinen are engaged in several supporting networks which were said to be very useful at times. In this way neighborhood relationships become part of the (outward looking) social capital of Stadstuinen. However not all the interviewees have such intensive contacts in the neighborhood. A small percentage of interviewees mentioned that their lives were too busy and they had no time to invest in intensive neighborhood contacts. About half of the interviewees stated that they do not have real friends in the neighborhood. They described the quality of their neighborhood contacts as somewhere in between acquaintances and friends.

To understand the unusually high amount of neighborhood social contacts in the personal network of most Stadstuineners several explanations can be provided. The most important positive indicator of the amount of social contacts a family has in Stadstuinen is the presence of school-attending children in the household. Parents come into contact with other parents through the local school (90% of the interviewees send their children to the Kleine Peiler, a local primary school) or at the local

playground, which is another very important place for social interaction. Without children Stadstuiners are much less visible in their neighborhood, resulting in a distinctly lower amount of social contacts. Further research is needed to see whether the neighborhood socialization of family gentrifiers is primarily caused by the presence of the local primary school in the neighborhood or that it would just as well occur in neighborhoods where there is no primary school in the neighborhood. Confirming the findings of Dipasquale & Glaeser (1999) people who have been living in the neighborhood since it was yielded are most socially active. Because of their social capital head start (Kleinhans et al., 2007) they are enmeshed in the oldest social networks in the neighborhood. Being able to identify oneself with fellow neighbors has also been found to be another very important predictor of the amount and quality of social contacts in Stadstuinen. The homogeneous make-up of the neighborhood is reflected in the local social networks of Stadstuiners which almost exclusively consist of people with comparable personal backgrounds. Common grounds include: the desire to live in or close to the city, family structure (presence of children), age structure (most people fall in the range of 30-50 years old), highly educated, both parents employed full-time, high household income and a venturesome attitude and shared interests. The homogeneous make-up of the neighborhood leads to a *community of interest* (Talen, 1999). For some people in Stadstuinen it isn't so easy to identify with their fellow neighbors. Differentiating factors mentioned include the difference in educational background (bachelor's vs. master's degree) and the ethnic diversity of the neighborhood's population.

The cosmopolitan attitude - so typical for the cultural gentrifier as described by David Ley (1996) - can be found amongst almost half of the interviewees. They celebrate the city's diversity and find it important to come into contact with people with different backgrounds and cultures. However, despite their desire for diversity and difference distance from people in surrounding lower-income neighborhoods is maintained in both material and cultural ways. For many Stadstuiners social life in the area ends at the borders of the neighborhood. Some borders are physical, such as the Binnenhaven in the northeast, but the interviewees described the separation between Stadstuinen and some of the surrounding neighborhoods more in terms of a social separation. None of the interviewees reported to have friends in these neighborhoods. They live their lives in different social worlds. The primary school is one of the few localities where Stadstuiners do come into contact with people from outside the neighborhood, but these contacts are of a cursory nature and they are not maintained. While the children of Stadstuiners make friends with their classmates from other neighborhoods several parents stated that cultural differences between them and the immigrant parents make it hard to arrange for a play date for their children. Other differentiating factors that were mentioned were include different economical backgrounds and problems with in understanding each other. As one interviewee put it:

"There is nothing in our lives that binds us." Locke [T19].

Most of the interviewees mentioned that they do not have any reason to visit surrounding lower-income neighborhoods. Next to feelings of insecurity these neighborhoods don't offer any incentives in terms of attractive facilities to go and visit them. They are effectively excluded from the habitus of Stadstuiners. Stadstuinen is a very inward-looking community. Almost every interviewee described it as a little village. Social cohesion is strong and Stadstuiners are very active in safeguarding their living environment. What this study has showed is that, contrasting the work of Murphy (2008) the economic gentrifiers living in Stadstuinen are not unwilling to invest social capital in their neighborhood. It can be concluded that family gentrifiers in Stadstuinen deviate from contemporary literature on social contacts at the neighborhood-level. Stadstuiners have many social contacts in the neighborhood. While the nature and quality of these contacts differ from person to person neighbors seem to play a very important role in the personal network of Stadstuiners, making them an important addition to their social capital.

8.2 Can the habitus of family gentrifiers be characterized by the use and neglect of certain social, cultural and leisure neighborhood facilities?

Next to distinctions in housing and lifestyle the gentrifiers' habitus is also characterized by distinctions in consumption (Bridge, 2001). Literature suggests that gentrifiers are inclined to use exclusive social, cultural and leisure facilities which reduces the chance of contact with other social classes to a minimum. While there are not many neighborhood facilities in Stadstuinen the direct environment has a lot on offer. In an attempt to create a high-amenity central city location for the city the Wilhelminapier has been culturally upgraded. It offers dedicated commercial, cultural and civic facilities specially catered to the contemporary gentrifier. Stadstuiner's perceptions about the Wilhelminapier are very positive. They tend to visit its restaurants and cultural facilities once in a while, however not for its exclusive character. While the general perception about the target audiences for the eateries and cultural facilities is that they are geared to people from Stadstuinen (or to people with a comparable background) more than half of the interviewees found this lack of socially-mixed facilities regrettable. A slight majority of the interviewees agreed that there should be more social mixing in neighborhood facilities. For them the target audience of facilities is not perceived as an important factor in deciding whether or not to visit a certain facility. Instead they base their decision on what's on offer and in whatever mood they are.

However, this was not the case for everyone. Slightly less than half of the interviewees welcomes the homogeneous audience in these facilities, stating that it makes them feel more comfortable to be among people with comparable personal backgrounds. It proved to be very hard to extrapolate this preference for a homogeneous crowd to preferences for other neighborhood facilities such as public libraries or shopping facilities. Only two interviewees were found to always have a preference for non-mixed, exclusive facilities. For all other interviewees this differed for each facility. Future (quantitative) research is needed to see if correlations exist between the preference for certain facilities. What we can see is that the habitus of half of the Stadstuiners is characterized by the use but also the neglect of certain social, cultural and leisure facilities. However, individuals differ in their preferences. Whilst the literature suggests that gentrifiers are living in a gentrification "bubble" (Butler, 2003) this isn't necessarily true for all gentrifiers. Individual preferences or aversions for certain facilities play an important role in the creation of a personal pattern of consumption. It is not possible to describe the habitus of family gentrifiers living in Stadstuinen in an unambiguous way.

8.3 Can family gentrifiers be characterized by strong feelings of place attachment?

In line with earlier findings on place-attachment of child-rearing families living in owner-occupation (Robson & Butler, 2001) family gentrifiers in Stadstuinen are generally characterized by strong feelings of place attachment. Stadstuiners are very pleased with their neighborhood. They prize it for its village-like character and homogeneous social make-up. The anonymity normally indicative of city-life is not found in Stadstuinen. Stadstuiners engage and invest in many social relationships in the neighborhood. While this isn't the case for everyone, some people with few social contacts in the neighborhood were also found to have strong feelings of place-attachment, while the opposite was true for other interviewees. This surprising result is however not contradicting earlier studies in which people with many social contacts in their neighborhood generally had stronger feelings of place-attachment than people with few social contacts in their neighborhood. Stadstuiners in general have far more social contacts in the neighborhood than usual (averaging about 50 persons each), so what is perceived as a small network in Stadstuinen actually is a rather large network in general terms.

During the interviews more advantages of the neighborhood were mentioned, including the child-friendly character of the neighborhood, proximity to the city centre (jobs) and good accessibility to

transportation and jobs outside Rotterdam. For the majority of the interviewees living in Stadstuinen is a strategic decision making the combination of living and working in the city with childcare not too onerous. However other people were found to be very flexible when it comes to their residential location. These people can be characterized by a footloose geographical attitude as is normally indicative of new-build gentrifiers feelings of place attachment (Bondi, 1998; Seo, 2002). The houses themselves were good value for money according to most interviewees. While some people mentioned that they liked the playful character of the facades it wasn't a major factor in the decision-making process of relocating to Stadstuinen (contradicting findings of Karsten (2003)). The design of the houses did receive some positive comments, with the gardens, although sometimes conceived to be too small, being appreciated. The back paths are prized as well as they offer an ideal enclosed space for small children to play and meet with other children.

So Stadstuiners in general are very happy with their neighborhood. They feel at home in the neighborhood and most stated that living in Stadstuinen makes them proud. The study then turned to investigate whether these feelings are translated into a connectedness to the area. Somewhat surprisingly only half of the interviewees indicated that they feel connected to Stadstuinen. They stated that school-attending children combined with dense social networks in the neighborhood prevent them from moving out of the neighborhood. Among these people were all the interviewees who were born in Rotterdam. This is in line with earlier research of van der Land (2007). Their figure was however relatively small. The local origin argument can be extended to people whose roots lie in cities or villages in close proximity to Rotterdam since they were also found to report strong feelings of connectedness. For them Rotterdam is a very attractive city to live in too. These feelings seem to diminish as the distance of the place of birth from Rotterdam increases. Another important predictor of connectedness is the number of years of residence. Evidence for the *systemic* model of place attachment (Lewicka, 2010) and the associated *social capital head start* (Kleinmans et al., 2007) have been found in this neighborhood as well.

More than half of the interviewees stated that they do not have feelings of connectedness to Stadstuinen. For them the geographical location of Stadstuinen has been found to be a negative indicator of place attachment. Stadstuiners indicated that they feel more connected to the city-centre than to the Southside of Rotterdam. Located on the Southern bank of the river Maas Stadstuinen is a higher-income island in a sea of poverty. As has been discussed in the previous sections residents increase their isolation through the upkeep of their own specific habitus. They most certainly do not identify themselves with most of the other residents of the South. These disadvantages are however no reason for a massive exodus of inhabitants from Stadstuinen. Stadstuinen is a very stable middle class settlement in the city. Further research is needed to determine the role of place attachment in the relocation behavior of family gentrifiers, and new-build gentrifier in general. Urban regeneration of the Kop van Zuid is sustained in Stadstuinen as only 6 out of 24 households were considering moving out at the time of the interviews. Two families were actually in the process of moving and their reasons for moving were primarily related to their own changing preferences (e.g. a more spacious home, more greenery) and not the neighborhood itself. The other interviewees are happy as they are right now and are not considering a move from Stadstuinen. While a high socio-economic status has been associated with weak feelings of place attachment because of the geographically footloose attitude among the career-orientated new-build gentrifiers, this case study has showed that the favorable social climate in Stadstuinen prevents people from moving out. While the presence of children in the family has been found as a negative predictor of place attachment by Lewicka (2010) this study found that the presence of school-attending children is actually one of the most important indicators for a strong sense of place-attachment. Contrary to findings of Davidson and Lees (2005) the family gentrifiers investigated in this study do put down their roots. Many interviewees put their own wishes aside and indicated that as long as their children are attending local primary schools they are staying put in the area. This is what binds them to the neighborhood, not their personal feelings of place attachment. So while

family gentrifiers in Stadstuinen show some agreements with new-build gentrifiers as to their feelings of place attachment their actual relocation behavior is not influenced by their lack of it.

REFERENCES

- ATKINSON, R., KINTREA, K., (2000), *Owner-occupation, social mix and neighbourhood impacts*, Policy and Politics, Vol. 28, nr. 1, January 2000, pp: 93-108;
- ATKINSON, R., (2006), *Padding the bunker: strategies of middle class disaffiliation and colonisation in the city*, Urban Studies, Vol.43, pp. 819–832;
- BERNSTEIN, B., (1990), *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse*, London: Routledge;
- BLOKLAND, T., (2003), *Urban Bonds*, Polity Press: Cambridge, in: Butler, T. (2007), For gentrification? *Environment and Planning A*, 39, 162-181;
- BOLAN, M. (1997), *The mobility experience and neighborhood attachment*, Demography, Vol.34, pp: 225–237;
- BONAIUTO, M., FORNARA, F., BONNES, M., (2006), *Perceived residential environment quality in middle- and low-extension Italian cities*, European Review of Applied Psychology, Vol. 56, pp: 23–34;
- BONDI, L., (1998), *Gender, class, an gentrification: Enriching the debate*, Environment and planning D: society and space 1999, vol. 17, pp. 261-282;
- BONVALET, C., OGG, J., (2008), *Ageing in Inner Cities, The Residential Dilemmas of the Baby Boomer Generation*, International journal of ageing and later life, Vol. 2.2, pp: 61 – 90;
- BOURDIEU, P., (1984), *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*, Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, in: BRIDGE, G., (2001), *Bourdieu, rational action and the time-space geography of gentrification*, Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Vol. 26.2, pp: 205-216;
- BRIDGE, G., (2001), *Bourdieu, rational action and the time-space geography of gentrification*, Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Vol. 26.2, pp: 205-216;
- BRIDGE, G. (2002), *The neighbourhood and social networks*, Paper No. 4, Centre for Neighbourhood Research (<http://www.neighbourhoodcentre.org.uk>), in: KLEINHANS, R., PRIEMUS, H., ENGBERSEN, G., (2007), *Understanding Social Capital in Recently Restructured Urban Neighbourhoods: Two Case Studies in Rotterdam*, Urban studies, Vol. 44.5/6, pp: 1069-1092;
- BRIDGE, G., (2003), *Time-space trajectories in provincial gentrification*, Urban Studies 40, pp. 2545-2556;
- BRIDGE, G., (2007), *A global gentrifier class?*, Environment and Planning A, Vol. 39, pp. 32-46.
- BRIGGS, X. S. (1998), *Brown kids in white suburbs: housing mobility and the many faces of social capital*, Housing Policy Debate, Vol. 9(1), pp. 177–221;
- BROMLEY, R.D.F., TALLON, A.R., ROBERTS, A.J., (2007), *New populations in the British city centre: Evidence of social change from the census and household surveys*, Geoforum, Vol. 38, Issue 1, January 1, pp. 138 – 154;
- BROWN, B., PERKINS, P., (1992), *Disruption in place attachment*, in: ALTMAN, I., LOW, S., (Eds), *Place Attachment, Human Behavior and Environment*, Plenum Press, New York (1992), pp. 279–304;
- BRYMAN, A., (2008), *Social Research Methods*, Oxford University Press Inc., New York, 2008;
- BURNS, D., FORREST, R., KEARNS, A., FLINT, J.,(2000), *The Impact of Housing Associations on Social Capital: Interim Report to Scottish Homes*, Department of Urban Studies, University of Glasgow, in: FORREST, R., KEARNS, A., (2001), *Social Cohesion, Social Capital and the Neighbourhood*, Urban studies, Vol.38.12, pp: 2125 – 2144;
- BUTLER, T. (1997), *Gentrification and the middle classes*. Ashgate: Aldershot;
- BUTLER, T., (2003), *Living in the bubble: Gentrification and its others in North London*, Urban Studies, 40.12, pp. 2469-2486;
- BUTLER, T. (2007), For gentrification? *Environment and Planning A*, 39, 162-181;
- BUZAR, S., OGDEN, P., Hall, R., (2007), *Splintering Urban Populations: Emergent Landscapes of Reurbanisation in Four European Cities*, Urban Studies, Vol. 44, issue 4, pp. 651-678;

- CASTELLS, M., (1996), *The Rise of the Network Society*, Oxford: Blackwell;
- CAULFIELD, J., (1994), *City Form and Everyday Life: Toronto's Gentrification and Critical Social Practice*, University of Toronto Press: Toronto, in: DAVIDSON M., LEES, L., (2005), *New-build 'gentrification' and London's riverside renaissance*, *Environment and Planning A* 37, pp. 1165 – 1190;
- CLARK, W.A.V., DEURLOO, M.C., DIELEMAN, F.M., (1997), *Entry to Home-ownership in Germany: Some Comparisons with the United States*, *Urban Studies*, Vol. 34, Issue 1, (January 1, 1997), pp. 7-20;
- CLARK, E., (2005), *The order and simplicity of gentrification- a political challenge*, in: *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism*, Eds. R. ATKINSON, G. BRIDGE (Routledge, London), pp. 256 – 264;
- DAVIDSON M., LEES, L., (2005), *New-build 'gentrification' and London's riverside renaissance*, *Environment and Planning A* 37, pp. 1165 – 1190;
- DIPASQUALE, D., and GLAESER, E. (1999), *Incentives and social capital: are homeowners better citizens?*, *Journal of Urban Economics*, 45.2, pp. 354–384;
- DOUCET, B., (2010), *Rich cities with poor people, waterfront regeneration in the Netherlands and Scotland*, *Netherlands Geographical Studies*, Utrecht, 2010;
- DUKE-WILLIAMS, O., (2009), *The geographies of student migration in the UK*, *Environment and planning A*, Vol. 41(8), pp: p1826-1849;
- EISINGER, P., (2000), *The politics of bread and circuses*, *Urban Affairs Review*, Vol. 35.3, pp. 318-334;
- ERAC,2011:
<http://www.eracontour.nl/projecten/default.asp?page=projecten&subpage=detail&id=36>;
- FISCHER, C. S., (1982), *To Dwell Among Friends*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, in: FLAP, H., VÖLKER, B., (2007), *Sixteen Million Neighbors: A Multilevel Study of the Role of Neighbors in the Personal Networks of the Dutch*, *Urban affairs review*, Vol. 43.2, pp: 256-284;
- FLAP, H., VÖLKER, B., (2007), *Sixteen Million Neighbors: A Multilevel Study of the Role of Neighbors in the Personal Networks of the Dutch*, *Urban affairs review*, Vol. 43.2, pp: 256-284;
- FLORIDA, R., (2005), *Cities and the Creative Class*, New York: Routledge;
- FORREST, R., KEARNS, A., (2001), *Social Cohesion, Social Capital and the Neighbourhood*, *Urban studies*, Vol.38.12, pp: 2125 – 2144;
- FUREDI, F. (1997), *Culture of Fear: Risk-taking and the Morality of Low Expectation*, London: Continuum, in: ATKINSON, R. (2006), *Padding the bunker: strategies of middle class disaffiliation and colonisation in the city*, *Urban Studies*, Vol.43, pp. 819–832;
- GEMEENTE ROTTERDAM, (2007), *Stadsvisie Rotterdam*, Dienst Stedenbouw en Volkshuisvesting, Ontwikkelingsbedrijf Rotterdam;
- GEMEENTE ROTTERDAM, (2009), *Bestemmingsplan de Kop van Zuid: 1^e herziening Deelgebieden Zuidkade en Wilhelminapier*, dS+V Stadsdeel Zuid, team Feijenoord/Kop van Zuid en Ruimtelijke Ordening, Bureau Bestemmingsplannen;
- GIFFORD, R. (2007), *The consequences of living in high-rise buildings*, *Architectural Science Review*, 50;
- GITTELL, R., VIDAL, A., (1998), *Community Organizing: Building Social Capital as a Development Strategy*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, in: KLEINHANS, R., PRIEMUS, H., ENGBERSEN, G., (2007), *Understanding Social Capital in Recently Restructured Urban Neighbourhoods: Two Case Studies in Rotterdam*, *Urban studies*, Vol. 44.5/6, pp: 1069-1092;
- GIULIANI, M. V. (2003), *Theory of attachment and place attachment*, in: BONNES, M., LEE, T., BONAIUTO, M., (Eds.), *Psychological theories for environmental issues*, Hants: Ashgate, pp.137–170;

- GIERYN, T. F., (2000), *A space for place in sociology*, Annual Review of Sociology, Vol.26, pp. 463–496;
- GLASS, R., (1964), *Introduction to London: Aspects of Change*, Centre for Urban Studies, London [reprinted in Glass, R., (1989), *Cliches of Urban Doom*, Blackwell, Oxford, pp.132-158];
- GOULDNER, A., (1979), *The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class: A Frame of Reference, Theses, Conjectures, Argumentation and a Historical Perspective*, Macmillan, London, in: BRIDGE, G., (2007), *A global gentrifier class?*, Environment and Planning A 2007, Vol. 39, pp. 32-46;
- GUEST, A. M., WEIRZBICKI, S. K., (1999), *Social Ties at the Neighborhood Level*, Urban affairs review, Vol. 35.1, pp: 92-112;
- HACKWORTH, J., & SMITH, N., (2000), *The Changing State of Gentrification*, Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, 92 (4), pp. 464-477;
- HÄGERSTRAND, T., (1970), *What about people in regional science?*, Papers Regional Science Association, Vol. 24, pp. 7-21;
- HAMNETT, C., (1994), *Socio economic change in London: professionalisation not polarization*, Built Environment, 20, pp. 192-203;
- HAMNETT, C., (2003), *Gentrification and the middle class remaking of inner London, 1961-2001*, Urban Studies, 40.12, pp. 2401-2427;
- HOWLEY, P., (2009), *New residential neighbourhoods within the inner city: an examination of neighbouring*, Irish Geography, 1939-4055, Vol. 42.1, March 2009, pp. 85 – 99;
- HUBBARD, P., (2009), *Geographies of studentification and purpose-built student accommodation: leading separate lives?*, Environment and Planning A, Vol. 41, pp. 1903-1923;
- IMRIE, R, THOMAS, H., (1993), *The limits of property-led regeneration*, Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Vol. 11, pp. 87–102;
- JAGER, M., (1986), *Class definition and the esthetics of gentrification: Victoriana in Melbourne*, in: SMITH, N., WILLIAMS, P., (eds), *Gentrification of the city*, Allen and Unwin: London, pp. 78-91;
- JARVIS, H., PRATT, A., WU, P.C.C., (2001), *The Secret Life of Cities: The Social Reproduction of Everyday Life*, Harlow: Pierson Education Ltd, in: KARSTEN, L. (2003), *Family gentrifiers: challenging the city as a place simultaneously to build a career and to raise children*, Urban Studies, 40(12), p.2573-2584;
- JORGENSEN, B. S., STEDMAN, R. C., (2001), *Sense of place as an attitude: Lakeshore owners attitudes toward their properties*, Journal of Environmental Psychology, Vol. 21, pp: 233–248;
- KARSTEN, L. (2003), *Family gentrifiers: challenging the city as a place simultaneously to build a career and to raise children*, Urban Studies, 40(12), p.2573-2584;
- KARSTEN, L., VAN KEMPEN, E., (2001), *Middenklasse gezinnen in Herstructureringswijken*, Beleid en Maatschappij, 28, pp. 18–29;
- KAUKO, T., (2009), *Classification of Residential Areas in the Three Largest Dutch Cities Using Multidimensional Data*, Urban studies, Vol. 46.8, pp: 1639-1663;
- KIRSTIE, J., (2004), *Edinburgh: The Festival Gaze and its Boundaries*, Space and Culture, pp. 64-75;
- KLEINHANS, R., PRIEMUS, H., ENGBERSEN, G., (2007), *Understanding Social Capital in Recently Restructured Urban Neighbourhoods: Two Case Studies in Rotterdam*, Urban studies, Vol. 44.5/6, pp: 1069-1092;
- LAMBERT, C., BODDY, M., (2002), *Transforming the city: post-recession gentrification and re-urbanisation*, paper presented at the Conference on Upward Neighbourhood Trajectories: Gentrification in the New Century, 26-27 September, University of Glasgow, in: DAVIDSON, M., LEES, L., (2005), *New-build 'gentrification' and London's riverside renaissance*, Environment and Planning A 37, pp. 1165 – 1190;

- LEES, L., (2003), *Super-gentrification: the case of Brooklyn Heights, New York City*, Urban studies, Vol. 40(12), pp: p2487-2510;
- LEES, L., (2008), *Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance?*, Urban Studies, Vol. 45(12), pp: 2449-2470;
- LEY, D., (1986), *Alternative explanations for Inner-city gentrification: A Canadian assessment*, Annals of the association of the American geographers, Vol. 76.4, pp: 521-535;
- LEY, David., (1996) *The new middle class and the remaking of the central city*, Oxford University Press, New York;
- LEWICKA, M., (2008), *Place attachment, place identity, and place memory: Restoring the forgotten city past*, Journal of environmental psychology, Volume: 28, Issue: 3, pp: 209-231;
- LEWICKA, M., (2010), *What makes neighborhood different from home and city? Effects of place scale on place attachment*, Journal of environmental psychology, Vol. 30.1, pp: 35-51;
- LIN, N. (2001), *Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, in: KLEINHANS, R., PRIEMUS, H., ENGBERSEN, G., (2007), *Understanding Social Capital in Recently Restructured Urban Neighbourhoods: Two Case Studies in Rotterdam*, Urban studies, Vol. 44.5/6, pp: 1069-1092;
- LOCKWOOD, D., (1995), *Marking out the middle classes*, in: BUTLER, T., SAVAGE, M., (Eds) *Social Change and the Middle Classes*, pp. 1-12. London: UCL Press;
- McANDREW, F. T., (1998), *The measurement of "rootedness" and the prediction of attachment to home-towns in college students*, Journal of Environmental Psychology, Vol. 18, pp: 409-417;
- McCARTHY, J., (1996), *Waterfront regeneration in the Netherlands: The cases of Rotterdam and Maastricht*, European planning studies, Vol.4.5, pp: p545-571;
- McCARTHY, J., (1998), *Reconstruction, regeneration and re-imaging - The case of Rotterdam*, Cities, Vol. 15.5, pp: 337-344;
- McDOWELL, L., (1997), *The new service class: housing, consumption, and lifestyle among London bankers in the 1990s*, Environment and Planning A, 29, pp. 2061 – 2078;
- MIDDLETON, A., MURIE, A., GROVES, R., (2005), *Social capital and neighbourhoods that work*, Urban Studies, 42.10, pp. 1711–1738;
- MULDER, C., (1996), *Housing choice: Assumptions and approaches*, Journal of housing and the built environment, Vol. 11, Issue 3, September 1, 1996, pp. 209-232;
- MUNRO, M., TUROK, I., LIVINGSTON, M., (2009), *Students in the city: a preliminary analysis of their patterns and effects*, Environment and Planning A, Vol. 41.8, pp: 1805-1825;
- MURPHY, L., (2008), *Third Wave gentrification in New-Zeeland, the case of Auckland*, Urban Studies, Vol. 45, Issue 12, pp. 2521-2540;
- PAINTER, J., (1991), *Regulation theory and local government*, Local Government Studies, Vol. 17.6, pp. 23–44;
- PRIEMUS, H., BOELHOUWER, P., KRUYTHOFF., H., (1997), *Dutch Urban Policy: A Promising Perspective for the Big Cities*, International journal of urban and regional research, Vol. 21. 4, pp: p677-691;
- PUTNAM, R. D., (1993), *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, in: FORREST, R., KEARNS, A., (2001), *Social Cohesion, Social Capital and the Neighbourhood*, Urban studies, Vol.38.12, pp: 2125 – 2144;
- PUTNAM, R. D., (2000), *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York: Simon & Schuster, in: KLEINHANS, R., PRIEMUS, H., ENGBERSEN, G., (2007), *Understanding Social Capital in Recently Restructured Urban Neighbourhoods: Two Case Studies in Rotterdam*, Urban studies, Vol. 44.5/6, pp: 1069-1092;
- RAPPAPORT, J., (2008), *Consumption facilities and city population density*, Regional science and urban economics, Vol. 38.6, pp: 533-552;

- RAY, K., WARD, K., FAGAN, C., McDOWELL, L., PERRONS, D., (2010), *Class transformation and work-life balance in urban-Britain: the case of Manchester*, Urban Studies, Vol. 47.11, pp. 2259-2278;
- ROBSON, G., & BUTLER, T., (2001), *Coming to terms with London: Middle class communities in a global city*, International journal of urban and regional research, 25.1, 70-86;
- ROFE, M., (2003), *"I want to be global": theorising the gentrifying class as an emergent elite global community*, Urban Studies 40, pp. 2511 – 2526;
- ROGERS, R., FISHER, M., (1992), *A new London*, Penguin Books Ltd (March 5, 1992), in: SEO, J-K, (2002), *Re-urbanisation in Regenerated Areas of Manchester and Glasgow*, Cities, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 113-121;
- SAMPSON, R.J., (2009), *Disparity and diversity in the contemporary city: social (dis)order revisited*, British journal of sociology, Vol. 60.1, pp: 1-31;
- SASSEN, S., (2000), *The Global City: New York, London and Tokyo updated edition*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, in: BRIDGE, G., *A global gentrifier class?*, Environment and Planning A 2007, Vol. 39, pp. 32-46;
- SAVAGE, M., BARLOW, J., DICKENS, P., FIELDING, A., (1992), *property, bureaucracy and culture: middle class formation in contemporary Britain*, Routledge, London;
- SAVAGE, M., BAGNALL, G., LONGHURST, B., (2005), *Globalization and Belonging*, London: Sage, in: RAY, K., WARD, K., FAGAN, C., McDOWELL, L., PERRONS, D., (2010), *Class transformation and work-life balance in urban-Britain: the case of Manchester*, Urban Studies, Vol. 47(11), pp. 2259-2278;
- SEO, J-K, (2002), *Re-urbanisation in Regenerated Areas of Manchester and Glasgow*, Cities, Vol. 19(2), pp. 113-121;
- SKLAIR, L., (2001), *The Transnational Capitalist Class*, Blackwell, Oxford, in: BRIDGE, G., *A global gentrifier class?*, Environment and Planning A 2007, Vol. 39, pp. 32-46.
- SLATER, T., (2006), *The eviction of critical perspectives from gentrification research*, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Vol. 30 (4), pp. 737-757;
- SMITH, N., (1996) *The New Urban Frontier: gentrification and the revanchist city*, Routledge, New York;
- SMITH, N., (2002), *New globalism, new urbanism: gentrification as a global urban strategy*, Antipode, Vol. 34, pp. 428-450;
- STOCKDALE, A., (2010), *The diverse geographies of rural gentrification in Scotland*, Journal of Rural Studies, Vol 26, pp. 31-40;
- TALEN, E., (1999), *Sense of community and neighbourhood form: An assessment of the social doctrine of New urbanism*, Urban Studies, Vol. 36(8), pp. 1361-1380.
- TEAM DEETMANS, (2011), *Kwaliteitssprong Zuid: ontwikkeling vanuit kracht - Eindadvies van team Deetman/Mans over aanpak Rotterdam-Zuid*, februari 2011;
- UITERMARK, J., (2003), *'Social mixing' and the management of disadvantaged neighbourhoods: the Dutch policy of urban restructuring revisited*, Urban Studies, Vol. 40(3), pp. 531–549;
- ULLMAN, E.L., (1954), *Facilities as a Factor in Regional Growth*, Geographical review, Vol. 44(1), pp: 119-132;
- VAN DER LAND, M., (2007), *Cursory Connections: Urban Ties of the New Middle Class in Rotterdam*, Urban studies, Vol. 44.3, pp: p477–500;
- VAN DER POEL, M., (1993), *Personal Networks: A Rational Choice Explanation of Their Size and Composition*, Lisse, Netherlands: Swets & Zeitlinger, in: FLAP, H., VÖLKER, B., (2007), *Sixteen Million Neighbors: A Multilevel Study of the Role of Neighbors in the Personal Networks of the Dutch*, Urban affairs review, Vol. 43.2, pp: 256-284;
- VAN KEMPEN, R., (2010), *From the residence to the global, the relevance of the urban neighborhood in an era of globalization and mobility*, paper for the ENHR-conference "Urban Dynamics and Housing Change", Istanbul 4-7 July 2010;

- VARADAY, D., & RAFFEL, J., (1995), *Selling Cities: Attracting Homebuyers Through Schools and Housing Programs*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995, pp. xvi+ 367;
- VERBRUGGE, L. M., (1977), *The structure of adult friendship choices*, *Social Forces*, Vol. 56, pp. 576–597;
- WANG, J. and LAU, S.S.Y., (2009), *Gentrification and Shanghai's new middle class: Another reflection on the cultural consumption thesis*, *Cities*, Vol. 26(2), pp: 57-66;
- WELLMAN, B., LEIGHTON, B., (1979), *Networks, neighborhoods, and communities*, *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 14, pp. 363-390;
- WOOLCOCK, M. (1998), *Social capital and economic development: towards a theoretical synthesis and policy framework*, *Theory and Society*, 27, pp. 151–208;
- ZUKIN, S., (1998), *Urban lifestyles: Diversity and standardisation in spaces of consumption*, *Urban studies*, Vol. 35(5/6), pp: p825-840;

APPENDIX A

NEIGHBORHOOD ATTACHMENT SCALE

Items	F1
_____	_____
This n. is part of me	0.79
I would willingly live in another n.	-0.79
It would be very hard for me to leave this n.	0.78
I have nothing in common with this n.	-0.77
I do not subscribe to this n's life-style	-0.72
This is the ideal n. for me	0.72
I do not feel integrated in this n.	-0.70
I identify with the people of this n.	0.70

Neighborhood attachment scale. Source: Bonaiuto et al. (2006).

APPENDIX B

LETTER TO RESIDENTS OF STADSTUINEN (DUTCH)



Universiteit Utrecht

Dr. Brian Doucet
Universiteit Utrecht
Faculteit Geowetenschappen
Postbus 80.115
3508 TC, Utrecht
Tel: 030 253 2966
e-mail: doucet@geo.uu.nl

Utrecht, 5 april 2011

Betreft: Afstudeeronderzoek Kop van Zuid – Stadstuinen

Geachte heer/mevrouw,

Een paar jaar geleden heeft u een enquête ingevuld over de Kop van Zuid. Dit maakte onderdeel uit van mijn promovendus onderzoek over grote herstructureringsprojecten. In deze enquête heeft u aangegeven dat u bereid bent mee te werken aan een eventueel vervolginterview.

Dit onderzoek wordt nu vervolgd door Sander Link, masterstudent Stadsgeografie. Door middel van interviews probeert hij meer te weten te komen over de sociale contacten in de buurt van de bewoners van Stadstuinen. Tevens onderzoekt hij het gebruik van buurtvoorzieningen zoals winkels en groenvoorzieningen en de gevoelens van verbinding die de buurtbewoners met de wijk Stadstuinen hebben.

Binnenkort loopt Sander een aantal malen door de wijk om te vragen of u nog steeds bereid bent om uw medewerking aan een interview te verlenen. Het interview zal niet meer dan 30 minuten in beslag nemen en kan op een moment dat het u uitkomt worden afgenomen (ook in de morgen of s' avonds en in het weekend) ergens in de komende weken. Dit kan bij u thuis of op een door u aangegeven locatie in de wijk.

Uiteraard worden uw gegevens volledig geanonimiseerd en wordt uw informatie niet doorgespeeld aan derden. De uitkomsten van de interviews zullen enkel gebruikt worden voor het afstudeeronderzoek.

Uw bijdrage is van vitaal belang. Ik hoop dan ook op uw medewerking. Als u mee wilt werken of als nog verdere vragen heeft, kunt u contact opnemen met Sander Link (s.link@students.uu.nl, tel: 06 18 22 49 54), of met mij (zie contactgegevens aan de bovenzijde van deze brief). Onder de deelnemers aan dit onderzoek zal na afloop een Iris cheque t.w.v. €25 worden verloot.

Met vriendelijke groet,

Dr. Brian Doucet

APPENDIX C

LETTER TO RESIDENTS OF STADSTUINEN (ENGLISH)



Universiteit Utrecht

Dr. Brian Doucet
Universiteit Utrecht
Faculteit Geowetenschappen
Postbus 80.115
3508 TC, Utrecht
Tel: 030 253 2966
e-mail: doucet@geo.uu.nl

April 5th, 2011

Dear Sir/Madam

Graduate Research

A few years ago you have completed a survey about your experiences and opinions about the Kop van Zuid. This survey was part of my PhD research project about big restructuring efforts. In this survey you have indicated that you are willing to cooperate if it would come to a follow-up study.

This research is now continued by Sander Link, a master student in urban geography. Through conducting interviews he hopes to learn more about your social ties in the neighborhood, your use of neighborhood amenities and your feelings of place attachment to the neighborhood of Stadstuinen.

In the next couple of weeks Sander will walk through the neighborhood to ask you if you are still willing to cooperate with the research project. The interview will not take more than 30 minutes and can be conducted at a moment at your convenience (this includes mornings or evenings and weekends) during the next couple of weeks. The location can be either at your home or at a location of your choice in the neighborhood.

Of course your information will be anonymized and used with strict confidentiality. The will not be passed on to other parties and the results obtained during the interviews will only be used for Sander's graduate research.

Your contribution to this study is of great importance. I therefore hope that you are still willing to cooperate in this research. If you would like to participate or if you have any further questions please contact Sander Link (s.link@students.uu.nl, tel: 06 18 22 49 54) or me (see contact details above). A Iris cheque worth €25 will be raffled off among the participants of this research.

Yours faithfully

Dr. Brian Doucet

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE STADSTUINEN

INTRODUCTIE

- Introduceer mezelf
- Bedankt voor uw deelname
- Doel van het onderzoek: Inzicht krijgen in de mate van interactie met de wijk en gevoelens van binding aan de wijk van verschillende groepen new-build gentrifiers.
- Reden voor het opnemen van het interview
- Persoonlijke gegevens worden geanonimiseerd en strikt vertrouwelijk gebruikt
- Duur interview

BEGIN INTERVIEW

- Hoe lang woont u in uw huidige woning?
- Waar woonde u hiervoor?

SOCIALISATIE OP WIJKNIVEAU

- Hoeveel mensen kent u in de wijk Stadstuinen/Wilhelminapier?
 - Hoeveel van deze mensen rekent u tot uw vriendengroep?
 - Hoeveel procent is dit van uw totale vriendengroep?
- Kunt u zich identificeren met deze mensen? (levenwijze, gezinssituatie, achtergrond, werk, opleiding, gedeelde normen en waarden, vertrouwen)
- Helpt u uw burens wel eens door bijv. de plantjes water te geven als ze op vakantie zijn/op hun kinderen te letten als ze op straat spelen?
 - Gaat deze band verder en bespreekt u ook prive zaken met elkaar? (denk aan problemen op het werk/in de relatie, geldzaken)
 - Kunt u bij uw burens of bij andere bekenden in de buurt aankloppen als u hulp bij dit soort zaken nodig heeft (bv. emotionele steun of financiële steun?)
- Kent u ook mensen in omliggende wijken als Feijenoord, Kop van Zuid – Entrepot en/of Katendrecht?
 - Heeft u het idee dat de wijken en daarmee hun inwoners geschieden van elkaar leven?
 - Weet u misschien waarom dit zo is? (levenswijze, achtergrond, normen en waarden, vertrouwen?)
- Neemt u deel aan wijkactiviteiten zoals de BBQ of de kerstboomversiering Stadstuinen/ ... (Wierdsmaplein, van der Vormplein (Wilhelminapier))

Indien kinderen:

- Gaan uw kinderen in de buurt naar school?
- Heeft u veel sociale contacten opgedaan via de basisschool van uw kinderen?
- Gaan uw kinderen ook om met kinderen uit andere wijken dan Stadstuinen? (bijvoorbeeld Feijenoord of Katendrecht)

GEBRUIK VAN VOORZIENINGEN IN DE WIJK

- Waar doet u uw dagelijkse boodschappen? (in de wijk, ergens anders in Rotterdam, buiten Rotterdam)

- Waar winkelt u het meest? (Kop van Zuid - Entrepot gebouw, Vuurplaat/Rotterdam centrum/buiten Rotterdam).
- Maakt u gebruik van publieke voorzieningen in de buurt? (zoals medische voorzieningen, basisscholen, kinderopvang, buurtcentrum/bibliotheek Feijenoord/Afrikaanderwijk)
- Maakt u gebruik van restaurants/cafes/lunchrooms in de buurt?
- Maakt u gebruik van de culturele voorzieningen in de buurt? (Gallerijen, Nieuwe Luxor, Lantaarn Venster, Nederlands Fotomuseum etc.)
- Maakt u gebruik van de wat exclusievere voorzieningen in de wijk? (private sportschool, luxe restaurants, speciaalzaken, kunstgallerijen, etc.)
- Heeft u het idee dat de culturele voorzieningen in de wijk/op de Kop van Zuid voor iedereen zijn of zijn ze gericht op een select publiek?
 - Geeft u de voorkeur aan voorzieningen die voor iedereen bedoeld zijn of aan voorzieningen die zich richten op een specifiek publiek? (mensen met ong. dezelfde persoonlijke kenmerken als u, denk aan Hotel New York, Cafe Rotterdam, Las Palmas).

ORDEEL OVER DE WIJK EN DAARUITVOLGENDE GEVOELENS VAN VERBINDING

- Voelt u zich thuis in Stadstuinen/op de Wilhelminapier?
- Bent u trots op de wijk Stadstuinen/Wilhelminapier?
- Voelt u zich verbonden met de wijk Stadstuinen/Wilhelminapier?
 - Indien kinderen: speelt de school een belangrijke rol in gevoelens van verbinding/thuis voelen in de wijk?
- Wat is uw oordeel over de fysieke aspecten van de wijk?
 - De gebouwde vorm
 - Nabijheid van monumenten zoals de Erasmusbrug
 - Beïnvloed de gebouwde vorm uw gevoelens van verbinding met de wijk?
- Zou u liever in een andere wijk dan Stadstuinen/Wilhelminapier wonen?
- Wat zou voor u een reden kunnen zijn om binnen 2 jaar te verhuizen? (carriere, overlast, gebouwde vorm (te klein, te groot), drukte,

SOCIAAL-ECONOMISCHE GEGEVENS GEïNTERVIEWDEN

1. *Geslacht:* Man Vrouw
2. *Wat is uw leeftijd?* jaar
3. *Wat is uw geboorteplaats?*
4. *In welk land is uw moeder geboren?*
5. *In welk land is uw vader geboren?*
6. *Wat is de samenstelling van uw huishouden?*
 - Alleenstaand
 - Samenwonend met partner
 - Samenwonend met partner en kind(eren)

- Alleenstaand met kind(eren)
- Anders, namelijk

7. *Welke situatie is het meest op u van toepassing?*

- Betaald werk, full-time
- Betaald werk, part-time
- Onbetaald werk in het huishouden
- Onbetaald werk buiten het huishouden
- Studerend/Schoolgaand
- Arbeidsongeschikt
- Gepensioneerd (ga door naar vraag 11)
- Anders, namelijk

8. *Waar werkt u (of gaat u naar school?)*

- Kop van Zuid
- Rotterdam Centrum
- In een andere wijk van Rotterdam
- Buiten Rotterdam
- Niet van toepassing

9. *In welk gebied bent u werkzaam?*

- Advies, Staf, Beleid
- Financiële Dienstverlening (Finance, Verzekeringen Onroerend Goed)
- Commercieel/Verkoop
- Juridisch/Bestuurlijk
- Marketing/PR/Reclame
- Logistiek
- Techniek/ICT
- Onderwijs/Onderzoek
- Gezondheidszorg/Maatschappelijk/Sociaal
- Horeca/Detailhandel
- Eigen baas
- Anders, namelijk

10. *Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?*

- Geen opleiding
- Lagere school, basisschool
- LBO (LTS, LEAO, LHNO)
- MAVO, MULO
- VMBO
- MBO
- HAVO, VWO, Atheneum, Gymnasium, HBS
- HBO
- Universitair
- Anders, namelijk:

11. *In welke richting bent u afgestudeerd?*

- Aarde, Milieu en Innovatie
- Natuur en Informatietechniek
- Mens, Dier en Gezondheid
- Mens en Gedrag
- Recht, Economie en Bestuur
- Taal, Cultuur, Religie en Filosofie
- Anders

12. *Wat is het netto maandinkomen van uw huishouden?*

- €1199 of minder
- €1200 - €1999
- €2000 - €2499
- €2500 - €2999
- €3000 - €3499
- €3500 - €3999
- €4000 - €4499
- €4500 - €4999
- €5000 of meer

13. *U woont in een:*

- Koopwoning
- Private Huurwoning
- Sociale Huurwoning

14. *Wat voor soort woning is dit?*

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Vrijstaand | <input type="checkbox"/> Flat of etagewoning op de begane grond of souterrain |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Twee onder één kap | <input type="checkbox"/> Flat, etagewoning, appartement |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tussenwoning | <input type="checkbox"/> maisonnette |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hoekwoning | <input type="checkbox"/> Anders, namelijk |

15. *Wilt u een samenvatting van de onderzoeksresultaten ontvangen?*

e-mailadres:

16. *Kent u nog iemand in de buurt die wellicht ook geïnterviewd zou willen worden?*

e-mailadres:

tel:

BEËINDIGING INTERVIEW

- Bedankt voor uw deelname
- Wat gaat er gebeuren met de data

APPENDIX F

TRANSCRIBED INTERVIEWS

- Supplied loose

9. SAMENVATTING (DUTCH)

Huishoudens met afhankelijke kinderen zijn een onderbelicht onderwerp in *gentrification* onderzoek. De meeste onderzoeken naar *gentrification* belichten de socio-economische karakteristieken en de woonpreferenties van de inkomende middenklasse. De ervaringen en de dagelijkse bezigheden van de familie *gentrifiers* zijn onderbelichte onderwerpen. Deze studie heeft geprobeerd een bijdrage te leveren aan dit gat in de literatuur. Dit onderzoek heeft door middel van semi-gestructureerde interviews met familie *gentrifiers* woonachtig in Stadstuinen, een opgevoerde wijk op de Kop van Zuid in Rotterdam, gepoogd inzicht te krijgen in drie onderwerpen die, wanneer samengenomen, een beeld schetsen van de ervaringen en dagelijkse bezigheden van familie *gentrifiers*. Deze onderwerpen zijn: socialisatie op wijkniveau, het gebruik van buurtvoorzieningen en gevoelens van plaatsgehechtheid.

Stadstuiners zijn een a-typische populatie van familie *gentrifiers* als het om het aantal en de kwaliteit van buurtcontacten gaat. In tegenstelling tot wat de hedendaagse literatuur over nieuwbouw *gentrifiers* voorspelt investeren Stadstuiners wel degelijk sociaal kapitaal in hun wijk en hebben ze veel sociale contacten op wijkniveau. Dit ondanks dat het leven in de stad hen genoeg mogelijkheden biedt om sociale contacten buiten de wijk op te doen. De hoeveelheid en de kwaliteit van deze sociale contacten wisselt per geïnterviewde. De gemiddelde Stadstuiner kent 50 tot 100 mensen van gezicht in de wijk. Hoewel de meeste van deze contacten als vluchtig kunnen worden beschouwd hebben bijna alle geïnterviewden ook meerdere vrienden in de wijk opgedaan. De mensen in Stadstuinen vertrouwen elkaar en burendiensten zijn eerder regel dan uitzondering. Sociale contacten in de wijk maken onderdeel uit van het sociaal kapitaal van Stadstuiners. De sociale cohesie in de wijk is sterk en Stadstuiners zijn actief in het beschermen van hun leefomgeving. Positieve indicatoren van het ongewoon hoge aantal sociale contacten dat Stadstuiners in hun wijk hebben zijn de aanwezigheid van schoolgaande kinderen, het vermogen van Stadstuiners om zich met hun burens te identificeren en de tijd van verblijf.

Het lokale sociale leven van Stadstuiners stopt bij de grenzen van de wijk. Hoewel vele Stadstuiners worden getekend door een verlangen naar (culturele) diversiteit behouden ze afstand van de bewoners van omliggende armere wijken, zowel in materiële als in culturele zin. Deze mensen leven in een andere sociale wereld en zoals in een interview naar voren kwam is er niks dat de levens van deze mensen met die van Stadstuiners verbindt. De *habitus* van Stadstuiners wordt gekenmerkt door een distinctie in woningpreferenties, levensstijl en consumptiepatronen. De *habitus* is echter zeer persoonlijk; er kan niet worden gesproken van een eenduidige *gentrifier habitus*. Individuele voorkeuren spelen een belangrijke rol in de creatie van persoonlijke consumptiepatronen. En hoewel de *habitus* van sommige Stadstuiners als een *gentrification bubble* beschreven zou kunnen worden is dit lang niet voor iedereen het geval.

Stadstuiners zijn in het algemeen erg tevreden over hun wijk. Ze prijzen de centrale ligging, de homogene sociale samenstelling en het dorpse karakter van de wijk. Dit leidt voor sommige Stadstuiners - zeker voor degene die in Rotterdam en omgeving geboren zijn - tot sterke gevoelens van plaatsgehechtheid. Schoolgaande kinderen en hechte sociale netwerken voorkomen dat deze mensen verhuizen. De meeste Stadstuiners kennen deze gevoelens van verbondenheid echter niet. Het gebrek aan groen en het onvermogen om zich met Rotterdam Zuid te identificeren spelen hierin een belangrijke rol. Dit leidt echter niet tot een grote exodus uit de wijk. Stadstuinen is een erg stabiele middenklasse nederzetting in de stad. Veel geïnterviewden zetten hun eigen (woon)wensen opzij en geven aan dat ze niet verhuizen zolang hun kinderen op de basisschool zitten. Het gebrek aan gevoelens van plaatsgehechtheid heeft dus geen invloed op hun verhuisgedrag.