



# **PUBS AND RESTAURANTS IN THE INDISCHE BUURT: THE LIVING ROOM DOOR AJAR**

*The effects of gentrification on the daily life of owners and  
visitors of pubs and restaurants*

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**Master thesis, Urban Geography, Faculty of Geosciences,  
University of Utrecht**

**August 2011**

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### *Buurtcafé*

*Ze spelen ingespannen en van harte,  
De ene stoot terwijl de ander krijt.  
Twee mannen die in overhemd biljarten.  
Het leven glanst. Het duurt een eeuwigheid.*

*Een klok die langzaam de partij wegtikt  
en witte lampen boven 't groene laken.  
Wellicht is buiten alles voorbeschikt,  
maar tot deze uithoek kan het lot niet raken.*

*Een monter stamgast moet goedkeurend knikken.  
Ik heb mij toch niet vergist. Ik zag hem niet.  
Daar staat God zelf geduldig mee te mikken,  
een speelse, oude heer die alles ziet.*

*Een buurtcafé waar mannen ernstig snoepen.  
Men speelt. Men predikt. Men is iets van plan.  
Al wat er leeft schijnt zachtjes uit te roepen  
dat het wel sterven maar niet doodgaan kan.*

*Han G. Hoekstra. 1906 – 1988*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Pubs are special places I noticed just a few days ago...Whereas I frequented them heavily in my student years and afterwards as well, lately they got a bit out of sight. One knows how it works: you get a serious relationship, you find ways to relax in another way and physically you even start to notice being in a pub has its side-effects. However, like a boomerang, the engagement I felt with pubs the last few months again made me realize they have a particular function in society.

As you can read from these first lines, for me this thesis is not the end of a regular student life. As a junior teacher working at a course, specialized in Leisure Management, three years ago my employer offered me the possibility to finally study what I secretly always wanted in my 'first student round': social geography at the university of Utrecht. Since I have always been fascinated by cities, specializing myself in Urban geography was not a difficult choice. Because of my high motivation and interest in the subject the past years flew by, although it was not always easy to combine work and study. Travelling from Breda to Utrecht and back, sometimes caused stress, because of non-working trains or traffic jams, nevertheless most of these trips were worthwhile. I enjoyed the atmosphere in De Uithof, the challenging articles I had to read, the smartness of other students - sometimes almost half my age- and the relatively small scale of our department. It was now and then funny to see the behavior of my own students reflected in the way I treated things from a student perspective myself.

The thesis I had to write should be connected to leisure, that was something I knew for sure before even starting. With the interest I had in gentrification issues a connection should be made easily. That was easier said than done: many times I had to push myself further or back again. Especially the combination of details and the broader picture which should come together in an academic thesis made me confused regularly. From the start of this calendar year I got a grip on my subject and now, on the first summer day in weeks, I reached the finish.

This could not have been achieved without coaches and supporters: first of all I would like to thank Brian Doucet, my thesis supervisor. Your structured and inspiring comments, together with your flexibility, will not easily be forgotten. Especially the fact that you could organize me graduating in summer, while you moved, married and gave a summer course, almost at the same time, is appreciated. Also Esther Peperkamp should be mentioned here: as an unofficial, voluntary internal supervisor, you showed your involvement very much. We had many discussions and you gave me insight in academic research and writing that I can definitely use in the future. As a colleague I know how much work there is and I would really like to thank you for your advices and comments. Support I mainly received from very different people in and around the Indische buurt: experts, branch organizations, local entrepreneurs, visitors, they were all very kind. Especially Gijs, Alma and Linda deserve special attention here. Of course I should not forget my biggest coach and supporter, Judith: you know what it means to do a study in this situation, still I am very thankful for your patience, advice, assistance and support. The last weeks have been very intensive and you always gave me the feeling you were there for me, thank you very much for that.

Well, it is time now to dive into the world of pubs and restaurants in the Indische buurt, enjoy reading!

Olaf Ernst, August 2011

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Although the emphasis within the gentrification debate mainly focused on housing and displacement recently switched to other aspects, an insight in daily life practices is still less researched. Especially leisure practices could provide useful information because they take place in places and occasions where people meet. This social aspect of leisure could give a broader insight in processes taking place in a neighborhood. Studies that are available regarding this topic mainly focus on only physical aspects though, and not on subjects such as perception and behavior of the changes taking place. Therefore a leisure activity has been chosen for this research which is represented broadly in gentrification areas and where social contact is important: pub and restaurant visit, with a focus on the former. Besides that, in current literature available, case studies are almost always gentrified areas in a mature stage, whereas it would be interesting to find out how the dynamics within the pubs and restaurant sector influence total gentrification processes on the longer term.

This leads to the following main research question of this thesis:

***“What are the effects of early stage gentrification for individual businesses in the pub and restaurant sector in general and for local pub owners and visitors specifically?”***

### Theoretical framework

The starting point for an overview of the existing literature is ‘commercial gentrification’, which is the upgrading of commercial premises in gentrification areas. This aspect of gentrification receives more and more attention and fits the tendency within the overall gentrification debate, where socio-cultural factors dominate. Commercial gentrification is seen as one of the most visible representatives of consumption practices, where lifestyle and symbolic economy are important issues.

The supply in commercial gentrification is characterized by an emphasis on food and boutiques and a general increase of facilities and amenities in a neighborhood. The supply is mostly initiated by so-called pioneers, later they are followed many times by more corporate retail, whereas the state in general plays a less dominant role in this production process.

On the demand side, the sequence of different consumer groups and their preferences is a typical aspect: artists, students and low-wage college educated residents make the way free for the ‘real’ gentrifiers, while non-gentrifying residents and ethnic groups have been seen as less important. Consumer values, important in commercial gentrification, are authenticity, distinction, alternativity and off-beat, mostly in a commodified form.

The effects of commercial gentrification on the daily life include simultaneous appreciation and resentment among non-gentrifying inhabitants, difficult interaction between gentrifiers and non-gentrifiers in pubs in the beginning of gentrification –and a separation afterwards and the incapability of suppliers to suit both customer groups.

On a more macro, neighborhood level effects are a spatial and social separation of gentrifiers and non-gentrifiers, a decrease in neighborhood attachment and eventual displacement of inhabitants and enterprises.

### **Research setting**

This study aims to fill the gaps in the existing knowledge and will focus on the role of non-gentrifiers within commercial gentrification, will provide a deeper insight in the tastes and preferences of different customer groups, the specific dynamics within local pubs and their influence on the total gentrification process and the influence of the specific context of a neighborhood in a regulated country and small-scaled, highly interactive city. All in all, it gives a more fine-grained insight into the daily effects of commercial gentrification among the current actors.

Mainly qualitative research has been conducted for this thesis by means of a case study of the Indische buurt in Amsterdam, The Netherlands. A combination of a quantitative inventory of pubs and restaurants and semi-structured interviews with experts, pub and restaurant owners, local pub owners and local pub visitors has been executed in order to find the answers to the research question.

The Indische buurt is on the one hand a lower-class immigrant area, on the other hand strong signals of gentrification are noticeable. This has taken place since the start of the new millennium, after the neighborhood had been a problematic area for decades. Especially the housing stock is changing drastically, trying to create a more 'social mix'. This is in line with broader policy and developments within the city of Amsterdam, which stimulates further gentrification. Other indicators of the Indische buurt being an early stage gentrification neighborhood are a change of the demographic profile and the establishment of facilities aimed at upgrading.

### **Main results**

The total number of pubs and restaurants in the Indische buurt in the period 2000-2011 has increased the first five years and decreased the last half, being exactly the same number now as ten years ago. Within the different categories shifts have taken place though, with restaurants being doubled and a decrease of snackbars, take away restaurants and pubs. Gentrifier restaurants started to settle in the neighborhood, at the expense of the traditional supply, mainly traditional Dutch snackbars and ethnic supply. From a spatial point of view, replacement which is so typical within commercial gentrification, however cannot be related to upgrading immediately. The stability of Dutch offer is remarkable, indicating the hard-core of businesses still persist.

The local government, sometimes in cooperation with housing corporations, aims for an upgrade of the existing supply and an expansion of high-quality pubs and restaurants. This is done to create a better mix and executed by means of control of the present supply and stimulation of high-end businesses, so being more involved as a government, compared to countries like the United States and the United Kingdom.

The changes in the pub and restaurant supply can be partly explained by gentrification developments, however also the national trends in The Netherlands in this sector play a role.

The majority of the businesses in the Indische buurt see the start of a customer shift, meaning more clients in general, more young people, students and people with a double income. Especially traditional Dutch and ethnic pubs and coffee houses do not see this trend. The fine-grained structure of the area is important here, since the opinions about customer change differ heavily, depending on the specific location of the pub or restaurant

Most of the businesses react or try to react on the developments in their daily management and are positive about it. This mainly counts for the gentrifier businesses, however also for other businesses, dominantly in the restaurant sector, both native and ethnic. Others still have to find a way to adapt to gentrification or do not recognize it. In general, businesses are optimistic about their own future and the possibilities they see for themselves.

When focusing on local pub owners specifically, they mainly appreciate the upgrading of the neighborhood, since it will provide a balance for the immigrant dominance of the last decades, who harmed the flourishing times of the Indische buurt before. Although the difference in taste of the gentrifiers has been recognized, this new resident group –together with tourists in the neighborhood- is welcomed by some pubs and contacts with the current clientele run smoothly.

Pub owners see their own role as very important in the social contact between and with clients, also in relation to the new customers. Because of a change in general pub behavior and demographic profile in the neighborhood they need to adjust their management anyway and gentrifiers could help here, at least for some of the pubs. Besides that, stable management, offer change, events and activities and maintaining the old pub atmosphere, are seen as success factors for the future. Expectations about the coming years are unclear though, especially in the light of a rapidly changing neighborhood.

Many of the field results among local pub owners can also be found among their visitors with some additions. For perception this concerns the lack of bonding with the neighborhood of gentrifiers, which is comparable with the attitude of immigrants, the enthusiasm about the restaurant developments in the Indische buurt and especially the social significance of pubs, including the intensive, high-quality contacts with other customers and the importance of the pub owner. The pub is mainly seen as an entity in itself, almost independent from the rest of the neighborhood.

Opinions about gentrifiers and their relation to local pubs differ: some recognize their presence because they like this type of pub, while others state they are absent, because of different preferences. Visitors regard themselves as bound and open to newcomers at the same time, gentrifiers included. The respondents, belonging to this last group, do not confirm or reject these conflicting ideas.

Regarding their behavior, in general pub customers do not relate this to gentrification processes. This counts both for their daily life, their pub visit and their future behavior, which depends heavily on their personal situation. Of the respondents who experience the effects of gentrification in their direct environment, some benefit from it, while others feel the negative impact.

For the neighborhood as a whole visitors expect gentrification to continue, however the local pub will stay the way it is now.

## Conclusions

This research shows the effects of gentrification on pub and restaurant owners and local pub visitors depend on several preconditions, to be precise: 'awareness' of the gentrification process, the 'competences' of entrepreneurs and contextual factors, of which 'the influence of ethnic non-gentrifiers' seems to be a factor beyond the limitations of this study.

The effects themselves demonstrate the personal behavioral aspects are difficult to formulate for local pub owners, for social behavior this is less problematic. Some emphasize just the existing contacts with the old clientele, while others include the (positive) contact they have with new customers. Responses and implications of pub and restaurant owners show that concrete actions have been undertaken or they still try to react to it.

Perceptions about gentrification are mainly positive among both local pub owners and their visitors, of which the first group is more positive about the possibilities this development offers for their business. Still, the role of the pub is not seen in the broader perspective of gentrification of the neighborhood as a whole by the two groups. However, bonding between the existing clientele and welcoming the new customer group can go well together. Individualization of leisure in the future might be another significant factor in the future of local pubs, which needs to be examined further.

Other recommendations regarding research include behavioral aspects on the longer term or in other neighborhoods, the preferences and behavior of new customer groups, especially gentrifiers, the role of other (governmental) actors and the influence of sector trends and a link to other leisure activities. From a more practical point of view the importance of pub owners is emphasized once more and the advice has been given to policy makers to include them more into urban management processes.



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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

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### 1.1 Rationale

Gentrification always seems to start with conversions in housing, and until a few years ago, academic research focused primarily on this aspect (Luckins, 2009, p.265-266). The displacement of the original inhabitants as a result receives ample attention as well. Elaborating on that, one of the central themes of gentrification is an influx of new inhabitants from a social class and with a lifestyle, different from the 'original' population. As a result, these gentrifiers push the old residents out of the neighborhood or the two groups live a totally separated life in the same part of the city (Slater, 2006, p.743).

Because of this emphasis on housing, the effect the process has on other aspects in daily life of the inhabitants is not broadly represented in gentrification research. However, if we really want to understand this process and how it influences mundane practices, we have to look beyond the housing topic. More insight is needed into the practical dynamics of gentrification and how they evolve through interaction or avoiding behavior of residents. This implies that research should be conducted in places and occasions where people gather. In that regard, leisure is an important context: leisure provides opportunities for people to meet. In some leisure activities this might lead to integration, in others it will enhance segregation. The role of the providers of such activities, and especially the interaction with their clients, could give further insight in the significance of leisure within the gentrification process. Leisure opportunities may therefore play a crucial role in determining the social processes within neighborhoods. However, more research is needed in order to be able to explain how.

Recently, leisure has become a part of gentrification research, although the focus is mainly on physical changes in the neighborhood as a result of shifting supply and demand, and less on the social aspects.

Examples are a study about the Fringe in London (Aitchison et al.,2000), the rise of 'boutique shops' in two New York neighborhoods (Zukin, 2009) or the 'cosmopolitan' leisure infrastructure in Melbourne in the 1960's and 1970's (Luckins, 2009). These studies mainly focus on the built environment or the change in functions. In the Melbourne case also the symbolic demonstration of these transformations via press articles has been included, as well as a short section about the interaction between people within restaurants, cafés and pubs. This is quite an historical study though, which does not give insight into recent developments in this field of leisure.

Other studies discuss just a part of the leisure field or treat this in a broader way, for example a study on gentrification in Leith, Edinburgh (Doucet, 2009). This case certainly contributes to the knowledge of so-called non-gentrifying residents, who experience the changes in their neighborhood in daily life. However, specific insights in leisure perception and behavior are missing in this research.

This is the same with a study on the role of history in the place-making of a community in New Jersey (Blokland, 2009): the dynamics of a gentrifying neighborhood, the different groups that live there, their (lack of) interaction and the perception of the changes in their living environment, mainly from a historical context, provide some interesting conclusions. The role of leisure is not highlighted though.

Another study which is focused on leisure behavior and perception of single gentrifiers in Amsterdam (Gadet, 1999) gives some interesting results and starting points, especially the differences between the three different gentrifier groups, students, bohemians and professionals, However, this case is not focused on a specific neighborhood of the city and mainly excludes the non-gentrifiers and their role.

Finally, there are studies that research social effects of free time, but in a more or less 'stable' neighborhood environment –and not in a gentrification area, for example the performance and perceptions of active leisure among older people in Christchurch, New Zealand (Annear, 2009).

What can be concluded from most studies mentioned above is that gentrification within a neighborhood has an effect on facilities as well, whether this concerns amenities in general or specific leisure related activities, such as boutique shopping or enjoying food and drinks.

Although perceptions about this change have been researched sporadically, one main conclusion is that there are groups who mainly appreciate this shift, while other parts of the population have more problems with it. How this works for a specific leisure activity is not fully examined, neither how the interaction between different groups of people in a leisure context is and how this is seen.

Another disadvantage of the current studies in gentrification areas is the fact that research has been done in neighborhoods that already went through the process fully or that are in a 'mature' phase. The effects of leisure in an area where gentrification just started has not been examined yet. However, this could be useful in order to get an insight in the role of leisure in the broader development of gentrification in a neighborhood.

All in all, there seems to be a lack of research, specifically focusing on leisure behavior and perception, in the beginning stage of a gentrification process. The interaction between the new and old population is important here, as well as the effect these leisure changes have on the way people look at and think about the neighborhood. The effects of this social behavior and perception on the long term and what it will do with the specific leisure business and the neighborhood as a whole would be another step to take. In the end, the leisure practices may even influence a gentrification process in general. The role of the individual suppliers of leisure in this process needs to be explained more profoundly as well, since they could be regarded as crucial players in this wider perspective.

To narrow down the topic of this study, it is logical to choose an aspect of leisure in gentrifying neighborhoods which is prominent in such an area. From the existing literature it turns out that especially shopping, restaurant and pub visit and 'commercial' leisure facilities, like cinemas and bowling centers, are represented in these kind of neighborhoods. They are even part of a specific form of gentrification, called 'commercial gentrification' (Bridge and Dowling, 2001, p.94; Lees et al., 2008, p.131). Several times, Zukin (1995, 2004, 2009) conducted research on leisure facilities in New York, where she found out that in gentrification areas places meant for spending your free time often belong to the categories mentioned above.

When looking a bit deeper into these gentrification consumption practices, they are often related to lifestyles. Under the banner of 'money rich, time poor' the gentrifier lifestyle is expressed outside the home, and mainly in shops, bars and restaurants, specifically aimed at this target group (Bridge and Dowling, 2001, p.94). In most classic gentrification neighborhoods – older areas a bit outside the city center – supply of restaurants and pubs already existed before this process started. Therefore it is useful to see what happens with these leisure facilities and its users, once the neighborhood starts to change. This combination of 'old' and 'new' supply implies that, in socio-spatial terms, different groups of people with different tastes and practices will meet each other in a neighborhood.

Often these kind of facilities have the role of the 'mirror' of a neighborhood. The type of pub or restaurant and its visitors reflects its surroundings and therefore represents the state of a neighborhood in general (Zukin, 2009, p.47). Maybe it is even the case, that these leisure facilities serve as a sort of agents in the process of gentrification and therefore stimulate or slow down the development further.

The role of the local pub in a neighborhood is specifically interesting, because this seems to be one of the few places where 'old and new' meet, at least in the beginning of a gentrification process (Zukin, 2008, p.730). Besides that, naturally pubs are locations where people will easier come into contact with each other, compared to, for example, a restaurant. Especially in small local pubs this will be the case. The position of the pub owner deserves special attention as well, since he or she seems to be the person being able to influence the policy within his business (Zukin, 2008, p.731).

A question that can be raised here is what the function of a local pub is in the total gentrification process. Will it be one of the locations where there is positive interaction between gentrifiers and the non-gentrifiers? Is it a place that serves as one of the last safe 'havens' for the old population? Or will this local pub be able to be an 'agent of change' for the whole neighborhood? Or is it a last isolated relic from the past that will vanish in the end?

The question now is how the transformation of a gentrifying neighborhood and the changes in the demand and supply in local pubs and restaurants affect the business of individual pub and restaurant owners and which effect this 'new' type of specific leisure has on the visitors of these businesses. Does their pub and restaurant behavior change? How do both parties interpret the changes in pubs and restaurants in their neighborhood? And what is the role of pubs and restaurants in social relations during a gentrification process? These are questions that will stay central in this research, where the focus will be on local pubs.

## 1.2 Main research question and sub research questions

The end conclusion of the previous section led to the objective to get more insight in the social and business effects on local pubs and restaurants and its visitors in an early stage of (commercial) gentrification with a focus on local pubs. This is translated in the following main research question:

***“What are the effects of early stage gentrification for individual businesses in the pub and restaurant sector in general and for local pub owners and visitors specifically?”***

As can be seen, the main research question is divided into two parts: one more focused on the sector itself- although seen from an individual business point of view- and one focused on the owners and visitors of local pubs. Furthermore, although commercial gentrification is the process that receives most attention in this study, gentrification in general is formulated in the main research question. This is because the total process will be looked at as well, especially in the part where local pubs will be researched. Finally, the effects will be formulated slightly different for the two parties involved in this research, which is also reflected in the four sub research questions, presented below:

1. What are the implications for and responses of individual businesses in the pub and restaurant sector to the change in supply and demand in their neighborhood?
2. What are the implications for and responses of local pub owners to the change in supply and demand in pubs and restaurants in their neighborhood?
3. How do local pub visitors perceive the change in pub and restaurant life and gentrification of their neighborhood in general?
4. What is the effect of a changing pub/restaurant life and gentrification in general of their neighborhood on the personal and social behavior of local pub visitors?

Sub research question 1 will cover the first part of the main research question, giving an insight what the changes that are taking place in the supply and demand in a early stage gentrifying neighborhood mean for the individual businesses and how they react to it. The second research question will zoom in on one branch of the sector, namely local pubs, where first the owners of such businesses will be researched. Sub research question 3 and 4 focus on the demand side of local pubs, and specifically the perceptual and behavioral aspects. For the latter this concerns individual behavior as well as interaction with others, such as other customers and the pub owner/manager.

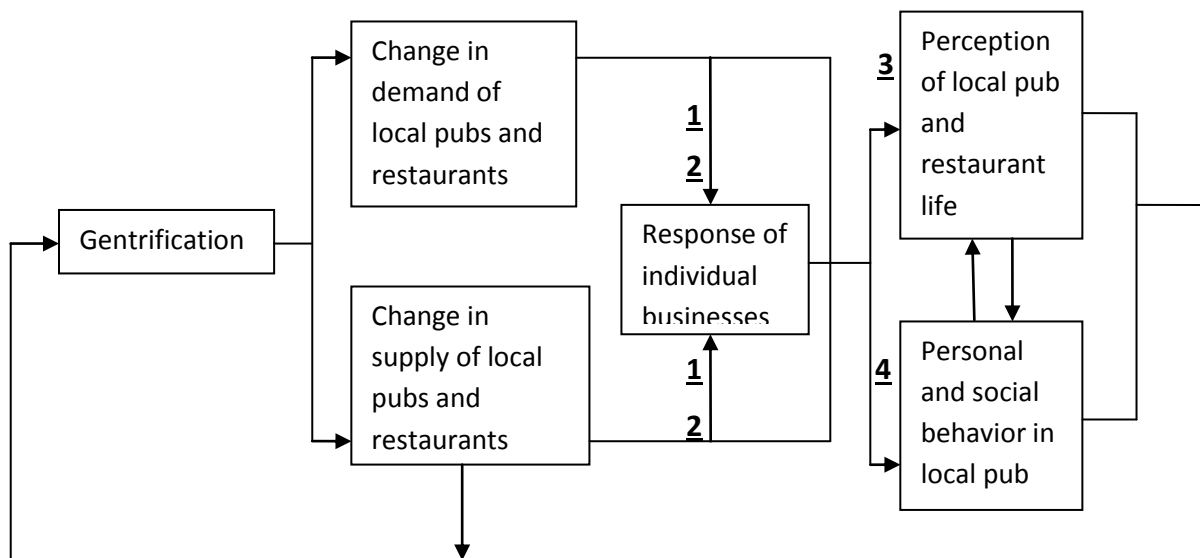
In order to find the answers to these questions empirical research will be done in an early stage gentrifying neighborhood. A quantitative inventory of the changes in pubs and restaurants of a specific area will be the first step. After that, interviews with pub and restaurant owners and customers will provide qualitative information. The neighborhood that is chosen as a case study is the Indische buurt in Amsterdam. More information about the research methods and techniques can be found in chapter 3, the Indische buurt will be described more in detail in chapter 4.



### 1.3 Conceptual model

Out of the research questions of the previous section, a preliminary conceptual model can be drawn, which illustrates the connection between the different elements of these questions.

**Figure 1.1 Conceptual model of thesis Effects of gentrification on daily life of pub and restaurant owners and visitors**



As can be seen in the model the starting point is the gentrification process itself, which has an effect on the actual change in demand and supply of pubs and restaurants. From both changes one arrow leads to the individual businesses which represents one part of sub research question 1. The other part, so the actual response of the individual businesses is mentioned in the box with the same name. Also the specific information about local pub owners, coming back in research question 2, can be found in this section.

Changes in demand and supply of all pubs and restaurants will lead to two effects on both the (social) behavior and perception of local pub visitors, which influence each other at the same time as well. The response of individual businesses and specifically local pubs has an effect on this perception and (social) behavior as well. Here sub research questions 3 and 4 are further worked out.

The arrows from this last stage of the model go back to the gentrification process in general, this also counts for the change in supply. This indicates that changes in supply, demand and consequently the personal and social behavior and perception will have an effect on the total gentrification process at a later stage.

After the empirical part of this study, this preliminary conceptual model will be returned to once more. This will be done in order to discuss whether the connections between the elements are correct, whether there are relations missing or whether elements should be added.

#### 1.4 Social and academic relevance

As pointed out already in the introduction, the daily life in gentrification areas did not receive that much interest in academic research yet. When zooming in at an important aspect of this- in this case leisure- it will hopefully lead to new insights how different groups interact and perceive their neighborhood and the role physical meeting places in their area play. Research on this most practical level will contribute, in a 'bottom up'-way to knowledge what actually happens in these areas. Since the focus within gentrification research recently shifted to effects instead of causes, this study will give further insight in the results of gentrification in areas (Slater, 2006).

The answers to the questions mentioned above and the insights they give will not only lead to a contribution to gentrification theories, but also strengthen the link between geography and leisure. In general, the connection between these two fields of study is not obvious. According to Hall and Page (2006) this mainly has to do with the 'non-serious' character of leisure, the lack of theorization and the lack of promotion of leisure studies in the broader geographical context. Hopefully this study will give input to let the two disciplines cooperate more with each other than is the case right now.

Elaborating on this, the methods used and the results achieved in this study can serve as a tool and guideline for further research on the perceptual and behavioral effects in other leisure activities where people meet, such as parks, playgrounds and sports facilities.

This study cannot only be used for academic purposes, but also for planners and other professionals in the field of urban management, like local governments. In the many urban renewal programmes that are or will be executed, concepts just as 'identity' and 'life-style' are important tools to market specific neighborhoods to potential investors and future inhabitants. However, the characteristics that are used do not reflect the daily practices, which can lead to images of areas that do not present reality (Duyvendak & van der Graaf, 2009, p.15). With research like this project developers, governmental bodies, real estate parties and communication agencies, get a detailed insight how businesses and its users perceive their neighborhood and how they react to it. This is something they can use in their plans and activities.

In these urban policy plans 'social cohesion' is another hot item, especially for governments this is important, mainly because of integration issues (Duyvendak & van der Graaf, 2009, p.57). Most of the policy makers seem to strive for a 'liveable', social city for everyone. An in-depth look into the everyday life practices of inhabitants, can contribute to a policy that takes daily life more into consideration, also on the level of free time. Specific locations such as pubs and restaurants could be important to achieve this and to in this way provide places where inhabitants feel socio-emotionally bound.

## 1.5 Structure of report

Now the target, context, main problem and relevance of this study has been made clear, the further outline of this report will be presented. This is done to explain the structure and set-up of this thesis, and how the different elements are connected to each other.

In chapter 2 the existing literature on commercial gentrification will be reviewed more in detail, with a focus on the changes in demand and supply and the impact this has on the daily life in a neighborhood.

The information this overview provides, will give further direction to the research approach and methods to be used for the empirical part of this study. This part, which includes definitions and limitations as well, will be presented in chapter 3.

Before focusing on this field research, chapter 4 will provide the reader with a justification of the case study chosen for this research, the Indische buurt in Amsterdam, including a description of the neighborhood. Also the link with gentrification in the area and the rest of Amsterdam will be outlined here.

Chapter 5 contains the first part of the empirical part of the research: an inventory of the changes in pubs and restaurants in the Indische buurt in the last 10 years. Additionally the processes behind this transformation change and effects on the daily life of the management in pubs and restaurants will be described as well. Here, also the role of other relevant parties within (commercial) gentrification will be taken into account.

The specific experience of the owners/managers of local pubs regarding these changes will be outlined in chapter 6. What gentrification means to them and how they relate that to their business and visitors will be the two central questions here.

The same questions can be asked to the customers of these places, which will be the main topic of chapter 7. For a selected number of local pubs the personal and social behavior and perception of its visitors regarding gentrification will be presented here.

Chapter 8 will combine the results of the empirical research and the existing literature into a main conclusion. Furthermore the conceptual model of this thesis will be reviewed, a critical reflection about this study will be provided and recommendations will be given for further research.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE OVERVIEW OF COMMERCIAL GENTRIFICATION AND DAILY LIFE

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### 2.1 Introduction

In the previous, introducing chapter a short overview has been given of already existing literature and research in the field of leisure and gentrification. In order to model and operationalize this study further and more in-depth, intensive review needs to be done on the field of pubs and restaurants in gentrification neighborhoods. The literature that is available about this topic will be described, analyzed and questioned. This will lead to a theoretical framework, having several goals: first of all it is meant to illustrate the existing gaps in knowledge more detailed. Secondly, it will lead to expectations about the results of this study. Thirdly, it will give directions which research approach and methods to use. Finally, it will also have a goal in itself, providing the reader with a deeper insight into this topic.

The starting point for this chapter will be the concept of 'commercial gentrification'. Although this includes more than just pubs and restaurants, and focuses also heavily on shops and stores, there are sufficient starting points for this research. Both the supply and demand side of this concept will be discussed, as well as the (daily) effects on micro and macro level it has on the actors involved.

### 2.2 The concept of commercial gentrification and its main characteristics

Even grammatically, the word 'gentrification' reveals that it points to 'process' and 'change'. Indeed, this concept deals with neighborhoods that undergo a transformation in social, economic, cultural and spatial ways (Lees et al., 2008, p.3). Soon after Ruth Glass' classic definition in 1964 it became clear that 'gentrification' is not restricted to being a residential concept and includes more than just housing- although the focus was for a long time just on this aspect. The core of the concept consists of 'a creation of affluent space' and 'neighborhood upgrading' (Lees et al., 2008; Doucet, 2010; Slater, 2006), in fact it is creation of middle-class spaces in the city in all its facets. This means also services, facilities, public space and atmosphere in a neighborhood is part of this process (Lees et al., 2008, p.9-10).

In general one could say both 'gentrification' itself and the theoretical concept have evolved from the moment they were introduced and manifest themselves in different ways, regarding size, actors and location. Since about a decade academic research seems to focus less and less on the housing aspect and other elements of gentrification have become the center of interest.

Elaborating on this, David Ley (2003) concludes in one of his more recent articles 'gentrification today is more about trendy bars, café's and street level spectacles than about housing and displacement' (p.2527). Indeed, there seems to be a trend of increasing interest in the cultural dimensions of gentrification at the expense of socio-political elements. This can be explained by several developments going on in gentrification research and the debate around it. First of all the attention to the causes of gentrification has decreased, whereas the effects have been researched increasingly. Since effects are more easily recognizable - and visibly even more- in cultural manifestations, compared to a social approach, this shift is logical (Bridge and Dowling, 2001, p.95; Zukin, 2009, p.62). Furthermore, the focus on displacement as one of the main research questions has been replaced by more positive side-effects. Here the focus is on the 'gentrifiers' themselves and the creation of hip and cool neighborhoods, where leisure, retail and catering play a dominant role. Even politics use this cultural dimension of gentrification as a tool to revitalize a neighborhood also socially (Luckins, 2009, p.266; Slater, 2006, p.738-745).

This tendency towards socio-cultural factors within gentrification fits the specific variant, that is 'commercial gentrification'. The concept refers to the gentrification of commercial premises, streets or areas. This process in the end leads to consumption space for the middle class. It is occasionally called 'boutiqueification' or 'retail gentrification' as well (Lees et al.,2008 p.131). The term 'commercial' refers to private enterprises, searching for income and profit in such neighborhoods. Although this definition includes many sectors, the focus of commercial gentrification is on services and facilities in the area of retail, pubs, restaurants and other leisure related supply, like gyms, cinemas and other cultural facilities (Zukin, 2009, p.47).

The importance of commercial gentrification is emphasized a number of times in recent academic studies (Bridge and Dowling, 2001; Deener, 2007; Doucet, 2009; Ley, 2003; Luckins, 2009, Zukin, 2008, 2009). It is seen as one of the most salient representatives of the 'demand' side of gentrification, focusing on consumption. Ley (2003) describes this as 'a need for quality leisure and cultural amenities among gentrifiers' (p.2528). For Zukin (2008), commercial gentrification embodies the so-called 'symbolic economy' (p.725). This means, the products and services consumed visually represent the life style and deeper values of its users. In this way, the areas where this consumption takes place, become 'spaces of representation', where people can identify with a specific type and use of this space. As a result, 'new consumption spaces supply the needs of more affluent residents and newcomers' (Bridge and Dowling, 2001, p.94). Because of the focus on this representation aspect, Bridge and Dowling (2001) claim space reflects the consumption practices and identities, that can vary according gender, ethnicity and class (p.95). Thus, main commercial streets in gentrification areas differ because of this variety, leading to so-called micro-geographies of retailing (Deener, 2007, p.297). This implies the need for a geographically detailed way of empirical research in gentrification neighborhoods, because the differences within a relative small area might be significant.

### 2.3 Supply in commercial gentrification

When looking at the offer that is so typical for commercial gentrification, first of all there seems to be a special interest in food among gentrifiers, whether this concerns eating out or so-called 'gourmet food' of caterers. Exoticness is a central theme within commercial gentrification and that is certainly applicable to the food aspect (Bridge and Dowling, 2001, p.95; Zukin, 2008, p.735). A wide variety of different national cuisines, in a classy atmosphere is typical for restaurants in gentrification areas. A cosmopolitan area is the result, which reflects all tastes of the world coming together in one neighborhood (Luckins, 2009, p.268). Other types that flourish are 'fusion' restaurants and catering companies, who offer a hybrid combination of cooking styles from all over of the world, served in 'authentic' establishments, mostly referring to organic and pure dishes from the domestic country (Bridge and Dowling, 2001, p.100-101).

Another important aspect of commercial gentrification are shops, focusing on clothing and interior design. The 'boutiques' that are so typical for these areas reflect the taste of the new customers, where a combination can be found of hip, trendy and alternative supply (Zukin, 2009, p.48).

The same could be said of pubs and cafés, although here it seems the authenticity aspect is also found in the existing, 'old' offer and its visitors (Zukin, 2008, p.730). In this way these businesses do not just reflect the preference of newcomers. It seems, the original character of the existing supply is appreciated as well by gentrifiers, at least in the beginning...

Overall, one could say commercial gentrification rises the absolute number of restaurants, shops and pubs. Often this supply is focused on high-end clientele with corresponding interior, decoration, prices, offer, advertisement and even company names. When taking this to a broader level, the increase of services and amenities in general is an aspect of many gentrifying districts. Sometimes this entails regular offer for the whole neighborhood like supermarkets, grocery stores or pharmacies (Zukin, 2009, p.49; Doucet, 2009, p.302). On the other hand, enterprises will establish that are primarily focused on the gentrifying population, such as mind and body shops, expensive pet shops and book stores (Bridge and Dowling, 2001, p.104).

The production process of commercial gentrification mostly starts with the influx of boutiques, expensive restaurants and special 'gentrification' shops of individual owners. Especially in the beginning of this process, the managers and staff of these new businesses are real 'pioneers' in the neighborhood. They seize the opportunity of low rents and a feeling of helping the neighborhood revitalizing. When starting up their business, most of the time they live in the area as well (Zukin, 2009, p.58).

However, at a later stage, the character of starting businesses in a gentrifying neighborhood changes. Parties with more capital come in sight, whether they are independent or so-called corporate retail capital, mainly chain stores, starting to 'discover' a neighborhood (Zukin, 2008, p.732-734). It seems that the pioneers indeed made sure to upgrade the neighborhood, attract new residents, consequently raise the prices of property, which eventually makes the way free for the 'real money'.

As a result, the first gentrification businesses are pushed out later, not being able anymore to pay rents and live in the neighborhood. In a study on Harlem and Williamsburg (Zukin, 2009, p.48) it showed that, at a later stage of gentrification, indeed chain stores began to enter the neighborhood. From a more positive perspective, this could lead to a better balance between the disproportional number of gentrifier-oriented business and more low-profile accessible stores for the old residents. At least if this last group still lives in the neighborhood by then...

Besides the suppliers of businesses, there are other parties playing an important role in the production process of commercial gentrification. First of all, the role of the state, is, contrary to the housing part of the gentrification debate, described in quite a restricted way in academic research. Probably because of its commercial character and the free market, national and local governments most of the time stay aside regarding the direct changes in supply. The state however can influence this by means of law enforcement, subsidies or zoning policies. In some cases the government is more actively involved in commercial investment, which is shown in the case of the New York neighborhood Harlem (Zukin, 2009, p.50). This article describes how the local government was heavily involved in stimulating the local economy of Harlem. A group of stage agencies, with the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone as leading governmental body, funded \$300 million from the 1990s on to give especially 125<sup>th</sup> Street, the main commercial street of the area an economic boost. By doing this, the total commercial gentrification development becomes more planned, compared to the spontaneous, organic way of most other examples.

Other non-profit organizations can play the role of driving force in upgrading the neighborhood commercially as well. One could think of community organizations or local activist groups who are able to initiate this process, with the assistance of local government and real estate developers on the background (Deener, 2007, p.298-299).

Another important factor is the role of real estate agencies, housing corporations and other parties involved in the property market. Together with the state or independently they have a certain control over the developments that take place in gentrifying neighborhoods: they determine the prices, they decide whether buildings will be renovated or demolished and which function buildings will have in the future (Deener, 2007, p.306).

The problem with the current academic literature on commercial gentrification supply at disposal is that it mainly displays examples from an Anglo-American context. Since the commercial real estate market is nowhere as open and free as in the United States this description of the supply side of commercial gentrification might not be illustrative for countries that are more regulated. The same goes for the role of the government which is significantly different from the European context, compared to the United States and the United Kingdom (Musterd and van Weesep, 1991). This difference between countries specifically for commercial gentrification has also been mentioned in a study regarding Sydney, Australia (Bridge and Dowling, 2001, p.106).

Because of the importance of these parties within commercial gentrification supply and their influence on the process, it is relevant to include them into empirical research. Especially because of the different geographical contexts they operate in they might be an influential factor in the commercial gentrification supply change.

Additionally, in the existing literature, commercial gentrification at the supply side is sketched without including the sector itself. The process of certain businesses disappearing or settling does not necessarily have to do with gentrification and displacement, however this could also be the result of other important developments in the industry. Therefore a general overview of supply trends in the pub and restaurant sector on a broader, national level should be integrated as well.

#### **2.4 Demand in commercial gentrification**

When reading the existing literature on the customers of commercial gentrification, there seems to be sort of sequence of different groups in the total process, reacting on each other, leading to a sort of evolution in consumption practices.

Often, artists are regarded as the so-called avant garde, who –unconsciously?– initiate and stimulate further processes. They are often seen as the people always searching for new, interesting places and the representatives of the so important ‘authenticity’. In this context, it can be translated as a search for tolerance and cultural diversity. This is often accompanied with romanticization of lower class and rough environments. That explains their preference for older, working-class neighborhoods, that offer this excitement. Since artists perform a creative life, they often spend their time in inexpensive restaurants and bars, serving as an inspiration (Zukin, 2008, p.729-230). For this group these places breathe the ‘real’, mixed, open, tolerant and multicultural atmosphere of a city (Gadet, 1999, p.119).

Once these artists found places to live their ‘authentic’ life, most of time they are followed by another group sharing the same principles, although lacking the creativity aspect, namely students (Luckins, p.268). This will probably not count for all of them, since they also have the tendency to visit ‘safe’ places in the city, where they are sure to meet other students (Gadet, 1999, p.79). The student segment that is likely to follow artists as the next group within gentrification are art students or students of similar studies like architecture or design, who are open to this kind of supply.



The next step, after gaining a so-called critical mass of people, would be the attraction of low-wage college educated urban residents to the neighborhood, who could be regarded as less adventurous than the first two groups, however also in search of cool and hip places (Zukin, 2008, p.727). To this group also the so-called 'family gentrifiers', sometimes nicknamed 'yupps'<sup>1</sup>, can be classified: young families who intentionally live in the city because of the tolerant, creative living climate and the proximity of work and day care facilities (Karsten, 2003, p.2573-2574)

At a later stage, enterprises are often commodified to a more conventional clientele, belonging to the middle class. For this group the term 'bourgeois bohemians' is used as well, indicating that they are attracted to creative and arty places, as long as these are adjusted to their middle class taste. One could say these are the real gentrifiers who further 'conquer' the neighborhood. At that stage of the process, the artists and students have been 'pushed out' already (Zukin, 2009, p.62). Since this gentrifier group is (socially) mobile and less place dependant than other residents it might also be the case, the consumption practices are not restricted to the area they live (Reijndorp, 2004, p.141). This could imply amenities outside the neighborhood will be their main focus of attention and not the offer in the area where they actually live (Stroucken, 2006, p.20). The consequence would be no further commercial gentrification will take place in their residential area.

A crucial group in commercial gentrification that receives surprisingly little attention are the 'old' residents, so the non-gentrifying people, who have lived in the area before it all started (Slater, 2006, p.743). The obsession of scholars to focus on the gentrifiers themselves has shifted recently with some studies that are more centered around the people who have to 'live through' this gentrification process (Doucet, 2009; Zukin, 2008). In general, non-gentrifiers do not seem to play an active role in commercial gentrification. Some of them are owners of enterprises who are more directly involved, however it looks like the majority just sees the changes in supply happening and needs to adapt to this (Doucet, 2009, p.300). Therefore studies mainly focus on the changes in behavior and perception of this group as a result of the commercial transformation and not during the process itself.

Within this discussion the different roles of ethnic groups and the 'original', native residents is not clear either. They are both regarded as a group of non-gentrifiers, however in current research the immigrants are mostly regarded as producers of commercial gentrification and the old, native residents just as consumers (Zukin, 2008; Bridge and Dowling, 2001). The question however is if both groups are not playing the 'other' role as well. Furthermore one could ask how the interaction is within commercial enterprises between these two non-gentrifying groups?

The paragraph above shows there is insufficient insight in the role of different groups of non-gentrifying inhabitants in the first steps of commercial gentrification, in the literature that is available. Furthermore the question can be raised whether the 'cycle' of the specific consumer groups always follows the path described above. Also, the role the preferences for certain kind of facilities that gentrifiers use in or outside the neighborhood, deserves further attention.

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<sup>1</sup> This abbreviation stands for 'young urban professional parents'(Karsten, 2003, p.2573)

To elaborate further on this, a value that is described several times in research (Zukin, 2008; Deener, 2007) is authenticity. The problem with this concept is that it is not clear to what this authenticity exactly refers. Words that are often associated with it are pure, organic and fresh, and sometimes also the excitement of the rough and ethnic/exotic (Zukin, 2008, p.726). The last two characteristics often have a connection with the already existing supply in a neighborhood, whereas the first three are typically concepts 'brought in' by gentrifiers. Distinction and alternativity are two other crucial values within commercial gentrification, which refer to the rejection of chain stores and mass consumption in particular and to suburban uniformity in general (Deener, 2007, p.292; Luckins, 2009, p.269).

Off-beat fits this attitude as well, exemplifying the need of gentrifiers to be different than the regular (suburban) citizens and consequently showing their lifestyle by visiting specific bars, restaurants and shops. At the same this alternative offer often goes together with high prices, which makes it distinctive –or better call it exclusive- in another way as well (Deener, 2007, p.303; Zukin, 2008, p.735).

The authenticity issue is sometimes a very subtle business: in a study about pub and restaurant preferences and visits of single gentrifiers in Amsterdam, they indicate grand cafés are not their favorite, but they praise the typical 'brown' pubs who are regarded 'as intimate, quiet and not showy'. However 'old men's pubs' where people from the neighborhood gather 'are to be avoided (Gadet, 1999, p.89).

This somehow ambivalent description of gentrifier preferences raises the question to what extent they play a role in the changes of pubs and restaurants in an early gentrifying neighborhood. Are they attracted by the already existing working class supply which contains authenticity or do they search for a more commodified offer that satisfies the sophisticated part of their taste? The dynamics between them are not entirely clear in the existing knowledge.

Now having an overview of the key groups and the offer within commercial gentrification, it is time to zoom in on the daily life of the suppliers of shops, restaurants and bars, the different customer groups and the old residents. After all, they seem to be the core groups who experience the process in reality most. How do they perceive the changes in the area, how does that reflect their daily life and how is the interaction between the different groups? This should basically lead to a number of expectations of the empirical part of this study.

## **2.5 Micro-effects of commercial gentrification on daily life**

Contrary to the housing aspect within gentrification, according literature the commercial part of this process is initially appreciated by most parties involved. The reason for this is that it seems to benefit all, especially when a neighborhood did not have that many (qualitative) amenities, services and retail before gentrification sat in. This means the already existing population profits from general improvements in the commercial supply in their neighborhood, which clarifies this positive attitude (Zukin, 2009, p.49; Doucet, 2009, p.302-303).

However, the resentment of non-gentrifiers that newcomers are responsible for this upgrading is a sentiment felt as well (Deener, 2007, p.295). Especially when there is a racial component involved - most of the time meaning 'white' people bringing in the new qualitative supply- this feeling is even more fuelled (Zukin, 2009, p.48). Moreover, the idea of supply of 'that is not meant for us' is expressed as well. This has to do with both the offer itself, which often does not match the taste of the original population, and with the lack of respect for the old neighborhood in general as well (Zukin, 2009, p.48; Doucet, 2009, p.302-303, 310). The new supply mainly seems to represent the preferences of one part of the population and disregards the history of a neighborhood and the respect for it (Deener, 2007, p.295, 311). This can lead to emotions of not feeling at home anymore in the own living environment. This is sometimes even physically expressed by means of action groups fighting the commercial gentrification, such as the 'pub roughlers' in East End, London (Atkinson, 2000, p.322).

Although the supply is not matching both groups, it is not said that old and new residents do not meet each other in commercial spaces, especially in the beginning of gentrification. Particularly the local pub is important here, because 'members of both groups listen to music and drink beer' (Zukin, 2008, p.727). This is where the authenticity aspect comes in again and something noticed already more than 30 years ago: according to Reijndorp (2004), at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s gentrifiers with a left-liberal mental framework were eager to meet exciting, nice and 'ordinary' people in the neighborhood. Many times the local pubs in the neighborhood served as the location for this, whereas for the original population these pubs were a 'parochial domain', a place that belonged to them and functioned as a central point in the area (p.48-49, 140). In such a domain the offer is quite limited and uniform, interaction takes place between relatively acquainted customers and the entry is free for 'members' and strangers are just tolerated (Gadet, 1999, p.35).

This last point already says something about the reality in those pubs: the different expectations both groups have about a pub, in terms of offer and desired behavior do not seem to fit. The newcomers do not feel welcome and move to hipper places, whereas these new consumption spaces have the same effect to old residents (Zukin, 2008, p.731). It seems that there are two different worlds coming together for a short while and soon splitting again. However, how this exactly works is not clear and deserves more in-depth research.

The role of pub or restaurant owners seems to be exemplary for the situation described above. In the case of existing enterprises they would like to cater both groups but the cultural gap between them cannot be bridged (Zukin, 2008, p.731). This is illustrated by the case of café Busy Bee in a gentrifying neighborhood in Chicago, US. Also facing this dilemma, the owner wanted to attract both groups, this did not work out and soon afterwards the business got bankrupt (Zukin, 2008, p.730). So in case you upgrade your offer and ambiance there will be a loss in old clients, whereas you will not get new clients if you do not change anything (Zukin, 2008, p.731). Here, more insight is needed to receive a clear picture how an owner in a gentrifying neighborhood deals with this.

Not only in pubs this trend can be seen, the ethnic restaurants and food stores seem to face the same problem. The exotic supply they offered to their original clientele –many times other immigrant customers from the neighborhood, familiar with this- does not match the needs of the new gentrifiers. While the offer is in a way distinctive and authentic, for this group quality is in the end more important than the real ‘roots’. This means that gentrifiers will not become regular customers of these enterprises but hope for an ethnic store or restaurant, commodified to their taste (Zukin, 2008, p.735).

One could conclude the contact between new residents and patrons and staff of new commercial business with the ‘old’ neighborhood seems to be rather limited, at least from a certain point of time on. As soon as new, commodified supply is offered, meeting the criteria of the new population, there is no need to visit the old, local pub or exotic food store anymore and the little contact there was, has disappeared. However, the dynamics behind these processes are blurred and need more attention. Remarkable is that the admiration with ethnic neighbours among some of the gentrifiers is mentioned a few times. However, the actual, cross-cultural contact is avoided (Bridge and Dowling, 2001, p.95; Zukin, 2008, p.727). Maybe the presence of some sort of ethnicity and authenticity in the direct living environment is already enough and this is just an element for creating a life-style?

## **2.6 Macro-effects of commercial gentrification on neighborhood level**

Now the immediate daily effects have been described, the next step is to take a look at the macro effects of commercial gentrification, on neighborhood level. This section will describe spatial, social and economic results of this process for a neighborhood in total. Although these are sometimes only measurable on the longer run and do not instantly refer to individuals, some of these effects could have a direct impact on them as well.

First, from a geographical point of view, it is often the case that only a part of a neighborhood is commercially gentrified, so there is a spatial division of amenities within one quarter, serving in one part the gentrifiers and their ‘peers’ and in another part of the neighborhood the old population (Bridge and Dowling, 2001; Deener; 2007). Especially because of the earlier mentioned micro-spaces of consumption some streets of a neighborhood will become exclusive areas for people who can afford this. Although these places are of course public and accessible, the so-called ‘symbolic ownership’ of streets by a specific high-class group is an important threat. Commercial streets are often seen as sources of neighborhood safety, the core of democratic participation and community vitality and the root of city’s creative culture. With this element of inclusion and exclusion coming in, the spatial separation within a neighborhood becomes stronger (Deener, 2007, p.293-294).

Of course it is not just a separation in space that can be noticed, the social dichotomy is a consequence of this as well. As said before, commercial spaces are the locations in a neighborhood where different groups can meet. If this is not the case anymore, because the supply is just aimed at one particular group of residents in the neighborhood this public interaction is absent. One could conclude the contact between newcomers and old residents has decreased, since life-style plays a more dominant role for these 'new city dwellers'. They search for an individual, consumption-oriented way of living, in order to create a living environment together with other same-minded people, not necessarily living in the same quarter. This will lead to two groups living a fully separate life in a relatively small area, where the so desired social cohesion is non-existing (Slater, 2006, p.743). In this way, the emancipatory city thesis of Caulfield, striving for a process 'which unites people in the central city and creating opportunities for social interaction, tolerance and cultural diversity, for both gentrifiers and non-gentrifiers' (Lees et al., 2008, p.209) is far from achieved.

Interesting in this spatio-social discussion is the specific situation of Amsterdam: as one of the few world cities, public space is characterized by its compactness, proximity and diversity. This leads to higher interaction rates between users in public space and although they all have their own places and hang-outs, also leisure related, they meet each other. This phenomenon which is called 'passenger publicity'<sup>2</sup> would enhance integration and positive tolerance towards others (Gadet, 1999, p.131-132). The question is if in such a city the spatial and social divisions as a result of gentrification will be experienced or not. Also the way these effects work for individuals is not clear enough from the current academic research it is not clear enough yet how this works.

This effect of living separated lives in itself does not have to be dramatic though, how unfavorable it might be. Things become different, when one of the groups does not feel at home anymore in a neighborhood. A feeling of alienation could start building up, which can have an effect on the 'neighborhood attachment' on the long run. According to Duyvendak & van der Graaf (2009) a feeling of attachment with your neighborhood is mainly determined by the social contacts people have within their immediate environment. The people who find the physical component of attachment ('rootedness') most important are inhabitants who are older, lower educated, have less income and children, still living at home (p.26-27). These are exactly the people who can be found many times in working class areas in cities, that might become gentrification neighborhoods.

In the neighborhood attachment discussion, the role of commercial enterprises comes back in the part of physical facilities and the symbolic meaning they have for people. It turns out that it is not just the service or amenity itself that counts here, even more important is the value that has been given to it and the other people that are met. This means that over a longer time this specific form of place attachment can be affected (Duyvendak & van der Graaf, 2009, p.17). The question that can be raised additionally here is if this will also have further consequences in terms of moving out of the neighborhood. Whereas there is no real evidence for this, several studies (Luckins, 2009; Zukin, 2008) assume that commercial gentrification indirectly stimulates displacement of the original population.

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<sup>2</sup> The original Dutch word, used in this study is 'passantenopenbaarheid', which is hard to translate in English

It is often more a feeling of displacement these residents have than that they are actually displaced, which can nevertheless result in a real move to another neighborhood (Doucet, 2009, p.301).

A critical question that can be asked here is whether leisure and retail facilities in a neighborhood are still important for a feeling of 'bonding', looking at the increased mobility of people. This factor only seems to be important when people for some reason still feel the need to find this supply in the immediate surroundings of their home, however this should be tested in empirical research.

When looking at the direct displacement of commercial enterprises from an economic angle, there is more evidence. Most of the 'basic', economic features of gentrification can be recognized in commercial gentrification as well. First of all this entails the increase of property price or rents, which is researched in several case studies (Deener, 2007; Zukin, 2008, 2009). The tenurial transformation from renting to owning is less visible and present in this type of gentrification, probably also because of the fact that in the commercial sector renting constructions are most common. As already mentioned in section 2.3, often the 'pioneers' within commercial gentrification are pushed out later by parties with more retail capital. This means not only 'old' supply has been displaced, also the business that started the total process will have to make way for more commodified enterprises, which belong to the more corporate form of retail.

A direct example of 'pushing out' the old commercial enterprises is the story of Tony's café in the Broadway market area in London. In this case a pub in a regeneration area was forced to leave because of project developers and local government auctioning it off to the highest bidder (Guardian g2, December 7, 2005, p.8-11). The question that can be asked again in this respect is how this displacement works in countries and cities that have a more regulated real estate market and where business are more protected by institutions such as the local government and housing corporations.

A last aspect of commercial gentrification is the simple question how it relates to the gentrification process in general. The moment to raise it particularly in this section is because the 'chicken-and-egg' story is applicable here: is commercial gentrification an effect of more overall gentrification or a cause? This question is not easy to answer since the existing literature is not coherent.

Sometimes pubs and shops are regarded as catalyzers for further development, that reinforce further developments. This is mentioned in a study about a neighborhood in Venice, Los Angeles, US, where the commercial changes caught the attention of developers and real estate brokers. In the end this led to gentrification of the housing stock, so after the commercial developments entered the area (Deener, 2007, p.303-304). The same conclusion can be drawn in the Dallaert area in Brussels. There, the residential gentrification only took place after an influx of first trendy, alternative boutiques and soon afterwards restaurants (NAi, 2009, p.136-137).

In other publications retail gentrification is more seen as a result of earlier processes. In the case of the East End area in London commercial gentrification is a secondary reaction to a previous transformation process (NAi, 2009, p.68). And there are areas that can become a hotspot in the city, without changing into a gentrification neighborhood at all, which is the case in the Spree area in Berlin (NAi, 2009, p.128).

Looking at the examples above, this mainly has to do with the specific economic, social or political context of the neighborhood and/or city. Furthermore the discussion whether a process is a cause or an effect seems to be less important nowadays and more emphasis is given to the impact of a process for daily life experiences. This even leads to the discussion if the 'cause and effect'-question in the beginning of this paragraph is still relevant. Although the answer to this would be negative at first sight, it could be interesting to know if commercial gentrification has an effect on gentrification overall process, especially in the early stage of a neighborhood transforming from working class into a middle class-area. This could give insight how daily, ordinary activities contribute to a more abstract, general development.

## 2.7 Conclusion

Out of the existing literature on commercial gentrification the conclusion can be drawn that the similarities with gentrification in general are obvious, both from a production point of view and the consumption side. To start with the former, the process roughly follows the same pattern: there is a group of pioneers starting a business that attracts a new alternative group of customers to a worn-down neighborhood. This leads to an increase of prices in the area and an arrival of comparable supply. After that, old owners of shops, restaurants and cafes -and pioneers at a later stage as well- are pushed out and an exclusive commercial space is created, later sometimes followed by more general corporate retail business.

For the consumption side the 'blueprint' is that first people move in the neighborhood who fit the new commercial spaces, followed by more gentrifiers. Old residents do not match with this new supply, they start feeling alienated from their neighborhood and are in that way indirectly displaced from their home. It might sound simple, however this is what most studies in the end conclude, maybe with the exception of a study in Leith, Edinburgh (Doucet, 2009, p.312-313).

The question however is whether this is how commercial gentrification works and what it does with people on the long run. Is this limited view on commercial gentrification correct? Is it not strange that especially in the beginning of commercial gentrification most parties are enthusiastic, however that there seems to be sort of turning point that is inevitable and is the beginning of the neighborhood taken over by the middle class and pushing the old, lower class population out?

These questions above, together with the critical remarks about the existing literature already made in the different sections of this chapter, ask for an empirical study which will shed further light on these aspects of commercial gentrification. Two preconditions are important here in order to select a neighborhood for this research.

First of all a neighborhood should be chosen that is in stage 2 of gentrification according the model of Clay (Lees et al., 2008, p.31): relatively few gentrifiers enter the area, renovation programmes have been introduced and the area is at the starting point of becoming commonly known as an upcoming neighborhood.

Secondly it is important this neighborhood should be located outside an Anglo-American context, preferably in a country where the real estate market is more regulated and the role of the government is more important. This is because only then one can test what influence these parties have on commercial gentrification in a neighborhood in general, but moreover the effect on individual businesses. In this respect the city of Amsterdam is interesting: not only because it is the capital of The Netherlands, which is a regulated country, moreover because of its small-scaled character and typical use of public space, described before.

The expected results and insights this study will give are diverse: first of all the role of the non-gentrifying inhabitants in the neighborhood in this stage of gentrification will become clearer, specifically related to their leisure behavior and perception. It will give insight how they deal with the changes in their neighborhood and how this reflects their own (pub) life. Also the potential differences between ethnic and non-ethnic residents in this group of non-gentrifiers will be explained.

Furthermore, the taste of gentrifiers and non-gentrifiers regarding pubs and restaurants will be touched upon, since the existing literature does not explain this fully.

Even more important is the insight this study will give in expectations pub visitors have about this leisure activity, the bonding they have with their bar and the importance of going to a pub, all in relation to the neighborhood. Furthermore their actual social behavior and interaction between several groups will be discussed. Also the role of the bar manager in these dynamics will be clarified.

Additionally, the typical geographical context of a more regulated country in relation to commercial gentrification will be outlined, in the framework of a small-scale, interactive city. Also, the pub and restaurant sector in the specific country will give further insight which non-gentrification related developments have an influence on the changes in demand and supply in the specific neighborhood.

Finally the role of the pubs and restaurants in the further gentrification of this particular neighborhood will be sketched. This will add to the discussion about cause and effect within commercial gentrification.

With the information of this chapter and the expectations of this thesis formulated, the research questions can be further operationalized by choosing the methods and techniques that fit this subject best. This will be outlined in the next chapter, where the set-up of this research is explained in detail.



## CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND OPERATIONALIZATION

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### 3.1 Introduction

Now the research questions and conceptual model of this study are clear and a general expectation of the results as well, the next step should be taken. Therefore in this chapter the decision for the research design, the matching methods and techniques and operationalization of the variables of the conceptual model has been made. This will give further direction to the empirical part of this research, which results will be presented from chapter 5 on. To define the scope of this thesis further, different elements of this research will be defined in this chapter as well, so the reader knows within which framework this study operates. In this section, also the limitations of this thesis will be made clear.

### 3.2 Type of research

Looking at the nature of this research and the different research strategies and designs that exist, (Bryman, 2008, p.35-58) it should be considered as inductive, interpretivist and constructionist. Most important is the inductive aspect, because it will help to generate theory about gentrification and leisure. Therefore qualitative research is the most logical research strategy (Bryman, 2008, p.22).

This opinion is confirmed by the overview of geography approaches to studies of leisure and tourism, provided by Hall & Page (2006, p.17). 'Behaviourial geography' is the approach that suits this research best and the methods used within that approach are all qualitative.

The research design that has been used is a case study in a gentrifying neighborhood in The Netherlands, to be precise the Indische Buurt in Amsterdam. This choice meets the requirements, formulated in the previous chapter, regarding a non-Anglo-American case in a less market oriented country, with a preference for Amsterdam. More information about the area can be read in chapter 4. Of the different types of cases that exist, this case can be regarded as a representative or exemplifying case (Bryman, 2008, p.56) and serves as an illustration of other, comparable cases.

The limitation of a case study in general is clear: it focuses just on one area and makes the outcome of the research therefore place-restricted. It only shows the unique characteristics of this case, which is called an idiographic approach (Bryman, 2008, p.54). According to Mayring (2007) there are eight different types of generalization with different aims: looking at this specific study, it has an explorative aim, meaning it will develop general statements and hypotheses that can be tested for generality in future studies. Furthermore it generalizes the procedures, so giving advice to research similar cases in the future. Therefore it is important to choose a case that is typical, representative or theoretically interesting (Mayring, 2007, p.6), which requirements the Indische buurt all meets.

### 3.3 Research methods and techniques

The research methods that have been used are a combination of desk and field research, with a focus on the latter. Only for a part of the first research question desk research has been conducted, the rest has been answered by means of field research. Methods have been used that are in line with a qualitative case study: mainly qualitative, semi-structured interviews, participant observation and ethnography (Bryman, 2008, p.369, 438). More in detail, per sub research question the following methods and techniques have been applied.

*Sub research question 1:*

*What are the implications for and responses of individual businesses in the pub and restaurant sector to the change in supply and demand in their neighborhood?*

First of all, it is essential to have an overview of the changes in demand and supply that took place in the neighborhood to be researched. Although some information about this topic can be found already in the existing literature (see chapter 2), the specific developments in the Indische buurt need to be examined. Therefore an inventory has been made of the number of pubs and restaurants over the years, the type of pubs and restaurants, the locations in the neighborhood, its clientele and its offer. This information is based on statistics from the Chamber of Commerce, Amsterdam, checked by the researcher in the neighborhood itself. Additionally, the information that came out of the semi-structured interviews with owners and the observations of the researcher during several periods of stay (between 2-4 days each) in the Indische buurt helped to obtain this overall view.

Since it is expected that it is not just gentrification that has an influence on the change in supply of pubs and restaurants, a brief comparison has been made with nationwide trends and developments in the sector. These are derived from statistics of branch organizations, which show the overall situation of the different types of pubs and restaurants in The Netherlands.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, in regulated countries such as The Netherlands more research needs to be done on stakeholders like the state and players in the real estate market. Therefore interviews have been conducted with a representative of the local government and with employees of one of the most influential housing corporations in the Indische buurt. To be precise one interview has been executed with Mrs. Paula Spiering, civil servant from the Stadsdeel Oost, who is in charge of the practical execution of the policy regarding pubs and restaurants. Additionally, a double interview has been held with Mrs. Mieke Stoopendaal, interim manager, and Mrs. Eartha Dors, participation employee, both working for the housing corporation Eigen Haard in the Indische buurt specifically. Because they could not give enough specific information about commercial property, an additional telephone interview has been held with Mr. Micha Wijngaarde, who is involved in a specific project regarding commercial gentrification in the Indische buurt.

Besides these interviews who are more specifically about pubs and restaurants in the Indische buurt, two additional expert interviews have been held: one with mr. Simon van Dommelen, project advisor of Stad BV, a consultancy firm for urban development in Amsterdam, who has lived himself in the Indische buurt for a few years. The other one was with mr. Ton Heijdra, a social geographer who has written two books about the history of the Indische buurt. Both interviews gave a deeper insight, mainly in the Indische buurt in general, this information is mostly processed in the case description of the neighborhood in chapter 4. Some information has been gathered about pubs and restaurants as well, which is processed spread over all research questions.

In order to answer the research question itself, semi-structured open question interviews have been conducted with 26 owners of restaurants and pubs in the Indische buurt, which is more than 50% of the total supply mentioned in the statistics of the Chamber of Commerce. Businesses were visited by the researcher without announcement beforehand and owners were asked to have this interview directly on the spot. Only three potential respondents refused to cooperate, all the others agreed or made an appointment for an interview at a later stage. It was made sure that delegates of all types of pub and restaurant supply were included in the sample, giving a representative overview of the sector in the Indische buurt.

The length of the interviews varied between 10 and 35 minutes<sup>3</sup> and were held mainly in March 2011, and two smaller sessions in May and June 2011. Forms were used, mentioning the questions and a text box, where the answers immediately could be written down by the researcher. Later, these notes have been typed out separately per interview.

The questionnaire contained both topics related to the past/start of the business, the reaction to changes in the neighborhood at this particular moment and expectations for the future. Specific topics were:

- The starting date of the business, the function of the building before and reasons to start the business in the Indische buurt (past)
- Reactions within business on current developments in neighborhood and most important group of customers (present)
- Expected changes in customers and future perspective on own business in Indische buurt (future)

The questions were not always asked in the same order, but according the course of the interview. In some cases several questions were not relevant: especially when a business had just started, the topics of the past were not suitable. If that was the case, the corresponding questions were skipped. All the answers of the interviews have been analyzed, coded and classified and afterwards processed as topics for the different paragraphs of chapter 5.

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<sup>3</sup> The difference in length of the interviews can be explained by the time the owners wanted and/or could spend for the interview, since they were asked to participate immediately.

*Sub research question 2:*

*What are the implications for and responses of local pub owners to the change in supply and demand in pubs and restaurants in their neighborhood?*

In order to answer this research question, unstructured in-depth interviews with five pub owners were carried out. Since the focus within this research is on the role of local pubs, a limited number of typical local pubs has been selected. All pubs had to meet the criteria of a local pub though, meaning small-scaled, having a typical local atmosphere and mainly aimed at residents from the Indische buurt itself<sup>4</sup>. Nine pubs met these requirements, however only these five agreed to have an in-depth interview, three others agreed to have the shorter interview, described in research question 1.

Semi-structured interviews were held with these five pub owners, to be precise of café Gijs de Rooy, Pleinzicht, De Luifel, De Toverbal and Muiderhoek. These talks lasted between 45 and 60 minutes, were all held in March 2011 and structured by means of a topic list. All these interviews were taped and transcribed. Five main topics were discussed, which were:

- (operational) management of the pub in general
- developments within Indische buurt and consequences for own business
- people in the Indische buurt and consequences for own business
- customers of own business
- future of own business

All the answers of the interviews have been analyzed, coded and classified and afterwards processed as topics for the different paragraphs of chapter 6.

*Sub research question 3:*

*How do local pub visitors perceive the change in pub and restaurant life and gentrification of their neighborhood in general?*

To answer this research question, 19 semi-structured interviews have been held in four sessions between May and July 2011, on week and weekend days, throughout the day as well as in the evening. This was done to make sure different types of customers could be found. In total 22 pub visitors were interviewed, meaning 16 single interviews and 3 double interviews. Visitors were asked in the pub if they wanted to have an interview immediately, the vast majority agreed. Only two visitors who were asked did not want to participate, with three respondents an appointment has been made later, also in the pub itself.

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<sup>4</sup> See also section 3.4 of Definitions and limitations for a more extensive description of a local pub

The interviews were held in four different local pubs in de Indische buurt, to be exact café Gijs de Rooy, Pleinzicht, Insulinde and Valentijn. These pubs were selected because they represent different types of local pubs with a different clientele. This was only found out after the interviews of research question 1 and 2, therefore these pubs do not fully correspond with the ones selected for the in depth interviews with the pub owners. Since the pubs are different in terms of atmosphere and clientele, comparisons can be made between the type of pub and the outcomes of the interviews.

The profiles of these respondents were very mixed, which was achieved via purposive sampling (Bryman, 2008, p.458). This means visitors were selected who could contribute to a deeper knowledge about perception and behavior on the topic of the pub and the neighborhood. This was mainly done after consultation with the owner and by means of demographic characteristics, such as age, profession and residence. This led to a heterogeneous group of respondents, mainly non-gentrifying residents of the neighborhood, however also people who recently started to live in the neighborhood and visitors who do not live in the Indische buurt. Furthermore the range of age was between 19 and 80, professions varied from construction worker to business consultant. Of the respondents, only 6 were female and 16 male, however this unbalanced ratio was in line with the total population while visiting the different local pubs by the researcher. For a detailed overview of the respondents, see appendix 1.

The interviews lasted between 20 and 50 minutes, with an average of 30 minutes, and were taped. All these interviews were transcribed afterwards.

Items that were discussed during the interviews regarding this research question were:

- Development of neighborhood in general and pubs and restaurants specifically
- Significance of pub visit in general and specific pub for respondent
- Image and role of specific pub in the near future, also in relation to the neighborhood
- Image of own role as pub visitor in the near future

*Sub research question 4:*

*What is the effect of a changing pub/restaurant life and gentrification in general of their neighborhood on the personal and social behavior of local pub visitors?*

In order to answer this research question, the same interviews were used as in research question 3 with exactly the same approach and research techniques.

Items that were discussed during the interviews regarding this research question were:

- Pub visits in general and specific pub (frequency, pattern in time)
- Interaction with other visitors in specific pub
- Interaction with pub owner
- Influence of changes in neighborhood in daily life practices

Furthermore the actual pub behavior has been researched via (participant) observation by the researcher in the same time frame as when the interviews were conducted. This was done to get an extra qualitative insight in the interaction between customers.

### 3.4 Definitions and limitations

Most concepts belonging to the research questions have been operationalized in the previous section. However, some definitions and limitations have to be defined, especially regarding the supply part of pubs and restaurants. This should be done in order to decide what kind of businesses belong to this research and which ones not and which types of pubs and restaurants exist.

When categorizing the different businesses, first a distinction has been made between cafés and pubs on the one hand and restaurants, take away restaurants and snackbars on the other hand. This has been based on definitions, provided by an internal publication of the Dutch branch organization *Bedrijfschap Horeca* (for an overview of these definitions in Dutch, see appendix 2). During the visit of the neighborhood and the businesses in the *Indische buurt* it has been decided whether the emphasis is on offering food or drinks, if needed this is checked with the manager/personnel as well. Some businesses offer both food and drinks and the dominant function had to be chosen, however the vast majority was easy to categorize. In this overview, the categories ‘catering’ and ‘accommodations’ in the statistics of the Chamber of Commerce have been left out, since they do not meet the requirements of out-of-home consumption leisure facilities in the field of drinks and food, that is typical for the other businesses.

Within the category of pubs it is crucial to distinguish the pub and the coffee house, because they serve a different purpose and clientele, and therefore have a different role in the neighborhood<sup>5</sup>. A regular pub opens its doors normally around 12.00 p.m. or later in the afternoon, the coffee house is a business welcoming customers already in the early morning. In previous times this had to do with harbor and factory employees or market people who frequented these ‘early morning’ pubs for a coffee -and often alcoholic beverages as well- before going to work. Sometimes these coffee houses also provided some kind of breakfast. The coffee houses closed their doors later in the morning and opened again the end of the afternoon, where they welcomed the same people, coming back from their work. After a couple of drinks they went home to have dinner and spend the night with their families, which meant the businesses closed again early in the evening (Pellanders, 2005). This type of coffee house should not be confused with Turkish or Moroccan coffee houses which are mainly aimed at ethnic customers, serving non-alcoholic beverages. This type of business also serves as a meeting place for this kind of groups.

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<sup>5</sup> This is a different sort of coffee house, as described in the definitions of *Bedrijfschap Horeca* in appendix 3.

Another contextual aspect playing a role in this research is the typical role of the local pub in Amsterdam. In some ways these businesses are different from other comparable bars in The Netherlands, which are commonly called 'bruin café'<sup>6</sup> -literally 'brown pub': first of all the size is quite small, sometimes not bigger than a living room. Besides that, the interior is often – intentionally- old-fashioned and authentic, with yellowed curtains, Persian carpets on the tables, neon lights and dark wooden furniture. This gives the Amsterdam local pub a typical atmosphere, enhanced by the Dutch music often played and the pub sports offered. Because of their homelike flavor, these pubs for a long time formed a central meeting point for residents of the neighborhood, like the coffee house did for the laborers.



Picture 3.1: Interior of local pub Pleinzicht

The coffee house, regular pub and local pub will be included in this research and especially the latter is a very important part of this research, since it is expected here most dynamics can be found regarding commercial gentrification on the one hand and the daily pub life on the other hand. Looking at the different definitions the Bedrijfschap Horeca formulated, there is a small difference between a pub and a bar (see appendix 2). However, because the pubs in the Indische buurt have characteristics of both, these two concepts have been used interchangeably.

Another definition question concerns the concepts 'owner' and 'manager' of a business. Although many pubs and restaurants are not really owned by the patron who manages an enterprise daily, but by landlords –or in the case of pubs by a brewery- this word is used in this thesis on the same level as manager. For most customers and outsiders these managers are seen as the ones who are responsible for the success or failure of the business, and therefore have the image of the owner.

Regarding limitations, the focus of research question 1 is on the changes in supply of pubs and restaurants and less on the demand. This means no sample of inhabitants of the Indische buurt or visitors of these businesses has been made to receive a further insight in this demand change. Instead, owners and managers of pubs and restaurants have been asked about the changes in clientele. This limits the demand part of this research, however local pub visitors have been interviewed in-depth, which means that the consumer side of this branch has been researched more extensively.

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<sup>6</sup> For a (Dutch) definition of 'bruin café', see appendix 2

Another limitation related to this is the fact that research question 2, 3 and 4 only focus on local pubs and not on the total pub and restaurant sector. There several reasons for this: first of all, there is the limited timeframe of this research, in which it is not feasible to cover behavioral aspects of the whole pub and restaurant sector. Furthermore, it has been assumed it is easier to research pub visitors than people who visit a restaurant, because of the practices in such a business. Besides that, restaurants might be less suitable for observation because in general the interaction between visitors is restricted. Finally, as already explained in chapter 1, local pubs are places where several groups of residents potentially meet. Therefore the choice has been made to focus on the local pub branch in the second stage of this research.



# CHAPTER 4: THE INDISCHE BUURT AND GENTRIFICATION

## 4.1 Introduction

Before providing the first results of the empirical part of this study, this chapter describes the case of this research more in detail. The neighborhood that is chosen is, as said before, the Indische buurt in Amsterdam. In order to have a context of the field research results and to put them into a specific geographical framework, information about the neighborhood will be provided in this chapter.

First, factual information about the Indische buurt is provided, also in relation to Amsterdam as a whole. Next, the past of the neighborhood will be outlined, to put the current developments going on in an historical frame, as well as the plans that still exist for the neighborhood. Finally, gentrification within the area will be substantiated, including a link with gentrification in the whole city of Amsterdam and the role the Indische buurt has in this process. This will give the reader an idea how gentrification manifests in this neighborhood and which aspects might be noticed by the respondents in the empirical research as well.

## 4.2 Some facts and figures

The location of the Indische Buurt is in the eastern part of Amsterdam, and because of its (natural) borders the neighborhood is easily to define: in the north it is limited by the Zeeburgerdijk, in the west by the rail track Amsterdam-Hilversum, including the railway station Muiderpoort, in the south by the Ringvaart of the Watergraafsmeer and in the east by the Flevopark. The size of the neighborhood is 147 hectare, the total population around 22,500 inhabitants (CBS, 2011). The shape of the Indische buurt is rectangular, with two streets forming an axis through the neighborhood: the Insulindeweg from west to east and the Molukkenstraat from north to south. Because of this, the neighborhood can be roughly divided into four quadrants. This is visible on the map below as well.

Figure 4.1: Map of the Indische Buurt, Amsterdam



Source: Falkplan BV, Map of Amsterdam, 2007

Administratively, the Indische buurt belongs to Stadsdeel Oost, together with comparable areas, such as the Oosterparkbuurt, Dapperbuurt and Transvaalbuurt. Until May 2010, it was part of Stadsdeel Zeeburg, to which new residential areas like Oostelijk Havengebied and IJburg belonged as well.

In order to compare the demographic profile of the Indische buurt with the rest of Amsterdam, an overview has been made on several aspects, such as age division, composition of population and election results. These statistics are meant to provide the reader with a general impression of the neighborhood and to see to what extent the neighborhood is a 'normal' Amsterdam area.

**Table 4.1: Statistics on Indische buurt and Amsterdam (total) compared**

	Indische buurt		Amsterdam (total)	
	Absolute	%	Absolute	%
<b>Age division</b>				
0 - 4 years	1419	6,3	46980	6,1
5-19 years	3347	14,9	111718	14,6
20-34 years	7158	31,8	205689	26,8
35-49 years	5243	23,3	186273	24,3
50-64 years	3453	15,4	131673	17,1
65 years and older	1866	8,3	85440	11,1
<b>Total</b>	<b>22486</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>767773</b>	<b>100,0</b>
<b>Population according generation</b>				
First generation immigrants	9097	40,5	218108	28,4
Second generation immigrants	5953	26,5	164656	21,4
Autochtones	7436	33,1	385009	50,1
<b>Population according country of origin</b>				
Surinames	2308	10,3	68881	9,0
Antillians	288	1,3	11689	1,5
Turks	2467	11,0	40370	5,3
Moroccans	4628	20,6	69439	9,0
Other non-Western immigrants	2630	11,7	77832	10,1
<b>Total non- Western immigrants</b>	<b>12321</b>	<b>54,8</b>	<b>268211</b>	<b>34,9</b>
Western immigrants	2729	12,1	114553	14,9
Autochtones	7436	33,1	385009	50,1
<b>Total</b>	<b>22486</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>767773</b>	<b>100,0</b>
<b>Housing property</b>				
Owner	2066	18,3	104180	26,5
Social rent	7773	68,9	191005	48,6
Private rent	1439	12,8	97473	24,8
<b>Total</b>	<b>11278</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>392658</b>	<b>100,0</b>
<b>Average income x 1000 (2007)</b>				
Per person	15,9		21,6	
Average spendable income per household	23,0		29,6	
<b>Unemployment</b>				
Total percentage		11,0		7,5
Percentage among non-Western immigrants		15,7		13,2
<b>Voting (national elections June 2010)</b>				
Conservative-liberal (CDA/VVD)		10,3		20,1
Social (PvdA, SP)		53,0		42,5
Social-liberal (Groen Links/D66)		26,7		24,3
Populist/Anti-immigrant (PVV)		6,9		9,4

Source: Website City Council, Amsterdam, May 2011

The conclusion of these results should be that the general image of the Indische buurt, being a lower-class immigrant area, is confirmed. This counts for the number of non-western immigrants, the average income, the division in housing property and the unemployment. More than half of the inhabitants has a non-western background, whereas for whole Amsterdam this is 35%. Especially the number of Moroccans and Turks is high, being 30% of the total population, whereas in the whole city this is not even the half. Also the relative lower percentage of older people and a higher rate of young adults (20-34 years), refers to immigrants.

When looking at voting behavior one can see the Indische buurt is a left-wing bastion: this is a bit the case for the city in total, in this neighbourhood however almost 80% votes for a left-oriented party. This probably has to do with the fact that immigrants traditionally vote for those parties, as researched by Forum, an academic institute for multicultural issues (2010, p.5). Remarkable is that in an area with so many immigrants and still a substantial share of native Dutch, the anti-immigrant party PVV has a lower score than Amsterdam in total.

Although the statistics above suggest something else, gentrification is taking place in the Indische buurt simultaneously, which will be explained and outlined in the next sections.

#### 4.3 A short historical overview and future plans

The neighborhood was built in the first 30 years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as part of the expansion policy of the city council of Amsterdam. Because of its growing population, more houses were needed outside the former border of Amsterdam, the Singelgracht. The idea was to provide two and three store social housing for the lower middle-class- so not for the working class as was the case in most of the expansion areas those days (Heijdra, 2000, p.41,46). In the first phase, between 1900 and 1920, the western part of the neighborhood, around the Javastraat, closest to the city center, was constructed. Special attention was given to the architecture, something which can still be seen in some complexes in the 1e Atjehstraat (Heijdra, 2000, p.47). This was also the case in the second phase, which lasted only four years (1923-1927) and where the Amsterdam school architecture was dominant.



Picture 4.1: Characteristic housing block in the 1ste Atjehstraat

Rapidly, the more eastern parts of the Indische buurt were built, however, despite the nice appearance, the quality of these houses was rather poor. The main reason for this was the hurry in which the neighborhood had to be delivered. As a result, soil was not compacted, which led to subsidence of houses already within a decade after being built (Heijdra, 2000, p.51). When the Indische buurt was completely finished in 1934, it was the biggest suburb of the country (Heijdra, 2000, p.52).

After a flourishing decade of social cohesion and activities in the neighborhood in the 1950s, the decline of the neighborhood sat in from the 1960s on. First, this was mainly a physical deterioration, because of new subsidence's and additionally a lack of maintenance by rack-rent landlords. This was catastrophic due to the bad building materials used during the construction (Heijdra, 2000, p.87). However, there was no action undertaken by the city council. Instead, from the early 1970s on, a so-called 'working group for the neighborhood' was established.

They put the pressure on the local government to do something in order to improve the deplorable state of the housing supply in the Indische buurt. This led to demolition of many buildings in the second half of that decade, at the same time squatters took over houses that were boarded up and on the nomination to be demolished (Heijdra, 2000, p.87-88). This was also the time that many 'old' residents left the neighborhood, who were replaced by immigrants, mainly from Turkey and Morocco (Heijdra, 2000, p.94). The Indische buurt from that time on was regarded as a low-class immigrant area with many social problems.

From the 1980s on, a policy of 'Building for the neighborhood' was executed: this entailed intensive deliberation between local government, housing corporations and inhabitants - represented in all kinds of action groups-, with the aim to restructure the housing stock and public space according to the wishes and needs of the neighborhood itself (Heijdra, 2000, p.90-91). This was also the first time the Indische buurt had to deal with speculation practices, when a notorious project developer wanted to buy up a huge number of social housing complexes to transform them into private housing. This was prevented by a joint action of inhabitants and the local city council, by buying him out (Heijdra, 2000, p.92).

In the 1990s, still housing blocks –and even whole streets- were demolished, at the same time part of the original housing stock was preserved. This led to a neighborhood with a remarkable variety of architecture. In the second half of the 1990s topics like 'safety' and 'liveability' became more and more important, partly because of the national governmental policy regarding these subjects and also because the Indische buurt still had the reputation of a problem area (Nal, 2009, p.36).



Picture 4.2: Newly built housing complex in the eastern part of the Indische buurt

Since the beginning of the new millennium, the neighborhood has been faced again with many changes. First of all the policy of 'No private housing stock' has been abandoned and replaced by a strategy, promoting private property. This has been introduced the last 10 years, together with high-rise renting. The method to do this is a so-called re-structuring of the housing stock: on the one hand by demolition of old housing blocks and replacement by new complexes, on the other hand by renovating houses, splitting and selling them or rent them privately (Oudenampsen, 2005, p.5). The local government is mainly involved in the improvement of public space, such as the physical re-organization of the Javastraat (Nal, p.36-37). These developments coincided with a campaign, symbolized by the slogan 'Eigenlijk een geniale wijk' (translated 'Actually a brilliant neighborhood')- probably also to get rid of the negative image of the Indische buurt (Heijdra, 2000, p.111).

The reasons to introduce private and high-rent housing stock is first of all because of the (national) policy of 'social mix' in neighborhoods like the Indische buurt. The idea behind this is that a combination of lower class and middle class residents –who can afford a private or high-rent house – will lead to an improvement of the area in general, because of this 'differentiation' (Oudenampsen, p.5). This policy is translated into a new urban regeneration plan, subsidized heavily by the national state (Nal, 2009, p.36).

In the near future the central point of the neighborhood, the Javaplein, will be restructured, part of this development is a big (student) housing complex<sup>7</sup>. The aim is to invest 300 million euros in housing by corporations, whereas the local government tries to further improve public space (Nal, 2009, p.36-37). In the total housing stock the aim is to have a ratio of 70% so called social housing and 30% private rent and own property within a few years, whereas until a few years ago the housing stock in the neighborhood was almost fully social rent (Oudenampsen, 2005, p.5). Since the start of the economic crisis in 2009 there is some delay in several housing projects. An example given in the interview with housing corporation Eigen haard by ms. Eartha Dors, are the plans for the Sumatraplantsoen in the south east corner of the neighborhood. She states *'the joint collaboration of the several parties here has come to a halt'*.

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<sup>7</sup> In June 2011 this complex was delivered, including (future) amenities on the ground floor, such as a library, a fitness club, a florist and a coffee bar

#### 4.4 Gentrification in Amsterdam and the Indische buurt

As mentioned in chapter 2 already, gentrification in the European context is different than the situation in especially the United States. This difference, also named the 'Atlantic gap', is illustrated by the lack of disinvestment in Europe, the laissez faire government in the United States versus the regulated government in Europe, the different history of racial differentiation and homogeneity in both continents and the different way the cultural economies of consumption are being displayed (Smith, 1996, p.165, 170).

This distinction is certainly the case in The Netherlands, at least until some years ago. Traditionally there was strong involvement from the national government in the urban housing market until the 1980s, with an emphasis on social housing. However, in this decade also deregulation started: private investment was introduced without selling off public housing as a whole (Smith, 1996, p.167). New constructions were sought, especially from halfway the 1990s on, when the state-led housing corporations were privatized and stimulated to think and act more profit-oriented (Oudenampsen, 2005, p.3).

In Amsterdam this trend can be seen as well, although the city has been a 'fortress' of social housing for a long time, as expressed in the interview with the representatives of the housing corporation Eigen haard. Especially in the early 1980s there was strong political opposition to the restructuring of the housing market, marked by heavy squatter resistance (Smith, 1996, p.171). This prevented wide-spread gentrification in the city for a while. The first parts of the city that became gentrified afterwards were De Jordaan and Canal District, both in the city center. For the former this was almost unavoidable because of the extreme low rents until then and in the latter gentrification was less visible because of the mix of functions and 'the old and rich living next to each other' (Smith, 1996, p.171).

After the more significant transformation of De Pijp, a traditionally poor part of the city becoming hip in the late 1990s, large urban restructuring programmes by the national government also had an immense impact on the housing market in Amsterdam. Two paths had to be followed here by the biggest municipalities in the country: first, building a compact city, meaning as many houses within the existing borders of the city and secondly, increasing the low number of owner-occupied housing stock in the city (Karsten, 2003, p.2576). This first of all led to the rise of new, mainly privately owned neighborhoods in previously vacant areas such as the former Port District. Furthermore a transformation took place of late 19<sup>th</sup> century neighborhoods relatively close to the city center such as Westerpark, Oud West and parts of Noord (Oudenampsen, 2005, p.7). These two major developments stimulated further gentrification within the city and to a decrease of the social housing. For the first time ever in its recent history since 2009 less than 50% of the housing stock belongs to this category. At the same time, the aim of the housing corporations and the government is that in 2013 35% of the total housing stock in Amsterdam is private property (Het Parool, 24 July 2009).

The situation of Amsterdam as a whole also plays a role in the developments within the Indische buurt: because of the high and still rising housing prices in the city center and its immediate surroundings, mainly young professionals aim to live in neighborhoods relatively close to the historical core, where housing can still be afforded. The Indische buurt is a typical example of that and is seen as an 'attractive urban living environment' (Oudenampsen, 2005, p.7). Besides that, the location of the neighborhood in the city has become more central, mainly due to developments in adjacent areas like the Oostelijke Havengebieden, IJburg and the Science park (Nal, 2009, p.30). As said by mr. van Dommelen in the interview with him, it seems the Indische buurt will become a sort of 'spill over' for the areas a bit west, such as the Dapperbuurt and the area around Linneausstraat. These neighborhoods are changing rapidly and attract a young segment of the housing market. At the same time there is also fierce 'competition' with comparable 19<sup>th</sup> century neighborhoods in other parts of the city, mentioned before (Oudenampsen, 2005, p.7).

Instead of being an isolated, out-of-the way corner of Amsterdam, the Indische buurt gradually entails characteristics of the city center, like the ratio between renting and private housing stock and the rising number of cultural facilities, like a cinema and accommodation facilities, something the Indische buurt never had before (Nal, 2009, p.30). At the same time, the neighborhood still has an ethnic character which is promoted actively since a few years as well, for example by means of multi cultural festivals, advertisements and even merchandise (Oudenampsen, 2005, p.6). According to mr. van Dommelen the diversity of immigrants in the Indische buurt is remarkable, compared to other areas in Amsterdam. It is a mix of Turks, Moroccans, Surinames, Antillians and Asian people, which leads to a bit of a messy but lively neighborhood.

When looking at the 'traditional' parameters of gentrification, formulated by Ruth Glass decades ago, many things can be said about the Indische buurt. These characteristics, being tenurial changes, the property prices, change in housing stock, displacement and physical changes can be detected in the area as well.

First of all, although the majority of the housing stock is still rental, since 10-15 years owning has become part of it as well. Especially in the northwestern part of the neighborhood, where the most characteristic, architecturally interesting houses are located, this is the case. Furthermore private housing for students has and will be arranged in the Indische buurt (Oudenampsen, 2005, p.8). Developments regarding this transformation from rent to property and from social to private go faster than how this took place in De Pijp a few years ago, as indicated by mr. van Dommelen. At the same time the other three other parts of the neighborhood are not gentrifying at all, which was confirmed in the interview with mr. Heijdra.

According to a newspaper article (Het Parool, 11 January 2008) housing prices in the Indische buurt are still lower than in the rest of Amsterdam, however the differences become smaller. The property prices rise and in a period of three months in 2007 almost 20%. This is illustrated as well in a table, showing the development of the average housing value in the two parts of the Indische buurt and Amsterdam as a whole. The ratio is the value of the houses in the Indische buurt divided by the value of whole Amsterdam. One can say this ratio is gradually increasing, with a peak in 2006.

**Table 4.2: Average housing value period 2003-2010, Indische Buurt and Amsterdam**

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Indische Buurt West	87	88	136	155	149	171	196	198
Indische Buurt East	101	102	159	167	158	176	201	206
Indische Buurt (Total)	94	95	147,5	161	153,5	173,5	199,5	202
Amsterdam	133	135	197	201	205	232	258	263
<b>Ratio</b>	<b>0,71</b>	<b>0,70</b>	<b>0,75</b>	<b>0,80</b>	<b>0,75</b>	<b>0,75</b>	<b>0,77</b>	<b>0,77</b>

Source: Website City Council, Amsterdam, May 2011

Regarding the change in housing stock, rehabilitation of old houses and new built gentrification are best indicators for gentrification. Both developments can be seen in the area: in the western part of the Indische buurt, especially in the 1e Atjehstraat and 2e Atjehstraat, houses have been renovated and preserved in their original style by new home owners. Furthermore new complexes have been built, spread out over the total area, focusing on middle class incomes and students.

Displacement is a factor which is harder to prove in the Indische buurt –which is difficult within gentrification analysis at all (Atkinson, 2000, p.349). Indirectly, the aim to create a ‘social mix’ and have a ‘policy of differentiation’ means more middle and high class inhabitants are attracted, which is automatically at the expense of lower class residents. When looking further at the population change, a typical pattern can be seen of people moving in and out of the neighborhood. From 2000 on, when the large scale physical regeneration of the Indische buurt really took off, anti-squatters, students and young people in general moved in, after that middle class, double income families followed, an important group to stimulate the before mentioned ‘social mix’ (Nal, 2009, p.6). At the same time there is the idea that because of rising prices and a changing population, the immigrants who form a substantial part of the neighborhood will be pushed out (Nal, 2009, p.40). In the interview with mr. Heijdra he disagrees with this scenario and argues *‘you should be happy with this differentiation and be lucky if this works at all’*.

The physical changes in the Indische buurt go fast: the last three years parts of the area have been transformed, one of the best examples is the Timorplein. Once one of the more worn-down sections of the neighborhood, the area rapidly experienced a metamorphose. This happened after the reconstruction of a former technical school on the square, that now houses a youth hostel, an art house cinema, including a trendy restaurant and some other facilities. Even the negative side-effects of tourism in the neighborhood, such as noise caused by tourists and criminality, have been expressed by the inhabitants (Het Parool, 2 October 2009). Furthermore, many buildings in the main commercial street of the neighborhood, the Javastraat, have and will be renovated or rebuilt. The street has a famous history regarding its shops, pubs and restaurants, the purpose is to transform it into a place which will be as charming as it was in the 1950s and 1960s, although with an ethnic touch. The ‘makeover’ of the area can also be seen on a more mundane level: in the interview with mr. van Dommelen he mentioned a low-cost supermarket has been replaced by a chain store, belonging to the upper segment, and another one has been upgraded.





Figure 4. 4 and 4.5: Complex at Timorplein: Youth hostel and art house cinema Studio K

The upgrading of the area can also be seen in the yearly survey the city of Amsterdam conducts in all its neighborhoods. In 2003 the residents of the Indische buurt awarded their neighborhood with a 5.5, the lowest grade of the whole city. In 2009 this was a 7.0, facing the biggest increase in neighborhood satisfaction of all areas. Especially the surroundings of the Timorplein and Makassarplein quickly have been rated more positively (Het Parool, 26 January 2010).

All in all, the Indische buurt can be regarded as an area which still has characteristics of a low class area, simultaneously developments can be seen that point to a starting gentrifying process, regarding housing, demographic profile and public space. Another element is the establishment of other kind of facilities, focused at the 'gentrifiers' in the neighborhood, such as retail, services, pubs and restaurants. In the next chapter the changes for the latter two will be discussed for the Indische buurt.

## CHAPTER 5: THE CHANGES IN PUB AND RESTAURANT LIFE AND THE EFFECTS ON INDIVIDUAL BUSINESSES

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### 5.1 Introduction

Now the context of the Indische buurt and the (gentrification) developments going on here are clear, this chapter will answer the first research question of this study, focusing on the actual changes in the pub and restaurant sector the last ten years, the role of gentrification in this process and especially the effects these changes have on the daily life of individual businesses .

In order to understand the reasons for a transformation of this sector, first an inventory has been made of the number of businesses, the different categories and the role of stakeholders such as the local government and real estate parties. Then the link between the changes in pubs and restaurants in the Indische buurt and the role of gentrification will be explained.

After this description of the changes in pubs and restaurants the effects on individual businesses, the core of the first research question, will be outlined. First, some typical individual examples will serve as an illustration, before giving a more overall overview of changes in customers, daily management and other impacts.

### 5.2 Inventory of pubs and restaurants in the Indische buurt

#### 5.2.1 Categories of pubs and restaurants

In order to get an idea how the developments in the field of pubs and restaurants in the Indische buurt took place since gentrification started in the neighborhood, first a quantitative overview has been made. The total number of pubs, coffee houses, restaurants, take away restaurants and snackbars have been researched for three different time frames: January 2000 (before gentrification started), January 2005 (when the first signals of gentrification became notable) and April 2011 (when gentrification became more visible). Data were retrieved from the database of the Amsterdam Chamber of Commerce and checked during field research in the Indische buurt, see for a total overview of all businesses appendix 3.

Since the numbers of total supply do not give insight in specific changes, categories have been made of different types of businesses. For pubs three types have been identified: pubs, Dutch coffee houses and Turkish/Moroccan coffee houses<sup>8</sup>. This is based on offer, nationality of owner, customers and atmosphere. These criteria determined to which category this business belongs.

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<sup>8</sup> For a description of these three types of pubs see section 3.4 Definitions and limitations

The difference between restaurants and snackbars/take away restaurants is based on four factors: availability and number of seats, table service, prices and menu card. Within these two key categories, different sub-categories have been made as well, based on the type of cuisine they (mainly) offer. Whereas for foreign cuisines this is obvious, it needs more explanation what a Dutch snackbar or restaurant is. For Dutch snackbars this means food is offered that is 'traditional', with a focus on French fries and typical, Dutch fried snacks, such as kroket and frikadel. Dutch restaurants are comparable with the French cuisine and mainly offer menus that are in line with regular Dutch dinners: starters, a main dish -most of the time a plate which combines meat/fish, potatoes (prepared in different ways) and vegetables/salad- and desserts.

Looking at the demographic structure of the Indische buurt it would be recommendable to categorize pubs and restaurants further into 'native/Dutch', 'immigrant' and 'gentrified'. However, it is quite complicated to do this: sometimes businesses belong to more than one category at the same time and besides that it is quite a subjective task. Therefore the decision has been made to not present this in a quantitative way. However, based on the visits of the businesses and observations during the field research, the interviews that were held, the menu card and the type of clients, this categorization could be done for most companies, still existing in 2011 (see appendix 3). It has been used in the qualitative descriptions of this chapter to indicate the type of business.

Some examples of the different types of businesses in the Indische buurt can be found in the pictures below:



Picture 5.1: Dutch snackbar FEBO



Picture 5.2: Turkish take away restaurant Jaffa



Picture 5.3: Turkish restaurant Mesken



Picture 5.4: Dutch restaurant Het Badhuis



Picture 5.5: Dutch pub Nias



Picture 5.6: Turkish coffee house Mavi Kösk



Picture 5.7: Dutch gentrified restaurant Wilde Zwijnen



Picture 5.8: Ethnic gentrified restaurant Medina

A limitation of this inventory is that for pubs and restaurants that have closed the past 10 years it was difficult to check the category they belonged to. In order to still be able to classify them, information from the Chamber of Commerce and interviews with current managers have been used, which worked out for most of them.

### 5.2.2 Quantitative changes in pubs and restaurants in the period 2000-2011

Table 5.1: Inventory pubs and restaurants Indische buurt, period 2000-2011

	2000	2005	2011	% change 2000-2011
<b>Restaurants</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>+100%</b>
<i>Italian</i>	3	2	3	
<i>Asian (Chinese-Indian)</i>	3	3	3	
<i>Dutch</i>	1	1	4	
<i>Turkish/Moroccan</i>	0	1	4	
<i>Others</i>	0	1	0	
<b>Snackbars/take away restaurants</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>-24%</b>
<i>Dutch</i>	8	4	2	
<i>Turkish/Moroccan</i>	6	12	8	
<i>Others (Asian/Surinam)</i>	3	5	3	
<b>Café/pubs</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>-12%</b>
<i>Pubs</i>	16	15	14	
<i>Coffee houses (Dutch)</i>	5	5	3	
<i>Coffee houses (Turkish/Moroccan)</i>	6	6	7	
<b>Total</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>0%</b>

Source: Chamber of Commerce Amsterdam, April 2011

When looking at the total number of restaurants, snackbars and pubs there is no real constant trend over the last ten years. After a small peak in 2005, mainly caused by the increase of snackbars, the total number of businesses at the moment is the same as in 2000. It is kind of paradoxical that this status quo is also caused by the considerable decrease in the same category of snackbars/take away restaurants between 2005-2011, when the number almost halved. At the same time the number of restaurants, established in the neighborhood, doubled over the last ten years and they add up to almost 30% of the total supply in the Indische buurt, whereas it was between 10% and 15% in the two measuring points before.

For restaurants, the number of Dutch and Turkish/Moroccan restaurants have the largest increase. When analyzing this more in-depth, for the Dutch restaurants this entails all businesses that could be regarded as 'gentrifier places'. A sort of upgrading also seems to take place in the Turkish/Moroccan category, where two businesses shifted from the snackbar category to restaurant and one new 'ethno-hip' enterprise started.

Within the category of snackbars it is remarkable that there is a steady decline in the typical 'Dutch' snackbar, being only two at the moment. For the Turkish/Moroccan businesses it is a very unstable development, seeing a doubling in the period 2000-2005 and almost being halved in the five years after. This latter is at least partly caused by the shift to the category of restaurants, as already mentioned above.

Alike snackbars, the traditional pubs and coffee houses see a decline, although here it is less dramatic, around 20% fewer enterprises in 2011, compared with 2000. The Turkish/Moroccan coffee houses have a steady status.

Overall, one could conclude the 'traditional' supply for the neighborhood has decreased the past ten years, mainly because of the loss in Dutch snackbars and pubs. A part of this has been replaced by ethnic supply in the first half of the decade 2000-2010. The last five years also supply, aimed at 'newcomers', slowly enters the Indische buurt, however until now only in the category of restaurants. It seems the peak in immigrant snackbars/take away restaurants is over.

### **5.2.3 Spatial supply changes of pubs and restaurants**

Besides the change in absolute and relative numbers, the stability of business locations and the occurrence of replacement is worth researching. In gentrification literature this has been emphasized as an explanatory factor for the change in production of commercial gentrification. Out of several studies (Bridge and Dowling, 2001; Zukin 2009) there are mainly three ways how the production of commercial gentrification can take place on location scale:

- Adaptation: already existing enterprises change their management and adapt to the new clientele with purchasing power. There are several ways to do this, such as the offer, the decoration and higher prices.

- New supply: the start of services and amenities that were not in the neighborhood before and that are specifically focused on the new middle and upper class in the area. This could take place in locations that have not been commercial before or with a totally different offer.
- Replacement: when this new supply takes over an enterprise on the same spot with a similar offer, this is called 'replacement'. Many times this concerns so-called 'mom-and-pop' stores, family businesses which can be regarded as traditional, local stores belonging to the neighborhood already for a long time.

Adaptation will be explained in section 5.5.3, since here the more qualitative aspects how pub and restaurant owners deal with gentrification will be explained. Therefore in the table below only new supply, replacement and disappearance of businesses are presented. For the time span 2000-2005 and 2005-2011 a comparison has been made what kind of changes per category occurred.

**Table 5.2: Changes in location/business in the Indische buurt, period 2000-2011**

	New enterprise- new location		Replacement		Disappeared		No changes 2000-2011
	2005	2011	2005	2011	2005	2011	
<b>Restaurants</b>							
<i>Italian</i>	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
<i>Asian (Chinese-Indian-Thai)</i>	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
<i>Dutch</i>	1	3	0	1	0	1	0
<i>Turkish/Moroccan</i>	0	0	1	2	0	0	0
<i>Others</i>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
<b>Snackbars/take aways</b>							
<i>Dutch</i>	0	0	2	0	1	3	2
<i>Turkish/Moroccan</i>	3	0	3	4	0	1	3
<i>Others (Asian/Surinam)</i>	1	0	1	1	0	3	2
<b>Café/pubs</b>							
<i>Pubs</i>	1	0	4	3	1	2	9
<i>Coffee houses (Dutch)</i>	1	0	1	0	0	2	3
<i>Coffee houses (Turkish/Moroccan)</i>	1	1	2	3	0	0	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>25</b>

Source: Chamber of Commerce Amsterdam, April 2011

From the table above the conclusion can be drawn that, looking at the total time span of ten years replacement happens most. Mostly this concerns a new owner for the same kind of business, as is relatively often the case with Turkish/Moroccan snackbars and coffee houses and regular pubs.

Remarkable is the increase of locations after 2005 where once a pub or restaurant was, and where no replacement took place, meaning 'disappeared'. Especially 'Dutch' offer seems to face this (10 out of 14 situations in total), Turkish and Moroccan businesses experience this hardly.

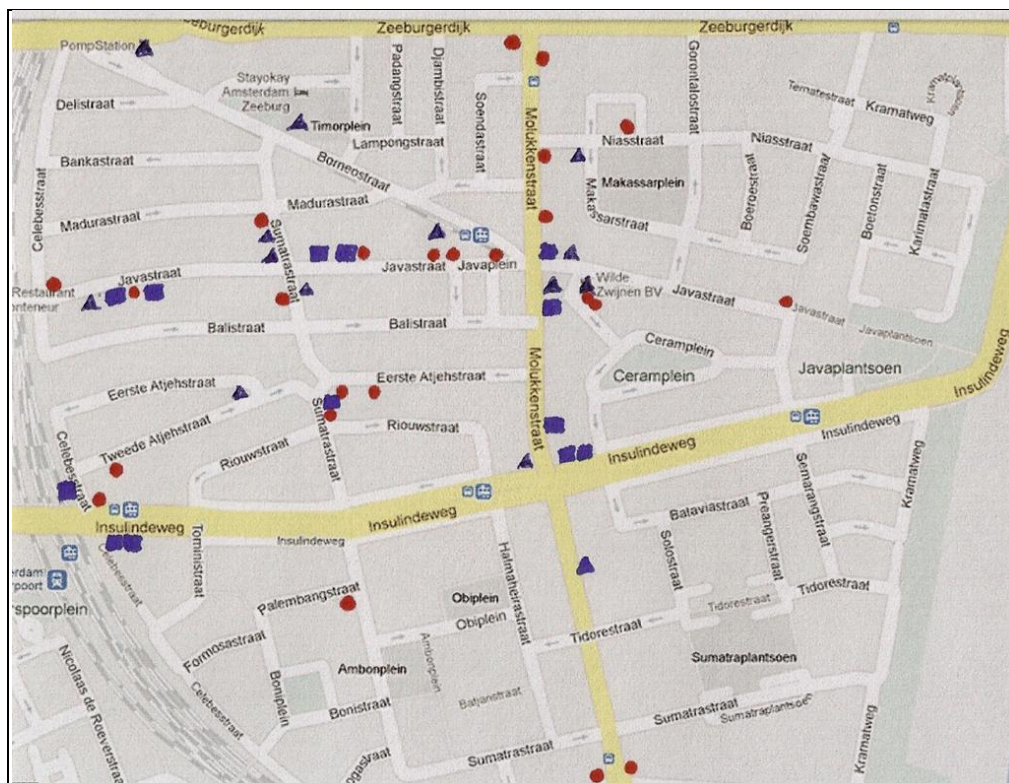
The absolute number of new supply on new locations is low for both time spans, interesting though is that in the second period (2005-2011) of the five new locations three were Dutch restaurants, one Thai restaurant and one ethnic-hip coffee store/café, all of them in the field of gentrifier supply.

The last column shows the number of businesses that have not changed their location and supply over the last 10 years. Here it is clear that pubs are most stable, although the remark should be made that they are the biggest category in the total supply anyway. The solidity of the Dutch coffee houses is more remarkable, looking at the total number. It seems that this 'old' supply has a certain hard core of managers who 'survive' in the neighborhood, despite the changes going on.

All in all, the spatial changes in the Indische buurt do not immediately reflect gentrification developments going on: indeed replacement happens many times, however most of the times this has nothing to do with an upgrading of the neighborhood. Besides relatively many business disappeared or did not move, which is not a sign of commercial gentrification either. Only the increase of new restaurants on new locations suggest a change in line with gentrifying developments.

The pubs and restaurants in the Indische buurt are not equally spread. The map below illustrates this:

**Figure 5.1: Map of locations pubs and restaurants Indische buurt, 2011**



source: Google Maps, June 2011

- = pub/coffee house
- = snackbar/take away restaurant
- ▲ = restaurant

One can say the pubs, snackbars and restaurants are concentrated in the north western quadrant. This is not a surprise since the main commercial streets are in this part of the Indische buurt, such as the Javastraat, the Sumatrastraat and the Molukkenstraat. All seven 'gentrification' businesses are located in this quadrant as well, in which the Javaplein plays a special role, since four examples of this supply can be found here. For the future this central square might even become more significant, since three businesses were not located there one year ago.

Remarkable is that the few businesses that were located outside the north western quadrant have mostly disappeared since 2000. This mainly concerned snackbars and pubs, mostly from Dutch origin. It turns out that some of these locations are vacant at the moment, another non-restaurant/pub service is established there or sometimes a new building has come instead. For the latter there is a link with gentrification, since in the interview with ms. Spiering of Stadsdeel Oost she claimed *'new high-quality housing complexes were needed there and these businesses were not successful anyway'*.

### 5.3 The role of the local government and real estate parties

Since the two administrative bodies Oost and Zeeburg merged a year ago, no new policy plan for pubs and restaurants, a so-called Horecanota<sup>9</sup>, has been delivered yet. Still, in December 2009 a vision regarding pubs and restaurants in the Indische buurt has been presented in the development plan for the area. In this document starting points and aims for the sector have been formulated.

The main goals are 'handling horeca-destinations more flexible, giving room for new horeca, upgrading the current supply and formulating the horeca-retail mix formula' (Stadsdeel Oost, 2010, p.34). The aim for the future is formulated as 'the settlement of high-value (day)facilities of pubs and restaurants, if possible linked to culture. These new amenities will be an addition to the current supply (...). The businesses should do no harm to the environment. At the same time the number of snackbars, coffee houses and pubs, which cause disturbance, need to be lowered' (Stadsdeel Oost, 2010, p.34).

Geographically the focus of the local government within the neighborhood on pub and restaurant expansion is in the north western part of the area, where gentrification is most significant. Also the link with the newly built Science park south of the neighborhood is mentioned, since an increase of businesses in this part of the Indische buurt is desired as well (Stadsdeel Oost, 2010, p.35).

This policy document clearly mentions upgrading of the supply as one of their key points and at the same time businesses that cause problems need to be handled firmly. This is similar to the role of the government in gentrification in general, which favors the high-class facilities and harms the ones that are, in their opinion, less wanted (Uitermark et.al, 2007, p.126). This principle has been confirmed in the interview with ms. Spiering of the Stadsdeel Oost, who says *'we only give financial support if there are nice ideas regarding high-quality horeca'*. She also states *'if those new businesses are all going to work I do not know, but at least they look much nicer'*.

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<sup>9</sup> Horeca is the Dutch abbreviation of Hotel, Restaurant and Café, and is a synonym for the sector pubs and restaurants belong to.



This two-track policy of upgrading and preservation can also be seen in the current actions of the local government.

First of all there is a strategy of 'control', not only focused on pubs and restaurants, yet on the whole neighborhood. Because of its bad reputation in the first half of the previous decade the Indische buurt faced many patrol actions, searches on suspicion frisk and other measures taken by the police to preserve order. Regarding pubs and restaurants there was an active policy to close businesses with criminal ties, which happened with a few coffee shops and pubs, according to ms.Spiering. At the same time, a policy of discouragement has been executed already for businesses which cause nuisance for immediate neighbors. This has been done by extra surveillance and in some cases a temporary closure of notorious establishments, in case rules and laws had not been obeyed. This zero tolerance-policy has been supported by the so-called Bibob<sup>10</sup> law (Het Parool, 19 September 2009).

At the same time the local government also wants to stimulate the pub and restaurant sector. In specific areas in Amsterdam, one of which is the Indische buurt, entrepreneurs can ask subsidies to start up their own business. This is called 'zones of chances'-policy (kanszonebeleid in Dutch) and is meant for entrepreneurs with good ideas and a solid business plan for a so called high-quality pub or restaurant. To make this feasible, the development plan of specific buildings needs to be changed by the local government. As stated by ms.Spiering, especially around the Javaplein this has been done actively, leading to new businesses, mainly restaurants. It is no surprise all of these are gentrifier oriented.

This active role of the state in the Indische buurt confirms the idea that in more regulated countries like The Netherlands commercial gentrification is influenced by the government to a greater extent than in the United States or the United Kingdom. The combined policy of upgrading and control fits the characteristics that are typical for state involvement in gentrification (Uitermark et.al, 2007, p.126-127).

Regarding housing policies local government and mainly housing corporations and project developers work together closely, as is explained before. Many projects are taking place to revitalize the housing stock in the Indische buurt. For commercial gentrification this works a bit different, since it is on a smaller scale and on an individual base. In the expert interview with mr. Wijngaarde of Eigen haard he says a considerable share of the commercial property is private, as a housing corporation they manage just some of the buildings. Furthermore, unlike countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom, displacement of commercial property is legally not allowed. No practices like auctioning off take place, because of the different law system in The Netherlands.

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<sup>10</sup> This law, which has been installed in 2003, is meant for governmental bodies, in order to test the integrity of applicants of subsidies and permits. Amsterdam is the city using the Bibob (an abbreviation of the official Dutch name of the law) most intensively in the country, mainly in the pub and restaurant sector

However, when commercial property becomes vacant or needs to be demolished or renovated, the new business that will settle itself there will be critically reviewed. Although a corporation like Eigen haard has no real policy for this commercial property, the aim is to create ‘a good mix of businesses’ in the Indische buurt. Upgrading is an important factor here, also because of the changing population.

A specific project in which Eigen haard is involved is the development of the area around the former Gerardus Majella church in the southern part of the neighborhood. This is called a ‘societal property’-project, meant to use arts and culture for a further impulse of its direct environment. In this specific project the former church will house the Philharmonic orchestra of Amsterdam and a pub and restaurant will be an important element of this as well. According mr. Wijngaarde the idea is to *‘create a sort of village here, a combination of functions, strengthening each other’*. He emphasizes this means also a local pub belongs to this.



Picture 5.9: The former Gerardus Majella church

#### 5.4 The role of gentrification in pub and restaurant supply change

Now having an overview of the supply changes in pubs and restaurants that have taken place in the Indische buurt recently and the role different parties played, the question can be raised to what extent these changes have been caused by gentrification and can be explained by it.

A first characteristic of commercial gentrification is an increase of the total number of pubs and restaurants, compared to the pre-gentrified era (Zukin 2009, p.49). When we take a look at the Indische buurt this is not the case: there was a small decrease in the period the gentrification really started (2005-2011). There seems to be a relation with gentrification though, because mainly low profile pubs and restaurants have been closed, in order to make way for more upgrade offer.

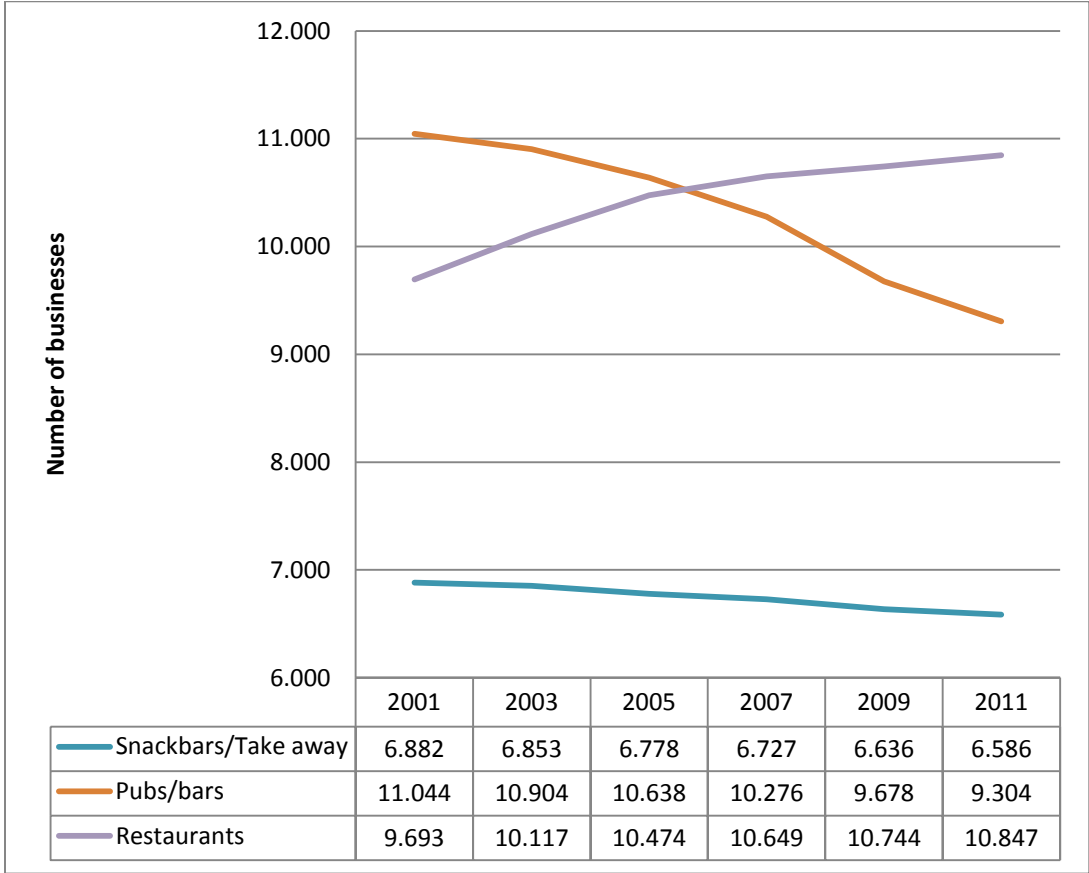
According the local government the businesses that have disappeared were already not profitable or of bad quality. By means of intentional actions by the government such as closing down criminal pubs or demolition this reconstruction has been stimulated. On the other hand, some businesses had to close because of personal reasons, such as a lack of succession.

Some of the ethnic aspects of commercial gentrification can be recognized in the Indische buurt as well: the most prominent example is a hip Thai restaurant, recently opened at the Javaplein. Some other ethnic restaurants changed their interior and upgraded their menu. However, the majority of the businesses still functions as a take away restaurant, not focused on only gentrifiers, yet on the whole neighborhood, or more specifically on their 'own' ethnic group.

In gentrification, native, traditional supply is normally shrinking, which is the case in the Indische buurt as well. The link with gentrification is not obvious though: in the first half of the decade 2000-2010 mainly traditional snackbars have been replaced by ethnic restaurants and take away restaurants, certainly not focused on gentrifiers. Besides that, some Dutch pubs and coffee houses had to close because of a lack of customers, caused by demographic changes. These include the continuing move of 'old' Dutch inhabitants and their children to suburban cities such as Almere and Purmerend and the decrease of clientele. This process had started already a long time before gentrification began in the Indische buurt.

Furthermore a neighborhood is of course not isolated from the rest of society: that is why the statistics of the Indische buurt regarding snackbars/take away restaurants, pubs and restaurants have been compared with the national trends. The overview of the total numbers of the different categories in The Netherlands for the period 2001-2011 is presented below.

**Figure 5.2: Number of pubs and restaurants in period 2001-2011 The Netherlands**



Source: Website Bedrijfschap Horeca en Catering, June 2011

The national developments mainly reflect the processes going on in the Indische buurt: an increase in restaurants and a decrease in pubs and snackbars/take away restaurants. The intensity of these trends differs slightly, because nation-wide the loss in number of pubs is a bit more dramatic than in the specific Amsterdam area of this study. Furthermore, the doubling of restaurants in the Indische buurt is –of course- more spectacular than the 12% increase in the whole country. At the same time the decline in snackbars/take away restaurants is more significant in this specific neighborhood than the overall development.

Looking at the ratio between the three different sectors, on a national level since 2007 the total number of restaurants exceeded the number of pubs. This is not the case yet in the Indische buurt, however in 2000 there were 20 more pubs than restaurants, 10 years later this is halved.

A specification of the changes in pubs has been outlined in a report (Nightlife magazine, March 2011), showing that local pubs (meaning pubs in villages and neighborhoods) cause 91% of the total decrease in pubs in the period 2006-2011. In total numbers, 25% of the local pubs has disappeared (2006: 2913 pubs, 2010: 2179 pubs). This trend is not visible in the Indische buurt, where local pubs persist existing.

The overall conclusion of these statistics is that the developments in the Indische buurt are in line with the sector trends on a national scale, with some (minor) differences. This implies the developments going on in the Dutch horeca industry are echoed on this local level, and therefore changes in the area cannot be explained by gentrification alone. Only the enormous growth of restaurants in the neighborhood is deviant from the overall trends and hints to gentrification.

The strongest indicator of commercial gentrification in the Indische buurt is -logically- the rise of the businesses, that could be regarded as 'gentrifier offer'. Within a time span of 2-3 years they have formed 15% of the total supply and it is mainly the relatively strong increase of restaurants on the Javaplein that draws the attention.

The fact that this supply only concerns food oriented business and no pubs is in line with the existing literature, which emphasizes the special interest in food among gentrifiers (Bridge and Dowling, 2001, p.95). All owners of these new restaurants who have been interviewed mention they would not have started their business without the new inhabitants moving into the Indische buurt. Besides that, only high quality businesses -whatever that means- are stimulated by local government and housing corporations.

All in all, one could say at least a part of the changes in pub and restaurant supply in the Indische buurt can be explained by gentrification. At the same time the role of traditional, ethnic businesses and the native, traditional offer is still an important factor in the pub and restaurant infrastructure. Besides that, the total number of establishments have not been increased and most existing ethnic supply has not adapted yet to the new residents. However, maybe these are the ultimate characteristics that are so typical for an early gentrifying neighborhood...

## 5.5 The effects on daily life in pubs and restaurants

### 5.5.1 Some examples of individual businesses

Out of the total list of restaurants and pubs in the Indische buurt six are selected to serve as specific, concrete examples of how changes taking place in the neighborhood have an effect on individual businesses. They illustrate the actual events happening in daily life as a result of (commercial) gentrification.

First of all **Het Badhuis** on the Javaplein is an example of the struggle of a particular business to find the right position within a changing neighborhood. Until the 1980s the building functioned as a 'bathhouse' for the people who did not have a bathroom yet in their own house. Afterwards it became a community center, before being transformed into a restaurant/pub in the early 1990s. By that time the square where the business was located had a bad reputation and was a meeting place for drug addicts. This was not favorable for Het Badhuis, which suffered from many fluctuations in ownership from 2000 on. Immigrant entrepreneurs, 'wrong' clientele and criminal activities gave the business a negative name.

The current owner started the exploitation three years ago, after seeing the arrival of the new art house cinema/restaurant Studio K in the Indische buurt. This opened her eyes, combined with her own observations of an 'upcoming' neighborhood. In the beginning, she faced problems with suppliers and it was hard to attract customers because of the status of Het Badhuis. Now the restaurant serves again as the heart of the Indische buurt, being a meeting point for – as the manager states herself- *'students, retired people, mafia, alcoholics, but no yuppies, like in De Pijp'*. The establishment itself though breathes a modern, slightly alternative atmosphere, which fits the elements of gentrified consumption quite well.

This is certainly the case with the lunchroom/restaurant **Comfort Caffè** in the Sumatrastraat, close to the Javastraat and Timorplein in the north western part of the Indische buurt: their offer is focused on new residents and can be described as 'authentic, Italian lunch dishes'.



Picture 5.10 and 5.11: Exterior and interior of Comfort Caffè

The owners explicitly state they started their business a year ago because of the gentrification process in the area. The words 'yuppies' and 'dinkies'<sup>11</sup> have been used to describe their clientele. Furthermore they emphasize that for most immigrants in the neighborhood the threshold of their restaurant is too high, '*our business is too polished for them*'. They are very positive about the future of their restaurant, since they regard themselves as pioneers in a process that will evolve the coming years. A next step for them would be to organize an 'organic market' themselves in the Indische buurt: deliberations with the local government are taking place at the moment, supported by a petition, signed by 650 residents.

Another example of recent, gentrified supply in a somewhat different category is **Het Pompstation**, on the borders of the Indische buurt, close to the roads leading to other parts of east Amsterdam, also in the north western corner of the area. This former pumping-station functioned already as a restaurant and wedding/party location the last two years, but has extended its function as a hip club and event venue. The link with the new population of the neighborhood as their clients has been made, although less obvious than Café Comfort, probably because their offer and customers exceed the neighborhood-scale.

The mix of people as an attractive precondition is emphasized, when talking about the population of the Indische buurt: 'hippies', students, expats, young people with a double income, combined with the rough, sturdy character of the area. Here again, the lack of yuppies and the comparison with other areas in Amsterdam, especially De Pijp has been made. The location and type of business has a strong connection with the re-use of old industrial heritage as a manifestation of commercial gentrification. Mainly because of their aesthetic qualities these spaces are regarded as authentically valuable and therefore suitable for the consumption tastes of gentrifiers (Zukin, 2008, p.732).

When looking at the ethnic suppliers, the situation of **Asilah Marina**, in the Molukkenstraat in the heart of the neighborhood, is interesting. This Turkish/Moroccan fast food/take away restaurant has been exploited since two years by a young man, who sees the changes in the Indische buurt happening and tries to react to it. He took some drastic measures: very recently he decided he does not want to function as a Turkish coffee house anymore after 2.00 p.m., something which he also wants to show by means of an interior change. Furthermore he is busy creating a special take away corner and serves pizza and döner since a while. A change in customers is visible, the increase of Dutch people, and especially students, is mentioned a few times. Also tourists from the Stay okay hostel in the neighborhood are new clients, he has not seen before. His plans to expand his business are somewhat slowed down by a lack of capital, therefore he needs to take small steps. Maybe by means of subsidies he can adapt fully to the developments going on in the neighborhood<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> This abbreviation stands for 'double income, no kids',

<sup>12</sup> During the last visit of the neighborhood by the researcher in June 2011 it was found out the business does not exist anymore.

On the other side of the 'supply spectrum' one can find the Dutch coffee house **Ancor**, also in the Molukkenstraat, however on the southern border of the Indische buurt, close to the bridge leading to the Watergraafsmeer. Since 1982 this traditional Dutch business has been owned by an native Amsterdam family, born and raised in the Indische buurt with family members having other pubs here as well.

The switch from being a pure coffee house to an additional pub function has been made eight years ago when a new law regarding gambling came into force. In the morning the business still welcomes the 'old' people from the Indische buurt, drinking their coffee, however from the afternoon on young boys from the neighborhood, mainly immigrants, frequent Ancor. This is a development not appreciated by the owner and old clients, as a result the business is not going very well and they see their current clientele and situation as problematic. Maybe a switch is possible when the building will be renovated later this year. Although concrete ideas about this have not been formulated yet, this might be the rescue for the pub, as they hope to get a different image as a sort of 'grand café', including more food and different kind of customers, for example (foreign) students. The rest of the gentrification process does not seem to be recognized by this establishment.

This is also slightly the case with their opposite neighbours, café **Valentijn**, which appears to be some steps further already. Because of their location close to the Science park, housing a considerable number of foreign students, the owner tries to attract them to her pub. Besides that, her clientele consists of people from the Surinam and Antillean community of the whole city of Amsterdam and a small number of 'old' residents, who helped her 'surviving' the first years when she took over the pub in 2006. Back then the pub had a very bad reputation, because of a criminal client base and drugs and shooting incidents. In the beginning the pub suffered from that, when criminals, prostitutes and Moroccan adolescents visited Valentijn. By means of a strict and consistent management the owner was able to 'throw them out'.



Picture 5.12 and 5.13: Exterior and interior of Café Valentijn

Now she wants to find her way by moving away from the traditional local pub towards a modern establishment, offering events like talent shows, dance evenings in a classical-modern interior. For this pub, the gentrification until now is not an issue, mainly because of its specific location and the fact that she is already busy enough to get 'rid of the past'.

These six examples gave a first insight in the specific issues and motives playing a role in the development of these particular business. The next section deals with a more general outline of the changes in the neighborhood and how they affected the business of pubs and restaurants.

### 5.5.2 The change of customers

In the interviews with pub and restaurant owners the explicit question has been asked who their customers are, if changes have been noticed in their clientele recently and what they expect regarding this topic for the (near) future.

The majority of the respondents state that changes have taken place in their customer profile. This is of course dependent on the type of business, however in general one could say there are more clients in absolute numbers, more young people, students, more clients with double incomes – sometimes still called ‘yuppies’ or ‘ballen’<sup>13</sup> – and less immigrants. This is in line with gentrification literature, recognizing these groups as typical customers in gentrifying areas (Lees et. al, 2008).

Looking at the specific types of pubs and restaurants, some traditional Dutch local pubs and Turkish/Moroccan coffee houses, benefit least from the changes in the Indische buurt. For the latter the owners do not see this as problematic, since as they say themselves *‘we focus on a specific, large group that will always come and we offer something completely unique’*. Indirectly, one could conclude of this remark, gentrification is not recognized as a major factor the coming years. The consequences for the traditional Dutch pubs will be explained separately in chapter 6.

Take away restaurants and snackbars that have been in the Indische buurt already for quite some years collectively declare they profit from the changes in the neighborhood. They especially welcome the increase of students and young tourists, because their offer suits the wishes of these target groups.

It is no surprise that the businesses that started recently because of the changes in the Indische buurt mainly attract students and double income couples and families, even from other parts of Amsterdam Oost and the city in general . Their offer is aimed at these new groups and is therefore selective as well.

Finally, there is a group of mainly ethnic businesses that desire to attract a new clientele because of the gentrification process. Here, again students, double incomers and house owners have been mentioned. One of them tried already, however has not succeeded yet, because *‘there are too many Moroccans in my pub and these new people do not like that’*. Other than that, these desired customers have not been approached actively yet by these businesses.

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<sup>13</sup> This Dutch word could be translated as ‘posh’



The only group not indicated by owners as clients who are important in gentrification literature are artists. This is remarkable at first sight, since they are regarded as a group that normally plays an important role in an early gentrifying neighborhood like the Indische buurt (Zukin, 2008, p.729-730). In the interview with mr. van Dommelen, Stad BV, he indicated artists have lived in the neighborhood around five years ago, doing a temporary project. However this did not work, because they never integrated with the people in the neighborhood. Although the pub De Ponteneur, located on the other side of the railway immediately west from the Javastraat, has the reputation of 'artist hang out' such places cannot be found in the Indische buurt.

From a geographical point of view there are some noteworthy conclusions when it comes to customers and businesses. In general, some enterprises attract now more people from the neighborhood itself, whereas others receive a clientele that becomes broader, meaning from other parts of the city.

More specifically, tourists from the Stay Okay hostel have been indicated as a new target group, especially by the companies in its immediate environment. The pubs and restaurants that are located close to this accommodation indicate they benefit from this, whether they are a pizzeria, Turkish take away restaurant or traditional local pub. Managers indicate this has to do with their offer as well, because their cheap meals attract young people accommodated in the hostel or German and Belgian people who appreciate a typical local pub and its beers. Owners of places a bit further away in the neighborhood or focused on more high end clientele do not mention these tourists as a group of customers.

Secondly, cafes and restaurants that are located close to the railway, mention the connection with the Dappermarkt at the other side of this railway and the proximity of the bus, tram and train station Muiderpoort. Especially the Surinam oriented establishments here indicate they profit from Surinam people who visit the market and arrive here from other parts of the city by public transport. However, the current lack of connection with the Dapperbuurt and the potential for the Indische buurt is mentioned a few times as well.

Finally, two businesses at the southern tip of the neighborhood, indicate they want to or already attract inhabitants from the Science park on the other side of the canal, which officially belongs to Watergraafsmeer. This newly built area houses many foreign students from all over the world and a potential new target group is seen by these pubs. Although students have been mentioned as well by other owners, the specific group of the Science park is exclusively pointed out by these two enterprises most closely located.

These three examples illustrate the fine-maze structure of commercial gentrification, which is called micro-geographies of retailing (Luckins, 2009, p.95-96). These are micro-public spaces, where the cosmopolitanism that is so typical for gentrification is produced and consumed in a spatially fine-grained environment. Areas facing commercial gentrification therefore can differ significantly within a small area. Even per street the commercial supply and atmosphere can be totally distinct from each other, which fits the identity and representation theory and illustrates the intricacy of commercial gentrification. In the case of Indische buurt it is not so much the cosmopolitan form of gentrification that is expressed by this micro-geography, however it shows that even within a relatively small neighborhood significant differences exist, looking at customer focus. Therefore they experience the gentrification process within their area differently as well and will react accordingly.

### 5.5.3. Effects of changes on the management

The effect of the general developments in the neighborhood on the specific pub or restaurant business highly depends on the stage/phase of the particular enterprise. For some of the owners the changes in the Indische buurt were the exact reason to start their business recently. The fact that a new target group moves in and the area in general is upcoming triggered them, this mainly counts for restaurants. Some explicitly mention the function they would like to have for the whole neighborhood. Statements have been made such as *'my business has a social function since I welcome everybody, also the socially disadvantaged'*, *'I wanted to do something for the neighborhood'* and *'I think we stimulated the rise of other pubs and restaurants in the neighborhood'*. All these remarks came from owners of places that could be considered as 'gentrified'. This is in line with existing literature about pioneers in commercial gentrification (Zukin, 2008, p.58), which emphasizes this social role of entrepreneurs. Location factors are mentioned as well, such as the proximity of the Dappermarkt, the city center or close to the central square of the neighborhood, the Javaplein. For some new entrepreneurs mainly the qualities of the specific building and its possibilities made them start their business in the Indische buurt.

For already existing businesses this is a totally different story since they have to 'live with' the changes in the neighborhood. Most of them are positive about this and they also see advantages for their own business. Especially the entrepreneurs in the northwestern quadrant of the neighborhood, including the Javaplein and upper part of the Molukkenstraat, see opportunities. Some of them cannot indicate this directly to themselves and refer to the attractiveness of especially Studio K and restaurant Wilde Zwijnen<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> The researcher visited this restaurant during his stay as a customer, having a dinner. It was remarkable one waitress was non-Dutch and could only speak English. This means Wilde Zwijnen expects their clientele to talk English, which could be regarded as a sign of cosmopolitanism of a 'gentrifier business'.

In order to get a deeper insight into the practical changes in the daily management of pubs and restaurants in the Indische buurt, owners have been asked about this. A few have not reacted at all to the development described in the previous sections, since they do not recognize it or they do not see the need. This mainly concerns some traditional local pubs and Turkish/Moroccan coffee houses, who have a core customer base. Most of the others made at least some adjustments, here again this concerns mainly the restaurants and pubs that have been established in the area already for a longer time, so before the gentrification process took place.

There are three direct examples of management changes that relate to the broader developments in the neighborhood. Besides the example of Asilah Marina (see section 5.5.1) who does not want to be a Turkish coffee house in the afternoon, an Italian restaurant decided to extend their menu card and to translate it in English, because of the growing number of foreign tourists. Another Turkish restaurant already decided earlier to expand their restaurant with an adjacent building, modernize their banner and façade and after this summer a new menu card, more focused on special Turkish dishes, will be introduced. According to the manager this needs to be *done 'to stand out from other comparable businesses in the neighborhood who have upgraded as well'*. In this way the ethnic supply will be upgraded and commodified for another clientele, with an authenticity aspect included, as pointed out in the current gentrification literature (Zukin, 2008, p.735-736).

Other actions are less easy to connect to the neighborhood change, however they have a link with it. This varies from interior adjustments, just as an indoor terrace or removing big tables, to a different personnel policy, hiring Dutch or younger employees. This is done to attract another clientele or to satisfy the current customers. This can also be achieved by intentionally doing nothing: two 'gentrifier' restaurants do not raise the price of their menu, because of their target group and the area they are settled- is that again a form of doing something good for the neighborhood as a pioneer entrepreneur?. Especially pubs see the opportunity of offering food because of new customers, although most of them still need to introduce this. Activities that can be qualified as social can also help to react on neighborhood change: the idea to organize something for new inhabitants, singing events for foreign students and introducing yourself when a new client comes into your pub.

There are also management adjustments that are of a more individual nature, such as pubs or restaurants that need to invest in their interior or management behavior to get rid of the bad image and corresponding clientele of the previous owner. This can be seen as a form of upgrading of the already existing supply.

Finally, some actions are related to broader developments: some larger pubs needed to adjust their business after the smoke ban came into force a few years ago, others mention they need to cooperate with the police more, since they are confronted with many preventive visits in their pub.

#### 5.5.4 The future of the business

When being asked about their own business, the majority expects to still exist within now and ten years, and almost all of them in the Indische buurt. There are a few restaurants that have a preference to open their doors in another part of town, especially the city center or the Dapperbuurt. The few owners that do not think having their business anymore in the near future relate this to their personal situation: they are almost retired or want to emigrate within a few years. Some owners are convinced a business they have, such as a snackbar or pub will always be needed in a neighborhood.

Owners have quite concrete ideas how to run their business in the near future, especially the ethnic entrepreneurs are ambitious: one Moroccan pub owner already registered himself as a restaurant at the Chamber of Commerce, since he wants to serve food within now and a few years. Others want to rebuild, renovate or expand, also in their offer. Governmental subsidies are needed then however, because some indicate that the financial crisis hits them as well. As said before, especially pubs intend to offer some or more food in the future.

The insights this chapter give about the change of the restaurant and pub life in the Indische buurt and its impact on the individual businesses are diverse: while the influence of gentrification is noticeable in some ways, the 'old' supply still has an important position in the neighborhood. However, the governmental policy is mainly focused on the upgrading of the existing supply and the arrival of new high-quality pubs and restaurants. On the demand side a beginning transformation has been identified by the majority of the entrepreneurs in the neighborhood. Some already react to this changes in their daily management, while others still search how to translate this to their business or do not recognize this at all and therefore do not have an active management on gentrification developments either.

While this chapter answered the first research question of this thesis, there is no specific insight yet about the daily dynamics between different types of visitors and managers of those enterprises. Also the way managers of specifically local pubs deal with the changes in their neighborhood needs further research, especially since it is expected these enterprises have a special position within commercial gentrification. Therefore empirical research has been done among owners of local pubs in the Indische buurt, which results will be presented in the next chapter and will answer research question 2.

## CHAPTER 6: LIVING WITH GENTRIFICATION BY LOCAL PUB OWNERS

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### 6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter the actual changes in the pub and restaurant life in the Indische buurt have been described, including the effects on the owners of these businesses. In this chapter, one aspect of the pub and restaurant sector will be researched more in-depth: the traditional, local pubs. As stated in chapter 1, these locations have traditionally been the places for native Dutch inhabitants to meet and the question is whether gentrification changes this specific pub life.

Therefore, a selection of pub owners have been asked about their experiences: this both entails the things they actually do or did in their business, and the perception about developments as well. This is also related to more general trends, which means the dynamics between neighborhood, inhabitants, customers and owner will receive ample attention.

First a profile of the pub and its owners will be given, then the Indische buurt of the past will be discussed, in order to get a historical framework. Afterwards, the actual situation of the neighborhood and its influence on the customers and pub management will be presented. Finally the future of the neighborhood and local pubs will be outlined.

### 6.2 Profile of the selected pubs

Five owners of local pubs in the Indische buurt have been interviewed, they were selected since they represent the offer in the neighborhood, that could all be regarded as 'traditional'. Below an overview is given of the five pubs and a short profile of their owner, in order to provide a framework for the rest of information that came out of the interviews.

#### ***Café Gijs de Rooy***



*Picture 6.1 Exterior Café Gijs de Rooy*

This pub is located at the western entrance of the neighborhood, next to the railway tunnel that connects the Indische buurt with the Dapperbuurt. The pub is –like many other local pubs- situated on the corner of a street, in this case at the 'head' of the main shopping street of the area, the Javastraat. The pub is relatively big for Amsterdam local pub standards, and is equipped with a billiard.

The interior corresponds with the typical atmosphere of a 'bruin Amsterdam café', including old-fashioned curtains and Persian table carpets.

Of all the pubs researched, Gijs de Rooy has the longest history, since the pub was already established in the 1930s by the grandfather of the present owner and it is still a family business. Contrary to all other pubs in the Indische buurt, this business is not rented: Gijs de Rooy jr. owns three other buildings blocks next to the café, including his house above the pub. He has been the manager of the pub since the early 1970s –at that time he was the youngest innkeeper of Amsterdam- and has lived in the Indische buurt all his life.

The pub has the biggest reputation of the Indische buurt and has been mentioned by many other restaurant and pub owners as the 'one and only local pub of the neighborhood'. Gijs de Rooy is the only pub that houses many associations and clubs, such as a darts club, a fishing club and a ladies clubs card association. Furthermore, almost every Friday there is live music, either a performing artist or karaoke by customers.

### ***Café Muiderhoek***



*Picture 6.2 Exterior Café Muiderhoek*

Like Gijs de Rooy this pub is located on a strategic spot, also next to a railway tunnel a bit to the south, on the biggest road in the neighborhood, the Insulindeweg. The railway station Muiderpoort is on the other side of the street and the end station of a tram line as well. The appearance also meets the standards of a regular Amsterdam local pub, including a billiard, however its interior is more basic than Gijs de Rooy's.

The female manager is tenant of the pub, owned by a 'gambling king', according her own words. She started this business –and started to live in the Indische buurt as well- at the end of the 1990s. By then, the pub had been vacant for a few years, after its closure because of criminal activities. Originally a clerk from Utrecht, she started her first pub in the early 1990s and had three establishments before she took over Muiderhoek. There are future plans to demolish a whole housing block, including the pub. However, these plans have been delayed, the manager expects she will run the pub for another three years, before she can retire.

Despite its Dutch atmosphere, the pub attracts a clientele of mainly Surinam customers. This probably has to do with the fact that the manager is originally from Surinam as well. No clubs or associations are settled in Muiderhoek.

### **Café Pleinzicht**



*Picture 6.3 Exterior Café Pleinzicht*

In the heart of the neighborhood, at the Javaplein, this small building on a corner can be found. The location is central, on the western side of the square, opposite to the restaurant area. On the other side of the street a new building has been constructed, which is housing apartments, a library, a coffee shop, a gym and some shops. This pub is smaller than Muiderhoek and Gijs de Rooy and gives the impression of an old fashioned living room. The interior is nevertheless that of an 'Amsterdam bruin café', even darker than other pubs.

Alma, the manager of this pub who is in her end 40s and lives in the suburb of Diemen. She started her own business in Pleinzicht in the mid-1990s, after she had worked already several years in other pubs in the eastern part of Amsterdam. She rents the pub and at the time she took it over, Pleinzicht was a popular spot in the neighborhood. A few years ago the manager decided to remove the billiard of the pub, furthermore no big changes in the interior have been undertaken.

In the interviews held with other pub and restaurant owners, Pleinzicht is seen as the 'number two local pub in the Indische buurt', after Gijs de Rooy. The last few years, the pub is able to attract a variety of visitors, probably also thanks to its central location. Some events have been organized, such as live music and a huge TV screen during the World championship Football in 2010, attracting hundreds of visitors. Still, the pub can be considered as a small scaled local place to meet, without any clubs or associations housed.

### **Café/Koffiehuis De Toverbal**



*Picture 6.4 Exterior Café/Koffiehuis De Toverbal*

In many ways De Toverbal is slightly different from the other pubs: most important is that it is originally a Dutch coffee house that opens in the early morning and closes in the (early) evening.

This can also be seen in the offer, since it provides some food as well, such as soup and sandwiches. Besides, the emphasis is not just on alcoholic drinks, but on coffee as well. Its location is, like most other pubs and restaurants, in the north western quadrant of the Indische buurt, in the Sumatrastraat. From the outside it gives a rather obscure and shabby impression, the interior is very dark and has characteristics of an old-fashioned, basic living room.

De Toverbal has been in the neighborhood for decades already, the actual manager has been involved in this business since 1985. Before, he was working in the pub sector as well and despite his relatively young age - he is in his early 50s- he has a working experience in pubs of already more than 35 years. Nothing has been changed in the interior lately.

The position this coffee house has in the neighborhood is somewhat 'cult' and 'typical', according to other interviews. It is seen as an institute in the Indische buurt and one of the last coffee houses, which has a social function for the area as well. Clientele is quite diverse, it still fulfills the role as drop in place for (foreign) construction workers and a place for unemployed inhabitants as well.

### ***Café De Luifel***



*Picture 6.5 Exterior Café De Luifel*

This pub is the only one that is not situated in the north or western part of the neighborhood, but at the very end of the Javastraat, in the eastern part of the Indische buurt. Like most others its location is on the corner of a street, it is a small pub with a typical 'bruine Amsterdam pub' interior, including traditional white curtains and Persian carpets. Because of its size the 'living room atmosphere' is obvious here. However, with its bigger windows it is less dark than Pleinzicht or De Toverbal.

De Luifel has a long history, just like Gijs de Rooy, his grandfather even started his first pub in the building of De Luifel. Despite this past, De Luifel now has not the same famous reputation as some other pubs in the Indische buurt do. This mainly has to do with the recent take-overs the last five years. Before the present manager came in De Luifel two years ago, the pub suffered from bad management, including some incidents, which led to an image problem. The manager (47 years old) has been involved in the pub sector for several years and had rented some pubs in the city center of Amsterdam before. She has lived in the Indische buurt from her childhood on and knows the neighborhood quite well. Unfortunately, De Luifel is threatened to be closed, because the building will be demolished soon.



For this reason, no investments have been done the last years. Instead, resentment about the upcoming closure is expressed by the owner and as she claims clients as well, who can be typified as the original inhabitants of the neighborhood. During this research De Luifel has indeed closed its doors from the 29<sup>th</sup> of May on, meaning the customers need to find another meeting place in the Indische buurt.

### 6.3 The Indische buurt before: good old days and bad old times

#### 6.3.1 Thriving years for pubs and shops

The pub owners who are able to indicate the state of the Indische buurt in the 1970s and 1980s unanimously refer to the shops in the Javastraat first. The shops that were located in this street are described as 'luxurious' and the Javastraat has been compared with the P.C. Hooftstraat nowadays, which is the most exclusive shopping street in Amsterdam. It was something the neighborhood was really proud of and something that belonged to the Indische buurt. As one respondent says:

*'Er waren zoveel soorten winkels, we hadden een publiek, dat was goed. Amicaal, pratend, het waren allemaal vrienden. Ze kwamen allemaal uit de buurt, je had nooit mensen van buiten.'*

[‘There were so many shops, we had an audience, that was good. Friendly, talking, they were all friends. They all came from the neighborhood, you never had people from outside’]

Also the number of pubs in the Indische buurt in those decades has been mentioned, which was much higher than it is right now and when there was more clientele in general. According to one of the respondents who lived in the neighborhood already then, pubs were also meeting places for illegal activities:

*'(...)Vroeger zaten van die koppelbazen in het café: die zaten daar 's ochtends en die zeiden jij, jij en jij hebben niets te doen, jij gaat mee voor 50-100 gulden per dag. Zo werkte dat gewoon, het geld werd stukgeslagen in de cafés en de vrouw des huizes had ook weer een extraatje. '*

[‘In the past, one could find labour brokers in the pub: they were sitting there in the morning and they said you, you and you have nothing to do, you go with me for 50-100 guilders a day. That was just the way it worked, the money was chucked about in the pubs and the mistress of the house had some extra money as well’]

The situation in the Indische buurt back then is romanticized by calling it *'golden years for pubs and shops'*. At the same time one respondent who does not live in the neighborhood said that by that time the Indische buurt was never a place to go out. It seems the pub and retail sector was very introvert and just focused on a small area. This also explains the remark that the area *was 'a village on its own, different from the rest of Amsterdam'*. What this exactly means is hard to say for the respondents.

### 6.3.2 Immigrants as a plague

Similar to the actual facts, pub owners connect the emigration of the original population of the Indische buurt to suburban places such as Almere and Purmerend with immigrants moving in from the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s on. This transformation of the neighborhood has been very crucial for the pubs and the Indische buurt in general and is often associated with an increase of criminality and unsafety, caused by immigrants. Some of the respondents make this immediate connection quite explicitly, as can be read in the fragment below:

*'(...) Tot de criminaliteit kwam, kwamen er rolluiken, het werd een dooie boel door de criminaliteit van die buitenlanders. De buurt zat er vol me: die mensen hadden niet genoeg geld om eten te kopen en wat doe je dan? Stelen.'*

[‘Until criminality came in, rolling blinds were installed, it became a dead mess because of the criminality of the immigrants. The neighborhood was packed with it: those people did not have enough money to buy food and what are you going to do then? Stealing it.’]

The Javastraat is a metaphor for the change in the neighborhood, because many original shops in this street were replaced by immigrant businesses, which still goes on. There is also the feeling immigrant entrepreneurs are privileged by authorities who help and subsidize them starting a business.

Sometimes a distinction has been made between the different groups of immigrants: most of the time Turks and Moroccans have been mentioned as the biggest groups, where the latter has been categorized as ‘worst’, ‘most problematic’, ‘on their own’ or ‘adapted least to Dutch standards’. Contrary to that, Turkish inhabitants are seen as ‘people who work and can adapt themselves’.

This change in the neighborhood has been felt directly in the pub as well: first of all, the original clientele has moved to other places and did not come to the pub anymore, also because they started a new life with their family. Instead, immigrants started to visit the local pubs which caused many practical problems according owners of Gijs de Rooy and Pleinzicht, who had to deal with this:

*'Buitenlanders dachten het is een koffie en theekroeg, maar het is hier een zuipkroeg. Kwamen ze hier voor koffie, ik zeg ik heb geen koffie, alleen maar 's ochtends en niet 's middags. Vroegen ze om een automaat, ik zei nee daar ga ik niet aan beginnen. Het gevolg waren allemaal boze mensen, toestanden, bepaalde klanten wilden de zaak ombouwen. Dat deden ze door mensen van hun uit te nodigen, gezellig hier zitten (...) De mensen waren heel anders, daar moesten we aan wennen.'*

[‘Foreigners thought it was a coffee and tea pub, but it is a booze pub here. They asked for coffee, I said I do not have coffee, only in the morning and not in the afternoon. Then they asked for a coffee machine, I said no I am not going to start with that. The result: angry people everywhere, rows, some customers wanted to change the business. They did that by inviting their own people, sitting here with each other (...) The people were very different, we had to get used to that’]

*'(...)Allochtone mensen gaan toch niet aan de bar zitten en zitten lullen. Ze komen veel om te gokken of om zaken te bespreken. (...) Ja die houden meer van een koffiehuis, om te kaarten. Daar leent dit café zich niet voor, het is niet licht, hè?'*

[Immigrant people are not going to sit at the buffet and start chatting. They come to gamble or to do business. (...) Yeah, they prefer a coffee house, to play cards. Therefore, this pub is not suitable, it is not light enough.]

It seems the perception what pub life and behavior entails is different for immigrants than it is for native Dutch people. This mismatch became a problem once the original Dutch clientele decreased and there were not so many special Turkish and Moroccan coffee houses at that time, so immigrants frequented regular pubs. In fact this is comparable to what Zukin (2008, p.731) describes about different expectations about pub life between gentrifiers and non-gentrifiers.

If problems with immigrants continued, the pub owner interfered: either by telling them they needed to go away, if they were not able to adjust to the Dutch pub standards, or in a more subtle way, as described below:

*'(...) Op een gegeven moment waren hier een paar koffiehuisen dicht. Toen had ik hier veel Turken, dat is prima, maar ze moeten niet de overhand krijgen. Toen heb ik overdreven Nederlandstalige muziek gedraaid, echt uit het jaar nul. Dat vinden ze niet leuk, als het hard staat, dan kunnen ze ook niet telefoneren.'*

[There was a moment some coffee houses had been closed here. Then I had many Turkish people in my pub, that is OK, but they should not dominate. I started to play extravagant, very old-fashioned Dutch-spoken music. That is something they do not like, if there is loud music, they cannot make their telephone calls.]

All in all, the influx of immigrants has not been seen as a positive development for the Indische buurt and is often associated with problems, either in or outside the pub. The number of immigrants caused this as well, since some respondents had the feeling they were taking over, whether that was the neighborhood in general, the shopping street or their own pub. However, as one pub owner who also lives in the Indische buurt formulates it: *'I was not letting myself chased away by them'*.

## **6.4 The Indische buurt now: somewhere between ethnic and yuppie...**

### **6.4.1 The ongoing dominance of immigrants**

Although things start to change in the neighborhood, some of the respondents associate the actual state of the Indische buurt still more with immigrants than with gentrification. When asked about developments taking place, two respondents mention the increasing number of immigrants and criminality before the new highly educated, double-income inhabitants moving in. One of them has been in the Indische buurt for a decade and claims the number of *'long dresses and head-scarves increased'*.

The Javastraat is even for pub owners who do not emphasize the immigrant problem an example of immigrant excesses. Especially the fact that hardly any Dutch shops are left and the uniformity of the supply, with an overdose of ethnic greengrocer's, is an eyesore:

*'Ze knappen die winkels wel op, maar daar komen alleen allochtonen in. En die worden vet gesubsidieerd, (...), hoe kan nu een Nederlandse winkel nog overleven in deze buurt? De groenteman is weg, de poelier is weg, de slager trekt het ook niet meer. Daar kunnen wij als Nederlander gewoon niet tegenop. Het is een kasbah geworden, die Javastraat.'*

[‘They renovate the shops, but only immigrants enter there. And they are heavily subsidized, how is a Dutch shop able to survive in this neighborhood? The green grocer is gone, the poultry’s shop as well, the butcher cannot hold out either. This is something we as Dutch cannot fight. It has become a Kasbah, that Javastraat.’]

#### 6.4.2 The money moving in

Still, except for one pub owner, all recognize an influx of new people in the neighborhood. By most of them they are consistently called ‘yuppies’, although sometimes they are also called ‘people with double incomes’ and ‘students’. The rising housing prices and renovation projects are connected to these new habitants.

One pub owner is surprised about the fact that these people are willing to pay a lot of money for a relatively small dwelling. He find this even ‘hilarious’, remembering the unpopularity of the Indische buurt only a few years ago.

Overall, the pub owners see this as a positive development for several reasons. An important issue is the fact that *‘something Dutch comes in, instead of just immigrants’* which leads to *‘a better mix’*. Also a commercial factor as *‘these people have money to spend’* has been mentioned. There are some negative aspects as well, such as *‘these are not our people’* and the fact that in the end there is *‘no advantage for the old inhabitants’*. From an aesthetic point of view one of the respondents claims that the new buildings are not nice and *‘some of them look like a prison’*. The mainly positive attitude regarding these indicators of gentrification refers to the upgrading of a neighborhood in general which is appreciated by the existing population, according the literature (Zukin, 2009; Doucet, 2009).

In the case of the Indische buurt it is remarkable that the Dutch aspect of this new supply is emphasized, as a counter balance of the dominance of ethnic inhabitants and amenities.

On the other hand, when it comes to the pubs and restaurants in the neighborhood, some of the respondents state that the gentrifiers have their own establishments because the current supply does not satisfy their needs. This is obviously not a place they would frequent. As one of the owners says:

*‘Hier is een restaurant op de hoek gekomen, dat loopt als een trein, daar zitten iedere dag 40,50,60 man binnen. Maar dat zijn allemaal yuppen en ze hebben allemaal van dat alternatieve shit dat ze vreten. Dat onbespoten rotzooi, dat kan toch niet gezond zijn.’*

[‘Here around the corner a restaurant has just opened, that goes like a bomb, every day they have 40,50,60 people inside. But those are all yuppies and they all have this alternative shit they eat. This organic trash, that can’t be healthy.’]

Still at the same time this respondent suggests:

*‘Ik vind het fantastisch hoor, het is toch weer iets Nederlands in de buurt. En iedereen zoekt zijn plekkie op waar die zich goed voelt.’*

[‘I think it is fantastic anyway, it is something Dutch again in the neighborhood. And everybody searches for a spot where they feel comfortable.’]

Another new group that is noticed in the neighborhood are the tourists from the Stay Okay hostel. However, they are not so explicitly discussed as the ‘yuppies’. Especially the two pubs that are located a bit further away from this accommodation do not mention this group at all.

#### **6.4.3 Three different groups living together in a neighborhood...or not?**

In a neighborhood with three very different groups, of which one is new, the question can be raised how this works out in daily life. As stated before there were –and still are– tensions between the old traditional Dutch population and the immigrants. With the gentrifiers moving in new dynamics arise. Striking is that some pub owners argue that the new inhabitants discriminate the immigrants more than the original population does. This is however not substantiated with concrete examples. Another statement has been made that *‘yuppies like ethnic shops and food stores as well, as long as it looks nice and a bit sophisticated’*. This hints again to the commodification of authentic, ethnic supply, as outlined in commercial gentrification literature (Zukin, 2008, p.735-736). One respondent is worried about the safety of the newcomers and wonders if they will be able to ‘survive’:

*‘Kijk, als je als moeder met een kinderwagen op straat loopt en er komen van die knapen langs die een beetje lopen jennen en uitdagen, dan weet ik niet of zo’n vrouwtje zich wel zo veilig voelt. Dat blijf je gewoon houden en dat is in deze buurt heel erg.’*

[‘Look, when you walk on the street as a mother with a pram and some of these lads come along and start to badger and harass you, then I am not sure if such a wifey feels so safe. This is what keeps going on and that is very bad in this neighborhood.’]

Besides that, some pub owners have a sort of hidden fear the gentrifiers will take over in the end. This is not expressed openly, however they leave it semi-open, when talking about the developments within the neighborhood. Furthermore, one interviewee wonders *'what tourists of the Stay Okay hostel think of this shabby neighborhood full of immigrants when they enter the Indische buurt straight from the airport Schiphol'*.

In general not much is said about interaction between the three different groups in the Indische buurt. The overall opinion of the direction the neighborhood is heading to is mixed: two pub owners are mainly positive, two are negative and one is neutral. Regarding the translation of this development to their own business, respondents are more outspoken, which is explained in the next section.

## 6.5 The people in the pubs and what they do

### 6.5.1. Wandering customers on different scales

When asked where their customers come from, most owners state they function as a local pub, meaning most people live in the Indische buurt. At the same time, they also welcome people outside the boundaries of the neighborhood. First of all, these are former inhabitants of the area who moved to cities like Almere, but still visit the pub in their old neighborhood. Furthermore the total eastern part of Amsterdam - simply described as Oost- is mentioned as the focus area of the business.

Some pubs attract more specific groups: de Toverbal and especially Pleinzicht have some clientele from the Stay Okay hostel, probably because of the fact they are located close to it. Muiderhoek attracts customers from the whole city of Amsterdam. This probably has to do with the strong ties within the Surinam community, which is not restricted to geographical boundaries.

The owner of this pub indicates *'customers follow me'*, since she had several business in town before. This wandering from pub to pub is mentioned by the majority of the pub owners, especially when another pub has closed or when there is a new owner. This indicates the clientele is less loyal than before, since they do not restrict themselves to one pub either. This implies the number of visits per client decrease as well. According to most owners, therefore they need to attract a wider range of customers to survive. At the same time respondents state that every pub has its own special, different group of clients, although they cannot explain or describe real concrete characteristics.

### 6.5.2. A closer look at the other side of the buffet

Except for Muiderhoek, all pubs have the native Dutch inhabitants of the neighborhood as their biggest group of clients. The number of immigrants in the local pubs is restricted to just a few, which is especially a change for Gijs de Rooy -compared to the considerable ethnic clientele he had two decades ago. Pleinzicht and Gijs de Rooy see the new inhabitants visiting their pub now and then. It is also remarkable some pub owners emphasize the fact that the old customers die, whereas others stress the increase of young people.

When talking about customers, mostly the behavior of the immigrants has been discussed, whereas they are in fact the least important target group. As said before, the perception of pub life is experienced differently by this group than Dutch people, according to the pub owners: they gamble a lot, are calling all the time, do not say hello when they come in, they do not chat with other people and do not eat or drink alcohol. The few customers that visit this kind of pubs *'have adapted and therefore have been accepted'*. This is in contrast with the yuppies: the two pubs who attract these new customers indicate the contact between them and the old clientele goes smoothly:

*'Ze gaan goed met elkaar om: ze hebben altijd vragen over de buurt, hoe was het, hoe zit het nu? Ze kennen elkaar van naam na een avond in de kroeg, dat is wel leuk.'*

[‘They get along with each other well: they always have questions about the neighborhood, how was it, how is it going now? They know each other by name after an evening in the pub, that is nice’]

These pub owners also claim the new inhabitants like these kind of pubs as well and they are bored with the current ‘yuppie’-offer:

*'Dan merk je dat ze een bruin café ook leuk vinden. Vijf jaar geleden had je dat lounge, dat was toen in, maar daar zijn ze ook een beetje van terug. Dat hebben ze gehad, alles wat oud is, komt terug. In de mode zie je dat, maar ze willen ook wel een bruine kroeg.'*

[‘Then you notice they like an old-fashioned pub with a brown interior as well. Five years ago you had that lounge-thing, which was very hip back then, but they turned away from it. Been there, done that, everything that is old, makes its comeback. You see that in fashion as well, and they also want to have an old bar’]

With these two quotes the question can be raised if this is part of the authenticity earlier referred to in the literature overview. It seems that, as mentioned by Zukin (2008, p.727), original inhabitants and gentrifiers find each other in the pub life. In the context of the Indische buurt this is not just because of beers and music –the latter is not even a subject discussed- however also the social contact appears to go smoothly, which is something not recognized in the available literature. The experiences of a gentrifier in Brooklyn who faced hostility and silence, once entering a local pub (Zukin, 2008, p.731), does not appear to fit the situation in the Indische buurt.

All owners unanimously say that the pub has a very social function for their customers. People go there to have a talk, express their feelings or discuss their problems, something they cannot always do at home. As one respondent puts it:

*'Ze kennen me allemaal, ik ben ook een soort Moeder Theresa. Als er problemen zijn, ben ik een luisterend oor en geef advies. Vaak is dat genoeg, sommige mensen die hier komen en nogal tetteren, hebben meestal problemen thuis. Ze willen hun verhaal dan kwijt, maar aan wie? Dan zien ze mij als aanspreekpunt, dat heb ik vaak.'*

[‘They all know me, I am a kind of Mother Theresa. If there are problems, I am listening and give advice. Often that is enough, some people who come here and tittle a lot, most of the time have domestic problems. They would like to tell their story, but to whom? Then they see me as their contact person, that is what happens a lot’]

## 6.6 How to manage a pub in a changing neighborhood?

### 6.6.1 The owner as pivot

It is almost logical the respondents see themselves as an important factor in the pub, who made and still makes the business how it is right now. This especially counts for owners who have the pub already for a longer time, such as Pleinzicht, Gijs de Rooy and de Toverbal. They all state commitment and presence is very important for their customers, they get comments when they are not there and it even has an influence on the number of people in the pub:

*'Mijn kelner zegt altijd: ik kan werken wat ik wil, maar als jij er niet bent zijn er minder mensen, al zou je alleen aan een tafeltje zitten dan komen ze'*

[‘My waiter always says: I can work as much as I want, but if you are not there, there are less people. If only you would sit on a table, they come’]

This commitment goes quite far as Gijs de Rooy visits his clients when they are in hospital. On the other hand they have to entertain their clientele less active, compared to a few decades ago. This mainly has to do with the changing customer base: pub visitors come more in groups and therefore talk with each other. This means they do not have to organize the interaction between people that much anymore.

Welcoming newcomers is crucial though, in order to tap new revenue. Some pub owners mention they do their best to keep the ‘searchers’ in their pub, by having a talk with them, offering them something, such as free drinks or snacks, or giving them attention in general. They also make sure to bring old and new customers in contact each other, often in a subtle way:

*'Ja, mensen willen gewoon aandacht, dan mengen ze zich in een gesprek dat ik bijvoorbeeld met jou heb. Dan word ik weggeroepen en dan praten die twee met elkaar. Zo werkt dat gewoon. Een gesprek tussen twee groepen ontstaat gewoon, ik heb er zelf ook geen erg in, het loopt gewoon.'*

[‘Well, people just like to have attention, then they interfere in a conversation I have with you for example. Then I am called away and then these two talk further with each other. That is just the way it works. A conversation between two groups just starts, I do not even notice it myself, it just runs smoothly.’]



Furthermore there is no consistency in the opinion pub owners have about their capabilities to actively influence the number of customers. On the one hand it is stated that it is every time very unpredictable how busy it will be, on the other hand Gijs de Rooy states he is able to select customers in his behavior towards new clients. He explains he is in the position to do this since he has a financially solid base in his company. At the same time he knows other pubs probably do not have this option.

### 6.6.2 Ways to keep the ball rolling...

From the interviews it became clear some pub owners manage their pub more actively than others. This has either to do with a lack of future perspectives for the pub—such as De Luifel en Muiderhoek— or they attract a specific clientele -which counts for Muiderhoek en De Toverbal. For these pubs there is no trigger to think of ways how they can make their pub also attractive on the longer term. The personality and capacity of the owners could play a role as well. Still, most respondents mentioned some ‘success factors’ or pre-conditions which enable pubs to survive in the Indische buurt.

First of all the ownership seems to be crucial: as said before, being the real owner and not just a manager enables you to select your customers and gives more space for risks to take. This is the situation at the pub of Gijs de Rooy. The others are not in that position and then it is important to ‘be careful with your money’. A stable management is crucial as well, meaning pubs should not switch owners too often. Customers do not appreciate this and start to wander to other pubs.

Secondly, the offer in the pub is important as well. Some consider to offer small dishes, which could be soup, sandwiches or fried snacks for the new clientele. However, there is also the general idea people nowadays want more than just a drink in the pub. In the offer of beverages one respondent states she only offers glasses of beer and no bottles, since that would stimulate alcoholics to come to her pub. An example how a pub actively reacted in their offer on the increase of tourists from the Stay okay is shown in the next excerpt from Pleinzicht:

*‘Er is dat Stay Okay, dan heb je Engelsen, Fransen, Duitsers, die komen met een ploeg binnen. Ik ben namelijk een van de eerste die ze tegenkomen. Zij drinken graag wat zwaardere bier, dus dat ben ik wel gaan doen, ik heb nu een bierkaart.’*

[‘There is this Stay Okay, as a result Englishmen, French, Germans, come here with a group, as I am one of the first pubs they pass. They prefer to drink heavier beer, so I started offering that, I have a beer menu card now.’]

A third method is organizing events or activities, such as live music, a food night or competitions. When there are high costs involved, a pre-condition is that there is enough space, something De Luifel claims as one of the reasons they almost do not do this. Another way is attracting clubs and associations, they have fixed evenings to be in the pub and therefore form a ‘guaranteed’ customer base. It is stated as very important you have always people in your pub since *‘the presence of people attracts other people, it is the same as with a restaurant’*.

A last recommendation is to keep the pub 'old style': do not change too much in the interior and cherish the atmosphere of an old-fashioned pub which has the coziness people still search for. One respondent regrets the decision of one of his colleagues she took out the billiard a few years ago, *'you should never do this, unless you are sure it will improve your business'*.

## 6.7 The future of the neighborhood and the local pubs: bright or troubled?

### 6.7.1 A gentrifying direction for the Indische buurt

Although some respondents focus on immigrants in the neighborhood, the increase of 'yuppies' and physical developments in the near future are the dominant subjects for the Indische buurt. This is seen as positive by some, however the owner of De Toverbal expresses his fear a bit, albeit indirectly. Probably, this has to do with the building where he has his coffee house, which prices of apartments on the upper floors have exploded the last years. A comparison with gentrification in another Amsterdam neighborhood, De Pijp, has been made by one respondent as well, although it is not expected in the Indische buurt it will be *'that extreme, because that is not what I want'*.

Preconditions for a further upgrading of the neighborhood have been indicated by some pub owners as well: investments should be done in the Javastraat and the criminality should go down. Still, most owners see this as something they cannot respond to directly themselves. Other than that, not many comments have been made about the general developments in the area for the next years.

### 6.7.2 Local pubs: disappearing or surviving?

There is no consensus about the direction local pubs in the Indische buurt will go to coming years. Pleinzicht and Gijs de Rooy are quite optimistic, since they see opportunities in the new group that starts settling down in the Indische buurt. Even the increase of competition on the Javaplein is something the owner of Pleinzicht does not bother: *'the more pubs and restaurants, the better'*. The other pub owners are more pessimistic and claim the local pubs will mainly disappear, maybe with the exception of one or two that will carry on. Often Gijs de Rooy and Pleinzicht have been mentioned here as 'the survivors'.

The reason why local pubs will not continue to exist are several according the pub owners: first of all the economic crisis has been indicated and the fact that there is simply no clientele in the pubs anymore. There is the fear the current clientele will 'die out' and not replaced by a new group of customers. Local pubs will therefore vanish and grand cafés will come instead.

An example given by one of the respondents about a pub in another part of Amsterdam East illustrates what might happen to local pubs in the Indische buurt as well:

*'Daar komen ook yuppen, hele verenigingen lopen daar naar binnen. Ik was er zelf ook klant, maar de oude klanten zijn langzaam wel een beetje opzij geschoven. Heel andere soort muziek, mensen denken heel anders, dat gaat helemaal niet samen. Die oude kern is toch weer zoekende gegaan. Het is wel een superzaak hoor. Als je feest wil, moet je daar naar binnen gaan. Ze hebben aan de inrichting helemaal niets veranderd: allemaal lichtjes, het is een grote poppenkast. Maar het schijnt de jongeren wel aan te spreken op een of andere komische manier.'*

[Yuppies come there as well, all kinds of clubs walk in. I was a customer myself, but the old clients slowly have been pushed aside a bit. Different kind of music, people think very differently, that does not match at all. That old core has started searching again. Anyway, it is a super business. If you want to have a party, you have to go there. They have not changed anything of the interior: lights everywhere, it is one big show. In some strange way it appeals young people as well.]

This fragment shows maybe the biggest dilemma of local pubs for the future: on the one hand you should not adapt yourself too much to the new clients, in order to keep your old customers. On the other hand, the presence of these new customers influences the old ones as well in a negative way. And at the same time you attract new people and the original clientele still appreciates the pub. This is basically the same problem pubs like the Busy Bee of chapter 2 had, described by Zukin (2008, p.730).

Now the question is : as a local pub, are you able to find the balance between the needs and wants of the old and new clientele. And is there a way to let both feel comfortable, so not chasing one of the groups away? In order to find the answer to this and to get a deeper insight in the opinion, the behavior and perception of the visitors of those pubs has been researched,, which results can be found in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 7: LIVING WITH GENTRIFICATION BY LOCAL PUB VISITORS

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### 7.1 Introduction

Now the experiences of the managers of restaurants and specifically local pubs in the Indische buurt regarding early (commercial) gentrification are clear, the perspective of ‘the other side of the buffet’ needs to be examined. Although pub owners have an idea how their clientele thinks and behaves, this has to be further researched among the local pub visitors themselves. It will give an additional insight in the way this group undergoes the changes in the neighborhood and how this reflects their pub life. The central question will be if there is any connection between the gentrification process in the Indische buurt and the dynamics going on in the ‘safe’ environment of a local pub. Therefore 22 regular pub visitors of four local pubs have been interviewed to research this.

This chapter will answer research question 3 and 4 of this thesis, which is respectively about the effect of gentrification on their perception and their actual behavior. Since these two concepts are sometimes difficult to separate -after all perception is often affecting behavior and the other way around- the set-up of this chapter will be structured by themes. These entail: the neighborhood development and influence on the daily life of visitors, the pub life in the neighborhood with a focus on the significance of the pub, the actual individual pub behavior of visitors and their preferences, the social aspect of this behavior, so the contact with the rest of the clientele and the pub owners and the future of the Indische buurt, with a focus on the local pubs and the personal situation.

### 7.2 Developments in the Indische buurt: a neighborhood in change, but passing by....

#### 7.2.1 The make-over of a village

Respondents mainly recognize the transformation of the neighborhood physically. Most of them appreciate the change in housing stock and public space, although there is some criticism as well – mainly of native inhabitants of the Indische buurt- about the newly built complexes, since *‘they harm the character of the neighborhood’*. This refers to the fact that the Indische buurt is still regarded as a sort of village, with a strong social cohesion and coziness. One respondent, who has lived her whole life in the area, criticizes the idea of ‘upgrading’ itself:

*‘Hij verandert heel erg: ik las laatst in een of ander krantje, ze zijn de buurt aan het ‘upgraden’. Toen werd ik heel boos, ik dacht, jullie hebben eerst die buurt naar de kloten geholpen, een ghetto ervan gemaakt en nu moet de buurt opgevijzeld worden. Het is begonnen met de Jordaan, toen was het de Albert Cuyp buurt en nu is de Indische buurt aan de beurt.’*

[‘It is changing a lot: I recently read in one of those newspapers, they are upgrading the neighborhood. Then I became very angry, I thought, you first fucked up this neighborhood, you made a ghetto out of it and now the neighborhood needs to be puffed up. It started with de Jordaan, then it was the Albert Cuyp area and now it is time for the Indische buurt.’]

With this remark a reference has been made to two other gentrified neighborhoods in Amsterdam and the fear her area will be the next one in line. It also shows the resentment towards 'others' who intentionally neglected the neighborhood and now see opportunities to revitalize it, however they are. This is a sentiment described in gentrification literature as well (Atkinson, 2000, p.321-322).

Still, the fact that the neighborhood looks better and its state is less dramatic than it was a few years ago is valued by her and other respondents. However, especially the ones who have experienced the Indische buurt before the mid 1970s praise its atmosphere and condition back then. At the same time they know *'it will never become like that again'*.

There is one aspect in the neighborhood which is mentioned as a dissonant on the positive developments and that is the low quality retail in the Javastraat. Alike the pub owners, respondents bring this forward spontaneously during the interview. The monotone, ethnic supply in this street of mainly green grocers is seen as a negative factor in the Indische buurt. The comparison that is made between the former, varied, Dutch shops providing daily products and the Turkish-Moroccan offer nowadays is expressed frequently. Many respondents long for shops such as bakeries, butchers and clothing stores with a native supply, as in the old days. However, they do not make clear if a gentrified offer is appreciated as well. It is clear though that –at least for some- the problems they have with the ethnic population in the Indische buurt is projected on the Javastraat.

### **7.2.2 A social mix not really mixing**

Comparable with the interviews that were held with the local pub owners, there seems to be a sort of dichotomy when demographic changes in the neighborhood are discussed. Some emphasize the presence of immigrants, whereas other respondents focus on the 'new Dutch people' moving in. The visitors of pubs where hardly any of the new inhabitants go to stress the foreigners in the Indische buurt. Customers of the two businesses that welcome gentrifiers now and then, Gijs de Rooy and Pleinzicht, recognize the gentrifiers more directly. Still, almost all of them refer to new inhabitants in the neighborhood one way or another.

The area becomes more mixed, that is what is noticed, and, together with the physical revitalization of the Indische buurt, this is overall seen as something positive. As some say: 'it is good to have some change and rejuvenation.' Other respondents underline that the area is changing, but not improving, meaning they do not judge about the state of the neighborhood before.

The attitude towards immigrants is miscellaneous and also differs when talking about this part of the population in general or about their personal experiences. An example of this is a respondent who on the one hand states *'when we return from holidays I always say to my wife we go back to Morocco and it gets worse and worse'*. On the other hand he says he has neighbors from all over the world –also Moroccan- and *'all of them are nice, sweet people and we tolerate each other'*. Other respondents are more outspoken and are mainly positive or negative about immigrants. Finally, there is a group that does not comment the presence of immigrants, however just observe it.

Feelings about the 'new people' are more difficult to express. First of all it is hard to label these new inhabitants in the neighborhood. Although many times called 'yuppies', descriptions like 'young people', 'students' and 'import' are given as well. This indicates they are less visible as a group and less homogeneous. Maybe because of that it is not easy to give an opinion about this group. Furthermore, the fact that this process just started recently, could be a factor, influencing a lack of perception.

When looking at the dynamics and contacts between the three major groups in the Indische buurt, some of the respondents make the similarity between immigrants and gentrifiers as it comes to bonding with the neighborhood. They state that both groups are not connected to the social networks within the area and are comparable in that sense. As one respondent puts it:

*'Ik hoor de mensen zeggen, de buurt wordt opgekrikt, er komen meer yuppen, mensen die wat meer verdienen en in die oorspronkelijke bevolkingssamenstelling eigenlijk ook niet thuishoren. Dat zijn mensen, net als allochtonen, die niet zo in het buurtgebeuren meedraaien, en die ook niet zo'n binding met de mensen uit de wijk hebben. Dan voelen ze een beetje een afstand'.*

[I hear people say: the neighborhood is going to be upgraded, more yuppies move in, people who have a higher salary and who do not belong to the original population. Those are people, just like immigrants, who do not participate in the neighborhood and who do not have such a connection with the people from the neighborhood. They feel a bit of a distance.']

This lack of connection between the new and old population is something which has been explained in gentrification literature as well (Slater, 2006, p.743). This case of the Indische buurt, where the resemblance has been made with the immigrant population, who show in some ways the same behavior as gentrifiers, is a new dimension to this.

In this respect, another remark has been made which is about the lack of knowledge about the neighborhood among 'people from outside'. As this respondent –who is originally not from Amsterdam either- states: *'the history will disappear, here real city people live, they know what they are talking about. People who do not come from her do not know what to experience, once they start living here'*. This lack of historical awareness of gentrifiers has been mentioned before in academic research (Deener, 2007; Blokland, 2008).

### **7.2.3 Gentrification effects in daily life: a weak link**

When talking about the changes in the neighborhood, the effects they have on the daily life of people –except their pub behavior, which will be discussed later this chapter- is a hard nut to crack for the respondents. Although this question most of the time has not been asked directly and had to be derived from other parts of the interview, few remarks are made about the influence of physical and demographic changes. Most respondents indicate their personal situation is not depending on the state of the neighborhood.

Furthermore, more than a quarter of the respondents does not live in the Indische buurt, so they do not feel these effects. Still there are some experiences that can be related to this, as will be illustrated below.

Some respondents' housing situation reflects the gentrification process in the Indische buurt. An elder couple states that because of the change in population *'they do not have contact with their neighbours, since they are all students and immigrants'*. Furthermore these respondents need to deal with some displacement threat as the housing corporation asked them already a few times if it was not about time to move to an elderly home. As they say themselves:

*'Wij wonen in een benedenhuis, en ze willen dat samenvoegen met één hoog. Maar ik blijf zitten, al komt er een stelling voor te staan. Er is wel diverse keren druk op ons uitgeoefend om weg te gaan'.*

[*'We live on the ground floor and they want to combine this with the house on the first floor. But I will not move, even if they install a scaffold. A few times they put the pressure on us to leave.'*]

Another respondent has a temporary apartment, since it will be demolished within a year and replaced by new dwellings.

On the other side of the continuum there are pub visitors who were able to buy a house for a relatively cheap price. One of them expects he can sell his apartment with some more profit because of the upgrading. Another respondent who can be considered as a typical gentrifier, moved from the neighborhood De Pijp to the Indische buurt since houses were affordable in this part of town.

The same respondent also experiences the changes in the neighborhood in another way. He states that friends of him react more positively if he tells them he lives in Oost, especially the last one and a half years. Furthermore, in his daily activities he notices he is more oriented on the amenities in the Indische buurt compared to a while ago. He says: *'nowadays I am more focused on the direction of the Javaplein than on the other side of the railway tunnel'.*

As a final point, one of the respondents is quite critical about the contacts she has with gentrifiers. Although she appreciates these new young people more *'than the headscarves, whom I cannot deal with at all'*, she had some unpleasant experiences with them as well:

*'Ze groeten je niet, ze kijken je niet aan, als je een keer een praatje probeert te maken, krijg je een keer een antwoord en de volgende dag kijken ze weer de andere kant op. Heel onvriendelijk. Ik vind ze ook niet echt sociaal, qua schoonmaken, qua gedrag. Je ziet het ook bij mij achter, van die koopwoningen. Dan staan ze het balkon te vegen, laten ze zo alles van drie hoog achter naar beneden vallen. Dan denk ik, je mag wel uit een heel goed milieu komen, en pa en ma hebben waarschijnlijk een appartementje voor jullie gekocht, maar je hebt geen opvoeding genoten, dat stoort me'.*

[*'They do not greet you, they do not look at you, if you want to start a conversation. If you get an answer, the next day they look the other way. Very unfriendly. They are not social either, regarding cleaning and behavior. You see it behind my house, there is private housing. When they are sweeping the balcony, they let everything fall down from the third floor. Then I think, you may be from a very respectable background and your dad and mum probably have bought this apartment for you, but you have not been educated. That bothers me.'*]

The way this respondent deals with this situation is, according to herself, *'locking myself up, throughout the day I am gone anyway for my work'*. She also states that she will never leave the neighborhood, certainly not after she resisted the immigrants. She is a 'survivor' who is also able to cope with this new group of more affluent residents.

### 7.3 Significance of the local pub: a spider in the social web

#### 7.3.1 Pubs struggling and restaurants prospering

The infrastructure of the pub and restaurants in the neighborhood is changing fast, that is what all respondents recognize. For the pubs they see mainly a decrease in numbers, whereas the rise of restaurants is for them obvious as well. It is remarkable that the factual decline of pubs<sup>15</sup> is not as dramatic as the pub visitors believe. Maybe this has something to do with the perception of time, since they refer to a number of 30 or 40 pubs in the past, which was not even the case anymore at the first measure point in 2000. For restaurants their estimation is in line with the facts, since this number doubled<sup>16</sup> the last decade.

Especially for pubs the economic crisis is seen as one of the reasons why local pubs in the neighborhood have a difficult time. Also the influence of the local government, Stadsdeel Oost, is mentioned as a factor, since *'they redevelop the area in such a way that no permits for a pub will be given for renovated or new buildings in the middle of the street, that once were a pub'*. This is also said about shops which face the same problem.

The pub supply itself in the Indische buurt is not commented that much in the interviews, when asked about the developments in the sector mainly references to restaurants have been made. It seems the respondents just know what the pub supply is, what atmosphere they have and what kind of clientele frequents these businesses. Often it is said that every pub attracts a certain kind of customers, however, just like the pub owners, most respondents find it hard to define this further. Items that have been mentioned in this regard refer to the openness of a pub, the social background of the clientele and the kind of conversations you have in a pub. It is no surprise most respondents speak highly of the pub they visit and are less positive about the other ones. Still, some businesses are overall seen as the 'real' pubs in the area, which are Gijs de Rooy, Pleinzicht, Peperkamp, De Toverbal and Insulinde.

It is remarkable to see that respondents mention pubs that are not located in the Indische buurt, but in other parts of 'Oost', mainly the Dapperbuurt and within this area, specifically the pub De Ponteneur. This might indicate the neighborhood is in fact not such an isolated village as some of the respondents think...

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<sup>15</sup> See chapter 5.2.2 for this overview

<sup>16</sup> See previous remark



There is overall enthusiasm about the developments in the restaurant sector. Businesses like Wilde Zwijnen, Thai tiger, Comfort caffè and Het Badhuis, which are all new except for the latter, are appreciated and have sometimes been visited by pub go-ers. Even though they could be regarded as 'gentrifier places' most respondents like this *'bustle in the neighbourhood'*, a perception that cannot be found in the recent gentrification literature. Especially the feeling that ethnic supply is replaced or these restaurants will serve as an affordable addition for the existing businesses in the seems to be important:

*'Wat eerst een donker Turks koffiehuis was, daar zit nu iets leuks, een open iets, waar ik in principe zo naar binnen zou stappen. Ik loop daar vaak langs, zitten er mensen buiten, dan denk ik leuk dat het er is, dat ziet er gezellig uit.'*

[*'What used to be a dark Turkish coffee house, there has settled something nice, something open, which I would visit without a doubt. I pass this place often, people sit outside, then I think, good to have this here, it looks cozy.'*]

The ethnic restaurants are not highlighted that much, although, similar to the shops, the high number of shoarma take aways and other 'vague, Turkish restaurants' in the Javastraat are disapproved.

However, when a 'foreign' restaurant is commodified to the preferences of Dutch people, then it is appreciated, as is the case with the new Thai restaurant on the Javaplein. According to one of the respondents *'unlike that Turkish rubbish, you can really have dinner here and drink some alcohol. Here we sit comfortable and get attention from the personnel. And it is not that you stand outside within an hour again, like in those shoarma restaurants'*. This indicates commodification of restaurants is not just an element playing a role among gentrifiers (Zukin, 2008, p.735), however this also counts for non-gentrifying residents.

### **7.3.2 The pub as an extended living room**

The significance of pubs in general is emphasized heavily by the visitors. They give many reasons why the existence of pubs is important such as: *'a meeting place'*, *'a place to offload and cool down'*, *'somewhere to be free'*, *'a spot to forget about your worries'*, *'a site to find coziness'*, but also *'a place to fight loneliness'* and *'somewhere to booze away you misery'*. The social character of a pub is emphasized in the following fragment:

*'Je moet eigenlijk vlakbij verschillende dingen hebben waar je sociale contacten kunt hebben. Een kroeg is daarvoor bij uitstek geschikt, omdat je daar tot rust probeert te komen onder het genot van een drankje of een praatje. Dat je ook dingen hoort...er zijn natuurlijk mensen die niet zoveel meemaken in hun leven en als je daarnaast gaat zitten en een praatje mee gaat maken, dat je denkt, wat weet jij nou eigenlijk? Dan ga je verder met ze praten, dan schijnen ze heel veel te weten, maar niet van nu. Maar wel veel van zichzelf of van anderen, of een vak dat ze hebben uitgeoefend (...)Dat soort dingen gebeuren, dat je van elkaar leert, het is ook soms een beetje aftasten, dat is heel belangrijk voor mensen'.*

[‘You need to have different things nearby where you can have social contacts. A pub is very suitable for that, because there you try to relax, while having a drink or chat. That you hear things...there are of course people who do not experience that much in their life and if you are going to sit along them and start having a talk, you might think, what do you actually know? Still, you continue talking with them, and in fact they know a lot, but not about the present. However, a lot about themselves or others, or a profession they had (...). Those things happen, that you learn from each other. Sometimes, you have to explore each other a bit, that is very important for people’]

From a more spatial point of view respondents find especially local pubs important, since *‘they belong in a village-like neighborhood like this’* and furthermore *‘they stimulate social cohesion in the Indische buurt’*. Also the fact that many pubs have already disappeared makes the still existing pubs even more significant.

Almost logically, the pub or pubs that respondents visit contain most of the characteristics mentioned above, which they find less in the other bars of the Indische buurt. Especially the ‘coziness’ and ‘joviality’ are crucial elements they find in their ‘habitual haunt’, which many regard as a second living room. For some this goes even further as they state this is the place they have their social life or it is the only place where they meet the old people from the neighborhood. This local, nostalgic, aspect, mostly typified as the Amsterdam atmosphere and sometimes even more specifically the Indische buurt, comes back in the following fragment:

*‘Mijn roots liggen hier en die vind ik in de kroeg. Dat voel ik in alles, in mijn vezels. Die humor, dat Amsterdamse, Amsterdammers nemen elkaar ook altijd in de maling. Hier kan ik het aan, hier voel ik het, hier weet ik het, je weet ook precies wat je tegen wie kunt zeggen of niet. Dat vind ik heerlijk. Het is ook een beetje dat oude vertrouwde’.*

[‘My roots are here and I find them in the pub. I feel that in everything, in my fibers. This typical Amsterdam humor, people from Amsterdam always make a fool of each other. Here I can handle it, here I feel it, here I know it, you also know exactly what you can tell to a person or not. I really like that. It is also a bit the old, familiar feeling.’]

Besides these general social aspects a pub has, there are some other elements in such an establishment that make the visitors feel comfortable in the pub they frequent: values such as recognition, attention and safety, whether this is by the owner or the rest of the clientele. Especially the fact that in their pub there are *'never fights'* and *'the atmosphere is controlled by the owner'* refers to a feeling of light-heartedness customers search. The down-to-earth mentality in these kind of pubs are praised as well, as one respondent mentions *'here I can step in my working togs without any problem'*. Furthermore, activities in the pub also contribute to this feeling of being socially involved. Three out of the four pubs regularly organize small events, such as singing contests, karaoke, live music and one pub houses many associations and club. For the respondents this is one of the success factors as well.

This social significance of the pub and the reason to visit a specific business is less pointed out by respondents who do not belong to the *'traditional'* local pub clientele. The students who visit a local pub regularly with their volleyball club state they visit it, because *'the beer is cheap and it is nearby the sports hall'*. An older intellectual visits one of the local pubs for a year now, is there mainly because of the billiard and characterizes the atmosphere in the pub as *'a lot of fuss'*, which he appreciates at the same time. Another customer, a gentrifier who visits the pub, which is his neighbor, likes to meet people from the Indische buurt, however he does not link this to important social contacts.

All in all, it seems the significance of the traditional local pub is different for the old and new population. Whereas the first group sees it as a vital element of their life, the second finds it a nice way of spending your time, but nothing more. The social contacts they have in local pubs are not important for their life in general.

A connection with gentrification is hard to make here, since it looks like most of the respondents see their local pub as an entity, independent from the neighborhood, at least when it comes to its existence in general. There are some visitors who see the pub as a *'safe haven'* within the neighborhood, however this is not directly related to the process of gentrification: they state the pub is a place where they meet the old people from the neighborhood, but this is a sentiment they already felt when immigrants were dominant in the Indische buurt.

## **7.4 Individual pub behavior: why going and what to do there?**

### **7.4.1 Visiting a pub: yes please**

Elaborating on the previous section, respondents state they like being in a pub. It is not just the social aspect that counts, also an individual attachment for pubs can be recognized. Especially the younger male respondents refer to the fact that they never liked discotheques, also when they were teenagers. The reasons for this are –again– mainly socially based, such as *'there you cannot talk with other people'*, *'there is too much aggression'* and *'costs are higher'*.

When respondents say something about their ‘personal pub history’ they emphasize the fact that at a certain stage in their life they wanted to find their pub entertainment more close by, so in or around the neighborhood. In fact their pub behavior became more locally oriented, after they went to the city center of Amsterdam in their younger years. Reasons for this are mostly connected to their personal situation, such as starting a family, sometimes it is also the feeling they did not belong there anymore, because of their age or behavior:

*‘Ik ga ook wel eens naar het Leidseplein<sup>17</sup>, zijn ook leuke tentjes, maar ik ben ook al 40, daar loopt alleen maar 15-16 jarig grut rond. Het is niet dat ik me daar te oud voor voel, maar het zijn allemaal van die bijdehandjes’*

[‘I sometimes go the Leidseplein, there are some nice bars over there, but I am 40 and there only 15-16 years old walk around. It is not that I am feeling myself too old for this, but they are all so assertive’]

As said in the previous section, it is important that the pub respondents visit offers the social environment they search for. Although the majority of the pub visitors interviewed have a sort of favorite hang-out in the neighborhood, other bars are frequented as well. Especially the younger part of the respondents is also oriented on establishments outside the Indische buurt, mainly in the weekends.

The reason why respondents started to visit the specific pub is often very practical or even by accident: they have friends who recommended this business, when they settled in the neighborhood this was the one most close or just because they wanted to try out several pubs. It seems that once they felt starting comfortable after their first visit, the specific pub became meaningful for them and not already beforehand. This significance can only start once they know the rest of the clientele, because they ‘produce’ the social part of this.

#### **7.4.2 When and what to do in a pub**

All respondents visit one or more pubs in the Indische buurt regularly, however this –of course– varies, from a bit less than once a week until every day of the week, with a focus on the weekends. A relation to their daily job has been made in this respect: for some this is a reason not to go to a pub throughout the week, for others it is, since they use it as a cool down after a working day. Basically this is a function many coffee houses had until the 1960s, as described in section 3.4. The number of visits vary also because of personal circumstances: especially the respondents who do not have a relationship go to the pub more often, since as they say themselves *‘I am not bound, I do not have any responsibility for anybody’*.

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<sup>17</sup> The Leidseplein is the most important bar/discotheque area in the city center of Amsterdam

Except for one respondent, there are no recent changes in the frequency of individual pub visits. There is a sort of stability in the patterns people have for this leisure activity. The one visitor that experienced some change lately, explains this because of her personal situation: a grandchild she needs to take care of more, in combination with her age. There are no signs at all that gentrification has an influence on the pub visits of the customers interviewed.

Because of the social significance of a pub, the presence of other people is crucial. Furthermore, the specific other customers that are there also play a role. As one male says: *'if there are people I do not like, I am gone'*. This means the number and 'quality' of other customers are important for visitors whether to stay in the pub or not. A respondent who sometimes wants to read a book in the pub, says *'people always ask me what I am doing and why I do not talk to them'*. Interaction with other people is an essential requirement it seems, which will be discussed more in detail in the next section.

## 7.5 Interaction in the pub: one big family and some new acquaintances

### 7.5.1 Fresh air seeping in

The typification of the clientele by the respondents is in general similar to the descriptions of the pub owners: there is a sort of hard core of customers, who visit the pub in changing combinations. People are mainly from the neighborhood or have lived there, they are 'ordinary'-meaning people with a low-wage to middle-wage job- and mainly native Dutch. Some pubs attract another specific segment because of the activities they have, such as Dutch middle aged women who like to dance on South-American live music in café Valentijn and young football fans, watching matches of the local club Ajax in café Gijs de Rooy. Some respondents emphasize the fact that the old clientele 'dies out'.

However, things are changing as well, since all four pubs welcome to a small or bigger extent a new group of customers, which is something recognized by the respondents as well. Some see it as a small development, not having a great impact, while others regard it is a trend which will have more consequences for the future.

The impact of 'gentrifiers' visiting local pubs is only an issue for the pubs Gijs de Rooy and Pleinzicht. Some clients claim this group, which is almost unanimously nicknamed 'yuppies', enters the bar now and then, while others deny their presence. There is less coherence than one would expect after the talks with the two pub owners, who were sure they have these people in their pub. The reason why there is a difference here, is hard to find: what might be of influence here is the fact that people have a different idea about these new customers. In pub Gijs de Rooy, visitors mention doctors as part of the clientele, however those are never called 'yuppies'....

Remarkable is the fact that, even more than the pub owners, customers mention the presence of guests of the Stay Okay hostel. Three out of four pubs are located close to this accommodation and they are indicated as accidental visitors *'who sometimes have the time of their life here'*.

Especially in café Valentijn students are seen as a new group, further specifications where they came from are not given by the respondents. The word 'students' is also used in some other pubs, however it is not clear either what kind of students they refer to. In both cases the connection with events, such as singing contests or football matches, has been made for this group.

When it comes to specifically gentrifiers, some respondents notice the preferences this group has. Alike the discrepancy about their presence in local pubs, the opinion about the taste of gentrifiers towards pubs and restaurants in general and local pubs specifically differs, as these two quotes show:

*'Maar als Alma (de eigenares van de kroeg) op de tafel staat te dansen, dat vinden die yuppen schitterend. Juist wel hoor, ik denk dat het weer een beetje opkomt. Ik denk dat ze een beetje zijn uitgekeken op dat steriele gedoe allemaal, zeker de yuppen. Tenminste die ploegen die hier komen zeggen altijd: dat heb je nog maar weinig, dit soort echte bruine kroegen.'*

[However, if Alma (the pub owner) is dancing on the table, these yuppies find this brilliant. I think this is upcoming again. They are a bit fed up with this sterile doings, especially the yuppies. At least, the groups that come here always say: you do not see this that often anymore, this type of real brown pubs']

*'Er komen hier geen mensen die daar wonen. Weet je waarom? Omdat ze naar Studio K gaan, dat is hip. En dit is niet hip, hier zitten alleen maar oude mannen.'*

[No people come here, who live there. And do you know why? Because they go to Studio K, which is trendy. This is not trendy, you can only find old men here.]

Besides this issue of taste mentioned by respondents - which partly supports the available literature and partly contradicts it- there is another factor that is noteworthy here, which has more to do with the 'spatial perspective' of this group:

*'Mensen die een huis kopen, die zie ik hier niet echt naar binnen komen, nee. (...). Ik denk dat die hun sociale netwerken heel anders hebben liggen. (...). Die zul je hier nooit in een café hier zien of in de Dapperbuurt. Hun netwerk ligt waarschijnlijk ook niet in de buurt.'*

[People who buy a house, I do not expect them to come here, no. (...). I think their social networks are very different. (...). You will never see them in a pub here or in the Dapperbuurt. Their network is probably not in this neighborhood either. ]

This last remark has many similarities with the lack of 'bonding' with the neighborhood, indicated by Duyvendak & van der Graaf (2009). Especially in relatively small-scaled cities in countries like The Netherlands where other areas can be accessed easily, this might be an important factor. Here is not so much the preference that counts, but the wider network gentrifiers have. This is also confirmed by research among this group in Amsterdam (Gadet, 1999, p.75-76).

And what does the target group itself say about this in the interviews? Well, this is in line with the mixed observations of the rest of this section: *'pubs like this have something'*, *'I know colleagues of mine who would never come here'* and *'I would never go here here for a special drink or anniversary or something like that'*. It seems that within the group of gentrifiers there are differences as well, when it comes to the taste for local pubs. And that is more nuanced than the literature at disposal suggests.

### 7.5.2 Bound and open in one

Many respondents are almost lyrical about the contacts with other customers, of all the information gathered from the interviews this is the most discussed topic. The positivity regarding the interaction in pubs boils down to some characteristics: people you feel connected to, acceptance of the other, and people that are interested in each other's life and opinion. This feeling is illustrated with many examples which manifest this companionship, such as the presence of pub customers at a funeral of another pub friend or buying asparagus in Limburg for the whole pub, when returning from holiday. Also more mundane aspects such as welcoming you by name and shaking hands of other visitors when entering the pub are other signals respondents mention.

At the same time it seems this bonding is only existing within the four walls of the pub. Few people indicate that other visitors are also friends outside the pub framework. As one respondent states: *'they are all nice, but they will not call you if you are ill for two or three weeks'*. Without the existence of the pub some of these people probably would not have even met each other.

While the customers are very bound with each other, they also regard themselves as open towards newcomers. Everybody seems to be welcome, as long as they communicate with the clientele, since that is regarded as one of the pre-conditions of becoming accepted. This is demonstrated by the following fragment:

*Er komt hier iemand binnen, (...), die loopt meteen naar de sigarettenautomaat. Er is dan altijd wel iemand die er iets van zegt: 'moet je sigaretten, wil je niet een biertje, kun je geen hallo zeggen?'. Die mensen staan bij de sigarettenautomaat, zich bijna te schamen, omdat ze geweest worden op hun onbeleefdheid. Maar als ze hier binnen komen, en je zegt gedag, dan ben je al gauw klaar hier. Dan kun je gaan zitten, dan is niks aan de hand, dan kijkt niemand naar je. Dan zegt iemand: ach, geef die man een biertje, zo gaat dat. Vervolgens krijg je een biertje terug en is het ijs gebroken.*

[*'Somebody comes in, (...), and walks right away to the cigarette machine. Then there is always somebody who comments this behavior: 'do you need cigarettes, don't you want to have a beer, can't you say hello?'. Then those people stand there, shaming themselves, because their impoliteness has been pointed out. But if you come in and you say hello, you are accepted. Then you can sit, everything is fine, nobody looks at you. Then somebody says: give that man a beer, that is the way it goes. Afterwards you get a beer back and the ice is broken.'*]

This issue is more problematic with ethnic customers, since they are considered as less communicative. According the respondents, the few ones that belong to their clientele mainly gamble.

However, there are other signals that the openness is now and then not as it should be: one customer says some people are not accepted, in a very indirect way he cannot explain further, another relative newcomer states he had to get used to the people and how they behaved towards him. And one respondent indicates *'we should give more attention to the newcomers, because it is difficult for them to adapt'*.

When taking a deeper look at the contact with the new clientele, discussed in the previous section, respondents again mention their open attitude to make contact with this group. Especially the dynamics with the mainly foreign clients of the Stay Okay are seen as *'fun and interesting'*, in particular in café Pleinzicht. The contact with gentrifiers and students in general also goes smoothly and is not seen as *'unwanted'*, also not by the newcomers. Sometimes there is not that much contact with this new clientele and they are on their own, during another visit conversations take place, *'mainly about each other's work and football, although yuppies communicate a bit differently'*. For some pub visitors it is even crucial these new people enter the local pub:

*'Op het moment dat er ander publiek binnenkomt (...) en waarvan iedereen denkt, o die weet wel wat. Dat geeft zo'n kroeg natuurlijk een beetje een nieuwe push, zodat dat publiek wat meer gemengd wordt, dat is fijn in een buurt waar 160 verschillende nationaliteiten wonen. En dat er studenten komen en toeristen, die acceptatie van andere mensen wordt dan groter, dat is wel heel belangrijk denk ik.'*

[*'Once other customers come in (...) and everybody thinks, oh, he knows something as well. This gives such a pub of course a bit of a new push, so this clientele mixes a bit, which is nice in a neighborhood where 160 different nationalities live. And the fact the students come and tourists, this acceptance of other people becomes easier, that is very important I think.'*]

More critical remarks have been made as well, such as two students who say *'lunatics start talking with them now and then, they search for contact with us, more than we do with them'*. And the respondent who disliked the influx of newcomers in the neighborhood<sup>18</sup> and their behavior states: *'once you meet them in the pub and you come into contact with them, they are quite nice people in the end. Maybe this is because you sit together in the pub'*.

The role a local pub can give is clearly stated with this last remark: maybe this location is the place where the old and new population of a neighborhood can meet in a safe environment and fulfills an important role in the social cohesion of the Indische buurt. Or is it more simple, as the respondent who fits the gentrifier profile most says: *'you know what it is? These Amsterdam natives just keep on talking...'*

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<sup>18</sup> See the quote on page 77



## 7.6 The pub owner as social glue

### 7.6.1 The customer is king, the owner is emperor

The enthusiasm about the owner of the pub and sometimes the other personnel as well is comparable with that of the social contacts in the previous section. They are a very important factor in enhancing this interaction and responsible for the open and social atmosphere, especially the owners from Gijs de Rooy and Pleinzicht. In the other two pubs it is a bit different, although the function of the managers there is obvious as well: in café Valentijn the female-friendliness of the owner is emphasized, in Insulinde the 'I do not want problems' is appreciated.

The owners and the rest of the staff of the two pubs first mentioned are crucial in the success of the pub, according to the respondents: this is first because of their positive character, furthermore they are professional in their work. Most important is that they talk with and listen to their clientele and they are interested. This all together even affects the mood of customers directly:

*'Ze geven je een positieve lading, omdat ze zelf zoveel uitstralen, dan kun je je weer opladen. Voor mij geldt dit zo, maar ook voor anderen denk ik, anders ga je niet. Je gaat naar een kroeg omdat je iets leuks wilt doen'.*

[‘They give you a positive boost, because they have charisma, you can reload yourself. This works for me like that, but for other as well I guess, otherwise you will not go to a pub. You go to a pub, because you want to have some fun.’]

This social attitude and professional skills are also needed in a local pub like this, as one respondent refers to bars in the city centers *'where students work behind the buffet, who are more busy with themselves and cannot even tap a beer'*. The consistency in pub ownership and fixed staff is another aspect related to this, which is seen as *'reliable and pleasant'*.

Two respondents, both students who visit café Valentijn, say they feel comfortable not only because of the sports club members they are with, however also because of the owner. They notice that she is *'very friendly and warm-hearted'*. Even for these customers, not searching for new social contacts in the pub, the role of the pub owner is significant.

### 7.6.2 Communication as the key

If we take a look more specifically at the actual management of the pub owner, respondents mention things that are in line with the general opinion they have. Their strong communicative skills are emphasized here, which they use in their daily work as well. This concerns the personal contact pub owners have with their customers and their function as a 'sounding board'. One respondent describes this as: *'we can vent our gall with him'*. Also the role of entertainer is fulfilled by the owner. On the other hand he or she draws a line, when things are getting out of hand.

Besides this, the way they involve the new clientele in the social process in the pub has been stressed several times. They welcome newcomers and connect them with existing customers quite naturally, something which is similar to what the pub owners said themselves. Somehow these pub keepers are able to find the balance between old and new, which seems to be so difficult in these kind of neighborhoods, according to the gentrification literature (Zukin, 2008, p.731).

Also in the way they do their work the involvement of pub owners is recognized and valued. Remarks that have been made concern the preservation of a nice atmosphere by controlling what is going on in the pub and the free offer of snacks to the clients. On the other hand, the owner of Insulinde is criticized for his lack of involvement and initiatives.

The personal contact customers have with the owner sometimes becomes more intimate and almost turns into some sort of friendship, especially at quieter moments in the bar. This is illustrated below:

*‘Soms zijn het ook avonden dat we de hele avond met z’n tweeën zitten te beppen en dan gaat het over van alles. Dat is heel fijn als je bij zo’n iemand terecht kan. Het is wat dat betreft een hele speciale kroeg’.*

[‘Sometimes there are evenings we are chatting the whole evening with the two of us and we discuss all kind of things. That is very nice, if you have somebody like that. Regarding that, it is a very special pub.’]

Other examples show the attachment of owners that goes even further than the pub itself: one owner attended an anniversary party of one of his customers, while another one helped one of the customers buying new curtains and, together with another pub visitor, even sewing them.

How extreme the last two cases may be, they demonstrate the importance some pub owners have for their customers. It gives the impression the role of the man or woman behind the buffet is, has more impact than the customer contacts. The question that can be raised here is if a potentially more gentrified clientele would have these sentiments as well. Although no concrete answer can be given out of the interviews, there is the feeling this is less the case, looking at their preferences....

## **7.7 The future pub life: with and without gentrification**

### **7.7.1 Steadiness in a dynamic environment**

Respondents who discuss the future of the Indische buurt in general, expect the current developments of renovation and revitalization will continue in the near future. To what extent this gentrification will proceed is hard to tell, however references to De Pijp have been made, also with the less positive side-effects this would create:

*'Het moet niet te, ik vind ook dat je Tante Annie en Fatima<sup>19</sup> op straat moet tegenkomen, dat moet niet uit het straatbeeld verdwijnen. Nu gaan die drie groepen hier samen goed, ik zou het wel jammer vinden als de yuppen de macht overnemen. Dat een groentenwinkeltje of een islamitisch slagerijtje hier om de hoek gaat verdwijnen voor allemaal delicatessengedoe, (...). Ik denk wel dat het op den duur gaat gebeuren'.*

[It should not be too much, I think you should also meet Aunt Annie and Fatima on the street, they should not disappear from the street scene. Now these three groups get along well, it would be a pity if yuppies take over. Then small green grocers or an Islamic butcher around the corner will disappear in favor of all these delis. I think this will happen though on the longer term']

This respondent refers to the commercial aspect of gentrification, which he sees as a demonstration of a changed neighborhood. Also the three groups in the Indische buurt and the fear that two of them will be pushed aside is expressed here. This pattern is in line what most gentrification literature describes.

Others comment the future of local pubs in general: opinions differ here, as some visitors expect these pubs will always exist because of their social function and long history, while others think these businesses will not be able to survive, because future generations do not appreciate its offer and atmosphere. Still, also the last group expects a few pubs in the Indische buurt to hold on the coming years, especially Gijs de Rooy en Pleinzicht are named.

Visitors are clear about the future management of their favorite pub: despite the changes going in in the neighborhood the managers do and will not have to adjust much, mainly expressed by the clientele of Gijs de Rooy and Pleinzicht. The atmosphere and interior of both pubs are seen as one of the elements of their success formula and therefore it should be kept this way. Some minor additions in the offer, like small snacks or sandwiches are recommended. This is totally in line with what the owners said about this themselves. Especially the management of Insulinde needs some impulses, however customers do not expect the owner to invest that much, because of his personal situation.

The only thing customers are a bit worried about in café Gijs de Rooy is the take-over of the pub by the son-in-law of the present owner. Some see this as an opportunity to modernize the business, while others fear the pub will change too much and will lose its present atmosphere.

The expectation about the future clientele is that not that many changes will take place, although they see the neighborhood transforming and new visitors slightly entering their pub. A rejuvenation of the customers is needed though, in order to survive on the longer term. In this respect, some notice that younger generations, whether this concerns gentrifiers, students or others, are less loyal towards a pub. This counts anyway for the visitors of the Stay Okay hotel, who are in the neighborhood for just a couple of days.

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<sup>19</sup> These two names are used to typify the two main groups living in the neighborhood right now: native Dutch (Aunt Annie) and immigrants (Fatima).

The pub behavior of this new generation of visitors is more dynamic, since they do not visit the pub on regular days and do not stay the whole evening in one bar. This will make it harder for the pub owner to rely on this clientele.

### **7.7.2 An introvert look at own pub behavior**

Respondents found it very hard to predict their own pub behavior in the future. As they say this depends on their personal situation, which they cannot foresee now. All of them have the intention to still visit pubs, 'if their health allows them'. Also the younger respondents consider themselves as pub go-ers and expect to frequent them in the near future as well.

None of the respondents referred to the changes in the neighborhood as something that would influence their pub behavior, whether this concerns the possible disappearance of pubs, a changing atmosphere in a pub because of new clientele or a new offer that does not fit their preferences. It is not easy of course to translate such a general process in your direct environment to your specific personal situation. However, it seems that gentrification is recognized as a process that takes place, however something that will not have an immediate effect on one of their favorite leisure activities. Could this be one of the factors why gentrification is appreciated in the beginning stages, also by non-gentrifying residents? That they are not able to interpret this to themselves and once the next phases start, they seem to be overwhelmed by the negative effects. Or is it less complex and these pub visitors will just accept the changes, also in their bar, and will deal with it, if this really becomes an issue and do not think about it right now?

This is something that asks for further research or the local pubs in the Indische buurt should be visited again within a few years, to find out whether its visitors can connect their actual pub life more explicitly to gentrification.

## CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS, REFLECTION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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### 8.1 Introduction

Now the results of the empirical research have been presented in the previous three chapters, they will be connected to the first part of this thesis, which is the main research question. There, the aim of this study has been formulated and this chapter will answer the corresponding questions. First, the sub research questions will be repeated and answered one by one. Also the additional, more general questions about commercial gentrification, that came out of the theoretical framework will be discussed. After that, a main conclusion will be formulated that gives an overall outcome of this research.

Based on this, the preliminary conceptual model that has been presented in chapter 1 will be reviewed once more: will the elements stay the same, are there parts that need to be added or maybe deleted? Based on this, a new version of the model will be outlined.

The reflection part that comes next will critically look at this research itself: what went well, what could have been done better, which limitations influenced the results and which gaps in knowledge still need to be filled are questions that will be raised here.

The outcomes of this section, together with the results of the new conceptual model, will lead to recommendations for further academic research and some small, practical advice for actors involved.

### 8.2 Conclusions

#### 8.2.1 Gentrification and pubs and restaurants: a blessing or a curse?

*Sub research question 1:*

*What are the implications for and responses of individual businesses in the pub and restaurant sector to the change in supply and demand of their sector in their neighborhood?*

Pub and restaurant entrepreneurs in the Indische buurt are mainly positive about the developments going on in their neighborhood. This is in line with the perception of non-gentrifying inhabitants about the improvement of the facilities level in the beginning stage of gentrification, expressed in literature (Zukin, 2009; Doucet, 2009). Although new businesses could be regarded as extra competition, managers appreciate the upgrading of the once poor pub and restaurant infrastructure. There is also a group of mainly ethnic and native Dutch pubs and coffee houses that does not recognize gentrification at all, who are looking at their business in an introvert manner. The difference in recognition between entrepreneurs could also be explained by the location of their business in the Indische buurt. As already pointed out by Deener (2007) and Luckins (2009) this has to do with the intricacy of commercial gentrification. In this context it could mean businesses that are not located in the north western quadrant of the neighborhood do not experience –and therefore also do not perceive- gentrification.

Since the new group of customers in this beginning stage of gentrification does not consist of 'real' gentrifiers, however mainly students and tourists, the current supply of restaurants and snackbars/take aways fits. With its relatively cheap offer and the preferences of this customer groups there is no need to adjust the daily management of these businesses. The native pubs and Dutch and ethnic coffee houses have more problems, looking at the mismatch between its supply and the new inhabitants and visitors of the Indische buurt. However, they claim to have a hard core of customers, they can rely on.

Although most entrepreneurs see (commercial) gentrification processes, not all of them react already to this in their own business, while they intend do. Mainly this has to do with a lack of know how or financial means how to translate these developments to their own daily management. The owners that adapt to the gentrification developments do this by upgrading or renewing their offer and other, mainly small interventions.

### **8.2.2 The local pub: an agent of change or an isolated relic?**

*Sub research question 2:*

*What are the implications for and responses of local pub owners to the change in supply and demand of pubs and restaurants in their neighborhood?*

Results for the typical local Amsterdam pub are various: while some take the present clientele and low-class immigrant state of the neighborhood as their framework, other pubs see opportunities in gentrification, both for the Indische buurt and their own enterprise. An important aspect here is the balance between Dutch and ethnic: since the neighborhood experienced immigrant dominance the last decades, new native supply and customers are welcomed, even though the gentrifier life-style and practices are different from the old, native population. Upgrading therefore also means 'less ethnic', which has not been described in present Anglo-American literature yet.

Again, here the location of the pub is important, as well as the mentality and capacities of the owner him/herself. Especially owners who have their business on a central spot in the gentrified part of the Indische buurt, who had to 'live through' the era of immigrant clientele and who are actively involved in the management of their pub are positive towards gentrification developments.

This is translated into daily management by means of small changes in offer. Moreover, this is done by welcoming new guests, once they enter their pub, whether these are students, tourists or real gentrifiers. There is also a more business related motive to attract new customers for the future: because of general developments in the pub sector, such as less loyal pub behavior and ageing of the actual clientele, another customer group needs to be found. With these new clients some local pub owners try to compensate these negative trends. However, this is not done by rigorous changes in their management, offer or interior: a new clientele is appreciated, however the pub will stay the way it is. According pub owners this is not problematic, since they expect the new people in the Indische buurt to like this kind of local Amsterdam bars as well.

### 8.2.3 The local pub: a place of integration or segregation?

*Sub research question 3:*

*How do local pub visitors perceive the change in pub and restaurant life and gentrification of their neighborhood in general?*

*Sub research question 4:*

*What is the effect of a changing pub/restaurant life and gentrification in general of their neighborhood on the personal and social behavior of local pub visitors?*

Similar to the owners of pubs and restaurants, local pub visitors appreciate the changes in their neighborhood, again some still focus more on immigrant developments than on gentrification. The most positive visitors are the ones where the pub owner's opinion towards gentrification is favorable as well. Some resentment is felt that, after De Jordaan and De Pijp, the Indische buurt is the next low class area in Amsterdam to be upgraded, after having been neglected by authorities for a long time. The general increase and improvement of restaurants is appreciated, again because of the counterbalance aspect with immigrant offer. Surprisingly, also commodified ethnic and gentrifier restaurants are regarded as a positive tendency by the -mainly native- local pub visitors. This is new information, looking at gentrification literature at display. Pubs, also the one(s) pub visitors frequent themselves, have been seen separate from most gentrification developments in the Indische buurt and exist as a sort of world in itself.

The perception local pub visitors have about gentrifiers is not coherent and unclear. First of all, it is hard to define this group, because of its heterogeneous character and because students and tourists belong to the new clientele as well. While some visitors recognize the presence of the new inhabitants, some only refer to (foreign) tourists. Ideas about the preferences and visits of gentrifiers regarding local pubs differ, also in pubs where the owners claim they welcome this new group.

Visitors praise the significance of pubs regarding social contacts: they regard them as places where there is bonding and openness at the same time, both created by customers and the pub owner. Depending on the perception if gentrifiers visit a local Amsterdam pub, respondents see it as a location where this new group is welcome. However, as long as they stick to the 'mores' of the pub, so an adaptation to a place, which is a 'parochial domain' (Gadet, 1999).

Where this social aspect of behavior might be slightly influenced by gentrification processes described above, visitors see their own pub behavior mainly disconnected from it. While other daily life aspects such as housing and restaurant visits are associated with gentrification, the individual pub practices stay the same and are not influenced. This corresponds with the opinion visitors have about the future of their local pub: the physical environment of the Indische buurt will change further, however their favorite pub will stay the same, maybe except from new, assimilating clientele. At the most, effects are dripping slowly into the pub, which might have an individual effect on behavior on the longer term.

#### 8.2.4 The specific context and position of commercial gentrification

For this case study the concept of 'commercial gentrification' has been researched in the specific context of an early gentrification neighborhood in a regulated country, in a compact and highly-interactive city and with an eye on national trends in the sector. The question is how this setting provides new insights about commercial gentrification in general and the position it has within the wider gentrification context.

The result of a neighborhood that has been researched in the beginning stage of gentrification shows that mental time frames of actors (both visitors and entrepreneurs) differ: while some still emphasize the condition of the neighborhood before this process started –in this case a low class immigrant area-, others look more forward and highlight the actual developments. This is also reflected in the offer, which shows a clash of new and old, where some struggle and others flourish. On the one hand businesses disappear and new ones arise, on the other hand pubs and restaurants persistently continue.

This last thing might have to do with the (governmental) regulations in countries such as The Netherlands. While the local government and other parties involved strive for revitalization, at the same time existing businesses are better protected than in more free-market oriented countries. The combined policy of upgrading and control, which is executed in the case study area, however is parallel to the literature (Uitermark et al., 2007). In the case of the Indische buurt the social role of institutional organizations has been emphasized, since they strive for a 'social mix' and 'the creation of a village'. This implies a small scale development, the whole neighborhood could benefit from.

This last remark is in line with the compactness of cities like Amsterdam. Different than other world cities, distances are easy to bridge and interactions take place on a micro-level. Together with the tolerant atmosphere the city is known for, the 'passenger publicity' (Gadet, 1999) might enhance interaction –or at least acceptance- in the local pub and restaurant life of the Indische buurt further.

Finally, national trends in the sector of pubs and restaurants show commercial gentrification is not an isolated process, and the influence of more general developments plays a role on the supply side as well.

The question how commercial gentrification positions itself in the overall gentrification cause and effect debate is difficult to answer after this research. Commercial gentrification just recently started and its wider effects are unknown yet. Besides that, part of the supply, especially ethnic pubs and restaurants and Dutch local pubs are reactive, not having an active role in this process. Furthermore supply in the area is still very diverse, without a dominating sub sector.

What seems to be the case in the Indische buurt is that gentrification started with housing conversion and only later a change in facilities and amenities has taken place. Probably this has to do with the fact that in small-scaled cities like Amsterdam and regulated countries like The Netherlands the level of gentrification is neighborhood oriented and controlled. Therefore, first new inhabitants need to be attracted, before providing the gentrified supply. At this moment, residential and commercial gentrification seem to go hand in hand and have the same pace of development.



## 8.2.5 Final conclusion of main research question

**Main research question:**

**“What are the effects of early stage gentrification for *individual businesses in the pub and restaurant sector in general and for local pub owners and visitors specifically?*”**

This study aimed to find behavioral and perceptual aspects among pub and restaurants owners and local pub visitors, influenced by the gentrification process in a neighborhood.

First of all, the outcomes depend on the mental framework entrepreneurs and inhabitants have about their neighborhood. Especially in early gentrification neighborhoods, the situation before gentrification started is a reference which causes some to not recognize the actual developments going on. Besides this time dimension, the geographical location of entrepreneurs within an area determines to what extent gentrification is seen as an important factor in the neighborhood. Therefore **‘awareness’** is a concept that highly influences the effects experienced.

Secondly, for entrepreneurs there is a difference between pubs and restaurants: whereas the first category finds it difficult to react to gentrification processes, restaurants see options to improve their business relatively easy. Especially because the supply of this sector fits the early gentrifier groups relatively well, opinions are mainly positive. Looking at a more individual level, some entrepreneurs are more actively busy with their business, see opportunities and react accordingly. This means **‘competences’** is another concept which has an impact on the effects on the individual pub and restaurants business, which is not depending on gentrification itself.

Thirdly, specific, contextual factors of this case study had a weight on results as well: this entails the influence of (governmental) regulation, national supply trends in the pub and restaurant sector, the scale and social interactions in a compact city and the role of the dynamics between ethnic and native non-gentrifying inhabitants. Although this last aspect was typical for the case study of this research it is assumed that **‘influence of ethnic non-gentrifiers’** is an important factor in the perceptual aspect of gentrification. However, further research is needed to find out if the presence of many immigrants in a neighborhood positively influences the perception about (commercial) gentrification.

Apart from these ‘variables’ that have an influence on the effects, results of this research are diverse, both among entrepreneurs and visitors. The overall perception about gentrification of the Indische buurt is positive and, depending on ‘awareness’ and ‘competences’ and contextual factors, businesses try to react to it. Visitors find it hard to identify the personal behavioral effects of gentrification (yet), because of the focus on their individual situation and the initial stage of the process. For the social behavior, which is more aimed at interaction with others, they find it easier to indicate the effects in contacts they have: some relate it just to the existing social contacts with the old customers, others add the contact with new clientele as well, which they are mainly positive about.

For the perceptual effects on local pub level, again 'awareness' of the developments is a precondition. When it comes to consumption values this research showed two main deviations from the existing literature: the appreciation of (ethnic) gentrified restaurant supply by native inhabitants and the preference of gentrifiers for typical local pubs, although this last element is mainly a perception of non-gentrifiers.

Local pub owners see more potential in gentrification of the neighborhood than their customers, especially for their own business. Both groups have an introvert look at the neighborhood role of their enterprise and favorite pub and feel bound with each other. Simultaneously, newcomers are accepted in the pub, as long as there is a certain degree of adaptation to the current practices.

Therefore the doors of these living rooms are not closed, but ajar: as a stranger you are welcome, however you need to open the door yourself and you need to make it comfortable for yourself with the family living in this room. The rules are maintained by the lord of the house, who is not an agent of change, but an agent of bridging and bonding. He is head and the most important family member and the one who can expand the family or connect different families with each other.

This brings us to a last remark: although the contacts, bonding and social cohesion has been admired by pub owners and visitors and these elements could even play a role in future gentrification, there is another development, maybe even more significant, that hangs over local pubs like a shadow: individualization. As stated in his most recent book, Tony Blackshaw (2010) describes that within future leisure individual choices will be dominant, leisure will be more diverse and fragmentary and activities will be consumed in networks and not in communities (p. 92, 144). This implies future leisure behavior will dramatically change and not be determined by others, is less consistent and not consumed in the place you live. And all these three elements are success factors for local pubs...

### **8.3 The conceptual model revisited**

With the remarks of the previous section, the conceptual model, as presented in section 1.3 of this thesis, can be reviewed. Almost all elements that have been mentioned there will come back in the final conceptual model as well. Since there are different new elements playing a role for either pub and restaurant owners or local pub visitors, two separate models for both groups will be made.

For pub and restaurant owners 'awareness', 'competences' and 'contextual factors' will be added, since they influence the effects on the business. For local pub visitors 'awareness' and 'contextual factors' are relevant as well, here also 'influence of ethnic non-gentrifiers' will be put in. Social and personal behavior will be split up, because of the different findings in the research.

Some relations within the initial model have not been confirmed by this research: one is the personal behavior of pub visitors as a result of change in demand and supply of local pubs. This is the same for the arrow between Perception and Personal and Social behavior in local pub back to Gentrification. Although it is not said there is no connection, the evidence of this has not been found in this thesis. The connections that are not found with this research are therefore displayed with a dotted line.

In the end this leads to the following two definitive conceptual models of this research:

**Figure 8.1** Final conceptual model of thesis Effects of gentrification on daily life, specifically for pub and restaurant owners

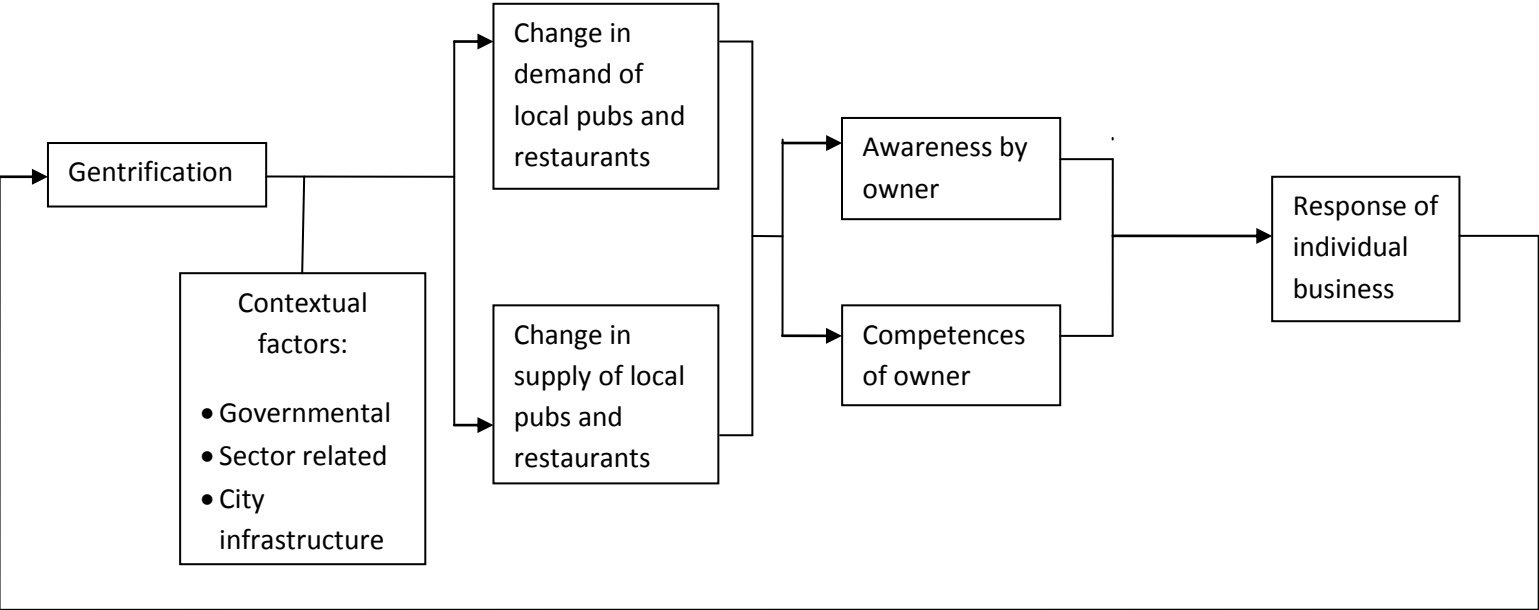
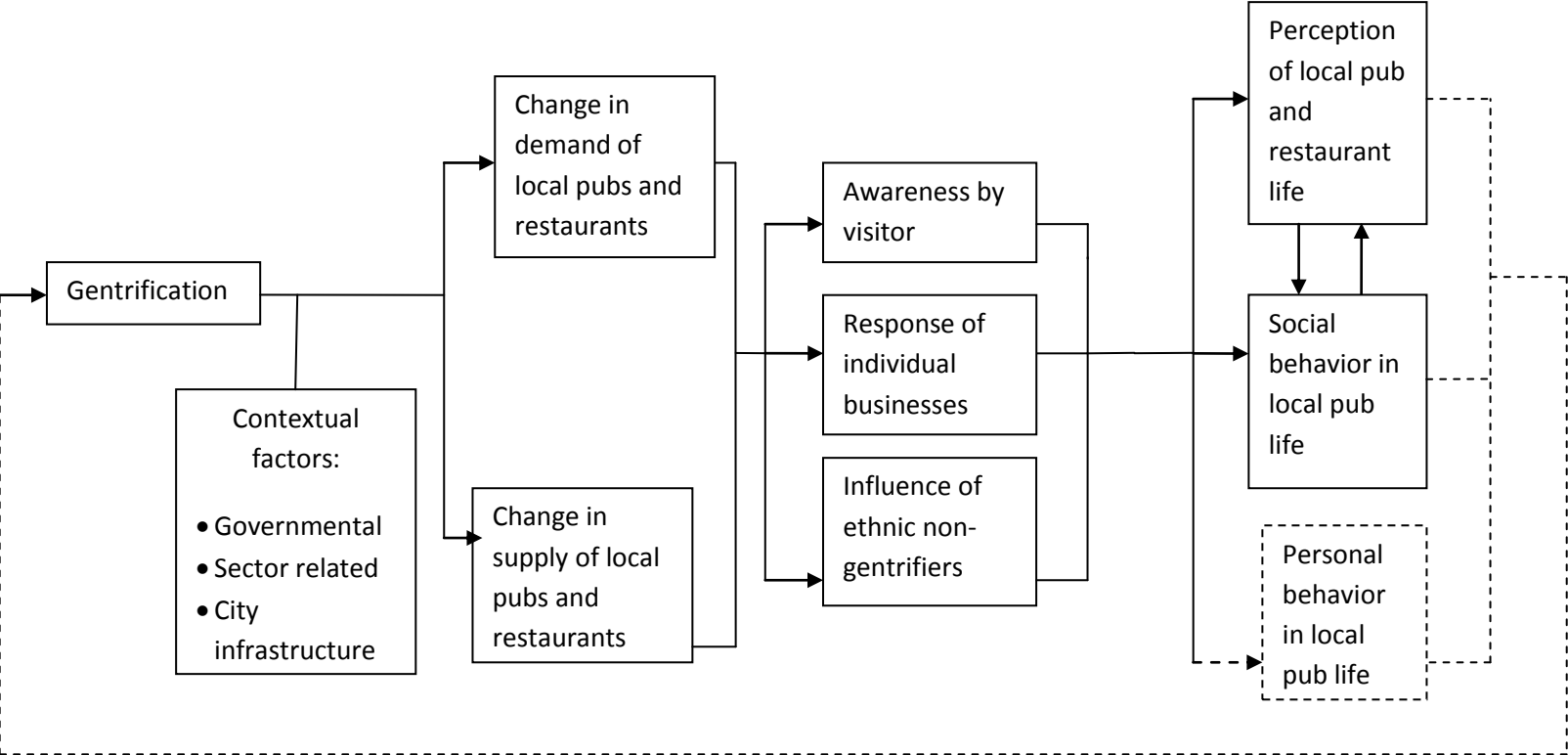


Figure 8.2 Final conceptual model of thesis Effects of gentrification on daily life, specifically for local pub visitors



## 8.4 Reflection

From a practical point of view, the decision in this research to narrow down the qualitative part to the local pub owners and visitors was well-chosen. Processing all the data of the interviews takes a lot of time and therefore this limitation was, given the practical framework of this research, useful. However, because of this, a total overview of the pub and restaurant sector in the Indische buurt could not be given in this research. Also the role of the local government and other parties involved needs to be further examined. Because of the focus on the supply side, the demand has been given less thought. This also counts for the national overviews of pubs and restaurants, which now provided statistical information, however no qualitative information on the production and consumption side.

From a more research-technical point of view, the direct approach of owners and visitors worked. This resulted in many interviews in a short period of time, more than 50 in total. The fact that they were held in an environment, which was the main topic of the interview itself, contributed to a deeper insight in the daily practices in businesses and the interaction between groups of people. Especially in the interviews with the pub visitors they could talk about their perception and behavior, directly referring to what they were doing or thinking in the pub. This also had a negative side-effect, since the concentration span of some respondents was limited and therefore some conversations were not really in-depth. Besides that, one had to be careful to not interview people who were drunk, because of reliability reasons.

A practical problem is the inconsistency between the pubs that have been involved in the owner-part and visitor-part. Three owners have been interviewed, whose pubs have not been used for the visitor part. At the same time, visitors of two pubs have been interviewed, whose managers have been interviewed only in the section, discussing the total overview of the pub and restaurant supply. This makes the results not totally comparable, although this choice can be substantiated: selecting the pubs for the visitor part, that were for the demand side of gentrification most interesting, could only be done after the talks with the managers and the insights they gave.

Another aspect that could have played a role is 'group and imitating behavior': although all interviews were individual, the researcher could not check to what extent the topics were discussed in a group beforehand or afterwards. It was striking some remarks were expressed literally the same by visitors as the way the owner formulated it. This could be an interesting topic though to research in itself, since this might be the ultimate way of influencing each other's perception and behavior!

A lot is told about other people in the neighborhood and, although it was not the aim of this research, preferences, perceptions and behavior of some consumer groups have almost not been asked to them directly. This first concerns tourists and ethnic inhabitants, who were not part of the pub visitor sample. Of the pub visitors that have been interviewed there were two students and one that could be fitted in the 'gentrifier profile'. Because of this, there is not enough insight yet how the dynamics between groups exactly work, also seen from the this customer's point of view.

This research has been conducted within half a year and is basically just a 'snapshot' of the neighborhood and its pub and restaurant sector. Things go fast in the Indische buurt, since businesses disappeared, were opened and replaced in this short period of time. Also because of the difficulty to find out the behavioral effects of pub visitors, new research should be done when gentrification will have become even more obvious and wide-spread. This will be an addition to the information we now have about a early gentrification neighborhood.

Finally, the limitation of a case study has already been pointed out, nevertheless it is good to emphasize this once more. Therefore the two final conceptual models that have been formulated after this research are only valid for the Indische buurt and should be tested in other situations. The intention of this research was to find factors that play a role in the effects of gentrification, its findings should thus be examined further in other neighborhoods.

### **8.5 Recommendations for further research**

Based on the observations of the last section, recommendations can be given for further academic research to work out this topic more extensively and from different angles, in order to get a broader and more complete picture.

First of all, as said before, other neighborhoods who are gentrifying should be researched. This could be early gentrification neighborhoods, however also areas who are in a later stage and where especially behavioral effects could be measured more directly. In this respect it might be interesting to interview pub owners and visitors of other Amsterdam neighborhoods who are quite comparable to the Indische buurt and mentioned by respondents as well, namely De Jordaan en De Pijp. Also adjacent areas such as the Oosterparkbuurt, Transvaalbuurt or Dapperbuurt are suitable. Another option to receive a better insight in especially the personal behavior of visitors, quantitative, longitudinal research could be conducted in the Indische buurt. With the support of for example a regression analysis, variables that are influencing behavior could be tested, in order to find out the role of wider gentrification developments in a neighborhood.

On a micro-level, pubs like Café Nol in De Jordaan and Ruk en Pluk in the Oosterparkbuurt have been mentioned in the interviews as places where gentrifiers and native local pub visitors meet, so research there could give further insight.

This will also help to get a better view on the preferences of gentrifiers when it comes to 'authentic' supply, such as local pubs, and their actual behavior. The results of this thesis are too contradicting, so further research among this group specifically should be done. Although the study by Gadet (1999) provides interesting information, this 13 year old research might be outdated and this group in the meantime may have developed new preferences.

Also other consumer groups in commercial gentrification should be researched further, especially tourists and immigrants. For the latter this is certainly the case if they form a substantial part of the population within a gentrifying neighborhood. This is because then they are expected to have an influence on the total perception about the area by other groups.

The role of contextual factors has been touched upon, however the role of (governmental) institutions and the overall trends in the sector - both quantitative and qualitative and focused on demand and supply- should be researched more in detail.

Before heading to the last recommendation for academic research this is the place to also spend some words on the practical relevance and use of the results of this study. Especially when we look at local pubs, the owners seem to be more crucial than the visitors. Earlier in this thesis they have been called 'pivot', 'social glue' and 'head of the family', which gives an indication of the important role these owners have. They recognize the important role they have for their pub, however they are not aware how central their role in a neighborhood is. They may not be agents of change within gentrification, however within neighborhoods –traditionally- they fulfill the role of bringing people together, listening to them, giving advices and providing a place where people feel comfortable. Also in gentrification processes they could accomplish this task and this is something especially policy makers should take into consideration. It is not just about new buildings and preferences of groups that need to be fulfilled, however also about these people who are in the epicenter of a neighborhood. Therefore managers, civil servants, project developers and others involved in the execution of urban policy should not forget to include this group in their plans and actions. Owners could function as a 'sounding board' and 'transfer point' for visitors and policy makers at the same time, they could be used to help other entrepreneurs who would like to play this role, however they should never be ignored and regarded as relics from the past...

Finally, as said in the beginning of this thesis, the methodology and results for this specific leisure activity could be expanded to other forms of leisure where different people meet. This will give a broader overview of dynamics between different actors and the effect they have on perception and actual behavior. In this respect the ongoing trend of individualization should be taken into account as well, especially to find out which influence this concept has on social leisure activities in a geographical context. In the end, this will bring the two fields of study that have my utmost interest closer together, I hope!

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# APPENDICES:

- Appendix 1: Overview and profile of respondents (local pub visitors in the Indische buurt)
  
- Appendix 2: Definitions of businesses in pub and restaurant sector of Bedrijfschap Horeca (in Dutch)
  
- Appendix 3: Overview of pubs and restaurants Indische buurt, in 2000, 2005, 2011

**APPENDIX 1: OVERVIEW AND PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS (LOCAL PUB VISITORS IN THE INDISCHE BUURT)**

Respondent	Date interview	Pub	Sex	Age	Marital status	Inhabitant Indische buurt?	Inhabitant other part Amsterdam-Oost?	Profession
1	27 May 2011	Pleinzicht	F	63	Married	Yes		Cleaning lady in pub
2	27 May 2011	Pleinzicht	M	40	Single	No	No	Trucker
3	27 May 2011	Pleinzicht	M	36	Non-marital relationship	Yes		Carpenter
4	27 May 2011	Pleinzicht	M	45	Married	No	Yes	Graphic technician
5	28 May 2011	Gijs de Rooij	F	60	Married	Yes		Secretary
6	28 May 2011	Gijs de Rooij	M	58	Married	Yes		Construction worker
7	28 May 2011	Gijs de Rooij	M	57	Single	No	No	Civil servant
8	28 May 2011	Gijs de Rooij	M	64	Divorced	Only in weekend		Painter (artistic)
9	15 June 2011	Valentijn	F	23	Single	No	Yes	Student
10	15 June 2011	Valentijn	F	19	Single	No	No	Student
11	15 June 2011	Valentijn	M	57	Divorced	No	No	Caretaker
12	15 June 2011	Valentijn	F	26	Single	Yes		Owner manicure salon
13	16 June 2011	Gijs de Rooij	M	52	Married	Yes		Technician in public transport
14	16 June 2011	Insulinde	M	54	Single	Yes		Mechanic electronic devices
15	16 June 2011	Insulinde	F	78	Married	Yes		Retired
16	16 June 2011	Insulinde	M	80	Married	Yes		Retired
17	17 June 2011	Gijs de Rooij	M	49	Non-marital relationship	No	No	Owner hairdresser salon
18	17 June 2011	Insulinde	M	26	Single	Yes		Mechanic electronic devices
19	17 June 2011	Insulinde	M	44	Married	Yes		Neighborhood manager
20	1 July 2011	Pleinzicht	M	31	Non-marital relationship	Yes		Business consultant
21	1 July 2011	Pleinzicht	M	52	Married	Yes		Wholesaler horeca
22	1 July 2011	Gijs de Rooij	M	58	Single	No	Yes	Unemployed

## **APPENDIX 2: DEFINITIONS OF BUSINESSES IN PUB AND RESTAURANT SECTOR OF BEDRIJFSCHAP HORECA:**

### **Café, bar (traditioneel)**

Bedrijf tot het voor verbruik ter plaatse verstrekken, gepaard gaande met dienstverlening van overwegend alcoholvrije, zwak-alcoholische en/of sterke dranken, al dan niet in combinatie met het verstrekken van kleine eetwaren of eenvoudige maaltijden.

Een café omvat doorgaans één lokaal, maar kan ook uit meerdere aangrenzende lokalen bestaan. In deze ruimte(n) zijn tafels en zitgelegenheid aanwezig. Er wordt aan de tafels en aan de bar geserveerd. Behalve deze primaire ruimte kan er een terras aanwezig zijn en/of beschikt het bedrijf over een of meer zalen voor het houden van bijeenkomsten. Het bedrijf is overdag en/of 's avonds geopend en sluit overeenkomstig de plaatselijke regeling.

Een bar heeft de functie van een café, maar de sfeer, inventaris en inrichting van het bedrijf geven het bedrijf een intiemere ambiance. Een onderneming die pretendeert een bar te zijn dient mede ingesteld te zijn op de verstrekking van longdrinks en cocktails e.d. Hoewel de inrichting, zoals in cafés tafels en stoelen staan, neemt het buffet (de bar/toog) een zeer belangrijke plaats in het bedrijf in. In het algemeen gaat een bar niet eerder dan 's avonds open en is de sluitingstijd later dan cafés, overeenkomstig de plaatselijke regeling. Behalve mechanische muziek zorgt vaak een pianist of klein muziekgezelschap voor entertainment.

### **Bruin café**

Van een specifiek origineel bruin café kan worden gesproken als er sprake is van een combinatie van authentieke aspecten t.a.v. het interieur van de bedrijfsrichting, het pand en de wijze van exploitatie van het bedrijf. Kenmerken zijn de eenvoudige en solide inrichting, die overwegend uit traditionele origineel-ouderwetse inventaris bestaat en voorts de oorspronkelijkheid van de aankleding van de ruimte. De bruine kroeg verstrekt zowel alcoholvrije, zwak-alcoholische als sterke dranken, maar in hoofdzaak bier en sterke drank (jenever e.d.), al dan niet gecombineerd met het verstrekken van kleine eetwaren. Er wordt aan de tafels en aan de bar geserveerd. Het bedrijf is overdag en/of 's avonds geopend en sluit overeenkomstig de plaatselijke regeling.

### **Koffiehuis/coffeeshop**

Bedrijf tot het voor verbruik ter plaatse verstrekken gepaard gaande met dienstverlening van overwegend alcoholvrije en zwak-alcoholische, soms ook sterke dranken. De activiteit kan gepaard gaan met het afzonderlijk verstrekken van kleine eetwaren of eenvoudige maaltijden.

Een coffeeshop houdt zich uitsluitend of in hoofdzaak bezig met het verstrekken voor verbruik ter plaatse gepaard gaande met dienstverlening en koffie, koffie-specialiteiten zoals espresso, cappuccino en samenstellingen met alcoholhoudende dranken, bijvoorbeeld irish coffee. De hoofdactiviteit gaat doorgaans gepaard met het verstrekken van thee, melk en andere meestal alcoholvrije dranken en gebak, tosti, eenvoudige lunch, pasteitje en dergelijke kleine gerechten. De inventaris en apparatuur zijn ingesteld op snelle bediening, die in hoofdzaak aan de tafels plaatsvindt. Het bedrijf is overdag en/of 's avonds geopend en sluit overeenkomstig de plaatselijke regeling.

### **Cafeteria/snackbar**

Bedrijf tot het voor verbruik ter plaatse verstrekken gepaard gaande met dienstverlening van overwegend kleine eetwaren en eventueel eenvoudige maaltijden, alsmede van alcoholvrije, zwak-alcoholische en soms ook sterke dranken.

Het voor consumptie gereed maken van etenswaren gebeurt voornamelijk door middel van frituren. De bedrijfsuitoefening vindt plaats vanuit een meestal centraal gelegen buffet. De inventaris en apparatuur zijn ingesteld op snelle bediening. De bedrijfsruimte omvat doorgaans één lokaal maar kan ook uit meerdere aangrenzende lokalen bestaan. Behalve deze primaire ruimte kan er een terras aanwezig zijn. Bediening vindt zowel aan het buffet als aan de tafels plaats. Praktisch elk bedrijf beschikt over afhaalfaciliteiten al dan niet in combinatie met bezorging van voor onmiddellijke consumptie gereed gemaakte eetwaren en maaltijden. Het bedrijf is doorgaans overdag en in de avond geopend.

### **Shoarma-zaak**

Bedrijf tot het voor verbruik ter plaatse verstrekken gepaard gaande met dienstverlening van overwegend belegde broodjes al dan niet in combinatie met afzonderlijke verstrekking van kleine eetwaren en eenvoudige maaltijden en van alcoholvrije en soms zwak-alcoholische dranken.

Naast de algemeen in cafeteria's en broodjeszaken verkrijgbare eetwaren bepalen gerechten, die hun oorsprong in het Midden-Oosten hebben, het karakter van het assortiment. Het broodje shoarma zal in de meeste shoarmazaken tot de specialiteit behoren. Er wordt voornamelijk aan de tafels geserveerd. Het bedrijf is doorgaans overdag en in de avond geopend.

APPENDIX 3: OVERVIEW OF PUBS AND RESTAURANTS INDISCHE BUURT, IN 2000, 2005, 2011

			Restaurants					Snackbars/ Take away			Pubs			Demographic			
			Italian	Asian (Chinese-Indian)	Dutch	Turkish/Moroccan	Others	Dutch	Turkish/Moroccan	Others (Asian/Surinam)	Pubs	Coffee houses (Dutch)	Coffee houses (Turkish/Moroccan)	Native/Dutch	Ethnic/immigrant	Gentrifier	
Ambonplein	1	2000	Cafeteria Fonsie					X									
		2005	Cafeteria Pasha						X								
Balistraat	92	2000	Koffiehuis Bali									X					
		2005	Koffiehuis Bali									X					
Borneostraat	36	2000	Snackcafe Vera					X									
		2005	Merksnack Elja					X									
Borneostraat	92	2000	Pizzeria Pronto & Bezorglijn	X													
		2005	Antep Sofrasi				X										
		2011	Antep Sofrasi				X								X		
Borneostraat	112	2000	Cafe Pleinzicht							X							
		2005	Café Pleinzicht							X							
		2011	Café Pleinzicht								X			X			
Borneostraat	26-28	2000	Cafe Teddys							X							
Celebesstraat	10	2000	Snackbar De Tweeling					X									
Celebesstraat	67	2000	Warong Djalan														
		2005	Warong Djalan														
		2011	Warung Djalan Richardo							X							

			Restaurants					Snackbars/ Take away			Pubs		Demographic			
			Italian	Asian (Chinese-Indian)	Dutch	Turkish/Moroccan	Others	Dutch	Turkish/Moroccan	Others (Asian/Surinam)	Pubs	Coffee houses (Dutch)	Coffee houses (Turkish/Moroccan)	Native/Dutch	Ethnic/immigrant	Gentrifier
Celebesstraat	68	2000	Snackbar/Afhaalcentrum Carmen													
		2005	Snackbar/Afhaalcentrum Carmen													
		2011	Snackbar/Afhaalcentrum Carmen													
Eerste Atjehstraat	62	2005	Kims Cafe													
		2011	Café Medina													
Eerste Atjehstraat	106	2000	Poki Bar													
		2005	Poki Bar													
		2011	Poki Bar													
Eerste Atjehstraat	112	2005	Koffiehuis Serefli													
		2011	Koffiehuis Güzel Ankara													
Gorontalostraat	47	2000	Cafe Koffiehuis De Rakkers													
		2005	Cafe Koffiehuis De Rakkers													
Insulindeweg	1	2000	Cafe Muiderhoek													
		2005	Café Muiderhoek													
		2011	Café Muiderhoek													
Insulindeweg	2	2005	Damla Broodjeszaak													
		2011	Damla Broodjeszaak													



				Restaurants					Snackbars/ Take away			Pubs		Demographic				
				Italian	Asian (Chinese-Indian-Thai)	Dutch	Turkish/Moroccan	Others	Dutch	Turkish/Moroccan	Others (Asian/Surinam)	Pubs	Coffee houses (Dutch)	Coffee houses (Turkish/Moroccan)	Native/Dutch	Ethnic/immigrant	Gentrifier	
Insulindeweg	505	2000	Chinees Indisch Restaurant Kota Radja		X													
		2005	Chinees Indisch Restaurant Kota Radja		X													
		2011	Chinees Indisch Restaurant Kota Radja		X									X				
Insulindeweg	513	2000	Eetcafe Mekan						X									
		2005	Naouras						X									
		2011	Urfa Sofrasi 2						X						X			
Insulindeweg	515	2005	Toko Key							X								
		2011	Toko Willy Tjong							X						?		
Javaplein	1-3	2000	FEBO Javaplein						X									
		2005	FEBO Javaplein						X									
		2011	FEBO Javaplein						X					X				
Javaplein	7a	2011	Thais restaurant Thai tiger		X												X	
Javaplein	21	2000	Cafe/Brasserie Het Badhuis								X							
		2005	Cafe/Brasserie Het Badhuis								X							
		2011	Cafe/Brasserie Het Badhuis			X												?
Javaplein	23	2011	Wilde Zwijnen B.V.			X											X	
Javaplein	25	2000	Koffiehuis Yildizeli									X						
		2005	Koffiehuis Mavi Kösk									X						
		2011	Koffiehuis Mavi Kösk									X		X				

			Restaurants					Snackbars/ Take away			Pubs		Demographic			
			Italian	Asian (Chinese-Indian-Thai)	Dutch	Turkish/Moroccan	Others	Dutch	Turkish/Moroccan	Others (Asian/Surinam)	Pubs	Coffee houses (Dutch)	Coffee houses (Turkish/Moroccan)	Native/Dutch	Ethnic/immigrant	Gentrifier
Javaplein	27a	2011	Koffiecorner Qahwa d'Or									X				X
Javaplein	35-37	2000	Snackbar-Lunchroom Frits Vlampan					X								
		2005	Cafetaria Pamukkale						X							
		2011	Pasha Fastfood						X					X	X	
Javastraat	1	2000	Cafe Gijs de Rooy								X					
		2005	Café Gijs de Rooy								X					
		2011	Café Gijs de Rooy								X			X		
Javastraat	28	2000	Chinees-Indisch Restaurant Jumbo				X									
		2005	Chinees-Indisch Restaurant Jumbo				X									
		2011	Beyzadem						X						X	
Javastraat	34	2000	Turks Cafe/Restaurant Derya						X							
		2005	Turks Cafe/Restaurant Derya						X							
		2011	Turks Cafe/Restaurant Derya						X						X	
Javastraat	40	2000	Eetcafe De Tweeling					X								
		2005	Restaurant Mama Africa						X							
		2011	Bizim Mekan									X		X		
Javastraat	49	2000	Schippers Snackbar					X								
		2005	Lucky King en Hong							X						

			Restaurants					Snackbars/ Take away			Pubs		Demographic			
			Italian	Asian (Chinese-Indian-Thai)	Dutch	Turkish/Moroccan	Others	Dutch	Turkish/Moroccan	Others (Asian/Surinam)	Pubs	Coffee houses (Dutch)	Coffee houses (Turkish/Moroccan)	Native/Dutch	Ethnic/immigrant	Gentrifier
Javastraat	54	2000	Flamingo Eethuis/Afhaalcentrum													
		2005	Flamingo Eethuis/Afhaalcentrum													
Javastraat	64	2000	Steakhouse Jaffa													
		2005	Steakhouse Jaffa													
		2011	Steakhouse Jaffa													
Javastraat	91	2000	Ristorante Pizzeria Lago Maggiore													
		2005	Ristorante Pizzeria Lago Maggiore													
		2011	Ristorante Pizzeria Lago Maggiore													
Javastraat	99	2000	Mevlana Saray Eethuis													
		2005	Mevlana Saray Eethuis													
		2011	Mevlana Saray Eethuis													
Javastraat	109	2000	Karaca													
		2005	Karaca													
		2011	NUR Kebab													
Javastraat	111	2000	Koffiehuis Cinar Kardesler													
		2005	Koffiehuis Cinar Kardesler													
		2011	Koffiehuis Cinar Kardesler													
Javastraat	113	2005	Eetcafé Piranha													

				Restaurants					Snackbars/ Take away			Pubs			Demographic		
				Italian	Asian (Chinese-Indian-Thai)	Dutch	Turkish/Moroccan	Others	Dutch	Turkish/Moroccan	Others (Asian/Surinam)	Pubs	Coffee houses (Dutch)	Coffee houses (Turkish/Moroccan)	Native/Dutch	Ethnic/immigrant	Gentrifier
Javastraat	143	2000	Koffiehuis Sedef									X					
		2005	Koffiehuis Yildiz									X					
		2011	Koffiehuis Bam Bam									X		X			
Javastraat	147	2000	Cafe de Nieuwe Roemer							X							
		2005	Café Proost							X							
		2011	Café Proost							X				?			
Javastraat	221	2000	Cafe De Luifel							X							
		2005	Cafe De Luifel							X							
		2011	Café De Luifel							X			X				
Makassarstraat	33-37	2000	Eetcafe/Lunchroom t Snorretje						X								
		2005	Snackbar/Lunchroom t Snorretje						X								
Mataramstraat	2	2000	Cafeteria Sogo 2000							X							
		2005	Cafeteria Sogo 2000							X							
Molukkenstraat	2	2000	Cafe A. Brinkmann								X						
		2005	Café Fever								X						
		2011	Café The Zen								X			X			
Molukkenstraat	11	2000	Café/koffiehuis Peep									X					
		2005	Café/koffiehuis Peep									X					
		2011	Café/koffiehuis Peep									X		X			

				Restaurants					Snackbars/ Take away			Pubs			Demographic			
				Italian	Asian (Chinese-Indian-Thai)	Dutch	Turkish/Moroccan	Others	Dutch	Turkish/Moroccan	Others (Asian/Surinam)	Pubs	Coffee houses (Dutch)	Coffee houses (Turkish/Moroccan)	Native/Dutch	Ethnic/immigrant	Gentrifier	
Molukkenstraat	33	2000	Cafe Sunny People									X						
		2005	Café t Vlindertje										X					
		2011	Cafe de Gabbers										X		X			
Molukkenstraat	53	2000	Dartcafé Wessel									X						
		2011	Eetcafé Zeeburg									X				?		
Molukkenstraat	115	2005	Gazi Antep Nur Patisserie						X									
		2011	Asilah Marina						X					X	X			
Molukkenstraat	155	2000	Chinees-Indisch Afhaalrestaurant Fook Sing		X													
		2005	Chinees-Indisch Afhaalrestaurant Fook Sing		X													
		2011	Chinees-Indisch Afhaalrestaurant Fook Sing		X											?		
Molukkenstraat	581	2000	Cafe Koffiehuis Ancor									X						
		2005	Café Koffiehuis Ancor										X					
		2011	Café Koffiehuis Ancor										X		X			
Niasstraat	16	2000	Ela Palermo Restaurant Pizzeria	X														
		2005	Ela Palermo Restaurant Pizzeria	X														
		2011	Ela Palermo Restaurant Pizzeria	X											X			
Niasstraat	27	2000	Cafe NIAS									X						
		2005	Café NIAS										X					
		2011	Café NIAS										X		X			

			Restaurants					Snackbars/ Take away			Pubs		Demographic				
			Italian	Asian (Chinese-Indian-Thai)	Dutch	Turkish/Moroccan	Others	Dutch	Turkish/Moroccan	Others (Asian/Surinam)	Pubs	Coffee houses (Dutch)	Coffee houses (Turkish/Moroccan)	Native/Dutch	Ethnic/immigrant	Gentrifier	
Palembangstraat	86	2000	Cafe Picoland								X						
		2005	Café Seleccio								X						
		2011	Café Seleccio								X				?		
Sumatrastraat	24	2000	Cafe Insulinde								X						
		2005	Café Insulinde								X						
		2011	Café Insulinde								X			X			
Sumatrastraat	47	2005	Koffiehuis de Punt								X						
Sumatrastraat	56	2000	Cafe-Koffiehuis De Toverbal									X					
		2005	Café-Koffiehuis De Toverbal									X					
		2011	Café-Koffiehuis De Toverbal									X		X			
Sumatrastraat	68	2005	Nefis Eethuis						X								
Sumatrastraat	69	2000	Hoki Snacks					X									
		2005	Hoki Snacks					X									
		2011	Hoki Snacks					X						X			
Sumatrastraat	71	2000	Koffiehuis Dostlar									X					
		2005	Koffiehuis Dostlar									X					
		2011	Koffiehuis Dostlar										X		X		

