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Title: Creating attractive neighbourhoods. Framings of gentrification and participatory neighbourhood development processes in Oude Noorden.

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# **MASTER'S PROGRAMME IN URBAN MANAGEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT**

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Creating attractive neighbourhoods. Framings of gentrification and participatory neighbourhood development processes in Oude Noorden.

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## **Summary**

In Rotterdam gentrification is pursued as a strategy to create attractive residential neighbourhoods and a strong urban economy. Because cities are becoming more complex, more actors have stakes and are therefore involved in urban development processes. Concerns about how places support certain ways of life or businesses makes the qualities of place important. There is a need to know more about how gentrification is perceived by the users of the city, what kind of development processes the users are involved in and how the users understand the improvement of place qualities in their neighbourhood.

In order to get more knowledge about these topics, a single case study research with an explorative approach was conducted of 13 typical urban development processes in the neighbourhood Oude Noorden in Rotterdam. The area was identified as an gentrifying area by experts. The data collection method was qualitative interviews of 15 various stakeholders and observations in two participation meetings.

The first finding was that the stakeholders' general idea of gentrification taking place in Oude Noorden was divergent from the dominant academic one which relates gentrification to displacement of lower income resident. The second finding was that the recent urban development processes could be classified in five modes of participation where the multiple stakeholders pursued different aims and played different roles. Thirdly, the research showed that the stakeholders assessed social, symbolic and physical improvements of place qualities resulting from the various modes of participation. Finally, in the stakeholders' evaluation of the place qualities resulting from one of the modes of participation, all the nine aspects of gentrification were reflected. In the other four, only one aspect was occurring.

The conclusion is that the symbolic language of the gentrification strategy in policy and practices in Oude Noorden eludes the negative consequences for the lower income population. The recommendation is therefore to address the non-neutrality of the concept into the political and academic debates and to bring evidences forth.

Further, the urban development processes in the complex city are involving multiple stakeholders in more collaborative ways. The classification of five modes of participation is just a start to identify the possibilities and constraints in this kind of urban development. Knowledge can be enriched from literature and research practice in the fields of governance, self-organization, complexity cities and urban planning.

To increase the perspectives and reflections on how residents and other users assess and improve place qualities in Oude Noorden or elsewhere, a more comprehensive research that includes the missing stakeholders and the spatial quality dimension that were not approached in this research is recommended.

## **Keywords**

Framing of gentrification, collaborative planning, multiple stakeholders, mode of participation, assessment of place qualities, spatial qualities, experiential knowledge.

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Background

### Local governance collaboration in urban development

In 2007 Rotterdam developed its first urban spatial development strategy, Rotterdam urban spatial vision (*Stadsvisie Rotterdam Ruitmetlijke Ontwikkelingsstrategie*) which describes the objectives and strategic and spatial approaches to fulfil the overall mission to create a city with attractive residential neighbourhoods and a strong urban economy (Rotterdam municipality, 2007a).

This vision was developed in a period where the Netherlands for three decades had been influenced by a trend of decentralization, deregulation and privatization of the central welfare state (Stouten, 2010). The local governments have therefore been turning towards the market in new governance models for collaboration in the urban development. Further, whereas the traditional Dutch land-use planning used to have a distributional effect in reducing socio-economic inequalities by providing cheap housing, the goal has now changed into providing the same spatial qualities of residential environments through municipality neighbourhood development plans in run down housing areas (Needham, 2014).

At the same time, the national Dutch neighbourhood deal from 2007 stated that the implementation of the national policy goals of public space improvements, empowerment of residents and growth of social cohesion in deprived urban neighbourhoods should be a collective responsibility of local networks of governmental actors, local institutions and residents (de Wilde et al., 2014). The concerns about vulnerable neighbourhoods in Rotterdam characterized by decaying housing stock and accumulation of social and economic challenges related to unemployment, liveability and safety have for decades been followed up in subsequent national and local government improvement programs (Rotterdam municipality, 2007a, SCP, 2013).

### Urban neighbourhood development processes 1960-today

Neighbourhood developments were from the 1960s influenced by urban renewal programs that after a period of demolition and clearance got a more local, social and participative profile through the principle “building for the neighbourhood” in the 1970s. From the 1990s urban regeneration programs made their way to the Rotterdam neighbourhoods, although the national programs addressed the entire city’s need for instigation of economic and socio-economic renewal, emphasizing the function of the housing market and the quality of public space (Stouten, 2010). Integral programs targeting social, economic, physical and environmental problems in Rotterdam have come in the form of Big city policy (*Grotestedenbeleid, GSB 1994-2009*), which later was ensued by more programs targeted at vulnerable urban neighbourhoods. Currently, Rotterdam municipality is running the program Favourable neighbourhoods for families (*Kansrijke wijken voor gezinnen 2015-2018*) (Rotterdam, 2015) aiming at attracting more young, higher educated and self-sufficient families to nine neighbourhoods around the city center.

### Attractive residential city goal of the Rotterdam urban spatial vision

One aim of the Rotterdam urban spatial vision is to create an attractive residential city by binding more middle and higher income groups as well as groups with higher education to the city, and to improve the residential environment for all Rotterdammers. The key spatial strategies to reach these objectives are to build housing within the existing city borders, to

create residential environments that counteracts selective migration and to transform vulnerable residential areas. Because of the poor condition of housing, Rotterdam will also need to replace 100.000 dwellings between 2012 and 2040, an average of 3500 per year, through restructuring or transformation (Rotterdam municipality, 2007a).

The municipality adopted the urban spatial vision one year before the economic crisis in 2008. With the falling housing prices and economic loss, the housing cooperations lost their investment capacities, and one of the vehicles for realization of the urban spatial vision got a setback. The new Housing act (*Woningwet*) of 2015 has now restricted the housing cooperations' activities to their core activity of providing affordable quality housing with good surroundings for lower income groups (BZK, 2015).

### **Gentrification in the Rotterdam urban policy**

Stimulation of gentrification is explicitly pursued in the urban spatial vision as a strategy to counteract selective migration by developing attractive residential environments. Selective migration is defined as "the outflow of people with jobs, good education and on middle or higher incomes" (Rotterdam municipality, 2007a, p. 42). In total there are 19 restructuring areas spread over the whole city that are identified as vulnerable residential environments and targeted for neighbourhood development, focusing on gentrification in the northern part of the city and on large restructuring in the southern part (Rotterdam municipality, 2007a).

In the urban spatial vision gentrification is described as a measure both to attract higher income groups to vulnerable neighbourhoods, and to lift these neighbourhoods out of a deprived situation. The concept "gentrification" is not defined or discussed. However, the concept gentrification can be interpreted as a spatial strategy for starting a process of neighbourhood development that can be stimulated by certain interventions, and that can become autonomous under certain conditions. In particular, the areas adjoining the city centre are identified as areas suitable for gentrification processes. "In social, cultural and economic terms, these areas have the features necessary for an autonomous gentrification process, enabling them to become a quiet metropolitan residential environment. The municipal authorities support this process with appropriate measures." (Rotterdam municipality, 2007a, p.70)

The instruments of the policy proposal for the gentrification of these areas are on the one hand related to housing restructuring, such as selling rented housing to increase home-ownership, small scale restructuring by demolition and new construction, merging of dwellings and making housing improvements attractive to homeowners. On the other is connected with upgrading of public spaces and creating space for hospitality industry and creative industries in the old central urban areas.

### **Gentrification a hot topic in public media**

Gentrification is also a topic in vogue in the media. In the summer of 2015 the Dutch newspaper *de Volkskrant* (2015a, 2015b) wrote about gentrification in Amsterdam with the identifiers of increased housing prices, hip coffee-shops, micro-breweries and yoga-places. They concluded that the sale of rental housing is increasing the gap between rich and poor, resulting in segregation where the city is only for the middle class. This is an explanation supported in a blog by a researcher from the university of Amsterdam, Wouter van Gent (Ruimtevolk, 2015), who stated that gentrification is the end of the honest city. An opposite view of gentrification as beneficial for the city, was expressed by an urban planner from Amsterdam municipality, Jos Gadet, in the newspaper *Het Parool* (2015). He claims that

gentrification is attracting both new residents, amenities and workplaces to the city, and that lower income groups in general are protected by the Dutch social housing regulations.

### **Gentrification in the academic debate**

Within the academic debate in social science, there are also two main positions in the discourse of gentrification. One claims that gentrification is benefitting the social development, cohesion in a neighbourhood and integration in the society as a whole (Van der Graaf and Veldboer, 2009, Van Eijk, 2010). In contrast, the predominant academic position holds that gentrification results in social fragmentation and displacement of vulnerable groups from their neighbourhoods and segregation at a large scale (Smith, 2002, Lees, 2008, Van Gent, 2013, Uitermark et al., 2014).

From these positions it is clear that strategy making as a part of urban spatial planning activities is never a neutral activity. Healey puts it this way: “Strategy making is (...) an interactive and highly political endeavour, using symbolic language rather than technical data to prove understandable storylines and metaphors which both capture widely-shared social meanings and serve to create them.” (1998a, p. 14). The positive meanings and values attached to the gentrification in the Rotterdam urban spatial vision, is placed in a position which raise the question who benefits from the wanted development of the city.

### **Attractive cities, urban neighbourhood development and gentrification**

To sum up, in Rotterdam the city governments cooperates with private partners to realize common goals of an attractive residential city, and these are especially targeted to vulnerable urban neighbourhoods. At the same time the residents have got a more important role in the neighbourhood development. In this urban development process, gentrification is an important strategy. Loaded with different values and meanings, the success of the development will be measured differently by the various actors involved in the processes.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

### **Need to know how gentrification is understood**

Gentrification as a strategy in urban policies gives the direction to a wanted development of the city. More studies have been made about the goals and consequences of urban regeneration and gentrification in the Netherlands with cases from Amsterdam (Van der Graaf and Veldboer, 2008, Uitermark and Bosker, 2014) and Rotterdam in particular (Uitermark et al., 2007, Van Eijk, 2010, Stouten, 2010, Mak and Stouten, 2014, Van Gent, 2013). However, less is known about the values and meaning attached to gentrification as a “logic, rhetoric and public policy and its relationship to underlying urbanization processes” (Wyly and Hammel, 1999, p. 719 in Van Gent 2013, p. 506). Therefore, there is a need for knowledge about how people involved in urban development processes understand gentrification.

### **More actors involved in a complexity of urban development processes**

People involved in urban development processes are actors from the traditional public and market sectors and the community. Recently, the third sector of non-profit organizations and actors (Evers and Laville, 2011, Avelino and Wittmayer, accepted) are adding nuances to

who can be seen as actors influencing and affected by specific neighbourhood developments, and to the fuzzy division between the four sectors. Actors are likely to be involved in more ways and hold more roles simultaneously. Furthermore, there is an acknowledgement that the failure in dealing with the complexity of cities and the increasing number of stakeholders has led to a re-orientation from statutory or regulatory forms of planning to collaborative processes (Healey, 1998a). The turn towards more collaborative processes consolidates, but also changes, the role of the municipality planning officers into a one of support and facilitation of urban development processes. Also, it reflects the particular responsibility the local government has to include all actors with a potential interest as stakeholders in the urban planning processes (Healey, 1998a, Needham, 2014). Moreover, various types of collaborative urban development processes organize the interaction between multiple stakeholders in different ways, and this influences the outcome. Accepting the view of the city as a complex and open system, there is a need to get more knowledge about what kind of urban development processes actors are involved in and how the actors perceive their influence and outcomes of the processes they are involved in.

### **Improvements of place qualities as experiential knowledge**

Having an interest or concern about a place is what initially makes actors involved as stakeholders in an urban development process (Healey, 1998a). The creation of shared meanings or interpretations of a place is a social construct that actors either may develop over a long period of time (Healey, 1998a) or through a coordinated participative spatial development process (Kahn et al., 2013). Moreover, because urban neighbourhood development processes are many and diverse, the resulting evaluation of place qualities will necessarily be subjective and heterogeneous.

Nevertheless, as Martin puts it, “as a setting for daily life (...) socially constructed neighbourhoods have real, material consequences for people who live in them” (2012, p. 732). Thus, because places have an impact on peoples’ daily life, it is relevant to understand their various evaluation of qualities of place. This endeavour is often approached from a specific discipline, and from an outside experts’ views and languages. In order to improve people’s relations in space, Moulaert et al. (2013) argues that it is necessary to integrate the readings of space and place from the three discipline areas of urban design (functions and forms), planning processes (decision making, participation) and social innovation (territorial development). And most importantly, to bring the various actors on board with their own experience and language. As the integrated approach of Moulaert et al. (2013) is bringing in new ways of evaluating space and place, it will be applied in this research to explore how improvements of the qualities of the neighbourhood are understood by the individual actors who have been involved in urban development processes.

### **Filling three knowledge gaps**

In conclusion this research will attempt to contribute to knowledge gaps within three domains. First, it will investigate how the concept gentrification is understood as practice and policy in urban development processes. This will inform the political, public as well as academic discussion of gentrification. Second, the research will scrutinize how various actors perceive their involvement and contribution to urban neighbourhood development processes. This will add to the knowledge about the potentials and limitations in how collaborative planning can benefit the development of cities. At last, the research pertains to explore how the users’ readings of space and place can help to identify and communicate various spatial qualities developing in particular places.

### **1.3 Research Objectives**

The municipality and the housing corporations had an active role in the design of the urban spatial vision, and Rotterdam residents have been consulted (Rotterdam municipality, 2007b). Also, the urban spatial vision is subject to potentially divergent interpretations among implementing actors at different times. One aim of this study is to understand what type of meanings and values different actors attach to gentrification.

The urban development of residential neighbourhoods is a collaborating activity between the municipality, housing corporations, local institutions and organizations and residents. To get more knowledge about the actors' perception of their own role and influence in the neighbourhood development processes they participate in, is a second aim of this study.

The aim of the Rotterdam urban vision is on the one hand to improve the housing stock and reduce the economic and social challenges in vulnerable residential environments, on the other to make the same residential areas attractive to more affluent residents. Whether these changes are experienced as improvements of the qualities of the neighbourhood will vary between actors with different concerns about the development. Thus, the last aim of this study is to explore how the actors assess place qualities of their changing neighbourhood.

The objective of this study is to understand the actors' assessment of place qualities through their perception of gentrification and involvement in neighbourhood development processes in Rotterdam in the last 5-10 years.

### **1.4 Provisional Research Question(s)**

How have the framing of gentrification and the mode of participation influenced stakeholders' assessment of improved place qualities in recent developments of residential neighbourhoods in Rotterdam?

1. How is gentrification understood among the stakeholders in neighbourhood development processes?
2. How has stakeholder participation been practiced in neighbourhood development processes?
3. What are the stakeholders' assessments of improvement of place qualities in neighbourhoods having undergone recent development processes?

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

#### **Policy and practical relevance**

The reason why it is interesting to study the relationships between these topics, is that gentrification, participation and place qualities are all central and often intertwined concepts in the urban neighbourhood development in the Netherlands. Apart and together the topics establish domains of discourses where values and meanings of what an attractive urban neighbourhood is are communicated, contested and developed by people who are involved in these changes. These values and meanings are filled with power and never neutral, and by investigating various understandings among stakeholders is it possible to evoke a more sensible discussion about how these discourse are affecting the practices and everyday lives

of people in the city. The knowledge about the different interpretation of meanings and values connoted with the concept can contribute to a richer understanding of the implications of the use of gentrification as an urban strategy for strengthening what is conceived as vulnerable residential neighbourhoods. This will in turn enrich the public debate of attractive cities, urban neighbourhood development and gentrification.

### **Theoretical relevance**

The academic relevance of the study is to get knowledge about how the concept gentrification is applied in practical planning and policy making and understood among actors who are involved in urban neighbourhood development processes. If the policy makers or others who use scientific work to inform the decision-making processes perceive the academic discourse as dominated by one or few positions, there is a risk that it's relevance can be dismissed without regard to the strength of evidences. This can result in an uninformed use of the concepts and confusions about the policies.

## **1.6 Scope and Limitations**

The small number of respondents implies that the findings cannot be generalized as an evidence of the perceptions of the particular topics within stakeholder groups involved in neighborhood development processes. However, the research provides ideas of phenomena that can be examined further with larger population samples and quantitative methods.

Accordingly, this study does not pursue evidences of gentrification taking place in a particular urban neighbourhood, but explore the actors' subjective perception of current changes in a neighbourhood that has been pointed out as gentrifying in the process of case-selection.

Urban neighbourhood development is at the same time a process and an outcome, and it can be a challenge to give the concepts distinct characters to avoid redundancy in the analysis. The strategy to overcome this has been to narrow the analysis of the assessed place qualities to what the actors did say were the improvements for the neighbourhood resulting from the development process they had been involved in.

## Chapter 2: Literature review

The point of departure in this study is that the cities are complex, open, connected to places and cities elsewhere, constituted at many levels and made out of a variety of social interrelations between actors (Healey, 1998 and 2003, Boonstra and Boelens, 2011, Portugali, 2012). Against this background, the context of this study is the urban development processes that create cities and urban neighbourhoods, and the way they are perceived by the involved actors.

In this chapter the main theoretical concepts used in this research will be unravelled. First, the concept *gentrification* will be defined and discussed in the light of Dutch urban development processes and academic debate. Next, the concept *stakeholder participation* will be discussed as part of collaborative and complex urban development processes. Finally, a user-oriented analytic framework is introduced as a tool to understand how actors' *assessment of place qualities* of place qualities among stakeholders.

At last a framework to analyse the research question from the concepts "framing of gentrification", "mode of participation" and "assessment of place qualities" is presented.

### 2.1 Gentrification in urban development processes

In this section the concept of gentrification will be defined and discussed based on research in the Dutch context. Central topics are various phases, key actors, target areas and the question of critical voices, social inclusion or exclusion of gentrification. The discussion is leading up to a summary of the concept related to three main ideological positions that give different meanings and values to gentrification.

#### Gentrification as a process of area transformation

Gentrification is a topic that has been debated widely for many decades, and more authors from the current debate refer to building bricks of the definition that were set around the change of the millennium.

Gentrification has been defined broadly as the "transformation of space for more affluent users" (Hackworth, 2002 cited by Van Gent, 2013, p. 505). Applied to an urban context, this definition points to gentrification as a process of change that can take place at different scales, such as cities, areas, or neighbourhoods, and that benefits people with a higher income.

More specifically, gentrification has been defined as "a process involving change in the population of land-users such that the new users are of a higher socio-economic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through reinvestment in fixed capital" (Clark, 2005, p. 258 in Uitermark et al, 2007, p.126). This definition highlights that there is a change of the population, and it points out that it is a process that improves the built environment by capital investment.

Finally, gentrification has also been defined as "the process by which buildings or residential areas are improved over time, which leads to increasing house prices and an influx of wealthier residents who force out the poorer population" (Jones and Evans, 2009 cited in Mak and Stouten, 2014, p. 103-104). Here, there is an emphasis on the dynamics of increasing housing prices that leads to a displacement of lower income groups over time.

### **The third phase of gentrification**

Smith and Hackworth have classified three different phases of gentrification (Smith, 2002, Smith and Hackworth, 2001 in Van Gent, 2013). According to Van Gent, the first wave of gentrification in the Netherlands was characterized by isolated and irregular developments in isolated areas in the historic city centres from the mid-1970s. From the 1980s the second wave followed, consolidating gentrification as a part of urban and economic restructuring policies in the disinvested city centres.

The current “third wave of gentrification” started in around the turn of the millennium in Europe. A central trait is gentrification being pursued actively as a general urban development strategy by the city governments and the private market together (Van Gent, 2013). Smith (2002) claims that gentrification now has become generalized as a liberal restructuring policy associated with less public regulations and stronger partnership between the public planning authorities and the private capital market.

Van Gent (2013) leans on Smith (2002) when characterizing the actors involved, the types of space affected and the social consequences of the current gentrification trend in the Netherlands:

1. The state has a more direct role through urban governance.
2. The state and the market have become more ambitious and determined about gentrifying cities.
3. Gentrification is growing out of the city centres and into more peripheral neighbourhoods.
4. Opposition to gentrification is marginalized, ignored or muted.
5. Global capital is financing the production of space.

In the following these characteristic of gentrification in will be discussed.

### **State-led versus private driven gentrification**

Research gentrification in Amsterdam Van Gent (2013) found that the central actors in the gentrification processes from the 1990s were the state, the local government and the state-related organizations and corporate actors. Moreover, it showed that the municipalities and the semi-privatized housing corporations<sup>1</sup> were the key actors sharing the high ambitions, taking the initiative and running the high economic risks of capital investment in the low demand areas of Amsterdam. The urban development activities of this constellation of actors have been defined as state-led gentrification (Uitermark et al., 2007, Van der Graaf and Veldboer, 2009, Van Gent, 2013).

However, the research did not confirm the central role of the private developers and the global capital in the gentrification process as suggested by Smith (2002). Van Gent found that in the Dutch context, these actors had a smaller role than expected. Nonetheless, he

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<sup>1</sup> The housing corporations' prominent role in the gentrification processes can be explained by the high degree of social rented housing, which influences the size of their housing stock. Based on information from the Association of housing organizations, the share of rented housing is 40% on a national level, and up to 70% in larger cities such as Amsterdam (Aedes, 2013). The policy goal for Amsterdam was in 2007 was to reduce the share of the rent sector to 55%, with 40 % held by the housing corporations and 15% by the private market by 2020 (Van Gent, 2013)

anticipates that as a consequence of increased deregulation of state institutions and the economic crisis in 2008, the future neighbourhood developments will be closer related to the global and national capital markets.

Mak and Stouten (2014) who have done a research on urban regeneration in Rotterdam have come to a different conclusion about the role of the private developers. Like Smith (2002) they equate urban regeneration with gentrification, but they make a distinction stating that gentrification is driven by the private sector, whereas urban regeneration and renewal processes are determined by governmental policies on a national and local level. The authors do not define the private sector, but it is here understood as the both the semi-privatized housing corporation and private developers.

### **Gentrification in vulnerable areas or attractive locations**

In his study Van Gent (2013) found that the types of spaces that are affected by gentrification are those extending out of the city centre and into to more peripheral neighbourhoods. This occurs either by rolling-out of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century residential areas or by recycling of brownfield sites and green islands adjoining the historical urban centre. Also, he found ambitions of starting gentrifications process in large-scale urban regeneration plans in the post-WW2 neighbourhoods in the periphery of Amsterdam.

According to Van Gent, the aim of spatial development through gentrification is what more authors have referred to as increased “liveability” (Uitermark et al., 2007, Lees, 2008, Van Eijk, 2010). In the context of Dutch neighbourhood development “liveability” has been linked “to the level of crime and nuisance, feeling of safety and residential satisfactions, as well as interaction and “social cohesion” among residents” (Van Eijk, 2010, p. 824).

Van Gent claims that liveability of places in urban policies is related to the “the social economic composition of deprived neighbourhoods and often implies the need to transform an area both physically and socially through housing” (2013, p. 506). Van Eijk (2010) criticises this understanding of liveability to focus solely on the economic dimension and deprivation of all, and ignoring the aspect of social integration. She points out that there is a close relation between the low liveability and problems of integration of ethnic minorities in particular. In both cases, it can be concluded the types of areas targeted for gentrification are typically neighbourhoods with low liveability and a concentration of socio-economic problems.

Nonetheless, another study of gentrification in Amsterdam by Uitermark and Bosker (2014) implies that it is not the most deprived areas in the periphery, but the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>-century residential areas with less concentration of problems, that benefits the most from the gentrification strategy of the city. This leads them to conclude that the city is “increasingly segregated along the lines of income, education and ethnicity, with the more central areas becoming a habitat of privilege” (Uitermark and Bosker, 2014, p. 226). Thus, they claim that through gentrification the city centre with adjoining areas becomes a place for people with higher income, higher education and with Native-Dutch background.

Moreover, Mak and Stouten (2014) proposes a “new mode of gentrification” that supports a notion that gentrification takes place where people with higher income prefer to live. From a study of two neighbourhoods in Rotterdam that are considered vulnerable, Spangen and Oude Noorden, they conclude that “gentrification in these areas remain limited to the level of building blocks and state sponsored projects (...) Gentrification in Rotterdam is related to larger developments, like brownfields and inner city areas, rather than individual neighbourhoods” (2014, p.120). More specifically, they found evidence for sale of new

constructed social housing after prior demolition on locations around parks, public spaces and along rivers and canals.

### **A silent opposition to gentrification affecting the lower income groups**

The consequences of gentrification for the socio-economic composition were identified in Amsterdam's prospects of development in housing tenure, housing stock and the composition of households. Van Gent (2013) found that the proportion of low income households are expected to decrease from 35% to 28% and the high-income households expected to increase from 17% to 25% from 2007-2020. At the same time the housing stock targeted to low income households is expected to decrease from more than half (57%) to one third (33%). For the higher income households, the share is expected to more than double from 12% to 26%. Van Gent (2013) points out that it is the income groups in the middle that are the main targets for these changes in the housing policy and market. According to the author, one of the aim of the changes in the restructuring housing policies is to balance out the skewness where the lower middle and middle income groups tend to stay in the more affordable housing segments that they once qualified for. Thus, the expectation is that these middle-income groups are to move into owner-occupied dwellings and out of the social housing sector. Notwithstanding the policy aims of balancing out a skewness in the housing market, the social consequences are a structural change in the population in terms of income within the city of Amsterdam. Van Gent points out that there are not many critical voices in the process, giving the impression that within the policy field of gentrification everyone agrees that "only the affluent have a right to live in the city" (Van Gent, 2013, p. 517).

### **Gentrification leading to social inclusion through social mix**

One of the academic debates about gentrification is whether the effect of gentrification is inclusion through social mixing or exclusion through displacement. Lees (2008) argues that whereas gentrification in the political discourse often is claimed to be benefitting the social welfare of the gentrified population through a social mix, the academic discourse claims that the evidences are not supporting this. On the contrary, she and other authors maintain that the effects of gentrifications and social mixing policies are segregation, displacement, polarization and social deprivation of low-income groups (Smith, 2002, Uitermark, 2007, Van Gent, 2013, Uitermark and Bosker, 2014).

According to Lees, "social balance or 'mix' (...) rests on the belief that there is an ideal composition of social and income groups which, when achieved, produces optimum individual and community well being" (2008, p. 2450). The author goes far in criticizing the social mix policy for concealing the spatial and social consequences of gentrification, and claims that the middle-classes tend to self-segregate more than taking part in activities with other income groups.

In a study of gentrification in a post-WW2 residential area in Rotterdam, Uitermark et al. (2007) found that an alternative long term strategy of social investments sought through increased social interaction and cohesion among new and old residents was undermined by the changing of the neighbourhood composition due to demolition and new construction of housing. This dynamic has later made Uitermark and Bosker (2014) suggest that social mixing first of all is a means of social control by reducing the size of the groups considered to cause problems and by increasing those groups considered to support the market and governmental institutions, protecting the interests of key stakeholders behind the gentrification policies.

In a research project about the effect of social mix among residents in the priority areas targeted in the national Big city policy (1995-2009), Van der Graaf and Veldboer (2009) could not find strong evidence for social mix creating neighbourhood attachment and social development of disadvantaged residents. On the contrary, they found that the original and disadvantaged residents were not getting “access to much needed information and skills to move up the societal ladder” by the proximity to the new middle class residents (Van der Graaf and Veldboer, 2009, p.63). According to the authors, the expected logic in of the Big city policies was that this access would be provided by residents with middle income who were willing to mix with poorer residents and help them to bridge their social and cultural capital deficit (Van der Graaf and Veldboer, 2009). The authors linked the lack of social mix to a general trend where the role of the neighbourhood is weakened as a foundation for social integration and community, and where especially the higher income groups are absent because they are more mobile and less home bound.

Despite the fact that neither Uitermark et al. (2007) nor Van der Graaf and Veldboer (2009) found evidence that social mixing leads to social cohesion and stronger social ties between residents, both studies concluded that social mix policy has improved the neighbourhood reputation and liveability.

### **Gentrification leading exclusion through displacement and de-concentration**

Sager (2011) has pointed out that gentrification as part of neoliberal governance, is urging governments to focus on physical attractiveness of places to entice businesses and high income groups to their city. One challenge this causes to cities, is according to the author, indifference to unequal treatment and social exclusion. However, it is also generally agreed that the Dutch social housing policy with its influential public institutions, as well as formal regulations for relocation of current residents in relation to renewal projects, to a certain extent has hampered the negative consequences of the gentrification strategy compared to other countries (Uitermark et al., 2007, Van der Graaf and Veldboer, 2009, Van Gent, 2013, Uitermark and Bosker, 2014).

The claim that gentrification leads to displacement is not contested in the academic debate. However, the normative evaluation of this effect is debated. Where as the dominant position is that displacement is negative because of the unequal treatment of citizens and the increased segregation of the city (Van Gent, 2013, Uitermark et al., 2007, Uitermark and Bosker, 2014), Van Eijk (2010) holds that displacement, dispersal or de-concentration<sup>2</sup> policies increases the social and cultural integration in particular neighbourhoods, and in that way to the society at large. “(U)rban policy of de-concentration (and also creating mixed neighbourhoods) are intertwined with ideas about multiculturalism, integration and citizenship, and that strategies that in effect exclude minority groups from certain places are, paradoxically, aimed at including these groups ‘into mainstream society’” (Van Eijk, 2010, p. 829). More clearly than other authors, Van Eijk (2010) emphasizes the role of ethnic minority groups and the need to avoid concentration of urban problems such as health assistance dependency, unemployment, school segregation and school dropout in the neighbourhood in her study of exclusionary policies in Rotterdam. She concludes that the paradoxical support for the income-exclusion law among the residents who could potentially be affected

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<sup>2</sup> The Dutch law called “Special measures for urban issues”, also known as the “Rotterdam act” because of its origin, was passed in 2005. The aim of this law is to increase liveability and integration, and it gives the municipalities the right to exclude people who are not financially self-sufficient and are dependent on social benefits from socio-economically disadvantaged areas.

themselves, can be explained by a wish for social order through liveability, integration and national unity.

### Summary and conclusion about framing of gentrification

From the discussion above the concept *gentrification* can be defined as an economically driven area transformation towards improvements of the built environment and a concentration of higher income groups. In the Netherlands gentrification is a general urban development strategy which is pursued by the public and market sector together, and which can be led or driven by either the state/municipalities or the semi-privatized housing corporation. The areas affected by gentrification are typically vulnerable residential areas in or adjoining the city centres with low liveability, but there are also signs of gentrification in the more peripheral post-WW2 areas. Moreover, attractive locations in these vulnerable areas around urban amenities such as parks, public spaces and along rivers and canals are particularly prone to gentrification. The consequence of gentrification for the socio-economic composition of the population is an increase in the higher income population at the cost of the lower middle and middle-income population. Policies applying gentrification strategies for an increased social mix in a neighbourhood are expected to increase social mobility and social cohesion of disadvantaged residents. These are criticized and not supported by empirical evidence. However, evidence do support an improved reputation of gentrified neighbourhoods. In the academic debate it is established as a fact that gentrification leads to displacement of the most vulnerable population, and in particular those with low income and non-Native-Dutch background. While considered problematic by most authors, it is also recognized that de-concentration could (paradoxically) benefit the social-economic integration of the same group.

From the above discussion, three positions with different ideologies, logics of dynamics and rhetoric about the gentrification in urban development can be identified (Table 1). On the opposite side of the neo-liberal view on the gentrified city, a position inspired by neo-Marxist or left wing politics which is negative to gentrification is held by authors like Smith (2002) Lees (2008) and Uitermark et al. (2010), Uitermark and Bosker (2014). A more positive and nuanced view is held by Van der Graaf and Veldboer (2009) and Van Eijk (2010).

**Table 1 Three positions in the view of the gentrified city. (Sources: Wyly and Hammel, 1999, p. 719 in Van Gent 2013, p. 506. Smith, 2002, Lees, 2008, Graaf and Veldboer, 2009, Uitermark et al., 2010, and Van Eijk, 2010.)**

	<b>Left-wing, neo-Marxist</b>	<b>Current Dutch gentrification policies</b>	<b>Neo-liberal</b>
Ideology	The gentrified city is for the «revanchist» middle class (Smith, 2002, Uitermark et al., 2010)	The gentrified city is for a cultural, social and economic mixed population (Van der Graaf and Veldboer, 2009, Van Eijk, 2010)	The gentrified city is for the businesses and high income groups (Sager, 2011)
Logic – dynamic	Middle-class groups move into poorer neighbourhoods for their own interest, and avoid contact with other groups in the neighbourhood. (Smith, 2002)	Mixed neighbourhoods disperse crime and nuisance, benefits financially from a residing middle-class and help a social-economic intragration of disadvantaged groups (Van Eijk, 2010)	“Less adapted” people cause social problems and bringing in middle-class residents will revitalize the neighbourhood. (Uitermark et al., 2007)The physical attractiveness of places entice businesses and high income groups to the city.

			(Sager, 2011)
Rhetoric	Mixed composition of population in terms of income leads to polarization, social exclusion, fragmentation and displacement. (Smith, 2002, Uitermark et al., 2007, Lees, 2008)	The gentrified city needs to control marginalized groups in order to protect unity and social order (Van Eijk, 2010)	The gentrified city needs to control marginalized groups in order to protect economic development (Uitermark et al., 2007, Van Eijk, 2010)

## 2.2 Stakeholders’ mode of participation in urban development processes

This chapter will expand on the concept *stakeholders’ mode of participation* in urban development. First, collaborative and complex urban development processes are discussed as two distinct approaches that can be seen as complementary for identifying what kind of processes stakeholders are involved in. It is followed by a discussion of how to identify various actors as stakeholders who are relating to crossing and overlapping discursive fields of the state/municipality, market, community and third sector. Next, the stakeholders’ roles are discussed in the light of the governance networks and self-organized arenas where the urban development processes are taking place. Arguing that both self-organized and governance processes can be defined as collaborative, five types of collaborative urban development processes are finally presented.

### Merging formal and strategic planning in collaborative planning

In 1998 Healey wrote a classic article describing the planning theories and practices that emerged in Europe in the 1990s. With the concept “collaborative planning” there was an acknowledgement of the complementary, but at the same time contrasting, purposes inherent in two planning systems. One the one hand it was the statutory master and development planning, and on the other the newer trend of strategic planning. Healey defines the purposes of statutory planning as conflict management and that of strategic plans as place-making. While the former is “regulating private land use right in the ‘public interest’ and managing conflicts over the use and development of land”, the latter is “promoting and producing particular qualities of places, with the aim of promoting broader social, economic and environmental objectives” (Healey, 1998a, p. 6).

Healey (1998a) argues that the collaborative planning tool reconnects the land use conflict mediation and the place-making way of thinking (Figure 1). In order to regulate land uses, the statutory plans mediate between conflicting sectorial, public and private interests.

As an effect, once adopted as a rule, norm, standard or a policy statement, the effect of the plan is a predictable land and property development. On the other hand, the aim of the strategic place-making plan is to transform how we think about places. An adopted strategic plan contains a common framework for qualities of places developed by multiple stakeholders and the arguments supporting it. Healey also points to the time perspective of the two systems of planning, where the statutory planning is oriented towards maintaining the existing situation, where as the strategic planning is oriented towards transforming a future development.



Figure 1 Separation and fusion in the aims of planning (Healey, 1998a).

### The importance of user capacity in urban development processes

This duality of formal statutory planning and strategic place-making in a collaborative planning tool has later been picked up by other authors. In the manifesto for the spontaneous city, Urhahn (2011) states five principles for good urban development based on the currently popular concepts in urban planning and development; co-design, co-production, co-property and co-responsibility. The principles for the development of the spontaneous city is according to Urhahn to examine social conditions and regulation rules, inspire and adapt to rules and define collective value, user energy, creativity and investment capacity. Not ignoring the role of regulation rules and formal decision processes, Urhahn emphasizes to a greater extent than Healey the role, energy and capacity of the users in the urban development processes.

### Complex interactions of actors

Portugali (2012) is another author who recognizes this duality between the planning activities of actors and regulating processes, but to a larger degree than Healey (1998a) the author dismisses the possibility of a predictable urban development. He explains the dynamic of this duality as one between bottom-up and top-down processes in the light of comprehensive and emergence complexity theories (Figure 2).

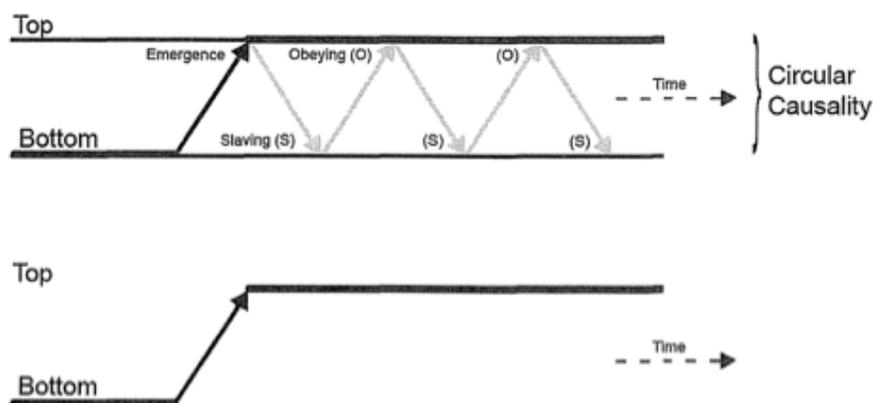


Figure 2 Emerging and steady states of complex systems. (Portugali, 2012).

The comprehensive theories describe planning as a holistic system of emerging local bottom-up processes that reach a global stable state through the establishment or change of laws, regulations and policies. This stable state then serves as top-down process that forms the conditions for the bottom-up processes. A repeating feedback system is the driving force in the holistic system. The emerging theories, on the other hand, only consider the local bottom-up processes that give rise to a global state, and from there have an open and unpredictable outcome.

In both cases, Portugali argues that the result is an unpredictable and open-ended urban development. The argument is that changes in the city, whether they evolve into a stable system or not, first emerges locally from individuals and their interactions.

### **Identifying actors as stakeholders**

Healey defines “stakeholder” as “a ‘scoping’ device, to encourage those at the core of defining and developing policy agendas to recognise the universe of people affected by what happens” (1998b, p. 1538). As more stakeholders have realized their economic, social and environmental stakes in urban development projects, the range of stakeholders has expanded, as have the complexity of the spatial planning processes themselves (Healey, 1998a).

The importance of citizen involvement in spatial planning processes was acknowledged from the 1960s in the Netherlands, and today it encompasses public, business and civic stakeholders who cooperate in various forms of collaborations or participation (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011, Needham, 2014).

The division in three stakeholder types are often categorized as the state, market and civil society, and is related to their role in the classical social-economic sectors of welfare production (Evers and Laville, 2004). From the 1990s an additional type started to be addressed as “the third sector” which is constituted by a changing and independent mixture of interrelationships between stakeholders from the state, market and civil economy with shared interests, differences and concerns, according to Evers and Laville, 2004. The impact of this model (Figure 3) is the acknowledgement of a third sector that produces welfare services from a mix of resources originating from various constellations of the economies of the state, market and community. This in turn, influences the stakeholders in such a way that they are “simultaneously influenced by the state policies and legislations, the values and practices of private business, the culture of civil society and by needs and contributions that come from informal family and community life” (Evers, 1990, 1995 cited by Evers and Laville, 2004).

Avelino and Wittmayer (accepted) extend the triplod model, and argue that it can be useful to aggregate the actor categorizations in different level (Figure 4), among other reasons as a governance tool for identifying various stakeholders. On the level of individuals, the authors argue that these sectors can be viewed as “institutional context or discursive fields” (accepted, p. 9) where stakeholders take part and play various roles. It follows that an individual can play various stakeholder roles simultaneously, for instance as a neighbourhood volunteer, resident and a civil officer or entrepreneur, and be involved in various processes.



Figure 3. The potential constellations of various stakeholders based on their contribution to welfare production. (Evers and Laville, 2004)



Figure 4 The different roles of an individual stakeholder. (Avelino and Wittmayer based on Evers and Laville, 2004, accepted)

The triplod models are useful for identifying the various formal or informal organizations and ways that individuals are involved in urban development processes. Moreover, the model helps recognizing the diversity, pluralistic and overlapping constellations of actors across the traditional sectors and what discursive fields they are part of in urban development processes.

### Stakeholder participation in governance networks and self-organized initiatives

A classic conception of “participation” was given by Arnstein (1969) in her article *A ladder of citizen participation*, describing the increasingly transference of power from the government to the citizens within traditional decision making processes. Critics have pointed

out that the model does not account for innovations in participation processes (Bishop and Davis, 2002, May, 2006). Referring to network processes, Verwij et al. (2014) argues that the depth of involvement is a question about how well a large variety of stakes and perspectives are managed through goal searching and inclusion of new ideas and wide interactions between actors.

### *Stakeholders in governance networks*

Bingham et al. (2005) argue that as the legal and formal authority of the state is weakened, stakeholder participation is becoming more important. New governance engages networks of both formal and informal organizations and individuals in the work of the government. According to the authors the characteristics of governance is that it “seeks to share power in decision making, encouraging citizen autonomy and independence, and provide a process for developing the common good through civic engagement” (Jun, 2002 in Bingham et al 2005, p. 548). Bingham et al. (2005) states that this shift in activates from the state to various constellation of stakeholders in decision-making and provision of common goods and services creates a complexity that requires new governance processes.

Governance can be defined as “horizontal interactions by which various public and private actors at various level of government coordinate their interdependencies in order to realize public policies and deliver public services” (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2012, p. 594). The authors identify the interdependency among the actors, with the effect that more than one actor influence the outcome, as an important component of network governance. Furthermore they point out that actors choose their strategies on the basis of their perception (or frames) of the world and thus have different views of problems and solutions.” (2012, p.591). Finally, Klijn and Koppenjan (2012) emphasize that the coordination is of a self-regulating character among actors in a network, and that both governmental and non-governmental organizations may manage the network processes through initiation, facilitation and mediation.

Boivard highlight the need for changing roles of the public government in order to enter the four ‘co-modes’ of governance (Boivard, 2005). Moreover, like more authors, Boivard emphasizes the importance of the facilitative and empowering role of the local government towards civil initiatives and community groups (Boivard, 2005, Bakker et al. 2008, De Wilde et al. 2014).

### *Stakeholders in self-organized initiatives*

However, horizontal the governance networks are, Boonstra and Boelens (2011) have pointed out that the control endures in the hands of the public government that fails to acknowledge the societal diversity. The authors therefore advocate for self-organized processes as an alterantive.

According to Boonstra and Boelens (2011), the shortcomings of government-led participation are on the one hand the time-consuming procedures, the lack of delegated power and responsibility to local residents. On the other, they argue that the government eludes diversity as a result of the pre-defined ideas about who to include, and how stakeholders are included by thematic, procedural and geographical frames.

The alternative is self-organization defined as “initiatives that originates in civil society from autonomous community-based networks of citizens, who are part of the urban system but independent of government procedures” (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011, p.113). The first aspect of this definition is the autonomy of the initiative, that in content reflect the needs and

visions of local citizens themselves. The second is the independence of the government, and the indifference to the public policy objectives processes. This implies that a self-organized initiative can be facilitated, but never guided or controlled, by government actors. At any event, the authors state in line with Portugali (2012) that no actor can control the processes that start after an activity has been initiated.

Moreover, Portugali (2012) argues that different actors using the city are potential urban planners, and that planning specialists also must be seen as actors taking part in this system. “Each agent is a planner (...) and the city comes into being out of the interactions between the many agents *and their plans*. Similarly to small-scale urban agents/planners, the official planners are participants in the overall urban game.” (Portugali, 2012, p.129, Portugali’s iteration).

At the core of self-organization is the concept “active citizenship” as an additional dimension to the multi-actor approach to planning, both in the sense of meaningful participation and of shared responsibility for the quality of places between the public government and the civil society (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011). The authors point to that self-organization is benefitting the local community’s social coherence through empowerment and social integration, accountability for spatial interventions in neighbourhoods and economic robustness by local self-employment initiatives. Also, active citizenship is believed to bridge the gap between government and citizens.

#### *Stakeholders in citizen initiatives*

Citizen initiatives can be defined as a form of “active citizenship” within self-organization activities if they are autonomous and independent of the government. However, a citizen initiative is characterized by bringing citizens, non-governmental *and* governmental local agencies, such as housing corporations and the municipality, together as stakeholders in collective decision making processes (Bakker et al. 2008). The citizens own the projects and decide upon the goals and ways to reach them, while the municipality has a facilitative role. These initiatives are formed out of need to improve the quality of neighbourhood in terms of liveability, public safety and social cohesion. The facilitation aims at mobilizing stakeholder and enhancing effective collective action by structuring and managing the decision-making processes. Thorough researching 15 Dutch neighbourhoods Bakker et al. (2008) have identified that the challenge for the facilitative role of the municipality is particularly related to the lack of responsiveness to the needs citizen initiatives, inflexibility and formality in the communication of rules and scarce attention to building social and technical skills of the initiatives.

#### **Five descriptive categories for collaborative urban development**

It can be argued that Healey’s collaborative planning among multiple stakeholders in practice can lead to governance controlled agendas and planning processes, like in the case of Crooswijk in Rotterdam, according to Boonstra and Boelens (2011). Nevertheless, the success or failure of a project can also have other explanations than the particular planning approach. In fact, “building up collaborative relationships with stakeholders in ‘territories’ ” is a key characteristic of collaborative planning, according to Healey (1998b, p. 1535). To the extent that these interdependent relationships between stakeholders are independent of one single actor — be it from the municipality, market or third sector — and the agenda and process reflect the local citizens needs, it can be argued that that self-organized initiatives can

be characterized as collaborative development processes. Thus, collaborative urban development can be defined to include self-organized as well as governance processes.

According to Healey, the contribution of collaborative planning is “building an institutional capacity focused on enhancing the ability of place-focused stakeholders to improve their power to ‘make a difference’ to the qualities of their place” (1998b, p. 1541). This *institutional capacity* can be compared with Putnam’s concept “social capital”, but the author emphasizes that it means more than solely trust among actors. Moreover, the institutional capacity contains knowledge resources, (social) relational resources and capacity for mobilisation. The author identifies the key general and sector interdependent guidelines to build this institutional capacity to be the following (Healey, 1998a, p.16) :

- All stakeholders right to a voice
- Duty of central stakeholder to consider all other stakeholders
- Robust justification and reasoning for place making/change
- Consider qualities of place and spatiality of development impact
- Articulating competence of local/regional levels of governance
- Provision of resources

What is important here is that Healey holds that within this collaboration, people can discuss conflicts and shape their places and future with better outcomes than with individualist competitive strategies. This does not necessarily mean that the outcome may be controlled or predicted, but it does imply that the cooperation between stakeholders within a collaborative urban development aims at influencing social relations and place qualities by building knowledge, relational and mobilisation capacities.

Healey identifies five empirical concepts that describe different types of collaborative planning (1998b):

- 1) *Integrative place making* discounts the sectorial separation of policy fields which characterizes the welfare state, and focus on the connection between economic, social and environmental relations.
- 2) *Collaboration in policymaking* moves the attention from single projects to a common strategy development to reduce the potential conflicts by putting informal and formal actor groups together.
- 3) *Broad stakeholder involvement* replaces the notion of “fixed interests” with that of “stakeholder” on the one hand to recognise the universe of people who are affected by a spatial change or intervention, and the other to mobilize people in the policy process. This is done to build consensus and create mutual learning.
- 4) *Use of local “knowledge”* fills inn the knowledge-gap about place qualities, urgencies, alternative solutions and what will work between people who live in an area and public officials and professionals.
- 5) *Building “relational” resources* is the effort of creating communication arenas and positive relationships though networks continuously forming “institutional capital” whereby stakeholders can share information, knowledge and understandings.

All of these categories describe various situations and needs that can be addressed by each of the types of collaborative planning.

## **Summary and conclusion about mode of participation**

From the discussion above the concept *stakeholders' mode of participation* can be understood as a way for stakeholders to participate and be involved in various forms of formal, strategic and complex planning processes. Further, the diversity, pluralistic and overlapping constellations of stakeholders across the traditional sectors and discursive fields must be recognized. The urban planning processes rely on the stakeholders interdependencies, where the agendas and processes can be more or less dependent on one single actor and where the outcome to a greater or lesser degree responds to the citizens' needs. Thus, in this research collaborative urban development will be understood as and include self-organized as well as governance processes. The characteristics they have in common are that they are building institutional capacities through the development of knowledge, social relations and mobilisation of citizens. In the following, the concept *stakeholders' mode of participation* will comprise Healey's five empirical concepts, but include various forms of planning processes with heterogeneous stakeholders and where the processes can be more or less governance-led or self-organized.

## **2.3 Assessment of place qualities**

### **Place qualities as social and relational constructs**

The concept of place is commonly understood as a geographic reference, like Martin's definition of place as "both a setting for and situated in the operation of social and economic processes, and also provides a "grounding" for everyday life and experience" (2012, p.732).

It is the concept "grounding", understood as embeddedness of social practices, that is central when Healey (1998a) claims that the question of qualities of places is gaining importance. The author defines the conception of place as "social constructs, interweaving the social experience of being in a place, the symbolic meaning of qualities of a place and the physicalness of the forms and flows which go on in it" (Healey, 1998a, p. 5). The author holds that within an increasingly globalized reality, social relations are disembedded from, and not any longer primarily defined in, the local context of a restricted place and time. Instead, stakeholders are involved in a complex web of near or distant relationships, and multiple stakeholders will give different meanings to a particular location. Consequently, a location will have multiple meanings attached to it. These heterogeneous meanings of places are important, according to Healey, because people and firms want to know if and how different places may support their life or businesses opportunities. As a consequence, because places "have real, material consequences for people who live in them" (Martin, 2012, p. 732), the heterogeneous meanings attached to places by multiple stakeholders are at the core of the policy discussions of qualities of places and place-focused approaches to social, economic and environmental development (Healey, 1998a, 1998b, 2010).

Boonstra and Boelens (2011) have defined place in a way that emphasizes the active relationship between people and places. According to them, a certain space or place is "not only a platform for social events or actions (housing, work, leisure, traffic and the like), but that it is in fact integral to those actions themselves" (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011, p.108, sic.) Thus, a place cannot solely be seen as a physical container with a distinct characteristic or feature where action takes place, but also a platform that can be changed and shaped by particular interactions and networks of actors. It follows from this approach that in order to understand the diversity of relations that constitute heterogenous places and meanings

attached to a location, it is necessary to study the actors<sup>3</sup> themselves and not a pre-defined idea of place, such as an administrative area, neighbourhood or a quarter.

Because the meanings of places are social and relational constructs made by stakeholders in a physical location, the question of place qualities is approached in an experiential way in this study. Hence, a user-oriented framework is applied for understanding stakeholders' subjective assessment of place qualities.

### **User-oriented framework for assessing qualities of places**

The ambitions of the SPINDUS-project is to create a shared language to discuss spatial qualities through a common framework for assessing and improving elements relevant to spatial quality (Moulaert et al., 2011). According to the project, the framework will make it easier to balance various spatial considerations, because a common language makes it possible to share different agendas and understand the various interests and wishes of those actors involved in place development.

#### *Framework for a common interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary language*

The need for the framework is two-folded. First, the authors argue that there is a need to encompass interdisciplinary perspectives, characterized by innovation of concepts and methods growing out of an interdependency and dialogue across various disciplines (Kahn et al., 2013). According to the authors, policy makers and urban spatial planners emphasize with the political agenda, the planning processes and the spatial development frameworks, urban designers and architects develop the functions and forms with objects and materials, and the social entrepreneurs/innovators develop changing relations, norms and habits in the territorial development. In addition, neighbourhood groups and spatial activists challenge the established plans and attract attention to invisible places through temporary and small interventions (Moulaert et al., 2011, Kahn et al., 2013).

Second, for the study of spatial quality to be relevant and applicable in urban development processes, the same authors argue that there is also a need for a transdisciplinary approach by the involvement of a broad and diversified range of users in the assessment work of place qualities. Moreover, the approach to understanding and improving spatial qualities has to bring together both scientific/academic, practical/professional and everyday knowledge (Kahn et al., 2013).

#### *Spatial qualities are based on subjective experience*

Based on a review of how spatial quality is approached in the different disciplines and professions, Moulaert et al. (2011) conclude that all approaches assess both social and physical qualities of the selected elements relevant to spatial quality. This leads them to the following understanding of place qualities which underlines that knowledge about place qualities is founded on subjective experiences and perceptions of physical objects or physical elements of a place:

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<sup>3</sup> Boonstra and Boelens (2011) define actors as an actor-network, which can be understood as the relation between people or "human actors", as well as between people and physical objects, defined as "non-human actors."

“The assessment of qualities of space is not based upon values intrinsic to objects (...), but upon experiential values of the objects, which is identified by perceiving, thinking, feeling subjects whose socio-subjective perceptions are relational ” (Moulaert et al., 2011, p. 6).

This relational and experiential understanding of spatial qualities is also chosen in this thesis.

*Spatial qualities as improved social relations between actors in space*

From this the SPINDUS-project has created a user-oriented framework with seven dimensions of spatial qualities to be evaluated in order to assess the qualities of a place (Moulaert et al., 2011, Kahn et al., 2013). The dimensions are encompassed in the definition that Moulaert et al. give to assessment of place qualities:

“A user approach to spatial quality is thus about the improvement of relations between agents in space, including social innovation in governance (...) as well [as] the physical, material, spatial-organizational aspects.” (Moulaert et al., 2011, p. 9).

Below, in Table 2, the key analytical dimensions in the framework (Moulaert et al., 2011, p. 7-8, Kahn et al., 2013 p. 30) are simplified in the way it is applied in this study.

**Table 2 User-oriented framework for assessing spatial-quality in empirical research and the interpretation of the dimensions applied in this study. Sources: Moulaert et al., 2011, Kahn et al., 2013.**

<b>Dimensions of spatial quality</b>	<b>Interpretation with guiding analytical questions</b>
Relational approach	The uses and readings of space involving humans and non-human actants (objects) are relational. How are uses/users accommodated or excluded?
Power structure	Power structure and relations are significant drivers of the use of space. How is the use of space regulated, different uses accounted for?
Spatial justice/ethical foundations	The meanings, values and codes of communication and cooperation of space are socially produced. How are values and meaning of the place communicated?
Multi-dimensional reading	Social, environmental, cultural and physical dimensions of space are interconnected by different types of agency and activity. How is the place read and used?
Multi-scalar perspective	Space is multi-scalar and places are particular relational networks (near/distant), giving space and place various roles across different time-space. How is the place located in networks, near/distant relations?
Sustainable development	The aim of sustainable development is a starting point for criticizing or changing use of space. How is place-making increasing (social) sustainability?
Collective learning	Assessment and improvement of spatial quality is a matter of collective learning, negotiation, action and mobilisation and emancipation. How is place-making stimulating collective learning?

Moulaert et al. (2011) point out that their framework for assessing spatial qualities cannot be applied directly in an empirical research, and therefore need to be combined with the use of empirical categories which translate between the dimensions in the framework and the reality

in the cases that are being studied. The authors refer among others to Healey's (1998b) collaborative place-making approach as a method for mapping the empirical reality. As elaborated upon in section 2.2, in this research, Healey's categories are a basis for the developed definition of stakeholders' mode of participation.

### **Summary and conclusion about assessment of place qualities**

In global and complex cities, the question of place qualities becomes important in order to know whether certain locations support sustainable development from multiple stakeholders' perspectives. The heterogeneous meanings of places created by multiple stakeholders may promote or defend shared, but also an open, heterogeneous and constantly changing, ideas of place within the urban development processes.

It should further be clear that the aim of this study is not to identify a common and general understanding of a quality of place among stakeholders. Instead, it is to increase the perspectives and reflections on how various stakeholders assess and understand improvements of place qualities.

Hence, in order to understand the diversity of relations that constitute heterogeneous places and meanings attached to a location, the assessed qualities of places are approached through the stakeholders' perception of the improvements of social relations resulting from the urban development processes they have been involved in.

## **Conceptual Framework**

In this section the central concepts in the research will be defined and the relationship between them presented in a conceptual frame.

### **2.4 The concepts**

#### **Framing of gentrification**

Gentrification is a contested concept with a normative value; hence it does not have a neutral meaning. Applied as a strategy in the Rotterdam urban spatial vision (Rotterdam municipality, 2007) it is expected to motivate various urban development processes. The understanding of gentrification, and the values attached, will influence what problems involved actors think that the strategy will solve, and what kind of solutions it bids.

The analytical concept must therefore identify the diverse understandings of gentrification held by various stakeholders as frames of action. The first part of the theoretical concept is therefore "framing of gentrification." It is based on the conceptualisation of gentrification as a particular logic, rhetoric and ideology in public policy as pointed out by Wyly and Hammel (1999, cited in Van Gent, 2013). However, in this thesis it is not the public policies, but the values and meanings which reflect various logics, rhetoric and ideologies of stakeholders involved in various neighbourhood development processes that are studied.

Therefore, the operational definition of the actors' framing must capture the values and meanings in the in stakeholder participation processes". This is based on "frames" defined by Klijn and Koppenjan (2012) as a core concept in their theory of governance networks.

Hence, the following definition of "framing" will be applied in this study (the box):

“The actors’ perception of gentrification, which forms the ground of their various views of problems and solutions.”

The second part of the theoretical concept is “gentrification.” One the one hand, the concept must contain some aspects discussed in the literature review:

- Arrival of users with higher socio-economic status and investments in the built environment (Clark 2005 in Uitermark et al., 2007)
- Spontaneous or steered process, targeted at neighbourhoods with concentration of socio-economic problems, change in income composition in the population and silent opposition (Van Gent, 2013, Uitermark and Bosker, 2014)
- Social mix and social cohesion though contact and attachment, and neighbourhood image (Lees, 2008, Uitermark et al., 2007, Van der Graaf and Veldboer, 2009)
- Relocation of current residents (Lees, 2008, Van der Graaf and Veldboer, 2009, Posthumus and Kleinhans, 2013, Van Gent, 2013, Uitermark and Bosker, 2014, Van Eijk, 2010)
- The presence of ethnic minority groups in the vulnerable neighbourhoods (Uitermark et al., 2007, Van Eijk, 2010)

On the other hand, the concept must also hold some aspects of gentrification as a urban spatial strategy in the Rotterdam urban spatial vision (Rotterdam municipality, 2007). The meaning of the concept is not discussed in the vision, but the problems it attempts to solve and type of solutions to be employed are described. Because the scope in this study is urban development processes, the theoretical concept will include measures related to both gentrification and housing restructuring in the vision. Thus, the theoretical concept must make it possible to identify the following aspects and characteristics or measures:

- Central location, upgrading public space and creating space for hospitality industry and creative industries.
- Historical character and a mix of housing, retail, cafés, restaurants and cultural institutions.
- Selling of rented housing, making housing improvements attractive to homeowners.
- Demolition and new construction, merging/combining smaller housing units to larger ones and selling housing cheaper for obliged housing improvements.

The following definition of “gentrification” will thus be applied in this study (the box):

“Gentrification is both a process and an outcome involving public and private social, economic, physical and environmental investments in an urban area which changes the composition of the population in such a way that it is more heterogeneous in terms of income levels and ethnic origin, and new residents are of a higher socio-economic status than the original residents. Also, there is a muted displacement of groups of residents with lower socio-economic status.”

### **Mode of participation**

Participation is a broad concept that is related to the distributon of power from a government body to citizens (Arnstein, 1969). Participation is intertwined in governance network and

self-organized processes within urban development. The scope of the study is the urban neighbourhood development processes that stakeholders are involved in within the context of a complex city. Because these can be initiated through governance networks or emerge as self-organized initiatives, participation is not so much a question of power transfer from a city government to citizens. Rather, it is a question about the depth of involvement given through the organization of multiple stakeholders and their influence on the agenda and the outcome of these neighbourhood development processes (Verwij et al., 2014). Thus, it is a question of who are actually involved in the particular processes, and in what way.

Based on the literature review, the theoretical concept in this study must make it possible to identify and analyse:

- Variety of planning processes as formal, strategic and complex (Healey, 1998a, 1998b and 2010, Portugali, 2012).
- A diversity of stakeholders operating within and across the public, private, civic and third sectors (Evers and Laville, 2004, Avelino and Wittmayer, accepted).
- The way the stakeholders are organizing and coordinating the involvement and participation in governance networks and self-organized initiatives (Bingham et al., 2005, Boivard, 2005, Bakker et al., 2008, Boonstra and Boelens, 2011, Klijn and Koppenjan, 2012, Verwij et al., 2014).

The following definition of “mode of participation” will be applied in this study (the box):

“The way of involving and coordinating various stakeholders in governance and self-organized processes in order to realize visions and action building for the improvement of an urban neighbourhood.”

### **Assessment of place qualities**

The assessment of place qualities is in this thesis based on the understanding of the meaning of place as a social construct, and the assessment of its qualities constituted by heterogeneous and changing meanings held by the users of a place.

Healey’s definition of “conception of place” will be applied here in order to understand the social construction of place. The heterogeneous meanings of place are created by the multiple stakeholders’ “social experience of being in a place, the symbolic meaning of qualities of a place and the physicalness of the forms and flows which go on in it” (Healey, 1998a, p. 5).

However, in order to understand how places are open, changing and diverse (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011), the approach to assessed place qualities will go through the stakeholders’ experience of social interactions and relations to physical locations.

Finally, the assessed place qualities will be analysed as the stakeholders’ subjective, and therefore heterogeneous, understanding of improvements of relations in a place.

Based on the literature review, the theoretical concept in this study must make it possible to identify and analyse:

- Meanings of places as socially constructed by stakeholders’ social experience of being in a place, the meanings and values that stakeholders create and attach to places and the way stakeholders experience the physical features of the forms and flows that are taking place (Healey, 1998a, 2010).

- The open and diverse of meaning of places is constituted by the relations between stakeholders and between stakeholders and particular locations (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011).
- A subjective approach to the users' evaluation of social, economic, environmental and physical improvements of a place (Moulaert et al., 2011, Kahn et al., 2013)

The following definition of “assessed place qualities” will be applied in this study (the box):

Assessed place qualities: “the users' understanding of improvement of place as social experience of being in a place, symbolic meaning of qualities of a place and the physical features of the forms and flows within it.

## 2.5 Conceptual frame

### Relationship between concepts

The theoretical concepts have in common, is that they are developed for a subjective approach to explore the answer to the research question. Therefore, the context is emphasized to be the stakeholders in urban development processes in Rotterdam.

Further, the concepts are all intertwined in various discourses around attractive cities, urban neighbourhood development and gentrification. Because places have an impact on people's daily life, either through the social experience, symbolic meanings or the forms and flows that go on in it, the framework addresses the particular relationships between the framing of gentrification and mode of participations to the stakeholders assessed qualities of place, respectively.

#### *1. Framing of gentrification – Assessed place qualities*

The main objective is to understand what type of meanings and values different stakeholders attach to gentrification. However, the stakeholders are involved and participate in various urban development processes to improve neighbourhoods. Is it possible to identify meanings and values related to gentrification in any aspect of the improved place qualities they perceive?

#### *2. Mode of participation – Assessed place qualities*

Because of the intertwined relations of place-making processes and assessment of place qualities, there is a challenge not to analyse the same phenomenon twice, and consequently go into a tautological<sup>4</sup> trap.

In order to answer the research question about how stakeholders' modes of participation have influenced their assessment of improved place qualities, an analytical division inspired by the two-layered analysis described by Moulaert et al. (2013) will be made in this research. First, the activities and relations between stakeholders through various modes of participation will be analysed. Then a second level of analysis of how the stakeholders perceive particular spatial qualities of the improvements for the neighbourhood will follow.

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<sup>4</sup> Tautologies: “Needless repetition of an idea.” (Dictionary.com, 15.11.2015).



**Figure 5 Conceptual framework**

## Chapter 3: Research Design and Methods

This chapter describes and explains the choices behind the operationalization, data collection methods and sample size and selection. Questions about the quality of the research and the findings will be discussed in each section. Validity is here defined as establishing whether a research is capable of measuring what was intended, and reliability as demonstrating that all the steps in the research procedure can be repeated with the same result (Yin, 2003).

### 3.1 Revised Research Question

After the literature review there was a need to rephrase the sub-questions of the research question in order to clarify the concepts and to scope in the research question.

First, the scope is on the neighbourhood within urban development processes. Second, participation is often associated with formal decision-making processes at the expense of other types of urban neighbourhood processes. A rephrasing of the second sub-questions opens up for identifying the particular processes and how various stakeholders are involved or participate in them. At last, the most important change is in the scope of stakeholders' assessment of place qualities. In order to be more tangible about the assessment of place qualities, the sub-question is limited to explore how the stakeholders evaluate the outcome of the processes they have been involved. This led to a new sub-question to handle the relationship of between gentrification and place qualities. Where as the third question can be answered by the stakeholders, the fourth is an interpretation made by the researcher from the answers given and the literature review. The changes in the revised research question is marked with *italics*.

The revised research question is:

How have the framing of gentrification and the mode of participation influenced stakeholders' ways of assessing improvement of place qualities in recent developments of residential neighbourhoods in Rotterdam?

Sub-questions:

1. How is gentrification understood among the stakeholders in *urban* neighbourhood development processes?
2. How *have stakeholders been involved and participated* in neighbourhood development processes?
3. What are the stakeholders' assessments of improvement of place qualities resulting from urban development processes *they have been involved in*?
4. *How are meanings and values of gentrification reflected in the stakeholders' assessment of qualities of place?*

### 3.2 Operationalization: Variables, indicators and measures

In this chapter the theoretical concepts from chapter 2 are unbundled into analytical tools to investigate the research question. The concepts are broken down into the main variables of the definitions, and these are in turn broken down into indicators that can describe the reality together with values for measurement. The choices of variables and indicators are explained for each theoretical concept. An overview of the operationalization of theoretical concepts, variables, indicators and values for measurement is presented in Table 3.

**Table 3 Overview of operationalization of theoretical concepts into variables, indicators and values for measurement**

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Values
Framing of gentrification	Perception of gentrification	1. Increase in the property value	Nominal scale occurrence and non-occurrence. Explanations and examples.
		2. Mixed composition of the population (income and ethnic background)	
		3. Lower income move out, higher move in	
		4. Social mix and cohesion/attachment	
		5. Involuntary relocation/displacement	
		6. Public spaces are improved /upgraded	
		7. Mixed functions in an area: housing, night life, shops, cafes, heritage sites	
		8. Demolish and build new housing	
		9. Replace rented housing with owner-occupied housing	
		10. Others	
	Views of problems	Ideas of urgency/setting of agenda/goal	Open question, explanations for the start of gentrification processes.
	Views of solutions	Ideas of actions/interventions	Open question, description of changes occurring with gentrification and alternatives to gentrification.
Mode of participation	Way of involving and coordinating	Initiation/urgency/motives	Mapping the aim, expectations and start of the process.
		Process	Mapping of the steps/phases in the process.
		Rules	Mapping of stakeholders involved and rules for involvement.
		Depth of involvement	Mapping of how decisions about the agenda and the outcomes were made and by whom.
		Resources	Mapping of resources brought into the process by the respondent.
Assessed qualities of place	Users' understanding of improvement of relations	Social experience of being in a place	Mapping of the contribution from the neighborhood development processes to the place qualities of Oude Noorden, according to the respondents.
		Symbolic meaning of qualities of a place	
		Physical features of the forms and flows within a place	

## **Framing of gentrification**

*Framing of gentrification* was defined by two definitions:

Framing: “The actors’ **perception of gentrification**, which forms the ground of their **various views of problems and solutions**.”

Gentrification: “Gentrification is both a process and an outcome involving public and private **social, economic, physical and environmental investments** in an urban area which changes the **composition of the population** in such a way that it is more heterogeneous in terms of income levels and ethnic origin, and new residents are of a higher socio-economic status than the original residents. Also, there is a muted **displacement of groups** of residents with lower socio-economic status.”

The first variable *perception of gentrification* was defined as the respondents’ subjective understanding of gentrification. The operationalization of gentrification was based on the statements about gentrification from theory, and the variables concerning various forms of investments, composition of population and displacement were decomposed in to 10 indicators in total. These statements were used to entice reflections and answers for insight in the respondent’s perceptions, examples and opinions that otherwise would not be accessible. This choice was made because explicit leading questions can increase the reliability of the findings by ““testing the limits” of specific forms of perceiving” (Kvale, 1998, p.11). In order to reveal any bias in the selection of statements, they were handled as indicators for the question guide to give the readers a possibility to reflect on the reliability of the findings (Yin, 2003). Because gentrification could be expected to be an unfamiliar concept among the various stakeholders, an alternative question was made about changes in Oude Noorden. In most cases both questions were asked.

The second variable *views of problems* were defined as the perceived urgency or the problem that a gentrification strategy is expected to solve, and the indicator *ideas of urgency or setting of agenda/ goal* was formed to capture the various respondents’ explanations and reasons for gentrification strategies or the particular development processes they identified in the neighbourhood.

Finally, the third variable *views of solutions* were defined as the *ideas of actions or interventions* was developed as an open question to identify the respondents’ perception of the changes taking place the in the neighbourhood and whether he/she saw an alternative to gentrification.

## **The mode of participation**

*Mode of participation* was defined as: “The **way of involving and coordinating** various stakeholders in governance and self-organized processes in order to realize visions and action building for the improvement of an urban neighbourhood.”

The variable *way of involving and coordinating* was chosen in order to identify what kind of neighbourhood development process they had been involved in, and how the stakeholders described the 1) motivation and urgency for, 2) main steps in, 3) rules for regulating the activities in, 4) various stakeholders’ depth of involvement and 5) resources brought in by the various stakeholders in this particular process.

### **Assessed qualities of place**

*Assessed qualities of place* was defined as: “the **users’ understanding of improvement of place** as social experience of being in a place, symbolic meaning of qualities of a place and the physical features of the forms and flows within the place.

The variable *users’ understanding of improvement of place* was chosen to capture the stakeholders’ subjective perception of the outcomes from the urban development processes they have been involved in. These are also interchangeably referred to as interventions in the analysis. The indicators were chosen in order to analyse certain dimensions of spatial quality as defined by Moulaert et al., (2011, 2013). In this research each of the spatial quality elements have been interpreted to reflect one of Healey’s (1998a) three components in the definition of place conception. The first indicator *social experience of being in a place* was chosen to identify how the stakeholders perceive that the interventions are accommodating or excluding users/use. Within the SPINDUS-framework this question is related to the dimension of *Relational approach*. The second indicator *symbolic meaning of qualities* was chosen to identify how values and meanings of the intervention are communicated by the stakeholders. These are related to the dimension *Spatial justice/ethical foundation*. Finally, the third indicator *physical features of the forms and flows within the place* was chosen to identify how the interventions are located in networks of near and distant relations. In the SPINDUS-framework, this is related to the dimension of *Multi-scalar perspective*.

### **3.3 Case study research strategy**

This research has been carried out as a case study. This kind of research strategy is useful for research questions that aim to examine how and why an event(s) occurs in a particular social situation (Yin, 2003), or as Eisenhardt puts it, when a research question aims at “understanding the dynamics present within single settings” (1989, p. 534).

Yin defines case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (2003, p.13). In this research, it was expected that the case study would provide new knowledge about the relationships between stakeholders’ framing of gentrification and mode of participation and assessment of place qualities in the context of urban development processes. The theoretical framework identifies two relations between concepts that will analysed. However, these relations are not causal relationships and the analysis of the relations will therefore be of an explorative character where the outcome has no clear outcome. Thus, the case study will also be used to explore the situations where these outcomes are created (Yin, 2003).

One characteristic of case studies is it’s dependency of, but also flexibility towards, multiple and various types and sources of data to create converging evidences. This triangulation of data makes it possible to draw theoretical generalization of the findings (Eisenhardt, 1989, Yin, 2003, Thiel, 2014). This research has been done with a combination of primary and secondary data sources and various collection methods. As a result, the conceptual framework on which the case study is based have been adjusted, supplemented and revised as a result of the findings.

The case study had a single holistic design where the case is a residential neighbourhood in a central part of Rotterdam that has undergone changes between 2007-2015, and the unit of study are a number of urban development processes that have been taken place in this neighbourhood. It is a typical case where the aim is to “capture the circumstances and

conditions of an everyday or commonplace situation” (Yin, 2003, p. 41). The research approached people who have taken part in and experienced typical urban neighbourhood developments in order to get more knowledge about the subjective perceptions of the changes. There is nevertheless a risk with one-single case-study that there is not a proper distinction between the case itself and the unit of study, challenging the validity of the findings (Thiel, p. 89). Thiel draws on Yin (2008) and argues that validity is strengthened when it is clear what research domain the case is representing. In this research the case is informing the discourses of gentrification, participation and place qualities in urban neighbourhood development.

The dependency of only one case creates a vulnerability concerning the choice of a particular neighbourhood and the data accessibility there (Yin, 2003). Therefore, the case selection was done deliberately. Also, as there were no replications of more cases in the study, per instance by choosing stakeholders from two different neighbourhoods, the reliability of the evidences and the possibility for generalizations is reduced (Yin, 2003). However, by choosing one case, it increases the feasibility to have a wider diversity in the sampling of respondents within the timeframe available. The research strategy aim is to get as rich information as possible about the one case from multiple actors from various groups involved in the urban changes in a particular neighbourhood and within a certain timespan.

To achieve external validity of the case study, the research strategy was to employ theory about the domains in the research question actively and in an iterative way in all phases of the study (Eisenhardt, 1989, Yin, 2003). This also reduces the vulnerability caused by the researcher’s biasness and prejudices. It is acknowledged that the sample sizes will not be large enough to reach a saturation point, and therefore the generalizability within the theoretical domains will not be strong. However, a future replication of the first case study can increase the robustness of the findings.

The main limitation of the case study is the absence of a standardized method that can predict the quality of the findings. A case study therefore needs a special attention to documentation and transparency, in order to let others, judge the validity and reliability (Eisenhardt, 1989). In this study reliability and replicability was pursued by planning and documentation of the steps in the case protocol.

Another limitation is the demand of time both in the researcher’s preparation, collection and analysis of the data, and in the time demanded from respondents. It is therefore necessary to strike a balance between the choices of data collection methods, and a limited timeframe for conducting the research.

### **3.4 Data Collection Methods**

The main data collection method of this research will be personal semi-structured qualitative interviews, observation and expert interviews combined with the use of secondary data sources.

#### **Primary data**

##### *Personal semi-structured interviews*

The main data collection method was qualitative personal semi-structured interviews. The aim of this type of data collection is to obtain “precise, nuanced and rich descriptions”

(Kvale, 1998, p. 20) and of follow-up questions on information given through active listening (Yin, 2003).

Qualitative research interviews have been defined by Kvale “An interview whose purpose is to gather description of the life world of the interview with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena” (1988, cited in Kvale, 1992, p. 4).

The structure of the interview guide aimed at getting the stakeholders’ verbal account of their perceptions, opinions and explanations of changes in the neighbourhood. The reason for choosing a semi-structured form was to enable comparisons of groups (Kvale, 1998). The guide was divided into three main topics reflecting the conceptual framework, and more questions were formulated for each indicator. One reason for this was to adjust the questions for two main respondent groups, the urban professionals/developers and the residents/users. It was expected that these groups would have different familiarity with the concepts and experience that were asked about. The other reason was to be prepared for different ways of enter a topic and get details in the respondent’s stories.

The experience was that the familiarity and knowledge about the three topics varied among the respondents. It was necessary to prioritize between going further into the topics that generated most information, or to cover all three topics with all indicators during the interviews that lasted one hour. In most cases the choice was the latter, but especially among the respondents in the third sector the choice was to concentrate about the topics which were familiar for the respondents. Also, in some interviews among the urban specialists the choice was to follow a storyline within the topic instead of breaking in with the questions. Being able to follow the potential of getting richer information in the data collection is one of the benefits with qualitative interviews (Kvale, 1998). However, this did also result in a skewedness in the information from the different respondent groups, and in particular this is evident for the topic related to the concept gentrification. Because the skewedness affects the construct validity that relates whether one measures the theoretical framework through operationalization (Kvale, 1998, Yin, 2003), the the findings in chapter 4 are presented in a way that shows where the different groups did not respond to the questions.

Open questions were mainly used in the interview guide because of the explorative character of the research question. Nevertheless, leading statements were used along with open questions to unravel the respondents’ *framing of gentrification*. The intention was to be able to get information about this topic independently of the respondents’ familiarity with gentrification as a concept and social phenomena. This study is based on the presumption that all respondents are knowledgeable and competent actors in their life world, and the aim of the study is not to explain gentrification but to explore the logics and values the respondents attach to this concept and phenomenon.

The first question was an open question about their familiarity with the word gentrification (*gentrificatie*). It was expected that the concept and its characteristics would be familiar for urban specialist, those who work with or have a particular interest in urban development. Thus, the challenge was to find a way to collect information about the phenomena from respondents who were not familiar with the concept. This determined the flexible structure of the interview guide (see Annex 1). If the word gentrification was known to the respondents, a question of their definition and characteristics followed. If the word was not known, the researcher presented a definition rephrasing the definitions of Hackworth (2002) and Clark (2005): “There exist more and different definitions for recognizing gentrification, but one common definition refers to the process where people with higher income move into a neighbourhood, replacing those with lower income.” This definition was not documented in the first version of the interview guide, but showed out to be necessary in order to establish a

common ground for talking about the characteristics of gentrification and changes in Oude Noorden.

From there, the respondents were presented for more statements about characteristics of gentrification based on the indicators. They were asked to give their opinion whether these were related to gentrification or if they recognized them in the changes they experience in Oude Noorden. Thus, the statements gave two types of answers, leaving an option for the respondents to use their particular knowledge about the topic, or their experience with the changes in the neighbourhood, as source of information about the values and meanings they attached to gentrification. It is important to emphasize that the research question was to find out how people understand gentrification in similar and different ways as presented in chapter 4, and not to establish from their information whether Oude Noorden is gentrified in an objective sense.

However, a precondition for building construct validity was that gentrification had been identified as an aspect of the urban development processes in Oude Noorden by the municipal urban developers during the case selection approach. The expert interviews built the communicative validity of the selected case study area by testing the claim of a gentrified area in dialogue with the municipal urban developers (Kvale, 1998). The selection of Oude Noorden thus resulted from an understanding within a particular, and within the the urban development discourse, authoritative community. By establishing this finding, it was possible to investigate the research question how stakeholders related to this neighbourhood understand gentrification.

#### *Observations and expert interviews*

In order to strengthen the construct validity, observation was applied as one of more data sources (Yin, 2003). One source of observation was the photos of the neighbourhood that are used as findings in chapter 4. The other was visits to two different participatory neighbourhood meetings. The minutes were documented in the case-protocol to build reliability.

More areas in Rotterdam have for many years had a national attention resulting in various neighbourhood development processes. In the Urban spatial vision (Rotterdam municipality, 2007a) 19 restructuring areas are identified, and in addition newer developments are defined by the Urban development office (*Kader stedelijke ontwikkeling, KSO*) (Rotterdam municipality, 2013). In addition, these developments have been paralleled by academic studies.

Even if gentrification is mentioned in relation to particular areas in these programs, plans and articles, it is not established which areas in Rotterdam that actually can be identified as gentrified. In order to find an area where it makes sense to unravel perceptions of gentrification, an approach was chosen where urban developers from the municipality served as experts in the screening of potential case study areas. From the researcher the experts were presented an assumption of areas in the city that would provide a relevant case(s). In addition, this semi-closed approach was chosen to show engagement and entice a reaction from experts that were likely to have busy days where a request from a master-student might have had little priority. In line with Kvale's argument that leading questions in qualitative research do "lead in important directions, yielding new and worthwhile knowledge" (Kvale, 1998, p. 12), this leading proposals showed out to create a response that showed a reflective process with more concrete and adjusted suggestions. Also, it gave an access to three expert interviews where potential cases were discussed.

## Secondary data collection

The secondary data applied in this thesis are both of a quantitative and qualitative character and is summed up in the table 1 below. Secondary data is data in text, sound or picture that has already been collected by others for a specific purpose and that seldom overlaps, but do relate to the current inquiry (Thiel, 2014).

By choosing the design of one-unit case study, the research dependency of complementary secondary data increases to ensure the reliability and validity of the findings (Yin, 2003). The secondary data can provide knowledge about the context, making it possible for the researcher to prepare and conduct the case study. Further, this type for data can be used to triangulate information, support and provide a critical perspective on the findings from the primary sources (Yin, 2003, Thiel, 2014).

Because this of the explorative character of this study, the sample of secondary data will be incremental (Thiel, 2014). In order to avoid information overload, the collection will closely relate to the specific research question and the operationalization of the conceptual framework.

Statistical data from the municipality will be used for social, economic and demographic profiling of the neighbourhood, and it will not be used to establish whether an area is gentrified. This would require a secondary analysis of this statistical data (Tiel, 2014) which is outside the scope of this study.

Policy and planning documents will be used for refining the content in all the steps of the research process, and academic journal articles will be applied to question the findings. To the extent that academic articles are used as secondary data in the analysis, it will be used “in such a manner that its content will come to concur with the research subject” (Thiel. 2014, p. 106).

**Table 4 Sources of information and types of secondary data**

<b>Source of information</b>	<b>Type of data</b>
City government web-portal: Rotterdam in numbers ( <i>Rotterdam in cijfers</i> )	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Publications, monitors, factsheet</li><li>• Database of statistics, municipal, area and neighbourhood level</li></ul>
National and municipal government web-sites	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Laws, policy documents, spatial plans</li></ul>
Academic journal articles from on-line library	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Articles with empirical cases from Rotterdam, Amsterdam and Netherlands</li></ul>
Governmental or independent bodies web-sites	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Policy evaluations</li></ul>

## Validity and reliability in the data collection

Construct validity can be achieved by checking whether the indicators actually measure the concepts studied (Yin, 2003). In this research a peer-review and a pilot-interview was conducted resulting in adjustments in the interview guide. The validity could have been

improved if the respondents were given the chance to give a feedback on the findings. However, there was no time for this within the timeframe of the study.

A potential language barrier existed with a Norwegian native speaking researcher with good proficiency in English and some in Dutch, and Dutch speaking respondents. This gave two challenges. One was that the interview guide had to be written in two languages. To ensure that the content would be understood in the same way, the guide had to be translated from English to Dutch by the researcher, and then back to English by another person. The second challenge was the choice of interviewing language. As the researcher is the most important data collecting instrument, she has to be an active listener and knowledgeable about the topic and be able to follow up on and react to relevant information in the interviewing language (Thiel, 2014). On the other hand, the respondent is the source of information and has to feel comfortable with the language spoken. Even if it was expected that the majority of the respondents would speak English, all of the interviews were conducted in Dutch which was the preferred language of the respondent when given a choice. In order to make sure that the understandings and interpretations were correct, a lot of time was put into the transcription and translation to English after the interviews. This also had consequences for the progress of the analysis.

Reliability of the data collection can be ensured creating transparency of every step and findings (Yin, 2003). This was done by documenting the activities in a case study protocol and by keeping a database of all the collected data.

### 3.5 Sample size and selection

#### Selection of case

As a one-unit case-study, the selection of the case must be done to ensure relevant and accessible information that can inform the research question. Therefore, selection criteria were established for identifying potential case study areas and these are described and explained below. Table 5 shows the profile of the selected case-study area based on the criteria. The description is based on secondary from secondary data from Rotterdam in numbers (Rotterdam municipality, 2015). For details about the selection process, see Annex 3.

**Table 5 Criteria, description and explanation for choice of case-study area.**

Criteria	Description	Explanation
The presence of newer housing projects	These can be integrated area approached urban regeneration projects, single or few properties development projects, small scale restructuring projects, housing improvements and public space upgrading attached to housing projects. The housing projects are completed and inhabited at latest in 2015, and started after 2007.	Changes in a residential neighbourhood is often related to changes an area both physically and socially through housing. It is assumed that this will provide respondents who have recently experienced changes in their neighbourhood.
Spatial scale of projects	The projects can be development on neighbourhood level, brownfields, blocks or single	Gentrification can take place on different scales. It is assumed that projects of large or/and various scales will give easier access

	properties.	to respondents.
Access to a variety of stakeholders	Changes in a neighbourhood involving different groups of respondents.	The study is concerned with bringing forward a diversity of voices of people who have been involved or affected by neighbourhood development processes (see Identifying actors as stakeholders). The case should provide access respondents in the four groups stakeholders.
Neighbourhoods are priority or focus areas of Rotterdam	Either restructuring area in the Urban spatial vision (2007) or attention area in later spatial programs or plans.	The study is concerned with urban development processes, where gentrification can be one of the strategies chosen. It is assumed that this are areas where urban development processes are taking place.
Statistical evidence of gentrification based on indicators	Increase in property value, heterogeneous composition of population (income and minority background), promotion of sold social housing (rate sale from stock), promotion of home-ownership (rate rent/home-ownership).	As a one-unit case-study, it is important that the case actually can give information about how people related to neighbourhood development processes perceive gentrification. This statistic is secondary data from the Rotterdam municipality that reflect the definition of gentrification.

### **Selection of respondents**

Based on the literature review it was assumed that urban development processes in Rotterdam are complex and diverse, and take place as collaborative urban planning processes with multi-stakeholder participation.

In a qualitative research with a single case it is critical for the quality of the research to find and get access to people who are knowledgeable about the research question. There are not any established rules for how many and what type of respondents a qualitative research need. Even so, more authors argue that a large sample is increasing the representativeness of the findings and that a variety of backgrounds among the respondents makes triangulation in the data collection possible (Yin 2003, Thiel, 2014). Kvale (1998) simply says “Interview so many subjects that you find out what you need to know” (1998, p.19), but points out that there should be at least three interviews in each group in order to compare significant differences between two groups.

Because the aim of this research was to get as much knowledge as possible about the research question, the respondents were selected by purposive sampling (Thiel, 2014) of social groups identified by mappings based on the triploid model for organizational roles of stakeholders by Avelino and Wittmayer (accepted).

Adjusting to the city level of Rotterdam the four groups are the 1) municipality, 2) market, 3) third sector and 4) community.

It must be emphasized that it can be a source of controversy that the housing corporations are approached as a stakeholder operating in the private housing market as a result of the privatization starting in the 1980s, and hence belongs to the market sector in the model. However, Bakker et al. (2008) define housing corporations as local governance agencies. With the Housing act (Woningwet) from the summer of 2015 the Dutch government has

restricted the housing corporations' mandate to the core task of providing affordable housing for low-income groups. This implies that the role as a public stakeholder is more appropriate for the housing corporations in the future.

The respondents were selected from the four groups of stakeholders that were expected to have various perspectives on the changes in the neighbourhood of Oude Noorden. The aim was to have at least four interviews from each group, and to conduct between 16-20 interviews. It was also an intention to get a variety of gender and ethnical background within each group for ensuring variety in perspectives, but these were not criteria for the selection.

The selection criteria and the purpose for selection of respondents were:

- From the municipality, market, third sector and the community. Various roles in urban neighbourhood developments and therefore different perspectives that can be compared in the analysis.
- Participated, involved or affected by a neighbourhood development process or project. Personal experience gives an empiric ground for discussing the research question.

Different approaches were chosen for the finding respondents within the groups. Respondents who represent various institutions, organizations and associations were easy to identify from internet research were the purpose of the unit they represented and contact information was accessible. An e-mail and a follow up contact resulted in nine interviews within all groups except the community on the resident level. Applying the snowball method asking the interviewees about other suitable respondents (Thiel, 2014), these interviews resulted in four new appointments within all groups except the market. The last interview with a residents' organization without a webpage was arranged by meeting up in a location. From the communication around the interviews, the fieldwork also resulted in a participation in three neighbourhood meetings and in two neighbourhood events. These served partly as arenas for recruitment of respondents and partly as areas for observation that triangulated information from the interviews.

The fieldwork resulted in 15 interviews and the samples were skewed within each group. The most serious weakness related to validity was that only two residents were interviewed and that not any of them had experienced being relocated because of neighbourhood development processes. In the last week of the fieldwork two interviews that would increase the gender, ethnic and age variation among the respondents were cancelled by the potential interviewees without an option to reschedule. Although it was happening earlier in the fieldwork, this was also the case with one entrepreneur from one of the two main shopping streets.

The result is described in Figure 6, where the respondents are classified according to the main stakeholder groups and labelled in the way they have been applied in the analysis in chapter 4.

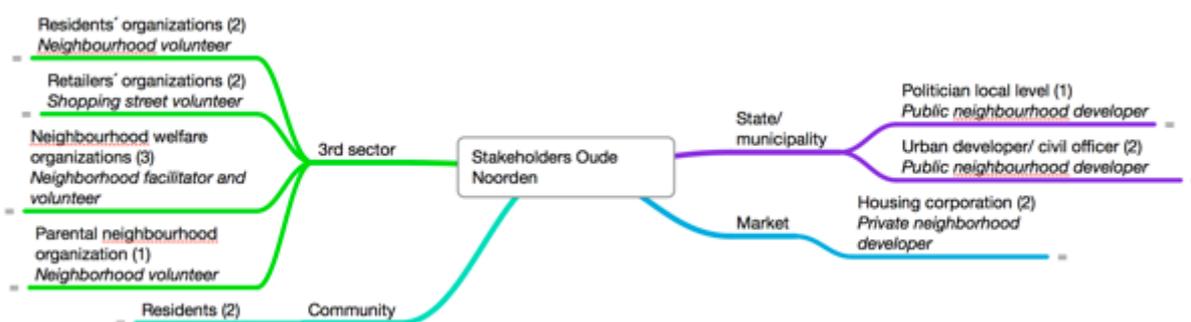
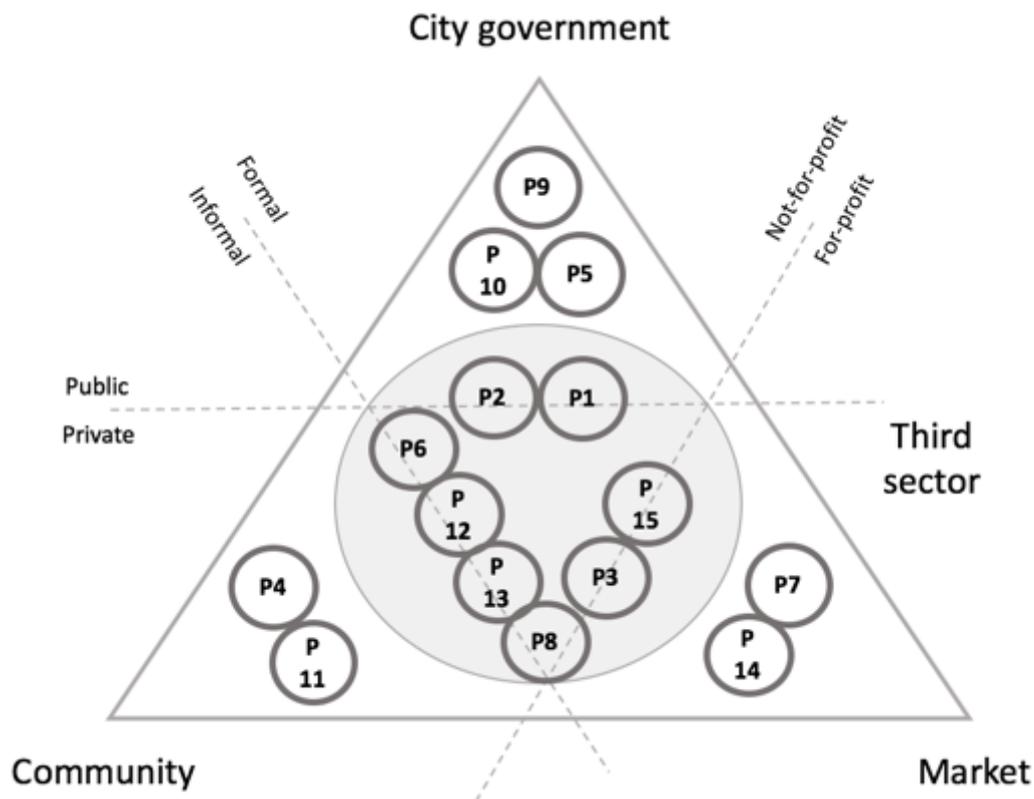


Figure 6 Sample quotas for the primary data according to a four grouped sector model.

Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize the role of the third sector. Where as the other sectors in the triploid model are easy to identify, the third sector's respondents are a hybrid group that have stronger or weaker interrelations to the market, state/municipality and community. For the transparency in the analysis, the variety of interrelations of the respondents in the third sector is presented in Figure 7. Placing the respondents on the intersecting lines of formality, profitability and private-public purpose of the organization or association they represent, shows these interrelations.



**Figure 7 Respondents placed in a main stakeholder groups, also showing the diversity within the third sector sample.**

The respondents who were representing retailers in Oude Noorden were working non-profit for neighbourhood retailers' interest, but at the same time they had their own businesses. Similarly, the respondents from the third sector intersecting with the community were partly formal, in the sense that their associations had boards, budgets and formal cooperation with other entities. They were also partly informal because their activities were based on reciprocal human relations in a community. One respondent represented a non-profit organization with activities that were described as a mix of local community reciprocity and for-profit volunteerism. Also, two of the respondents who were representing particular stakes in their neighbourhood community in the third sector were at the same time residents. Finally, the two respondents who were intersecting with the city government did represent organizations that were providing public services in the neighbourhood, and where their activities were partly assigned by the city government and partly from the neighbourhood community.

### *The respondents missing*

Two attempts on getting in touch with the residents that had to move because of the demolitions failed. First attempt was through the housing corporation. A written request to provide a way to get in touch was not responded. In a participation meeting with a representative from the corporation it was said that this is difficult because of confidentiality. The second attempt was through the network established in the fieldwork. After having made an appointment, I was let in when I rang the door-bell. The older respondent was advised not to participate by a visiting family member who reacted to the fact that I had been let in without being asked about who I was. “There are many strange things happening in this neighbourhood,” explained the family member. These examples show the challenges with getting access to the voices that are not so often heard in urban development processes.

### *Conclusion selection of respondents*

To conclude this section about the selection of respondents, the diversity within the third sector shows a mixed and messy picture of selected stakeholders operating in various and overlapping “discursive fields” (Avelino and Wittmayer, accepted, p. 18) of the city government, market and community in the urban neighbourhood development processes. On the one hand this is a challenge when looking for patterns of a phenomena between groups. The analysis in Chapter 4 is based on the four distinct groups (Figure 6), but has taken into account that these groups are hybrid (Figure 7). On the other, the hybrid constellations can provide a richer material with more perspectives to investigate in the research question, and show how these discursive fields overlap in the respondents stories. Where the respondents had more stakeholder roles, attempts were made to be clear about when they talked on behalf of their different stakeholder roles. In order to handle this, the comparisons of the phenomena are made on basis of the four main groups. The overview of respondents and stakeholder roles are available in the Annex 2.

## Chapter 4: Research Findings

This chapter presents the findings based on an analysis of the data collected in the fieldwork by semi-structured interviews, observation and secondary data.

First, a background and a profile of the case-study neighbourhood Oude Noorden is presented. Then the 13 urban development processes that are the unit of study are described. From there the findings and analysis will be structured around the three main theoretical concepts according to the research question, before the relations between the concepts are analysed.

### 4.1 Oude Noorden and the neighbourhood development processes

#### Background of Oude Noorden

Oude Noorden is located in the north-eastern part of Rotterdam and part of the administrative area Noord. The neighbourhood is framed in by the Bergweg in the west, A20 in the north, the Rotte river in the east and Noordsingel in the south.

Most of Oude Noorden was included into the Rotterdam municipality in 1903, the first growth plan of the city. The growth of the city was to make place for affordable housing for the working class, and the size was adjusted to an average rent that an average worker could pay and to keep the foundation costs low (van de Laar and van Jaarsveld, 2012). According to one respondent, Oude Noorden was a workers neighbourhood, with chick housing in the periphery and otherwise a big mix of different kind of people living next to each other.

After the WW2 Oude Noorden was famous in the region as well as in the city because of the shopping streets Zaagmolenstraat and Zwaard Jan Straat. This was because the centre of Rotterdam was still under reconstruction.

From the 1960s immigrants from France, Portugal and Spain settled here, and from the 1970s these were followed by people from Morocco and Turkey. With the urban renewal in the 1970s-1980s, the native Dutch left, and did not return, from areas in the periphery of Rotterdam, like Prins Alexander, Spijkenisse, Capelle aan den IJssel and Barendrecht.

#### Socio-economic profile and housing

In the following the socio-economic profile and housing of Oude Noorden is presented. The data source for this section is the municipal databank service Rotterdam in numbers *Rotterdam in cijfers* (Rotterdam municipality, 2014). with key social, economic and demographic numbers on the scale of neighbourhood (*wijk/buurt*), area (*gebied*) and municipality (*gemeente*) unless other sources are given The year of the data is 2014 unless specified in the text.

##### *Demographics – age and ethnic background*

In the beginning of 2015 the population of Oude Noorden was 16.916, in a city with 623.956 inhabitants. While Rotterdam has seen a population increase of 6,3% between 2009-2015, there has been no significant growth in Oude Noorden is in the same period (0,1%).

The age composition in Oude Noorden in 2015 is similar to the one in Rotterdam for the age groups 0-14 and 35-54 years, but has a higher population between 15-34 years, and lower from 55-above.

The ethnic composition of the population is based on the ethnic background of the head of households, and does not tell whether this is the first, second or third generation of the particular ethnicity. In Oude Noorden the share of Native-Dutch population (42%) is less than the one in Rotterdam (55%). In Oude Noorden the largest groups with immigrant background are from Surinam (11%), Morocco (10%) and Turkey (10%).

### *Socio-economic composition of the the population*

In 2011 63% of the households in Oude Noorden were considered low income<sup>5</sup>, 28% were middle income and 9% highest income. Compared to Rotterdam the share of low income is marked higher (51%), where as the difference for middle and high income is slightly lower with 34% and 15%, respectively. Oude Noorden is thus a relatively poor neighbourhood, in a relatively poor city.

### *Employment and commercial profile*

In the beginning of 2014, 14% of the population in Oude Noorden was employment seekers, 4% more than in Rotterdam as a whole. At the same time, 10% of the neighbourhood population was receiving social benefits, 3% more than in the city.

In the same year Oude Noorden had 470 shops and the vacancy of business premises was 14%, slightly higher than that of Rotterdam. Of all businesses in Oude Noorden, 55% had only one employee, which is marked higher than in Rotterdam (44%). Of the in total 662 businesses in the neighbourhood, 93% have nine employees or less. According to the interviews, Oude Noorden has the potential for change and variation in the shopping streets, but is also challenged with lasting vacancies. The commercial sector in Oude Noorden is characterized by small businesses, often related to start-ups and entrepreneurs.

### *Housing*

Oude Noorden had 8468 housing units in 2014, of these 80% were rentals and 20% were self-owned housing. In Rotterdam the numbers were 65% and 35%, respectively. The trend from 2006-2011 was that the share of rental housing decreased slowly, and then stabilized from 2011-2014. In the same period the share of self-owned housing increased slowly, but slower from 2010-2014 than in the prior stage.

Oude Noorden is characterized by historical pre-WW2 buildings and housing from the urban renewal in the 1980s. In 2014 the neighbourhood was dominated by pre 1945-buildings (53%), followed by housing from the 1980s (25%) and from the 1990s (11%). The share of buildings from 2000 until present is only a few percent. Compared to the profile of Rotterdam, Oude Noorden has 20% more pre-1945 housing and 8% less housing from 2000 until present. However, as much as 33% of the housing stock is dated pre 1905, where as the

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<sup>5</sup> In Rotterdam in figures the income levels are divided in a low, middle and high interval. These correspond to the the lowest 40% income, 40% middle and 20% highest house hold incomes, respectively, of the total households in Oude Noorden.

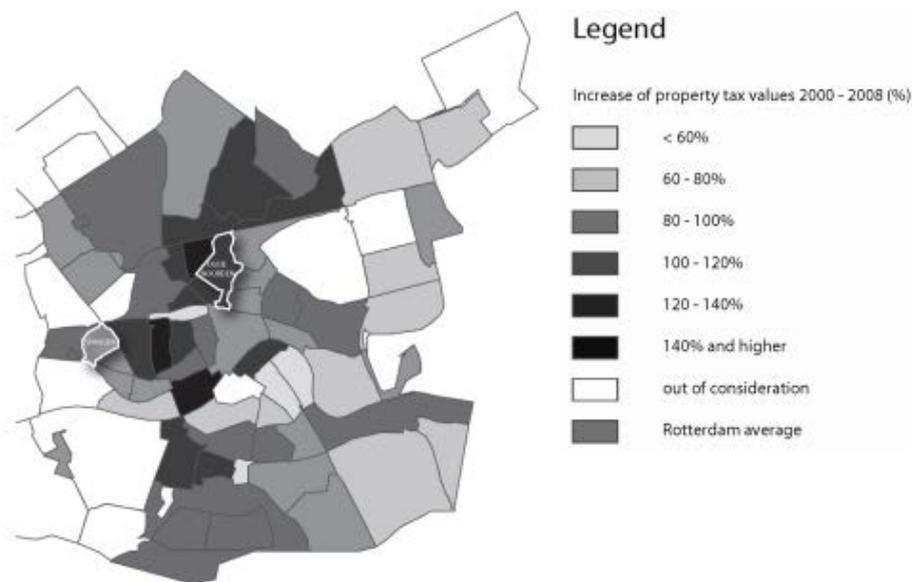
average in Rotterdam is only 6% (Mak and Stouten, 2014, p. 116.) This makes Oude Noorden a historical residential area in Rotterdam scale.

The dominating housing type in Oude Noorden is apartment buildings (53%), which is similar to that of Rotterdam (48%). The share of flats with entrance either from street level (*benedenwoning*) or via a closed staircase (*bovenwoning*) is higher in Oude Noorden (27%) than in Rotterdam (16%). The share of single-family housing is notably lower (3%) compared to Rotterdam (26%). Thus, the existing housing stock offers a low share of housing types serving the needs of the target group of the Urban spatial vision (Rotterdam municipality, 2007), the highly educated, middle and high income young family.

### WOZ-values of private housing<sup>6</sup>

In 2014 54,5% of the private housing stock had a WOZ-value between 100.000,- and 150.000 EURO, compared to 63,% in 2006 (before the economic crisis in 2008). In comparison the share of this value class was 53,7% for Rotterdam.

The figure below shows the increase in WOZ value in Oude Noorden between 2000-2008, according to Mak and Van Stouten (2014). This shows that in the beginning of this case-study period until today, there was an increase of 80-100% of the WOZ value. Mak and Stouten (2014) explains the WOZ-value increase with the location of Oude Noorden close to the city center, high concentration of facilities, creative sector strongly represented, large investments in the period of 2008-2008 and the physical characteristics due to a high share of pre-1906 buildings which is 33% Oude Noorden and only 6% in Rotterdam as a whole.



**Figure 8 The development of WOZ-values in Rotterdam, and in Oude in particular, between 2000-2008. (Mak and Stouten, 2014).**

<sup>6</sup> WOZ-value are values set by the Dutch municipalities for determining property tax (Mak and Stouten, 2014). The WOZ-values are not always based on recent market-transactions, thus not reliable (Daamen et al., 2012). However, it does give an indication about the economic value of the private property.

## **Neighbourhood development processes in Oude Noorden 2005-2015**

This sub-section presents the urban neighbourhood development processes which the respondents in the case study relate to and have been involved in between 2005 and 2015.

### *Formal spatial planning processes*

During the fieldwork, the neighbourhood developers brought up four types of planning and development products for spatial intervention in Oude Noorden, in addition to the Rotterdam Urban spatial vision (*Stadsvisie Rotterdam*).

Two of the planning products are part of the Dutch planning system and the Rotterdam decision making system, and are therefore initiated by law and election periods, respectively (Needham, 2014). The statutory development plan (*bestemmingsplan*) for Oude Noorden is from 2010, and it will have to be renewed by the city council by 2020 to allow new building permits. The Area plan (*gebiedsplan*) for Noord was introduced with the reorganization of Rotterdam municipality in 2014 and is an integrated plan for the work of the area commission of Oude Noorden and five more neighbourhoods (Area commission Noord, 2014). It is also approved by the city council.

The third planning product is not a part of the national planning system and also not legally binding. The spatial framework (*ruimtelijk kader*) for Top Oude Noorden 2040 (Rotterdam municipality, 2011) is a common neighbourhood perspective assigned by the pre-2014 sub-municipal council (*delgemeenteraad*) and approved in 2011. However, the initiative for developing the framework came out of mutual communication between central city government officers, officials from the area administration and the housing corporations with properties in Oude Noorden.

Finally, the area agreement (*gebiedsafspraken*), the fourth planning product has only been made once, and for more areas in Rotterdam. According to one of the respondents it is also the last one, suggesting that this was a temporary product. The area agreement (*gebiedsafspraken*) from 2010-2014 (Rotterdam et al., n.) came as a result of mutual communication about various initiatives in the neighbourhood between the central city government, sub-municipality and the housing corporations.

In this analysis, only the spatial framework, Area plan and area agreement will be touched upon as recent urban neighbourhood development processes. The reason for this is that none of the respondents mentioned being involved in the development of the Urban spatial vision or the latest statutory development plan.

### *Urban development processes in the case-study*

In this study 13 urban development processes or spatial interventions will be analysed to give answer to the research question. In Table 6 the urban neighbourhood development processes which the respondents in the case study have been involved in between 2005 and 2015 are presented. Most of the processes that the respondents brought up have been taking place in the period 2011-2015 (orange), but some of them started earlier as different processes and/or with other people involved, and some are still going on (light orange). For instance, the development of a neighbourhood vision started with singular initiatives before it was formalized in 2011 and it has a perspective until 2040.

**Table 6 Timeline of the neighbourhood development processes in Oude Noorden 2005-2015 studied in the case. Source: Fieldwork.**

Nr	Urban neighbourhood development processes	Before	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Future
1	Making a neighbourhood vision and an agreement about joint development													
2	Creating a physical connection to public space													
3, 4	Creating new qualities in two commercial streets													
5	DIY-housing and creating a new impulse in a residential street													
6	Being the eyes and ears of the neighbourhood													
7	Facilitating improvements of two residential streets													
8	Connecting and mobilizing residents in a multi-functional neighbourhood house													
9	Building a school parent network													
10	Running and maintaining a public neighbourhood square													
11	Bringing elderly people together in a neighbourhood house													
12	Bringing elderly people together with pop-up bingo													
13	Recruiting and offering neighbourhood based care for a fee													

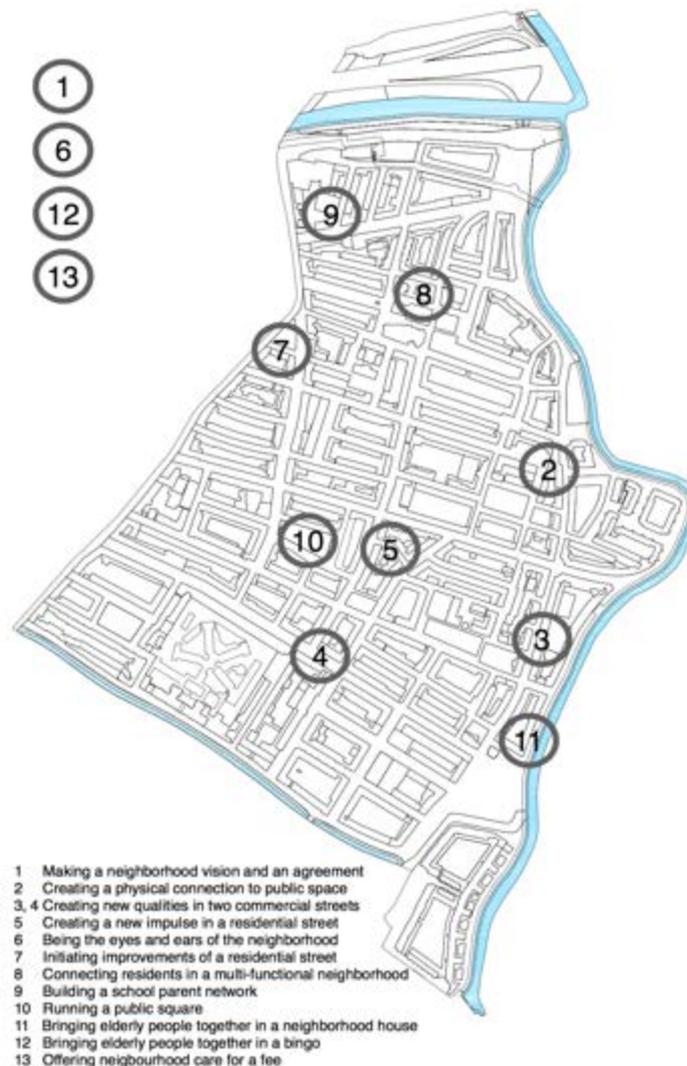


Figure 9 Map of the neighbourhood development processes studied in the case. Source: Fieldwork. Source of map: Bestemmingsplan Oude Noorden 2010, Rotterdam municipality.

## 4.2 Findings and analysis

### 4.2.1 Framing of gentrification

In this section the stakeholders' framing of gentrification is analysed based on the semi-structured interviews. Each of the statements reflected in the indicators, and new characteristics resulting from the open questions, are evaluated in terms of occurrence and non-occurrence in the stakeholders' perception. In the end a profile of the stakeholders' framing of gentrification in Oude Noorden is presented, with the nuances of each stakeholder group. The findings are then confronted with the literature review.

### *Familiarity with the concept gentrification*

Even though the concept gentrification is present in the policy, public and academic debates, the finding is that gentrification is not a concept that all stakeholder groups are familiar with. Where as the private and public neighbourhood developers in the municipality and the housing corporations applied gentrification actively in the interviews, this was not the case among the stakeholders in the third sector (Table 7).

**Table 7 Familiarity with the concept of gentrification among the stakeholder groups. Source: Fieldwork.**

Category/ Number of respondents	Familiar with the concept gentrification	Not familiar with the concept gentrification
Community (n=2)	1	1
Municipality(n=3)	3	0
Market (n=2)	2	0
Third sector (n=8)	2	6
<b>Sum (n=15)</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>

By associating gentrification with changes in the neighbourhood in the interviews, the respondents would still assess the occurrence of the characteristic of gentrification in Oude Noorden. In the interviews where this was not addressed, this is marked as not addressed (n/a) in the following findings.

### **Steered or spontaneous process**

The definition of gentrification applied in this thesis emphasizes that it is a process that involves changes in a neighbourhood. Two of the characteristics of gentrification from the 1990s are the direct involvement of the state and the joint ambitions with the market for targeted area development.

In the interviews 6 of 15 respondents, and none from the third sector, addressed the nature of the gentrification process (Table 8). The stakeholders from the municipality, housing corporations and community addressed the processes as steered or a spontaneous gentrification. This was either as an answer to the question about the definition of gentrification or as perception of processes occurring in Oude Noorden, or about the ideas of urgency.

According to the respondents, steered gentrification is taking place when the municipality and the housing corporations either alone or together make an effort to influence particular changes in the neighbourhood according to common urban policies, visions or plans. It may involve developing a spatial vision or other types of plans that create spatial conditions for a particular development in an area. It can also be to intentionally provide a particular sort of housing on the market, or amenities and facilities, which makes the area attractive to a targeted residential group. This in turn may comprise physical spatial interventions like

demolition for new construction of housing or for development of public spaces. Where as the provision of conditions that supports gentrification has a facilitating nature, demolition is a strong steering tool for promoting gentrification more proactively.

**Table 8 Perception of gentrification as a steered or spontaneous process. Source: Fieldwork.**

Category/ Number of respondents	Steered/facilitated gentrification	Spontaneous, organic	Not addressed
Community (n=2)	1	0	1
Municipality(n=3)	1	2	0
Market (n=2)	1	1	0
Third sector (n=8)	0	0	8
<b>Sum (n=15)</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>

Both the municipality and the housing corporations have influence and resources to start and support a gentrification process. The municipality have an influence through planning proposals, building and demolishing approvals, public space development, public lighting and parking. They also have some properties for housing or other functions. The housing corporation owns properties for housing and commercial functions. Because of the cooperation between these two stakeholder groups in the development of visions and area agreements in Oude Noorden, there is no evidence to support that steered gentrification is determined either by the municipality or by the housing corporations. On the contrary, to the extent that it is perceived as steered, it is by both stakeholders in collaboration.

The main arguments in favour of gentrification as a steered process is that it is a policy goal for neighbourhood development in Rotterdam, and that the municipality is trying to create spatial condition for more self-reinforcing gentrification processes to take place. *Public neighbourhood developer I* says that the municipality can facilitate gentrification processes by providing spatial conditions in policies and plans and by applying their ownership of historical buildings and public spaces.

*“In the city vision [gentrification]is also mentioned. (...) As government we try to work from there, at least to create the spatial conditions where this process can take place. (...) [And] the enticement of particular initiatives. We can do this because we still own buildings, and of course we are a big part of the public space.” (Public neighbourhood developer I)*

Spontaneous gentrification, on the other hand, is according to the respondents taking place when an unanticipated development is emerging in an area. Some respondents emphasize the autonomy of the process, from either the municipality or the housing corporations, or from both. In the latter case, gentrification is seen as a process that occurs only within the private housing market. This process starts with the acknowledgement of a particular quality that attracts new groups of people to an area. Qualities that are mentioned are the central location, the affordability of housing or commercial premises or the historical values of the neighbourhood, public spaces or buildings.

When spontaneous gentrification occurs, the vision or plans are developed in response to this, according to some respondents. They are reflecting a reality that is already taking place and that is seen as a positive and wanted development. Thus, once acknowledged, the spontaneous process may be supported or reinforced by adding more of the things that first initiated the gentrification. This could turn the process into a steered or facilitated process. On the other hand, it can stay a spontaneous process though an autonomous development in the relation between the private housing market and housing preferences of potential new residents.

The main argument in favour of gentrification as a spontaneous process is related to the historical quality of the buildings from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century or the public spaces. According to some respondents, this historical quality has attracted a new type of residents either from the middle income groups or the creative class. *Private neighbourhood developer II* says that the housing corporation recognized a new potential in Oude Noorden around 2004, when they saw the effect of the transformation and privatization of some of their older housing stock. Because they were able to attract residents with middle income and with a concern for the neighbourhood, the housing corporation developed a new vision for their projects in the neighbourhood.

*“There were social housing, often (...) merged and put on the private market as self-owned one-family housing. Actually that has led to an almost spontaneous gentrification. This very fresh group have come that since then have put their efforts into the neighbourhood. (...) And that, I believe, has opened for the potential in the neighbourhood. So that you think “wow, people believe in this, also people with a middle income.” And that has brought out a sort of inspiration: “Ok, this is the new vision, it has to go more into that direction, and here is the proof that it is succeeding.” (Private neighbourhood developer II)*

These findings do support the notion of gentrification as a steered process where the municipality and housing corporations share the ambitions and the risk of investments for the development of Oude Noorden. However, the view of processes does differ in that the steered gentrification starts with a spatial vision and plan for creating facilitating conditions and enticing initiatives from own investments. Conversely, the spontaneous gentrification starts with the recognition of an emerging development from smaller investments which later is reinforced with a spatial vision or new investments.

It can be argued that the steered and spontaneous processes are two different phases of gentrification. Nevertheless, it is not possible to conclude from the research which of the two comes first. In the case of Oude Noorden it can be argued that the gentrification process started with the housing corporations' smaller investments in the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century housing around the historic Pijnacker square already around 2000. However, one respondent sees the classical example of gentrification as the big city policies in London. This has a Dutch equivalent in the Big City policy (1994-2009) with an integral development program targeting vulnerable urban neighbourhoods, including Oude Noorden. Thus, the emergence and steered policies of gentrification has been occurring at the same time.

## **Housing restructuring and displacement**

One of the aspects in the definition of gentrification applied in this thesis is the social, economic, physical and environmental investments that changes the composition of the population. Housing restructuring is one type of investment, and is here understood as the measures referred to in the Urban spatial vision (Rotterdam municipality, 2007); 1)

demolition and new construction understood as first demolishing an old building because it is in a bad condition and then building a new one, or 2) the sale of social rental housing, either after refurbishing or merging smaller housing units to larger ones or offering affordable housing that needs refurbishment. From the theory this kind of housing restructuring may or may not involve displacement, which makes up the third category in this analytical section.

Because these are not mutual exclusive categories, the respondent groups' answers are assessed for three categories.

**Table 9 Views of gentrification as demolition and new construction, sale of social rented housing to self-occupancy and displacement of original residents. Source: Fieldwork.**

Category/ Number of respondents	Demolition and new construction			Sale of social housing to self-occupancy			Displacement		
	yes	no	n/a	yes	no	n/a	yes	no	n/a
Community (n=2)	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	1
Municipality (n=3)	1	2	0	2	0	1	1	2	0
Market (n=2)	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	0
Third sector (n=8)	5	2	1	6	0	2	1	3	5
<b>Sum (n=15)</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>

The findings (Table 9) show that the dominant perception of the respondents is that the sale of social housing is related to gentrification in Oude Noorden, and that this is a view shared by all respondent groups. What is also striking, is the shared perception that displacement of lower income groups does not take place, although this questions is not addressed by the majority in the third sector. In the case of demolition and new construction, the result is more nuanced. Here it is interesting to see that this is a strongly held idea within the third sector, in contrast to what is the case within the municipality.

There is a widely held idea that sale of social housing is related to gentrification in Oude Noorden within all groups. When a respondent from the housing corporation says this is not occurring, the argument is that it is not happening at a large scale. He is then referring to the Area agreement in Oude Noorden 2010-2014 which set a limit of units that could be sold from the social rental housing stock to 200 (Rotterdam municipality et al., 2011). *Public neighbourhood developer III* says that in order to balance the amount of high and low income residents, and to retain the lower income population in the neighbourhood, there is a shared idea among the municipality and the housing corporations that the sale of social rental housing has to be done according to a plan, and not only steered by preferences in the market.

*“[Y]ou have gentrification in certain neighbourhoods, but it has to happen in a small scale so not to chase the current residents away (...) Our discussion partner from de corporation agree with us. You have to look at what you want to achieve in the area*

*and which houses to sell to reach that goal, instead of what houses is the easiest to sell. These are two different things.” (Public neighbourhood developer III)*

Further, demolition and new constructing is recognized as an aspect of gentrification that is taking place in Oude Noorden, and it is a dominant view within the third sector. There are respondents from the municipality, housing corporation and residents who do see this as a characteristic of gentrification, but who claim that this is not occurring in Oude Noorden at a large scale anymore. One explanation for this is a critical attitude towards this solution within the municipality and the housing corporation after the experiences of the adjacent neighbourhood Crooswijk, where large demolition projects resulted in displacement of the original inhabitants (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011).

*“Because earlier the solution was just demolishing, all people with low income out (...) we were going to build middle-class housing in it’s place. That was in a way, the physical solution to social problems. (...) And maybe because we understood that this is really not a solution. Actually, also because of the example of Crooswijk, the municipality was not supporting to do it at a large scale. Hence, also the municipality said “We don’t want to chase our current residents away”.” (Private neighbourhood developer I)*

Another explanation given from a respondent from the housing corporation is that demolition and new construction came to an end with economic crisis in 2008, as the fall of the housing prices did not give return on investments from the expensive ground exploitations.

The question about displacement was not discussed in all the interviews with the third sector. Nevertheless, most respondents in all stakeholder groups do not see displacement of lower income groups as applicable for the changes that are taking place in Oude Noorden. The strong link between the municipality and the housing corporations, and the national policy that the housing corporations have to provide housing for residents with lower income, are two explanations given for why residents with lower income in Oude Noorden are protected against displacement. Both respondents from the housing corporation are also pointing out that this is now even a stronger obligation with the new Housing act (BZK, 2015). Other explanations given are the integral and social approach targeted on the original residents to make it possible for them to stay, and the limited use of demolition and new construction.

Among those who do think displacement is occurring in Oude Noorden, there are not any critical notions attached, which supports the notion of silent opposition. One arguments from the municipality is that affected residents may experience the displacement as a new opportunity in their particular life situation. Another is that the negative consequences are prevented by the available social housing stock. *Private neighbourhood developer II* does acknowledge that displacement occurs related to the demolition and new construction that is taking place. He points out that this is as a strong measure for steering, because the consequence is always that the current residents have to leave their homes temporarily or permanently.

*“[If] it is demolished, or transformed, then everybody has to leave their homes. In general, it is possible to house people in the area. Hence, if anybody is forced out of the area, they are few. I mean, if people say they want to stay, we almost always can offer them something else. Maybe a street further away, but in the same neighbourhood.” (Private neighbourhood developer II).*

By law the housing corporations are obliged to find an alternative solution for the tenants, and the respondent says that they offer new housing in the same neighbourhood for those who want to stay.

### *Summary and conclusion*

These findings show that the idea of gentrification as housing restructuring is supported in terms of sale of social rental housing for the case of Oude Noorden. The measure of demolition and new construction is seen as of limited relevance for the time being. When it comes to the question of displacement, it is not possible to see very severe concerns for the residents affected. The respondents who do not think that displacement occurs in Oude Noorden, seem to base this on an assumption on a trust in the social policies and welfare services to keep original residents in the neighbourhood. On the other hand, those respondents who do recognize that displacement occurs do not think that the number of residents affected is high, or that the consequences are experienced as very negative.

Even though these findings are perceptions of respondents and cannot account for the facts about migration-effects related to the current neighbourhood development, demonstrates that there is little knowledge about the actual numbers of displacement among the respondents. In addition, there are not any respondents representing the voice of anyone who had to move. This weakens the validity of the total findings, but does not make the claims from the respondents irrelevant as they show the diversity in the framing of gentrification.

Concluding this subsection, the findings of the dominant ideas challenge the theoretical stance that housing restructuring leads to displacement of vulnerable groups in Oude Noorden. Thus, in the respondent's stories of Oude Noorden, the restructuring is providing housing for a new type of residents without the original residents having to be displaced to another part of city. This also confronts the idea of relocation or dispersion of vulnerable groups for increased integration. Instead, the main perception is that the housing restructuring that is taking place in Oude Noorden is steered and limited in scale, and that the housing corporations offer alternatives for social tenancy in the neighbourhood through the available social housing stock. Thus, there is an idea that the municipality and housing corporations provide for social development for all residential groups in the neighbourhood.

### **Social-economic composition and social mix**

The definition of gentrification applied in this thesis highlights that the changes in the population results in a more heterogeneous composition in terms of income levels and ethnic origin.

A mix in the population composition is first and foremost referring to the income levels, but as showed in the literature review, lower income levels are also often associated with ethnic minority and lower education groups. Moreover, more respondents identified vulnerable residents as residents with lower income, lower education, non-Dutch-speaking and who are not "economically independent or self-reliant" (*Public neighbourhood developer III*). Whether the influx of higher or higher middle income groups also is related to middle lower and lower income groups moving out of the neighbourhood is addressed separately here.

The impact of education was raised as an important aspect of the population composition by the respondents, and is therefore added in the analysis. The relevant distinction made in the interviews was high or low education, and the assumed significance is that these two groups play different roles in the neighbourhood development.

Social mixing is here understood as a social contact and attachment between residents that improves the well being of the individual and community. In the interviews the respondent also referred to social mixing as activities such as to "stop for a chat" (*Resident III*) and to greet someone on the street with a "good day!" (*Shopping street volunteer*).

Like in the previous section, the respondent groups' answers are assessed in not mutual exclusive categories of sub-topics.

**Table 10 Gentrification as social-economic composition, higher income groups moving in and lower out, higher educated groups moving in and social mix between residents. Source: Fieldwork.**

Category/ Number of respondents	Mix in the composition of the population			High income in, low out			Higher educated groups move into the neighbourhood			Social mixing and ties between the residents		
	yes	no	n/a	yes	no	n/a	yes	no	n/a	yes	no	n/a
Community (n=2)	2	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1	0
Municipality (n=3)	2	1	0	2	1	0	3	0	0	1	2	0
Market (n=2)	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	0
Third sector (n=8)	3	2	3	1	4	3	4	0	4	4	2	2
<b>Sum (n=15)</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>

The findings (Table 10) show that the dominant perception of the respondents is that social-economic mix of the population is an aspect of gentrification in Oude Noorden, and that this is a view held within all respondent groups. For the view that high income groups are moving in and lower out, there is a variation within each group, but because of the view of especially the third sector this is not supported. In the case of social mix and cohesion, there is also a variation in the answers. It is interesting to see that both within the municipality and housing corporations the dominant view is that social mix is not related to gentrification, and the opposite is the case within the third sector. The influx of residents with higher education is supported as an aspect of gentrification by the ones that brought it up in the interviews; however, it was not addressed by the respondents from the housing corporation.

Those public and private neighbourhood developers who do not think that there is a mix in the socio-economic composition of the population in Oude Noorden, do all emphasize that this is a question of scale. Even if they do acknowledge there is a mixed population composition at the neighbourhood level, they see islands of homogenous population groups in certain quarters, streets and blocks. *Private neighbourhood developer II* explains the emergence of this pattern with the preferences of the new groups of middle and higher income residents in the housing market. These groups move into the attractive areas, where as the lower income groups relying on social tenancy stay in the other areas.

*“But if you zoom in, I think that gentrification chooses for particular streets. Those streets become relatively homogeneous with a new class that comes in there, and in turn this leads to a concentration of what is left for the social tenants.” (Private neighbourhood developer II)*

This is also explaining why the idea that higher income residents are moving into the area and lower out is dismissed, especially within the third sector. The respondent does acknowledge that higher income groups move into Oude Noorden, but not that lower are moving out. Thus the impression is that there is a net influx of higher income groups. This is in line with the answers about displacement, although more nuanced because more respondents from the third sector has addressed the question.

The idea that social cohesion does not increase with social mix related to gentrification is strongest among the respondents within the municipality and the housing corporations. One reasons given for this lack of social mixing is a tendency of for higher educated groups to send their children to school in other neighbourhoods. Also, it is pointed out that the newer self-occupied housing has closed courtyards that make the new residents keep more to themselves and not relate so much to the neighbourhood.

On the other hand, the notion that social mixing and cohesion is taking place is strongest among the respondents in the third sector. *Neighbourhood facilitator I* recognizes the tendency for homogeneous socio-economic islands to occur, but points out that there are streets with a more mixed population composition. There, the respondent observes that the neighbourhood relation between the newer residents has a positive effect on the motivation of the original residents to become more active in working life.

*“I believe that a neighbourhood can develop if you have a mix of strong and middle strong people who you can try to bring together in order to join forces. (...) You can see it in the neighbourhood (...) a couple of residents who are from lower social classes, but who start to work because they see their neighbours, and they get all that support, and they are getting into motion. People who were not thinking about working, now begin to find their way.” (Neighbourhood facilitator I)*

Further, also contrary to the widest held view, *Public neighbourhood developer II* claims that the social-economic division is there on the larger neighbourhood scale, but that the social cohesion between the various groups can be seen in the streets, between neighbours, in the neighbourhood houses and at school.

All groups except the housing corporations, relates gentrification in Oude Noorden to the influx of higher educated groups. The respondents with higher education, who either represented the community or the third sector, experience that the municipality approach them as the target group of favourable residents, and express some uneasiness about being treated differently than other residents.

*“My neighbour said “yes, [the municipality] have to prevent that some kind of jealousy emerges.” (...) I am in the target group (...) it makes me feel uncomfortable. I want to have a good relation with my neighbours, and not be “the new resident who is preferred by the municipality.” (Resident I)*

*Public neighbourhood developer III* emphasizes that residents with higher education brings in new types of competencies that benefits the neighbourhood development, such as communication and organizing skills. However, this also implies that they are more demanding residents who are likely to make active requirements to the welfare services provided by the municipality. This is appreciated by the municipality.

*“And you get that organizational skills in such a block/neighbourhood, such people go together and establish a neighbourhood organization without everybody having to support them. Thus, you get the organization skill, people address each other more*

*and they are going to meddle with what the municipality and corporations all are doing in the area.” (Public neighbourhood developer III)*

### *Summary and conclusion*

These findings support the definition of gentrification as related to a heterogeneous socio-economic composition in the population on a neighbourhood scale. However, there is a view that the gentrification also comes with homogeneous residential areas, streets and blocks. Further, the most prevalent idea is that this heterogeneous composition in the neighbourhood scale does not necessarily imply that there is social contact or attachment between the residents representing this mix. While some of the respondents say that contact is established in neighbourhood relations or through participation in neighbourhood activities, others point out that various groups seek their own kind in terms of income, education, lifestyle or ethnic background when making a choice about where to live or to send their children to school.

As a conclusion to this subsection there is a recognition that gentrification in Oude Noorden is resulting in a more heterogeneous population in terms of income and education. However, this is not the case on the level of the quarter, streets and blocks, where the tendency is for a more homogenous population. Further, the influx of higher educated people is accompanied with positive expectations from the municipality, which is met with some ambiguity from the residents in the target group. There is a recognition within the third sector that the neighbourhood relations and participation in neighbourhood activities may improve the wellbeing of all residents, but this idea does not have a wide support within the municipality and housing corporation.

### **Mixing functions, upgrading public space and reevaluate heritage environment**

Even though housing is the central component for changes in the composition of the population in a gentrification processes, the definition applied in this thesis also includes economic, physical and environmental investments in public spaces, facilities and amenities, heritage buildings and surroundings. In the Urban spatial vision (Rotterdam municipality, 2007) mixed functions are related to the combination of housing, retailing, hospitality industry and cultural institutions. These can include facilities and amenities provided by the public, private, community or third sector. In the interviews, also the informal services provided through neighbourhood participatory activities were mentioned as contributors to the mixed functions. Upgrading of public spaces is here understood as public owned streets, parks and squares. However, it is not limited to these, as outdoor spaces (*buitenruimte*) and common backyards (*binnenterrein*) on public or private properties are also a public space. Heritage revaluation is defined in the Cultural-historical evaluation (Rotterdam municipality, 2014), as an assessment of the heritage value of an area, an urban structure or a building.

The findings (Table 11) show that it is a widely held view among all stakeholder groups that gentrification in Oude Noorden is related to the development of mixed functions and upgrading of public space. Among those who brought the topic up, heritage revaluation is also recognized as a characteristic.

A respondent from the third sector emphasizes the benefits of the development towards more mixed for employment, and explains the trend with the availability of vacant spaces within an area previously dominated by only housing.

*“Here is enough space for businesses, entrepreneurs, restaurants and such. It has become a mixed development. But it used to be a very one-sided building stock, only*

*housing and social housing. (...) Hence, no work in the area.” (Neighbourhood facilitator II)*

A respondent from the housing corporation points out that the upgrading of public spaces in Oude Noorden have been supported by a large public investment of six million Euros, which is also mentioned in the area agreement (Rotterdam municipality et al., n.p.). Another respondent from the third sector explains the need for upgrading in Oude Noorden with the density of the built environment, and describes the upgrading process as one that involved the users.

*“[It] started with making the present squares the attractive. Oude Noorden is densely populated, but here and there were some squares. But they were stony and it was not inviting to let your children play there. (...) the redevelopment of the squares took place in a way that both children, youth and grown-ups could give their ideas and give it a form.” (Neighbourhood facilitator I)*

**Table 11 Gentrification as economic and environmental investments in mixed functions, public space and heritage revaluation. Source: Fieldwork.**

Category/ Number of respondents	Mixed functions			Upgrading of public space			Heritage revaluation		
	yes	no	n/a	yes	no	n/a	yes	no	n/a
Community (n=2)	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
Municipality (n=3)	3	0	0	2	0	1	2	0	1
Market (n=2)	1	1	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Third sector (n=8)	6	0	2	5	1	2	0	0	8
<b>Sum (n=15)</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>10</b>

The relation between gentrification in Oude Noorden and the cultural-historical characteristics of the buildings was brought up by stakeholders from the municipality, the housing corporation and the community. Moreover, one respondent from the municipality argues that gentrification can not occur in an area without a unique character.

*“[Gentrification] is a very monotonous neighbourhood that becomes more divers. (...) If you relate that to Oude Noorden, it was already a rather monotonous collection of housing that looked similar to each other and was maintained in the same way. And, there was little distinctive character in it (...) [Gentrification] is a type of recognition, revaluation of the existent. Thus, I think it is more difficult to talk about gentrification in neighbourhoods that are totally rebuilt.” (Public neighbourhood developer I)*

### Summary and conclusion

To sum up this subsection, it is a strong and widely held view that mixing functions and upgrading of public spaces is a characteristic of gentrification in Oude Noorden. Among the stakeholders from the municipality, the housing corporation and community it is argued that the cultural-historic value of the area and the buildings is also connected to gentrification.

### Summary and conclusion on framing of gentrification

In this section the framing of gentrification of the different stakeholder groups is summarized and concluded.

In Table 12 the dominant view for each characteristic or indicator is presented. “Yes” implies that there is a majority of affirmative answers among the respondents within the stakeholder group who have addressed the question, and thus a confirmation of occurrence in Oude Noorden. “No” implies the opposite and must therefore be read as non-occurrence of the particular characteristic. The instances of equal distribution or blank answers can not be taken into account of neither occurrence nor non-occurrence. Hence, they will not be commented upon. Because of the low numbers of respondents this overview can not be generalized as a framing of stakeholders groups involved in neighbourhood development processes in Oude Noorden. However, it does give an idea that can be examined further with larger population samples and quantitative methods.

**Table 12 Profile of frame of gentrification among the respondents in Oude Noorden. Source: Fieldwork.**

	Community	Municipality	Market	Third sector
Familiar with the concept gentrification				
Steered gentrification				
Demolition and new construction				
Sale of social housing to self-occupancy				
Displacement				
Mix in the composition of the population				
Higher income inn, lower income out				
Higher educated groups move into the neighbourhood				
Social mixing and ties between the residents				
Mixed functions				
Upgrading of public space				
Heritage revaluation				

	Yes
	No
	50/50
	No info

Within the community stakeholder group, gentrification in Oude Noorden is perceived as a steered process related to the sale of social housing without being associated with displacement of lower income groups. Further, gentrification related to a mix in the population composition and an influx of higher educated groups. Finally, it is associated with the development of mixed function, upgrading of public space and revaluation of culture-historic buildings.

Gentrification is a familiar concept among the municipal stakeholders. It is perceived as a spontaneous process related to the sale of social housing, and not to demolition and new construction, without being associated with displacement of lower income groups. Further, gentrification is related to a mix in the population composition, especially influenced by the net influx of higher income and higher educated groups. Gentrification is not considered to be related to social mix and cohesion in Oude Noorden. Finally, gentrification is associated with the development of mixed function, upgrading of public space and revaluation of culture-historic buildings.

The stakeholders representing the market, the housing corporations, are also familiar with gentrification as a concept. They relate gentrification in Oude Noorden to upgrading of public space and heritage revaluation. However, they do not associate gentrification in Oude Noorden with displacement of lower income groups, or with social mix and cohesion. Finally, they do relate gentrification to upgrading of public space and revaluation of culture-historic buildings.

The third sector stakeholders are not familiar with the concept gentrification, but do relate the changes in Oude Noorden to both the sale of social housing and to demolition and new construction. However, they do not associate this with displacement of lower income groups or that higher income groups are replacing lower income groups. Further, gentrification is related to a mix in the population composition, an influx of higher educated groups and with social mix and cohesion. Finally, they associate the changes in Oude Noorden with the development of mixed function upgrading of public space.

Applying the same method for identifying a shared view among all stakeholder groups, the findings show the following characteristics of gentrification in Oude Noorden:

- Sale of social housing to self-occupancy
- Mix in the composition of the population
- Higher educated groups move into the neighbourhood
- Mixed functions
- Upgrading of public space
- Heritage revaluation

The only characteristic that is in unison dismissed, is that of displacement of lower income groups.

#### **4.2.2 Mode of participation**

In this section the stakeholders' mode of participation based on the semi-structured interviews and observations are analysed. First, an overview of the 13 urban development processes is classified within the five categories of mode of participation, and then the frequency of the respondents' involvement in these different modes of participation is mapped of for each of the four stakeholder groups. Then the analysis of the findings for each mode of participation follows. The analysis starts with a description of each mode of participation and then the stakeholders' perceptions of how they have been involved in and

coordinating these development processes are described according to the indicators. The indicators are grouped into three categories: 1) urgency, 2) process and depth of involvement and 3) rules and resources. The main traits of the interventions based on the data collection are subtracted for each mode of participation, while the details about the single interventions within each category of mode of participation are presented in separate tables. Finally, the characteristics for each mode of participation based on the findings are concluded upon.

### Empirical categories for mode of participation

In the literature review five types of mode of participation were established. These will be applied according to Healey’s (1998b) definitions with an exceptions that are marked with italics in Table 13 and explained in the following sub-sections where the findings are presented.

**Table 13 Identification of 13 spatial interventions, classified in five categories of mode of participation. Source: Fieldwork. \*) From observation, not interviews.**

Category mode of participation	Urban development process/ spatial intervention
Collaboration in policy making and projects	Making a neighbourhood vision and an agreement about joint development Creating a physical connection to public space Creating new qualities in two commercial streets
Broad stakeholder involvement	Being the eyes and ears of the neighbourhood
Use of local “knowledge” <i>and hands</i>	Facilitating improvements of two residential streets*) DIY-housing and creating a new impulse in a residential street Running and maintaining a public neighbourhood square Bringing elderly people together in a neighbourhood house Recruiting and offering neighbourhood based care for a fee
Integrative place-making	Connecting and mobilizing residents in a multi-functional neighbourhood house Bringing elderly people together with pop-up bingo
Building “relational” resources	Building a school parent network

### Overview of mapped modes of participation

An overview mapping the 13 urban development processes is presented in Table 14. The numbers in the table show an instant of occurrence if the respondents in the interview mentioned having been directly involved in one of the investigated development processes. Hence, the table shows that some of the respondents have been involved in more than one of the processes, and that the max sum of frequency for each stakeholder group is dependent on the number of respondents (n) in the group.

**Table 14 Mapping of the respondents' involvement in the different modes of participation and in the four stakeholder groups. Source: Fieldwork.**

	<b>Community (n=2)</b>	<b>Municipality (n=3)</b>	<b>Market (n=2)</b>	<b>Third sector (n=8)</b>	<b>Sum (n=15)</b>
Collaboration in policy making and projects	0	3	2	3	<b>8</b>
Broad stakeholder involvement	0	2	0	4	<b>6</b>
Use of local "knowledge" and hands	1	2	0	3*	<b>6</b>
Integrative place-making	1	2	0	2	<b>5</b>
Building "relational" resources	0	2	0	1	<b>3</b>
<b>Sum</b>	<b>2 (max=10)</b>	<b>11 (max=15)</b>	<b>2 (max=10)</b>	<b>13 (max=40)</b>	

The respondents from the community have been involved in "Use of local "knowledge" and hands" and "Integrative place-making". The respondents from the municipality have been involved in all modes of participation, and in particular "Collaboration in policy making and projects." The respondents from the market, the housing corporations, have only been involved in "Collaboration in policy making and projects." Like the municipality, the respondents from the third sector have been involved in all modes of participation, and in particular in the "Use of local "knowledge" and hands" and "Broad stakeholder involvement." Because the information of one of the interventions was from a participation-meeting and not an interview, the number for "Use of local "knowledge" and hands" is not reflecting the real frequency of this mode of participation.

In sum, among the respondents interviewed, they were most frequently involved in "Collaboration in policy making and projects" (8), and the municipality was the stakeholder group that was most frequently involved in urban development processes (11 of 15 possible instances).

### **Collaboration in policy making and projects**

"Collaboration in policymaking and projects" are processes characterized by common strategy development instead of pursuing single projects. This is done to reduce the potential conflicts by putting informal and formal actor groups together (Healey, 1998b).

The analysis of the four interventions within this category (for details, see Table 15 and Table 16) shows that they share the characteristic that the stakeholders see the urgency of making a vision with a common framework for defining particular qualities in the neighbourhood or the commercial street to make the stakeholders to go into into the same direction. *Public neighbourhood developer III* explains their approach that is reflected in the area agreement.

*"[We were] making a broad program (...) [and] making agreements with the corporations. "You are doing this; we are doing that. (...) You are building new; we are making sure that the residents will have a parking there. Then the outdoor areas will become nicer." (...) But also agreements about "how do we make sure that the children in this area (...) get a good start as possible?" Hence, over these topics we have made agreements with each other." (Public neighbourhood developer III)*

A private neighbourhood developer says that the neighbourhood development got an extra boost when they started to cooperate with the other housing corporation, the city administration and the sub-municipality.

*“Everybody wanted something else than the other parties. (...) [This] ensured that we all went more into the same direction.” (Private neighbourhood developer I)*

The involvement of stakeholders was in most of the interventions limited to what is defined as “key” stakeholders by the central stakeholders; the municipality, housing corporation and the retailers and entrepreneurs. The community by residents were as a main rule not involved. The reason given by the municipality for not involving other stakeholders in the development of the spatial framework for a part of Oude Noorden was that the other stakeholders were indirectly represented by the “key” stakeholders.

*“But in fact we did have the most important parties involved in the sense that you say that the sub-municipality is there especially to represent the residents and the corporations are there also to represent the residents in the role of tenants, and we represent the general interest of the city.” (Public neighbourhood developer I)*

The resources that were applied for realizing the visions and the projects were the municipality’s mandate in decision-making, the housing corporations’ assets in the housing stock, the municipality’s and housing corporations’ competency in urban design, the municipality’s funding, the municipality’s, the third sectors’ competency in social innovation and the third sectors’ volunteering time.

The rules that accompanied the realization of the visions was agreements, either as a joint area agreement about mutual investments between the municipality and housing corporation or acceptance of the requirement of mobilizing processes among volunteering retailers from the third sector.

### **Broad stakeholder involvement**

“Broad stakeholder involvement” are processes that are recognizing the universe of people who are affected by a spatial change or intervention, with the aim of mobilizing people in the policy process to build consensus and create mutual learning (Healey, 1998b).

The analysis of the one intervention within this category, (for details, see Table 17) shows that the urgency of the area plan<sup>7</sup> is that the municipality need to know what is going on, and what the needs are, in the neighbourhood.

There are not any formal requirements for how to conduct the participation and involvement of stakeholders in the area plan, and in 2014 the area Noord chose an approach where they actively consulted a cross section of the stakeholders to get reactions to a draft of the area plan.

*“We wrote it and then we went by all parties in this area, the retailer foundation, a school, a resident organization, a welfare organization. In that way we made a cross section of all parties and talked about “According to us, this has to happen the coming years. Is that right? Or did we overlook anything?” Actually, all that we had written and thought was already very known. (Public neighbourhood developer III)*

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<sup>7</sup> The area plan is developed within the frame of citizen participation (*burgerparticipatie*), defined as “the interactive policymaking by drafting and approving the area plan” (Rekenkamer Rotterdam, 2015, p.36)

Thus, the involvement of stakeholders to the development of the area plan were people who were organized, involved in a network or who the municipality could meet arbitrarily on the street in the participation period. A neighbourhood facilitator points out that the weakness in this kind of citizen participation is that there are residents whose voices are not easily heard, and argues that this problem needs to be recognized and particularly facilitated.

*“Look, the people who are able to pick up the phone and call one of the [public] services, they do not need [us]. They all know how to find their way. But the average resident in Oude Noorden does not even know about the statutory development plans. And our role is to bring this to their attention and sometimes also organize so that their voice is really raised and heard.” (Neighbourhood facilitator I)*

The resources for realizing the area plan were one the one hand the area commission budget, potential funding from the city program “Favorable neighbourhoods for families” (Rotterdam municipality, 2015) and the city council budget. On the other, the most important resources for realizing the liveability area plan is the area commission’s approval of the residents’ initiatives<sup>8</sup>, and thereby the residents volunteering time.

The rules that accompanied the resident initiatives was that residents develop ideas to be carried out by themselves, in cooperation with other local residents or organizations. In 2014 51 initiatives were approved to the total sum of 126.877 Euro, giving an average of 2.500 Euro per initiative. The initiatives could be for social, public space, sport and play, education, festivals, art and culture, care and safety purposes (Rotterdam municipality, Area commission Noord, n.p.).

### **Use of local “knowledge” and hands**

“Use of local “knowledge” and hands” are processes that fills inn the knowledge-gap about place qualities, urgencies, alternative solutions and what will work between people who live in an area and public officials and professionals (Healey, 1998b). In this research “and hands” is added to capture not only the knowledge-gap, but also the gap of resources in the provision of public goods and services that were evident in the findings. Thus, this category will also contain processes where the solutions will also depend on the community’s and third sector’s contribution of volunteering work-time and efforts.

The analysis of the five interventions within this category, (for details, see Table 18 and Table 19) shows that the common urgency was the community’s and third sector’s provision of social and physical improvements or services in the neighbourhood, with varying degrees of cooperation with the municipality. A typical example of this mode of participation was described by a neighbourhood volunteer who believes that the main responsibility for the public square is transferred from the municipality to the organization, and the residents.

*“In general, the municipality is not doing much on this square, besides cleaning. And sometimes there are flowers coming. Further, they do not do so much. (...) Broadly we have the idea that the municipality thinks that we give the subsidy of 7000 Euro to the resident organization and then everything is in order. Then people organize the things themselves.” (Neighbourhood volunteer IV)*

The involvement of stakeholders was based on co-production. The community and third sector used their competencies as well as carried out the development activities, while

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<sup>8</sup> The resident initiative (*bewonersinitiatief*) is defined as “voluntarily undertaken activities aimed at liveability that the resident carries out and owns him-/herself” (Rekenkamer Rotterdam, 2015, p. 37).

municipality had a coordinating, mobilizing and facilitating role. After a participation-meeting for the development of a residential street, two public neighbourhood developers were enthusiastic about what the networking had resulted in so in terms of mobilizing the residents.

*“They are taking work off the municipality’s shoulder, for sure!” (Public neighbourhood developer IV)*

*“On the other hand, they are getting a lot of influence of the outcome.” (Public neighbourhood developer V)*

The resources applied for the improvements or services were the community’s and third sectors’ competencies in communication, project organization, refurbishing, urban planning design, architecture, social care and volunteering time. The municipality’s resources were funding and their facilitating and local networking competencies.

The rules that accompanied the use of local “knowledge” and hands were to influence the situations that needs a solution through the stakeholders’ formal and informal local networks. In one of the examples, two of the residents said that this rule was in conflict with their ideas about how to approach the public authorities. To this, one of the stakeholders from the municipality explained that this is the new game everybody is playing now, but that the decision process is still open and formal (*Observation, participation meeting 1*).

One of the interventions was nevertheless untypical because it was not collaborating with the municipality. Still it can be argued that the intervention contributes to reduce a resource-gap for the provision of informal care services, and therefore belong to this category. The third sector stakeholder wanted, but did not achieve, a collaborative mode with the municipality for provision of neighbourhood care services. Neighbourhood volunteer II says they need support from the municipality to make a walk-around from the Dutch regulation prohibiting the recruitment of social benefit receivers, which could benefit the volume of their activities.

*“Various municipalities already have a pilot-initiative, so that people instead of a social benefit can get a basis income that is a bit lower, and in return have no liabilities to apply for jobs or to do volunteering work. (...) Rotterdam is not doing this. In principle the municipality knows us well.” (Neighbourhood volunteer II)*

### **Integrative place-making**

“Integrative place making” discounts the sectorial separation of policy fields which characterizes the welfare state, and focus on the connection between economic, social and environmental relations (Healey, 1998b). The findings in this research implies that the crossing of separated sectorial fields should not be limited to public policy fields, but also to transdisciplinary fields of academic/scientific, practical/professional and everyday knowledge (Moulaert et al., 2011, Kahn et al., 2013).

The analysis of the two interventions within this category (for details, see Table 20) shows that the common idea of urgency is the need to connect professionals and volunteers within the municipality, community and third sector for the development of activities that improves the social and cohesion and social empowerment of residents in the neighbourhood.

The involvement of community and third sector stakeholders was done by connecting and recruiting volunteers from the community, both for creating a vital neighbourhood house and for mobilizing higher and lower educated groups within the community. *Neighbourhood facilitator II* explains how the multi-functional neighbourhood house coordinates the needs of residents and the courses that they offer.

*“If someone said “I would like that there were Dutch lessons here” [we would say] “then we will look for someone who would like to give you Dutch lessons.” We are not like other neighbourhood houses; we do not pay people to give Dutch lessons. The Dutch lessons are given by volunteers. Computer lessons are given by volunteers.” (Neighbourhood facilitator II)*

The resources for the integrative place-making were the third sectors’ competency in communication and building social and technical skills of the residents though their coordination, mobilization and facilitation. The residents’ resources were their volunteering time. The resources from the municipality and market were subsidies and funding as alliance partners in the foundation of neighbourhood house.

The access to use the rooms in the neighbourhood house was regulated by commercial rent or by contribution of volunteering hours exchanged into the alternative and local monetary unit Dam (Rotter-Dam, 2015).

### **Building “relational” resources**

“Building “relational” resources” are processes where various stakeholders are creating communication arenas and positive relationships though networks, and in that way continuously forming “institutional capital” through the sharing of information, knowledge and understandings (Healey, 1998b).

The analysis of the interventions within this category (for details, see Table 21) shows that the idea of urgency is to build a place-focused capability to improve the quality of a neighbourhood school by establishing communication arenas and networks among professionals and volunteers within the third sector, municipality and the community.

The involvement of the various stakeholder groups was coordinated by neighbourhood facilitators from a broad local network of people who they thought had something to offer. *Neighbourhood volunteer I* says that in such a meeting with many local actors, it was discussed whether art students with priority access to student rooms in the neighbourhood house could offer music lessons.

*“But one lesson is no lesson, and it would be nice to offer more hours. So we have to look into how. They offer their volunteer contribution; we cannot offer a salary. (...) If you do it in such a voluntary way, how structural can it become? Because we want some kind of commitment.” (Neighbourhood volunteer I)*

The resources that could be found were the volunteering efforts of the community and the volunteering part of the third sector. Further, the community could contribute with competencies in pedagogic art as in the example mentioned, but in the finding also other types of expertise were mentioned, like language training, computing and sports. The third sectors’ competencies were in local networking, communication and project organization, whereas the municipality’s resources were funding and facilitating competencies.

The rules for potentially receiving subsidy from the municipality program was that the parent-networked made a plan and a model for realizing it based on financial and volunteering contribution from the parents.

## Summary and conclusion on the mode of participation

The findings from the investigation of *collaboration in policy making and projects* show that the common idea of urgency made the stakeholders realize their interdependency for the wanted improvements in the neighbourhood and the commercial streets. It can be argued that this interdependency may have turned in to a dependency of one single stakeholder for one of the commercial street developments, because of the financial dependency from public funds. However, this funding is restricted to a new development phase, and is therefore of a temporary character.

By seeking collaboration, especially the municipality and the housing corporation crossed their traditional sectorial roles along the lines of not-for-profit/for-profit and public/private activities (Figure 7), and made a broad program and related agreements about topics in overlapping discursive fields.

Because of the definition of “key” stakeholders, neither the third sector or community were involved directly in these processes. One exception was the commercial street development, where the mobilization of retailers as well as residents was a condition for access to funding. However, as a main conclusion, this mode of participation is not guaranteed to reflect the users need, nor aiming to build institutional capacities within the development process.

Next, the findings from the investigation of *broad stakeholder involvements* show that the urgency was to have an interactive policymaking, and that this involved that the municipality actively sought different stakeholders’ knowledge and feedback based on their various discursive fields. In the findings, the municipality emphasized that the development process was particularly designed so as to embrace new and emerging needs and ideas from the users of the neighbourhood.

It is clear that there is an interdependency between the municipality and the three other main stakeholder groups, but for the initiation and the final result this mode of participation is dependent on the municipality as a one-single stakeholder. This evokes the “duty to consider all stakeholders” (Healey, 1998a), and the evidences shows that it is uncertain to what extent the municipality has succeeded in reaching out to the unorganized residents and retailers who are not in their networks.

At last, the findings show that there was an attempt to build institutional capacities through the resident mobilization for volunteering activities in the neighbourhood.

Then, for *the use of local “knowledge” and hands*, the findings from the investigation of show that the urgency was the need for the community and third sector stakeholders to contribute to the social and physical improvements or services in the neighbourhood that otherwise would have been provided by the municipality or market alone, or not at all.

There was evidence of interdependencies with the municipality, especially related to the facilitation of processes and funding of activities. However, the dependency on the community and third sector stakeholder as one single actor was evident for each of the development processes. The dependency was first and foremost related to their volunteering time, and their particular competencies. Thus, given the important role of the community and the third sector stakeholders, it can be argued that this mode of participation reflected citizens needs.

However, because of the limitations in the selection process in this research, it is clear that there are knowledge-gaps between resident groups that are not represented here and the municipality. Because there was evidence that the average resident in Oude Noorden do not “know how to find their way” (Neighbourhood facilitator I), the Use of local “knowledge”

and hands requires that the municipality succeeds in building the social and technical skills of the residents through their coordinating, mobilizing and facilitating roles (Bakker et al., 2000).

Further, for *integrative place-making* the findings show that the urgency was to connect stakeholders from various discursive fields with both professionals and everyday knowledge to build institutional capacities for the improvements of the neighbourhood.

The findings show that the degree of interdependency was dependent on the success of the third sector's attempts of recruiting particular resident groups into the processes of building institutional capacities based on local the relation to the neighbourhood. Even if the many of the interactive place-making activities were not dependent of one single actor, this mode of participation was dependent on higher educated residents for the provision of certain courses and services to respond to the needs of the residents.

Finally, the findings from the investigation of *building "relational" resources* show that the urgency was to build institutional capacities by establishing common communication arenas to address shared place-focused concerns among various stakeholders. Thus, also this mode of participation attempted to merge the various discursive fields of the involved stakeholder groups. However, evidence also show that this in this mode also the roles and responsibility for activities within the traditional stakeholder groups were crossed. Per instance, the neighbourhood volunteer from the third sector was dealing with problems concerning the provision of predictable public services that traditionally was dealt with within the public sector in the Dutch welfare state.

Moreover, because of the services were planned to be built on volunteering time from the involved parties, the interdependency among the stakeholders were relying on the individual motivation of one single stakeholder that would provide the service. This shows that the success of meeting the citizen needs from the building of "relational" resources is not only dependent on the success of building institutional capacities but also the availability of other resources, such as in this case public funding from a neighbourhood development program in Rotterdam.

**Table 15 Mode of participation 1: Collaboration in policy-making and projects (1). Source: Fieldwork**

<b>Intervention</b>	<b>Initiation/urgency</b>	<b>Process and depth of involvement</b>	<b>Rules and resources</b>
<b>Making a neighbourhood vision and an agreement about joint development</b>	Initiative for a vision addressing the bad housing stock of Oude Noorden from the central city government and the housing corporations.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The assignment given from the sub-municipal council (pre-2014) of Noord.</li> <li>2. Developed a vision and an agreement with a broad social and physical strategy.</li> <li>3. The municipality and the housing corporation made agreements with each other about mutual contributions.</li> <li>4. The vision was mostly affected housing, and other stakeholders (incl. residents) were only indirectly represented.</li> <li>5. The municipality and third sector developed a pedagogic vision addressing children and youth.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Two housing corporation owned the majority of the old properties which were in bad condition.</li> <li>2. The municipality advised about the benefits of larger scale level of urban planning.</li> <li>3. As a non-juridical plan has to be translated into a statutory detailed plan (bestemmingsplan) to become legally binding.</li> </ol>
<b>Creating a physical connection to public space</b>	Initiative from the municipality that wanting to establish an east-west city access to Rotte river.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Negotiation between the municipality and the housing corporation.</li> <li>2. Information meeting in the neighbourhood after the decision was made.</li> <li>3. Displaced residents from the demolished housing block were offered alternative housing in Oude Noorden, Rotterdam or economic compensation for moving.</li> <li>4. Residents involved in decision for relocation of Coen Molijn-wall to a prominent location in the new road.</li> <li>5. Municipality involved in conflict broking over unclear users rights to use of new neighbourhood garden.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Housing corporation owned blocks in the end of a blind road.</li> <li>2. Municipality had the decisions mandate though various urban development tools.</li> <li>3. Agreement relieved the housing corporation from the city parking norms in another new construction project in Oude Noorden.</li> </ol>

**Table 16 Mode of participation 1: Collaboration in policy-making and projects (2). Source: Fieldwork**

<b>Intervention</b>	<b>Initiation/urgency</b>	<b>Process and depth of involvement</b>	<b>Rules and resources</b>
<b>Creating new qualities in two commercial streets</b>	Revitalize the branching profile	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. New entrepreneurs recruited to the street within a Food-Fashion-Design profile</li> <li>2. Creating a new common vision for the shopping area independently of the municipality and housing corporation.</li> <li>3. Participation through votes for paying members and informal network in the street.</li> <li>4. Have difficulties recruiting entrepreneurs/retailers with an immigrant background.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. New retailer's organization had board members with background from various disciplines and with various length of experience in the street.</li> <li>2. Financial models based on 40-45 members paying a monthly fee of 10 Euro.</li> <li>3. A professional advisor was hired in to help developing the new profile of the street.</li> <li>4. Non-market rent provided by single property owner, a housing corporations.</li> </ol>
	Reduce vacancy and give a green image to the shopping street.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Creating a strategic and incremental plan for greenifying the street.</li> <li>2. Participation though open board meetings, information evenings and shop visits.</li> <li>3. Consultations with the municipality about content in the greenifying plan.</li> <li>4. Collecting signatures to prove the support to the greenifying plan.</li> <li>5. The retailers and entrepreneurs commit themselves to the operation and maintenance of the trees and benches in the future.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Retailers organization had board members with different experiences, competencies and cultural backgrounds, five retailers and two residents.</li> <li>2. Municipality subsidized resident initiatives to establish the organization and to make a greenifying plan.</li> <li>3. Financial model based on volunteering donations, crow-funding and prospects of more municipal subsidies as a prioritized shopping district in Rotterdam.</li> <li>4. A professional advisor was hired in to help developing the design of the street.</li> <li>5. Greenifying plan transfers the responsibility of the street development and maintenance to the retailers/entrepreneurs.</li> </ol>

**Table 17 Mode of participation 2: Broad stakeholder involvement. Source: Fieldwork**

<b>Intervention</b>	<b>Initiation/urgency</b>	<b>Process and depth of involvement</b>	<b>Rules and resources</b>
<b>Being the eyes and ears of the neighbourhood</b>	Know what is going on and what the needs are in the neighbourhood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Consultation of the draft of Area plan with all stakeholder groups and organizations in the neighbourhood.</li> <li>2. Participation through a good network and daily contacts with residents and entrepreneurs/retailers.</li> <li>3. Resident initiatives are voluntarily activities aimed at liveability that the residents carry out themselves.</li> <li>4. The average resident do not raise their voice or develop a resident initiative.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Area commission balances the needs and makes priorities for the neighbourhoods in the administrative area Noord.</li> <li>2. Area plan is approved in the city council.</li> <li>3. Area commission may fund resident initiatives in own budget, attract funding through projects within the neighbourhood development programs Favourable neighbourhood and negotiate for other funding within the city council budget.</li> <li>4. Residents who have an idea to carry out by themselves in cooperation with other residents or local organizations can submit a resident initiative.</li> </ol>

**Table 18 Mode of participation 3: Use of local “knowledge” and hands (1). Source: Fieldwork.**

Intervention	Initiation/urgency	Process and depth of involvement	Rules and resources
<p><b>Facilitating improvements of two residential streets</b></p>	<p>Lacking bike-parking facilities and wish for more green in a street.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A participatory meeting was arranged with the residents, area administration and housing corporation after independent requests from various newly arrived residents.</li> <li>2. Municipality gave advice about the process to find funding for the residents’ requests.</li> <li>3. Residents were advised to seek cooperation with other stakeholders in the neighbourhood.</li> <li>4. Residents were invited by the housing corporation to participate in development of a green neighbourhood roof.</li> <li>5. Residents requested advise from housing corporation to clear up an untidy situation between a public and private property border.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Municipality facilitated the meeting and further process.</li> <li>2. Residents who cooperate with each other can submit a resident initiative that supports the Area plan. Resident initiatives could amount to 10.000 Euro.</li> <li>3. Neighbour housing corporation had a roof that could be developed as a green neighbourhood garden.</li> <li>4. Residents were DIYs and perceived as potential volunteers for development of the neighbourhood surrounding.</li> <li>5. Municipality advised residents to use formal channels as well as informal networks in order to influence the situation of untidy borders that would be solved in an open formal decision process.</li> </ol>
	<p>The municipality pointed out the residential street as a priority for development and the residents wanted to improve the street.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. A participatory meeting was arranged with the residents, area administration, area commission and city administration.</li> <li>2. Municipality gave advice about the process to find funding for the residents’ requests.</li> <li>3. Residents were advised to seek cooperation with other stakeholders in the neighbourhood.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Municipality facilitated the meeting, advised on further process and lobbied in the political channels.</li> <li>2. Residents who cooperate about street development can submit a plan to the Dream-street project within the city program Favourable neighbourhoods. This could amount up to 10.000 Euro (150.000 Euro for Rotterdam).</li> <li>3. Residents had competencies in urban planning design, project development, web-design (architects etc.) and perceived as potentially co-producers of the municipality for the street development.</li> <li>4. The municipality is making a plan for redevelopment and a statutory plan which could release more funding on the long term.</li> </ol>

**Table 19 Mode of participation 3: Use of local “knowledge” and hands (2). Source: Fieldwork.**

<b>Intervention</b>	<b>Initiation/urgency</b>	<b>Process and depth of involvement</b>	<b>Rules and resources</b>
<b>DIY-housing and creating a new impulse in a residential street</b>	Municipality needed renovation of pre-WW2 housing stock, residents required affordable housing and a special house.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Municipality offered a decaying house below market price.</li> <li>2. Resident selection with a lottery.</li> <li>3. The residents were required to live in the house themselves after the renovation.</li> <li>4. The residents put five years of spare time working hours, own architect competence and into the final result.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Municipality sold own property, subsidized housing foundation, provided an advisory architect and government officer as support in the process.</li> <li>2. The residents provided own financial guarantee 2,5 times the price of purchase, architect expertise and volunteering time.</li> </ol>
<b>Running and maintaining a public neighbourhood square</b>	Create cultural and social activities to bring people together in the square to improve neighbourhood liveability	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Resident organization arrange concerts, film-evenings and food-events on the public square.</li> <li>2. The organization cooperates with residents who submit resident initiatives in and around the square.</li> <li>3. The organization do small maintenance work on the constructions of the square.</li> <li>4. Expectations about physical maintenance are directed towards the volunteers instead of the municipality.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Volunteer resident organization with 100 paying members, mostly addresses by and around the square.</li> <li>2. Municipality subsidize the social, cultural and maintenance activities with 7000 Euro per year.</li> <li>3. Municipality cleans the public square.</li> </ol>
<b>Bringing elderly people together in a neighbourhood house</b>	Provide a local meeting place for elderly people	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Resident organization run a café/bar in the neighbourhood.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Resident organization with 15 volunteering members.</li> <li>2. Financial model based on revenue from the café/bar and annual subsidy from the municipality.</li> </ol>
<b>Recruiting and offering neighbourhood based care for a fee</b>	Provide a semi-volunteering care service in the neighbourhood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Third sector organization offers services for a fee, mainly to elderly people who still live at home in the neighbourhood .</li> <li>2. The semi-volunteers are residents from the area who want to offer help and have the capacity and time, mainly homemakers and young pensioners.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Volunteer service organization.</li> <li>2. 200 clients, 100 regulars in Northern part of Rotterdam. 4 volunteers in Noord.</li> <li>3. Semi-volunteers get the fee: Dutch law: Min. salary 10,50 Euro and max. 3 days a week for same client. Not for receivers of social benefits.</li> </ol>

**Table 20 Mode of participation 4: Interactive place-making. Source: Fieldwork.**

<b>Intervention</b>	<b>Initiation/urgency</b>	<b>Process and depth of involvement</b>	<b>Rules and resources</b>
<p><b>Connecting and mobilizing residents in a multi-functional neighbourhood house</b></p>	<p>Stimulate activities to increase the social cohesion between, and social empowerment of, the residents in the neighbourhood</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The services offered are participation broking, pedagogic support, youth information, youth work and family coaching, and the activities are cultural events and variety of courses.</li> <li>2. Volunteering pool is recruited for the mobilisation of residents, both to encourage for employed work and to participate in neighbourhood development.</li> <li>3. Services and activities are run by a mix of professionals and volunteers(pool).</li> <li>4. The volunteers are both higher and lower income and education groups</li> <li>5. The users are residents in the quarter Klooster, the neighbourhood Oude Noorden and area Noord.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Private foundation formed by an alliance of more neighbourhood partners, run by a board of residents.</li> <li>2. Professionals are paid by the alliance partners.</li> <li>3. Financial model based on municipal subsidy from the city administration in return for performance agreements and renting of rooms. Commercial rent for businesses/professionals, low rent for volunteering activities aimed at the Klooster. Volunteering activities can be paid by local monetary unit Dam</li> </ol>
<p><b>Bringing elderly people together in a bingo</b></p>	<p>Provide situations for elderly people to meet</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Resident run bingo at different locations in the neighbourhood.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Resident is volunteering after a request from a neighbourhood facilitator from the third sector.</li> <li>2. Up to 40 visitors in an event.</li> </ol>

**Table 21 Mode of participation 5: Building “relational” resources. Source: Fieldwork.**

<b>Intervention</b>	<b>Initiation/urgency</b>	<b>Process and depth of involvement</b>	<b>Rules and resources</b>
<b>Building a school parent network</b>	Creating an attractive after-school training programme.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Parents network contacted the neighbourhood house to look into ideas on how to fund and organize a larger program oriented towards arts and culture after-school activities.</li> <li>2. Meeting in multi-neighbourhood house with local stakeholders to make an inventory of potential resources in the neighbourhood.</li> <li>3. Survey to map interests and potential financial and volunteering contributions among school-parents.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Volunteering parent network.</li> <li>2. Facilitating professionals from the neighbourhood house.</li> <li>3. Arts students with priority access to student rooms in the neighbourhood house were potential contributors.</li> <li>4. Financial model based on a combination of parent financial and volunteering contributions and municipal subsidy from the city government program Favourable neighbourhood.</li> </ol>

### 4.2.3 Assessed quality of place

In this section the stakeholders' assessed qualities of place based on the semi-structured interviews and observations are analysed. First, each indicator for analyzing the selected dimension of spatial qualities are recaptured from section 3.2. Then, the findings based on the stakeholders' perceptions of how the intervention they have been involved in have improved the qualities of place are analysed for each mode of participation. As in the former section, in the analysis the main findings are subtracted for each mode of participation, while the details about the single interventions within each category of mode of participation are summarized in separate tables. Finally, based on the findings, the assessed qualities for place for each mode of participation are concluded upon.

#### Three conceptions of place

The first indicator *social experience of being in a place* captures how the stakeholders perceive that the interventions are accommodating or excluding users/uses, or whether different uses are regulated or accounted for. The second indicator *symbolic meaning of qualities* identifies how values and meanings of the intervention are communicated by the stakeholders. Finally, the third indicator *physical features of the forms and flows within the place* identifies how the interventions are located in networks of near and distant relations.

#### Collaboration in policy making and projects

In this sub-section the four interventions within this category (for details, see Table 22) are analysed. The main findings are first summarized and then more specifically related to the evidences from interviews and observation.

Firstly, the analysis of the social experience of being in a place shows that the collaboration in policy making and projects has resulted in physical interventions that accommodates public spaces for common use by all residents in the neighbourhood, new constructed self-owned housing for younger families with middle income and commercial streets for retailers and entrepreneurs who contributes to the development and maintenance of the streets. Further, the findings of communicated values and meanings show that Oude Noorden possesses some particular qualities that have given the neighbourhood a friendly and authentic image which in turn has increased the attractiveness among new residents from the outside. Finally, the analysis of the locations of the interventions shows that they are both impeding and enhancing near and distant relations within the city of Rotterdam.

#### *Social experience of being in a place – accommodated/excluded uses*

The physical break-through of a dead-end street to create a walking and biking street has according to more respondents removed drug-dealing and brought more life with social control into the street (*Private neighbourhood developer II, Public neighbourhood developer I*). As a result, the intervention has accommodated a common use of this particular location. Furthermore, the same intervention also involved the creation of a neighbourhood garden for the residents in the housing block next to the demolished building. Because of its location adjacent to the private gardens at the first floor, the intervention demanded that rules were made that met the various residents' concerns about privacy/common use of the new garden (*Neighbourhood facilitator I*) (Figure 10).

The newly constructed self-owned housing has given housing opportunities for younger families with middle income. However, the demolition and change to self-ownership housing has displaced the original social tenants with lower income from their original homes to somewhere else in Oude Noorden or in Rotterdam (*Private neighbourhood developer II*) (Figure 11).



**Figure 10** A physical break through has created better access to public space for common use and a need for regulation of uses of private, common and public space of a neighbourhood garden.



**Figure 11** Demolition and new construction has replaced social rent housing with self-owned housing for young families in the middle-income group and displaced social tenants to locations elsewhere in the neighbourhood or Rotterdam.



**Figure 12** Greenifying plan against vacancies accommodates retailers and entrepreneurs who contribute to the development and maintenance of the commercial street.

The development of commercial streets has aimed to accommodate for retailers and entrepreneurs who contribute to the reduction of vacancies and to the green development and maintenance of the streets (*Shopping street volunteer I*) (Figure 12).

### *Symbolic meanings of qualities of place – communicated meanings and values*

The joint neighbourhood vision and project has defined some particular qualities of Oude Noorden. In addition to the qualities of good programming of public spaces and the offer of family housing described in the previous section, the respondents also mentioned the safe and green pathways for children and youth to schools, small scale investments in properties, quality oriented amenities in the commercial streets and heritage revaluation of pre-2WW buildings (Figure 13). Private neighbourhood developer I explains how the image of a commercial street has changed and become less anonymous:

*“Only by working with the outdoor spaces and by attracting new entrepreneurs, the sphere of the street is changed.” (Private neighbourhood developer I)*



**Figure 13** The new qualities of Oude Noorden resulting from collaborative policymaking and projects are safe and green pathways to schools, small scale investments in properties with quality oriented amenities and heritage revaluation.

### *Physical features of the forms and flows within the place – location in near/distant relations*

The new walking- and biking street has given an east-west connection from the inner parts of Oude Noorden to the public space along Rotte river and further to the adjacent neighbourhoods in the east.

Whereas the new construction of self-owned housing has attracted young families with higher income from elsewhere in Rotterdam to the neighbourhood, it has also contributed to a homogeneous population in terms of income on the block level (*Private neighbourhood*

*developer I*). Because the majority of the residents who were displaced from their homes as a result of the demolition did not get an alternative social rental housing in the neighbourhood (*Private neighbourhood developer I and II*), the intervention has added to the heterogeneity at a neighbourhood level (*Public neighbourhood developer III*).

The two commercial streets have tried to attract customers from various scales. One has aimed at becoming a stronger commercial area in the neighbourhood and Rotterdam, based on a local mobilization of retailers, entrepreneurs and residents in the street (*Shopping street volunteer I*). The other commercial street has aimed at becoming attractive in Rotterdam and outside the city as well, though profiled entrepreneurship.

### **Broad stakeholder involvement**

In this sub-section the intervention of being the eyes and the ears of the neighbourhood through the area plan and the residents' initiatives (for details, see Table 23) is analysed.

First, the findings show that in the process of developing the area plan *Public neighbourhood developer II* has identified why residents prefer to live in Oude Noorden, and in that way how to develop the area plan further to accommodate the residents who live in the neighbourhood.

*“A lot of people prefer to live here because it is close to the city center, close to all kind of facilities and amenities, public transport and hospital (...) It is just that mix, de social-economic mix as well as the cultural mix of people with different ethnical backgrounds, that people like. Thus, not any dominant group. People like to live in such a mixed neighbourhood.” (Public neighbourhood developer II)*



**Figure 14 Resident initiatives are low threshold activities for lower educated and lower middle class residents.**

The second finding is that the resident initiatives are considered as the most important for lower educated and lower middle class resident groups in the neighbourhood (Figure 14). Thus, the meaning and values attached to the resident initiatives are that this group is more dependent on their own neighbourhood than the higher educated residents who live there, but are less place-bound in their social activities.

*“There are a lot of low-threshold pop-up activities (...) They attract mostly the lower educated and the lower middle class. And maybe a little bit more white [residents],*

*but it is certainly mixed, that differs from street to street. These people need that all kind of things are taking place in their neighbourhood. The higher educated people – they happen to live somewhere - but do not need the community on the neighbourhood scale to the same extent.” (Public neighbourhood developer II)*

Hence, the analysis of the locations of these interventions shows that resident initiatives enhances the relations on neighbourhood level. Nevertheless, the finding also suggests that this is not the case for the relations between different socio-economic groups.

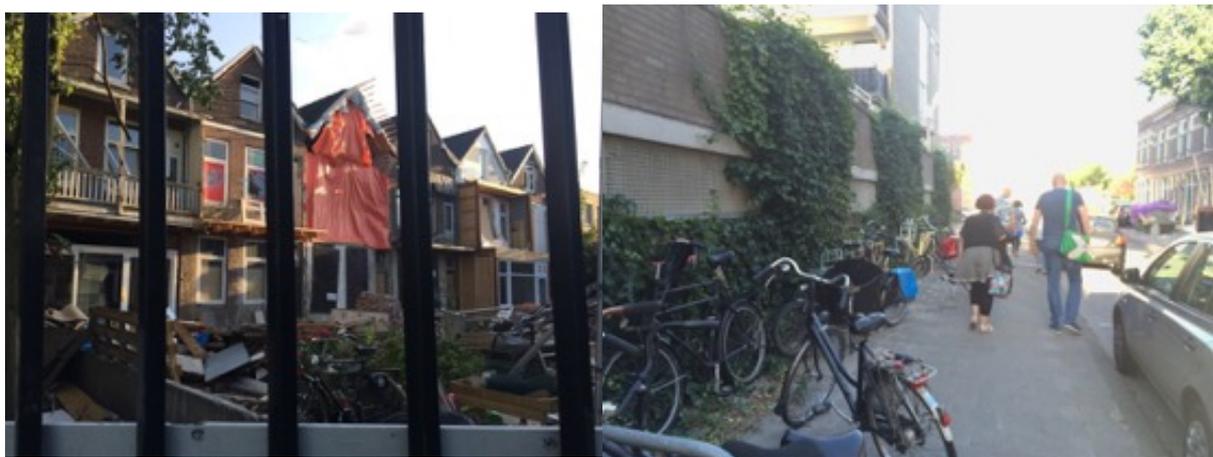
### **Use of local “knowledge” and hands**

In this sub-section the five interventions within this category (for details, see Table 24) are analysed. The main findings are first summarized and then more specifically related to the evidences from interviews and observation.

Firstly, the analysis of the social experience of being in a place shows that the Use of local “knowledge” and hands has resulted in interventions that accommodates various groups of residents. That is, the interventions were done for residents by residents or by third sector stakeholders who were recruited from the community (Figure 7). Further, the findings of communicated values and meanings are that self-reliant and independent residents is considered to bring relief to the municipality and increase the liveability and the attractiveness of the neighbourhood. Finally, the analysis shows that for the interventions within city development programs created more flexible budgets at the neighbourhood level.

#### *Social experience of being in a place – accommodated/excluded uses*

DIY-housing did accommodate residents with high income, high education, young families, and more specifically, people with the ability and capacity to collaborate with other stakeholders for the realization of initiatives (Figure 15). These residents were endorsed as potentially collaborating partners by the municipality and the housing corporations for the development of decaying housing and development of common outdoor and public spaces.



**Figure 15 DIY-housing in 2015 and the municipality meeting residents to facilitate interventions that are run by the residents themselves.**

The public square had included social activities together with the cultural ones to accommodate a more residents residents (Figure 16). The neighbourhood house accommodated users who shared a common history, while the neighbourhood based care

services accommodated elderly people still living at home as well as homemakers and young pensioners.



**Figure 16 Social and cultural activities in a historical public square. Source of the historical card: Van de Laar and Van Jaarsveld (2012).**

### *Symbolic meanings of qualities of place – communicated meanings and values*

The findings of the values and meaning that are communicated about DIY-initiatives was that they gave an impulse to the improvement of other buildings in the street and in Oude Noorden, which makes the neighbourhood more attractive for new residents.

*"All of a sudden a lot of other buildings in our street have also started with refurbishing. (...) Five years ago this street did not look nice at all, and now it looks a bit better. (...) Hence, such a DIY-program has made the neighbourhood more attractive for other residents." (Resident I)*

The symbolic meaning of a public neighbourhood square run by volunteers was that it increases the liveability in the neighbourhood because people met and learned to know each other (Neighbourhood volunteer IV). Further, the symbolic meaning of the neighbourhood based semi-volunteering care services was that the neighbourhood can provide these services independently of the public and the private sector. At last, the neighbourhood house for elderly people showed that it is good to get elderly people out of their homes and meet people they know.

### *Physical features of the forms and flows within the place – location in near/distant relations*

There is evidence that the idea of favoured residents may create tensions in the near relationships between old and new residents within the neighbourhood because it is perceived as unequal treatment between citizens (Resident I).

Also, the analysis shows that for the interventions within city development programs, the relation between the neighbourhood and Rotterdam city was potentially enhanced through coproduction of solutions and central funding of neighbourhood initiatives.

*"Because there are extra programs for Oude Noorden (...) there are extra means from the central city government, such as Favourable neighbourhoods (Kansrijke wijken), and you have more money for initiatives. Generally, we have a more flexible budget to do special things." (Public neighbourhood developer II)*

Finally, both the neighbourhood based care and the meeting-place for elderly stimulated near relationships within the neighbourhood or across the city because of former shared relations within the neighbourhood.

### **Integrative place-making**

In this sub-section the intervention of integrative place-making (for details, see Table 25) is analysed.

First, the findings show that the intervention accommodated all residents in the neighbourhood with different income and education levels for either providing volunteering services or using them.

The second finding is that the values and meaning attached to the integrative place-making is that all residents benefit through development of self-development, self-reliance and volunteering contribution to the neighbourhood.

Finally, the strength of the local relationship is challenged because the recruitment of volunteers with higher education for the provision of particular courses/services was not matching the demand.

### **Building “relational” resources**

In this sub-section the intervention of building “relational” resources (for details, see Table 26) is analysed.

First, the findings show that the intervention accommodated a change in the behavior of parents with higher educational levels who live in Oude Noorden, but send their children to schools in other neighbourhoods.

The second finding is that the values and meaning attached to building “relational” resources is that the quality of neighbourhood services can be improved by connecting local volunteering and professional capacities and competencies.

Finally, the intervention aimed to strengthen the educational, socio-economic and ethnic mix of relations between the school-parents within the community by building a cooperation between different groups of stakeholders within the community, local third sector and municipality. However, the strength of the local relationship was challenged because of uncertainty about the level of commitment among the volunteering residents for the provision of after-school activities.

### **Summary and conclusion on the assessed qualities of place**

Stakeholders within all the five modes of participation had ideas of improvements of social relations within, symbolic meanings of and physical features of the flows in the neighbourhood.

The stakeholders represented in *collaboration in policy making and projects* were mainly the municipality and housing corporation, whereas the third sector was involved in a later stage to handle conflicts resulting from the interventions. The stakeholders pointed out that the development process had improved the qualities of social relations by offering a variation of the housing-types and occupancy, creating better access to public space and mobilization of local retailers. Further, the symbolic qualities were improved with a better visibility of particular qualities of the neighbourhood, like the diverse housing offer, good public spaces,

heritage value, safe and green pathways and quality amenities. Finally, it was recognized that the housing restructuring resulted in a social-economic heterogeneous neighbourhood with homogeneous streets and blocks.

The municipality and the third sector who represented *the broad stakeholder involvement* highlighted that the development processes had improved the qualities of social relations by getting knowledge about the preferred qualities of the residents, like the closeness to facilities and amenities as well as the balance in the socio-economic and ethnic mix in the population. Also, the symbolic qualities were improved with acknowledging the neighbourhood as a particularly important social arena for majority of the population.

Similarly, as the former mode of participation, the municipality and the third sector are represented in the *Use of "local" knowledge and hands*. They found that the development processes had improved the qualities of social relations for residents with the ability and capacity to collaborate with other stakeholders for the realization of initiatives. This in turn, has on the one hand improved the attractiveness of the particular residential street, public place and the whole neighbourhood, and the liveability and provision of care services in the neighbourhood on the other. Even so, this idea of preferred residents has shown a potential to create tensions in the near relationships between old and new residents within the neighbourhood.

The *integrative place-making* was represented by the third sector, municipality and the community, and the stakeholders point out that it has improved the relations between residents with different income and education levels, by either providing volunteering services or using them. Also, this mode of participation improved the symbolic qualities by creating the shared idea that all residents benefit from the residents' self-development and volunteering contribution to the neighbourhood. However, the strength of the local relationship was challenged because of the difficulties of recruiting volunteers with higher education.

The *building of "relational" resources* was done by the municipality and third sector, and the stakeholders found that it has improved the social relations through better communication and knowledge about local resources available for solving needs in the neighbourhood. Further, this mode of participation improved the symbolic qualities by creating the shared idea that the quality of neighbourhood services can be improved by connecting local volunteering and professional capacities and competencies. Nevertheless, the strength of the local relationship was challenged because of uncertainty about the level of commitment that could be achieved among the volunteering residents for the provision of neighbourhood services.

**Table 22 Assessed quality of place - Collaboration in policy making and projects. Source: Fieldwork**

<b>Social experience of being in a place</b>	<b>The symbolic meaning of qualities of place</b>	<b>Physical features, forms and flows taking place</b>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Joint and interdependent development between private and public stakeholders has created public spaces for common use.</li> <li>2. Demolition and new construction has replaced social rent housing with self-owned housing for young families in the middle income groups.</li> <li>3. The demolition of housing blocks removed a blind street with drug dealing and increased social control in the neighbourhood through life in the street.</li> <li>4. New construction has provided housing for social climbers from the neighbourhood.</li> <li>5. Original social rent tenants could not return to newly constructed houses because of restructuring to self-ownership.</li> <li>6. Joint development has supported investments in physical and social programs directed towards children and youth in the neighbourhood.</li> <li>7. The mobilisation of residents has created a shared solution for spatial design and for the regulation of uses of private, common and public space.</li> <li>8. Greenifying plan aimed to make the commercial street more attractive for retailers/entrepreneurs who reduce vacancy and want to contribute to the development and maintenance of the street.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The particular new qualities are small scale investments in properties, offer of family housing, heritage revaluation, good programming of public spaces, safe and green pathways to schools and quality oriented shopping streets.</li> <li>2. The attractiveness of the area for new residents from the outside has increased because of the offering of new construction of self-owned housing.</li> <li>3. Oude Noorden has got an image of a friendly, less threatening and authentic neighbourhood.</li> <li>4. The attractiveness and revenue of the commercial streets is dependent on the cooperation between the retailers in the street.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The east-west access has connected the inner part of Oude Noorden to the Rotte river and to the neighbour area.</li> <li>2. New self-owned family housing blocks are introvert, with closed, common back yards, which may influence the relationships in the neighbourhood.</li> <li>3. Displaced residents could not return to old home, but chose for a new home in the neighbourhood or elsewhere in Rotterdam. This may influence their relationships in the neighbourhood.</li> <li>4. Commercial street development as show-case for Oude Noorden has more effect on the attractiveness of a neighbourhood because of the constant flow of people than the renovation of housing that only a few people see.</li> <li>5. One street is defined as prioritized area for commercial development in Rotterdam, another is trying to attract customers from Rotterdam and the Netherlands with profiled entrepreneurship.</li> </ol>

**Table 23 Assessed quality of place - Broad stakeholder involvement. Source: Fieldwork**

<b>Social experience of being in a place</b>	<b>The symbolic meaning of qualities of place</b>	<b>Physical features, forms and flows taking place</b>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The area plan process has identified why residents prefer to live in Oude Noorden.</li> <li>2. Resident initiatives provide low-threshold and co-operating activities that are important for lower educated and lower middle class resident groups.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The social relations in the neighbourhood are more important for residents with lower socio-economic status than for those with a higher status.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The spatial interventions from resident initiatives affects the social relations on the neighbourhood scale.</li> </ol>

**Table 24 Assessed quality of place - Use of local “knowledge” and hands. Source: Fieldwork**

<b>Social experience of being in a place</b>	<b>The symbolic meaning of qualities of place</b>	<b>Physical features, forms and flows taking place</b>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. DIY and owner occupied housing is accommodating higher income and higher educated and young families.</li> <li>2. Financial funding of spatial interventions is dependent on the residents’ ability and capacity to collaborate with other stakeholders for realization of initiatives.</li> <li>3. Both cultural and social consumption activities are needed for making the Public square a meeting place for all residents in the neighbourhood.</li> <li>4. A neighbourhood location for elderly accommodates users who share a common neighbourhood history.</li> <li>5. Care-services are provided by young pensioners and home-makers for older pensioners who stay longer at home in the neighbourhood.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. DIY makes Oude Noorden more attractive for new residents.</li> <li>2. DIY improves the physical image of the streets and neighbourhood, and creates impulse for new changes.</li> <li>3. A street or a neighbourhood with self-reliant and independent residents is taken care of by the residents themselves, and bring relief from public chores and task for the municipality.</li> <li>4. A public square with a lot of diverse activities by volunteers in the neighbourhood makes people meet, learn to know each other and this improves the liveability.</li> <li>5. It is good to get elderly people out of their homes to meet people they know.</li> <li>6. The neighbourhood can provide care-services by semi-volunteers independently from the public and private sector.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. DIY may create tension between new and old residents because of the perception of unequal treatment/ perception of favored citizens.</li> <li>2. Residents who show interest for the neighbourhood development are endorsed as potential collaborating partners by the municipality and housing corporations.</li> <li>3. On-site co-producing participatory meetings and active networking between local stakeholders in the neighbourhood and central stakeholders from the city administration creates transdisciplinary and local-central relationships.</li> <li>4. The city development programs such as Favourable neighbourhoods creates flexible budgets in the areas and for the neighbourhoods.</li> <li>5. A neighbourhood location is connecting former residents who used to live in Oude Noorden, but now live elsewhere within and around Rotterdam.</li> <li>6. Neighbourhood based care stimulates local relationships.</li> </ol>

**Table 25 Assessed qualities of place – Integrative place-making. Source: Fieldwork**

<b>Social experience of being in a place</b>	<b>The symbolic meaning of qualities of place</b>	<b>Physical features, forms and flows taking place</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Volunteering activities and use of services for all neighbourhood residents.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The values communicated is that cooperation and activities that account for a need in the neighbourhood benefits all residents through development of self-development, self-reliance and volunteering contribution to the neighbourhood.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The strength of the local relationship is challenged because the recruitment of higher educated residents for the provision of particular volunteering courses/services is not matching the demand.</li> </ul>

**Table 26 Assessed qualities of place - Building “relational” resources. Source: Fieldwork**

<b>Social experience of being in a place</b>	<b>The symbolic meaning of qualities of place</b>	<b>Physical features, forms and flows taking place</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improved quantity and quality of after-school activities will entice parents with higher educational levels to send their children to the local neighbourhood school, instead of out of the area.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The values communicated is that the quality of a neighbourhood school can be improved by mobilizing a mix of local volunteering and professional capacity and competencies.</li> </ul>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Attempt was made to strengthen the educational, socio-economic and ethnic mix of relations between the school-parents within the community by building a cooperation between different groups of stakeholders within the community, local third sector and municipality.</li> <li>The strength of the local relationships were challenged because of uncertainty about the level of commitment among the volunteering residents for the provision of after-school activities.</li> </ol>

#### 4.2.4 Relationships between the concepts based on the findings

This section describes the relationship between the stakeholders' framing of gentrification, mode of participation and assessed qualities of place based on the findings in the fieldwork.

##### Connection 1: Framing of gentrification – Assessed place qualities

The main objective of this research has been to understand what type of meanings and values different stakeholders attach to gentrification. The findings have shown that it is possible to identify a shared framing of gentrification, although it varies among the stakeholder groups. Based on the findings from the assessed place qualities, it is also possible to identify relations between the meanings and values that the stakeholders have associated with gentrification in Oude Noorden and their assessed improvements of the neighbourhood. As this is an explorative research, the aim is simply to describe a connection or overlap reflected in the two fields of discourse.

The main finding is that all the different indicators of gentrification occurred in the assessment of the spatial qualities resulting from *collaboration in policy making and projects*. In the four other modes of participation the indicator of social mix and cohesion occurred. The indicator of high income groups moving in and lower out, and the influx of higher educated groups did also occur in the assessment of spatial qualities resulting from *use of local "knowledge" and hands, integrative place-making and building of "relational" resources*.

*Collaboration in policy making and projects* is highly induced with concepts of gentrification, and from the assessment of place qualities it can be concluded that this mode of participation is very much complying with the aims and gentrification strategy pursued in Urban spatial vision (Rotterdam, 2007a). However, contrary to the dominant view that gentrification is not related to displacement, this aspect of gentrification is confirmed occurring on a block or street level in this mode of participation.

The indicator for social mixing and cohesion is highly relevant as a quality of place within the modes *broad stakeholder involvement, use of "knowledge" and hands, integrative place-making and building of "relational" resources*. Contrary to the dominant view that gentrification is not related to social mixing and cohesion, this aspect is occurring within these modes where mostly stakeholders from the third sector have been involved. It is believed that social mixing between residents of various ethnical background is enhanced by neighbourhood activities and meeting-places. However, it is also an assessment that these initiatives are especially important for lower income and lower educated groups, and that the activities and meeting-places in the neighbourhood are of less importance for the higher income and higher educated groups. Given the fact that 63% of the population have low income, social mix as an indicator for improving the situation for vulnerable groups, is a relevant aspect of place quality.

Finally, the indicator for influx of higher educated groups is an indicator occurring as a quality resulting from the *use of "knowledge" and hands, integrative place-making and building of "relational" resources*. In these modes of participation, it is the particular traits associated with the people targeted in the city's ambition to counteract selective migration, that is: "people with jobs, good education and on middle or higher incomes" (Rotterdam municipality, 2007a, p. 42). The findings show that contribution from this particular group in these modes of participation is expected to result in better provision of neighbourhood services, attract more public funding for neighbourhood development from central budgets and programs and stimulate more care for the neighbourhood surroundings.

## **Connection 2: Mode of participation – Assessed place qualities**

This research involves a two-leveled descriptive analysis, where the first level is an analysis of the activities and relations between stakeholders through various modes of participation. This has been done in section 4.2.2. The second level of the analysis is of the particular characteristics of spatial qualities perceived by the stakeholders, which was done in section 4.2.3. In this section the connection between the two concepts will only be highlighted.

The analysis of the stakeholders' mode of participation shows that five types can be discerned which contain different kinds of urgencies, processes of involvement, rules and resources. These modes of participation have spatial outcomes, and by analyzing them we can increase the perspectives and reflections on how various stakeholders assess and understand improvements of place qualities.

The stakeholders who had been involved in *collaboration in policy making and projects* found that the processes had improved the housing offer, public spaces and mobilization of users. Also, the visibility of particular qualities of the neighbourhood was improved along with the heterogeneity of the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, single blocks and streets became more homogeneous.

The stakeholders in *the broad stakeholder involvement* found that the process had improved the knowledge about the preferred qualities of a residential neighbourhood and the recognition of the neighbourhood as an important social arena for the majority of the population. However, the social mix between socio-economic groups was questioned.

The stakeholders who make *use of "local" knowledge and hands* found that the processes had improved the availability of residents' competencies and resources for the realization of initiatives, which also improved the attractiveness and the liveability of the whole neighbourhood. Even so, the idea of favoured residents created tensions between old and new residents in the neighbourhood.

The stakeholders within *integrative place-making* found that the process had created relations between socio-economic groups and a shared idea that all residents benefit from self-development and volunteering work in the neighbourhood. However, the strength of the local relationship was challenged because of the difficulties of recruiting volunteers with higher education.

The stakeholders *building of "relational" resources* found that the process had improved the communication and knowledge about local resources, and the quality of user services through the combination of local volunteering and professional resources. Nonetheless, the strength of the local relationship was challenged because of uncertainty about the level of commitment in the volunteering provision of neighbourhood services.

From this it is clear that the stakeholders acknowledge physical as well as social place qualities. Their subjective assessments of the social, symbolic and physical qualities reflect an interdisciplinary view of spatial qualities intertwining urban design, planning and policy processes and social innovation. Also, they reflect a transdisciplinary view of qualities improved by combining professional and volunteering resources.

## Chapter 5: Conclusions and recommendations

This thesis explores how various stakeholders' framings of gentrification and participation in neighbourhood development processes are reflected in their assessment of place qualities in Oude Noorden.

The framing of gentrification was investigated by mapping the stakeholders' ideas about gentrification and changes taking place in Oude Noorden. Then 13 urban development processes wherein 15 respondents had been participating were identified and analysed as five modes of participation. Finally, some elements of social, symbolic and physical qualities of place were then analysed based on the stakeholders' perception of improvements resulting from the urban development processes they had been involved in.

### 5.1 Stakeholders' framing of gentrification

The analysis of the stakeholders' framing of gentrification showed that there were some shared ideas about the characteristics of gentrification in Oude Noorden:

- Sale of social rental housing to self-occupancy housing
- Mix in the composition of the population
- Higher educated groups move into the neighbourhood
- Mixed functions
- Upgrading of public space
- Heritage revaluation

The two characteristics that were dismissed were:

- displacement of lower income groups
- social mixing between the residents

From these findings, it is possible to confront the question from the literature review about gentrification leading to inclusion through social mix or exclusion through displacement.

First, the general findings are that all stakeholder groups were in unison about displacement not being related to gentrification in Oude Noorden. Instead, the net influx of higher income groups is perceived as adding to the mix and balance of the population composition. The evidence that gentrification is not associated with displacement of lower income groups, confirms the dominant position of the Dutch authors that the Dutch social housing policies impede the negative consequences of gentrification (Uitermark et al., 2007, Van der Graaf and Veldboer, 2009, Van Gent, 2013, Uitermark and Bosker, 2014). Simultaneously, this perception contradicts the same authors' notion, and that of Smith (2002) and Lees (2008), that displacement is a characteristic of gentrification.

This implies that the definition of gentrification must be changed, so as to not include displacement. Otherwise, the current changes associated with the urban development processes in Oude Noorden cannot be described as gentrification, but as something else. Moreover, the latter case implies that the concept "gentrification" is used wrongly in the Urban spatial vision (Rotterdam, 2007a), in parts of the media, by the experts in the municipality advising the case-selection process and by the researcher. However, this research is based on the subjective perceptions of 15 respondents, and cannot account for the facts about migration-effects related to the current neighbourhood development. Neither were there any respondents representing the voice of anyone who had to move because of the housing restructuring. This weakens the validity of the total findings.

Nevertheless, this finding questioning the correct use of the concept gentrification in policies and practice is interesting. If gentrification as a strategy is released from the association with displacement and increased inequality as proposed by more academic authors and media, it can be assumed that this framing more easily can gain support and capture shared meanings based on a symbolic language rather than technical facts. This highlights Healey's (1998a) notion that strategy making is never a neutral activity. It is a paradox that the social rental housing policy is brought forward as the protection against displacement of lower income groups, at the same time it is a shared idea that that the sale of this housing is a part of the gentrification taking place in Oude Noorden. This finding only makes sense if the current residents are able to buy the self-owned housing, but this is not likely because 63% of the population are relatively poor. Thus, the finding implies that the symbolic language of the gentrification strategy in policy and practices in Oude Noorden eludes the negative consequences for the lower income population.

Further, the general finding dismisses social mixing and cohesion as an aspect of gentrification. This supports the findings of Van der Graaf and Veldboer (2009) and Uitermark and Bosker (2014), who did not find evidence that social mixing of the population was leading to stronger social ties between residents. Also, it confirms Lees' (2008) position that gentrification is not benefitting the social welfare of lower income groups through social mix.

However, the shared framing of gentrification confounds some important diversity in the perceptions among the stakeholders. In the findings there was a division between the third sector and the other stakeholder groups concerning the effects of social mixing. The third sector had the view that gentrification through social mixing was contributing to social cohesion between residents through social activities, volunteering activities and social meeting places in the neighbourhood. This supports Van Gent's (2010) notion that mixed neighbourhoods are actually leading to an inclusion of minority groups into the "mainstream society."

This perception was nonetheless contested by the stakeholders from both from the municipality and the housing corporations, who pointed out that there was no social mix and cohesion between different socio-economic groups and that higher income groups clustered together in certain streets and blocks. Some respondents from the third sector also pointed out that the effect of social mix was challenged by the difficulty to recruit higher income and higher educated groups to the local school and to volunteering activities in the neighbourhood. This finding supports Lees (2008) claim that the middle-classes tend to self-segregate more than taking part in activities with other income groups.

## **5.2 Stakeholders' modes of participation in urban development processes**

The analysis of mode of participation shows that it can be a challenging to define urban development processes. As this research demonstrates, there are many actors with various stakes related to the development of the neighbourhood. Still, because of the limitations in the selection procedures in the research design, it is clear that many actors are also missing in this analysis. It is therefore likely that there exists a larger diversity in urban development processes that has been covered in this research.

Nevertheless, the urban development processes that have been analysed do involve the municipality, market, community and the third sector as main stakeholder groups defined in the sample selection. The findings show how in particular the municipality and the third sector are frequently involved in various development processes. Bingham et al. (2005) argue

that the reduced legal and formal authority of the state has shifted the decision-making and provision of common good to various constellations of stakeholders. The findings support this in the field of urban development, and gives more insight into how these collaborative processes improves the stakeholders' ability to influence the qualities of place (Healey, 1998b).

The analysis has discerned five modes of participation with different kinds of urgencies, processes of involvement, rules and resources. Healey's five collaborative forms of planning (1998b) were emulated in order to include formal, strategic and complex forms of planning processes, as well as both governance-led and self-organized processes. The main reason for this was to be able to identify a broader range of urban development processes, and be less restrained by what Boonstra and Boelens (2011) call pre-defined ideas on who to include.

In the following the characteristics of these modes of participation based on the findings will be discussed in light of the literature.

*Collaboration in policy making and projects* is a mode of participation that is based on a mutual interdependency between stakeholders with complementary resources to realize the common vision for the neighbourhood, a trait typical for governance processes (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2012). The stakeholders cross their traditional sectorial roles, and are thus influenced both of public policies and regulations, as described by Evers and Laville (2004). However, because of narrow view of key stakeholders, the needs and contribution from the community and third sector is not likely to influence outcome.

*Broad stakeholder involvements* are a mode of participation that aims to capture the emerging local trends of development among the residents, retailers and organizations (Portugali, 2012) and to place the ownership of the initiatives for neighbourhood development to the citizens (Bakker et al., 2008). However, it is a challenge to release the participation process from the pre-defined thematic, procedural and geographical frames of who to involve (Boonstra and Boelens, 2011), in order to get access to voices that are not easily heard (Healey, 1998a).

*The use of local "knowledge" and hands* is a mode of participation that aims to close both a knowledge-gap and a resource gap in the municipality's provision of welfare goods and services. This reflects the already mentioned shift of activities to various constellations of stakeholders (Bingham et. al, 2005). This changes the role of the municipality into "co-modes" of facilitation and empowerment towards the community and third sector (Boivard, 2005, Bakker et. al, 2008). The challenge with this mode of participation is the dependency of one single actor (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2012), that is the volunteering resident.

*Integrative place-making* is a mode of participation that has "active citizenship" at its core. It is of a self-organizing character in the sense that it is benefitting the local community's social coherence through empowerment and social integration, accountability for spatial interventions and economic robustness of local initiatives, as described by Boonstra and Boelens (2011). Thus, it contains a meaningful participation and shared responsibility for the quality of places by creating a common language across between professionals and volunteers (Moulaert et al., 2011, Kahn et al., 2013).

*Building "relational" resources* is a mode of participation that is of a similar self-organizing character as integrative place-making. However, this mode is to a larger extent building up an institutional capacity of knowledge, social relational resources and capacity for mobilization (Healey, 1998b), that enables the stakeholders make a difference in their neighbourhood. Hence, this mode of participation emphasizes the collective efforts before individual competing strategies.

These findings are just a start of characterization and identification of constraints for the development of collaborative forms of urban development, a need that has been addressed by Healey, 1998b). Further, these findings show that this knowledge can be enriched from literature and research practice in the fields of governance, self-organization, complexity cities and urban planning.

### **5.3 Stakeholders' assessed place qualities**

The analysis of the stakeholders' assessment of improved place qualities from the development processes they have been involved in has been challenging because of the risk of repetition of findings from the modes of participation. However, the distinction between the theoretical concepts has been sought by a two-layered division of analytical layers emulating a method described by Moulaert et al. (2013). Nevertheless, because of the research's explorative character, this is still a weakness in the analysis of assessed qualities of places that also applies in the relation to stakeholders' framing of gentrification

In this section the conclusion for the second level of the analysis where the qualities of spatial elements were addressed is presented in an overview (Table 27).

In general, the findings show that the stakeholders acknowledge physical as well as social place qualities. Further, their subjective assessments of the social, symbolic and physical qualities reflect an interdisciplinary view of spatial qualities intertwining elements from urban design, planning and policy processes and social innovation. Also, they reflect a transdisciplinary view of qualities improved by combining professional and volunteering resources.

The findings that have been presented here are only based on three spatial quality dimensions in the SPINDUS-framework. The selection was made to make a scope of the analysis feasible within the available timeframe of the research. From the research design it would also have been possible to explore the dimensions *Power structure*, *Multi-scalar reading*, *Sustainable development* and *Collective reading* and to widen the scope of the analysis to that of the whole neighbourhood. This was however not the scope of the revised research-question, after a need to balance the time-feasibility of the study with finding a way to assess place qualities based on the findings. To increase the perspectives and reflections on how residents and other users assess and improve place qualities in Oude Noorden, a more comprehensive research that include the missing stakeholders and the spatial quality dimension that were not approached in this research is recommended.

**Table 27 Overview of stakeholders' assessed qualities of place. Source: Fieldwork**

<i>Collaboration in policy making and projects</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All residents benefit from the walking and biking accessibility to public spaces.</li> <li>• Middle- and higher income groups moving to particular streets and block in Oude Noorden.</li> <li>• Social tenants having to leave their homes because of housing restructuring are offered alternative housing in Oude Noorden.</li> <li>• Deviant behaviour like drug-sale and crime is socially controlled with more street life.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The visibility of the particular qualities in Oude Noorden makes the neighbourhood more attractive.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A block or street may be homogeneous when the neighbourhood as a whole is heterogeneous.</li> </ul>
<i>The broad stakeholder involvement</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All residents and users who are organized or in a network with the municipality.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Neighbourhood is an important social arena for majority of the population.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Weak local relation between socio-economic groups.</li> </ul>
<i>Use of local "knowledge" and hands</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Residents with competencies and resources to realize neighbourhood initiatives.</li> <li>• User groups of particular services or meeting-places in the neighbourhood.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Residents with particular competencies and resources improve the attractiveness and the liveability of the whole neighbourhood.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The idea of favoured residents created tensions between old and new residents in the neighbourhood</li> </ul>
<i>Integrative place-making</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Residents who contribute to and make use of neighbourhood services and activities.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All residents benefit from the self-development and volunteering work in the neighbourhood.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strength of local relations challenged by difficulty to recruit volunteers with higher education.</li> </ul>
<i>Building of "relational" resources</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• School-parents who send their children to neighbourhood school.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The quality of the local school is improved by building local capacities between professionals and volunteers.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strength of local relation challenged by uncertainty of commitment level among volunteers.</li> </ul>

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## Annex 1: The interview guide

Concept	Variable	Indicator	Question
Introduction			<i>Presentation of myself, the research question and why I am interested in talking with the person. Request for recording, information about confidentiality, anonymity. Preference in Dutch/English language.</i>
			<i>The respondents have been involved in one or more development processes in the neighbourhood</i>
Framing of gentrification	Perception of gentrification	1. Increase in the property value	Urban professionals/developers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- How do you understand the <b>concept "gentrification"</b>? What is "gentrification"?</li> <li>- What are signs of gentrification in a neighbourhood?</li> <li>- There exist more and different definitions for recognizing gentrification, but one common definition refers to the process where people with higher income move into a neighbourhood, replacing those with lower income. I would like you to comment on whether or not you see the following statements as signs of gentrification, and explain why/why not, or give examples of this: Gentrification /changes in the neighbourhood involves .... (statement 1-11)</li> </ul> Residents/users: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Do you know the word "gentrification"? (Other words also urban renewal, restructuring, regeneration, revitalization)</li> </ul> Yes: Same as Urban professionals/developers: No/unsure: Skip the open question on signs of it, but keep the last question about the statements.
		2. Mixed composition of the population (income and ethnic background)	
		3. Lower income move out, higher move in	
		4. Social mix and cohesion/attachment	
		5. Involuntary relocation/displacement	
		6. Public spaces are improved /upgraded	
		7. Mixed functions in an area: housing, night life, shops, cafes, heritage sites	
		8. Demolish and build new housing	
		9. Replace rented housing with owner-occupied housing	
		10. Other	
	Views of problems	Ideas of urgency/setting of agenda/goal	Urban professionals/developers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What can be reasons for a gentrification process to start in a neighbourhood? In what situations can gentrification be seen as a solution? What kind of problems can gentrification solve?</li> </ul> Residents/users: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What do you think the ones who are in charge of this type of changes/ (politicians/municipality/housing associations) would like to achieve?</li> </ul>
	Views of solutions	Ideas of actions/interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What kind of changes/solutions/improvements can take place in a neighbourhood as a consequence of gentrification?</li> </ul>

			- What can be alternatives/other solutions for problems in a neighbourhood other than gentrification?
Mode of participation	Way of involving and coordinating	Initiation/urgency/motives	- Can you tell me something about the role of the initiative or organisation you are involved in plays in the development of Oude Noorden? And then about your role? - Who initiated the neighbourhood development in this area (defined in invitation to interview)? Who started the process for realizing the project/plan? - How did you become involved? - What were your expectations to the process and the project? What kind of expectations did you have to your own role, and to the role of others? How satisfied were you with the completed result?
		Process	Urban professionals: - Can you describe the main outline of the development processes? - Who defined how the process would be? To residents/users: - What happened along the way from you got involved /informed to the project was completed? - Who decided what would happen step by step?
		Rules	Who were involved as stakeholders in the process and in what were the rules for involvement?
		Depth of involvement	- How were decisions about the project/development made? o Who made decisions? Who decided what to talk about and the results? o What alternative solutions were discussed? o How were you involved in the decision-making?
		Resources	- What kind of resources did you bring into the process (knowledge /skills /investments/governing instruments)? - How much time did you spend on the development process (meetings, preparation, and communication)?
Assessed qualities of place	Users' understanding of improvement of relations	Social experience of being in a place	- What are in your opinion the most important contributions of the project to the residents and the neighbourhood? What has the project given to the residents and neighbourhood?
		Symbolic meaning of qualities of a place	
		Physical features of the forms and flows within a place	

## Annex 2: Respondents and other primary data sources

	3rd sector	Community	Market	Municipality	Roles in research	Date of interview
<b>Respondents - interviews</b>						
P 1	x				Neighbourhood facilitator I	6.7.2015
P 2	x				Neighbourhood facilitator II	30.6.2015
P 3	x				Shopping street volunteer I	7.7.2015
P 4		x			Resident I	8.7.2015
P 5				x	Public neighborhood developer I	25.6.2015
P 6		x			Neighbourhood volunteer I	1.7.2015
P 7			x		Private neighborhood developer I	26.6.2015
P 8	x				Neighbourhood volunteer II	13.7.15
P 9				x	Public neighborhood developer II	25.6.2015
P10				x	Public neighborhood developer III	3.7.2015
P11		x			Resident III	3.7.2015
P12		x			Neighbourhood volunteer IV	14.7.2015
P13	x				Neighbourhood volunteer V	11.7.2015
P14			x		Private neighborhood developer II	8.7.2015
P15	x				Shopping street volunteer II	15.7.2015

	3rd sector	Community	Market	Municipality	Roles in research	Date interview/ observation
<b>Expert interviews</b>						
P16				x	Not quoted	3.6.2015
P17				x	Not quoted	6.6.2015
P18				x	Not quoted	9.6.2015
<b>Observations</b>						
Participation meeting 1			x		Private neighborhood developer III	7.7.2015
Participation meeting 2		x		x	Public neighborhood developer IV	8.7.2015
Participation meeting 2		x		x	Public neighborhood developer V	8.7.2015
Participation meeting 3	x	x		x	Not quoted	26.6.2015

### **Annex 3: The case selection process**

Because Rotterdam urban spatial vision (2007) is a municipal product and Rotterdam municipality is expected to have an overview of recent and ongoing development projects, a request was sent to the area account managers whose contact information was available on the webpages of Rotterdam municipality. The request informed about the intention and topic of the master thesis emphasizing gentrification as a topic, and invited the account managers point out specific areas and projects they considered to be representing gentrification processes. As a starting point for their feedback, three larger urban areas were suggested based on the the literature and the Urban spatial vision (Rotterdam municipality, 2007); Areas around the city center, south of the river Maas (Old South) and green residential areas in the southern part of Rotterdam (South).

After an internal consultation among the account managers in the municipality three areas were proposed for case study; Zomerhofkwartier, Oud-Carlois and Hoogvliet. Through a further screening process which involved communication by e-mail and meetings with contact persons (see provided by the account managers secretary, the list was changed as a result of a specification of the criteria of residential development and completed projects in areas still undergoing development. Also there was a cross-checking of the existence of relevant development.

For the final selection the choice was thus between Oude Noorden, Afrikaanderwijk and Hoogvliet South. Three areas were reviewed according to the selection criteria and of the indicators on basis from secondary data from Rotterdam in numbers (Rotterdam in cijfers, 2006-2014, Rotterdam municipality, 2015) and to some added considerations related to feasibility within the available time-frame.

Cases in Zuid Hoogvliet were not selected most importantly because of the homogeneity of the population which had the same income profile as the Rotterdam average and more than 70% native Dutch background. The strengths of these cases were the large scale of the projects that could give easier access to residents, and the growth in owner-occupancy and reduction of rented housing. Afrikaanderwijk and Oude Noorden had similar profiles, but the latter was finally chosen because it offered more variation in the development processes in the area. Where they differed was that the development in Afrikaanderwijk partly takes place on formal industrial terrain and refurbishment of older buildings, where as it in Oude Noorden is restructuring of old housing stock where current residents are affected. Because of the recent demolition, it would potentially be easy to track some residents who have had to move. It was therefore assumed that Oude Noorden would give more and diversified information about the research question.