The Fairy Tale Neighborhood of Rotterdam

Gentrification and social identity in the Zwaanshalskwartier

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ABSTRACT

Gentrification seems like a perfect instrument when institutional organizations want to upgrade the neighborhood from being deprived to a middle-class playground. The essence of gentrification is to attract the middle-class to an area in order to improve the neighborhood. However, this process has many implications, and this is especially evident to the entrepreneurs in the Zwaanshalskwartier, a neighborhood in the north of Rotterdam. The Zwaanshalskwartier has been experiencing a top-down gentrification process that was started by a social housing corporation. Nevertheless, this process has had mixed successes so far; both residential gentrification and commercial gentrification are on hold, which has been affecting the established entrepreneurs. In this case, the desired target group - the middle class - rarely visits the area and is not able to live there either, which has evidently led to friction between and with the entrepreneurs, and other actors involved. These tensions influence the social identity of the entrepreneurs; it is hard to shape and create a social identity where all entrepreneurs can identify with and are satisfied with as well. These tensions also affect the placemaking process. The creation of a quality place is not possible to establish, because there is no cooperation between the entrepreneurs and involved actors. The practice of top-down gentrification is therefore not always the perfect instrument for improving a deprived neighborhood. Many actors are involved and in order to keep the process going, institutions must ensure that there is little to no imbalance between the residential gentrification and commercial gentrification. To make a top-down gentrification process successful, the institutions responsible for the process should stay involved. This research highlights that the expectation of gentrification can eventually change to an organic process. This change, if all involved in a neighborhood can continue the gentrification on their own without interference from the one responsible for the start of the practice, cannot be confirmed.

KEYWORDS: gentrification, placemaking, identity, tensions, entrepreneurs

Preface

This thesis has been a journey. I never imagined writing a thesis about my own neighborhood and getting in touch with the entrepreneurs. Before the research, I was just an anonymous resident. Walking through the streets, without knowing who else was there. Now I know their names, their stories, their successes, but also their struggles. Therefore, I would like to thank all the respondents involved in this research. I had a great time interviewing you and getting to know you better. I am happy that I now know who I am talking to when I greet you.

I would also like to thank my supervisor, Yosha. I know that I have stressed a lot, had many struggles and that sometimes I was uncertain whether I was doing the research in the right way. You helped me through it and took away my uncertainty. I am thankful for the patience and not getting frustrated with me when I e-mailed you again about the research.

Nick, you had a hard time with me during this research (and actually this whole academic year). Every free minute I had, I spent on my thesis. But you supported me, understood me, and helped me when I was feeling down. Every time you told me that I was almost there and that I had to push through it. Thank you for being my rock.

And last, I would like to say something to my parents. Words cannot describe how thankful I am for you. You gave me a great amount of space to work on the research. You listened to my frustrations, my enthusiasm, and my stories. You were there when I was stuck and helped me through it. You gave me the feeling that I was able to climb a mountain and told me numerous times how proud you are of me. Lieve pap en mam, dank jullie wel voor alles.

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1. Introduction

I still remember my first introduction with the Zwaanshalskwartier as if it was yesterday. I was 18 years old and I went to the Swan Market, a market that was organized in the area. I enjoyed the market so much that I even called my parents to come over as well. When I wanted to buy something, I had to go to an ATM around the corner to get some cash. And there it was; the Zwaanshals, the street where I live now. I had never heard about it nor did I know that there were so many nice shops located in the street. My parents told me that back in the day, the Zwaanshals did not have a good image. It was known for being a criminal and disadvantaged street. Yet, when I was walking through the street, I did not relate to this image. The area appeared lively. Many people were shopping and there was a pleasant atmosphere. As a teenager, I could imagine myself living in the neighborhood. And when that opportunity came, I grabbed it with both hands. Little did I know that this area would later function as the subject of my master thesis.

The area in which the Zwaanshals is located is called the Zwaanshalswartier, and this area is again located in the Oude Noorden, a district in Rotterdam. When googling the Zwaanshalskwartier, one of the first results is the website of Havensteder, a social housing corporation that owns many social rental houses in the neighborhood, with the following quote:

> The Zwaanshals is the most enjoyable shopping area of Rotterdam. You can go for daily groceries, restaurants, and nice shops. Frequently, the Noordplein is the place to be for festivals and markets. On a regular basis, homes are released to live in. These homes are situated the area Zwaanshals, Zaagmolendrift, Zaagmolenkade, and the Noordplein Havensteder will rent these homes based on a draw. Do you want to live around the Zwaanshals in the Oude Noorden? Then this is your chance! (Havensteder, n.d., paragraph 1)

The Zwaanshalskwartier also has a website which states that the neighborhood is the most pleasant area in Rotterdam. You will find small stores with their own original products, instead of the big retail chains (Zwaanshalskwartier, n.d.). Both websites even imply that it is the hippest shopping area in Rotterdam.

In 2017, Havensteder made it to the national news (Liukku & Jongejan, 2017). They

tried to keep out the low educated renters and preferred to give away the social rental homes to young, highly educated professionals. Havensteder's argument for applying this policy is that there are already many low educated people in the area and that they want to create a mixed area. They stated that they already upgraded the retail landscape to hip and modern shops and now they needed to upgrade the residents (Liukku & Jongejan, 2017). Both processes, the change in desired social tenants and the upgrade of the retail landscape, can be seen as the gentrification process, where there is a distinction between residential gentrification and commercial gentrification. Residential gentrification entails a state-led procedure to attract the middle-class to a deprived neighborhood and to mix them with the already established working-class in order to improve the area (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009), while commercial gentrification involves the process of replacing local businesses by other businesses who are thought to attract the middle-class and/or upper-class (Bridge & Dowling, 2001; Ernst & Doucet, 2014). The essence of gentrification is thus to change a neighborhood to a popular area that attracts the middle-upper-class (Shaw, 2008)

Many researchers have criticized the gentrification process. According to Atkins (2003), gentrification leads to displacement among both residents and old local stores, which has also been highlighted in the research of Davidson (2008) and Zukin, Trujillo, Frase, Jackson, Recuber, and Walker (2009). Yet, on the other hand, gentrification could also attract entrepreneurs that fit the taste of the middle-class (Bridge & Dowling, 2001) and this is especially evident in the Zwaanshalskwartier when Havensteder and a few established retailers in the neighborhood organized a seven-week pop-up event from 2017 to 2018. Many people were aiming for a space to open a temporary pop-up shop, so Havensteder and the retailers had to make a selection (Post, 2017). This shows how popular and attractive the Zwaanshalskwartier is for (new) entrepreneurs. Even if they are only allowed to be there for seven weeks (Post, 2017).

I, as a resident of the area, have only experienced the advantages of the gentrification process. There are many nice shops that fit my taste and I like the mix of different ethnic backgrounds. It gives me the feeling that I live in a multicultural city and that everything is within reach. However, what has been noticed about the Zwaanshalskwartier is that several shops are empty and that there is a significant interchange in shops. Every year, entrepreneurs come and go, while gentrification should make the area popular and should make entrepreneurs stay (Shaw, 2008; Bridge & Dowling, 2001), instead of making them

leave. This implies that the gentrification process is not doing well for the entrepreneurs and that they might experience the process in the Zwaanshalskwartier in a different way than how the website of Havensteder (n.d.) describes the area. This discrepancy leads to the following research question, which is divided into three sub-questions:

Research question:

How do the local entrepreneurs reflect upon the gentrification process of the Zwaanshalskwartier?

Sub-question 1:

How do institutional organizations play a role in this process?

Sub-question 2:

What are the possible effects of the gentrification process on the entrepreneurs?

Sub-question 3:

How does gentrification effect the social identity of the entrepreneurs?

In order to answer the research question and the sub-questions, fifteen in-depth semi-structured interviews were held with entrepreneurs that are established in the Zwaanshalskwartier at the time of the research; entrepreneurs that had a pop-up store during the Winter Wonderweek event, and the supervisor of the area who works for Havensteder. After the interviews, the collected data has been transcribed and analyzed via thematic analysis, which means that the data has been divided into open codes, then axial codes and last into selective codes (Boeije, 2010). This thesis is structured in the following way: the theoretical framework will entail information about the gentrification process as to how it is described by other researchers. To get a better overview, gentrification has further been linked to the concepts of placemaking and identity. In the following chapter, the execution of the research will be explained together with how this has been done and which method has been used to do so. The results chapter provides an overview of the most important findings of the study which will be analyzed via the research that has been done in the theoretical framework. Finally, the thesis will end with a concluding chapter which will entail the answers to the research question and the sub-questions. A new theory on top-down gentrification will be proposed as well, and the limitations of the research and

suggestions for future research of the research will be discussed.

Little research has been done on how entrepreneurs experience gentrification when they are established in a (process of being) gentrified area. Furthermore, this research will give a greater perspective on how gentrification and placemaking can have an effect on the social identity of the area. And last, the study can help future research on how top-down gentrification comes into effect in disadvantaged areas. These reasons make the research scientifically relevant. The study, however, is also socially relevant, because the outcomes of the study can help different actors to get a better understanding of a top-down gentrification process applied in a deprived neighborhood. It can help institutional organizations, such as municipalities and housing corporations, to learn how a gentrification process works and what should be taking into account when a decision is being made to start with this practice. Because if the gentrification process does not go as how they planned, they have to make extra costs in order to solve this. The outcomes of this study can restrict this from happening. This will, in turn, also benefit the entrepreneurs settled in the area because if the institutional organizations understand a top-down gentrification process and are able to apply it as good as possible, fields of tensions between and with the entrepreneurs are less likely to occur. This lack of tensions will make entrepreneurs want to stay in the area and it might also attract many other entrepreneurs who would want to establish themselves in the neighborhood. When shops are filled with businesses, the feeling of being in a safe area will increase for both residents and entrepreneurs. Finally, most important, the outcomes of this study will help the neighborhood as a whole. The study provides more insight into gentrification and its preconditions, which will help the neighborhood to better understand the process and how to improve the livability and neighborhood interest of the area.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Urban planning and priority areas

The Zwaanshalskwartier is an area that is part of the Oude Noorden, a district in the city of Rotterdam. Over the last couple of years, this area has changed in a substantial way. Houses were renovated, new houses were built and the area became attractive to new entrepreneurs and artists (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007; Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016). However, this change of being a rather attractive area for different actors has not always been the case. In 2002, the Minister of Housing, Regional Development and the Environment published a new report for restructuring and improving 56 areas in the Netherlands, including the Oude Noorden. These areas were called problem areas or priority areas (Stouten, 2010). In 2007, the label problem areas or priority areas has been changed by the central government into a more positive concept: krachtwijken ('empowerment areas') (Mak & Stouten, 2014). That same year, the municipality of Rotterdam published a new report, called Wijkactieplan ('District action plan'). The report includes a detailed description of what has to be done in order to upgrade the krachtwijken of Rotterdam (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007). The intention of the krachtwijken is to improve them, both in regards to unemployment and low income as the quality of life. Each area was given its own aims, and so has the Oude Noorden. According to the plan, a few of the ambitions for the Oude Noorden were to improve the communication between residents, to make the shopping experience more attractive by upgrading the quality of the already existing shops and to attract new entrepreneurs (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007).

Another interesting report is the Gebiedsplan Noord ('Area Plan Noord') for the north of Rotterdam that was written by the area commission Noord. An area commission represents the residents of the area. The commission is the link between the council and the actors involved in an area (Gemeente Rotterdam, n.d.). The report has been published in 2016 (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016). It is important to look at, because it entails information about the aims and priorities for three districts in the north of Rotterdam, including the Oude Noorden, for 2017 and 2018 (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016). It states that the Oude Noorden not only has to continue attracting new entrepreneurs: the area also has to focus on keeping and attracting middle- and/or upper-class families (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016).

The ambition of the area association to focus on entrepreneurs and middle- and/or upper-class people, goes hand in hand with the concept of gentrification.

2.2. Gentrification

The idea of gentrification was first introduced around 1968 in the US and has been changing ever since (Hackworth & Smith, 2011). Gentrification has many definitions and has been most commonly known as "the transformation of poor and working-class urban neighborhoods into middle-class or upper-class areas" (Makagon, 2010, p. 27). However, within gentrification, different sub-categories can be distinguished. For the aim of this research, residential gentrification and commercial gentrification are the ones that are most relevant to highlight. First, because the area association Noord mentions focussing on attracting a certain type of resident and a certain type of entrepreneur (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016). Second, because Havensteder claims that the area first underwent a retail transformation before a residential transformation (Liukku & Jongejan, 2017). And last, because researchers such as Mak and Stouten (2014) stated that the economic value of the Oude Noorden increased because of the residential gentrification. The following subchapters will elaborate more on these concepts, which are all relevant for the research question and can be a cause or an effect of the answer to it.

2.2.1. Residential gentrification

In order to transform a deprived neighborhood into a popular neighborhood, one of the strategies to do so is residential gentrification. This form of gentrification entails the renovation of residences, but also the development of newly built houses and high-rise apartments (Shaw, 2008). These new houses are built to attract the middle-class and/or upper-class (Doucet, Van Kempen & Weesep, 2011) in order to transform areas from "low-status neighborhoods to upper-middle-class playgrounds" (Shaw, 2008, p. 2). Gentrification is, therefore, part of a greater strategy for urban redevelopment and regeneration (Harvey, 1989). This, in turn, might result in displacement and exclusion of certain communities, such as the working-class (Cócola Gant, 2015).

The process of residential gentrification can be divided into three steps. The first step is that pioneers move to a neighborhood (Hermann & Leuthold, 2002). The pioneers entail a few elements. He/she is not older than 35 years and has either a university entrance degree or went to school for at least twelve years. Most of the time, the pioneer has an income of

less than 1500 euros a month and has no children (Blasius, Friedrichs & Rühl, 2016). After the pioneers have settled, the gentrifiers will follow (Hermann & Leuthold, 2002). Gentrifiers can be described as people who are "well educated, have good incomes and have a modern and individualistic lifestyle" (Hermann & Leuthold, 2002, p. 2). This change in population can cause an increase in housing prices and the feeling of displacement among the old residents that have been living in the area for a longer time. And finally, the process of gentrification ends when an area is upgraded to residents that consist of the "modern urban middle class" (Hermann & Leuthold, 2002, p. 10).

However, residential gentrification is often different in the Netherlands. Van der Graaf and Veldboer (2009) state that the process in the Netherlands is state-led, "by which the Dutch government and local actors attempt to improve not only the neighborhood but also the poor residents living in it, by providing them with more wealthy neighbors who can lend them a hand and show them a way out of deprivation" (p. 63). Uitermark, Duyvendak, and Kleinhans (2007) even argue that governmental organizations try to attract the middle-class to deprived neighborhoods to control and civilize these areas. This process can be viewed as top-down, where institutions are the ones responsible for the start of the process, instead of being an organic process, as described by Duany (2001), or a process started by investors, as described by Hackworth and Smith (2001). Gentrification in the Netherlands is thus often top-down and it is not about replacing a certain class with another class, but mixing different classes together with the purpose of the middle-class helping out the lower class.

There are three reasons why the Netherlands implemented such a policy of social mixing in deprived areas. The first reason is social equality. By attracting the middle-class to these areas, the Dutch authorities assume that the wellbeing of the working class in the deprived areas improves. Another reason is that it is expected that criminal behavior or deviant behavior will be reduced by social mixing. This can be called social efficiency. The last reason is that by upgrading the housing stock and investing in more services, the neighborhood will be improved (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). The effect of this policy would be that the gentrifiers feel the obligation to help their working-class neighbors. Because of the social mixing policy, the old residents often do not move out and the area will not entirely be filled with the so-called "modern urban middle class" (Hermann & Leuthold, 2002, p. 10). Rather, it will be more of a mixture between the old residents, the pioneers,

and the gentrifiers.

This mixed residential composition is also visible in the Zwaanshalskwartier. The Zwaanshalskwartier has been known as a deprived area until it turned into a priority area (Stouten, 2010). Around 60% of the area is social housing[1] (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2018) and most of them are in the possession of Havensteder (Liukku & Jongejan, 2017). The willingness to change the Zwaanshalskwartier into a more middle-class neighborhood is noticeable in the selecting policy of Havensteder about who can rent a social home. They want to attract young professionals that are between the age of 20 and 35 years and are either studying or recent graduates (Liukku & Jongejan, 2017). This group does not differ from the description of pioneers by Hermann and Leuthold (2002). However, to continue the gentrification process of the Zwaanshalskwartier, the inflow of gentrifiers is needed. At this moment 63% of all residents have a low income, compared to the 28% middle income and 10% high income[2]. Besides this, of all houses, only 19% are owner-occupied homes (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2018). The combination of a high percentage of social housing and a low percentage of owner-occupied homes makes it difficult for the Zwaanshalskwartier to continue its development from a krachtwijk to a gentrified area because it can be hard for gentrifiers to establish themselves in the area. The neighborhood has remained in the first step of the process in which there is only a mix between the old residents or working-class and the pioneers. The three reasons why social mixing should be applied to deprived areas (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009) are therefore just a presumption, but not always a certainty. The wealthy neighbor, as described by Van der Graaf and Veldboer (2009), is hardly there to help the poor residents and "show them a way out of deprivation" (p. 63). This makes the social efficiency of social mixing debatable as well as the overall improvement of a neighborhood by the increment of the housing stock. It, therefore, raises the question of whether gentrification is the correct tool to improve the neighborhood if it remains in the first step of social mixing.

Nevertheless, one thing that did change in the Zwaanshalskwartier is the amount of

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[1] Social housing in the Netherlands means that there are maximum rental rates and a maximum rental increase apply (Rijksoverheid, n.d.). People with a (shared) income of more than €38.035 a year are not eligible for social housing (Rijksoverheid, n.d.).
[2] The income groups low, medium, and high are based on the national distribution of household incomes. The low income group has been defined by the lower 40 of the national income distribution (Gemeente Rotterdam, n.d.)

types of facilities. This motive has been visible in the district and can be called commercial gentrification.

2.2.2. Commercial gentrification

When walking through the Zwaanshalskwartier, it is hard to deny that lots of shops sell products that can be considered too expensive for the residents living there. One of the motives for social mixing is that this policy expects that the neighborhood will be improved via the housing stock, but also via the facilities that the area will offer (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). As described in the residential gentrification subchapter, the Zwaanshalskwartier is still in the first step of the process of gentrification, but the improvement of facilities is clearly visible in the area. Why do these entrepreneurs establish themselves in an area that did not complete the gentrification process – and maybe is not able to complete it after all – when their presumed target group might not be living there? Knoops (2015) suggests a compelling explanation for this development. According to his research on pop-up fashion retailers, the rent has a big influence on the location decision of an entrepreneur. Retail spaces Havensteder offer in the Zwaanshalskwartier are between 600 and 1200 euros a month, which can be considered a bargain compared to the at least 2200 euros a month on the Zwart Janstraat or Noordmolenstraat which are around the corner (Mascini, 2017). This could explain why entrepreneurs go to the Zwaanshalskwartier. Another reason is clustering. Research done by Wijngaarden, Hitters, and Bhansing (2019) explains that creative workers tend to cluster together in areas which have a good reputation because of the inspiration and creativity those areas can provide. The description Havensteder provides on their website of the Zwaanshalskwartier makes it sound as if this area has a good reputation. After all, they argue, it is the nicest shopping area of Rotterdam (Havensteder, n.d.).

According to the website of the Zwaanshalskwartier (n.d.), the entrepreneurs that are located in the area are unique and all have their own specialty. Most of them fall into the category of "Food, Fashion, Design, Art, Vintage or Drinks" (Zwaanshalskwartier, n.d., section WAT KAN JE ALLEMAAL VERWACHTEN, WAT IS ER TE VINDEN?, para 1). Before the Zwaanshalskwartier became a priority area, shops that were located in the area were most of the time phone shops or grillrooms. They had to make place for new restaurants and craft stores. Havensteder did this and is still doing it, in order to upgrade the area and attract

highly educated people (Liukku & Jongejan, 2017). This selective process of Havensteder is again a gentrification procedure but this equals what is called commercial gentrification.

Commercial gentrification, or retail gentrification, is another way to transform and upgrade an area. This process is about replacing and transforming the street scene by means of retail and restaurants. This implies that certain local businesses are being supplanted by other businesses who are thought to attract the middle-class and/or upper-class, even if this population does not represent the area (Bridge & Dowling, 2001; Ernst & Doucet, 2014). Through commercial gentrification, the retail landscape of an area changes. According to Bridge and Dowling (2001), the retail landscape entails a "mixture of shops, restaurants, and services that attract people to, and surround, the lifestyles of the gentrifiers" (p. 94). These new businesses can be described as boutiques and they often differ from the older local stores who serve the needs of the low-income residents (Zukin et al., 2009). As reported by Zukin (2008), the boutiques express the taste of the gentrifiers in terms of consumption. The gentrifiers seek authenticity and by expressing it via their consumption, this could lead to commercial gentrification (Zukin, 2008). She calls this process 'boutiquing' by which she means that boutiques are transforming the neighborhoods with a consequence that the old, local stores are feeling displaced and leave the area because of, for example, a decreasing profit. Another consequence of boutiquing is that it will give an area a certain image in which it is interesting to make investments. This will cause an increase in rents (Zukin, et al., 2009).

Just as with residential gentrification, commercial gentrification can be viewed as a process as well. One of the first signs of commercial gentrification is the arrival of the pioneers. Unlike the young professionals that are pioneers for residential gentrification, artists can be considered the pioneers for this type of gentrification. As stated by Ley (2003), artists are part of the first group that establishes itself in these areas. Yet Zukin et al. (2009) contradict this and state that it is often the independent entrepreneur, small shop owner or the chain "with a recognizable hip, chic or trendy atmosphere, offering innovative or value-added products such as designer items or clothing and gourmet food" (p. 58). Whether it is the artists (Ley, 2003) or the group Zukin et al. (2009) mention, they go to that area mostly because of the affordable prices, the visual appearance of it or the economic opportunities they notice (Ley, 2003; Zukin et al, 2009; Wang, 2011). Cameron and Coaffee (2005) describe the commercial gentrification as a process whereby "in the first wave this involved the creation by artists of a milieu for the production of art and in the second wave the

commodification and private consumption of this artistic milieu" (p. 46). Whether it was the artists that first came to the Zwaanshalskwartier or the group Zukin et al. (2009) describe, the commercial gentrification in this district is much stronger than the residential gentrification. This is also what Havensteder states in the news (Liukku & Jongejan, 2017) and it is likewise visible in the street scene. However, the process of commercial gentrification is not yet completed in the area. For instance, the area still has some of the call shops and grillrooms which were thought to have disappeared (Liukku & Jongejan, 2017). The rise of the modern, middle-class shops is certainly present, but the older stores, who serve the needs of the old residents, are still existing in the area. A reasonable explanation could be linked to the social mixing policy discussed before. As the Zwaanshalskwartier is still in the first phase of the process, it is to assume that there are almost no gentrifiers living in the area. This could explain why the old stores still remain and again this could also explain why there is much vacancy present in the area, even though it can be considered affordable compared to other shopping streets in Rotterdam (Mascini, 2017). It might be that the area is not attractive anymore for entrepreneurs, due to the fact that there is almost no possibility for completing the residential gentrification. The gentrifiers are the expected target group of the current retail landscape, but as shown only 28% of the residents have a middle income and only 10% has a high income (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2018). This implies that the group gentrifiers also has to come from other districts to satisfy the needs of the entrepreneur in order to be able to remain situated in the area.

2.3. Placemaking

A concept that is closely related to gentrification is the concept of placemaking. Just as with gentrification, placemaking is about improving a neighborhood. However, residential and commercial gentrification only focus on residents or the retail landscape (Makagon, 2010; Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009; Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans, 2007; Bridge & Dowling, 2001; Ernst & Doucet, 2014) when in fact placemaking involves many more factors. One of the simplest definitions of placemaking has been provided by Wyckoff (2014): "placemaking is the process of creating quality places that people want to live, work, play and learn in" (p. 2). Something that is important in this concept is the use of the words quality places. Wyckoff (2014) states that placemaking is a process and it comes to an end

when the quality place has been created. According to him, a quality place is an area where people want to live and where businesses want to establish themselves. The term consists of a few core elements such as "mixed-uses, quality public spaces, broadband-enabled, multiple transportation options, multiple housing options, preservation of historic structures, community heritage, arts, culture and creativity, recreation, and green spaces" (Wyckoff, 2014, p. 2). The main difference between gentrification and placemaking, therefore, is that placemaking has a clear goal and entails more than just the residents and the retail landscape. It also does not focus on social mixing or replacing or displacement. Placemaking can, thus, be seen as a much broader process that is concerned with what image a neighborhood will present to others.

When reading the Gebiedsplan Noord (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016), it becomes evident that the area is not only in a gentrification process but also in a placemaking process. It does not only aim to attract the middle- and/or upper-class and entrepreneurs, but the report also entails points of improvement and strategies on how to realize a better neighborhood. A few points of improvement are to create a safer environment, more recreation, and a better cultural climate. These points match with the elements of a quality place, as described by Wyckoff (2014). It is thus to say that the Oude Noorden, and therefore also the Zwaanshalskwartier, is to undergo a placemaking process.

The plain definition of placemaking as described above is relatively broad and can be categorized as standard placemaking. Standard placemaking can be used for small projects for a long period of time, small projects for a short period of time and projects on a large scale in order to improve an area (Wyckoff, 2014). Yet, as with gentrification, placemaking can be divided into different variants. Three of them will be discussed in the following subchapters.

2.3.1. Strategic placemaking

The main characteristic of strategic planning is that it is about a specific goal you want to achieve when creating a quality place. The main aim is to create a quality place that is appealing to gifted workers. These workers would then feel the need to be there and live there. The expectation is that these workers will create more labor opportunities and income growth because they will appeal to businesses that are interested in clusters of gifted workers. These gifted workers usually pick quality places as their basis, because of the

facilities and other gifted workers that are already there (Wyckoff, 2014). This type of placemaking shares many similarities with clustering discourse in economic geography (Wijngaarden, Hitters & Bhansing, 2019) and commercial gentrification. Nevertheless, commercial gentrification still focusses on attracting the middle- and upper-class or even adjust to their preferences (Bridge & Dowling, 2002; Ernst & Doucet, 2014).

It can be stated that strategic planning is something that has been an aim for the council of Rotterdam and the area commission of the area Oude Noorden for a long time. Attracting new entrepreneurs has been argued in both the Wijkactieplan from 2007 and Gebiedsplan Noord from 2016. According to Wyckoff (2014), strategic placemaking is a long term project that will take five to fifteen years. This means that the strategic placemaking of the Zwaanshalskwartier is still going on or should be finished within four years. Yet, attracting entrepreneurs, and thus the gifted workers, is also an aim with commercial gentrification. The question, however, that arises here is what will be done in order to keep attracting these new entrepreneurs? Both the website of Havensteder (n.d.) and the Zwaanshalskwartier (n.d.) make it appealing for new entrepreneurs to come and establish themselves there. Nevertheless, when attracting new entrepreneurs, one should ask himself if there is a need for these gifted workers. In the residential gentrification sub-chapter, it already became clear that it is likely that the Zwaanshalskwartier is still in the first phase of becoming a gentrified area since there are only pioneers coming at the moment. If there is no need, it is likely to assume that these gifted workers will leave as well and businesses will not come either.

2.3.2. Creative placemaking

The term creative placemaking was first introduced by Markusen and Gadwa (2010). According to them "in creative placemaking, partners from public, private, non-profit, and community sectors strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighborhood, town, city or region around arts and cultural activities. Creative placemaking animates public and private spaces, rejuvenates structures and streetscapes, improves local business viability and public safety, and brings diverse people together to celebrate, inspire, and be inspired" (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010, p. 3).

Creative planning is thus mainly about the arts and cultural activities within an area. This is also what has been reported in the Gebiedsplan Noord about what needs to be

improved in the Oude Noorden. The report addresses the cultural climate and argues that the area is attractive for creative people and people who have an interest in arts and culture. For their interest, the area commission wants to give more space to cultural entrepreneurs and artists, so that they can facilitate more art and culture through, for example, events or expositions (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016). Yet, almost everything on the Zwaanshalskwartier is the possession of Havensteder, so this could mean that for the Zwaanshalskwartier, there is already a limitation in what can be done for the creative placemaking. However, more cultural events on the streets or on the Noordplein could be organized in order to apply this type of placemaking. And with organizing events, this could result in the middle-class might actually coming to the area and getting to know the Zwaanshalskwartier. This could have a positive influence on the commercial gentrification that has been going on because this might lead to the wanted target group, even though they cannot live in the area, visiting the area more often.

2.3.3. Tactical placemaking

Tactical placemaking is the process of creating quality places based on impermanent and exploratory placemaking ventures. Examples are making a street car-free and only allowing pedestrians for a short amount of time or organizing an event. This type of placemaking is used in order to get people out of their comfort zone and let them think about other options in order to improve the area (Wyckoff, 2014; Lew, 2017). The projects often do not cost a lot of money and do not involve a high risk (Wyckoff, 2014).

The Gebiedsplan Noord does not state specifically whether they want to implement impermanent or exploratory ventures, but it does mention that it wants more events and activities that are temporary (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016). This suggests that the Zwaanshalskwartier is open to tactical placemaking. The extreme examples, such as shutting down a street for cars, is not mentioned explicitly, but the report does mention that the residents argue that they want the area to be safer for bikers (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016). This could mean that the example mentioned above could occur in the future but is not yet on the agenda.

2.4. Identity

With all the concepts mentioned before, it can be stated that all the actors that are involved with the Zwaanshalskwartier are working on a certain identity that they want to carry out.

Jenkins (2014) states that identity "denotes the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their relations with other individuals and collectivities" (p. 18). Although the Zwaanshalskwartier is not an individual, it does consist of many individuals and can be seen as a collectivity with both the residents, entrepreneurs, Havensteder, area commission Noord, and the council of Rotterdam included. Both Havensteder and the website of the Zwaanshalskwartier are trying to distinguish the neighborhood from other neighborhoods by stating that it is the nicest shopping area of Rotterdam that mostly consists out of food, fashion, and design. Instead of the big chains, you will find small, unique shops with unique products (Havensteder, n.d.; Zwaanshalskwartier, n.d.). It has even been written down in the Gebiedsplan Noord that it is 'the place to be' (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016). The identity that the actors involved with the Zwaanshalskwartier want to carry out is that it is a unique neighborhood where you want to live and do business. However, this identity is shaped by multiple institutions: Havensteder, the organization that is behind the website of the Zwanshalskwartier and the area commission Noord. Although these institutional actors seem to agree on the nature of this identity, the possibility that the entrepreneurs located in the area and the residents living there might not agree with this identity has to be taken into account, because it can cause a possible tension between the different actors due to the fact that not everyone located in the Zwaanshalskwartier shares that identity.

An identity consists of two parts: personal identity and social identity (Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep, 2006). According to Brewer (1991), personal identity is the "individuated self – those characteristics that differentiate one individual from others" while social identities are "categorizations of the self into more inclusive social units that depersonalize the self-concept" (p. 476). To relate this to the Zwaanshalskwartier, the stores and restaurants can be seen as individuals in which they all have their own personal identity, but because they are part of an area that wants to carry out a certain image, they are part of a social identity as well. Identity, however, is not fixed. It can change over time and be adjusted if necessary (Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep, 2006). This process can be called identification, which is defined as the formation and unfolding relationships between individuals and communities, both internally and between the two. Such relationships, in turn, can be both closeness and dissimilarities (Jenkins, 2014). The level of identification is, therefore, dependent on different factors to the extent to which an individual identifies himself with the social identity (Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep, 2006). For example, although all

entrepreneurs are part of the social identity of the Zwaanshalskwartier, this does not necessarily mean that the entrepreneurs completely identify themselves with this existing social identity. This can influence the level of identification of the social identity of the Zwaanshalskwartier and might cause that their social identity will not be clear for the entrepreneurs or the visitors.

2.4.1. Entrepreneurial identity

Because this research focusses on the entrepreneurs of the Zwaanshalskwartier, it is important to include the entrepreneurial aspects of identity as well. An entrepreneurial identity is closely related to personal identity (or self-identity). Entrepreneurial identity has been formulated by Navis and Glynn (2011) as "the constellation of claims around the founders, organization, and market opportunity of an entrepreneurial entity that gives meaning to questions of "who are we" and "what we do" (p. 480). An entrepreneurial identity is also fluid and can change instead of being fixed (Leitch & Harrison, 2016). However, it is possible that the entrepreneurial identity does not match the social identity of the area in which the entrepreneurs are located. It is also possible that the entrepreneurial identity one entrepreneur has chosen for his enterprise is different from the other entrepreneurs in the area. These contradictions can also occur in the Zwaanshalskwartier and could lead to friction among the entrepreneurs. The website states that there are 109 enterprises, eight restaurants and eleven bars (Zwaanshalskwartier, n.d.), which means that there are at least 128 entrepreneurs who might all have their own entrepreneurial identity that perhaps partially overlaps with another. The social identity that the area indicates to have, can therefore possibly be hard to carry out if the entrepreneurial identities do not match the social identity. They might want a different identity than the one that is created for them by the institutions or they change their entrepreneurial identity to a role identity. Role identity means that they behave how they are expected to behave. They will play a role and act by what they want to carry out (Fearon, 1999).

Nevertheless, there are also other possibilities. There is a likelihood that the entrepreneurial identities of the entrepreneurs do match, that the entrepreneurial identity matches the social identity and/or that the entrepreneurial identity can be at least identified with the social identity. As mentioned before, entrepreneurs tend to cluster together in areas with a good reputation (Wijngaarden, Hitters & Bhansing, 2019). Because both

Havensteder, the council of Rotterdam and the website of the Zwaanshalskwartier make it seem as if the area has a good reputation, it is reasonable to assume that most entrepreneurs located in the area share at least some characteristics of the same entrepreneurial identity and that those are also related to the social identity of the area. Yet, how do the entrepreneurs of the Zwaanshalskwartier describe their entrepreneurial identity and the social identity of the area?

2.4.2. Identity work

Personal identity and entrepreneurial identity share some characteristics in their definition. Both are about who you are and who you want to be (Brewer, 1991; Navis & Glynn, 2011). This can be difficult when the social identity has a different message about who they all are, or when the personal identity and entrepreneurial identity do not overlap. This ongoing dynamic between the different actors can be called identity work. Snow and Anderson (1987) described it as "the range of activities individuals engage in to create, present and sustain personal identities that are congruent with and supportive of the self-concept" (p. 1348). It involves "people being engaged in forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening or revising the constructions that are productive in a sense of coherence and distinctiveness" (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003, p. 1165). In other words, identity work is the process of activities of different identities that are all part of your own identity.

Identity work appears in different forms. One of them is the abstract level, in which identity work entails the meaning-making actions, for example, meaning, marking and characterizing (Schwalbe & Mason-Schrock, 1996). These meaning-making actions have different shapes. Examples are purchasing and showing accessories (e.g. posters and stickers), dressing a certain way, and spending time with like-minded people (e.g. going to clubs which play the music you like). But what's more, perhaps above all, verbally expressing your identity (Snow & Anderson, 1987). Identity work can be shared (e.g. having the same signboards thus showing you all belong to the same street) or individual (you do it for yourself, not to show other people) (Schwalbe & Mason-Schrock, 1996).

Referring to this as work rather than performance means that there is a goal attached to the action, for instance, being accepted in the group you identify with, but there is a chance that you can have a confrontation with others, because people do not necessarily accept your identity or dislike the group you identify with (Lehdonvirta & Mezier, 2013).

When identity work is being performed, people draw on different procedures (Snow & Anderson, 1987; Kreiner et al., 2006). One of these procedures is a selective association, which can be defined as "actions and speech aimed at portraying oneself as part of a group that possesses desired identity characteristics" (Lehdonvirta & Mezier, 2013, p. 8). The Zwaanshalskwartier can have many different identities; the personal identities of the residents and entrepreneurs, the entrepreneurial identity of the entrepreneurs and the social identity of the area. It is assumable that the entrepreneurs have to cope with many different identities and that they have to face identity work many times both on a communal level and on an individual level.

2.5. Tensions

Since gentrification, placemaking, and identity concern the image of the area, they involve many actors and activities. It is, therefore, assumable that this does not always run smoothly and that tensions can occur. During this theoretical framework, some (possible) tensions have already been discussed or mentioned, however, it is important to highlight other tensions as well.

Out of all the concepts that have been discussed so far, the process of gentrification has been criticized the most by many researchers, and it is often considered to have more negative effects than positive ones (Atkins, 2003). Although it is hard to find any criticism regarding placemaking – because it is mostly viewed as a positive process – one can deduct that tensions that are created by gentrification, also have an effect on the placemaking policy. This could lead to more tensions between the involved actors of the area. And if tensions occur, it is likely to assume that this also affects the social identity and identity work of an area. In this way, the three approaches can be viewed as a cause-effect process. Gentrification could cause tensions, which could affect the placemaking and both the tensions that might be created by gentrification and placemaking could cause a negative attitude towards the identity work and social identity. Because it is assumed that gentrification is the cause of the tensions that could occur in an area, it is important to highlight the effects of gentrification in order to relate the tensions with placemaking and identity.

2.5.1. Displacement

One of the tensions that can occur during the gentrification process is displacement. As stated in the residential gentrification subchapter, gentrification in the Netherlands is often a state-led process and can be viewed as a social mixing process, rather than replacing a certain class with another class (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). However, many researchers have criticized this policy. According to Atkins (2003), the policy creates a feeling of displacement among the old residents. Yet, the word displacement can be experienced as rather vague. Davidson (2008) did research on three types of displacement that can occur during the gentrification process: indirect economic displacement, the community displacement, and the neighborhood resource displacement. Because the three types of displacement can be connected to gentrification, placemaking, and identity, they will be discussed separately.

2.5.1.1. Indirect economic displacement

The indirect economic displacement concerns the economic value of an area via the residents and the housing market. It is not direct, because there is no competition between the non-gentrifiers and the gentrifiers, but it can be considered indirect because multiple activities are involved in order to make an area a 'place to be' (Davidson, 2008). An example is the construction of the Guggenheim Museum. This museum has been used to transform the image of an area and to make it attractive for the middle-class to live there (Vicario & Monje, 2003). The use of cultural ventures and the change in the housing market are the main characteristics of indirect economic displacement. This causes former residents to feel displaced in the area (and leave) and that their family and friends cannot even afford a home in the area, because of the rising prices (Davidson, 2008).

The use of cultural ventures is also part of the creative placemaking in order to transform an area's image (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). This could mean that creative placemaking could also create a feeling of displacement among older residents that already lived in the area before the placemaking took place. Economic displacement is therefore not only a tension that is created with gentrification but can also occur with placemaking.

2.5.1.2. Community displacement

As the name already suggests, community displacement is about how the changes made by gentrifiers in an area can cause displacement among communities. Gentrifiers, the newly

arriving residents, try to create a place that fits their own image. The incumbent community often feels displaced, because the image that the gentrifiers want for the area is often not the same as the image the incumbent community has for the area (Davidson, 2008).

As stated before, the Zwaanshalskwartier is still in the first step of the gentrification process (Hermann & Leuthold, 2002), meaning that it is unlikely that there are many gentrifiers living in the area. This could mean that there might be no question about community displacement of the Zwaanshalskwartier in relation to the gentrifiers, but this displacement might be created by commercial gentrification and the stated identity of an area. In the Zwaanshalskwartier, it is not the residents or the wanted middle-class that are trying to re-image the area, but Havensteder and the established shops and restaurants. The image that they create, and therefore the identity that has been carried out, can also cause a community displacement, due to the fact that most shops might not satisfy the needs of the average resident. This is also something that Zukin et al. (2009) describe in their article about boutiquing. According to them, the rise of the boutiques and disappearance of shops that do satisfy their needs, creates a feeling of displacement among the old residents, because they cannot buy their needs in the area anymore (Zukin et al., 2009). Although there are still a few local stores present in the Zwaanshalskwartier, many of them disappeared and made room for the more fancy stores in order to upgrade the area (Liukku & Jongejan, 2017). This, however, does not necessarily have to create a feeling of displacement but can create a tension between the entrepreneurs and the inhabitants and maybe also the entrepreneurs and Havensteder, because of the identity.

2.5.1.3.   Neighborhood resource displacement

Neighborhood resource displacement is a process that is closely linked to commercial gentrification, not from the commercial point of view, but from the residential point of view. This type of displacement involves the changing needs of the neighborhood, because of the changing population. For the local shop, this means that their clientele disappears and the store eventually as well, because of the decreasing run-up (Davidson, 2008).

This type of displacement can be linked to identity. It is not only a population that can change, but identity can change too (Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep, 2006). Because the policy of social mixing is applied in the Zwaanshalskwartier, one can argue that the population did change, but that the original community of the area was not forced to move out of the area.

This indicates that there is some change in needs for the new residents, but that the needs of the old residents are still present. Yet, the street scene of the Zwaanshalskwartier has changed dramatically in order to attract higher educated people as residents and to upgrade the image of the area from deprived neighborhood to a hip and modern neighborhood (Liukku & Jongejan, 2017). This reinforces the tension between the residents and entrepreneurs themselves as well. The social identity of the area right now is that it is the shopping area of Rotterdam with unique shops and no big chains (Zwaanshalskwartier, n.d.). The shops that do satisfy the needs of the old residents can be considered 'less unique'. They sell the same products which you can find in every supermarket or on every other street. This could indicate that their entrepreneurial identity is not the same as the other hipper shops and that they thus also do not relate with the social identity. This could cause a form of exclusion and that they are no longer involved with the identity of the area.

3. Research design

3.1. Choice of method

In order to answer the research question, a qualitative approach will be taken. Qualitative research allows the researcher to investigate the meaning-making process of the subject he is researching (Jones, 1995). The main concepts of this research are gentrification, placemaking, and identity. All concepts have been defined in many different ways by many different researchers and can all be seen as a complex phenomenon. Because I want to know how different actors experience these concepts in the Zwaanshalskwartier, qualitative research is the best option for this research. This method can also give further experiences into unique circumstances which will not be accomplished with qualitative research (Slevitch, 2011).

Before the start of the actual research, the aim was to investigate why entrepreneurs are attracted to certain areas. The Zwaanshalskwartier was selected because I am a resident of the area and I knew from stories that it used to be known as a deprived area where people would rather not go to. From those stories, compared to how it looks now and how the Zwaanshalskwartier and Havensteder promote the area, it seems like a relevant case. Therefore, the choice of method would only be qualitative by using interviews to explore the perspective of the entrepreneurs and Havensteder. Yet, the data collection had an exploratory and iterative character, meaning that the research question was not certain. Because the first research question was about the reasons why entrepreneurs seek to a certain area, research about this topic was done before the start of the study. However, during the data collection, other interesting, and more relevant information came to the surface and I decided to investigate that further, instead of focusing on the first aim of the research. From that moment on, the decision has been made to base the rest of the research on the grounded theory approach. This means that an inductive method has been applied halfway during the research in order to develop a theory from the empirical data that has been collected (Charmaz, 1996). In the original grounded theory method, researchers do not look at already existing theories before they do their own research. They first do the data collection and data analysis before developing a theoretical framework (Charmaz, 1996). After slightly changing the research topic, my method is inspired by

grounded theory but differs in some respects. Before gathering the data, I did do theoretical research in order to have a guideline for the research and because the aim of the study was different. Because of this change in method, the research aim, research question, and sub-questions had to be changed as well. The data collection and operationalization are based on the first aim of the study, yet still, fit the revised research question. The data analysis has fully been based on the second aim of the study.

3.2. Data collection

To answer the initial research question, I have conducted fifteen in-depth semi-structured interviews. The interviews lasted around one hour and were held face-to-face, Skype or over the telephone. Thirteen interviews were conducted face-to-face at the working places of the interviewees. One interview was conducted over Skype because the interviewee lives too far from Rotterdam. Skype could be seen as a limitation for the research, but according to Sullivan (2012), a Skype interview is almost the same as a face-to-face interview if both audio and video work as preferred. The advantage of social cues by face-to-face interviews as described by Opdenakker (2006) can also be picked up both by the interviewee and interviewer during a Skype interview (Sullivan, 2012). I did not notice any difference between the Skype interview and the face-to-face interviews. The internet connection was stable and everything worked as how it should work. It was an easy conversation and we could both see each other clearly. Therefore, the Skype interview was just as good as the face-to-face interviews. Another interview was conducted over the telephone because the interviewee could not meet in person because of personal circumstances. He also did not have Skype. This was the interview with the employee of Havensteder. A telephone interview can have certain limitations such as the distraction of the environment (Opdenakker, 2006) and the lack of visual cues (Garbett & McCormack, 2011). These disadvantages were not noticeable during the interview. The interviewee sounded focused, spoke frankly and answered all my questions by providing a lot of information. An advantage of a telephone interview is that you can interview people that are hard to get in touch with (Opdenakker, 2006). Havensteder has had, and still has, a large influence on the Zwaanshalskwartier in relation to the entrepreneurs and the residents, so it is important to know their side of the story as well. Thus a decision has been made to agree with the telephone interview with the possible limitations in mind. However, these limitations did not

occur.

The interviews were semi-structured, which means that although topic lists have been made beforehand, I was allowed to deviate from the topic lists and ask other questions as well if other information was coming to the surface. This also gave the interviewees more space to elaborate on certain topics that they and I find interesting (Longhurst, 2003). The topic lists have been created with the intention to research the reasons why entrepreneurs are drawn to an area and have been based on research done before. However, because of the changing nature of the study, the focus of the topic lists changed as well. Instead of focusing on the reasons, the focus changed to the development of the area. The semi-structure of the interviews allowed me to change this focus. This means that although the topic lists have been based on former studies, the data collected during the research were the guideline for finishing the theoretical framework afterward.

In order to gain the most data out of the interviews, I used the interview techniques described by Hermanowicz (2002) who implies that the interviewer should treat the interviewees as if they are on a date: a person you want to know better. By doing so, data that is most relevant will come up. By using his techniques, the reliability of the interviews can be enlarged. All interviews were conducted in Dutch, and the topic lists used for the interviews have been included in Appendix A.

The research sample was selected based on the first perspective of the study and based on the definitions of a small business, small business owners, entrepreneurs and for how long they are located in the Zwaanshalskwartier. These concepts have been chosen, because both the website of the Zwaanshalskwartier and Havensteder state that the Zwaanshalskwartier exists out of unique shops with unique products and thus does not have the big chains (Zwaanshalskwartier, n.d.; Havensteder, n.d.). According to the Small Business Act "a small business concern shall be deemed to be one which is independently owned and operated and which is not dominant in its field of operation" (1978, as cited in Carland, Hoy, Boulton & Carland, 1984, p. 354-5). The owners of the small business are small business owners or entrepreneurs. Carland et al. (1984) state that there is a distinction between entrepreneurs and small business owners. They argue that a small business owner is "an individual who established and manages a business for the principal purpose of furthering personal goals" and that an entrepreneur is "an individual who establishes and manages a business for the principal purposes of profit and growth" (Carland et al., 1984, p. 358).

Because it was unclear before the interviews whether the interviewees identified themselves as small business owners or entrepreneurs, the decision has been made to ask the interviewees during the interview how they would identify themselves. This will briefly be discussed in the results chapter. However, because of the shifting aim for this study and because the concept of identity also includes the entrepreneurial identity, they will be called entrepreneurs throughout this thesis. The description of the businesses located in the Zwaanshalskwartier match to a certain extent with the definition of a small business, so the enterprises in the area will be mentioned by this name. Another way to select the research sample is that the entrepreneurs could not have a small business in the Zwaanshalskwartier for no longer than fifteen years, because from 2007, the area became a krachtwijk and the development was put in motion (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007). The year of establishment of all the entrepreneurs is shown in Table 1. However, it is to say that the population was already quite small because the neighborhood only consists out of four streets: the Zwaanshals, the Zaagmolendrift, the Zaagmolenkade, and the Noordplein. The population became even smaller when the definition of a small business was chosen. Nevertheless, for the small population that was available, the research could be considered big. This makes it hard to generalize the outcomes of the interviews on other areas that experience a gentrification process as well, but the outcomes of the study are still relevant because it can help institutional actors get a better understanding of top-down gentrification.

Based on the concepts mentioned above, the enterprises that have multiple locations and are part of a certain chain were excluded from the sample. After this, the small businesses that were left were selected through Google Maps, Facebook or by walking into the stores. They were chosen based on their willingness to participate in the research. The interviewees all met the criteria of having a small business and being an entrepreneur. This makes this method of sampling convenience sampling (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016).

The sample consists of three groups and is again based on the first aim of the study. The groups consist of the entrepreneurs that have a small business in the Zwaanshalskwartier for no longer than fifteen years, the entrepreneurs that were given the opportunity to establish themselves in the Zwaanshalskwartier via the pop-up event, and a spokesman of Havensteder. This division has been made because the three groups can all give interesting insights about the Zwaanshalskwartier on gentrification, placemaking, and identity. The interviewees that I have interviewed are displayed in Table 1. The

entreneur's names and business names have been anonymised, which means that an alias has been used. The name of the Havensteder employee has also been anonymised, but the name of the company stayed the same, because I often use their website as a reference as well.

Because the sample size consists of three groups, three topic lists were made beforehand. The small business owners were questioned with topic list one, the pop-up small business owners were questioned with topic list two and Havensteder was questioned with topic list 3. All topic lists had similar questions but were adjusted to the situation of the group. Which group had which topic list has been displayed in Table 1.

Table 1: Overview of the interviewees of this research

Name	Company	Description	Year of establishment	Topic list
Steve	Havensteder	Supervisor of the Zwaanshalskwartier	Does not apply	3
Paul	Ca Va	Self-made male costume store	2017	1
Rob	Shining	Gallery and self-made jewelry store	2016	1
Rens	Bluegrass	Whiskey store	2011	1
Anja	Gers	Vintage and new clothes store	2017	1
Clara	Jaren 50	Pop-up, 50's clothes store	2017 - 2018	2
Bas & Daniel	Gist	Beer store	2019	1
Eline & Romeo	Mixed	Korean restaurant	2016	1
Maud	Amenities	Upholstery and vintage furniture store	2012	1
Laura	Laura's treasures	Former pop-up, vintage store	2017	1
Puk	Puk's Closet	Vintage store	2015	1
Lisa & Hanna	Kraai	Pop-up, collective of self-made products	2017 - 2018	2

Kees	Smeden	Brewery	2015	1
Danny	Fixed	Bicycle maker and sells second-hand bicycles	2019	1
Jeroen	The Bakery	Bakery	2016	1

3.3. Operationalization

As stated before, the topic lists have been created with the first aim of the study in mind. I wanted to research why entrepreneurs go to a certain area to establish themselves and I expected that gentrification was the main reason for doing so.

Another thing that I wanted to know is whether small business owners saw themselves as entrepreneurs. These definitions are already described in the data collection section. The last thing I wanted to know was their reasons for going to an area to establish themselves there. Knoops (2015) found in his research that the rent is one of the main reasons why entrepreneurs go to an area, while clustering and location can also be seen as a reason (Wijngaarden, Hitters & Bhansing, 2019). In order to operationalize the concepts for the first aim of the research, the questions of the topic list are based on it. Table 2 displays an overview of the concepts and a few example questions that were asked to measure the concept.

Table 2: Overview concepts and its operationalization

Concept	Concept division	Example questions
Gentrification	Gentrification	- How would you describe the Zwaanshalskwartier? - How do you think the area developed itself in the last few years? - What is the difference between the area then and now?
	Residential gentrification	- How would you describe the residents? - What is the difference between the area then and now?
	Commercial gentrification	- How would you describe the other businesses? - Would you establish yourself in this area if there were only call shops? Why?
Entrepreneur	Small business owner	- How did you come up with the idea to start this company? - Do you see yourself as an entrepreneur? Why? - Why did you become an entrepreneur?
	Entrepreneur	- How did you come up with the idea to start this company? - Do you see yourself as an entrepreneur? - Why did you become an entrepreneur?
Reasons	Motivations	- Why did you establish yourself in this area? - Why do you think the area is attractive for entrepreneurs?

However, as mentioned before, during the research the aim of the research shifted from reasons to wanting to know more about how the three groups experience the gentrification process of the Zwaanshalskwartier. This shift in research happened after the fourth

interview. I noticed that there were other relevant things that came up, such as the tensions among the entrepreneurs. Yet, I did not change my questions, because the interviews were semi-structured. This gave me enough room to elaborate on other topics if those were mentioned by the interviewees. Besides this, the questions that were formulated for the first aim of the research could also be used for the second aim of the research.

During the study, other interesting concepts were added to the research, such as placemaking, identity, and displacement, which are all described in the theoretical framework. It became clear that the current topic list already had questions that were already related to these new concepts. Yet, other questions were added as well to ensure that the concept was correctly measured. Table 3 shows an overview of how the new concepts are explored by which questions. These questions are example questions taken from the topic lists.

Table 3: Overview new concepts and its operationalization

Concept	Concept division	Example questions
Placemaking	Placemaking	- Why did you establish yourself in the Zwaanshalskwartier? - What are your experiences with the area?
	Strategic placemaking	- Why did you establish yourself in the Zwaanshalskwartier? - Did you look at other businesses?
	Creative placemaking	- Do you think that it is attractive for entrepreneurs to establish themselves here? Why? - How would you describe the area?
	Tactical placemaking	- How can the area be improved?
Identity	Social identity	- How would you describe the Zwaanshalskwartier? - What image does the Zwaanshalskwartier have?
	Entrepreneurial identity	- Do you see yourself as an entrepreneur?

		- How does the image of the Zwaanshalskwartier match with your small business?
	Identity work	- How is the contact with the other entrepreneurs? - Do you work together with the other entrepreneurs?
Displacement (as a tension)	Indirect economic displacement	- What is the difference between the area back then and now? - What are your experiences with the neighborhood?
	Community displacement	- How would you describe the inhabitants? - What are your experiences with the neighborhood?
	Neighborhood displacement	- How did the neighborhood develop itself? - What are your experiences with the neighborhood - How would you describe the other entrepreneurs?

3.4. Data analysis

The results are analyzed and coded based on a thematic analysis. Thematic analysis "is a method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set" (Braun & Clarke, 2012, p. 57). This type of analysis ensures systematic coding, but still with enough flexibility to change it when necessary. Data can then be linked to larger theoretical or conceptual issues from the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Because of the change in the method during the research, flexibility was essential and because certain themes were already coming to the surface during the interviews and during the transcribing process, the thematic analysis was, therefore, the best method for the analyzation and coding of the gathered data for this research. Before the coding, the interviews were transcribed in Dutch and later coded in Dutch as well. The

coding process consisted of three steps and was done using the qualitative data analysis program ATLAS.ti. The first step I did was open coding. I read all the interviews and segmented them into categories, as suggested by Boeije (2010). During this process, I kept up a memos file to write down some interesting findings and I kept track of the overlap in information between the interviews. I also conducted a separate memo file after I coded an interview to write a small summary of the interview. I did this all to get a better overview of the collected data. This open coding yielded 240 codes. This was followed by a cycle of axial coding. The data that has been divided with the open coding, was divided again into subcategories (Boeije, 2010). This was done by writing all the categories down on a piece of paper. I then put all the papers on the table to do the axial coding in the old fashioned way. This way of doing gave me a better overview of all the codes and I could easily shift the codes to different subcategories if I thought they were a better fit there. I ended up with 26 axial codes. The last step of thematic coding is selective coding (Boeije, 2010). I analyzed the subcategories that I had created with the axial coding in order to find connections and patterns (Boeije, 2010). Out of the selective coding, I created four themes of which I will use three. The fourth theme is the introduction theme. This does not contain valuable data for the research and has, therefore, been left out. Information that was relevant during the introduction has been coded in a different way so that they also fit in one of the three themes. The coding tree can be found in Appendix B. The four themes are used in order to answer the research question and its sub-questions. They will be discussed in the results chapters.

Doing the interviews in Dutch has been a well-considered choice. I am Dutch and so are the interviewees. Our native language is therefore Dutch. This makes it easier to keep the conversation going and for the interviewees to make themselves more comprehensible. For both parties, it was easy to respond to each other, because we did not have to think about certain words, which might have been the case if the interviews had been conducted in English. This makes it easier for both me and the interviewees to express ourselves. This enlarges the credibility of the research. However, the quotes that I am using for this thesis are translated to English, which means that there is a possibility that the meaning of the context of the quote can be affected (Lion, 2005). Sometimes, a Dutch saying does not exist in the English language. I tried to avoid that by choosing quotes that do not contain Dutch sayings and that were easy to translate to English without losing its context.

3.5. Validity and reliability

Many researchers have criticized the use of the term reliability in qualitative research. Stenbacka (2001) argues that term is not a relevant concept anymore and that it is confusing because the "repetitive correctness has value only in research settings dominated by the deductive demand for unconditional intersubjectivity" (p. 552). Instead of aiming for reliability, researchers that are doing qualitative research should aim for dependability (Guba, 1981). With dependability, the researcher should report every step of the research in detail wherefore a future researcher can repeat the research and feasibly achieve the same results. To improve the dependability of the research, a description of the data gathering and analysis process together with offering an assessment of these procedures is necessary (Shenton, 2004). In order to enhance dependability, I attempted to realize this process in this chapter and the following chapters and sections.

According to Silverman (2011), one of the criteria to ensure validity is to look at comparable research so that the results of the researcher can be compared. My results are based on the theoretical framework made before and after the data collection and data analysis. There was enough literature available about the main themes of my topic and I compared my results with previous existing work in order to build a new theory. This improved the validity of this research.

Something that is often present when doing qualitative research is subjectivity (Peshkin, 1988). It is, therefore, important to be aware of your own subjectivity. As mentioned before, I am a resident of the Zwaanshalskwartier and I already knew a lot about the area before I conducted the research. I also have my own thoughts and observations about the area and what should be done in order to improve the quality of it. However, by using the interview techniques as described by Hermanowicz (2002) and to create rapport between the interviewees and myself, I did sometimes tell them my own observations of the neighborhood in order to gain their trust. I also sometimes agreed with them when they told me something. Yet I did try to stay as objective as I could by asking open questions about how and what they thought and I did not force my opinion. By doing this, it did not affect the dependability and validity of the research.

4. Findings

In this chapter, the findings of the study will be presented. The chapter is divided into three subchapters; the local developments and the 'picture', the challenges the entrepreneurs face in the area, and the entrepreneurial identity and social image.

4.1. Local developments and the 'picture'

4.1.1. Hodgepodge neighborhood

In the recent decades, much has been published on gentrification in Makagon (2010), Doucet, Van Kempen and Weesep (2011), Bridge and Dowling (2001), and Van der Graaf and Veldboer (2009). The Zwaanshalskwartier has been a prominent example of gentrification in Rotterdam. Though gentrification is a term most often used in academic and policy documents, the respondents were well aware of the meaning of gentrification and how this is manifested in the area. This is especially evident when they provide a description of the neighborhood.

> "Yes, that the neighborhood is really upcoming. I think. It is developing and it is on its way to becoming a popular neighborhood. I think. And that is, of course, good for the entrepreneurs […] It is being written about and talked about. And then hopefully more and more people will come." (Laura, Laura's treasures)

Although the word upcoming can have different interpretations, the entrepreneurs meant that the neighborhood changed in a significant way from being a deprived area to a more upgraded area with nice shops and a mix of residents. Some of them even referred to gentrification. To strengthen their point, most respondents mentioned the history of the area compared to how they perceive it now.

> "In the past, I think in the 1950s or '60s, it was a chic shopping street. That has completely disappeared […] A lot of call shops, a lot of crime, a lot of misery […] Now things are a lot better, I would say. There are some nice entrepreneurs. The atmosphere is good. But yes, you know, there was another shooting last week. So it's a street with an edge, in that sense" (Rob, Shining)

Interestingly, when discussing these developments of the area, the respondents made a clear distinction between the residents and the entrepreneurs in the area, in order to specify the development of which they are talking about. When they referred to the residents, there were many ways in how they would describe them: a mixed residential composition, many migrants, many cultures, young, old, working class.

> "Well, it is a mix of younger, highly educated with a mix of old residents who have been living here for a while, from the start. And a mix of Moroccan residents, Turkish residents […] Poor, rich, everything is actually mixed up. It really is a working-class neighborhood" (Puk, Puk's Closet)

This description shares several similarities with the social mixing policy that is part of the residential gentrification in the Netherlands. Residential gentrification entails a process whereas the first step is that the pioneers move into the neighborhood, then the gentrifiers arrive, and after the gentrifiers have settled in, the neighborhood has been upgraded to a middle-class neighborhood (Hermann & Leuthold, 2002). Many entrepreneurs talked about that the area has both poor and rich residents, so this suggests that, other than what has been stated in the theoretical framework, the entrepreneurs do feel the presence of the gentrifiers. This would, therefore, suggest that the neighborhood has both pioneers and gentrifiers living in it. However, a contradiction occurs when they were asked whether the residents also enter the stores and be the consumer. According to Bridge & Dowling (2001), gentrifiers often visit the shops and Zukin (2008) even argues that shops express the taste of the gentrifiers in terms of consumption. This implies that, if the gentrifiers would be present in the area, they would also enter the shops from the entrepreneurs. Yet, based on the answers of the entrepreneurs, the residents rarely visit the entrepreneurs' shops.

> "Sometimes I have people who live in the street [Zwaanshals] or who live in the neighborhood [Zwaanshalskwartier] who come in. But I really never see someone from the street come in here and asks: Hey, nice! What are you actually doing? But that does not fit the neighborhood, I think. In my experience, the average Turkish man or woman, Moroccan man or woman who just passes by has a goal to go either to the supermarket or the Zwart Janstraat. They really don't just come in here. That's my experience" (Paul, Ca Va)

So although there has been a mix of different types of residents in the area, not many can be considered consumers of the businesses. The entrepreneurs have several explanations for it, such as that the products they sell are too expensive for the residents, the residents are not their target group or because the residents with an ethnic background are not interested in the products that they sell. They notice that most residents go to the Zwart Janstraat, which is a street around the corner of the Zwaanshalskwartier, to shop there. This already implies that there are actually not many gentrifiers living in the area. This has also been acknowledged by Steve, an employee of Havensteder and supervisor of the area:

> "Well, there are of course a lot of social rental homes. The weaker pawns in society for which we, of course, have a role as a housing corporation. But the stores that we locate may actually be a bit more expensive. The buyer is very aware of what he is doing and is also prepared to drive for a good cup of coffee. For a social tenant, a cup of coffee of 3.5 euros is unaffordable and he may not even appreciate it. The latter is more or less an assumption. Maybe he can appreciate it but never qualifies. And that is also a bit of the criticism we have with both the Hofbogen and the Zwaanshals […] The entire Zwart Janstraat still has that [businesses for the average resident]. We try to create a gem here and to attract another target group to the neighborhood. And to mix it in the long term"

What is most fascinating about this answer is that, according to Steve, the corporation tries to attract a different target group to the neighborhood. He also mentioned that the shops located in the area do not serve the needs of the local residents, but rather for middle-class people from other parts of Rotterdam. Several entrepreneurs revealed this as well and stated that their consumers come from Kralingen or Hilligersberg[3]. This corresponds with commercial gentrification as described by Bridge and Dowling (2001), and Ernst and Doucet (2014). With commercial gentrification, the new businesses often serve the needs of the middle-class and/or upper-class. Even if this population, and thus the gentrifiers, do not live in the neighborhood (Bridge & Dowling, 2001; Ernst & Doucet, 2014). This is also happening in the Zwaanshalskwartier at the moment. The entrepreneurs do state that there is a mix among the residents, but taking into account that only 19% of the homes are owner-

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[3] Kralingen and Hilligersberg are considered to be the rich areas of Rotterdam (Koolen, 2014)

occupied homes (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2018) and that the residents rarely visit their shops, there are probably not many gentrifiers. Steve from Havensteder confirms that as well by stating that there are a lot of social rental homes in the area owned by the corporation. Steve also referred to the fact that the corporation is still selecting tenants for the social rental homes based on their age and education. So it can be argued that at the moment, the residential gentrification of the Zwaanshalskwartier is still in the first phase of the process of residential gentrification and that, at this time, there are only pioneers coming to the area.

In order to attract the gentrifiers, new houses or high-rise apartments have to be built or houses have to be renovated with rent increment (Shaw, 2008; Doucet, Van Kempen & Weesep, 2011). The corporation has no intention of doing that.

> "That was a longtime goal, but that is now gone. We ourselves are not entirely sure what we want. Sales sometimes give some misery. And what I mean by that is that the building at de Kookpunt; that is only one building. There are no divisions in that, so we are theoretically not able to sell per property. Then we first need to go to a notary to have it split. If it's split, then we have to create an association of owners which has to be active. Yes, and so on" (Steve, Havensteder)

The building above the Kookpunt is filled with around 400 social rental houses (Liukku & Jongejan, 2017). In the Netherlands, not everyone is allowed to rent a social rental home. People with a (shared) income higher than €38.035 a year are not eligible for social housing (Rijksoverheid, n.d.). Therefore, the middle-class and upper-class often cannot rent a social rental home. They thus have to rent a private rental house, which is most of the time more expensive. Or they have to buy a house. By not creating more owner-occupied homes, there is a chance that the gentrifiers will not come to the Zwaanshalskwartier to settle there. Thus at the moment, the residential gentrification cannot continue, and therefore, there is no question of indirect economic displacement and community displacement. The entrepreneurs are aware of this too. They called the area upcoming. Even the entrepreneurs that have been established in the area since 2011. But how can an area be upcoming for already eight years? Some entrepreneurs state that the development of the area is on hold.

> "So I think in a large part it is seen as a nice and up-and-coming neighborhood […] But it should not take too long. Because ten years upcoming, that is simply not possible" (Puk, Puk's Closet)

This intermission can be linked to the fact that there is no option for gentrifiers to settle themselves in the neighborhood and that the area is thus not involving into "upper-middle-class playgrounds" (Shaw, 2008, p. 2).

Yet, although the residential gentrification has halted at the moment, the commercial gentrification is still going on. This means that local businesses are being replaced by other businesses that attract the middle-class (Bridge & Dowling, 2011; Ernst & Doucet, 2014). Several entrepreneurs talked about this policy and how Havensteder applies it.

> "On that corner there, that was conscious. A travel agency was located there and Havensteder removed it. Because they want something good in return" (Kees, Smeden)

Steve from Havensteder states that he did not see the added value of the travel agency anymore, because it did not fit the picture of the Zwaanshalskwartier any longer. But what can be considered as the 'picture' then? Steve is very strict in which entrepreneur he wants to locate in the area.

> "Well, let me say that you at least try to see if it fits within the theme. We are also critical: are you able to do it, are you able to turn it into a success? What is your own input? What do they see as synergy within the neighborhood? Because I sometimes have one... Sometimes they call me and then there is a nice idea behind it, but you notice, they only want to be there because of the low rent. And I don't hear them about the neighborhood and they don't find that exciting. And I find that exciting, so we select by [businesses] [...] That it remains fun for the public to walk there " (Steve, Havensteder)

Steve later clarifies that the theme he referred to in the quote above is 'food, fashion, and design'. So this ideal picture is an entrepreneur who fit within the theme, has to have affection towards the neighborhood, and that is able to attract the middle-class. This policy can be seen as a placemaking policy. Steve is trying to create a quality place by consciously selecting entrepreneurs that are considered good for the neighborhood. To be more specific, it can be considered part of strategic placemaking as described by Wyckoff (2014). This type of placemaking entails that you try to create a quality place that is appealing for gifted workers. Quite similar to the clustering discourse in economic geography, it argues that they

prefer to pick these places to establish themselves there because of the facilities and other gifted workers that are already present (Wyckoff, 2014). Indeed, one of the reasons why entrepreneurs want to come to the neighborhood and locate themselves there is because of the other entrepreneurs that are already around.

> "And then we first took a look around in the neighborhood. Also looked at other stores. [...] You had quite a lot of vintage things here. Then we thought: well, we actually fit well here. And also in terms of rent, it was interesting for us to start here, so to speak" (Eline, Mixed)

Many other reasons were given as well, such as the rental price, which has been suggested by Knoops (2015) too, and that the location is in close distance of the city center. Another interesting reason is that, although the residential development of the area is on hold, the appearance of the area attracted many entrepreneurs, in words of the co-owner of Bluegrass:

> "And yes, the neighborhood appealed to us"

Yet, it is still Steve from Havensteder who decides who can rent a property. The effect of this selection procedure is that entrepreneurs are also attracted to the area because of the entrepreneurs who are already there. Thus, besides practicing forms of commercial gentrification, Steve is also actively applying the strategic placemaking policy by creating a neighborhood with entrepreneurs that appeal to other entrepreneurs.

The commercial gentrification process that Steve is applying in the Zwaanshalskwartier has some side notes. Steve is intently replacing the local shops with something that fits the ideal picture and can be considered unique because they are not part of the main chains and sell original products, but he cannot do this for the whole street. Not all the rental properties in the Zwaanshalskwartier are in the possession of Havensteder. According to all actors involved in this research, some of the properties are private rental as well and those shops can often be identified as local shops who serve the needs of the older residents or the residents with an ethnic background, such as a Serbian supermarket, a Moroccan grill house, and a Turkish hairdresser. The commercial gentrification is therefore only applied to properties that are owned by Havensteder. Nevertheless, Zukin et al. (2009) state that a consequence of commercial gentrification is that the old shops might feel

displaced and leave the area. Yet, for the Zwaanshalskwartier this is unlikely to happen because there are still many old residents that go to these shops. Thus, the neighborhood resource displacement, is, therefore, not relevant in this case. However, it is debatable whether Steve should continue with the commercial gentrification if the wanted target groups of the shops are not present in the area and have to come from other places. It is not a certainty that the target group will come and if so if they will be with enough so that the entrepreneurs can stay.

4.1.2. Synergy among entrepreneurs

There has been a slight shift in the residential composition because of Havensteder wanting to attract young professionals, but at the moment, the neighborhood is relatively mixed and there are not a significant amount of gentrifiers. This means that many of these old shops are able to remain, both because they are not tenants from Havensteder and because their target group is still present in the area. However, because the target group of the Havensteder owned stores are not living in the neighborhood and have to come from other neighborhoods in Rotterdam, this does have an effect on the established entrepreneurs who rent through Havensteder. Most prominently, many argue that they experience a shortage of a shopping public that visits their stores.

> "I do notice that consumers only walk around here on Friday or Saturday. I see on other days, for example, today, as you see now. You don't see anyone walking by" (Paul, Ca Va)

An explanation of why this is the case is hard to provide by the entrepreneurs because they do not know.

> "It is not the product. It is not because of the stores. Because there are nice shops here. There are nice entrepreneurs. It doesn't depend on that. They [consumers] just don't come here" (Anja, GERS)

And there is also a contradiction in the story of the Havensteder employee. On the one hand, he states that it is an area that is mainly active during the day and that he does not want to have, for example, any night clubs in the area, but on the other hand he agrees with the entrepreneurs. He argues that from Monday to Thursday less and fewer people go out for shopping. In order to solve this problem, one of the solutions that has been suggested by

numerous entrepreneurs is to add other types of businesses in the area, such as a HEMA or another bar.

> "It is a large chain [Game Mania], but, yes, that is an Albert Heijn or another supermarket as well. I wouldn't mind. I wouldn't mind a HEMA either" (Bas, Gist)

Whether it is a HEMA, another bar, or a supermarket, all entrepreneurs miss a specific business in the street that functions as a crowd puller. Though they do mention that the Kookpunt is a crowd puller, but this store is located at the beginning of the Zwaanshals. Some entrepreneurs think that when consumers go to the Kookpunt, they specifically only go there and are not in the area to visit other shops. Other entrepreneurs think that it has to do with that people think that there are no more shops after Hopper (coffee shop). The respondents expect that if one of those new businesses will establish itself in the area, the consumers will come as well and visit their stores. But Steve makes it clear that shops such as a HEMA are not exciting or creative enough to be located in the Zwaanshalskwartier. Steve wants to create a unique neighborhood. One that does not offer the same shops as every center in every big city. Yet, when creating a neighborhood with unique stores, you should take into account whether there is a need for such stores among both residents and the wanted target group. According to Steve, this is the case, but the entrepreneurs made it clear that they experience a lack of shoppers, which implies that Steve his strategy of only placing unique stores is not working in order to attract people to the area.

4.2. Challenges

4.2.1. Tensions

During the research, many tensions between different actors came to the surface. Some of them have been briefly mentioned in this chapter before, but they will be discussed more in-depth in this subchapter. The tensions have been divided into tensions between the entrepreneurs, tensions between the entrepreneurs and Havensteder, and tensions between the entrepreneurs and the area.

4.2.1.1. Tensions between the entrepreneurs

In order to make the entrepreneurs work together and to make it easier for them to communicate with each other, Havensteder has created a retailers association ten years ago for their property tenants. Yet, according to most of the respondents, this retailers

association is not functioning properly. Eline, one of the owners of Mixed, a Korean restaurant, explains this in the following way:

> "[this] is partly because we are all different entrepreneurs and we are all stubborn […] We all have our own ideas, so it is very difficult to think of one thing. Often we cannot solve it. I have to say that I haven't been to the retailers association the last couple of times […] It's always hard to make agreements, to come up with something […] It is a bit fragmented, to say"

Overall, the entrepreneurs are not satisfied with the retailers association. However, they agree that this is not because of the president of the association. They find him involved with the area and that he is trying to make everything work between the entrepreneurs. But then what is it about? Most say that there are just too many different opinions. They all want something else, such as advertising on a tram or a special map designed only for the Zwaanshalskwartier. So far, they cannot find consensus on what they should do. What is most striking is that there is dissatisfaction between the entrepreneurs themselves.

> "I just wanted to say that there are 120 entrepreneurs, maybe a little more maybe a little less. But that's about it. And then you have 120 opinions, which will be voiced when you have a meeting with the retailers association. The attendance is zero. The same [entrepreneurs] are always there [at the meetings] […] Then there is a post [on Facebook] about what has been discussed and then there are comments on it, which is very annoying because they [other entrepreneurs] do not come [to those meetings], you know. I mean, of course, you can be critical, but also try to be at the meeting. And something has to happen, and nothing happens. I mean, one event is too little" (Anja, GERS)

The main reasons why entrepreneurs do not go to the retailers association meetings are the same as why the association is not functioning: too many different opinions and different interests among the entrepreneurs. Another reason is that there is a slight incomprehension between the entrepreneurs. Some think that you should support each other by buying products from other established entrepreneurs in the area. Kees, the owner of the beer brewery Smeden, feels that not everyone is doing that:

> "We have a barbecue. We need that here on a Friday evening. We bought it at the
> Kookpunt. And if we need a coffee machine, we go to the Kookpunt. And if we need a
> bottle of whiskey as a present, we go to Bluegrass […] We do all things here with our
> own entrepreneurs. And 90% of the entrepreneurs here get it from somewhere else"

This could imply that the entrepreneurs find each other's products too expensive or not of good quality. Yet, many other entrepreneurs disagree with Kees his statement and argue that they often go to other entrepreneurs in the Zwaanshalskwartier to look around or to buy a product or a service. This indicates that there might be a problem in communication between the entrepreneurs and that the entrepreneurs do not know what the others are doing. This makes sense considering that not every entrepreneur is attending the retailers association meetings, but this also indicates that the entrepreneurs are not communicating outside the retailers association either. Another entrepreneur that is not going to the meetings anymore is Rens, co-owner of the whiskey shop Bluegrass. He finds it annoying that the entrepreneurs always have discussions and that it most of the time leads to nothing. Between the lines, it also becomes clear that the retailers association misses a stable basis. Every year, entrepreneurs come and go. These new entrepreneurs have their own thoughts about the area and what should be done in order to attract more shoppers and to improve it. Because of this, there is always a rotation in entrepreneurs and, therefore, it is hard to find consensus among the entrepreneurs. This has led to a split between them. The split can be described as a division between the beginning of the street and the end of the street, whereas Hopper functions as the middle. The split is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Zwaanshals, the split (Google Maps, n.d.)
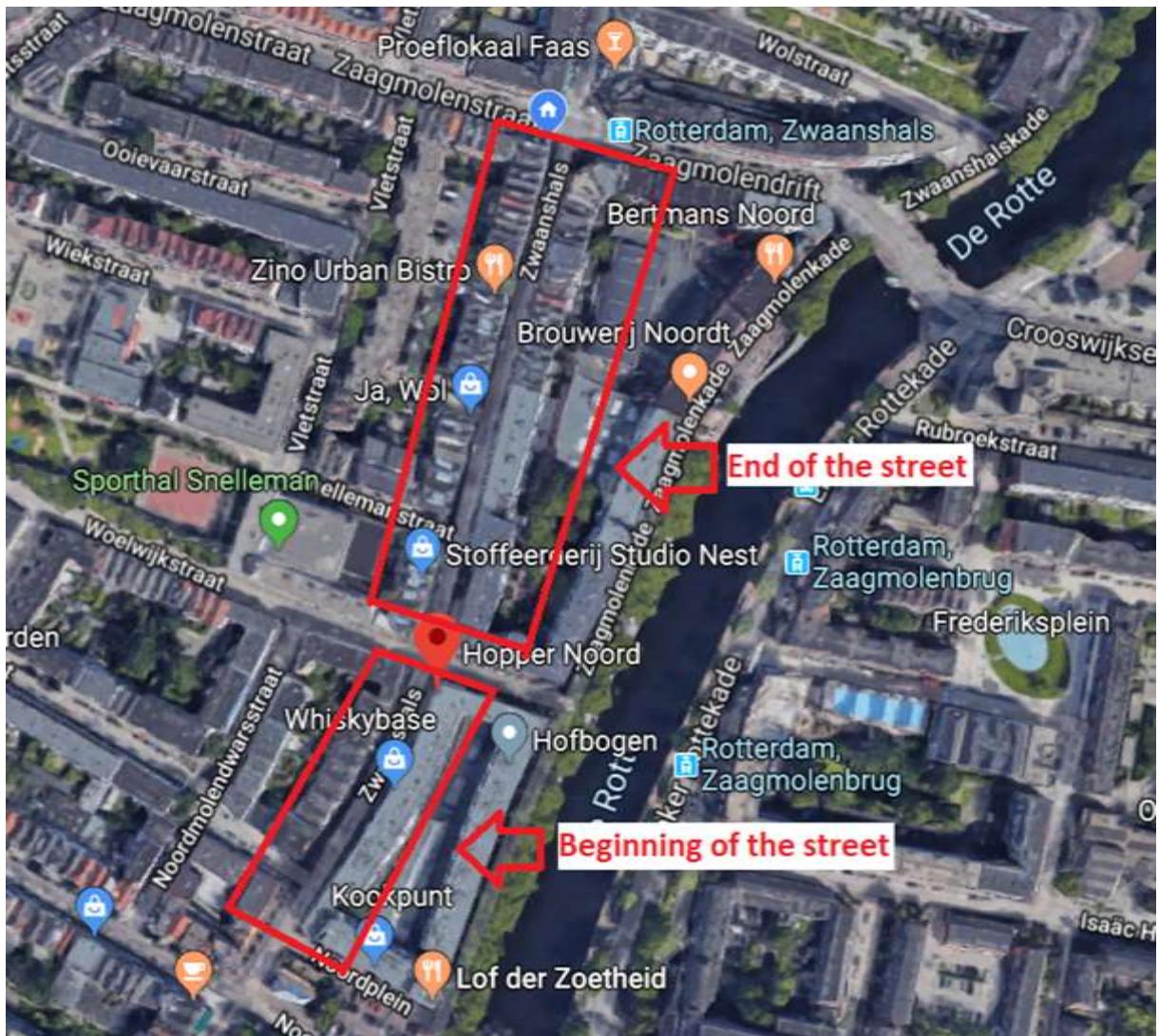
What is unusual about the split is that it only occurs on the Zwaanshals. The entrepreneurs do not mention the other entrepreneurs from the Zaagmolenkade, Noordplein, or the Zaagmolendrift. This could be because the Zwaanshals is the main shopping street of the neighborhood where most entrepreneurs are located and therefore are in close distance of each other. Other reasons are not mentioned, except for the Zaagmolendrift. Steve states that this street is not really part of the Zwaanshalskwartier, because consumers are less likely to shop there because of the traffic and the tram. He is less strict in what he places there and they do not have to fit the ideal picture of the area. An example of this is Danny, the owner of Gerepareerd. He sells secondhand bicycles and is a bicycle maker. He has been located on the Zaagmolendrift since four months. He did not know about the existence of the retailers association. However, Danny is happy that he is not included.

"No, I don't want to go to meetings like that either. So if they ignore me a little, I would only be happy with it […] No, I'd rather just do my own thing. Then I can determine everything myself" (Danny, Gerepareerd)

What is interesting about his answer is that Danny thinks he can determine everything himself if he is not included in the retailers association. This implies that if you are in the association, you cannot determine everything yourself and you have to consult with other entrepreneurs. This could be an explanation of why there is a lack of synergy among the entrepreneurs and why not all entrepreneurs go to the meetings. They might all want to determine in their own way how to improve the neighborhood and how to do it better without discussing it with other entrepreneurs first.

However, it is remarkable that Danny did not know about the retailers association and to add to it, the entrepreneurs that are renting a space through private rental are also not included in the retailers association. The association is only accessible when you rent through Havensteder. This contributes to the stop of the development of the area for both commercial gentrification, residential gentrification and the creation of a quality place. How are you supposed to upgrade an area when not all entrepreneurial actors are involved? And further, there is also not plenty of cooperation between the entrepreneurs. This again has to do with the split. What has been stated by some entrepreneurs is that the entrepreneurs that are part of the end of the street are in good contact and try to work together, but they do not have much contact with the beginning of the street. Yet, the entrepreneurs that sell food or drink related products do work together or expressed the intention to do so.

"And we also work together with other shops and things for example. With Smeden we do things together, Zino, a restaurant at the beginning […]" (Rens, Bluegrass)

Nevertheless, organizing something that involves most of the entrepreneurs still has not been done. This, in turn, works against the placemaking process too. Many entrepreneurs explained that they need more events or cultural activities to get more shoppers and to get the area more known. The idea itself can be seen as part of the creative placemaking, where they work on the "physical and social character of the neighborhood" (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010, p. 3). Yet, because there is little synergy among the entrepreneurs, these characters cannot be displayed to the outside world. And therefore, there is no strong image that the entrepreneurs can carry out.

The tension can be explained with the realistic conflict theory. This theory argues that conflicts between groups are caused by the struggle for scarce resources such as food and power (Brief, Umphress, Dietz, Burrows, Butz & Scholten, 2005). The scarce source, in this case, is the shoppers. They are important for the entrepreneurs in order to continue their businesses otherwise they have to leave the area. Although there are many different explanations for why different entrepreneurs left the neighborhood, the most negative one is that they had to leave because they did not make any profit (anymore). There is a fear sensible among a few current entrepreneurs that this will also happen to them if the number of shoppers will continue to decrease and that is why they think it is so important to attract more people to the Zwaanshalskwartier. However, the entrepreneurs that do not (often) go to the meetings do not have this fear. They are still making enough profit or are still growing, despite the lack of shoppers. This is because they have a good web shop, a loyal clientele or because the profession they perform is scarce which ensures that their product still sells. This means that there is a two-way battle. Although all the entrepreneurs mention that they would like to have more shoppers in the area, it is not necessary for all of them to survive, while for others it is.

4.2.1.2. Tensions between the entrepreneurs and Havensteder

If there is already a tension between the entrepreneurs themselves, it is likely that there might also be some friction between the entrepreneurs and Steve from Havensteder. Both Steve and the entrepreneurs confirmed this. Steve states that he took a step back. He does not want to be involved with the area anymore as he was in the beginning when Havensteder decided to use top-down gentrification as an instrument to improve the Zwaanshalskwartier. He is fed up with the complaining of the entrepreneurs. According to him, many entrepreneurs rely on him and think that he needs to help them in order to attract more shoppers or get the area more known. Yet, Steve argues that the entrepreneurs are responsible for that themselves. And that is why the corporation created the retailers association. However, the entrepreneurs are not cooperative. Some of the entrepreneurs blame Steve for this lack of intention to collaborate.

> "I think if Havensteder and the municipality of Rotterdam would join the retailers
>
> association meetings and if more leadership would be taken by someone [...] Yes, we

could build something, so to say. We really need guidance, or something" (Laura, Laura's treasures)

The entrepreneurs desire Steve to take a step forward and help them, instead of him taking a step back. Steve in return states that he is always open to join the retailers association meetings, but that he will only come if he gets an invitation. He thinks that the entrepreneurs should be able to deal with their own problems and that he should not be the one that helps them out. This indicates that both parties have different expectations from each other and that there is no clear communication between them, which leads to friction.

Another issue the area deals with is vacancy. Some entrepreneurs called it a wave motion where every two years, many new entrepreneurs locate themselves in the Zwaanshalskwartier and after those two years, many entrepreneurs leave the area again. Different reasons were given by the entrepreneurs and Steve why entrepreneurs leave, such as not enough shoppers, private circumstances, different priorities, and so on. However, what happens when an entrepreneur leaves is that the property is empty and they are not always filled by other businesses immediately. Various entrepreneurs are annoyed by the vacancy and they do not understand why it takes so long to rent them out again. Some think that it is due to the fact that it is not clear who owns the property.

"A little more active searching for entrepreneurs and also show it. Look, people see that it is empty anyway, but they have no idea who the landlord is. You really have to look for that […] I think that if Havensteder, so to speak, puts 30.000 euros on the table and says: we are going to make a nice webshop. We are looking for entrepreneurs. Be open about what it costs. How much does a space cost, because they are always so vague about it […] Say what such a thing costs" (Rob, Shining)

Other entrepreneurs think that it creates a impoverish look and that it is not appealing for consumers to come. Steve, however, blames it on the builders. Many of the empty spaces have to be renovated or rebuilt and, according to him, the builders are too slow and taking their time. Another explanation can be provided as well. The area has been upcoming for a while and as implied, it remains the same and it is not able to continue the development towards a gentrified area. Many businesses come and go and the Zwaanshals even appeared in the news as the faillissement straatje ('bankruptcy street') because of this. Steve does not agree with the name and states, just as the entrepreneurs before, that not all entrepreneurs

leave the area because they are bankrupt. There are many other reasons as well. He also mentioned that he has enough entrepreneurs that want to rent a property, but he thinks these candidates do not fit within the theme or that they are not able to attract the middle-class. Therefore, it is also possible that there is are many vacant spaces because the type of entrepreneur Steve wants to locate, does not want to establish itself in the area because of its image of being a bankruptcy street. Or because Steve is too selective and that there are almost no entrepreneurs that fit his requirements.

The last tension from the entrepreneurs is about the openness of Steve. Since Steve does not want to be too involved anymore (he only wants to make the decision of which business can establish itself in the area), the entrepreneurs do not know what Steve wants with the area.

> "It would be nice if they would all keep us informed of the development of what kind of stores will come and what their vision is. Is that still food, fashion, design or […] They probably also have a certain idea. I don't know if they let that go or […] If they are still working on that or that they just prefer it now as something like: we want the buildings to be filled. We no longer have a vision. It only concerns them if the rent will be paid. It would be nice if they would tell if they are still working on it" (Maud, Amenities)

Although these tensions are all based on the interviews with the entrepreneurs, Steve also has some frustration regarding them. He states that they are complaining too much without first trying to solve the problem themselves.

> "You should always embrace ideas. You do not have to execute them, but you should brainstorm about them. And that is also where I think the problem lies. If you are in such a meeting [retailers association], then half of them say: we must brainstorm. And I just call it the unsuccessful entrepreneurs who don't even know what brainstorming is and who always go into details" (Steve, Havensteder)

What he means with unsuccessful entrepreneurs are the entrepreneurs who rely on him and who want more help from him, instead of doing it themselves.

All in all, when looking at the tensions between the entrepreneurs and Steve, it can be stated that most of the tensions have to do with communication. It seems as if most

entrepreneurs do not know what they can expect from Steve. They also do not know what role Steve has in the Zwaanshalskwartier. And in turn, Steve does not know what the entrepreneurs want with the area, such as a crowd puller. This could also have an influence on why the entrepreneurs cannot come to an agreement with each other. If many entrepreneurs do not know what vision Steve has for the area, they might be afraid to make decisions, because they might not know if it will be something that Steve would approve. Another explanation would be that it is unclear for the entrepreneurs who is responsible for the area. Many entrepreneurs think it is Steve, but Steve states that the retailers association should make the decisions. This has an effect on the placemaking process of the Zwaanshalskwartier. As described before, Steve has been active in creating a quality place by replacing entrepreneurs with other entrepreneurs that he considers as good for the neighborhood. Yet, the creation of this place does not stop there. The process entails the construction of an image that attracts other people to a place where they would want "to live, work, play and learn in" (Wyckoff, 2014, p. 2). The entrepreneurs thus also have to work on such an image to achieve the quality place. And because there is a tension between them, and between them and Havensteder, this works against the quality place. Therefore, just as with residential gentrification and commercial gentrification, the placemaking process can also be considered still in the first phase, whereby Steve is improving the neighborhood with replacing entrepreneurs to attract the middle-class. But in order to continue the process, Steve and the entrepreneurs have to work together and know what they can expect from each other.

4.2.1.3.   Tensions between the entrepreneurs and the area

It has already been discussed that the entrepreneurs complain about the lack of shoppers in the area. This has been highlighted before. Yet, there are more tensions between the entrepreneurs and the area. Most of them state that the area can be dangerous for pedestrians because people drive too fast. They want the area to be car-free or that something should be done so that no more speeding occurs.

> "Yes, those cars just have to go. I really hate those things […] If you close this [the street the Zwaanshals], only for license holders or whatever. Do that thing what they have in Dordrecht, with those posts if necessary" (Jeroen, The Bakery)

Some think that speeding will cause accidents. They have been complaining about it to the municipality of Rotterdam, but they do not respond. And many of the entrepreneurs are also dissatisfied with the look of the area.

> "Every day, there is just a lot of household goods dumped on the street […] Of course the dog poop problem here on the quay […] You also see that it has always been the same dogs […] It already looks a bit poor. That poverty look should go" (Rens, Bluegrass)

These frustrations can be linked to standard placemaking (Wyckoff, 2014). Although changing the traffic of the area or making it cleaner is not the whole process of placemaking, it is part of it. Yet, according to the respondents, it is not possible to make the Zwaanshals car-free, because it is an emergency route for the fire brigade. And it will be hard to deal with the dog poop. However, already mentioning it and talking about it is already a good beginning to create a quality place.

4.3. Entrepreneurial identity and social image

Both residential gentrification, commercial gentrification and placemaking are on hold or in the first phase of the process, and there are many tensions between the entrepreneurs themselves, the entrepreneurs and Havensteder, and the entrepreneurs and the area. How does this influence the identity of the Zwaanshalskwartier? As described in the theoretical framework, identity has many forms, such as entrepreneurial identity and social identity. Whereas the entrepreneurial identity concerns the "constellation of claims around the founders, organization, and market opportunity of an entrepreneurial entity that gives meaning to questions of "who are we" and "what do we do" (Navis & Glynn, 2011, p. 480), the social identity concerns the identity of a group (Brewer, 1991), and in this case: the entrepreneurs of Zwaanshalskwartier. In the previous chapters, it became discernible that the entrepreneurs experience a lack of shoppers coming to the area and that this has led to a tension between themselves and Havensteder. Explanations for this have been based on gentrification and placemaking, but the problems described above could also have an effect on the identity of the Zwaanshalskwartier.

4.3.1. Who are we?

Most entrepreneurs see themselves as an entrepreneur or talk about themselves as an entrepreneur. When being asked why they defined themselves as such, most of them responded to have done so because they have built something up themselves from the start. They were also all able to describe what they do: a vintage retailer, a beer shop, an upholstery, and so on.

According to the website of the Zwaanshalskwartier (n.d.) many shops that are located in the area at the moment are unique in the sense that they sell original products. There are no main chains. The entrepreneurs themselves agree on this description from the website.

> "They are all fairly unique stores. Not like those Koopgoot stores, so to speak. Like those big names [...] I think a lot of people who want to buy a nice present in Rotterdam for someone will end up in an area like this [Zwaanshalskwartier] [...] to buy something that you cannot buy elsewhere (Rens, Bluegrass)

Besides an explanation of what the entrepreneurs do, they also identify themselves as being unique and not part of the main chains. This can be considered both the entrepreneurial identity as the social identity of the area with which they all agree.

The social identity of the area has not always been the same. This is in line with Kreiner, Hollensbe, and Sheep (2006) who state that identity is not fixed and can change over time when necessary. This also happened for the identity of the Zwaanshalskwartier. The area started with an identity of Kunst, Koken, and Kijken ('Art, Cooking, and Looking') which in sort was KKK and can be considered as not convenient[4]. It later changed to food, fashion, and design and this is also the identity that most entrepreneurs mention. Steve even selects businesses based on this identity. Nevertheless, it turned out that this identity has been experienced as rather vague and that the entrepreneurs are having trouble with how to put this into practice.

> "Look, that food, fashion, design, that is the identity. But that is... Still looking for: how exactly am I going to shape that? [...] It is starting to appear on the map, but it is

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[4] KKK also stands for Ku Klux Klan: a group of white people that is famous for their racist statements and racist violence against colored people (Chalmers, 1987)

not yet on the map of Rotterdam. That it is fun to go there [Zwaanshalskwartier] (Bas, Gist)

And then there is another interesting finding. Besides the social identity that has been mentioned by almost every entrepreneur and Steve, there was only one entrepreneur who explained that the identity of food, fashion, and design has been changed to ontketen jezelf ('unleash yourself').

"It has changed a few times. So there have been several retailers meetings where we worked on the identity of the Zwaanshals. First, it was food, fashion and design […] These were kind of benchmarks. Later it became the slogan 'unleash yourself', so that is a new entry that has been chosen" (Puk, Puk's Closet)

Puk, the owner of the vintage shop Puk's Closet, states that this new entry has been chosen in order to create an umbrella identity in which the entrepreneurs fit and that enables them to get a face. Yet, no other entrepreneur mentioned this change of identity and most of them stated that the identity is food, fashion, and design. This indicates that they either did not know about the change or that they do not identify with the new image. The lack of knowledge about this new identity could be explained by that some entrepreneurs often do regularly attend the retailers association meetings. Puk claims that this entry has been chosen during one of those meetings. This relates to the concept of identity work as described by Snow and Anderson (1987) and Sveningsson and Alvesson (2003). There is one group that is actively working together on creating a social identity that fits both them and the area, but because there is another group of entrepreneurs that is not cooperative, the identity work as a group cannot be put into practice. Numerous entrepreneurs stick to the identity of food, fashion, and design, despite not knowing how to implement this. Therefore, the social identity of the area can be considered as food, fashion, and design instead of the new entry that has been chosen. Yet, how to work this out as a social identity is something they struggle with. The answer to the question: 'who are we?' is therefore hard to answer. They know what they are themselves: an entrepreneur with a small business focused on a specific product or service, but who they are as a group, and thus the social identity, is still unclear. They agree on that they are a group of entrepreneurs that are unique in the sense that they sell original products and that they are not part of the main chains. They also agree

on that they are part of the social identity of food, fashion, and design, but that last part is hard to make specific and to secure it as their social identity.

4.3.2. What do we want?

Although the social identity of the area is something the entrepreneurs find hard to obtain, many entrepreneurs are working on shaping an identity that will fit them.

> "What we radiate, what is the identity? They [entrepreneurs] just have to work very hard on that. And they are working on it, I believe. With: how are we going to position this [identity], how are we really going to turn it into a brand" (Paul, Ca Va)

The entrepreneurs try to work on it through the retailers association. Many different ideas about how to shape the identity have been passed by, such as creating more signs, having more street lights or to paint all the shops in different colors, as they have in Curaçao. However, not all the entrepreneurs agree with these ideas. Yet, the identity work on the physical level clearly played out in the physical props shown at the storefronts. These props were specially mentioned by the pop-up entrepreneurs. They thought that the uniformity of the area was present via the signboards that each business has. Nevertheless, the entrepreneurs think that the uniformity can be improved.

> "Maybe a little uniformity in the street will not be so bad […] There are some signs that are the same, so to speak. But if you look into the street, then it keeps... The bend [beginning of the street], for example, is very beautiful. Pretty wide, I would say. And if you look this way, then you suddenly see all these crazy plates from the carpets stores […] It's a bit broken" (Rob, Shining)

Figure 2. Signboards (own photo)

But then the question: 'what do we want?' still remains. There are a few things that the entrepreneurs all want, such as more greenery visible in the streets and less parking spots. But this has been stopped by the municipality of Rotterdam. The entrepreneurs once had put flower pots in the streets, to create a more pleasant atmosphere, and thus have more physical props in order to create a coherent social identity. However, the municipality wanted them gone, because they were placed on their land. Steve said that he tried to sort this out with the municipality, but the municipality only wanted to allow the flowers pots in the street if the Zwaanshalskwartier used their flower pots, which are the same in the whole city. Steve argues that this does not contribute to the identity of the neighborhood, because their identity is then the same as every other neighborhood identity in Rotterdam. This is likewise the case for the parking spots. The municipality does not want to decrease the number of parking spots. However, these are examples that involve other actors where the entrepreneurs have no influence on. Yet, there are other ideas which the entrepreneurs can work on that are less hard to accomplish in order to create a social identity, such as organizing events, creating more signs, and getting more publicity. They want to create a social identity that fits them all and that can be carried out so that it attracts a public. But why is it so hard to create this identity? This again has to do with the disagreement that is

taking place in the retailers association. It became clear that the entrepreneurs that do go to the association's meetings are active in trying to establish the social identity of the area, while the entrepreneurs that do not join the meetings are less active and stay in the background. Reasons, why they do not attend, are already mentioned before. However, this causes that no decisions are made in order to transform the identity that is suitable for all the entrepreneurs either. And this, in turn, ensures that the social identity that is present now, namely food, fashion, and design, remains hard to carry out. This makes it difficult for the entrepreneurs to identify themselves with this identity.

According to Lehdonvirta & Mezier (2013), there is a goal attached when performing identity work, such as being accepted in the group or getting into a confrontation with others, because they do not accept the identity. This is also what is going on with the entrepreneurs in the Zwaanshalskwartier. As mentioned before, there has been a split between the entrepreneurs that has been illustrated in Figure 1. Even Steve mentions that between the entrepreneurs, there are groups. From the interviews, it seems that these groups can be categorized into a group that goes to the meetings of the retailers association (group A) and a group that is involved with their own will (group B). Both groups are performing identity work with each other but on a different level. Group A is actively working on a social identity together, by suggesting that more events should be organized and that more signs have to be created in order to get the area more known. Although group B does not (often) go to the meetings, group A still tries to get them more involved by asking their opinions via a shared Facebook group. Yet, group B has been rejecting the identity work of group A. In turn, group B has been performing identity work to create a social identity on their own. Kees, the owner of Smeden, does this in the following way:

"We are now painting that electricity house outside. And Smeden will not be on it, but the whole Zwaanshalskwartier. So an ice cream from the Kookpunt and you name it. We had that designed by an artist"

Figure 3. Elektricity house (own photo)

He did not consult this with the retailers association, but he went directly to the council of Rotterdam to ask permission to change the electricity house. He thinks it brightens up the neighborhood.

Although community displacement does not occur for the residential gentrification of the Zwaanshalskwartier and concerns most often the incumbent community (Davidson, 2008), this type of displacement is relevant for the entrepreneurs located in the area. As described above, there is a division between the entrepreneurs which are described as group A and group B. Both groups can be viewed as separate communities that are established in the neighborhood and are both performing identity work. With community displacement, a newly arrived community creates a new image for the neighborhood to which the other established community does not relate. This can cause a feeling of displacement among the other community (Davidson, 2008). In the Zwaanshalskwartier, there has been no new community that arrives and tries to change the identity of the neighborhood, but rather there is a distinction between group A and group B, whereas group A works on the social identity by being collaborative and group B does it alone.

Community displacement could occur after a while in this situation. Based on the interviews, group A desires group B to take part in the association's meetings and perform identity work together. Group B does not want to, and instead has been rejecting the efforts of group A and started performing identity work by themselves, as what Kees has done. This type of rejecting could lead to the feeling of exclusion, whereas group A feels that everything that they have been doing is either not good enough or is something that group B does not like. Something else that is interesting is that Steve from Havensteder has a better relation with group B than with group A because he finds that group A is complaining too much, while group B does not need his help. It could be that group A feels excluded from group B and Steve. In the long term, this could lead to a community displacement, where group A does not feel that they fit in the identity that group B and Steve are presenting anymore and will thus move away. This can be an explanation of why group A is so eager on creating a social identity together: to be accepted by both group B and Steve.

However, the question of what they want as a group is hard to answer. In the bigger picture, they all want the same: getting more shoppers by creating a clear social identity that can be carried out through signs or publicity. Yet, due to the fact that the identity work having been performed both on a communal and individual level and not having been formed into a social identity that has been accepted by all entrepreneurs, the main aim of the entrepreneurs is difficult to achieve. The identity work, in this case, therefore has its limitations. There is a group of entrepreneurs who are aiming to do identity work by being active in meaning-making actors, such as going to the meetings, discussing how to create that social identity, and there is a group of entrepreneurs who would rather work on the social identity by performing identity work on their own. This causes not only a split between the entrepreneurs in the street but also a split between the entrepreneurs that try to be active in creating a social identity as a group and the entrepreneurs that rather do it by themselves. For the Zwaanshalskwartier, it is an ongoing dynamic process where entrepreneurs are not always on the same level. Group A has been dissatisfied with the individual identity work of group B, while group B has been rejecting the communal identity work of group A. Without consensus between both groups, it is likely that a clear social identity that every entrepreneur wants to have for the Zwaanshalskwartier, will not be shaped.

4.3.3. What about them?

The identity work of the Zwaanshalskwartier has been explained so far from the perspectives of group A and group B. Nevertheless, there are is another group present in the area, namely the entrepreneurs who do not rent via Havensteder. They are excluded from the retailers association. According to the respondents, they are the local entrepreneurs, such as a Turkish hairdresser, who serve the needs of the old residents. They can be considered group C. Some respondents think it is unfair that these entrepreneurs are left out of the association. Anja from GERS, a vintage, and new clothing store, even argues that the entrepreneurs from private rental want to be part of it as well:

> "I really just want everyone. Even though you are not in the retailers association […] You know, those on the other side don't rent from Havensteder either […] Some people want to be involved"

When the entrepreneurs talked about the entrepreneurial identity and the social identity, it became clear that they did not include group C in their description of being unique and not like those Koopgoot stores, in words of Rens. Yet, the Zwaanshalskwartier still has a substantial amount of local shops which cannot be ignored when walking through the street. In the sub-chapter 'What do we want?', reasons, why the social identity is hard to shape, have been discussed. Nevertheless, there might be another explanation for it as well.

It is mainly group B that has a negative attitude towards the local entrepreneurs and some of them think that they should go because the shops look dirty. Steve also complains about that and argues that they do not maintain the outside of their shop to make the appearance of the neighborhood appealing.

> "Why would you hang a reinforcement net against your windows that looks like a lattice in the evening? And they fold it out during the day so that plastic trays can stand on it […] Be a little more professional. Choose a marquis instead of a rotten awning" (Steve, Havensteder)

This implies that group B is rejecting the entrepreneurial identity of group C. Group A thinks that they belong to the area and that it is nice that there is such a mix between different entrepreneurs visible. Yet, reading between the lines they also agree to some extent with group B and think that group C could put a little more effort in their appearance. What can

be stated is that group C has its own way to perform identity work and show their entrepreneurial identity. Before, it has been discussed that the uniformity of the area is namely visible through the physical props, such as the signboards. These have been shown in Figure 2. Nevertheless, only the entrepreneurs who rent via Havensteder have these overlapping signboards. Group C does not have them. They have been expressing their entrepreneurial identity in a different way. Rob, for example, already stated in a quote shown before that the carpet stores have their own plates to show their identity. This indicates that group C is performing identity work on an individual level that has been rejected by both group A and group B. This, together with group C not being included in the retailers association, indicates that the local entrepreneurs are excluded from creating a social identity for the neighborhood together with the other entrepreneurs that are part of the retailers association. Indeed, as stated before, group B is also not performing identity work with the retailers association, but they are not excluded from it. They can attend the association's meetings when they want to.

This could be another explanation of why it is difficult for both group A and group B to perform identity work and to create a social identity for the whole neighborhood. The social identity of food, fashion and design is an identity that to some extent fits group A and B, but this might not be the social identity where group C identifies with. After all, they do not have the same signboards, they cannot tell their opinions during the meetings, they do not attract the middle-class, and group B and Steve rather have them gone. Creating a social identity that therefore ensures all entrepreneurs is difficult when not all established entrepreneurs are involved with the identity work of the area. Group C is left out, even though there is little chance that they move away because their target group is still present in the area. This causes them to perform their own identity work by showing their own physical props. This, in turn, works against putting the social identity of food, fashion and design into practice, because it does not entail the whole neighborhood.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to research how the entrepreneurs reflect upon the gentrification process of the Zwaanshalskwartier. This ambition is also the research question. This research question has been divided into three sub-questions: 1. How do institutional organizations play a role in this process?, 2. What are the effects of the gentrification process on the entrepreneurs?, and 3. How does the social identity take part in this process?

Havensteder plays an evident role in the gentrification process of the Zwaanshalskwartier. The housing corporation ensured that the process started by selectively selecting both who can live in the area as a resident and who can rent a property. However, this process is now on hold, because the middle-class does not and cannot live in the neighborhood. They, therefore, have to come from other places in Rotterdam in order to visit the stores. In addition, Steve also cannot perform the commercial gentrification optimally, because not all properties are owned by Havensteder. A plan was made by Havensteder to convert social rental houses into owner-occupied houses for the middle-class, but that idea has been put aside, because of legal implications. This ensures that the desired target group of the entrepreneurs, and the target group Steve wants to attract to the area, is not present in the area. This does not only lead to a stop in the gentrification process, but also effects the placemaking process, where the quality place cannot be created.

Because of the stop of the gentrification process and because a quality place cannot be shaped, there are several tensions among the entrepreneurs and between the entrepreneurs and other actors involved. All entrepreneurs experience a lack of shoppers and this has led to friction in the retailers association. Several entrepreneurs state that the retailers association is not functioning because there are too many different interests, while others think that it is not working because the entrepreneurs are not cooperative. Many entrepreneurs believe that Steve should help them more often to attract more visitors. On the other hand, Steve believes that the entrepreneurs should think about solutions and that he is not responsible for their problems. This suggests that it is not clear who is responsible for the area and that the entrepreneurs are not able to make decisions. Are they the one that should tie the knots or is Steve the one that decides everything?

The above-mentioned tensions is also expressed in the identity of the area. The

entrepreneurs agree that they are part of the social identity, namely that they are unique and fit in the theme of food, fashion, and design. However, they do not know how to implement this social identity or how they can shape it so that they can identify with it. In order to do shape this social identity, several entrepreneurs perform identity work through the retailers association (group A). However, not all entrepreneurs (group B) go to the meetings anymore. This resulted in that group A performs identity work as a group and group B on an individual level. It is therefore hard to create a social identity, because the entrepreneurs are not working together on shaping the identity of food, fashion, and design to an identity where they can all identify with. Besides this, the local entrepreneurs (group C) is not involved in the process of creating a social identity. They are excluded from the identity work and this is another reason why the social identity cannot be created.

The research question of this study can, therefore, be answered in the following way: the gentrification process of the Zwaanshalskwartier is being experienced as a process that has been going on for many years, but does not continue in the development. This has led to several implications for the neighborhood. Due to the fact that the residential gentrification has halted, it is not possible for the middle-class to settle themselves in the neighborhood. The commercial gentrification cannot continue either, because the old, local stores are still present. This has led to several tensions between the entrepreneurs and other actors involved and has resulted in that there is no agreed social identity where all entrepreneurs identify with. The placemaking process has, in turn, also been halted, because the desired quality place is still not there. When the quality place and social identity is not there, it results in the middle-class not visiting the neighborhood. And this has again an effect on the gentrification process.

The purpose of a grounded theory study is that a theory will be developed at the end of the research (Charmaz, 1996). The theory that has been developed with this research is that in order to create the wanted "upper-middle-class playgrounds" (Shaw, 2008, p. 2) and make social mixing work, top-down gentrification should be applied by not only attracting the middle-class, but also by making it possible for the middle-class to settle themselves in an area. Gentrification, both residential and commercial must continue, preferably at the same time, in order to continue the social mixing and to attract the middle-class. As for how residential gentrification is described by Van Der Graaf & Veldboer (2009) and commercial gentrification by Bridge & Dowling (2001) and Ernst & Doucet (2014), it seems as if top-down

gentrification is a good instrument to apply on a disadvantaged neighborhood. However, this study shows that if there is an imbalance between the two types of gentrification, and if both do not continue in their process, many tensions will occur between different actors involved with the neighborhood. This imbalance, in turn, has an effect on both the placemaking process and the identification and shaping of the social identity. The quality place, which is the desired outcome of placemaking, cannot be created, because different actors are not collaborating and excluded in order to create the place and present this to the outside world. This has, thereafter, an influence on the social identity, because if the area is not collaborative and the actors are performing identity work on different levels, the social identity suffers from it. And when there is no agreed social identity, the area cannot show who they are. This results in a target group that does not visit the area. This leads back to the essence of gentrification where it is the aim to mix the middle-class with the working-class (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). Both residential and commercial gentrification want to attract the middle-class to an area through either owner-occupied homes or the retail landscape. Yet, when it is not possible for the middle-class to establish itself in an area, this group will not be present in an area that often in order to satisfy the needs of the entrepreneurs. It is, therefore, debatable whether top-down gentrification is the best instrument to use in a deprived neighborhood and if this will lead to the desired outcome: an upgraded middle-class neighborhood. Therefore, when institutions want to apply top-down gentrification, they have to ensure that they can provide homes for the middle-class and that they stay involved in the process. They should not expect that the development of the area can change from top-down to organic and that the area can continue the development without their help. Otherwise, both residential gentrification and commercial gentrification stay in development, without process. This, in turn leads to tensions, many levels of identity work, no shared identity and, above all, no quality place.

5.1 Limitations and future research

There are a few limitations of this study that have to be taken into account but can be used for future research. First, the sample of the study was rather small. After choosing the definition of a small business, not all entrepreneurs of the area could be approached for an interview for the research. Second, there are other actors involved in the gentrification process of an area as well, such as the area commission Noord, the municipality of

Rotterdam and the residents of the Zwaanshalskwartier. These actors have not been included in the research, so the outcomes of the study are, therefore, only limited to how the entrepreneurs who own a small business experience the gentrification of the area.

For future research, I would suggest that the above mentioned limitations should also be involved in research in other areas, in order to get an overall perspective about the process. This will help to get a better understanding of the urban development of an area and it can then be generalizable for other areas that are in the gentrification process. Furthermore, for future research it is also interesting how top-down gentrification runs in other areas and whether those areas face the same problems. It is interesting as well to research how other types of gentrification, such as organic gentrification or gentrification by investors, evolve in areas compared to top-down gentrification. And last, future research on the combination of gentrification, placemaking and identity can be further researched as well about how these concepts are related to each other. Are these concepts also used in other areas too in order to improve a neighborhood and how are they perceived by the involved actors?

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Appendix A: Interview forms in Dutch

Topic list 1: Entrepreneurs

Warm up

1. Wie ben je en wat doe je?
2. Hoe ziet jouw werkdag eruit?
3. Hoe ben je op het idee gekomen om een onderneming te beginnen?

Entrepreneur (semi warm up)

4. Zie je jezelf als ondernemer?
5. Waarom ben je een ondernemer geworden?
6. Hoe bevalt het ondernemen?
7. Hoe zou jij de industrie omschrijven waarin je onderneemt? (e.g. culturele industrie, muziek industrie, etc.)
8. Wat zijn de leuke dingen?
9. Wat vind je moeilijk?

Locatie

10. Hoe zou jij het Zwaanshalskwartier omschrijven?
    - Wat voor imago heeft het Zwaanshalskwartier?
    - Hoe matcht dit imago met de uitstraling de jouw onderneming?
11. Wat is jouw relatie met het Zwaanshalskwartier?
    - Wat wist je al over het Zwaanshalskwartier voordat je hier kwam te zitten?
12. Hoe ben je in de Zwaanshals terecht gekomen?
    - Had deze locatie ook jouw voorkeur?
13. Heb je gekeken naar andere locaties?
14. Als je de Zwaanshals je voorkeur had, waarom was dat zo?
    - Wat zijn de redenen?
    - Welke factoren hadden daar invloed op?
15. Als de Zwaanshals niet je voorkeur had, waarom heb je dan uiteindelijk besloten om je hier te vestigen?
16. Hoe bevalt deze locatie tot nu toe?
    - Ben je blij met de locatie? Zo ja/nee, waarom?
17. Wat zijn je ervaringen met de wijk? (zowel positief als negatief)
18. Wil je in het Zwaanshalskwartier blijven of wil je je liever ergens anders vestigen?
    - Waarom wel blijven/waarom niet blijven?
    - Indien ergens anders: waarom ergens anders?
19. Hoe is het contact met de bewoners?
    - Zijn er meer bezoekers uit de wijk of van buitenaf?
    - Hoe zou je de bewoners omschrijven?
    - Wat voor mensen zijn dit?

Gentrificatie

20. Zou je ook voor deze locatie hebben gekozen als er alleen maar, bijvoorbeeld, belwinkels waren?
    - Waarom wel/niet?
21. Waar moet een wijk aan voldoen om jou daar te laten vestigen?
    - Vragen om redenen
22. Wat is jouw visie op de populariteit van het Zwaanshalskwartier?
    - Denk je dat de wijk populair is onder ondernemers?
    - Zo ja, welke factoren hebben daar aan bijgedragen?
23. Hoe is de Zwaanshalskwartier populair geworden volgens jou? (indien vraag 21 positief is beantwoord)
24. Denk je dat de wijk aantrekkelijk is voor ondernemers om zich te vestigen?
    - Waarom wel/niet?
    - Welke factoren dragen daaraan bij?
25. Merk je een verschil aan de wijk tussen toen je hier net zat en nu?
    - Zo ja, wat dan?
26. Zijn je verwachtingen over het Zwaanshalskwartier uitgekomen? Verwachtingen als in: veel bezoekers, groeiende omzet, leuk contact met de wijk, etc.
    - Waarom wel/niet?
27. Hoe heeft het Zwaanshalskwartier zich in de weken/maanden/jaren dat je er zit zich ontwikkeld?
    - Is dit anders geworden? Hoe komt dat?
    - Wie heeft er invloed gehad op deze ontwikkeling?
    - Denk je dat je daar zelf ook een rol in hebt gespeeld?
    - Hoe denk je dat het Zwaanshalskwartier zich in de toekomst zal ontwikkelen?

Havensteder

28. Hoe is de relatie met Havensteder?
29. Hebben zij een aandeel gehad in de reden waarom jij je in het Zwaanshalskwartier hebt gevestigd?
    - Indien ja, welke reden(en)?
30. Zijn er 'regels' waaraan jij bent gebonden die zij jou hebben 'opgelegd'? Als in: zijn er dingen die je wel of niet mag doen?
    - Indien ja, welke?

Overig

31. Zijn er nog andere dingen die niet gevraagd zijn, maar volgens jou wel relevant om mee te nemen in het onderzoek?

Topic list 2: Pop-up entrepreneurs

Warm up

1. Wie ben je en wat doe je?
2. Hoe ziet jouw werkdag eruit?
3. Hoe ben je op het idee gekomen om een ondernemer te worden?

Entrepreneur (semi warm up)

4. Waarom ben je een ondernemer geworden?
5. Hoe bevalt het ondernemen?
6. Hoe zou jij de industrie omschrijven waarin je onderneemt? (e.g. culturele industrie, muziek industrie, etc.)
7. Wat zijn de leuke dingen?
8. Wat zijn de struikelblokken?

Locatie

9. Je hebt een pop-up winkel gehad tijdens de Winter Wonderweek in 2017 in het Zwaanshalskwartier. Hoe ben je hier terecht gekomen?
10. Wat is je relatie met het Zwaanshalskwartier?
11. Waarom wilde je je graag vestigen in het Zwaanshalskwartier voor 3 maanden?
    - Vragen om redenen
12. Hoe is de locatie bevallen?
13. Zou je je opnieuw willen vestigen in het Zwaanshalskwartier?
    - Waarom wel/niet?
14. Wat waren je ervaringen met de wijk?
15. Hoe was het contact met de bewoners?
    - Waren de bezoekers bewoners of mensen van buitenaf?
    - Hoe zou je de bewoners omschrijven?

Gentrificatie

16. Wat maakte het Zwaanshalskwartier aantrekkelijk voor jou om je daar te vestigen?
17. Als er andere winkels waren, zoals alleen maar belwinkels, had je dan ook een pop up winkel voor 3 maanden geopend?
    - Waarom wel/niet?
18. Denk je dat de wijk populair is voor ondernemers om zich te vestigen?
    - Waarom wel/niet?
    - Welke factoren dragen daaraan bij?
19. Hoe is het Zwaanshalskwartier populair geworden volgens jou? (Indien vraag 18 positief is beantwoord)
20. Hoe keek je tegen het Zwaanshalskwartier aan voordat je je pop up shop had en hoe kijk je er nu tegenaan?
21. Zijn je verwachtingen over het Zwaanshalskwartier uitgekomen? Verwachtingen als in: veel bezoekers, groeiende omzet, leuk contact met de wijk, etc.
    - Waarom wel/niet?

Havensteder

22. Winder Wonderweek was een initiatief vanuit Havensteder. Hoe was het contact met hun?
23. Wat moest je doen om je aan te melden voor het evenement?
    - E.g. motivatiebrief schrijven, op gesprek komen, etc.?
24. Als Havensteder opnieuw zo'n evenement zou organiseren, zou jij je dan weer aanmelden?
    - Waarom wel/niet?
25. Weet je waarom Havensteder jou heeft uitgekozen om voor 3 maanden een pop-up te openen?
    - Indien ja: waarom?

Waarom andere ondernemers weg?

Topic list 3: Havensteder

Warm up

1. Wie ben je en wat doe je?
2. Wat voor werk doe je voor Havensteder?
3. Hoe ben je bij Havensteder terecht gekomen?

Zwaanshalskwartier

4. Hoe zou jij het Zwaanshalskwartier omschrijven?
5. Welke veranderingen heeft het Zwaanshalskwartier meegemaakt?
6. Wat is het verschil tussen het Zwaanshalskwartier van toen en het Zwaanshalskwartier van nu?
7. Wat is de toekomst van Havensteder op het Zwaanshalskwartier?
8. Als je de het perfecte Zwaanshalskwartier hebt, hoe ziet dat er dan uit? Zowel in bewoners als ondernemers.
    - Streven jullie hier ook naar? Waarom wel/niet?

Entrepreneur

9. Als ik het goed heb begrepen, verhuurt Havensteder de ruimtes aan ondernemers. Komen er regelmatig verzoeken?
    - Indien ja, hoe komt dat?
    - Indien nee, doet Havensteder er iets aan om meer ondernemers aan te trekken?
10. Wat is het beleid van Havensteder omtrent de ondernemers?
    - Aan wat voor eisen moet een ondernemer voldoen?
    - Hoe trekken jullie ondernemers aan?
    - Welke ondernemers trekken jullie aan? (E.g. culturele ondernemers)
    - Wat doen jullie wanneer er een pand leeg komt te staan?
11. Zijn er 'regels' waaraan een ondernemer moet voldoen? E.g. wat hij wel/niet mag verkopen, contact met de buurt, etc.
    - Indien ja, wat dan?

12. Denken jullie dat de bewoners van het Zwaanshalskwartier de ondernemingen bezoeken?
    - Waarom wel/niet?
13. Denken jullie dat de ondernemingen in het Zwaanshalskwartier een goede representatie zijn van de bewoners die er wonen?
    - Waarom wel/niet?

Gentrificatie

14. Havensteder kwam in het nieuws vanwege de voorkeur die zij heeft voor nieuwe bewoners in het Zwaanshalskwartier. Volgen jullie dit beleid nog steeds?
    - Waarom wel/niet?
15. Toentertijd gaf jullie woordvoerder aan dat Havensteder dit doet om de wijk op te knappen en voor meer diversiteit. Is de wijk sindsdien ook 'beter' geworden?
    - Waarom wel/niet?
16. Dezelfde woordvoerder gaf ook aan dat de wijk al grotendeels was verbeterd door de ondernemingen die er al zaten en dat het 'nu' de beurt was van de bewoners. Hoe is de kijk van Havensteder hierop?
    - Is deze veranderd?
    - Hoe komt Havensteder bij deze theorie?
    - Staat Havensteder hier nog steeds achter?

Winter Wonderweek

17. Hoe kwam Havensteder op het idee van Winter Wonderweek 2017?
18. Ik heb gehoord dat er heel veel aanmeldingen binnen kwamen. Hoe was het selectieproces?
    - Waarom de ene ondernemer wel en de andere ondernemer niet?
    - Waar moest de ondernemer aan voldoen?
19. Had Havensteder verwacht dat er zoveel aanmeldingen waren?
    - Waarom wel/niet?
20. Hoe was het contact met de ondernemers tijdens de Winter Wonderweek?
    - Was het voor beide partijen een geslaagd evenement?
21. Zouden jullie opnieuw zo'n evenement organiseren?
    - Waarom wel/niet?

Appendix B: Coding tree

	Development area	Adjustments homes
		Balance area residents
		Need of residents with money
		Residents as gentrification
		Discrimination social rental homes
		Diversity
		Goal neighborhood Havensteder
		Effect diversity Havensteder
		Area in development
		Gentrification
		Consequence negative image
		Catering industry as gentrification
		Mix shopping area
		Business climate
		Businesses as gentrification
		Continue development
		Steer development area
		Development business
		Uncertainty entrepreneurs
		Placemaking
		Potential
		Reason(s) for location
		Collaboration Havensteder and municipality
		Field of tension
		Future Zwaanshalskwartier
		Fully developed
		Sales houses
		Difference neighborhood then and now
		Conditions successful neighborhood
	Selection process	Offering property
		Approaching new tenants
		Night clubs
		Negotiate with Havensteder
		Placing office
		Reason rejection entrepreneur
		Reason placing
		Selective selectivity
		Example not wanted business
	Characteristics entrepreneurs	Adjust to residents
		Craft
		Business plan
		Competition
		Have a web shop
		Initiative from entrepreneurs
		See yourself as entrepreneur
Gentrification		Prices

		Service
		Specialism
		Supporting other entrepreneurs
		Investing time in business
		Responsibility business
	Clustering	Call shops
		Clustering
		Gather information
		Knowledge about area in advance
	Residents	Attraction residents
		Residents are interested taking over rental space
		Contact residents
		Multicultural
		Description residents
		Entrepreneur does not match with residents
		Businesses not for residents
		Separation residents and entrepreneurs
	Description entrepreneurs	Interests entrepreneurs
		Contact other entrepreneurs
		Behavior entrepreneur
		Quality
		Description industry
		Description entrepreneurs
		Description store
		Entrepreneur who does not fit
		Distinctive
		Private rental
		Reason to start business
		Collaboration other entrepreneurs
		Split street
		Difference entrepreneur then and now
		Example entrepreneur who fits
		Examples other entrepreneurs from the neighborhood
	Attraction visitors	Attraction consumers
		Need for other entrepreneurs
		Need/adjustments consumers
		Fame
		Accessibility
		Residents as visitors
		Constant businesses
		Target group
		Target group area
		Target group entrepreneurs
		Sustainability
		Lack of concepts
		Consequence good businesses
		Oogstmarkt
		Popularity

			Crowd Puller
			Scarcity
			Specialization
			Return audience
			Accessible
			Neighborhood interest
		Attraction entrepreneurs	Business fits the area
			Relation with Kwartier
			Relation with Oude Noorden
			Starting entrepreneurs
			Comparison other entrepreneur(s)
		Description public	Description public
		Description Area	Centrality
			Amount of catering industry
			Characteristic of the street
			Nice shops
			Lively
			Location establishment
			Description area
			Togetherness
			Street scene
			Appearance
			Uniformity
			Preference location
			Shopping area
			Zaagmolendrift
			Range
			Attractive to locate
			Attraction
		Run-up	Run-up
			Walk through
			Consequence run-up
			Clientele
			Cross-pollination
			Cons
			Reason run-up
			Expectation
		Interchange	Running
			Generation gap
			Consequence interchange
			Investing social media
			Looking other locations
			Bottlenecks stores
			Not running
			Business wants to quit
			Reason vacancy
			Reason to stop
			Reason to stop business
			Reason interchange
			Reason(s) departure location

		Expansion
		Interchange
Tensions	Policy Havensteder	Agreements
		Interest Havensteder
		Policy Havensteder
		Promises Havensteder
		Enforcement
		How entrepreneurs come to Zwaanshalskwartier
		Lease agreement
		Opening hours
		Priorities Havensteder
		Reason eviction
		Rules
		Expectation of entrepreneurs Havensteder
		Conditions stop business
	Municipality of Rotterdam	Point of contact municipality
		Responsibility municipality
	Criticism	Restrictions from the municipality
		Communication
		Friction among entrepreneurs/within retailers association
		Frustration other entrepreneurs
		Frustration residents
		Nagging from entrepreneurs
		Criticism
		Criticize name Zwaanshalskwartier
		Negative experiences events
		Negative experiences Havensteder
		Negative experiences with the neighborhood
		Negative experiences politics
		Uncertainty
		Potential problems
		Product Zwaanshalskwartier
		Reason nagging entrepreneurs
		Reason not organizing pop-up Havensteder
		Unite
	Management	Availability
		Contact Havensteder
		Contact with other entrepreneurs Havensteder
		Help from Havensteder
		In possession Havensteder
		Responsibility Havensteder
		Delay
	Publicity	Media
		Negative experiences media
		Negative publicity
		Signing/publicity/advertisement
		Social Media

		Team for publicity
Identity	Retailers association	BIZ
		Thinking along about businesses
		Organizing events
		President retailers assocation
		Retailers association
	Zwart-Janstraat/Noordmolenstraat	Adjustments Zwart-Jan
		Businesses Zwart-Jan
		Difference Zwart-Jan and Zwaanshals
		Zwart-Janstraat/Noordmolenstraat
	Adjustments for the area	Adjustments street
		Connection other area
		Needs residents
		Good for the neighborhood
		Catering industry is needed
		Points of improvement
		Zwaanshals and Zwart-Jan together
	Pop-up	Experience
		Reason registration pop-up
		Reason not to locate
		Fill space
		Temporary location
	Other areas	Other attractive areas
		Entrepreneurship in Rotterdam
		Comparison other streets/areas
		Example gentrified area
		Examples other streets/areas
	Positivity neighborhood	Having fun
		Positive experiences events
		Postive experiences with the neighborhood
		Positive developments
		Atmosphere
	Image	Consequence vacancy
		Vacancy
		Identity Zwaanshals
		Image Zwaanshalskwartier
	Characteristics rental location	Demands location
		Loyalty location
Introduction	Introduction	Introduction
		What is nice about entrepreneurship
		Difficult/hard about entrepreneurship
		Warm-up answers
		Working day

Appendix C: Memos during and after coding

Thoughts after coding the interviews	
Kees, Smeden	This was the first interview I had done, which gives me the feeling that I was still in my interview mode. I also notice this in the interview itself. It sticks to the surface and I do not always ask follow-up questions. I stick to the interview questions that I prepared. Kees is a real 'Rotterdammer' and you notice that in his answers. I don't get the idea that he has a lot of contact with other retailers, except with the retailers who make a lot of profit, such as the Kookpunt or Bluegrass. He is very pro-renewing the neighborhood through building new houses and attracting new people and families. His relationship with Havensteder is good. He is not involved with the retailers association and thinks that it is not functioning properly.
Paul, Ca Va	I notice that Ca Va is new in the neighborhood. The entrepreneurs has not been around that long. He is enthusiastic and has many good ideas. He compares the street with many examples and is convinced that the catering industry is necessary to attract people. This is in line with what Smeden said that the catering industry always take the lead. However, this entrepreneur also thinks about the residents and the consumers: what do they need? He is willing to adapt, but he also believes that the current residents should be take into account and that the neighborhood should adjust to it.
Danny, Gerepareerd	This entrepreneurs is a real 'Rotterdammer' who simply wants to repair bicycles, because 'everyone needs a bicycle'. At first it seems that he has little knowledge about the neighborhood, but during the interview it appears that he knows a lot: about the vacancy rate, how it used to be, etc. He also makes a striking comparison with Amsterdam about the rents and he indirectly names the gentrification process. This corresponds to what Smeden says about building houses to attract new residents. This entrepreneur finds the new residents (with a lot of money) beneficial for the entrepreneurs. Probably because they have more money to spend. I find it strange that he knows nothing about the retailers association. I understood that the retailers association is mandatory and that you have to participate when you rent via Havensteder. The unusual thing about this story is that the entrepreneur likes it when things are organized to make the area more lively, but on the other hand he doesn't want to get involved. He thinks it's fine if they ignore him, because he wants to focus on his shop. It's strange that Ca Va, who has been also been in the neighborhood for less than a year, is already so involved.
Rob, Shining	I don't receive new information from Shining. Again the same story that the catering industry or a new business is

	needed for the liveliness and that there is friction in the retailers association. What is new is how Havensteder communicates with potential tenants. It is unclear who leases the empty properties. Shining is one of the few people who mention the pop-ups.
Rens, Bluegrass	I have the idea that Bluegrass does not have many problems with the neighborhood or that they are very interested in it. As long as it does not ensure that (potential) consumers stay away. Pollution and more greenery were discussed again. I have the feeling that Bluegrass is super successful in what they do and that it does not matter where they do it, because they have their website, their web shop, an app, own launces, a festival, etc. Perhaps that is why they are less involved in the neighborhood? They already have their clientele. The retailers association also came up again and again it was stated that this association is not doing well.
Clara, Jaren 50	This pop-upper had a very positive experience with the neighborhood, except with one other entrepreneur. Totally different experience than GERS, but Anja has been around longer. It was a 'short' but powerful interview and she was clear. Thought the neighborhood was relatively mixed, but did not have much contact with the residents. She liked the uniformity that was present through the signboards in the neighborhood.
Bas & Daniel, Gist	Enthusiastic entrepreneurs. They have many ideas about the area, but they are not enthusiastic about the retailers association. And they have some frustrations with the neighborhood and the residents living in it. They are clear why they have settled in the Zwaanshalskwartier (cheap rent, other nice shops) and what still needs to be done to develop itself better. I remember that I was very happy after the interview, because of the amount of information, but after coding the interview, it turned out to be somewhat disappointing. They provided a lot of information, but not a lot of new information.
Eline & Romeo, Mixed	No new information came up while coding this interview. Same things were said: retailers association is not functioning, more signing is necessary, local entrepreneurs can do more about their appearance (but are very nice and should stay). I feel that clustering is the main reason why they decided to locate themselves in the area, but they also think that it is the entrepreneurs their own responsibility to get more consumers.
Maud, Amenities	I notice that I don't receive new information anymore. The common thread running through the Zwaanshalskwartier is the same for almost every entrepreneurs: retailers association not functioning, etc. This is also the case with Amenities. What was striking about this interview is that Maud is very much concerned about taking responsibility and does not lean on the consumers of the street. She makes sure that the consumers come to her. However, she

	does believes that more cooperation is needed to get more visitors. Interesting.
Laura, Laura's treasures	I notice from the interview that I have little energy and that it is because of the interview that I did before (GERS). I think it's a shame, because it could have been a good interview and now I think it's 'mwah'. Unfortunately this happened. I also notice again during this interview that no new information is revealed. It is becoming more and more similar.
Anja, GERS	I have the idea that the owner of GERS started her business without any preparation, because she wanted to try it out. I think it is strange that she has no income, but that she continues her shop and that she is not actively looking for other another owner who can take over the property. I do notice that she has good contact with the entrepreneurs from the small part of the Zwaanshals, but hardly any contact with the entrepreneurs from the large part and other streets. I know she means it all in a positive way, but I do not think she looks at the situation in a realistic way.
Puk, Puk's Closet	Difficult interview to code. I notice that Puk has been there for some time and is also fairly active within the retailers association. After all, she is the only one who mentions that the identity of the Zwaanshals has changed to unleash yourself, instead of food, fashion, and design. I think she has nice ideas and I am happy that she appointed gentrification, but I find it a shame that she indicates that you need stable businesses in the neighborhood and that she leaves (while she is also a stable business).
Lisa & Hanna, Kraai	Fairly new information, but not completely new information. I got the idea that I was talking more with visitors of the Zwaanshalskwartier than with people who had a pop-up shop for seven weeks. Interesting how their image of the Zwaanshals is so positive towards the entrepreneurs and the residents and that the established entrepreneurs are less positive.
Steve, Havensteder	I had to create a huge amount of new codes, because the codes that I had so far were mainly applicable to the entrepreneurs and not on Havensteder. The information somehow overlaps with the information of the entrepreneurs, but with a different perspective. It is interesting to see that Havensteder is still committed to the neighborhood, but that he remains in the background, because the entrepreneurs apparently wanted that. This is inconsistent with what other entrepreneurs indicated. Outstanding points: - Havensteder still sees a good future for the Zwaanshalskwartier; - There is friction between some entrepreneurs and Havensteder; - Havensteder has its favorites, for example the companies that are doing well;

	- The pop-up event was not organized by Havensteder, but by the entrepreneurs themselves.
Jeroen, The Bakery	Long interview. Not much new information came out of it. Except that he would like to had have more cooperation with the entrepreneurs and that more success could come out of it. Plus the company is going to quite.