



# ONCE UPON A TIME...      THERE WAS A CREATIVE CITY

Citizens and cultural places in the gentrifying city: Dordrecht

Student Name: Ileana Peeters

Student Number: 447080

Supervisor: Dr. Niels van Poecke

Master Arts, Culture and Society

Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication

Erasmus University Rotterdam

Master's Thesis

July 2020

# Table of Contents

<b>ABSTRACT</b>	3
<b>Introduction</b>	4
<b>Theoretical section</b>	9
What is city gentrification?	9
Role of arts and culture in Dordrecht's city gentrification?	11
The positive and negative effects of gentrification	12
What is typically Dutch about city gentrification?	15
Which type of citizens play a role in the gentrification process?	16
The citizens' experiences of gentrification	19
What is Dordrecht's cultural policy in relation to gentrification?	22
<b>Methodology</b>	24
Research design	24
Data collection	25
Corona pandemic	26
Accessibility	27
Sampling strategy	27
Operationalisation	28
Method of analysis	32
Validity and reliability	34
Ethics	36
<b>Results</b>	37
The Popcentrale	38
What, where, when? The Popcentrale?	38
The Popcentrale and the municipality	45
Dordrecht: The changes in the city	46
The experiences of the Popcentrale in relation to the gentrification process	48
Het Vogelnest	52
What, where, when? Het Vogelnest?	52
Dordrecht: The changes in the Vogelbuurt	57
The experiences of the Het Vogelnest in relation to the gentrification process	59
<b>Conclusion</b>	64
<b>Bibliography</b>	68
<b>Appendix A</b>	76
<b>Appendix B</b>	80
<b>Appendix C</b>	88
<b>Appendix D</b>	88

# ONCE UPON A TIME.... THERE WAS A CREATIVE CITY

## Citizens and cultural places in a gentrifying city of Dordrecht

### ABSTRACT

Dordrecht's ambition is to become a creative city. Linked to the creation of creative cities is the process of gentrification. Gentrification is the production of space which in the case of the creative cities means that the arts and culture are the first initiators of the gentrification process. They seem to make a city look nicer, as artists and cultural places transform decayed historic neighbourhoods through their aesthetic appreciation. Yet, this transformation of neighbourhoods brings another phenomenon into movement which is the attraction of the creative class and the displacement of citizens who are in precarious social positions. This research focuses on the city of Dordrecht which exemplifies a peripheral city that experiences the spillover effects of the city of Rotterdam's gentrification process. This means that Dordrecht needs to deal with the arrival and displacement of classes in their own way. However, it seems that the city pursues the gentrification process to achieve its dream of becoming a creative city. So, cultural places and citizens in Dordrecht need to deal with the ambition of the city in their own way. This research attempts to answer the following question:

How do citizens from different neighbourhoods in Dordrecht express their relation with the gentrification process through the production and consumption of cultural places in the city? To sample respondents from and acquire an understanding about the gentrification process, this research utilises two different case studies, which are the Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest. For this research 14 semi structured interviews are executed to unravel the reality of the citizens in relation to the gentrification process. The type of respondents interviewed differs from coordinators to volunteers and visitors. The research results showed that the Popcentrale has been part of the gentrification process since the existence of the organisation. Moreover, the Popcentrale itself is fulfilling this role as an initiator of the gentrification process through future projects that deal with youth in precarious social positions. The experiences of visitors and volunteers of the Popcentrale in relation to the gentrification process were reflected in the ambiance, relocation of the organisation and the aesthetics of the basement of the Popcentrale. The mission of Het Vogelnest exemplifies a more nuanced position towards the gentrification. Through the coffee bar, Het Vogelnest tries to emancipate the neighbourhood which seems to be an attempt to delay the gentrification process. The experiences of visitors and volunteers of Het Vogelnest were reflected in the aesthetic transformations of the neighbourhood by Het Vogelnest, the concept design of 'Het buurtbakkie' and the possibility for residents of the Vogelbuurt to socialise with other neighbours. This research concludes that the Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest deal differently with the ambition of the municipality of Dordrecht. The Popcentrale seems to be more part of the gentrification process, whereas Het Vogelnest attempts to secure its critical position towards gentrification.

**KEYWORDS:** Gentrification, creative city, production of space, cultural places, inclusive gentrification and the creative class.

## Introduction

*“The first sign you are going to have to leave your neighbourhood? It’s when vintage clothing shops show up. The housing value goes up, then they are all going to get the push”*(Jangård & Gertten, 2019).

This quote illustrates one of city gentrification’s aspects in which culture plays a role.

Gentrification is the production of space where the arts and culture are the first initiators in this process (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Slater, 2004). The arts and culture make neighbourhoods look nicer through their aesthetic appreciation of decayed historic buildings (Ley, 1996). This means in the context of gentrification, artists, artistic organisations and art spaces are, alongside the renovation of buildings, utilised as tools to increase the socioeconomic status of neighbourhoods (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Deutsche & Ryan, 1984; Ley, 2003; Lloyd, 2010; Mathews, 2010; Zukin, 1982; Clark, 2005; Doucet, 2014). This type of gentrification is referred to as the wish for a city to become creative. One of these cities is Dordrecht.

The city of Dordrecht has had the ambition of becoming a creative city since 2009. This was mentioned for the first time in the document *‘From Hype to Feasibility’* (Van Hype naar Haalbaarheid). The municipality of Dordrecht never created a new cultural policy for the years 2014- 2019, up until now (Gemeente Dordrecht, 2019). This meant the goals stated in the cultural policy for the period of 2011-2014 had been extended until the end of 2019. This year the municipality of Dordrecht has presented a new cultural policy plan, which pays special attention to its vision to become a creative city, as stated in 2009.

However, Dordrecht needs to attract citizens from the creative class before it can become a creative city. A creative city is defined by the utilisation of culture as a mechanism to support a city’s brand and expresses its economic development, which means that culture is at the core of how a city can grow and the creative class is attracted through the use of culture (Comunian, 2010). The assets that make a creative city attractive for the creative class is the presence of museums, theatres, restaurants, shops, cafes, festivals, old historical buildings, nature and the city’s history (Van Aalst, 2005). Citizens from the creative class are highly educated and have innovative and creative careers, for example in the arts or sciences (Marlet & Woerkens, 2007; Fritsch & Stuetzer, 2009). The attraction of this type of class is

used as a means for city gentrification. The creative class is a phenomenon in city policy where municipalities want to attract people who are creative and highly educated, as they would increase the economic growth and employment of the city. In the creation of a creative city, not only consumers of the creative class play a significant role in this process, but also the cultural places inhabiting the city, as they are utilised to attract this creative class. So, what this means is that cultural places are created to a city to attract consumers and preferably consumers of the creative class. The arts and culture are part of the first stage of gentrification, which increases the socioeconomic status of the neighbourhood that attracts the creative class and later on economic capital (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005).

From an economic perspective, Dordrecht's wish of becoming a creative city seems to be a positive movement, yet on the other hand gentrification instigates a process of displacement, specifically of vulnerable groups that are in precarious social positions (Gerhard, Hoelscher, & Wilson, 2016). This means that people with a low income experience a great deal of uncertainty and are forced to move away, as the creative class who earns more money is attracted. Cultural projects that try to counteract the gentrification process in their city are for example the *Not In Our Name Manifesto* in Hamburg where artists protested against the increasing social housing rent in the city. Yet, the wish of a city to become creative also shows that culture is used to reinforce the gentrification process (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Southwark notes, n.d.). At the moment, Dordrecht is one of the gentrifying cities in the Netherlands that is chasing its dream to reinvent themselves as a creative city. This is illustrated by the demolition and renovation of apartments, for example in the city district known as the Vogelbuurt (Oerlemans, 2018). In a different neighbourhood called Krispijn, this took place a year ago (Koster, 2016). This gentrification movement in Dordrecht is spilled over from Rotterdam and illustrates the movement of classes from Rotterdam to Dordrecht, as a result of the city gentrification process in Rotterdam. According to Doucet (2014), contemporary gentrification is characterised by its temporality. This means that the gentrification process does not stay in one place, but moves to peripheral cities like Dordrecht due to the movement of social groups. Classes that cannot afford to reside in Rotterdam move to peripheral cities like Dordrecht (Hochstenbach, 2017). This movement of social classes is mostly characterised by the movement of vulnerable groups with a precarious social position. So, people with lower incomes make way for the high-income classes and are forced to places they can afford to reside in (Drew, 2011). The renovation of

cities like Rotterdam and Dordrecht are not the only examples where this happens. Other gentrifying cities where the gentrification process spills over, are for example Amsterdam, New York City and Berlin (Nourhussen, 2019; Manskar, 2018; Zerofsky, 2019). The re-urbanisation of the city might create some friction in people's relation with the city. Especially if you live in a gentrifying city that demolishes houses and neighbourhoods fall apart. Then, what do you do as a citizen?

Gentrification brings classes into movement within cities and from city to city, yet how is this currently taking place in the city of Dordrecht and how do cultural places deal with their role in this process? This research attempts to answer the following question: How do citizens from different neighbourhoods in Dordrecht express their relation with the gentrification process through the production and consumption of cultural places in the city? This research tries to unravel people's experiences with the gentrification process in relation to the cultural places in the city and what type of role these places have in this process. To sample respondents from and acquire an understanding about the gentrification process, this research utilises two different case studies, which are *the Popcentrale* and *Het Vogelnest*. The Popcentrale represents itself as a centre for musicians and offers them rehearsal spaces, a production studio and a performance stage. Moreover, they try to stimulate local talent in Dordrecht and connect musicians within the city (Popcentrale, 2020). Het Vogelnest is a meeting place in a neighbourhood called the Vogelbuurt for neighbours to come together, drink coffee and people can come to realise their ideas to make the neighbourhood more beautiful (Vogelnest, 2016b). The Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest are part of the gentrification process in the city. Furthermore, they have a close link with the municipality, as it is their largest subsidiser (Gemeente Dordrecht, 2018). However, the Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest approach the gentrification process and their relationship with the municipality differently. The Popcentrale is more of a part of the gentrification policy of Dordrecht, whereas Het Vogelnest tries to be critical about this policy and counteract this policy through the activities in the neighbourhood. The reason to utilise these two different types of case studies is, because both cultural places are situated in different neighbourhoods in Dordrecht and attract different types of citizens to their places (Vogelnest, 2016a; Gemeente Dordrecht 2020; Popcentrale, 2020). Therefore, it is interesting for this research project to collect different sorts of experiences from these two places as case studies.

In the first place, the results of this research will be an addition to the main existing knowledge about the gentrification process in peripheral cities, as most writing in the academic world contains information regarding the effects of gentrification and the different stages of gentrification (Doucet, 2014; Autor, Palmer & Pathak, 2017; O'Sullivan, 2005; Hochstenbach, 2017; Doff & Sluis, 2017; Drew, 2011; Hyra, 2016; Ghaffari, Klein & Baudin, 2018; Janoschka & Casgrain, 2013). Furthermore, this research might provide new insights into the role of cultural places in the process of gentrification. According to the research of Cameron and Coaffee (2005) and other researchers (e.g., Deutsche & Ryan, 1984; Ley, 2003; Lloyd, 2010; Mathews, 2010; Zukin, 1982), it is known that the arts and culture are used to increase the socioeconomic status of deprived neighbourhoods, yet there is not much written about how individuals experience gentrification in relation to culture and how they cope with it. Research (e.g. Doucet, 2009; Atkinson, 2000; Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Cahill, 2007) that focuses on the experiences of gentrification only provides knowledge about people's individual experiences with gentrification concerning their own neighbourhood. Moreover, this research will add to existing debates about the consequences, experiences and complexness of gentrification (Doucet, 2009; Atkinson, 2000; Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Cahill, 2007; Freeman, 2006; Twigge-Molecey, 2014).

In addition, this research adds to society's understanding of the effects of gentrification. This means that it might help cultural places to understand their way of coping with the gentrification process and stress their role in this process. Cultural places might differ in their approach towards dealing with gentrification and choosing to be part of this process or not. In addition, the different approaches of cultural places might also express itself in the relation of the citizens with the cultural places and their experiences of these places. Some classes might be more attracted to a cultural place than others. So, this knowledge might help cities to develop an insightful and diverse cultural policy that focuses on the role of cultural places in the city, as a means to connect different classes in a gentrifying neighbourhood, instead of as a means for attracting the creative class.

The first part of this thesis will discuss the theoretical framework and disputes topics about the concept of gentrification, the social and economic effects that gentrification generates, the typicality of Dutch gentrification, the role of classes and cultural places in the process of gentrification, and finally the research will focus on the experiences of gentrification. The second part provides information about the employed method suitable for

answering the research question, which consisted out of 14 semi structured interviews, of which the data collection was executed during the COVID-19 pandemic. The goal of the interviews was to obtain information about the experiences of citizens in relation to gentrification and their visits of cultural places. Furthermore, the coordinators of the Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest were interviewed to obtain more information about the cultural places' strategy of coping with the gentrification process in the city. Additionally, the method section will focus on discussing the ethical considerations and on the reliability and validity of this research project. The third part focuses on the analyses that were conducted on the basis of the collected data. In the results section, both of the cultural places will be addressed individually. The order of discussion of the results of both cultural places will start with an explanation of the origin of the places up until now and is followed by the discussion of visitors' and volunteers' experiences of the cultural places. Furthermore, the cultural places' relation with the city will be discussed and that of the visitor's and volunteers' themselves. This thesis ends with a conclusion about the main findings connected to the debate on gentrification, specifically focused on Dordrecht as a gentrifying city.



## **Theoretical section**

The theoretical section of this master thesis will discuss topics and discourses related to the process of gentrification. It will focus on the role of culture in the gentrification process. Each section will start with a definition of the discussed concept, followed by the relationship between the concepts, with additional explanations. The first part of the theoretical section zooms in on the concept of city gentrification by offering a clear definition of this phenomenon and paraphrasing the several different perspectives of scholars on gentrification. The second part discusses the role of culture in the gentrification process and specifically on the role of cultural places in gentrifying neighbourhoods. Later in this section, this discourse will be linked to Dordrecht as a case study. The third part provides information about the citizens involved in gentrification process which are the creative class, the precarious labourers and the precariat class. The fourth part moves beyond the general discourses of gentrification and will narrate the experiences of citizens in this process. The last part elaborates on Dordrecht's cultural policy in relation to gentrification, taking a historical perspective through focusing on Dordrecht's city policy over the last ten years.

### **What is city gentrification?**

One of the first academic scholars that introduced the concept of city gentrification as a phenomenon is Ruth Glass (1964). Almost sixty years later gentrification has become one of the main strategies for city renovation. Ruth Glass (1964) defined gentrification as '*the process of change in the social structure of deprived working-class neighbourhoods*'. The changes in the social structure were explained by middle- and upper-class citizens moving into the neighbourhoods of the lower classes. This went along with the rehabilitation of the housing stock and the moving away of other residents from the neighbourhood (Ghaffari, Klein & Baudin, 2017). This definition of gentrification comes close to the phenomenon it is nowadays. A current definition of gentrification is the re-urbanisation of deprived neighbourhoods by the reinvestment of fixed capital through the renovation of houses (Clark, 2005; Doucet, 2014). This results in what Bélanger (2010) refers to as the process of raising the socioeconomic status of neighbourhoods in the city. According to Ghaffari, Klein & Baudin (2018), this means that one of the negative consequences of gentrification is the displacement of classes, yet even without the displacement of citizens it could still be

described as gentrification. The core of this process is raising the socioeconomic status of a neighbourhood. A good example of gentrification in the Netherlands is the city of Rotterdam. Engelen (2015) wrote about how famous no-go areas in Rotterdam had improved their reputation by renovating buildings and social rent houses as part of a broader policy plan of the municipality. Later on, these buildings were sold to new businesses to attract individuals with economic capital (Engelen, 2015).

An interesting side-effect of gentrification is that it could become more inclusive, rather than exclusive, if the negative effects of this process are minimised (Freeman & Braconi, 2004). Through this gentrification can become more socially acceptable. So, making gentrification more inclusive could be seen as a reaction of citizens and cultural places towards this process, as they are the victims that experience the negative effects. Gentrification might lead to the displacement of classes which is a negative effect of this process, yet it can become more inclusive if projects are developed that create social cohesion in neighbourhoods. Through this citizens' attention is shifted from the negative effects of the process to the positive effects of gentrification.

Glass's definition of gentrification primarily focused on the economic aspects of gentrification. Another perspective on gentrification comes from Cameron and Coaffee (2005) and Slater (2004) who see this process as the production of space, which entails the consumption of these spaces. So from this perspective the gentrification process is not merely seen as a class changer, but also as a changer of the environment (Slater, 2004). Furthermore, Cameron and Coaffee (2005) stress that the arts and culture play an essential role in the production of spaces and the changing of the environment, as they are the first initiators of this process. Moreover, the renovation of houses can also literally be seen as changing the environment, as some houses are demolished and replaced by other completely new buildings. Yet before this happens, the arts have already changed the neighbourhood in some way. Cameron and Coaffee base their argument on research of Ley (1996) who argued that artists, as the first pioneers of gentrification, are involved in the aesthetic appreciation of urban fabric houses and other decayed historic neighbourhoods. Through their aesthetic eye artists transform ugly neighbourhoods into nicer places. This eventually will attract parties with higher economic status that will decide to demolish the decayed houses and re-urbanise the place. This master thesis will utilise the definition of Cameron and Coaffee (2005) and Slater (2004) for the concept of gentrification, as this research focuses on the role of cultural

places in relation to the gentrification process in Dordrecht. It is important to comprehend how these cultural places have changed the spaces of the neighbourhoods they are situated in to understand their role in the gentrification process. Furthermore, the definition of Cameron and Coaffee (2005) and Slater (2004) offers more space in the approach towards the gentrification process, as the definitions of other scholars (Clark, 2005; Doucet, 2014) seems to be more normative. The way gentrification is seen depends of the perspective of the viewer as it can be experienced as the downgrading or upgrading of a neighbourhood.

### **Role of arts and culture in Dordrecht's city gentrification?**

In order to have a clear understanding of the role of cultural places in the gentrification process in Dordrecht, it first needs to be explained what the role of culture in gentrification generally is. According to Pratt (2008), culture is created in different places and times, which means it depends on the context what type of culture arises and how it is created. A concept linked to culture is creativity, that, according to Pratt (2011), is highly situational. Even though it seems obvious that creativity and culture are linked, these statements do not make clear through which elements culture and/or creativity arises or how it exactly comes to fruition in the context of gentrification. Several studies (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Deutsche & Ryan, 1984; Ley, 2003; Lloyd, 2010; Mathews, 2010; Zukin, 1982) show that artists, artistic organisations and art spaces play a key role in the emergence of gentrification. Ley (2003) explains that artists indirectly create elements of change in a neighbourhood through their cultural capital. In addition, artists aesthetically appreciate urban fabric houses and other decayed historic neighbourhoods and are attracted to these places (Ley, 1996). What this means is that artists aesthetically revalue the place they are working or living in at the moment by transforming these deprived historic neighbourhoods into places that are inhabited by galleries, studios, bars, restaurants and coffee bars (Lloyd, 2010; Silver & Clark, 2013; Zukin, 2010). So, through art they make deprived places look better which indirectly attracts investors that are into reinvesting in capital estate (Zukin, 1982; Grodach, Carl, Foster, Nicole, & Murdoch III, James, 2014). Art eventually becomes a means for attracting capital and forms the foundation for the gentrification process in deprived places.

Over the years the arts have become a direct gentrifying instrument for urban policy and planning (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Grodach & Silver, 2013). Governments and municipalities use art as a means to gentrify a deprived place. This development can be seen

as the institutionalisation of art in state policies. This made gentrification more than only a constitutional phenomenon that was not controlled by any entity or institution, but as research of the last decade shows, arts and culture have become a tool to start up the initial phase of gentrifying deprived and poor neighborhoods to increase the city's socioeconomic status. Cameron and Coaffee (2005) distinguish three different phases of gentrification in relation to the arts and culture in their research. The first phase of gentrification is defined as the creation of a milieu for artists to settle down and produce their art like the urban fabric neighborhoods where political institutions do not interfere in the process of the artists yet. The second phase is described as the commodification of the arts and culture where capital investors are attracted through the upgrading of decayed neighbourhoods. In the third phase, the arts and culture are utilised by municipalities to attract citizens from the creative class to increase the socioeconomic status of a neighbourhood. In this last phase, gentrification has become a state-led phenomenon through which the arts are used as a tool.

This means for this research that the role of the arts and culture in gentrification policies is reflected in city policies like those of the city of Dordrecht. In Dordrecht's latest cultural policy plan of 2020-2024 the main goal of the city is to grow through the arts, which means that the arts and culture are used to change and develop the city. It is important to understand the role of the arts in the process of gentrification when it comes to discussing the role of the two study cases, The Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest. Moreover, it is essential to know how citizens that are visiting these cultural places experience the process of gentrification through their participation and the experiences in their neighbourhood. The studied cultural places deal with the gentrification process in a different way, which makes it interesting for this research project how this is expressed through the creation of these places and the experiences of its visitors.

### **The positive and negative effects of gentrification**

Gentrification is seen as a process of change which means it might not go without any consequences. The positive and negative effects of gentrification described in this paragraph are chosen on the basis of the research question and to what extent they have added to the understanding of the process of gentrification

One of the initial goals of gentrification is making neighbourhoods a safer place to live. This means gentrification is linked to a decrease in crime in renovated neighbourhoods

(O'Sullivan, 2005). The drop of crime rates may also represent the attraction of middle classes to the renovated neighbourhoods, as higher classes are often eager to live in safe places (Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2007). Yet Autor, Palmer and Pathak (2017) argue that gentrification can also lead to an increase in crime and a decrease in social cohesion, as the process is fostering the movement of classes which can create some uproar and friction in neighbourhoods.

A second effect of gentrification is the spillover effect which Doucet (2014) defines as the third wave of gentrification, when it moves beyond the city. This might mean that rural places or smaller cities are affected by the gentrification consequences of bigger cities. In Doff & Sluis's online article (2017), they refer to the movement of original residents being forced to move away from their own neighbourhood, as they do not have the money to pay the rent of these new houses. They will go and live elsewhere in cheaper places in the city or in a different city. Yet this movement of classes is not done voluntarily as it might seem. For lower classes it is necessary to leave, as they are not able to pay the new rent of the renovated houses. Coming back to Doucet's definition of the third wave of gentrification, the spillover effect also means that gentrification moves from capital cities, like Rotterdam, to peripheral cities or places. The case of Rotterdam exemplifies this process, as it spreads to smaller cities like Dordrecht, Schiedam and Vlaardingem, which surround the capital city. Classes that cannot afford to stay in Rotterdam move to peripheral cities like Dordrecht (Hochstenbach, 2017). This makes Dordrecht an interesting case for this research as it is in the middle of a gentrification process. This will help me to understand the current experiences of citizens in relation to their consumption and the production of cultural places that are part of the gentrification process (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005). Cultural places play an essential role in the gentrification process, as the arts are one of the first initiators of this process. Furthermore it is interesting for this research to map how cultural places deal with the gentrification process in relation to their position and unintended role in this process and its effects.

A third effect of gentrification is the creation of power of dominant groups inhabiting deprived neighbourhoods (Drew, 2011). Gentrification creates places where higher socioeconomic classes can settle, for example, by increasing the rent of the social rent houses, turning them into property for sale or by artists who transform the neighbourhood to an aesthetically nicer place to live. This creates a boundary for lower social classes or marginalized groups to be able to stay in their old neighbourhood, as they do not identify

themselves with the new look of the neighbourhood or are not able to pay the rent of the new houses. In the end, the higher social economic classes are in the majority which results in pushing the lower socioeconomic classes out of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the exclusion of lower classes can be described as the process of displacement. Some groups will resist this process by responding to social problems in the neighbourhood. Take for example a cultural organisation in Rotterdam called TENT who pleaded against the city policy in creating Rotterdam as a creative city. They stated that this would threaten the status of the cultural organisation as mere a tool of gentrification which they did not want to be associated with (BAVO, 2006). This is not an example of how artists deal with the process of gentrification, but a reaction against the utilisation of art as a tool for gentrification. In an online article of the website Artsy (Moskowitz, 2017) is written about artists' reaction against the displacement of neighbours in the neighbourhood they live through the use of their artworks to make a statement.

Displacement is not just a phenomenon in itself, as Hyra (2016) argues for distinguishing between different forms of displacement. Political and cultural displacement are the two types that are the most interesting for this master's thesis, as they focus on the social tensions and interactions between the original residents and newcomers. Political displacement refers to the domination of lower-income minorities that demonstrate against the arrival of upper-income classes to their neighbourhood, but as the upper-income classes become the majority of people living in the neighbourhood the lower-income minorities lose their political representation and are forced to live elsewhere (Hyra, 2016). Cultural displacement entails the change of preferences, norms and service facilities in the neighbourhood (Hyra, 2016). This means that people are not displaced on the basis of their income, but the change in mentality of their neighbourhood and services they need, requires them to live elsewhere. This research zooms in on the experiences of citizens with the gentrification process through their consumption and production of places. So, the experience of citizens with the gentrification process might not only be focused on their displacement due to rising housing prices, but also on the political and cultural changes in the neighbourhood.

A fourth effect of gentrification mentioned earlier in this section is the increase of rent that is created through the renovation of social houses which makes them more expensive. However, the increase of rent is also stirred by the municipality to attract citizens with a

higher socioeconomic status to increase the value of the neighbourhood (Ghaffari, Klein & Angulo Baudin, 2018).

The fifth effect of gentrification is the empowerment of a neighbourhood's residents or the increase of social cohesion. This effect can be seen as a countermovement towards the gentrification process. The article of Ghaffari, Klein & Angulo Baudin (2018) describes this effect as the mitigation of the displacement process which gentrification process stirs. This effect is related to one of the main effects of gentrification which is displacement of classes. Janoschka and Casgrain (2013) link this to making gentrification more inclusive than exclusive, to manage the negative effects of the process via the citizen participation and social movements. So, through making citizens aware of the effects of gentrification and uniting neighbours helps to stabilize the social cohesion in a neighbourhood. The disruption gentrification causes, is slightly tackled as people are more united than separated. This idea of making gentrification more inclusive is interesting for this research, as it might explain how cultural places deal with the process of gentrification and their role within gentrification. Cultural places boost the gentrification process, yet through projects that create more unity in a neighbourhood they might soften some of the negative effects of gentrification.

The clear description of the effects of gentrification are useful for this research as it maps the role the gentrification process plays in a city. This research focuses specifically on the experiences of citizens of gentrification, and the literature creates a basis for this research to understand the stories of the participants' experiences. However, most of the written literature about the effects of gentrification focuses only on the changing of places and the changing of social groups, yet only some research provides knowledge about what the residents feel about the process. Therefore, it is relevant for this research to study the experiences of citizens with the gentrification process to add to debate of the experiences of gentrification.

### **What is typically Dutch about city gentrification?**

Gentrification is used by governmental institutions over the world as a method in city policy, but not every country or government institution implements gentrification in the same way. This part of the theoretical section focuses on what is typical about Dutch gentrification, as this research studies the Dutch city: Dordrecht. According to Doucet (2014), the gentrification process in the Netherlands is characterised by its housing policies. This means

there is a specific focus on the renovation of buildings or social rent houses to upgrade the socioeconomic status of neighbourhoods. Teernstra and Van Gent (2012) refer to the role of central and local governments and housing associations in gentrification processes, as they are the ones who promote and execute it. Uitermark and Duyvendak (2006) describe this as state-led gentrification, which means that the promoter and creator of the gentrification process is the government. This implies that in the context of the Netherlands, governments try to create social cohesion through gentrification in places where the state has a hard time to tackle the social problems in neighbourhoods and lost its authority. By subsidising the renovation of social housing the government or municipality can indirectly control the development, the social structure of the neighbourhoods and regain control (Dikeç, 2006). This means that the state tries to solve the social problems in a district through gentrification that brings social classes that tend to follow the state through which it can restore its authority.

This literature is useful for answering the research question as it gives insights into the Dutch gentrification process and helps this research as it focuses on a city in the Netherlands. The literature will help to explain the current developments in the city of Dordrecht, as there are a lot of neighbourhoods that are being renovated. Moreover, the poor livability and safeness in Dordrecht seems to have created a bad reputation of the city a couple of years ago (Spitshoven & Weij, 2018). With gentrification the municipality of Dordrecht seems to regain authority and tackles the social problems in the city by improving it through the renovation of neighbourhoods. This research will contribute to the understanding of the experiences of the citizens in Dordrecht and their reasons for producing and consuming cultural places with the help of this literature.

### **Which type of citizens play a role in the gentrification process?**

Gentrification displays the movement of classes, which means different groups of citizens play a distinct role in this process. According to Richard Florida (2002), the attraction of the creative class will enhance the economic growth of a city. This also means that the socioeconomic status of deprived neighbourhoods increases due to the habitation of those districts by members of the creative class. In other words, the creative class is used as a means for gentrification to change a city into a creative place that attracts businesses to the city (Marlet & Woerkens, 2007). Yet what is this creative class we are talking about? It



seems to be that the creative class has some special characteristics that attracts businesses and increases the socioeconomic status of a neighbourhood and city. Richard Florida (2002) defines the creative class as the following: “*its members engage in work whose function is to create meaningful new forms*”. This means citizens of the creative class have innovative and creative careers, such as artists, scientists or designers.

Yet this definition is clearly very superficial as it does not explain what innovation and creativity is. Zenker (2009) interprets these types of careers as the ability to develop new concepts and products. Furthermore, Zenker (2009) mentions that Florida splits the creative class into two different groups: the “super-creative core” and “the creative professionals”. Examples of the “super-creative core” are scientists who create new concepts that result in new products or artists that create valuable artworks, or people working in the educational sector, in music, entertainment, design and architecture. Examples of the “creative professionals” are people who work in high-tech sectors or in business management. So, according to Florida this new creative class works in a broad spectrum of sectors that are connected with the concept of creativity. So, if a career belongs to the creative class depends on the level creativity it includes (Fairlie, 2012). Zenker also refers to the idea that creative capital is linked to have the power to generate economic success (Zenker, 2009). However, the definition of Florida of the creative class offers no framework in relation to the types of careers that should be included in the definition. The concept of creativity is very broad, which means a career that is not associated with the arts and culture can be included in the definition of the creative class. For example, a cook can be included in the definition as his work requires him to be creative, yet a cook can also be excluded as it is not related with arts and culture directly. So, it just depends on the perspective which careers are part of the creative class or not.

The definition of Florida of the creative class only focuses on the creative capital level of this class, but there is no reference to the socioeconomic status of this class, which means that also citizens with a low socioeconomic status and a creative career can be part of this class. Yet, research reveals that mainly higher educated citizens are part of the creative class (Fritsch & Stuetzer, 2009; Marlet & Woerkens, 2007). Furthermore, critics argue that Florida mixes creativity with human capital in his definition of the creative class (Markusen & King, 2003; Glaeser, 2004). Human capital is a set of skills that any worker possesses to increase its productivity (Goldin, 2016). So, this means human capital seems to be much broader than

creativity. Therefore, Florida's critics (Markusen & King, 2003; Glaeser, 2004; Marlet & Woerkens, 2007; Fritsch & Stuetzer, 2009;) argue that software technicians should not be included in the categorisation of the creative class, as these types of workers are barely related to creativity. Moreover, the focus on human capital leads to highly-educated people, as Florida measured the impact of human capital and qualification of economic development instead of the actual factors of economic development. This might have blurred the results of Florida's research as higher education is usually linked to higher income, yet the profession of an artist does not always mean a steady income.

To come to a clearer definition of the creative class it seems that when you focus on the critique on Florida's definitions, the level of education should be included in the definition of the creative class. This element is added as to provide for a framework that excludes careers with a low level of education who do not belong to the creative class according to research results (Fritsch & Stuetzer, 2009; Marlet & Woerkens, 2007). For this research, the level of education is added to the original definition of the creative class, which means that the creative class that some careers with which require a low education are excluded, as they do not express the values of the creative class. This definition is not perfect, but it helps to point research into the right direction about the complexity of the creative class.

From this new definition of the creative class other class's roles in the gentrification process can be defined, these are the precariat and the precarious class. These two classes experience the consequences of the gentrification process and are the ones who are forced to move away. These two classes belong to the base of the social hierarchy in Dutch society (Vrooman, Gijsberts & Boelbouwer, 2014). According to Vrooman, Gijsberts & Boelbouwer (2014), in the Netherlands the precariat class is defined as a group of citizens who are pessimistic about their opportunities and capabilities in life as they do not feel to have control over their lives. This group often has a lower educational level, low level of cultural capital, they suffer more from long-term illnesses or disorders, have flexible labour contracts and are dissatisfied with society and even more with their own lives (Vrooman, Gijsberts & Boelbouwer 2014; Standing 2014). This definition of the precariat class shows that this group lacks the ability to be part of society which results in them turning their back on society (Vrooman, Gijsberts & Boelbouwer 2014). Another group in Dutch society experiencing the consequences of gentrification, is the precarious laborers. This group is somewhat higher

positioned in society than the precariat class. Precarious labourers dispose of more capital than the precariat class, have a slightly higher education level and have more skills to deal with in life. The precariat and the precarious labourers are both classes that are at the other end of the spectrum of gentrification compared to the creative class, which makes their experience of gentrification different from that of the creative class. Some artists and other cultural self-employed entrepreneurs belong to the precarious or precariat class, as their career offers a lot of uncertainty. Being an artists does not mean you have a steady income. Most these types of citizens are only able to live in cheap decayed neighbourhoods. Yet, Cameron and Coaffee (2005) argue that artists increase the social economic status of the neighbourhood through their revalorization of the place. This is when gentrification pops up and the municipality decides to renovate the neighbourhood. However, the artists that increased the status of the neighbourhood are still in a precarious position, which means they do not have the means to pay for expensive houses and are forced to leave the neighbourhood. This process creates a uncertain position for citizens who are part of the precariat and precarious class. According to Standing (2014), this means that both classes are constantly experiencing uncertainty and this might create some tension between the creative class and the other two classes as the creative class does not experience this uncertainty.

For this master thesis it is necessary to understand the roles of different classes in the gentrification process, especially the type of classes that are part of this process, to be able to understand the experiences of the citizens in Dordrecht of this process. In Dordrecht 44% of the citizens had a low income, 39 % had a middle income and 17% a high income in 2016 (Onderzoekscentrum Drechtensteden, 2016). This means that most of the citizens that live in Dordrecht belong to the lower income classes. The background of the classes in Dordrecht will give more clarification for the reasons of the experiences and why they are visiting cultural places and why these cultural places are being produced.

### **The citizens' experiences of gentrification**

Additional information necessary for answering the research question of this thesis is a section on citizen's experiences of the gentrification process. Gentrification is a politically loaded term (Doucet, 2009), which means that it can evoke different feelings for different parties. One of the first experiences linked to gentrification is the fear of displacement, as expressed by lower income residents (Atkinson, 2000). This fear of displacement is caused

by the rising social rent prices in lower income neighbourhoods (Doucet, 2009). Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) argue that social cohesion is strongly present in working-class communities. Combined with the rising of social rent prices the fear of displacement and not being able to be part of the community any longer is evoked. The fear of displacement could also be described as spatial exclusion. In the research of Cahill (2007), this concept was defined by the movement of people and the pushing of social groups. One group pushes the original residents out of their own neighbourhood. This means that the fear of displacement is more than just being afraid of the need to leave your own neighbourhood. It also has to do with the clashing of different social groups in a gentrifying neighbourhood where you have a collision of the residents who are allowed and who are not allowed to stay. The creative class is attracted to urban fabric houses and decayed neighbourhoods where citizens from the precariat and precarious class live. The creative class transforms the decayed neighbourhood as they have revalue the place by changing it into something that could be inhabited by galleries or artists' studios (Lloyd, 2010; Silver & Clark, 2013; Zukin, 2010). The original residents of the neighbourhood do not associated themselves with changes of the creative class and might see it as a threat which compels them to leave the neighbourhood.

However, Doucet's case study (2009) on Leith shows that the division of different social classes was not seen as a detrimental effect to the community by the original residents. Doucet (2009) describes in his research that his respondents told him to accept it more like a modern-day reality. So, the process of gentrification does not only bring changes to a neighbourhood, but can also be experienced as something that is coherent to life. This might be a strategy of citizens to deal with the gentrification process and its negative aspects. The experience of gentrification has two sides and is more nuanced than just the moving of classes. For example, Het Vogelnest, one of the case studies of this research, is a place in Dordrecht situated in a neighbourhood with a low socio-economic status through this people from different classes attend Het Vogelnest and are brought together to minimise the experiences of gentrification and create some social cohesion in the neighbourhood to deal with the negative effects of this process.

Another research showed the anxiety of change in the neighbourhood due to gentrification (Cahill, 2007). Inherently to gentrification is the renovation of houses, which means that the aesthetics of a neighbourhood are changed. When residents who have lived years in a particular neighbourhood all of a sudden experience that their neighbourhood is

changing, it might evoke not only the fear of change, but also the loss of a community, as gentrification forces the movement of social groups.

However, there are also positive experiences of gentrification. One of these positive experiences is that citizens view the changes in their neighbourhoods positively, which is contrasting fellow inhabitants' fear of being displaced (Doucet, 2009). The inhabitants that experience gentrification as a positive phenomenon argued for the improvement of the environment in the neighbourhood which resulted in a better reputation of their neighbourhood (Doucet, 2009). Furthermore, the residents appreciated the improvement of local services in the neighbourhood which made their lives easier (Doucet, 2009; Freeman, 2006; Twigge-Molecey, 2014). Another positive effect of gentrification is that the coming of new classes means for the original residents new people to go out with and socialise to expand their own social network. So, gentrification may not only decrease social cohesion in a neighbourhood, on the other hand it can enlarge the social network of residents which might suggest an increase in the social cohesion of a neighbourhood or a step forward in the process of social cohesion.

Research of Slater (2008) argues that most studies show that working classes experience gentrification as a positive process, yet discussing research of Sullivan (2007) he notes that most of the participants were actually white, had a college degree, in their thirties, were the new arrivals to the neighbourhood and owned their own homes. This means that the people studied do not really belong to the working class community and are the original residents of a neighbourhood. Through this, Slater tries to nuance the statements made about the working-class in relation to gentrification. Furthermore, Slater (2008) refers in his article to the statement that asking people how they experience displacement is just as important as researching how many people are displaced. By asking people about their experiences emotions about fear, humiliation, anger and bitterness arise when such a topic is discussed. In addition, research of Allen (2008) states that the experiences of the working class in relation to gentrification are anything but 'uplifting' related, as the working class people do not want to be like the middle class. This means that gentrification is not seen as a positive process for people from the working classes as this changes the identity of their neighbourhood. So, research offers different types of experiences citizens with gentrification which nuances the debate about the effects of gentrification considerably.

The literature based on citizens' experiences of the gentrification process is useful for this research to understand the different effects gentrification can have on a neighbourhood from a different and more nuanced perspective. This research focuses on people's relation with gentrification which expresses their experiences of the gentrification process in Dordrecht. Therefore, the literature can be used to examine if the same concepts will arise from the data collection of this research. Furthermore, it is interesting to discover the role of cultural places in citizen's experiences of gentrification, for which this literature section is utilized. It might tell a larger story about gentrification and the role of culture in this process.

### **What is Dordrecht's cultural policy in relation to gentrification?**

This research focuses on Dordrecht as a case study, which makes it important for this theoretical section to elaborate on Dordrecht's cultural policy in relation to the gentrification process. In 2020, the municipality of Dordrecht published its latest cultural policy plan. The previous cultural policy plan originates from the year 2011 and was meant for the period 2011-2014. Unfortunately, between the years 2014-2019 there has not been a new cultural policy advice in Dordrecht. In their new cultural policy, the municipality refers to the lack of financial space to invest in a new cultural policy as a reason for the gap of 2014-2019. Interestingly, in the year 2018, municipality and a coalition of political parties in Dordrecht (BVD, VVD, CDA and Christen Unie) wrote an agreement about how the city should be improved. In this document, the municipality of Dordrecht refers to a growth strategy, and states they are willing to invest in cultural programming and culture for everyone. Furthermore, they mention their need for developing a creators' climate, which is related to their goal of talent development and broadening the spectrum of culture (Gemeente Dordrecht, 2019). All of these statements refer to the same goal, which is making Dordrecht a creative city. In the document, the municipality especially mentions the need of neighbourhoods for investing in cultural activities for these places to create a diverse climate of cultural activities scattered through the city. What connects these goals of the municipality to gentrification is the purpose to attract cultural people to the city to improve the status and quality of the city itself. Furthermore, the municipality proclaims to use cultural organisations to diversify the audience of culture in the city, which results in the attraction of different types of classes. Yet research (Fritsch & Stuetzer, 2009; Marlet & Woerkens, 2007) shows, people who are attracted to culture mostly have a relatively high socioeconomic status,

suggesting that Dordrecht tends to aim towards attracting people with more cultural (and economic) capital to help improve the socioeconomic status of the city altogether.

It is clear now what types of goals the municipality of Dordrecht intends to execute in the next four years, but in relation to gentrification it is important to know why the municipality would want to gravitate towards making Dordrecht a creative city. Might this have to do with the income distribution and social problems in the city? The website of Researchcentrum Drechtsteden contains information about Dordrecht's population rates. Since the website's database is limited to the years 2014-2016, the most recent data about the population income rate is from 2016. In 2016, 44 % of the citizens in Dordrecht had a low income, as opposed to 39 % that had a middle income and 17% with a high income (Onderzoekscentrum Drechtsteden, 2016). This means that most of the citizens that live in Dordrecht belong to the lower income classes. The definition of low, middle and high income has not been provided by the Onderzoekscentrum Drechtsteden. Furthermore, in the year 2019 8,6% of the population in Dordrecht lived under or slightly above the poverty rate (AlleCijfers, n.d.). The poverty rate refers to an income that enables people to fulfill their basic needs, such as clothing, food and housing. In relation to gentrification a poverty rate of 8,6% and a 44% of low income means that the city is relatively poor in its socioeconomic status and this confirms why the municipality has set the goal to attract higher income classes through the use of culture and housing policies in the city.

Knowledge about the goals of the Dordrecht municipality in relation to gentrification and the population income rate of the city is useful to map the gentrification process in the city. This information can be used to understand the socioeconomic status of the city itself and comprehend the new goals of the city in relation to the gentrification process. Furthermore, it provides knowledge to explain the role of cultural places in the city for its different classes and their experiences with the gentrification process.

## **Methodology**

This methodological section will discuss the research design and data collection by explaining the research method that was chosen. This will be followed by a discussion of the accessibility problems for executing the research, the sampling strategy, operationalisation of the research and the method of analysis. This methodological section ends with an elaboration on the validity, reliability and ethical considerations of this thesis.

### **Research design**

A qualitative research method has been chosen to answer the central research question. The first reason for opting for a qualitative method is that it enables the researcher to dissect conceptual relations and discourses participants address in the interviews. The core of qualitative research is the understanding of humans' experiences and reflections about those experiences through focusing on the in-depth responses of participants (Jackson II, Drummond, & Camara, 2007). These responses are analysed by the researcher who will be able to reveal the discourses or themes that are addressed. The research question of this thesis focuses on participants' experiences of gentrification in relation to the consumption and production of cultural places. Through visiting these cultural places, the participants express their relationship with the gentrification process. The focus on experiences in this research indicates the option for a qualitative research method. Therefore, a quantitative research method would not have been applicable for this research, as quantitative research focuses on the repetition of concepts and discourses in interviews or in questionnaires and tries to discover causal relationships (Jackson II, Drummond, & Camara, 2007). This would not fit the research question, as experiences would not tell anything reliable about causations. It implies mapping the experiences of gentrification in Dordrecht.

The second reason for choosing a qualitative research method is because it offered me the opportunity to take a personal approach towards participants (Stake, 1995; Jackson II, Drummond, & Camara, 2007). The discussion of gentrification in the interviews might have brought up sensitive topics in the interviews. By taking a personal approach towards the respondents I was able to gain the trustworthiness of the respondents to talk about their experiences. This was relevant for my research as the topic of this research project might have brought up some emotions, as some people are forced to leave their houses due to the gentrification in Dordrecht. Furthermore, a personal approach helped me to understand the reality of my participants more as they might be more open about their personal lives. For a



quantitative research approach this personal approach towards the participants would not have been possible. The researcher is supposed to be an unknown entity for the respondents, as this would influence the reliability of the causal relations. In contrast, qualitative research embraces this, as it brings the researcher closer to the experiences of the participants.

### **Data collection**

The data collection took place between the 10<sup>th</sup> of February and the 30<sup>th</sup> of April 2020. The size of the data collection consisted out of 14 semi structured interviews with participants sampled from two cultural locations in Dordrecht. Dordrecht was chosen as a focal point for this research, as the city is in the midst of the gentrification process and Dordrecht is one of the cities that is part of the third wave of gentrification from Rotterdam, as it ‘profits’ from Rotterdam’s gentrification spillover effect (Koster, 2019; Doucet, 2014). The two different cultural locations were chosen as case studies: Het Vogelnest and the Popcentrale, which is situated in the building the Energiehuis (image 1, appendix D). The reason for these two locations was that they are both situated in different areas of the city. Furthermore, both places attract different types of people which enriched the data in terms of cultural interests. The Popcentrale (image 2 and 3, appendix D) is a place for musicians and other citizens attracted to music, while Het Vogelnest (image 4, appendix D) is a place for mainly the inhabitants of the Vogelbuurt. Both organisations supply different kinds of activities for different types of visitors (Vogelnest, 2016a; Gemeente Dordrecht, 2020; Popcentrale, 2020).

The qualitative method chosen to collect the data was using semi-structured interviews. Interviews provided me the possibility to acquire an in-depth understanding of the participants’ relationships with the cultural places they visit and the gentrification process in Dordrecht at large (Stroh, 2011; Flick, von Kardorff & Steinke, 2004). Interviews are a means to explore on an individual basis people’s personal experiences with the gentrification process (Stroh, 2011). These personal experiences are expressed in an interview via the discourses and concepts embedded in the answers of the respondents. The interviewer is able to ask the respondents about their relationship with the gentrification process. This was a way for me to discover the discourses surrounding the process of gentrification and via the interview I could specifically ask the respondents questions about their experiences with gentrification.

A second reason for conducting interviews was that it helped me to interact with the data to be able to completely understand the everyday reality of the participants (Chesebro & Borisoff, 2007). Interviewing provides information about the motivations of citizens visiting cultural places and through this the researcher is able to personalise the participants’

experiences about the cultural places they visit. This means that the researcher is empathizing with its respondents, but without losing itself in the data through the analysis of the data and the coding process. The engagement of the researcher with the studied data will allow for a correct construction of the world of the participants (Flick, von Kardorff & Steinke, 2004). Yet, I had to be aware of the pitfalls of engaging too much with the experiences of the respondents during the interviews. This risk was avoided by me giving the participants all the space to complete their answers and not being interrupted by the interviewer. Furthermore, open questions were asked to the respondents and judgements about the answers of the respondents were avoided.

The semi structured interviews allowed me to ask questions in addition to my interview guide to acquire a more in-depth understanding of the respondents' answers when relevant (Longhurst, 2003). Especially, when there was some miscommunication I needed to know what the respondent referred to with their answers. A form of miscommunication was when respondents mentioned concepts that were unclear or unfamiliar to me. To obtain a better understanding of what they were talking about it was important to ask the respondents about their definition of certain terms like "buurtbakkie", which means a cup of coffee from the neighbourhood. So, semi structured interviews offer the researcher to have some flexibility in the interview to fully understand the participants' experiences, as this type of interviewing relies on the interaction between the interviewer and interviewee (Longhurst, 2003).

### **Corona pandemic**

This research has been executed during the corona pandemic which required me to change the proposed method which used to be an ethnographic research and combined observations with semi structured interviews. One of the consequences of the corona pandemic was the execution of the interviews. They could not take place in person, but via mobile phone or via another digital application. Due to the Dutch government's advice to stay at home and minimise social contacts (Rijksoverheid, 2019). This meant for me as a researcher that I could not interview the respondents in person, as I had to take their and my own safety into account. Without the corona pandemic it would have been possible to meet participants and interview them in person, at a site where they felt comfortable and at home.

Furthermore, the corona pandemic explains why I chose for having interviews as a research method solely and to take out the ethnographic part of this project. This influenced the execution of my research question, as the research question focuses on the experiences of citizens with the gentrification process. Observations would have provided extra data about

the way people experience the gentrification process in relation to the consumption and production of cultural places. The way people acted in these places would provide an extra understanding to their experiences they talked about in the interviews.

The interviews took place via mobile phone, WhatsApp video-chat or other video calling services, such as Skype. This influenced the setting of the interview, as people were interviewed from their homes. This might have affected the answers respondents have given due to their conformability with the environment they were in. Furthermore, interviews via digital devices made it only possible for me to contact respondents who have a mobile phone or computer and know how to use it. Therefore, it indirectly influenced the sampling strategy of this research project.

### **Accessibility**

Before the interviews could take place, as a researcher I had to gain access to the field I was studying. This means I had to take into account accessibility problems for finding and reaching the participants during the data collection (Bryman, 2012; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The corona pandemic restrained me from visiting the cultural places to collect participants for this project. At the start of this research, the cultural places, the Popcentrale en Het Vogelnest, were closed due to the corona pandemic restrictions. Therefore, I did not have the opportunity to visit both places to collect participants for the interviews. It was only possible for me to reach out to respondents via mobile phone, e-mail and other online resources. The coordinators and employees of the cultural places of the Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest helped me to collect and contact the participants for the semi structured interviews. They have a close connection with the visitors of these places and could find participants for the interviews. I provided them with a list of criteria of the respondents. In addition, this lowered the boundary for respondents to participate in the research, as the coordinators and employees of the Popcentrale and het Vogelnest started the first conversation or connection. So, the researcher was introduced by persons the participants know and trust.

### **Sampling strategy**

Criterion sampling was applied for the selection of participants for the interviews. Participants were selected on the basis of several criteria to ensure that the right respondents were being interviewed (Bryman, 2012; Padgett, 2012). Different types of participants were collected for this research: visitors, coordinators and volunteers of the Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest.

The criteria that were used to select the respondents for this research are the following:

Consumers:

- Visitors:
  - Visiting one of the cultural places: the Popcentrale or Het Vogelnest regularly (at least once a month and visiting it since a year).
  - Living in Dordrecht.
  - Being able to answer the interview questions, which means visitors need to be able to say something about the place they live in and the reasons for attending a cultural place.
- Volunteers:
  - Volunteering one of the cultural places: the Popcentrale or Het Vogelnest regularly (at least once a month and visiting is since a year
  - Living in Dordrecht.
  - Being able to answer the interview questions, which means volunteers need to be able to say something about the place they live in, and the reasons for volunteering at the cultural place.

Producers:

- Coordinators
  - Being an artistic/ business director or project manager of the cultural place: the Popcentrale or het Vogelnest.
  - No need to live in Dordrecht.
  - Working for the cultural organisation more than one year.
  - Being able to answer the interview questions, which means coordinators need to be able to say something about the place they live, the reasons for working at the respective cultural organizations and needs to be able to tell something about the origins of the organisation.

Two days to one day before the interview took place, the participants received an informed consent, to inform them about their rights and the goal of the interview. The goal of the interviews was to obtain more knowledge about the role of the cultural places and changes in the city and neighbourhood.

**Operationalisation**

The operationalisation of this research project started with the collection of respondents and contacting them for the interviews. The respondents were contacted via email, telephone, or

WhatsApp for the interviews. Moreover, three types of respondents were collected which meant three different types of interview guides needed to be made (see appendix B). Each interview guide focused on questions that were related to the respondents' role in the cultural places under investigation.

The interview guide for the visitors of the Popcentrale or het Vogelnest focused on their experiences of changes in their neighbourhood such as the moving of neighbours or the demolition of houses, the reasons for visiting and their relationship with the cultural place. The interview guide for the interviews with volunteers of the Popcentrale or het Vogelnest contained additional questions about their reasons for participating as volunteer in the cultural places and were asked the same question about their neighbourhood changes as the visitors. Finally, the interview guide for the coordinators focused on the mission and vision of the cultural place, their history and how they coped with the gentrification process in the city. Cameron and Coaffee's research (2005) shows that cultural places are utilised by the government as a tool for gentrification. Yet some cultural organisations are established to obstruct or delay the gentrification process. In addition, this research focuses on the experiences of citizens with the gentrification process from the production and consumption side. This suffices me to investigate the perspectives of both parties to acquire a correct answer about the experiences of gentrification.

The following part supplies the overall concepts discussed in the interview. In addition there will be an explanation of how they are derived from the literature that forms the background of this research. All the interviews started with the explanation of the content of the interviews. I explained to the interviewees the concept of gentrification and the topics that would be discussed in the interview. This introductory part was followed by questions about the respondents name, age, how long they lived in Dordrecht and why they had chosen to live there. These questions were asked to obtain an impression of the interviewee and to make them feel comfortable about the interview.

- **Corona crisis and the cultural place:**

The first main concept discussed in the interview was about how interviewees experienced the corona pandemic as a visitor, organiser or volunteer. The interviewees were not able to attend the cultural place they are usually visiting. The coordinators were asked what they thought the corona-crisis meant for their visitors and volunteers. The interviews were executed during the corona pandemic, which made it interesting to examine the answers of the respondents, as the ability of not attending a place shows the necessity of a place.

- **The changes in their own neighbourhood:**

The second topic discussed in the interviews zoomed in on the changes in the neighbourhood of the volunteers and visitors. They were specifically asked what the most influential change was in their neighbourhood. The coordinators of the cultural places were not asked about their experiences of the neighbourhood, as these questions were incorporated in the topic of the role of place that was discussed in the next part of the interviews. The topic about the changes in the neighbourhood specifically focused on the experiences of volunteers and visitors in their neighbourhood. People who live in a gentrifying city experience this process from different standpoints, some live in neighbourhoods where buildings are demolished and others do not. Therefore, it was interesting to ask people about their experiences with the changes in the neighbourhood to unravel their personal experience with the gentrification process.

- **The role of place:**

The third topic addressed the underlying reasons why volunteers and visitors were attending the cultural places, what makes them so special and whether they are attending any other cultural places. The interviews with the coordinators focused on the history and origin of the organisation, their mission and vision, how long they were situated in the same place and what their goals were in relation to the cultural policy of the municipality. The discussion of these concepts indirectly provided information about the changes in the neighbourhood, as the moving of the cultural places itself suggest a change in the neighbourhood. Cameron and Coaffee's research (2005) argues that the municipalities or governmental institutions use cultural places for the gentrification of a city. These results made it interesting for me to focus in the interviews on the role of place in gentrification. Furthermore, Pratt's research (2008) dictates that culture and creativity is dependent on the context, which means that the place plays a role on the rising and falling of cultural places. So, the looks of the environment for example determine if artists are attracted to these places. According to Ley (1996) artists have an aesthetic eye that attracts them to historical decayed neighbourhoods and houses of urban fabric. Therefore, questions for the coordinators of the cultural places were asked about the origin of the organisation and the place they are situated.

- **The role of the Popcentrale/ Het Vogelnest in the visitors' and volunteers' life.**

The fourth topic discussed the role of the cultural place in the visitors' and volunteers' daily life. The interviewees were asked about their relationship with the organisation and how this had changed over the years they visited the place. Moreover, they were asked if the gentrification process (the changes in their neighbourhood/ city and demolition of housing) influenced their participation in the cultural places. Furthermore, the interviews with the coordinators focused on role of the places in the visitors' and volunteers' life. Research on the

experiences of gentrification (Doucet, 2009; Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Cahill, 2007) shows that people's experiences of gentrification focuses on the fear of displacement, social cohesion or the anxiety of change. The relationship between the cultural places role in gentrification and the experiences of citizens with this process is that these cultural places might boost people's experiences of gentrification through making places that exclude certain groups or by trying to delay the gentrification process and offering possibilities for people to deal with their fear of displacement. This relationship is interesting for this research to ask people about and the other way around to discover if this might play a role in the experiences of gentrification of my participants.

- **The role of the Popcentrale/ Het Vogelnest in the neighbourhood/ city (Dordrecht):**

The fifth interview topic zoomed in on the role of the cultural places in the city and neighbourhood they are situated in. Visitors and volunteers were asked if the presence of the cultural places changed something in their city or neighbourhood. In addition, interviewees were asked if the cultural places changed the attractiveness of the neighbourhood and if this attractiveness has changed over the years. From the perspective of the coordinators, the interview questions focused on the goals of the cultural place to make the city and neighbourhood they are situated in more attractive and on which role they played in the city and neighbourhood. Research (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Deutsche & Ryan, 1984; Ley, 2003; Lloyd, 2010; Mathews, 2010; Zukin, 1982) illustrates that cultural places are utilised to upgrade the status of a city and neighborhood. Therefore, it was interesting to examine what the visitors' and volunteers' experiences were in relation to the presence of the cultural places and what goals the cultural places had to improve the status of the city/neighbourhood or if the goals of attractiveness followed or contradicted gentrification.

- **The future perspective:**

The final topic of the interview addressed the future of the city and cultural places. Volunteers and visitors were asked to tell what should be changed in the city if they had the power to do so. The coordinators were asked what the cultural places position would be in the future and where they would be located. The process of gentrification in the Dordrecht is not over yet. Therefore, it is interesting what people suspect the future to be like or how they imagine the future to be like. Through this it might be shown which institutions have the most control over what the city should look like and how the cultural places will try to execute their future vision.

## **Method of analysis**

The first step of the analysis process was the transcription of the interviews. This was the first opportunity for me to go over the answers of the respondents and discover the main topics the interviewees were addressing in the interviews. The transcripts were created with the help of the transcription program Amberscript. The mistakes in the transcriptions made by the program created the possibility for the researcher to listen to the interviews, make corrections, and note down the main concepts the interviewees were talking about.

The second step in the analysis was the open coding process, which means that sentences are summarized in one to two concepts and the researcher codes the respondents' answers without any reference to the main research question (Charmaz, 2006). The program Atlas ti was used to archive the data and codes during the open coding process. I used a combination of line by line and paragraph by paragraph coding during the open coding process to obtain a rich overview of all the topics respondents were addressing. Line by line coding means that the researcher gives each sentence one topic. Paragraph by paragraph coding is that the researcher assigns one topic to a piece of texts from the interview transcription (Charmaz, 2006). Furthermore, in vivo coding was mostly done through using the actual words of the respondents to stay as close as possible to the answers of the participants.

The third step in the analysis was the focus on the returning topics and patterns such as the relocation of the Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest, the relationship of the cultural places with the municipality, the aesthetics of both cultural places and the boosting effect of cultural places in deprived neighbourhoods/cities. The concepts were compared and focused on contrasting elements between the codes. These topics created one main category and existed out of several codes from the interviews. In this step of the process no distinction was made between the answers of the two cultural places: the Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest. A general network was manually created to acquire a better understanding of the relationship between the concepts.

The fourth step in the analysis was the re-coding of the open coding process, as the first analysis did not provide an in-depth understanding of interviewees' experiences of gentrification and the role of cultural places. The re-coding of the transcription was done paragraph by paragraph which means that the researcher assigns one topic to a piece of text from the interview transcription (Charmaz, 2006). The re-coding process was actually redoing the whole beginning of the analysis. Yet, these time codes were collected through manual mindmaps instead of the software program Atlas ti. The mindmaps were separated



per interview question, respondent and case study to obtain a clear overview of the concepts that were related to a certain interview question. Image 5 (appendix D) illustrates the re-coding process provided.

The fifth step of the analysis was the collection of all the codes per interview question, which is illustrated by the creation of a coding tree (appendix C). Furthermore, there was a distinct analysis of the two cultural places, as the first analysis did not provide an in-depth understanding of the experiences of gentrification. This final analysis provided some extra concepts for the understanding of the experiences of gentrification and the distinct roles and experiences of participants between the two cultural places.

The type of analysis this research utilised is a discourse analysis. A discourse analysis is focusing on the way language is used in specific contexts. In addition, it focuses on the content of people's answers, the attitudes, ideas, practices that contain ideologies and people's actions (Jackson II, Drummond & Camara, 2007). In addition, discourse analysis tries to reveal power dynamics that make constructions of cultural forms and ideals (Arce-Trigatti & Anderson, 2018). So, a discourse analysis is not only trying to find out what people say, but what they say about the things they do and believe. This unravels a larger context of which all these behaviours and ideas are part of. In this research discourse analysis was used by focusing on the experiences of the interviewees. How did they experience gentrification and what are their motives for attending cultural places, how are the cultural places coping with the gentrification process and what kind of role does the municipality's vision play in this? In the analysis I not only focused on what the interviewees were telling, but also on how they were telling it: Did they see it positively or negatively, what are they telling me about the things they do? All these questions were asked during the analysis of the interviewees to obtain an answer to the main research question: How do citizens from different neighbourhoods express their relation with the gentrification process in Dordrecht through the production and consumption of cultural places in the city? In addition, for the analysis I also focused on the current discourses about gentrification in academia such as the fear of displacement of citizens or municipalities utilising culture as a means for gentrification. This helped me to unravel how the coordinators of the cultural places were talking about the experiences of their visitors and volunteers in relation to gentrification and the role of culture in this process in relation to the municipality of Dordrecht.



### **Validity and reliability**

The final section of this chapter on the methodology of this research addresses issues of validity, reliability and ethics. The corona pandemic sufficed the researcher to change the proposed method for answering the research question. As mentioned earlier, an ethnographic research approach consisting of observations and interviews was changed to conducting interviews only. Therefore, the researcher could only gather data from the answers of the respondents about their experiences of gentrification and the cultural places and some data of the observations might have supported or contradicted the discourses analysed from the interviews, as people express meaning not only through explaining, but also through doing.

Validity of the research was secured by taking notes during the interviews and recording of the interviews. So, the researcher could listen to the answer of the respondents several times to avoid memory loss of the interviewer. Furthermore, interviewees were asked during the interview what they meant with several concepts or words the interviewer did not understand to make sure the interviewer produced a correct interpretation.

Consistency was contained in the research project by designing an interview guide applicable to the selected respondents to make sure the main themes for answering the research question were addressed. Furthermore, the interviews were only transcribed by the researcher herself and the program Amberscript. After the transcription process the interview transcripts were analysed in a repetitive manner to maintain consistency of the research.

The first factor that might have influenced the data collection of the research is the execution of the interviews via via Skype, WhatsApp video chat, mobile phone, Facebook video chat or Google Duo. The interviews took place in the homes of the participants and of the interviewer as well. This had created some comfort and space as both parties were in their personal environments where they felt comfortable. However, the disadvantage of executing interviews digitally is that it adds an impersonal context to the interview setting. The researcher could not offer the interviewee a cup of coffee or tea. Making the interviewee comfortable could only be done via the use of words, which restrains the researcher to be personal and polite. Yet the introduction questions made sure that interviewees could tell their own story about their neighbourhood or work / experiences during corona pandemic. Moreover, the corona pandemic might have influenced participants' moods and feelings about the current situation, indirectly influencing the answers given in the interviews.

A second factor that had some considerable influence on the research is the accessibility problem. Due to the corona pandemic every citizen in the Netherlands was advised to minimise its social contacts and at home stay as much as possible (Rijksoverheid, 2020). This advice was administered during the data collection period of this research project. Therefore, I was not able to visit the Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest to gather respondents for the interviews. The respondents were collected with the help of coordinators and employees of the cultural places. Yet, this meant that next to my selection criteria of the respondents the coordinators and employees of the cultural places collected respondents with their interpretation of my criteria. This adds an extra subjective layer to the sampling process. If different types of coordinators and employees would have helped me there would have been a slightly different sample of respondents.

A fourth factor that influenced the analysis and sample of this research is the background of the researcher. I am a volunteer at the Popcentrale and some of the participants interviewed are acquainted with me. This means that interviewing people I am familiar with could have created some bias during the interview and the analysis of the interview. Yet, through the consistency of the analysis I could distance myself from the data. Moreover, my role as a volunteer of the Popcentrale might have influenced the answers of the participants, as they might want to please me in given me the right answer they think I am looking for instead of the possible truths. Nevertheless, my acquaintance with the respondents might have helped them to feel more comfortable during the interview and provided some space for them to give in-depth answers.

## **Ethics**

The rights of the respondents were secured in the informed consent. The participants received an informed consent form two to one day(s) before the start of the interview. This meant that the informed consent forms and setting would not influence the ambiance of the interview at the beginning as such a document can be overwhelming. Furthermore, the informed consent made sure that participants were informed about the potential risks of the interview and through this the participants knew what was expected from them during the interview. The researcher made clear to the interviewees that their information would be safe with the researcher.

The privacy of the participants was contained by making all the participants anonymous through applying numbers to the interviews instead of their names. The interviewer provided the participants with contact information if they wanted to retract something from the interview they had said they did not want to reveal. At the end of the interview, the researcher offered this option already.

The topic of gentrification can contain some sensitivity. Therefore, the researcher had to take into account the sensitive topics that might arise from the interview. The participants were made to feel safe by the researcher by informing them about their rights as a participant and that they could stop at any moment during the interview if they felt like it, as their participation was obviously voluntary.

## Results

This next section will cover the results from the analysis of the interviews. The discussion will be separated into two different parts: The Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest. For each case study the experiences of the production side and consumption side of the cultural places will be addressed. The production side will focus on the origin of the cultural places, its vision and mission, the relationship with the municipality and how they deal with the gentrification process in Dordrecht. Furthermore, the production side will utilise the stories of the coordinators of the cultural places and one employee in the case of Het Vogelnest. The analysis of the Popcentrale resulted in the discussion on the existence of the Popcentrale in relation to the building Het Energiehuis, the renovation of the building and the forced relocation of the organisation. Further on, future projects of the Popcentrale were linked to the gentrification process and the relationship with the municipality of Dordrecht who, in their new cultural policy, focuses on the attraction of audiences via the arts and culture. The analysis of Het Vogelnest resulted in a discussion on the specific role the cultural place plays in the neighbourhood, the Vogelbuurt, which is being an intermediary between the municipality and the residents of the neighbourhood. In addition, Het Vogelnest's relationship with the municipality was described as improving due to their role in the neighbourhood as initiators of gentrification. Yet the organisation stressed that they still attempt to protect their critical perspective on the gentrification process.

The consumption side discusses the experiences of the visitors and volunteers of the Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest in relation to changes in their neighbourhood due to the gentrification process. In addition, the roles of the cultural places in the visitors' and volunteers' lives are addressed with a focus on the role of arts and culture in the gentrification process. The visitors and volunteers of the Popcentrale mentioned in the interviews the change of viability in their neighbourhood in relation to gentrification. Furthermore, the analysis of the role of the Popcentrale in the visitors' and volunteers' life resulted in a discussion on the ambiance of the cultural place and the role of the aesthetics next to the their experiences of the COVID-19 pandemic in relation to the Popcentrale. The interview results of the visitors and volunteers of Het Vogelnest mentioned the the increase of the social housing rent and the level of criminality in their neighbourhood as one of the influential changes in their neighbourhood. Moreover, the interviewees linked the role of Het Vogelnest in the Vogelbuurt to the increase of social cohesion in the neighbourhood, the inclusivity of

the cultural place through ‘het buurtbakkie’ (cup of coffee from the neighbourhood) and the positive change of aesthetics in the neighbourhood.

## **The Popcentrale**

### **What, where, when? The Popcentrale?**

The Popcentrale has existed as a cultural organisation in Dordrecht since 2001. Between the years 2001-2020 the Popcentrale moved to several places in the city. One of the reasons for the organisation’s first relocation was the renovation of the building Het Energiehuis in which the Popcentrale is situated. The renovation of Het Energiehuis has happened between 2010-2013. In the interviews with the coordinators of the Popcentrale the existence of the organisation was discussed. The existence of the organisation was linked to the importance of a place for musicians to make their own music and practice their hobby without any restraints. From the interviews with the coordinators, it seems clear that the origin of the Popcentrale is connected to the musicians’ necessities in the city. Both coordinators mentioned that there was a need for musicians to have a place to practice their own music. A coordinator of the Popcentrale (interview 7, male, 33) described the existence of the organisation the following way:

*“I can say something about that. It is when you discuss something that happened 18 or 19 years ago. Back then, there was a huge demand from local musicians to obtain a qualitatively good place to practice music. There were a lot of bands, but not really a place for them. So, bands played music at home and in attics. This created some nuisance which is not a good thing. There was no unity between bands either. Everyone had to do their best to find a place.”<sup>1</sup>*

The coordinator connects in his answer the number of bands in Dordrecht with the arising necessity for a place. Moreover, the interviewee links the necessity of a collective place for musicians to the lack of unity between the different musicians in the city. Indirectly, the interviewee seems to tell that the creation of a collective place for musicians would increase the unity between local musicians and help to solve the nuisance problems musicians

---

<sup>1</sup> *“Daar kan ik wel iets over zeggen. Er was dan praten we over 18 of 19 jaar geleden. Toen was er een grote vraag vanuit lokale muzikanten om een goed gecreëerde oefenplek te krijgen. Er waren heel veel bands, maar er waren niet zoveel plekken. Dus bands speelde op zoldertjes thuis en dat zorgde voor overlast en dat is geen goeie. Er was ook geen samenhang tussen bands. Iedereen moest een beetje bijbeunen om een plek te vinden.” (Translation by the author)*

experience in the city. In addition, another coordinator of the Popcentrale talked about some information that is additional to the stated quotation above, which is that the Popcentrale was in the beginning setup as an experiment by the municipality of Dordrecht and placed in the basement of Het Energiehuis. This means that the creation of a place for musicians just did not happen through the musicians themselves only. Therefore, the Popcentrale was created in cooperation with the municipality. So, this experiment would eventually function as a meeting place for musicians.

The creation of cultural places in relation to gentrification can be linked to the theory of Cameron and Coaffee (2005). They argue that gentrification is the production of space in which the arts and culture have a role in the first stage of changing the environment. The habitation of Het Energiehuis could not be argued for as a changer of the environment, yet the setup of the Popcentrale in this specific building refers to the role as the initiators of gentrification process. The local musicians had the permission of the municipality to inhabit the basement of Het Energiehuis. Het Energiehuis has been an old electric power station with an urban fabric look (image 1, appendix D). So, habitation of Het Energiehuis itself can be explained by Ley (1996) who argued that artists have an aesthetic eye that attracts them to places like neighbourhoods with urban fabric houses. This type of aesthetics is reflected in the building of Het Energiehuis. So, the habitation of the Popcentrale in the basement of Het Energiehuis did not directly change the environment in which it is situated, but research (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Ley, 1996) shows that this is the first step in the process of gentrification.

Nearly twenty years later, the Popcentrale is still settled in the basement of Het Energiehuis, yet the reasons for its existence have changed over time. From the interviews with the coordinators was expressed that the original role of the place has been transformed from a place for local musicians, offering a stage and rehearsal spaces to practice their own music, to a place where musicians and other creative entrepreneurs can develop themselves via practicing music or organising a local music event. This transformation was also expressed in the coordinators wish for the Popcentrale to become a production house for local musicians. Through the production house, the coordinators wish to practise a considerate influence on the music quality in the city and the personal growth of its musicians. This future wish of the coordinator is also connected with another role the Popcentrale wishes to play in Dordrecht.

One of the coordinators mentioned in the interview that *The Popcentrale* is developing projects through which they try to transform the place into a space for youth with a precarious social position. The coordinator addressed that the production house should be utilised to solve social problems in the city. This project has not been accomplished, yet due to corona this project could not begin in March. However, it is interesting to mention the mission of the organisation concerning the future as it is related to the gentrification process in the city. In the interview the coordinator (interview 7, male, 33) said the following about this social project:

*“Furthermore, we want to find our way in the production house as music as a means and take an active role. This is one of the things we were developing which corona delayed. Because I had done an subsidy application with “name”, “name” and “name” these are the guys who run a security organisation that works for us and has a project called “Carit-all”. Through this he is in the neighbourhood and offers ambulant personal assistance for youth. With them we have written this place which is called “Oprijzers”. With this plan we did a subsidy application under the program Only you decide who you are with the ministry of Justice and Safety that is meant for youths that are on the edge of or active with light criminal activities to offer help so they can develop themselves. This is done through offering them an alternative through music or personal coaching to push them to the direct side. That where we want to use the Popcentrale for.”<sup>2</sup>*

The interviewee referred in the interview to the social problems Dordrecht deals with in the city through which he wants to utilise music as a means to solve these social problems. Through the cooperation with an organisation who has experience with youth in social precarious position and tend to be criminally active in criminality, helps the organisation to develop more knowledge about this group of citizens in Dordrecht to improve the socio - economic status of the city. This future project of the Popcentrale expresses the role of the arts and culture in the gentrification process in the city. According to research (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Deutsche & Ryan, 1984; Ley, 2003; Lloyd, 2010; Mathews, 2010; Zukin,

---

<sup>2</sup> Daarnaast willen we onze weg in het productiehuis muziek als middel ook een actieve rol kan spelen en een van de dingen die nu eigenlijk door corona bezig waren zijn vertraagd, want ik had een aanvraag gedaan met naam en met naam en naam dat zijn de jongens die onze beveiligings bedrijf runt securit all heeft daarnaast carit all, waarmee hij ook in de wijk is en ambulante persoonlijke begeleiding doet van jongeren met hun hebben we samen een plan geschreven dat plan heet Oprijzers. En dat plan Oprijzers hebben we een aanvraag voor gedaan met alleen jij bepaalt wie je bent programma van het ministerie van Justitie en Veiligheid. Dat is een programma wat bedoeld is om euhm jongeren die op het randje zijn van of licht bezig zijn met criminele activiteiten vooruit helpen en de kant op te bewegen die eigenlijk een alternatief te bieden door muziek en persoonlijke coaching ze, een andere richting op te duwen. Daar willen we de Popcentrale voor gebruiken (Translation by author).



1982), artistic organisations play a key role in the emergence of gentrification. The helping of youths in precarious social positions shows that the Popcentrale wants to utilise its role as a cultural organisation to improve the social status of some groups in Dordrecht. They intend to help youths in precarious social positions consciously, yet the indirect consequence of this goals is the emergence of gentrification. Through music the social position of some citizens in the city is raised which changes the socio-economic status of Dordrecht as a whole. This might make Dordrecht an attractive city for people in better social positions and capital investors, which will result in Dordrecht as a city becoming more expensive and pushing out class who cannot afford to live in the city anymore. In addition, through this future project the Popcentrale makes, with the help of music, deprived neighbourhoods look better as the citizens who live there are connect to music. This indirectly attracts investors to the city who are into reinvesting in capital estate (Zukin, 1982; Grodach, Carl, Foster, Nicole, & Murdoch III, James, 2014).

The new future project of the Popcentrale is related to the third topic discussed by the coordinators of the Popcentrale in the interviews which was the mission and vision of the organisation. They mentioned that the Popcentrale wishes to be a place that organises a sense of community. The project for youth in social precarious positions shows the wish of the Popcentrale to become a place for a diverse community. In the interviews the coordinators addressed that the Popcentrale is a place where people come for several different reasons as the organisations offers different facilities. One of the coordinators (interview 2, male, 39) describes the community of the Popcentrale and people's intentions to visit the place the following:

*“Well actually everybody that comes here in the Popcentrale. Also the people who work here. [...] People come to the Popcentrale, because they want something, have a need or certain vision on the city or how it could be. Some people say: “I want to play improvised reggae once a month with people I barely know”. Someone else say I am visit the WHOP goes pop as a senior, to do some sensible creative activity. You also have people who learn themselves how to drum in the drum cabin late at night and you have people with a dream to become someone. You have people with the ambition to become a concert organiser.”<sup>3</sup>*

---

<sup>3</sup> “Nou, eigenlijk alle mensen die over de vloer komen in de Popcentrale. Eigenlijk ook de mensen die er werken [...] mensen komen naar de popcentrale, omdat ze iets willen, bepaalde behoefte hebben of een bepaalde visie op de stad of hoe de stad zou kunnen zijn of kunnen worden en eh, dat zijn sommige mensen die zeggen van: ik wil eens in de maand een geïmproviseerd reggae spelen met mensen die ik nog nooit gezien heb. De ander zegt van ik doe dat door de WHOP goes pop als senior eh toch nog zinnige creatieve besteding te doen en je kan

According to the interviewee, the diversity of the organisation in terms of facilities seems to explain the reasons for visitors and musicians attending the Popcentrale. The WHOP goes Pop is for example a project for elderly people. Once or twice a month they can sing and/or play covers of their favorite songs in the main stage of the Popcentrale. The different reasons for attending the Popcentrale do not say anything directly about the role of the Popcentrale in relation to the gentrification process, yet one of the coordinators addressed in the interview that the core of the organisation is offering different facilities which made it easier for them to move to a different location when this was necessary. Due to the renovation of Het Energiehuis in 2010, the Popcentrale had to move out of the basement of the building. This meant that all their facilities had to be transported to another location in the city. One of the coordinators of the Popcentrale (interview 2, male, 39) mentions the following about this:

*“This way we are not locally connected. I think also that when Het Energiehuis is bombed, we are able to place a new Popcentrale somewhere in Krispijn of the Staart. Then, we are this able to fullfil our function. In fact, we have been located at the Staart for four years.”<sup>4</sup>*

The coordinator links the role of organisation to the relationship with the place they are situated. According to him the Popcentrale is not connected with the place they are situated in and due to the organisations’ facilities they are not obliged to stay in one place in the city. The gentrification process in the Dordrecht is reflected in the renovation of Het Energiehuis. Het Energiehuis exemplifies a place which cultural organisations are attracted to (Ley, 2003). It seems to be that the arrival of the Popcentrale in 2001 had turned the old industrial looking Energiehuis into a cultural hub for musicians and other cultural entrepreneurs in the city. This caused for a revaluation of the building, as the Popcentrale made Het Energiehuis look better. Research (Zukin, 1982; Grodach, Carl, Foster, Nicole, & Murdoch III, James, 2014) shows that the arts indirectly attract capital investors to a place they are situated as they make the place look better. In the case of the Popcentrale, it is the municipality of Dordrecht who is the

---

*ook mensen hebben die zichzelf leren drummen in de drumcabine ‘s avonds. En je hebt mensen met een droom om wat te worden, je hebt mensen die een concertorganisator ambitie hebben.”*

<sup>4</sup>*“In die zin zijn wij niet zo sterk aan locatie verbonden, denk ook als nu het Energiehuis morgen ontploft en we zetten Popcentrale neer in nieuw krispijn of we zitten op de Staart en en dan kunnen wij nog steeds door met onze functie vervullen. sterker nog wij hebben vier jaar op de staart gezeten.” (Translation by the author)*

capital investor as they indirectly are owners of the building (Van Giessen, 2018). On youtube some videos of the Popcentrale from 2001-2010 can be found (BaM6864, 2016). Another coordinator of the Popcentrale mentioned the role of the Popcentrale between the years 2001-2010 in which he refers to the future of Het Energiehuis which played an interesting role in the location of the Popcentrale in Het Energiehuis. In the following quote from the interview the coordinator (interview 7, male, 33) said:

*“The Popcentrale has started in Het Energiehuis as location. Then the building still needed to be developed, because it was a building without a destination or future to become a hub of organisations. The Popcentrale was temporarily situated in the basement. The building could be used in some way. Later on we had left the building for renovation. We moved to the Staart as a kind of temporary emergency location, where could be practised. I think, five years later we have returned to a completely renovated Energiehuis.”<sup>5</sup>*

The coordinator of the Popcentrale mentions that the role of Het Energiehuis in Dordrecht had not been defined by the municipality yet, which made it easier for the Popcentrale to inhabit the place temporarily. In a document of the Popunie, which a cultural organisation in Rotterdam, was mentioned the wish of the municipality of Dordrecht to re-urbanise the neighbourhood Stadswerven in which Het Energiehuis, the Popcentrale, was and is situated (Legendijk & Zoutman, 2006). This refers to the role the municipality is assigning to the building Het Energiehuis and the role the Popcentrale had to play in relation to gentrification. It was necessary that Het Energiehuis would eventually become a central point in the city where different cultural organisation are situated. Due to the renovation of Het Energiehuis after the Popcentrale had revalued the place, the organisation had to relocate themselves to the LIPS building in 2010 (image 6, appendix D). The relocation of the Popcentrale shows the role of the arts and culture in the gentrification process as the first initiators of this process (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Deutsche & Ryan, 1984; Ley, 2003; Lloyd, 2010; Mathews, 2010; Zukin, 1982). After the revaluation of Het Energiehuis the Popcentrale had to move elsewhere, as the municipality had other plans for the building.

---

<sup>5</sup> *De Popcentrale is wel begonnen in het Energiehuis als locatie en het was toen nog een te ontwikkelen pand maar het was toen nog een pand zonder bestemming of een pand in de toekomst een soort verzamelhuis moest worden. De Popcentrale zat tijdelijk in de kelders, toen kon het pand in ieder geval een beetje gebruikt worden. Toen zijn we weggaan voor de verbouwing en toen is bij de Staart tijdelijke een soort van noodcabine waar dan geofend werd. Ik denk vier vijf jaar zijn we terug in het energiehuis in het compleet verbouwde Energiehuis.”(Translation by the author)*

Furthermore, the existence of the Popcentrale in relation to its relocation expresses the role of the arts and culture in urban policy as a means for gentrification. The municipality of Dordrecht designed the Popcentrale as an experiment to offer musicians in the city a place to play their own music, yet at the same time this experiment could be seen as the municipality's goal to use the Popcentrale to revalue *Het Energiehuis*, which has lost its function as a electricity centre. The utilisation of arts and culture as a means for municipalities shows the role as the initiators of gentrification in the first phase of this process as research shows (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Grodach & Silver, 2013). The return of the Popcentrale to the basement of *Het Energiehuis* after the renovation of the building happened in 2016. Image 2 to 3 illustrate the looks of the Popcentrale it is nowadays. The renovation of the building also meant that the aesthetics of the Popcentrale were changed to a more professional looking organisation.

The relocation and origin of the existence of the Popcentrale exemplify the three different stages of gentrification Cameron and Coaffee (2005) describe in their research. The first phase is characterised by the creation of a milieu for artists to settle down and produce their art like the urban fabric neighborhoods where municipalities do not interfere in the process of the artists yet. The habitation of the Popcentrale in *Het Energiehuis* exemplifies the first phase of the gentrification process, as the municipality of Dordrecht located the Popcentrale in *Het Energiehuis* as an experiment which had to function as a cultural hub for musicians only. The second phase of gentrification expresses the interference of the municipality and capital investors in the milieu of the artists. In this phase the arts and culture are commodified. After the renovation of the *Energiehuis* the municipality had formed a vision for the building to become a cultural hub as mentioned in the document of the *Popunie* (Lagendijk & Zoutman, 2006). This also meant that the destination of the building and the cultural organisation in it had changed. After the renovation the Popcentrale's aesthetics had changed completely as can be seen in the image 2 to 3 (appendix D) in comparison to location of the LIPS building (image 6, appendix D) and before the renovation (BaM6864, 2016). Last march the municipality of Dordrecht had launched a new cultural policy in which the city should attract more people cultural lovers through the help of the arts and culture to the city (Gemeente Dordrecht, 2019). This goal reflects the third phase of gentrification in which the creative class is attracted through the use arts and culture to increase the status of

the city. Previously, the city of Dordrecht was known as a city that you did not want to visit due to the considerable number of social problems in the city (Spitshoven & Weij, 2018).

### **The Popcentrale and the municipality**

One fourth topic that was discussed in the interviews was the relationship between the Popcentrale and the municipality. The coordinators of the Popcentrale seem to make clear that municipality's awareness of the number of music organisations in Dordrecht was very poor. In the new cultural policy 2020-2024 plan nearly no attention was paid to the pop sector in Dordrecht. The coordinators mentioned that there were no clear goals stated from the municipality about the pop sector in Dordrecht. Especially, for assigning subsidy the Popcentrale has the possibility to state their own goals. Yet, the municipality only requires of the Popcentrale to state their own goals in terms of the number of visitors and musicians they wanted to reach in that year. This meant that the coordinators of the Popcentrale saw themselves as the experts of their own work field. The coordinators of the Popcentrale seem to explain in the interviews that the municipality had no influence on the vision of the organisation. However, in relation to gentrification the Popcentrale is following the wishes of the municipality as stated in the cultural policy of 2020-2024 to make Dordrecht a creative city. Especially, concerning the Popcentrale's cooperation with security organisation to setup a project to increase the social position of precarious youth which reflects the utilisation of arts and culture in the gentrification process. Furthermore, when the definition of culture was discussed from the perspective of the municipality the coordinators seem to disagree with the new goals in the cultural policy plan. One of the coordinators (interview 2, male, 39) said the following about the goals of the municipality for the cultural sector of the city:

*“Then you can count on the fact that you're gonna reap the benefits. You don't know when they're going to transpire, and sometimes it goes wrong, and sometimes there's a place where it's going to flower. Sometimes the effect is less visible, sometimes more, that's unpredictable, that's part of culture's character. that is something that's done with the people in this city themselves, so the focus is not on the revenue. The rewards will come, but first you need selflessness, a different investment. On the other hand, what's hard is that they attach culture to crowd reach.”<sup>6</sup>*

---

<sup>6</sup> “Dan kun je er op rekenen dat je vruchten gaat plukken je weet niet precies waar gaan ontstaan, soms wel ergens tegenvallers, soms dan toch een plek gaan bloeien, soms wel meer minder hè, dat is onvoorspelbaar, dat is ook onderdeel van het karakter van cultuur. Dat is iets wat de mensen zelf in de stad gedaan wordt, dus eh niet direct de nadruk op de opbrengst moet leggen. Die komt heus wel, maar dan moet je

The coordinator stressed in the interview that the municipality of Dordrecht connects culture to the audience's scope of the organisation. The coordinator states that the municipality focuses on the returns of culture and therefore on the returns of the Popcentrale as cultural organisation. This means that the municipality expects cultural organisation to present measurable results in relation to their activities. The connection with the gentrification process is that the municipality uses cultural to attract a certain type of class to the city which is the creative class. The municipality of Dordrecht has the wish to become a creative city as first mentioned in a policy document in 2009 (Willems, 2009). Creative people are attracted by culture. So, this means that culture is utilised to attract people from the creative class. The larger discourse that surrounds the utilisation of culture is to increase the socio-economic status of the city. The research (Florida, 2002; Marlet & Woerkens, 2007) shows that the creative class increase the status of a city and will lead to the arrival of capital investors who will raise the status of the city to an even higher level. Even though the definition of Florida is not complete, it shows that the attraction of classes might be done in some cases through arts and culture. Furthermore, the goals of the municipality expresses that culture is used as a means for gentrification as they refer in their definition of culture to the audience scope linked to the wish of becoming a creative city. This confirms the results of the research of Cameron & Coaffee (2005) and Grodach & Silver (2013) who state that over the years the arts have become a direct gentrifying instrument for urban policy and planning. In relation to the theory of Florida of the creative class this suggest that the city of Dordrecht becomes a different city if the cultural policy goals are reached.

### **Dordrecht: The changes in the city**

One of the first topics I discussed in the interviews with the volunteers and the visitors of *the Popcentrale* was their experiences with the changes in their neighbourhood. A considerate number of interviewees mentioned in the first place that there were not a lot of things that changed in their neighbourhood. Yet, later on in the interview when the interviews tried to form an answer to the question they came up with several different things that had changed in

---

*eerst van onbaatzuchtige, een investering en anderzijds. Wat ik moeilijk vind is dat ze cultuur aan publieksbereik vastplakken.*" (Translation by the author)

their neighbourhood. This transformation of their answers can be explained by the difficulty level of the interview question, as the question asks respondents to think about things they normally do not notice or think about in everyday life. Furthermore, the interviews might need some time before they could provide me with a nuanced answer about their own neighbourhood. Most of the interviewees' answers in relation to the changes in their neighbourhood referred to their experience of viability of their neighbourhood. The viability was mentioned in several different ways in the interviews. Each interviewee applied this to their own neighbourhood. This means that there was a wide range of changes that can be categorised as part of the viability of a neighbourhood. Some interviewees referred for example to the moving away of neighbours or the load of garbage on the streets. Other interviewees addressed the safety and presence of drug dealers in their neighbourhood that caused for nuisance. One of the interviewees (interview 8, male, 58) talked about the viability in his neighbourhood the following:

*“What I like the most is that the security is now a bit better in my neighbourhood. And that's, because in the 90s someone had broken into my house. There had been stolen a lot of things. Especially, a lot of music and also some other stuff. It had a lot of impact on me. Someone came into my house by daylight, later on he was arrested and a lot of people helped me to see if some stuff could be found. After that, Woonbron had secured my house perfectly which impacted me the most. Extra locks were placed and they made sure that everyone had a larger door for their garden.”<sup>7</sup>*

The interviewee refers in the interview his experience with criminality in his neighbourhood. He explains that before the safety measures in his neighbourhood, it was a lot easier for burglars to enter his house. Once his music collection was stolen which had a lot of impact on his life as he was personally connected to his music collection. Yet, after the safety measures of the social housing corporation he felt much safer in his house and neighbourhood. Citizens' experience with the increase of viability in their neighbourhood is linked to the gentrification process in the city of Dordrecht. Research of Doucet (2009) shows that gentrification

---

<sup>7</sup> “Wat ik het meest fijne vond, is dat de beveiliging nu een stuk beter is geworden in mijn wijk. En dat komt, omdat er in de jaren 90' een keer bij mij is ingebroken. Toen is er gigantisch veel weggehaald. En vooral heel veel muziek en ook wat spullen. Het heeft wel heel veel impact, iemand is in jouw huis overdag ingebroken en hij is later ook opgepakt en heel veel mensen hebben mij geholpen om te kijken waar eventueel heel veel van die spullen waren gebleven. Wat daarna voor mij het meeste impact heeft gemaakt is dat woonbron heel goed heeft beveiligd. Extra sloten kwamen er en ze hebben er ook voor gezorgd dat iedereen gewoon een grote tuin zou hebben.” (Translation by the author)

improvement neighbourhoods in a positive way as it change the reputation of the neighbourhood positively. Furthermore, people linked the gentrification process with the change of buildings and the improvement of houses. Even though research of Doucet (2009) shows that citizens experience is positive Slater (2008) argues that the people who are studied do not really belong to the working class community and are part of the middle class. This might be the same case for the participants I have interviewed for this research. Most of the visitors and volunteers of the Popcentrale, I had interviewed, were living in neighbourhoods with a reasonable status. This might mean that these interviewees could be categorised as the middle class of Dordrecht. So, the answers of the interviewees of the Popcentrale might say more about how the middle class of Dordrecht experiences the gentrification process in the city than as victims of this process. In addition, the interviewees did not mention anything about them being victims of the gentrification process and the changes in the city.

### **The experiences of the Popcentrale in relation to the gentrification process**

At the beginning of the interviews, visitors were asked how they experienced the corona pandemic in relation to their regular visits to and or volunteer work at the Popcentrale. This interview question was asked to discover the most essential role of the Popcentrale plays in their life. Most of the interviewees referred in the interview to the temporary interruption of bands' and musicians' developments. The Popcentrale is a place for people to learn how to play an instrument or develop themselves musically. When such a place is closed people experience difficulties in pursuing their music development as they do not have the possibility to do this anymore. Other interviewees mentioned in the interview in relation to the corona pandemic that they missed their friends they would meet at the Popcentrale and the possibility to meet new people. One of visitors (interview 4, female, 43) said the following about her experience of the corona pandemic in relation to her Popcentrale visits:

*“For me it means, you might experience the same, that you can not see your friends. I am someone who goes out regularly and I miss the moments to act crazy with my friends and drink something and dance with them. The Popcentrale is then a place where you go, because it is close to my home and I feel comfortable there. The volunteers and the people who work there are nice and there is always a good ambiance. It miss that for sure.”<sup>8</sup>*

---

<sup>8</sup> *“Voor mij betekent het, dat zal je zelf ook wel hebben, dat je je vrienden niet kan zien. Ik ben ook iemand die regelmatig uit gaat en ik mis wel even lekker gek doen met mijn vrienden en een drankje doen lekker dansen. De popcentrale is dan wel een plek waar je dan snel naar*



The visitor stresses in the interview quote the possibility to see friends and experience the nightlife of Dordrecht through the Popcentrale. Furthermore, the social aspect and ambiance of the place seem to be important elements in her reasons to attend the Popcentrale. The wish of the Popcentrale's coordinators is to become a place that organises a community which is reflected in the answer of the interviewee, as she mentioned the Popcentrale is a place to go with her friends and meet other people. This does not explicitly suggest that the wish of the coordinators is expressed, but seems to provide elements that are necessary for a community to exist which is the social aspect of the Popcentrale.

The reasons for visitors and volunteers to go to the Popcentrale is not directly linked to the role of the cultural place in relation to the gentrification process, yet the interviewees expressed in the interviews that the ambiance and the aesthetics of the building played a role in experience of the Popcentrale. The ambiance of the place was described as alternative or a place for alternative people. With this interviewees refer to diversity of bands and music that is played in the Popcentrale. Moreover, the alternative ambiance of the Popcentrale was connected to the aesthetics of the building. One of the interviewees (interview 11, male, 42) addressed the ambiance of the Popcentrale the following:

*“For me the Popcentrale feels like underground place, and you know rock related. You also have those things for the youth. That is super fun. [...] I like it that such things happen, yet for it stays a poppodium.”<sup>9</sup>*

The interviewee describes the Popcentrale as an underground place for and links it to the music genre rock in relation to the aesthetics of the Popcentrale. Furthermore, the interviewee mentions that new types of music genres are presented in the Popcentrale, yet the place's underground identity has not changed. Visitors and volunteers are attracted to the Popcentrale, because of its alternative ambiance and underground aesthetics. This means that a certain type of people is attracted to places like the Popcentrale. In relation to the gentrification process this could be linked to the theory of Ley (1996), who argues that artists are attracted to decayed historic industrial buildings as they aesthetically appreciate these places. Visitors and volunteers of the Popcentrale seem to appreciate the aesthetics of the Popcentrale which attracts them to the place. This means that the visitors and volunteers

---

*toe gaat het is vlak bij huis natuurlijk en ja daar voel ik me gewoon op me gemak en de vrijwilligers en de mensen die er werken vind ik aardig dus ja er is altijd een goede sfeer. Dus ja dat mis ik zeker ja.”(Translation by the author)*

<sup>9</sup> *“Ja bij de popcentrale blijft het toch allemaal een beetje underground, en weet je wel rock gerelateerd, voornamelijk weet je heb natuurlijk ook wel de jongeren dingen, dat is hartstikke leuk hoor. [...] ik vind het wel leuk dat ook dat soort dingen wel gebeuren, maar dan voor mijn gevoel is dat dan wel we blijven een poppodium.”(Translation by the author)*

distinguish themselves from other people in the city who are less attracted by the arts and culture. So, through the aesthetic appreciation of the place the visitors of the Popcentrale also associated themselves with a certain class that is attract by these places.

A second topic the most of interviewees discussed in relation to the role of the Popcentrale in their life was the relocation of the organisation and the renovation of the Energiehuis. It seems to be clear that some interviewees experienced the renovation and relocation as a change in the identity and aesthetics of the place. According to them, the Popcentrale has transformed from an underground place that is exists for rock bands to a place that attractd different types of music genres. One of the interviewees (interview 6, female, 21) says the following about the transformation of the Popcentrale:

*“You see a lot of audience they focus on. Because why should they focus only on rock bands if there are a lot of other music genres. A year ago the singer songwriter genre came up. This way they are right now more of a stage for talent development instead of an underground place. The rock and pop stage had its charme at the time. [...]But I think it is good that they approach a broader audience and offer everyone in Dordrecht a stage.”<sup>10</sup>*

The interview reflects in her answer about the role of the Popcentrale in her life and the transformation the Popcentrale went through in terms of aesthetics and musicians that are attracted to the place. Before the renovation of the Popcentrale the interview mentions that it was a underground place for rock bands. Nowadays the Popcentrale has become a podium for talent development to attract other types of musicians to the place. This indirectly changed the ambiance of the Popcentrale. The change in the aesthetics and function of the Popcentrale is seen a positive development by the interviewee. Research of Doucet (2009) showed that citizens experience of gentrification were seen as a positive phenomen as this improved the environment of their neighbourhood. This result could also be connected to the experience of the interviewee with the renovation of the Popcentrale. The Popcentrale is part of the

---

<sup>10</sup>“En dan zien van je zijn ook meerdere doelgroepen waar we onze aandacht op kunnen vestigen. Want waarom alleen op rock bandjes als er ook heel veel andere soorten muziekstromingen zijn. En een paar jaar geleden kwam natuurlijk singersongwriter meer opkomst. Het is nu meer een podium van talentontwikkeling in plaats van underground. Rock/Poppodium had zijn charme op dat moment, [...], maar het is wel goed dat ze nu gewoon echt een breder publiek trekken en echt iedereen in Dordrecht een podium kunnen bieden.”(Translation by the author)

gentrification process of the city which means that it also exemplifies the gentrification process in relation to cultural places in Dordrecht.

## Het Vogelnest

### What, where, when? Het Vogelnest?

Het Vogelnest has been situated in the neighbourhood the Vogelbuurt since 2016. Over the past few years, Het Vogelnest's identity has changed from a community centre to a coffee bar where neighbours can drink coffee or tea and socialise with other people from the neighbourhood (image 4 and 7, appendix D). In the interviews, I discussed with the coordinator the reasons for the existence of Het Vogelnest which was connected to the need of the residents of the Vogelbuurt to have their own community centre. Furthermore, the coordinator addressed in the interview that het Vogelnest exists to facilitate the ideas of the inhabitants of the Vogelbuurt. Het Vogelnest helps the inhabitants to set up their projects and ideas and coaches them. In the interview the coordinator (interview 9, male, 37) of the Vogelnest said the following about the existence of Het Vogelnest:

*"We want to be a meeting place that can be taken over by the neighbourhood. This means that you emancipate and free the neighbourhood. [...]. Het Vogelnest is in the broader sense, Het Vogelnest facilitates the residents to do their thing and they prefer the idea of the residents as much as possible."*<sup>11</sup>

The coordinator of Het Vogelnest seems to make clear that through their facilities Het Vogelnest tries to emancipate the neighbourhood. This means that residents of the Vogelbuurt can organise their own events and set up their own projects in relation to their neighbourhood which gives them some authority to decide what happens in their own neighbourhood. Het Vogelnest states that the ideas of the neighbours are the most important which means that the organisation helps the neighbours to setup these project and to put them into practice. In relation to gentrification and the role of cultural places in this process, the goals of Het Vogelnest seem to express a movement through which they try to make the gentrification process more inclusive. Janoschka and Casgrain (2013) mentioned in their research a side-effect of gentrification which is the organisation of projects, citizens participation and social movements through which the negative effects of this process are

---

<sup>11</sup> "Wij willen een ontmoetingsplaats zijn die door de wijk kan worden overgenomen. Dat betekent dat je de wijk emancipeert en bevrijdt. [...] Het Vogelnest is in de bredere zin van het woord, dus Het Vogelnest faciliteert buurtbewoners om hun ding te doen en zoveel mogelijk een idee van een buurtbewoner voor te laten gaan." (Translation by the author)

minimised. One of the negative effects of gentrification is the displacement of classes which causes a disruption in the social cohesion of a neighbourhood. So, it seems that Het Vogelnest tries to unite neighbours of the Vogelbuurt through offering them a place where they can meet other people and design their own projects for their own neighbourhood to minimise the residents' negative experiences with the gentrification process in the Vogelbuurt.

A second topic that was discussed in the interview was the different activities Het Vogelnest organises for the neighbourhood. The coordinator addressed that the coffeebar is the main activity of the organisation through which they launch regular activities next to some non-regular projects. The regular projects of Het Vogelnest are for example the Sunday breakfast, Thursday evening diner, the handicraft club and offering some tutoring for the children in the neighbourhood. A project that is linked to the process of gentrification in the neighbourhood was the 8X9M festival through which Het Vogelnest tried to commemorate and create attention for the citizens, who were forced to leave their neighbourhood, due to the plans of the municipality for the neighbourhood. One of the employees of Het Vogelnest addressed in the interview that artists were invited to do something with the empty social housing flat in relation to the original residents of the building. In the interview she (interview 3, female, 29) described the 8X9M festival and the meaning of the festival:

*“ We organised a kind of festival about everyone who has left their flat. And we let artists do their work. They all get one house and then they can create their own art in that house. For example, one house was completely covered with graffiti and another house was completely covered with books. It is actually a kind of appreciation of the house that is going to be demolished and to give residents something beautiful of that place that perishes. The festival was called 8X9M.”<sup>12</sup>*

Through the 8X9M festival, it seems to be clear that Het Vogelnest attempts to create some appreciation for the original residents of the social flats, that are planned to be demolished. Art is utilised as a means to create this appreciation and to make the place look better. Furthermore, it seems that the organisation wants to create some awareness of the process that happens in the neighbourhood through the utilisation of the empty social housing as a

---

<sup>12</sup> *“Nauw we hebben wel een soort festival hebben we gecreëerd dus als iedereen die uit zijn flat is gegaan dat ze daar dus kunstenaars hun werk laten doen. Dan krijgen ze allemaal een woning, en dan mag je helemaal je eigen kunst verwerken in die woning. Er was bijvoorbeeld een woning die was bijvoorbeeld helemaal ondergegraffiteerd en dan een ander die had een woning belegd helemaal met boeken. Het is eigenlijk een soort waardering van de flat die dan daarna ten onder gaat om de buurtbewoners dan ook wel weer iets moois te geven van zo'n plek dat dan weggaat. Acht keer negen m heette dat festival.”(Translation by the author)*

place for artists to create their own artworks that reflect a certain message about the process in the neighbourhood. Through the festival Het Vogelnest stresses the displacement of former residents of the Vogelbuurt. According to Ley (1996), artists appreciated the appearance of a decayed building through their aesthetic eye. Moreover, due to artists' ability to make ugly look nice neighbourhoods are transformed into places that look nicer. The 8X9M festival of Het Vogelnest seems to reflect the first process of gentrification as artists are utilised to change the looks of the flat.

A third topic that was discussed in the interview was related to the transformation of the identity of the organisation. The coordinator of Het Vogelnest addressed in the interview that the organisation has become more of an institution as the organisation has developed itself from a place which they have no employees and struggle to find a place in the neighbourhood to a cultural place that has earned its place at Het Vogelplein in the Vogelbuurt. The institutionalisation of Het Vogelnest was connected to their relationship with the municipality. Since 2016 Het Vogelnest has become a serious partner for the municipality to decide about changes in the neighbourhood and the communication to the residents of the Vogelbuurt. In the interview the coordinator (interview 9, male, 37) talked about its relationship with the municipality in the following quote:

*“ We have become more of an institute. We started with a few houses and bills and we are taking on more people nowadays. We are more institutionalised for in the back office and we have a better relationship with the municipality. So, we try to be critical and we do not ignore the neighbourhood when they complain about the neighbourhood. But we have become a serious partner for the municipality and we have become a showpiece of the municipality. One a year a counselor comes by or the mayor and we are allowed to discuss things and decide things about the neighbourhood. So, we are a serious partner of the municipality, but we are still very critical.”<sup>13</sup>*

The coordinator expresses in the interview that his relationship with the municipality has changed in the last couple of years, yet he also mentions that they need to be critical towards

---

<sup>13</sup> *“Nauw ja natuurlijk wij zijn zelf meer een instituut geworden. We begonnen natuurlijk met een paar woningen en factuurtjes en we zijn nu steeds meer mensen in dienst gaan nemen. We zijn zelf meer geïnstitutionaliseerd aan de achterkant en hebben zeker ook wel een betere relatie met de gemeente. Dus je probeert, daar wel kritisch in te zijn en we vallen de buurt ook nooit af als de buurt klaagt over de buurt dan beantwoorden de buurt zeg maar. Maar ja we worden wel serieuzer genomen en zijn een soort van parade paardje weet je wel. Er komt wel een paar keer paar jaar een wethouder langs of de burgemeester en we mogen overal mee praten en over de buurt mogen we meebeslissen. Dus we zijn wel een serieuze partner van de gemeente geworden wij zijn nog wel steeds heel kritisch..” (Translated by the author)*

the municipality to secure their own goals which is the emancipation of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the coordinator stresses that the improvement of its relationship with the municipality helped Het Vogelnest to create more support from the municipality in relation to the changes in the Vogelbuurt. It seems to be clear that Het Vogelnest tries to balance between their relationship with the municipality and their relationship with the neighbourhood, as the coordinator stresses that they also want to support the neighbourhood. The institutionalisation of Het Vogelnest and the improved relationship with the municipality reflects the research of Janoschka and Casgrain (2013) who mention that the negative effects of gentrification are minimised through the organisation of projects, citizens participation and social movements. It seems to be clear that Het Vogelnest tries to delay the gentrification process in the neighbourhood through their improved relationship with the municipality, which offers them the possibility to decide what happens in the neighbourhood. In addition, through their critical standpoint Het Vogelnest tries to distance themselves from the municipality and not be utilised as means of gentrification by the municipality. Yet, in the interview the coordinator mentioned that municipality utilises Het Vogelnest as an example of a showpiece how cultural places should play a role in a neighbourhood. The utilisation of Het Vogelnest as a showpiece by the municipality reflects research results of Cameron & Coaffee (2005) and Grodach & Silver (2013), who state that the arts have become a direct gentrifying instrument for urban policy and planning. The municipality of Dordrecht uses Het Vogelnest as a means of gentrification by using them as an example of the role cultural places should play in neighbourhoods. So, Het Vogelnest needs to preserve its critical position towards the municipality before they are completely used as a means for gentrification.

Another aspect of the relationship between the municipality and Het Vogelnest was the role of the cultural place as a translator between the messages of the residents of the Vogelbuurt and the municipality. The coordinator addressed in the interviews that there existed some miscommunication between the municipality and the neighbours of the Vogelbuurt. He mentioned that both parties communicate in a different language which means that the residents of the Vogelbuurt do not understand the decision of the municipality concerning their neighbourhood. The coordinator (interview 9, male, 37) addressed the miscommunication and the role of Het Vogelnest as follows:

*“ It is actually a babylonian language confusion between the institutional language and the language of the people that do not align. There is a barrier and that goes at the expense of the people in the neighbourhood, because the municipality does what they want. So, we try to be this extra layer between them, we keep an eye on the newspapers and the permits and the decisions. At the same time we try to let people have influence in this case we deal with the story from the neighbourhood. ”<sup>14</sup>*

The coordinator expresses that Het Vogelnest attempts to be an intermediary between the municipality and the neighbourhood to help the neighbourhood. In the Vogelbuurt there live a lot of residents who are low-educated and have a low income, which means that they are not able to understand the complex language the municipality communicates to them. Het Vogelnest attempts to support the neighbourhood in translating the messages of the municipality to the neighbourhood and the other way around. The role of Het Vogelnest as an intermediary reflects the organisations strategy to minimise the negative experiences of the gentrification process in the Vogelbuurt. As Freeman and Braconi (2004) argue that through this, the process of gentrification is becoming more inclusive than exclusive. Het Vogelnest attempts to emancipate the neighbourhood to stand up for their own rights and wishes, yet without Het Vogelnest the residents of the Vogelbuurt are not able to do this, as they do not understand the ways of communication of the municipality or know who express their wishes.

A fourth topic mentioned in the interview concerned the role of Het Vogelnest in the Vogelbuurt as one of the initiators of the gentrification process in the neighbourhood. The coordinator of the cultural place admits his struggles with the role of the place in the neighbourhood as they have a trendy appearance and its employees are highly-educated. The coordinator mentioned in the interview that Het Vogelnest tries to make the neighbourhood look nicer through the presence of the coffee bar, community activities and art projects like wall paintings. In the interview the coordinator (interview 9, male, 37) said the following about this role as initiator of the gentrification process in the Vogelbuurt:

---

<sup>14</sup> *“Het is eigenlijk een babylonische taal verwarring, de institutionele taal van het volk die komen niet volledig aan zeg maar. Een barrière en dat gaat natuurlijk ten koste van de mensen in de wijk, want de gemeente doet wat de gemeente wil. Dus daar proberen wij als een soort van extra laag tussen te gaan staan we houden de kranten in de gaten de vergunningen en de besluitvorming. Tegelijkertijd proberen we de mensen daar invloed op te laten hebben of in ieder geval te sturen hoe wij het met de gesprekken in de wijk opvangen.” (Translation by the author)*



*“ It is difficult because we are highly educated and white with a fancy coffee bar and are at the same time a initiator of gentrification. We try to emancipate the neighbourhood to claim the place.”<sup>15</sup>*

The role of Het Vogelnest in the neighbourhood shows their part as initiators of the gentrification process, yet the coordinator of Het Vogelnest states that they also try to emancipate the neighbourhood to create a place that is owned by the people in the neighbourhood. Through this Het Vogelnest attempts to minimise people’s experiences of the gentrification process, as they offer them a place where they can decide what happens. One of the effects of gentrification is the displacement of citizens, which creates instability in the lives of certain citizens (Ghaffari, Klein & Angulo Baudin, 2018). Moreover, displacement reflects the idea that unknown parties decide if you are allowed to live in your current home and gives people the idea that they do not control their own lives. Het Vogelnest attempts to minimise this experience through the emancipation of the neighbourhood and offering them a place where they can have authority over. This strategy of Het Vogelnest is shown in research of Janoschka and Casgrain (2013) who connect the process of making gentrification more inclusive to management of the negative effects of this process via the citizens’ participation and the organisation of social movements.

### **Dordrecht: The changes in the Vogelbuurt**

One of the first topics I discussed in the interviews with the volunteers and the visitors of Het Vogelnest was their experiences with the changes in their neighbourhood. One of the first topics interviewees addressed in the interview was the increase of the social housing rent. It seemed clear from the interviews that the increase of the social housing rent was connected to the renovation of social houses and the demolition of other buildings that were replaced by more expensive housing. The renovation and demolition of social houses was also linked to moving away of neighbours and the arrival of new residents to the neighbourhood.

Interviewees mentioned that they feared that the new residents would have a higher income or do not fit in the neighbourhood community. One of the interviewees (interview 5, male, 47) refers to the changes in his neighbourhood the following way:

---

<sup>15</sup> *“Het is heel lastig dat wij wit hoogopgeleid en wit met een hippe koffiobar alsnog een aanjager zijn van die gentrificatie zeg maar en wij proberen wel de buurt te emanciperen om die plek in te nemen en die plek te claimen.”(Translated by the author)*

*“ Because it does not impress me those houses, you have those driving lorries. That is something it find funny and how those construction workers live, that is what I like. Yes, the house itself. Than the new inhabitants maybe they are an expensive audience target or are social people or less social people. I do not what is going to happen. It will see it. ”<sup>16</sup>*

The interviewee expresses that it does not interest him what type of people will live in the neighbourhood. Yet, later on he mentions that the new residents might be people with a higher income and be very social or not. This quote of the interview refers to some aspects of the process of gentrification in his neighbourhood which is the moving away of other neighbours. The arrival of citizens with a higher income reflects the attraction of the creative class through the gentrification of neighbourhoods. According to Richard Florida (2002), the attraction of the creative class will enhance the economic growth of a city. This means that people with a higher income and education are attracted to the city as they raise the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood through which capital investors are attracted (Marlet & Woerkens, 2007).

A second topic discussed in the interviews in relation to the gentrification process was the level of criminality and safety. In the last couple of years the interviewees had experienced some improvement in the neighbourhood. Some of the interviewees mentioned that the neighbourhood had to deal with a lot of drugs dealing and the demolition of buildings of the public spaces. They defined this as negative experiences of their neighbourhood which had made a considerable impact on their experience of the Vogelbuurt. One of the interviewees (interview 3, female, 29) said something about her experiences with New Years' eve in the neighbourhood:

*“I know for sure that Het Vogelnest has played a big role in this. For example New Years' eve. I have seen things, cars were blown up and clothing containers. We have to secure our pigeon holes, because a lot of*

---

<sup>16</sup> *“Want ik, ik word ik: niet warm of koud van die huizen. je hebt nu van die vrachtwagens kwam rijden. Dan vind ik wel grappig hoe die bouwvakkers het leven, en dat vind ik leuk. Ja, het uit huis, het huis zelf. dan die nieuwe bewoners misschien een duurdere doelgroep ofzo zijn het nog gezelligere mensen, of minder gezellige mensen of. weet ik veel wat er gaat gebeuren. dat zie ik dan allemaal wel.”(Translated by the author)*

*times firework was thrown into them. But actually the last two years it has been very quiet and a good vibe. That is because we focus on that and create more light surrounding the square.”<sup>17</sup>*

The interviewee mentions that during New Years’ eve a lot of objects and buildings in the public space were demolished. Yet, she also addresses that the arrival of Het Vogelnest has brought some change to the neighbourhood through making the areas in the neighbourhood more visible with light bulbs. Later on, the interviewee mentions that she experienced that the mentality of the neighbourhood has changed in last couple of years which she connects to the arrival of Het Vogelnest. The interviewees’ positive experience of the changes in the neighbourhood reflects the effects of the gentrification process. Doucet research (2009) showed that inhabitants of Leith experienced the process of gentrification as a positive phenomenon as it improved the environment of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, research (Zukin, 1982; Grodach, Carl, Foster, Nicole, & Murdoch III, James, 2014) argues that the presence of arts and culture in a neighbourhood makes the places look better. So, it seems clear that the residents of the Vogelbuurt experience the presence of Het Vogelnest as a positive. In addition, the arts and culture are stated as the first initiators of the gentrification process which means that the positive experience of the inhabitants of the Vogelbuurt can be linked to the process of gentrification in there neighbourhood.

### **The experiences of the Het Vogelnest in relation to the gentrification process**

At the beginning of the interviews, visitors and volunteers were asked how they experienced the corona pandemic in relation to the their regular visits to and or volunteer work at Het Vogelnest. This interview question was asked to discover the essential role of the Het Vogelnest in the life of the visitors and volunteers. Most of the interviewees mentioned that they could not have the possibility to meet people and talk to them. The social element of Het Vogelnest was mentioned by most of the interviewees as one of the main reasons for their

---

<sup>17</sup> *“Ik denk zeker dat het Vogelnest daar in een grote rol in heeft gespeeld en dan pak ik echt ook oud en nieuw erbij. Ik heb echt dingen gezien er werden auto's opgeblazen altijd weer prullenbakken die weer op werden geblazen ook van die kledingcontainers en wij moesten altijd onze brievenbussen werden helemaal afgetimmerd want aan het plein wilden ze ook vaak rotjes gooien en eigenlijk nu de laatste twee jaar is het zo is het rustig en een goede vibe. En dat is echt omdat wij specifiek daarop inzetten met wat meer licht creëren op het plein.”*

visits to Het Vogelnest. One of the interviewees (interview 1, male, 70) said something about why he missed his visits to Het Vogelnest:

*“ I miss it to get my cup of coffee and to be able to talk to someone. I think that they do it really well with these time of the year and that they supply a newspaper about the neighbourhood. I have noticed ‘name’ about that. Super fun. So, I can be up to date. That what happens for everyone in the neighbourhood. I like the initiative and what they do. I support them completely. You are free to know.”<sup>18</sup>*

Het Vogelnest seems to play an important role in visitors life when it concerns the meeting of other people. So, the social element of the place through which people connect with each other is done through the drinking of a cup of coffee. This may seem that the drinking of a cup of coffee creates the social element of Het Vogelnest. Moreover, the interviewee mentions that even though he cannot visit Het Vogelnest, he appreciates the organisations attempt to inform people about the changes in the neighbourhood.

Furthermore, the social element of Het Vogelnest was also mentioned in the interviews as reason for people to attend the cultural place. The meeting of other people provides them with the possibility to expand their own network. One of the volunteers referred in his answer about the role of Het Vogelnest to stories people to tell when they visit Het Vogelnest. The interviewee addressed in the interview that some people feel the necessity to tell others about the things they had experienced. The interviewee links this necessity to tell others about their lives to people’s domestic situation. The interviewee (interview 10, male, 21) said the following about why some neighbours attend Het Vogelnest:

*“Sometimes you notice that it not going very well with them. They are very lonely or some other way it does not go very well. Or something violently has happened or something with their family. Than they come to the coffee bar, they are also very open about it. So, they like to talk about it and when this happens a lot of times in one day, it can be very exhausting, I think.”<sup>19</sup>*

---

<sup>18</sup> *“Maar ik mis het echt om mijn bakkie koffie te halen en e eveneen leuk, leuk praatje met mekaar wat hij zou. Ik vind nu ook dat ze in deze periode de Vogeljeskrant uitgeven. Hartstikke leuk. Heb ik ook naar “name” gemeld. Hartstikke leuk. Ik kan me toch een beetje op de hoogte. Dat wat er allemaal in de buurt gebeurt er voor iedereen. Ik vind het initiatief hartstikke leuk van wat ze doen. Ik sta er volledig achter. Dat mag je gerust weten.”(Translation by the author)*

<sup>19</sup> *“ Ja soms dan zitten ze met iets en merk je ook dat het echt nog niet goed met gewoon niet goed. Dan zijn heel eenzaam en of het gaat op een andere manier niet goed of er die niet gehoord of er iets heel heftigs gebeurt, iets met familie en komen ze dan ook daarmee naar de*

This interview quote expresses the type of people that attend Het Vogelnest who feel lonely and need someone to tell their story to. So, the possibility to talk to someone about their personal life is one of the reason to explain the role Het Vogelnest plays in the life of the inhabitants of the Vogelbuurt. The possibility to talk in relation to the meeting of other people seems to express context for the increase of the social cohesion in a neighbourhood. Research of Autor, Palmer and Pathak (2017) shows that one of the negative effects of gentrification process is the disruption of the social cohesion in the neighbourhoods due to the fostering of displacement in the neighbourhood. Due to the renovation of the social houses inhabitants of the Vogelbuurt are displaced as they are not able to pay the new rent of the renovated social houses (Ghaffari, Klein & Angulo Baudin, 2018). This means that some residents of the neighbourhood are forced to leave and others still live in the neighbourhood. This creates a disruption in the social cohesion of the neighbourhood. It seems to be clear that Het Vogelnest attempts to restore the social cohesion in the Vogelbuurt through offering people a place where they can come, meet other people and tell their personal stories.

In addition, the restoration of the social cohesion in the Vogelbuurt was connected by some interviewees to the drinking of a cup of coffee. Specifically, the interviewees mentioned the possibility to drink a free cup of coffee, called 'het buurtbakkie', was very special for them. 'Het buurtbakkie' is a cup of coffee that is paid by the neighbourhood. People visiting Het Vogelnest can donate money for those who are not able to pay their cup of coffee. So, through 'het buurtbakkie' (a cup of coffee of the neighbourhood) everyone is able to drink a cup of coffee and have a nice trip to Het Vogelnest. One of the interviewees (interview 5, male, 52) mentioned that 'het buurtbakkie' added some social value to his neighbourhood, which is illustrated in the following interview quote:

*"It is very cheap, but if you say cheap, than you can pay also two euros. That's what 'name' could say. It is about people. You can say nicely if you give two euros you can take a cup of coffee and then the other euro is donated to the coffee donation pot. And than people give ten euros which raises the number of cup of*

---

*koffie bar daar zijn ze ook heel open over. Dus dan willen ze er ook graag een praatje overmaken en als dat dan vaker op een dag een dag gebeurt, dan is dat best heftig soms in ieder geval, vind ik."*

*coffees donated and ten people can drink a free cup of coffee. That kind of things, because the possibility exists and that is what colours Het Vogelnest.*"<sup>20</sup>

For the interviewee Het Vogelnest does not only offer inhabitants of the Vogelbuurt to buy cheap coffee, but also helps those who are not able to pay a cup of coffee at all. Furthermore, neighbours are able to pay the cup of coffee for someone else in neighbourhood. So, the possibility to help someone else in the neighbourhood seems to suggest an attempt to increase the social cohesion in the Vogelbuurt. So, socialisation is one of the reasons people feel attracted to Het Vogelnest which is expressed in different ways. In relation to the gentrification process in the neighbourhood Het Vogelnest seems to minimise the negative effects of gentrification through the creation of more inclusive projects and products for the neighbourhood. Het Vogelnest also seems to diminish the fear of displacement in the neighbourhood as many of the original residents of the Vogelbuurt had to leave their home due to the renovations and increase of social rent. Research of Freeman and Braconi (2004) suggest that a side-effect of gentrification is making it more inclusive, rather than exclusive, if the negative effects of this process are minimised. This phenomenon seems to be applicable to the idea of 'het buurtbakkie' were the decrease of social cohesion in the neighbourhood is tackled through the inclusivity of drinking coffee at *Het Vogelnest*.

The last topic visitors and volunteers of Het Vogelnest discussed in the interviews was the transformation of the aesthetics of the neighbourhood. According to them, the neighbourhood became a nicer place to live through the planting of fruit trees in people's gardens or the painting of the walls of social housing flats. Furthermore, the arrival of the coffee bar of Het Vogelnest in itself was also described as one of the positive effects of the transformation of the neighbourhood due to Het Vogelnest. One of the volunteers (interview 10, male, 21) of Het Vogelnest mentions the following about the change of the aesthetics of the neighbourhood:

*"I notice that people take more care of each other, which I really like. I notice that since we are situated at the square, that people notice more the garbage on the streets. That it is more clean and that people who*

---

<sup>20</sup> *"Het is heel goedkoop. maar als je zegt dat is goedkoop nauw dan zeggen ze je kan ook twee euro geven . Dat kan 'naam' dan zeggen. Het gaat om mensen. Kan best wel vriendelijk zeggen nauw als je dan twee euro geeft dan nemen we een buurtbakkie die ene euro over en kan degene die geen geld heeft een bakkie krijgen en dan zeggen mensen van oh leuk en dan leggen ze dan een tientje neer. En dan gaat de teller van het buurtbakkie weer omhoog en dan kunnen tien mensen een gratis kopje koffie krijgen. Dus dat soort dingen omdat die mogelijkheid er is/ wordt behartigd zo is mede waarom dat vogelnestje zo kleurt."* (Translated by the author)

*sit at the square make it less dirty. That is what it notice. Even though it is ruin, that is not very nice, especially when summer is coming. That is a pity because that is not possible right now. We have a terrace and last year that was crowded with people. While it is not situated in the city and people come to drink at the coffee bar after they have done their groceries with the neighbours. That is the added value.”<sup>21</sup>*

The volunteer mentions that Het Vogelnest has changed the neighbours' mentality in a positive way in relation to the garbade on the streets and keeping their neighbourhood clean. Furthermore, the presence of Het Vogelnest in the Vogelbuurt is addressed as a positive aspect of the neighbourhood. For example, during the summer Het Vogelnest has a nice terrace where people come to drink a cup of coffee. It seems to be clear that through the changes of the aesthetics in the neighbourhood with the help of Het Vogelnest has influenced people's attitude towards their neighbourhood. Research of several studies (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Deutsche & Ryan, 1984; Ley, 2003; Lloyd, 2010; Mathews, 2010; Zukin, 1982) shows that the arts and culture play a key role in the gentrification process. Through the aesthetic appreciation of decayed neighbourhoods artists make such places look better. This means that Het Vogelnest makes the Vogelbuurt look better through improvements in the looks of the neighbourhood like the wall paintings. This results in neighbours taking care of their neighbourhood, as they seem to respect the changes Het Vogelnest has done in their neighbourhood. So, the arts and culture do not only initiate the gentrification process in a neighbourhood by making it look nicer, they also influence indirectly the mentality of the inhabitants towards their neighbourhood which only strengthens than weakens the gentrification process in the neighbourhood.

---

<sup>21</sup> *“Ik merk dat er meer naar elkaar omgekeken wordt, wat ik heel prettig vind. Ik merk wel nu we de hele tijd op het plein zitten dat er wat meer omgekeken wordt naar rotzooi. Dat het schoner is en dat mensen meer opletten en het minder vaak vies maken. Dat is ook iets wat ik heel erg merk of tenminste. De wijk zelf is ook netter, ook al is het nog steeds een bouwval wat gewoon niet sfeervol is, zeker nu het weer zomer wordt. Dat is jammer dat nu ja natuurlijk niet mogelijk is. We hebben een terrasje en vorig jaar was het heel leuk dat het helemaal vol met mensen was. Terwijl het niet in de de binnenstad is ofzo en dat mensen dan boodschappen doen en dat ze daarna bij de koffiebar een bakje met de burens en een kopje koffie drinken dat werkt heel erg goed en dat is toegevoegde waarde.” (Translation by the author)*

## Conclusion

This research aimed to formulate an answer on how citizens from different neighbourhoods in Dordrecht express their relation with the gentrification process through the production and consumption of cultural places in the city. This research attempted to unravel the role of the cultural places, the Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest, play in context of the gentrification process in the city. Respondents were sampled from these two case studies to acquire an understanding about the gentrification process. The role of the Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest in the gentrification process and their close link with the municipality made an interesting case to utilise for this research. The Popcentrale is more of a part of the gentrification policy of Dordrecht, whereas Het Vogelnest tries to be critical about this policy and counteract it through the activities in the neighbourhood. This resulted in a different approach of both cultural places towards the gentrification process. The type of method utilised for this research was semi structured interviews to acquire an understanding of the citizens and cultural places individual experiences with the gentrification process and their way of dealing with the process. The research sample existed out of the visitors, volunteers and coordinators of both cultural places to investigate a broad spectrum of experiences of the citizens and cultural places in relation to the gentrification process.

The city of Dordrechts' ambition to become a creative city implies a different reality for the citizens and cultural places, the Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest, in the city. In the context of the gentrification process the Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest deal differently with the ambition of the municipality of Dordrecht. The results from the research showed that the Popcentrale has been part of the gentrification process since the existence of the organisation. The role of Het Energiehuis, where the organisation is situated, exemplifies the three fold phase of the role of the arts and culture in the gentrification described by Cameron and Coaffee (2005). The arts and culture are part of the production of spaces through improving neighbourhoods and being attracted to decayed historic buildings. So, the Popcentrale as a cultural place is part of the production of space in the city. Furthermore, the relationship with the municipality stresses the role of culture in the gentrification process. According to Cameron & Coaffee (2005) and Grodach & Silver (2013), municipalities utilise the arts and culture as a means for gentrification. From the perspective of the Popcentrale, the municipality of Dordrecht utilised the organisation to improve Het Energiehuis itself and later on to attract the citizen of the creative class to its city. Moreover, the Popcentrale itself is



fulfilling this role as the initiator of the gentrification process through future projects that deal with youth in precarious social position. Music will be utilised in these projects as a means to raise the social position of these youth which will be reflected in the social problems in the rest of the city.

The experiences of visitors and volunteers of the Popcentrale in relation to the gentrification process were reflected in the ambiance, relocation of the organisation and the aesthetics of the basement of the Popcentrale. The ambiance of the Popcentrale was defined as an alternative place for music lovers to visit. The alternative ambiance was connected by the interviewees to the underground aesthetics of the basement of the Popcentrale which attracted the visitors and volunteers to the place. Ley (1996) states that artists have an aesthetic perspective through which they feel attracted to decayed and historic buildings. Het Energiehuis is such a building which clarifies people's attraction to the Popcentrale. Moreover, people from the creative class are attracted to cultural places like the Popcentrale which might suggest that most of the visitors and volunteers of the Popcentrale are part of the creative class. The visitors and volunteers' experiences of the changes in the city was also reflected in the gentrification process in Dordrecht, as they referred to the increase of safety and viability in their neighbourhood which comes along with gentrification. Research of O'Sullivan (2005) shows that gentrification is linked to a decrease in crime in renovated neighbourhoods. This might explain the visitors' and volunteers' experiences with the gentrification process as a positive phenomenon.

The role of Het Vogelnest in the gentrification process differs slightly from the Popcentrale as their focus is specifically on the neighbourhood the Vogelbuurt, who experience the gentrification process very closely. Het Vogelnest's existence originates in the necessity for the neighbourhood to have a community centre. From 2016 until now Het Vogelnest's role in the Vogelbuurt has changed over time. The mission of Het Vogelnest exemplifies a more nuanced position towards the gentrification process than the Popcentrale. Through the coffee bar, Het Vogelnest tries to emancipate the neighbourhood which seems to be an attempt to delay the gentrification process. Research of Janoschka and Casgrain (2013) states that gentrification becomes more inclusive than exclusive, through the organisation of citizens' participation which provides residents with some authority over their own neighbourhood. This is independent from the gentrification process in their neighbourhood instigated by the municipality. Even though Het Vogelnest attempts to emancipate the

neighbourhood through providing the residents with a place, where they can develop their ideas for the neighbourhood. Het Vogelnest is utilised by the municipality of Dordrecht as one of the initiators of gentrification which the organisation is also aware of. Several studies (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Deutsche & Ryan, 1984; Ley, 2003; Lloyd, 2010; Mathews, 2010; Zukin, 1982) show that artists and artistic organisations play a key role in the emergence of gentrification. Moreover, Cameron & Coaffee (2005) and Grodach & Silver (2013) stresses the utilisation of arts and culture by municipalities and governmental institution for gentrification. The Vogelnest needs to focus on their core mission which is the emancipation of the Vogelbuurt to protect their critical perspective on the gentrification process in the neighbourhood.

The experiences of visitors and volunteers of Het Vogelnest in relation to the gentrification process were reflected in the aesthetic transformations of the neighbourhood by Het Vogelnest, the concept design of ‘Het buurtbakkie’ (coffee of the neighbourhood), and open space of the coffee bar where residents of the Vogelbuurt socialise with other neighbours. Especially, the aesthetic transformations of the neighbourhood by Het Vogelnest were stressed by the visitors and volunteers of Het Vogelnest that caused for a mentality change in the neighbourhood. People started to notice the garbage on the streets and did their best to keep the neighbourhood tidy. In addition, this also might result in the boosting of the gentrification process in the neighbourhood. Several studies (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005; Deutsche & Ryan, 1984; Ley, 2003; Lloyd, 2010; Mathews, 2010; Zukin, 1982) state that the arts and culture play a key role in the gentrification process. However, Het Vogelnest tries the balance this effect through the concept ‘het buurtbakkie’ which give neighbours the authority to help other people and offers poor neighbours the possibility to drink a cup of coffee for free. Through ‘het buurtbakkie’ Het Vogelnest strengthens the social cohesion in the Vogelbuurt and emancipate the residents of the neighbourhood to transform the process of gentrification that creates inclusivity in the neighbourhood.

The first limitations of this research was the execution of the methodology. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic the proposed method for this research could not be executed. The Dutch government advised citizens to restrict their social encounters which meant that it was not possible to do observations. Furthermore, the interviews had to take place via digital devices which created some distance between the researcher and the interviewees. Observation might have added some additional data to the interviews executed as people’s

behaviour is not only expressed through language, but also through acting.

The second limitation of this research was the focus on only two cultural places in the city of Dordrecht. This meant that this research was restricted to the data that resulted from the interviewees with the coordinators, volunteers and visitors of The Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest. A broader research scope might have provided some additional data to the story of the experiences of people and cultural places with the gentrification process in Dordrecht. The Popcentrale and Het Vogelnest are different in their approach to the gentrification process which made it easier to see the difference. Yet researching more cultural places in Dordrecht would also add some additional approaches of how cultural places deal with gentrification process in Dordrecht.

The first recommendation for future research is an ethnographic study that pays attention to the experiences of citizens with the gentrification process through the observation of people's behaviours and how they emotionally deal with the displacement of neighbours, which this research was not able to provide an answer on. This type of research might explain the larger story of gentrification and how people actually experience the gentrification process as behaviours might tell us something about the expression of the process in relation to meaning-making.

The second recommendation for future research is a focus on the displaced of social classes in relation to gentrification. This research only presented results about the way cultural places and citizens of Dordrecht experience the gentrification process. Yet no attention was paid to the citizens in Dordrecht that were displaced from the Vogelbuurt or the social groups the interviewees talked about. This type of research might add to society's understanding of what gentrification does to people and create a rebuttal for the housing policies in the Netherlands that are causing a lot of unrest in the lower classes of Dutch society.

This research attempted to find an answer on the question how citizens express their relation with the gentrification process through the consumption and production of cultural places. This research has paid attention to both sides of the story of gentrification which resulted in a nuanced and complex answer on the process of gentrification and the role cultural places play in this process. The title of this thesis suggests that the creation of a creative city is a fairy tale, yet the city of Dordrecht has a long way to go before the dream of becoming a creative city has a happy ending.

## Bibliography

1. 3voor12 Rotterdam. (2010). *Popcentrale verruult Energiehuis voor LIPS* [Photograph]. Retrieved from <https://3voor12.vpro.nl/imaging/stk/3v12/opengraph/dam/3voor12-lokaal-zuidholland/3voor12-lokaal-dordrecht/2010/October/44011974/jcr:content/44011974.jpeg>
2. AlleCijfers (n.d.). Gemiddeld inkomen per inwoner[information] <https://allecijfers.nl/gemeente/dordrecht/#inkomen>
3. Allen, C. (2008). Gentrification ‘research’ and the academic nobility: a different class? *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32(1), 180–185. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2008.00770.x
4. Atkinson, R. (2000). The hidden costs of gentrification: Displacement in central London. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 15, 302–326. Retrieved from <https://www.deepdyve.com/lp/springer-journals/the-hidden-costs-of-gentrification-displacement-in-central-london-qqp7g0ulaN>
5. Atkinson, R., & Kintrea, K. (2000). Owner-occupation, social mix and neighbourhood impacts. *Policy and Politics*, 28(1), 93–108. doi:10.1332/0305573002500857
6. Arce-Trigatti, A. & Anderson, A. (2018). Defining diversity: a critical discourse analysis of public educational texts. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 1-18. doi: 10.1080/01596306.2018.1462575
7. Autor, D. H., Palmer, C. J. & Pathak, P. A. (2017). *Gentrification and the amenity value of crime reductions: evidence from rent deregulation* (NBER Working Paper No. 23914). Retrieved from The National Bureau of Economic Research website: <https://www.nber.org/papers/w23914>
8. BaM6864 (2016, March 12). *Popcentrale net voor de verbouwing 20 - 08 – 2010* [Youtube video]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OTKdaJFWp6Q>
9. BAVO (2006, August 31). Plea for an uncreative city [online article]. Retrieved from <https://www.bavo.biz/plea-for-an-uncreative-city>
10. Bélanger, H. (2010). Pour qui et à qui ce parc? Gentrification et appropriation de l'espace public dans l'arrondissement du Sud- Ouest de Montréal (Canada). *Lien social et Politiques*, 63, 143–154. <https://doi.org/10.7202/044156ar>
11. Bryman, A. (2012). *Sociol research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

12. Cahill, C. (2007). Negotiating grit and glamour: Young women of color and the gentrification of the Lower East Side. *City & Society*, 19(2), 202-231. doi: 10.1525/city.2007.19.2.202.
13. Cameron, S. & Coaffe, J. (2005). Art, gentrification, and regeneration – From artist as pioneer to public arts. *European Journal of Housing Policy*, 5(1), 39-58. doi: 10.1080/14616710500055687
14. Charmaz, K. (2006). *Coding in grounded theory practice*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd
15. Chesebro, J. W. & Borisoff, D. J. (2007). What Makes Qualitative Research Qualitative? *Qualitative Research Reports in Communication*, 8(1), 3-14. doi: 10.1080/17459430701617846
16. Clark, E. (2005). The order and simplicity of gentrification - a political challenge. In R. Atkinson & G. Bridge (Eds), *Gentrification in a global context: The new urban colonialism* (pp. 256–264). London: Routledge.
17. Comunian, R. (2011). Rethinking the creative city: the role of complexity, networks and interactions in the urban creative economy. *Urban Studies*, 48(6), 1157-1179. doi: 10.1177/0042098010370626
18. Deutsche, R. & Ryan, C. G. (1984). The fine art of gentrification. *The MIT Press*, 31, 91-111. doi: 10.2307/778358
19. Dikeç, M.(2006). Two decades of French urban policy: from social development of neighbourhoods to the republican penal state. *Antipode*, 38(1), 59-81. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0066-4812.2006.00565.x>
20. Doff, W., & Sluis, M. v. (2017, May 24). *Stad kan gevolgen gentrificatie verzachten*. Retrieved from Sociale Vraagstukken: <https://www.socialevraagstukken.nl/stad-kan-gevolgen-gentrificatie-verzachten/>
21. Dordrecht.net (2019). *Bijna veertig regionale acts op Popcentralefestival; het verjaardagsfeestje van de Popcentrale*[Photograph]. Retrieved from <https://www.dordrecht.net/img/custom/cultuur/popcentrale-crowd-550-resized.jpg>
22. Doucet, B. (2009). Living through gentrification: subjective experiences of local, non-gentrifying residents in Leith, Edinburgh. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 24, 299–315. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-009-9151-3>
23. Doucet, B. (2014). A process of change and a changing process: Introduction to the special issue on contemporary gentrification. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 105(2), 25–139. <https://doi.org/10.1111/tesg.12075>

24. Drew, E. M. (2011). “Listening through white ears”: cross-racial dialogues as a strategy to address the racial effects of gentrification. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 1-17. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9906.2011.00572.x
25. Engelen, M. v. (2015, October 31). *Gentrificatie: nu is Rotterdam aan de beurt*. Retrieved from Vrij Nederland: <https://www.vn.nl/gentrificatie-nu-is-rotterdam-aan-de-beurt/>
26. Fairlie, Z. (2012). Economic development strategy: the creative capital theory. *Major Themes in Economics*, 14, 1-12. Retrieved from <https://scholarworks.uni.edu/mtie/vol14/iss1/3>
27. Flick, U., von Kardorff, E. & Steinke, I. (2004). *A companion to qualitative research*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd
28. Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class, and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. New York: Basic Books.
29. Freeman, L., & Braconi, F. (2004). Gentrification and displacement: New York City in the 1990s. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 70(1), 39–52. doi: 10.1080/01944360408976337
30. Freeman, L. (2006). *There Goes the 'Hood: Views of Gentrification from the Ground Up*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
31. Fritsch, M., & Stuetzer, M. (2009). The geography of creative people in Germany. *International Journal of Foresight and Innovation Policy*, 5(1/2/3), 7-23. doi: 10.1504/IJFIP.2009.022096
32. Gemeente Dordrecht (2018a). *Onze stad, coalitieakkoord Gemeente Dordrecht* [online document]. Retrieved from Dordrecht Centraal website: <https://stadspolders.dordtcentraal.nl/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/coalitie-akkoord-Dordrecht-2018-2022.pdf>
33. Gemeente Dordrecht (2018b). *Verleende subsidies 2018* [List subsidy municipality]. Retrieved from Gemeente Dordrecht: [https://cms.dordrecht.nl/Bestuur/Overzicht\\_Bestuur/Feiten\\_en\\_cijfers/Openbaar\\_subsidieregister\\_en\\_subsidieplafonds/Subsidieregister\\_2018\\_4de\\_kwartaal.pdf](https://cms.dordrecht.nl/Bestuur/Overzicht_Bestuur/Feiten_en_cijfers/Openbaar_subsidieregister_en_subsidieplafonds/Subsidieregister_2018_4de_kwartaal.pdf)
34. Gemeente Dordrecht (2019). *De kracht van cultuur* ( Report No. 2511201) [Attachment] Retrieved from Gemeente Dordrecht [https://www.dordrecht.nl/pls/idad/!mozEgemMbScherm1.toonDossier?F\\_DOS\\_VOL\\_GNR=2511201&F\\_TAB=DOC&F\\_NOCACHE=68102616&F\\_TERUGKEERNAAM=&F\\_TERUGKEERURL=](https://www.dordrecht.nl/pls/idad/!mozEgemMbScherm1.toonDossier?F_DOS_VOL_GNR=2511201&F_TAB=DOC&F_NOCACHE=68102616&F_TERUGKEERNAAM=&F_TERUGKEERURL=)

35. Gemeente Dordrecht (2020). Het Vogelnest [Website]. Retrieved from [https://cms.dordrecht.nl/Onze\\_stad/Overzicht\\_Onze\\_stad/Wij\\_maken\\_Dordt/Ik\\_heb\\_een\\_initiatief/Stadswens/Het\\_Vogelnest](https://cms.dordrecht.nl/Onze_stad/Overzicht_Onze_stad/Wij_maken_Dordt/Ik_heb_een_initiatief/Stadswens/Het_Vogelnest)
36. Gerhard, U., Hoelscher, M., & Wilson, D. (2016). *Inequalities in creative cities: issues, approaches, comparisons*. New York: Springer.
37. Ghaffari, L., Klein, J. & Angulo Baudin, W. (2017). Toward a socially acceptable gentrification: A review of strategies and practices against displacement. *Geography Compass*, 12(2), 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12355>
38. Glaeser, E. (2004). *Review of Richard Florida's The Rise of the Creative Class*. Retrieved from ResearchGate: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/252013231\\_Review\\_of\\_Richard\\_Florida's\\_The\\_Rise\\_of\\_the\\_Creative\\_Class](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/252013231_Review_of_Richard_Florida's_The_Rise_of_the_Creative_Class)
39. Glass, R. (1964). *Introduction to London: Aspects of change*. London: MacGibbon & Kee.
40. Goderis, B., van Hulst, B. & Hoff, S. (2019, September 3). Waar ligt de armoedegrens?[Blog]. Retrieved from <https://digitaal.scp.nl/armoedeinkaat2019/waar-ligt-de-armoedegrens/>
41. Goldin, C. (2016). Human capital. In C. Diebolt & M. Hauptert (Eds), *Handbook of Cliometrics* (p.p. 55-86). Heidelberg: Springer Verlag.
42. Grodach, C., Foster, N., & Murdoch III, J. (2014). Gentrification and the artistic dividend: The role of the arts in neighborhood change. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 80(1), 21-35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2014.928584>
43. Grodach, C., & Silver, D. (2013). *The Politics of urban cultural policy: Global perspectives*. New York : Routledge.
44. Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, M. H. (2007). What is ethnography? In M. H. Atkinson (Eds), *Ethnography: Principles in practice* (pp. 10-23). New York: Routledge.
45. Het Vogelnest. (Ca. 2016a). Timeline [Facebook page]. Retrieved June 22, 2020, from <https://nl-nl.facebook.com/pg/VogelnestDordrecht/about/>
46. Het Vogelnest (Ca. 2016b). Info [Facebook page]. Retrieved June 22, 2020, from [https://nl-nl.facebook.com/pg/VogelnestDordrecht/about/?ref=page\\_internal](https://nl-nl.facebook.com/pg/VogelnestDordrecht/about/?ref=page_internal)
47. Het Vogelnest (2020a). *Het is bijna weekend!* [Photograph]. [https://scontent-amt2-1.xx.fbcdn.net/v/t1.0-9/102417186\\_1619058831579769\\_3869708496530309120\\_n.jpg?nc\\_cat=106&nc\\_sid=8024bb&nc\\_ohc=QsJsnKABpfEAX8m2Trz&nc\\_ht=scontent-amt2-1.xx&oh=f818ba8eaffb75c46b02b34e88c538a4&oe=5F1E5D3C](https://scontent-amt2-1.xx.fbcdn.net/v/t1.0-9/102417186_1619058831579769_3869708496530309120_n.jpg?nc_cat=106&nc_sid=8024bb&nc_ohc=QsJsnKABpfEAX8m2Trz&nc_ht=scontent-amt2-1.xx&oh=f818ba8eaffb75c46b02b34e88c538a4&oe=5F1E5D3C)

48. Het Vogelnest (2020b, April 2). *Throwback Thursday* [Photograph]. Retrieved from [https://scontent-amt2-1.xx.fbcdn.net/v/t1.0-9/91858287\\_1560765300742456\\_2294867731389874176\\_o.jpg?nc\\_cat=107&nc\\_sid=8024bb&nc\\_ohc=6k6Z1IJkFQ0AX\\_9AjEb&nc\\_ht=scontent-amt2-1.xx&oh=32e3239a1abd9a260105cf2c7d020dca&oe=5F1DD20F](https://scontent-amt2-1.xx.fbcdn.net/v/t1.0-9/91858287_1560765300742456_2294867731389874176_o.jpg?nc_cat=107&nc_sid=8024bb&nc_ohc=6k6Z1IJkFQ0AX_9AjEb&nc_ht=scontent-amt2-1.xx&oh=32e3239a1abd9a260105cf2c7d020dca&oe=5F1DD20F)
49. Hochstenbach, C. (2017, March 28). *De invloed van overheid gestuurde gentrificatie in Rotterdam*. Retrieved from Vers beton: <https://versbeton.nl/2017/03/de-invloed-van-overheid-gestuurde-gentrificatie-in-rotterdam/>
50. de Hoog, E. (2020). *Eerste concert in Coronatijd geslaagd* [Photograph]. Retrieved from <https://www.dordrecht.net/nieuws/2020-06-29-26322-eerste-concert-in-coronatie-geslaagd.html>
51. Hyra, D. (2016). Commentary: causes and consequences of gentrification and the future of equitable development policy. *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research*, 18(3), 169-177. Retrieved from <https://www.huduser.gov/portal/periodicals/cityscpe/vol18num3/ch9.pdf>
52. Jackson II, R. L., Drummond, D. K. & Camara, S. (2007). What Is Qualitative Research? *Qualitative Research Reports in Communication*, 8(1), 21-28. doi: 10.1080/17459430701617879
53. Jangård, M. (Producer) & Gertten, F. (Director). (2019). Push [video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.idfa.nl/nl/film/7a579266-8135-431a-98d5-25ba126df954/push>
54. Janoschka, M. & Casgrain A. (2013). Gentrificación y resistencia en las ciudades latinoamericanas. El ejemplo de Santiago de Chile. *Andamios. Revista de Investigación Social*, 10(22), 19-44. doi: 10.29092/uacm.v10i22.265
55. Koster, P. (2016, December 1). Huizen in Dordrecht voor minima niet slopen [online article]. Retrieved from <https://www.ad.nl/dordrecht/huizen-in-dordrecht-voor-minima-niet-slopen~afd45373/>
56. Koster, P. (2019, August 15). Plan voor sloop en nieuwbouw langs A16 in Zwijndrecht [online article]. Retrieved from <https://www.ad.nl/dordrecht/plan-voor-sloop-en-nieuwbouw-langs-a16-in-zwijndrecht~a4fcbc70/?referrer=https://www.google.com/>
57. Lagendijk, E. & Zoutman, R. (2006). *Pop met beleid: Handreiking voor gemeenten*. Retrieved from Pop unie website: [https://popunie.nl/files/POPNL\\_Pop\\_met\\_beleid.pdf](https://popunie.nl/files/POPNL_Pop_met_beleid.pdf)
58. Ley, D. (1996). *The new middle classes and the remaking of the Central City*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.



59. Ley, D. (2003). Artists, aestheticisation and the field of gentrification. *Urban Studies*, 40(12), 2527–2544. doi: 10.1080/0042098032000136192
60. Lloyd, R. (2010). *Neo-bohemia: Art and commerce in the postindustrial city*. New York: Routledge
61. Longhurst, R. (2003). Semi-structured Interviews and Focus Groups. In N. Clifford (Eds), *Key methods in geography*(143-156). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd
62. Manskar, N. (2018, February 27). These NYC neighborhoods are among nation's most gentrified [online article]. <https://patch.com/new-york/new-york-city/these-nyc-neighborhoods-are-among-nations-most-gentrified>
63. Marlet, G., & Woerkens, C. (2007). The Dutch Creative Class and How it Fosters Urban Employment Growth. *Urban Studies*, 44(13), 2605–2626. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43197604?seq=1>
64. Mathews, V. (2010). Aestheticizing Space: Art, gentrification and the city. *Geography Compass*, 4(6), 660-675. DOI: 10.1111/j.1749-8198.2010.00331.x
65. Moskowitz, P. (2017, September 11). What Role Do Artists Play in Gentrification? [online article]. Retrieved from <https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-role-artists-play-gentrification>
66. Nourhussen, S. (2019, November 8). Gentrificatie gaat niet over hipsters, maar over onrecht [online article]. Retrieved from <https://www.oneworld.nl/lezen/discriminatie/sociaal-onrecht/gentrificatie-gaat-niet-over-hipsters-maar-over-onrecht/>
67. Oerlemans, A. (2018, April 6). Volgend jaar start de bouw van zestig nieuwe huurwoningen Vogelbuurt [online article]. Retrieved from <https://www.ad.nl/dordrecht/volgend-jaar-start-de-bouw-van-zestig-nieuwe-huurwoningen-vogelbuurt~a76802b5/>
68. Onderzoekscentrum Drechtsteden (2016). Income level [online statistics]. Retrieved from <https://ocd.buurtmonitor.nl//jive/ViewerTable.aspx?&wsguid=95cf0ad5-886e-451b-9779-c5533297c97c&ps=-1185>
69. O' Sullivan, A. (2005). Gentrification and crime. *Journal of Urban Economics*, 57(1), 73-85. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jue.2004.08.004>
70. Padgett, D. (2012). *Qualitative and mixed methods in public health*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd
71. Popcentrale (2020). Popcentrale [Website]. Retrieved from <https://www.popcentrale.nl>

72. Pratt, A. (2008). Creative Cities: The Cultural Industries and The Creative Class. *Geografiska Annaler*, 90(2), 107–117. Retrieved from [http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/20704/1/Creative\\_cities\\_\(LSERO\\_pre-print\).pdf](http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/20704/1/Creative_cities_(LSERO_pre-print).pdf)
73. Pratt, A. (2011). The cultural contradictions of the creative city. *City, Culture and Society*, 2(3), 123-130. doi: 10.1016/j.ccs.2011.08.002
74. Rijksoverheid (2020). Coronavirus COVID-19, Veelgestelde vragen over het openbaar en dagelijks leven [FAQ]. Retrieved from <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/coronavirus-covid-19/openbaar-en-dagelijks-leven>
75. Slater, T., Curran, W. & Lees, L. (2004). Gentrification research: new directions and critical scholarship. *Environment and Planning*. A36, 1141-1150. doi: 10.1068/a3718
76. Slater, T. (2008). ‘A literal necessity to be re-placed’: a rejoinder to the gentrification debate. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32(1), 212–223. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2008.00781.x
77. Southwark notes (n.d.) How artists can work against & criticise regeneration [Blog]. Retrieved from <https://southwarknotes.wordpress.com/art-and-regeneration/artists-against-regen/>
78. Spithoven, R. & Weij, D. (2018). *Onveilige wijken? Een secundaire analyse op de paragraaf onveiligheidsbeleving van de VeiligheidsMonitor 2016 voor de gemeente Dordrecht, Vlaardingen, Sliedrecht en Nissewaard*. (Research Report). Retrieved from Saxion website: <https://www.saxion.nl/binaries/content/assets/onderzoek/areas--living/maatschappelijke-veiligheid/onveilige-wijken---secundaire-analyse-vm.compressed.pdf>.
79. Stake, R. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
80. Standing, G. (2014). The precariat. *Contexts*, 13(4), 10-12. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1536504214558209>
81. Stroh, M. (2011). Qualitative Interviewing. In D. Burton (Eds), *Research training for social scientists* (pp. 196-214). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd
82. Sullivan, D. (2007). Reassessing gentrification: measuring residents’ opinions using survey data. *Urban Affairs Review*, 42, 583–92. doi: 10.1177/1078087406295828

83. Thies, K. (2018). *Energiehuis* [Photograph].  
<https://keesthies.files.wordpress.com/2018/10/energiehuis-dordrecht-1.jpg?w=723>
84. Teernstra, A. & Van Gent, W. (2012). Puzzling patterns in neighbourhood change: upgrading and downgrading in highly regulated urban housing markets. *Urban Geography*, 33, 91–111. <https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.33.1.91>
85. Twigge-Molecey, A. (2014). Exploring resident experiences of displacement in a neighbourhood undergoing gentrification and mega-project development: a Montréal case study. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 23, 1-22. Retrieved from  
<https://go.gale.com/ps/anonymous?id=GALE%7CA398951168&sid=googleScholar&v=2.1&it=r&linkaccess=abs&issn=11883774&p=AONE&sw=w>
86. Uitermark, J. & Duyvendak, J. W. (2007). Gentrification as a governmental strategy: social control and social cohesion in Hoogvliet, Rotterdam. *Environment and Planning*, 39, 125-141. doi: 10.1068/a39142
87. Van Aalst, I. (2005). De creatieve staat van de creatieve stad. *Handboek voor cultuurbeleid*, 70, 151-186. Retrieved from  
[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/46667741\\_De\\_creatieve\\_staat\\_van\\_de\\_creatieve\\_stad](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/46667741_De_creatieve_staat_van_de_creatieve_stad)
88. Van Giessen, J.W. (2018). *Evaluatie Energiehuis 2016-2017*. Retrieved from Dordrecht.nl:  
[https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKewiUnO2kqzqAhUS3KQKHeQcA8wQFjABegQIBRAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.dordrecht.nl%2Fpls%2Ffidat%2FmozEgemDocument%3FF\\_DOCNR%3D6909061&usg=AOvVaw1tT3vVDPRSDfykZmbO3xPI](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKewiUnO2kqzqAhUS3KQKHeQcA8wQFjABegQIBRAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.dordrecht.nl%2Fpls%2Ffidat%2FmozEgemDocument%3FF_DOCNR%3D6909061&usg=AOvVaw1tT3vVDPRSDfykZmbO3xPI)
89. Vrooman, C., Gijssberts, M. & Boelbouwer, J. (2014). *Vershil in Nederland* (Report No. 2014-33)[ Report]. Retrieved from ResearchGate website:  
[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/269407129\\_Vershil\\_in\\_Nederland\\_-\\_Sociaal\\_en\\_Cultureel\\_Rapport\\_2014](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/269407129_Vershil_in_Nederland_-_Sociaal_en_Cultureel_Rapport_2014)
90. Willems, K. (2009, February). 'Van Hype naar Haalbaarheid'. Retrieved from Dordrecht:  
[https://cms.dordrecht.nl/Mediatheek/Bestanden/Ondernemers/Beleid\\_en\\_projecten/Van\\_Hype\\_naar\\_Haalbaarheid\\_kansen\\_creatieve\\_economie\\_2009.org](https://cms.dordrecht.nl/Mediatheek/Bestanden/Ondernemers/Beleid_en_projecten/Van_Hype_naar_Haalbaarheid_kansen_creatieve_economie_2009.org)
91. Zenker, S. (2009). Who's your target? The creative class as a target group for place branding. *Journal of Place Management and Development*, 2(1), 23-32. doi: 10.1108/17538330910942771

92. Zerofsky, E. (2019, July 12). The causes and consequences of Berlin's rapid gentrification [online article]. Retrieved from <https://www.newyorker.com/news/dispatch/the-causes-and-consequences-of-berlins-rapid-gentrification>
93. Zukin, S. (1982). *Loft living: Culture and capital in urban change*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

## **Appendix A**

Overview respondents

Interview: 1

Gender: Male

Age: 70 years

Type of respondent: visitor

Interview: 2

Gender: Male

Age: 39 years

Type of respondent: coordinator

Interview: 3

Gender: Female

Age: 29 years

Type of respondent: coordinator

Interview: 4

Gender: Female

Age: 45 years

Type of respondent: visitor/volunteer

Interview: 5

Gender: Male

Age: 53 years

Type of respondent: visitor

Interview: 6

Gender: Female

Age: 22 years

Type of respondent: visitor

Interview: 7

Gender: Male

Age: 33 years

Type of respondent: coordinator

Interview: 8

Gender: Male

Age: 57 years

Type of respondent: visitor

Interview: 9

Gender: Male

Age: 37 years

Type of respondent: coordinator

Interview: 10

Gender: Male

Age: 21 years

Type of respondent: volunteer

Interview: 11

Gender: Male

Age: 42 years

Type of respondent: volunteer

Interview: 12

Gender: Male

Age: 58 years

Type of respondent: visitor

Interview: 13

Gender: Female

Age: 24 years

Type of respondent: visitor

Interview: 14

Gender: Male

Age: 45 years

Type of respondent: visitor

## **Appendix B**

### **Interview guide visitors**

#### **Bezoekers interviewvragen Popcentrale/het Vogelnest**

##### Opening interview:

Ik zal nu de recorder aanzetten. Goedendag, mijn naam is Ileana Peeters en ik studeer Master, Arts, Culture and Society aan de Erasmus Universiteit in Rotterdam. Met dit interview neem je deel aan een onderzoek als onderdeel van mijn eindopdracht. Binnen het interview wil ik graag met je in gesprek over het gentrificatie proces in je wijk en de stad Dordrecht. Met het gentrificatie hebben we het over onderwerpen zoals de stedelijke en sociale veranderingen in de wijk waar je woont (slopen van wijken, komen en gaan van bewoners, het opheffen van centra en creëren van buurthuizen). Verder zal ik in het interview onderwerpen bespreken die gaan over de rol van de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest in je leven en de rol van deze plekken voor de buurt en stad waar je in woont.

##### Personalia

- Wat is je naam?
- Wat is je leeftijd?
- Hoe lang woon je al in Dordrecht en waarom heb je gekozen om in deze stad te gaan wonen?

##### Huidige situatie cultuur en coronacrisis

- Voor de coronacrisis had je natuurlijk de mogelijkheid om de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest te bezoeken, maar door deze crisis is dit niet meer mogelijk. Wat betekent de Popcentrale/het Vogelnest op dit moment nu dan voor jou?

##### Veranderingen in de wijk

- Hoe lang woon je al op je huidige adres?
- Hoe is de buurt waar je woont in de loop van de tijd veranderd?
- Voorbeelden: Op het gebied van mensen, gebouwen, plekken om samen te komen en activiteiten in de loop van de tijd veranderd?
- Welke verandering heeft de meeste indruk op je achtergelaten?



### De rol van plaats

- Hoe lang bezoek je de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest al?
- Wat maakt de Popcentrale/het Vogelnest bijzonder voor jou?
- Wat maakt de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest aantrekkelijk voor jou om te bezoeken?
- Welke andere culturele plekken bezoek je naast de Popcentrale/het Vogelnest?
- Wat maakt de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest anders/ uniek t.o.v. de andere culturele gelegenheden die je bezoekt?

### Rol van de Popcentrale/het Vogelnest in je leven

- Wat voor rol speelt de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest in je leven?
- Wanneer heb je voor het eerst de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest bezocht? Kun je je dat nog herinneren?
- Hoe is je band met deze plek in de loop van de tijd veranderd?
- (Wat voor rol speel jij bij het Vogelnest?)
- Wat voor gevolgen hebben de veranderingen in de stad Dordrecht op het gebied van wijken slopen en opknappen, de komst van nieuwe groepen mensen en het creëren van nieuwe culturele plekken gehad voor de rol van de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest in je leven?

### Rol van de Popcentrale/het Vogelnest in de buurt/ de stad

- Wat is er in de buurt en de stad veranderd door de aanwezigheid/ komst van de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest? Denk hier weer bij veranderingen aan nieuwe mensen, nieuwe gebouwen, nieuwe plekken om samen te komen, het slopen van gebouwen/ plekken en de komst en vertrek van culturele activiteiten.
- In hoeverre heeft de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest de buurt en de stad aantrekkelijker gemaakt?
- Is dit veranderd in de loop van de jaren?

### De toekomst

- Stel dat je 1 week burgemeester van Dordrecht zou kunnen zijn. Wat zou je dan veranderen in de stad en in de wijk?

Dit was mijn laatste vraag. Ben ik iets vergeten? Is er iets wat je zou willen veranderen? Is er nog iets wat je zou willen aanvullen?

Bedankt voor je deelname.

Ik zal nu de audio-recorder uitzetten.

## **Interview guide volunteers**

### **Vrijwilligers interviewvragen**

#### Opening interview:

Ik zal nu de recorder aanzetten. Goedendag, mijn naam is Ileana Peeters en ik studeer Master, Arts, Culture and Society aan de Erasmus Universiteit in Rotterdam. Met dit interview neem je deel aan een onderzoek als onderdeel van mijn eindopdracht. Binnen het interview wil ik graag met je in gesprek over het gentrificatie proces in je wijk en de stad Dordrecht. Met het gentrificatie hebben we het over onderwerpen zoals de stedelijke en sociale veranderingen in de wijk waar je woont (slopen van wijken, komen en gaan van bewoners, het opheffen van centra en creëren van buurthuizen). Verder zal ik in het interview onderwerpen bespreken die gaan over de rol van de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest in je leven en de rol van deze plekken voor de buurt en stad waar je in woont.

#### Personalia

- Wat is je naam?
- Wat is je leeftijd?
- Hoe lang woon je al in Dordrecht en waarom heb je gekozen om in deze stad te gaan wonen?

#### Huidige situatie cultuur en coronacrisis

- Voor de coronacrisis had je natuurlijk de mogelijkheid om bij de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest vrijwilligerswerk te doen, maar door deze crisis is dit niet meer mogelijk. Wat betekent de Popcentrale/het Vogelnest op dit moment nu dan voor jou?

#### Veranderingen in de wijk

- Hoe lang woon je al op je huidige adres?
- Hoe is de buurt waar je woont in de loop van de tijd veranderd?
- Voorbeelden: Op het gebied van mensen, gebouwen, plekken om samen te komen en activiteiten in de loop van de tijd veranderd?
- Welke verandering heeft de meeste indruk op je achtergelaten?

#### De rol van plaats

- Hoe lang doe je al vrijwilligerswerk bij de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest?
- Wat maakt de Popcentrale/het Vogelnest bijzonder voor jou?
- Wat maakt de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest aantrekkelijk voor jou om vrijwilligerswerk voor te doen?
- Voor welke andere culturele plekken naast de Popcentrale/het Vogelnest doe je vrijwilligerswerk?
- Wat maakt de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest anders/ uniek t.o.v. de andere culturele gelegenheden waar je werkt?

#### Rol van de Popcentrale/het Vogelnest in je leven

- Wat voor rol speelt de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest in je leven?
- Wanneer heb je voor het eerst de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest bezocht? Kun je je dat nog herinneren?
- Hoe is je band met deze plek in de loop van de tijd veranderd?
- Wat voor rol speel jij bij het Vogelnest/ de Popcentrale?
- Wat voor gevolgen hebben de veranderingen in de stad Dordrecht op het gebied van wijken slopen en opknappen, de komst van nieuwe groepen mensen, nieuwe culturele plekken gehad voor de rol van de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest in je leven?

#### Rol van de Popcentrale/het Vogelnest in de buurt/ de stad

- Wat is er in de buurt en de stad veranderd door de aanwezigheid/ komst van de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest? Denk hier weer bij veranderingen aan nieuwe mensen, nieuwe gebouwen, nieuwe plekken om samen te komen, het slopen van gebouwen/plekken en de komst en vertrek van culturele activiteiten.
- In hoeverre heeft de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest de buurt en de stad aantrekkelijker gemaakt?
- Is dit veranderd in de loop van de jaren?

#### De toekomst

- Stel dat je 1 week burgemeester van Dordrecht zou kunnen zijn. Wat zou je dan veranderen in de stad en in de wijk?

Dit was mijn laatste vraag. Ben ik iets vergeten? Is er iets wat je zou willen veranderen? Is er nog iets wat je zou willen aanvullen?

Bedankt voor je deelname.

Ik zal nu de audio-recorder uitzetten.

## **Interview guide coordinators**

### **Coördinatoren interviewvragen**

#### Opening interview:

Ik zal nu de recorder aanzetten. Goedendag, mijn naam is Ileana Peeters en ik studeer Master, Arts, Culture and Society aan de Erasmus Universiteit in Rotterdam. Met dit interview neem je deel aan een onderzoek als onderdeel van mijn eindopdracht. Binnen het interview wil ik graag met je in gesprek over het gentrificatie proces in de wijken en de stad Dordrecht. Met het gentrificatie hebben we het over onderwerpen zoals de stedelijke en sociale veranderingen in de wijken van Dordrecht(slopen van wijken, komen en gaan van bewoners, het opheffen van centra en creëren van buurthuizen). Verder zal ik in het interview onderwerpen bespreken die gaan over de rol van de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest in het leven van haar bezoekers en de rol van deze plek(ken) voor de buurt en stad Dordrecht.

#### Personalia

- Wat is je naam?
- Wat is je leeftijd?
- Hoe lang werk je al in Dordrecht en waarom heb je gekozen om in deze stad te gaan werken?
- Wat voor rol speel jij bij het Vogelnest/Popcentrale?

#### Huidige situatie cultuur en coronacrisis

- Voor de coronacrisis was het natuurlijk mogelijk voor mensen om de Popcentrale/het Vogelnest te bezoeken, maar door deze crisis kan dit niet meer. Wat betekent dit nu voor de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest?

#### De rol van plaats

- Hoe lang bestaat de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest al?
- Waarom bestaat de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest?
- Waar staat de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest voor?
- Hoe lang bevindt de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest zich al op de plek waar ze nu gevestigd is?
- Wat wil de Popcentrale/ Het Vogelnest betekenen voor haar bezoekers?
- In hoeverre volgt de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest de visie van de stad op het gebied van

cultuurparticipatie? Denk bijvoorbeeld aan gemeentebeleid.

- Wat maakt de Popcentrale/het Vogelnest anders dan andere culturele/sociale plekken in de stad?
- Wat maakt de Popcentrale anders op het gebied van doelen t.o.v. gentrificatie in de stad en de wijken van Dordrecht?

#### Rol van de Popcentrale/het Vogelnest in het leven van haar bezoekers

- Wat voor rol wil de Popcentrale/het Vogelnest spelen in het leven van haar bezoekers?
- In hoeverre is dit veranderd vanaf het begin tot nu?
- Wat voor gevolgen hebben de veranderingen in de stad Dordrecht op het gebied van wijken slopen en opknappen, de komst van nieuwe groepen mensen, nieuwe culturele plekken gehad voor de rol die de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest wil spelen in het leven van haar bezoekers?

#### Rol van de Popcentrale/het Vogelnest in de buurt/ de stad

- Welke rol speelt de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest op dit moment in de stad/ de buurt?
- Op wat voor manier heeft de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest de stad/ de buurt veranderd? Denk hier weer bij veranderingen aan nieuwe mensen, nieuwe plekken, de komst en het vertrek van activiteiten.
- Wat houdt volgens jou het aantrekkelijker maken van een stad en wijk in?
- Wat zijn de doelen van de Popcentrale/het Vogelnest om de stad/ de buurt aantrekkelijker te maken?
- Is dit veranderd in de loop van de jaren?

#### De toekomst

- Waar zal de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest zich over tien jaar bevinden?
- Waar zal de Popcentrale/ het Vogelnest dan gevestigd zijn?

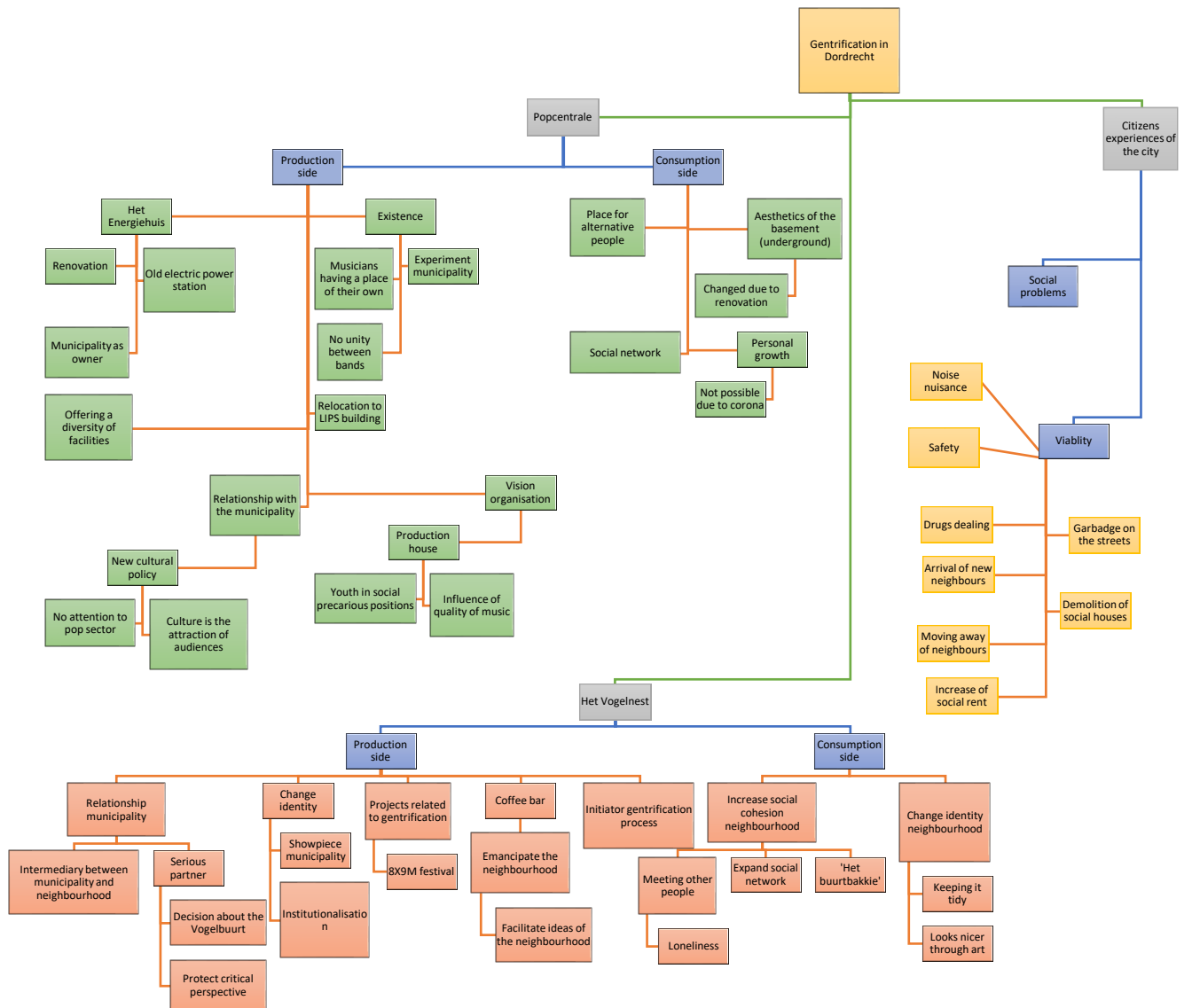
Dit was mijn laatste vraag. Ben ik iets vergeten? Is er iets wat je zou willen veranderen?  
Is er nog iets wat je zou willen aanvullen?

Bedankt voor je deelname.

Ik zal nu de audio-recorder uitzetten.

# Appendix C

## Coding tree





## Appendix D



**Image 1: Het Energiehuis (Thies, 2018).**



**Image 2: Popcentrale in the basement of Het Energiehuis (Dordrecht.net, 2019).**



**Image 3: Popcentrale (de Hoog, 2020)**



**Image 4: Het Vogelnest (2020a).**





Image 5: Re-coding open coding process mind maps (Photograph made by author).



Image 6: LIPS building, Popcentrale 2011 (3voor12 Rotterdam, 2010).



**Image 7: Het Vogelnest 2018-2020 (Het Vogelnest, 2020b)**

