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Thesis title: Assessing the Role of Redevelopment Policy in Commercial Gentrification: The Case of Rotterdam Zuid

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Summary:

This thesis explores the relationship between state-led redevelopment, specifically Rotterdam's Woonvisie 2030, and commercial gentrification. The research consists of a multi-method comparative analysis of two multi-ethnic post-industrial neighborhoods in Rotterdam Zuid: Afrikaanderwijk and Carnisse. The objectives of this research are to assess the characteristics of state led redevelopment, identify the concerns of businesses, examine the role redevelopment policy has in commercial change, using the lens of ethnic change, and finally, comparing two neighborhoods at different stages of the gentrification process. In order to collect data, this study employed a combination of site-visits, data collection, textual analysis of policy documents, and interviews with shopkeepers. Using theories of the revanchist city and the role ethnicity plays in it, this study contextualized the Woonvisie as a policy in favor of explicit class change and implicit ethnic change. Indicators of commercial gentrification were stronger in Afrikaanderwijk, the neighborhood currently further along in the gentrification process. Finally, a variety of concerns for shopkeepers were identified, with housing, and ethnic change being consistent themes. Based on the information collected, this study offers several compelling insights for the field of commercial gentrification research. It suggests that in the case of Rotterdam, claims of revanchism hold weight based on an analysis of the policy documents. Furthermore, it suggests ethnicity plays an important role in shopkeepers' perceptions of commercial change. In the presence of heightened redevelopment activity, the interviews showed that shopkeepers had heightened perceptions of housing and class change, indicating that business owners indeed are sensitive to state-led redevelopment. The prevalence of ethnicity in the results strengthens claims that it is an important concept in gentrification research, suggesting future scholarship should move beyond strictly economic analyses.

Keywords:

Commercial Gentrification, Netherlands, Redevelopment, Ethnicity, Public Policy

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Abbreviations

IHS	Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies
GSV	Google Street View
NPRZ	National Program Rotterdam Zuid
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
KVK	Kamer van Koophandel

Table of Contents

.....	
Summary:.....	i
Keywords:.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
Abbreviations.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
List of Figures.....	vii
List of Tables.....	vii
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	8
1.1 Introduction.....	8
1.2 Background Information.....	8
1.2.1 Woonvisie Background.....	10
1.3 Problem Statement.....	10
1.4 Relevance of the Topic.....	11
1.4 Research Objectives.....	11
1.5 Research Question.....	11
1.5.1 Main Question.....	11
1.5.2 Sub Questions.....	11
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	11
2.1 Introduction.....	11
2.2 State-Led Redevelopment.....	12
2.3 Gentrification.....	13
2.4 Commercial Gentrification.....	14
2.5 Multiethnicity in Europe and the Netherlands.....	15
2.5.1 Migration Background.....	15
2.5.2 Migration in a Spatial Context.....	16
2.5 Application to the Dutch Context.....	17
2.6 Conceptual Framework.....	20
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	21
3.1 Introduction.....	21

3.2 Research Area	21
3.3 Methods	26
3.3.1 Content Analysis.....	26
3.3.2 Desk Research	27
3.3.3 Interviews	28
3.4 Operationalization	29
3.4.1 Operationalization Table	29
3.5 Expected Challenges and Limitations	30
Chapter 4: Research Findings	31
4.1 Introduction	31
4.2 Content Analysis	31
4.2.1 Gentrification as Policy	31
4.2.2 Content of the Woonvisie and Subsequent Documents.....	32
4.2.3 State-led Redevelopment Today.....	33
4.2.4 Content Analysis Discussion	33
4.3 Desk Research	34
4.3.1 Store Count	34
4.3.2 Boutique Index	34
4.3.3 Renovation Status	37
4.3.4 Desk Research Discussion.....	41
4.4 Interviews	41
4.4.1 Policy	41
4.4.2 Commercial Gentrification	43
4.4.3 Ethnicity.....	44
4.4.4 Interview Discussion	45
4.4.5 Other Findings	46
Chapter 5: Conclusions	46
5.1 Introduction	46
5.2 Sub-Question 1	46
5.3 Sub Question 2	47
5.4 Sub Question 3	47
5.5 Main Question.....	48

5.6 Implications for future research	49
Bibliography	50
Annex	57
Codebook: Policy Analysis	57
Codebook: Interview Analysis	58
Interview Guide	59
Annex 2: IHS Copyright Form	61

List of Figures

Figure 1. Rotterdam Context

Figure 2. Conceptual Framework

Figure 3. Afrikaanderwijk Study Area

Figure 4. Carnisse Study Area

Figure 5. Afrikaanderwijk Study Area Images

Figure 6. Carnisse Study Area Images

Figure 7. Capital Type 2022: Afrikaanderwijk

Figure 8. Capital Type Map 2022: Afrikaanderwijk

Figure 9. Capital Type 2022: Carnisse

Figure 10. Capital Type Map 2022: Carnisse

Figure 11. Renovation Status: Afrikaanderwijk

Figure 12. Afrikaanderwijk GSV

Figure 13. Renovation Status: Carnisse

Figure 14. Carnisse GSV

Figure 15. Carnisse Polish Market

List of Tables

Table 1. Operationalization Table

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Gentrification has emerged as a phenomenon in cities worldwide. Coined by Ruth Glass in 1961, to describe the influx of the middle class into working class areas of the United Kingdom, the study of gentrification has expanded to encompass a wide range of topics. This thesis explores the topic of commercial gentrification, an often-overlooked element of the gentrification process. Commercial gentrification occurs when businesses change to serve a higher-class customer base. Commercial space is incredibly important for cities, and changes to the retail landscape have consequences for the local economy, quality of life, and sense of community. This study focuses on commercial gentrification and its relationship to public policy, in two multi-ethnic post-industrial neighborhoods in the south of Rotterdam. Since 2016, Rotterdam has been implementing a housing vision called Woonvisie 2030. The policy is controversial as one of the main goals is the destruction or renovation of 20,000 units of social housing, and their replacement with middle- and high-income units (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016). This redevelopment process has been spatially targeted at Rotterdam Zuid, a part of the Rotterdam municipality that is south of the Maas River. It is a historically working-class area, that is now home to many of the city's immigrant populations and their descendants. The question remains, as to the role public policy plays in the gentrification of businesses located in the Woonvisie's target areas.

1.2 Background Information

Urban redevelopment projects are commonplace around the world. As cities look to create new economic opportunities and gain capital investment, redevelopment becomes an attractive tool to change the economic and social makeup of a city. However, this often takes place in historically stigmatized neighborhoods, leading to gentrification and potential displacement, with ramifications for the existing network of businesses.

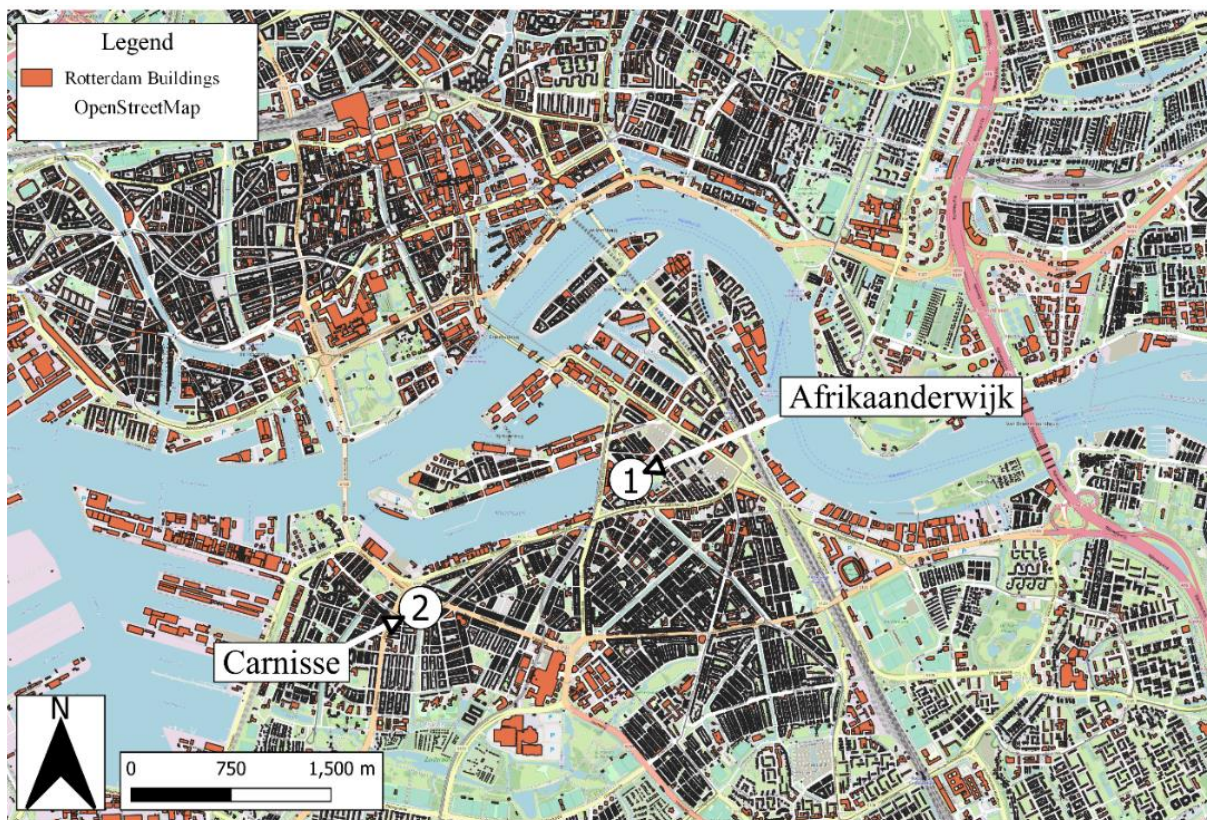
The Dutch urban fabric has been shaped by redevelopment projects in the post-war period, particularly in Rotterdam, which saw extensive destruction during the second world war (Diefendorf, 1989). These projects created housing that was supported by a strong welfare state featuring relatively low levels of segregation. Despite this, the central government has encouraged social mixing since the 1990's and the municipality of Rotterdam has focused on social mixing since 2003, through the replacement of social housing with middle- and high-income housing (Stouten, 2017). The Netherlands is facing a nationwide housing shortage, resulting in high housing costs and homelessness. Rotterdam has a 12,452-unit gap between the residents who qualify for social housing, and the number of available units, resulting in long waiting lists (UN, 2021). Additionally, costs for commercial space were rising throughout the Netherlands prior to the Covid-19 pandemic (CBS, n.d.a).

The municipality of Rotterdam began a redevelopment policy in 2016 with the passage of the Woonvisie, which describes the role of housing in creating a more livable city. The policy applies to the entire municipality of Rotterdam, but focuses on Rotterdam Zuid, which is viewed as an area prime for redevelopment and in need of socio-economic intervention. The

Woonvisie received attention due to the controversial Tweebosbuurt demolition. Tweebosbuurt is a small area in the Feijnoord borough, in which several blocks were demolished and will be replaced with middle- and high-income housing, resulting in a UN Rapporteur on human rights investigation (Habiballah et al., 2021).

This research focuses on two neighborhoods in Rotterdam Zuid: Afrikaanderwijk and Carnisse. The south was historically the home of workers in Rotterdam's maritime industries. The area began to experience significant socio-economic problems as the port industry automated and jobs were lost during a period of de-industrialization in the 1970's and 80's (Bastiaanssen & Martens, 2013). Afrikaanderwijk was one of the affected neighborhoods, originally built for port workers from Brabant and Zeeland in the early part of the 20th century, the area became home to Moroccan and Turkish immigrants as it deindustrialized. The process of deindustrialization was accompanied by conflict, as a disagreement between migrant workers and original residents erupted into riots in 1972. Most affluent residents relocated, culminating in 2000 when the neighborhood was ranked worst in the Netherlands by the minister of housing (Duin et al., 2011; Doucet & Koenders, 2018). Carnisse followed a similar path to Afrikaanderwijk. The neighborhood was originally planned in 1899 to house port workers, growing steadily until the 1950s (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2022a). Carnisse also struggled to adapt to the automation of port jobs, and in 2007, it was included in a list of neighborhoods needing attention from the national government (Wittmayer et al., 2018).

Figure 1. Rotterdam Context



1.2.1 Woonvisie Background

The Woonvisie's primary objectives are condensed in three categories. The first is to create a larger range of desirable places to live, with a mix of people from different classes. This goal explicitly states that the housing balance should be shifted in favor of middle- and high-income groups. The second goal is to enhance the quality of the housing stock, improving the ability to respond to future needs. The third goal is to maintain a sufficient supply of affordable housing while emphasizing individualism and self-reliance (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016).

The policy is implemented in conjunction with National Program Rotterdam Zuid (NPRZ) and several housing corporations. NPRZ was created by the minister of housing of the Netherlands in 2010, to address the social and economic issues in Rotterdam Zuid. NPRZ is comprised of the national government, the Rotterdam municipal government, private corporations, and other elements of civil society (NPRZ, n.d.).

1.3 Problem Statement

In response to deindustrialization, urban economies have shifted into the service sector. This led to economic decline of many inner-city neighborhoods that once housed industrial workers. These disinvested areas became prime targets for new redevelopment projects intended to attract capital investment and new workers to the city. This has led to the gentrification and displacement of the residents of declining neighborhoods, disrupting not only their lives, but also the existing businesses that catered to their needs.

Rotterdam Zuid is emblematic of these economic shifts and faces an uncertain future, as the municipality has begun to focus on post-industrial neighborhoods. Pro-gentrification policy has created fear of displacement, and social-mixing policy is facilitating the return of middle- and upper-class people. Within this context of neighborhood change, commercial spaces play an important role. Commercial areas are critical amenities within cities for many reasons. Urban economists view commercial spaces as vital to local economies, providing spaces for consumption of local goods and production of local jobs, bringing value to urban areas (Glaeser et al., 2001; Hubbard, 2017). Beyond their role as economic engines, commercial areas have important social function within urban life. Urban planners and sociologists have observed the benefits of commercial spaces to a neighborhood. Jane Jacobs wrote extensively about the role retail has in creating safe and active streets (Jacobs, 1961). Empirical studies have found that commercial space can promote community interaction (Lund, 2008).

Finally, shops are important to the people who run them, especially when owners come from marginalized communities. In the Netherlands, immigrants face discrimination in the job market, making self-employment and entrepreneurship an enticing prospect. Running a business remains difficult, and many immigrant business owners depend on social networks to make ends meet (Kloosterman et al., 1999). Understanding the dynamics of commercial gentrification, especially in relation to government policy is important for understanding neighborhood life and ensuring that urban policy is mindful of the diverse and unique commercial spaces that make urban living desirable.

1.4 Relevance of the Topic

This research hopes to better understand the relationship between state-led redevelopment and commercial gentrification, as currently the extent to which the government plays a role in the gentrification process is unclear (Zukin, 2009; Pastak et al., 2019; Chapple et al., 2017). This has important implications for those interested in neighborhood change and commercial gentrification. As gentrification becomes a global urban strategy, this research will inform policy makers on the role commercial space plays in neighborhood redevelopment and the consequences of redevelopment policy for businesses in affected areas. Furthermore, this research contributes to cutting edge scholarship by situating gentrification as the result of policy choices, rather than a disaggregated problem. It also introduces the role of ethnicity and stigmatization, exploring the ways they characterize redevelopment policy.

1.4 Research Objectives

The objective of this research is to better understand the relationship between commercial gentrification and state-led redevelopment. To do this, the research is focused into four sub-areas. Firstly, it will assess the characteristics of state-led redevelopment. Secondly, this research will identify the concerns of business owners in gentrifying areas. Thirdly, it will evaluate the impacts of state-led redevelopment on commercial gentrification in multiethnic post-industrial neighborhoods in Rotterdam Zuid. Finally, it will compare the process of gentrification in different neighborhoods due to its context dependent nature.

1.5 Research Question

1.5.1 Main Question

To what extent does state-led redevelopment lead to commercial gentrification between 2015 and 2022, in multiethnic post-industrial neighborhoods in Rotterdam Zuid?

1.5.2 Sub Questions

1. How can state-led redevelopment in Rotterdam Zuid be characterized?
2. How can commercial gentrification in Rotterdam Zuid be characterized?
3. How does state-led redevelopment affect the multiethnic character of businesses in post industrial neighborhoods?

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Commercial gentrification is an understudied phenomenon, and there is significant debate on how the process works (Doucet, 2014; Kosta, 2019). A cleavage exists in gentrification literature between human agency and structural perspectives. Human agency scholars emphasize the role of freedom of choice, and characterize gentrification as spontaneous, whereas structuralists believe social and economic structures drive gentrification (Van Weesep, 1994). Scholars have pushed for the inclusion of ethnicity in commercial gentrification and redevelopment policy (van Eijk, 2010; Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2020). By adopting a critical structuralist perspective that emphasizes the role of ethnicity, this research places the cause of the gentrification process on the government. This study uses revanchism theory to explain relationships between redevelopment policy, ethnicity, and

gentrification. This allows for exploration of the relationships of the social, economic, and spatial changes that characterize gentrification, and the policy choices of a municipal government. This section outlines literature supporting the main elements of this research, describing the theories behind state-led redevelopment, gentrification, commercial gentrification, and the role of ethnicity. Lastly, these concepts are applied to the Dutch context through a theoretical framework of the gentrification process.

2.2 State-Led Redevelopment

State-led redevelopment is central to this research. The World Bank (2015) defines redevelopment as the rezoning of land accompanied by infrastructure investment to reach a higher level of use. Urban redevelopment is used interchangeably with “urban renewal” or “urban regeneration”. This research uses the term redevelopment based on the context of the study. In the Netherlands, “urban regeneration” has a broader spatial connotation, referring to city-wide or regional planning, while renewal has a narrower spatial focus towards neighborhoods and streets (Stouten, 2017). Although renewal accurately describes the spirit of the Woonvisie, it implies sterilization at a broader scale than what is occurring in Rotterdam Zuid. Furthermore, the term redevelopment creates space both for the new construction and renovations to existing housing, both of which are occurring in Rotterdam.

Scholars have identified several forms of redevelopment policy that contribute to gentrification, including the construction of transportation infrastructure, tourism, business improvement areas, and government supported arts districts (Hackworth & Rekers, 2005; Chappelle et al., 2017; Bantman-Masum, 2020; Hess, 2020). In this study, the Woonvisie is motivated by a desire for a socially mixed city and improved housing conditions. Due to the nature of the Woonvisie, the particular focus of this research is on social mixing policy and its role as a catalyst for gentrification.

Social mixing policy stems from the belief that economically diverse neighborhoods are desirable. It involves the addition of middle-class residents to predominantly lower-class neighborhoods and has become a major policy tool for western countries (Lees et al., 2012). Social mixing was intended to combat the disadvantages of homogenous suburban living, that cause boredom and isolation (Allen, 1984 as cited in Lees, 2008). Policymakers see social mixing as beneficial for municipalities, namely a larger tax base, the disruption of spatial concentrations of poverty, and fewer burdens on public services. The middle class are viewed by proponents of social mixing as effective citizens, who can attract more public resources, bring healthier social networks that provide economic opportunity for the poor, and facilitate the integration of people with a migrant background (Uitermark et al., 2007; Lees, 2008; Laan Bouma-Doff, 2006). Within the Netherlands social mixing has revolved around the idea that the inner city is problematic and in need of a policy solution. This is due to the prominence of neo-liberalism in the 1990’s (Blokland & van Eijk, 2012). Additionally, affordable and social housing has emerged as a problem area where poverty and social ills can be concentrated, and thus need to be broken up. This process is closely linked with a panic about the rise in multiculturalism in European cities (Ley, 2012).

Scholars use the revanchist city concept to characterize the motivations of social mixing policy. Revanchism is the belief that parts of the city need to be taken back and made to serve the middle and upper classes (Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2006). Revanchist policies target groups deemed undesirable because of their inability to contribute to the economy. These groups are seen as a source of problems and subsequently removed (Aalbers, 2011). This process relies on the stigmatization of neighborhoods, in order to define an area in need of redevelopment. Stigmatization results from de-industrialization: as working-class neighborhoods lost economic power, and in Europe, became home to more immigrants, the status of industrial neighborhoods changed. The economic vulnerability of new migrants, and the pre-existing declining economic conditions created social problems that were exacerbated when the remaining wealthy residents left. This eventually led to specific areas of the city having a negative stigma and deemed by the government as problematic and in need of redevelopment (Duin et al., 2011). Stigmatization creates ripe ground for revanchist policies, especially those that utilize xenophobic rhetoric to gain political support.

Social mixing is a powerful policy tool used by governments to change neighborhood composition along both class and ethnic lines. This research takes the position that social mixing is characterized by a philosophy of revanchism, using the stigmatization of deprived neighborhoods to justify government intervention, and the influx of middle- and upper-class residents. From this framework, the relationship between social mixing policy and gentrification becomes apparent.

2.3 Gentrification

Gentrification emerged in the 1960's from the study of class changes to residential spaces in the United Kingdom (Zuk et al., 2015). Its history as residential phenomenon is important for understanding the gentrification process, and linkages of state-led redevelopment and commercial gentrification. Within gentrification studies there is debate about the extent gentrification occurs in response to political, economic and social structures, or whether it is a decentralized movement of the middle class to working class areas to find cheaper housing and develop a distinct cosmopolitan identity.

This study adopts a structuralist perspective to understand gentrification and its relationship with the government. Structuralism holds that gentrification can be explained through political and economic structures, rather than the independent actions of gentrifiers. The structuralist perspective emerged from the generalization of gentrification as an urban policy in the late 1980's. This entailed the transition of gentrification as an isolated phenomenon of wealthy home buyers in the United Kingdom, to an urban strategy carried out by municipal governments. Generalization has meant that gentrification now reaches beyond its spatial origins in the United Kingdom and United States, to smaller cities in the global north, and larger cities across the global south. Through this process municipal governments began targeting post-industrial areas, especially in Europe, for redevelopment to increase private capital flows in the urban economy (Smith, 2002; Chapple et al., 2017; Pastak et al., 2019). Following a shift to a more limited role, in the 1970's, governments

became more involved in the gentrification process in the 1990's. This is a result of the globalization and the role of cities as important areas for identity formation in the global economy. This has led to inter-city competition, using gentrification as a tool to generate revenue (Smith, 2002). A main strategy of early state-led gentrification was making inner-city investment more attractive to investors. As urban cores gentrified, the state began assisting the investment process in areas further removed from the city center (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Gentrification was fueled by public policy as uneven spatial development patterns across a cities created pockets that could be exploited by the government as investments. This process has several policy benefits for the government, as housing prices rise and social issues become less severe in the targeted neighborhoods (Zuk et al., 2015).

2.4 Commercial Gentrification

Commercial gentrification also emerged through the generalization of gentrification. As residential gentrifiers arrived in the inner city, commercial gentrification followed to improve capital returns (Smith, 2002). Newly arrived gentrifiers changed the retail landscape by creating demand for new businesses catering to their unique tastes (Zukin et al., 2009; Chapple et al., 2017; Pastak et al., 2019).

The process of commercial gentrification is often caused by shifts in consumption, although gentrification can take place through eviction or demolition. Commercial areas reflect the community and identity within a neighborhood, determining who is welcome and unwelcome (Deener, 2007). Gentrification introduces changes to neighborhood identity and consumption patterns, as gentrifiers seek to define their identity by buying unique and trendy items. Changes in consumption can induce retail upscaling. This refers to the transition of businesses from serving lower class people towards middle- and upper-class clientele (Chapple et al., 2017). For example, a business may renovate to market itself to new clientele, resulting from population change (Davis, 1997). Often gentrifiers target neighborhoods with a diverse ethnic mix because of the availability of goods perceived as exotic. This is often observed in food, home décor, and wellness sectors, with shops in these industries being particularly susceptible to retail change in response to gentrifier taste (Bridge & Dowling, 2001). This has also been linked to the government, as municipalities can create spaces of commodification. This process, referred to as ethnic packaging, refers to the marketing of the ethnic characteristics a neighborhood towards the dominant ethnic group. This attracts middle class residents and emphasizes cultural differences, often contributing to commercial turnover and rising rent costs (Hackworth & Rekers, 2005; Chapple et al., 2017; Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2020).

The immediate causes of commercial gentrification may lie with the disaggregated actions of middle class gentrifiers, but the attraction of wealthy individuals to poorer urban neighborhoods is often a policy goal. The structuralist perspective highlights the relationship between individual gentrifiers, commercial spaces, and the government. By conceptualizing commercial space as a reflection of the neighborhood and its inhabitants, commercial gentrification's role in the revanchist city becomes clearer. As the government seeks to "take back" stigmatized neighborhoods, residential mix alone is not enough. Due

to conflict between stigmatization and the desire for improved services and attractive capital markets, de-stigmatization must occur. This means a change in the perception of the neighborhood's identity to open the area for both gentrifiers and capital. Therefore, commercial gentrification plays an important role in revanchism by reformulating neighborhood identity (Kosta, 2019).

2.5 Multiethnicity in Europe and the Netherlands

This section contextualizes the multi-ethnic nature of Afrikaanderwijk and Carnisse. An understanding of multi-ethnicity is necessary, as multiculturalism and migration are closely related to Rotterdam's urban policy, and changes to neighborhood identity (van Eijk, 2010). In the 1980's the Netherlands began recognizing its status as a multi-ethnic society as migration increased due to the arrival of guest workers from southern Europe, Turkey, Morocco, and newly independent former colonies (Breuglemans & Van De Vijver, 2004). The perspective that ethnic change plays an important role in redevelopment policy and commercial gentrification, is not new. Scholars such as van Eijk (2010), have characterized the revanchist nature of Rotterdam's urban policy as driven by notions of the ethnicity and the Dutch nation. Furthermore, ethnic change in Rotterdam has historically been connected with housing policy and concerns about housing.

In general, migration can be thought of in three categories. The first category consisted of labor migrants from Mediterranean regions, and post colonial migrants from the Caribbean and South Asia arriving in the 1960's until a slowdown in the 1980's. The second category consists of refugees and asylum seekers fleeing conflict in the Balkans, East Africa, and the Middle East. Their arrival began in large numbers in the 1990's and has fluctuated since. Most recently, the enlargement of the EU in the early 2000's created a third category of labor migrants from central and eastern Europe (Entzinger & Engbersen, 2014). These categories have fluid boundaries, as well as differences between the migrants who arrived. Understanding the multi-ethnic nature of Rotterdam can help further the understanding of the role ethnicity plays in gentrification.

2.5.1 Migration Background

Workers from the Mediterranean region, especially Turkey and Morocco, were recruited in the 1960's due to post war economic growth creating demand for in labor intensive sectors. This process accelerated as workers, who were predominantly male, began to bring their families to the Netherlands through the 1970's (Beets et al., 2008).

In the same time period, migration from former Dutch colonies in the Caribbean accelerated. Starting in the 1960's large numbers of people from Suriname and the Dutch Antilles migrated to the Netherlands. Surinamese migration reached its height in the mid 1970's coinciding with Surinamese independence, while migration from the Antilles was driven by the decline of the oil industry in the 1990's and continues today because residents have Dutch citizenship (van Niekirk, 2007).

Migration of refugees, mainly from Africa and the Middle East, was spurred by a national policy reforming the visa process. These refugees arrived during a period of harsher

migration laws intended to curb illegal migration, and an increased emphasis on integration in Dutch migration policy (van der Leun, 2006; Bonjour & Duyvendak, 2018).

The third major category of migration occurred with the expansion of the EU in the early 2000's. Between 2004 and 2007, many former communist countries were admitted into the union. Between 2006 and 2007 many western European countries, including the Netherlands, opened their labor markets to Poles and other central European citizens, while still excluding Bulgarians and Romanians. This drove migration as these countries generally have poorer economic conditions (Engbersen et al., 2010). Due to their legal status and geographic proximity to the Netherlands, these migrants are highly fluid, often participating in temporary agricultural work, and travelling back to their home countries (Black, 2010; Djundeva & Ellwart, 2020).

2.5.2 Migration in a Spatial Context

In general, people of non-western background are clustered in the Randstad region, especially Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Within these cities they tend to live in neighborhoods with cheaper, lower quality housing. This process began with the arrival of Turkish and Moroccan laborers and has been observed to different extents in other migrant groups (Entzinger & Engbersen, 2014; Beets et al., 2008). Today people of Turkish and Moroccan origin are less likely to be owner-occupiers, more likely to live in public housing or lower quality housing stock, and in neighborhoods with lower ethnically Dutch populations (van Praag & Schoorl, 2008). Migrants from the Caribbean followed a similar spatial pattern to other early labor migrants. However, they differ from other migrant groups due to their citizenship status, familiarity with the Dutch language, and a significant number of migrants coming from middle- and upper-class backgrounds (van Niekirk, 2007).

Refugees face more restrictions on where they can live within the Netherlands due to the involuntary nature of their arrival, and the number of regulations on migration. Upon their arrival, refugees are made to live in Asylum Seeker Centers, highly segregated from Dutch public life, until they receive a residency decision. This is supported by public skepticism about the earnestness of claims made by asylum seekers (Gorashi, 2005; Bakker et al., 2016). If they are able to leave the centers, the Dutch government will provide them with social housing, often in rural areas (Bakker et al., 2016).

Many of the migrants from Eastern Europe, especially Poles, settled in Rotterdam and Den Haag. While at the national government level there is support for migration from eastern and central Europe due to economic benefits, municipalities are concerned about the effects on the housing market. Rotterdam held a summit, where Dutch municipal leaders could discuss the negative consequences of Polish migration (Engbersen et al., 2010). Like other migrants, eastern Europeans live in disadvantaged areas of major cities, and their precarious status on the labor market means employers often do not provide housing, resulting in overcrowding (Engbersen et al, 2010).

Migration and ethnicity are complex and fluid processes. In recent years arrivals from Syria, Afghanistan, and Ukraine have changed the nature of migration in the Netherlands. Additionally, the growth of second and third generation descendants of migrants in the mid 20th century adds more nuance to the multi-ethnic nature of Dutch society. The purpose of this section was to provide context on the communities that reside in Rotterdam Zuid and rely on the businesses in this study. Understanding the multi-ethnic character of Rotterdam Zuid is crucial to understanding the commercial landscape, as well as the role public policy plays in redevelopment.

2.5 Application to the Dutch Context

In the Netherlands the role of the government is stronger than the United Kingdom or United States, especially in the housing sector, where there is less segregation. However, uneven spatial development, stigmatization, and the presence of urban policy that emphasizes redevelopment as a solution for urban problems are shared characteristics.

Providing housing opportunities and social mobilization for the middle class in urban areas is a core element of Dutch urban policy, and there is a long history of redevelopment projects targeting post-industrial neighborhoods (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009; Stouten, 2017). Residential gentrification is broadly supported and promoted by both national and local governments, particularly with the goal of maintaining social order and creating socially mixed neighborhoods (Doucet, 2014; Doucet & Kounders, 2018; Uitermark, 2007).

Within the Dutch context some scholars are skeptical of the negative impacts of social mixing policy. They refute the role of revanchism in social mixing, suggesting the middle class provides modest positive effects for the indigenous residents (van de Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). Van de Graaf and Veldboer's study provides compelling evidence that middle class gentrifiers themselves are not revanchist, but it fails to dispute the theory that the government is the party primarily engaging in revanchism (Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2006). Furthermore, the discussion of social networks is dismissive of the experiences of displaced residents, and the quantitative nature of the study fails to account for changes in neighborhood composition contributing to social and place attachment. Despite the debate surrounding the impacts of social mixing policy, scholars agree that the influx of new upper-class residents has a negative effect on the connection between existing residents and their neighborhood (van de Graaf & Veldboer, 2009).

Stigmatization also plays an important role in the redevelopment of Dutch neighborhoods. Despite lower levels of segregation than its Anglo counterparts, Rotterdam has areas of concentrated poverty, and high non-ethnically Dutch populations. In Dutch public discourse these areas are perceived as havens of crime (Fiore & Plate, 2021). Furthermore, stigmatization has been reinforced through the ranking of neighborhoods by the national housing minister in 2000 (Duin et al., 2011). The formal status of several neighborhoods in Rotterdam Zuid as the "worst in the Netherlands" supported the pre-existing negative stigma.

The role of ethnicity in neighborhood stigmatization cannot be overstated. Across Europe, there is increased concern about growing concentrations of non-western populations in cities (Ley, 2012). While much of the policy affecting migrants is made at the national level, municipalities play an important role in shaping the multi-ethnic nature of Dutch neighborhoods. According to van Eijk (2010), Dutch revanchism targets ethnic minorities and is supported by working class ethnically Dutch people. In the cases of Afrikaanderwijk and Carnisse, these findings have been complicated, as both ethnically Dutch residents, and those with non-western backgrounds had negative views of migrants (van Eijk, 2010; Doucet & Koenders, 2018). Despite these complications, generally ethnically Dutch people have been found to have slight negative opinions towards multi-culturalism (van Oudenhoven et al., 1998; Breuglmans & van de Vijver, 2004, Gale et al., 2021). This opposition has been found to increase in ethnically Dutch people living in multicultural neighborhoods (Breuglmans & van de Vijver, 2004).

In terms of policy outcomes, gentrification through housing redevelopment has been linked to increasing levels of segregation in the Netherlands. This reinforces concentrations of poverty through the displacement of the poor to stigmatized neighborhoods (van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2020). Furthermore, research in Amsterdam has shown that a municipal policy encouraging housing corporations to convert social housing to owner occupancy led to increases in ethnically Dutch populations in post-war neighborhoods (Boterman & van Gent, 2014). The evolution of redevelopment policy in Rotterdam exhibits how actions of the government are connected to popular sentiment against multi-culturalism, and lead to ethnic change and segregation.

Hostilities towards migrants have long existed in Rotterdam. During the 1970's, riots took place in Afrikaanderwijk, as ethnically Dutch inhabitants blamed a lack of housing on migrant workers (Duin et al, 2011). As Turkish and Moroccan workers increased in the neighborhood, animosity grew amongst the ethnically Dutch population. This reached a climax when ethnically Dutch residents of Afrikaanderwijk attacked Turkish and Moroccan workers living in boarding houses; protesting outside their homes and throwing rocks through their windows. At the root of the riots was a disagreement over rent between a Dutch renter and a Turkish homeowner (Albayrak & Tap, 2022). The anger towards Turkish homeowners and laborers preceded a rise in hostility and stigmatization towards marginalized groups across the western world (van Eijk, 2010). After the 1972 riots, the municipality closed hundreds of the homes for migrant laborers due to code violations. Fears over ethnic concentration were taken up by Dutch government, which adopted policies intended to break up ethnically concentrated areas (van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007). The city enacted the 5 percent rule, which capped the number of non-western residents in a given neighborhood to 5%. This was annulled after two years by the Council of State for violating UN anti-discrimination policies (Albayrak & Tap, 2022). Rotterdam continued to press for similar policies in the early 2000's, as Leefbaar Rotterdam (Livable Rotterdam), a populist right-wing party rose to prominence and pushed for a policy restricting the homes low-income people could rent. This policy was tested in Carnisse, and was quickly adopted by the national government, becoming known as the Rotterdam

Act. The Rotterdam Act was justified by linking ethnicity, livability, and depravation (van Eijk, 2010, van Gent et al, 2017). As political parties became more hostile towards multiculturalism, urban policy further concentrated on efforts to control diversity in post-industrial neighborhoods.

The Woonvisie was created in the context of a rightward shift in Rotterdam city politics. In the 2002, Leefbaar Rotterdam party entered the ruling coalition (van Ostaijen, 2019). The city quickly adopted a pro-gentrification stance, and pro-gentrification politics have since been adopted by other major political parties in Rotterdam (Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2006). The Leefbaar party was created in 2002 with a platform inspired by the Dutch politician Pim Fortuyn. Crucially for this study, Leefbaar won the most seats in the 2014 municipal election getting 59,505 (27.53%) votes and returned to the ruling coalition (Kiesraad, 2014; van Ostaijen, 2019). With this victory, Leefbaar shifted Rotterdam policy to be more hostile towards migrants (Dekker & Breugel, 2019). Generally, Leefbaar's base of support lies with ethnically Dutch voters, and the party has been at the forefront of Rotterdam's role in leading Dutch anti-migrant policy (Loukili, 2019). The original party platform utilized revanchist rhetoric as it was in favor of taking back the city from criminals, and supported social mixing (van Ostaijen, 2010). From its inception, both the party, and its ideological loadstar Fortuyn, saw immigration by Muslims, as a threat to Dutch society. They were opposed to multiculturalism, and favored integration policies, specifically through the social mixing. This meant the gentrification of Afrikaanderwijk became a viable policy solution to perceived Islamification (van Ostaijen, 2010; Doucet, 2018).

The effort to pass the Woonvisie into law was spearheaded by Leefbaar, with Ronald Schneider, a Rotterdam Alderman representing Leefbaar, leading the movement. In 2016, Rotterdam held a referendum on the Woonvisie, in which the majority of voters chose to stop the plan, however, turnout was below the minimum threshold of 30%, nullifying the vote (NOS, 2016). Scholars such as Doucet & Kounders (2018) have pointed out the use of stigmatization to justify the Woonvisie, as Leefbaar connected its anti-Islamic politics with support for the 2016 referendum using a video that depicted declining neighborhoods with prominent Islamic architectural features.

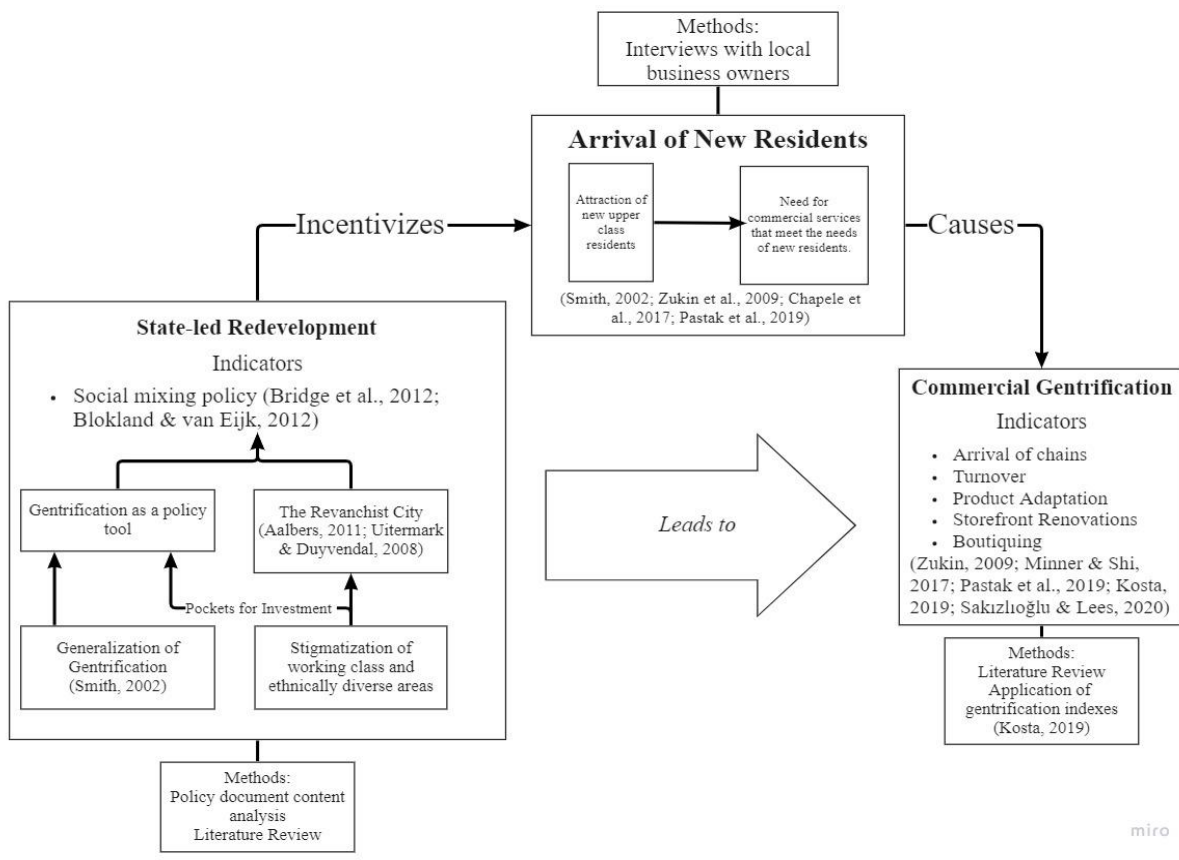
The understanding that social mixing policy in Rotterdam acts as a tool to achieve class and ethnic change is needed to understand commercial gentrification. Ethnic change threatens immigrant business owners who often depend on social networks within neighborhoods for employees and customers (Kloosterman & van der Leun, 1999). In a recent study of shop keepers in Amsterdam dealing with the effects of social mixing policy, Sakızlıoğlu and Lees (2020) found that different groups of entrepreneurs adapted to neighborhood change differently, with Dutch and Turkish business owners more open to adaptation, while other ethnic minorities were struggling to adapt to the changes.

The reputation of gentrification as a chaotic concept holds true in the Netherlands (van Weesep, 1994). Beginning with the economic decline and stigmatization of post-industrial neighborhoods in the 1970's areas with ethnically diverse working class populations

became the focus of Dutch urban policy. This combined with the strong role of the state and has led to a policy emphasis on social mixing to disrupt areas of concentrated poverty. While gentrification is traditionally thought of as a form of class transformation, Rotterdam demonstrates how ethnicity plays an important role in the process. The political success of *Leefbaar*, using xenophobic politics, has made Rotterdam housing policies revanchist. This situates the small businesses of these neighborhoods as both symbols their neighborhood, and dependents on it for existence. Despite some scholars arguing that changes brought on by social mixing are overall positive (Kloosterman & van der Leun, 1999; van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009), it remains clear some business owners struggle to adapt to the changing population (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2020). Even in Afrikaanderwijk, which is in the early stages of gentrification, the effects have been felt, as residents have identified changes in the business landscape that altered their sense of space in the neighborhood (Doucet & Koenders, 2018). In chapter 4, the topics of commercial gentrification, revanchism in redevelopment policy, and the role of ethnicity will be discussed.

2.6 Conceptual Framework

Figure 2. Conceptual Framework



This diagram summarizes the theory utilized in this study. The generalization of gentrification and stigmatization are core drivers of state-led redevelopment policies. While the generalization of gentrification created the incentives for gentrification as a policy tool, stigmatization created pockets of disinvestment that are necessary for redevelopment to occur (Zuk, 2015). When

gentrification as a policy tool is combined with a revanchism, social mixing becomes a viable tactic to achieve the goals of both culturally minded revanchist thinkers, and economically minded generalization of gentrification thinkers. The changing composition to neighborhood then causes commercial gentrification through a number of factors. New investment activity drives up prices, and the socio-economic profile of new residents changes the retail landscape. Old shops must adapt to the new retail landscape or be forced out. This can be visually observed through physical changes like renovations and new branding, or internal changes to the types of goods and services that are offered. Additionally, a process of boutiqueing takes place, where new businesses open to meet the needs of newly arrived residents (Davis, 1997; Kosta, 2019).

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

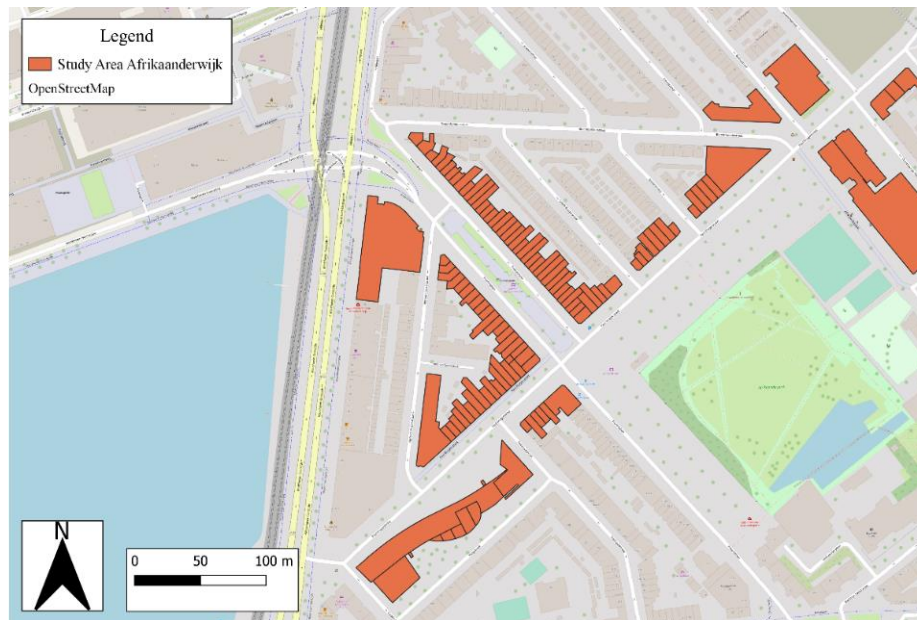
This section discusses the research methods used in the study. It covers the study area, research techniques, operationalization, and indicators that were used to answer the research question.

3.2 Research Area

The research areas were selected for their location in Rotterdam Zuid, and proximity to major Woonvisie redevelopment projects. Each shopping area is nearby a larger corporate commercial development. Carnisse hosts the Zuidplein mall, and Afrikaanderwijk is nearby to Kop van Zuid, a redevelopment project that has brought an influx of corporate capital to the northern edge of Rotterdam Zuid. The primary difference between the cases is that Afrikaanderwijk has already seen redevelopment activity throughout the neighborhood, while Carnisse is in the preliminary stages. This comparison lends insights how commercial gentrification is manifested at different stages of state-led redevelopment.

The Afrikaanderwijk study area surrounds Markt Afrikaanderplein, a public park, which hosts an outdoor market twice per week. The study area lies along both sides of Paul Krugerstraat, stretching from Maashaven Oostzijde in the west, to Laan op Zuid in the east, including the section of the major cross street of Pretorialaan between Paul Krugerstraat and Bloemfonteinstraat.

Figure 3. Afrikaanderwijk Study Area



The Carnisse study area is in the North-Western corner of the neighborhood. The focus is on Katendrechtse Lagedijk and Wolphaertsbocht, which run parallel to each other between Dorpsweg and Pleinweg. Additionally, the small connecting streets; Van Eversdijckstraat, Robbenoordplein, and Zandblokstraat, are included.

Figure 4. Carnisse Study Area



Each of the shopping areas has the densest collection of commercial spaces in the respective neighborhood. Additionally, each is less than one kilometer from a major Woonvisie redevelopment site. Afrikaanderwijk hosts the Tweebosbuurt demolition project, in which five city blocks in Afrikaanderwijk have been demolished in order to construct new mixed income housing. The demolition is being carried out in coordination with Vestia, one of the largest housing corporations in the Netherlands. There were a total of 599 homes slated for demolition, including 535 units of social housing (UN, 2017). Plans from Vestia indicate that 374 new homes, of which 137 for social housing will be rebuilt (Vestia, n.d.). This is not the only major redevelopment project occurring in Afrikaanderwijk. On the section of Pretorialaan immediately south of the case study area, the apartment complexes and businesses are being renovated.

In Carnisse, the housing corporation Woonstad Rotterdam plans to demolish 164 homes and two business in the southwest corner of the neighborhood. Woonstad made a cooperation agreement with the municipality of Rotterdam in 2017 and is operating in accordance with the NPRZ. Woonstad describes the area as having small low value homes, with little future (Woonstad Rotterdam, n.d.). Additionally, Woonbron, another housing corporation, is redeveloping housing in the Mijnkintbuurt neighborhood of Tarwewijk. This area is next to the eastern edge of the study area., on the other side of Pleinweg. 300 homes are in the demolition process and are planned to be replaced by 140 homes of a mixed income status (Woonbron, 2021). The status of these neighborhoods as gentrifying is not determined by economic factors, but instead relies on their designation as priority areas in the planning documents made by the municipal government and NPRZ.

Figure 5. Afrikaanderwijk Study Area Images. Source: Author's fieldwork





Figure 6. Carnisse Study Area Images. Source: Author's Fieldwork





3.3 Methods

To answer the research question, this study employs a combination of desk research, policy analysis, and semi-structured interviews. These methods allow for a well-rounded observation of the redevelopment and gentrification processes. Additionally, the study uses a comparative case study design, allowing for a more detailed look at the gentrification process in each neighborhood. The comparative structure can demonstrate how differences in the implementation of the Woonvisie lead to different forms of commercial gentrification.

3.3.1 Content Analysis

In order to characterize the type of state-led redevelopment in Rotterdam Zuid, this study uses a content analysis of the planning and implementation documents that support Woonvisie 2030. The content analysis identifies the characteristics of redevelopment in each neighborhood from the perspective of the government, this is a crucial step to understanding the nature of redevelopment in Rotterdam Zuid. The documents used to conduct the analysis were gathered from three different sources: Gemeente Rotterdam, NPRZ, and the national government. Documents from the

Gemeente Rotterdam include the Woonvisie 2030, and the 2019 and 2020 addendums. The NPRZ documents are the implementation plans from 2015 and 2022. The national document is the Region Deal. Documents were translated using Google Translate.

To carry out the analysis, a coding scheme was developed using Atlas TI. A complete codebook can be found in the annex. Each document was carefully read and coded for its language that is relevant to this study. This includes specific mentions of Rotterdam Zuid and the study neighborhoods. The methods were coded, organizing them by construction, destruction, renovation, social mixing, transition to private ownership, and other. Other typically consisted of expansions to green space and other infrastructure improvements to the neighborhood. Similar to methods, the texts were coded for any mention of how housing prices would be impacted. Housing was broken down into different types: social, vulnerable, and owner-occupied. Any mention of commercial areas was coded, with distinctions being made between the capital type. One of the major components of the coding scheme was examining how the documents discussed people of different classes. The documents were coded for high, middle, and low class, as well as students. Finally, discussions of ethnic change and migration were coded. The coding process was iterative, with new codes generated as themes emerged from reading.

3.3.2 Desk Research

In order to characterize commercial gentrification, data was gathered through desk research using the methods developed by Kosta (2019). Specifically, a store count, boutique index, and renovation index were performed. Data was drawn from a number of sources. A site visit was the basis for much of the data. Google Street View imagery (GSV) informed the store count and renovation index. GSV has been used in many areas of urban research, including gentrification (Sampson, 2014; Minner & Shi, 2017; Kim et al., 2021; Speake et al., 2021). This methodology was adapted in this study as both a source of historical data, and method to observe changes to the exteriors of existing businesses. Data from the Kamer van Koophandel (KVK), a registry of businesses in the Netherlands was also used. In cases where there were discrepancies between the site visit, GSV, and the KVK, the KVK was used to decide whether the business would be included in the data set, if the shop had been deregistered, it was removed. This usually occurred when a business had outward signage, but the interior was clearly not open for business. Finally, data from the City of Rotterdam and the National government was used to provide context for the state of small businesses and to demonstrate the extent of gentrification in the study area.

Store Count: The store count was conducted based on the site visits and GSV imagery from 2015. Comparing historic GSV imagery with an in-person business count created an accurate picture of recent retail change. The store count is a rough indicator of the state of businesses in a given neighborhood. Although the relationship between the number of businesses and commercial gentrification is mediated by many other factors it can provide context for the business environment. Generally, a decline in the number of businesses indicates a poor business environment (Kosta, 2019).

Boutique Index: The boutique index will be constructed using data gathered from the site visits and GSV. In order to address the inaccuracies that come with measuring businesses based on storefront, KVK data was used to verify shop locations. Based on work by Zukin et al. (2009),

shops were divided into three categories: corporate capital, local capital, and new entrepreneurial capital. The KVK also lists the business type as branch location, partnership, or self proprietorship, which was used to identify corporate capital. Businesses that are sole proprietorship or partnership and have been present since 2015 are deemed local capital. Corporate capital is defined by Zukin et al., as a “publicly traded franchised or large local or trans local chain with considerable market share,” (2009, p.56-7). New entrepreneurial capital are businesses that opened between 2016 and 2022, and have modern trendy branding, of unique products or services. In this study all business that opened during the study period were categorized as new entrepreneurial, the type of product and the presence of a, “recognizably hip, chic, or trendy atmosphere” (Zukin et al, 2009, p.58), was later analyzed using GSV. An increase in new entrepreneurial capital and corporate capital is a sign of commercial gentrification, as they can displace local capital and disrupt the retail landscape. To show this, the 2015 dataset was compared with GSV imagery from 2008 and 2009 to determine the capital type that was present in 2015 and allow for a comparison with 2022 data.

Renovation Index: The final indicator is renovation status. Using data collected from site visits and GSV, each business was assessed for a renovation during the study period. Each business fell into four categories: not renovated, renovated, newly opened business in the study period, and vacant in 2015. A high percentage of renovations is considered to be a sign of commercial gentrification. The renovation data that was gathered through desk research was partly supplemented by interviews, as each shopkeeper was asked about renovation activity. There are three elements of the renovation process that were examined. Firstly, repairs or upgrades to aging signage. Secondly, rebranding, especially towards a more sleek and modern design, or the addition of a logo (Speake et al., 2021). Thirdly, shifts in the way ethnicity was marketed, specifically, motifs, languages, and business naming that demark a particular ethnic group. This was done to track potential shifts in ethnic packaging (Hackworth & Rekers, 2005; Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2020; Plate & Fiore, 2021).

3.3.3 Interviews

Interviews were conducted to gather the input from shopkeepers themselves, and to understand the connection between the policies of the municipality, and changes to neighborhood shops. The interviews were semi-structured, with a list of nine questions. In order to source interviewees, in person visits to shops were conducted between June 25th, 2022, and August 5th, 2022. Additionally, contacts with the Afrikaanderwijk Cooperatie were used to better understand the status of the neighborhood in terms of commercial change and improve the interview approach. The Afrikaanderwijk Cooperatie is a cooperative organization focused on economic development in Rotterdam South. It is made up of local businesses and organizations, working address economic issues in Afrikaanderwijk (Afrikaanderwijk Cooperatie, n.d). A snowball method was also used at the end of interviews to find other willing shopkeepers.

The interviews focused on the shopkeepers’ perceptions of change, both in their business and neighborhood, with 9 respondents in Carnisse and 8 in Afrikaanderwijk. One of the main indicators from the interviews was product adaptation, which could not be observed any other way. The respondents were also asked about their relationship with the municipal government and their view of the Woonvisie. The interviews were also coded using an iterative process. The primary area of

interest in the interviews were the causes that business owners chose for neighborhood change. These were coded based on the variety of different responses that were gathered, and grouped into themes such as ethnic change, housing change, or class change.

3.4 Operationalization

Since this research focuses on the 2016 Woonvisie the variable of state-led redevelopment is narrowly defined to the policy document, and the indicators will be sourced from its supporting documents. The policy document was analyzed by looking at the objectives of the policy, and the language used to describe the implementation. The objectives consist of the explicit targets of the policy, the target audience, and the political background of the politicians and parties that promoted the policy. The implementation consists of the neighborhoods that are discussed in the documents and the methods that are used.

Commercial gentrification was indicated using five categories: The arrival of chains, renovations, boutiqueing and product adaptation were based on desk research. A neighborhood exhibiting a high score in both the boutique index and renovation index, along with growth in the boutique index, will be considered to be experiencing commercial gentrification. The final indicator is product adaptation, this was sourced from semi-structured interviews with shopkeepers.

Ethnicity was broken into the ethnic makeup of each study area, and indicators of ethnic change. Ethnic composition was sourced from government documents and ethnic packaging was based on desk research and the site visit. Triangulation is done through government documents that contain data on neighborhood trends, as well as interviews, which inform data gathered through desk research.

3.4.1 Operationalization Table

Concept	Variables	Indicator	Source	Analysis
State-led Redevelopment	Objectives	Stated Objectives	Woonvisie and supporting policies	Content analysis of the policy documents
		Target audience	Woonvisie and supporting policies	Content analysis of the policy documents
		Political Background	News coverage	Content Analysis of news coverage
	Implementation	Spatial Dimension	Woonvisie and supporting policies	Content analysis of the policy documents
		Implementing agencies	Woonvisie and supporting policies	Content analysis of the policy documents

		Tools/Methods	Woonvisie and supporting policies	Content analysis of the policy documents
Commercial Gentrification	Renovations	High number of renovations	GSV, Site Visit, Interviews	Store Count
	Arrival of Chains	Increase in number of chain stores	GSV, Site Visit	Boutique Index
	Boutiquing	Increasing number of Boutiques	GSV, Site Visit	Boutique Index
	Product Adaptation	Change in the type of products sold	Interviews	Content Analysis of Interviews
Multiethnicity	Ethnic composition	Owner Ethnicity	Interviews, site visit	Content Analysis of Interviews
		Neighborhood Ethnicity	Government statistics, interviews	Content Analysis of Interviews, comparison of statistics
	Ethnic Packaging	Ethnic marketing of shops	GSV, Site visit	Renovation index

3.5 Expected Challenges and Limitations

One of the primary limitations to this study is the small sample size of two neighborhoods. Because of the case-study nature of the research design, the generalizability of this study is limited. To compensate, this research takes a deeper look at the gentrification process in each neighborhood, attempting to get a complete understanding of the interactions between the variables of interest. Furthermore, this research was conducted in English, preventing shop keepers who do not speak English from being interviewed. This will likely result in interview results reflecting a narrower set of views than the entire neighborhood. The use of both desk research and interviews to assess commercial gentrification is intended to address the shortcomings of each methodology. The qualitative nature of the study also precludes any quantitative economic analysis that often accompanies gentrification research. This is partly due to the cost of detailed KVK reports on individual business, which more detailed information on the business's history. The qualitative nature does, however, provide a level of nuance that would likely be missed by quantitative methods. The use of GSV imagery meant that only businesses with visible storefronts on the ground floor were counted in data collection. This leaves out businesses that operate without a storefront, or from homes. Although important to understanding commercial gentrification, this study also does not include informal businesses. Finally, this research was conducted when there were no significant Covid-19 related restrictions in the Netherlands. Starting in March 2020, there were two years of social distancing restrictions due to the Covid-19 pandemic. This entailed strict restrictions on the types of stores that could be open, the hours they could operate, and the number of people that were allowed inside. These rules were especially challenging for restaurants and

salons which rely on in-person contact (Zimplemann et al. 2021). It is expected that Covid-19 will play a role in commercial change and may have placed economic pressure on businesses.

Chapter 4: Research Findings

4.1 Introduction

This section outlines the results that were gathered in this research. It focuses on the three research sub-questions:

1. How can state-led redevelopment in Rotterdam Zuid be characterized?
2. How can commercial gentrification in Rotterdam Zuid be characterized?
3. How does state-led redevelopment affect the multiethnic character of businesses in post industrial neighborhoods?

4.2 Content Analysis

4.2.1 Gentrification as Policy

The use of gentrification as a policy tool by the city of Rotterdam is not in dispute. This section demonstrates how Woonvisie 2030 supports the pro-gentrification stance that was first taken in Stadsvisie 2030 a previous and more general city vision for Rotterdam. This document explicitly supported gentrification efforts saying:

“The strategy for these neighborhoods is to encourage gentrification and the right to create conditions for the flourishing of the creative economy,” (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007, p.137)¹.

Woonvisie 2030 has continued to support gentrification with a spatial focus on Rotterdam Zuid, naming Afrikaanderwijk and Carnisse as neighborhoods that can benefit from gentrification. The policy documents highlight the importance of upper-class people, the creative class, and social climbers to the city. The arrival of these desired groups is supported by converting social and affordable housing to the middle and high segment or adding housing for middle- and high-income groups in areas with cheap stock, creating conditions for social mixing. The Woonvisie contains a section dedicated to a creatively mixed districts policy, which targets pre-war neighborhoods with active food scenes, and innovative entrepreneurs. The policy suggests the free market and housing corporations should intervene in these areas to add housing for middle- and high-income groups, as well as increase rental costs (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016). This sentiment is repeated throughout every policy document, with the NPRZ implementation plan, and the Region Deal targeting these policies in Rotterdam Zuid:

“The Housing theme is aimed at offering suitable living space for this target group and other middle and high incomes, so that the neighborhoods in South Rotterdam are more balanced.” (Staats Courant, 2019, p.4)²

¹ Original translation: De strategie voor deze wijken is gentrification te stimuleren en de juiste voorwaarden te scheppen voor opbloei van de creatieve economie.

² Original translation: Het thema Wonen is gericht op het bieden van geschikte woonruimte voor deze doelgroep en andere midden- en hoge inkomens, zodat de wijken in Rotterdam Zuid meer in balans komen.

Outside of housing, the policy documents say little about ethnicity or commercial spaces, the two subjects of interest in this study. The documents only discuss ethnicity once:

“In recent years, a large number of people from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE-landers) have found their way to private (mattress) rental in a number of neighborhoods in South. As a result of the above, the desired social increase of residents of South does not get off the ground on its own,” (NPRZ, 2019, p. 7).³

Commercial space is referenced more frequently, using a variety of terms. Often, the documents use language favorable to new entrepreneurial capital or corporate capital, suggesting that renewal and renovation are important for changing the state of business in Rotterdam Zuid. The NPRZ implementation plan suggests a number of corporate renewal projects similar to Hart van Zuid or Zuidplein Mall to occur within the Carnisse study area (NRPZ, 2019). The Region Deal calls for supporting more makerspaces which can contribute to culture (Staats Courant, 2019).

4.2.2 Content of the Woonvisie and Subsequent Documents

The objectives of the Woonvisie focus on improving quality of housing and living environments, diversifying the housing stock, and promoting environmental sustainability. To achieve this, the Woonvisie focuses on the destruction of low value and social housing. A map included in the Gebeids Atlas 2.0, a government document that visualizes the objectives of the Woonvisie, shows both Afrikaanderwijk and Carnisse as only hosting new middle segment housing (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2020). Additionally, the Region Deal lists Carnisse as a special target area for social mixing and redevelopment because of the high level of privately owned housing (Staats Courant, 2019). Together policy documents frequently combine destructive methods with policies that target lower classes. This is best exemplified in the following quote:

“In the focus neighborhoods of NPRZ, cheap houses to be demolished are almost always replaced by houses in the middle and high segment. In other parts of the NPRZ and elsewhere in the city, cheap houses to be demolished are partly replaced by cheap houses, partly by houses in the middle and high segment.” (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016, p. 16)⁴

This passage is spatially focused on Rotterdam Zuid and demonstrates the intensity of redevelopment by suggesting that there is no room for new cheap housing in the south. The use of the word “demolished” (*slopen*), indicates a destructive method of achieving policy goals. Destructive language is commonly used throughout the document when discussing low income housing. Furthermore, the language around replacing cheap housing indicates that policy makers view amenities for the lower class as an obstacle to achieving the policy objectives. While lower classes are often discussed negatively, the documents usually discuss middle- and upper-class

³ Original translation: De laatste jaren vindt een groot aantal mensen uit Midden- en Oost-Europa (MOE-landers) de weg naar de particuliere (matrassen)verhuur in een aantal wijken op Zuid. Het bovenstaande heeft tot gevolg dat de gewenste sociale stijging van bewoners van Zuid niet vanzelf van de grond komt.

⁴ Original translation: In de focuswijken van NPRZ worden te slopen goedkope woningen vrijwel altijd vervangen door woningen in het midden en hoge segment. In andere delen van het NPRZ en elders in de stad worden te slopen goedkope woningen deels vervangen door goedkope woningen, deels door woningen in het midden en hoge segment.

groups in favorable terms. Not only are these groups intended to benefit from new construction, but they are seen as desirable by the government:

“We [Gemeente Rotterdam] not only tempt households with an average or higher income, social climbers, and young potentials with attractive housing, it concerns a total package. In addition to this housing vision, we are emphatically committed to strengthening Rotterdam's economic DNA,” (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2016, p.13).⁵

This quote demonstrates the positive view the government holds towards middle- and upper-class groups. It also suggests that improvements to the available amenities can attract gentrifiers. This positions commercial space as a tool the municipality can use to induce gentrification.

4.2.3 State-led Redevelopment Today

Since its passage in 2016, the Woonvisie has been amended several times, and policies have taken affect. Implementation plans from NPRZ give insight into the success of Woonvisie. According to the report, the overall stock of housing is growing across Rotterdam, however the values differ between the housing sectors. The municipality found that social housing stock was decreasing faster than expected, which was attributed to the renovations, and demolitions carried out by housing corporations (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019). As of 2022, the city is not achieving its targets for new housing construction, reaching 80% of the 9000-unit target. Despite this, the districts of Feyenoord and Charlois, which contain Afrikaanderwijk and Carnisse respectively, saw higher levels of construction than the rest of Rotterdam. Feyenoord had the second highest rate of construction, behind the city center, and Charlois had the fifth highest. Additionally, Charlois and Feyenoord were highlighted by the progress report as areas with the fastest rise in housing costs (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019). This indicates that there are conditions present for gentrification in both neighborhoods, with Afrikaanderwijk experiencing much more actual redevelopment.

4.2.4 Content Analysis Discussion

The Woonvisie and its supporting documents were explicit about the use of gentrification and social mixing to bring middle- and upper-class people into Rotterdam Zuid. There is little question that the Woonvisie is characterized by revanchism. The explicit goal of decreasing social housing stock and increasing middle and high segment housing speaks for itself. The policy documents also apply this language to commercial spaces, both praising hubs of corporate capital, and calling for them to be replicated in Carnisse. This is also represented in language calling for more creative and culturally beneficial businesses to be created through renewal programs, and new amenities to support the middle and upper classes.

The stance the Woonvisie takes on the multi-ethnic nature of Rotterdam Zuid is more difficult to discern. The only explicit mention suggests that Central and Eastern European migrants are not included in the vision for the future of Rotterdam Zuid, suggesting these groups are responsible for the area's current economic struggles. Looking deeper into the language of the text shows a

⁵ Original translation: Huishoudens met een modaal of hoger inkomen, sociale stijgers en young potentials verleiden we niet alleen met aantrekkelijk wonen, het gaat om een totaalpakket. Naast deze woonvisie zetten we nadrukkelijk in op een versterking van het Rotterdamse economische DNA, goed onderwijs, meer natuur in de stad, een goede bereikbaarheid via OV, fiets en auto, een gezonde leefomgeving en een stad waar veel te beleven is in de vrije tijd.

bias against other non-Dutch ethnic groups. The policy's overall goals of decreasing social housing poses a risk to Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, Antilleans, and refugees, all of whom depend more on social housing than the ethnically Dutch (van Niekierk, 2007; van Praag & Schoorl, 2008; Bakker et al., 2016). As an alternative, the documents routinely promote the construction of new social housing in cities nearby Rotterdam. Again, this poses a risk to non-Dutch ethnic groups, especially shopkeepers who rely on social networks more. This finding is strengthened when considering the background of Leefbaar Rotterdam, and the Islamophobic advertisement that accompanied the Woonvisie referendum.

4.3 Desk Research

4.3.1 Store Count

The Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) collects data on changes to commercial space for every city in the Netherlands. Since 2015 there has been a decline of 2,468 shops nationwide. Rotterdam is home to 4.94% of shops in the Netherlands, but accounts for 20.3% (501) of the decline in shops nationally. The city of Rotterdam provides store counts for each of its neighborhoods. In Afrikaanderwijk, the number of shops has been on a steady decline since 2015. The neighborhood had 129 shops in 2015, and had 122 in 2021, a 5.43% reduction (Gemeente Rotterdam, n.d.). In the study area of Afrikaanderwijk, a different trend was observed. In 2015 there were 70 store fronts, while during the site visit, there were 76, an increase of 8.57%.

The Carnisse neighborhood follows the same trend as Afrikaanderwijk, with an overall decline in the number of shops; from 166 in 2015 to 151 in 2021, a 9.04% reduction (Gemeente Rotterdam, n.d.). Alternatively, the Carnisse study area followed the neighborhood trend with a decrease of 10 storefronts, from 63 storefronts in 2015 to 53 during the site visit. The growth in the number of businesses in Afrikaanderwijk may be attributed to the fact that in 2015, Afrikaanderwijk had 10% more vacant retail spaces than Carnisse allowing more new businesses to open in the neighborhood. This unusual growth indicates increased interest in doing business in the Afrikaanderwijk study area and supports the notion that commercial gentrification is taking place.

4.3.2 Boutique Index

The Boutique Index begins to provide insight into the kind of commercial change that is occurring by showing how the retail makeup of an area changes. In Afrikaanderwijk, local capital is made up of a diverse array of shops, predominantly bars or cafes, with a mix of specialty retail stores such as a pet shop, bicycle repair shop, small grocers, and hair salons. New entrepreneurial capital is largely restaurants, with a few art studios, a bakery, and some secondhand shops. Corporate capital is made up of four stores: the LIDL chain grocer, a Papa Johns Pizza, a phone shop, and a regional auto parts chain. In Carnisse, local capital is a mix of restaurants and small grocery stores, with a few specialty retail stores, such as a chocolatier, flower shop, and yarn store. New entrepreneurial capital is composed of restaurants and grocery stores, with several professional services, such as real estate agencies and an employment agency. Finally, corporate capital in Carnisse was similar to Afrikaanderwijk. There is an Etos chain grocery store, and a phone shop owned by Western Union., and a Het Goed chain secondhand shop.

In 2015 the Afrikaanderwijk study area had 4.3% corporate capital, 40% new entrepreneurial capital, and 55.7% local capital. By 2022, there was 5.3% corporate capital, 39.5% new entrepreneurial capital, and 55.3% local capital.

Figure 7. Capital Type 2022: Afrikaanderwijk

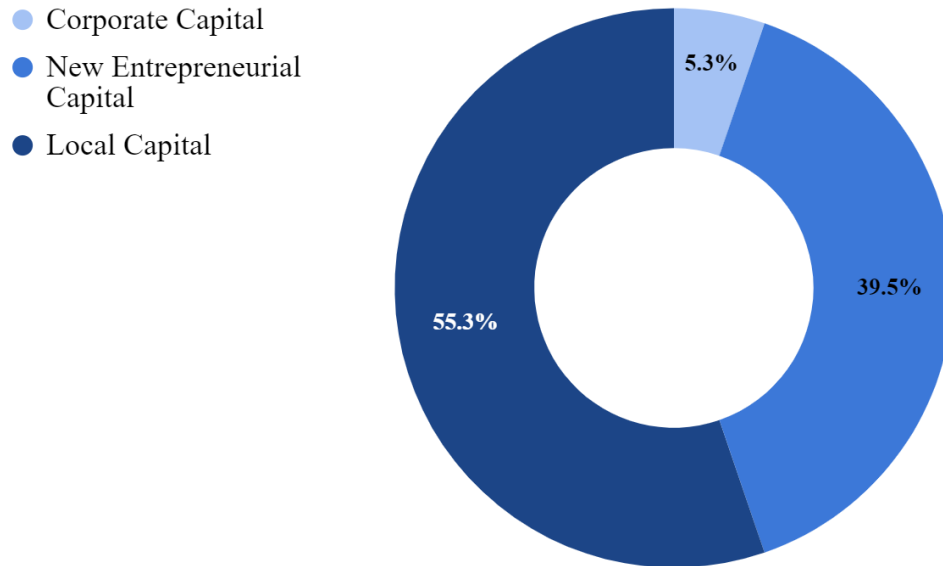
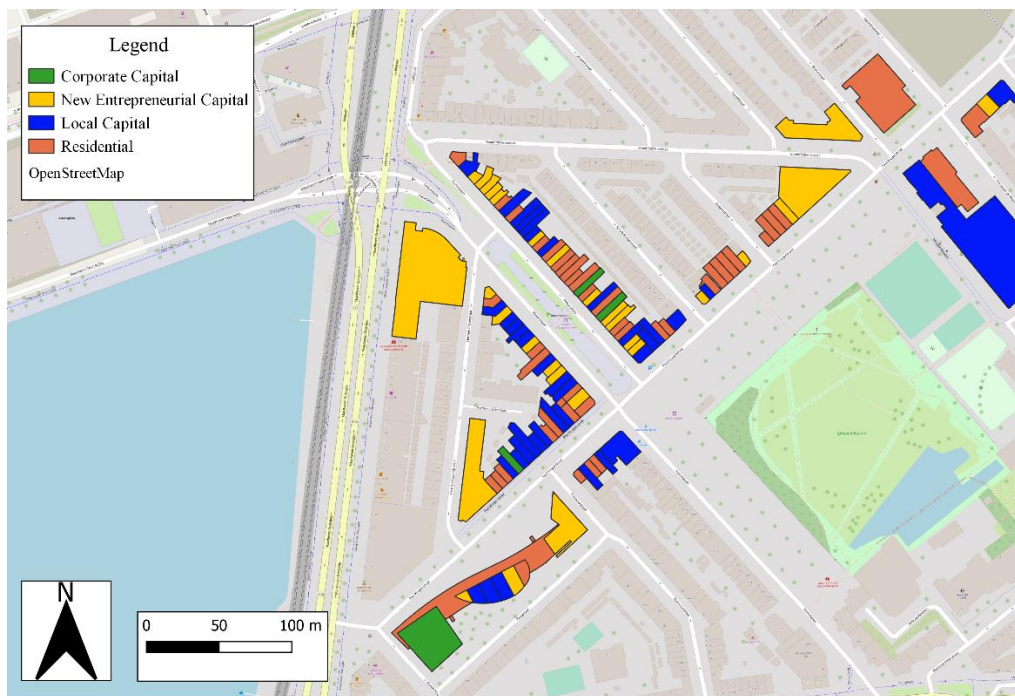


Figure 8. Capital Type Map 2022: Afrikaanderwijk



In 2015, the Carnisse study area had 1.6% corporate capital, 44.4% new entrepreneurial capital, and 54% local capital. By 2022, this became 7.5% corporate capital, 28.3% new entrepreneurial capital, and 64.2% local capital.

Figure 9. Capital Type 2022: Carnisse

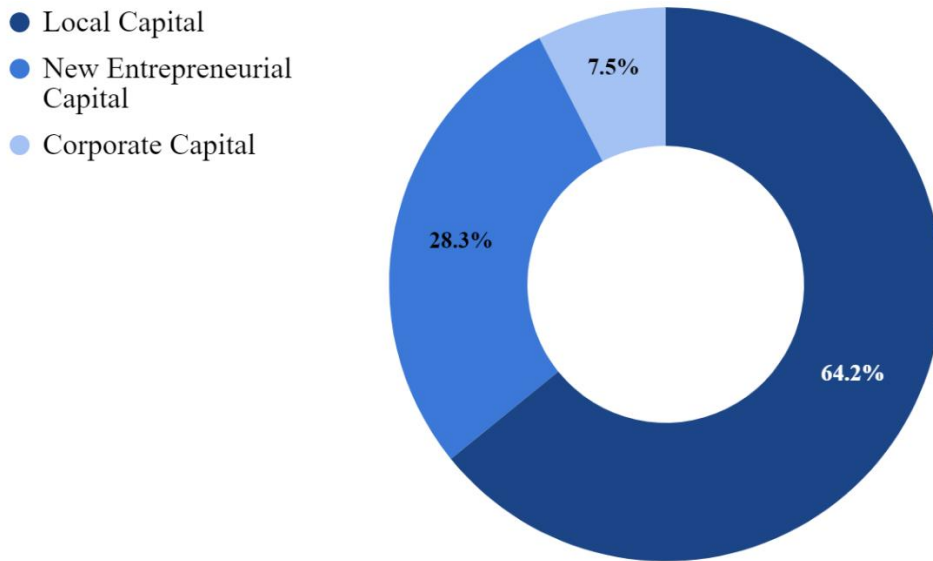


Figure 10. Capital Type Map 2022: Carnisse



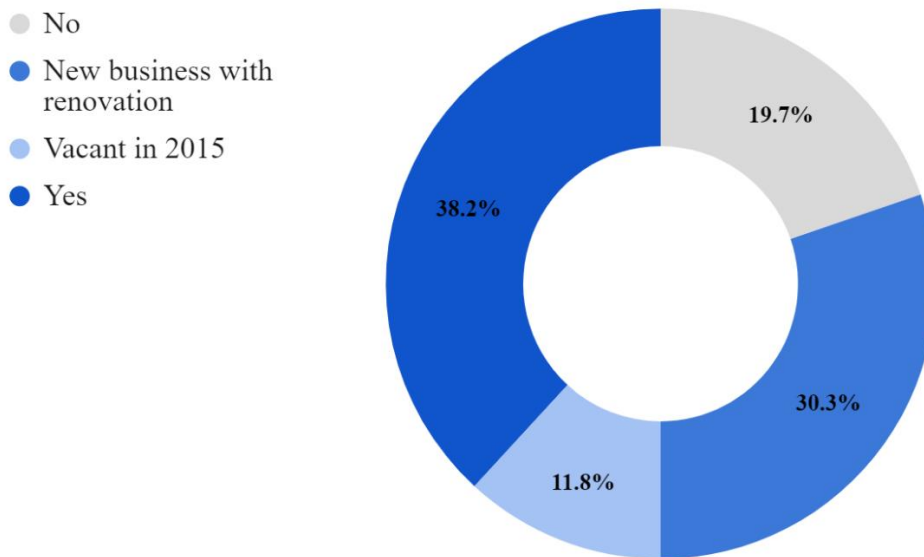
The boutique index for both neighborhoods presents an unclear picture. Corporate capital has grown slightly in both neighborhoods, suggesting some commercial gentrification is occurring,

but corporations are only a marginal contributor due to their small number. The boutique index suggests that Afrikaanderwijk experiences more commercial gentrification because of the higher percentage of new entrepreneurial capital and the growth in new entrepreneurial shops. This may be caused by the higher level of housing construction in Afrikaanderwijk, based on the site visit, policy documents, and housing corporation documents. The data suggests that Carnisse’s growth in local capital was due to a large number of businesses opening between 2008 and 2015, that then aged into local capital, although it is unclear why this occurred.

4.3.3 Renovation Status

Renovations are another important indicator of commercial gentrification as they represent businesses adapting to new consumer tastes. Of the 76 shops currently open in Afrikaanderwijk, 80.3% businesses underwent some form of renovation since 2015. 38.2% of businesses were open in 2015 but have undergone a renovation. 30.3% of shops were newly opened since 2015, having renovated after the change of ownership. The remaining 11.8% of shops were vacant in 2015 and have since been renovated. In total, 80.3% of business operating today underwent some form of renovation.

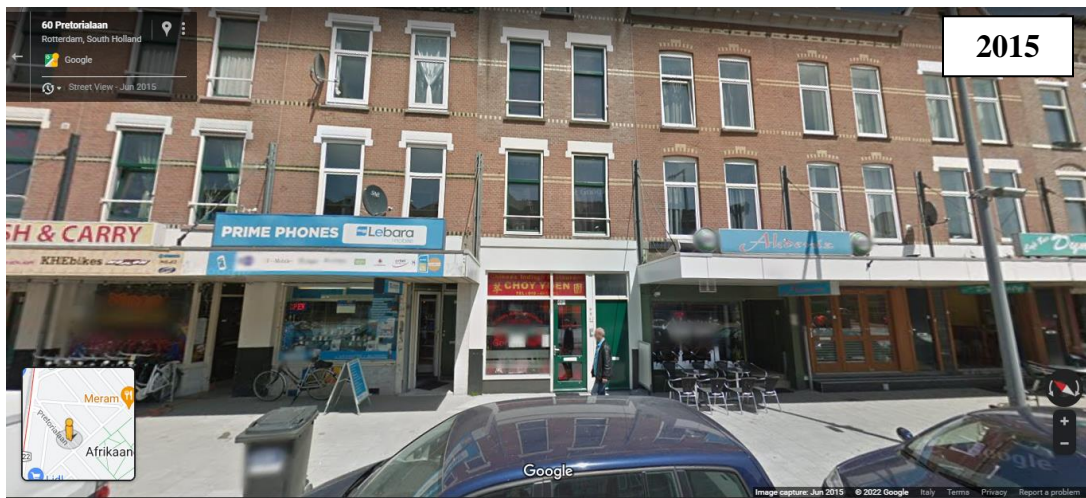
Figure 11. Renovation Status: Afrikaanderwijk



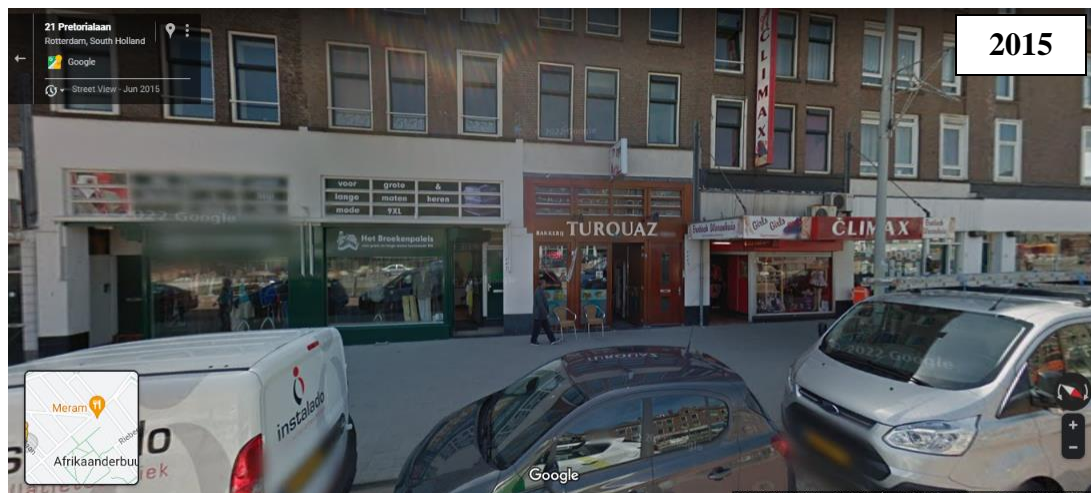
In Afrikaanderwijk, several shops on Pretorialaan significantly rebranded. Signage on Prime Phones and Café Bar Dynasty was modernized, while Choy Yeun and Akdeniz lost distinct ethnic markers and upgraded signage. Across the street, Bakkerij Turquaz became The Grill Chicken. This change marks a shift from the Turkish Bakkerij to an English language chicken restaurant, along with the addition of minimalist signage, and a new logo. These changes were part of a larger trend, where distinct ethnic markers were lost in the renovation process, and branding across the neighborhood was modernized. This represents ethnic packaging, and a shift to higher class consumer taste, likely due to ethnic change that will be discussed in the next section.

Figure 12. Afrikaanderwijk GSV. Source: Google Inc.

A.



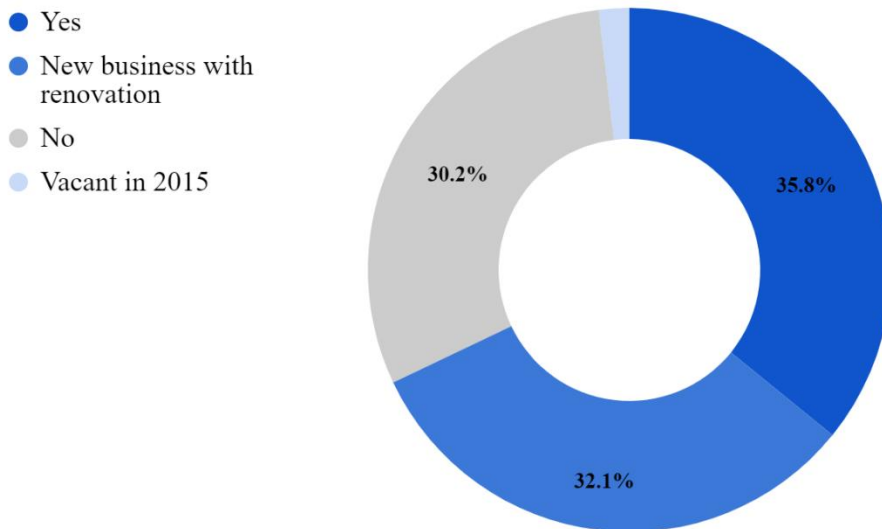
B.





Of the 53 businesses that are currently open in Carnisse, 69.8% have undergone some form of renovation. 35.8% of shops were open in 2015 but have undergone a renovation. Another 32.1% of shops were newly opened and had renovated as the business changed hands. Only 1.9% of businesses were vacant in 2015 and have been since renovated and opened.

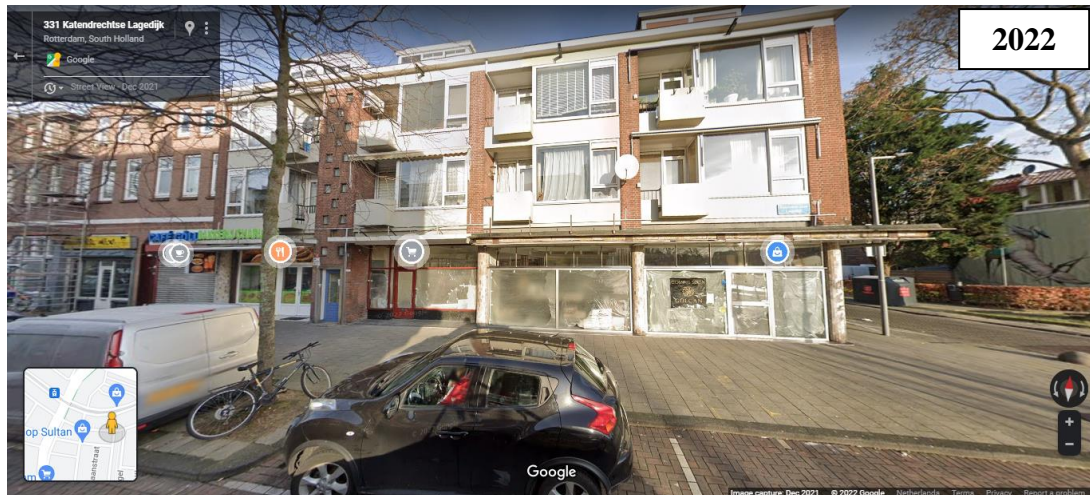
Figure 13. Renovation Status: Carnisse



In Carnisse, image A shows Gulcan Home, a furniture store, taking over the neighboring grocery store. It also rebranded by adding a logo and ending sidewalk furniture sales. Elsewhere, Bakkerij Oudja became Bakkerij Mazrina. In this process, the marketing changed. The prominent Islamic patterning and Arabic text was removed. The photos also changed from advertising doner kebab and shawarma, towards croissants and baguettes.

Figure 14. Carnisse GSV. Source: Google Inc.

A.



B.





4.3.4 Desk Research Discussion

The renovation index contextualizes data gathered in the boutique index. Due to the methodology, some businesses were categorized as new entrepreneurial due to the time they opened but lacked branding that indicates commercial gentrification. Together, both indices suggest Afrikaanderwijk is experiencing more commercial gentrification, while Carnisse saw the expansion of some non-Dutch ethnic shops, particularly two large Polish supermarkets, and a Turkish furniture store. In Afrikaanderwijk the change in ethnic aesthetic was towards a middle class ethnically Dutch audience as shops lost distinct ethnic markers or marketed themselves as a luxury version of a specific ethnic good. This is occurring in the context of a rising ethnically Dutch population in Afrikaanderwijk (CBS, n.d.). It suggests Afrikaanderwijk is undergoing a process of ethnic packaging as the commercial landscape changes to accommodate new middle- and upper-class shoppers. The renovation process drove the transition towards a middle class and white aesthetic. In Carnisse, renovations had a smaller effect on ethnic characteristics as expanding shops overtook a Surinamese and Turkish market. Interestingly this was done without adopting trendy marketing practices associated with gentrification. These findings reaffirm the conceptual framework; that redevelopment leads to commercial gentrification, as Afrikaanderwijk saw more renovations. However, it also shows that specific indicators of commercial gentrification, like renovations, may be caused by other factors because Carnisse contained a large number of renovations while having less intense redevelopment.

4.4 Interviews

4.4.1 Policy

Through semi-structured interviews shopkeepers were given an opportunity to discuss their views on their observed neighborhood changes, the municipal government, and Woonvisie 2030. Their responses were analyzed, to determine whether they made a connection between policy and observed changes. Respondents were overwhelmingly ambivalent or unaware when asked explicitly about Woonvisie 2030. However, when looking into specific characteristics of the Woonvisie, several interesting patterns emerged. When asked about neighborhood change; ethnicity, housing, and class were the most commonly discussed by shopkeepers. In Afrikaanderwijk, respondents commonly referred to housing and class change together, using

terms like “luxury housing”, or “people with more money”. In one case an ethnically Dutch business owner of a long-established clothing store in Afrikaanderwijk suggested the people who inhabit new housing developments would benefit the whole neighborhood. While this sentiment was shared by business owners across both neighborhoods, others in Afrikaanderwijk expressed some concern about the impact of these changes. They mentioned “normal people” getting kicked out, and negative shift in “vibes”. One non-ethnically Dutch shop owner who had lived in the neighborhood said:

“I just don't think that new houses will change the mentality of the people that live here, and we were just discussing it I think yesterday. We were driving and we're like, ‘oh everything here is gone but where are the people going?’” (New entrepreneurial capital Afrikaanderwijk, personal communication, August 5, 2022).

This quote reflects concern for Afrikaanderwijk residents. The respondent later expressed concern for shops she perceived were at risk of closing, despite believing her shop would remain open. Together, the respondents in Afrikaanderwijk had mixed opinions on the impacts, but all were optimistic about the future of their business. These results have two implications. Firstly, the linkage of class and housing reinforces the claim that Afrikaanderwijk is experiencing more gentrification driven by redevelopment policy. Secondly, the views on class change suggests business owners may see upward class shifts as positive. This finding is tenuous, as the small number of respondents were predominantly retail businesses, which are less sensitive to commercial gentrification than restaurants.

Respondents had mixed relationships with the municipality. Respondents that described a positive relationship with the government focused on issues, such as safety and sanitation or a business relationship with the Gemeente. One non-ethnically Dutch shop-owner of a new entrepreneurial fabric store was approached by an official to participate in a fashion show. The negative relationships were similarly mixed, with respondents wishing the Gemeente would offer more support, having frustrating experiences with start-up loans, and disliking high utility prices.

Finally, respondents were asked how the government perceived their business. Afrikaanderwijk respondents had varied responses, while Carnisse respondents assumed the municipality did not care. There were several respondents who believed the Gemeente negatively viewed their business. These shops were Afrikaanderwijk for over a decade with ethnically Dutch ownership. One owner of a long-term local establishment reported that the government wanted to replace old businesses and residents. Other respondents suggested the municipality was ambivalent toward their needs. An ethnically Dutch local capital respondent described the government as inconsiderate of the interests of business owners, believing that the municipality would not hesitate to replace the business with luxury housing if they wished.

“That’s the government when they want something done, it’s finished. But as long as I could stay, I stay.” (Local capital Afrikaanderwijk, personal communication, July 1, 2022).

Those who believed the government viewed them positively came in two categories. In Afrikaanderwijk, they consisted of new entrepreneurial capital who also had a social purpose motivating the business. They believed the Gemeente approved of their shop because they were

assisting a poor neighborhood. The other category was also new entrepreneurial capital, who believed the Gemeente approved of their business because they offered unique luxury furniture that was not previously available in the neighborhood. These results show that business owners largely feel ignored by the government, and that there is little connection between redevelopment policy and relationships with the government. This suggests that shopkeepers are concerned about factors other than redevelopment.

4.4.2 Commercial Gentrification

To assess the nature of commercial gentrification, respondents were asked about changes they had seen in other businesses and those made to their own business. They were also asked about their perceived causes to change.

The respondents had a wide variety of observations, with renovations and adaptation being the most discussed. Boutiquing was unique to a respondent in Afrikaanderwijk, who noted how a newly opened café supported by the Gemeente could compete with their business. However, this business owner was not concerned about the boutique. Nevertheless, several respondents observed no commercial change, saying that the neighborhood and their business had remained the same.

Most respondents in Afrikaanderwijk who did not notice changes in the commercial landscape were clustered together, with strong relationships with each other. Businesses located in other parts of the neighborhood often commented on turnover amongst neighboring shops. Respondents in both neighborhoods expressed dismay at the decline of diversity in businesses, suggesting that now there are too many cafes and restaurants.

“Yeah, there are lots of shops that were closed, so we're the only [shop of this kind] at this time and then we had 10 [similar businesses]. So there came a lot of shops with, uh, something to eat like snack bar and Chinese and all that kind of shops. They are coming and yet the other ones are gone so we don't have a [butcher...], but it's a pity that that butcher is gone.” (Local capital Carnisse, personal communication, August 4, 2022).

This response reflects a broader trend in both neighborhoods regardless of capital type, in which respondents highlighted a dynamic commercial landscape with both growth and high turnover. Turnover alone is an indicator of commercial change, and paired with the renovation index, it suggests both areas are altering their landscapes to fit new populations. Afrikaanderwijk towards higher class Dutch residents, and Carnisse towards new migrants.

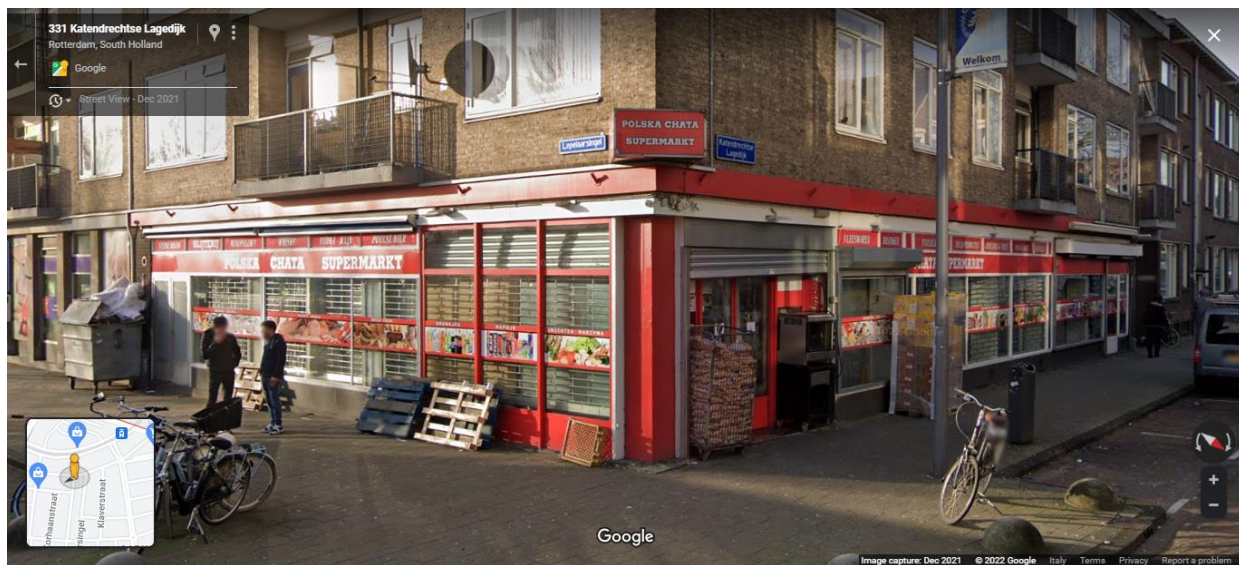
Product adaptation was also commonly identified in both neighborhoods. One shopkeeper said they needed to “go with the flow” in order to survive. This aptly describes the sentiments of other business owners. Several of them discussed a desire for more expensive products, and a shift towards more luxury goods, with the goal of adapting to new customer tastes. Renovations and rising rents were also discussed. Renovations were often linked to product adaptation, as shopkeepers tried to adapt to a more digital shopping environment. Again, this indicates the study areas are changing to suit a new population.

4.4.3 Ethnicity

Ethnicity was one of the most discussed concepts, with respondents having a wide range of views on ethnic change. Carnisse respondents noted ethnic change and migration more frequently than Afrikaanderwijk, although it was a common theme in both neighborhoods. Eastern Europeans, specifically Poles, were by far the most discussed ethnic group.

The context for the discussion of Poles revolves around businesses in Carnisse that target Polish and other Eastern European customers with color schemes evoking the Polish flag, Polish shop names, and shelves stocked predominantly with goods imported from Eastern Europe.

Figure 15. Carnisse Polish Market. Source: Google Inc.



The desk research shows that this pattern is also true for a number of Islamic butchers, and bakeries that use Arabic and Turkish in marketing materials. Many shopkeepers were not interested in an interview or did not speak English. Polish migrants were viewed very differently by shopkeepers. A Turkish local capital owner of a furniture store appreciated the fact that eastern Europeans were new customers, and how frequent housing turnover increased business. Several Polish shopkeepers of new entrepreneurial capital liked the presence of a niche customer base. Ethnically Dutch shopkeepers of local capital were more skeptical of ethnic change. One local capital respondent linked the arrival of Poles to a robbery in her shop that led to her installing a security system. One shopkeeper of non-Dutch ethnicity viewed new shops as a threat because their market catered to African and Portuguese shoppers. The shopkeeper was struggling to adapt to the new eastern European population and found it difficult to supply Polish products (Personal communication, July 4, 2022).

Afrikaanderwijk respondents shared more neutral sentiments towards ethnic change. Shopkeepers discussed migrant groups together, often listing several, or referring to a broad multicultural community. One ethnically Dutch local capital respondent was concerned that the arrival of luxury housing would rip the multicultural heart out of Rotterdam (Personal communication, July 1, 2022). Another non-ethnically Dutch new entrepreneurial respondent was surprised at the diversity

of customers that shopped at her fabric store (Personal communication, July 12, 2022). This reflects Afrikaanderwijk's history as a multiethnic neighborhood, and the language used suggested more support for ethnic diversity.

Overall, local capital respondents observed ethnic change much more than new entrepreneurial respondents. This is likely connected to local capital respondents being predominantly of Dutch ethnicity and viewing diversification as changing the status quo. Of the total respondents, 35% connected ethnic change to both the Woonvisie and business change. These connections were an even split of positive and negative views. One owner of a new entrepreneurial secondhand shop in Afrikaanderwijk worried that new housing would harm the Turkish café next door. Another owner of a local sports supply store was concerned about the loss of a multicultural community and believed that luxury housing could displace her business. Of the respondents in Carnisse who made this connection, two were local capital. They believed the Woonvisie caused Poles to move into the neighborhood and had seen Poles shopping at their businesses. Despite a concerned minority of business owners, most did not connect ethnicity, business change, and the Woonvisie. This suggests that business owners do not view the ethnic change that is being instigated by the Woonvisie as a threat to their shops. Furthermore, other issues around ethnic change, such as migration policy and crime were discussed. This suggests ethnic change presents other issues of importance to businesses owners beyond changes in their customer base.

4.4.4 Interview Discussion

The results suggest that ethnic change, and perceptions of the Woonvisie were somewhat separated. This indicates that actual redevelopment policy is not seen by business owners as a cause of ethnic change. Nevertheless, the multiethnic nature of Rotterdam Zuid was a frequent topic of discussion. The different perceptions of ethnic change may be due to differences in the ethnic makeup of each neighborhood. Afrikaanderwijk respondents appeared more comfortable with the multicultural status of their neighborhood, a status that has existed in public consciousness since the 1970's, and the concerns of multicultural decline are reflected in the fact that the population of Afrikaanderwijk with a non-western background has declined from 3% between 2012 and 2020 (CBS, n.d.a). Carnisse respondents on the other hand, suggested that ethnic diversity was a relatively new phenomenon in the neighborhood, and the residents were still adjusting to ethnic change. This is supported by the data, which shows a sharp rise from 19% with a western migrant background in 2012, to 30% in 2022 (CBS, n.d.a).⁶ The intersection of ethnicity and commercial change can be seen in the discussion of new entrepreneurial capital. Based on the results, new entrepreneurial capital should be differentiated from what this research terms new ethnic capital. This refers to businesses that have recently opened, but rather than serving the needs of middle class gentrifiers, they market themselves to specific growing ethnic group.

These results indicate that there is a relationship between redevelopment policy and multi-ethnicity at a policy making level, but this connection is not perceived by shop keepers when thinking about

⁶ Western background includes all European countries except Turkey, along with North America, Oceania, Indonesia, and Japan (CBS, n.d.b)

commercial change. Although ethnicity is commonly discussed in conjunction with housing, it is largely considered to be a separate phenomenon from class change.

4.4.5 Other Findings

There were several interesting themes in the interviews that were not anticipated in this research. One of the most significant was the references to the networks that businesses rely on. Shopkeepers in each area mentioned the close relationships they have with their customers. An ethnically Dutch local capital respondent described how several generations of families had shopped at the store and relied on word of mouth to spread information about the business. Many shopkeepers of local capital mentioned their loyal customer base in similar terms. Describing it as a source of resiliency against the changes happening in their neighborhood. These shopkeepers were predominantly ethnically Dutch. While the respondents often projected confidence about the future, they remain vulnerable to potential changes in the neighborhood's population that could disrupt the social networks these businesses rely on. Issues of digitization and Covid-19 were frequently mentioned as causes of business change in Carnisse. Several shopkeepers had added online stores, others had noticed changes to their customer base because of the pandemic, although these changes were a mix of positive and negative. This suggests that external factors are behind some of the commercial change that was observed.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

5.1 Introduction

This research project aimed to better understand commercial gentrification in Rotterdam Zuid. Focusing on the relationship between commercial change and redevelopment policies adopted by the Rotterdam municipality between 2015 and 2022 in post-industrial and multi-ethnic neighborhoods, the study explored how these policies have impacted the commercial landscape of Carnisse, and Afrikaanderwijk. Through the adoption of a critical structuralist perspective, as well as a focus on ethnicity, several different forms of data were gathered in order to answer the research questions. There were several unanticipated limitations that affected this research. Firstly, certain retail types, such as grocery stores and large restaurants were difficult to interview because the shopkeepers are usually very busy, and difficult to approach. Secondly, language proved to be a limiting factor as shopkeepers who did respond in interviews may not have been able to express their views as fully as in their native language. These findings should be carefully extrapolated, as they are based on research conducted on two shopping streets in Rotterdam. Furthermore, the narrow range of interviewees based on ethnicity and business type may further limit the findings of this study.

5.2 Sub-Question 1

How can state-led redevelopment in Rotterdam Zuid be characterized?

This study presented revanchism as a viable explanation for urban policy in Rotterdam. Revanchism entails the use of policy to remove undesirable groups from urban spaces, usually targeting the working class and ethnic minorities. This process relies on stigmatization of post-industrial neighborhoods to identify areas for redevelopment (Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2006; Aalbers, 2011, van Eijk, 2010; Ley, 2012, Pastak et al, 2019). The results of this study align with

previous work done by van Eijk (2010), van Duin et al. (2011), and Doucet (2014). The results of the policy analysis clearly demonstrate the Woonvisie 2030 can be characterized as a revanchist urban policy. In terms of class change, the policy documents were explicit in their support of residential gentrification through the replacement of affordable and social housing with middle and high income housing. In terms of ethnic change, the policy documents not only highlighted central and eastern Europeans as problematic, but the emphasis of owner occupancy and the distribution of social housing to the urban periphery could have harmful effects on non-Dutch ethnic communities, who rely on tight social networks and are more likely to live in social housing. Finally, the Woonvisie's targeting of Rotterdam Zuid is based on the stigmatization of the area. The Woonvisie takes advantage of Rotterdam Zuid's post-industrial decline and ethnic diversification to justify social mixing policy, as well as a change in commercial space to support the middle class.

Given the context of Leefbaar Rotterdam and its role in the Woonvisie, this study expands upon traditional economic theories of gentrification. Smith (2002) theorized that contemporary gentrification was driven by competition for capital between cities, emphasizing the economic factors behind the spread of gentrification away from city centers. This study does not directly refute Smith's theory, but the results of the policy analysis suggest that political and cultural factors are also strong incentives for state-led redevelopment. The Woonvisie is the product of an Islamophobic populist party, and therefore partially reflects this ideology. This is supported by the Islamophobic advertisement that accompanied the referendum, the anti-migrant policy shift by Leefbaar in 2014, and the ethnic groups that are likely to be harmed by the policies. Future research should examine the relationships between governing party platforms and redevelopment policy, and study gentrification as more than just an economic phenomenon.

5.3 Sub Question 2

How can commercial gentrification in Rotterdam Zuid be characterized?

This research conceptualized commercial space as a reflection of neighborhood identity, making it an important space in the reclamation of stigmatized neighborhoods. As gentrifiers are drawn to the area by the supply of new housing, their consumer tastes begin to change the commercial landscape (Deener, 2007; Zukin et al., 2009; Chappelle et al., 2017). This can be observed through the renovation of storefronts and the adaptation of products to suit gentrifiers (Davis, 1997; Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2020) The results of this study differ slightly from the work of Zukin et al. (2009), who theorized that redevelopment policies around housing contribute to commercial gentrification. Afrikaanderwijk experienced the arrival of trendy cafes, restaurants, and studios, with the new entrepreneurial segment growing. These changes were attributed to changes in class and housing, according to interviews. However, some indicators of commercial gentrification, namely renovation and product adaptation, had various causes beyond the arrival of gentrifiers. These results support the notion that commercial space is responsive to changes in neighborhood population, although not always in response to class.

5.4 Sub Question 3

How does state-led redevelopment affect the multiethnic character of businesses in post industrial neighborhoods?

Ethnicity was a crucial part of this research. Hackworth & Rekers (2005) as well as Sakızlıoğlu & Lees (2020) suggested that ethnic packaging is an important way in which gentrification and ethnicity intersect, often affecting ethnic minority businesses, who are exoticized and incentivized to shift branding towards the dominant ethnic group. Their research was supported by the renovation index of Afrikaanderwijk, which suggested that restaurants and salons were shifting away from overt ethnic markers in their branding towards an upper class, ethnically Dutch aesthetic. Business owners in the more redeveloped neighborhood, Afrikaanderwijk, had less consensus in the issue of ethnic change, and responses contained a mix of references to class and housing change. Almost all business owners in Carnisse listed ethnic change as an issue. Class and housing change were almost never brought up by Carnisse respondents. This suggests that ethnic change is important for business owners in assessing the state of their neighborhood. In terms of gentrification, the interviews suggest that businesses in Carnisse are responding less to gentrification pressure, and more to ethnic changes in the composition of neighborhood residents. The data collected in Afrikaanderwijk suggest a shift towards a desirable multi-cultural neighborhood, in which the commercial area maintains its ethnic packaging, as the current ethnic population is pushed out (Hackworth & Rekers, 2005). This research supports the notion that cultural causes of gentrification are largely manufactured by the state and housing developers, as Carnisse is undergoing ethnic change without class change, due to less redevelopment. Afrikaanderwijk shows that with more extensive redevelopment, not only does class change become more important than ethnic change, but a broader multicultural identity is seen as beneficial for the neighborhood's development. The loss of distinctive ethnic markers through renovation supports the claim that ethnic packaging is occurring in Afrikaanderwijk.

5.5 Main Question

To what extent does state-led redevelopment lead to commercial gentrification between 2015 and 2022, in multiethnic post-industrial neighborhoods in Rotterdam Zuid?

The results of this study suggest that the Woonvisie plays an important role in commercial gentrification of Rotterdam Zuid. This research supports the need for both an economic and cultural analysis of commercial gentrification. Culture and economy are clearly intertwined and viewed as important issues in the transformation of commercial areas. Afrikaanderwijk is further along in the redevelopment process due to its proximity to Kop van Zuid and Tweebosbuurt, the many renovations that occurred during data collection, and the high number of constructed houses as indicated in the Woonvisie progress report. The renovation and boutique indices indicated that Afrikaanderwijk was also experiencing more commercial gentrification. Interviews confirmed that Afrikaanderwijk respondents observed more housing and class change, with several linking this to the Woonvisie or municipal government. Nevertheless, this research has important implications for our understanding of commercial gentrification and strengthens the case made by scholars such as Van Eijk (2010) and Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, (2020) that ethnicity is important to understanding commercial change and redevelopment policy. The mixed results from the interviews demonstrate that a purely economic and class-based approach to commercial gentrification misses out on important social factors influencing changes in the commercial landscape. However, the perception of this by business owners is unclear and indicates that policy impacts are moderated by social networks, perceptions of ethnic change or migration, and other issues that place pressure

on small businesses such as Covid and digitalization. These responses were most common in Carnisse, suggesting that in areas where the impacts of the Woonvisie are less visible, other issues tend to take priority.

5.6 Implications for future research

Future research should examine this phenomenon in other spatial contexts or using different methods to assess commercial gentrification. Specifically, research should look more closely at the role of ethnicity in commercial change, and the ways in which migration patterns are reflected in commercial landscapes. Considering the role small businesses play in neighborhood life, future research could study a gentrifying neighborhood over a longer time period, observing the ways in which social networks and businesses change in response to policy decisions. It should also further explore the connections between state policy, political parties, and gentrification.

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Annex

Codebook: Policy Analysis

Code	Comment	Code Group 1	Code Group 2
Business			
Business: Corporate Capital			
Business: New Entrepreneurial			
Housing Corporations			
Housing: 60 million			
Housing: Owner Occupied			
Housing: Social			
Housing: Vulnerable			
Introduce Free Market			
Methods: Constructive		Implementation	
Methods: Destructive		Implementation	
Methods: Other		Implementation	
Methods: Pub to Priv		Implementation	
Methods: Renewal		Implementation	
Methods: Social-Mixing Policy		Implementation	
Neighborhood: Afrikaanderwijk			
Neighborhood: Carnisse			
Objectives	8/19/2022 7:41:06 PM, merged with Sub-objective		Objectives
Policy Towards High Class			
Policy Towards Low Class			
Policy Towards Middle Class			
Policy Towards: Students			
Price: Decrease			
Price: Increase			
Price: Same			
Spatial: Mix Zuid and Noord		Implementation	
Spatial: Not Zuid		Implementation	
Spatial: Zuid		Implementation	

Codebook: Interview Analysis

Code	Comment	Code Group 1	Code Group 2	Code Group 3	Code Group 4	Code Group 5	Code Group 6	Code Group 7	Code Group 8
Business Change: Arrival of chains		Business Changes							
Business Change: Boutiqing		Business Changes							
Business Change: High Turnover		Business Changes							
Business Change: None		Business Changes							
Business Change: Product Adaptation		Business Changes							
Business Change: Renovation		Business Changes							
Business Change: Rising Rent		Business Changes							
Business Type: Corporate			Business Type						
Business Type: Local			Business Type						
Business Type: New Entrepreneurial			Business Type						
Causes: Covid				Causes					
Causes: Crime				Causes					
Causes: Housing				Causes					
Causes: Internet									
Causes: Migration				Causes					
Causes: New businesses				Causes					
Causes: No connection				Causes					
Causes: Unsure				Causes					
E/N: Africa					Ethnicity/ Nationality				
E/N: Eastern Europe					Ethnicity/ Nationality				
E/N: Morocco					Ethnicity/ Nationality				
E/N: Turkey					Ethnicity/ Nationality				

Neighborhood Change: Class change								Neighborhood Changes	
Neighborhood Change: Ethnic change								Neighborhood Changes	
Neighborhood Change: New Businesses									
Neighborhood Change: New housing								Neighborhood Changes	
Neighborhood Change: No change								Neighborhood Changes	
Neighborhood: Afrikaanderwijk								Neighborhood	
Neighborhood: Carnisse								Neighborhood	
Relationship: Negative							Gemeente		
Relationship: None							Gemeente		
Relationship: Positive							Gemeente		
View: Negative							Gemeente		
View: None							Gemeente		
View: Positive							Gemeente		
Woonvisie: Negative view									Woonvisie
Woonvisie: No view									Woonvisie
Woonvisie: Positive view									Woonvisie
Yeah, grounded here.									

Interview Guide

Introduction: My name is Joe Calodich, I am a Masters student at Erasmus University. I am currently working on my thesis, looking into the effects of the Woonvisie on small businesses in Rotterdam Zuid. The purpose of this interview is to speak with local business owners and get a better understanding of their views on the changes that are happening in Rotterdam Zuid. This interview will focus on a few subjects, mainly the changes you've seen in the neighborhood in the last few years, and how they have impacted your business. This interview should take about 15 minutes, but that is not a hard time limit, feel free to add as much as you like, any and all feedback is very much appreciated.

Of course, if at any point you are uncomfortable answering a question, please let me know, I want to make sure this is a pleasant interaction for both of us. I also want to emphasize that there are no right or wrong answers, you are the expert, and I am simply trying to understand your experience as a business owner in Carnisse/Afrikaanderwijk.

So long as that is all clear to you, I would like to cover some ethical considerations. Any outcome of this interview is strictly confidential, it will only be shared with myself and my thesis advisor. Your name and that of your business will be kept strictly anonymous. The interview materials will be stored in a secure manner, and if you would like to review the interview transcript and notes, please just let me know.

As long as that is clear I would like to ask you permission to begin recording.

Great, now that this is being recorded, I want to make sure you understand everything I have just said. If that is the case, do I have your consent to begin the interview, if I do not we can stop and the recording will be deleted. Do I have your consent to use the outcome of this interview for scientific research and education?

Do you have any final questions before we begin?

Questions:

1. Can you tell me about the history of your business?
 - a. How long have you been in this neighborhood?
 - b. Why did you decide to locate here?
 - c. What was the neighborhood like when you first opened your business?
 - d. Who were your customers?
 - e. What other businesses were in the area?
2. How has the neighborhood changed?
 - a. How do you feel about the changes?
 - b. How do you feel about the new businesses that have opened in the area?
 - c. How have the changes impacted your customer base?
 - d. How have they impacted other businesses in this area?
3. How has your business changed since 2016?
 - a. Have you made physical changes (signage, layout, store expansion etc.)
 - b. Have you made any immaterial changes? (new website, business partnerships, staffing etc.)
 - c. How have the products/services you provide changed?
 - d. What do you think has caused the changes you have observed?
4. What does the future look like for your business?
 - a. What plans do you have?
 - b. How do you feel about this?
5. What does the future look like for this neighborhood in your opinion?
 - a. How do you feel about this?
6. What is your relationship with the municipality like?
 - a. What elements of the municipality do you interact with?
 - b. How do you think the municipality views your business?
7. What do you think of the Woonvisie?

Conclusion:

Thank you for taking the time to speak with me, is there anything else you would like to add?

Great, thank you again, and if you would like to review the recording, I have given you my contact information, please let me know and I can send it to you. If there is nothing else to add, we can finish the interview.

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