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Thesis title: ‘Kun jij de Kaap Aan?’ Impact of Government-Led and Culture-Led Gentrification on Social Cohesion in Katendrecht, Rotterdam.

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Summary

This research paper studies the influence of the redevelopment policies published by Rotterdam Municipality on the transformation of social cohesion in Katendrecht, the neighborhood of Rotterdam South. While being a red-light area, Chinatown and deprived neighborhood in the past, today Katendrecht is associated with the hip Fenix Food Factory and an upcoming area of Rotterdam. The introduction of cultural amenities as a result of redevelopment policies has changed the perception of the area among the general public and led to the extreme case of gentrification. This research studies the influence of gentrification process on the neighborhood community from the perspective of both old and new residents. The paper approaches the three different sides of this problem. Firstly, it analyzes the local policies which refer to the revitalization of Katendrecht. Secondly, it looks at the urban transformations in socio-economic and physical landscapes that have happened from 2008 to 2022. Thirdly, it approaches the perspectives of residents on their experience of living in Katendrecht, changes in the area and social cohesion with the community. To study these three perspectives, methodological triangulation was used. The thesis focuses on theoretical literature review, case-study of Katendrecht (policy-analysis and urban observation) and interviews with residents as the main methods of study. The main findings of this research prove that Rotterdam municipality has used gentrification as a strategy for the urban revitalization of Katendrecht. It aimed to create a liveable and socially mixed residential neighborhood to attract the middle- and high-classes and investments. The main steps included the construction of middle-class housing and the development of the creative, cultural and catering industries, which would target this social group. As a result, Katendrecht has been experiencing major socio-economic and physical changes, while gentrification has spread to the industrial part of the neighborhood, which was earlier considered an important part of the neighborhood's identity. These changes have greatly influenced the deterioration of the original family-like community of the Kaapers, leading to segregation between the old and new residents. However, this thesis has found that while social cohesion was weakened on the neighborhood level, it is present on smaller social groups level which share common norms, values and behavior. Therefore, it concludes that the revitalization policies, which focused on the development of the creative sector and promotion of the original identity of Katendrecht, led to gentrifying urban changes, weakening the overall social cohesion in the neighborhood.

Keywords

Government-led gentrification, Culture-led gentrification, Social cohesion, Urban transformation, Katendrecht

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background Information & Motivation

Katendrecht is the neighborhood of Rotterdam South, which has experienced considerable urban transformations in the last twenty years. Since the end of the World War II, when the city center and the harbor of Rotterdam were burnt to the ground by German bombings, Rotterdam municipality has renovated the city (Čamprag, 2014). The active redevelopment has been ongoing since the 1970s, leading to the transformation of Rotterdam from the “city without heart” (Nientied, 2018, p. 156) to a metropolitan one (Čamprag, 2014). The Southern part of the city, *Rotterdam-Zuid*, has played an essential part in this transformation since Rotterdam Municipality has implemented the majority of redevelopment programs to this area (ibid.). As Southern neighborhoods are located close to the harbor, they were built to accommodate harbor workers and their families. Hence, today, many families in Rotterdam South live in the 19th and 20th centuries social housing (Entzinger and Enbersen, 2014; Doucet and Koenders, 2018). To ease this spatial segregation, in 2007 Rotterdam Municipality published the *Rotterdam 2030* Strategic Policy, which focused on the urban renewal of disadvantaged areas and the development of Rotterdam as a creative city (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007). As a result of such redevelopment policies, old social housing has been replaced by middle-class dwellings, leading to gentrification and displacement of original residents (Nientied, 2018). The results of such policies can be seen in Katendrecht that has been under permanent renewal since the 2000s.

In the 20th century, Katendrecht was a residential area for non-Western immigrants and the largest Chinatown in Europe (van de Laar and van de Schoor, 2019). In the first half of the 20th century, Katendrecht also became a red-light district with high criminality rates, drug trafficking, and prostitution (van Houdt and Schinkel, 2019). In the 1990s, Katendrecht was still considered a disadvantageous neighborhood and was chosen by Rotterdam Municipality to become one of the first areas to be redeveloped (van Engelen, 2015). Following local policies, new middle-class dwellings were built, and infrastructure was improved in the early 2000s (Tekmen, 2013). The first major catalyst for the urban renewal was the arrival of SS Rotterdam, a former ocean liner, to Katendrecht in 2008 (Nientied, 2016). Two years later, it was turned into a hotel. This project played a significant role in confirming the urban identity of Rotterdam as a harbor city, attracting visitors, and stimulating Katendrecht to change its urban picture to match the expectation of domestic and international tourists (ibid.). To make the neighborhood more inviting to the daily public, Deliplein was renovated and Fenix Food Factory was opened in 2014. This attracted the creative class, hipsters, and yuppies to the neighborhood, creating a new image of Katendrecht as a hip district (Nientied, 2016). Being a deprived area in the past, it is now referred to as “one of the hippest districts in Rotterdam” (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2022a). Besides, the identity of the neighborhood played a significant part in its promotion. Since the beginning of the 2010s, Rotterdam Municipality has promoted Katendrecht through its character as a ‘rough’ area. The project *‘Kun jij de Kaap Aan?’* (*Can you Handle the Cape?*) reflected “the wish to preserve the identity of the community through the restructuring process” (Eshuis and Edwards, 2013, p. 11). Additionally, the construction of new middle-class housing led to the introduction of residents with socio-economic background different from the originals. Thus, the case-study of Katendrecht was chosen to explore the way gentrification impacted the connections between old and new residents of Katendrecht. Besides, as the development of the creative sector has been considered the main strategy for the redevelopment of Katendrecht, it is compelling to study it from the culture-led gentrification perspective.

1.2 Problem Statement & Research Objectives

The National Program Rotterdam Zuid 2019-2023 (2019, p. 53) states that the development of Katendrecht represents “the vision of the future” of Rotterdam South. Thus, it can be now evaluated in which ways the neighborhood and community were transformed as a result of gentrification that followed the implementation of ‘the vision of the future’ of Rotterdam municipality. Studies conclude that as a result of gentrification, which leads to the displacement of people and change in the socio-economic and cultural image of the neighborhood, there is a shift in place and residents’ identity (Neducin, 2009). The shift in identity weakens social cohesion due to the change in shared norms and values between original and new residents (Gibbons et al., 2019). As the redevelopment projects attracted middle- and higher-class residents to Katendrecht, the neighborhood presents an interesting case to explore the influence of gentrification on social cohesion and division of identities. Besides, as the main governmental policy focuses on the introduction of cultural industry and creative class to the city as a way of its redevelopment, it is necessary to consider the cultural aspect of gentrification. Thus, the main problem of the research is to explore in which ways governmental policies, directed towards creating an attractive area through introduction of middle class and cultural industry, influence social networks in the neighborhood. Therefore, the main objective of this research is to explore in which particular ways the gentrification process, following the renovation of Katendrecht, has transformed social cohesion between old and new residents of the neighborhood. The more specific objectives are to identify a) how culture-led gentrification was promoted in Rotterdam Municipality policies; b) how gentrification transformed the socio-economic fabric of Katendrecht; c) in which ways gentrification has changed social cohesion in the neighborhood.

1.3 Main Research Question & Sub-Questions

The objectives discussed above led to the formulation of the main Research Question: *“In what ways has the culture-led gentrification, initiated by local redevelopment policies, transformed urban fabric and social cohesion between the residents of Katendrecht from 2008 to 2022?”*. This time-period was chosen because the main policies and redevelopment projects have been implemented since 2008. The sub-questions of this research are as follows:

- a) In what ways have Rotterdam municipality and Feyenoord sub-municipality promoted culture-led gentrification through redevelopment policies?
- b) In which ways has gentrification transformed Katendrecht’s socio-economic and physical fabrics from 2008 to 2022?
- c) How do residents of Katendrecht perceive the neighborhood and social cohesion among each other?

1.4 Relevance and Novelty of the Problem

For the last 15 years, the Municipality of Rotterdam has been deeply involved in the redevelopment of Rotterdam South. Katendrecht is one of the first neighborhoods that dramatically changed its image as a result of renewal policies. Besides, as Katendrecht presents a successful example for Rotterdam Municipality in terms of neighborhood revitalization, it would be significant to look at the results of gentrification on the case of Katendrecht. In terms of novelty, the latest research written about Katendrecht as a case study mainly dates to 2016. However, in the last six years, the picture of Katendrecht has also changed. For instance, in 2022, the new master plan of the Rijnhavenpark, connecting Katendrecht and Wilhelminapier, started to be put into practice. It considers the development of Rijnhaven as a new high-rise

green zone with residential housing and Horeca¹ (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2022). The slogan of the master plan is “Understand the past and you can shape the future” (Rotterdam Rijnhaven, 2022), which reminds of speculation on the past with “Can you handle the Cape?” referencing Katendrecht as Chinatown and red-light district in the 20th century. The objective of the master plan is similar to Katendrecht in the early 2000s - to create a “second city center” (Barcode Architects, 2022). At the same time, Fenix Food Factory started to experience a financial crisis after COVID-19 and was relocated from the original building to Fenix Lofts. Furthermore, through literature analysis, it was found that there are no papers assessing gentrification’s influence on social cohesion from the perspective of divided identities and the creation of social circles within them. Besides, the vast majority of researchers interview only original residents, while undermining the importance of ‘the gentrifiers’ – the ones targeted by redevelopment policies. This research, on the other hand, looks at the perspective of both original ‘Kaaipers’ and new ‘Katendrechters’.

1.5 Structure of the Paper

This thesis is divided into three main parts. The first chapter is a literature review in which the theoretical analysis of culture-led gentrification’s influence on social cohesion and the conceptual framework of the main research concepts are provided. The second chapter elaborates on the methods used for the research, namely, theoretical analysis, the case study of Katendrecht, and open interviews of the residents of Katendrecht. It will deep in the explanation of the methods applied and data limitations. The third chapter presents the results of the analysis done and is divided into three sub-parts. The first one looks at the Rotterdam Municipality policies regarding redevelopment of the city and especially Katendrecht. The second part is based on urban observation to identify the main changes that gentrification brings and to look into the future plans for the neighborhood. It shows how the socio-economic and cultural picture of Katendrecht has changed through time and which role gentrification plays in this transformation. The third sub-part focuses on residents’ perspectives on the social cohesion and shared identity between old and new residents, showing the results of the interviews held. The conclusion answers the research question, proving that social cohesion in Katendrecht deteriorated as a result of policies promoting gentrification.

¹ Hospitality businesses: **hotels, restaurants, cafes**

2 Literature review & hypothesis

2.1 Theoretical Framework

This thesis argues that the changing image of gentrification in Katendrecht and social cohesion among its residents are interconnected. This is especially caused by the promotion of the ‘creative city’ vision. Thus, the phenomenon of gentrification and its prerequisites should be explained first. Lees et al. (2008, p. xv) defined gentrification as “the transformation of a working-class or vacant area of the central city into middle-class residential and/or commercial use”. Clark (2005) also highlights that the environment becomes altered through a fixed capital redistribution. Thus, the phenomenon is frequently presented as a consequence of the neo-liberal economic system and globalization. Smith (1996) described gentrification as a process of redistribution of capital when the area becomes attractive for financial investments, leading to economic enrichment of the area. However, it also leads to the displacement of original residents due to rising prices in the area. Furthermore, Smith (2002) highlighted that as a result of neoliberalism and globalization, local government has become the main agent of the property market. As a result, the city’s municipality revitalizes the area not only from the perspective of housing but also amenities, lifestyle, and culture to attract new middle classes. Alike, Atkinson and Bridge (2005) emphasized the role of globalization, neoliberal economic policies, and global capital redistribution in deepening worldwide gentrification, showing similar patterns of class change in completely different neighborhoods.

There are generally two forces that bring gentrification to an area: market and national or local government (Uitermark, 2007). Market-driven explanation of gentrification comes from the gap rent theory, originating in the Marxist critique of neoclassical economics (Slater, 2018). The first to introduce the term was Smith (1979) who argued that due to the consumer’s preference for profit, investors look for a property that could bring the widest gap between the current rental cost and possible future rental income (Mathews, 2010). As a result, investors renovate the bought property, its cost increases, and attracts new higher-income residents and new amenities, leading to socio-economic inequality and economic displacement of original residents (Lees et al., 2008). On the other hand, government-led gentrification has more institutional aspects. Uitermark (2007, p. 127) argued that government uses gentrification as a means of attracting the middle class into disadvantaged areas “with the purpose of civilizing and controlling these neighborhoods.” However, as gentrification has a negative narrative, governmental policies usually use the terms such as “redevelopment,” “revitalization,” “urban renaissance” or “urban renewal,” but their meaning stays the same (Lees et al., 2008; Smith, 2002).

Furthermore, Short (1989) argued that in the 1980s the ‘new urban order’ arose due to deindustrialization: the fall of the share of people involved in manufacturing and the increasing share of those working in services. This led to the emergence of a new social group: *yuppies*, young high-paid educated professionals working in managerial positions or the service sector. Short (1989) concluded that the integration of yuppies in the urban fabric has become a major socio-economic changer in many urban areas, speeding up global gentrification. For Ley (1996), the new gentrifying middle class is different from the original working-class residents from the perspective of being less conservative in their values (Lees et al., 2008). Ley (1996) added that the ‘new middle class’ can use its emancipatory power in the city to alter the neighborhood culturally (ibid.). In 2005, Florida published “Cities and the Creative Class” in which he specified Ley’s ‘new middle class’ as highly educated creative professionals that expect more diversity, tolerance, and creativity in the neighborhood. He named them ‘creative class’. This concept closely reminds of the ‘yuppies’ introduced by Short fifteen years before.

For Florida (2005), the creative class includes highly educated and productive people, especially those involved in cultural industries. He argued that the creative class brings the “3 T’s of economic development: technology, talent, and tolerance,” which produces an attractive cultural climate that is followed by new businesses and investors coming to the neighborhood, increasing its socio-economic capital (Florida, 2014, p. 228). Scott (2007) approaches Florida’s creative city as based on cognitive-cultural capitalist economics. He describes this system as driven by cultural industries (media, museums, art); b) penetrated by digital technologies; c) flexible and destabilized regarding labor relations; and d) defined by intensified competition in all economic sectors. Therefore, this new leading type of economy is based on the creative class population. Furthermore, Scott (2010) argued that a cognitive-cultural economy is promoted in cities to create its distinctive image and attract more people with higher levels of education and talent, bringing innovation and development to the area. Thus, a ‘creative city’ is more of an ideological construct, which attracts private investments and gentrifiers through the creation of a collective image and promotion of a specific lifestyle attributed to the area (Kostic et al., 2018). Besides, Glaeser (2012, p. 138) claimed that cities have transformed “from a battlefield to an urban playground,” meaning that they changed from centers of production to centers of consumption, requiring high human capital and a variety of amenities to grow economically. However, van den Berg (2016) argued that the promotion of urban entrepreneurialism in the area disregards the interests of the original, usually working-class, community that becomes not only directly but mainly culturally displaced. Moreover, Florida (2017) himself criticized the “3Ts” framework arguing that it leads to rising economic inequality, spreading spatial segregation, and displacement of disadvantaged residents to suburbs. Hence, he acknowledged that creative city development leads to gentrification.

The cultural economy is an agent of gentrification, meaning that it creates the tendency for the social displacement of original residents (Hutton, 2016). Smith (1996, p.17) highlighted that “gentrification and art came hand in hand...” as it redirects capital towards the construction of more culturally affluent places. Smith (1996, 2002) argued that the creation of cultural facilities is a significant part of gentrification strategy that is explained by two factors: the middle classes’ attitude towards the prevalence of culture over economics; and the government’s motivation to create an attractive environment for real-estate developers and stimulate the *productive* economy which appeals to growing “jobs, taxes and tourism” (Smith, 2002, p. 443). Zukin (1982) introduced the concept of an ‘artistic mode of production’ in which she united capital and culture. She argued that investors try to introduce the cultural industry to the neighborhood to attract capital. Alike, Mathews (2014) argued that culture, spreading from art to design, fashion, and food, is derived from both visual and financial consumption of goods and services, being an integral part of capitalism. In the last three decades culture has been used as means of branding the urban area and attracting socio-economic capital (Gainza, 2016).

While culture-led policies became a means of economic development, they result in gentrification and indirect displacement of original residents (Bayliss, 2007). Marcuse (1985) defined four types of displacement: a) *direct*, coming from the demolition of one’s house; b) *exclusionary*, happening due to the growing unaffordability of living in a neighborhood as a result of growing rental and amenities prices; c) *chain*, occurring when a new resident becomes displaced due to early demolition or rent prices growth; and d) *displacement pressure*, when original residents follow their displaced neighbors due to fear of worsening displacement. However, Freeman (2006) claimed that chain and displacement pressure occur in case of rapidly growing prices and rents, being a result of the exclusionary displacement. Thus, this thesis mostly focuses on exclusionary or indirect displacement, which happens gradually along with the gentrification process. Indirect displacement can be divided into three types: economic displacement (caused by the growth of property or amenities prices and unaffordability of

staying), community displacement (caused by the transformation of place identity and new neighborhood's governance, resulting in loss of sense of place), and neighborhood resource displacement (caused by a change in services' orientation and closure of original amenities) (Davidson, 2008; Rerát, 2018). Butler (2007, p. 178) described social displacement as being "socially tectonic," meaning that within one spatial area representatives of diverse socio-economic groups move past each other. Atkinson (2015) argued that besides displacing original residents directly or indirectly (based on the loss of affordable living conditions), gentrification displaces them culturally even if they stay in the neighborhood after gentrification. He claimed that it is essential to recognize social and psychological transformations of residents' living experience as it changes upside down. Zukin (1987b) argued that the introduction of the middle class to the neighborhood automatically changes the cultural background of the neighborhood, creating a new collective identity. As a result, the area draws new investors aiming for more capital and higher-income consumers, creating a new social cluster in the previously disadvantaged area (Zukin, 1987b). Local communities transform following a "new representation of space that clashes with history, the social relations, the consumption practices and the idiosyncrasy of the neighborhood," which is a direct result of culture-led gentrification (Gainza, 2016, p. 966). Moreover, displacement occurs when original residents lose a sense of place and belonging as a result of a transformation of the neighborhood's image (Davidson, 2008). Thus, the transformation of the symbolic representation of the place becomes a significant reason for indirect displacement (Gainza, 2016). Besides, Zukin (1995) argued that culture-led gentrification primarily leads to the replacement of local enterprises by new businesses that are oriented towards the middle- and high-income clientele. This leads to neighborhood resource displacement, i.e. change in the orientation of goods and services supply towards higher-income clientele that makes original residents change their habits due to the price inflation (Davidson, 2008). For instance, Glaeser et al. (2018) argued that the entry of Starbucks is a predictor of gentrification as each Starbucks coffee shop is followed by an approximately 0.5% growth in prices in the housing and rent market.

Besides, the change in commercial culture creates new 'authenticity' of a place, while new higher-income residents claim power over the area (Zukin, 2010). Overall, artistic-oriented or gastronomic businesses play the role of agents of urban alteration often initiated by new residents, alienating original residents from the area (Zukin, 2010). Freeman (2006) stated that gentrification leads to change in not only the physical environment but also in acceptable norms, values, and behaviors which can lead to tensions among old and new residents. Deener (2007) also argued that gentrification leads to the feeling of alienation and exclusion among original residents. Therefore, middle and creative classes make the place appealing to their expectations and desires, displacing original low-income residents due to their inability to pay for daily commodities. This dissolves the social cohesion of the original residents due to the change in social networks, norms and values, and interactions in the community (Zukin, 1995). However, Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) claimed that through time, social interactions among old and new residents can stimulate social cohesion, especially with help of local support networks. Nonetheless, Dekker and Bolt (2005) asserted that social mixing policies cannot promote the full integration of various socio-economic and ethnic groups for a long time since along with the gentrification process, society becomes more heterogeneous, leading to exclusion of minority groups. They argued that the larger the gap between old and new residents in terms of education, income, professional status, socio-economic status, and ethnicity, the more problematic it is to establish strong social bonds. Moreover, displacement plays a significant role in weakening social cohesion as those left in the gentrified area suffer from displaced social networks, community, and culture (Newman and Wyly, 2006). Place identity and feeling of attachment are mutually constitutive of social cohesion (Holtug, 2016; Stevenson, 2018). Gentrification, following built and social environments change, shifts the

identity of the place and its residents, leading to a sense of alienation and selflessness (Neducin et al., 2009). Gibbons et al. (2019) related it to the sense of community which is highly weakened by the new residents coming to the neighborhood, especially if groups are ethnically different. They concluded that during the first years of gentrification, both original and new residents feel alienated, while with time, original residents gradually experience more alienation compared to new residents which manage to construct social networks and build a sense of belonging with the neighborhood through time.

Looking at the gentrification process in Katendrecht, a significant thing to note is that instead of being spontaneous, it was a governmental strategy that led to the construction of newly built expensive apartments and the creation of a 'creative' neighborhood with the introduction of trendy amenities (van Engelen, 2015). Doucet and Koenders (2018) in their research on Afrikaanderwijk argued that residents had diverse perceptions of changes in Katendrecht. While one interviewee saw it as positive as governmental policies made the area safer and brought a fresh look to it, others claimed that Katendrecht lost its authentic atmosphere and that original people lost their feeling of attachment to the neighborhood as the area became students-oriented rather than was improved for original residents. While talking to residents, Clarisse (2016) found out that disregarding weakening social bonds and changing socio-economic image, many old residents feel a strong attachment to the neighborhood and identity of the 'Kaapers'. Furthermore, through conducting several interviews with original residents, Poelen (2016) concluded that they consider social cohesion to become weaker due to displacement and new residents coming and being not integrated into the community. The original residents also highlighted that gentrification erased the authentic image of Katendrecht and the strong 'family-like' community that the original residents had before gentrification. Tersteeg et al. (2014) analyzed the success of residents-led *Spektakel op de Kaap* that aimed at connecting old and new residents to increase their cohesion. However, they concluded that original residents seem to be not interested in such cultural events as well as have long-term established social circles they do not want to break. Custers and Engbersen (2020) described Katendrecht as a 'polarized' neighborhood in terms of its socio-economic composition, highlighting that it is reproduced in divided communities that coexist with each other. Albeda et al. (2017) found that the values of old and new residents differ, especially regarding the behavior in public spaces (e.g. listening to music loudly). Therefore, previous research on the influence of gentrification on Katendrecht concluded that social cohesion between original and new residents weakened significantly due to large differences in values and background.

While studying various literature sources, I found a gap in articles lacking or paying too little attention to the concept of 'divided' identities which come from gentrification. From my perspective, a division of identity emerges between not displaced original residents and newcomers. Besides, the literature that used Katendrecht as a case study concentrated only on interviewing original residents. However, with creative gentrification in the neighborhood up-scaling, it is significant to understand in which way the *yuppies* or creative class, on whom the neighborhood development is oriented, are experiencing social cohesion. The thesis also looks at how 'Kaapers' and 'Katendrechters' oppose each other's identities, looking at the influence of identity division on social cohesion.

2.2 Conceptual framework

Government-led gentrification

While gentrification is usually market-led, the unique circumstance for the Netherlands as a state is that gentrification is government-led and aimed at changing social housing with new-build middle-class housing (Uitermark et al., 2007; Doucet, 2011). The government-led gentrification also characterizes Rotterdam municipality's policies (ibid.). Dutch government uses gentrification as a means of social order control and prevention of further decline in disadvantaged areas (Teernstra, 2015). The government-led gentrification is usually presented as an urban strategy for an area's urban renewal or regeneration (Davidson, 2008; Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Loopmans, 2008; Uitermark et al., 2007). It is characterized by the creation and implementation of governmental policies directed toward the attraction of the middle class, strengthening the local economy, and creating economic opportunities for residents and businesses (Uitermark et al., 2007). These policies aim to make the city or neighborhood more attractive for investors and new residents. Moreover, Hackworth and Smith (2001) argued that the neo-liberal trend for privatization increased the involvement of the state in urban policies, resulting in strategies of gentrifying disadvantaged neighborhoods. Besides, this trend strengthened bonds between private developers and local governments, resulting in the expansion of new-built gentrification (ibid.). Lees et al. (2008) claimed that government-led gentrification might lead to two outcomes: displacement of the low-income original residents and the creation of the image of the neighborhood as 'liveable', meaning that it is inhabited by middle-class residents and has a low crime rate. McCann (2007) asserted that the 'livability' discourse allows governments to legitimize policies that result in gentrification. Besides, Loopmans (2008) argued that the discourse of bringing 'liveability' to the neighborhood is an attempt to re-establishing the local government's ideological hegemony that allows it to control the neighborhood, not through coercion but consent. Thus, through 'redevelopment' policies focused on the creation of a liveable neighborhood, the government promotes gentrification and restructures not only the place but also the groups of residents, their norms, and behaviors (Benson and Jackson, 2018). These policies open the way for real estate development companies to build new houses for higher-class residents, gentrifying the area.

Culture-led gentrification

Culture-led gentrification comes from the focus on the development of the creative sector and cultural amenities in the neighborhood, which become the first step for further new-built gentrification. Florida (2014, p. 8) has defined a creative class as one to "include people in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, music, and entertainment whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology, and new creative content". In the *City as an Entertainment Machine*, Lloyd and Clark (2001) claimed that in the new economy, cities create economic growth through leveraging culture. This thesis will look at the cultural industries as "art, music, design, food, fashion, boutiques, tourism, and avant-garde establishments" that enhance the human, social and cultural capital of the urban area (Zukin, 1995, p. 10). Such a definition ideally describes the integration of a hip food market, museums, local cafes, and shops as well as festivals in Katendrecht as the process of cultural development. However, the development of culture and clustering of the creative class, students, and yuppies is usually considered the first step of gentrification of the area due to the economic opportunities that come to the area with the new residents (Lees et al., 2008; Lloyd and Clark, 2001; Heebels and Aalst, 2010). Mainly, culture-led urban policies produce increasing prices for rent and changes in socio-economic fabrics, transforming the image of the area (Gainza, 2016). Thus, policies promoting creative cities speed up the process of gentrification, promoting inequality between the working-class and new 'bourgeoisie' and excluding low-

income original residents both economically and culturally (Bayliss, 2007; McCann, 2007; Scott, 2014).

Urban Transformations

The most visible consequence of gentrification is the change in the material landscape which Phillips (2018) defined as a visible physical surface that can be accessed empirically. In terms of material transformations, it is usually referred to as the reformation of the existing housing stock (e.g. renovation or demolition of the old dwellings) and the construction of new middle- or higher-middle-class housing (ibid.). Apart from the construction of such housing, gentrification results in the transformation of services and amenities that start to be oriented toward the new higher-income clientele (Doucet, 2009; Smith, 2002). Zukin (1990) claimed that along with the newly built housing, a lot of creative and retail industries are introduced into the neighborhood to stimulate capital investments in the area. As culture-led gentrification focuses on the promotion of artistic mode of production, it leads to the gradual replacement of local businesses with cultural amenities that cluster in the gentrified area and attract the creative class (Freeman, 2006). Thus, the change in the urban landscape significantly segregates residents, creating clusters based on class or ethnicity (Ley and Dobson, 2008). Hence, the urban landscape is connected not only to the change in the physical environment but also to the transformation of socio-economic and cultural fabric (Smith, 1996). Schuerman (2019) claimed that gentrification leads to changes in ethnic composition, average education, and income levels in the neighborhood. Therefore, urban transformation as a concept refers to the change in physical, socio-economic, and cultural landscapes.

Social Cohesion

Kearns and Forrest (2001) developed five dimensions of social cohesion: a) shared values and civic culture (common behavior, set of moral principles, support of civic engagement in institutions to promote common interests); b) social order and control (absence of conflict in the community; a byproduct of reciprocal and tolerant relations, shared demands and routines); c) social solidarity and reduced wealth inequality (reduction of socio-economic disparities, promotion of equal opportunities; approached only on national or city scale); d) social networks (close social interactions, socialization and mutual support that create the feeling of security, belonging and identity); social capital (promotes social cohesion through “trust, norms of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement”) (Kearns and Forrest, 2001, p. 1000); and e) place attachment and shared identity. Shared identity can be defined as the feeling of belonging to a particular social group that is represented through deep networks, common norms, values, and interests among the members of the group (Holtug, 2016). Crow (1994) asserted that identity of individual and identity of place are mutually constitutive: as social groups construct identities based on their socio-economic class, ethnicity, or gender, amenities in the neighborhood start to share this identity by adapting goods and services to the local population, while residents start to link their identities with memories and images of a place. Thus, residents bring meaning to the place, which further constructs their feeling of belonging and sharing identity, promoting social cohesion (Kearns and Forrest, 2001). Stevenson (2018) claimed that shared identity helps to build trust and engage actors in collective action, which is significant for community building in the neighborhood. Therefore, shared identity forms social cohesion between residents, while divided identity can break residents into two clusters, where they become alienated from each other.

On the other hand, social mixing and gentrifying policies are transforming material surroundings and the image of an area and leading to a change in the identity of residents (Layard, 2018). Besides, Holtug (2016) added trust and solidarity, which come from sharing values to the definition of social cohesion. On the neighborhood level, social cohesion is primarily a bottom-up process that emerges from people building trust-based social networks (van Kempen and Bold, 2009). Turning to a local context, Dutch policymakers were concerned that a high concentration of disadvantaged social groups or non-white ethnic minorities in one neighborhood weaken social cohesion and create higher segregation (ibid.). Hence, the Dutch government implemented social-mixing policies which aimed to promote diversity, strengthen social cohesion and improve the mobility of disadvantaged groups (Tersteeg, 2017). However, Tersteeg (2017) argued that there is no empirical evidence of such correlation. On the other hand, with the introduction of the middle classes, social cohesion is reduced due to the alienation of original residents and the creation of ‘othering’ identities among the mixed groups (Jackson and Butler, 2014).

2.3 Hypothesis



Figure 2.3.1. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework above shows that social cohesion is weakened as a result of urban transformations caused by government-led gentrifying policies that include culture-led gentrification discourse. This thesis argues that for Katendrecht, gentrification should be approached from the perspective of governmental policymaking, which holds culture-led gentrification as one of its important components. As seen from the conceptual framework, government-led and culture-led gentrification is the independent variable. I consider it as pre-existent for the analysis since the policies approaching Katendrecht, which are led by creative city and liveability discourses, have been already implemented. On the other hand, social cohesion is the dependent variable that is transformed or weakened by the process of culture-led gentrification, initiated by Rotterdam Municipality. Urban transformations are a mediating variable that is a result of the implementation of gentrifying policies observed in a change in physical and socio-economic landscapes. Therefore, the hypothesis is the following: *“The local redevelopment policies, aimed at the redevelopment of Katendrecht through advancing creative industry and promoting the Kaap identity, led to culture-led gentrification that transformed the urban landscape which further weakened social cohesion as a result of division between identities of the original and new residents”*.

3 Research design, methodology

3.1 Description of the research design and methods

My research problem is explored through methodological triangulation, i.e. using more than one method during analysis (Bekhet and Zauszniewski, 2012). The triangulation-based approach uses various methods that complement each other's imperfections (Turner et al., 2015). Besides, it provides a balanced explanation of the research problem, improving the validity and reliability of the data analyzed (Duffy, 1987). Cassey and Murphy (2009) define two types of mix-methods use: 'across method' which merges quantitative and qualitative analysis, and 'within method' which includes different types of data analysis within either quantitative or qualitative data-collection method. This research paper uses precisely 'within method' methodological triangulation, analyzing qualitative data from various specters. Besides, my research is based both on secondary (academic articles or books, news) and primary (policies, governmental statistics, geographic data, interviews) sources.

The first method to use is a theoretical analysis which assesses the validity of a theory through theory development, elaboration, and testing (Turner et al., 2015). The literature review helps to understand the main concepts of the phenomena and deep into the previous research done on the topic. Therefore, it is significant to elaborate on existing academic works that approach the question of culture-led gentrification and the social cohesion relationship. Hence, the theoretical and conceptual frameworks present the result of the first method of research: a literature review. Snyder (2019) described literature review as the process of collection and systematization of previous research which allows to find gaps in theory and advance knowledge in a theoretical framework. The main sources used are academic books and articles which complement knowledge to study the connection between government-led and culture-led gentrification and social cohesion.

Secondly, this paper uses the method of a case study of Katendrecht to approach the consequences of gentrification. A case study is a method that allows for capturing individual behaviors in an authentic context (McGrath, 1995). Yin (2018) argued that the more research question seeks to answer questions "how" or "why" applied to contemporary circumstances, the more case study method is applicable. As the research question is posed as "*In what ways has the culture-led gentrification, initiated by Rotterdam Municipality, transformed urban fabric and social cohesion between residents of Katendrecht from 2008 to 2022?*", it implies the use of case-study as it primarily focuses on the authentic context. In contrast to ethnography, this thesis is based on 'outsider' research, meaning that it does not have personal involvement in the community (Yin, 2018). There are generally six sources of evidence explored in a case study: archival records, documentation, direct observations, interviews, participant observation, and physical artifacts (ibid.) The case study used in this thesis is based on these six sources of evidence which define the sub-methods of the case study.

Firstly, to analyze archives and documentation sources, interpretative policy analysis would be conducted to understand the leading discourse of Rotterdam's Municipality towards Katendrecht. Browne et al. (2018) defined interpretative policy analysis as looking at the ideas, discourses, and narratives enshrined in policies. The sources used for policy analysis are such local government's policies as *Bestemmingsplan Katendrecht Zuid (2009)*, *Bestemmingsplan Katendrecht - Kern (2007)*, *Stadvisie Rotterdam 2030 (2007)*, *Integraal wijkactieprogramma Gebied Noord (2010)* and *Nationaal Programma Rotterdam Zuid (2012-2022)*. The policies would be analyzed based on main indicators to look at the connection between culture-led and government-led gentrification, and the way government uses the creative sector and cultural image to promote the redevelopment. The interpretative policy analysis will allow to look at

the main strategies of Katendrecht development and analyze their discourse towards development. It aims to explore if the municipality presents strategies based on revitalization logic or highlights the importance of creative city/class concepts. To analyze the discourse of policies, they will be primarily translated into English and then coded into Atlas.TI program to systematize discourse as well as analyzed manually to see the prevailing strategy of Rotterdam municipality towards Katendrecht.

Secondly, to achieve data-collection of direct and participant-observation as well as physical artifacts, the urban observation of the neighborhood will be conducted. The research will use the multi-layered spatial analysis proposed by Rooij and Nes (2015, p. 3) in which they outline five layers: 1) street networks and spatial structure; 2) the relation between streets and buildings; 3) land-use and buildings functionality; 4) human behavior or participant observation; 5) human perceptions of the built environment. The first four layers will be approached by using GIS, statistics interpretation, and by conducting fieldwork in the neighborhood at different times of the week and day. The official statistical data from allecijfers.nl², onderzoek010.nl³, and archival statistics will be used to assess the socio-economic transformation of the neighborhood. The source of data for GIS maps was taken from the internal plugin in the QGIS system. Participant observation includes the observation of people's interactions and behavior in a particular area of interest (Watson and Till, 2010). Therefore, it includes fieldwork to observe the types of activities residents of Katendrecht are interacting in. Gehl (2001) defined three main types of outdoor activities used in public spaces: necessary (e.g., commuting by transport while going to work or school), optional (e.g., having a rest), and social (e.g., communicating with neighbors, playing on the street). This allows seeing the most frequent pattern of behavior of residents. The recording and analysis of perceptions of people regarding the built environment are closely connected to the last source of evidence and significant research method - interviews.

Finally, the semi-structured interviews of residents and business owners in the neighborhood compose a vital part of the research. The interview part observes the perception of residents on changes in Katendrecht and the influence of these changes on social cohesion. Wilson (2012) defined semi-structured interviews as those allowing more flexibility as it does not require the researcher to adhere to a specific set of open-ended questions. Thus, while interview guide contains specific set of questions, the interviews could go in the unplanned direction, requiring flexibility and going with the flow of the discussion. Regarding sampling, Seidman (2012) argued that the most proper technique is the 'maximum variation' of interviewees coming from different social groups since it allows for a more proper generalization. Therefore, this research divides interviewees into three groups: the gentrified (original community), the first gentrifiers (middle-class residents who started to substitute the original community), and the new gentrifiers (young professionals and students that stay in Katendrecht temporarily). During the data collection period, 15 interviews are planned to be conducted with the representatives of the aforementioned groups. Thus, this thesis approaches the issue of social cohesion from the perspective of three main social groups that compose the social image of Katendrecht. This variety allows approaching the views on gentrification and social cohesion from perspectives of both old and new communities. This is significant to approach the issue of community-building in Katendrecht from the perspective of both 'the gentrified' and 'gentrifiers' identities as well as to overcome the rosy retrospection bias of original residents. Neese (2016) defined rosy retrospection as a psychological phenomenon of cognitive bias when people tend to perceive the past as more favorable and brighter than the present. Therefore, by interviewing different groups of people, more coherent results would be

² <https://allecijfers.nl> - official Dutch website which contains the majority of statistical data per neighbourhood

³ <https://onderzoek010.nl> - official Rotterdam Municipality website that contains data archives

provided regarding the transformation of social cohesion in Katendrecht. Analysis of the interview answers will be coded in Atlas TI and provided to elaborate on the perception of residents and observers of the built environment, area changes, and social cohesion among residents. To comply with ethical concerns, permission for recording was taken, and the interviewees will be given pseudonyms in the analysis part.

3.2 Operationalization: variables & indicators

Concept	Definition	Indicators	Source of Data
Government-led gentrification	The implementation of governmental policies on revitalization or livability improvement of previously disadvantaged area, led by discourse of social mixing, i.e. introduction of middle-class residents to the area	Mixed land use	Allecijfers.nl; onderzoek010.nl Rotterdam municipality policies
		Social diversity (introduction of middle/high class)	Allecijfers.nl; onderzoek010.nl Rotterdam municipality policies
		Socio-economic capital	Allecijfers.nl; onderzoek010.nl Rotterdam municipality policies
		Renovation, livability, attractiveness, development	Rotterdam municipality policies on Rotterdam South
Culture-led gentrification	Gentrification resulting from creative class attraction, construction of cultural facilities and increase in social, human and cultural capital	Creative class and young professionals	Rotterdam municipality policies Interviews
		Cultural image and neighborhood identity	Rotterdam municipality policies Interviews
		Cultural amenities and the creative sector	Rotterdam municipality archive GIS Fieldwork (urban observation)
Urban transformations	Change of physical and socio-economic landscape as a result of gentrification	Rate of unemployment	Allecijfers.nl; onderzoek010.nl
		Ethnic composition	Allecijfers.nl; onderzoek010.nl
		Average household income	Allecijfers.nl; onderzoek010.nl
		Percentage of newly constructed buildings	Allecijfers.nl; onderzoek010.nl
		Physical appearance	Urban observation
		Change in the main industries and amenities	Allecijfers.nl; onderzoek010.nl GIS
		Average property values	Allecijfers.nl; onderzoek010.nl
Social cohesion	The development of social networks based on shared values and norms that contribute to participation in neighborhood's life and place attachment	Values & interests	Interviews Previous researches
		Self-identification	Interviews Previous researches
		Sense of belonging to community	Interviews Previous researches
		Participation in community events	Interviews Previous researches
		Social network in the neighborhood	Interviews Previous researches
		Sense of safety	Interviews Previous researches
		Shared values & identity	Interviews Previous researches
		Place attachment & sense of belonging	Interviews Previous researches

Table 1. Operationalization Table

3.3 Expected challenges and limitations

The analysis is expected to interact with several limitations during the data-collection process. The first limitation is the non-proficient use of Dutch by the author, which limits the majority of interviewees to the group of people that speak English. While it is not a problem for ‘Katendrecht’, the vast majority of old original residents speak only Dutch, which reduces the number of original residents being interviewed. Nonetheless, this problem can be solved by asking for help from a Dutch person who would play a role of a translator between me and the original residents. The other limitation is that some of the interviewees may refuse to permit the recording, limiting the coherency of discourse analysis for interviews as it would be based on the self-made transcription. However, the main thoughts and emotionally colored words are expected to be recorded on paper, improving the analysis of the non-directly recorded data. The second limitation is the number of people interviewed due to the self-selection and snowball sampling used and the possible high rate of refusal to participate in interviews. An additional limitation can be a lack of statistical information provided for the 2008-2022 period. The data for 2022 has not been published yet for the majority of variables, while there can be no data available for the period before 2013. Besides, it is significant to underline that this thesis does not provide a holistic view of theoretical implications but rather implements generalized theory in a particular contextual framework. Therefore, it lacks a large degree of external validity, though aims to achieve a high level of internal validity.

4 Results, Analysis and Discussion

4.1 Gentrification as Urban Strategy: Policy Analysis

As mentioned in the introduction, in the last century, Katendrecht was a highly disadvantaged and unsafe neighborhood as well as a hotspot for drug dealing and prostitution. In 1998 Katendrecht was released for redevelopment with the goal of the renovation of an old industrial and deprived area into a mixed-use livable one. The 2000s were characterized by increasing attention to Katendrecht renewal and several master plans that directed development. The goal of this sub-chapter is to look at the main strategies used in the policies that characterize government-led and culture-led gentrification. This sub-part evaluates the result of an interpretive analysis of seven local policies at the city, district, and neighborhood levels. The fundamental document is *Stadvisie Rotterdam 2030* (2007), which determines the city's socio-economic and cultural development. The main objective of the Rotterdam Municipality was to create an attractive residential city with a strong economic system. *Bestemmingsplannen Katendrecht Kern* (2007) and *Zuid* (2009) concentrated on the renovation of two different parts of the neighborhood, emphasizing the need for social diversity and mixed-use zoning for reinforcing the local economy and creating a livable environment. *Gebiedsvisie Noord* (2010), published by the Feijenoord sub-municipality (Deelgemeente Feijenoord) focuses on the improvement of livability in the Feijenoord district and views Katendrecht as a focus area for renovation. *Nationaal Programma Rotterdam Zuid (NPRZ)* (2012-2022) focuses on three main strategies: strengthening of the education system and training for talent development; reduction of unemployment through improving the economic climate and creating jobs opportunities; and physical landscape transformation. Importantly, NPRZ already looks at Katendrecht as a booming area that managed to attract the middle class as a result of drastic changes in the physical landscape. Atlas TI coding was used to look for the interconnection between indicators related to government-led and culture-led gentrification⁴.

The indicators are highly interconnected with each other (Figure 4.1.1(1)). The two concepts which are central to the interlinkage between government-led and culture-led gentrification are economic development and attractiveness (Figure 4.1.1(2)). Looking at economic development, it can be seen how strongly it is connected to the development of a creative sector and the construction of cultural amenities. One of the main Rotterdam Municipality's targets was the expansion of the creative sector which includes art, media, and creative business services (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007a). Deliplein is considered the heart of Katendrecht where the economic and cultural activities and facilities are concentrated. The main strategy for Katendrecht's economic development is stated to be the 3Cs concept that highlights the expansion of *catering*, and *creative* and *cultural* amenities at Deliplein. The catering industry was considered the key one for the neighborhood to attract new investments and entrepreneurs as well as create new jobs in the area (Deelgemeente Feijenoord Rotterdam, 2010). Moreover, the attraction of talents and creative people to the neighborhood is mutually constitutive of the economic development of the neighborhood (ibid.). To make use of the newly built creative facilities, the creative class should be attracted to the area by these facilities. Therefore, for the economic development of Katendrecht, creative class attraction and creative sector development are one of the most important strategies.

As mentioned earlier, attractiveness is the central connection between culture-led and government-led gentrification. The goal of becoming attractive is present in all of the policies.

⁴ The coding framework can be found in Appendix 3: Table 4.1.1, p. 53

It is aimed to be achieved through a renewal of physical appearance, development of creative and service sectors, construction of cultural amenities, mixed-use zoning, improvement of accessibility and safety, promotion of cultural image, etc. The municipality considered Katendrecht to become the new heart of the city, highlighting the importance of cultural attractions development and physical appearance improvement to attract new people (Deelgemeente Feijenoord Rotterdam, 2010). The transformation of the Steam Ship Rotterdam into a hotel and the renewal of Deliplein was considered the most significant move to increase the attractiveness of the neighborhood and stimulate its economic climate (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2009). Additionally, the construction of a bridge that connects Katendrecht and Kop Van Zuid was an essential step in making the neighborhood attractive to new residents and external visitors. The bridge eases access to Deliplein, which offers the possibility to implement the “high-quality catering program” to attract more people and promote the image of Katendrecht (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007b, p. 30). The construction of Fenix Lofts with relocated theater Walhalla in front of Deliplein was planned to improve the appearance of space around the “heart of the neighborhood” and complement the existing cultural image (Deelgemeente Feijenoord Rotterdam, 2010, p. 64).

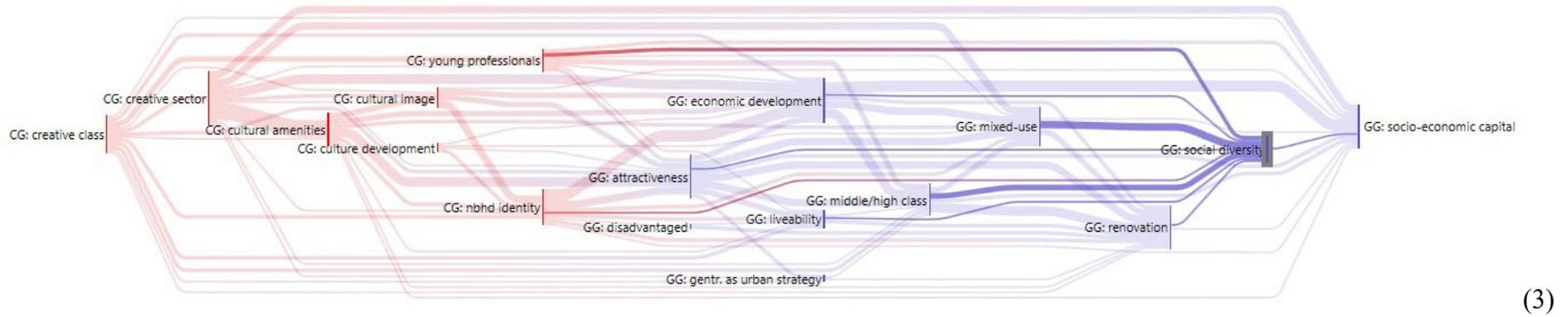
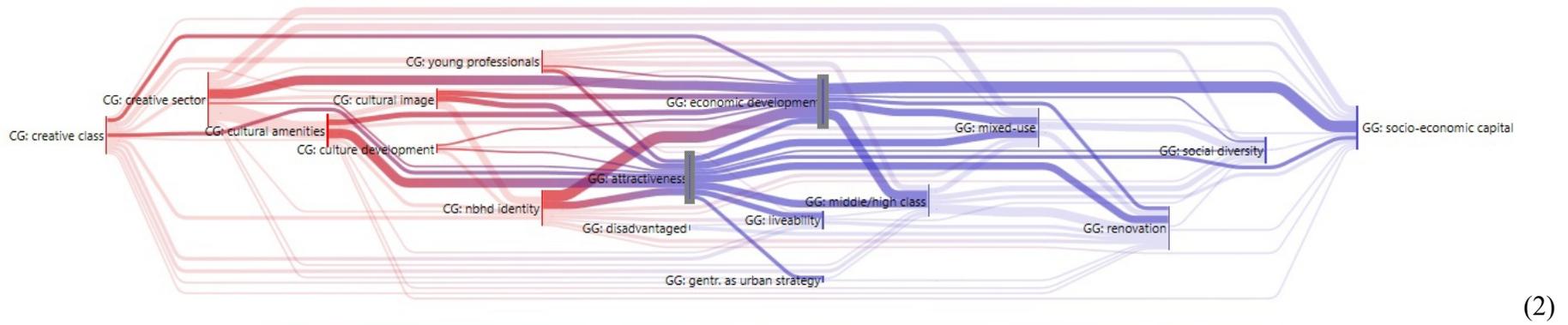
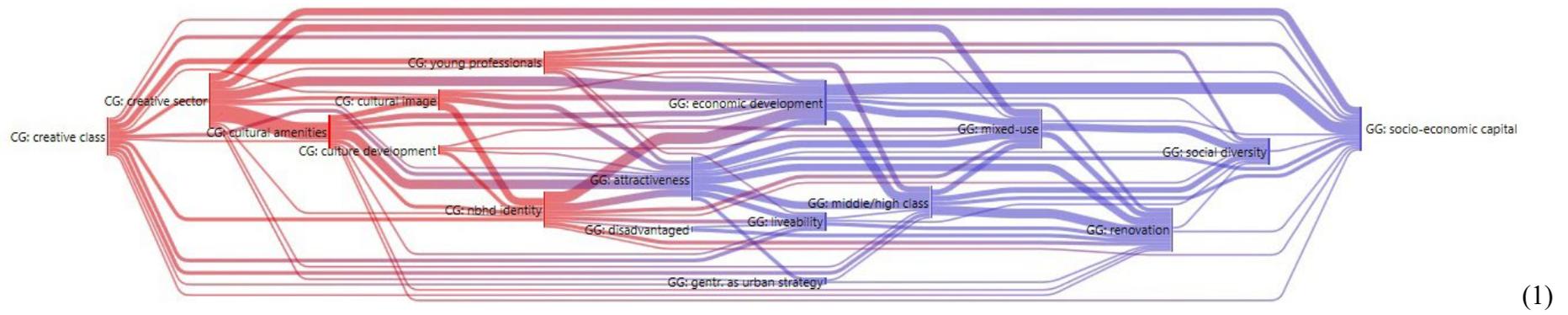
Significantly, neighborhood identity is greatly connected to economic development. Firstly, bringing new industries to previously disadvantaged areas improves the economic climate and promotes a new neighborhood identity (Programmabureau NPRZ, 2012). Secondly, the preservation of cultural heritage makes the identity of the neighborhood a means of the “oil slick effect”, i.e. spreading of economic development and improving of the living environment (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007a, p. 92). Thirdly, the creation of a cultural image of the area through conducting cultural events promotes its identity and contributes to local economic growth (ibid.). Katendrecht’s identity plays a central role in its redevelopment. Gemeente Rotterdam (2007b) paid a lot of attention to the preservation of historically significant industrial buildings such as the Provimi Complex or Codrico factory site that are reminders of the island’s industrial and harbor history. The municipality also planned to construct the European China Center (ECC) in Katendrecht, which is symbolic as it reminds of the long history of the Chinese community in Katendrecht. Furthermore, the municipality’s marketing program for Katendrecht’s redevelopment “Can you handle the Cape?” referred to its unpolished and fair character, making its authenticity a unique selling point (Deelgemeente Feijenoord Rotterdam, 2010). This program includes the promotion of creative (3Cs) amenities and the launching of social and cultural events at “de Kaap” to attract new visitors, residents, and labor. In the following years, the municipality continued the promotion of the original identity of Katendrecht along with the physical renovation of the neighborhood. These steps show the way of promoting gentrification by highlighting the past image and authenticity of the area.

The livability and renovation discourses are a part of a promotion of gentrification as a positive urban strategy (McCann, 2007). An essential implication from the analysis is that “gentrification” is used various times as a synonym for upgrading or renewal and as a process that should be stimulated as it improves the image and living environment of the area (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007a). Besides being closely connected to the creative sector, livability and renovation discourses are strongly linked to the improvement of disadvantaged areas (Figure 4.1.1(4)). In the 2000s, Katendrecht was still considered a largely undeveloped area with a lack of facilities such as ATMs, supermarkets, or bakeries, a high share of social or overpopulated dwellings, and a high rate of violent crimes, robberies, and break-ins (Deelgemeente Feijenoord Rotterdam, 2010). Therefore, the neighborhood was perceived as undeveloped, unsafe, and ‘not livable’, justifying the strategy of the spread of gentrification around the center.

Furthermore, Uitermark and Duyvendak (2008) argued that government-led gentrification in Rotterdam is present in the social mixing strategy, which promotes the reduction of social housing to prevent spatial segregation and promote social differentiation in the neighborhood. Both on the city and neighborhood levels, middle or high-income residents, young professionals, creatives, and urban-oriented households are considered target groups (Deelgemeente Feijenoord Rotterdam, 2010). Hence, the policies are oriented toward the transformation of deprived areas to become attractive for the aforementioned social groups and create social mixing. The social diversity concept is present in all of the policies, underlying the intention of differentiating social fabric (Figure 4.1.1(3)). This strategy is mainly connected to the introduction of middle or high classes into the previously vulnerable area to balance it and prevent selective migration (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2007a). Moreover, it is strongly connected to the transformation of the area into a mixed-use one to attract residents with higher incomes. Gemeente Rotterdam (2009, p. 27) presents social diversification strategy as the creation of an “undivided” neighborhood with a mix of cheap rental property and integration of a more expensive sector focused on new middle- or high-class residents.

The introduction of middle- or high-class residents to the neighborhood is directly connected with the attraction of socio-economic capital. The growth of local socio-economic capital is strongly linked to economic development and the creative sector (Figure 4.1.1(5)). Socio-economic capital can be stimulated by making the area suitable for economic and social activities and facilities; and attracting companies, social organizations, entrepreneurs, and residents. Business in the creative sector creates high economic potential and attracts young professionals as residents which provides high socio-economic value to the neighborhood (Programmabureau NPRZ, 2015). Furthermore, to strengthen social and cultural infrastructure in Rotterdam South, it is important to not only attract young potentials but also to support their development through cultural institutions and education (Programmabureau NPRZ, 2019). Thus, the development of culture in the neighborhood is essential for strengthening the socio-economic capital and potential of the area. For Katendrecht, the attraction of socio-economic capital is implemented through the introduction of creatives, young professionals, and middle classes; the creation of a cultural image; and the connection between residents and entrepreneurs.

Therefore, the concept of gentrification is deeply enshrined in urban policies on the city, district, and neighborhood levels. The strategies discussed above show that the municipality used the development of the creative sector, cultural amenities, and neighborhood identity to promote the neighborhood and attract new companies, residents, and visitors to a rapidly changing area as well as to develop the local economy through the attraction of socio-economic capital.



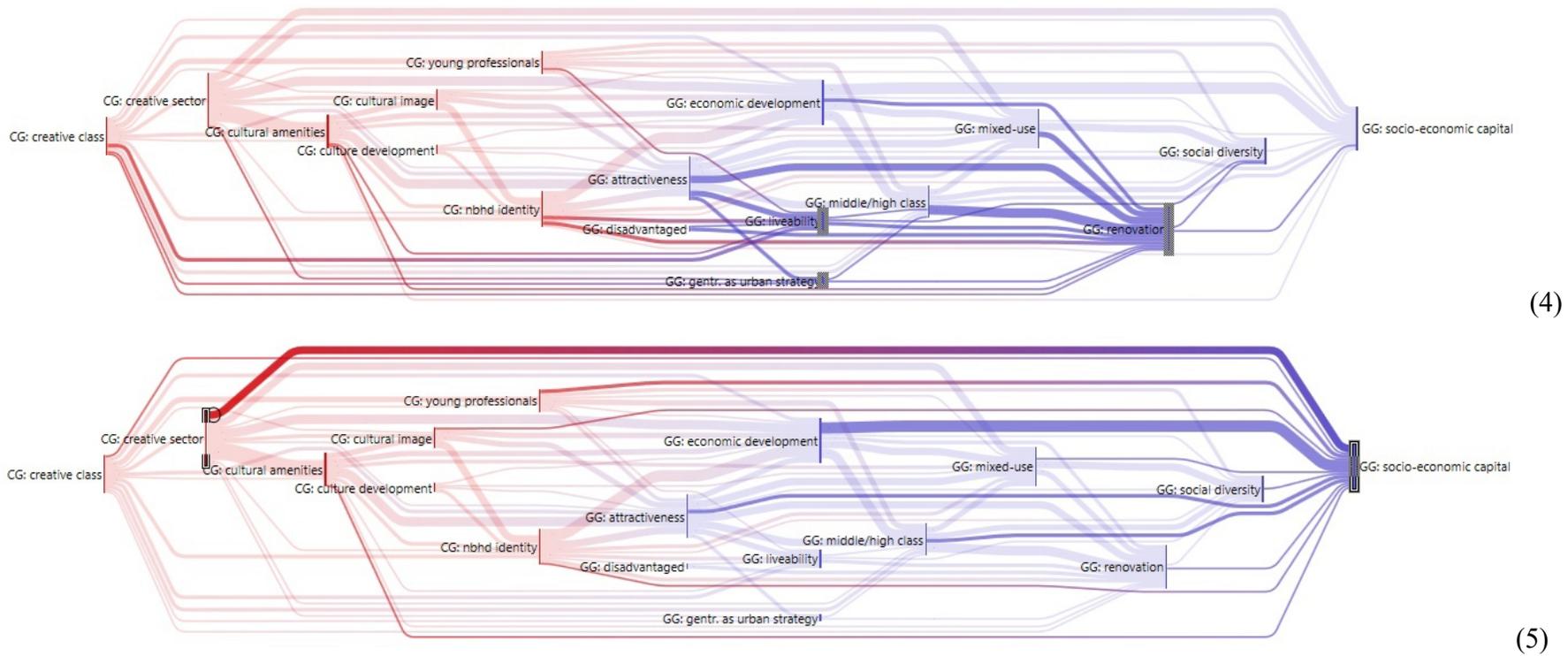


Figure 4.1.1. Sankey Diagram (Policy Analysis).

From left to right: (1) Full diagram; (2) Economic development and attractiveness; (3) Social diversity; (4) Renewal, livability & gentrification as urban strategy; (5) Socio-economic capital.

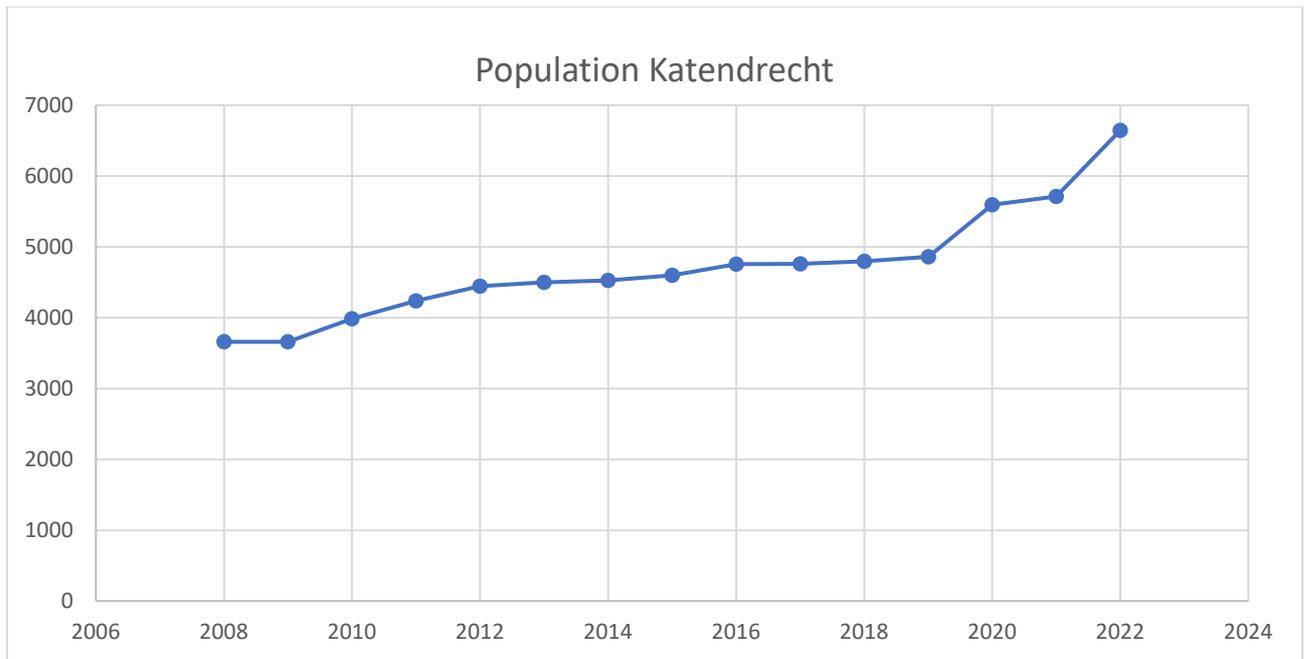
4.2 From Dangerous to Hippest: Urban Transformations

“No neighborhood in Rotterdam is as changeable as Katendrecht” stated Bay House, the developing company of Rijnhavenpark (the new high-rise mixed-use buildings in construction). The fast pace of urban transformations in this neighborhood proves this statement. It is an area that goes through a significant metamorphosis from a red-light and criminal district to the new modern center of Rotterdam which hosts young professionals, creatives, and middle- or high-class residents. This sub-chapter focuses on urban observation analysis of changes in socio-economic and physical landscapes that happened in Katendrecht from 2008 to 2022 as well as on the plans for its future transformations.

Socio-economic background

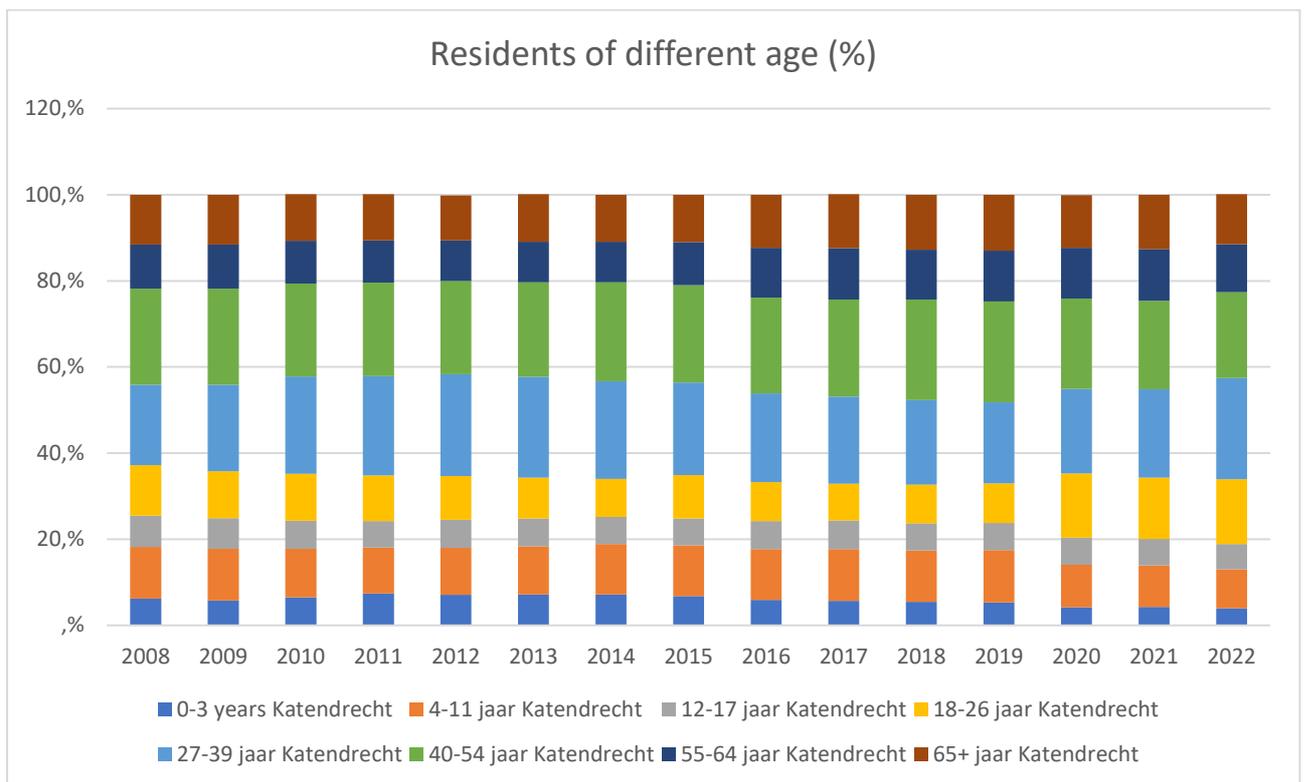
Katendrecht goes through changes in not only the physical landscape but also the socio-economic image of the area. Due to the construction of new dwellings and the campaign on attracting new residents, the population of Katendrecht has grown nearly twice: from 3.660 in 2008 to 6.645 in 2022 (Graph 4.2.1) with 2020 (15%) and 2022 (16%) being pick years of the population growth. This can be explained by the end of construction of Cohesion Cobana and Fenix Lofts in 2019. The changes in demographics are seen in the main population's socio-economic background. Compared to 2008, when the major age group was 40-54 years old (22,3%), in 2022 the largest age group was 27-39 years (23,5%), while the share of young people (18-27) has increased by 5% (Graph 4.2.2). It shows the generational change in Katendrecht with more people below 40 moving to the area and proves the displacement of the original residents due to the number of people aged 55-64 being only 11% 14 years later. Additionally, the migration background has changed significantly. While in 2008, 38% of residents were Dutch and 54% were of non-Western origin, in 2022 48% of residents were Dutch and only 40% were of non-Western origin (Graph 4.2.3). This shows the peculiarity of gentrification that Guzman (2018) named a *whiteness project*, arguing that it displaces working-class people of color and gives privilege to the white population of the neighborhood.

Furthermore, the number of young people with basic qualifications increased from 50% to 69%, showing the rising share of educated young potentials. Significantly, the share of educated people in Katendrecht is now 7% higher than in Rotterdam, while in 2012 it was the other way around (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2022). Furthermore, the employment rate has increased from 60% to 66% while the share of unemployed people decreased from 14% to 11%. In terms of the salary level, in 2009 the high-income group already occupied 50% of residents, while in 2019, already 70% of residents had a high income (ibid.). Therefore, the change in the leading socioeconomic class from the working to middle- or higher-class started before 2008 but intensified in the last five years. Nonetheless, the largest changes are seen in the sector of occupation. In 2010, 27% of Katendrecht's residents were working in the industry; 19% in wholesale, retailing, and car repairing; and 19,5% in transport and storage (Graph 4.2.4). In 2020, their share was 15%, 13%, and 1% respectively. The majority of people were employed in high-skilled positions such as public administration (8%), education (14%), advice, research, and other specialists (10%). Hence, there is a significant increase in highly qualified residents employed in the service and management sectors compared to the original inhabitants employed in manufacturing, car repairing, and transport.



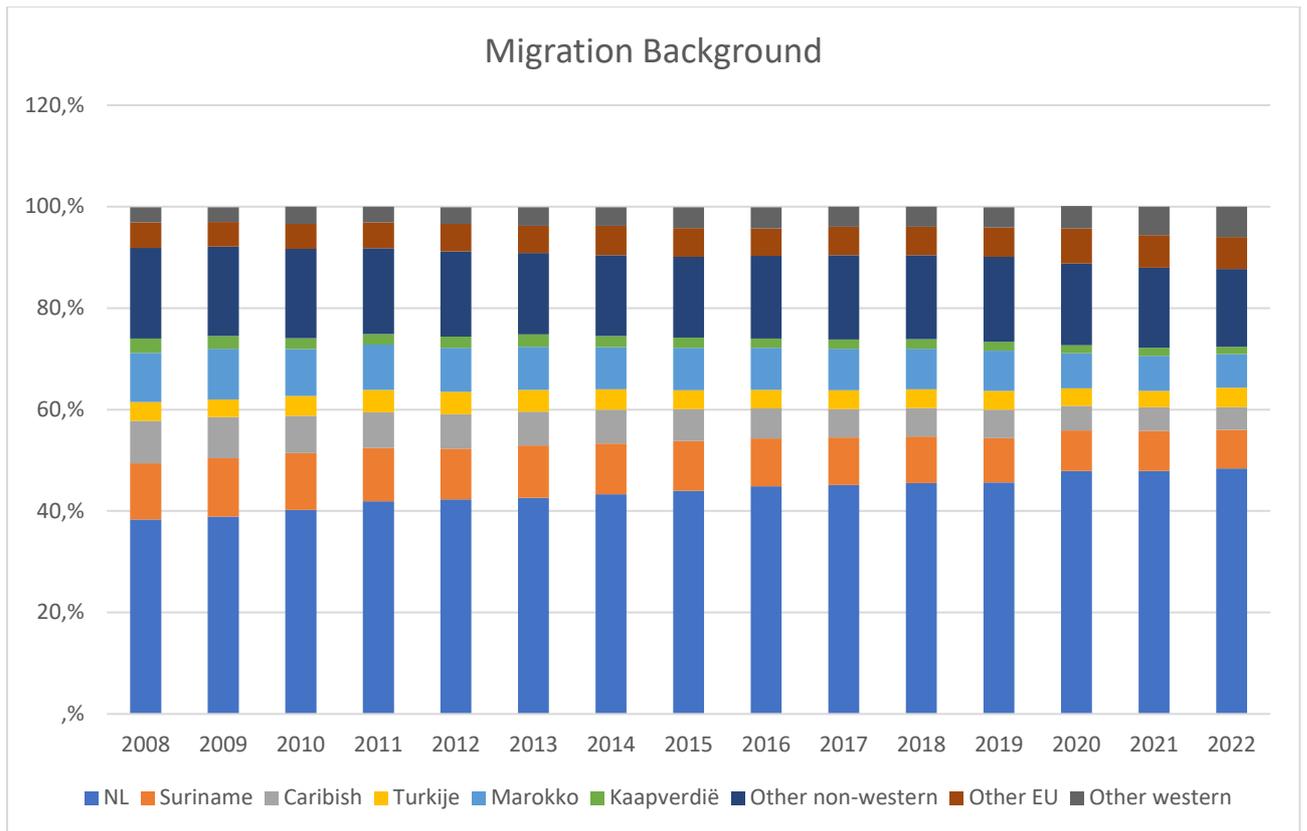
Graph 4.2.1. Population Katendrecht

Source: Gemeente Rotterdam (2022)



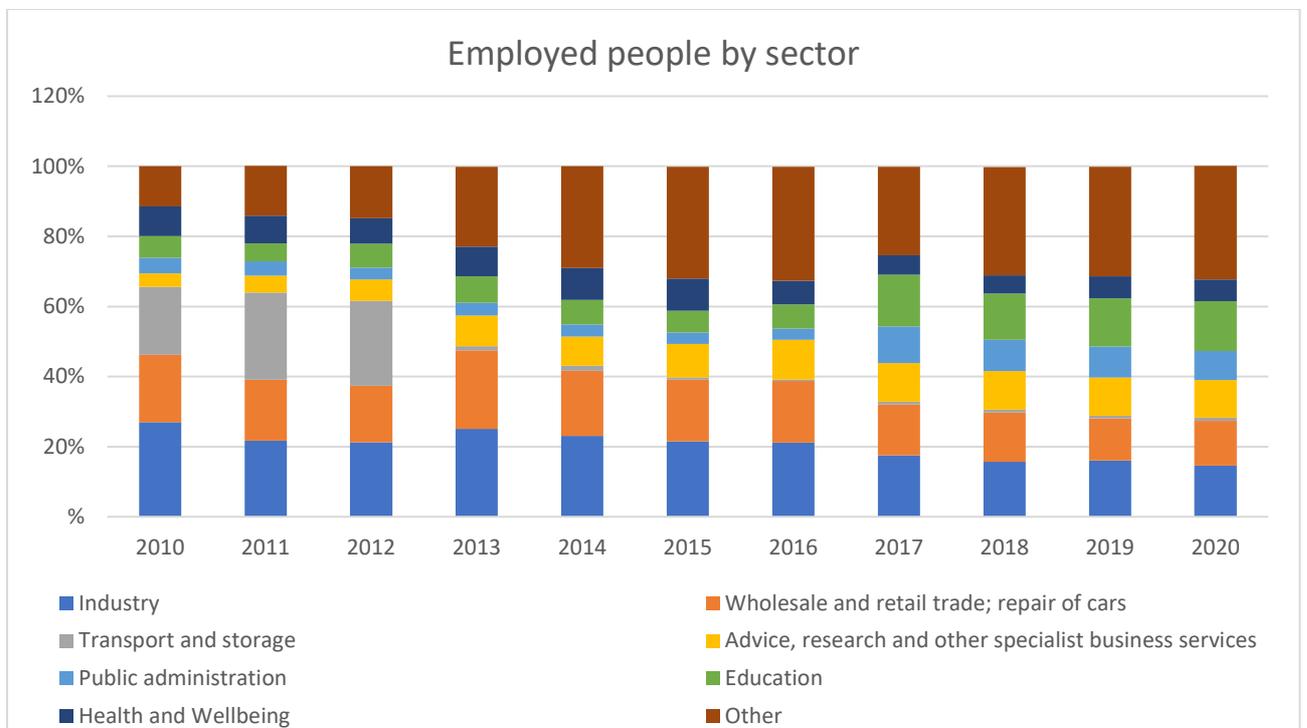
Graph 4.2.2. Residents of different ages

Source: Gemeente Rotterdam (2022)



Graph 4.2.3. Migration background

Source: Gemeente Rotterdam (2022)



Graph 4.2.4. Employed people by sector

Source: Gemeente Rotterdam (2022)

Street network, spatial structure, and the relationship between streets and buildings

Regarding access to the peninsula from Rotterdam South, there are several points of connection: the footway bridge between Kop van Zuid and Katendrecht and Rijnhaven railway station (Figure 4.2.1). The largest intersections of roads are located in the point of connection between residential and industrial (currently during reconstruction) parts of the city as well as in the middle of the residential area. The new bridge allows accessing Deliplein directly from Kop van Zuid, ignoring going through the industrial part – the only way of getting to the peninsula 14 years ago. The public transportation system includes a bus lane and water taxi stations. Therefore, even though the area is located on the peninsula, its accessibility level is quite high. Furthermore, Hillier (2001) argued that the location of shops and amenities is defined by the flow of traffic and spatial structure. In Katendrecht, amenities are located either at the Deliplein or around it, all near the bus stations (Figure 4.2.1). Therefore, the *Rijnhavenbrug* bridge, which was opened in 2012, improved the accessibility to the neighborhood center significantly, making Deliplein much more attractive to the external public. This led to the strengthening of the horeca industry at the square. As a result, the construction of the bridge boosted the economy of the area but expanded gentrification.

Land use and buildings functionality

Katendrecht is mostly a residential area, where 93% of buildings are used for living purposes (AlleCijfers.nl, 2022). The amenities are concentrated in one central place, showing the lack of mix-used functionality of the buildings in the vast part of Katendrecht (Figure 4.2.2). In terms of the retail industry, the change in land use is seen in Graph 4.2.5: while in 2008 automotive and horeca industries equally occupied 27% of industries each, in 2021 they occupied 17% and 45% respectively. Such a change results from the implementation of a ‘high-quality catering program’ that stimulated the development of horeca at Deliplein and Fenix. Furthermore, the change in the prevailing business industry located in Katendrecht from wholesale and retail to advise, research, and other specialist business services shows the successful attraction of socio-economic capital in terms of service entrepreneurship (Graph 4.2.6).

Human behavior

The residential character of the area is seen in the main activities of the people in the area. There are mostly people walking with dogs or going in a particular direction rather than concentrating in one place in groups. The major points of human concentration are people standing near Jumbo, children playing at the public playground and in the green public space, people sitting along the green embankment, and people having drinks and meals at Fenix and Deliplein (Figure 4.2.3). The majority of people observed communicated in pairs or small groups of 3-4. Thus, the interactions between residents showed that there is social cohesion in the neighborhood, but mainly within small homogeneous groups.

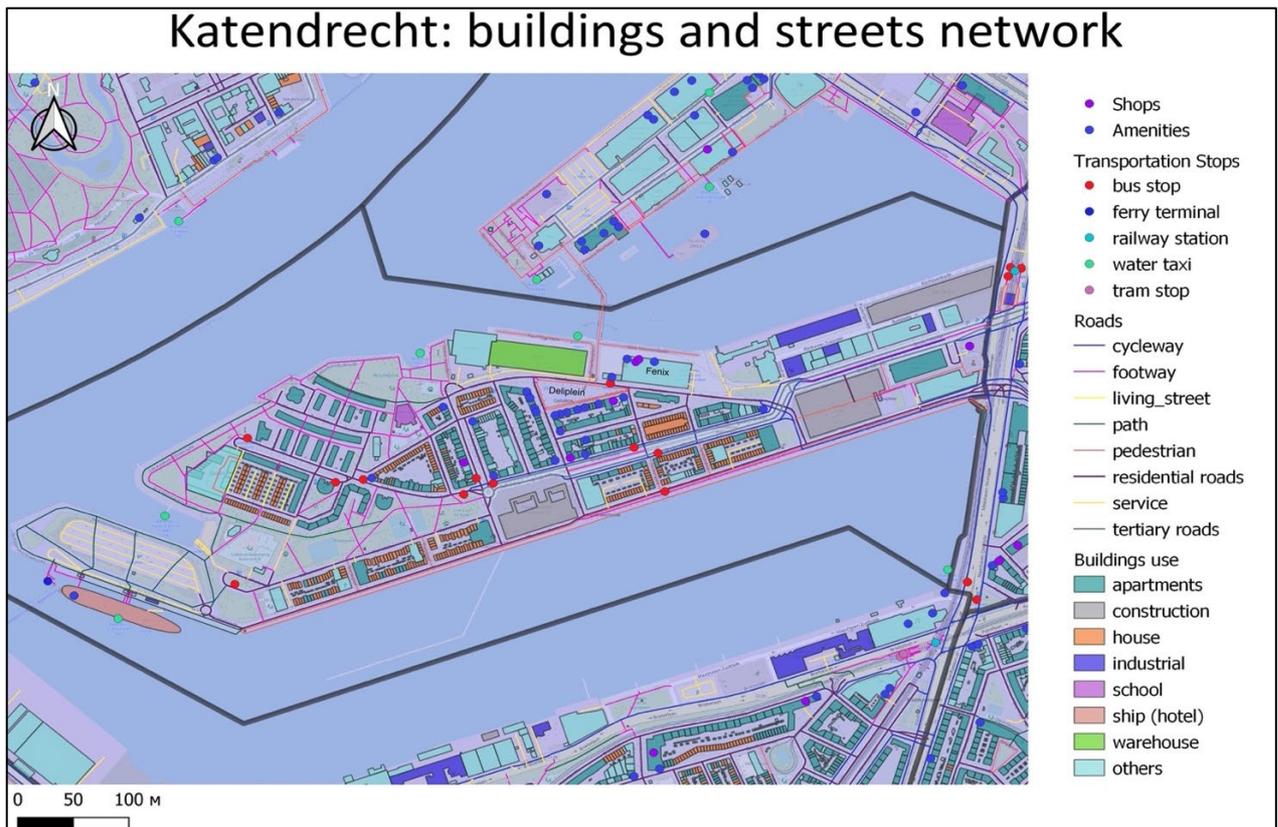
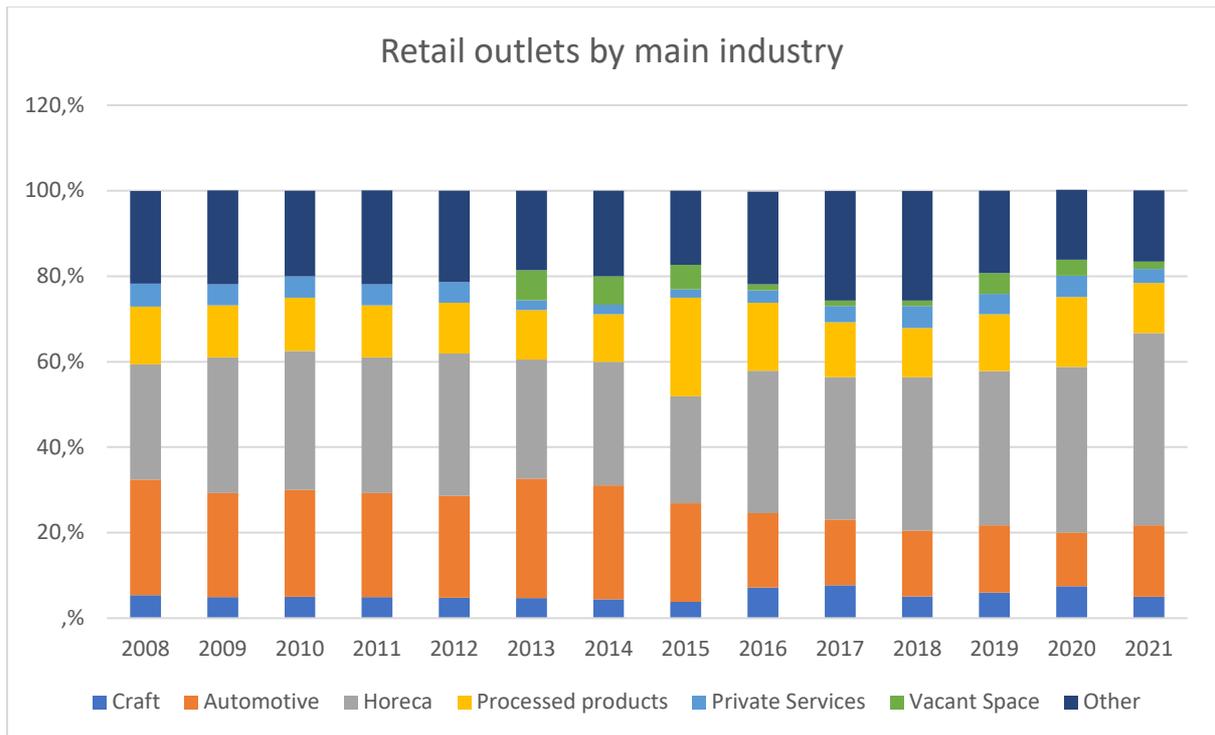


Figure 4.2.1. Buildings and Streets Network

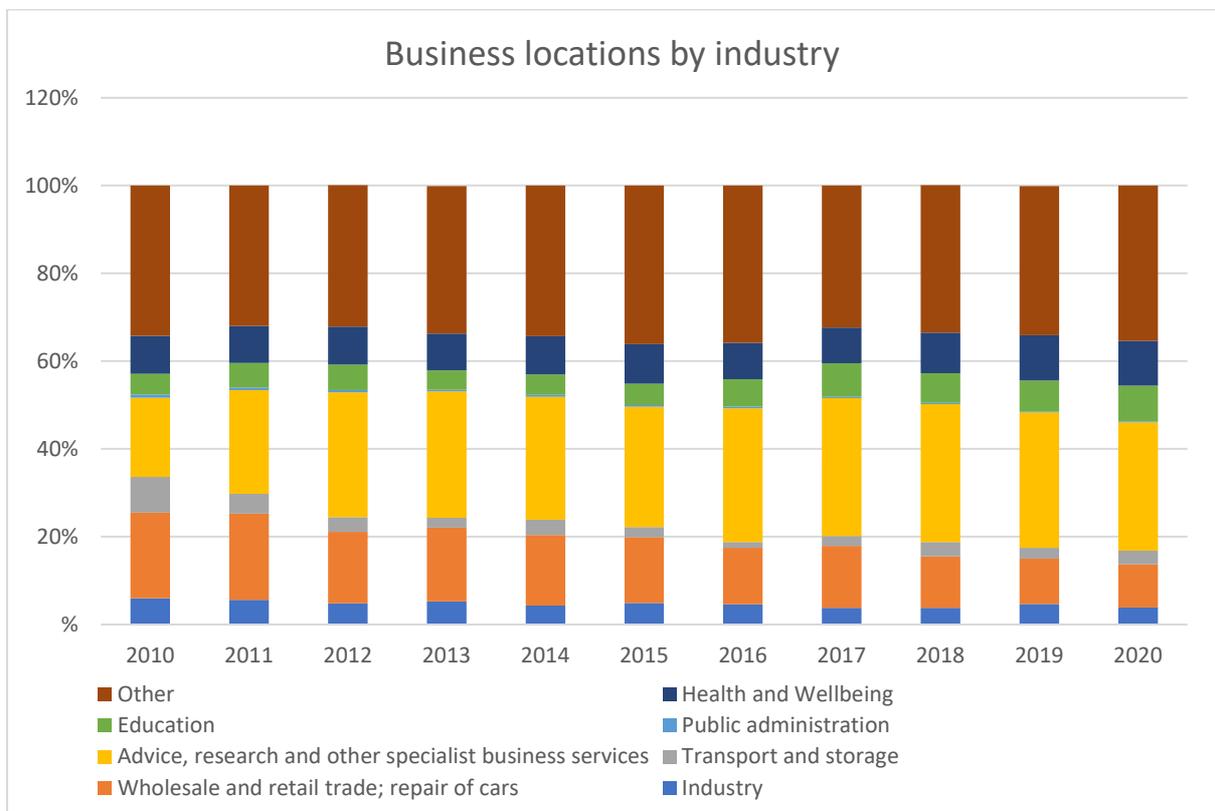


Figure 4.2.2. Shops and Amenities



Graph 4.2.5. Retail outlets by main industry

Source: Gemeente Rotterdam (2022)



Graph 4.2.6. Business location by industry

Source: Gemeente Rotterdam (2022)

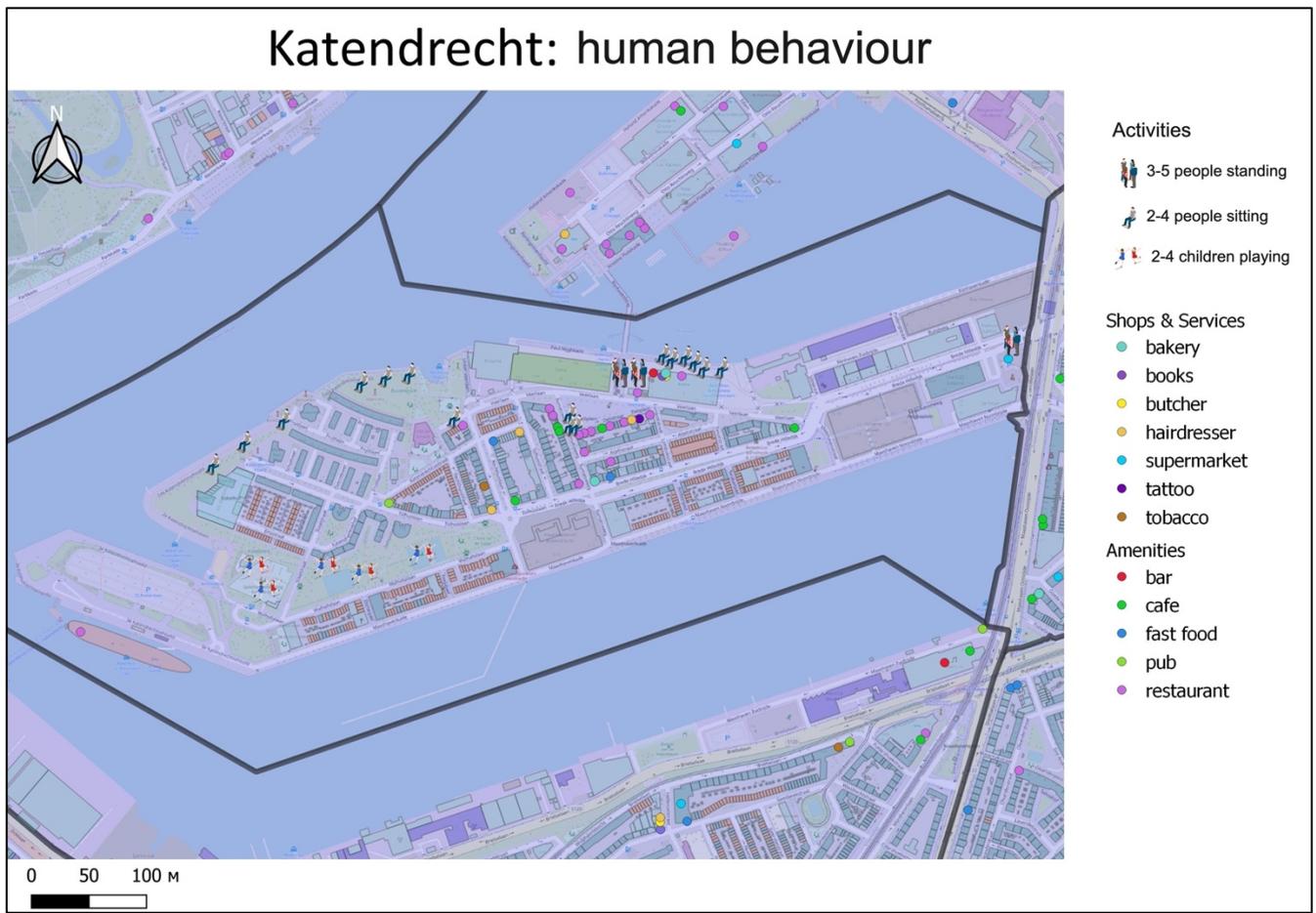


Figure 4.2.3. Human behavior

Physical landscape transformations

The new-built gentrification in Katendrecht resulted in 50% of buildings being constructed after 2000 (AlleCijfers.nl, 2022). As can be seen from Figure 4.2.4, the vast majority of newly built housing (2005 and later) is located along the southern and industrial parts of the peninsula. Before 2005, the southern part of Katendrecht was unoccupied, except for several car repair services. This provided opportunity for the construction of property targeted at middle- or high-income residents. According to the Programmabureau NPRZ (2015), in 2000 the housing stock was owned solely by rental corporations and composed of 1300 social housing units. In 2021, the share of social housing has diminished to 42%. In contrast, the dwellings in personal ownership now comprise 30% of housing stock, while the rest 35% of it is in personal ownership (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2022). However, the share of social housing has declined because more than 1500 houses were built in 22 years. As the newly built dwellings have been oriented toward higher-income residents, it can be implied that social housing is still present but in older buildings. These two facts might have contributed to the dramatic increase in the average home value, which increased by 517%: from €115.000 in 2009 to €595.000 in 2021 (Graph 4.2.7). Currently, the average price of housing in Katendrecht is significantly higher than the median for Rotterdam: 11% of property costs more than €500.000 (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2022). The dramatic changes in prices are seen when comparing the housing prices in 2014 and 2022: the dwellings over €225.000 eight years ago composed 19% of the housing stock compared to 87% in this segment today (Figure 4.2.8). The growth of housing prices and the reduction of the share of social housing show the direct consequences of gentrification.

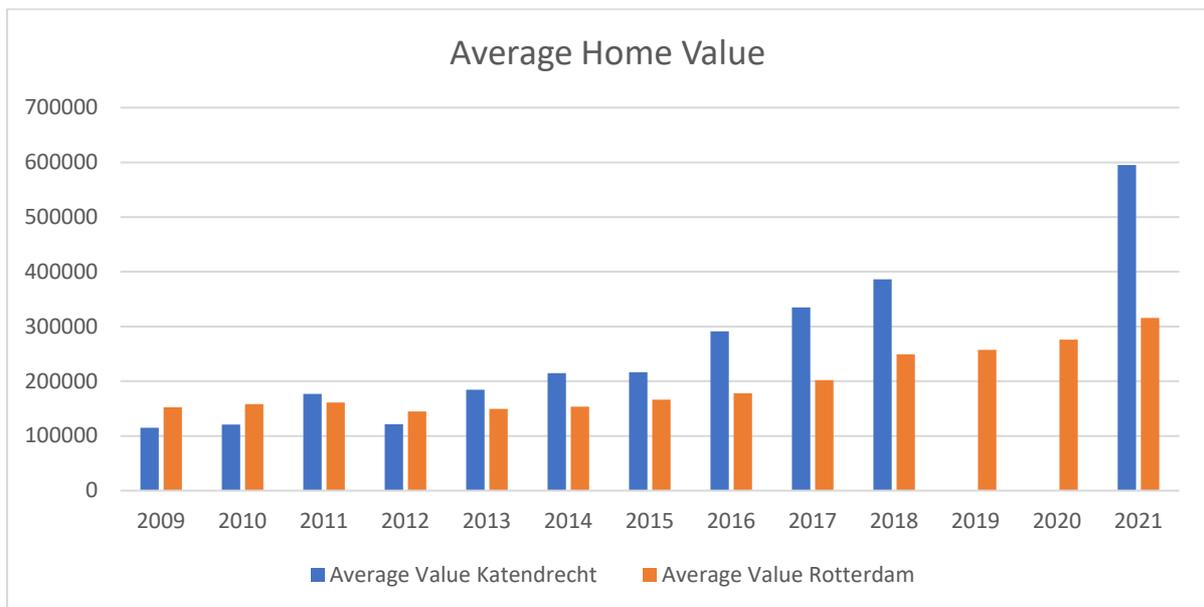
Over the last 14 years, Katendrecht has significantly changed its appearance. The warehouse near Deliplein was rebuilt into modern Fenix Lofts, while a large number of horeca services were opened at the Deliplein, making it more lively (Figure 4.2.5). The Fenix Food Factory was opened in the second warehouse (Fenix II) in 2014, becoming a major point of attraction. However, during COVID, it went through a crisis, leading to its closure and relocation of part of its services to Fenix I. Instead, a museum of migration is being built on its site. The main supermarket in the neighborhood has not changed its location and was only rebranded when Jumbo bought C1000 (Figure 4.2.6). However, while in 2008 there was also an Amazing Oriental Asian supermarket, which stimulated a diversified assortment and was accessible from different parts of Katendrecht, in 2022 it was permanently closed, making Jumbo the only supermarket left (Figure 4.2.8). Thus, the local accessible business was replaced by the major Dutch supermarket, changing the assortment and prices residents were used to. As mentioned earlier, in the 2000s, the automotive industry was crucial for Katendrecht. The garages behind the Codrico factory and Kar Wei in the middle of empty Katendrecht South were important business spots. While the garages are still present (Figure 4.2.6), during the expansion of Rijnhavenpark construction they are going to be demolished. Where the Kar Wei stand, now is the construction of the Haven Kwartier, which is marketed as the last new building in the heart of Katendrecht (Figure 4.2.7). The majority of changes are seen in the previously empty Katendrecht South that flourished from the construction of new houses and Cohesion Cobana apartment buildings (Figure 4.2.8). As the new houses were targeted towards the middle- or high-class, and Cohesion Cobana focuses on providing dwellings to young professionals, there is a clear sign of gentrification in Katendrecht's development.

In the 2020s, Katendrecht again has become a place of municipality's and developing companies' interest. Currently, the municipality plans to make an attractive mixed-use area instead of industrial sites (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2021). Rijnhavenpark will be an area with high-rise buildings, a hotel, a shopping center, a city beach, a floating city park, and an embankment (Figure 4.2.9). Instead of the European China Center, which was planned to be constructed, in 2015 the developing company *Frame Vastgoed* bought the land to construct a new "Bay House" next to the Rijnhaven complex (Bay House, 2022). The current Codrico factory site will be demolished, and the land will be used for the construction of a new tower (220m) and other buildings that would contain 1500 apartments, shops, cultural amenities, catering, and offices. Besides, Santos old warehouse, which is located behind Rijnhaven, will be redeveloped to become a multi-functional building with a department store, apartments, rooftop bar, and coworking in the second quarter of 2023 (Klapmuts, 2022). The Provimi Complex, which was planned to be kept as a historical site, will be closed in 2024 due to the end of its lease term. According to the municipality, Provimi's activities are not sustainable as it produces noise, smell, and traffic. There is still no assurance about what will be located instead of the factory, though the municipality states that its main building should keep a central position as an important historical site (Liukku, 2022). Thus, the future transformation of the neighborhood demonstrates the rapid gentrification spread to the industrial part of the area, which in the 2000s was considered a significant historical site and determinant of Katendrecht's identity. Thus, the "oil slick effect" strategy of attracting economic development by using the neighborhood's original image has started to erase this image and identity.



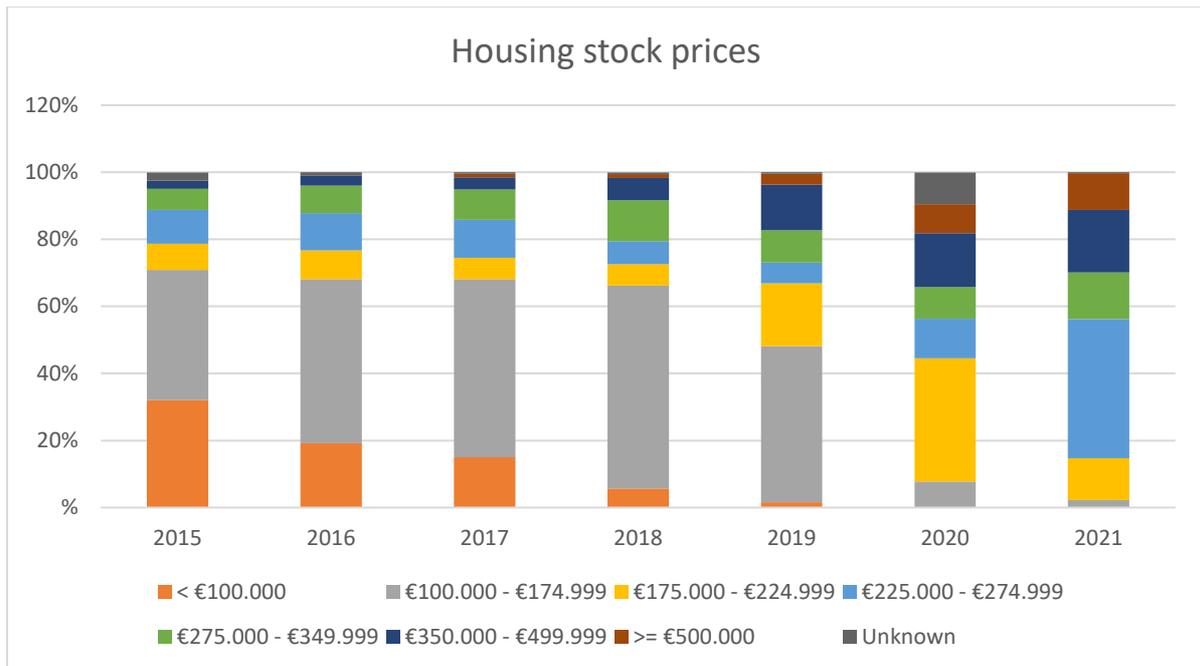
Figure 4.2.4. Year of Construction

Taken from: Atlas Leefomgeving (2022)



Graph 4.2.7. Average Home Value

Sources: Gemeente Rotterdam (2022), Huispedia (2022), Hypotheker.nl (2022)



Graph 4.2.8. Housing Stock Prices

Source: Gemeente Rotterdam (2022)



Figure 4.2.5. Deliplein and Fenix Lofts (2008/2022)

Source: "Rotterdam Katendrecht anno 2008" (2008); urban observation (same in Figures 4.2.6-7))

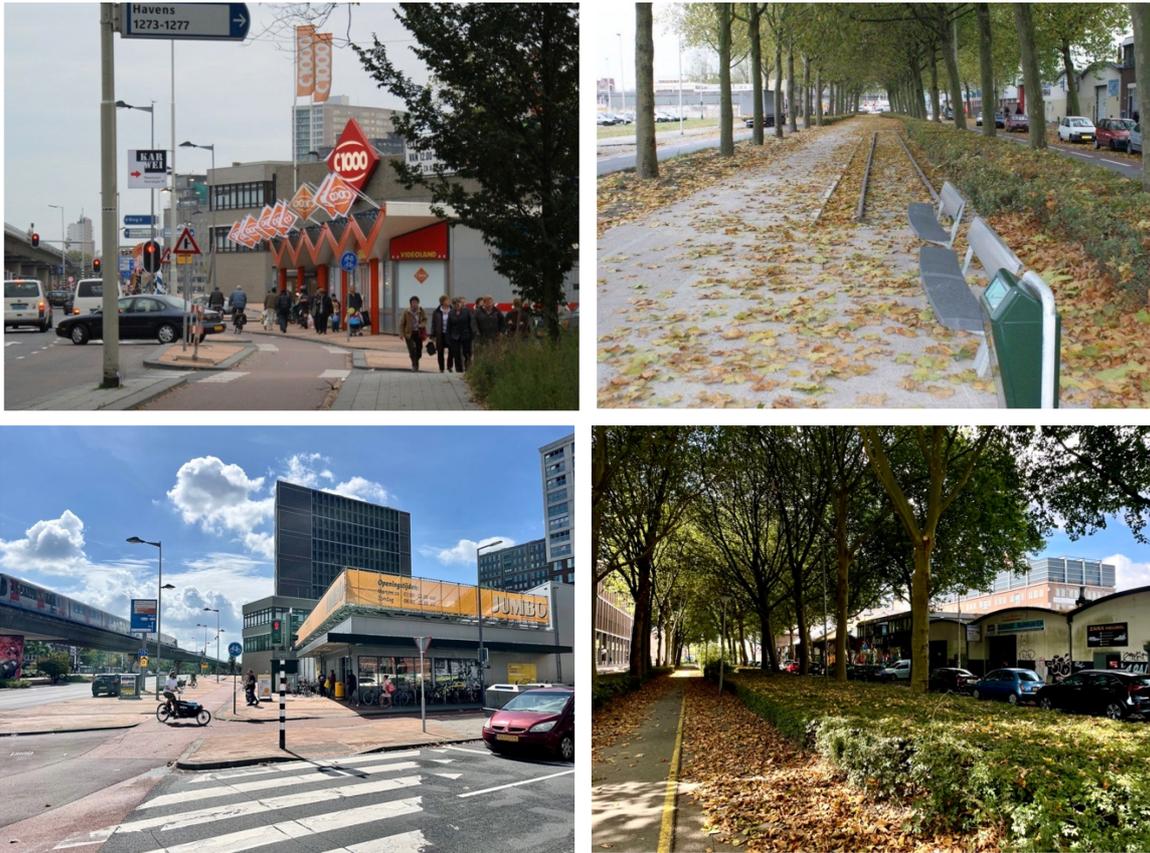


Figure 4.2.6. Jumbo and automotive services (2008/2022)

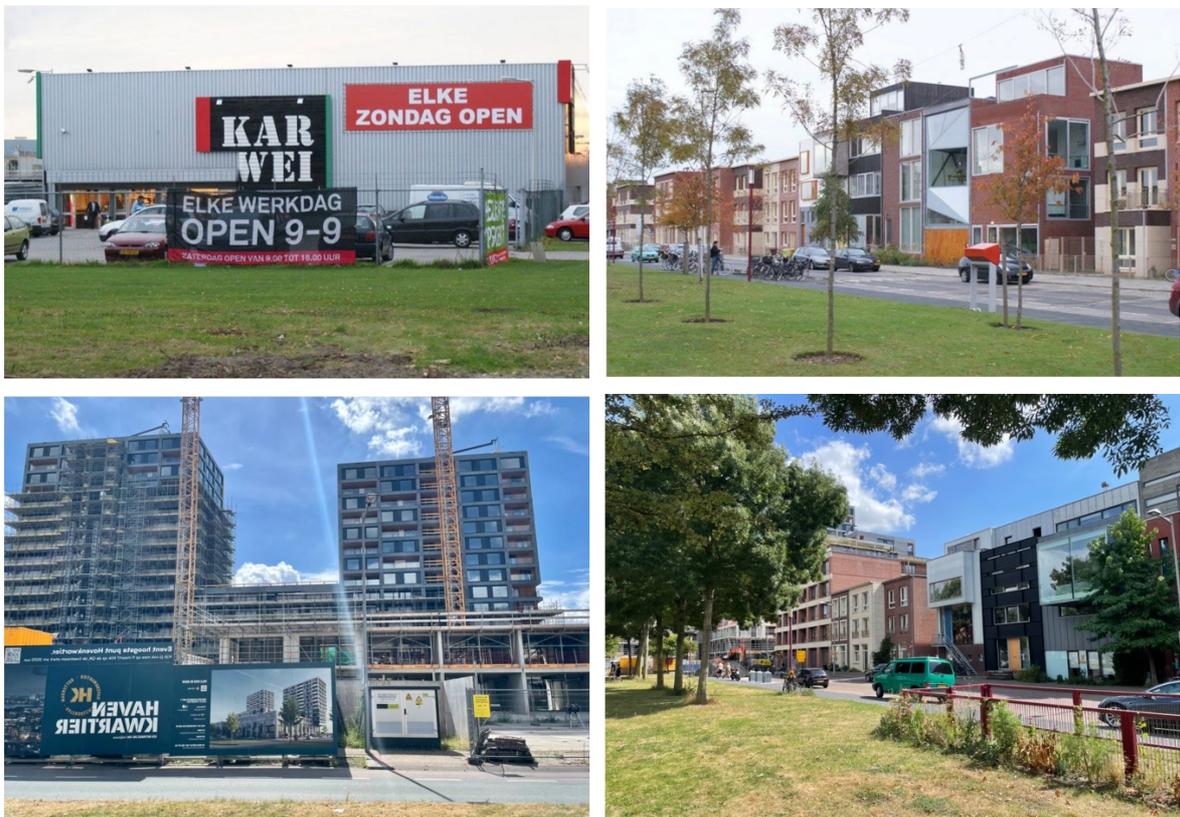


Figure 4.2.7. Kar Wei/Haven Kwartier and new houses in the South (2008/2022)



Figure 4.2.8. Map of Katendrecht with photos

Source: urban observation

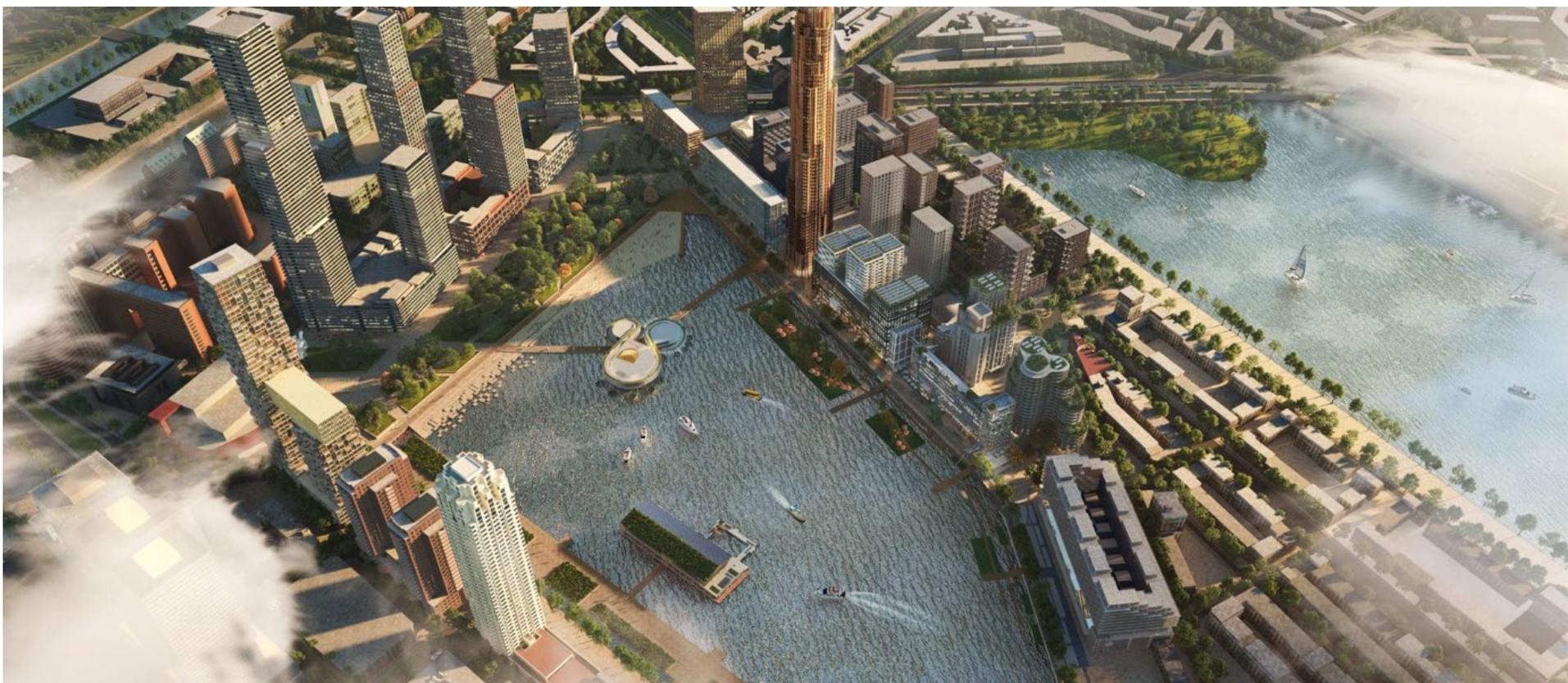


Figure 4.2.9. Render project of Rijnhaven Park

Source: Gemeente Rotterdam (2021)

4.3 De Kaapers vs. Katendrecht: Residents' Perspectives on Social Cohesion

This sub-chapter focuses on the analysis of interviews with residents of Katendrecht. It is significant to mention that due to privacy concerns, the names of the participants are changed. The interviews deepened in residents' perception of current changes in Katendrecht and social cohesion within the three aforementioned groups⁵ and within the neighborhood. The analysis of interviews was done through the construction of the network between concepts in each group.⁶ The analysis conducted included 15 respondents that were found through snowball sampling. As a result, 8 young professionals and students, 3 middle-income residents, and 4 original residents were interviewed. Each group has certain features. Young professionals and students rent apartments or rooms; they are the target groups of development companies and urban regeneration strategies, comprising the new gentrifiers group. They find the rent and amenities quite affordable and frequently go to cafes and restaurants in the neighborhood. The middle-income residents are the first and second waves of gentrifiers who own houses and live in family-type households. The original Kaapers are mostly elderly who knew Katendrecht before gentrification started. They mainly live in social housing and usually belong to a lower-middle or lower-income group, so they cannot afford new amenities in the neighborhood. Besides belonging to a specific social group, the location of the residents in Katendrecht influenced their perception. Those who live near Rijnhaven station, in the "new Katendrecht" (as named by young professionals and students), mostly interact with other young professionals or ethnically diverse inhabitants of the aligning Afrikaanderwijk. On the other hand, those living in the center or near SS Rotterdam ("old Katendrecht"), majorly see families with children, elder residents, or ethnically diverse low-income residents.

The interviews with the original Kaapers were held at the 'Kaapse Tafel' which Belvedere Verhalenhuis hosts. The community lunch is held once a month, and it invites both original and new residents of Katendrecht to share their stories and experiences of living in the neighborhood. It is significant to mention that the composition of the community participating in this event is homogeneous in terms of age (older than 55) and social group (original Kaapers). Even though my expectations of data limitations were correct, and the original residents did not give permission to record them, we still had an insightful conversation about the past and present of Katendrecht. The original residents claimed that it was the beginning of the 2000s when the image of Katendrecht started to change: small businesses (car repairing, butchery, shops) and ethnically diverse cafes were closed, new expensive houses and apartments were built, and the population has increased more than twice in the last twenty years. These changes continue to take place now with a new force. For instance, the owner of the tobacco shop, who worked in Katendrecht for more than 18 years and has become a part of Katendrecht's community, told me that due to the renovation of the building where his shop is located, the rental company asked him to close the shop for an uncertain period. To reopen it he would need to buy the place for 200 thousand euros instead of paying the monthly rent as it used to be for 18 years in this business. "It is just too much for me. I don't have this money, so I'll have to leave" – he said. As mentioned earlier, it is not the only case of business displacement happening now. Besides, the Kaapers argued that a large number of their neighbors left the neighborhood as a result of growing prices, urban alteration, and change in amenities supply. This shows the transformation of the area as being targeted toward non-

⁵ See Chapter 3.2, p.15

⁶ The codes can be found in Appendix 3: Table 4.3.1, p. 54-55

original people because it breaks down the consumption and living patterns of the original residents and makes their living in the neighborhood unaffordable.

The original residents said that the intensive introduction of new people into the neighborhood dissolves and segregates the community. Apart from the community, the redevelopment programs have dissolved the original character of Katendrecht, making it a “fancy place for rich people” and displacing original people. The Kaapers do not feel they belong to the richer part, even though it is still Katendrecht. However, they expressed a feeling of attachment to the old Katendrecht, especially to Belvedere which has always been a place for community gatherings. Today, they meet up at least once a month in Belvedere to feel the old Kaap, communicate with their acquaintances, and feel themselves at home. While referring to the past, the interviewees spoke with warmth about the family-like relations with their neighbors. “We were like a big family. We had our small world in Katendrecht. I know people say it was dangerous, but we always felt safe here because we trusted each other” - said Karen who was born in Katendrecht 63 years ago. The association of safety with trust shows the way strong social cohesion among residents creates a safe space in the neighborhood. Furthermore, the tobacco shop owner claimed that in the last years Katendrecht lost its image as a culturally diverse area as more and more white Dutch people are relocating to the area. He said that he would love to see the unity of different cultures in Katendrecht as it was before.

However, today, there is no strong connection in the neighborhood due to the difference in values and lifestyle between Kaapers and Katendrechters. The Kaapers described the new residents as those who are always in a rush as they work from morning to night. Thus, communication with them is usually limited to saying “hi” on the way. Likewise, Katendrechters feel different from the Kaapers, describing the original residents as preferring to keep their distance. One of the middle-class respondents called them “observers”, arguing that the Kaapers still look at their new neighbors with interest, as at something “exotic”. He called them quite simple in their view of life, while the new gentrifiers are too busy. The other two (younger) Katendrechters described the Kaapers as the Dutch elderly and “not the type of audience you can make friends with”. Nonetheless, there is a strong connection within a group of middle-income residents, especially in smaller groups of residents that live on the same streets. The same type of housing for the homogeneous socio-economic class creates “social bubbles” of the residents that share values and behavioral patterns.

The young professionals and students mostly rent apartments in Cohesion Cobana. It is a condominium tower that is owned by a rental company and is promoted for young starters: the rental contract can be signed only with people in the range of 18 and 33 years old, and after 28 years it can be signed only for two years. Thus, this building focuses on the temporary establishment of the young professionals’ community in the neighborhood. The understanding of a temporary state of residence influences the construction of social cohesion in the group. While certain people actively organize and participate in social events like community drinks or yoga classes, others prefer not to leave their apartment which they refer to as a safe space. The change in perception of safe space from the neighborhood to apartments shows a considerable deterioration of social cohesion in Katendrecht. However, all of the participants were attracted to Cohesion Cobana because of its branding as a community of young professionals in the upcoming area.

Therefore, there are two main levels of social cohesion: group and neighborhood. The group cohesion is strong in the Kaapers community, even though its participants have been continuously displaced by gentrification. It is strengthened by the place attachment, shared identity of the original inhabitants, and participation in such events as community lunches at Belvedere (Figure 4.3.2). The middle-income residents form another community that closely communicates in their street “social bubbles” and overall within their socio-economic group due to more frequent interactions. For them, shared values and belonging to one socio-

economic household play a significant role in strengthening group cohesion (Figure 4.3.3). The older middle-income residents also communicate with some of the original residents and overall describe the social environment as “friendly”. The young professionals and students divide into those who actively participate in community-organized events and those who do not interact closely with their neighbors (Figure 4.3.4). Some of the young professionals are also interested in the events organized in the neighborhood (cultural events or Friday market) where they interact with the diverse community of Katendrecht. However, such interactions happen on rare occasions, while half of this group’s respondents have not been to Katendrecht behind the Fenix Factory, i.e. “old Katendrecht”. Therefore, while in the pre-gentrification Katendrecht the diverse community was characterized by a strong social cohesion among residents, now the diversity of residents brings segregation, both in social and spatial regards. This can be explained by intensive construction, change in amenities, and closure of original businesses that lead to the displacement of the original community. Thus, Katendrecht can be described as pretty social in terms of group cohesion, while segregated and weak regarding social cohesion on the neighborhood level.

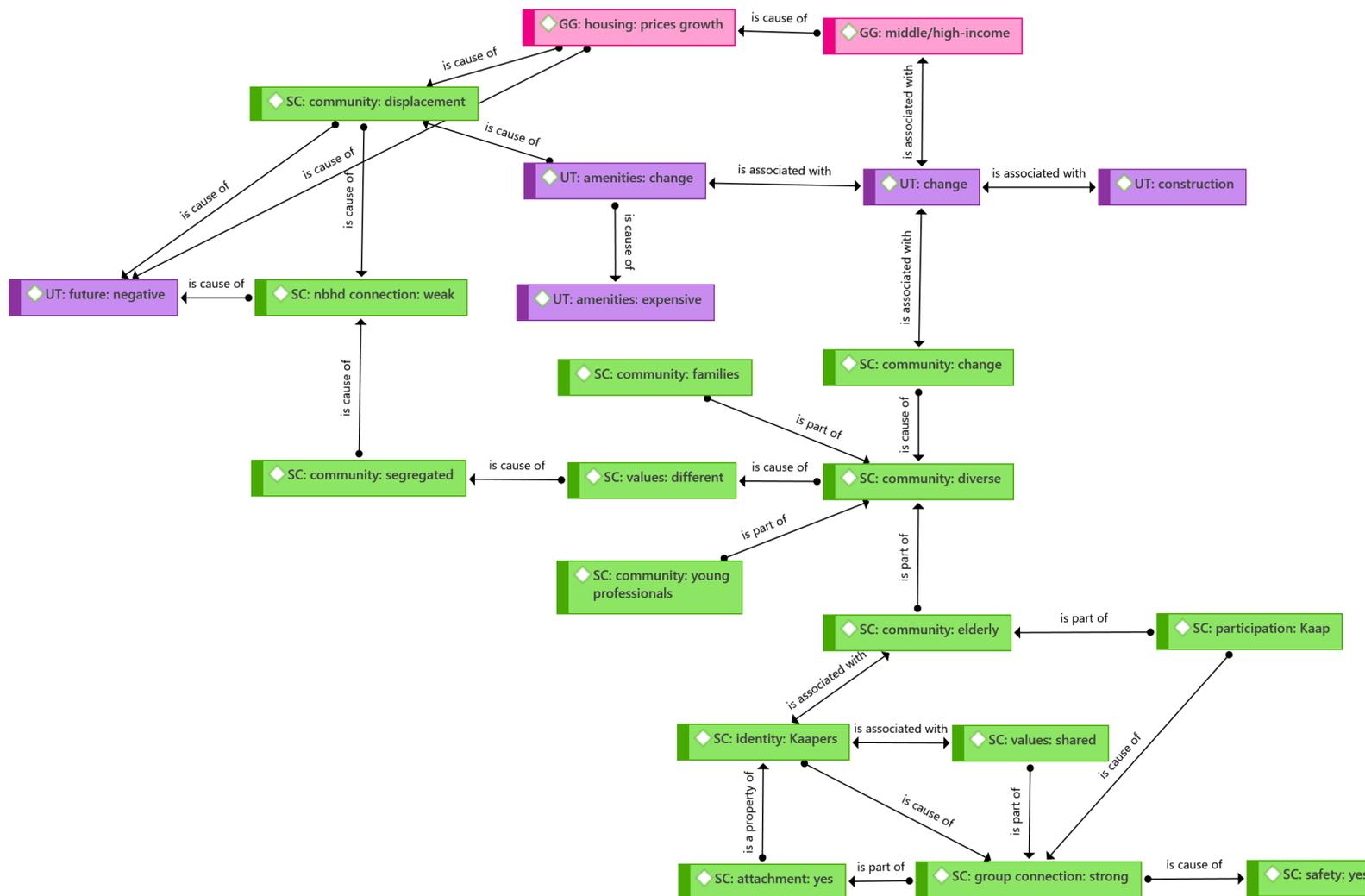


Figure 4.3.1. Social Cohesion in Katendrecht: the Kaapers Perspective.

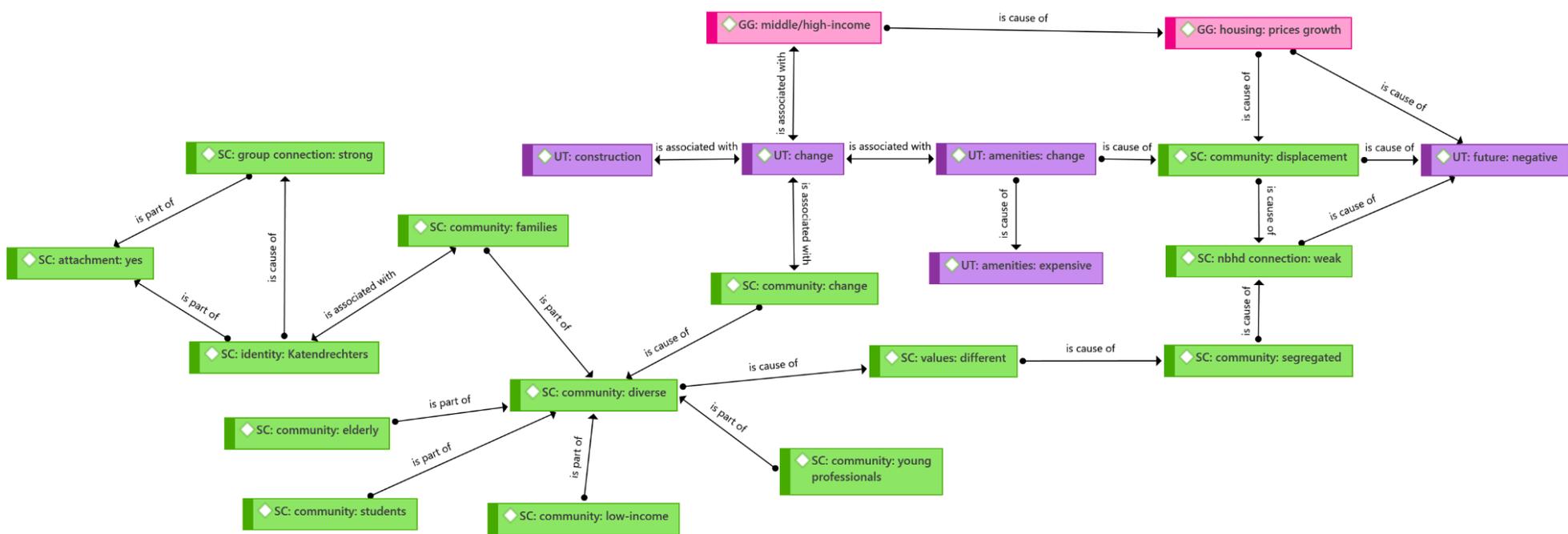


Figure 4.3.2. Social Cohesion in Katendrecht: the Katendrecht Perspective.

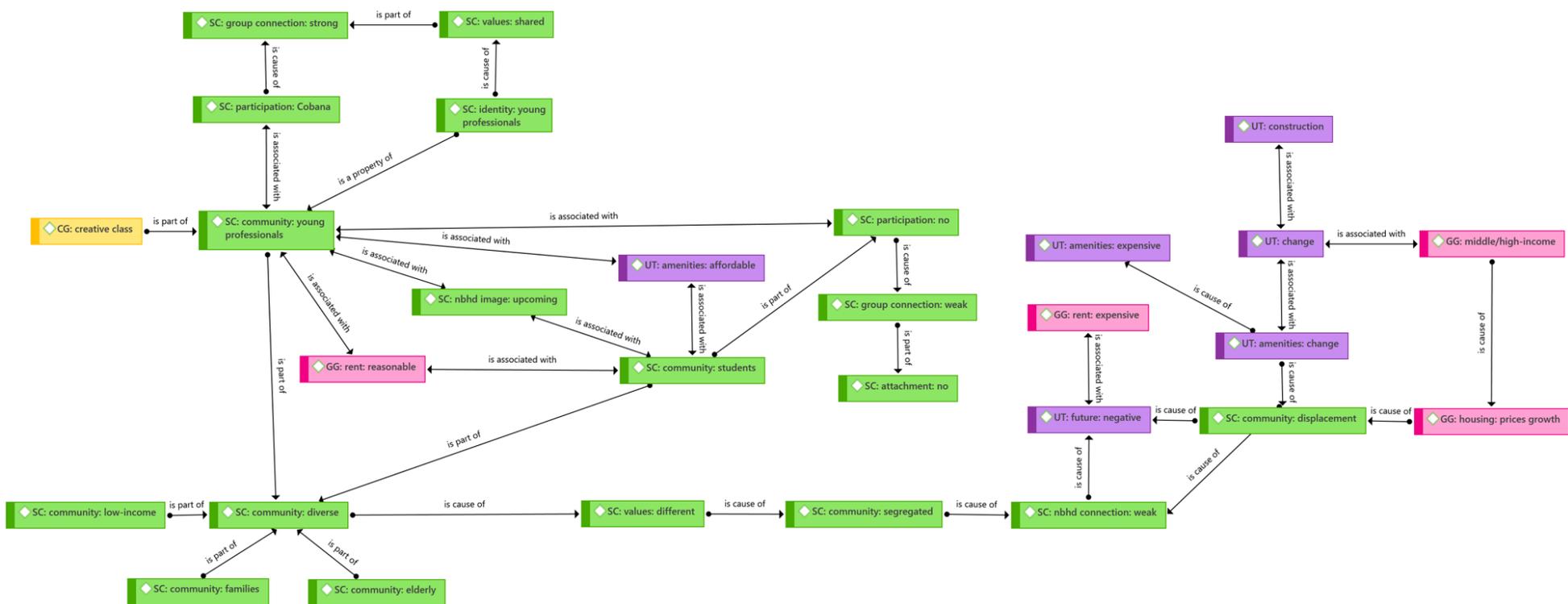


Figure 4.3.3. Social Cohesion in Katendrecht: Young Professionals Perspective.

4.4 Discussion

The ‘Kaapse Brouwers’ beer fills in the cups of Fenix Lofts’ visitors, the place to which original Kaapers cannot afford to go themselves due to the expensive prices. The ‘Kaapse Brouwers’ is an example of using neighborhood identity to brand the place for non-original residents. The identity of Kaapers is frequently used to sell the continuation of Katendrecht’s identity, but in a different context and for non-original residents. As can be seen from the first sub-chapter, Rotterdam municipality planned to create an attractive mixed-use area and stimulate economic development through positive gentrification. The disadvantaged areas had to be transformed into diverse liveable neighborhoods through the introduction of middle- or high-class residents, creatives, and young starters. Katendrecht was primarily targeted with the purpose of its renovation from a deprived neighborhood to the second city center. The main strategy of its renewal was based on the development of the creative sector, especially focusing on catering and on active construction of houses and apartments for the middle- or high-income class. Such policies have changed the socio-economic fabric of the neighborhood. Apart from twice more residents, their composition has changed: the low-income residents were displaced, the higher-middle class bought new-built housing, while a lot of young professionals and students were attracted by rent apartments. Besides, as supported by statistics and claimed by original residents, there is a whitening of the area with more Western people becoming new residents. Additionally, there is an increased share of educated people in managerial or other professional occupations, compared to the majority of residents being occupied in car repairing and manufacturing industries in 2008.

The promotion of Katendrecht’s renovation through its original Kaap character goes along with the rapid change in its physical appearance and the introduction of amenities and services that are not available to the original residents. The original ethnically diverse cafes, restaurants, and shops closed through the years, giving place to new hip horeca. The industrial sites, which earlier characterized Katendrecht, are planned to be demolished or renovated to create Rijnhavenpark: a new mixed-use area for higher-income people that aims to become the leading part of Katendrecht as a second city center. Even though the renewal program was focused on mixed-use zoning, Katendrecht has become a residential area with certain places of visitors’ attraction such as Fenix Lofts, SS Rotterdam, Walhalla theatre, and the Deliplein, i.e. creative industry. In contrast, previously important working places in car repair, manufacturing, and shops were closed, while new hip and expensive amenities were opened. Such a change in local business composition has played a significant role in the community displacement as it led to the loss of workplaces in the neighborhood. As a result, the displacement and replacement of the original residents with new middle-class have weakened social networks and reduced social cohesion in the neighborhood. The new residents, attracted by the area’s redevelopment, shared values and patterns of behavior considerably different from the Kaapers. The diverse lifestyles and values of these two groups segregated the neighborhood community in several parts, but this difference has sparked interest in the Kaapers who observe the new gentrifiers. The young professionals and students feel quite isolated within their social bubble of young starters due to the residential building approach to creating a homogeneous community. Therefore, while in the policies social diversification was highlighted as a significant strategy to prevent spatial segregation of deprived neighborhoods, in Katendrecht it has strengthened segregation between the three groups, weakening social cohesion.

Returning to the conceptual framework, it can be seen how easy it is applied to the results of my analysis. The Stadvisie Rotterdam 2030 offers gentrification practices to improve physical appearance and strengthen the economic development of deprived neighborhoods while highlighting the development of the creative sector and the introduction of the creative

class as a way to increase the attractiveness of the neighborhood. All of the respondents mentioned changes in terms of wide construction works, total redevelopment of the industrial part, and provision of services and amenities to be connected to the diversification of the community (Figures 4.3.2-4). While the closure of original businesses resulted in direct displacement, the change in urban appearance, growth of prices, and replacement of amenities led to indirect relocation. The displacement was accompanied by the replacement of the original Kaapers with the new middle-class and young professionals, causing segregation between these different groups. The interviewees noted that segregation was worsened by the spatial division between “new Katendrecht” (Katendrecht-Zuid and industrial area) and “old Katendrecht” (Katendrecht-Kern) That resulted in the weakening of social cohesion between residents. Besides, the deterioration of original image and identity plays a vital role in strengthening gentrification in the following years. Today, Katendrecht has a reputation of a hip, urban and upcoming area, while majorly only the old generation of Rotterdammers remember the neighborhood as de Kaap. All of the respondents shared their concerns that when Rijnhaven construction will be completed, the character of de Kaap, which is still felt a little, would completely vanish. Therefore, while Katendrecht’s redevelopment is still promoted by referring to the past and the Kaapers’ identity, each year it becomes less de Kaap and more a fashionable Katendrecht. The deterioration of the neighborhood’s identity weakens the place attachment and sense of belonging of the original residents while making higher-middle income classes the new representative group of Katendrecht. This is likely to stimulate the segregation of original Kaapers but might also strengthen the social cohesion of Katendrechters due to the relative homogeneity and shared values of this social group.

5 Conclusion

Katendrecht is the neighborhood which has been transforming rapidly. Being a red-light district, China-town and overall dangerous area in the past, it is now the hippest neighborhood that is mainly associated with Fenix Food Factory, craft beer and upcoming character. Nonetheless, while these changes improve the neighborhood's image, they bring a strong gentrification process with them, which deteriorates the community and social cohesion. The objectives of this research were to identify the way local policies promoted culture-led gentrification; which urban transformations followed the government-led gentrification; and in which way it altered social cohesion among residents. Thus, the research question aimed to explore the way social cohesion transformed with the change in urban landscape as a result of local redevelopment policies which promoted culture-led gentrification. To answer the question and achieve research objectives, the methodological triangulation consisting of literature analysis, case-study of Katendrecht and interviews was used.

Several conclusions can be made as a result of this analysis. Firstly, as Katendrecht's reconstruction is promoted by the municipality through liveability discourse and social mixing, it reflects the specifics of government-led gentrification outlined by Uitermark (2007). While it mainly presents the classical pattern of gentrification with the introduction of middle- or high-classes and capital investments to the neighborhood, the cultural aspect is strongly enshrined in these policies on both city and neighborhood levels. Culture-led gentrification in Katendrecht results from the redevelopment policies which focus on the "3Cs" and high-quality catering development strategies. These strategies aimed to attract middle- and high-classes, young professionals and creative class for economic development, showing the first step of gentrification outlined by Lees et al. (2008) and Heebels and Aalst (2010). However, the focus on horeca does not fully cover Zukin's (1995) definition of culture-led gentrification, missing the concept of bringing art to the neighborhood. Furthermore, the municipality has used the original 'rough' identity of the Kaap to increase its attractiveness and economic development through the authentic image. Nonetheless, due to the urban transformations, the promoted unique character of roughness is disappearing, while the neighborhood changes its image to an upcoming and hip area.

This change of physical and socio-economic landscapes leads to the second conclusion. The results of government-led gentrification are seen in the permanent construction of new buildings and infrastructure, the change in housing stock and average resident's background, and the replacement of local businesses with expensive and hip cultural amenities. This reflects a common pattern of urban transformations outlined by Phillips (2018), Doucet (2009), Smith (2002) and the others. The implementation of the "3Cs" strategy has succeeded especially in the Fenix Food Factory which attracts visitors from all over the city. Nonetheless, the "3Cs" strategy differentiates from Florida's (2005) "3Ts" of economic development and Scott's (2010) cognitive-cultural economy as it mainly focuses on the creative amenities, leaving behind the complexity of talent and technological advancement of the area. However, Katendrecht still managed to attract young professionals and creative class, proving that the development of creative amenities leads to the attraction of these groups (Freeman, 2006). Katendrecht continues to be the upcoming area, where the major changes are to happen after the construction of Rijnhaven park as a new place of attraction in Rotterdam. The current projects, aimed at the attraction of new higher-income residents and external visitors, made all of the interviewees concerned about the complete deterioration of the authentic character of Katendrecht.

The third conclusion states that the transformation of the image and socio-economic background of Katendrecht led to the segregation between different groups of residents in the

neighborhood. The residents outlined that the difference in values, norms of behavior and socio-economic background creates the feeling of alienation between the participants of different groups. The original residents highlighted that even though they are highly attached to Katendrecht and identify themselves as the Kaapers, they feel that claimed that urban changes led to the displacement of the members of the original community and have diminished the sense of unity, family and trust in the neighborhood as a whole. However, such a perception was already reflected in the in the papers of Clarisse (2016) and Poelen (2016). This research contributes to the paper of Custers and Engbersen (2020), proving the coexistence of segregated groups in the neighborhood. The Katendrechters are mainly isolated in their social bubbles in which they have a high rate of interconnectedness, though some of them interact with the Kaapers from time to time. They have a sense of attachment to the neighborhood, arguing that it mainly comes from owning housing and having close relations with their neighbors. This research also adds the position of the young professionals, one of the target groups of urban policies. The temporary character of living in the neighborhood explains the low rate of attachment to Katendrecht within the young professionals that mainly live in the Cohesion Cobana. However, due to the community-orientation of the condominium tower, its residents experience a higher level of social cohesion in contrast to the students living in the “old Katendrecht”.

Overall, the hypothesis proved to be true. As the policies promoted social mixing in terms of the attraction of middle- or high-class residents, creative industry and the Kaap identity played a significant role in the promotion of the neighborhood. As a result, it led to cultural gentrification as the new hip amenities replaced local businesses, leading to the indirect displacement of the original community. The difference in values, norms and socio-economic background of the original and new residents led to the division of the neighborhood community, weakening the overall social cohesion. This conclusion contributes to the existing works of Neducin et al. (2009), Zukin (2010) and Dekker and Bolt (2005) who argued that the introduction of the middle and creative classes in the neighborhood leads to the deterioration of the original community and weakening of social cohesion. At the same time, the homogeneity of the segregated groups inside which residents communicate shows the significance of shared values and identity for the strengthening of social cohesion, supporting the point of Holtug (2016) and Kearns and Forrest (2001). Moreover, as the construction of social cohesion on the neighborhood level is a bottom-up process that is also built on trust (van Kempen and Bold, 2009), it can be noticed that a rapidly growing number of new residents as a result of gentrification makes the process of construction of trust-based social relations more difficult, which was proved by the interviews. Overall, the influence of gentrification on social cohesion in Katendrecht reflects the common patterns described in the academic literature. Thus, this research does not provide any new theoretical assumptions, but proves that the existing view on the relations between gentrification and social cohesion can be applied to the context of Katendrecht and should be taken into account in the future policymaking.

There are various directions in which this research can be expanded. Firstly, the redevelopment of the industrial part into a high-rise buildings area for higher-class clientele and external visitors might spatially segregate the peninsula. As those who live in Katendrecht for less than five years already differentiate between the “old” and “new” parts, such a perception might become common among both residents and visitors. Therefore, it would be interesting to study if the changing image of Katendrecht in its industrial part creates spatial segregation between its parts. As spatial segregation weakens social cohesion through the polarization of communities, this topic could be researched more when the Rijnhavenpark would be constructed. Secondly, the community-based condominium towers such as the Cohesion Cobana have spread through the world. They present a contradictory case as they promote community-buildings for the people who rent the apartments and stay in the building

temporarily. Therefore, it is thought-provoking to study the possibility of constructing social cohesion among the residents of Katendrecht. Finally, as in the last years Rotterdam South, especially Feyenoord district, has become a focus of municipality, it would be valuable to observe if it uses the same pattern of redevelopment to understand if the “oil slick” of gentrification will have covered the whole district leading to the deterioration and displacement of the Southern community. If the pattern continues, there is a high risk of destruction of the authentic image of Rotterdam South, plays is an essential role for Rotterdam.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Research Instruments

Interview Guide

Introduction:

- Personal information.
- Research explanation. I am currently writing my thesis on the topic of influence of gentrification on social cohesion in Katendrecht. To provide you with the context, in the 20th century Katendrecht was the red-light district, Chinatown and overall it was considered as a highly disadvantaged area. In the 2000s, Rotterdam Municipality focused on the redevelopment of Katendrecht through the improvement of its appearance and attraction of new higher-income residents. I am basically studying the results of gentrification on Katendrecht and particularly the community here. Thus, I am interested in how you experience the rapid changes happening in Katendrecht and how you perceive the local community.
- Process and confidentiality. This interview will take from 10 to 20 minutes. It is essential to mention that I am primarily concerned with your confidentiality. Thus, I would use pseudonyms instead of your real names as well as will not mention any personal information in my thesis. Besides, only I and probably my supervisor will have access to the transcripts. Thus, I need to ask you for the permission to use your answers in my thesis. I would like to record our conversation on my audio recorder, so I need to ask if you give me permission to record you.

Gentrification and its consequences (originals and Katendrechtors)

- To introduce yourself, tell me please how old are you, where you come from and what is your occupation?
- How long have you been living in Katendrecht?
- Do you rent or own property in Katendrecht?
- Why did you decide to move to this neighborhood?
- How would you describe the neighborhood before the changes started?
- As I have mentioned earlier, in the beginning of 2000s, Rotterdam municipality considered Katendrecht as a disadvantaged, poor and unsafe area. Will you agree with this statement? Why or why not?
- When do you think the main changes started in the neighborhood?
- In which ways has Katendrecht changed in the last couple of years?
- What do you think was the main catalyst of change?

Image of Katendrecht (all interviewees)

- Why did you decide to move to this neighborhood?
- So, you have been living in Katendrecht for... (time). Have you noticed any changes happening in the neighborhood?
- How would you briefly describe the neighborhood now?
 - Follow-up: built environment, social structure, safety, amenities

- What do you think is the reputation of the neighborhood in the rest of Rotterdam or probably the Netherlands?
- Do you think the reputation has changed in the last 14 years?

Urban Transformations (all interviewees)

As you may know, housing crisis is one of the most crucial issues for the Netherlands, which leads to the constantly rising prices for rent and purchase of housing. In Katendrecht, the prices of buying houses increased by nearly five times, showing the impact of gentrification.

- Do you experience the changes in prices for rent / housing and overall price of living?
- Have these changes affected you?
- How have the shops and cafes change through time?
- Are there more amenities than there used to be?
- Do you go to the cafés and restaurants in Katendrecht or do you usually go to the center?
- Do you find newly opened amenities expensive or relatively normal for Rotterdam?
- Do you think that Katendrecht is an expensive neighborhood to live in?
- Have you ever thought of leaving the neighborhood as a result of growing prices?

Social Cohesion (all interviewees)

- Would you describe the neighborhood as safe?

Research tells us that the social composition of the neighborhood can change as a consequence of gentrification

- Do you see changes in the social composition? Looking at the income, ethnicity or age (originals)
- How would you describe people that you see in the neighborhood daily?
 - Follow-up: socio-economic composition, how they interact

The government reports say that Katendrecht now is a place where students live.

- Do you see a lot of students living in the neighborhood?
- Has the number of students increased with time?
- What consequences have the changes in the neighborhood brought to your own social circle with people in the neighborhood? (originals)
- Do you have connections with your neighbors or people in the neighborhood?
 - Do you communicate with them closely or just on the greetings level?
 - How often do you communicate with your neighbors?
 - How would you describe local people with whom you communicate?
- Do you know about any of the community centers in Katendrecht?
 - Do you know Belvédère Verhalenhuis? Have you ever visited it?
- Do you participate in the events held in Katendrecht? (e.g. street gallery, market)
- To what extent do you feel attached to your neighborhood? Do you want to stay here or move to another place? Why?
- Has this sense changed through time? (originals)
- Do you feel at home in the neighborhood?
- How would you describe Katendrecht in three words

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Appendix 3: List of Tables

Concept	Indicator	Definition
Culture-led Gentrification (CG)	CG: creative class	Attracting creative entrepreneurs
	CG: creative sector	Development of shops, restaurants, studios, catering or creative industry
	CG: cultural amenities	Construction and development of cultural or creative facilities
	CG: cultural image	Improvement of the image of the city/neighborhood; using culture as an instrument of attraction
	CG: culture development	Strengthening of culture in the neighborhood; launching of cultural events
	CG; nbhd identity	Emphasizing identity of the neighborhood as an instrument of attraction
	CG: young professionals	Targeting young potentials/starters
	Katendrecht	Katendrecht-related information connected to indicators
Government-led Gentrification (GG)	GG: attractiveness	Emphasizing the need to make a city/neighborhood more attractive/beautiful
	GG: disadvantaged	Undeveloped, unsafe, unattractive area
	GG: economic development	Introduction of investments, businesses, and entrepreneurs; strengthening economic climate
	GG: gentr. as urban strategy	Using positive discourse on gentrification and its strategies
	GG: liveability	Using liveability after gentrification discourse
	GG: middle/high class	Attracting middle- or high-class residents
	GG: mixed-use	Mixing residential, working and facilities functions
	GG: renovation	Building new housing, renovating old areas
	GG: social diversity	Promoting diversity through mixing residents from various social, income, and ethnic backgrounds
GG: socio-economic capital	Attracting highly educated and higher-income residents, companies and organizations	

Table 2. Policy Analysis Coding Framework

Concept	Indicator	Definition
Background	Middle-income	Middle-income residents who bought the property; 1 st and 2 nd waves of gentrifiers; usually families
	Original	'Kaapers' that lived in Katendrecht for the major part of their lives (including the owner of the tobacco shop); usually elderly
	Student	Students that rent apartments or rooms; are not permanent but target group
	Young professional	Young starters and professionals that rent apartments; are not permanent but target group
Time	<5 years	Those who rent apartments (1-5 years)
	6-17 years	Those who own houses; middle-income residents
	18+ years	Original residents and business owner
Culture-led gentrification (CG)	Creative class	Residents who are involved in the creative industry (musician, project manager, dance teacher, designer)
Government-led Gentrification (GG)	Housing prices growth	Mentioning growing prices of housing as a result of gentrification (now/future)
	Middle/high income	Mentioning changes being targeted at the middle/high-income residents and visitors
	Rent: expensive	Evaluation of the rent price as expensive
	Rent: reasonable	Evaluation of the rent price as affordable
Social Cohesion (SC)	Attachment: no	Lack of attachment to the neighborhood; no feeling of 'home'
	Attachment: yes	Attachment to the neighborhood; feeling of 'home' and belonging
	Community: change	Change of the composition of the community (introduction of middle class / young starters)
	Community: displacement	Displacement of original residents
	Community: diverse	Ethnically diverse; a mix of social classes
	Community: elderly	Elderly people as a part of nbhd community
	Community: families	Families as a part of nbhd community
	Community: low income	Low-income residents as part of nbhd community
	Community: segregated	Division between different communities
	Community: students	Students as a part of nbhd community
	Community: young professionals	Young professionals as a part of nbhd community
	Group connection: strong	Close trust-build relations among one group of residents
	Group connection: weak	Lack of close binding among residents
	Identity: Kaapers	Identifying as Kaaper (original resident)
	Identity: Katendrecht	Identifying as Katendrecht (new resident)
	Identity: young professionals	Identifying as young professional
	Nbhd connection: strong	Strong general bonding of people within nbhd
Nbhd connection: weak	Weak general bonding of people within nbhd	
Nbhd image: original	Reputation or perception of the area based on its past and original identity	
Nbhd image: upcoming	Reputation or perception of the area as fancy / upcoming	

	Participation: Cobana	Participation in the events organized by Cohesion Cobana (residential apartments)
	Participation: Kaap	Participation in the events organized by the nbhd
	Participation: no	No participation in the events in the nbhd
	Safety: yes	Feeling of safety in the nbhd
	Values: different	Different values and norms of behavior
	Values: shared	Common values and norms of behavior
Urban Transformations (UT)	Amenities: affordable	Referring to amenities to affordable; frequent usage of amenities
	Amenities: change	Referring to change in types of amenities
	Amenities: expensive	Referring to amenities as expensive, unaffordable
	Change	Mentioning of change in the nbhd
	Construction	Mentioning of constructions in the nbhd
	Future: negative	Negative attitude towards change in the future

Table 3. Interviews Analysis Coding Framework

