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THE NEW NEIGHBORS

Socio-spatial friction in the neighborhoods of Zaanstad

P2 REPORT

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Keywords: gentrification, Zaanstad, urban renewal, neighborhood, revitalization

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OVERVIEW

This P2 report addresses the socio-spatial friction in the neighborhoods of Zaanstad due to the gentrification and urban renewal. This friction takes place in the semi public spaces between the native in new inhabitants of Zaanstad and is presented in the introduction chapter.

The purpose of the introduction chapter is to introduce the phenomenon that takes place in Zaanstad from the large scale to the neighborhoods scale. The introduction chapter will contain the authors motivation, context, and is concluded with a problem field.

The theoretical underpinning chapter elaborates on the academic research that has been done within the mentioned problem field. This theoretical underpinning includes gentrification, urban renewal and revitalization, and socio-spatial friction. Based on this literature, an position paper is used to bring the discussed literature together and review the current model of gentrification.

The methodology chapter introduces the methodological framework that presents the guideline of the thesis plan. Connected to this is the conceptual framework that concludes the phenomenon of the current process. Based on this framework, the problem statement, research aim, and research questions are formulated to counteract the phenomenon. The rest of the chapter presents the methods that will be used in the thesis plan, the intended outcomes, and the timeline.

The relevance and ethical considerations chapter will explain the relevance of the project combined with the ethical considerations. Also, the research limitations will be discussed that are clear at this stage of the P2 report.

Lastly, the appendix has a glossary explaining the terms and names that are used within this report. Also, the position paper of theory course by the author is included combined with the sources of the discussed elements of both the position paper and the other chapters.

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1. INTRODUCTION

“GOED WONEN”

This chapter will introduce the storyline of this P2 report. The roadmap represents the order of the storyline throughout the whole document. Furthermore, the storyline starts with the motivation of the author and is followed up with the context of the phenomenon that takes place in the neighborhoods of Zaanstad. The phenomenon will be concluded in this chapter with a problem field.



Fig. 1.1: Heijermansstraat
By author

1.1 ROADMAP

The roadmap shown in Fig. 1.2 presents the storyline of this reports. This report contains three chapters, starting with the introduction, followed by the methodology chapter, and concluding with the conclusion chapter.

Firstly, the introduction starts with the orientation of the thesis topic through the phenomenon and personal motivations. This orientation is an ongoing process that has been going on for me throughout the last years of my study and will probably be reformulated during the process of writing the thesis. Next, the theme is translated into a problem analysis with a problem field and will be captured into a conceptual framework that presents a summary of the mentioned phenomenon which leads to the problem statement. Together with this problem statement, a research aim is formulated to counteract the problematization of the phenomenon.

Secondly, the methodological chapter will introduce the approach definition containing the main research question and five sub questions to answer the main question. Directly after the introduction of the questions, the methods to answer the sub questions are presented. Also, the role of the position paper topic is explained in relation to one of the sub questions. After this part, the expected outcomes are mentioned in relation to the affected parties of this thesis and for who those outcomes are.

Lastly, the content of this report is summarized. The societal and scientific relevance are described together with the ethical considerations and research limitations.

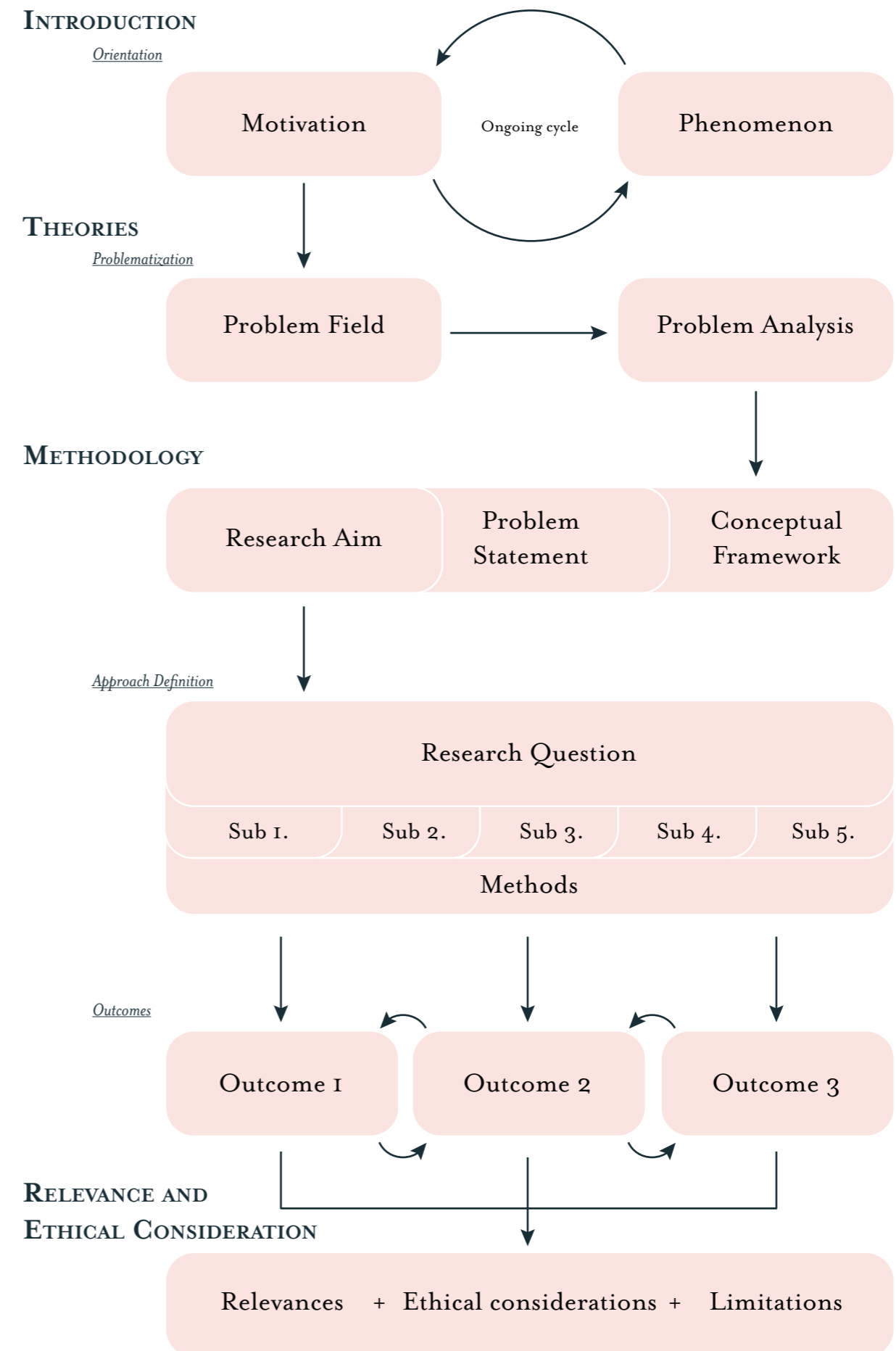


Fig. 1.2: Roadmap for P2 report
By author

1.2 MOTIVATION

Currently, there are several challenges for the existing urban tissue of Zaanstad due to the need for densification given the urban and regional expansions. Amsterdam is in a big housing shortage, resulting on extra pressures to its inhabitants to find housing in surrounding cities, such as Zaanstad, part of MRA (Amsterdam metropolitan area). Native inhabitants of the older neighborhoods see their neighbors leave (due to urban renewal) and new inhabitants are coming to the neighborhood with different income levels, backgrounds, and spatial needs. This, combined with the municipality goals to improve the city (gentrification), leads to socio-spatial friction in the semipublic spaces of neighborhoods.

As an inhabitant of Zaanstad for 24 years, I have seen multiple urban changes happening around me. Big changes such as the city center that has been drastically renewed in the last few years to attract more people to Zaanstad and bring back the cultural connection (Fig. 1.3 and Fig. 1.4). Also, big housing projects along the railway that functions as the public transport backbone between North Holland and Amsterdam, and further. But also, small scale urban renewal that provides neighborhoods with new inhabitants and better-quality housing. Only years later, further in my studies of urbanism, I realized the socio-spatial consequences that come along with these changes, such as rising housing prices, the displacement of native inhabitants for new inhabitants due to gentrification, investment in public services and economic growth, and many more.

For me, the phenomenon of the displacement of native inhabitants for new inhabitants in Zaanstad seems interesting to assess. The city is located nearby Amsterdam and therefore seems interesting for inhabitants that want to live in Amsterdam but cannot find suitable housing in the city itself. Another interesting aspect is the history of Zaanstad. Besides the fact that the Zaan region (Zaanstreek) is the oldest industrial landscape in Europe and famous for its many windmills, the municipality of Zaanstad was created in 1974 by merging small municipalities together (Bleeker, 2015). Where other cities have a strong urban center and peri-urban areas surround it, Zaanstad is a big cluster of peri-urban neighborhoods with small clusters of shops every now and then. Especially the older neighborhoods consist of native inhabitants with a strong community, which is in high contrast with the gentrification and urban renewal events of the last decades. Something that has stayed with me from my surroundings is the call for more housing for different generations of the native inhabitants. Native inhabitants are reacting in webinars and Facebook post of the municipality with terms like “where do my kids live” and “we need cheaper housing”.

However, as a native inhabitant of Zaanstad, I would like to see this phenomenon from multiple perspectives as well, such as the new inhabitants, the municipality and housing associations. Change does not have to be bad, but I would like to see more consideration and care in the urban renewal plans to enhance the socio-spatial cohesion between the new and native inhabitants.

Fig. 1.3: Part of the old city center of Zaanstad: the McDonald's with the bus line that is leading towards the train station
Source: Gemeentearchief Zaanstad, 1990



Fig. 1.4: Renewed city center of Zaanstad
Photo: Mollink Soeters PPHP, 2015



1.3 CONTEXT

1.3.1 HOUSING SHORTAGE

The Netherlands, currently, knows a great housing shortage. According to the annual study, conducted by Capital Value in cooperation with ABF Research, the shortage is calculated at 300.000 homes at the start 2021 (2021). “Based on two different scenarios, the number of the housing shortage is expected to rise by 341,000 to 414,000 between 2020-2025” (Capital Value, 2021). The estimated shortage is presented in Fig. 1.5. More concrete, the shortage is the number of households that out of necessity do not have their own home, meaning that these households are forced to live with other households. This includes people over 25 who still share a house with roommates or live with their parents, and people who live anti-squat, for example in office buildings, are also included.

The result of this shortage is that owner-occupied homes became unaffordable for residents due to the rising housing prices and the waiting list for rental housing became longer than ever (NOS, 2021).

Fig. 1.5: Prediction housing shortage (red: registered shortage, pink: estimated shortage)
By NOS and ABF, 2021

Ontwikkeling woningtekort

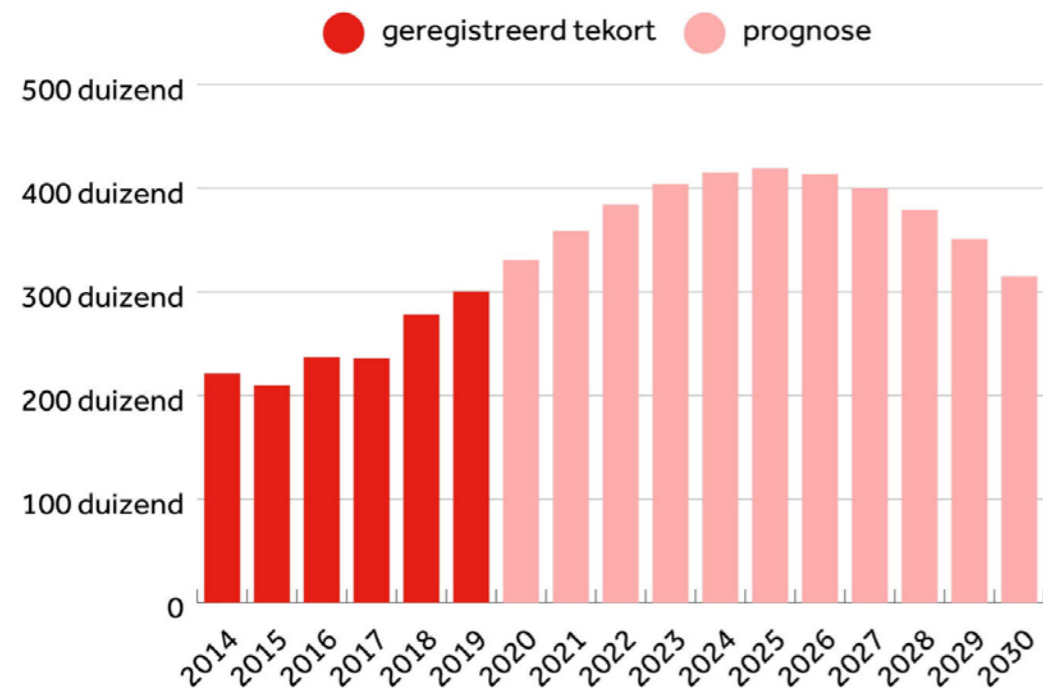
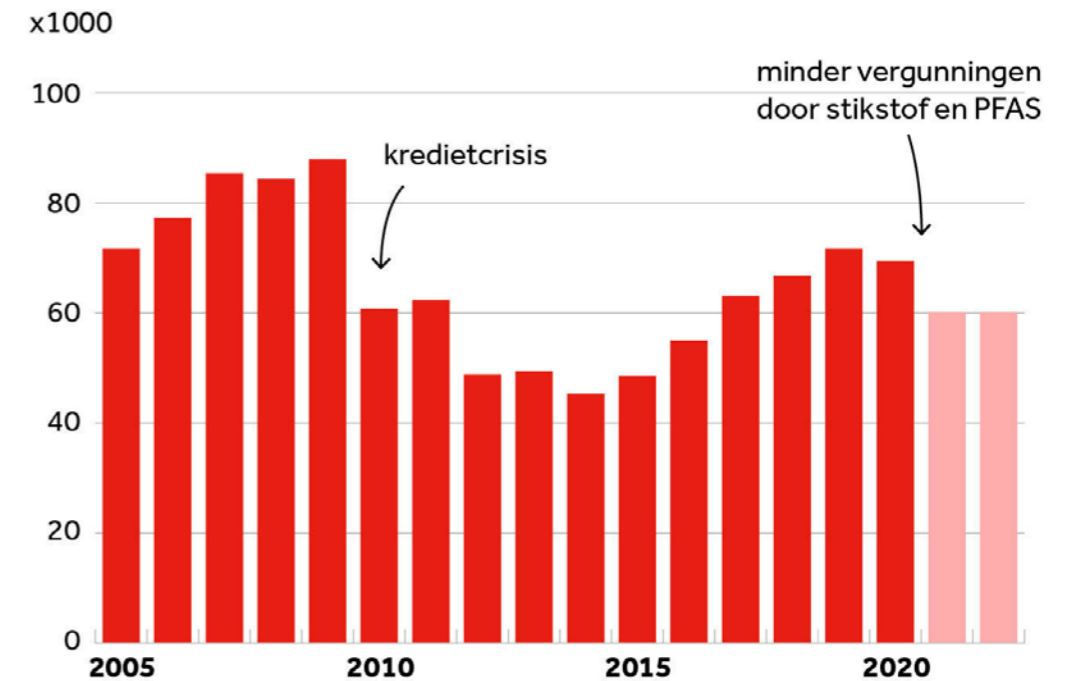


Fig. 1.6: Completed new-build homes, credit crisis 2010, fewer permits 2020
By NOS, CBS and ABF, 2021

Gereedgekomen nieuwbouwwoningen



On the timeline, there are two mayor events that caused a stop in the construction of new housing that have affected the housing supply in the last decade. The first one is because of the credit crisis in 2010 and the second one is because of the nitrogen and PFAS problem. These events are presented in Fig. 1.6 and show the amount of completed new-built homes.

The reaction of the national government (and some organizations) on this shortage is written down in the Nationale woonagenda 2018-2021. Besides the before mentioned housing shortage, the national government mentions the annual demolition of 12 to 13 thousand homes. Those numbers combined mean the task to construct 75.000 homes in average each year (Ollongren, 2018). With this document they point out that just building homes is not enough. Both the new construction and the existing housing stock must meet the demand of households looking for a home, now and in the future (Ollongren, 2018, p. 1). The answer to this task must be determined at regional and local level, as well as what else needs to be done in addition to the construction of houses, such as more traffic flow, sufficient connection to transport and attention to issues related to shrinkage.

The NOS asked different (interest) organizations and experts on their vision for a suitable solution for this housing shortage and the national plans. One option was mentioned by Woonbond, a union that represents the interests of tenants. They proposed to remove the property tax for landlords which is responsible for the decrease in the construction of new social housing. The Woonbond also proposed to reintroduce a Ministry of Housing that directs production numbers. With this Ministry of Housing, they want to guide the construction of new rental and owner-occupied homes to focus more on affordable housing (NOS, 2021).

Another organization, Vereniging Eigen Huis (the advocate of people who want to buy or already own a house), mentioned the time span between the planning of new housing and the completion of the construction. They want that the permits must be issued smoother, objection procedures shorter and construction processes faster (NOS, 2021). Also, real estate association NVM proposes that municipalities need to be quicker with selecting areas for new development. Therefore, the scope of the municipalities needs to shift more towards city expansion projects instead of inner-city densification (NOS, 2021). There are, of course, more actors and stakeholders involved in this process. A selection of those actors and stakeholders will therefore be interviewed, analyzed, or studied in a later stadium of the thesis (for more information, see the "Research question" on page 48, the "Sub questions" on page 48, and the "Methods" on page 52).

Coming back to solving the shortage, 34 organizations (see Fig. 1.7) worked together on a national plan and published the "Actieagenda wonen" (Action agenda Housing) in February 2021.

Their plan can be sorted out in four main goals:

1. Build one million new homes.
2. Keep housing affordable for tenants and buyers.
3. Improving districts and neighborhoods and keeping them vital and livable.
4. Make all homes more sustainable faster.

They want to accomplish these goals with the support of the next government. Therefore, they want the government to have a more active role in the housing market with a Minister of Housing that must direct the housing program. They also propose more financial support and the improvement of the conditions for their investments. Lastly, they propose fewer rules and more space to work well together in practice (Aeden, 2021). The goals they want to accomplish are for past, current, and future plans, and will help to solve the housing shortage with a bigger focus on affordable housing. However, the aim from the national government is clear but passes on the task to solve this.

Fig. 1.7: The 34 organizations that worked together on the "Actieagenda Wonen"
By Aedes, 2021



1.3.2 AMSTERDAM METROPOLITAN AREA

The problem of the housing shortage translates differently in specific areas and, therefore, will be handled differently. The chapter on housing shortage revealed that there are different levels of how the housing plans are constructed, and the great amount of time that is needed between the planning process and the completion of these housing. As mentioned in the motivation, the scope of this thesis topic will be on neighborhoods of Zaanstad. Besides the national plans and the plans of the municipality, the plans for Zaanstad are also influenced by the MRA (Amsterdam metropolitan area). The Amsterdam Metropolitan Area is a partnership of the provinces of North Holland and Flevoland, 32 municipalities and the Amsterdam Transport Region (See Fig. 1.8 for an overview map of the MRA). The Amsterdam Metropolitan Area is one of the top five economically strong regions in Europe and has drawn up an agenda for the future at the beginning of 2016. Their priority is to boost the economy, improve accessibility and build housing. The latter more urgent due to the popularity of the metropolitan region among home seekers (Metropoolregio Amsterdam, 2021).

Within this collaboration between the municipalities, a plan has been made for the division of the new housing along with guidelines for the development of economical, spatial, and mobility themes. The region has made an agreement with the national government to build an average of 15.000 homes per year, by 2025 (Metropoolregio Amsterdam, 2020). The region also forecasts that the housing requirement will grow by at least 250,000 homes by 2040. Due to the scarce of

Fig. 1.9: Map of population numbers of the MRA
Illustration by author, source: Metropoolregio Amsterdam, 2020

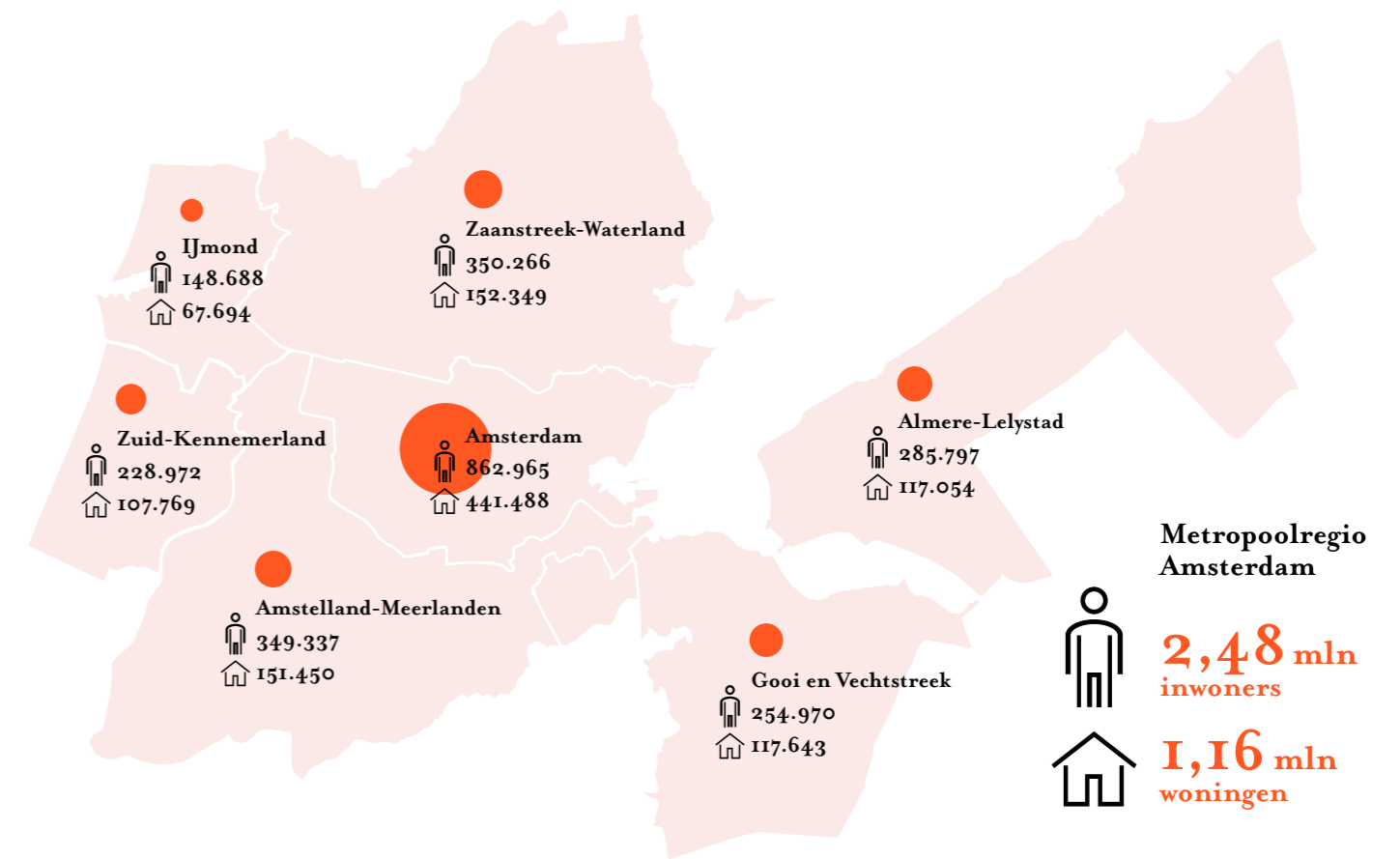
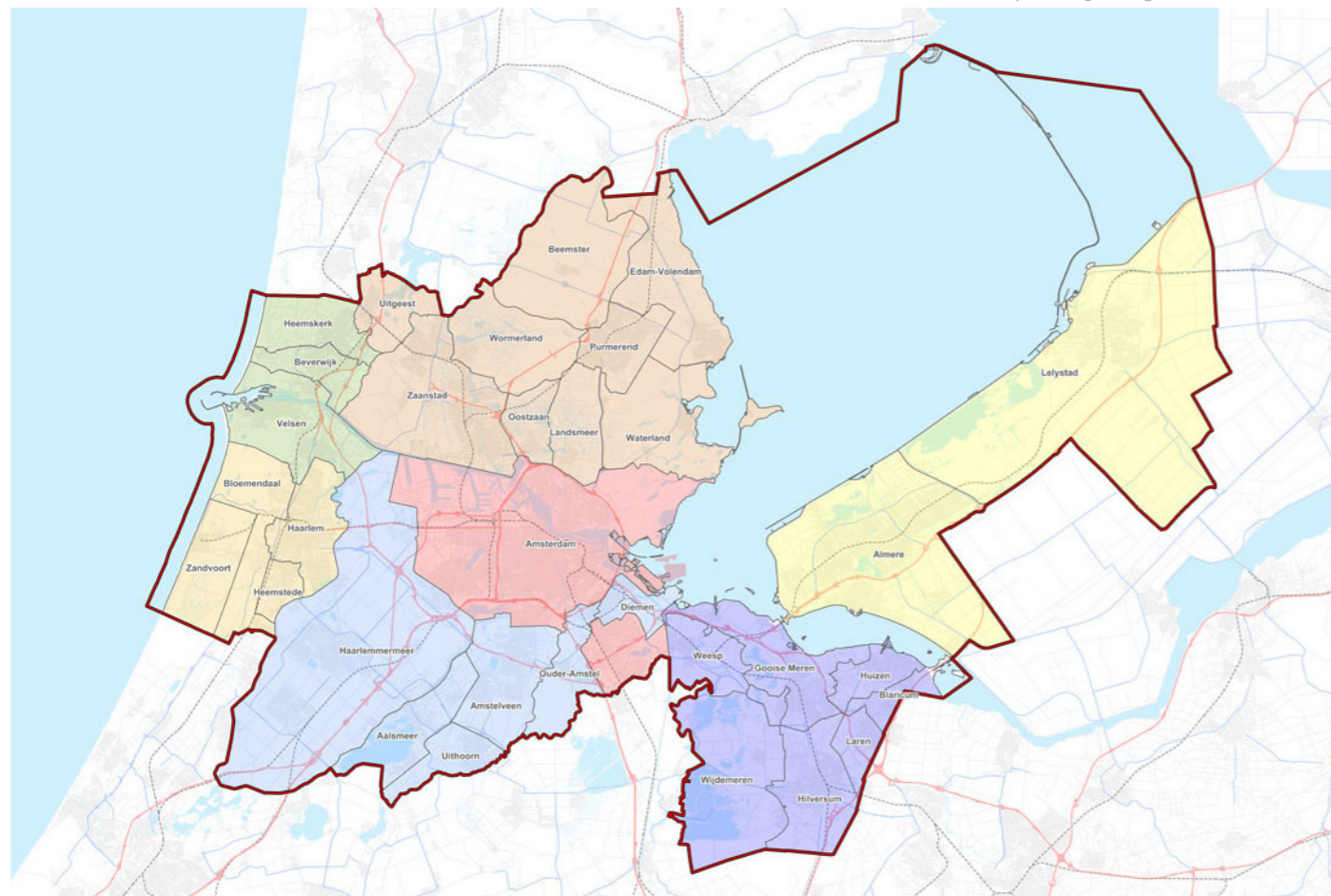
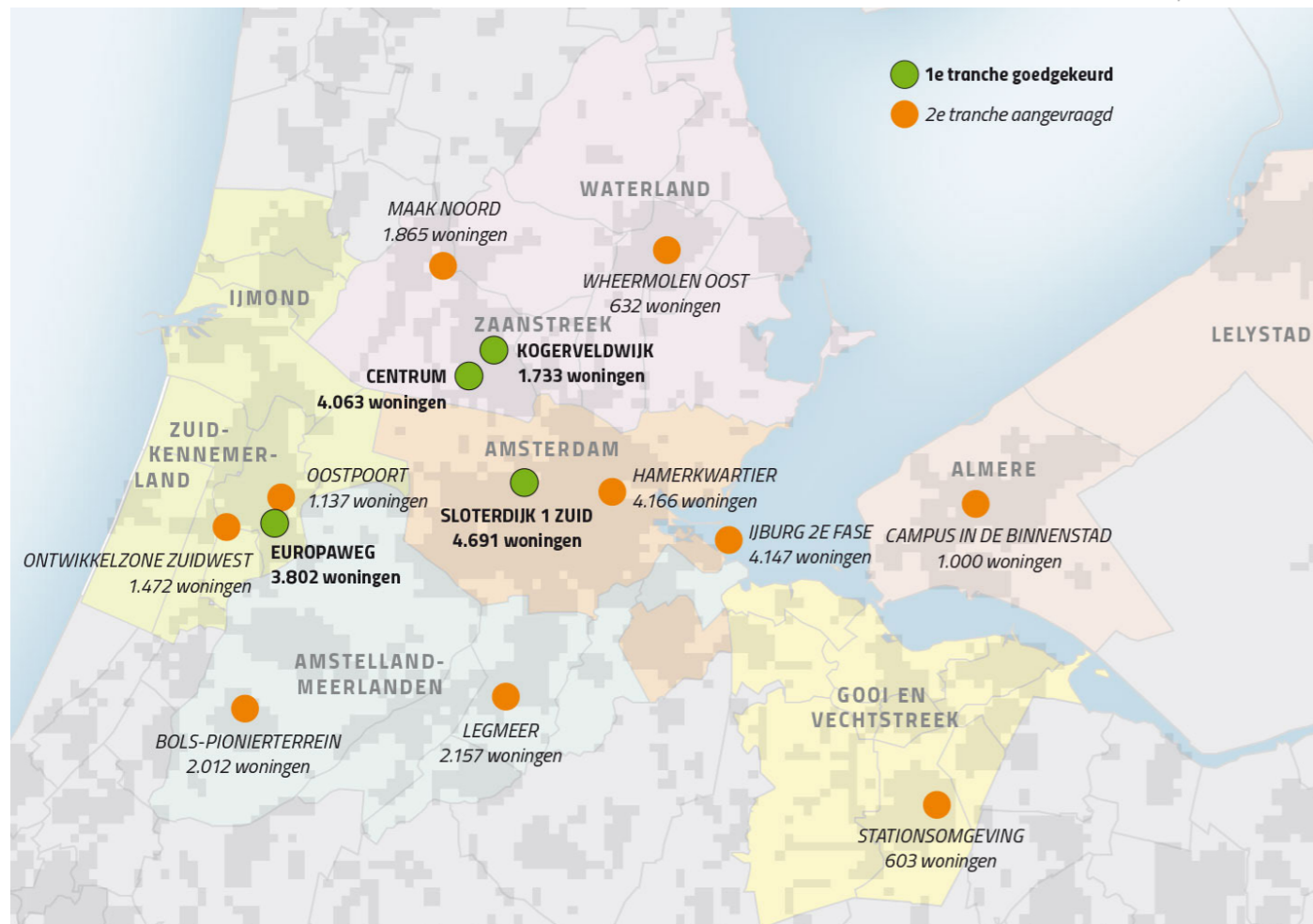


Fig. 1.8: Map of the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area
By Metropoolregio Amsterdam, 2021



land to build on, this task will mostly be answered within the built context. In Fig. 1.9 is visible that Amsterdam is the biggest, most central, municipality within the region. The city of Amsterdam has been growing fast within the last decades and has even made it on the list of 'global cities'. The other municipalities of the MRA are taking advantage of Amsterdam as well. Their inhabitants have a great potential of finding work in this economically active city, while the municipalities are creating more spatial neighborhoods for those inhabitants. Also, the salary the inhabitants make in Amsterdam, will be spent on the public goods of the neighborhoods.

Fig. 1.10: Applications submitted by MRA municipalities for a contribution from the first and second tranche of the Residential Building Impulse
By NUL20, 2020



However, the housing shortage is pressuring the market and therefore people who want to live in Amsterdam, or even its own inhabitants, need to find housing in the surrounding area of Amsterdam, which is mostly the other municipalities of the MRA. The current plans and applications for new plans are presented in Fig. 1.10. These plans increasing pressure on cities like Zaanstad, as the plans also need to take the inhabitants into account who prefer to live in Amsterdam but cannot find a suitable house. Therefore, the inhabitants of Zaanstad are mixed with different target groups in existing communities. Most of these new inhabitants work in the city of Amsterdam or its surroundings which is creating pressure on the mobility network as well. Also, the new target groups have a different demand of public goods, therefore creating a shift in the supply of stores. This process can be described as gentrification. Fig. 1.11 and Fig. 1.12 show data on the socio-economic differences between the different sub-regions. It is clear that the inhabitants from Amsterdam are younger in average and have in general a higher income. The next part will elaborate more on the of gentrification with these target groups.

Fig. 1.11: Age structure per (sub) region

Illustration by author, source: CBS, MRA Agenda 2020-2040, 2020

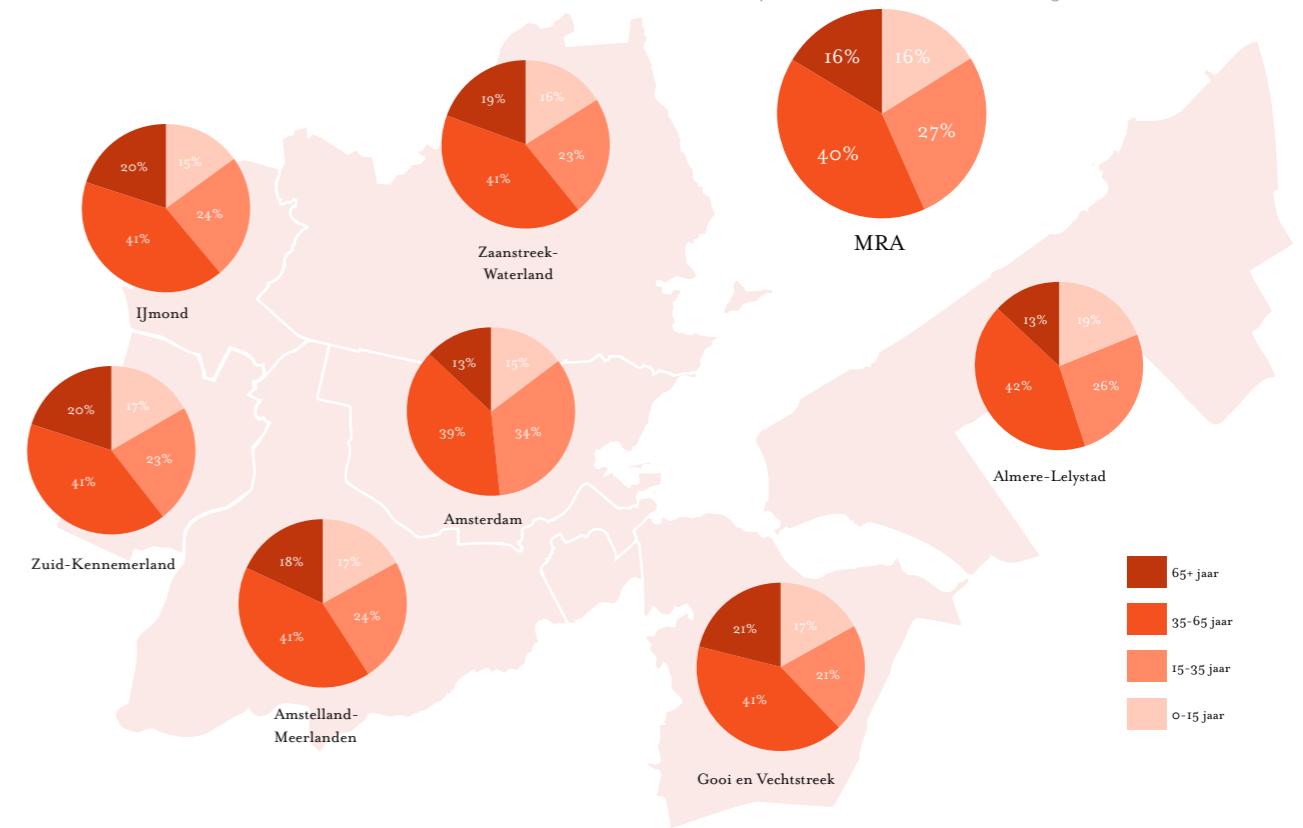
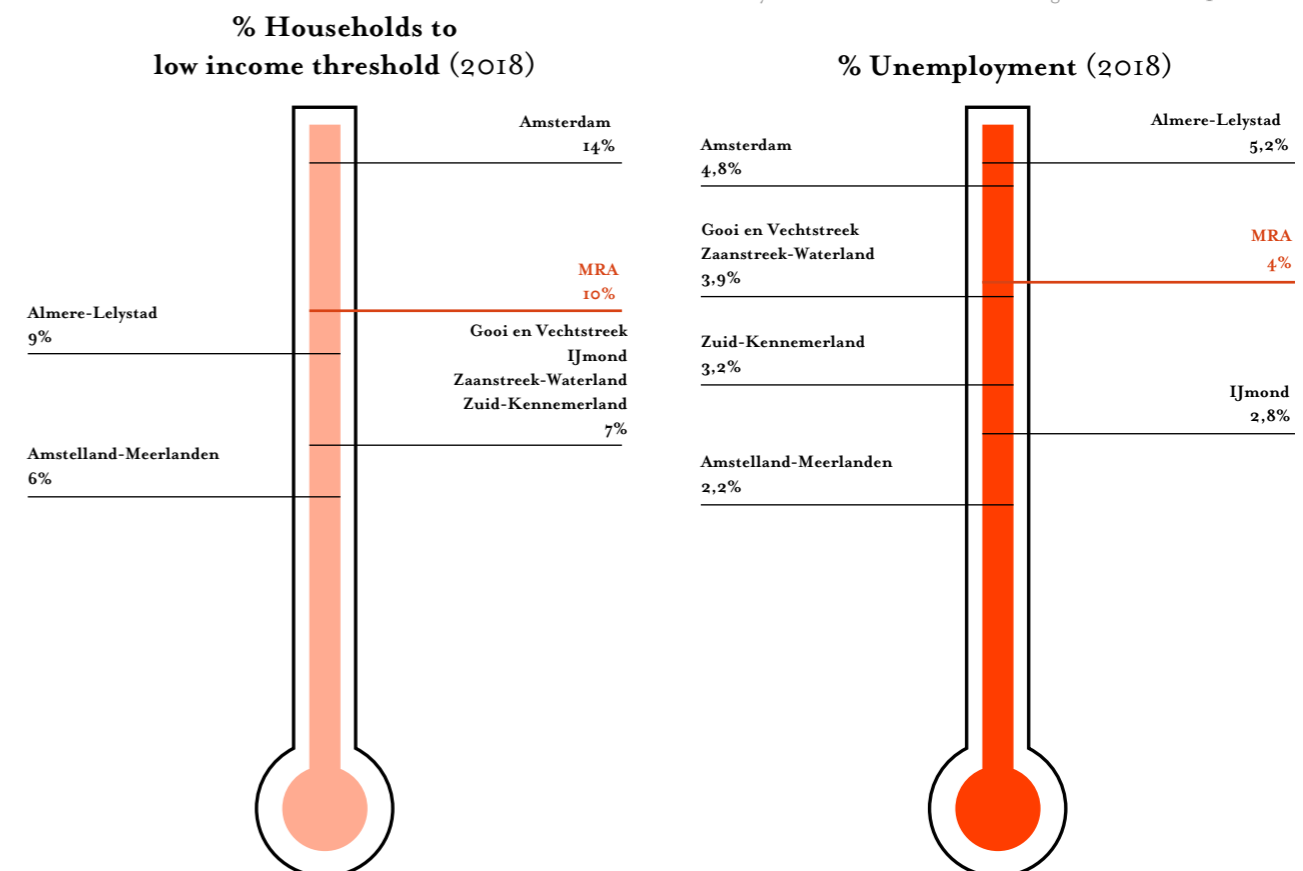


Fig. 1.12: Employment per (sub) region

Illustration by author, source: CBS, MRA Agenda 2020-2040, 2020



1.3.3 GENTRIFICATION IN ZAASTAD

Gentrification is a process of upgrading a neighborhood or city district in the social, cultural and economic field, attracting wealthy new residents and users. This process was first mentioned by Ruth Glass in 1964. She was doing research on the relationship between housing and class friction in the English cities and noted a pattern: the return of the middle class to the cities and the refurbishing of stately Victorian houses was accompanied by a shift from rent to sale and the displacement of the working class, for whom the housing became unaffordable (Glass, 1964).

Later, this process was recognized in more western european cities. In the context of the MRA, the Jordaan is one of the most famous ones. Old characteristic houses were being bought by the municipality and housing associations in the 1980s and put in the rental market. Both parties invested in this neighborhood and built some social housing as well. In the 1990s, the housing market began to rise for the inner-city of Amsterdam as well as the Jordaan. Project developers, contractors and investors bought the housing which was now an attractive place for many highly educated people in their thirties and forties (yuppies). However, this groups were displacing the original inhabitants of the Jordaan.

This kind of displacement by other target groups is also happening now within neighborhoods of Zaanstad, such as the Rosmolenbuurt (Fig. 1.13 and Fig. 1.14). This is mostly happening due to the pressure on the housing market, especially from Amsterdam. However, the gentrification of the Rosmolenbuurt is not the classic or 'natural' kind of gentrification as described by Ruth Glass. Nevertheless, the transformation of the neighborhood has a number of basic patterns of gentrification, as the intention is to partly replace the existing population with a different target group: owner-occupiers instead of social tenants (Reijnders & Bosch, 2012). Reinders and Bosch also mention that gentrification is not only a physical and social process. In the Rosmolenbuurt it can be seen how the process of urban renewal also affects less tangible "matter", such as the identity of the neighborhood, the relationships between groups of residents and feelings of bonding and familiarity (2012).

This relationship between the different target groups is on pressure as housing associations start selling parts of their older properties. The sold housing is most of the times in bad shape, therefore, the plot becomes interesting for investors to start building new owner-occupied housing blocks in an existing neighborhood with a strong community. This strong community is a rather appealing characteristic of a neighborhood for groups who cannot find a home in Amsterdam (Reijnders & Bosch, 2012). However, there is a difference in how both target groups want to live within their neighborhood. The older inhabitants are strongly connected to each other, know a lot about each other, and have been living in that neighborhood for a long time. This way of living is in contrast with the new, and most of the times, temporary target groups. They want a neighborhood with character and want to have the feeling of community around them. However, they often do not participate in those communities and are more focused on the private aspect of their house. Therefore, Reinders and Bosch state that there is a socio-economic gap between the old and new inhabitants (2012).

Besides the socio-economic gap is also a socio-spatial gap between the old and new inhabitants. Reinders and Bosch analyzed the social relationships between different target groups in four neighborhoods in Zaanstad. They also discovered that differences in income could lead to friction as some people were spending more money and maintenance than other in their front garden. Which was leading to at one side jealousy, and on the other side disappointment and incomprehension in the

carelessness of some inhabitants. This is applicable for both private and semi-public spaces. Whereas the different target groups feel a different form of attachment to their surrounding such as soccer fields or flowerbeds.

The socio-spatial distance between the target groups is being increased by the pressure on the housing market. As native inhabitants need to make room for new target groups, the native inhabitants feel left out in the recent housing plans. The new housing is not for them, and the next generation will have trouble finding a place nearby as well due to this shortage.

Fig. 1.13: Old and new housing within the Rosmolenbuurt
By Google Maps, 2021



Fig. 1.14: Old and new housing on the Kopermolenstraat
By author



1.4 ROSMOLENBUURT

The Rosmolenbuurt in Zaanstad (Fig. 1.15) is a textbook example of the discussed phenomenon and one of the case study neighborhoods of the research by Reinders and Bosch (2012). Therefore, this neighborhood will be the main case of this thesis plan. The pictures of these and the next pages are taken with the first site visit of the neighborhood and present a first glimpse of the socio-spatial context.

Fig. 1.16 presents the spatial boundary between the old neighborhood and the urban renewal of the former industrial site. The urban renewal is spatially disconnected due to the small waterfront and 'industrial' bridge connections to enter the area. Fig. 1.17 shows an example of the pricing of a buyers-oriented house in one of the renewed building blocks along the Rosmolenstraat, which supports the change of classes between the old and new housing within the neighborhood.

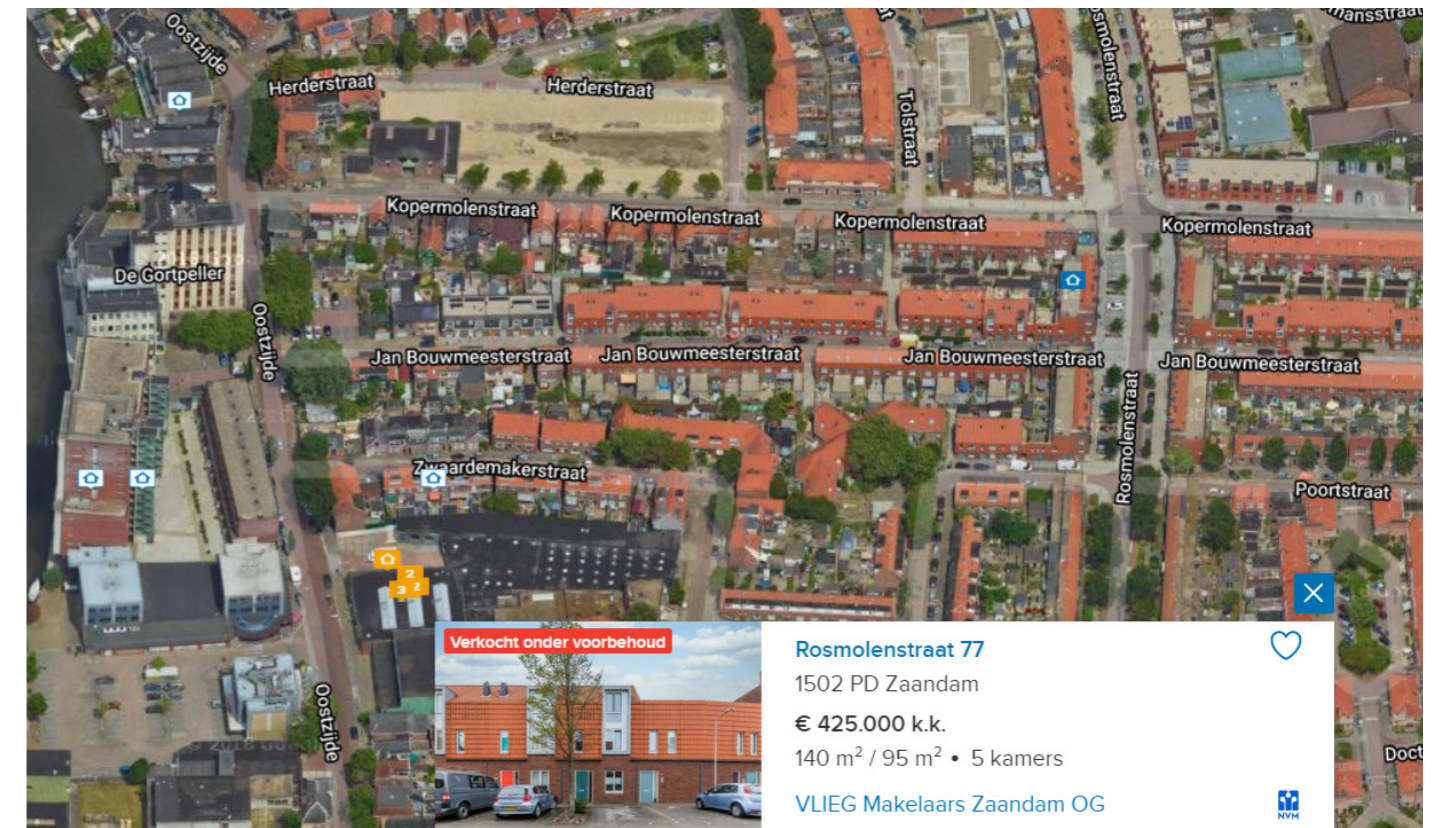
Fig. 1.16: The Oostzijde, one of the mayor roads of the neighborhood, spatial barrier between old and new
By author



Fig. 1.15: Map of the most central neighborhoods in Zaanstad, the Rosmolenbuurt is located in the middle of the image along the Zaan
By author



Fig. 1.17: Screenshot of buyers oriented housing in the renewed part of the Rosmolenstraat (18-05-2021) from funda
Source funda.nl



The Rosmolenstraat is one of the most central streets within the neighborhood. Fig. 1.18 presents the look of most of the older housing in this street. Noticeable for this street is the amount of blinded windows (closed curtains and window film) which is a sign for preferred privacy for many urbanists. However, there is something contradictory within this situation. These inhabitants have put a bench in front of the house, suggesting the a less privatized way of living in comparison with a lounge set in the garden. Also, taking a closer look reveals a drawer placed on the bench with a note on it: to take with you and / or to exchange for free (Fig. 1.19), which is giving a mixed signal while looking at the house.

Fig. 1.20 and Fig. 1.21 shows the contrast between the old and new blocks in the Rosmolenstraat. Whereas the older blocks are built with less quality and smaller households, the new blocks are of a way better quality with much more living space (see also Fig. 1.17). The difference between social classes in this one particular street is already quite high and representative for more streets in this neighborhood.

Fig. 1.18: Older housing with closed windows but bench in front of the house, Rosmolenstraat
By author



Fig. 1.19: Zoom-in of the drawer placed on the bench (translation: to take with you and / or to exchange for free)
By author



Fig. 1.20: Older apartments on the Rosmolenstraat
By author



Fig. 1.21: Renewed part of the Rosmolenstraat
By author



1.5 PROBLEM FIELD

1.5.1 HOUSING SHORTAGE

The housing shortage is one of the main factors for the pressure on the housing market. According to the annual study, conducted by Capital Value in cooperation with ABF Research, the shortage is calculated at 300.000 homes at the start 2021 (2021). “Based on two different scenarios, the number of the housing shortage is expected to rise by 341,000 to 414,000 between 2020-2025” (Capital Value, 2021). This housing shortage creates an unhealthy competition in the housing market that makes many of the homes inaccessible to lower classes. Also, this competition is a stimulus for investors and developers to buy up houses and sell or rent them for profit, which is intended for a higher class than the current inhabitants.

1.5.2 GENTRIFICATION

Gentrification is a process has been mentioned as one of the biggest forces in shaping contemporary cities (Douchet, 2014). The term gentrification was mentioned first by Ruth Glass (1964) to describe the upgrading of old working-class neighborhoods in the inner-city of London. These changes include a process of social, cultural, and economic upgrading of a neighborhood or district and is achieved by the attraction of wealthy new residents and users. However, the downside of this change is the replacement of lower-class inhabitants (Glass, 1964; Smith, Gentrification and uneven development, 1982; Van Weesep, 1994). Also, due to the new inhabitants, the public goods and services will shift towards the demands of the wealthier middle-class inhabitants, making the public goods and services less financial accessible for the lower-class inhabitants (Smith, 1982).

1.5.3 STATE-LED GENTRIFICATION

Since the introduction of gentrification by Ruth Glass (1964), the process has evolved through different wide-scale political and economic contexts. This evolution can be divided into three waves based on their political and economic context and more particular, the increasing role of the government in this process (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). In the first wave, the national and local governments were actively trying to find a way to counteract the private-market economic decline of these neighborhoods (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). This kind of sporadic and widespread reinvestment was mostly funded by the public sector (Hamnett, 1973; Williams, 1976; Smith, 1979). Later, more connected with the third wave gentrification, the role of the government in the process has changed. The third wave is a purer expression of the processes and economic conditions that make reinvestment in dis-invested inner-urban areas so attractive for developers and investors (Smith & DeFilippis, 1999). Meanwhile, the local governments use this trend to counteract the problematic and lower-income neighborhoods with new planning strategies. Therefore, the local governments are forcing gentrification as a tool to revitalize specific neighborhoods (Aalbers, 2011), while the positive and negative effects of these changes are rather class specific (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009).

1.5.4 URBAN RENEWAL

Urban renewal, or urban redevelopment, can go together with state-led gentrification in the Dutch context. Whereas gentrification is the process of economic, demographic, and socio-cultural restructuring in society (Rose, 1984; Smith, 1987; Warde, 1991), urban renewal is a rather big and radical transformation of a piece of urban tissue. The urban renewal can take different forms such as the redevelopment of a few housing blocks to intensify or enhance the quality of the housing, but also the transformation of monofunctional areas such as industrial sites into residential areas. With this transformation comes the often-hard barrier between old and new urban textures with the often a difference of classes as well (due to the state-led gentrification goals). In some cases, this transformation increases the polarization between the classes due to the spatial fragmentation (Reijnders & Bosch, 2012).

1.5.5 DEINDUSTRIALIZATION

With the deindustrialization trend, the industry moves out of the cities towards the edges. Also, the industries are shrinking due to the technical innovations making manufacturing less labor intensive and more compact (Rowthorn & Ramaswamy, 1997). Older manufacturing sites within the urban tissue will potentially transformed into new residential areas. Some of these areas are rather strong connected with working-class neighborhoods at the fringe of these industrial sites as these neighborhoods have been built mostly for the employees of the factories. However, some urban policies are focusing on upgrading those neighborhoods (Smith, 1996). Therefore, the former industrial sites are being made for higher classes than the working-class neighborhoods, creating both a socio-economic and a spatial barrier between new and old.

1.5.6 HOUSING ASSOCIATIONS

The Netherlands is famous for its relatively big share of social housing. Part of this social housing is in bad shape due to their age, maintenance, or cheap building methods and the Dutch urban policies demand a certain quality of which the social housing need to fulfill. Therefore, there is a big task for the housing associations to fix these housing. However, there is a max of money that the housing association may ask for their housing to protect the users, which is making it extremely hard to invest in the social housing and still make profit in the end. With the current housing shortage and rising housing market prices, it is often more interesting to sell some property plots for money that can be reinvested in new complexes instead of repairing the existing social housing. As a result, current inhabitants of the social housing may be displaced to other neighborhoods as the new to be built housing is for other classes than the previous inhabitants (Smith, 1996).

1.5.7 SOCIAL MIXING

Social mixing is often part of urban policies on the physical renewal of post-war neighborhoods in the Netherlands (Aalbers, 2011). Planners and politicians argue “that a policy that promotes ‘social mixing’ could strengthen the social tissue of a disadvantaged neighborhood [sic], thus saving its inhabitants from living in an environment that allegedly inhibits social and economic integration” (Uitermark, 2003). However, in practice, the different social groups appear to seek little contact with each other and are less willing to help their neighbors than expected (Aalbers, 2011). Therefore, in some cases it is unclear if the post-war neighborhoods experience profit from social mixing.

1.6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this chapter has introduced the phenomenon of gentrification and urban renewal in one of the neighborhoods of Zaanstad. Also, with this phenomenon, the context has been mentioned such as the great housing shortage, metropolitan context of the MRA, connection to the housing associations, and the socio-spatial friction has been introduced. The problem field has summarized the connected problematization themes that are interwoven within the phenomenon, and form a basis for the next chapter, the theoretical underpinning.

2. THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING

The theoretical underpinning takes the discussed phenomenon of the introduction further into the academic readings on gentrification, urban renewal, and socio-spatial friction as a result of this phenomenon. Furthermore, the topics are discussed in both regular context, and the theories connected to the thesis topic. The chapter is concluded with an position paper of the author to evaluate the contemporary model of gentrification and assess the role of the Dutch government in this process.

2.1 GENTRIFICATION

2.1.1 RUTH GLASS

Ruth Glass was an urban planner, sociologist, and founder of UCL's Centre for Urban Studies. With this wide background, she did research on metropolitan housing (especially in London). Her work became famous as she published one of her most influential books 'London: Aspects of Change' in 1964. She coined the term 'gentrification' to describe the movement and outcomes of demographic shifts within urban environments (Glass, 1964). More concrete, gentrification is a process of upgrading a neighborhood or district in the social, cultural, and economic fields, attracting wealthy new inhabitants and the accompanying displacement of the lower classes from the district. The upgrading is accompanied by the rise of real estate prices and rents. She discovered this phenomenon as she recognized a pattern between housing and class struggle in the English cities; the return of the middle class to the cities and the refurbishment of stately Victorian homes was accompanied by a shift from rent to purchase and the displacement of the working class, for whom housing became unaffordable (Glass, 1964). This phenomenon was happening in many other cities around the world, especially western Europe and some big city in America. Therefore, many other authors have been researching at gentrification in their own context after 1964 and contributed to it throughout the years.

2.1.2 WAVES IN GENTRIFICATION

Ever since Glass (1964) introduced the process of gentrification, many urbanists and urban geographers started researching and debating on this process. The term gentrification has been evolved throughout the years and reformed by the context of the authors. The changes in gentrification are related to larger economic and political structuring. Connected to this aspect is the increasing role of the state in the gentrification process (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Hackworth and Smith (2001) conceptualized these changes of gentrification throughout the years (See Fig. 2.2). These changes can be divided into three waves that are representative for the trends overall the world, although the exact year of each event might differ per specific location.

FIRST WAVE

The first wave, the most sporadic and widespread form of gentrification, is the most connected to the description of Glass (1964). The economic recession was a result of disinvestment of the inner-city housing and its public spaces within cities in Australia, north eastern cities of USA, and cities in Western Europe (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Later, these cities became target for new reinvestment, often combined with gentrification. This kind of sporadic and widespread reinvestment was mostly funded by the public sector (Hamnett, 1973; Williams, 1976; Smith, 1979), as both the national and local governments were actively trying to find a way to counteract the private-market economic decline of these neighborhoods (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). As Glass stated before (1964), the profit due to this process was rather class specific. In contrast, these changes were often worsening the conditions for the working class (Smith, 1996). In this wave, the state was involved in a way that was focused on repairing and declining the recession in general (this will change within the next waves).

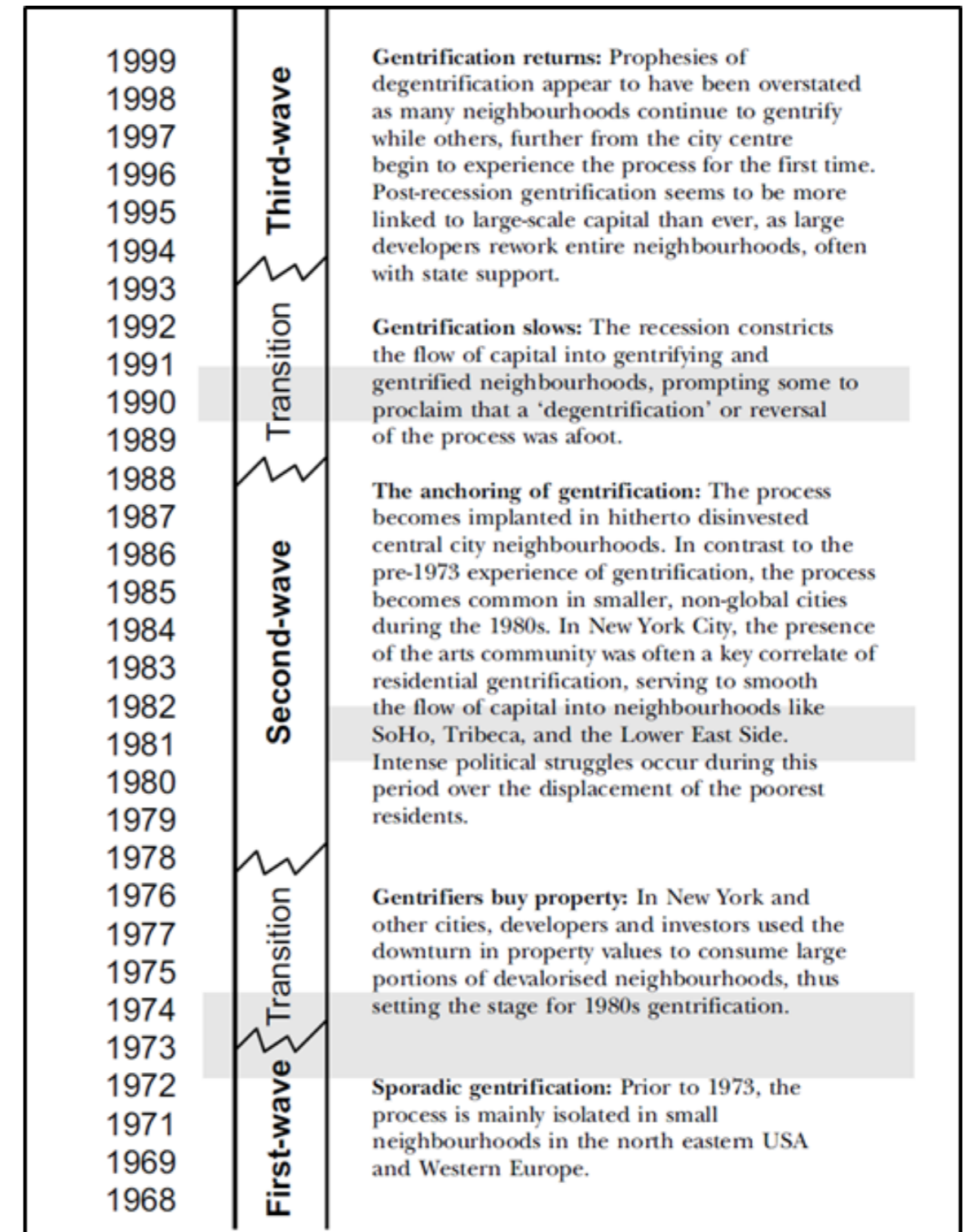


Fig. 2.2: Schematic history of gentrification
By Hackworth & Smith, 2001

After 1973, the recession influenced many productive sectors with trends such as: the increasing global competition due to the growing industrial powers of Germany and Japan; competition from the cheap labor of industrializing countries; and crisis in the financial sector (Harvey, 1989). This economic recession encouraged the shift from capital from unproductive to productive sectors. This event led to reinvestment in central city office, retail and residential activities, and recreation (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Harvey, 1985). Meanwhile, some investors in big cities saw the opportunity to consume large portions of housing in these affected neighborhoods.

SECOND WAVE

The second wave began in the late 1970s when the depressed housing market started to revive. With this event, more cities around the world started to experience gentrification as cities started to invest in both new (expansion) neighborhoods, and the older neighborhoods with strategies to attract this form of investment (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). The role of the government has shifted towards the investment in the private market rather than directly orchestrating gentrification (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). The second wave was lasting almost to the end of the 1980s and was characterized by the integration of gentrification into a broader range of cultural and economic processes at both the national and global scales (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Generally, the gentrification was increasing the economic and cultural quality of a neighborhood, which was celebrated by some residents (Caufield, 1994). However, apart from the already mentioned class specific effects of the first wave, gentrification was more challenged than ever by homelessness, eviction, and the increasing vulnerability of poor residents. Which was also happening in the Dutch context in places like the Bijlmer (Amsterdam). In the US, activists used the apparatus of local government to fight gentrification, but their resistance struggled to counteract the overwhelming advance of the process in these neighborhoods by the decade's end (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). In the Dutch context, the state is more actively counteracting these problems rather than stopping the gentrification process (Aalbers, 2011), which is typical for the next wave.

Around 1988, the gentrification process slowed down due to the recession constricting the flow of capital into gentrifying and gentrified neighborhoods. Some authors argue to witness 'degeneration' in this transition period (Bagli, 1991). Reasoning for this could have been to the aging of the Baby Boom generation, and the relative reduction of the inner-city housing supply (Bourne, 1993).

THIRD WAVE

Half a decade later, the third wave of gentrification has started. This wave is the purest expression (of the three) of the processes and economic conditions that make reinvestment in dis-invested inner-urban areas so attractive for developers and investors (Smith & DeFilippis, 1999). "Overall, economic forces driving gentrification seem to have eclipsed cultural factors as the scale of investment is greater and the level of corporate, as opposed to smaller-scale capital, has grown" (Hackworth & Smith, 2001, p. 5). With these economic forces, the locations for gentrification shifted towards the more remote (outside of the city core) neighborhoods as well.

2.1.3 STATE-LED GENTRIFICATION

The third wave gentrification suggests a rather guided form of gentrification, where the government together with local actors attempt to stimulate the positive effects that come with gentrification. They have an aim for specific locations, "areas with high rates of unemployment, nuisance and social problems are selected for extensive urban renewal programs which aim to reduce social housing and expand the stock of private rental and owner-occupied housing" (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009, p. 62). This way of guided gentrification is also called state-led gentrification. The National Government and local authorities are investing large amounts of money in the restructuring of the housing stock in deprived post-war neighborhoods (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). In general, research mentions that the presence of a larger middle class can uplift the social and financial support for key facilities, improve the status of a neighborhood, and this can also be beneficial for the lower-class inhabitants of the neighborhood (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009).

2.2 URBAN RENEWAL & REVITALIZATION

Urban renewal and revitalization programs are aiming for the upgrading of (often) multi-problematic neighborhoods such as a high number of unemployment, crime, and nuisance. The Dutch policies connected to these programs are using social mixing to upgrade those neighborhoods.

2.2.1 SOCIAL MIXING

Strongly connected to the state-led gentrification is the social mixing strategy in the Dutch context. The Netherlands is famous for their planning strategies, for both the urban expansion plans of after the second world war neighborhoods (and before), and more recently, the urban renewal (Wagenaar, 2016). The target locations of the urban renewal strategies are often in relation with neighborhoods of the lower classes. The dominance in these strategies is therefore: “a serious upgrading of the housing stock in deprived areas to increase the share of the middleclass” (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009, p. 61). The process of placing new (higher) classes into deprived or lower-class neighborhoods is mentioned as the social mixing strategy. With social mixing, the Dutch government together with local actors “attempt to improve not only the neighborhood but also the poor residents living in it, by providing them with more wealthy neighbors who can lend them a hand and show them a way out of deprivation” (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009, p. 61). Van der Graaf and Veldboer (2009) mention that the living too close to people with the same kind of lack of opportunities is believed to reduce chances for upward mobility. However, many authors in and outside the Netherlands argue that this strategy of social mixing is doing more harm than good for poor residents (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). Research by Blokland (2001) identified that higher income groups do not develop more civil action in neighborhoods than lower income residents.

Various authors mention that the middle-class residents living in deprived areas are hardly willing to contact poorer groups in their neighborhood. They demonstrated that in newly mixed neighborhoods social contacts between different status groups were limited (Duyvendak, Kleinhans, & Veldboer, 2000; Beckhoven & Kempen, 2002). Research has shown that forcing the different groups to have a shared ‘meeting’ space (the possibility of contact) was rarely leading to ‘mating’ (engaging into meaningful contact) (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). Instead of interacting with each other, the different target groups mainly lived apart from each other and searched mostly contact with people who are more like themselves (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). The research of Van Bergeijk a.o. (2008) confirms that of all the target groups living in the renewed neighborhoods, the middle class has the least contacts.

2.3 SOCIO-SPATIAL EFFECTS

The Dutch policies on social mixing are based on three motives: neighborhood improvement (by upgrading the housing stock and facilities in the neighborhood), social equality (improving the wellbeing of disadvantaged groups in the neighborhood), and social efficiency (reducing social costs for society, such as deviant behavior, crime, and nuisance (Ouwehand & van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007; Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). It is believed that these motives can not be achieved as people with the same lack of opportunities is living too close to each other as it will reduce chances for upward mobility (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). Hence, these neighborhoods will be restructured, and native inhabitants will be displaced to achieve the social mixing goals.

Besides the negative effects of displacing people, the increase of the share of the middle class is seen as bad news for the social bonds of people in a lower-class neighborhood. Diversifying the socio-economic classes in a neighborhood can lower the trust in already diverse areas with disadvantaged native born and ethnic groups (Lancee & Dronkers, 2008). The lowering of trust can apply with other socio-spatial changes as well. Such as the loss of specific public goods and facilities (Reijnders & Bosch, 2012). Within the neighborhoods, the public goods and facilities are often connected to the specific target groups of that neighborhood, such as cafes and local supermarkets. Whenever new, more wealthy groups come to a neighborhood, the supplies will change or even the whole shop or facility will be replaced due to different asks and demands of the new groups. Therefore, native inhabitants might feel that the changes of the urban renewal are not for them, but exclusive for the newly attracted classes (Reijnders & Bosch, 2012). Lastly, the changes in public spaces due to the urban renewal might cause a loss of connection with the environment of some native inhabitants. Whereas some parts of the old urban fabric might feel like a part of a living environment of a person, a renewed urban fabric can feel more privatized after the urban renewal, making it less accessible for other inhabitants. Sometimes this is caused by the spatial fragmentation between old and new, but also the clustering of a new target group might increase the feeling of ‘what is mine and what is theirs’ (Reijnders & Bosch, 2012).

However, the displacement of native inhabitants and other negative effects from gentrification are rather mild in the Dutch context. One of the reasons for the relative mildness of the negative effects is that the displaced inhabitants of the lower and middle class by law often have the ‘right’ to return to the renewed area after the urban renewal program has finished (Slob, Bolt, & Van Kempen, 2008). Also, interviewed inhabitants from some urban renewal location mention to be happy that something is going to happen to the neighborhood, especially if there is a combination of several problems in that neighborhood (Aalbers, 2011; Slob, Bolt, & Van Kempen, 2008; Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009). More generally, “a larger middle-class presence can improve the status of the neighborhood, uplifting the social and financial support for key facilities, and this can also be beneficial for deprived groups of residents” (Van der Graaf & Veldboer, 2009, p. 66).

2.4 LINK WITH POSITION PAPER

The position paper reviews the 'unnatural' form of contemporary gentrification in the Netherlands, with an emphasis on the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area. Because the position paper is a stand-alone assignment, some repetition of the previous mentioned information might occur. The goal of the position paper is to evaluate the contemporary model of gentrification and assess the balance between the upgrading the neighborhoods socially, culturally, and economically should weight up to the well-being of the native inhabitants. Therefore, the theoretical underpinning and the interrelation between contemporary gentrification, Dutch governance and planning perspective, and the socio-spatial effects of this contemporary gentrification in neighborhoods is discussed.

UNNATURAL GENTRIFICATION?

A REVIEW OF CONTEMPORARY GENTRIFICATION BY THE DUTCH MUNICIPALITY

Gentrification used to be a natural process where neighborhoods or even parts of cities would be upgraded socially, culturally, and economically. The process was relying on the attraction of new inhabitants with more capital than its native inhabitants. The attraction of those new target groups is in the meanwhile displacing native inhabitants, mostly from the working class. Naturally, the term gentrification was related to a process of upgrading a neighborhood or city district in the social, cultural, and economic field, attracting wealthy new residents and users. More recently, the gentrification process has shifted from a natural process towards an unnatural process that is supported by urban policies and the ownership of housing associations. In the Dutch context, social housing is being sold by housing associations as the cost to make the older housing sustainable (demanded by the national government) is higher than the profit from a maximum in rent they can ask from their tenants. These housing plots are mostly sold to investors who aim to sell the new to be built housing to higher classes than the displaced inhabitants. This process is being supported by urban policies that is aiming for a strong metropolitan region and guiding towards a more resilient and sustainable urban environment.

Keywords: Gentrification, the Netherlands, municipality, urban policy, housing associations

2.5 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this chapter elaborates on the theories that are related to the thesis topic, most of which are introduced with the problem field of the introduction chapter. The theoretical underpinning provides the base information that is necessary to start the research of this thesis plan. The position paper presents the interrelationship of the theoretical underpinning topics and exposes the role of the government and housing associations within this process of change. The discussed phenomenon and theories of the introduction and theoretical underpinning are the guideline for the next chapter, the methodology, which explains the thesis plan of the author.

3. METHODOLOGY

The methodology chapter bridges between the discussed phenomenon and academic readings, and the research approach of the thesis. This chapter contains the methodological framework that presents the way the thesis plan is constructed. Furthermore, the conceptual framework is discussed in relation to the problem statement and research aim, which translate into the research questions. Also, the methods, intended outcomes, and timeline are represented in order to start the research.



Fig. 3.1: View at the Verkade factory across the Zaan
By author

3.1 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Fig. 3.2 describes the path that will be followed for the thesis topic formulation. The chart is moving from the orientation phase, through the problem analysis and approach definition, towards the expected outcomes and evaluation.

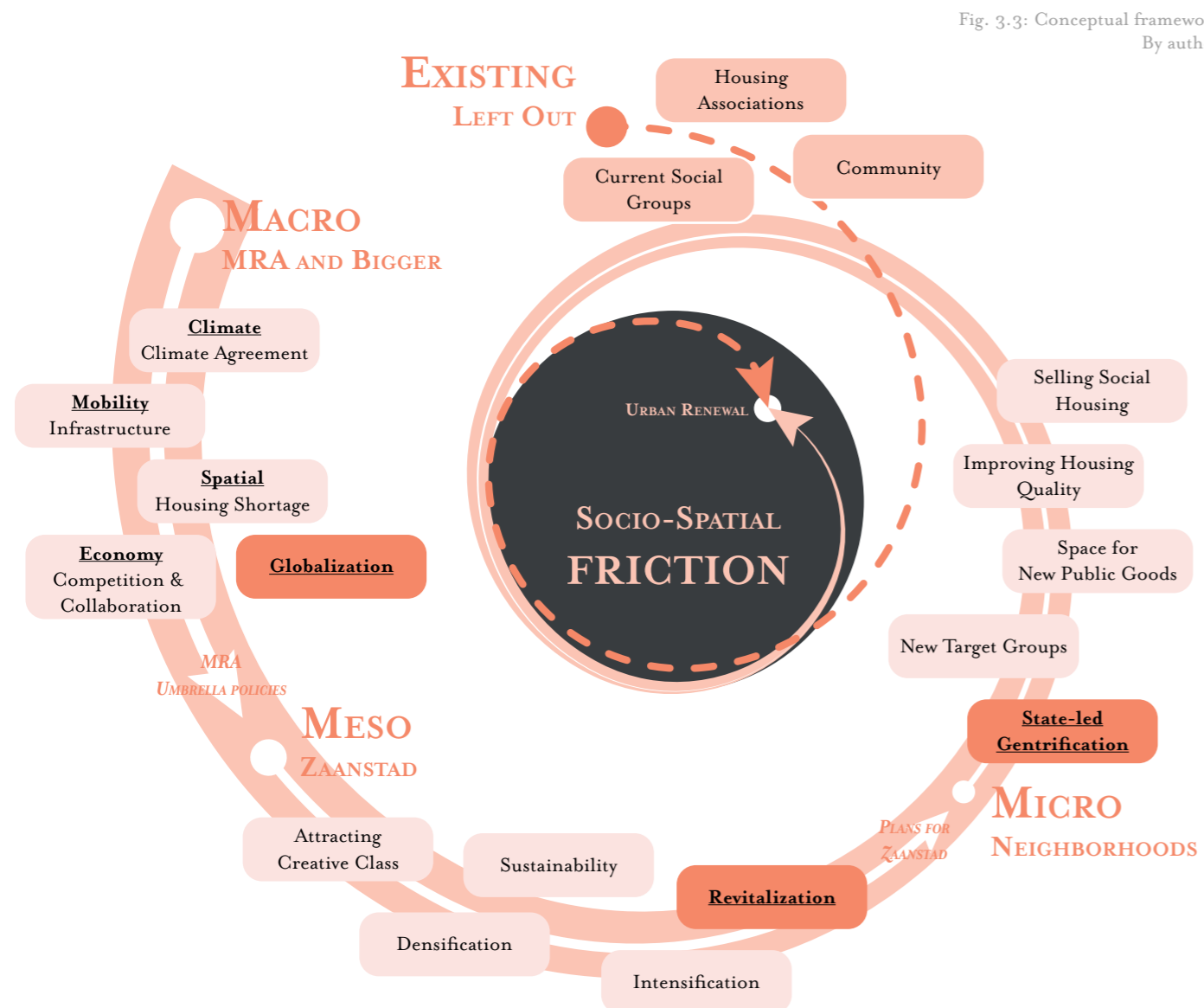
This figure is used as a guide for the methodological chapter and will be updated throughout the process of the thesis.



Fig. 3.2: Methodological framework
By author

3.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The different topics of the introduction and theories chapter come together during the planning process, which at this point is rather top-down. This process is conceptualized in Fig. 3.3 and is describing two process lines. The first one from the macro scale (MRA and bigger) to the micro scale (neighborhood). The second one is currently rather left out, considering the existing socio-spatial structure of a neighborhood. Both are connected to the urban renewal that takes place in existing neighborhood structures in Zaanstad.

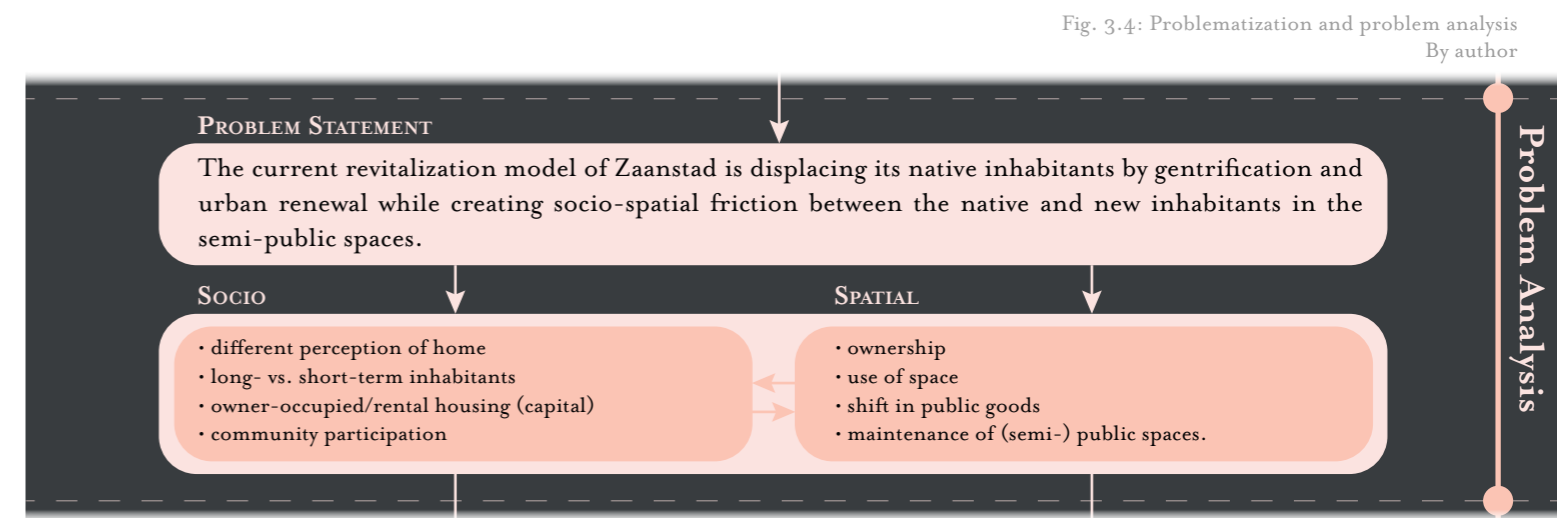


3.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The current government policies and strategies aim to revitalize lower-class neighborhoods, while the wishes and demands of native inhabitants are left out within this process. Some inhabitants are displaced as older social housing is being bought up by developers to build owner-occupied housing for higher classes, as the goals for making the older social housing sustainable is not feasible in contrast to the maximum amount of rent housing associations are allowed to ask from their tenants. Planning strategies aim to mix the lower-class residents with other (higher) classes to revitalize neighborhoods. However, this hard and enforced way of social mixing is leading to socio-spatial friction between the new and native inhabitants, including topics like; ownership and privatization, perception of home, the use of (semi-) public space, and shift in public goods. See Fig. 3.4 for a conceptualization of the problem statement.

3.4 KNOWLEDGE GAP

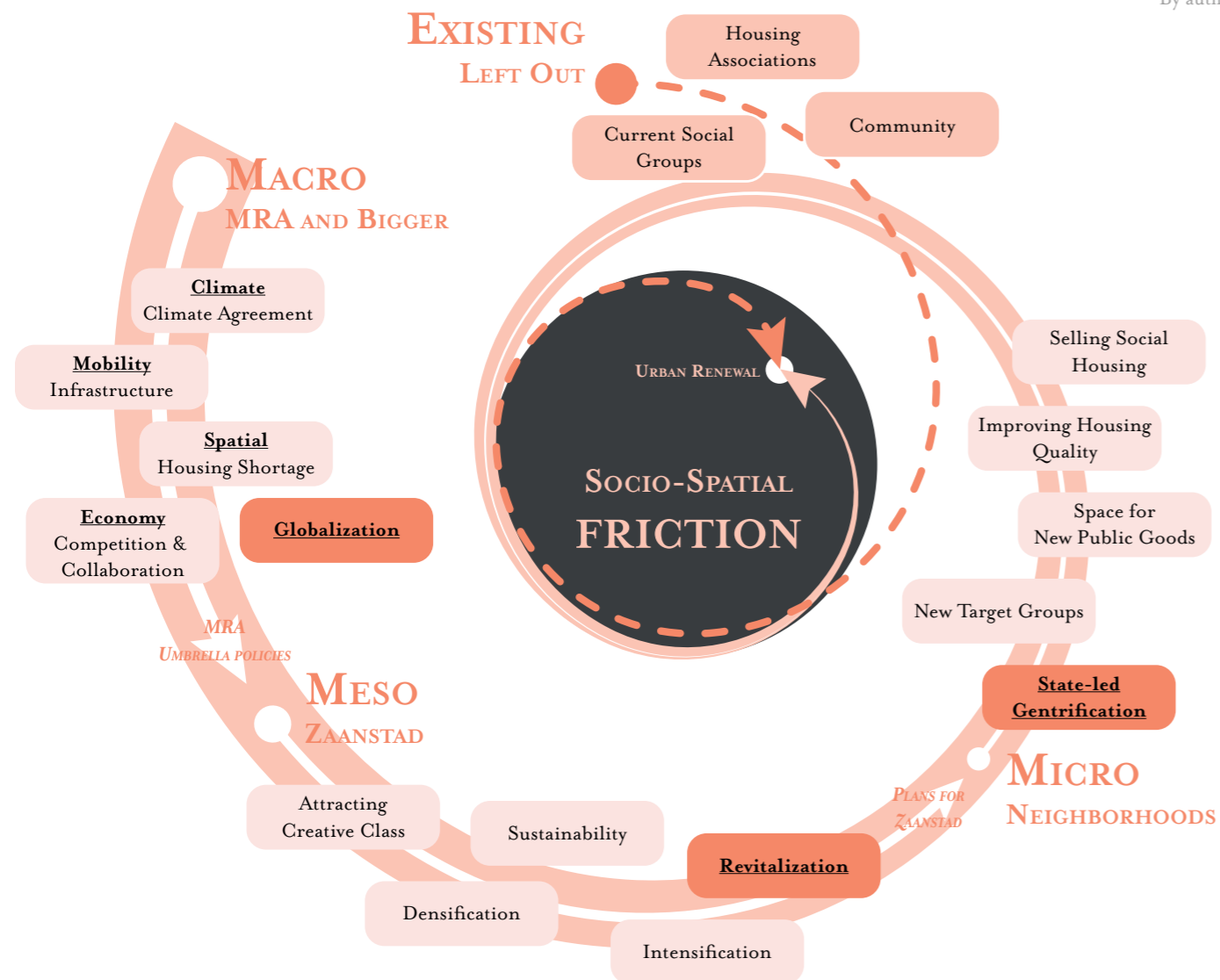
This thesis aims to contribute to the social cohesion between the new and native inhabitants that are living closely to each other in the same neighborhood due to the socio-spatial changes that are caused by state-led gentrification and urban renewal strategies. Therefore, this research aims to identify the relation between the governmental policies, and the social-spatial friction caused by planning and design of neighborhoods and formulate measurements and interventions to counteract the socio-spatial friction.



3.5 RESEARCH AIM

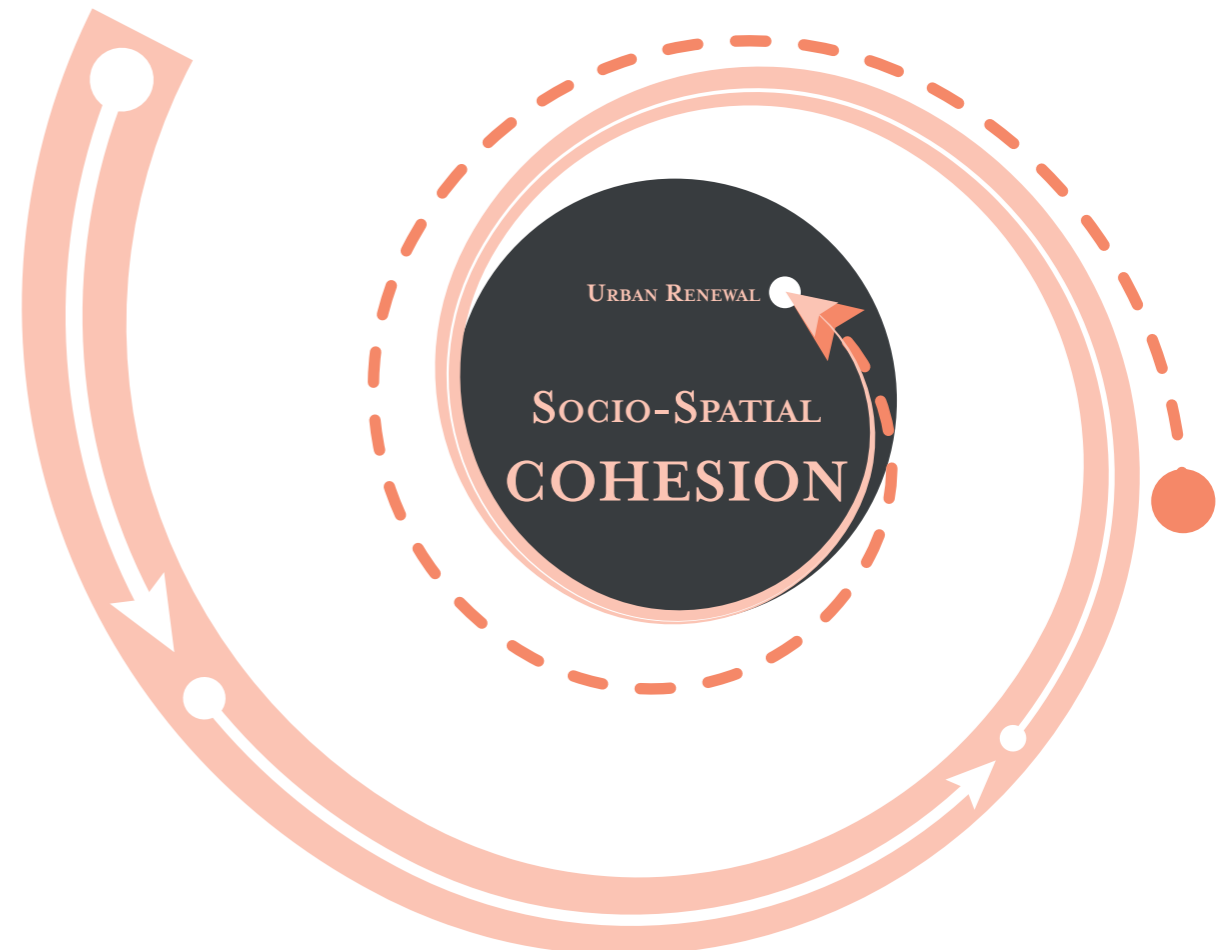
The aim of this research is to increase to social-spatial cohesion between the new and native inhabitants of neighborhoods in Zaanstad that are changing due to state-led gentrification and urban renewal. To achieve this aim, the processes of these strategies and motives of the different involved actors need to be considered (connected to the process flow as described in the conceptual framework, Fig. 3.5). This research assesses this process as well and formulates some advice on how to improve the social cohesion between the native and new inhabitants while preserving the social, cultural, and economical benefits that comes with this process. This advice will contain measurements on governance, planning, and design (for more details on these outcomes see “Intended outcomes” on page 56).

Fig. 3.5: Conceptual framework
By author



As mentioned before, the process line of the existing structure is currently at some levels left out in the renewal plans (Fig. 3.5). The researched aim based model in Fig. 3.6 presents a revamped model of the planning process the aligns with the existing socio-spatial structure of a neighborhood. The preferred model is currently an abstract indication of what the process should look like. The actual process is of course more complex, less straight forward, and differs for each project and area at least a little.

Fig. 3.6: Research aim based on conceptual framework
By author



3.6 RESEARCH QUESTION

In Fig. 3.7 on the right visualizes the step from the problem statement with the socio-spatial friction towards the research questions. The main research question that will be used to work towards the research aim is:

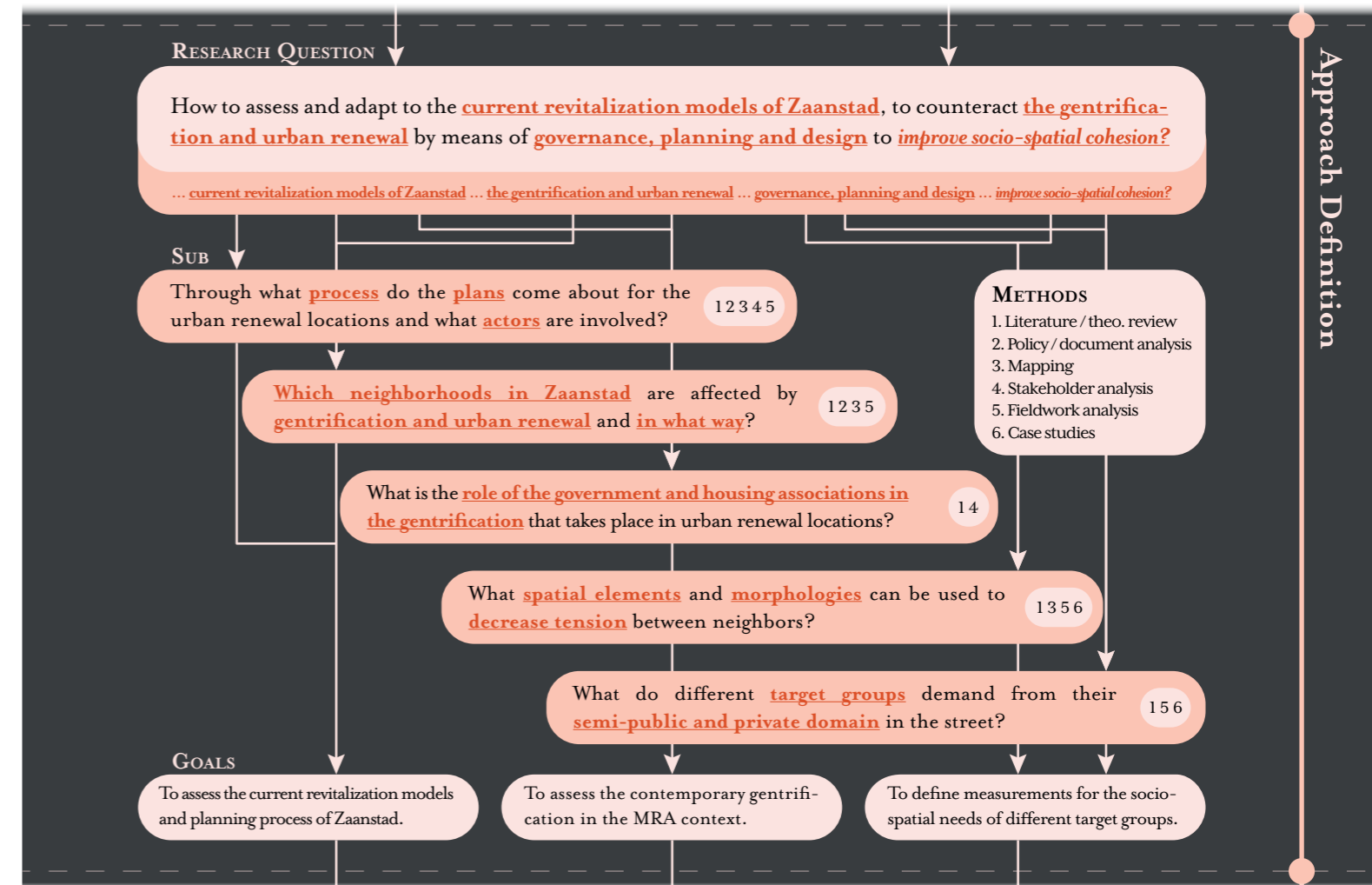
How to assess the **current revitalization models of Zaanstad**, to counteract the **gentrification and urban renewal** by means of **governance, planning, and design** to **improve socio-spatial cohesion**?

3.6.1 SUB QUESTIONS

The following sub questions will be used to answer the main research question. They identify different aspects of the thesis topic such as the current revitalization models of Zaanstad, the gentrification and urban renewal by means of governance, and the socio-spatial aspects of the phenomenon. The figure on the right shows the interrelation between the main research question and the sub questions. The sub questions are:

1. Through what **process** do the **plans** come about for the urban renewal locations and what **actors** are involved?
2. **Which neighborhoods in Zaanstad** are affected by **gentrification and urban renewal** and **in what way**?
3. What is the **role of the government and housing associations in the gentrification** that takes place in urban renewal locations?
4. What **spatial elements** and **morphologies** can be used to **decrease tension** between neighbors?
5. What do different **target groups** demand from their **semi-public and private domain** in the street?

Fig. 3.7: Approach definition of methodological framework
By author



ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT AND HOUSING ASSOCIATIONS IN THE GENTRIFICATION

The position paper of the Theories of Urbanism course (AR3U023) forms the base layer to answer the following sub question: ‘What is the role of the government and housing associations in the gentrification that takes place in urban renewal locations?’ (see Fig. 3.8). The goal of the position paper is to evaluate the contemporary model of gentrification and assess the balance between the upgrading the neighborhoods socially, culturally, and economically should weight up to the well-being of the native inhabitants. Therefore, the theoretical underpinning and the interrelation between contemporary gentrification, Dutch governance and planning perspective, and the socio-spatial effects of this contemporary gentrification in neighborhoods is discussed.

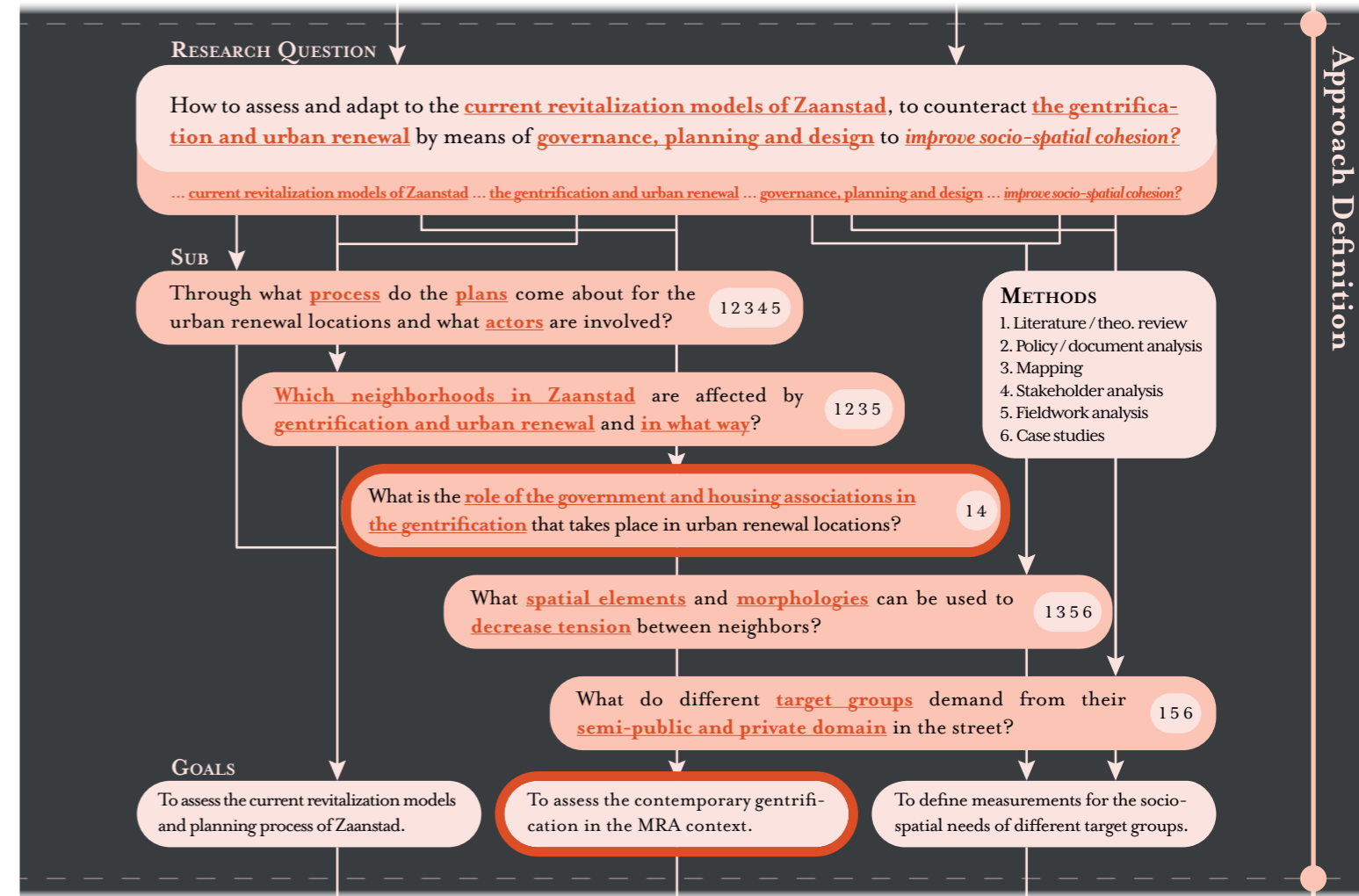
UNNATURAL GENTRIFICATION? [DRAFT]

A REVIEW OF CONTEMPORARY GENTRIFICATION BY THE DUTCH MUNICIPALITY

Gentrification used to be a natural process where neighborhoods or even parts of cities would be upgraded socially, culturally, and economically. The process was relying on the attraction of new inhabitants with more capital than its native inhabitants. The attraction of those new target groups is in the meanwhile displacing native inhabitants, mostly from the working class. Naturally, the term gentrification was related to a process of upgrading a neighborhood or city district in the social, cultural, and economic field, attracting wealthy new residents and users. More recently, the gentrification process has shifted from a natural process towards an unnatural process that is supported by urban policies and the ownership of housing associations. In the Dutch context, social housing is being sold by housing associations as the cost to make the older housing sustainable (demanded by the national government) is higher than the profit from a maximum in rent they can ask from their tenants. These housing plots are mostly sold to investors who aim to sell the new to be built housing to higher classes than the displaced inhabitants. This process is being supported by urban policies that is aiming for a strong metropolitan region and guiding towards a more resilient and sustainable urban environment.

Keywords: Gentrification, the Netherlands, municipality, urban policy, housing associations

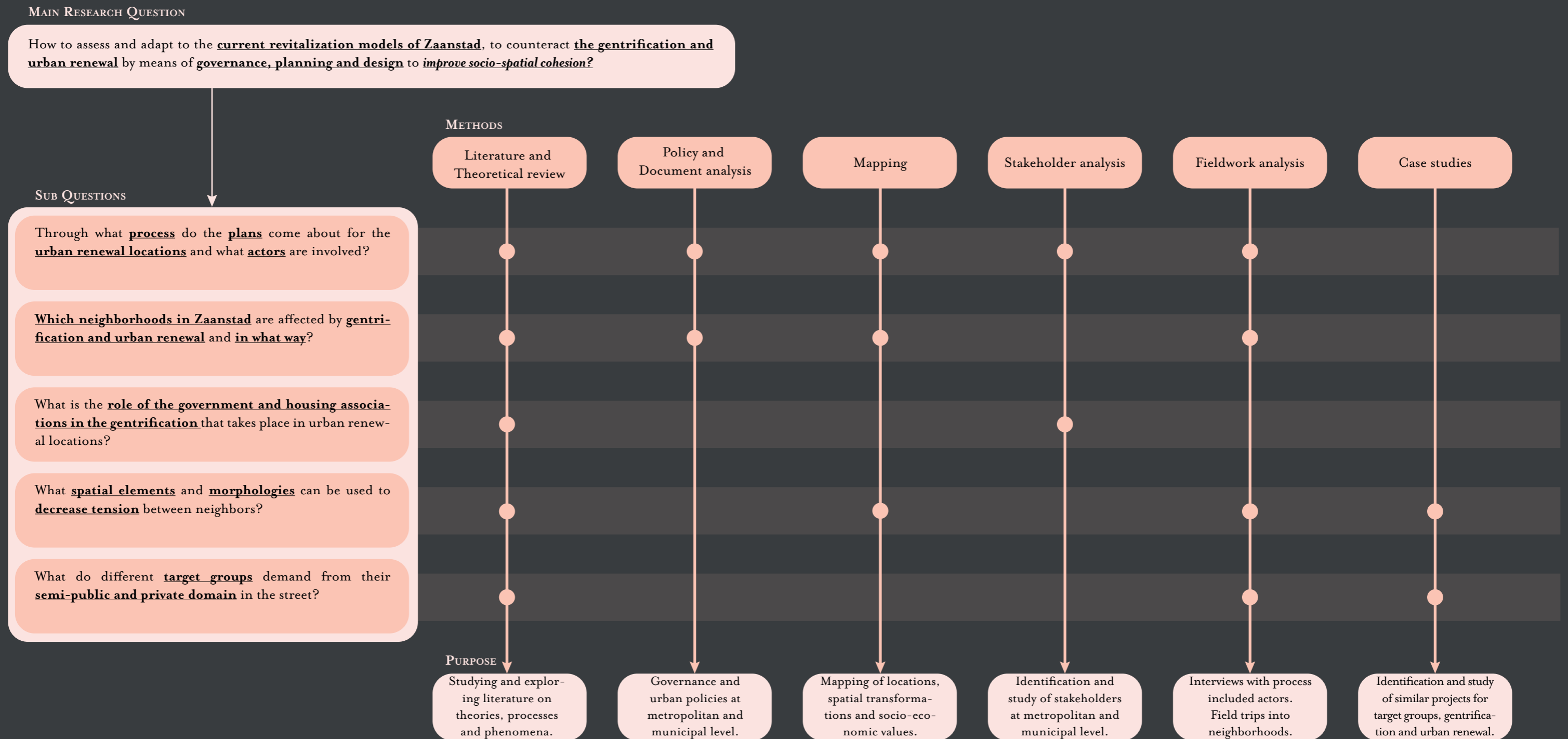
Fig. 3.8: Approach definition of methodological framework (role of position paper highlighted) By author



3.7 METHODS

Fig. 3.9: Methods diagram per sub question
By author

This research uses a combination of different research methods. The methods are presented in Fig. 3.9 per sub question and elaborates on the purpose of each of the chosen methods for this thesis. The methods themselves are discussed more precisely from page 54 till page 55.



3.7.1 LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL REVIEW

SUB QUESTIONS ADDRESSED: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

The objective connected to this method is to identify, analyze, and assess operative theories and literature to inform the analysis of the problem and the design approach. This method can be used for a base in the theoretical underpinning as well as to further investigate necessary themes that will pass by during the research period. In the application of this method various sources will be considered, such as articles (of professional journals), books, reports, and papers.

3.7.2 POLICY AND DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

SUB QUESTIONS ADDRESSED: 1, 2.

The objective connected to this method is to identify, analyze, and assess urban policies and other governmental instruments regarding the planning process and design process. The aim is to identify the governmental instruments and reasoning that have facilitated urban development from the macro scale to the micro scale in its current form (see Fig. 3.3 on page 44 for the mentioned scales within the conceptual framework). In addition, this method helps to identify the reasoning of the government for certain socio-spatial measurements as well as the effect of these measurements within the urban environment. In the application of this method national urban policies and strategies, local government policies, and review papers on urban policies will be considered.

3.7.3 MAPPING

SUB QUESTIONS ADDRESSED: 1, 2, 4.

The objective connected to this method is to identify and map the conditions of the problems, potentials, and conflicts. The data can be related to geographic maps, sketches, and other visuals that display locations, public spaces, and socio-spatial observations. The data is obtained through official sources of geo-information, reports, and empirical analysis during fieldtrips. This method can be used at different moments throughout the research. For example, to identify socio-spatial context (early stage), visualize socio-economic values (early stage), visualize findings of fieldtrips (various times throughout the research), and to translate spatial measurements in the design process (later stage).

3.7.4 STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

SUB QUESTIONS ADDRESSED: 1, 3.

The objective connected to this method is to recognize the main actors that are included in the planning process and actors that are involved in the socio-spatial changes in the neighborhoods. These actors are understood as institutions, companies, and public agents that operate at different levels within the governance structure. Also, the housing associations connected to the specific neighborhoods are relevant for the stakeholder analysis due to the ownership of the share of social housing in the neighborhoods, and therefore the power to change social structures with the changes in ownership. With this method, it is intended to expose the main relationships, inter dependencies and influences determined by these actors to identify limitations and potentials in the governance and planning perspective. To do this type of analysis, a combination will be made between literature review and semi-structured interviews (of the fieldwork analysis) with representative persons of an organization or the government.

3.7.5 FIELDWORK ANALYSIS

SUB QUESTIONS ADDRESSED: 1, 2, 4, 5.

The objective of this method is to identify both visual and non-visual information of the socio-spatial themes of the neighborhoods. Therefore, this analysis can be divided into two sub-methods that is either responsible for the visual or non-visual information.

- Semi-structured interviews: different actors of the municipality, housings associations, and other institutions can be interviewed to identify their experience and observations within the process.
- Site visits: to critically identify the use of spaces within the neighborhoods. This can be achieved by taking pictures, making sketches of the environment, and map spatial configurations.

3.7.6 CASE STUDIES

SUB QUESTIONS ADDRESSED: 4, 5.

The objective of this method is to learn and adapt from the experience in similar scenarios on different locations/neighborhoods. This method is more design related than the other methods and will be applied to revise the socio-spatial structures within the neighborhoods, based good and bad examples of the case studies. Also, the needs and demands of different social groups can be identified with case studies and can form the bases for interventions on governance, planning and design levels.

3.8 INTENDED OUTCOMES

The outcome of this thesis will be a research overview that will describe the kinds of friction and the reasoning why that phenomenon takes place together with measurements to decrease the friction. Those measurements are split out in three layers: governance, planning and spatial. These measurements will advise on policies and strategies on how to handle socio-spatial changes in the existing urban texture of Zaanstad towards a better socio-spatial cohesion between the new and native inhabitants (see Fig. 3.10). Therefore, these measurements will be tested and evaluated on different renewal plans on the timeline, such as what already happened in the last decades, current plans such as MAAK.Noord, or even expected future plans in Zaanstad.

The measurements are based on outcomes of the different sub research questions and will provide an answer to specific neighborhoods in Zaanstad. However, it is conceivable to define measurements that can be both place specific and abstract enough to advice actors and stakeholders connected to this issue in the Dutch context, such as: municipalities of the MRA, housing associations, and investors.

The absolute goal of this thesis is to improve the socio-spatial cohesion between the new and native inhabitants in Zaanstad. Therefore, interventions are needed at the roots (governance level) and at the branches (planning and design level). Meaning that the project consists of two parts (see Fig. 3.11):

1. The process part: focusing on the policy making and different roles of included actors (such as the government, housing associations, developers, etc.) to counteract state-led gentrification and urban renewal that is connected to the socio-spatial friction. The process part is involved in sub question 1, 2, and 3.
2. The spatial part: focusing on the planning and design challenges that occur within neighborhoods (such as: strategic plans, morphologies; housing typologies; balances between public spaces, public goods, and housing; distribution of public spaces, street designs, public spaces, etc.) that are resulting from the policies and strategic plans to revitalize lower-class neighborhoods. The spatial part contributes to the search in a way to plan and design lower-class neighborhoods in such a way to enhance to socio-spatial cohesion between new and native inhabitants. The spatial part is involved in sub question 2, 4, and 5.

3.8.1 GOVERNANCE

The governance level can include topics like policies on changing existing urban textures in the neighborhood scale, role of the housing associations, and balance between gentrification and well-being of native inhabitants.

3.8.2 PLANNING

The planning level can include topics like housing typology distribution, balance between social housing, rental housing, owner-occupied housing, and support on public goods and shops.

3.8.3 DESIGN

The design level can include topics like spatial configurations in the (semi-) public spaces, spatial distance between target groups, and street designs.

Fig. 3.10: Outcomes of methodological framework
By author

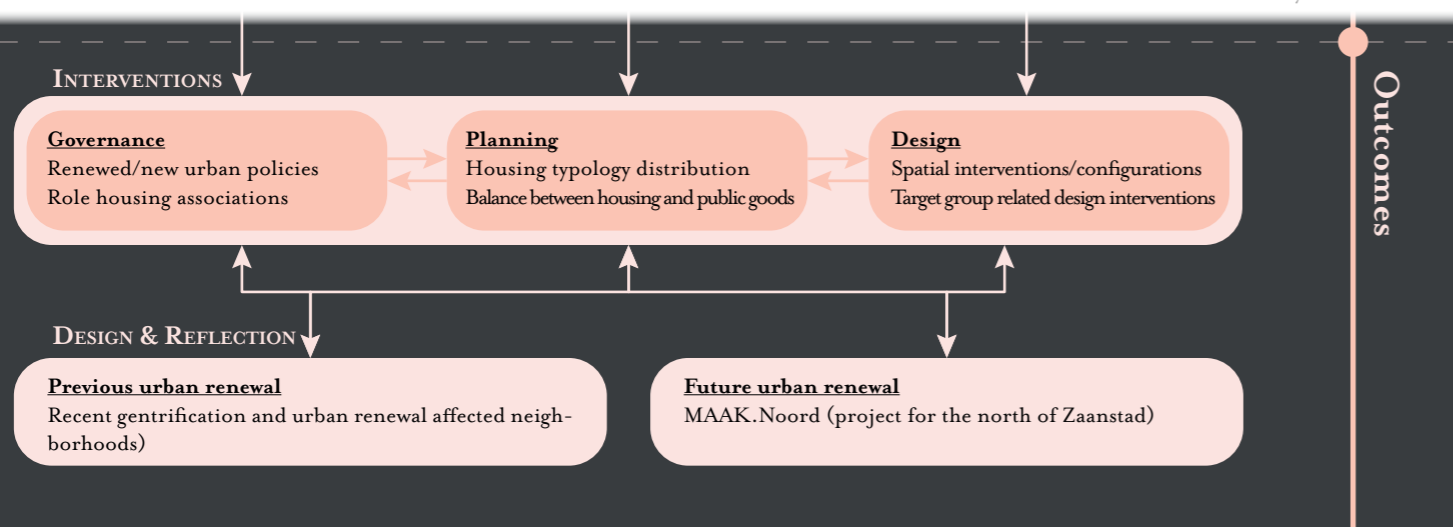
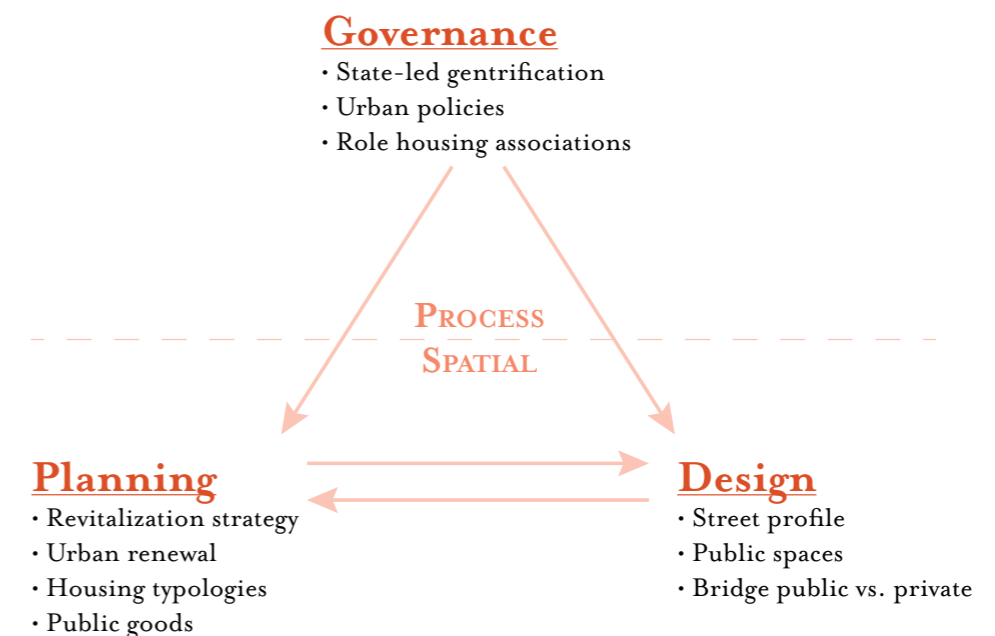


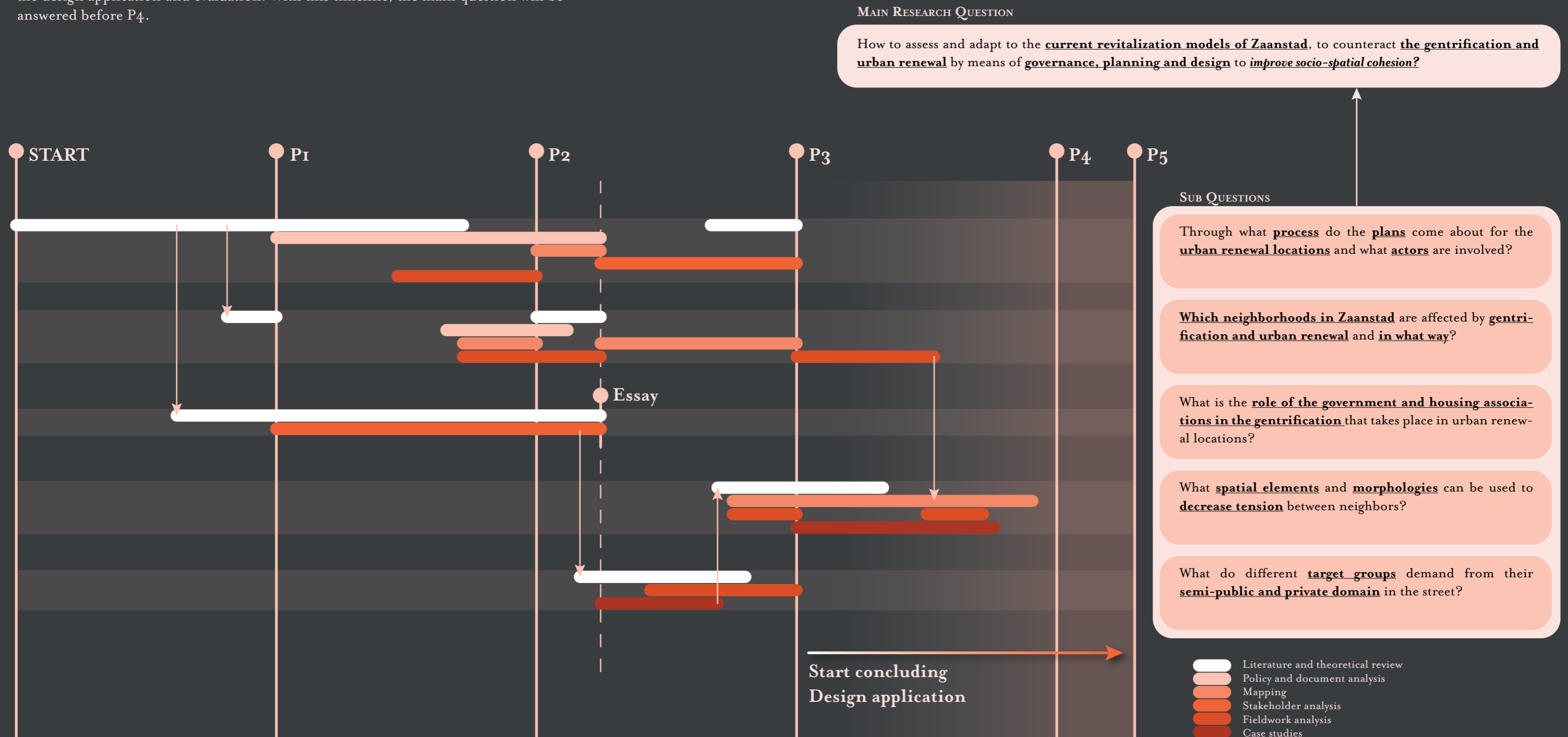
Fig. 3.11: Relation between the process part and spatial part
By author



3.9 TIMELINE

Fig. 3.12: Expected timeline for thesis
By author

This figure presents the expected timeline of the thesis process. The first half till P2 will be mostly focused on reading and examining literature, theories and stakeholder analysis. After P1 there will be more time connected to fieldwork and interviews with important actors such as the municipality and housing associations. Therefore, the first three research questions will be answered mostly before P3 and will form a base for the socio-spatial aspects of the last two research questions. Those research questions will be more focused on case studies, fieldwork and design analyzes. In that same phase, the process will form towards a conclusion combined with work on the design application and evaluation. With this timeline, the main question will be answered before P4.



3.10 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this chapter presented the thesis plan of the author, with the methodological framework as a guideline through this chapter. The research question: 'how to assess the current revitalization models of Zaanstad, to counteract the gentrification and urban renewal by governance, planning, and design to improve socio-spatial cohesion?', is the main research questions that already presents the aim of this thesis. The thesis plan is focused on increasing the socio-spatial cohesion between the native and new inhabitants that are affected by the changes of urban renewal and gentrification. The author acknowledges that these changes are often necessary for the overall improvement of the socio-economic status of neighborhoods, but states that the process can be improved in different levels (governance, planning, and design) to achieve the same socio-economic goals with an enhanced socio-spatial cohesion.

4. RELEVANCE AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This chapter presents the societal and scientific relevances, and ethical considerations of the thesis. Also, the research limitations explain the boundaries that apply to this thesis, in both the current situation with the COVID-19 pandemic, and the time management that is connected to this thesis project criteria.



Fig. 4.1: Sign in flowerbed (planted by inhabitants) mentioning: keep the shit yourself, it's your dog
By author

4.1 SOCIETAL RELEVANCE

The societal relevance of this project is to provide a living environment between native- and new inhabitants that will have a decreased socio-spatial friction. Therefore, the thesis will help to understand to societal changes that will be applied due to the current urbanization trends so to improve social cohesion between native and new inhabitants.

4.2 SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

The scientific relevance of this project is connected to the social-spatial friction that may apply with revitalization, densification, gentrification, urban renewal, and governance. Within the current plans of the municipality, there is little focus on this kind of friction. Mostly, the plans will try to fit demands like a static balance between housing types, target groups, en whether the housing is rental or buyers oriented. However, there are different studies on the social effects when different target groups are put together on the small scale and the possible socio-spatial friction that will come with that. Therefore, I would like to bridge the gap between the socio-spatial friction and the current revitalization trends.

4.3 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The housing shortage is putting a lot of pressure on secondary cities such as Zaanstad. As Zaanstad is part of a larger metropolitan area, the less dense neighborhoods of Zaanstad can be seen as places to solve this housing demand, in favor of target groups that cannot find a suitable space in Amsterdam. Meanwhile, with current planning strategies of the government (including state-led gentrification), the lower-class inhabitants of the neighborhoods in Zaanstad are at risk of being displaced by higher social classes for urban revitalization goals. As most of these lower-class inhabitants live in social housing, the housing associations are involved in this process as well. They have tasks to maintain the rather old and bad quality housing and make them more sustainable for the future. However, as the rent is often as high as possible for the tenants by Dutch laws, it is often more profitable to sell the plots and use that money to create new social housing. Therefore, inhabitants need to move. Within this process of change, different voices need to be heard as both the new and native inhabitants deserve a home, but also the municipality and housing associations have interests and goals with these changes..

4.4 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

The thesis will be focused mostly on the planning process, government guided development and the socio-spatial outcome. However, the current covid-19 pandemic makes it hard to combine the mentioned research element with a big scale target group interview. To counteract this problem, stakeholders, and big actors such as housing associations will be asked about the related topics, but changes may appear that it will not cover the overall social subject that this thesis is focused on.

Another limitation may be the availability of literature that is directly focused on the phenomenon in Zaanstad. Instead, literature of the Dutch context will be used if the literature seems applicable on the context of Zaanstad as well but might slightly differ.

5. APPENDIX

The appendix includes a glossary, the position paper, and the list of references.



Fig. 5.1: Drawer placed on the bench (translation: to take with you and / or to exchange for free)
By author

5.1 GLOSSARY

ABF Research

ABF Research is a private research company that works on subjects with which we are at the heart of society, such as housing, healthcare, demography, space and the economy.

CBS (Het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek)

As the statistical agency in the Netherlands, Statistics Netherlands provides reliable statistical information and data with insight into social issues.

Credit Crisis

The credit crisis or banking crisis refers to the crisis on the financial markets that started in the summer of 2007, peaked in the autumn of 2008 and only ended in the course of 2011. Several banks have been nationalized, gone bankrupt or taken over while house prices have stagnated.

Gentrification

Gentrification is a process of upgrading a neighborhood or city district in the social, cultural, and economic field, attracting wealthy new residents and users.

Global city

A global city is a city which is a primary node in the global economic network.

Housing association

a non-profit organization that rents houses and flats to people on low incomes or with particular needs.

Housing shortage

The shortage is the amount of households that out of necessity do not have their own home, meaning that these households are forced to live with other households.

MAAK.Noord

A plan with future prospects for Zaanstad-North Wormerveer, Westknollendam, Assendelft-North and Krommenie.

MRA (Amsterdam metropolitan area)

The Amsterdam Metropolitan Area is a partnership

of the provinces of North Holland and Flevoland, 32 municipalities and the Amsterdam Transport Region.

Social mixing

Urban policies (mostly in the Dutch context) that aims to mix higher classes with lower classes to improve not only the neighborhood but also the poor residents living in it, by providing them with more wealthy neighbors who can lend them a hand and show them a way out of deprivation

State-led gentrification

A form of gentrification where the government together with local actors attempt to stimulate the positive effects that come with gentrification.

Urban renewal

Refers to a set of plans and activities to upgrade neighborhoods and suburbs that are in state of distress or decay.

Urban Revitalization

Refers to a set of initiatives aimed at reorganizing an existing city structure, particularly in neighborhoods in decline due to economic or social reasons.

Vereniging Eigen Huis

The advocate of people who want to buy or already own a house.

Zaanstad

A municipality in the Dutch province of North Holland. The municipality is the largest in the Zaan region. The municipality was created in 1974 by merging the municipalities of Assendelft, Krommenie, Wormerveer, Westzaan, Zaandijk, Koog aan de Zaan and Zaandam.

Zaanstreek (Zaan region)

The Zaanstreek is a region in the Netherlands and one of the oldest industrial areas in Europe. Including zaanstad and Oostzaan, Wormerland and Markenbinnen (municipality of Alkmaar).

5.2 POSITION PAPER [DRAFT]

UNNATURAL GENTRIFICATION?

A review of contemporary gentrification by the Dutch municipality

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ABSTRACT

Gentrification used to be a natural process where neighborhoods or even parts of cities would be upgraded socially, culturally, and economically. The process was relying on the attraction of new inhabitants with more capital than its native inhabitants. The attraction of those new target groups is in the meanwhile displacing native inhabitants, mostly from the working class. Naturally, the term gentrification was related to a process of upgrading a neighborhood or city district in the social, cultural, and economic field, attracting wealthy new residents and users. More recently, the gentrification process has shifted from a natural process towards an unnatural process that is supported by urban policies and the ownership of housing associations. In the Dutch context, social housing is being sold by housing associations as the cost to make the older housing sustainable (demanded by the national government) is higher than the profit from a maximum in rent they can ask from their tenants. These housing plots are mostly sold to investors who aim to sell the new to be built housing to higher classes than the displaced inhabitants. This process is being supported by urban policies that is aiming for a strong metropolitan region and guiding towards a more resilient and sustainable urban environment.

Keywords: Gentrification, Amsterdam Metropolitan Area, urban policy, municipality, housing associations

INTRODUCTION

Gentrification is not a new phenomenon. This process is mentioned as one of the biggest forces in shaping contemporary cities (Douchet, 2014). The sociologist Ruth Glass (1964) pointed out this phenomenon first to describe the upgrading of old working-class neighborhoods in the inner-city of London. These changes include a process of social, cultural, and economic upgrading of a neighborhood or district and is achieved by the attraction of wealthy new residents and users. However, the downside of this process is the displacement of the lower classes as the upgrade is accompanied by an increase in real estate prices and rents (Glass, 1964). The process as Glass described in 1964 can be seen as a rather 'natural' process whereas the city itself is attracting more people, but not providing the right (or too less) housing in the core. Therefore, surrounding areas will become important areas for these home seekers as proximity to the core is quite important for the working environment and public goods. The housing of these working-class neighborhoods can be of poor quality due to their age and building quality. Therefore, these neighborhoods are rather affordable for the middle class while preserving financial space for investment.

However, the contemporary process of gentrification is shifting from a 'natural' process towards an 'unnatural' process in the Dutch context. 'Unnatural' in the sense that the contemporary gentrification is being

stimulated by urban policies, municipality plans, and the housing associations, especially in areas where the housing shortage is the highest, such as the Amsterdam Metropolitan area (MRA). Therefore, the contemporary gentrification has become a tool for municipalities for upgrading neighborhoods while choosing to keep displacing the native inhabitants.

This essay will review this ‘unnatural’ form of contemporary gentrification in the Netherlands, with an emphasis on the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area. This will be accomplished by a literature research supported with some examples and case studies [be sure this is right in the end]. The body of the essay will include the role of urban policies, the role of the municipality, and the role of the housing associations in this contemporary process and contrast the advantages of the process and disadvantages of the socio-spatial effects within the neighborhood.

THE CONTEMPORARY GENTRIFICATION

Ever since Glass (1964) introduced the process of gentrification, many urbanists and urban geographers started researching and debating on this process. The term gentrification has been evolved throughout the years and reformed by the context of the authors. For this paper, read the term gentrification as the way Smith has described: “the process by which working class residential neighborhoods are rehabilitated by middle class homebuyers, landlords, and professional developers” (1982, p. 139). The changes in gentrification are related to larger economic and political structuring. Connected to this aspect is the increasing role of the state in the gentrification process (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). This alinea discusses the changing state of gentrification from the introduction the process by Glass (1964) on till the contemporary model to reveal the role of the state within this process.

The changes of gentrification can be conceptualized within three waves according to Hackworth and Smith (2001). This conceptualization of the history is represented in Fig. 5.2. The conceptualization is heavily based on the experience of gentrification in New York City, but is wider applicable due to the use of studies from other cities to assemble the figure. However, the time periods of the phasing may vary due to the broader scale economic and political events of a specific place (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Each of the phases in the figure are defined by a particular constellation of economic and political conditions at the broader geographic scale.

The first wave reacts mainly to the economic recession of the global economy prior to late 1973. Hackworth and Smith describe the first wave gentrification as “sporadic if widespread” (2001, p. 466), hence I suggest that this process is rather ‘natural’. This recession was resulting in the disinvestment of the inner-city housing and its’ public spaces within cities in Australia, north eastern cities of USA, and cities in Western Europe. These cities became target for reinvestment, often in relation with gentrification. This kind of sporadic and widespread reinvestment was mostly funded by the public sector (Hamnett, 1973; Williams, 1976; Smith, 1979), as both the national and local governments were actively trying to find a way to counteract the private-market economic decline of these neighborhoods (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). The state involvement was easily justified as it aims to counteract the urban decline of the inner-city. However, the results of the inner-city investment were highly class specific and often worsening the conditions for the working class (Smith, 1996). The state involvement was strongly connected to repairing and declining the recession in general. In the meanwhile, this involvement was attracting the gentrification process. Hence, I argue that this first wave gentrification is a natural process that was a result of necessary state involvement.

Later, the transition from the first wave to the second has begun. The global economic recession, that was originally triggered by the international oil embargo, also depressed the national housing markets, and made the effects on gentrification more ambiguous (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). The recession influenced many productive sectors with new trends such as: the increasing global competition due to the growing industrial powers of Germany and Japan; competition from the cheap labor of industrializing countries; and crisis in the financial sector (Harvey, 1989). More generally, this economic recession also encouraged the shift from capital from unproductive to productive sectors. This event was creating a foundation for reinvestment in central city office, retail and residential activities, and recreation (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Harvey, 1985). Meanwhile, some investors in big cities saw the opportunity to consume large portions of housing in these affected neighborhoods.

The second wave began in the late 1970s when the depressed housing market started to revive. Even more

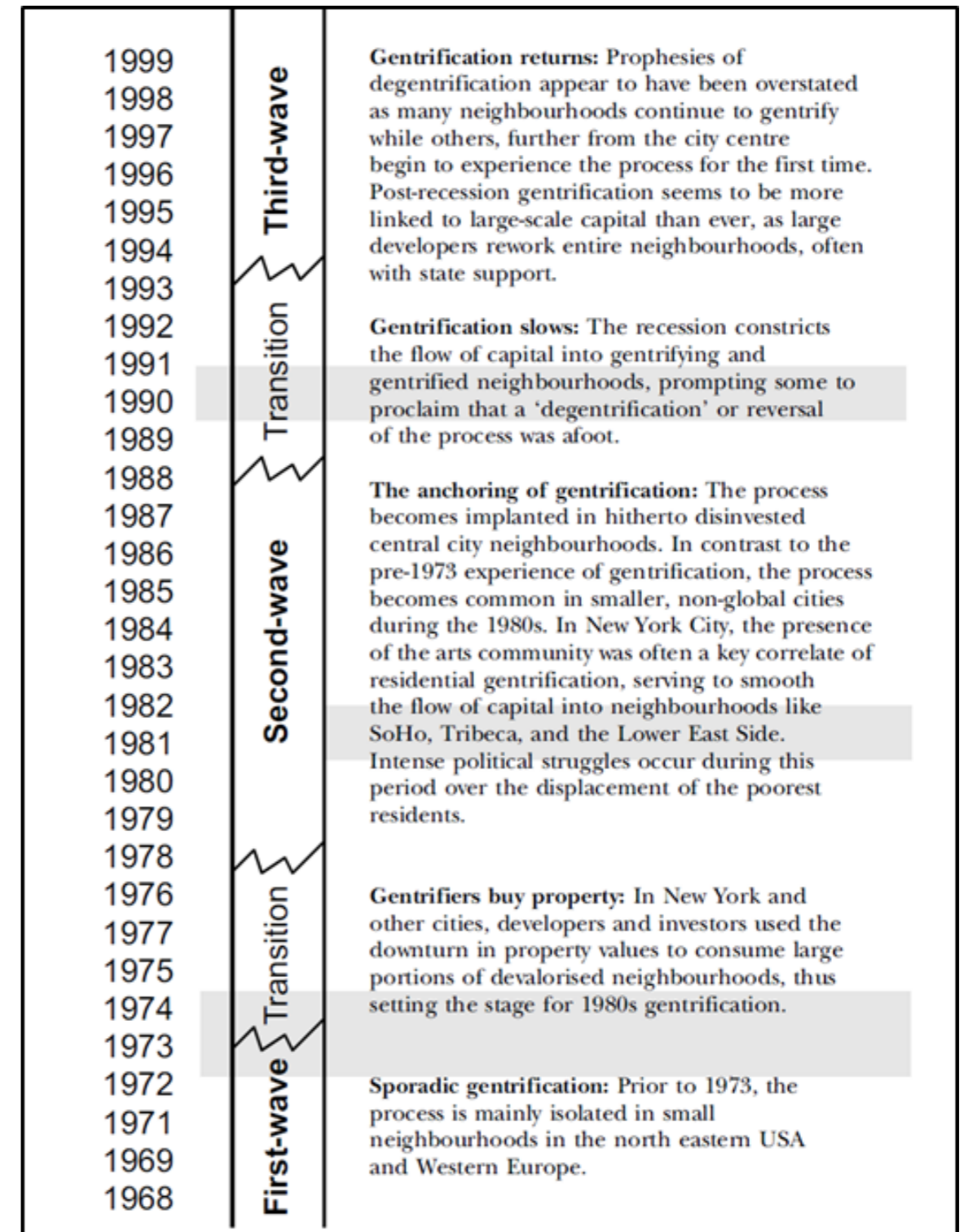


Fig. 5.2: Schematic history of gentrification
By Hackworth & Smith, 2001

cities started to experience gentrification as cities started to invest in both new (expansion) neighborhoods, and the older neighborhoods with strategies to attract this form of investment (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). “Most local state efforts, however, focused on prodding the private market rather than directly orchestrating gentrification” (Hackworth & Smith, 2001, p. 3). The second wave was lasting almost to the end of the 1980s and was characterized by the integration of gentrification into a broader range of cultural and economic processes at both the national and global scales (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). Generally, the gentrification was increasing the economic and cultural quality of a neighborhood, which was celebrated by some residents (Caufield, 1994). However, apart from the already mentioned class specific effects of the first wave, gentrification was more challenged than ever by homelessness, eviction, and the increasing vulnerability of poor residents. This problem was happening in and around places like New York’s Tompkins Square Park (Smith, 1989; 1996). More specific, this also happened in the Dutch context in places like the Bijlmer (Amsterdam). Aalbers referred to those who are struggling to make ends meet as the excluded, the ‘undesirables’ (Aalbers, 2011). A great share of these ‘undesirables’ are ethnic minorities. However, most of the middle- and lower-class inhabitants belong to these ethnic minorities as well (Aalbers, 2011). In the US, activists used the apparatus of local government to fight gentrification, but their resistance struggled to counteract the overwhelming advance of the process in these neighborhoods by the decade’s end (Hackworth & Smith, 2001). In the Dutch context, the state is more actively counteracting these problems rather than stopping the gentrification process (Aalbers, 2011), which typical for the next wave.

Around 1988, the gentrification process slowed down due to the recession constricting the flow of capital into gentrifying and gentrified neighborhoods. Some authors argue to witness ‘degeneration’ in this transition period (Bagli, 1991). Reasoning for this could have been to the ageing of the Baby Boom generation, and the relative reduction of the inner-city housing supply (Bourne, 1993).

After half a decade, the third wave of gentrification has started. This wave is a purer expression of the processes and economic conditions that make reinvestment in dis-invested inner-urban areas so attractive for developers and investors (Smith & DeFilippis, 1999). “Overall, economic forces driving gentrification seem to have eclipsed cultural factors as the scale of investment is greater and the level of corporate, as opposed to smaller-scale capital, has grown” (Hackworth & Smith, 2001, p. 5). With these economic forces, the locations for gentrification shifted towards the more remote (outside of the city core) neighborhoods as well.

TBC.....

THE DUTCH TOOL

TBC....

HOUSING ASSOCIATIONS

TBC...

SOCIO-SPATIAL FRICTION

TBC...

CONCLUSION

TBC...

DISCUSSION

[If necessary] TBC...

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