MARKETS AT THE FRONTLINE OF GENTRIFICATION

A comparative analysis of the longstanding weekly market and the new upscale market and their function within their gentrifying neighborhoods

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Abstract

Weekly open-air food and retail markets fulfill both social and economic roles. They act as public places where a variety of products and food can be purchased and often have a vital social function within the city or the neighborhood. However, traditional markets are under pressure due to changing urban processes such as gentrification and the change in consumer behavior. On the other hand, more niche and specialty markets such as farmers' markets are emerging. These new niche markets are targeted towards newcomers and tourists and focus on organic food and a convivial atmosphere. Their arrival contributes to neighborhood change and triggers a change in the retail sphere that can generate a “symbolic displacement” for long-term residents and users.

Although a considerable body of research focuses on retail gentrification and neighborhood change, research on the relationship between gentrification processes and neighborhood change on weekly open-air markets in the Dutch context is missing. This study compares two weekly open-air markets: the longstanding weekly Afrikaandermarkt and the upscale farmer’s market the Rotterdamse Oogst. Both markets lie within changing neighborhoods subject to gentrification processes but operate in very different manners. Data from a survey distributed among market visitors shows that the Afrikaandermarkt primarily serves as a place for weekly grocery shopping, where people from all different nationalities and backgrounds shop. The characteristics of the market visitors fairly correspond to the characteristics of the neighborhood Afrikaanderwijk. The market provides the daily needs of local residents, offers affordable products, and serves as a place for spontaneous social interactions. The Rotterdamse Oogstmarkt primarily serves affluent young native Dutch families who meet up with their friends and family to enjoy the atmosphere at the market. However, the characteristics of the visitors of the Oogstmarkt do not correspond to the characteristics of the residents of the neighborhood Oude Noorden. Mainly, highly educated white young families attend the market. Attracting a homogenous group of people, and offering expensive niche products, the Oogstmarkt can be seen as a “white space” which is disconnected from its context. The market thereby contributes to the symbolic displacement of low-income and minority residents, both culturally and materially, and encourages gentrification processes. Creating a space that is, and is experienced as such, freely accessible to everyone, is therefore highly important. Planners and local leaders should therefore strategize markets within the rest of the urban and retail fabric and emphasize their unrecognized role as a site of social association and inclusion. As neighborhoods change, markets can take a centrally embedded place in the neighborhood and serve as a place for community building and interaction.

Keywords:

retail gentrification, marketplaces, neighborhood change, consumption, displacement

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I hope you enjoy reading this thesis!

Sascha Herfkens
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1. Introduction

Saturday morning, mid-October, Afrikaandermarkt, Rotterdam. Market vendors call out their best prices for strawberries and throw bad pieces of fruit and vegetables into the street. People carry large shopping trolleys and buy their weekly groceries. Young boys hang around the market and observe the merchants. Women gathered in groups giggle and talk about their week. Some people eat fresh fish at improvised seating areas, or share a 'patatje Bram', the famous Rotterdam fries, on plastic chairs. When walking through the narrow paths, all kinds of languages will pass you by. It is chaotic and all sorts of things are happening, but people seem to find their way and do their grocery shopping.

Across town, in Oude Noorden, an elderly couple sits at a picnic bench drinking oat-milk cappuccinos. A young family with a baby in a stroller buys a cinnamon roll to share. Two international students share an update on their lives over a cup of coffee and a croissant. Two older men watch visitors and eat pad thai from a bench. There is a long line in front of the Falafval business, which sells falafel made from leftover produce. A small band plays pleasant music, and the glasses of wine appear after an hour. The atmosphere is convivial, and many people seem to know or recognize each other.

Weekly open-air food and retail markets fulfill both social and economic roles. They act as public places where various products and food can be purchased. In addition, they often have a vital social function within the city or the neighborhood (Morales, 2011). The interaction between the merchants and visitors is informal, quick, and easy. The market provides a place for local entrepreneurs to sell products and expand their businesses (Hunt, 2007). It is a place of meeting, interaction, and atmosphere.

Although markets are an age-old concept in many city centers, traditional markets are under pressure (González & Waley, 2013). Because of changing urban processes such as gentrification and the change in consumer behavior, some policymakers have concluded that traditional markets need to adapt or die (González & Dawson, 2015). Policymakers increasingly focus more time, money, and energy on new upscale niche markets (González & Waley, 2013). This stimulates the degradation of the traditional market on the one hand, and the emergence of more niche and specialty markets such as farmers' markets on the other (González & Dawson, 2015). These new niche markets are targeted towards newcomers and tourists and focus on organic food and a great atmosphere. These changes, as part of broader neighborhood shifts, trigger a change in the retail sphere that can generate a "symbolic displacement" for long-term residents and users (Atkinson, 2015). Part of these neighborhood changes are caused by state-led gentrification processes. Gentrification emphasizes the arrival of newcomers into a neighborhood and the (symbolic and direct) displacement of long-term residents.

A considerable volume of research has been conducted in the past few years on neighborhood change and gentrification. In the Dutch context, and especially in the Rotterdam context, much research has been done on the impact of gentrification on the neighborhood and its residents. However, a link between the impact of gentrification and the function and use of weekly open-air markets has not yet been made. Although an increasing body of research is emerging on retail gentrification and its impact on retail and food markets, these studies are mostly focused outside the Netherlands. Little research has yet been done on why and how people visit markets, and what their contribution might be on a social and community level (González & Dawson, 2015). Additionally, the respondents of this study, the market visitors, are divided into newcomers, mid-term-, and long-term residents thereby highlighting the impact of gentrification on the market. A consumption-oriented understanding of gentrification that pays attention to the consumption dynamics between community and place, and the actual practices of gentrifiers, focused on the Dutch context, has not appeared before. The role of gentrification in the interaction between a place and a community could help distinguish it from mainstream consumption practices. A broader understanding of the characteristics of visitors and the market itself will illuminate the existing literature. Therefore, this research provides insight into the relationships between changing neighborhoods and two distinct types of weekly markets: their use, function, and visitors. The findings of this study will allow the existing, and growing, literature on the subject to be expanded.

This research will focus on two food- and retail markets in Rotterdam: the Afrikaandermarkt located in the south of Rotterdam in Afrikaanderwijk and the Rotterdamse Oogst (referred to as Oogstmarkt) located in the north of Rotterdam in Oude Noorden. Rotterdam, as the second largest city in the Netherlands, has an active pro-gentrification policy in which social-mixing policies are often used as a means to revitalize deteriorating neighborhoods (Doucet & Koenders, 2018). Both neighborhoods the markets lie in have dealt or are dealing with a lot of physical and social change, mostly caused by these policies with the selling off and redevelopment of social housing. I distributed a survey among visitors of both markets which resulted in in-depth knowledge about their reason for visiting and usage of the market. The central question of this research is stated as follows:

> *How do longstanding weekly markets as compared with new upscale markets function within gentrifying neighborhoods?*

To help answer this main-research question, the following sub-questions have been formulated:

1. *What are the characteristics of the longstanding weekly- versus the new upscale market, in terms of their function within the neighborhood, products being sold, and their prices?*
2. *What are the characteristics of the people, the local residents, and visitors from further afield, who are visiting the markets?*
3. *How are different groups of visitors using the different types of markets for shopping and socialization?*

This research will attempt to formulate a recommendation on how planners and local leaders can strategize markets within the rest of the urban and retail fabric and will emphasize their role for the neighborhood and its residents. An insight into these interactions can enlighten current academic literature and provide insights for municipalities on how to strengthen and use these markets.

The structure of this research is as follows: The next chapter will outline a theoretical framework. Theories about the social role of the market in public space and changing visitor trends will be discussed in depth, as well as theories on neighborhood change and gentrification. From this theoretical framework, a conceptual model will emerge that contains the main concepts. The third chapter will provide a context analysis of both markets and their neighborhoods. In the fourth chapter, the methodology of this research will be discussed.

Derived from the conceptual model and observations, a questionnaire was created, distributed to, and completed by visitors to both markets. This chapter will highlight the methods that were used and the limitations and ethical concerns of this research. The fifth chapter will analyze the data obtained from the survey. In the sixth and last chapter conclusions will be drawn and an answer to the main question will be formulated. In addition, a policy recommendation will be made based on the study's results. The subsequent reflection section will reflect on the progress and approach of the research and the results obtained.

2. Theoretical framework

This chapter will outline the theoretical framework. First, a deeper understanding of retail food markets and the current threats that they face will be provided. The longstanding weekly market under pressure will be examined as well as the rise of new niche markets such as the farmer's market. This section will dive deeper into their history, their social role within the neighborhood, and current developments. Next, these developments will be linked to gentrification, as these processes affect the markets. First, the producers of gentrification will be highlighted, and next the consumers. New consumer trends and a change in the composition of residents in a neighborhood affect neighborhood change, social belonging, and displacement. These processes will be linked to the role and function of the market as it has resulted in both the emergence of new niche markets and the decline of traditional markets. Lastly, the conceptual model this research follows is described and explained and the expectations are listed.

2.1 Comparing and defining the longstanding weekly market and the new upscale market

This study will focus on the longstanding weekly market and the new upscale market in the Dutch context. Both markets are weekly open-air retail food markets. The longstanding weekly market functions primarily as a place for buying and selling goods and food. The market takes place twice a week throughout the year. The upscale farmer's market takes place once a week and, in addition to selling (organic and niche) products, focuses on the atmosphere of the market. This subchapter will outline the origin and current trends of both markets, as well as provide a broader understanding of the history and social role of retail food markets.

2.1.1 Defining the market

Retail food markets have been a familiar concept and have served various economic and social purposes for centuries (Watson & Suddert, 2006; Morales, 2009). Especially in the Netherlands, these markets to this day still function as gathering places where people can buy affordable food and products, despite the rise of chain stores and online shopping (Zukin, 2008). However, markets are hard to define and are described by many names in the literature. Common names include public markets, municipal markets, farmers' markets, street markets, flea markets, craft markets, and swap markets and their functions include selling, promoting tourism, encouraging business creation, enlivening places, and socializing and integrating youth or immigrants (Morales, 2011, p. 4). Their characteristics include itinerant-, periodic-, informal-, illegal-, municipal-, open-air-, street-, or covered markets (González, 2020, p. 878).

Within the academic literature, markets have been researched as a place for social inclusion (Guimarães, 2018; Watson & Studdert, 2006; Watson and Wells, 2005) and mobility (Morales, 2009; Project for Public Spaces, 2003). Studies have also increasingly focused on the racial and gender tensions of markets (Slocum, 2007). Markets have been studied from a variety of disciplines, from anthropology, ethnography, geography, economics, and business studies to sociology. Within the sociology discipline, for example, there is particular interest in street markets and vendors and their informal nature, mostly from the global south. In contrast, there is considerably less research on the more regulated marketplaces, which are often government-owned and operated, take place indoors or outdoors and regularly take place in the same place or roam, mostly in cities in the Global North. This study will focus on weekly open-air retail food markets and will use the term "markets" when referring to them. These markets are commonly defined as a place managed by the municipality, where vendors weekly sell fresh food or retail products from open stalls (Project for Public Spaces, 2003, p. 6).

2.1.2 The longstanding weekly market under threat

Although markets distinguish themselves from other types of related retail activities and have their specific characteristics and their mix of traders, their commercial well-being and, in some cases, even their very existence are under threat (González & Dawson, 2015). Due to changes in retail, living- and working behavior, which has been changing especially after 1940, the vital functions of markets began to come under pressure. Cities and towns were expanding and car ownership per capita as well as the number of people with full-time jobs was increasing. As a result, more and more people did their daily shopping in out-of-town stores, or in supermarkets with longer opening hours. Parking lots at large supermarkets, among others, made shopping there more convenient. Markets, on the other hand, are often located in squares with few parking options. Policymakers, therefore, conclude that they need to “adapt or die off”: specialize or become more like supermarkets (González & Dawson, 2015, p. 9). González calls marketplaces "contested spaces" in the global urban market, in the sense that “they often occupy a marginal place in cities: they may be centrally located, but are neglected and/or marginalized, squeezed by corporate retail formats and threatened by displacement” (2020, p.877). Policymakers fail to strategize markets within the rest of the urban and retail fabric. They often see more opportunities in new successful niche markets, such as farmer’s markets, and invest more time, money, and energy in them than in traditional markets (González & Waley, 2013). This comes at the expense of the development and revitalization of traditional markets while they play an important role in the neighborhood.

The publication *Public Markets as a Vehicle for Social Integration and Upward Mobility* by Project for Public Spaces (2003) emphasizes their importance. They (1) serve a public purpose, (2) boost the local economy, and (3) provide an inviting and vibrant place in the public space. First, their public purpose means that they attract visitors back to downtowns and typically offer affordable alternatives to larger, established stores. For vulnerable groups, in particular, they provide an accessible and public space. They serve a vital role for migrant families and help newcomers integrate into communities (Simmel, 1950; Morales, 2009). Migrant communities, among others, often rely on these markets and even maintain their economic viability (House of Commons, 2009).

Second, markets also function as a booster for the local economy, unlike the ubiquitous franchises that dominate retail today. They create a place for local entrepreneurs to offer products that are often either not available or much more expensive in formal mass markets (Hunt, 2007) and increase the number of jobs and new businesses (Curry & Oland, 1998). They also encourage entrepreneurial activity and experimentation with new ideas and products (Lyson et al., 1995,) and they help circulate money within a local community that might otherwise be spent on imported goods (Brown, 2002).

Third, they occupy an inviting and vibrant place in the public space that attracts a wide range of people. According to Morales, they “represent the community, epitomize the community, and are symbols in the community” (2011, p. 12). Compared to other retail spaces such as supermarkets, they offer a different type of shopping experience and function as a social place (Hunt, 2007). They reconstitute public spaces by producing fluid places that promote interaction, level social hierarchies, and encourage experimentation (Morales, 2011).

However, these vital functions that traditional markets serve are under pressure. In their research on Britain’s markets, González and Waley (2013) attribute the decline to real estate pressures, retail globalization trends, and the “urban renaissance” in British cities (González & Waley, 2013, p. 967). According to them, this process is caused by the neoliberal urban political economy, which is increasingly stimulating creating more space for a wealthier transnational bourgeoisie and a growing international tourist class. This growing group has different desires and demands than current residents and contributes to neighborhood change and a changing retail scape. González and Waley (2013) therefore fear the existence of markets as they fear they’re falling prey to gentrification and fall into a marginalized position. In the publication *Traditional markets under threat: why it’s happening and what traders and customers can do* from the United Kingdom, Dr. Sara González & Gloria Dawson (2015) confirm this trend. They argue that niche markets, targeted at tourists and newcomers and mostly operated by the private sector, seem to be doing better than the local-authority-run markets. They also found that farmer’s markets are more effective at attracting affluent consumers (the AB socio-economic class) who might otherwise be less likely to frequent markets (González & Dawson, 2015, p. 7). Next, numerous markets are falling prey to the touristification that has prevailed in recent decades and jeopardizes the social function of the market as a meeting place. Markets such as the Market Hall in Rotterdam, La Boquería Market in Barcelona, and Borough Market in London serve as destinations for tourists and “foodies” (González, 2020, p. 877).

2.1.3 The rise of the upscale farmer’s market

In this context, farmers’ markets, public gardens, food box schemes, and farm-to-school programs have grown in numbers and popularity (Joassart Marcelli & Bosco, 2014). These new emerging niche markets increasingly pop up in cities, alienating especially low-income and minority residents. These markets attract a certain type of audience who are often more affluent (House of Commons, 2009, p. 28; cited in González, 2020). According to Rice (2015), consumers of farmer's markets tend to be white, affluent, well-educated older women who are concerned with environmental issues and preferably shop local and organic. Micheletti (2003) emphasizes that these visitors are often female because they typically do the daily shopping, are more involved with consumer issues than men and are more concerned about pesticides and other harmful substances on goods needed for their families. Other than being predominantly female, visitors of farmer’s markets also tend to shop at the market for fun and leisure and highly value the ambiance.

González and Waley (2013) also add the “urban pioneer” as a new type of visitor. The urban pioneer is interested in new places and cultures but likes to experience them from a safe distance. According to González and Waley, these pioneers like the feeling of being in a different space that has not yet been colonized by corporate values; they relish the fact that they have 'discovered' a place not yet frequented by people like them (i.e., the middle and upper classes) (2013, p. 970). Policymakers are therefore now also increasingly focusing on the atmosphere of a market: the market experience.

Central to this experience is the offer of good quality food, preferably organic and vegan-friendly, and its origin, preferably “exotic” (Bourlessas et al., 2022; González & Waley, 2013). Although a lot of ‘exotic’ products are sold at traditional markets that cater to lower-income groups, these "exotic" products are stereotyped as driven by price and convenience (Hollows and Jones 2010), and ethnic eating habits are commodified as a way to boost the market experience for the new "food adventurers" (Heldke, 2003). Visitors of farmer’s markets also prefer to buy local and organic food. For example, visitors of a farmers market in the UK, researched by Holloway and Kneafsey, stated there is an implicit assumption that the food offered is of high quality and that the market presents an alternative space that challenges the dominance of the ‘‘supermarket-productivist agriculture nexus’’ (2000, p. 293). Andreatta and Wickliffe (2002), who researched a farmer’s market in North Carolina, concluded that the visitors were mainly interested in fresh, locally grown products, and also have the desire to support local farmers and the local economy. Shopping at a farmers' market, therefore, coincides with a certain lifestyle that these visitors tend to pursue and presents the dualism of ‘‘local/good versus global/bad’’ (Holloway & Kneafsey, 2000, p. 295).

Because not only the clientele is predominantly white, but also the whiteness of the practices that make them possible, farmers' markets are seen as white spaces, thereby limiting access to "better" food for people of color (Joassart-Marcelli & Bosco, 2014). Although the initial idea is that all residents will benefit from a successful farmers' market, a kind of homogeneity is emerging which disconnects it from its context (González, 2020). According to Joassart-Marcelli and Bosco, farmers' markets become part of a rather elitist cultural economy that devalues and/or appropriates the food practices and bodies of low-income and minority residents, thereby contributing to their displacement, both culturally and materially (2014, p. 4). This is a trend that is happening in multiple areas and is triggered by gentrification with the selling off and redevelopment of social housing.

2.2 How gentrification affects the role and function of the market

Gentrification encourages a change in neighborhoods and also triggers a change in the retail sphere. This form of gentrification is referred to as retail gentrification. New consumption and leisure landscapes emerge and can generate a “symbolic displacement” for long-term residents and users (Atkinson, 2015). According to González and Waley (2013) markets are also influenced by retail gentrification. The changing profile of neighborhoods has influenced not only the shopping streets but also the public space. As markets are primarily seen as spaces for the working class, cheap, unruly, wild, dirty, and backward; merchants are seen as loud, rude, and whiny (González and Waley, 2013, p. 969), they have to adapt to the new demands and wishes of the newcomers and tourists. In this subchapter, the influence of gentrification, particularly retail gentrification, on markets will be examined.

2.2.1 Markets at the frontline of gentrification, displacement, and dispossession

Gentrification is a process that has been around for a long time. The first wave of gentrification was observed by British sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 as she identified an influx of “gentry”, people who bought and renovated old mews and cottages in inner London and who were more affluent and educated than their working-class neighbors (Glass, 1964). In her article *Gentrification: What It Is, Why It Is, and What Can Be Done About It,* Kate Shaw (2008) defines gentrification as:

> “A generalised middle-class restructuring of place, encompassing the entire transformation from low-status neighbourhoods to upper-middle-class playgrounds. [...] In the many different expressions, one thing is common: people who cannot afford to pay are not welcome, and homeless people are moved on (p. 1698).

According to Smith (1996), the process of gentrification is explained by the search for capital for profit maximization and financial investment in areas characterized by disinvestment and vacancy. He states that gentrification occurs in neighborhoods with a significant “rent gap”: a gap between the current low value and the potential higher future value, developers, investors, homebuyers, and local government strike. Apartments are rented out for ever-increasing rents, and profits are realized through the increased value of assets realized upon resale. Next to the rent gap, Cordova (1991) identifies real estate agents, property developers, and banks as the creators of gentrification. Gentrification, therefore, is a process pushing for further and continuous marketization of land, which marginalizes the traditional role of markets to provide affordable produce (González, 2020).

These processes have led to disinvestment and marginalization of the market. It triggers a shift in the market’s function and characteristics as many street vendors are being displaced due to rising rents and the touristification of places, as well as the rising emphasis on high-end organic products and a festive-like ambiance. There are numerous examples in the literature of unregulated marketplaces being removed or displaced, particularly in gentrifying city centers, to make room for redevelopments and new buildings (Bromley and Mackie, 2009; Swanson, 2007; González, 2020). Therefore, González argues that marketplaces are at the frontier of wider processes of gentrification, displacement, and dispossession (2020, p. 880). However, gentrification also needs to be understood as an uneven process (Lees et al., 2016). Not all markets are influenced by these processes. For example, García Pérez et al. (2018) found a process of ‘selective gentrification’ in Madrid. Most central markets there were redeveloped for tourists and middle-class shoppers, but markets in the periphery would still cater to affordable products for many people.

2.3 How gentrification affects the visitors of the market

Next to producers of gentrification, consumers of gentrification also trigger a shift in the market’s function and characteristics. Changing consumer habits are leading to a change in the retail sphere. These processes lead to neighborhood changes and changes in the composition of residents. Both these processes affect the way long-term residents, as well as newcomers, perceive and use the neighborhood. This chapter will take a closer look at the effects of the consumers of gentrification on the neighborhood, focusing on the sense of belonging and sense of displacement.

2.3.1 Newcomers as cravers for authenticity

The specific submarket of newcomers who enter gentrifying neighborhoods has broadened to also include middle-class families, empty nesters, and international jet-setters (Ley, 2011, p. 53). Combined with the increase in divorce rates, female labor participation, and households consisting of single adults, these newcomers have called for a change in the housing stock. They want to live in inner-city neighborhoods characterized by social and cultural diversity (Ilkucan & Sandikci, 2005). However, according to Sharin Zukin, once moved in, gentrifiers "are unhappy with the lack of supermarkets and other local services in the gritty, typically underserved low-income neighborhood to which they have moved (2008, p. 735) and therefore call for other, more upscale, stores and produce. (Ilkucan & Sandikci, 2005). These new consumers of a neighborhood also bring a different need for particular goods and services - such as clothing boutiques, art galleries, cafes, restaurants, and bars (Ocejo, 2011). These new establishments that cater to the newcomers in turn also attract new residents. These businesses often are the driving force for the rise of property values and rents and in turn, displace existing establishments (Ocejo, 2011).

Zukin, who has done extensive research in New York, primarily in Brooklyn, identified these newcomers as cravers for authenticity (2008, p. 745), who are causing and stimulating gentrification due to their consumer behavior. They have a preference for delicatessen and organic, exotic food that is locally produced and want to buy and eat these delicacies at the market in a cozy and nice atmosphere. These trends correspond with the wishes and demands of tourists. Tourists also want to be entertained and immerse themselves in local scenes and experience the local everyday culture (González, 2020). In Barcelona, the redevelopment of the Santa Caterina Market, focusing on Barcelona's tourists with high-end restaurants and shops, resulted in the displacement of long-term traders and surrounding businesses (Pascual-Molinas & Ribera-Fumaz, 2009; González, 2020). This so-called "Barcelona markets model", highlights the current trend of turning marketplaces into leisure "destinations" rather than neighborhood food supply centers (González, 2020, p. 882). This process highlights that not only does retail gentrification, and in turn neighborhood change, affect the market, but sometimes the redevelopment of marketplaces has actually been the catalyst for the wider gentrification of a neighborhood (González, 2020).

2.3.2 Retail gentrification as a driving force for displacement

The redevelopments of marketplaces and retail spaces, in turn, cause feelings of displacement. Although displacement is mostly understood as a form of spatial dislocation, conceptualized by Marcuse (1985), Davidson (2009) argues that residents can also be displaced without actual spatial dislocation. He emphasizes the notion of "place" in displacement as a "lived experience of space". Stabrowski (2014) adds "everyday displacement" as "the lived experience of the ongoing loss of the security, agency, and freedom to "make place" (p. 796). This sense of displacement can be triggered by a changing retail space. For example, Grier & Perry (2018) showed that segregation among residents was apparent in their opportunities to consume available goods and services from both commercial and public sources (p. 33). As middle-income residents move into a neighborhood that is gentrifying, old-time residents noted a difference in the retail mix. These consumption displacement effects (the rise of upscale coffee shops, bars, and restaurants, but also dog parks and bike lanes) were linked to the residential displacement of longer-term residents as it highlights the influence of newer residents on local political and economic regimes (Grier & Perry, 2018). These observed differences formed the basis of perceptions of consumption retargeting by longer-term residents.

Grier & Perry (2018) therefore concluded that the differential consumption opportunities as well as a lack of social interaction do not foster a sense of community among longer-term or newer residents. This results in “faux diversity”, which manifests as living among but not learning about diverse others” (Grier & Perry, 2018, p.33). Kirsteen Paton (2014) calls this the “paradox of gentrification”, as the working class is encouraged to be consumer citizens, yet they are denied participation due to material and financial resources. As for farmer’s markets, Kern (2016) argues that their emergence has reduced the amount of public space that used to be freely accessible resulting in the transformation of social spaces into unfamiliar and even inaccessible spaces to many non-gentrifiers. She calls this the ‘slow violence’ of gentrification, which has an effect on the sense of belonging of long-term residents. Elias and Scotson (1965) and Suttles (1972) found that as neighborhoods change, these changes also affect their communities and residents’ sense of home. Long-term residents often start feeling out of place and express a sense of nostalgia for the ‘old’ neighborhood and former ways of neighboring (Watt, 2006; Pinkster, 2016). These are feelings of displacement and result from a growing mismatch between the neighborhood identity and their own social identity (Davidson, 2009). This feeling often contrasts with the positive feeling that middle-class residents experience (Pinkster, 2016).

This highlights the importance of inclusive markets. Within the context of globalization, a sense of community and identity is becoming increasingly vital. Warde’s theory of communification (1997) emphasizes the consumer’s need for “re-embedding themselves in a sense of belonging, communicated through place, identity, and community” (Hunt, 2006, p. 55). As markets function between the formal and informal sectors of the economy where economic and social interactions coexist, they make these exchanges socially and geographically embedded (Hunt, 2007). Hunt concludes that “the consumer is socially embedded with the interactions of the market vendors and physically embedded through the consumption of products identified with the local physical environment” (2006, p. 55). Markets can therefore ideally act as an inclusive place for meeting, interacting, and shopping.

2.4 Conceptual model

The theoretical framework laid out the main concepts and theories and provided the foundation for the conceptual model. Figure 1 depicts the conceptual model which shows different aspects of gentrification and the market. The arrows between the different concepts represent a causal relation.

The conceptual model is structured as follows: Starting from the top of the model, gentrification has a direct relationship with both the residents of the neighborhood (the length of their residence and their socioeconomic status), as well as the characteristics of the market. Next, the two resident aspects also stimulate a change in the usage of the market.

As mentioned in the theoretical framework, gentrification has an impact on the neighborhood, sense of belonging, and sense of displacement. Higher-income groups move into gentrifying neighborhoods, and long-term residents experience a sense of displacement as a result. This process is caused by gentrification. Newcomers and long-time residents are characterized by the length of their residence. In addition, newcomers tend to have a higher level of education and thus a higher socioeconomic status. As was shown in the theoretical framework, they also have different demands and desires, and consumption patterns. Therefore, they are expected to use the market differently, which is highlighted in the conceptual model.

Gentrification also affects the characteristics of the markets, as it triggers a change in the retail- and the public sphere. As shown in the theoretical framework, markets are increasingly responding to the market experience and local and organic products. This development effectuates a different composition in marketers and market stalls. Not only are more stalls with organic and local products appearing, but the experience is being capitalized on. Next, gentrification processes lead to disinvestment, marginalization, and displacement of the traditional market. Traditional markets are struggling more with vacancy rates or seeing a decline in attendance. Therefore, gentrification has a causal relationship with the characteristics of the market, as shown in the conceptual model.

Lastly, the characteristics of the market, as well as the function of the market both influence each other. The way the market is set up; the offerings, the market vendors, and the market stalls, affect how the market is visited and what kind of visitors are attracted. In turn, the way the market is attended also affects the way the market is laid out.

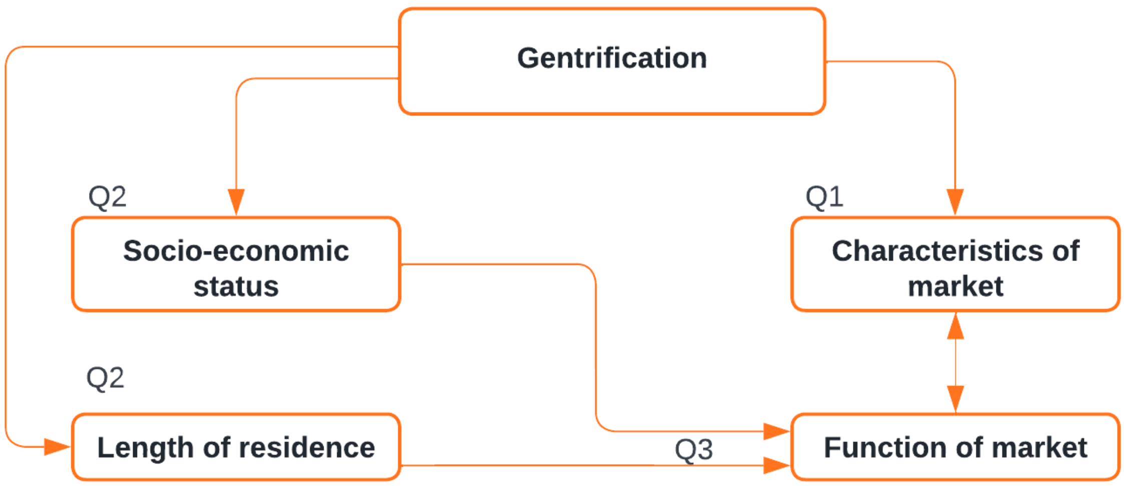

Figure 1 Conceptual model with sub-questions.

2.5 Expectations

Building on the theoretical framework, the following expectations were formulated regarding the results of this study: The traditional market primarily serves as a place for grocery shopping and caters to a large group. Therefore, a wide variety of visitors is expected. In particular, the integration of newcomers and migrants is promoted (Simmel, 1950; Morales, 2009). Therefore, primarily people from a lower socioeconomic class, who depend on relatively cheap products and social interaction in the market, will be expected.

The theory has shown that mainly white, affluent, well-educated older women who prefer to shop locally and organically (Rice, 2015) will visit the new upscale market. These visitors are expected to visit the market primarily for pleasure and value ambiance. In addition, the products are expected to be more expensive and to be local and organic.

Furthermore, gentrification indicators are expected for both markets and neighborhoods. It is expected that newcomers will have a different profile than long-term residents. Literature has shown that newcomers tend to have higher levels of education and income.

3. Methodology

The following chapter discusses the methodology of this study by describing the case selection, the research design, the data collection methods, the analysis approaches, the ethical considerations, and the research observations. This research aims to gain insights into how longstanding weekly markets, as well as new upscale markets, are influenced by processes of gentrification and neighborhood change.

3.1 Case study

In terms of the research field, a case study was chosen. Case studies provide a detailed examination of a specific research entity and can be used independently or as part of a larger study (Gillham, 2000). By choosing a case study, contextual aspects of gentrification and neighborhood change in the chosen area can be identified. Because the context is specific, the study's findings and the resulting recommendation will be unique to the chosen markets and neighborhoods.

This study examines the impact of gentrification on weekly open-air retail food markets. As described earlier, little research has been done on this topic in the Netherlands. Rotterdam, with its long history of urban renewal and restructuring, makes an excellent example to explore the effects of gentrification. As the second largest city in the Netherlands, Rotterdam is experiencing many processes of gentrification. The current city council has an active pro-gentrification policy in which social-mixing policies are often used as a means to revitalize deteriorating neighborhoods (Doucet & Koenders, 2018). Due to these current developments, much research has focussed on gentrification in Rotterdam in the past few years. This study can therefore build on existing knowledge. The city of Rotterdam also makes an interesting case study because of the growing inequalities in the city. Because of active municipal gentrification policies, greater differences are emerging between the rich and poor, the haves and have-nots (Doucet & Koenders, 2018).

Rotterdam has several public weekly markets. Besides the market in the city center, there are also markets in the north (the Oogstmarkt at Noordplein), in the west (the Grote Visserijplein market), in the south (the Afrikaandermarkt at Afrikaanderplein and the market in Hoogvliet) and another one the center (the farmer's market at Eendrachtsplein). This study will examine and compare the Oogstmarkt and the Afrikaandermarkt. Both these markets lie within a changing neighborhood and have a diverse multicultural character. Social housing units are (going to be) demolished in Afrikaanderwijk to make way for more middle- and high-income groups marking the early stages of gentrification and Oude Noorden has experienced a significant increase in housing prices and the offer of private rental apartments. But although the neighborhoods are similar in composition and development, the markets seem to have a very different function within their neighborhood. The Oogstmarkt mainly offers quite expensive organic and local products and mainly attracts white affluent families. At the Afrikaandermarkt, however, the variety of visitors is large, as is the range of products at the market. The difference between these markets can be attributed to the gentrification stage both neighborhoods find themselves in. As gentrification processes in Oude Noorden are already more advanced, the impacts should be more tangible, compared to the Afrikaanderwijk. These striking similarities, differences, and observations were the driving force for using the two markets as a case study.

3.2 Research design

To get a deeper understanding of the characteristics of the market visitors, their reason for visiting, and the way they use the market, this study follows a mixed-method research approach. Combining both a qualitative as well as a quantitative research approach provides a holistic view and creates the opportunity to research multiple variables within one unit of analysis (Yin, 1994). The main research approach is a quantitative method: a survey. According to Creswell (2014), this approach allows for generalizations and can be used to assess relationships between variables. Surveys are effective for collecting data from a large number of people and useful for understanding their complex behaviors, such as market experiences (McLafferty, 2016; Punch, 2014). To complement this data, a qualitative research approach was also chosen. This research approach can provide deeper knowledge into the specific situations or processes (Creswell, 2014), to gain deeper insights into market visitors' experiences. These observations complement the survey and create a broader understanding allowing more accurate conclusions to be drawn.

3.3 Data collection

For this study, a survey was developed (see Appendix I). The formulated questions are based on the findings from the theoretical framework and were supplemented by observations. These observations consist of an overview of the range of products displayed at the market, the market vendors, and brief exploratory conversations with market visitors about their reason for visiting.

The survey aims to obtain information about the visitor's residential circumstances as well as the reason for visiting and the way of using the market. The questions are linked to the sub-questions (see Appendix II) to answer the central research question and adhere to three categories: (1) general, (2) the neighborhood, and (3) the market. The first category contains questions regarding general information (such as gender, age, and nationality) and socio-economic factors (education level). The second category includes questions about the visitor’s housing situation and serves as an indicator of whether someone is a newcomer or a long-time resident. The third category includes questions about their reason for visiting and how they use the market. Additionally, the survey includes an introduction with a brief objective, as well as terms and conditions and privacy issues. The questions consist of open-ended and multiple-choice questions. Some of the questions also provide the option to add an alternative option, such as the question asking which products visitors bought at the market.

The questionnaire was primarily distributed on paper but was also created in Qualtrics, a survey software program provided by the University of Groningen, for data entry and as an extra option for respondents. Visitors were asked if they would like to complete a short, anonymous survey about their reason and use of the market. They were given the option of completing the survey on paper on a clipboard or scanning a QR code that was directed to the online Qualtrics survey. Out of the 213 respondents that have filled out the questionnaire, 209 respondents filled out the questionnaire on paper and 6 filled it out through the QR code. Of this total, 64 respondents were visitors to the Afrikaandermarkt and 149 respondents were visitors to the Oogstmarkt. The survey was distributed to visitors of both markets on four Saturdays in October and November 2022. Every week the visit to the two markets alternated between morning and afternoon, visiting market A in the morning and market B in the afternoon, and vice versa. In this way, a representative sample of visitors and their reason for visiting was collected. The days on which the survey was distributed varied from a pleasant, relatively warm day, to a rainy cold day.

In addition to the survey results, research observations are included to generate a more complete and comprehensive overview and serve as a way to substantiate research limitations. The observations include (1) keeping track of the reasons and numbers of people that were not interested/ did not have the capability to complete the survey, and (2) observations of the market outline at the time of handing out the surveys. The reason for including these observations is that the survey does not capture respondents who were unwilling or unable to complete the survey. Providing this information can clarify the limitations of the study and allows for a better argument as to why certain respondents are absent from the results.

3.4 Data preparation

The data was collected in Qualtrics and exported as CSV. file to Stata 17. Stata is a statistical software for data science and was provided by the University of Groningen. Before statistical analyses were run, the raw data required preparation. Data preparation consisted of translating all data to English, coding all categorical (/string)data to numeric data, and labeling them. To illustrate the recoding process, all nationalities were recoded according to the categories cited by the CBS available for both neighborhoods (Table 1). These CBS categories were adopted for proper comparison with the residents of Rotterdam.

Table 1 Indicators characteristics of the visitors used for statistical analysis.

Indicators	**Recoded**	**Categories after recoding, if applicable**
Gender	No	Female Male Other
Age	No	18 - 24 25 - 34 35 - 44 45 - 54 55 - 64 65 - 74 75 - older
Nationality	Yes	Native Dutch Maroccan Turkish Antillean Surinamese Other (=Austrian, Algerian, Brazilian, Chinese, Colombian, Cypriot, French, German, Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Iraqi, Polish, Somali & Ukrainian)

Education	No	Secondary school or less MBO HBO WO Bachelor's degree Master's degree or higher	
Household size	Yes	Household with children Household without children	(number of children= 1 or higher) (number of children= 0)
Immigrant	Yes	Immigrant from the EU Immigrant from outside the EU	(=Austrian, Cypriot, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Turkey & Ukrainian) (=Algerian, Antillean, Brazilian, Chinese, Colombian, Indonesian, Iraqi, Liberian, Moroccan, Somali & Surinam)

Next, a distinction was made between newcomers, mid-, and long-term residents and people who live beyond the neighborhood. First, the number of respondents who live beyond the neighborhood was calculated by using the travel time to the market as well as the travel mode. All respondents who walked to the market were assumed to live in the neighborhood. Of the other transportation options, the assumption was made that respondents live in or near the neighborhood if they did not travel for more than 19 minutes. Respondents who had indicated that it took them 20-29 or 30+ minutes to get to the market were included in the "beyond the neighborhood" category. Next, respondents belonging to the neighborhood were divided into newcomers, mid-, and long-term residents by using the year the respondent moved into their current home. This segmentation was made based on the average property value of both neighborhoods and Rotterdam, as well as literature on gentrification. Using these categories enables showing differences between respondents who have just entered the neighborhood versus respondents who have lived there for numerous years. Appendix IV shows the data results of all survey questions regarding the respondent’s characteristics divided by these categories.

When looking at the average property values and rent price per square meter (figure 2 and 3) all values rise from 2015 onwards. Therefore, respondents are labeled as mid-term residents if they moved into their current home from 2015 onwards, as gentrification processes became apparent and prices began rising. Respondents who moved into their current home before 2015 are labeled as long-term residents. Residents are labeled as newcomers if they have lived in the neighborhood for 2 years or shorter. Therefore, respondents who moved into their current homes from 2020 onwards are labeled as newcomers. As Valli states, “terms such as ‘long-time residents’, ‘gentrifiers’, ‘newcomers’ and similar are sensitive categories to define, and plainly do not render the fluidity and complexity of reality” (2015, p. 6). However, it is necessary to apply these labels and generalizations to research gentrification. Although there are a lot of characteristics that vary within these groups (e.g. personal interests and histories) (Meij, et al., 2021), contrasting them will illuminate when considering the impact of gentrification and neighborhood change on how they use weekly open-air markets.

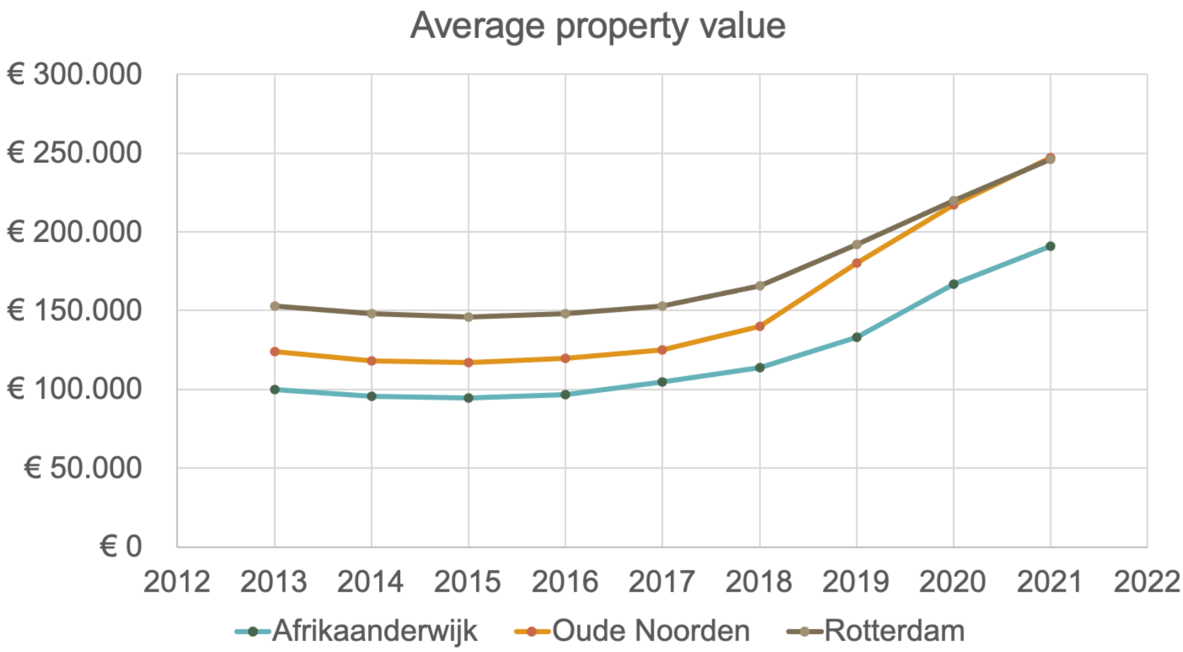

Figure 2 Line graph of the average property value of Oude Noorden, Afrikaanderwijk and Rotterdam from 2013 until 2021, Source: BAG data, edited and enriched by OBI (municipality of Rotterdam).

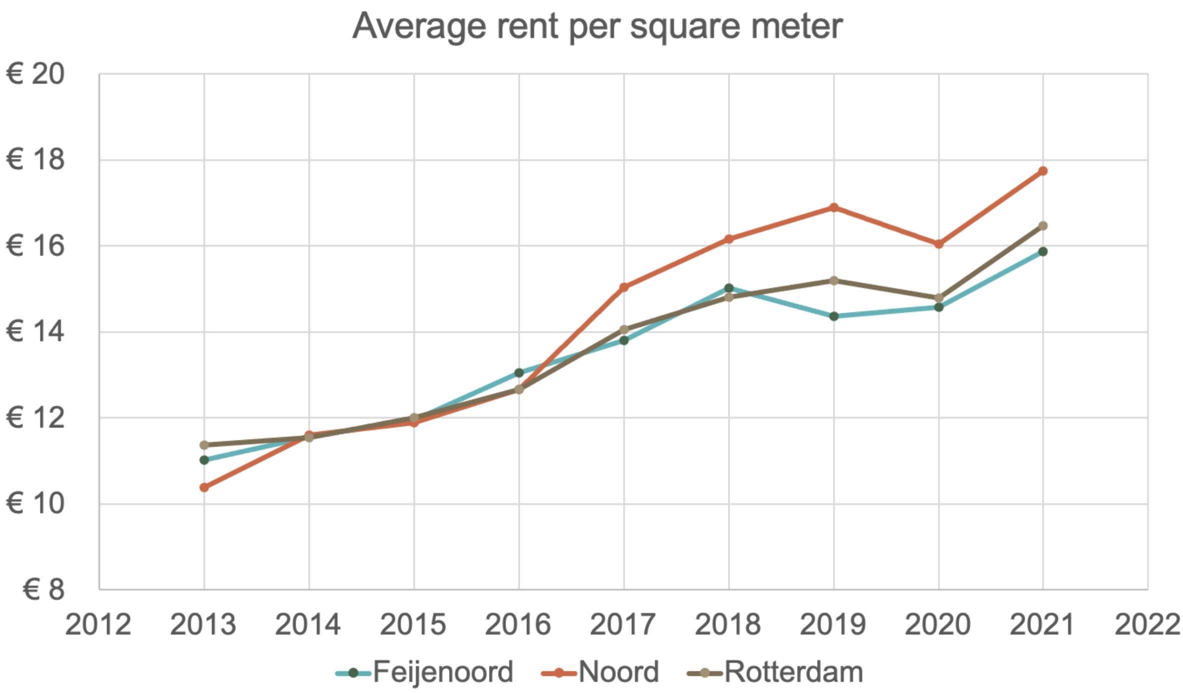

Figure 3 Line graph of the average rent per square meter of Noord (the overarching neighborhood of Oude Noorden), Feyenoord (the overarching neighborhood of Afrikaanderwijk) and Rotterdam from 2013 until 2021, Source: Pararius/Realstats.

3.5 Ethics, limitations, and positionality

The survey designed for this study went through the ethical approval process of the University of Groningen and was approved. Respondents were approached in a public place, where it is more generally acceptable to talk to strangers, and were asked for permission to ask them questions for this study. All questions were collected, analyzed, and stored anonymously. No personally identifiable information was collected.

In terms of research limitations, three aspects were applicable: time constraints, language barriers, and cultural barriers. First, the survey was distributed within the schedule appropriate for conducting this research. This meant that the survey was distributed on a total of four Saturdays. More survey days would yield more results, but did not fit within the time frame of this study.

Conducting the survey also brought limitations. Language and cultural barriers were especially prevalent in the Afrikaandermarkt. Many visitors wanted to complete the survey but did not have sufficient knowledge of the Dutch and English languages to fully understand the questions. In addition, many visitors at the Afrikaandermarkt were reluctant to answer questions, presumably because many people are suspicious of sharing personal information. These limitations are further elaborated upon in the next section.

In terms of positionality, I consider myself to have an insider experience of Rotterdam which has benefited my research. Although I have not spent my childhood years in Rotterdam, I have lived there for 6 years and additionally spent my years as a high-school student in Rotterdam. Therefore, I already had substantial knowledge of both markets and the context they are in.

3.6 Research observations

To complement the data obtained by the survey, research observations are included. These observations serve as a tool to explain the limitations of the study. The observations consist of (1) the number of times and reasons for not filling in the survey, and (2) the situation at the market. The significantly lower number of respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt (N=64) compared to the Oogstmarkt (N=149) can be explained by these observations.

Table 2 shows how often addressed individuals declined to complete the survey and their main reason. This shows that the willingness of visitors of the Oogstmarkt was much greater than that of visitors of the Afrikaandermarkt. Taking surveys went much smoother at the Oogstmarkt compared to the Afrikaandermarkt. Many visitors were interested in the topic of this study and were excited to contribute to it. Respondents who listed their email addresses to be kept informed of the results of this study were all visitors of the Oogstmarkt. As is shown in Table 2, reasonably more visitors declined to complete the survey compared to the Oogstmarkt. Most of the visitors who declined simply said “no” when asked if they would like to fill out an anonymous survey for my master's thesis. In addition, language barriers played a major role: some visitors of the Afrikaandermarkt wanted to complete the survey but did not have enough knowledge of the Dutch and English languages. Translating the survey was considered, but due to time constraints and finding people who were able to translate it, this was not feasible. Furthermore, visitors of the Afrikaandermarkt were predominantly more reluctant to share (personal) information. Unlike the Oogstmarkt, most of the surveys of visitors of the Afrikaandermarkt were completed with my help. Many visitors wanted me to help them fill out the questions, or said "just ask the questions and we'll see how far we get". This way of completing the survey, however, often did help convince visitors, as it confirmed that no sensitive information was being asked.

As for the Oogstmarkt, very few people declined to fill out the survey. However, when visitors did decline, the main reason was that they were not interested. For example, a man stated he just wanted to relax and politely declined. Some visitors were also either having a coffee, breakfast, or lunch and therefore also did not want to be bothered. A few visitors did not have enough time.

Table 2 Number of times visitors of the Afrikaandermarkt and the Oogstmarkt declined to complete the survey and their main reason.

	Total rejections	Reasons for rejection
Afrikaandermarkt	47	21x “No” / “I don’t want to” 10x “I don’t speak the language” 5x “I’m not comfortable sharing information” 4x “I don’t know how to” 4x “I don’t have time” 3x Other
Oogstmarkt	12	6x “No” / “I’m not interested” 3x “I’m eating” 3x “I don’t have time”

Additionally, the layout of the markets also played a role in taking the surveys. The Oogstmarkt features many seating areas where numerous people enjoy a cup of coffee or pastry (see Figure 4). I could easily approach them there and they could comfortably complete the survey while I approached other visitors. The convivial atmosphere of the market added to the ease of approaching visitors. The Afrikaandermarkt featured considerably fewer seating areas. Therefore, finding a good place to take the survey was more challenging. As it was quite busy and crowded at the Afrikaandermarkt as well, it was challenging to approach people while they were busy making purchases. Many visitors carried large shopping bags and were busy talking.

Figure 4 Seating areas at the Oogstmarkt. Source: Photograph made by the author.

4. Empirical context

This chapter will outline the empirical context. Both markets examined in this study are located in Rotterdam. This chapter will discuss Rotterdam's urban policies and analyze the characteristics and demographics of Oude Noorden and Afrikaanderwijk. The character traits and history of both markets will also be discussed.

4.1 Rotterdam: A city of regeneration

Rotterdam is characterized by a history of urban renewal and regeneration. The 1941 bombing during World War II (figure 5) forced Rotterdam to redesign the city according to modern ideals. Much space was created for the car, functions of housing, working, and living were separated and new, modern housing was built in the bombed areas rapidly. However, the spared pre-war neighborhoods fell into disrepair and tenants protested because of the impoverished character of the neighborhoods. Since the 1970s, the city has been subject to thorough urban restructuring. Policies were made at the neighborhood level for neighborhoods struggling with economic and social problems. These policies led to greater integration of social, economic, and building policies (Mak & Stouten, 2014).

Figure 5 The bomb-damaged Hoogstraat, Steiger and St. Laurens Church, 1940. Source: https://stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl/.

From 1990 onwards, there was an increasing effort to increase variation in income and household composition, fueled by neoliberalism and the retreating welfare state. To stop ghettoization, the concentration of poverty, and prevent and counteract spatial segregation, deprived areas were addressed by changing their demographic composition (Blokland & Van Eijk, 2011; Mak & Stouten, 2014). A shift took place from "building for the neighborhood" to "building for the city" (Klerk, 2022). The idea of demolishing social housing and retaining and attracting wealthier people emerged. In 2007, 40 problem areas (later renamed to *krachtwijken*, 'empowering neighborhoods') were designated in the Netherlands (Mak & Stouten, 2014). These neighborhoods mainly housed residents with low access to the labor- and housing market. With seven neighborhoods, Rotterdam was represented the most. In 1990-2008, 54,000 housing units were added, but 42,000 homes were also demolished, making the total increase small. The new housing stock was built for "social risers" and the old outdated social rental housing was demolished (figure 6), significantly decreasing the number of social rent apartments in Rotterdam.

Figure 6 The demolition of social housing in the Tweebosbuurt, located in Afrikaanderwijk. Source: Photograph taken by the author.

Rotterdam was also the first city where the anti-segregation policy was implemented, later implemented at the national level in the "Big Cities Policy" (Lees et al., 2011). In this policy, people without income or work were excluded from neighborhoods with similar people so that there would be no greater concentration of unemployment. However, although this policy seems to want to prevent unlivability, it is in fact about thinning ethnic concentrations (Lees et al., 2011). This approach continued in the years that followed. In 2007 the Stadsvisie (Urban Vision) was published and in 2016 the Woonvisie (Housing Vision). Especially the Housing Vision led to much criticism and was only just passed after a narrow majority voted for the plan in the referendum (Doucet & Koenders, 2018). Rotterdam City

Council's City Vision states, "By selling rental housing, making private housing improvements attractive to homeowners, improving outdoor space and providing space for hospitality and creative economy in the old city neighborhoods, we stimulate the process of gentrification" (Rotterdam, 2007). Thus, the municipality's active gentrification strategy is committed to a more diverse city in terms of income, origin, and social status (Lees et al., 2011). In this way, families and the highly educated remain in the city and are used as pawns to combat the high concentration of low-income residents in urban neighborhoods.

4.2 The changing neighborhoods

4.2.1 Afrikaanderwijk: the forefront of gentrification

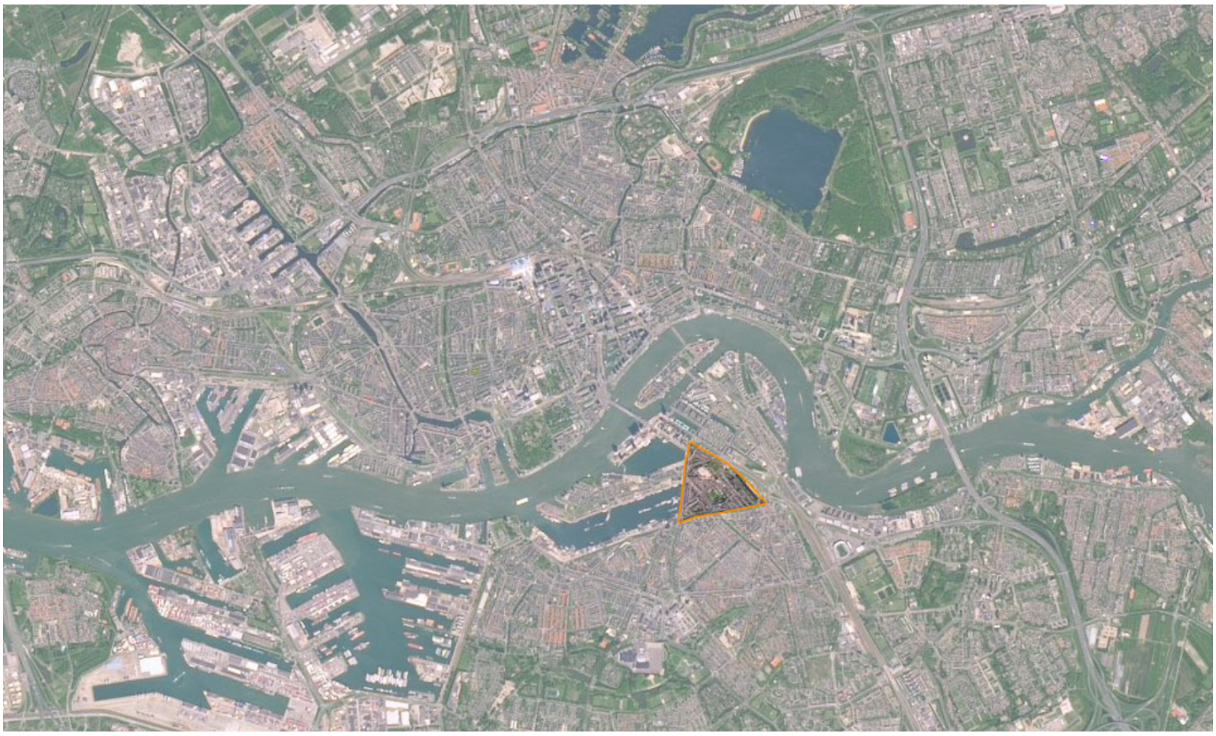

Figure 7 Location of Afrikaanderwijk. Source: Google Earth, map made by the author.

Located in the south of Rotterdam, and housing the third largest market of the Netherlands on its central square is Afrikaanderwijk. Afrikaanderwijk is a working-class neighborhood that lies on the southern bank of Rotterdam in the Feijenoord district (figure 7). Around 1900, the harbors were dug and Afrikaanderwijk functioned as a hub for the first generation of harbor workers from the Dutch countryside. In the seventies, it became home to a high concentration of immigrants, largely from Turkey and Morocco (Crimson Architectural Historians, 2007), making it one of the first neighborhoods in the Netherlands where a majority of the population had a non-Dutch background (figure 8). Furthermore, the Feijenoord borough attracted many other newcomers to the city, such as Chinese, Surinamese, Antilleans, Cape Verdeans, and more recently, workers from Central and Eastern Europe.

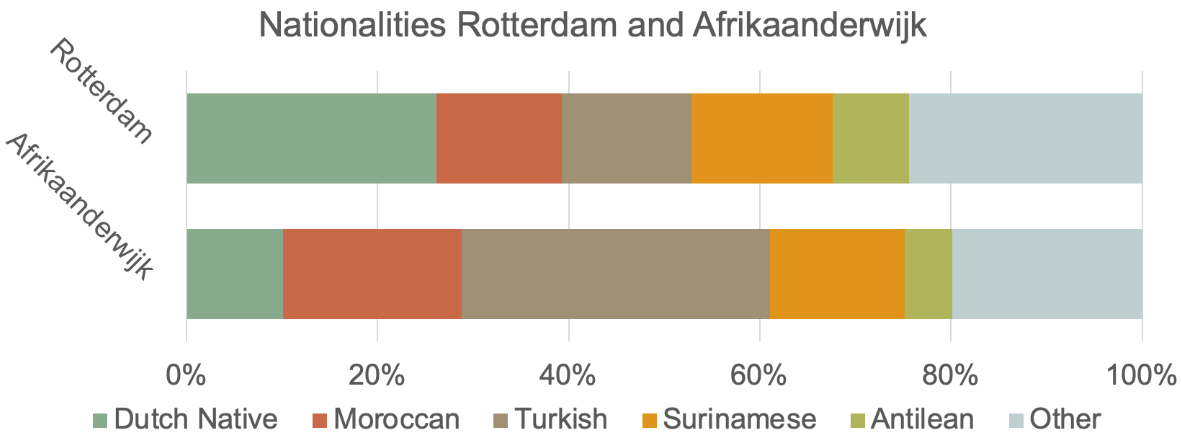

Figure 8 Population composition of Rotterdam and Afrikaanderwijk in 2022. Source: data by Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS).

Currently, the neighborhood is the poorest in Rotterdam. The annual average household income is 16,000 euros, which is 5,000 euros below the Rotterdam average. Over the past two decades, the socioeconomic status of the residents has hardly changed. Still, more than 70 percent of the residents of Afrikaanderwijk belong to the lowest income group and the highest income group is represented by only about 4 to 5% of the residents. Afrikaanderwijk features a vast amount of social housing apartments owned by housing corporations (Figure 9). However, as seen in Table 2, housing prices have risen substantially in recent years, indicating gentrification processes. The neighborhood features 3.735 households and the majority of the housing stock has a value lower than €225.000.

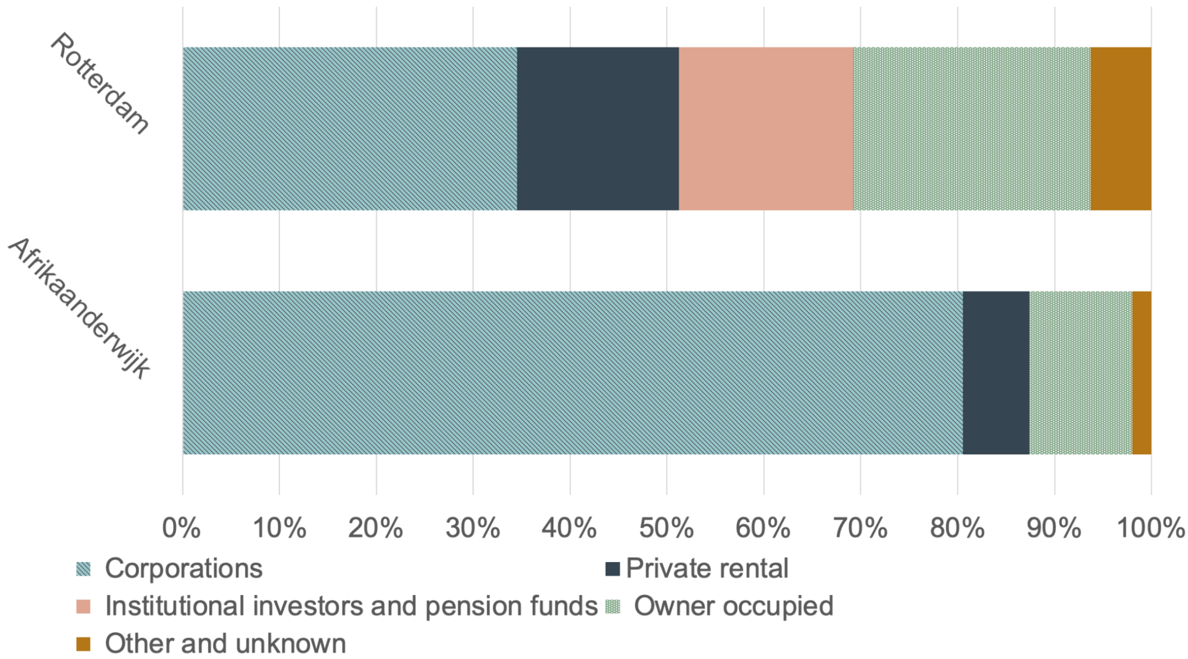

Figure 9 Housing stock by housing ownership of Afrikaanderwijk and Rotterdam in 2021. Source: BAG data, edited and enriched by OBI (municipality of Rotterdam).

In 2007, when the Dutch government designated 40 neighborhoods as "empowering neighborhoods", as stated earlier, Afrikaanderwijk was one of them. Since then, various urban renewal plans were created making it the “laboratory for urban renewal” (Crimson Architectural Historians, 2007). To counter the decline and to build a more diverse city, Afrikaanderwijk is one of the neighborhoods in inner-city Rotterdam which was found to be subject to state-led gentrification (Douchet & Koenders, 2018). One of the strategies for upgrading Afrikaanderwijk was the implementation of a social-mixing strategy. Socially mixed neighborhoods would increase mutual help and social control and the middle- class would function as role models for lower-income groups to learn better social and moral norms (Annunziata, et al., 2021). The Housing Vision of 2007 also directly and overtly encourages and promotes gentrification in poorer urban neighborhoods: Cool, Oude Westen, Middelland, Delfshaven, Lloydkwartier, Oude Noorden en Afrikaanderwijk (Douchet & Koenders, 2018). The municipality stated that these neighborhoods have the necessary features to promote gentrification (Rotterdam, 2007).

Currently, the gentrification process is in its early stages in Afrikaanderwijk. The neighborhood is currently known as the frontier for gentrification, as gentrification processes slowly overtake the south of Rotterdam, starting at Katendrecht and the Kop van Zuid. The municipality is currently focusing on the following goals: 1) better connections to and from the Afrikaanderwijk; 2) differentiated housing ownership so that households are not forced to leave if they want to buy a home; and 3) a boost to the local economy (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2011). To achieve the second goal, mainly older social housing is being demolished to make way for owner-occupied housing (that rose from 1% in 2000 to 11% in 2011, among others). Recently, the neighborhood has been a topic of discussion because of the controversial demolition of the Tweebosbuurt (figure 5). Housing corporation Vestia announced the large-scale demolition of 599 homes in 2019, from which 374 new homes will return. 130 new social rental homes, 101 private sector rental homes, and 143 private sector rental homes. The demolition of the Tweebosbuurt received harsh criticism from the United Nations (Groenendijk, 2021), but the demolition continued. The new residents consist of young people from the neighborhood and newly entering "creatives" (Douchet & Koenders, 2018).

4.2.2 Oude-Noorden: a multicultural neighborhood in the North

The next market studied in this research, the Oogstmarkt, is located in the neighborhood Oude-Noorden (Old-North). This neighborhood lies within the administrative district Rotterdam-North, which lies between the river the Delfshavense Schie, the highway (A20), the Rotte River, and the railroad tracks (figure 10). The district has a population of 17.150 people (January 1, 2022) and covers an area of 106 hectares. The first construction in the area started with the building of a prison in 1866 and was further expanded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when the city was growing rapidly due to increased economic activities. Even though the bombing also reached Rotterdam-North during World War II, Oude Noorden came away unscathed. Therefore, the neighborhood is still characterized by many pre-war streets, canals, and spacious squares.

Figure 10 Location of Oude Noorden. Source: Google Earth, map made by the author.

In the 1980s, many Moroccan workers with their families moved into the old and cheap houses in Oude Noorden. Until then, they could not rent houses in Rotterdam. In the 1990s the local government concluded that the neighborhood suffered from a bad reputation and featured problems (Mak & Stouten, 2014). High unemployment among residents combined with insecurity and poorly maintained houses caused Ouden Noorden to be included in various reconstruction programs. In addition to being included in the 1994 Major Cities Policy, Oude Noorden was designated by the municipality in 2015 as one of nine so-called promising neighborhoods (which also included Afrikaanderwijk). In these neighborhoods, gentrification was actively managed and, through new, more expensive family housing, wealthier residents were attracted (Mak & Stouten, 2014). Government investments were focused on social, physical, and economic policies with a focus on reducing long-term unemployment and improving facilities, public space, and housing stock. There was also a greater focus on encouraging the owner-occupied sector so that the "social climbers" would maintain a presence in the neighborhood and improve their own. As a result, the share of owner-occupied housing increased from 9% in 1999 to 18% in 2009.

Currently, is the largest neighborhood in the North area. A fifth of the residents are native-born (figure 11) and there are many single-person households and single-parent families. More than half live in single-person households and nearly two-thirds have low household incomes. The majority of the houses are rented (80%), compared to owner-occupied (19%) (figure 12). The majority of the houses have a value between €225.000 and €275.000.

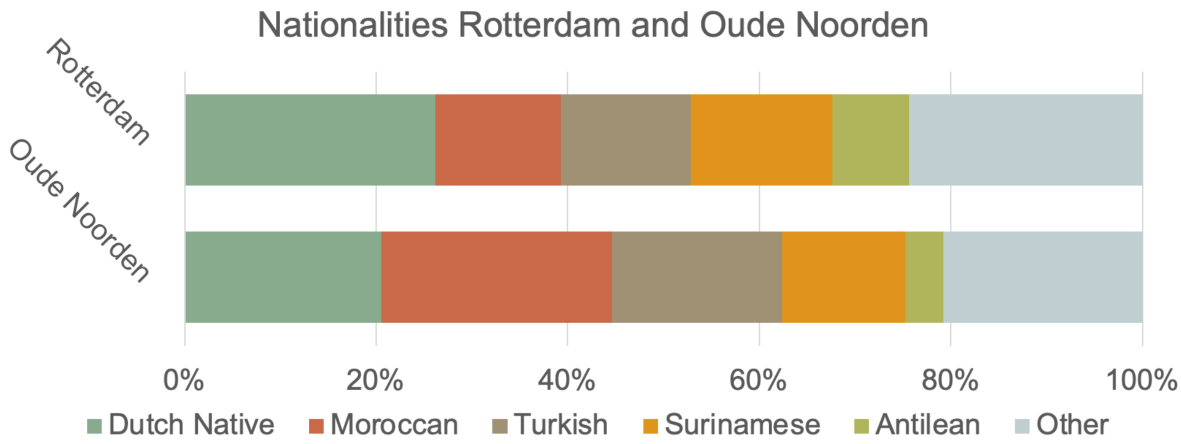

Figure 11 Population composition of Rotterdam and Oude Noorden in 2022. Source: Information by Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS).

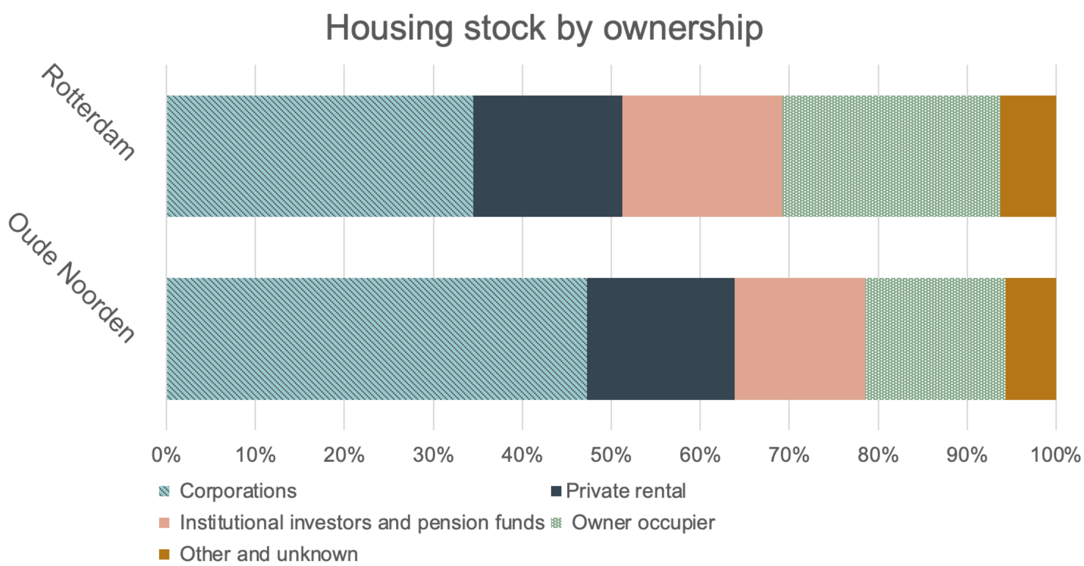

Figure 12 Housing stock by housing ownership of Rotterdam and Oude Noorden in 2021. Source: BAG data, edited and enriched by OBI (municipality of Rotterdam).

4.3 The markets

4.3.1 Describing the longstanding weekly Afrikaandermarkt

Afrikaanderwijk features the third largest market in the Netherlands, which is taking place on Wednesdays (9:00-17:30) and Saturdays (9:00- 17:00). The market has been located on the center square of the neighborhood since 1964. Before that, the market was located at the Maashaven, in the nearby neighborhood Katendrecht. The market is known as a large, popular, multicultural market that is well-attended. The vast majority of the stalls are fruit and vegetable stalls (figure 13), but in addition, the market has a remarkably large number of textile stalls. Many textile stalls focus specifically on selling clothing for the Muslim community, such as headscarves and long dresses. The supply of fish is also very large. Not only Dutch fish is sold, but also Surinamese fish and a variety of seafood. There are also many food trucks, where a quick meal can be bought, such as Halal Fried Chicken, a Vietnamese noodle truck, a Surinamese specialty store, and corn on the cob. However, there are few seating options available at the market, so many visitors who buy a snack create improvised spots. In addition, a large proportion of visitors sit in mobility scooters and many do their shopping with a shopping trolley. Sophie Watson (2009) attests in her research on markets in the UK that the number of people in motorized wheelchairs in neighborhoods struggling with high unemployment and low incomes is significantly higher than in other markets.

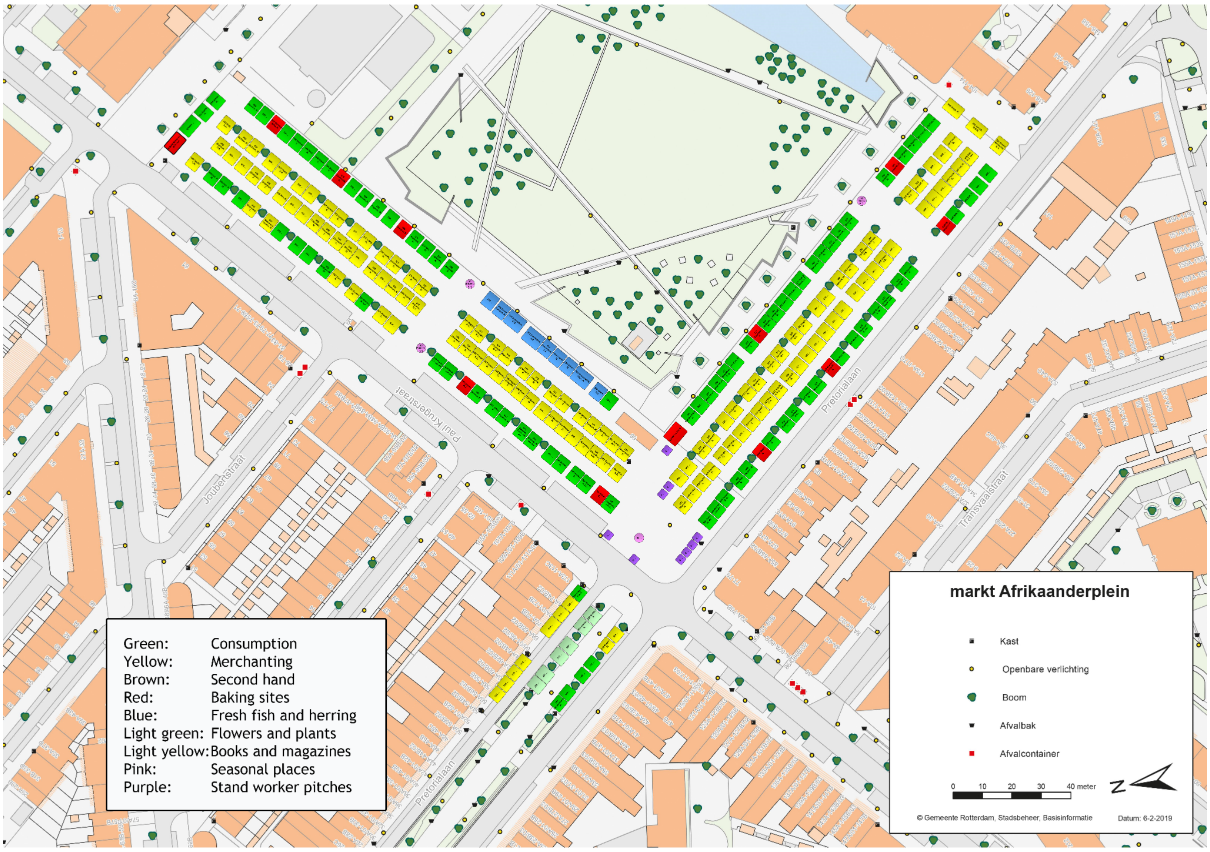

Figure 13 Usual set-up of the Afrikaandermarket (this particular set-up dates june 2022). Source: map provided by the Municipality of Rotterdam.

In 2000, the report "With the Market to 2000" was published in which the merchants' association and the city council turned their attention to the future of the markets. At the time, the Afrikaandermarkt was struggling with declining sales and an impoverished image. In 2007, Crimson Historians and Urbanists drafted the opportunities for the Afrikaandermarkt. According to their analysis, the market was in danger of losing its original quality due to poor facilities and faltering organization. However, because of urban renewal programs, many new visitors were expected to arrive over the next decade. It was also expected that more wealthy residents would move into the neighborhood and therefore to the market. Not only was the neighborhood changing, but plans were also being made to address the market and square. A plan to make the market covered was rejected, but new plans were made to renovate the entire square and adapt it to modern needs and conditions.

At the time, the market was poorly equipped with electricity and toilets and struggled with a poor image because of the problems in the neighborhood. In addition, the atmosphere of the market would also be addressed and more attention would be paid to the experience.

Figure 14 Impression of the Afrikaandermarkt in October 2022. Source: Photographs taken by the author.

4.3.2 Describing the upscale new Rotterdamse Oogst market

In 1995, the central square of Oude Noorden neighborhood, the Noordplein, was renovated after the Central Rotterdam market was temporarily located there. After the market moved back, plans arose for a new market on Noordplein. In the aforementioned report *With the Market to 2000*, the municipality saw opportunities to initiate an organic market with about 25 vendors on the square. The market was part of the Big Cities Policy and was expected to attract people from outside to the neighborhood and thus increase economic activity in the neighborhood, livability, and outdoor public space. After a six-month pilot, which started in April 1998, the organic market was eventually located at the square for another year but did not continue after that. Two years later, a group of local entrepreneurs came up with a plan for a new market. However, only 11 market vendors showed up for the 2005 pilot, although 30 had applied, and the market was soon discontinued. In 2008, seven local residents, who previously ran a market on Heemraadsplein, tried again: they came up with the idea for the Rotterdam Harvest Market. At first, they only received an event permit because they were not organized by the municipality, which allowed them to organize the market only once a month (Rijnmond, 2018). Since July 2018, the market received a temporary permit for a one-year trial period, allowing them to organize weekly markets on the Noordplein by being incorporated into the municipality's market department (http://www.rotterdamseoogst.nl/). Ever since the market has been operating every week at the Noordplein (figure 15).

Figure 15 Impression of the Oogstmarkt in October 2022. Source: Photographs made by the author.

The market takes place in different shapes and sizes. On average, the market consists of ten to thirty stalls (figure 16). Once a month, an XXL market is organized with as many as fifty stalls. This larger version also includes live music and alcohol is sold. The products are usually organic and come from local, small businesses. In addition to several stalls selling homemade products, such as homemade caramels, essential oils, cosmetic products, or homegrown mushrooms, there is also a wide variety of food and drink stalls. Prior to every edition, a newsletter is published on their social media channels, informing visitors which market vendors are going to be present, and which products they are going to sell.

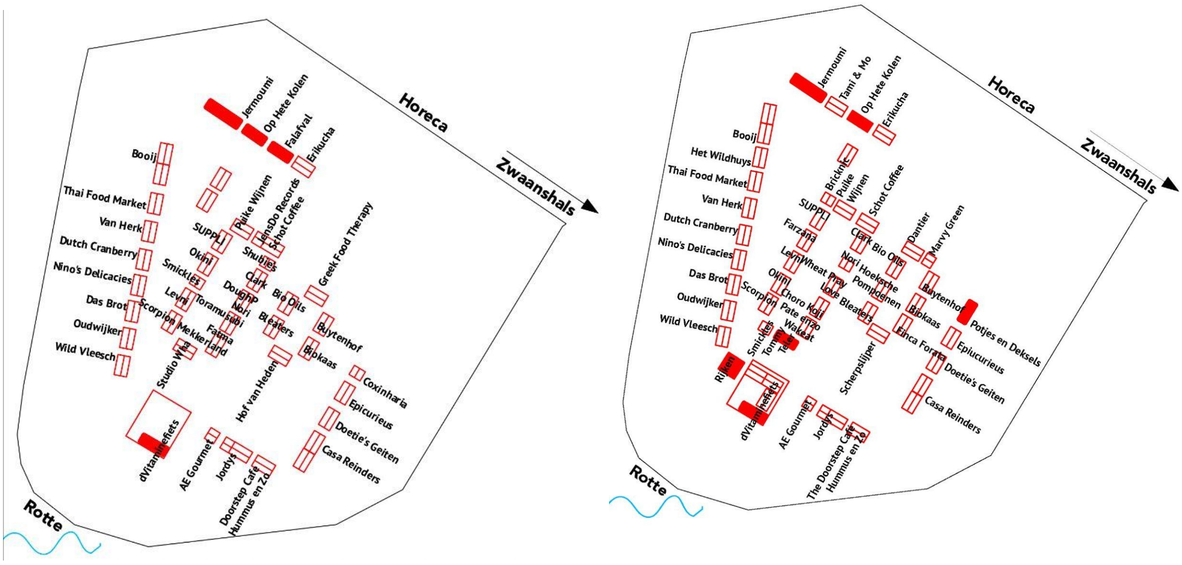

Figure 16 Map of the Oogstmarkt with its market vendors on October 1st and October 22, 2022. Source: https://www.facebook.com/rotterdamseoogst.

5. Analysis

In this chapter, the analysis of the collected data will be discussed. A descriptive analysis table can be found in Appendix III. Following the data obtained by the survey, the three sub-questions will be answered in this chapter and explained by numerous graphs. This will accumulate in a conclusion as well as recommendations.

5.1 What are the characteristics of the longstanding weekly- versus the new upscale market?

The first sub-question is stated, “What are the characteristics of the longstanding weekly- versus the new upscale market, in terms of their function within the neighborhood, products being sold, and their prices?”.

Do the markets fulfill the respondents' daily needs?

In order to determine the characteristics and differences of the markets, visitors were asked about the products: which products they buy, their price, and if they fulfill their daily needs. Figure 17 shows the types of products respondents buy at both markets. As can be seen in the figure, respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt primarily buy vegetables and fruits, fish, and deli items and visitors of the Oogstmarkt primarily buy bread.

As for the Afrikaandermarkt, stalls selling fresh fish, deli items, and fruits and vegetables are over-represented. In addition, prices for these products are relatively cheap, as shown in Figure 18. However, compared to the Oogstmarkt, the array of products respondents buy is very wide. Not only do respondents buy food, but they also buy textiles, clothing, flowers/plants, and personal care products. This indicates the large array of products that is offered at the market as well as the price of the products, which is found to be relatively cheap (see Figure 18).

When looking at the products respondents of the Oogstmarkt buy, primarily food is bought, such as bread, vegetables and fruits, cheese, meat and fish. However, although the number of stalls is significantly smaller, the different types of products offered at the Oogstmarkt are relatively large. Next to a few food stalls, there are vendors present selling personal care products, deli items, and hand-made clothing. Figure 17, however, shows that respondents do not often buy these products. Arguably, this can be explained by the price of the products. Unlike the Afrikaandermarkt, respondents from the Oogstmarkt indicated that prices were not inexpensive (see Figure 18). Additionally, it could also indicate the assumption that market visitors of the Oogstmarkt mainly visit the market for the coziness and ambiance.

Respondents were also allowed to fill in “other” products. Respondents of the Oogstmarkt wrote down: “vegan pastries”, “coffee”, “lunch”, and “falafval broodje” (which is a falafel sandwich made from leftover produce). This indicates that they also visit the market for lunch and confirms that the products are quite niche as they do not fall under the general categories. Compared to the Oogstmarkt, no respondents filled out the “other” category amongst the respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt.

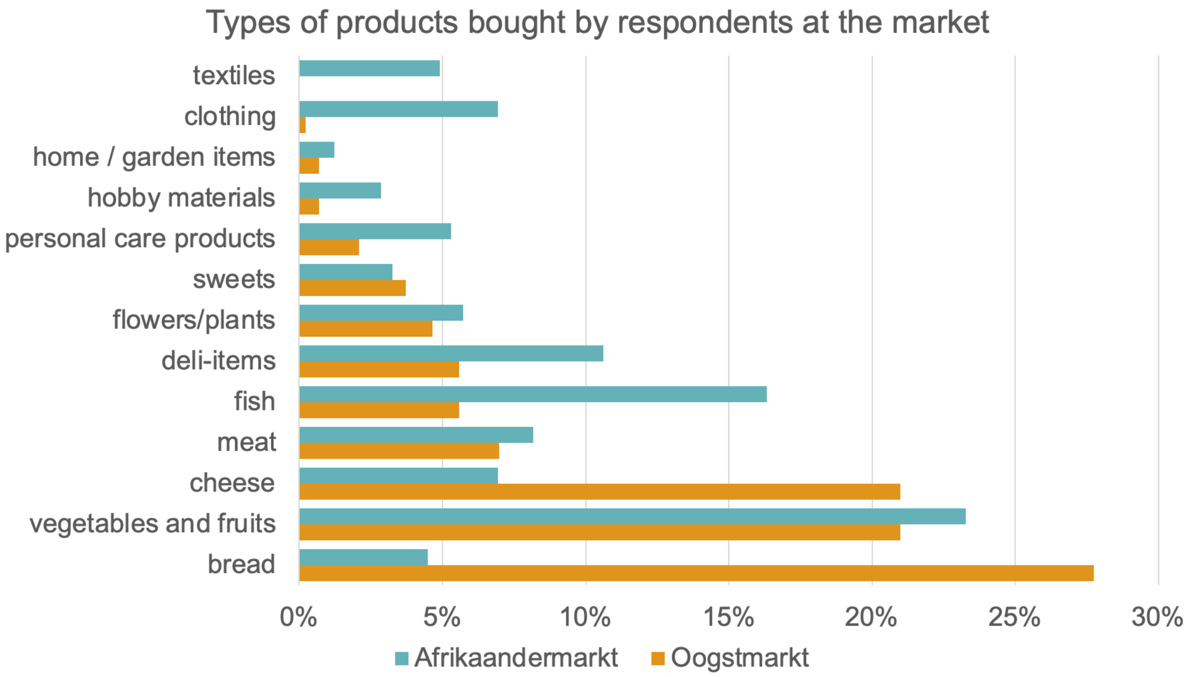

Figure 17 Types of products respondents buy at both markets.

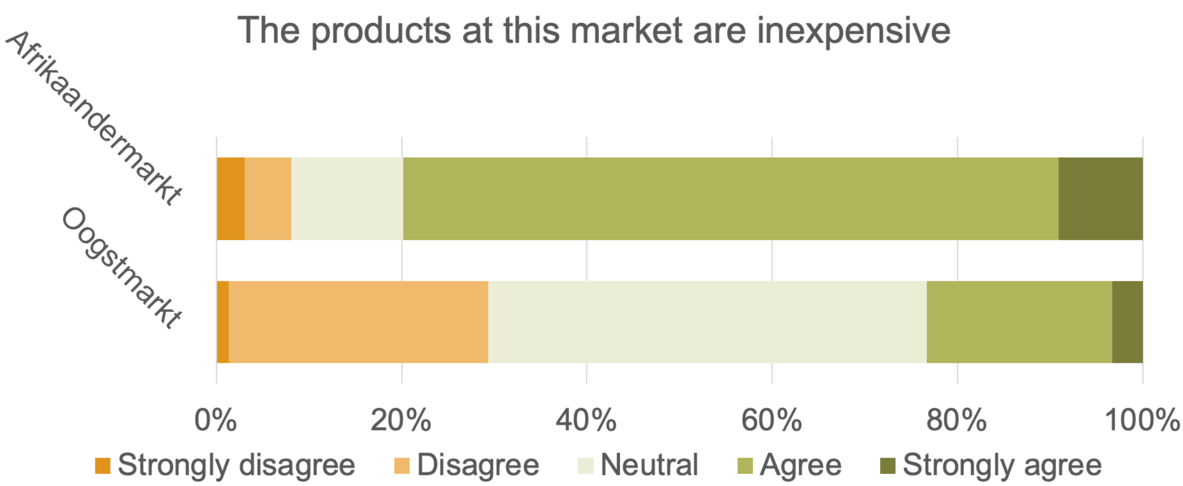

Figure 18 Answers of respondents of both markets to the question of whether the products at the market are inexpensive.

The large array of products that are offered at the Afrikaandermarkt accumulated in the findings showing that a vast majority of the respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt agree whether they can get most products for their daily life at the market, as is shown in Figure 19. As for the Oogstmarkt, almost half of the respondents disagree.

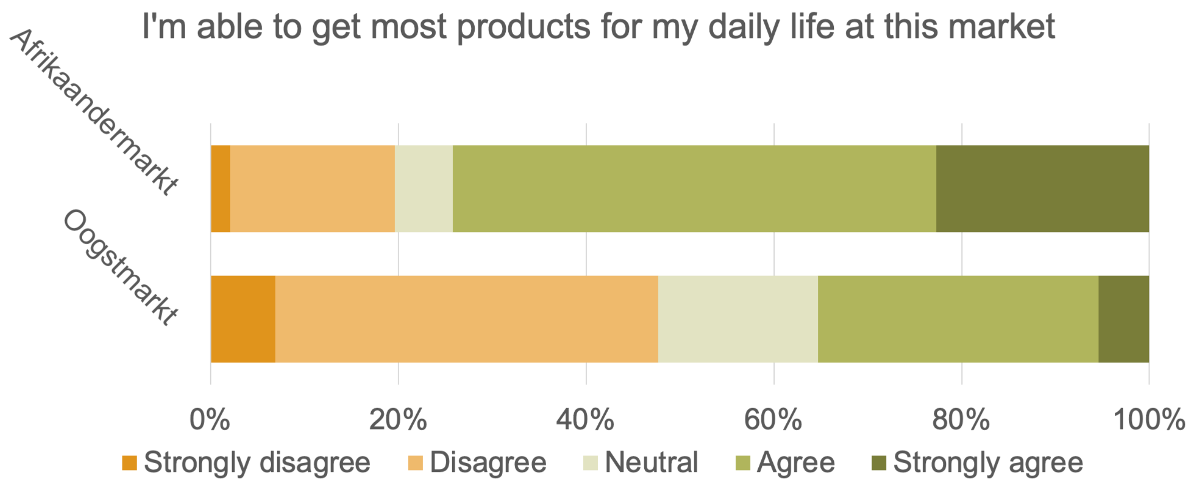

Figure 19 Answers of respondents of both markets to the question whether they can get most products for their daily life at the market.

However, in terms of the uniqueness of the offer of the products, the Oogstmarkt stands out. Although the products might not cater to people's daily needs, the products that are offered at the Oogstmarkt are believed to be difficult to find somewhere else, according to more than 80% of the respondents (see Figure 20). This result emphasizes how niche the products of the Oogstmarkt are. The products are primarily aimed at a select group of visitors who are specifically looking for products that are local, organic and handmade.

However, over 40% of the respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt also argue that the products that are offered are difficult to find somewhere else. This result might reflect the price of the products: products often cannot be found so cheaply elsewhere. Additionally, fabric is also sold at the market, which is often hard to find elsewhere in the city.

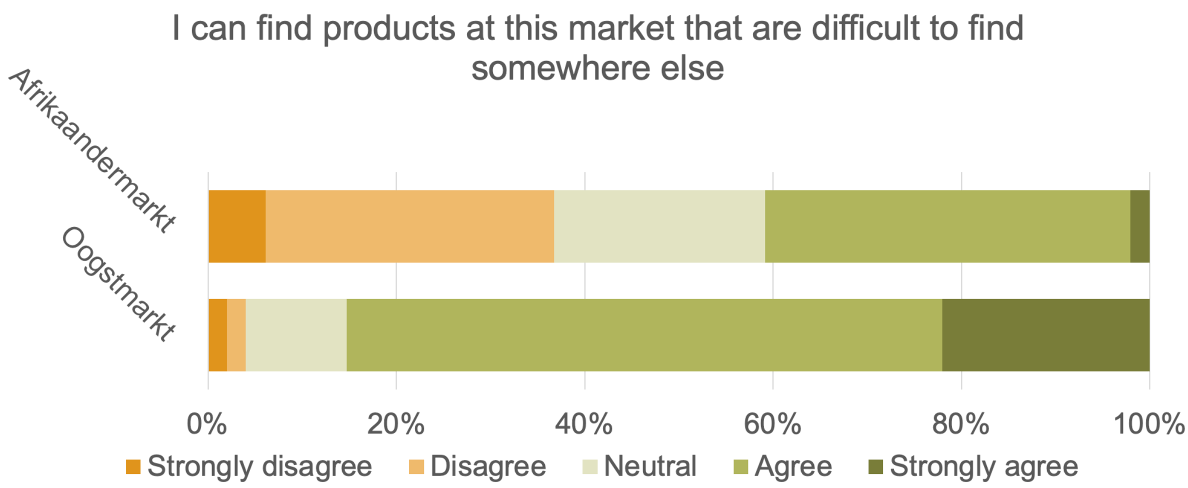

Figure 20 Answers of respondents of both markets to the question of whether the products at the market are difficult to find somewhere else.

What function does the market have for the neighborhood?

In order to determine what function both markets have for the neighborhood, the respondents were asked if they combined their visits to the market with other visits in the neighborhoods. The results were very similar, as shown in Figure 21. The responses of respondents from the Afrikaandermarkt, as well as the Oogstmarkt, were almost evenly divided. More respondents of the Oogstmarkt indicated they visit other places in the neighborhood. This is striking considering that the Oogstmarkt is a niche market and offers products that cater to a specific group. The fact that respondents elsewhere in the neighborhood also frequent cafes, shops, or restaurants was therefore not expected. However, it could indicate that visitors cannot find all the products they need at the market for their daily lives and therefore also depend on nearby supermarkets or other stores.

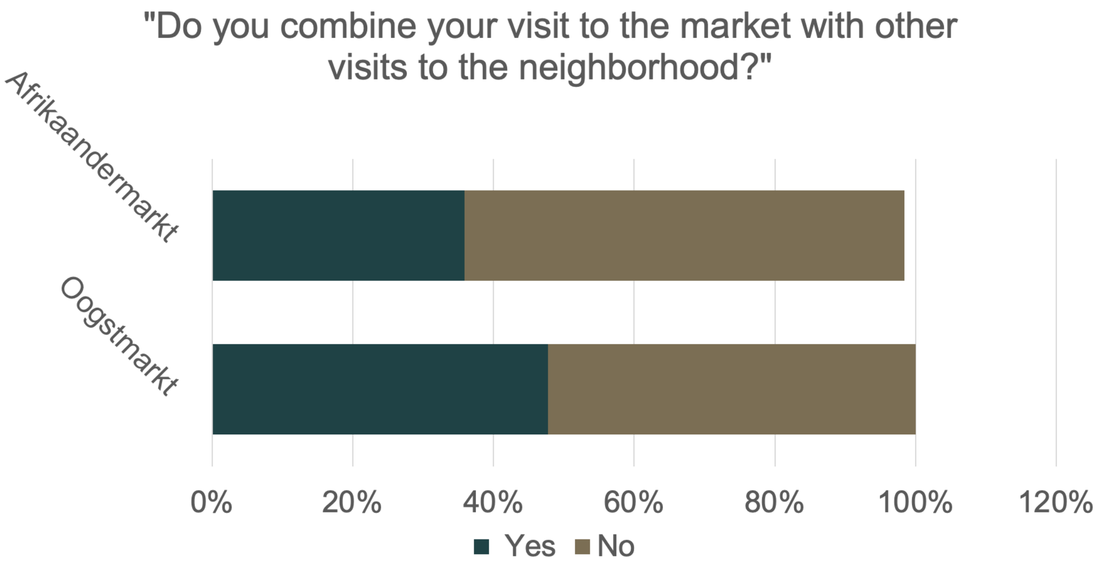

Figure 21 Answers of respondents of both markets to the question of whether they combine their visit to the market with other visits in the neighborhood.

5.2 What are the characteristics of the people who are visiting the markets?

Having a clear understanding of the characteristics of the markets, the characteristics of the visitors need to be distinguished. First, determining how long market visitors have lived in the neighborhood is especially relevant for understanding the market's relationship with gentrification. Figure 22 shows the proportion of respondents who are newcomers, mid-term and long-term residents, and those living beyond the neighborhood. As can be derived from the figure, respondents from the Afrikaandermarkt include many long-term residents and relatively few newcomers. The respondents of the Oogstmarkt are reasonably well distributed among the groups. A small proportion of the respondents are long-term residents, whereas the other three groups are quite evenly divided. This observation perhaps indicates the stage the neighborhoods currently find themselves, in terms of gentrification. Oude Noorden is a neighborhood that has been subject to gentrification processes for a longer period of time, with many newcomers moving into the neighborhood in recent years.

Afrikaanderwijk, however, is in its early stages, which means that there are still relatively many old residents living there and few new people moving in.

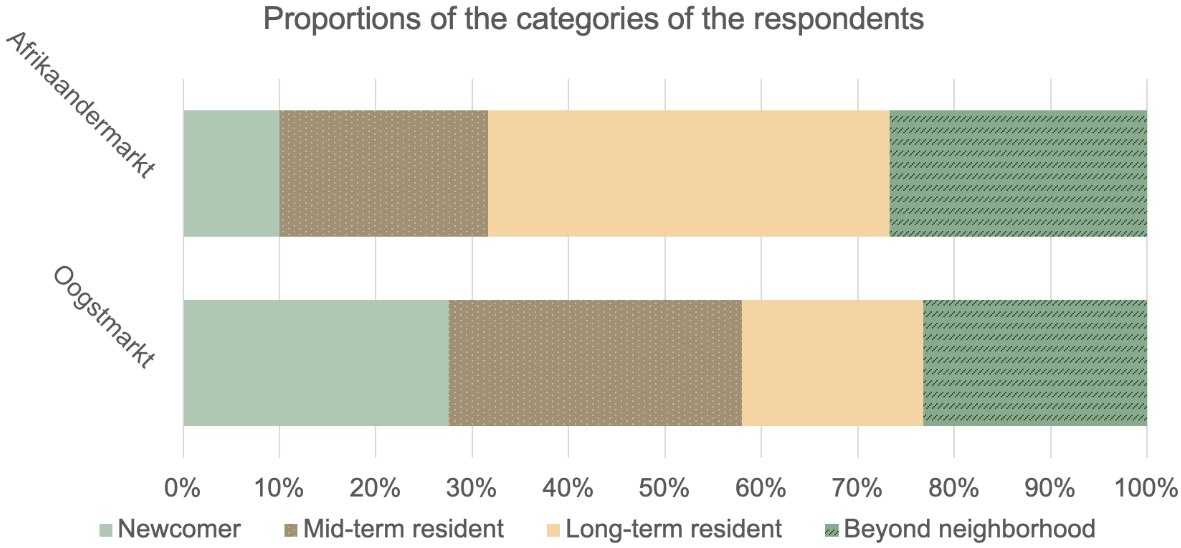

Figure 22 Proportions of the categories of the respondents of each market, divided by: newcomers, mid-term residents, long-term residents, and respondents from beyond the neighborhood.

Age categories

Age is relevant for understanding the characteristics of the visitors to the markets. Especially young families are expected to visit the Oogstmarkt. Figure 23 shows the respondents of both markets divided by age categories. The respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt are quite evenly distributed among the categories and are relatively older than the respondents of the Oogstmarkt. The majority of the respondents of the Oogstmarkt are between 25 and 34 years old, as is in line with the expectations. As can be derived from Appendix III, the newcomers encompass a much younger category. This is in line with the theory, as newcomers tend to be (international) students and young families. The long-term residents are, therefore, older, as can also be derived from Appendix III.

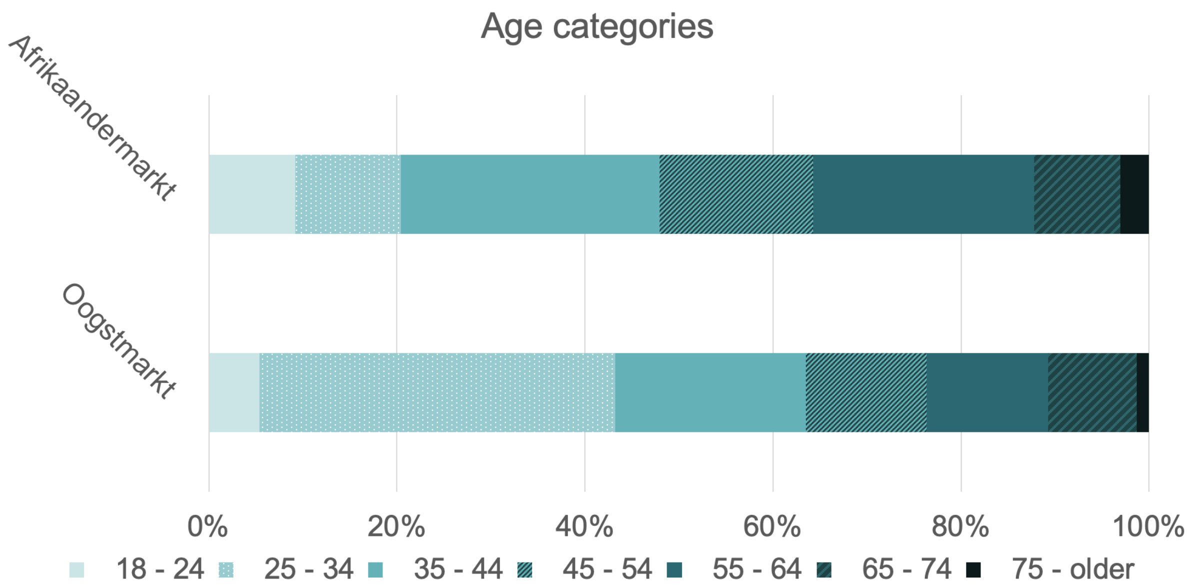

Figure 23 Age of respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt and the Oogstmarkt.

Nationalities

Showing the different nationalities of the respondents is relevant for understanding the level of homogeneity of the respondents, as well as the connection with the residents of the neighborhood. Figure 24 shows the nationalities of the residents of Afrikaanderwijk, Oude Noorden, and Rotterdam versus the nationalities of the respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt and Oogstmarkt. The respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt are quite diverse in terms of nationalities and show a resemblance to the residents of Afrikaanderwijk. The respondents of the Oogstmarkt, however, are predominantly Dutch natives, as compared to the diversity of the residents of Oude Noorden.

As Figure 24 shows, the nationalities in Rotterdam are quite diverse. In Afrikaanderwijk, Turks are the largest group, and Dutch natives are one of the smallest groups. In Oude Noorden, there are fewer Dutch natives and more Moroccans. Both neighborhoods speak of a very diverse neighborhood in terms of nationalities. However, when looking at the nationalities of the respondents, a different picture emerges. As for the Afrikaandermarkt, there are many Dutch native visitors, compared to the proportion of Dutch natives in the neighborhood. The under-representation of Turks is also noticeable. However, this aspect was further elaborated upon in the research observations and may be attributable to the language barrier. Nevertheless, the nationalities of the visitors show a reasonable similarity with the nationalities of the residents of Afrikaanderwijk.

This similarity is significantly weaker when comparing the nationalities of visitors of the Oogstmarkt and the nationalities of residents of Oude Noorden. The nationality of Dutch natives shows an overrepresentation among the visitors of the Oogstmarkt. Other nationalities, such as Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese, and Antillean, of which many are present in the neighborhood, are almost not represented. For visitors of the Oogstmarkt, the ‘other’ category includes mostly European nationalities such as French, German, Italian, and Austrian. This figure confirms the hypothesis that mainly Dutch natives visit the Oogstmarkt and that the market does not accurately reflect the composition of nationalities in the neighborhood. Although Dutch natives are also overrepresented at the Afrikaandermarkt, visitors of the market show a better reflection of the composition of nationalities in the neighborhood.

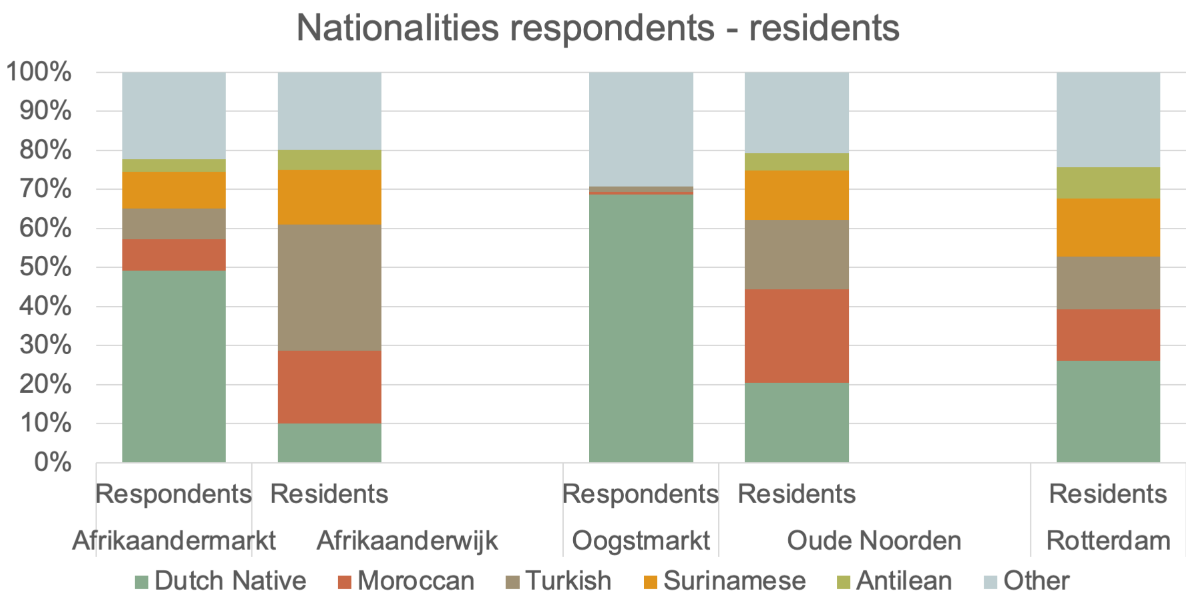

Figure 24 Nationalities of respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt and the Oogstmarkt versus nationalities of the residents of Afrikaanderwijk, Oude Noorden and Rotterdam. The category 'other' includes the following nationalities: Algerian, Austrian, Brazilian, Colombian, Cypriot, French, German, Hungarian, Indonesian, Iranian, Italian, Liberian, Polish, Somali, Spanish, and Ukrainian. Source: Rotterdam nationalities data: CBS.

The homogeneity of Oogstmarkt respondents in terms of nationality is confirmed in Figure 25. The figure shows the distribution between migrants from the EU and migrants from outside the EU, divided between the two markets. Although a similar percentage of respondents from both markets came to the Netherlands as a migrant (25,4% of the respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt versus 22,1% of the respondents of the Oogstmarkt), their origins differ. Whereas more than half of the respondents with a migrant background are from outside the EU (56%), this compares to 12% of respondents from the Oogstmarkt. This data coincides with the high proportion of "Other" of respondents' nationalities. This category is mainly held by European expats and students, it was revealed during the taking of the surveys.

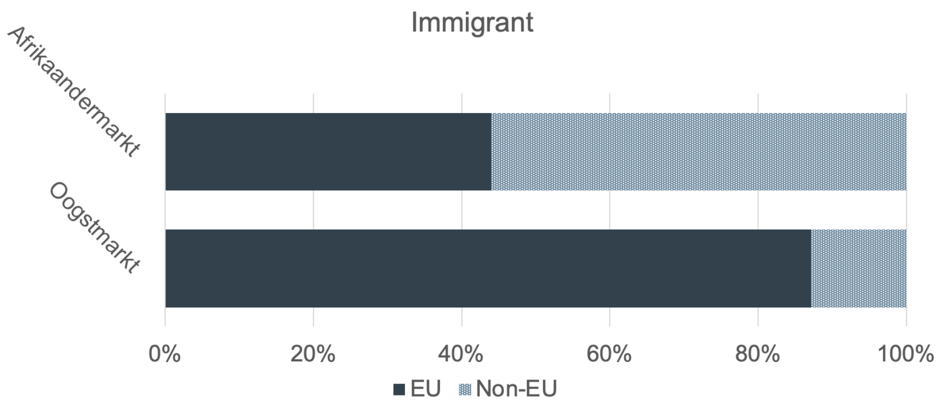

Figure 25 Distribution of respondents from both markets who came to the Netherlands as migrants from the EU versus those from outside the EU.

Figure 26 shows the nationalities of the respondents of both markets, divided by length of residence: newcomers, mid-term residents, long-term residents, and respondents who live beyond the neighborhood. This figure shows a new distribution of nationalities. As for the Afrikaandermarkt, most non-Dutch native respondents are mid-, and long-term residents. Long-term residents consist of the most diverse group, as can be explained by the migration flow occurring around that time. Many mid-term residents and newcomers fall under the category 'other'. This can be explained by the recent influx of international students, migrant workers, and war refugees due to the war in Ukraine. Interestingly, the biggest proportion of Dutch natives lives beyond the neighborhood.

As for the Oogstmarkt, the category newcomers only consist of Dutch native and "other" nationalities (which for the Oogstmarkt mostly consists of people from the EU). The category "other" is also significantly smaller for the mid-term- and long-term residents. The vast majority of the long-term residents is Dutch native.

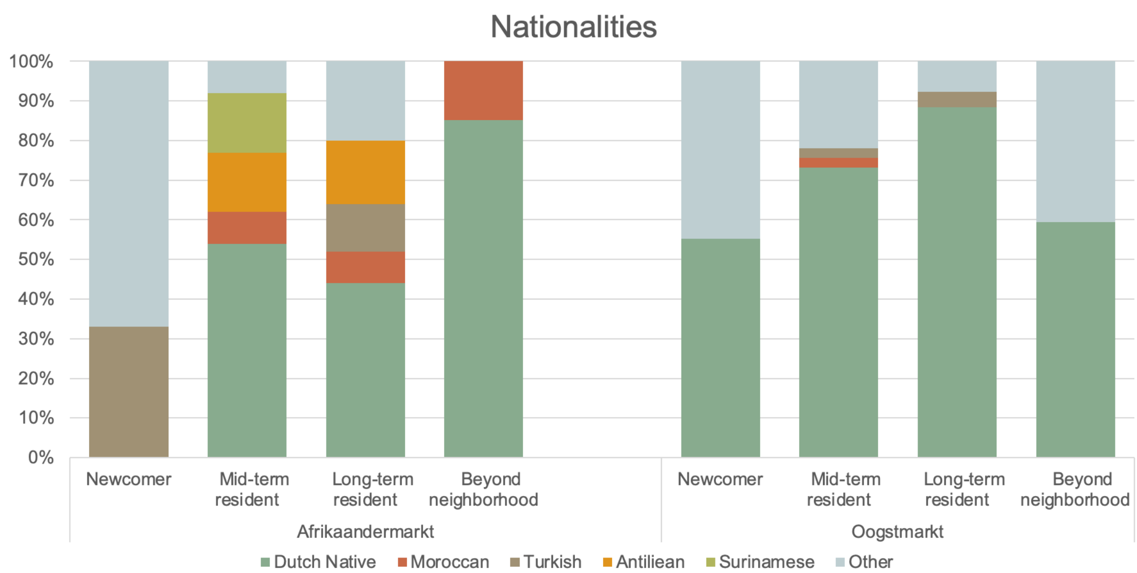

Figure 26 Nationalities of respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt and the Oogstmarkt divided into categories: long-term residents, mid-term residents, newcomers, and respondents who live beyond the neighborhood.

Level of education

Education is relevant for understanding the socioeconomic status of visitors to the markets. Figure 27 shows the education levels of the respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt and Oogstmarkt divided into the categories newcomers, mid-term residents, long-term residents, and respondents who live beyond the neighborhood. The figure shows that Oogstmarkt visitors tend to have higher levels of education than Afrikaandermarkt visitors.

The majority of respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt have an MBO or HBO level. Long-term neighborhood residents visiting the market have lower education levels, whereas mid-term residents and especially newcomers tend to have higher education levels. This supports the idea that early signs of gentrification become apparent in the neighborhood. It is striking that the proportion of master's degree or higher is 0%. These results are in line with the hypothesis and literature. Newcomers generally have a higher level of education than long-term residents, which is also reflected in the data from the respondents.

As for the Oogstmarkt, the majority of the respondents have a high education level. More than 40% of the respondents have the highest level of education: Master's degree or higher. Newcomers tend to have even slightly higher education levels than mid-term and long-term residents.

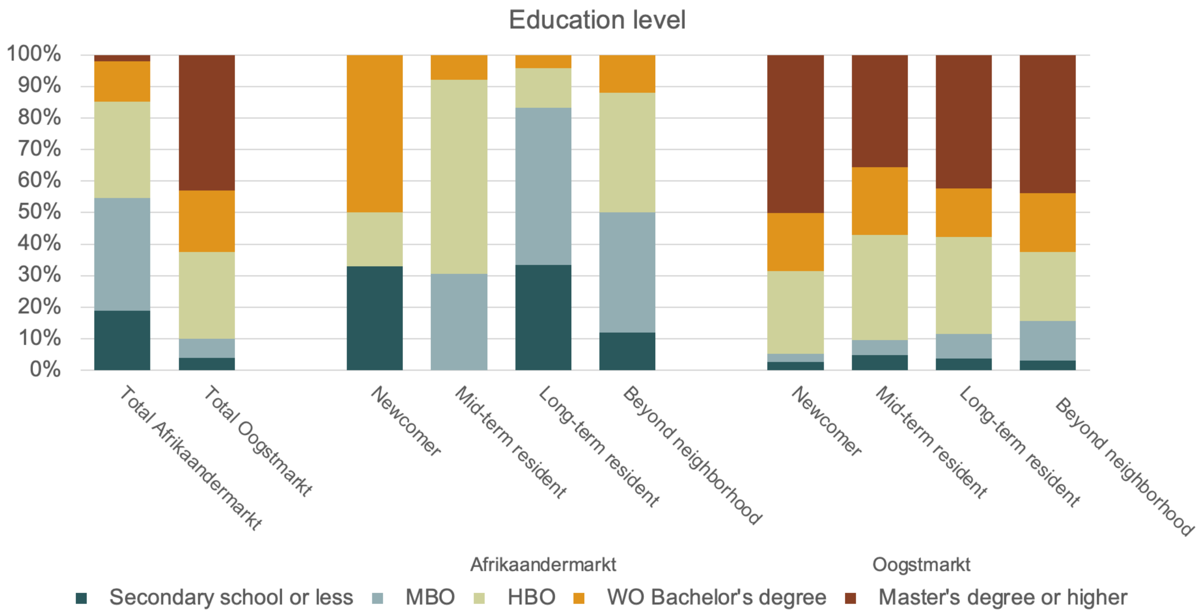

Figure 27 Education level of respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt and the Oogstmarkt divided into categories: newcomers, mid-term residents, long-term residents, and respondents who live beyond the neighborhood.

Housing situations

Analysing the housing situations of the respondents is relevant for understanding the gentrification indicators. Housing types are often also relevant for understanding the socioeconomic status of visitors to the markets. Figure 28 shows the types of housing of the respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt and Oogstmarkt, divided into the categories of newcomers, mid-term residents, long-term residents, and respondents who live beyond the neighborhood. Many more respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt are social housing residents than the Oogstmarkt visitors. Next, newcomers and mid-term respondents tend to be more private rental residents than long-term residents.

The majority of the respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt are social housing residents. Strikingly, most respondents who live beyond the neighborhood live in social housing apartments, which might indicate they live in areas with high proportions of social housing, such as further in the South of Rotterdam. Long-term residents are either homeowners or are renting social housing apartments. As for the mid-term residents and the newcomers, private rental apartments are taking up a large proportion of the housing types. This can be explained by recent gentrification processes currently occurring in the neighborhood. As the housing market was slowly starting to become a liberal, privatized market, housing prices went up and private rental apartments highly increased in number. Although the proportion of social housing decreased, the housing type is still in the majority, which is in line with the housing stock of the neighborhood.

As for the Oogstmarkt, most respondents are homeowners or live in private rental apartments. The majority of long-term residents are homeowners or private-rental residents. Mid-term residents and newcomers are significantly more private rental residents. Private-real encompassed almost 45% of all housing types for the newcomers category, whereas the share of social housing decreased from 21,2% to 11,8%. The proportion of homeowners also decreased. This is in line with the expectations and the literature.

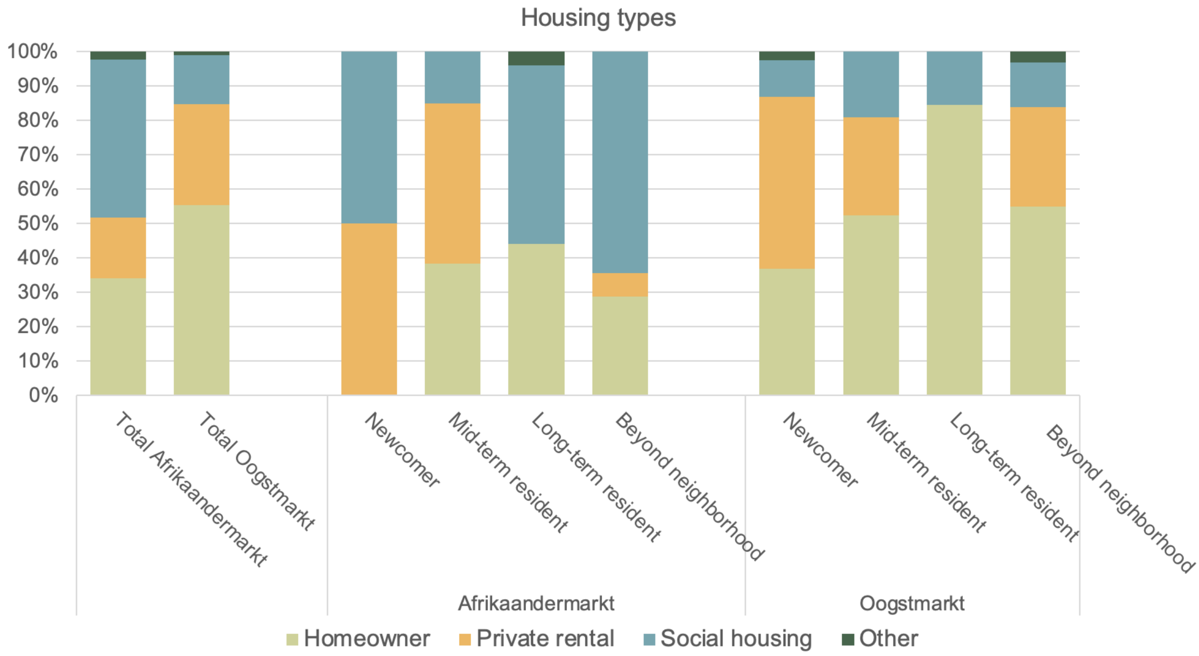

Figure 28 Housing type of the respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt and the Oogstmarkt, divided into categories: newcomers, mid-term residents, long-term residents, and respondents who live beyond the neighborhood.

5.3 How are different groups of visitors using the different types of markets?

Having a clear understanding of the characteristics of both the visitors and both markets, this subchapter argues how these different types of visitors visit the different types of markets. The third sub-question is stated, "How are different groups of visitors using the different types of markets for shopping and socialization".

Why do people visit the market?

In order to analyze how people are visiting the markets, respondents were asked about their (primary) reason(s) for visiting the market. The conclusions drawn in the previous sections are confirmed in Figures 29 and 30. Figure 29 shows the main reason the respondents visit both markets, and figure 30 shows the distribution of answers per reason. Respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt primarily visit the market for grocery shopping, and respondents of the Oogstmarkt primarily for the ambiance.

Figure 29 confirms that the Afrikaandermarkt is primarily used as a place to do grocery shopping, and functions less as a place of gathering and atmosphere. Almost all respondents argue they visit the market for grocery shopping (see figure 30). Unlike the respondents of the Oogstmarkt, the respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt value the atmosphere of the market less. Notable is the proportion of respondents who indicated that they visit the market to interact with others, but very few respondents indicated that they come to meet with friends and family (see figure 30). This shows that small, spontaneous interactions between other visitors and market vendors are valued more than meeting up with friends and family.

This does not apply to respondents at the Oogstmarkt. Most of the respondents indicated that they visit the market mainly for its atmosphere. But in addition, shopping and passing by for something to eat/drink are also often mentioned. Compared to the Afrikaandermarkt, almost all respondents indicate they visit the market to get a drink/some food and fewer respondents visit the market to buy groceries and other products (see figure 30). It is also notable that respondents from the Oogstmarkt more often noted that they mainly visit to meet up with friends and family, as opposed to socializing with others.

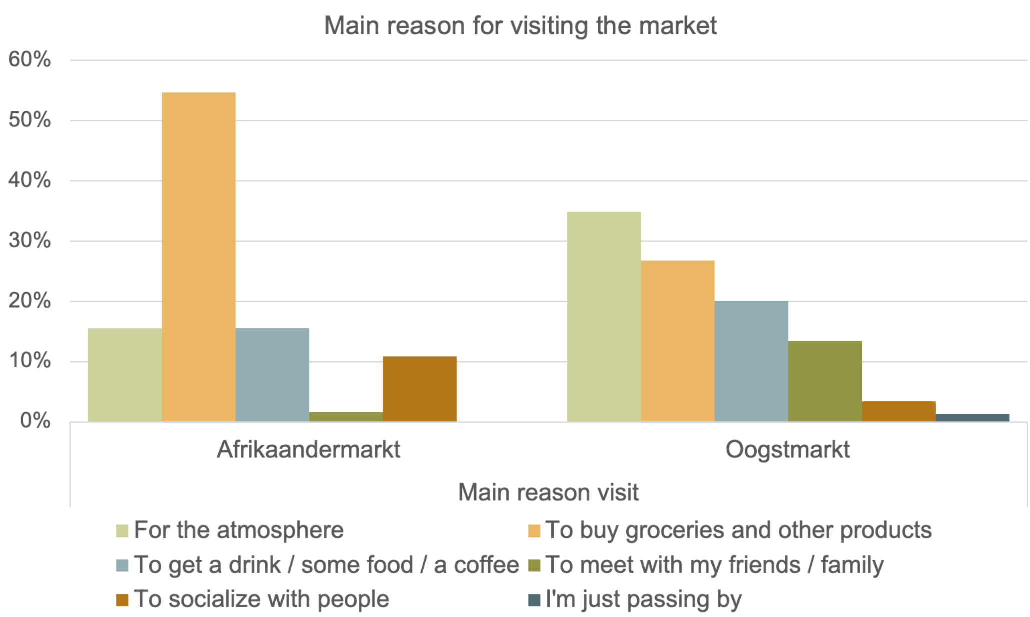

Figure 29 The main reason for visiting the market, according to respondents of both the Afrikaandermarkt and Oogstmarkt.

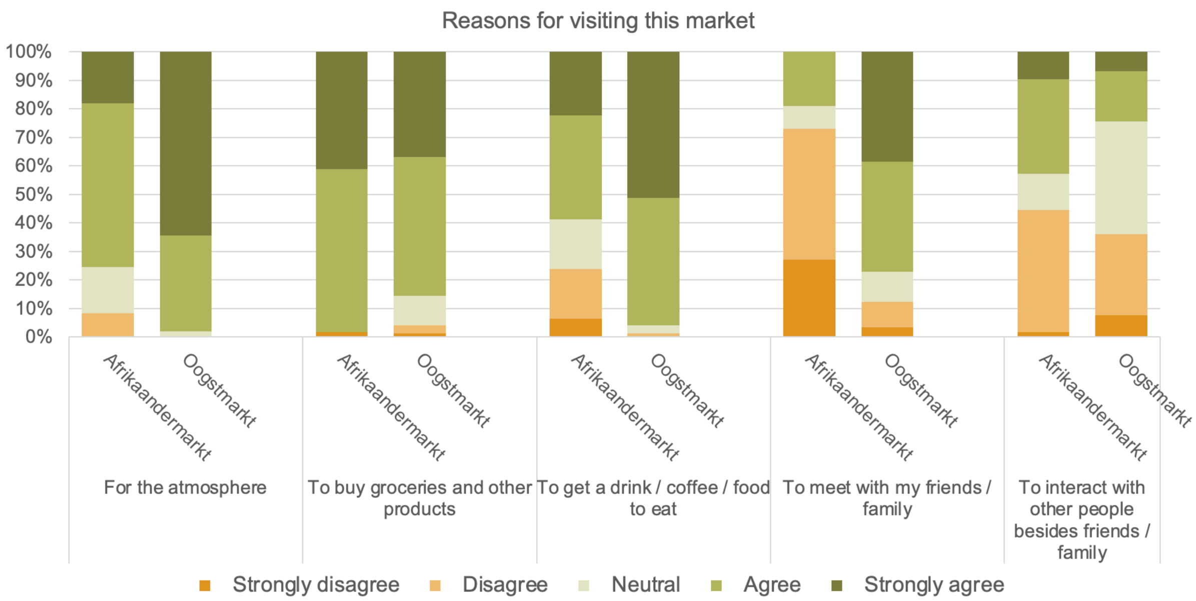

Figure 30 The reasons for visiting the market, according to respondents of both the Afrikaandermarkt and Oogstmarkt.

How dependent are people on the markets?

Figure 31 shows whether respondents of both markets also visit other markets in Rotterdam regularly. Most respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt, especially newcomers, do not visit other markets. This may be explained by the absence of other markets in the south of Rotterdam or may be explained by the high number of respondents who indicated that the market already meets their daily needs. As for the respondents of the Oogstmarkt, almost half of the respondents indicated they do visit other markets. This might be explained by the fact that the market does not cater to their daily needs and they also need to shop elsewhere, or because there are other (farmer's)markets nearby.

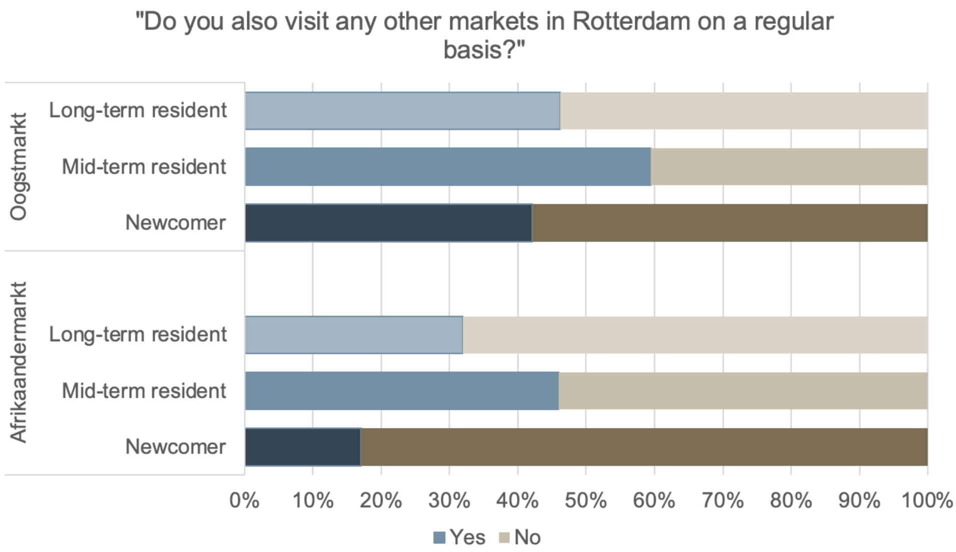

Figure 31 The reasons for visiting the market, according to respondents of both the Afrikaandermarkt and Oogstmarkt.

6. Discussion

This study has provided a deeper understanding of the longstanding weekly market and the new upscale market. Data obtained by the survey has provided detailed knowledge about their visitors and the way they use the market. The three sub-questions that have been formulated to answer the main question have been answered as follows:

> *What are the characteristics of the longstanding weekly- versus the new upscale market, in terms of their function within the neighborhood, products being sold, and their prices?*

Derived from the theoretical framework, longstanding weekly markets serve a public purpose, boost the local economy and provide an inviting and vibrant place in the public space (Project for Public Spaces, 2003). However, the upscale farmer's market offers less affordable produce and acts less as a place for affordable consumption, but acts more as a place for leisure and fun, and emphasizes a certain lifestyle. These assertions are in line with the data derived from the survey and with the expectations. Although both the longstanding traditional market, as well as the upscale farmer's market offer a wide array of products, there are a lot of differences. At the Afrikaandermarkt, respondents buy a large array of products and find them relatively cheap. They also argue that the offered products cater to their daily needs. This shows that the market plays a central role in the daily needs of the respondents. As for the Oogstmarkt, a relatively small array of products is bought, compared to the large array that is offered. This indicates that respondents also primarily visit the market for other purposes than shopping. Respondents also indicated that prices are quite high, but argue that the products offered cannot easily be found anywhere else. This indicates that the market caters to a niche group with different demands and wishes than a regular traditional market would cater for.

> *What are the characteristics of the people, the local residents, and visitors from further afield, who are visiting the markets?*

Derived from the theoretical framework, the longstanding weekly market caters to a large group but particularly helps newcomers integrate into communities (Simmel, 1950; Morales, 2009) and is often essential for migrant communities, as it maintains their economic viability (House of Commons, 2009). Expected was that a wide variety of people visit the market, especially people from a lower socioeconomic class, who depend on the relatively cheap products and social interaction on the market. The obtained data confirms the expectation. The characteristics of the respondents of the longstanding weekly market, the Afrikaandermarkt, are quite in line with the characteristics of the residents of the neighborhood. The group is diverse in terms of nationalities. Respondents vary in age, education level, and housing type, although most data is representative of the characteristics of the residents. However, gentrification indicators are also present as most newcomers are private rental residents and have a higher income. This highlights the process that is currently undergoing in Afrikaanderwijk and might indicate a shift in the resident's characteristics.

The literature also showed that the neoliberal urban political economy has increasingly stimulated creating more space for a wealthier transnational bourgeoisie and a growing international tourist class. These customers stimulated the emergence of niche markets, which increasingly pop up in cities, alienating especially low-income and minority residents. Consumers of these niche farmer's markets tend to be white, affluent, well-educated older women who are concerned with environmental issues and preferably shop local and organic (Rice, 2015). Other than being predominantly female, visitors of farmer's markets also tend to shop at the market for fun and leisure and highly value the ambiance. The visitors of the upscale farmer's market, the Oogstmarkt, confirm the expectation. The characteristics of the respondents of the Oogstmarkt are not in line with the characteristics of the residents of Oude Noorden. Most respondents are young (between 25 and 34 years), are homeowners or renters of private rental apartments, have a significantly high level of education, and are mainly Dutch natives. Newcomers rent fewer social housing apartments, their level of education is significantly high, and encompass a large proportion of international (EU) expats/students. This shows that the respondents of the Oogstmarkt are a homogeneous group, have a higher socio-economic status, and are primarily newcomers, in contrast to the diverse characteristics of the residents of Oude Noorden.

How are different groups of visitors using the different types of markets for shopping and socialization?

These findings are in line with the way both groups of visitors are using the different markets. The respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt primarily use the market to buy groceries/other products. They do value the ambiance and like to get something to eat/drink while at the market but do not meet with friends/family to visit the market. This indicates that the social interaction they do value happens spontaneously at the market which highlights the importance of the longstanding weekly market as a place for social interaction and community building. The Oogstmarkt, however, functions as a place for meeting, leisure, and shopping. Respondents highly value the ambiance, but also like to get something to eat/drink and do their grocery shopping. In contrast to the respondents of the Afrikaandermarkt, respondents of the Oogstmarkt like to meet up with friends/family to visit the market together. This indicates that the respondents like to meet up at the market with people they know, which creates an environment of familiar faces and adds to the ambiance. But although this might add to a feeling of belonging for regular visitors, it might contribute to people feeling left out who do not know anyone there.

7. Conclusion

Longstanding traditional markets such as the Afrikaandermarkt cater to a large variety of people and especially serve as an important place for minority groups to shop and interact. However, the market primarily functions as a place to buy relatively inexpensive products. The Oogstmarkt, on the other hand, was specifically designed for a niche group that highly values ambiance, meets with friends/family, and tends to follow a lifestyle consisting of local and organic products. The market perfectly succeeds in catering to this specific target group and has managed to create a cozy, nice ambiance where like-minded people can meet, have a drink/bite and socialize. However, being located in a diverse neighborhood, the Oogstmarkt might evoke feelings of exclusion. The people that are attracted to the Oogstmarkt are very homogeneous, have a high socio-economic status, and are primarily newcomers.

7.1 Future research

As concluded in this study, the new upscale Oogstmarkt might evoke feelings of exclusion due to primarily attracting an affluent homogenous group. However, future research into why other people/residents do not attend this market could enlighten the conclusions of this study. Detailed interviews with residents as well as more survey respondents and more data collection days could enlighten this observation. Research into the reason why the characteristics of the visitors did not correspond to the characteristics of the residents of the neighborhood could also provide further explanations. Accompanying the findings of this study with research on the inaccessibility of people with a low socioeconomic status to sustainable and organic products might also illuminate reasons why the upscale farmer's markets solely attract affluent visitors. Next, the opinions and stories of market vendors could be included. Adding their perspective to the outcomes of this study might shed light on new observations. Also, as mentioned in the research observations, many visitors of the Afrikaandermarkt declined to take the survey. Ways on how to approach this missing group need to be explored, to include their opinions in further research and generate a more nuanced overview.

7.2 Recommendations

Although this study has limitations, and aspects can be researched further, recommendations can be derived from the obtained results and conclusions. This study has highlighted the importance and vital function of longstanding weekly markets. Not only do they provide relatively cheap products, but they also cater to a wide variety of people and foster community building. If they were to disappear, it could have a large impact on the existing community. Assuming that gentrification processes will continue to unfold in the coming years, considerable effort will have to be invested in bringing different groups of people together. In order to achieve this, public space should be, and feel, freely accessible to everyone. Using the marketplace is an excellent tool to create an accessible and low-threshold space where long-term residents and newcomers can meet. It is therefore advised to encourage planners and local leaders to strategize markets within the rest of the urban and retail fabric and emphasize their unrecognized role as a site of social association and inclusion. This means two things: traditional weekly markets such as the Afrikaandermarkt must be guarded against gentrification processes. Policymakers should make sure to maintain the core market values, such as the wide range of affordable products, support and retain local vendors and try to resist the temptation of touristification. By emphasizing the experience and attracting vendors that only cater to tourists and newcomers, the vital function of the market within the neighborhood could decrease.

Second, organizers of new upscale markets such as the Oogstmarkt could be encouraged to create more stalls that cater to lower-income residents. They will still function as a meeting place for people already using the market but can use this strength to welcome other people and provide necessities, practical as well as social. Due to the niche offer in products and relatively high prices, the market currently might feel inaccessible. The Oogstmarkt in particular could invite small vegetable and fruit shops run by local residents, located a few hundred meters from the market, to join. This could better entrench the market in the neighborhood and encourage community building with all residents.

Concluding from this research, creating a space that is freely accessible to all local residents, and serves their varied needs, should be a high priority for planners and local leaders. They must guard against the touristification of public space. Responding to hip trends, tourists and the ‘experience’ will do little to foster a sense of belonging among all residents within the neighborhood. Fostering this feeling is of high importance, especially when neighborhoods are undergoing a lot of change, both physically and socially. As neighborhoods change, markets can take a centrally embedded place in the neighborhood and serve as a place for community building and interaction. Planners and local leaders are therefore advised to encourage and stimulate this tremendous value.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Copy of paper and online survey

Link to survey: https://rug.eu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_6sqwljbXX0cD2qq
Note that the survey is available in both English and Dutch.

Dear respondent,
Thank you for filling out my questionnaire. By filling out this questionnaire you will help me conduct research on how neighborhood change influences the usage of two markets: the Afrikaandermarkt (at the Afrikaanderplein) and the Oogstmarkt (at the Noordplein). This questionnaire will take less than 5 minutes to fill in. You will only be asked about the market you're currently visiting.

This research is part of my masterthesis for the program Society, Sustainability and Planning by the University of Groningen. All results will be processed anonymously and shared only with me and my supervisor Dr. Sarah Mawhorter. By filling out this questionnaire you give me permission to use your answers for my research.

If you're interested in the results of this research, you can fill in your email address here:

PART 1: GENERAL

Date: _ _ / _ _ / _ _
Time: _ _ : _ _

1. Which market are you visiting?
◯ Afrikaandermarkt ◯ Oogstmarkt

2. What is your gender?
◯ Female ◯ Male ◯ Other

3. What is your age?
◯ 18–24 ◯ 25–34 ◯ 35–44 ◯ 45–54 ◯ 55–64 ◯ 65–74 ◯ 75+

4. What is your nationality? ______________________

5. What is your level of education?
◯ Secondary school or lower ◯ MBO ◯ HBO ◯ WO Bachelor's degree ◯ Master's degree or higher

6. Did you come to the Netherlands as an immigrant?
◯ Yes ◯ No

7. Are you visiting this market as a tourist? (If yes, continue to part 3)
◯ Yes ◯ No

PART 2: NEIGHBORHOOD

8. How many people live in your household (including yourself)?
_____ # Adults (18 years or older) _____ # Children younger than 18

9. In what kind of housing do you live?
◯ Homeowner ◯ Private rental ◯ Social housing ◯ Other:

10. What year did you move into your current home? ________

11. What year did you move into your current neighborhood? ________

PART 3: MARKET

12. How long does it take you to get to this market from where you live?
◯ <5 mins ◯ 5–9 mins ◯ 10–19 mins ◯ 20–29 mins ◯ 30+ mins

13. How did you travel to this market?
◯ By foot ◯ By bike ◯ By scooter ◯ By public transport ◯ By car ◯ Other:

14. How often do you visit this market?
◯ 2x per week ◯ 1x per week ◯ <1x per month ◯ 2-3x per month ◯ 1x per month ◯ This is my first visit

15. Reasons for visiting this market:

For the atmosphere

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

To buy groceries and other products

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

To get a drink / coffee / food to eat

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

To meet with my friends / family

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

To interact with other people besides friends / family

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

16. What is the **main** reason you visit this market? (Only choose one answer)
◯ For the atmosphere
◯ To buy groceries and other products
◯ To get a drink / coffee / food to eat
◯ To meet with my friends / family
◯ To interact with other people
◯ I'm just passing by

17. Do you combine your visit to the market with other visits in the neighborhood? (Such as a shop, bar/restaurant or supermarket)
◯ Yes ◯ No

18. Do you also visit any **other** markets in Rotterdam on a regular basis?
◯ Yes ◯ No

19. Products at the market:

I'm able to get most products for my daily life at this market

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

I can find products at this market that are difficult to find somewhere else

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

The products at this market are inexpensive

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

20. What do you buy at the market? (Multiple answers may apply)
◯ Vegetables and fruits
◯ Bread
◯ Cheese
◯ Fish
◯ Meat
◯ Deli items (nuts, olive oil)
◯ Sweets
◯ Textiles
◯ Clothing
◯ Hobby materials
◯ Flowers / plants
◯ Home/garden items
◯ Personal care items
◯ Other: ________________________

Appendix II: Survey questions related to the sub-questions

Q1: What are the characteristics of the longstanding weekly- versus the new upscale market, in terms of their function within the neighborhood, products being sold, and their prices?
Q2: What are the characteristics of the people, the local residents, and visitors from further afield, who are visiting the markets?
Q3: How are different groups of visitors using the different types of markets for shopping and socialization?

Survey questions	Sub-question
1. Which market are you visiting?	Q2
2. What is your gender?	Q2
3. What is your age?	Q2
4. What is your nationality?	Q2
5. What is your level of education?	Q2
6. Did you come to the Netherlands as an immigrant?	Q2
7. Are you visiting this market as a tourist?	Q2
8. How many people live in your household (including yourself?) a. Adults b. Children younger than 18	Q2
9. In what kind of housing do you live?	Q2
10. What year did you move into your current home?	Q2
11. What year did you move into your current home?	Q2
12. How long does it take you to get to this market from where you live?	Q2
13. How did you travel to this market?	Q2
14. How often do you visit this market?	Q2
15. Reasons for visiting this market: a. For the atmosphere b. To buy groceries and other products c. To meet with my friends/ family d. To interact with other people besides friends/ family	Q3
16. What is the main reason you visit this market?	Q3
17. Do you combine your visit to the market with other visits in the neighborhood?	Q1
18. Do you also visit any other markets in Rotterdam on a regular basis?	Q3

19. Products at this market: a. I'm able to get most products for my daily life at this market b. I can find products at this market that are difficult to find somewhere else c. The products at this market are inexpensive	Q1
20. What do you buy at the market?	Q1

Appendix III: Descriptive analysis table

Factor	Afrikaandermarkt			Oogstmarkt			Difference	*p-value*
Respondents in analytic sample (n = 214)	(n = 64)			(n = 149)			**t-tests**	
What is your gender?	*N*	*Prop.*	*S.E.*	*N*	*Prop.*	*S.E.*	*Difference*	*p-value*
Female	*37*	0,61	*0,06*	*87*	0,58	*0,04*	*-0,03*	0.95
Male	*23*	0,38	*0,06*	*59*	0,40	*0,04*	*0,03*	
Other	*1*	0,02	*0,02*	*3*	0,02	*0,01*	*0,00*	
Wat is you age?								
18 - 24	*6*	0,10	*0,04*	*8*	0,05	*0,02*	*-0,04*	0.009
25 - 34	*7*	0,11	*0,04*	*56*	0,38	*0,04*	*0,27*	
35 - 44	*17*	0,28	*0,06*	*30*	0,21	*0,03*	*-0,07*	
45 - 54	*10*	0,16	*0,05*	*19*	0,12	*0,03*	*-0,04*	
55 - 64	*15*	0,23	*0,05*	*19*	0,12	*0,03*	*-0,11*	
65 - 74	*6*	0,08	*0,04*	*14*	0,10	*0,02*	*0,01*	
75 - older	*2*	0,03	*0,02*	*2*	0,01	*0,01*	*-0,02*	
What is your nationality?								
Dutch	*31*	0,49	*0,06*	*101*	0,69	*0,04*	*0,20*	<0.001
EU	*11*	0,18	*0,05*	*39*	0,26	*0,04*	*0,08*	
Non-EU	*21*	0,33	*0,06*	*7*	0,05	*0,02*	*-0,28*	
What is your level of education?								
Secondary school or less	*12*	0,19	*0,05*	*6*	0,04	*0,02*	0,04	<0.001
MBO	*22*	0,35	*0,06*	*9*	0,06	*0,02*	0,06	
HBO	*19*	0,31	*0,06*	*41*	0,28	*0,04*	0,28	
WO Bachelor's degree	*8*	0,13	*0,04*	*29*	0,47	*0,03*	0,19	
Master's degree or higher	*1*	0,02	*0,02*	*64*	0,43	*0,04*	0,43	
Did you come to the Netherlands as an immigrant?								
Yes	*16*	0,24	*0,05*	*33*	0,22	*0,03*	*-0,02*	0.61
No	*46*	0,76	*0,05*	*116*	0,78	*0,03*	*0,02*	
Did you come to the Netherlands as a tourist?								
Yes	*3*	0,05	*0,03*	*9*	0,06	*0,02*	*0,01*	0.71
No	*60*	0,95	*0,03*	*140*	0,94	*0,02*	*-0,01*	

What is your household size?		Mean	*SD*		Mean	*SD*		
Adults		2,34	*1,36*		2,01	*0,74*	*-0,33*	0.030
Children (younger than 18 years)		2,35	*1,18*		1,60	*0,77*	*-0,75*	0.009
In what type of housing do you live?	*N*			*N*				
Homeowner	*20*	0,34	*0,06*	*76*	0,55	*0,04*	*0,21*	<0.001
Private rental	*10*	0,18	*0,05*	*40*	0,29	*0,04*	*0,12*	
Social housing	*27*	0,46	*0,07*	*20*	0,14	*0,03*	*-0,32*	
Other	*1*	0,02	*0,02*	*2*	0,01	*0,01*	*0,00*	
What year did you move into your current home?		Mean	*SD*		Mean	*SD*		
Year		2008	*11,63*		2015	*8,11*		<0.001
What year did you move into your current neighborhood?								
Year		2006	*12,77*		2013	*9,46*		<0.001
How long does it take you to get to this market from where you live?	*N*			*N*				
less than 5 minutes	*2*	0,04	*0,02*	*23*	0,16	*0,03*	*0,13*	0.058
5 - 9 minutes	*11*	0,18	*0,05*	*30*	0,22	*0,04*	*0,04*	
10 - 19 minutes	*27*	0,46	*0,07*	*52*	0,38	*0,04*	*-0,09*	
20 - 19 minutes	*10*	0,18	*0,05*	*23*	0,16	*0,03*	*-0,02*	
30 minutes or longer	*10*	0,14	*0,05*	*12*	0,08	*0,02*	*-0,06*	
How did you travel to this market?								
By foot	*17*	0,27	*0,06*	*48*	0,34	*0,04*	*0,07*	0.15
By bike	*19*	0,30	*0,06*	*64*	0,46	*0,04*	*0,15*	
By scooter	*4*	0,07	*0,03*	*10*	0,07	*0,02*	*0,00*	
By public transport	*5*	0,09	*0,04*	*17*	0,02	*0,01*	*-0,07*	
By car	*15*	0,25	*0,06*	*2*	0,10	*0,03*	*-0,15*	
Other:	*1*	0,02	*0,02*	*2*	0,01	*0,01*	*-0,01*	
How often do you visit this market?								
2x per week	*17*	0,29	*0,06*	*1*	0,01	*0,01*	*-0,28*	<0.001
1x per week	*22*	0,34	*0,06*	*54*	0,39	*0,04*	*0,05*	
2-3x per month	*16*	0,29	*0,06*	*42*	0,31	*0,04*	*0,02*	
1x per month	*2*	0,04	*0,02*	*19*	0,14	*0,03*	*0,10*	
<1x per month	*2*	0,02	*0,02*	*24*	0,13	*0,03*	*0,11*	

This is my first visit	4	0,04	0,02	9	0,03	0,01	-0,01	
Reason for visiting this market:								
… for the atmosphere								
Disagree	5	0,08	0,04	0	0	/	-0,08	<0.001
Neutral	10	0,16	0,05	3	0,02	0,01	-0,14	
Agree	35	0,57	0,06	50	0,34	0,04	-0,24	
Strongly agree	11	0,18	0,05	96	0,64	0,04	0,46	
… to buy groceries and other products								
Strongly agree	26	0,43	0,06	54	0,36	0,04	-0,06	0.060
Agree	36	0,56	0,06	71	0,50	0,04	-0,06	
Neutral	0	0	/	15	0,10	0,03	0,10	
Disagree	0	0	/	4	0,02	0,01	0,02	
Strongly disagree	1	0,02	0,02	2	0,01	0,01	0,00	
… to get a drink / coffee / food to eat								
Strongly agree	14	0,23	0,05	76	0,51	0,04	0,28	<0.001
Agree	23	0,38	0,06	66	0,45	0,04	0,07	
Neutral	11	0,16	0,05	4	0,03	0,01	-0,14	
Disagree	11	0,16	0,05	2	0,01	0,01	-0,15	
Strongly disagree	4	0,07	0,03	0	0	/	-0,07	
… to meet with my friends / family								
Strongly agree	0	0	0,04	57	0	0,04	0,00	<0.001
Agree	12	0,18	0,04	57	0,05	0,04	-0,13	
Neutral	5	0,08	0,03	16	0,04	0,03	-0,05	
Disagree	29	0,48	0,02	13	0,06	0,02	-0,41	
Strongly disagree	12	0,26	0,01	5	0,06	0,01	-0,21	
… to interact with other people besides friends/ family								
Strongly disagree	6	0,10	0,04	10	0,06	0,02	-0,04	<0.001
Disagree	21	0,34	0,06	26	0,17	0,03	-0,17	
Neutral	8	0,13	0,04	58	0,40	0,04	0,27	
Agree	27	0,41	0,06	42	0,29	0,04	-0,12	
Strongly agree	1	0,02	0,02	11	0,07	0,02	0,05	

What is the main reason you visit this market?								
For the atmosphere	*10*	0,16	*0,05*	*52*	0,35	*0,04*	*0,19*	<0.001
To buy groceries and other products	*35*	0,56	*0,06*	*40*	0,27	*0,04*	*-0,29*	
To get a drink / some food / a coffee	*10*	0,16	*0,05*	*30*	0,20	*0,03*	*0,04*	
To meet with my friends / family	*1*	0,02	*0,02*	*20*	0,13	*0,03*	*0,12*	
To socialize with people	*7*	0,11	*0,04*	*5*	0,03	*0,01*	*-0,08*	
I'm just passing by	*0*	0	*/*	*2*	0,01	*0,01*	*0,01*	
Do you combine your visit to the market with other visits in the neighborhood?								
Yes	*31*	0,49	*0,06*	*64*	0,43	*0,04*	*-0,06*	0.40
No	*32*	0,51	*0,06*	*85*	0,57	*0,04*	*0,06*	
Do you also visit any other markets in Rotterdam on a regular basis?								
Yes	*23*	0,37	*0,06*	*71*	0,48	*0,04*	*0,11*	0.14
No	*40*	0,63	*0,06*	*78*	0,52	*0,04*	*-0,11*	
Products at the market:								
… I'm able to get most products for my daily life at this market								
Strongly disagree	*1*	0,02	*0,02*	*10*	0,06	*0,02*	*0,05*	<0.001
Disagree	*11*	0,18	*0,05*	*60*	0,41	*0,04*	*0,23*	
Neutral	*4*	0,06	*0,03*	*25*	0,17	*0,03*	*0,11*	
Agree	*32*	0,52	*0,06*	*44*	0,30	*0,04*	*-0,21*	
Strongly agree	*14*	0,23	*0,05*	*8*	0,06	*0,02*	*-0,17*	
… I can find products at this market that are difficult to find somewhere else								
Strongly disagree	*4*	0,06	*0,03*	*0*	0	*/*	*-0,06*	<0.001
Disagree	*19*	0,31	*0,06*	3	0,02	*0,01*	*-0,29*	
Neutral	*14*	0,23	*0,05*	16	0,10	*0,03*	*-0,12*	
Agree	*24*	0,39	*0,06*	95	0,66	*0,04*	*0,27*	
Strongly agree	*1*	0,02	*0,02*	33	0,22	*0,03*	*0,20*	
… The products at this market are inexpensive								
Strongly disagree	*0*	0	*/*	42	0,28	*0,04*	*0,28*	<0.001
Disagree	*3*	0,05	*0,03*	71	0,48	*0,04*	*0,43*	
Neutral	*8*	0,13	*0,04*	30	0,20	*0,03*	*0,07*	

Agree	*45*	0,73	*0,06*	5	0,03	*0,02*	*-0,69*	
Strongly agree	*6*	0,10	*0,04*	0	0	*/*	*-0,10*	

Appendix IV: Descriptive analysis table: categories respondents

		Afrikaandermarkt (N=64)					Oogstmarkt (N=194)			
	T	New-comers	Mid-term Resi-dents	Long-term Resi-dents	Beyond the neigh-borhood	T	New-comers	Mid-term Resi-dents	Long-term Resi-dents	Beyond the neigh-borhood
Gender										
Female	*58%*	50%	62%	52%	62%	*58%*	68%	60%	42%	56%
Male	*36%*	33%	38%	40%	38%	*39%*	32%	36%	54%	44%
Other	*20%*	17%	0%	0%	0%	*2%*	0%	5%	4%	0%
Age										
18 - 24	*9%*	33%	8%	0%	19%	*5%*	0%	10%	0%	6%
25 - 34	*11%*	33%	23%	0%	6%	*37%*	61%	48%	8%	28%
35 - 44	*27%*	33%	31%	16%	38%	*20%*	24%	26%	15%	16%
45 - 54	*16%*	0%	38%	20%	0%	*13%*	8%	12%	27%	9%
55 - 64	*23%*	0%	0%	44%	19%	*13%*	0%	0%	23%	28%
65 - 74	*9%*	0%	0%	20%	6%	*9%*	3%	5%	23%	13%
75 - older	*3%*	0%	0%	0%	12%	*1%*	5%	0%	0%	0%
Nationality										
Dutch Native	*48%*	0%	54%	44%	69%	*67%*	55%	71%	89%	59%
Maroccan	*8%*	0%	8%	8%	12%	*1%*	0%	2%	0%	0%
Turkish	*8%*	33%	0%	12%	0%	*1%*	0%	2%	4%	0%
Surinamese	*9%*	0%	15%	16%	0%	*29%*	45%	21%	8%	41%
Antillean	*3%*	0%	15%	0%	0%	*0%*	0%	0%	0%	0%
Other	*22%*	67%	8%	20%	19%	*2%*	0%	2%	0%	0%
What is your level of education										
Secondary school or less	*19%*	33%	0%	32%	12%	*4%*	3%	5%	4%	3%
MBO	*34%*	0%	31%	48%	38%	*6%*	3%	5%	8%	13%
HBO	*30%*	17%	62%	12%	38%	*27%*	26%	33%	31%	22%
WO Bachelor's degree	*12%*	50%	8%	4%	12%	*19%*	18%	21%	15%	19%
Master's degree or higher	*2%*	0%	0%	0%	0%	*43%*	50%	36%	42%	44%
Household with children										
No children	*69%*	50%	62%	80%	56%	*81%*	87%	67%	73%	91%

One or more children	*30%*	50%	38%	16%	44%	*19%*	13%	33%	27%	9%
In what type of housing do you live?										
Homeowner	*31%*	0%	38%	44%	25%	*1%*	3%	0%	0%	3%
Private rental	*2%*	0%	0%	4%	0%	*27%*	50%	29%	0%	28%
Social housing	*16%*	50%	46%	0%	6%	*13%*	11%	19%	15%	13%
Other	*42%*	50%	15%	52%	56%	*8%*	0%	0%	0%	3%