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**ART AS THE BULLET IN THE
GENTRIFICATION GUN
THE CASE OF AMSTERDAM**

MASTER THESIS

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Abstract

The following thesis is focused on the process of gentrification and how it is connected to arts and artists. It examines why modern cities are being gentrified and the consequences related to neighbourhood regeneration. Theories considering the creative city and the creative class from Jane Jacobs and Richard Florida are revised and used as a base of this paper because they highlight the importance of a diverse and creative society in a thriving city. The gentrifying agents, the enabling conditions and specifically the role of artists and their connection to gentrification processes are the main areas of interest in this research. There is an absence of academic literature dedicated to the precise positioning of art and creative individuals within the gentrification process and whether art can co-exist with regeneration minimising the negative gentrification consequences. In order to examine this relation, Amsterdam has been chosen as a case study area. The city has rich history, allowing to research the evolution of the urban fabric. The Dutch capital has an international status, bringing many diverse people, including artists, from around the world. Due to the pressure on the housing market and the constant goals of regeneration, the city is a case with many urban policies that can showcase the connection between arts and gentrification. The following research has been performed in the time frame of 6 months by analysing policies connected to gentrification processes, speaking to professionals in semi-structured interviews, mapping and comparing spatial developments in the case study area as well as researching academic articles. Based on triangulation research methodology, this thesis affirms that there is a connection between arts, creative community and gentrification. This thesis examines that artists are often instrumentalised by the government due to their capability to regenerate certain areas and attract new businesses and people. Nevertheless, it is crucial to refrain from assigning blame to art or artists for the adverse consequences associated with gentrification. This is because gentrification primarily manifests as a state-led process, heavily influenced by government authorities, investors, and real estate agents. Thus, artists can be described as a bullet in the gun causing gentrification, shot by government officials. This paper exhibits the potential perks of working with artists in a collaborative manner when it comes to area regeneration. Artists who show commitment to social engagement have demonstrated their capacity to bridge the gap between local residents and urban planners effectively. Instead of only beautifying a certain area, they can preserve the values of the neighbourhood and be an important asset to non-governmental agencies in community well-being. In conclusion, this thesis underscores the potential for collaboration among policymakers, administrators, architects, and artists, which promises steady area development.

Keywords: gentrification, artists, creative society, regeneration, breeding places, urban fabric

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1.0 Introduction

Section 1: Background information

Gentrification is one of the processes in the contemporary city that has been developing with an uncompromising tempo in the present day (Hochstenbach, 2017). It is a process mainly focused on the city centres, causing displacement and a disturbance among the social classes (Bosch, 2015). This is a process that can be explained as a reinvestment in neighbourhoods or areas that were previously economically unstable by beautifying the urban fabric, making it more attractive to people with higher incomes. As a consequence, gentrification is causing a snowballing effect regarding the rise in the rental prices of housing units. Most of the time this means that low-income households are being replaced with new wealthier families, which makes them excluded and forced to rethink their allocation towards more affordable areas (Smith, 1996). The major characteristics of gentrified areas are class change, displacement and land increase in prices of land (Smith, 2002). One of the main viewpoints (Coaffee, 2005; Hochstenbach, 2017) is that the process of gentrification is the one to blame when it comes to contributions towards the creation of tension between the different groups of people, diversely spread on the social ladder. Consequence of gentrification is the creation of separation between people in accordance to their standard of life and their financial potential. Particularly younger population and their opportunities to buy and own a home are especially restricted because of this process (Hochstenbach, 2017). This thesis finds the relationship between artistry and gentrification as an area of interest. The focus is on the dual role of arts as a facilitator and mitigator in the process of gentrification and aims to find out how creativity can be beneficial for all sides involved. It dives into the possibilities connected to mitigating the consequences of gentrification in the case study area of Amsterdam through artist-led initiatives.

Taken from the international example of the UK, Coaffee (2005) highlights the role of art and artists in the processes of area gentrification. He entails that the combination between culture and capital can be a key motive in the theory of gentrification. Artists can be portrayed as agents of regeneration which are often followed by capital interests and policies, presenting gentrification only as a positive strategy for urban renewal (Coafee, 2005). Artists are attracted to the so-called “low-key” places, because of their affordability and authenticity. Once they settle down, the bohemian lifestyle is soon to be introduced to the area, creating values and businesses that attract attention and can be marketed (Tochterman, 2012). This specific attention is the connection between gentrification and art. It originates from the so-called observer appreciation of a certain area from outsiders (people who do not live or work in the neighbourhood). Many middle or high-income groups are attracted to the vibrant atmosphere of the artistic neighbourhoods, in their search for their own authentic place. This sort of “invasion” is connected with potential renovations, which in the end results in an increasing index of rental and housing prices (Tochterman, 2012). Facilities such as galleries, stages for various artists, restaurants and museums are of crucial importance for the idea of creating a vibrant and creative environment with a communal spirit (Alsayel, 2022). This is the initial stage of establishing a connection between city planning and the world of art (Coafee, 2005)

The linkage between quality of space and the presence of creativity in the city is a topic that is intensively gaining more popularity in the modern planning (see, e.g. Alsayel, 2022). This idea can be historically traced back to the middle of the 20th century. According to Jane Jacobs (1961) the quality of the living environment and the aesthetics of a neighbourhood are closely related to the presence of creative people in a specific area. She argues that a neighbourhood should be vibrant, accessible and highly mixed in terms of building composition and distribution of people in order to support creative movements and diversity. In order to call a neighbourhood creative, it should include a set of different activities, diverse by nature. She is an advocate of the meshed city pattern with short and mixed

buildings, allowing the normal person to take turns and discover new areas for recreational activities, allowing his/her senses to be aesthetically pleased. An important factor that she acknowledges is the importance of having different groups of people living together. This includes families, artists and students (Hosper and van Dalm, 2005). Places as such are acting as magnets to the creative class, that are trying to avoid the banality of the suburbs (Tochterman, 2012). In addition, the famous publishing “The Rise of The Creative Class” by Richard Florida (2002) is a monumental milestone in the planning practices in many Western cities. He entails that a city can be economically thriving only if there is a considerable number of inhabitants belonging to the creative class, characterized by people who use their creative talents such as painting, writing or cooking to make a living.

Section 2: Scientific relevance

There is an absence of academic literature dedicated to the precise positioning of art and creative individuals within the gentrification process and whether art can co-exist with regeneration minimising the negative gentrification consequences. The final results of this Master thesis can contribute to the coverage of this academic void. Finding how art can connect to gentrification and which urban strategies, incorporating art, can be successful in mitigating gentrification consequences can provide insights to the mechanisms changing the social and cultural distribution in the urban environment. Understanding the impact of arts in a certain area or a neighbourhood when it comes to regeneration can contribute to a better understanding on how to organise planning practices that serve economic interest, preserve cultural values and serve societal interest. By examining the connection between gentrification and arts in the case area of Amsterdam, a valuable scientific information on urban dynamics, policy ambitions and state interests can be deliberated and added as a body of knowledge to the existing literature. The possibility of discovering how this equilibrium can be achieved can serve as a valuable lesson for urban planners, invested in regeneration strategies. Amsterdam can be portrayed as an example for other cities, facing similar conditions.

Section 3: Societal relevance

On a social perspective, this Thesis contributes to a better understanding of the well-being of a community, balanced between cultural and capital interests in the gentrified neighbourhood. Gentrification is connected to several negative consequences, which can potentially be mitigated by art-led initiatives. Thus, cultural values and the sense of community in a regenerated area could be preserved. This paper is expected to contribute to the awareness of how arts and the creative society can be used in modern day planning and how this can positively affect the people. As a consequence, the topic of collaboration between multiple stakeholders and the dialogue for inclusivity of citizens in urban planning, potentially supported by artists, can be raised.

Section 4: Problem Statement

There is a modern dilemma present. The majority of academic literature states that art is closely related to the processes of gentrification (e.g Van Gent and Hochstenbach, 2019; Grodach et al., 2016). Currently, gentrification together with its accompanying policies has turned into a tool which nudges the people originally inhabiting a gentrified area to adjust to new circumstances, imposed by capital interest, often disregarding their cultural values (Boswinkel and Meerkerk, 2022). There are present

debates on the dynamics between arts and gentrification. The most popular opinion (van Gent, et al., 2020; Coaffee, 2005) is that gentrification can be a consequence of arts. This portrays gentrification as an inevitable after-effect of neighbourhoods which have enriched their urban aesthetics predominantly influenced by artists. As implied by Grodach and Foster (2014) this means that it is often considered that if a neighbourhood is experiencing a high density of artists and cultural activities, it is very likely to get gentrified due to the cultural development of the place.

On the other side, as Lindner and Meissner (2015) argue, art has been used by city officials in order to serve economic interests, supported by gentrification. Nowadays, there is a certain commercialisation of cultural amenities, provided to artists by the government as well as commercialisation of arts in general (Peck, 2011). Art can be connected truly to the history, the culture and the emotional values of a certain place, but that is not always the case because of the neoliberal nature of the current urban planning practices (Wu, 2016; Peck, 2011). The relationship between gentrification and artists has been suspiciously reminding of a cat-and-mouse game, assuming that the artists are often described as gentrification initiators, but in the end, the artists themselves are often displaced, situating them in the role of a victim (Tunali, 2021). Labelling artists as main contributors of gentrification, while they also take the role of main recipient of the negative consequences of the gentrified area is an example of the current battle between culture and capital mentioned by Tijen Tunali (2021). At this moment there is a certain contradiction in the viewpoints describing art as a main contributor to gentrification and art as an instrument used by government and market forces. The exact location of art in the gentrification process and whether creativity can co-exist with area regeneration without disregarding political, cultural or social interest in the neoliberal urban fabric are yet to be determined.

Section 5: Research Aim

This Master's thesis aims to provide an answer to the main research question which is as it follows: "What is the relationship between art and gentrification?". Thus, the history of gentrification, the main conditions causing it and the agents that reinforce the process, including planners, citizens or policymakers and their connection to artists are topics to exam. This thesis researches how arts as a part of the diverse and vibrant city, described by Jacobs (1961) and Florida (2002), is influential to the process of gentrification and whether there is a possibility to mitigate the outcomes of gentrification. This thesis aims to provide information about how gentrification is being initiated and whether art is a primary agent. Moreover, in order to describe the connection between art and gentrification, this thesis examines the potential consequences of art being used in urban policies. Therefore, two of the secondary questions of the research are "What are the main conditions causing gentrification and how does art relate to them?" and "What are the consequences of art being used in urban policy-making?". In addition to the main research question, this thesis shows interest in whether arts can only lead to gentrification or they can also mitigate it and if so: how. On account of this "What type of art initiatives or public projects, incorporating art as a tool, have proven to be successful in mitigating the consequences of gentrification?" is being asked as the last secondary question to this Thesis. The final outcome of this research is said to provide additional information about how to incorporate city planning and art as well as what are the consequences of doing so. This can improve the planning practices of the future by highlighting the interconnection between diversity, arts, creative society and gentrification. By doing so, this Master thesis aims to set a base for future planning practices respecting the idea of a healthy balanced equilibrium between market-based strategies, urban settlement goals, cultural integrity, inclusivity and artistry in the current neoliberal epoch.



2.0 Theoretical Framework

Section 1: Introduction to Theoretical Framework

The Theoretical framework chapter of this Master Thesis functions as a review of the main theories, existing on topics, connected to gentrification, arts and urban planning. To begin with, one of the most famous books in the field of planning “The Death and Life of Great American Cities” by Jane Jacobs (1961) is revisited in order to gain an understanding of the basis and critiques of modern urban planning. Her theory is a crucial element for this thesis because she is one of the first people to ever mention the importance of diversity, and the presence of mixed dwellings and to highlight that the urban fabric should have a connection with the people inhabiting it. Jacobs entails that this connection can be established through the help of artists, which hinders the potential interconnections between art and urbanisation. Subsequent, this Theoretical framework provides an overview of another milestone of modern planning and sociology. “The Rise of the Creative Class” by Richard Florida (2002) highlights the importance of the creative industry and the creative class and argues why technology, talent and tolerance are so important for the development of every city. The work of Richard Florida has been highly influential to modern-day planners all around the world. Hence, many current planning strategies can be related to his “holy” book. The next theory of interest, included in this chapter, concerns the role of art in the urban fabric of modern cities. The Theoretical Framework of this Master thesis embodies theory regarding the primary agents of gentrification and the secondary gentrifiers, populating the area, once the primary agents have created suitable enabling conditions. These enabling conditions include the concepts urban aestheticization, mixing policies and the power of symbolic politics. By doing so, this thesis portrays how the theory from Jacobs and Florida can be translated into policy tools affecting the urban environment. This chapter ends with a brief discussion about the gentrification stages, followed by some of the widest spread gentrification consequences and the visualisation of a conceptual model.

Section 2: Jane Jacob’s Theory Revised

The book by Jane Jacobs, a famous American journalist and writer, is one of the most significant works in the world of urban planning and sociology. The principles of this book about community building and placemaking highlight the relation between city planning and art as a tool that can contribute to the character of a place. The book got published as a backlash to the planning dogmas from 1950s, trying to break apart the stereotypes of the “orthodox city” and provide planners with ideas regarding vitality and abundance. Jacobs sees cities as living laboratory, full of failures and successes regarding their designs. This is why planners should take an example of past mistakes, she entails. What Jacobs disagreed with was the monotony of the urban environment, often calling it sterile or even vulgar, due to the lack of creativity and sense of community. In “The Death and Life of American Cities” there are 4 main primary conditions for a diverse city. City vitality can be induced by introducing mixed land uses, small blocks, a diverse architectural style characterized by buildings from different eras as well as sufficient building densities. Jacobs entails that public places, including the streets and the sidewalks, are functioning as the vital organs of the city. Hence, it is of high importance to come up with an interesting design and different functions that defines the whole neighbourhood and even the city itself. The diversity of functions supports the idea of buildings being used at all times of the day.

One of the main statements in the book is that modern cities need diversity. Jacobs eagerly stands behind the idea that city planners should develop policies full of opportunities to host a diverse range of society in an environment with irregular patterns and grids. Her book theorizes that communities

can generate social stability through the mixture of more permanent residents with temporal residents that bring more diversity.

The need for art is being emphasized by Jacobs, especially when planning the city structure. Arts help in the processes such as meaning creation and visualising relationships. Facilities fostering creativity such as museums, schools and dwellings have also been identified as diversity enforcers. Mrs Jacobs acknowledges the need for spontaneity in the neighbourhood as well as the importance of being able to identify with where one lives. This is why projects, incorporating shopping centres, despite their financial revenues, or useless open spaces between buildings can only create dullness and contribute to the feeling of disconnection.

Section 3: “The Rise of the Creative Class” by Richard Florida as a fundament

After the publishing of the bestseller “The Rise of the Creative Class” in 2002, Richard Florida has been named as the rockstar of regeneration (Wainwright, 2017). He is also referred to as the king of revival and the “patron saint of avocado toast” in a Guardian article from 2017 by Wainwrigth. The main premise of his book is that young creatives and their talent can be main facilitators of economic development in the cities. Inspired by some of Jane Jacob’s beliefs, Richard Florida (2002) provides advice for making hipster attractive neighbourhoods, characterized by small café shops and vibrant cultural activities. He is basing his place-making theory on the 3T’s model, including technology, talent and tolerance.

Florida looks at creativity as a primary source of competitive advantage, improving the international image of cities. He states that creativity can have multiple dimensions, allowing economic and technological creativity to interact with artistic and cultural creativity. In order for creativity to be nurtured, cities must provide the right economic and social environment. Places, which are multidimensional and diverse by nature are the perfect attraction for the creative class. Neighborhoods without clear separation borders that favor individuality, self-statement and acceptance are what Florida suggests. Stimulated by the creative ethos, work and life no longer have to be separate entities, but rather homogenous. Back in the day, Florida states, people often used to be categorized by several social classifications according to their occupation or family status. On the contrary, people currently tend to identify themselves in a more complex way, considering the fact that a person can be simultaneously a musician, a chef, a marathon enthusiast and so on. This complexity in modern society is a sign that the urban environment, surrounding that type of creative people has to change and be the very picture of present society.

The creative class is defined as a group of people, adding economic value through their talent and creativity. There are two main defining components of the creative class, Mr. Florida (2002) continues. First is the Super Creative Core, including professors, novelists and cultural figures that fully interweave with creative processes. Usually, these people are producing creative outcomes on a regular base. Hence, they are being paid to do so. On a further note, there is a second group of the creative class, categorized as creative professionals who work in a rich range of knowledge-intensive occupations. They are highly educated and the outcomes of their products is widely spread and popularized. This type of creativity is needed because of their ability to think on their own and come up with specific solutions to resolving certain sociological, scientific or economic issues.

Each city, Florida argues, should have cultural clusters and museum districts, available to a diverse range of people. Authenticity, brought by music or by a different type of art, is what makes an area

valuable and non-generic. This can be an opportunistic approach to mingle artists with people that do not specifically paint or write music but are highly appreciative of creativity. Street-level culture consists of café shops, small theatres, bookshops and galleries. This environment is highly social and interactive. Richard Florida, similar to Jane Jacobs (1950) supports the idea that cities should not only invest in luxurious amenities such as freeways and urban malls but pay special attention to smaller, exciting, energetic and welcoming quarters that allow people to validate their identities as creatives. It is vastly important to create a cultural habitat where people are able to connect and feel the comfort brought by the company of others. The uniqueness of the experience a place can provide people with is the key ingredient that planners should consider. In order to foster artists, musicians and gay people, considered as creativity ambassadors, an area should be open without any barriers to social class, origin or preferences. Their presence in an area, when fully integrated, is believed to be a main force of neighborhood regeneration (Florida, 2002).

Florida's work has faced multiple critiques in the last 20 years. "The Rise Of The Creative Class" has been classified as a book enhancing urban inequality, justifying some of the neoliberal policies, and supporting gentrification. His theories of creating an enriched society of creatives can result in many low-paid jobs due to the high availability of the workforce. Consequently, this can result in class conflicts, because most of these jobs are controlled by capitalist enterprises whose main aim is saving costs (Kratke, 2010). Further motive by Vivant (2010) criticising Florida's work is that fragments from the creative class do not live rich, often existing as urban squatters. This leads to certain opposition to large corporations, refusing to sell or popularize their art due to their anti-capitalist beliefs. This can create a misconception about the utopian environment, described by Florida (Vivant, 2010). A final argument against his work included in this thesis is that the concept of creative class in the book is too broad because the different types of creative groups have different economic success. Thus, Florida's definition of creative class advisably should be segregated (Kratke, 2010).

Section 4: The idea of art in modern urban planning

According to Ley's theory (1996) urban artists play the crucial role of the primary founders of gentrification in the cities. He also refers to the artists as the "advancing or colonising arm" of the higher classes. Artists are the main providers of cultural capital which can be metaphorically called the fuel needed to start the gentrification engine (Ley, 1996). As continued by Coaffee (2005), it can be considered that the aesthetically pleasing environment is consequential of the artists' concentration and thus their influence contributes to the value of the urban fabric. Often the unappealing corners of a neighbourhood can be re-modified and transformed into cosy hidden gems. This transformative ability is usually owned by social groups rich in cultural resources but with significantly fewer economic assets (Ley, 1996). The bohemian lifestyle has always been an emancipation of freedom, the ability to self-select your environment and lifestyle, unbothered by the canons and rules of middle-class society customs (Coaffee, 2005). As argued by Ley (1996), the groups from the middle class that are specifically attracted by the incentives derived from artists' work are the professionals in media, design and higher education. Sometimes these representatives share mutual values with artists such as bitterness towards conventionality. In his later works Ley (2003) states that the relationship between arts, the creative city and aesthetics is closely related to capital rather than to individuals that can be named as gentrifiers.

According to Tunali (2021) the relationship between art and gentrification is full of conflicts and shifting interactions. Artists, as Tunali continues, can be contributors in every case of the gentrification process,

but at the same can be in the role of victims themselves. Contradictions as such are typical for neoliberal urbanism and current planning practices. For instance, many participatory projects have been promoted in order to show a willingness to inclusivity and diversification (Tunali, 2021). On the other hand, the consequences of the regeneration strategies seem to be following one pattern of development, which is serving only the elite and middle classes. That special attention to the people with higher income can bring suburbia to downtown. Despite the clashes of interests, arts are a key ingredient boosting the economics in cities and bringing people closer together. Furthermore, art can enact the development of policies, especially in the field of urban planning (Tunali, 2021).

Art can be used as a great support system for city officials when it comes to the process of framing economically attractive ideas about changes in the urban environment. It can be stated that the moment art is being presented to a bigger mass of people or included in a master plan, it enters the realm of economy (Matthews, 2010; Lindner and Meissner, 2015). Art often acts as a justification for a regeneration plan to make it more market-appropriate to investors. It is one of the key factors in strategies aiming at the regeneration and advancement of the urban fabric (Tunali, 2021). Thus, Tunali continues, in current days, art is also strongly embedded in political agendas. Cities have investment interests not only in museums and performing arts, but show attentiveness in the commercial zone, including film and music. The art industry has the rich potential to manoeuvre and capitalize on specialized labour and commercial services (Grodach and Foster, 2014). Art scenes in cities are a good attraction to consumers who can be also tourists, seeking authentic experiences and consequently generating capital (Tunali, 2021). This shows how city officials can commodify art through their gentrification strategies (Coaffee, 2005)

Finally, it is important to note that commercial arts and fine arts have rather different consequences for neighbourhood regeneration. For instance, commercial arts are more economically binding and can expand the neoliberal goals. Equivalently, commercial art is connected to displacement to a higher degree when compared to fine arts. Commercial arts are connected to a faster gentrification of an area, bringing more visible changes to an area in a short period of time, while fine arts are linked to a slower but steady growth (Grodach and Foster, 2014). Fine arts, including museums, arts educational entities or performing arts companies, can be considered as revitalization agencies, while the commercial ones can be portrayed as gentrification contributors, Grodach and Foster (2014) continue. The importance of context is a key factor that should not be neglected. The same type of art can have different effects depending on the environment it has been introduced. Knowing the effect of the different types of arts and how their incorporation can intervene with a neighbourhood is a piece of crucial knowledge, helpful to planners when formulating their strategies Planners should be aware of these effects and especially of the differences, accompanying the type of art that has been chosen to get incorporated into the urban fabric (Grodach and Foster, 2014).

Section 5: Primary and Secondary agents of gentrification

Smith (1996) highlights a network of primary initiators, responsible for the development of gentrification in an area. The main figures, acting in relation to this process are urban planners, governmental agencies and real estate agents. Governmental actors are significantly affecting the spread of gentrification and creating enabling conditions through policies and subsidies (Smith, 1996). City planners, supported by the government can also take the role of primary innovators of gentrification. The partnership between government and private actors, including investors and business owners, is mainly focused on capital accumulation that affects the urban fabric. Economically

beneficial management of land use is an important factor in this collaboration, which results in gentrification (Zuk et al., 2015).

As secondary gentrifiers, this Thesis describes the newcomers into an area, once the primary actors have enabled the conditions in the urban fabric resulting in gentrification. According to (Zuk et al., 2015) these gentrifiers can have different motives in regards to their cultural preferences, political opinions or economic needs. The secondary gentrifiers can be divided into the three waves of gentrification which also relates to their income. The first ones are newcomers with lower income and high education. This first wave can also include artists. The second and third waves are characterised by higher-income professionals arriving after the area has been further revitalized (Zuk et al., 2015).

Section 6: Enabling conditions

6.1 Urban aesthetics

The aesthetics of gentrification linger between the power struggles of the different societal groups. The regeneration of the urban fabric is currently focusing on pleasing the needs of specific citizens, trying to attract them by means of beautification, which on the other side means exclusion and displacement of volatile groups, characterized by their lower income (Gassner, 2022). In order to attract a wealthier population, an area has to undergo a so-called aestheticization process. The aim is to bring new eye-pleasing sights, serving the aesthetic desires of the newcomers (Coaffee, 2005). Amenities such as cultural quarters, art events and fests are continuously being exploited as contributors to the beautification of the residential hub. That type of gentrification aesthetics is acting as a power magnet for the “crème de la crème” society (Gassner, 2022). The construction of new distinctive aesthetics is an important factor in symbolic capital development (Coaffee, 2005). The aesthetics of state-led gentrification should be deliberated as a phenomenon including battles for power, played by exclusion and segregation, in the modern neoliberal environment (Gassner, 2022).

Neoliberalism as a movement entails the prioritization of private enterprises and putting economic freedom before political interests. Neoliberal theory prompts the idea that the well-fair of people is strongly connected to their entrepreneurial potential, the liberalization of the market and consequently transformation of the urban fabric (Tunali, 2021). In the neoliberal state, aesthetics can be recognized as a collective means that moulds a society by forging audible, visible and communicational pieces into a freshly constructed environment. Aesthetic politics are the steering wheel controlling the modification of the social layout, considering the power they have over the spatial realm (Ranciere, 2004). Gentrification finds its place in a neoliberal regenerated area supported by politically induced aesthetics in a neighbourhood (Tunali, 2021). Thus, aesthetics and gentrification have multifaceted connections, allowing them to intervene with the “distribution of the sensible” (Ranciere, 2004). It can be concluded that in present planning practices aesthetics can be viewed as politics since beautification initiatives can be seen as a political approach to governing the direction of neighbourhood development (Tunali, 2021; Ranciere, 2004).

6.2 Symbolic politics

Because of the densely built-in environment of cities, large-scale redevelopments are not the most suitable solution in order to regenerate a certain “low-class” neighbourhood. This is how the idea of symbolic politics of making cultural quarters, originating from Jane Jacobs (1961) was fabricated as a more suitable alternative for attracting higher-income citizens (Van Gent, et al., 2019). Symbolic politics

draws attention to the framing of the activities performed in order to regenerate a specific area by different societal groups such as policymakers, administrators or civil organisations (Van Gent, et al., 2019). There are two main types of symbolic politics, referring to the work of Sakizlioglu and Uitermark (2014). Classification of an area and its population refers to the processes responsible for justifying the ideas for the regeneration of an area, which also affect the social distribution of inhabitants in addition to the changes in the built-in environment. This type of symbolics has the tendency to divide affected communities as deserving and undeserving in accordance to their social status. The second symbolics type, as Sakizlioglu and Uitermark (2014) argue, is focusing on the tactics in terms of incorporating planned changes in the best timing. Having a lack of transparency can be beneficial to the state, because this can minimize the countereffects of opposition movements. An additional type of symbolics focusing on middle-class quarter-making (Van Gent, et al., 2019) aims at facilitating policies focused mainly on the needs of middle-class inhabitants. The overall idea behind symbolic politics is to build a new spirit of an area, deciding what types of infrastructure would serve the newcomers' best interest. Symbolic politics mainly focus on re-establishing cultural consumption of the regenerated area, primarily based on economic profits. Often this means having little than no references to the original spirit and cultural values of the earliest dwellers. This capitalistic movement is supported by regulations and subsidies. Nevertheless, up to this point, gentrification is mainly boosted by the symbolic recognition of space assertion in terms of culture, rather than subsidies (Van Gent, et al., 2019; Zukin, 1991).

6.3 Social mixing policies

Gentrification has been connected to social mixing policies since they have been acting as a vital instrument in the upgrading process of neighbourhoods labelled as deprived. This has been a practice in many countries in Western Europe (Rose et al., 2013). As argued by Hochstenbach (et al., 2014) social mixing is a transition process leading to gentrification. There are three main motives in relation to the social mixing policy. Firstly, social equity focuses on making the urban environment safer and stimulating dignified respectable behaviour to support the well-being of lower-income people. Second, efficiency motives are focused on reducing social costs and finally, the third motive is about housing amenities improvement (Van der Graaf, 2015).

By implementing social mixing strategies, policymakers entail the idea of using the middle-class society as a stimulus for the original dwellers of the neighbourhood by being a chance for them to improve their network connections and diversify their social capital. This process is called upward mobility. Being surrounded by people with similar limitations regarding their options of prosperity does not promise chances for any openness of change on a higher level. Thus, social mixing is being used as a gentrification tool or enabling condition which raises the social status of an area. The trademark of social mixing policies is theoretically providing a bridge between the social classes, which can close the financial gaps via the exchange of knowledge and skills or the introduction of new services in the area, consequently bringing investments. This social bridge remains in the initial phase since it has been examined that the original dwellers hardly communicate with the newcomers. This results in a bigger social gap leading to a loss of belongingness. (Van Gent et al., 2019). The relationships that appear between gentrification and social mixing strategies have been gaining popularity as an area of interest to be studied (see Bridge et al., 2012).

Section 7: Gentrification stages

The stages of gentrification create a conceptual model which can show migration state of people between different parts of the city. The model entails that gentrification does not happen automatically, but rather gradual in couple of stages (Hochstenbach et al., 2014). As entailed by Kennedy and Leonard (2001), there are 3 main gentrification stages. To track history back in time, according to Coaffee and Stuart (2005), the “first wave” is the initiation period, where artists could find suitable places, which are unknown to the vast majority of the public. These environments were being used as incubators that can generate artwork. This process also includes the renovation of some of the units. In this particular stage newcomers can be families or individuals with similar income to the original inhabitants of the deprived area. The so-called pioneers are considered as risk-oblivious are set to be taking advantage of the little rent-gaps in the areas. Consequently, this can be considered as smoothing the path for the second wave of gentrifiers with higher incomes (Hochstenbach et al., 2014; Kennedy and Leonard, 2001)

The next stage encompasses the neighbourhood gains more popularity amongst middle-class people, which contributes to the expansion of the rent-gap, which is considered as a vital driver of gentrification. In the second wave, additional value has been added to the artists and their work, turning them into private commodities. (Smith, 1979; Kennedy and Leonard, 2001). Sharon Zukin (1988) is an author who has historically focused on the role of arts in the second wave of gentrification. She entails that the second wave incorporates the convention of artists in living and working spaces in old buildings that have been previously used for commercial purposes. Due to the influence of their work and their lifestyle, many other higher societal groups can be easily attracted. Zukin remarks that the changes in a previously deprived area are connected to the fact that the living habits of the artists can become a new trendy cultural model for middle-class societal groups. This is the stage where conflicts usually start appearing above the visible surface.

Lastly, the third wave is characterized by the connection between arts and regeneration as well as the interweaving between policy-makers, the public and the private sector. Third-wave gentrification is also known for spreading throughout the cities, not only focusing on their inner parts (Hochstenbach, 2014). The main essence is the utilization of art via different channels and events as well as the creation of landmarks (Coaffee and Stuart, 2005). Furthermore, Smith (2002) describes the third wave of gentrification as an extension of the second with a higher interest in capital accumulation. The main forces, controlling the built-up environment are deriving from the markets (Smith, 2002). The capitalisation, examined during the third wave, creates new urban settlements focused on entertainment, consumption and production (Ley, 2003).

Section 8: Gentrification consequences

Gentrification is being referred as “double-edged sword” (Kennedy and Leonard, 2001, p.24). It has been examined that there are positive outcomes such as regeneration of the neighbourhood and increased social opportunities (Van Gent, et al., 2019; Coaffee, 2005). Increased tax revenues are another consequence, which is very much appreciated by the city officials, since taxes are “lifeblood of cities” (Kennedy and Leonard, 2001, p.27). This is a reason why the household with higher incomes are more appreciated in most of the cases. Via greater income mix, poverty rates in the neighbourhood can disperse, which is positively affecting families and their kids, Kennedy and Leonard (2001) state. Another consequence added by Kennedy and Leonard (2001) is the changed urban look of the gentrified area. Understandably, with the arriving of the newcomers, the infrastructure has to be

adapted and adjusted to their needs. This influx of new residents can bring new businesses which can also stimulate small companies to develop (Kennedy and Leonard, 2001).

On the other side, the abrupt appearance of big chain entities can lead to the degradation of small corner family markets, mainly owned by immigrants (Kennedy and Leonard, 2001; Peck et al., 2020). As Kennedy and Leonard (2001) state, gentrification in the regenerated neighbourhood can mean an unreachable life standard, supported by price increase, which is unsuitable for indigenous dwellers of the gentrified area. The perception of “good” or “bad” varies differently depending on the stakeholder’s vision. One of the most severe negative effects of gentrification is direct displacement (Kennedy and Leonard, 2001).

Section 9: Conceptual Model

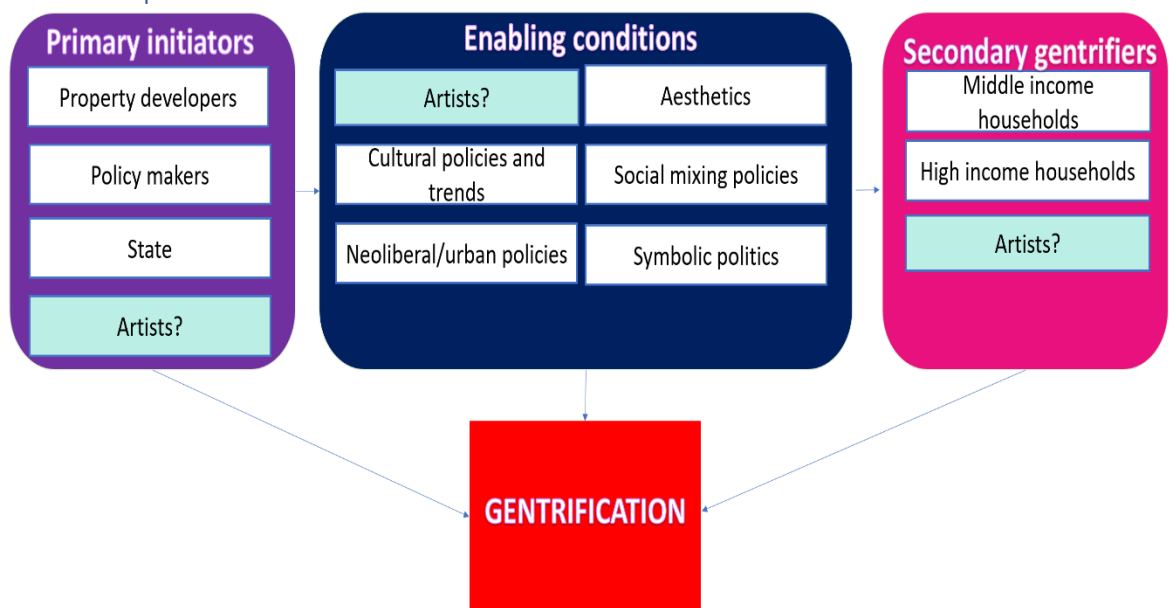


Figure 1 Conceptual model (Delchev, 2023)

The conceptual model of this thesis is a visualization, focused on the forces and conditions contributing to gentrification and the possible locations of artists in the process. Finding the exact spot where art and artists can be situated will provide an answer to the main research question. The gentrification model is separated into primary gentrifying agents, followed by conditions enabling a hospitable environment for gentrification and lastly secondary gentrifiers. To begin with, in the top middle part of the model, there are the tools used to enforce the processes of gentrification, which have been the main focus of the theoretical framework. This includes different policies, the idea and perception of aesthetics of a certain area as well as the symbolic politics that are aiming at the renovation of deprived areas of the neoliberal city (Van Gent et al., 2019; Gassner, 2022; Hochstenbach et al., 2014). The second main group is focusing on the primary gentrifiers, who act as the engine of the gentrification motor. Property developers or actors from the private sector and policymakers have been indicated as the main gentrifying agents, actively coming up with strategies inducing further regeneration progress. The third group causing gentrification is labelled as “Secondary gentrifiers”. It is embedding the actors who are stimulating the evolvement of the gentrification process, once it has been initiated by the primary actors. This group is constructed by middle and high-income families or individuals that are moving into the gentrifying areas.

The exact role, function and place of the artists and art remains unknown as can be seen in the model. The conceptual model shows that the aim of this research is to find the relationship between art and gentrification, including the role of artists and whether art can be an enabling gentrification condition or if artists themselves can be labelled as primary or secondary gentrifiers. The main contribution of this thesis is resolving the questions regarding the influence of arts, creatives and their projects on the development of gentrification by showing how they intervene. Based on the so-far gathered information, this thesis can make a hypothesis that art is most likely an instrument used by policy planners to stimulate urban regeneration processes, but not a main gentrification cause, making them a part of the enabling conditions in the model.



3.0 Methodology and Data Collection

Section 1: Case study selection

In this thesis, Amsterdam has been chosen as a single case study based on the status of a global city, incorporating a strong cultural scene and a high diversity of people including artists and other creatives. The properties in the area are with skyrocketing prices, which bases many conditions for interest from investors in the process of gentrification (Bosch, 2015). Furthermore, Amsterdam, as the capital city of the Netherlands has been a subject of numerous researches, providing a sufficient base of knowledge that can be analysed. Case studies are being used in order to provide evidence which can be later helpful in the process of finding general patterns (Kabir, 2016). Focusing on a single case study provides the opportunity for a deeper understanding of a subject. Case studies are helpful in order to describe theories, study science or generate background information (Baxter and Jack, 2010; Sjøilen & Huber, 2006). “The case study method “explores a real-life, contemporary bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information... and reports a case description and case themes” (Creswell, 2013, p. 97).

Section 2: Research approach

Data collection is a process characterized by assembling information on a range of interests in a systematic way, allowing the possibility to answer certain questions in research (Kabir, 2016). In order to provide answers to the main research question of this single case study, the qualitative approach has been chosen as the most suitable. Questions such as “what” and “how”, which are often asked in this thesis, can be answered in the most detailed manner possible through a qualitative research approach. Qualitative methods can be exemplified by being open-ended and relying on interaction, which is of great importance, considering the semi-structured interviews performed. This approach is suitable when researching multifaceted phenomena that cannot be numerically explained, such as gentrification and its relation to art (Kabir, 2016). The limited time of this research, the potential changes in the research trajectory during analysis and the decision to conduct semi-structured interviews, policy analysis, ArcGIS mapping and academic literature review are the reasons behind choosing qualitative approach.

Section 3: Methods used

The main methods, as it can be seen in Figure 2, include document analysis of scientific articles, which can provide details in regards to Sub questions 1 and 2, as well as to the Main research question. Additionally, policy analysis, published by the municipality of Amsterdam are important in order to gather information about the second and third research question. The semi-structured interviews are a source of valuable information that can contribute to each one of the questions in this Master Thesis. The method of ArcGIS mapping can visualise connections between the spatial changes related to arts and creativity with the spatial alternations, considered as a consequence of gentrification. Thus, the maps contribute to Sub-question 1 and to the Main RQ.

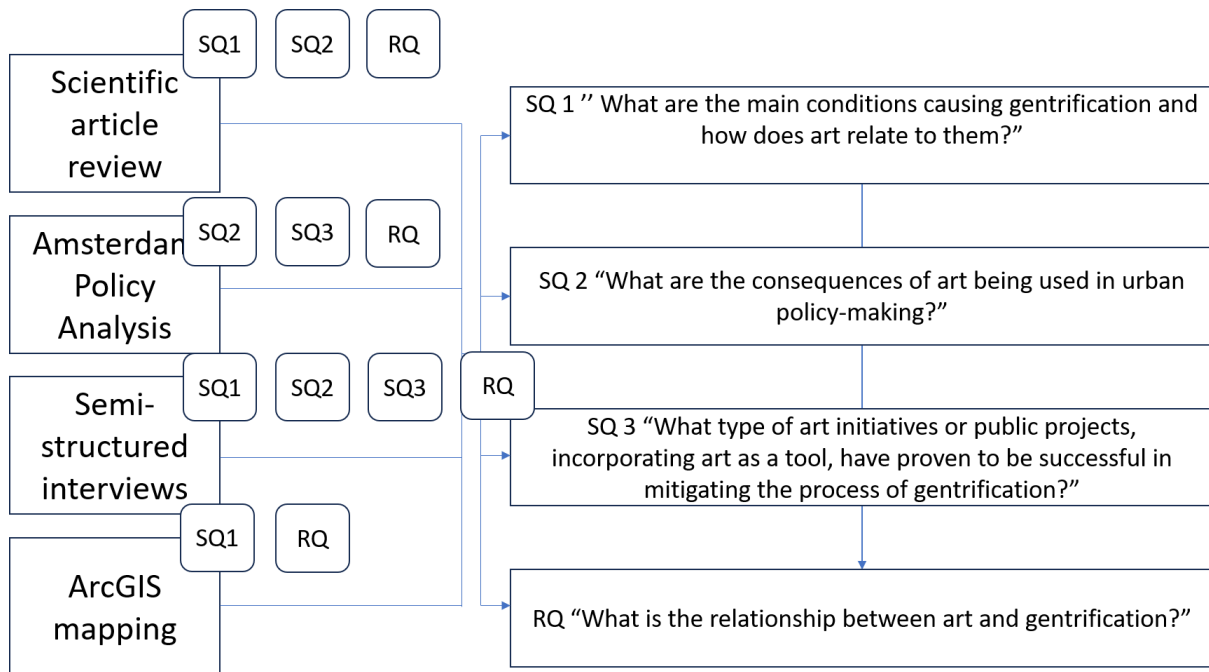


Figure 2 Research design table (Delchev, 2023)

The initial stage, responsible of the proposal formulation is performing document analysis of existing literature, focused on gentrification. Document analysis is a method used in order to carefully study and evaluate articles and documents both online and on paper. This method helps a researcher to gain a better understanding in the specific area of his interest. The official academic articles (Atkinson and Coffey, 1997) can include both word content as well as visuals (Bowen, 2009). The analytical nature of this method implies the actions of selection, sense creation and cultivation of the gathered information. At the beginning of this Thesis, extensive desk research with key words such as: gentrification, arts, urban aesthetic, creative society and culture have been used. Usually, when dealing with big quantities of academia, skimming is being performed. One of the main criteria that have been used when researching has been the relevance of the data, trying to focus on literature, published in the last 15 years. Furthermore, the number of times when the document has been cited by others has been also a factor which was considered as a validation of the information published. The parts that have been carefully analysed in every document during the initial desk research have been the abstract and the conclusion chapters as well as the first sentences of every new paragraph. This contributed to the overall sense creation on the topic of gentrification and arts. During the initial phase, a list of references has been kept, including short paragraphs describing the essence of each academic article. After analysing the initial several pieces of academic knowledge, the information has been categorised into different topics and sub-topics such as arts in urban planning, gentrification cause, waves or consequences that make the most sense for the specific research performed as advised by Labuschagne, 2003. This phase helped in visualising the conceptual model.

In specific, in order to first provide knowledge about the research topic, the historical development of gentrification in Amsterdam is examined, followed by the main contributing factors that have helped the development and the agents which are the main drivers of the gentrifying mechanism. The effects of art on gentrification as well as the current state of the city of Amsterdam in relation to gentrification have to be closely examined. Thus, the major affiliations between art and gentrification can be already

brought to the surface, which provides further direction to the research process of the thesis. Second, documents can be a source that highlights the importance of certain questions that have to be researched and answered in order to gain a better overview of a specific area of interest. Pre-established suspicions of changes and evolving processes can be identified and thus used as verification of statements, found in previously read research documents. The theoretical framework of this research provides more in-depth knowledge considering arts, gentrification, policies, and the relation between them, as well as revises theories connected to the creative city and breeding places, consequently clarifying the importance of urban policymaking.

The semi-structured interviews are both with city planners and with artists from the area of Amsterdam. This thesis aims to interweave personal experience, observations and opinions with theoretical knowledge. Interviewing a city planner or a policy maker can portray the political side and the main goals of the municipality regarding the future development of Amsterdam. From their point of view, they can share experiences on past policies and projects that have turned out to be successful or have failed due to certain unpredictable reasons. On the other side, having a discussion with artists who have been a part of certain cultural projects or policies from the gentrified neighbourhoods, the second face of the coin can be seen. The questions are predominantly focused on their personal experience with the aftermath of gentrification and whether they feel that their creativity has been exploited by market forces. Thus, this case study is provided with different answers and perspectives, which consequently enriches the final results. This thesis consists of three semi-structured interviews. The number of interviews was limited due to the time concerns. Additionally, the fact that this part of the research was mainly conducted during the summer holidays also takes a toll on the total number of people who agreed to get interviewed. The interviewees have mainly been selected during the case study research. Some of the policy documents refer to specific professionals or organisations that have helped in the completion of the document. Thus, mainly via e-mail, the connection with the interviewed professionals has been established. The interviews have been held via Google Meets. In order to analyse the gathered information, the interviews have been recorded and then transcribed into texts by the help of free online software. The text has further been revised, highlighting the most interesting findings and then incorporating them into the thesis.

Referenced as	Occupation of interviewee	Date of the interview	Communication means	Interview duration
Carin Sturema	Specialist in the Centre of Expertise Urban Governance and Social Innovation (Amsterdam)	17.08.23	Google Meets	40 minutes
Bart Stuart	Visual artist and an Arts Academy teacher	12.09.23	Google Meets	46 minutes
Minouche Bester	Political scientist, partner at STIPO	14.09.23	Google Meets	36 minutes

Figure 3 Interview details table

Since the case study area is Amsterdam, policy documents, provided from the official website of the municipality, have become one of the main sources of information. Specifically, urban plans, art and culture policies and social mixing policies have been analysed. The policy themes, used while looking through the different policies, were regarding culture and arts, diversity, economy, tourism and urban development. The majority of the policy documents have been translated online, due to the fact that they have been only published in Dutch. By performing policy analysis, this thesis provides examples

of how public arts, incorporated through policies, affect gentrification and whether or not it is possible to mitigate or reduce the negative consequences. The analysis of the municipal documents also created a sense of the current strategies of urban regeneration in the city of Amsterdam and helped in making connections to gentrification strategies or enabling conditions. Breeding grounds policies are also revised in order to understand the relationships between artists, space and business. Furthermore, the cultural plans of the city have entailed connections between regeneration strategies and the use of artists or creative places. During the process of analysis, documents are initially skimmed in order to separate the helpful data from the one that is not applicable to the performed research. A full list of the municipal documents that have been reviewed can be seen in Figure 4.

Document name	Author	Year of publication	Language	Regarding sub-question
Revised Studio and Creative Incubator Policy for Amsterdam 2015 – 2018	Bureau Broedplaatsen	2016	English	2,3
Amsterdams atelier- en broedplaatsenbeleid 2019-2022	Municipality of Amsterdam	2019	Dutch	2,3
Koers 25 Ruimte voor de Stad	Municipality of Amsterdam	2016	Dutch	1
Amsterdam Structuurvisie 2040	Municipality of Amsterdam	2011	Dutch	1,2
De kracht van kunst en cultuur	Municipality of Amsterdam	2020	Dutch	2
Stappenplan een broedplaats ontwikkelen	Municipality of Amsterdam	2017	Dutch	2
Trendrapport Stad 2016	Municipality of Amsterdam	2016	Dutch	1,2
Kunstenplan 2017-2020	Municipality of Amsterdam	2016	Dutch	2
Omgevingsvisie Amsterdam 2050	Municipality of Amsterdam	2021	Dutch	1
Ruimte voor kunst en cultuur	Municipality of Amsterdam	2019	Dutch	1,2
Mensen maken de stad	Municipality of Amsterdam	2017	Dutch	1,2,3
Expeditie Vrije Ruimte	Municipality of Amsterdam	2020	Dutch	1,2,3
Verkenning Amsterdamse Kunstraad 2022	Amsterdam Art Council	2022	Dutch	1,2

Figure 4 Policies analysed table

For the next stages of analysis, coding is used in order to guide the researcher in the process of systematization of the information into categories. The main codes that have been initially used are: arts and gentrification, value creation, urban development strategies, the value of arts, breeding places, the importance of artists, social mixing and distribution, inclusivity through art, future goals, mixed environment, and displacement risk. It is vital to identify the original purpose of the document, policy or article that is being analysed. Two different contexts can bring two different results to the same

research question (Bowen, 2009). This Master's thesis is based on the analysis of the spatial development vision reports of Amsterdam. The distribution of the main sections and look of the final version of this Master Thesis has also been discussed with the Thesis supervisor.

ArcGIS Pro is used in order to show the differences in the composition of Amsterdam and visually show how the distribution of hospitality services, and cultural amenities has dispersed throughout the city and whether the same pattern can be seen in the decline of rental housing and position of people with low income. The distribution of more coffee places or restaurants can be connected to the presence of a creative society, based on Jacobs and Florida, while cultural amenities such as museums or galleries can be directly connected to artists. The rental housing distribution and the dispersal of people with low incomes are factors, connected to gentrification. The alignment of these maps can showcase the dynamics between art and gentrification and answer a part of the research questions (look at fig. 2). The maps focus on the entire area of the city of Amsterdam. The input, used for the mapping process is derived from the official website of the Dutch National Statistics Office (www.cbs.nl). The years, chosen to be visualised, are selected based on the highest degree data availability. Having used document analysis, semi-structured interviews and mapping, it can be concluded that the thesis results are based on triangulation. The method of triangulation supports using multiple sources of information when doing qualitative research (Bowen, 2009).

Section 4: Ethical considerations

Ethical norms are an important part of every research to be considered. As mentioned by Kabir (2016), norms are guiding the research aims such as sharing new knowledge, and truthfulness with a lack of error. Considering the fact that usually there is more than one person involved in research, there are certain ethical standards that have to be adopted. They promote values, crucial to collaboration such as liability, fairness and respect (Kabir, 2016). Furthermore, authorship and copyrights are norms of high importance in trustworthy research. It is essential to give the needed credit to other researchers and to point out whether the idea is personal or influenced by someone else's work. Plagiarism is a veto activity, which can have serious consequences when detected (Kabir, 2016). Thus, every piece of information from this thesis is carefully referenced, acknowledging each specific author.

All the data, from this thesis is reported in an honest manner, minimizing bias and without any falsifications. Carefulness, integrity and openness are essential factors considered. They are applied specifically during the interview phase of the research. In consideration of the interviews in this research, confidentiality, responsible publication and full transparency and openness were the main motives during the conversation via Google Meets as well as during the e-mail exchange. Every person who participated in this research has been respected and has not been discriminated under any circumstances. Each interviewee has been provided with a form of consent, protecting their anonymity, comfort and best interest. The consent form and the interview guide can be found in the appendixes. In the case of this Thesis, the people who agreed to be interviewed did not mind using their real names. Their opinions have been validated and their contributions have been noted in the thesis by always mentioning where the input in the result chapter comes from. In the process of searching for interviewees, age, gender or ethnicity have not been considered as factors of significance. This research is based on values, mentioned by Kabir (2016).

Positionality has been a constant reminder, keeping the results unbiased by personal opinions in relation to the position of artists in the neoliberal state. The positionality of the people who contributed to this work has also been acknowledged, consequently resulting in respectful and trustworthy contact. As a non-Dutch citizen, I have tried not to put myself in the role of an outsider and to choose sides during this research, maintaining ethical data interpretation.



4.0 Results

Section 1: Chapter Introduction

The result part of this thesis is organized into several sections, each addressing distinct aspects of the research. Understanding the role of art and artists in the Amsterdam context, particularly within the context of gentrification, is a central premise of this thesis. Section 2 provides a concise historical overview of gentrification in the Amsterdam case study area. Subsequently, drawing from insights garnered through expert interviews, this chapter offers a condensed perspective on the primary drivers and key stakeholders contributing to the gentrification process in the case study area. After a comprehensive analysis of key urban development goals in Amsterdam, Section 3 delves into prospective urban development strategies of the city, published by the official website of the municipality. This section further includes strategies derived from the semi-structured interviews, with a primary emphasis on measures aimed at mitigating gentrification. These strategies explore the integration of art and the creative industry within urban development in Amsterdam, elucidating the municipality's perspective on the interplay between art and the urban landscape. The fourth section describes Amsterdam's take on cultural and social mixing policies that act as strategy implementation tools. The outcomes these policies hinder show how the city initiates gentrification and whether art plays a certain role in the process. Notably, the "broedplaats," or breeding grounds, in Amsterdam, are a critical implication of cultural policies and a primary catalyst for neighbourhood regeneration. Hence, they are described in Section 5. Consequently, Section 6 examines the significance of arts and creativity in urban planning, reinforced by illustrative examples of ongoing initiatives, shared during the semi-structured interviews, and insights into the current dynamics shaping the cultural landscape of the city. The seventh section presents a visual representation of the transformations in the urban landscape of Amsterdam, accompanied by additional findings related to prevalent housing trends.

Section 2: History of Gentrification in Amsterdam

This first chapter dives back into the history of gentrification in the study case of Amsterdam. It focuses on the three main gentrification waves. Furthermore, the incorporation of art and the development of the creative community in each one of the three periods is explained. Examining historical occurrences pertaining to the interplay of gentrification and artistic movements can facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of contemporary dynamics in the city of Amsterdam.

The development of gentrification in the city of Amsterdam can be divided into three main waves (Van Gent, 2013). The first written studies in regards to gentrification have been noted by Terhorst and van de Ven (1997). They entail that the first wave is characterized by the famous squatting movements, consisting of artists trying to find secluded and cheap places, where they can create and gather for non-commercial purposes. The process mainly sparked in the historic city centre of Amsterdam in the 70s from last century. The main reasons responsible for the unfolding of the phenomenon were the low-interest rates and the prevailing percentage of youngsters, which afterwards started attracting all kind of citizens to these areas (Van Gent, 2013). One of the most famous Amsterdam neighbourhoods Jordaan was one of the firsts to experience gentrification (Hochstenbach et al., 2014).

What came as a second wave of the gentrification history was the increased special capacity for more expensive private housing facilities. About 90% of the housing constructions built from the middle of the 20th century until 1985 were mainly public (Terhorst and van de Ven, 1997). In the beginning of the 21st century big part of them was converted into private properties, decreasing the total amount of social-rentals to 47% in 2012 (Hochstenbach et al., 2014). Considering the cultural environment in the city, this period of transition was consequently followed by the emergence of galleries, restaurants and

recreational spaces, predetermined mainly for the preferences of the middle class (Van Gent, 2013). The second wave in Amsterdam imposes the beginning of making art more available and slowly accumulating additional value to it (Van Gent, 2013).

The third wave of gentrification in Amsterdam can be described by the intensive promotion of home ownership, privatization and decentralization (Van Gent, 2013). The 2001 memorandum stated goals for even further privatization, promoting liberal ideals of citizenship, individual responsibility and freedom (Van Gent 2013). The third wave of gentrification can be associated with a more candid role of the state, since urban governance has gained more popularity and officials could be more involved in gentrification via public-private partnerships, supported by urban policies (Van Gent, 2013; Hochstenbach et al., 2014). In terms of arts and culture, the market forces in Western Europe portrayed the third wave as a representation of how the value of cultural capital can be increased, especially by governmental actions (Coaffee, 2005). This gradual monetarization of the cultural capital in the case of Amsterdam has been noted by Ley (2003):

“... movement from festivals to festival markets, from cultural production to cultural economies, to an intensified economic colonisation of the cultural realm, to the representation of the creative city not as a means of redemption but as a means of economic accumulation.” (Ley, 2003 p. 2542)

Thus, gentrification processes were re-enforced by corporate powers, crossing the boundaries of the city centre, and reaching further out to the city's peripheral areas. In the third wave most of the counteractions and resistance to the process of gentrification, some of which were initiated by artists, have been marginalised or neglected by city officials (Van Gent, 2013). The experts who took a part in the interviews agree that gentrification in Amsterdam currently involves multiple stakeholders including big companies, creative entrepreneurs, policymakers, cultural centres, and urban planners. “Often, the initial push for gentrification comes from concerned local residents who highlight issues like safety, poverty, and lacking infrastructure, prompting government intervention...” Bart Stuart continues during the interview session. While urban planners may support and finance gentrification, Carin Sturema shared in her interview, the real beneficiaries are typically the government (through increased land values) and real estate owners, especially in cities like Amsterdam, where gentrification results in soaring land lease prices. As a recapitulation, the third gentrification wave (also called state-led gentrification) has adopted the creative culture into a position of the neo-liberal state, exploiting its virtues for status and capital. This can also be connected to the presence of new restaurants, coffee places or hospitality services in general (Lindner and Meissner, 2015).

Section 3: Urban development strategies in present Amsterdam

During the last 40 years, the population of Amsterdam has enormously increased. The city has agreed that the housing availability will be increased by 50, 000 homes in the period between 2010 and 2030. In order to meet those commitments, certain changes have to be established in the city neighbourhoods that will also affect the residents (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2016). This section will look at the main development considerations, connected to culture and arts, included in the future urban strategies of Amsterdam. First, this section highlights the current ventures for authenticity, supported by small businesses and artists, that will spread towards the city suburbs. Consequently, the specific tailoring of each strategy in regard to the local population is highlighted. Therefore, the role of cultural facilities as drivers of regeneration has been mentioned. Lastly, the ideas of Mr. Bart Stuart considering the way business should be presented in the new strategies and the importance of community creation in order to mitigate gentrification's negative consequences are discussed.

The Structural Vision Strategy of Amsterdam 2040 portrays the arousal of a new product-market combination developed throughout the urban environment in the city, including art pieces, small stores and coffee places that represent the spirit of the neighbourhood. The current development strategies, mainly from the centre outwards (from the inside out), will specifically target certain groups and their wishes. Beautification of the city is still a vital point in the strategy (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2016). Unique personal experiences, authenticity and storytelling, supported by artists, are some of the future aims that are said to be gaining growing importance. The memorandum “Discover Amsterdam” from 2009 is a response to those future plans. It encourages the establishment of new tourist attractions in the city, in order to loosen the pressure currently existing on the central area. This tourist strategy will consequently affect the versatility of the city and is considered a tool stimulating the quality of life and safety (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2011). The residents of the neighbourhoods that will undergo changes will be protected by policy, reassuring them to have benefits from the future densification (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2020).

The municipal housing vision articulated in the “Amsterdam Structuurvisie 2040” document responds to the dynamics in the city by shifting its planning approach from a broad, city-wide policy perspective to one that is more localized and area-specific. It is now recognized that the uniform diversification of every neighbourhood is not obligatory. The composition and distribution of amenities within neighbourhoods are to be tailored to the specific demographics and needs of their respective inhabitants. This approach acknowledges the increasing interconnectedness of the Amsterdam housing market within its metropolitan context. Due to the considerable assortment of people and businesses, special profiles of the different neighbourhoods of the city are being designed. The outcome can be used as a guideline in future policymaking in the area of spatial quality and urban culture (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2011). This shows consideration of differences and specific attention to detail. The plan hints at the possibility of initiation and stimulation of an open conversation with the public with reference to the wishes of what city the people want to see and be a part of (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2011). This type of development supports autonomous initiatives, where the creative society is highly important. Capitalizing on opportunities at the right time and intensive cooperation with a variety of stakeholders have been mentioned as strategies to be considered (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2016).

The development strategy 2016-2025 of Amsterdam (Koers 2025) is focusing on the creation of an accessible, dynamic and adaptive city with mixed urban environment. The presence of social facilities, including cultural hubs, is one of the assets when it comes to the development of the city (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2016). This can be connected to the diversity and inclusion plan that projects the establishment of many small stages throughout the city, where new talents can be given the opportunity to perform and to be noticed. The plan emphasizes that culture should be visible. Thus, its current focus is based on the West, North and Southeast, because those districts are considered as culturally lagging (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2020).

As an activist, who for many years has been involved in protecting artistic communities from the negative consequences of gentrification, Bart Stuart has shared successful creative strategies for urban development in his interview. One of the strategic approaches aiming at gentrification mitigation involves adopting a long-term perspective that is resisting short-term pressures. A crucial aspect is formulating visionary brand strategies intertwined with financial plans. Thinking of unusual revenue streams is a key aspect in mitigating the negative gentrification consequences. This often includes acknowledging the creative potential of the artists and how they can be adopted as a workforce in the regenerating neighbourhood. Providing artists with a steady income can ensure the sustainability and

maintenance of the strategy, Stuart continues. It is noteworthy to consider the artists' quality in the context of their labour as contributors to the social framework.

During the semi-structured interview, Mr. Stuart stated that the question "How can cost-effective spaces be effectively created within a thriving urban environment?" is of great importance. In order to escape the negative effects of gentrification, urban development strategies should not be entirely based on financial regimes whose main focus is the generation of as much capital as possible. Relying solely on conventional bank loans and their associated interest payments can impose a significant and immediate fiscal burden which pressures the authenticity of small businesses, making them solely money-driven with the lack of excitement. Central to the strategies is the concept of "community." Creating business models that contribute to community awareness, knowledge and a sense of belongingness can create long-term social dynamics that can withstand gentrification's negative consequences.

To foster a socially cohesive and well-structured urban landscape in Amsterdam, the provision of communal meeting spaces becomes paramount, Bart Stuart added in his interview. These spaces should be multifunctional, accommodating a diverse array of stakeholders, including local residents, artists, and potentially newcomers or refugees. A comprehensible aspect is the allocation of public land for democratic pursuits, analogous to City Halls, or libraries, which are not subject to commercial transactions. In order to nurture a democratic mixed society, establishing dedicated spaces for collective activities, and enabling communal gatherings has proven to be successful. Places as such have nothing to do with money, but with social value. Mr. Stuart thinks that if the plan is correctly executed, art can contribute to the liability of the place, stimulate further social dialogues and guide entrepreneurs to create their own business ventures, without the influence of huge corporations that can erase the values of the neighbourhood.

Section 4: Policies related to the current development strategies in Amsterdam

Using the theory of Richard Florida's creative class paradigm, many policymakers in Amsterdam have been emphasizing creativity and culture, including artists and their art in their revitalization policies (Van Gent et al., 2019). The policymakers of Amsterdam have welcomed with open arms the 3T guideline of Richard Florida, including technology, tolerance and talent as main components used in urban development. In alignment with this framework, Amsterdam has implemented a series of cultural and social mixing policies aimed at attracting professionals in the fields of art, design, and media and facilitating opportunities for creative self-employment (Lindner and Meissner, 2015).

For example, Amsterdam has drawn inspiration from its squatting movement to introduce policies geared toward providing workspaces for creative practitioners. This initiative, known as the "broedplaatsen" or "breeding places" project, entails the organization and subsidization of studio spaces within vacant or underutilized real estate. These breeding policies are aiming at the readjustment of old, mostly industrial buildings, by making them a temporary suitable spot for artists or other creative associates to inhabit or use as a working amenity (Van Gent, et al., 2019). These cultural policies succeeded in attracting creative people who could provide artistic benefits to the areas in need (Lindner and Meissner, 2015).

Through the years, there has been a new trend that implicates the importance of profit revenue, inviting not only artists to the breeding places but also creative entrepreneurs, who can create more market connections (Peck, 2011). Therefore, the present creative policies employed by the city of Amsterdam can be analysed as a multi-faceted approach. These policies encompass numerous city departments that are united by a common goal: the facilitation of creativity (Peck, 2011). It can be considered that the cultural policies of Amsterdam do not only focus on one specific goal but rather incorporate the artistic values of the creative society, trying to govern them into a politically framed cultural field that fits into the market-oriented way of thinking (Boswinkel and van Meerkerk, 2022).

During the online interviews, Minouche Bester stated that in Amsterdam, following the increase in breeding place facilities, real estate agents began to take notice of the artistic activities and their impact on the environment. This marked the beginning of their interest in the creative community. Subsequently, a rebranding effort was undertaken, accompanied by providing a new look and feel of the area. Gentrification is not primarily instigated by the artists themselves; she concludes. In fact, it can be argued that it is arising in an opposite manner, whereby economic gains are accrued from the neighbourhoods in which artists operate, leading to their displacement. Paradoxically, as these areas undergo a transformation and witness increased demand artists are pushed out (Bester, 2023).

The policies, focused on the creation of breeding places, have to incorporate the process of cultural planning and integrate the aspects of culture, economy and tourism. The heart of the issue can be found in the original intentions and mission of the breeding places with the reasons for incorporation stated in the local policies (Boswinkel and van Meerkerk, 2022). There are three main discourses in regard to the creative hubs in Amsterdam and the cultural policies in the city. Initially, the difference in scales on which cultural policies and creative hubs are based is a factor that should not be underestimated. Cultural policy primarily targets larger institutions, whereas creative hubs are composed of a network of small enterprises. Second, the policies are oriented towards established and conventional cultural endeavours, whereas creative hubs revolve around innovative and unconventional cultural expressions. Lastly, cultural policy operates within a hierarchical framework and often anticipates a similar organizational structure from its partners, whereas creative hubs embrace more informal and non-hierarchical forms of organization (Boswinkel and van Meerkerk, 2022). The current policy imperfections can be explained by the argument that policymakers shed light on issues noticeable on causal and final assumptions coming from public administrators, which supposedly can fail to incorporate the initial values and morals of the breeding grounds, resulting in gentrification instead of regeneration (Boswinkel and van Meerkerk, 2022).

In Amsterdam, the connection between cultural and social mixing policies is multifaceted and plays a significant role in shaping the city's dynamics (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2011). In the scene of Amsterdam, arts can create cultural vibrancy and attraction that can bring many different people to the same place and thus stimulate mixing strategies. Arts can be used in these strategies since it is a binding material that can stimulate social development (Hochstenbach, 2014). The presence of creative people can contribute to the versatility of an area, especially in places such as the Amsterdam creative hubs (see Section 5) or other cultural events (Markusen & Johnson, 2006). Furthermore, when mixing different groups of people, arts can be a vital instrument for community building via engagement in participatory practices and social inclusion (Elfferz and Sitsia, 2016). Based on that it can be perceived that arts and cultural scene acts as a catalyst for social mixing practises by stimulating cultural diversity and promoting participation.

Social mixing in Amsterdam, as explained by Utermark et al. (2007) is seen as an attempt to civilize the minorities seen as obstacles, instead of diversification and creation of a mixed environment. Current gentrification strategies in Amsterdam are in alliance with policy plans that aim to control the urban environment and to perform a “clean up” from elements that could be bothersome such as high poverty rates, high criminal cases, low education or lack of diversity. These neighbourhood regeneration tactics could be considered repressive by some (Hochstenbach, 2014). Sometimes the gentrification and social mixing policies can be used for ethnic stigmatization only as a justification and legitimation of planners' tactics and actions. In contrast to the policy expectations, the wealthier families in the study case rarely engage with the minorities that had originally inhabited the regenerated neighbourhood (Sakizlioglu and Lees, 2020).

In relation to these social concerns, the role of artists in urban planning, as well as the strategies about specific tailoring of urban plans, mentioned in Section 3, Minouche Bester, who is a partner at a public development organisation, shared an example to be noted during her interview. One of the instruments used as protection for the original inhabitants of a regenerating area is the creation of soft maps. They include an overview of what are the spatial goals of the future regeneration plans of a region and what has to be preserved, because of its cultural value and significance to the local community. The aim is to identify strategies that facilitate the preservation of essential elements. Municipalities are recognising the need to examine the local needs and to be as inclusive as possible. In order to make local inhabitants feel welcomed in the regenerated area, the planners should show their consideration and sense of care, Mrs Bester continues. Sometimes planners or artists locate caravans in a certain spot in the gentrified neighbourhood in order to slowly become a part of the local community and lifestyle. During the stay, the agents of regeneration should actively listen to the residents, striving to comprehensively understand their motivations, the elements they hold dear in their neighbourhood, cherished locations, and significant activities. This empathetic engagement is particularly suitable for artists who would like to get socially engaged and help a certain community to keep its values. Important values and community drivers can be the places where people meet, for instance, the cafe on the corner, where people gather for drinks and watch sports, or the local bakery that next to the playing ground. These motives have to be understood in advance and be included in the planning process in order to negotiate the affordability of the land, where these places were situated and not let them get washed away or replaced by new hip amenities.

Section 5: Breeding grounds

In the city of Amsterdam, the breeding places “broedplaatsen” initiative originated in the 90s from last century as a squatter movement. Many industrial buildings and warehouses were getting occupied by artists and social activists, which was a cause for certain civil issues between the representatives of the squatting movement and real estate agents or developers. In 1999 these disagreements escalated into physical altercations. These unfortunate events have led to several changes and reforms, that acted as a defensive barrier for the squatters' interests. The negotiations resulted in an agreement, allowing the artists to inhabit certain buildings, while in return they could give a fair share of their revenue to the city officials (Peck, 2011) In order to convince the government officials, the squatters remarked the potential negative consequences of Amsterdam losing its creative talent and thereby its innovative potential (Boswinkel and van Meerkerk, 2022).

The Bureau Broedplaatsen is the administrative team, responsible for all the breeding ground incubators in the region of Amsterdam (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016). Policies of the city of Amsterdam show that creative breeding grounds play a vital role in strategies for creativity stimulation. There is a trend focusing on larger investments and a great deal of attention devoted to the development of

breeding grounds (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2008). There are around 60 incubators (figure 10) spread throughout the city of Amsterdam as a result of the policies (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

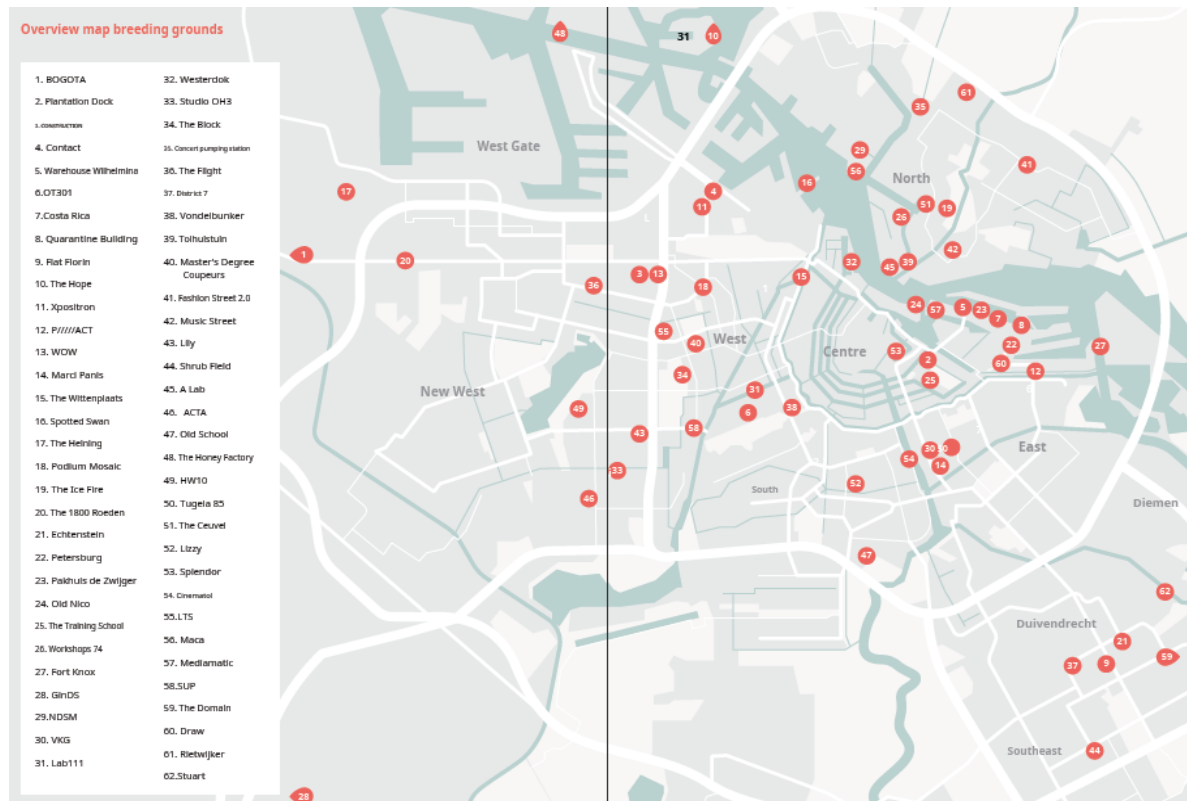


Figure 5 Breeding grounds in Amsterdam (Broedplaatsen, 2019)

The creative vibrancy and aesthetic allure of the Dutch capital exert a magnetic pull, drawing artists from around the globe (Boswinkel and van Meerkerk, 2022). The creative incubators are an attractive pilot option for settling in creatives that have freshly arrived in Amsterdam. The cheap rental prices are very entailing, yet it is the sense of community and the opportunity to cohabit with like-minded individuals that holds significant appeal (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016). The municipality of Amsterdam (2000) has defined the concept of breeding places as an informal environment providing space for producers of culture as well of service providers and handcrafts men.

It has been noted that the buildings, where the breeding grounds are situated, form an important statement as a cultural sanctuary within the existing urban environment, due to the lifestyle and the vision of the creatives that form the basis of the incubator (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2000). The existence of creative incubators within the urban fabric of Amsterdam has demonstrated a notable ability to facilitate neighbourhood regeneration. As a consequence, there has been an increase in the valuation of goods and properties within neighbourhoods characterized by a higher concentration of such breeding grounds.

Breeding grounds provide the space for experimentation since there is not much room for this elsewhere in Amsterdam. Creative incubators are becoming increasingly versatile and provide space for art, culture, social organizations and start-ups. These are places where artists, and creatives entrepreneurs can program and connect to the neighbourhood identity (Amsterdam Art Council, 2022). This outcome is noted as quite enjoyable for the locals, but also attractive for people who do not live in the specific neighbourhood. However, as a counterbalancing phenomenon, the influx of the creative

class often leads to the proliferation of trendy bars and temporary retail establishments, commonly referred to as pop-up shops (Bureau Broedplaatsen, 2016).

Peck (2011) argues that the breeding places are acting as bypasses of the real estate market of Amsterdam, instead of grounds fighting the inequalities of pricing. This led to a gradual economization of the cultural programs, turning them into tools to normalize the neoliberal urban canons, stimulating gentrification, Peck's entails. Breeding places in Amsterdam can take the role of a gentrification contributor since they are never permanent. They exist for several years, helping with the area's popularization and consequently rent increase. On this manner, during the interviews, Bart Stuart states that regeneration should be connected to the provision of fixed positions to people, making them feel safe and at home, while temporary amenities and strategies are likely to be connected to outcomes related to gentrification.

After discussing the issue of temporality with Bart Stuart, he shared his knowledge regarding a successful example of Amsterdam that ensures the longevity of artistic communal spaces. The area of Bajesdorp occupies a substantial part of a larger urban development zone in South Amsterdam (Fig. 6). Within this expanse, a collective of artists has undertaken the ambitious project of creating a multi-purpose building. What makes this initiative particularly intriguing is the encompassing novelty of the idea. Instead of repurposing old structures that can be demolished in the near future, artists are building a brand-new facility and thus ensuring that the new building will stay fixed on the land lot for a long time. This innovative venture accommodates diverse groups, including artists and other professionals who can co-create and live under the same roof (Stuart, 2023).



Figure 6 Amsterdam main districts and Location of Bajesdorp (cbs, 2020)

The current municipal ambitions are preserving the creative incubators and making new incubators possible to inhabit by offering affordable pricing. Therefore, the incubators should be financially and organizationally sound with no risks to their autonomy in order to remain sustainable (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2019). The underlying concept behind these endeavours is to foster robust and meaningful connections with the historical roots of the neighbourhood and its residents, rather than engendering exclusionary dynamics (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2017). From a social perspective, the breeding ground policies entail that everyone can be themselves and have a place. This requires that people

remain curious about each other, respect the differences and organize meetings, where discussions can be held. This is why the creative incubators can help in this process by taking the role of facilitators. The connection between individuals, groups and cultures, but also between the different areas of the city of Amsterdam is cherished (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2019). The incubators and their composition should authentically mirror the ongoing developments within the city.

One of the interesting examples in the context of Amsterdam that was shared during the interview sessions is the innovative approach of collaboration between artists and non-governmental agencies. Minouche Bester shares the approach of LOLA (Stichting Leegstand Solvers Amsterdam) which curates spaces for artists, startups, and budding entrepreneurs. These organizations undertake the responsibility of negotiating leases and managing rental arrangements. An illustrative case study is the transformation of Belmar, an office district slated for conversion into a mixed-use area comprising residential and office spaces. In response to scepticism from developers about the absence of young entrepreneurs from the locality, Lola took up the challenge to challenge this notion. Lola initiated the establishment of an office complex that accommodated a multitude of young residents from Belmar, enabling them to establish their individual enterprises. During the redevelopment phase spanning four to five years, these businesses were nurtured, enabling them to mature and become more self-sustaining, ultimately being in a position to afford standard rental rates. This initiative was complemented by substantial support mechanisms during the formative years of these entrepreneurial ventures. When operating within a well-structured collective or organization, such as LOLA in the context of Amsterdam, artists can benefit from enhanced visibility and support.

However, it has become apparent that the incubators have not yet achieved a comprehensive and accurate representation of both Amsterdam as a whole and the specific neighbourhoods in which they are situated (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2019). This situation arises from the feeling of exclusion experienced by certain minority groups. Therefore, it is imperative for art and culture to serve as unifying elements that extend invitations to a diverse array of individuals. In order to achieve this inclusivity and minimise gentrification negative consequences such as loss of belongingness, the new breeding spaces will endorse and apply to the Cultural Diversity Code. The code consists of a guideline list for embedding inclusiveness and cultural diversity in institutions of different characters. New and already existing spaces that want to become more inclusive can receive help from the municipality via deployed specialists. Economically, the incubators aim to establish connections with the business community and knowledge institutions, strengthen the neighbourhood economy and create employment vacancies (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2019).

Section 6: Value of arts and culture in the gentrified city

The dialogue about creativity in the city of Amsterdam has gained more popularity since Richard Florida attended the Westergasfabriek conference in September 2003. His main message was that people such as hippies and artists with unstable incomes that had previously been considered obstacles nowadays could be seen as potential contributors to the economy in the cities (Peck, 2011).

There is a level of economization of cultural policies since projects and sectors with higher financial revenue have been favoured. As Peck (2011) continues, it can be said that there is a present interweaving between cultural and economic policies in Amsterdam resulting in creative competitiveness. One of the benefits of art is the ability to reinforce the sense of community as well as stimulate and provoke the process of building resilience to inequality (Rubin et al., 2021). Arts can be used as an instrument in creative placemaking. This brings incentives such as an increased diversity mix

of participants, cross-boundary partnerships and economic attractiveness (Rubin et al., 2021). The municipality recognized the promotional opportunities at the intersection of culture and the economy, evident in the development of the Breeding places, fostering the mobile and culturally attuned population of Amsterdam, indicating the city's efforts to embrace its creative identity (Peck, 2011).

During one of the interviews, Carin Sturema has shared the resilience example of Ruigoord, located several kilometres away from Amsterdam. Ruigoord is a small village situated within an industrial zone (Fig. 6). Over the past four decades, this village has become home to a community of artists who have not only inhabited the space but also played a pivotal role in its sustained upkeep. These artists have built their lives and created art within this unique enclave, even overseeing the operation of the village's church. Remarkably, despite its organization and active community involvement, Ruigoord has not undergone gentrification. The artists have secured a long-term permit to manage the village and maintain an ongoing dialogue with the municipality, sometimes in collaboration and at other times in conflict. This dynamic relationship with the municipality has prevented a complete takeover, effectively safeguarding the community and its distinct character, making it a protected entity within the municipal landscape (Sturema, 2023).



Figure 7 Amsterdam main districts and Location of Ruigoord (cbs, 2020)

Since the beginning of 21st century there is an increase in the number of public investments in cultural amenities such as museums, galleries or breeding places (Grodach et al., 2016). Influenced by the work of Florida, many city officials have been prioritizing small art amenities serving a variety of interests that can attract skilled workers ready to regenerate the neighbourhood. This approach is being used by property developers, businesses and policymakers (Grodach et al., 2016). Education, care, art and culture are pointed out in the Structure Vision of Amsterdam 2040 report as integral parts of the urban fabric promoting interaction, participation and emancipation. Social amenities, such as these, play a crucial role in advancing societal development and serving as a safeguard for individuals vulnerable to the risk of marginalization and exclusion (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2011).

According to the observation of Carin Sturema, mentioned during the interviews, the moment artists cross the gentrification barrier is when they are finally given a place to work by the government. Artists, eager to utilize their newfound space, often transform it into unique cultural venues like

neighbourhood cinemas, underground stages for urban music, or art galleries. When these artistic endeavours become successful and draw attention, the original purpose of gentrification is achieved. Consequently, the artists are displaced from the area. Thus, artists find themselves instrumentalized in this transitional phase, as they navigate the tension between the space they require for their work and the precarious nature of their presence in gentrifying neighbourhoods, often recognizing that they are in a situation they did not initially choose but are compelled to accept due to the scarcity of suitable spaces and materials, Sturema concludes on this topic.

Following a tragic incident involving a child, an artists' community collaborated with the child's parents and family to organize a memorial, Carin Sturema shares in the semi-structured conversation. This heartfelt gesture led to a profound connection between the artists' community and the local residents of Amsterdam. In recognition of their close ties and the support they garnered from Amsterdam's residents, the artists were granted a space to further develop their art projects. This newfound alliance with the local community significantly solidified their presence, making it unlikely for them to be displaced. The strong backing of Amsterdam's residents serves as a protective force, effectively safeguarding the artists' continued presence. This scenario underscores the artists' remarkable ability to secure space through their connections and contributions to the broader Amsterdam community, with the city eventually recognizing and accepting their value and place within the urban landscape, Sturema concludes.

The creative industry is indeed an important engine for renewal and innovation for the economy but also for the social sector, bringing innovation to the city, as stated in the Structure Vision of Amsterdam 2040. Amsterdam as a global player in the field of culture not only requires world-class facilities but also serious investments in cultural amenities as basic provisioners in the neighbourhoods. Special attention is paid to the laboratory function of culture. The city 2040 vision document promises to offer sufficient space for experimentation and support of young talents since talent development is being metaphorized as the hummus from which world-class can emerge. Culture, creativity and high-yield sectors have the tendency to reinforce each other because services thrive better in a culturally enriched environment (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2011).

Another promising initiative is the publication of the "Expeditie Vrije Ruimte 2020-2021" policy document. It highlights the importance of a social space, which can be independent and welcoming to people from different backgrounds, providing them with the opportunity to develop and engage in cultural and non-commercial activities. The expert team has come up with several recommendations including the separation of the Free Space from the market forces, thus, allowing people to shape the free space in accordance with their values. Prioritizing attention to residents who previously had less access to such places and stimulating mutual learning is a further goal of the free spaces. These physical spaces are taking areas of crafts, arts, culture, circular economy and self-management in order to experiment with the urban fabric and share the community lifestyle with the rest of the residents of Amsterdam in the most empathic way possible. The free space is described as autonomous, non-commercial and outside of the institutional control mechanisms (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2020 b).

The lack of inclusivity, especially in the regenerated neighbourhoods, reinforces the social division between the gentrifiers and the original inhabitants. This risk is connected to the theory of people losing a sense of belonging which can lead to displacement. The city, realising the potential of art being a binding bridge between communities, has serious commitments towards the growth of art and culture in the neighbourhoods and attention for makers, more room for experimentation, broadening of cultural education as well as talent development and participation (Municipality of Amsterdam,

2020). The compliance with the new Diversity and Inclusion Code creates a cultural and creative sector in which everyone feels welcome, regardless of their cultural background, gender, sexual preference, disability, age or economic status. The objective of this code is to transform Amsterdam into a robust, welcoming, and inclusive cultural metropolis, offering opportunities to residents of all neighbourhoods at various times throughout the day. (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2020). This perspective can be linked to Jacobs' theory (1961), which advocates for the development of a multifunctional and diverse city that maintains a constant level of activity throughout the day, regardless of the time. The city officials highlight the importance of creating an environment where everyone can come into contact with art and culture, allowing them to sufficiently identify with the existing cultural amenities such as venues, museums or theatres and therefore feel a sense of belongingness (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2020).

For example, as discussed with Carin Sturema, in New West (highlighted in Fig. 8), there is a notable community well-being program in place. Policymakers have initiated a collaboration with a newly formed network of artists acting as a foundation. This collaboration serves the purpose of ensuring that policymakers are attuned to the values and needs of the community, effectively bridging the gap between art, policy, and residents. The community well-being program extends its influence by engaging with local sources of funding, such as local cooperative banks and various cooperative enterprises including fashion shops and supermarkets, which is an important asset recognised by two of the interviewees. Governments, social organizations, companies, and residents function as coequal participants and allies. Moreover, it has been realised that equal development could be connected to unequal investments (Covenant Alliantie Samen Nieuw-West, 2023). These partnerships enable the community to maintain control and ownership over its affairs, preventing external economic interests from taking precedence, Carin Sturema concluded during the semi-structured interview.



Figure 8 Amsterdam main districts (cbs, 2020)

In order to protect local people, including artists, from the gentrification effects and the lack of available space it is important to include or designate a quantifiable area, measured in square meters, dedicated to artist spaces or other vocational activities, same as the agreements that each area should have at least 30% of social housing. This stipulation must be an integral part of the initial business case

and not merely an afterthought. An example can be the RobinWood project in Amsterdam (Fig. 9), where a fixed number of units in a big building complex were reserved for artists and this was included in the tender document, which shows how important initial planning is, as entailed by Minouche Bester during the online interview session. In relation to this idea, the municipality of Amsterdam has set up an Iron Stock agreement- a minimum number of studios and flats. It is a fact that the demand for studios is times greater than the actual supply. In order for the breeding grounds to continue their existence, the municipality is realising that it should give priority to parties with nonprofit cultural-social goals such as cooperatives and self-organizations (Amsterdam Art Council, 2022). The promotion of cultural activities such as exhibitions, fests, workshops or plays express devotion and contribute to the diversity of the metropolis and its inhabitants, despite their previous cultural engagement, background or origin (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2011). The city of Amsterdam recognises the impact that arts have on the quality of life and the attractiveness of the city. With their imagination and ability to design, artists contribute to the solutions of urban issues such as unappealing city sites or bringing social issues to a bigger mass of people (Amsterdam Art Council, 2022).



Figure 9 Amsterdam main districts and Location of Robin Wood (cbs, 2020)

On the other side, during the interview session, Bart Stuart wanted to highlight that while artists can be perceived as contributors to some of the gentrification mitigation measures “...it is reductionist to view art solely as a means of addressing issues within a neoliberal framework. Such an idea limits the multifaceted nature of artistic expression and engagement...”. Two professional opinions from the interviews agree that it is important to recognize that not all artists are inclined or equipped to contribute in the specific manner of gentrification or urban regeneration. “Not every artist can be an agent of social justice. It is important to note that a person should be truly interested in listening and going outside to engage with the people. The idea is to do something with the people instead of making something for them” Minouche Bester concludes on the topic. Sometimes artists require dedicated studio environments to pursue their creative thoughts, with no aspirations for collaborative or community-oriented work. It is crucial to avoid the misconception that a single blueprint approach fits all artists or encapsulates the entirety of their aspirations and contributions, Bart Stuart concluded in his interview.

Section 7: The changes in Amsterdam’s urban fabric

The comparison between the maps in Figure 10 reveals a notable shift in the distribution of cultural facilities within the city of Amsterdam in under a decade. These changes are evident in a gradual manner across nearly all neighbourhoods of the city. Particularly significant alterations are observable in the Northern, Southern, and South-Western regions of Amsterdam. The concentration of cultural facilities depicted in the maps can be correlated with Figure 5, which illustrates the proliferation of breeding places within the city.

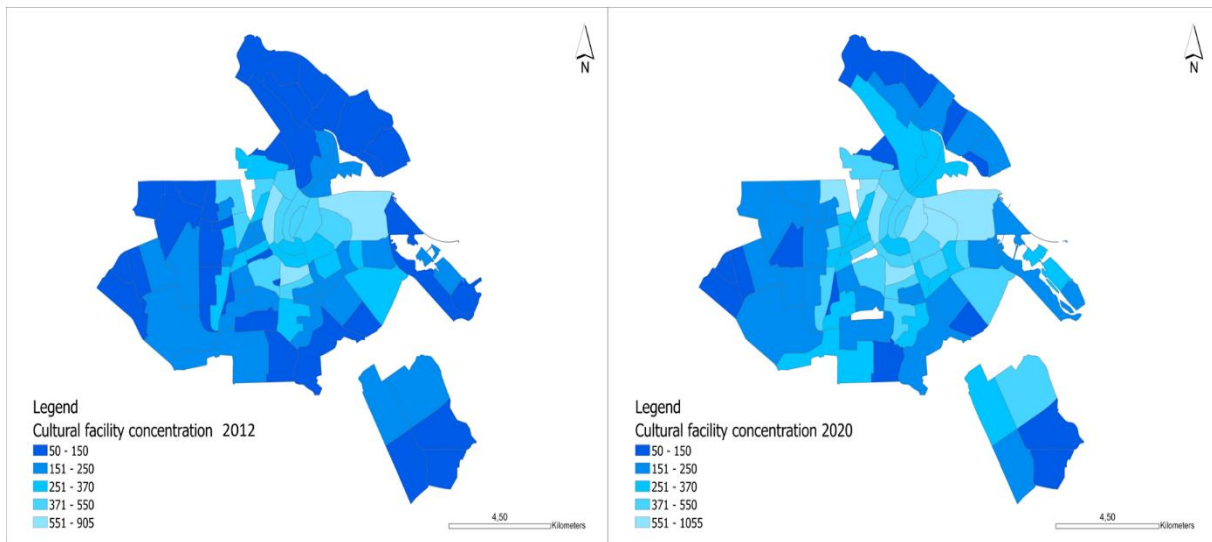


Figure 10 Comparison between cultural facility concentration in Amsterdam (Delchev, 2023)

The emergence of the creative class is intrinsically linked to the proliferation of trendy coffee shops and boutique restaurants, as posited by the theories of Jacobs (1961) and Florida (2002). These hospitality amenities tend to attract greater interest among people, consequently contributing to the gentrification process. Therefore, the maps detailing the distribution of hospitality services (Fig. 11) are being scrutinized. As anticipated, a discernible correlation exists between the dispersion patterns of cultural facilities and the expansion of hospitality services across the city. Notably, the neighbourhoods experiencing the most significant changes are often identical or exhibit striking similarities in both contexts.

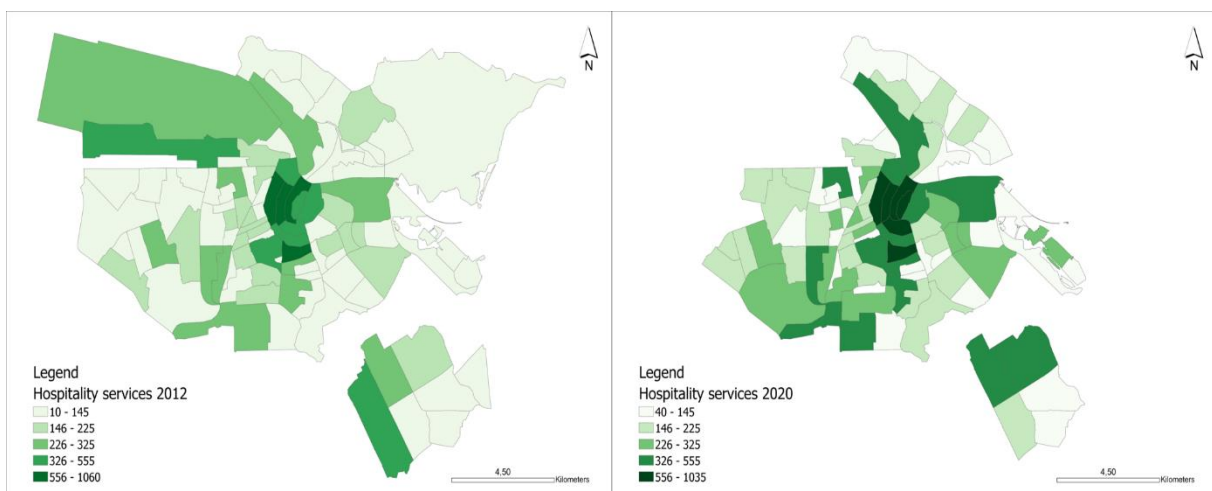


Figure 11 Comparison between hospitality services distribution in Amsterdam (Delchev, 2023)

The maps in Figure 12 clearly illustrate the ongoing process of gentrification in Amsterdam. In 2012, neighbourhoods in the city centre still had a relatively higher proportion of low-income residents. However, the current maps reveal a significant transformation, with low-income residents being pushed to the outskirts of the city. Notably, neighbourhoods with a lower concentration of low-income inhabitants tend to exhibit a higher percentage of cultural facilities and hospitality services. This comparison underscores a clear and interconnected relationship between culture, recreational spaces, and specific demographic groups, which are being targeted as part of this gentrification process. The displacement of low-income residents towards the city's periphery is indicative of the shifting urban landscape, where cultural amenities and recreational venues increasingly define the character of central neighbourhoods.

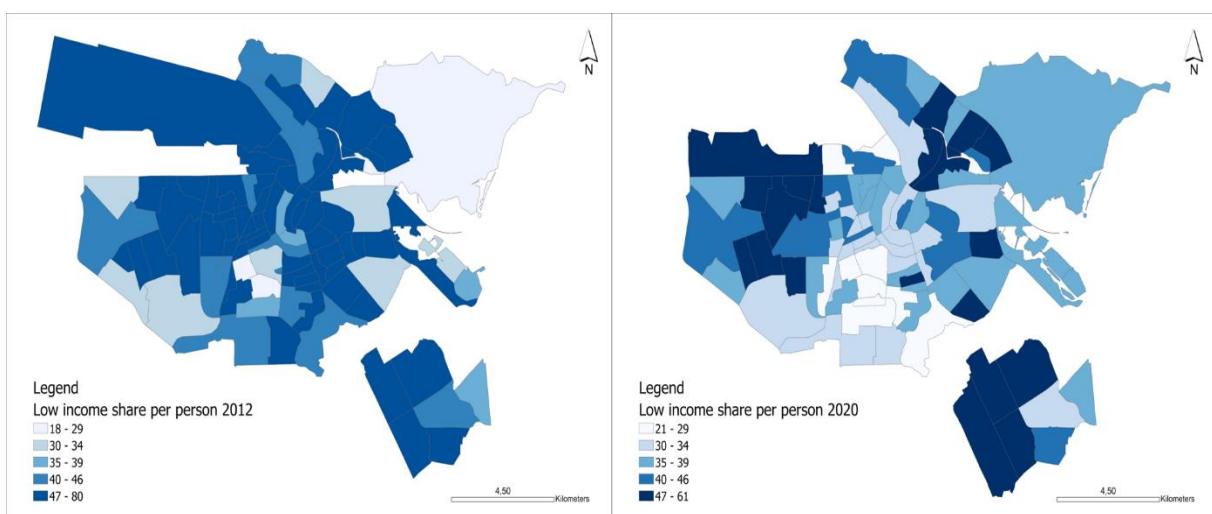


Figure 12 Comparison between the concentration of low-income individuals in Amsterdam (Delchev, 2023)

The “Tendrapport Stad 2016” of Amsterdam states that the share of social rental homes in the city is decreasing, which consequently can be a gentrification contributor. This can be also noticed in the comparison between the two maps in figure 13. The share has sharply fallen down in the West and in the Western ring zone. In the East, the neighbourhoods with the most visible decrease are Dapperbuurt and the Indische Buurt (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2016 a). These neighbourhoods have been mentioned as areas with an accelerating rate of gentrification (see Sakizlioglu and Lees, 2020). It is important to note that the fall of the social rental share does not mean that there are fewer rental homes. It is a sign that many new amenities were built in a certain neighbourhood. Up to 2016, however, the absolute number of social rental homes decreased for Amsterdam as a whole (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2016 a).

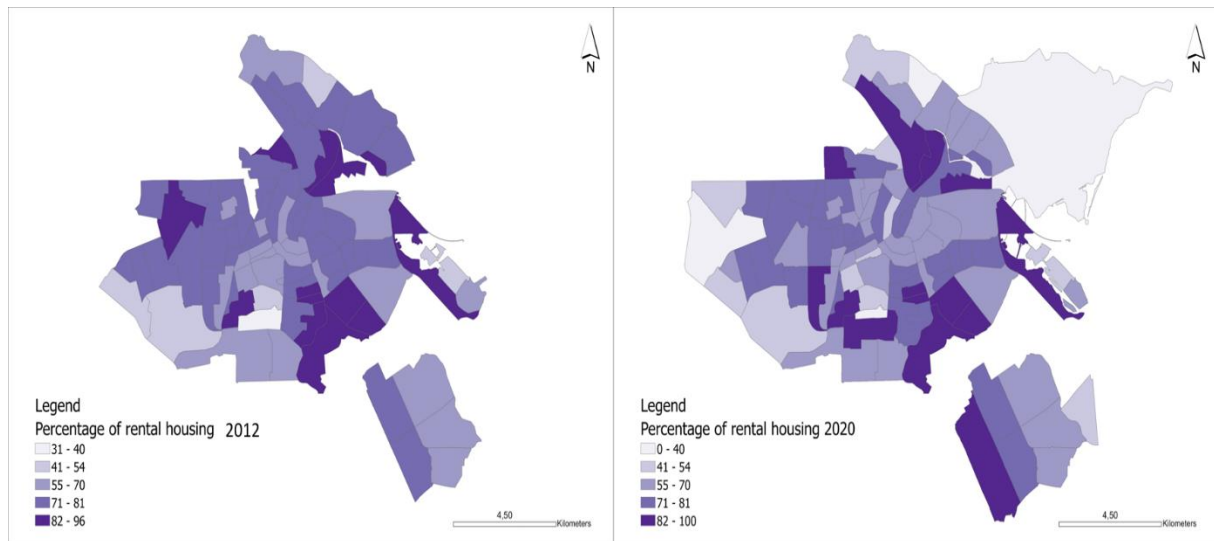


Figure 13 Comparison between rental housing distribution in Amsterdam (2023)

The main findings from the analysis of Amsterdam's housing landscape, as presented in the "Trendrapport Stad 2016" and related policy sources, underscore the critical implications of gentrification on the city's social fabric and housing dynamics. The decrease in the availability of social rental housing, particularly in the Western and Western ring zones, has emerged as a prominent factor contributing to gentrification. Notably, the declining share of social rental homes reflects on the transformation of neighbourhoods with the introduction of new amenities serving the interest of the middle class of Amsterdam, supporting the theory of gentrification (look at Sakizlioglu and Uitermark, 2014). The prolonged waiting times for social rental housing, often exceeding a decade, have compelled some low-income families to either exit the city or forego their hopes of moving to Amsterdam entirely. An overarching concern is the rapid escalation of expensive rents, outpacing the growth of medium-priced rents, and particularly pronounced in popular areas such as the Centre, South, and East. Some segments of the population, falling within the income range of €36,165 to €50,000, find themselves ineligible for social rental homes yet financially constrained when it comes to purchasing their own residences (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2016 a). Therefore, the issues surrounding gentrification persist and continue to shape the housing landscape of Amsterdam in a city aspiring to global status, characterized by its diverse population of 178 registered nationalities (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2011). In order to promote equality, agreements have been made with the city housing associations in relation to the maintenance, sale and liberalization of social rental homes, aiming at the disappearance of the social rental sector (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2016 a). These agreements are aimed at the affordability of housing for low and middle homes in order to maintain a balanced distribution in the city. This might take the idea of tenders or agreements with developers. Zoning changes can be incorporated, considering relocating schemes such as encouraging people with larger homes to move to smaller ones in order to promote a fair equilibrium (Municipality of Amsterdam, 2020).

As a conclusion of this chapter, the comparison of maps depicting cultural facilities, hospitality services, and rental housing in Amsterdam highlights a significant shift in the city's urban landscape. Over the past decade, gentrification has been evident as cultural facilities expanded from the city centre to the outskirts, particularly impacting the Northern, Southern, and South-Western regions. The emergence of trendy hospitality venues, aligned with the creative class theory, has further fuelled this process. This transformation has reshaped neighbourhoods, with low-income residents increasingly pushed to the city's periphery. Central districts now exhibit a greater concentration of high-priced

accommodations, cultural and recreational amenities, while experiencing reduced availability of rental housing. This interplay between culture, demographics, and gentrification underscores Amsterdam's evolving urban identity.



5.0 Conclusion

Section 1: Research question answers

The aim of this thesis was to find the relationship between art and gentrification and whether art can co-exist with neighbourhood regeneration strategies, mitigating the negative consequences of gentrification. In relation to the main question of the research, investigating how art is connected to gentrification, it can be concluded that the relationship between arts and gentrification in Amsterdam is multifaceted, affecting several stakes. The arts play a pivotal role in the preservation of culture, a matter of utmost significance during periods of urban transformation. This preservation effort safeguards community values and helps alleviate the sense of dispossession. Cultural preservation is often stimulated through cultural festivals, events, or gatherings that preserve the community's heritage. These endeavours foster engagement and mitigate the adverse consequences of displacement. The appeal of authenticity introduced by the creative community is frequently perceived as a business opportunity, enticing investors with collaboration proposals. The breeding spaces in Amsterdam can be regarded as ventures that serve the interests of both policymakers and artists, facilitating the mixed use of facilities. Regrettably, these spaces often have a limited lifespan. In order to be provided with space and materials, artists can readily become tools in the hands of the state-led gentrification which is strongly supported by the market forces. They may find themselves marginalized after contributing to neighbourhood regeneration. This highlights that art and artists do not initiate gentrification; instead, they function as instruments. Thus, artists are not the hand that pulls the trigger but are used as the bullet in the gun of gentrification.

The research that focused on the case of Amsterdam proves that gentrification is a part of a complex matter, that includes diverse forces of influence. The city has implemented a range of policies, encompassing both social mixing and cultural initiatives that act as conditions causing gentrification. In relation to Sub question 1 "What are the main conditions causing gentrification and how does art relate to them?", gentrification, as observed, involves multiple stakeholders, including large corporations, creative entrepreneurs, cultural institutions, and urban planners. It often commences with the concerns of local residents regarding issues such as safety, poverty, and infrastructure deficiencies, prompting government intervention. Subsequently, gentrification is embraced as a solution by the government, with urban planners supporting and financing the process.

However, the primary beneficiaries are typically the government (through increased land values) and real estate owners. The neoliberal system, connecting the government to the market forces, creates financial incentives for the gentrified areas that act as an enabler of gentrification. The state implements policies supporting breeding places in Amsterdam which result in the aestheticization of the urban fabric, contributing to the popularization of the area. Consequently, artists are instrumentalized in the gentrification process by the government, serving as key agents in the beautification and transformation of neglected areas into trendy urban hubs, leading to gentrification.

Art and culture have been intensively used in the urban strategies of Amsterdam. Considering the neoliberal epoch that we currently live in, as an answer to Sub-question 2 "What are the consequences of art being used in urban policy-making both in past and present?", it can be said that the effects could be both positive and negative.

On a positive note, incorporating art into urban policies fosters a vibrant art scene, attracting many creative individuals that enrich the city culture and stimulate the creative economy. Consequently, this attracts a higher volume of tourists to the city and, thus, increases the economic revenues. The presence of new cultural amenities is connected to the appearance of new hospitality places, which in theory is connected to the regeneration of the urban fabric. Art-based initiatives often engage in local

communities which fosters a sense of ownership. The inclusion of art in urban strategies can act as a bridge between different groups of people and be a helpful tool aiming at social cohesion. Arts is a key part of the current Amsterdam urban policies, because it is a means of social integration, bringing people together through shared cultural experiences.

One of the downsides likely to appear as a consequence of art-driven urban strategies is gentrification. The attraction of new people and businesses has subsequently proven to lead to the rise of all costs in the neighbourhood. The loss of authenticity and the extensive commercialization of art can be also considered as a possible negative outcome. The extensive beautification of an area, without careful consideration of the local values, can lead to a loss of belongingness and a self-driven displacement of long-time residents.

In relation to the third sub-question regarding successful art-inclusive initiatives that have the potential to mitigate some of the negative gentrification consequences, I have found that every successful initiative exhibits a profound community-centric orientation. It is crucial to demonstrate genuine care, empathy, and compassion towards the diverse demographic groups in Amsterdam. The cultivation of social cohesion among urban planners, non-governmental organizations, and municipal authorities is a pivotal asset that necessitates extensive planning. In this context, culture and creativity emerge as valuable tools. They serve the purpose of transforming an area into a more accessible place for a bigger variety of people while preserving the residents' sense of ownership and belonging. Collaboration between art and culture and the local community becomes paramount, underscoring the importance of upholding the neighbourhood's core values.

Considering the lifespan of the breeding places, non-governmental organizations are an important asset that engages in ongoing dialogues with both municipal authorities and real estate developers, securing extensive premises for the creative class within the new district after the regenerating works are finished. Successful mitigation measures may encompass the establishment of mixed-use spaces for living and working, collective ownership models, negotiations for affordability, and above all, the preservation and celebration of cultural heritage.

Currently, there are no financial mechanisms, providing benefits to the artists for their contribution to the area regeneration. One of the main conclusions, derived from the professional interviews is that every new urban plan should include strategic negotiations for affordability. Artist often prioritizes their creative pursuits over considerations of their impact on the local community. The idea that has not yet been realised in Amsterdam is the establishment of pre-agreements that could manifest as a form of reciprocal compensation for the transformation an artist group contributes to. For instance, it could entail a financial benefit reflecting the contribution not only to their own workspace but also to the overall neighbourhood.

Section 2: Summary/ Discussion

Based on the conceptual model, the conclusion drawn from this thesis is that artists cannot be classified as the primary initiators or as enabling forces of gentrification, because gentrification in Amsterdam is a state-led process, supported by area developers, private businesses and real estate. They consequently create policies and strategies, acting as enabling conditions of gentrification. Artists, just like people from many different occupational sectors, can be classified as secondary gentrifiers who are looking for affordable places to inhabit. It is important to avoid characterizing arts or artists as the

main drivers of gentrification because, in reality, gentrification-induced policies serve as a facilitator for artists to reach a broader audience.

In the case of Amsterdam, gentrification is revealed to be a state-driven process encompassing a multitude of complex processes and repercussions, unfortunately disproportionately affecting minority groups and predominantly low-income households. The principal actors driving gentrification, as indicated by the research findings, include real estate agents, active residents, government entities, private investors or business developers who are using the creative society as an aestheticization tool in their urban plans.

Artists, on the other hand, are often instrumentalized and attracted by the appealing prospect of securing their own workspace and resources provided by the breeding grounds in the city. While some artists may realize they are being used as tools, financial constraints and the unaffordability of land compel them to agree with the terms of the neoliberal paradigm, which serves as the primary driver of development in contemporary Amsterdam. Nevertheless, artists undeniably influence the urban fabric in various ways, such as through aesthetic transformations of neighbourhoods, creating vibrant cultural hubs with entrepreneurial activities, hosting engaging events and festivals that draw diverse crowds, and fostering new community bonds.

The relationship between art and gentrification can be found at different layers in between the social and urban fabric. Creativity can serve as a bridge for connecting people, facilitating dialogue, understanding, and community building. The collaboration between urban planners and artists deserves greater recognition and appreciation, especially given that Amsterdam's evolution will continue and new contemporary strategies have to deal with the lack of space and land affordability. Maintaining the core values of the city's diverse population while adapting to new social, political, and economic trends is crucial. This knowledge is valuable for the city's future, aiding those dedicated to building a strong, inclusive community in a sustainable, mixed urban environment free from social tensions.

This thesis underscores the importance of inclusivity supported by arts and culture, thoughtful urban planning, and the establishment of connections among various stakeholders willing to collaborate. Based on the semi-structured interviews, it can be said that by leveraging art and effective negotiation, the city can move away from strictly profit-driven principles and explore alternative sources of revenue that promote social cohesion. The policies analysed portray Amsterdam as a city with the potential to successfully integrate culture and creativity without compromising the well-being of its residents. Achieving a delicate equilibrium between nurturing the arts and addressing the social and economic well-being of all inhabitants poses a fundamental challenge for urban planners and policymakers not only in Amsterdam but also in cities characterized by thriving artistic communities. While certain current practices such as the temporal breeding places may still exhibit market-oriented tendencies and be viewed as negative gentrification actions, future urban planners have the potential to incorporate the creative industry in the most constructive manner possible, similar to the examples provided by the interviewees in this Thesis.

Considering the rich cultural scene that keeps developing towards the outskirts, the diverse population and the ambitious urban plans of the case study area, it can be said that Amsterdam is a true representation of a gentrified city, representing the Global West. Based on the goals, embedded in the new policies of Amsterdam, the interviews conducted and the map comparison included in this thesis, there are several notes that deserve to be taken into consideration by others.

- Amsterdam has shown the importance of investing in cultural spaces, while planners and NGOs have indicated the ambition to search for novel streams of income when it comes to creativity in the renewed neighbourhood. This incorporates the creation of more cultural facilities, including breeding places, community spaces and small businesses belonging to the hospitality sector.
- Examples such as negotiating for affordable communal spaces, sustainable zoning, the introduction of an iron stock or pre-agreements with contractors to keep certain amenities untouched, due to their communal values, are actions that others can learn from.
- The new urban strategies of Amsterdam have shown attention to detail, specifically tailoring the regeneration actions in order to keep the community identity unchanged.
- Amsterdam has shown great interest in the creative society, binding some of the socially engaged artists into the reinforcement of citizen participation.

The innovative ways of communication gasp various groups of people, stimulating vibrancy and diversity. The flexibility of the urban fabric and the collaborative approaches, used in planning in order to minimise negative gentrification consequences, are tools that other cities or urban planners can take examples of.

Section 3: Reflection

One of the most prominent limitations of the constraint regarding time availability. The time research phase was mainly conducted during the summer holidays, which affected the amount of people willing to participate in the interviews, due to the summer holidays. There were also unexpected dropouts, which could have been valuable input for this thesis. A further issue of data collection was the unavailability of policy documents in English. Consequently, online translation software was continuously used in order to gather the information. This has extended the duration of the research, causing time pressures. This has limited the number of policies analysed. Data, considering past policies in the case study area and how they have resulted in the present urban fabric is currently missing. This experience reinforced the importance of linguistic skills in conducting research in multilingual contexts. The challenges faced during the data collection might have affected the coherence of the storyline of this document. As a self-reflection, I would highlight the importance of agenda planning and a realistic research schedule.

A noteworthy attribute of this study is the straightforwardness of the research question, which served as a foundation for the precise and methodically structured conclusion. The multiple methods of data collection have contributed to a steady and organised result chapter, evidential findings, which are innovative and have not been mentioned in other research about Amsterdam. This paper exhibits dual perspectives, scrutinizing both affirmative and critical arguments concerning policies, the impacts of gentrification, and the creative contributions of artists. Moreover, all of the ethical considerations have been respected, making the findings of this thesis credible and trustworthy. This piece of academic literature contributes to the lack of previously published articles, focusing on the specific situation of artists and the creative society in the gentrification mechanism. The role of artists has been specifically investigated, providing additional knowledge about the topic of gentrification in the case of Amsterdam. The examples that have been included and the majority of sources are no more than 15 years old, which highlights the relevance of the information. This thesis contributed by publishing new knowledge, agreeing that art and creativity can co-exist with neighbourhood regeneration in the city of Amsterdam. This was previously a niche topic that had not been actively researched.

Section 4: Recommendations

The findings of this thesis serve as a solid foundation for future research on how urban planners should incorporate art into their strategies. The valuable insights and recommendations to future planners can provide a starting point for further exploration. Academic research, highlighting the main question of “What kind of arts and artistic endeavours are most effective in mitigating negative gentrification consequences, protecting community values and resilience?” can be a potential contribution to the current findings, derived from this Thesis. An interesting approach would be discovering whether certain businesses can contribute to the artistic society and the local inhabitants respectively in the case of Amsterdam.

Additionally, there is room for research with the final goal of establishing a monitoring system that neighbourhood officials or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) can use to mitigate the negative impacts of gentrification. It could serve as an early warning mechanism, enabling proactive interventions to protect the interests of existing residents and the cultural integrity of neighbourhoods undergoing transformation. The premises of future academic research should be on establishing different ways of communication and participation amongst local inhabitants in a gentrified area. Thus, a research question can be “What are the current communication channels between urban planners and local inhabitants in the gentrified areas of Amsterdam, and how they can be improved in order to mitigate negative gentrification consequences?”.

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Appendix 1: Form of consent



Interview Consent Form

Research Title: “Art as the bullet in the gentrification gun. The case of Amsterdam”

Main researcher: Yordan P. Delchev

Other participants: Dr. Gwenda van der Vaart (main thesis supervisor)

Purpose of the study: This Master’s thesis focused on the relationship between gentrification, art and the creative industry. The collaboration between planners, policymakers and artists is an area of main interest to this paper. The aim is to learn to what extent is art connected to gentrification and how it can be used in order to minimize certain negative effects. By document analysis, mapping and interviewing both city planners and representatives of the artist’s society, this thesis will have different points of view which will strengthen the accuracy of the results. The goal of this thesis is to contribute to the awareness of modern city planners. It will provide them with information about inclusive decisions that consider the importance of balance between people, market and art. I would be more than thrilled to have a short conversation in regard to my research.

By signing this form of consent, the participants in the interview **agree** to the following conditions:

- The upcoming interview will take approximately 30 minutes.
- As an interviewee every person has been given sufficient information about the topic.
- Participation in this research is absolutely on a voluntary basis.
- The interviewee should be aware of the fact that he/she can always decide not to answer certain questions and has the full right to stop the interviewing in case of a certain discomfort, regarding the questions or the time consumed.
- The interview will be recorded and additional notes can be taken during the conversation.
- Confidentiality is a main consideration in this research. Thus, the participant has the full right to remain anonymous.
- As a participant in the interview, each person that was interviewed has the right to see the transcribed interview data and ask for corrections.
- The access to the transcript will be available to a limited amount of people, including the main researcher, the thesis supervisor and the interviewee.
- The voice recording of the conversation will be deleted after being transcribed.
- All of the listed above have been carefully read and all considerations have been understood.

Name of interviewer: Yordan P. Delchev

Name of interviewee:

Date:

Signature:

Appendix 2: Interview Questions

Interview Questions

I have already provided you with the form of consent via e-mail as consent of your willingness to be part of this interview. I would once again reassure you that your identity can remain anonymous and that your name will not be used without your permission. In case you do not recognize some of the questions as an area of your expertise, you are more than free to skip them. Finally, I would like to tell you that at any moment you can end this interview without further explanation needed.

1. Having said all that, can you tell me a bit more about yourself? What is your current area of occupation and which are the primary responsibilities that you are most excited about?
2. How long have you been doing this and what are the people that you are most often working with?
3. What are your personal observations and thoughts on the process of gentrification in Amsterdam?
4. In the case of Amsterdam do you consider gentrification a positive or a negative process?
5. In your opinion, what are the main reasons causing gentrification and who are the responsible figures inducing it? Do you happen to have a concrete example?
6. What do you consider as an adverse effect connected to the process of gentrification?
7. To what extent do art and creative hubs contribute to the process of gentrification?
8. Do you consider arts and creative movements as gentrification contributors or as mitigators?
9. What are the tools that can be used to mitigate gentrification?
10. Can you think of a successful policy example that has incorporated arts and culture in the regeneration of a neighbourhood?
11. If you were about to give a piece of advice to the current city planners and policymakers what would it be?