

Social impact mitigation of state led-gentrification in creative city policy

A case study of the Havenstraat area in Oud-Zuid, Amsterdam

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Abstract

Amidst a housing shortage, the municipality of Amsterdam is committed to redevelop one of their urban fringes into a new mixed-use neighborhood, featuring a mix of tenure with room for both retail and creative space. In a neo-liberal and financially tight market, public and private actors need to balance their goals. Through creative city policy, both short- and long-term goals are pursued, striving to preserve creative space in places where economic incentive would leave no room. This bachelor thesis focusses focus on the goals and strategies of the municipality of Amsterdam in urban development, and how social impacts are dealt with. The redevelopment of the Havenstraat area is used as a case study to answer the subsequent research questions. Professionals in the field of urban planning were interviewed to share their perception on the process, providing qualitative data to answer the main research question; How do professionals perceive the social impacts of creative city policies on the Havenstraat area in Amsterdam? Through semi structured interviews, qualitative data was coded and interpreted to reach the following conclusion: The perception of urban professionals on the social impacts of creative city policies in the Havenstraat area reflects the need for formalization of inclusive and adaptable social impact mitigation policy. While striving for integration of economic, cultural and creative policy, social impact mitigation is vested in tacit knowledge and ad-hoc measures that are subject to project duration. Finally, this thesis recommends revisiting the Havenstraat project as a case study once the project is finished, as professionals view it as a precedent for social impact mitigation in creative city policy.

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1. Introduction

In Oud-Zuid, a district of Amsterdam known for its expensive housing and high-income levels, a colorful, rugged, and industrial place has been designated to make room to supply the city with more housing and retail spaces. After decades of legal battles between the municipal boards and the locals, the fight is over and the last people have been ordered to vacate the Havenstraat area (Raad van State, 2021). In this small dot, a handful of misfits have been able to follow their creative endeavors, from special effect studios to building harpsichords. Unfortunately, the need for these creative specialties can become invisible in the shadow cast by the current national housing shortage, which is especially dire in a metropolitan region like Amsterdam where gentrification tends to wipe these fringes of the urban landscape. The concept of gentrification, first identified by Ruth Glass in 1964, describes the displacement of working-class populations by middle-class newcomers due to housing market dynamics. Neil Smith (1979) later argued that gentrification is driven by both consumer preferences and influential non-consumer actors such as developers and government bodies. Through state-led gentrification, urban policy aims to mix social tenure, to mitigate socio-economic disparities in neighborhoods. This paradigm was followed by the rise of creative city policy, inspired by Florida (2002). The integration of creative and cultural value through creative city policy is evident in many major Dutch cities (Marlet and Van Woerkens, 2007), and increasingly adopted into the urban growth models (Faludi, 2019). The success of these policies largely depends on municipal efforts to evaluate and support cultural activities within urban redevelopment, determining which creative aspects are preserved. Social impacts such as displacement and rising costs from urban redevelopment, can often lead to community resistance (Vanclay, 2002). The mitigation of social impacts (Vanclay, 2015) calls for continuous evaluation and assessment of urban projects. To ensure projects that are highly influenced by the context, these dynamics stress for municipalities to create inclusive policies, allowing for more effective and socially equitable spatial interventions (Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer, 2009; Vanclay, 2002; Anguelovski, 2015). In what manner the municipality of Amsterdam carries out this role/responsibility is the focus of this research. This thesis aims to comprehend the municipality's role in gentrification and assess how it deals with the social impacts that arise out of their approach to urban redevelopment. The municipality's role is assessed through the perception of professionals, with a background in urban planning, that share experience working on the Havenstraat project. To delineate the focus, the following research question and sub-questions were devised: How do professionals perceive the social impacts of creative city policies on the Havenstraat area in Amsterdam?

- Sub question one: What are the goals and strategies of the municipality of Amsterdam in the redevelopment of the Havenstraat area?
- Sub question two: How do professionals experience the social impacts of the redevelopment of the Havenstraat area?
- Sub question three: What policies are set to mitigate the negative impacts?

1.1 Structure

Firstly, the theoretical framework discusses the intricate relationship between the main concepts of the thesis: Gentrification, creative city policy and social impacts. Thereafter the methodology section discusses which qualitative data collection methods were used in this research, as well as how data was interpreted and managed. Next, the results are analyzed and discussed. Finally, the main findings are presented and a conclusion is drawn, after which suggestions are made for future research.

2. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework presents the concepts and theories that are relevant for this thesis. The following sections will discuss the concepts of State-led gentrification, creative city policies, and social impact. Finally, the relations between the concepts introduced in this part are visualized in a conceptual model.

2.1 State led gentrification

Ruth Glass (1964) first coined the word gentrification in her book: *London: Aspects of Change*. She observed the process by which working-class citizens were replaced by middle-class citizens and displaced over other parts of the city, as a result of housing market dynamics. Gentrification is a powerful word (Slater, 2012). “As Ruth Glass intended, “gentrification” simply yet very powerfully captures the class inequalities and injustices created by capitalist urban land markets and policies”. Urban investments in the built environment transform the buildings in an urban area, displacing the inhabitants who can no longer afford the location. Neil Smith (1979) proposed that the world would enter a stage where gentrification would be a movement of the middle and upper class in the city. This capital force would push the less financially capable classes towards more distant locations. While this force is driven by consumer preference, Smith stresses the importance of non-consumer actors like developers and governmental institutions in the process. Governmental institutions create regional and neighborhood policies that intersect with each other when it comes to state-led gentrification (Hochstenbach, 2016). Most of the gentrification policies have been pushed for goals of mixing social tenure, to disperse lower income groups over neighborhoods to limit the negative socio-economic effects of having too many lower income groups together in a neighborhood (Peck, 2005). These policies are used to reach certain goals. The national government sets goals, and the local government adopts instruments, like gentrification through urban renewal, to reach these goals (Teernstra, 2015). The involvement of these institutional actors, like the government and the municipality, has increased over the past few decades (Hawkworth and Smith, 2001). However, due to the neo-liberalization of the market, local governments are dependent on other actors, like housing associations or project developers, to reach their goals (Teernstra, 2015). Private actors incentivize the economic gain that can be obtained from gentrification and influence the policies set to reach state-set goals. Although market-driven gentrification is evident, there is some pushback from the current paradigm, inspired by urban planners like Richard Florida.

2.2 Creative city policy

The global trend of the last two decades on urban governance has been led by concepts drawn from Richard Florida's book: *Rise of the Creative Class* (2002). Florida's concepts viewed the creative class as a valuable resource essential for urban growth. Higher levels of this form of human capital bring value and growth, which is evident in major Dutch cities (Marlet and Van Woerkens, 2007). In the wake of Florida's theories, a global trend has emerged where the new urban paradigm has included these creative policies in its growth model (Faludi, 2019). Although the creative class brings certain value to the city, they are subject to the same market-driven forces that shape cities. Peck (2005) demonstrates how these Creative city policies inspired by Florida are used by market-driven institutions, where they can become selective in which groups of the creative class they protect. But what does creative city policy entail? While integrated with notions of creativity and culture to foster economic growth (Landry, 2008), creative city policy largely derives from the urbanization of cultural policy (Grodach, 2017). Landy proposes that this growth is dependent on the nurturing of the potential of the creative inhabitants of the city. This nurturing is dependent on whether a place is deemed a creative place, which is up to the relevant municipality. Municipalities assess the presence of cultural and/or creative activities and determine the density of creative entrepreneurs within an area (Grodach, 2010). What determines something a creative cultural enterprise can be interpreted differently between governments and members of the creative class (Boswinkel & Van Meerkerk, 2022). A creative entrepreneur who falls outside the creative city policies is left to the market-driven forces and state-led gentrification, which results in, among others, social impacts.

2.3 Social impact

Communities that are faced by social impacts can often develop resistance, driven by displacement, rising costs or loss of community bonds (Fullilove, 2016). Moreover, community resistance arises out of a lack of sufficient transparency, which can lead to the emergence of grassroots movements that demand more inclusive urban or municipal policy (Newman & Wyly, 2006). To address this, the social impact assessment framework by Vanclay (2002) can be used to categorize social impacts and offer a structured approach to create a comprehensive understanding of the processes that occur when creative city policy is implemented. While social impact assessment is highly influenced by the situation, or context at hand, Vanclay (2015) stresses the importance of continuous management, from the beginning to after the closure of a project. These dynamics all stress the need for creative city policies to be inclusive, ensuring that they prevent the increase of urban inequalities or diminishing the affordability of urban spaces for creative work (Grodach et al., 2017). The integration of social impact assessment with creative city policy may offer a holistic approach to urban policy. By ensuring development projects are both socially equitable and advantageous to affected communities, this approach can lead to more effectively planned interventions and an enhanced quality of life for these communities (Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer, 2009; Vanclay, 2002; Anguelovski, 2015). This kind of integrative planning requires integration of all phases, from scoping to monitoring, mediation and mitigation (Vanclay, 1996). Once the social impacts that might

occur have been identified, it can be followed by the process of developing and implementing mitigation strategies. In designing mitigation strategies, evaluation is a key learning tool, critical to increasing our understanding of the processes that lead to negative and positive social impacts, and how these impacts may be minimized or enhanced through the delivery of mitigation measures (Loxton et al, 2013). Burdge and Vanclay (1996) stress the importance of community involvement in maximizing the capacity of mitigating the social impacts. A mismatch between values from economic models and local values can lead to poor assessment of appropriate mitigation strategies (Vanclay, 2015).

2.4 Conceptual Model

The relations between the concepts introduced in the theoretical framework have been visualized in the figure below. The concepts of creative city policy (Florida, 2002) and state led gentrification (Hochstenbach, 2016) work in symbiosis with each other, as gentrification by government bodies as an instrument to achieve the goals they set in their creative city policy. Creative city policies pursued with state led gentrification can lead to poor mitigation and a mismatch and are influenced by community involvement. The social impacts that arise are evaluated, and incorporated in mitigation strategies to create more inclusive urban policy.

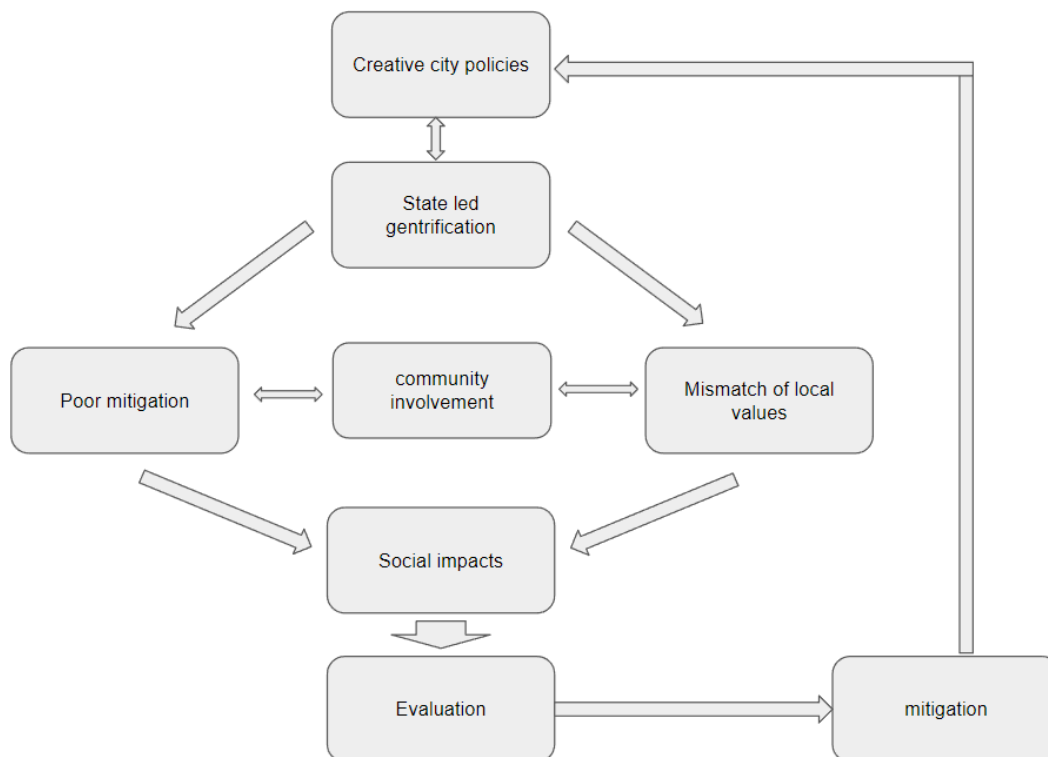


Figure 1: Conceptual model

3. Methodology

This section explains the methodology for this research. To answer the research questions, qualitative research methods are used in this thesis. Through semi-structured interviews, the experiences of urban professionals with a connection to the Havenstraat case are gathered. According to Punch (2014), qualitative research is particularly strong in exploring subjective truths, which are the ways in which individuals perceive and interpret the world around them. Punch elaborates on the strengths of this research method, as it uses a flexible and adaptable approach, allowing researchers to delve deeply into complex issues by deriving meaning from experiences.

3.1 Case description

The Havenstraat area is located in Oud-Zuid in Amsterdam. While the decision to redevelop the area was made decades ago, the transformation had just started at the time of this research. Historically, the Havenstraat area was filled by a number of unusual businesses and industries, which give it its unique character, bestowing it the title of the “last creative fringe of Amsterdam”. Contrary to the romanticization of these fringes, there is a dire need to develop additional housing in the city. The municipality is determined to build 500 additional housing units, including other mixed-use amenities in the redevelopment. The Havenstraat redevelopment makes an exemplary case to study both creative city policy as well as social impacts that arise out of these urban overhauls. The case was used both as inspiration for this research as well as the construction of the main research question: How do urban professionals perceive the social impacts of creative city policy on the Havenstraat area in Amsterdam? This research question was delineated into three Sub questions:

Subquestion one: What are the goals and strategies of the municipality of Amsterdam in the redevelopment of the Havenstraat area?

Subquestion two: How do professionals experience the social impacts of the redevelopment of the Havenstraat area?

Subquestion three: What policies are set to mitigate the negative impacts?

3.2. Data collection method

Qualitative research in the form of semi-structured interviews, with purposive sampling, was chosen to investigate the perceived effect. In purposive sampling the participants are selected due to their characteristics (Clifford, 2008), aimed at capturing detailed and context-specific rich information that will yield a saturated dataset. Qualitative methods provide the opportunity to explore perceptions, experiences, and attitudes to a greater extent than quantitative analysis. While the interview guide’s focus is aimed at the participants' perception of concepts derived from the theoretical framework, the flexibility of semi-structured interviews provides room to explore complex issues, while maintaining enough structure to address the research aim. The interview guide can be found in appendix 1.

3.3 Primary data

Primary data collection was conducted through four semi-structured interviews with urban professionals for this chosen research method. Each of the participants had an academic background in the field of urban planning, as well as multiple years' experience directly with the Havenstraat case, qualifying them as urban professionals. While the participants all shared the connection of the Havenstraat area, they took different professional roles in the project; a project manager, legal advisor, community engagement officer, and project manager. This diverse range of specialties provides a diverse range of perspectives within the field.

3.4 Secondary data

Secondary data collection was conducted to strengthen the data gathered from the interviews. The document analysis showed the process of the redevelopment plan for the Havenstraat and which goals were set in the visions for the redevelopment. The spatial renderings, land use functions and mixing of tenure are illustrated in the Beeldkwaliteitsplan (2022), showing a focus on mix use development with options for creative space. Legal documents showed insights in the concerns and resistance from stakeholders against the plans, which were overturned by government bodies like the Raad van State (2019; 2023). The creative city policy regarding creative spaces is outlined in the Atelier- en Broedplaatsen document (2023), which determined the Havenstraat area to disappear, as the current space is inefficiently used for creative purposes.

3.5 Participant recruitment

The recruitment of participants proved difficult at first, as the response from the municipality on interview request remained absent. However, the first participant agreed to participate, and followed up by contacting colleagues who shared experiences working on the Havenstraat case, creating a snowball effect (Etikan et al, 2016).

Participant Pseudonym	Occupation
Eva	Project leader
Mark	Legal advisor on community and environmental law
Lisa	Environmental/Stakeholder manager
Bob	Manager project development

Table 1: Overview of participants with pseudonyms and occupation.

3.6 Data analysis

To interpret the data after collection, a thematic analysis approach was used in this research. The data consist of detailed, complex and context rich information. For analysis, the program of Atlas.ti was used to code the data. By inductively coding the interview transcripts, recurring codes were divided into categories and further sorted into themes, funneling the data into assertions that can be made after all the data had been interpreted. The codes used for this thesis are registered in the codebook, which can be found in the appendix. The data analysis was done in an iterative manner, to ensure accuracy.

3.7 Ethical considerations and Data Management

As an independent researcher, it is important to note any forms of ethical considerations for this research. Positionality is important to state, as I spent the first 18 years of my life living no less than 600 meters from the Havenstraat area. During this time the area became a routine route, which has led to some nostalgia/memories attached to the area that could potentially influence the research process. In constructing the research a neutral stance was maintained, focusing on objectively collecting and processing the data acquired. Data storage, informed consent and privacy were of great importance in this research, as the interviews provide detailed information that might reveal the participants identity. Data management and storage were handled with discretion to ensure confidentiality and integrity. All qualitative data gathered from interviews was digitally recorded and transcribed. Transcripts were anonymized and participants were given pseudonyms, removing information that could reveal a participant's Identity. The data was stored securely on the Y drive of the University of Groningen, and accessible only to the researcher during the process. Analysis was conducted using Atlas.ti, a software tool that facilitates the organization and coding of qualitative data. This setup helped maintain a structured and searchable database of information. In preparation of the interviews, all participants have been sent privacy consent forms that adhere to the privacy standards of the university of Groningen and must be adhered to at all times to protect the privacy of participants. Care was taken to construct the interview process to allow for objective and constructive data collection without causing the participants to be uncomfortable.

4.Results

In this section the results of this research are presented. The acquired data has been interpreted through the lens of the theoretical framework, to discuss how the findings relate to grounded theory, and present unexpected findings that arose out of the participants' answers. These perceptions of urban professionals are categorized into several concepts, which make up the paragraphs in the following section.

4.1 Case Study

Given the value of the location of the Havenstraat area, there will be more than enough project developers supplying ideas with economic motivation. These economic opportunities are countered by creative city policy, stressing both the importance and value of these creative spaces, as well as the social implications that arise out of the redevelopment. In the current urban paradigm, the market-driven forces tend to gentrify the creative spaces out of their original locations, without including the social impact on the communities that are vested in these urban fringes. However, it is up to the municipality to give the green light and determine the approach taken/goals set for redeveloping such spaces. They bear responsibility, both in the decision-making process, as well as the result and its implications in such a project. In what manner the municipality carries out this role/responsibility is the focus of this research.



*Figure 2: Aerial foto of the Havenstraat area
(Beeldkwaliteitsplan, 2023)*

4.2 Gentrification

The Havenstraat area is located in Oud-Zuid, a district of Amsterdam, synonymous with high incomes and expensive housing. With adjacent neighborhoods reaching square meter prices approaching €10.000, the potential to turn a profit is evident when a new plot of land is open for development. Reflecting on the trajectory of the housing market, participant Lisa foresees a market-oriented future, as the market actors respond to the high demand for housing in this area:

“There is just too much emphasis on making money and setting high rent prices... “Well, there are actually many residents in the broader South district who are very keen to secure a place in the new urban quarter. There is considerable interest, especially from local residents wanting to move there, who currently live in poorly insulated and large homes” (participant Lisa).

As Ruth Glass (1964) intended, “gentrification” simply yet very powerfully captures the class inequalities and injustices created by “capitalist urban land markets and policies”. This capital force would push the less financially capable classes towards more distant locations.

While this force is driven by consumer preference, Smith (1979) stresses the importance of non-consumer actors like developers and governmental institutions in the process.

4.2.1 State-led gentrification

Market actors and consumers clearly share their aspirations and desires for the Havenstraat area. However, the municipality has its own goals when it comes to the path for redevelopment. The goals of the municipality, and the political force behind it, are dependent on ambitions of the current policy makers. According to participant Bob, these ambitions tend to shift, resulting in goal adaptations on the local level:

“Only the ambitions of the council can change in this regard. And this council is more ambitious than the previous one. The previous council said, well, we are satisfied if 5,000 homes are built per year...and this council has adjusted that to 7,500. And that is of course also a response to how severe the housing shortage is perceived.” ... “For example, we now also have, and yes, there is also a change over time. At the time the very first plan for Havenstraat was made, there was also a different distribution in housing construction than nowadays. So, there you notice that there is always redirection from the administrative and political level” (Participant Bob).

As mentioned in the framework, the national government sets goals, and the local government adopts instruments, like gentrification through urban renewal, to reach these goals (Teernstra, 2015). This development is then integrated with notions of creativity and culture to foster economic growth (Landry, 2008). In the process of developing the Havenstraat area a complex interplay of goals, strategies and forces at play, requiring a careful balancing act which has taken decades to come to fruition. Throughout the interviewing process and recurring on all

blocks of the interview sections, the participants all stressed the two most important goals of the project, set by the municipality, of building enough housing and preserving the character of the mixed-use area:

“And can we also ensure that we build enough housing? But in a way that it remains a mixed area. That it does not become solely residential, thus preserving its mixed character. That is indeed a quest in such a design process”(Participant Mark)

The development of 500 additional housing units to combat the housing shortage, both on local and national level, and transforming the area into a place where living, working and creativity are integrated into the structure of the neighborhood. Achieving goals, like mixing social tenure, are pursued by pushing gentrification policies (Peck,2005). The Havenstraat area will be reshaped and renamed into the “Vrijhaven” (Free haven), retaining the essence of local values and character into their new designs. The project developers headlined their websites with powerful statements, like the “free-spirited character” and “preserve the intrinsic qualities” (Thomas ponds, Powerhouse company).

4.3 Creative city policy

The free-spirited nature of the Havenstraat area was acknowledged by all participants, suggesting a general appreciation for its distinct character. However, the viability of such fringes does not solely rest on their perceived character but significantly depends on their evaluated worth to the city. The definition of what constitutes a creative cultural enterprise varies between governmental bodies and members of the creative class (Boswinkel & Van Meerkerk, 2022). In Amsterdam, the municipality employs various instruments and reports to ascertain this value. Participant Eva pointed out the application of historical scans, which failed to substantiate the cultural significance of the warehouse tenants adequately. According to the collective view of the participants, the real creative contribution of the Havenstraat’s former tenants to the urban landscape did not justify their inclusion under the protective measures of the creative city policy, considering the considerable amount of space and the valuable location they occupied. While media outlets have romanticized the local value of the area with the moniker “the last fringe of Amsterdam (At5),” urban professionals have assessed it as a “low-value industry” (participant Lisa).

4.3.1 Strategies

Although the perceived creative and cultural value of the Havenstraat was insufficient, the municipality is committed to include creative space in redevelopment. As the construction is outsourced to project developers the municipality strategically balance their goals with those of the potential parties, to ensure their own goals for the Havenstraat area are reached. Participant Lisa reflects on the strategy, which involves carefully selecting a development partner, who aligns with the municipality's goal of fostering creative industries:

"We have challenged, perhaps even enticed, the developers to consider incorporating a number of business spaces designed in such a way that does not demand the maximum possible rent, thereby facilitating creative professions in the area (participant Lisa)."

The municipality's goal is to create not just office spaces, but an inclusive neighborhood with a mix social tenure, and space for creative space. This process of negotiating and balancing of public and private goals is characterized by a soft approach. Participant Lisa elaborates on the strategy: The municipality remains vigilant in monitoring the project to ensure that these goals are met:

"What we aim for is a comprehensive plan where the three developing parties engage in mutual consultation to combine their efforts." "Yes, we will certainly hold them accountable and ensure they adhere to these commitments moving forward (Participant Lisa)."

According to Vanclay (1996), this kind of integrative planning requires integration of all phases, from scoping to monitoring, mediation and mitigation. Due to the neo-liberalization of the market, local governments are dependent on other actors, like housing associations or project developers, to reach their goals (Teernstra, 2015). Private actors incentivize the economic gain that can be obtained from gentrification and influence the policies set to reach state-set goals. Therefore, this monitoring is crucial to ensure that the development progresses according to plan, to protect creative space from the economic incentive that would push it out of the area.

4.3.2 Balancing goals

Profitability is a recurring code throughout the interviews. The municipality of Amsterdam cannot execute their projects without balancing their ambitions with the goals of non-government actors. Opposing the local and national goals of the redevelopment, is the economic motivation of the project developers, which aim to harness the potential a location like the Havenstraat can yield. Participant Bob mentions that profitability is essential in creating feasible projects:

"But I found it super exciting because will this happen, will any party even sign up because it's really just a complicated time with a lot of demands from the municipality, a lot of ambition, also in terms of sustainability on a very small plot. Then the question is, can you still make some money? Because yes, a market party wants to be able to earn something. If they can't make any money, they won't build." ... "There must be some kind of balance between the sweet and the sour for the market to take it on" (Participant Bob 4).

According to Teernstra (2015), due to the neo liberalization of the market, local governments are dependent on other actors, like housing associations or project developers, to reach their goals. Market actors are profit oriented, influencing plans and policies to create feasible projects. Without proper incentive, redevelopment plans are not feasible.

In the perception of the participants, this balance between public and private goals has been successfully achieved. The project is destined to realize a mix of social tenure, including creative space for both profitable, and non-profitable expenditures.

4.3.3 Top-down creative policy

Not all previous aspects of the Havenstraat area will vanish under the redevelopment, as the municipality has committed to integrate the historical tram organization (EMA) into the design. Original reports suggested integration of the tram lines (which ran through the middle of the area) would be too big of an expense for the project to become financially feasible. Additionally, participants Eva and Bob note that such expenses for creative or cultural purposes must be justifiable, for it is backed with public investment.

"How do you still manage to create some sort of business case for it? With which the municipality can justify socially the money that we've invested. Yes, and that hasn't been successful for years and that's what the plan was. So, the desire to preserve something has proven to be very complicated, but in the end, it succeeded."(Participant Eva) ...At that time, we actually had two choices: to rezone them out of existence or to come to a solution. At that moment, the decision-makers preferred to find a solution with the tram company," (Participant Bob).

Although financially difficult to realize, top-down creative policy has ensured the local organization's survivability. In the Havenstraat case, top-down decision making has steered urban policy to accommodate less financially profitable expenditures, to create room for the creative and cultural value the local tram organization brings to the area. According to Marlet and van Woerkens (2007), decision making in favor of creative values is evident Major Dutch cities. Government bodies, like the Raad van state (2019; 2023), are able to overturn financially less feasible decisions to accommodate a small venture like the historical tram organization, following the urban growth trend described by Faludi (2019).

4.4 Social impacts

After decades of hindrances and postponement, the Havenstraat area is enclosed in construction fencing and in preparation of construction. At the time of writing this thesis, the old warehouses are being torn down and the first bulldozers and diggers have arrived at the scene. While the projects' spatial renderings of the buildings present the future prospects, for some they carry an impact.

4.4.1 negative social impacts

From the beginning, the project has received concerns, voiced by the tenants that were operating in the area. The survivability for a lot of these tenants' creative endeavors is low, as Amsterdam is an expensive place to rent. Participants Bob and Mark reflect on the negative social impacts that arise out of development, causing some of the old tenants to lose both their place and their businesses.

"There are also many businesses in such fringe areas that have little future value but are there solely because of the extremely low rents they pay" (Participant Bob) you know that if they have to leave this site, they will probably not find a place anywhere else... "Imagine you built your warehouse in 1980 and you have to leave it in 2024. Yes, that's much more than just leaving your business" "It seems quite clear that the existing users there, the renters and small businesses, saw their right to exist, naturally, they had to leave, and that means a great deal" (Participant Mark).

According to Smith (1979), urban investments in the built environment transform the buildings in an urban area, displacing the inhabitants who can no longer afford the location. Neil Smith (1979). Some of these tenants have been vested in this location for decades, building their place attachment and community bonds. The negative impacts of the redevelopment extend beyond the tenants, as the surrounding neighborhood and the community fear the effect of this change in land use. The original redevelopment plans were met with resistance, not just from the tenants but the surrounding neighborhood as well (Raad van state, 2023). Participant Mark discusses some of the social impacts which were raised by the neighborhood.

"So, it's undeniable that this has a huge impact on the companies that were there, but also on the people living in the surrounding area. Such a project really means a lot for your living environment. You might be attached to the fringe areas, and now all these live-work buildings are coming up: "I don't have a good view anymore, I'm worried about my privacy, I'm afraid of more traffic" (Participant Mark).

According to Boswinkel & Van Meerkerk (2022), what determines something a creative cultural enterprise can be interpreted differently between governments and members of the creative class. The attachment of the local community to the Havenstraat area can fall outside of the assessment of the municipality, resulting in social impacts: A loss of local values and concerns about privacy, safety and displacement. Moreover, communities that are faced by

social impacts can often develop resistance, driven by displacement, rising costs or loss of community bonds (Fullilove, 2016).

4.4.2 Identifying social impacts.

The municipality of Amsterdam adopts a multifaceted approach to engage with the community of the Havenstraat area, both the tenants and the surrounding locals. This engagement is crucial to identify potential social impacts. Empirical research methods, such as force field analyses and safety inquiries, support these efforts. Nevertheless, the dominant strategy to identify social impact is through stakeholder engagement.

“There is certainly a community management strategy in place, and it indeed provides for, for example, meetings where people are informed. Where people can respond, it provides for the periodic issuance of newsletters informing about the project's progress and where people are also made aware of what the next steps are and where they can bring their own input.”
(Participant Mark)

Communication is executed using different instruments, ranging from sending letters and conducting informational sessions, to facilitating direct dialogue with those who are affected. While the participants mentioned numerous tools and strategies to identify social impacts, the integration with any form of social impact assessment, like Vanclay's (2002) framework, remained absent.

4.4.2 transparency

Following the exploration of social impacts, it is critical to address the transparency of communication within the Havenstraat community. Transparency in communication directly influences effective community engagement. Although the participants agree on the substantive sharing and transparency of information regarding the progression of the project throughout the years, information might still be lost once communicated. Participants Bob and Eva reflect on the extensive policy documents and complicated legal documents, which could prove difficult to comprehend, especially for people who do not possess expert knowledge.

“Over the past eight years, wherever possible, we have shared information transparently and have always been clear about our ambitions” (Participant Bob) ... *“We publish everything we intend to do, but it might be difficult to spit through as non-expert”* (Participant Eva).

Effective transparency is achieved through proactive disclosure of information, and the timely updating of all stakeholders about changes and developments in the project. Ineffective communication can lead to resistance, as community resistance arises out of a lack of sufficient transparency, which can lead to the emergence of grassroots movements that demand more inclusive urban or municipal policy (Newman & Wyly, 2006).

4.5 social impact mitigation

To mitigate the social impacts, the municipality predominantly uses a soft approach, focusing on bringing the impacts on map and discussing possibilities for mitigation. To accommodate the tram organization, participant Bob mentioned a mediation project the municipality and organization went through together. However, actual concrete strategy, policy or instruments seem to be lacking. All participants mention evaluating and sharing experiences as solutions to mitigate social impacts, but without any structure guiding this process, the capacity to mitigate social impacts remains vested in tacit knowledge.

4.5.1 Tacit knowledge

Tacit knowledge plays a critical role in the formulation and implementation of social mitigation. Professionals share their experiences with each other, to learn what went wrong, and how to mitigate potential hindrances. Participants Lisa and Bob reflect on the exchange of experiences between projects:

"There is thorough consideration, typically within the role of project managers, who assess what we have and what we have learned from other projects. Often, there are one or two exchanges with other projects"(Participant Lisa.)

"Such procedures are always evaluated, and market participants involved are also queried about their perceptions—what they thought about it, what they found beneficial, and what aspects could be improved. Where can the municipality learn? Thus, such information is extensively shared within the municipality" (Participant Bob).

Tacit knowledge is often uncodified and based on personal experiences and insights, which are gained through involvement in similar projects. Afterwards experiences are evaluated, to share further knowledge for improving social mitigation on future projects. According to Loxton et al (2013), in designing mitigation strategies, evaluation is a key learning tool, critical to increasing our understanding of the processes that lead to negative and positive social impacts, and how these impacts may be minimized or enhanced through the delivery of mitigation measures. Relying on tacit knowledge poses a challenge, as it is difficult to transfer and derive policy and strategy from. When all social mitigation policy is vested in tacit knowledge, the capacity to mitigate any social impacts that arise, dependent on the experience of those who work at the project.

4.5.2 Long duration of the project

The Havenstraat area has had an extensive trajectory before construction was initiated. The decision to build a new neighborhood was made decades ago, but subject to constant postponing, delays, and canceled destination plans. In the beginning, once the decision has been made, the municipality initiated with stakeholder engagement. All the participants state

that in projects similar to the Havenstraat, the municipality always starts with intensive participation with the community. However, as time progresses, the continuous decision-making process takes on a funnel like shape, diminishing the inputs received out of participation:

"Initially, the involvement was very intense, but as the process funneled down, the opportunities for meaningful dialogue decreased as the planning process advanced" (Participant mark)...
"Subsequently, we decided not to re-initiate participation with the community because the Council of State gave us a very specific mandate to make a definitive choice" (Participant Eva).

As the project moves in phases, top-down decision making decides whether or not to re-engage with stakeholders in the project. The effectiveness of social impact mitigation is dependent on continuous management, from the beginning to after the closure of a project (Vanclay, 2015). While there is a lot of expert knowledge and experience among the participants, the majority of participation with the community happened before participants joined the project. Participation and social mitigation are initiated at the start of the project, causing professionals to be dependent on tacit knowledge of their predecessors for social impact mitigation.

6. Conclusion

This thesis uses a qualitative approach to investigate the perception of urban professionals on the social impacts of state-led gentrification on the Havenstraat project. Through semi-structured interviews, experiences have been explored to analyze municipal goals, strategies and the approach to social impact mitigation.

The findings revealed that balancing the discrepancy between private economic incentives, consumer preference and creative goals requires inclusive decision making, especially in a market-driven environment. Government bodies set national goals for housing developments, where the municipality of Amsterdam employs state-led gentrification to redevelop areas like the Havenstraat. The municipality of Amsterdam shows a commitment to highlight the value of creating mixed-use vibrant projects, which retain the character of the location in which they are built. This outcome aligns with the studies of Hochstenbach (2016), Teernstra (2015 and Peck (2005).

The local tenants, who build the local character and values of these urban areas, are dependent on the perceptions of professionals, who assess their contribution to the area. If they are not perceived to be of value to the feasibility of projects, they are outweighed by local goals and economic incentives, and ultimately displaced. The findings showed the presence of stakeholder engagement in early phases of the development, focusing on identifying social impacts that might affect the community of the Havenstraat area. While Participants are adamant about the municipality's commitment to intensive and transparent communication, effectiveness tends to suffer from cognitive distance of information and project delays. As the

Havenstraat project dragged on, participation with the community decreased, due to top-down governance funneling decision making towards a goal-oriented process.

Mitigation of social impacts is vested in tacit knowledge. Lacking structured approaches or policy, urban professionals rely on personal and shared experiences between colleagues to navigate complex social environments. Although current experiences are evaluated, the Havenstraat project is perceived as a case study, to use as precedent for mitigation of social impacts in future projects, as past experiences were not available to include in this project.

In conclusion, the perception of urban professionals on the social impacts of creative city policies in the Havenstraat area reflect the need for formalization of inclusive and adaptable social impact mitigation policy. While striving for integration of economic, cultural and creative policy, social impact mitigation is vested in tacit knowledge and ad-hoc measures that are subject to project duration. As the Havenstraat project has just started construction at the time of writing this thesis, future research could revisit the project upon completion to investigate the outcomes of the Havenstraat project. According to the participants, monitoring is important to ensure their goals are achieved in the project. Vanclay (2015) also stresses the importance of monitoring for social impact assessment as it is highly influenced by the situation at hand, therefore revisiting the project could provide new insights into the context of the Havenstraat project, which in the perception of professionals, functions as a precedent on social impact mitigation.

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Appendix 1- Interview guides

Interview Guide - English version

This interview guide will be used to conduct the semi-structured interviews as a data collection tool to acquire primary data. The interviews will start with a brief introduction of myself, followed by an introduction of the topic, an explanation of confidentiality, use/storage of data, privacy, and permission for consent.

Blok 1:

Professional background & connection to the Havenstraat area project

1. Could you tell me briefly about yourself and your professional background in the field of urban planning?
2. How much experience do you have with urban projects?
3. What is your experience/relation to the Havenstraat project?

Blok 2 The redevelopment plan for the Havenstraat area

4. Can you describe the goals that the municipality wishes to achieve in the development of the Havenstraat area? (national, regional, local goals?)
5. Is there more focus on long-term goals or short-term goals?
6. What strategies are used to achieve those goals?
7. How are national goals, like the need for housing, balanced with persevering local cultural and creative values, like in the case of the Havenstraat area?
8. What are the main challenges in achieving this balance?
9. What are the motivations for the municipality for redeveloping the area?

Blok 3 Social impacts

10. Can you give insight into the process of engagement with the locals in the redevelopment of the Havenstraat area?
11. Are you aware of the social impacts that might occur from the project on the community of the Havenstraat area?
12. Are there mechanisms/strategies/tools that the municipality employs to identify social impacts?
13. Do you experience this to be a very transparent process?

Blok 4 Mitigation

14. Are there mechanisms in place to use concerns for future projects/policies?
15. Do you experience these to be effective? Why or why not?
16. From your perspective, how are experiences from other projects used in the process of mitigating social impacts on the community of the Havenstraat area?
17. Looking ahead, what do you envision for the future trajectory of creative city policy in Amsterdam?

Interview Guide - Dutch version

Blok 1:

Professional background & connection to the Havenstraat area project

1. Kunt u kort iets over uzelf en uw professionele achtergrond in stedelijke planning vertellen?
2. Hoeveel ervaring heeft u met stedelijke projecten?
3. Wat is uw ervaring/relatie met het Havenstraat project?

Blok 2 The redevelopment plan for the Havenstraat area

4. Kunt u de doelen beschrijven die de gemeente wil bereiken in de ontwikkeling van het Havenstraat Gebied? (nationale, regionale, lokale doelen?)
5. Ligt de focus meer op langetermijndoelen of kortetermijndoelen?
6. Welke strategieën worden gebruikt om die doelen te bereiken?
7. Hoe worden nationale doelen, zoals de behoefte aan huisvesting, in evenwicht gebracht met het behoud van lokale culturele en creatieve waarden, zoals in het geval van het Havenstraat Gebied?
8. Wat zijn de belangrijkste uitdagingen bij het bereiken van dit evenwicht?
9. Wat zijn de motivaties van de gemeente voor de herontwikkeling van het gebied?

Blok 3 Social impacts

10. Kunt u inzicht geven in het proces van betrokkenheid van de lokale bevolking bij de herontwikkeling van het Havenstraat Gebied?
11. Bent u op de hoogte van de sociale impact die het project kan hebben op de gemeenschap van het Havenstraat gebied?
12. Zijn er mechanismen/strategieën/instrumenten die de gemeente gebruikt om sociale impact te identificeren?
13. Ervaart u dit als een zeer transparant proces?

Blok 4 Mitigation

14. Zijn er mechanismen in plaats om die zorgen te gebruiken voor toekomstige projecten/beleid?
15. Ervaart u deze als effectief? Waarom wel of niet?
16. Vanuit uw perspectief, hoe worden ervaringen uit andere projecten gebruikt in het proces van het mitigeren van sociale impact op de gemeenschap van het Havenstraat gebied?
17. Vooruitkijkend, wat ziet u voor het toekomstige traject van het beleid voor de creatieve stad in Amsterdam?

Appendix 2 - Substantiation of interview guide

Theme	subjects	interview questions	substantiation
Blok 1 professional background & connection to the Havenstraat area.	<i>General introduction</i> <i>background in urban planning</i> <i>position with the project</i>	1,2,3	The first block of the semi-structured interview is more of an introductory part. Getting familiar with the participants and his/her professional background is important. This block ends with a question about their connection with the Havenstraat area.
Blok 2 The redevelopment plan for the Havenstraat area.	<i>Creative city policy</i> <i>goals</i> <i>strategies</i> <i>long term vs short-term</i> <i>National, regional, or local focus</i> <i>Gentrification</i> <i>Challenges</i> <i>Motivations</i>	4,5,6,7,8,9	The second block is focused on the redevelopment plan. The interview questions are focused on the goals and strategies that a municipal planner works with to determine the factors that drive the project and its outcomes/impacts
Blok 3 Social impacts.	<i>Social impacts</i> <i>awareness</i> <i>Identification/ categorization of social impacts</i> <i>Tools/Strategies</i> <i>Transparency</i> <i>Engagement with locals</i>	10,11,12,13	The third block dives into the social impacts that might result from the outcome of the Havenstraat project. The participants perception of possible social impacts and the tools/mechanisms/processes to identify them are questioned.
Blok 4 Mitigation.	<i>Mitigation</i> <i>Effectiveness</i> <i>Past experiences</i> <i>Prospects</i>	14,15,16,17	The fourth block is focused on the way social impacts are mitigated by the municipality. The participants is questioned about the approach taken on the Havenstraat project in evaluating and applying mitigation strategies.

Table 2: Substantiation of interview guide

Appendix 3 - Interview consent form

Interview consent form

Researchers: Caesar Stolte S3812200

Research participant name: _____

I expect that the interview will take 30 minutes. I do not anticipate any risks connected with this interview and your participation with the interview and the researcher. However, you have the right to withdraw from the research at any time.

First of all, I would like to thank you for agreeing to participate in this research and that you are willing to be interviewed by me. Ethical procedures for academic research undertaken by the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen (RUG) university explicitly require that interviewees agree to be interviewed and how the information collected from the interview will be used. This consent form that lies before is required to inform you about the goals of this research, your involvement in forming the results of the research, and that you are aware of the conditions in which you are interviewed. Would you therefore read the accompanying information sheet and then sign this form to certify that you approve the following:

- The interview will be recorded and a transcript will be produced.
- You will be sent the transcript and you are free to correct any factual errors.
- The transcript of the interview will be analyzed by us (the researchers)
- Access to the interview transcript will be limited to Bart Popken (supervisor), the researchers, and the responsible academic RUG Staff.
- Any summary interview content, or direct quotations from the interview, that are made available through academic publications or other academic outlets will be anonymized so that you cannot be identified, and care will be taken to ensure that other information in the interview that could identify yourself is not revealed.
- The actual recording will be on the RUG online storage until the research has been completed, afterwards, the recording will be destroyed.

By signing this form I agree that;

1. I am voluntarily taking part in this project. I understand that I don't have to take part, and I can stop the interview at any time;
2. The transcribed interview or extracts from it may be used as described above;
3. I have read the Information sheet;
4. I don't expect to receive any benefit or payment for my participation;
5. I can request a copy of the transcript of my interview and may make edits I feel necessary to ensure the effectiveness of any agreement made about confidentiality;
6. I have been able to ask any questions I might have, and I understand that I am free to contact the researcher with any questions I may have in the future.

Printed Name _____

Participants Signature & Date _____

Researcher Signature & Date _____

You can contact:	Caesar Stolte
Tell:	+31640281605
Mail:	C.l.stolte@student.rug.nl

Supervisor: Bart Popken:	b.f.popken@rug.nl
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Appendix 4 - Timetable

Timetable bachelor thesis	W10/W11	W12/W13	W14/W15	W16/W17	W18/W19	W20/W21	W22/W23	W24/W25
Revision/resit research proposal	Yellow							
research step 3 data collection instrument: devise interview guide, method for acquisition participants and secondary data aquirement methods	Yellow							
Finding respondents& collecting data		Yellow						
conducting interviews		Yellow	Yellow					
transcribing interviews			Yellow					
research step 4: Summarize preliminary findings and create presentation			Yellow					
writing full concept bachelor thesis				Yellow	Yellow	Yellow		
Writing peer review of other students thesis						Yellow		
review feedback and finalize thesis						Yellow	Yellow	Yellow

Table 3: Timetable