

GENTRIFICATION & FOOD ACCESSIBILITY

A CASE STUDY IN THE VAN DER PEK NEIGHBOURHOOD



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SUMMARY

The phenomenon 'gentrification' transforms cities all over the world. During the process neighbourhoods are upgraded and an influx of new, affluent inhabitants is seen. This often has a negative effect on the longstanding inhabitants of that neighbourhood who can no longer afford the housing or the food and no longer feel welcome due to the changed cultural and social aspects of the neighbourhood. The foodscape is the space where food choices are made. However, gentrification influences the foodscape. During the process an increase in availability of food is seen. However, for longstanding inhabitants the accessibility to food often decreases due to an increase in price and the social influence of new inhabitants. This causes the longstanding inhabitants to no longer feel welcome in the facilities in the neighbourhood. The aim of this thesis is to investigate the effects of gentrification on the foodscape and food choice and thereby the accessibility to food for the inhabitants of a gentrifying neighbourhood. This is investigated in a case study in the gentrifying Van der Pek neighbourhood, located in the North of Amsterdam. Semi-structured interviews, observations, informal conversations and food mapping are used as methods to collect data. What can be concluded from the analysis of the data is that the Van der Pek neighbourhood is at an early stage of gentrification. There is an influx of new inhabitants and a slow decrease in the number of longstanding inhabitants, who are aging and pass away. A large increase in establishments is seen, making it easier for all the inhabitants to acquire food. There is a difference between the type of establishments the new and longstanding inhabitants visit. The longstanding inhabitants mostly visit establishments that have been in present in the neighbourhood for a long time. To them one of the most important determinants to base their food choice on is the price of the products. Therefore they mainly visit establishments that are perceived as 'affordable'. Besides that the market is very important for the longstanding inhabitants, although, as result of all the changes in the neighbourhood, the market is shrinking in size. Before the gentrification process, there were a small number of establishments, forcing the longstanding inhabitants to shop for groceries outside their neighbourhood, which they still do today out of habit. On the other hand, the new inhabitants are most attracted to new places with a 'hip' appearance. The price is less important when making food choices. Therefore they visit establishments that are perceived as more 'expensive'. Since the new inhabitants came to the neighbourhood after the large increase in establishments, they often choose a supermarket that is closest to them. Besides that, they often base their food choice on determinants that have to do with sustainability, which might lead to a form of consumption called 'conspicuous production', where the production and story behind products is important to the consumer. This type of consumption behaviour might result in a higher status in the eyes of others. Overall the availability and access increased for all the inhabitants but there is a difference between the choices the new and longstanding inhabitants make. There are implications that in the future this accessibility might decrease for the longstanding inhabitants of the Van der Pek neighbourhood. The shrink in size of the Van der Pek market as result of the changes in the neighbourhood is a good indication for this. This research can provide valuable information to the municipality of Amsterdam who wants to prevent a division between the two groups of inhabitants in gentrifying neighbourhoods, since this thesis provides an in-depth analysis of the foodscape and food choices of the gentrifying neighbourhood Van der Pek. Besides that it can lead to further research on other gentrifying neighbourhoods to provide a better overview of the influence of gentrification on foodscapes and food choice.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Over half of the world population lives in urban areas and this will only keep increasing over the coming decade (UNFPA - United Nations Population Fund, n.d.). People living in cities acquire and consume food in the city: they make their food choices in the city. People's dietary choices and intake are influenced by many factors. Amongst other factors, the price and the availability of food play an important role in people's food choice (Morland, Wing, & Roux, 2002). Changes in the environment and society, regarding food production, processing and marketing also influence food intake and food choice (WHO, 2018). The residential area and the environment of an individual or family is a stronger predictor for food choice and eating behaviour compared to socioeconomic factors (Lake, Burgoine, Greenhalgh, Stamp, & Tyrrell, 2010). So the environment of an individual and the changes in the environment have a large influence on food choice. The food environment is part of the 'foodscape': the relation between places, people and the food system (Johnston, Biro, & MacKendrick, 2009). A city or a neighbourhood of a city, where most of the world's population lives and eats, can be seen as foodscape (Mikkelsen, 2011). The foodscape is the place where food choices are made (Lake et al., 2010) and in public health nutrition is described as a 'tool to describe our food environments and to assess the potential impact on food choice and food behaviour' (Mikkelsen, 2011). Therefore it can be assumed that by investigating the foodscape, one can explain people's food choice.

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Foodscapes can have an influence on people's food choice and foodscapes can change. One way a foodscape can transform is by the world-wide phenomenon 'gentrification'. The process is first described by Ruth Glass in 1964, who saw the process occurring in London (Smith, 2002). Gentrification is a transformation process of low-income communities, attracting more affluent new inhabitants (Cohen, 2018a). Gentrification also influences the foodscape. During the process there is often an increase in facilities seen in low-income neighbourhoods. The increase of establishments might lead to increased food access for inhabitants with a low income (Cohen, 2018a). However, gentrifying neighbourhoods can become a 'food mirage' for the longstanding, low-income inhabitants: a neighbourhood appearing to have sufficient food access, but where social or financial barriers exclude these inhabitants from accessing the food (Sullivan, 2014). One of the reasons for this is the fact that more expensive places establish in a gentrifying neighbourhood. The prices of these products are higher than the original inhabitants can afford (Meltzer, 2016). So, even though the number of establishments increases, thereby suggesting an increased accessibility for the low-income inhabitants, this increase in accessibility is not seen in reality, since the low-income inhabitants cannot afford to use these establishments (Sullivan, 2014). Next to the fact that the price is outside the range of the low-income inhabitants, these inhabitants also tend to feel less comfortable or welcome. The new establishments give the signal, through "new cultural codes that differ from their own" that the longstanding inhabitants are not welcome there (Cohen, 2018b, p. 1). This also leads to exclusion of longstanding inhabitants, because they are unfamiliar with the cultural aspects of the new establishments (Sullivan, 2014). The same happens for the already existing food establishments: these can be perceived as authentic by the new inhabitants but thereby these food establishments become less accessible or appealing to the original inhabitants (Cohen, 2018a). This suggests that gentrification leads to increased food access for new, affluent inhabitants, while it decreases access for the longstanding inhabitants. There is a link between food retail access and dietary intake (White, 2010). Dietary intake is based on people's food choice and food choice depends, amongst other factors, on accessibility and costs (European Food Information Council, 2006). So, if food choice depends on access and there are two groups of inhabitants in a neighbourhood that have different degrees of access to food this might lead to a difference in food choices. Besides that, a decreased access to food for one group of inhabitants might indicate that gentrification of the foodscape induces inequality between new and longstanding inhabitants. However to my knowledge, research on gentrification never includes the influence on the food choice of both new affluent inhabitants and longstanding inhabitants in the changed foodscape. Besides that, research that focusses on access to food is mostly focussed on food desserts in the U.S.A. and U.K., but not often on food access in European cities. Therefore the main topic that will be investigated

in this thesis is the influence of gentrification on the access to food and the food choice of both new affluent and original inhabitants of a neighbourhood in the European city of Amsterdam.

1.2 RESEARCH TOPIC

The main aim of this thesis is to explain the influence of the gentrification of a neighbourhood on the access to the food in this neighbourhood for the inhabitants. The main research question is:

WHAT IS THE INFLUENCE OF THE GENTRIFICATION OF A NEIGHBOURHOOD IN AMSTERDAM NORTH ON THE ACCESS TO FOOD OF THE INHABITANTS OF THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD?

In order to answer the main question, the following sub questions need to be answered:

- What does the current foodscape look like?
- How has the foodscape changed during the gentrification process?
- Are longstanding inhabitants able to acquire and consume food in the foodscape of the gentrifying neighbourhood?
- Are new affluent inhabitants able to acquire and consume food in the foodscape of the gentrifying neighbourhood?
- What is the difference between the food choice of the new inhabitants and the longstanding inhabitants?

2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

There are four concepts that are important for this study: 'gentrification', 'food choice', 'consumption & status' and 'foodscapes'. The concepts are linked and influence each other (Figure 1). In the following paragraphs I explain each concept individually.

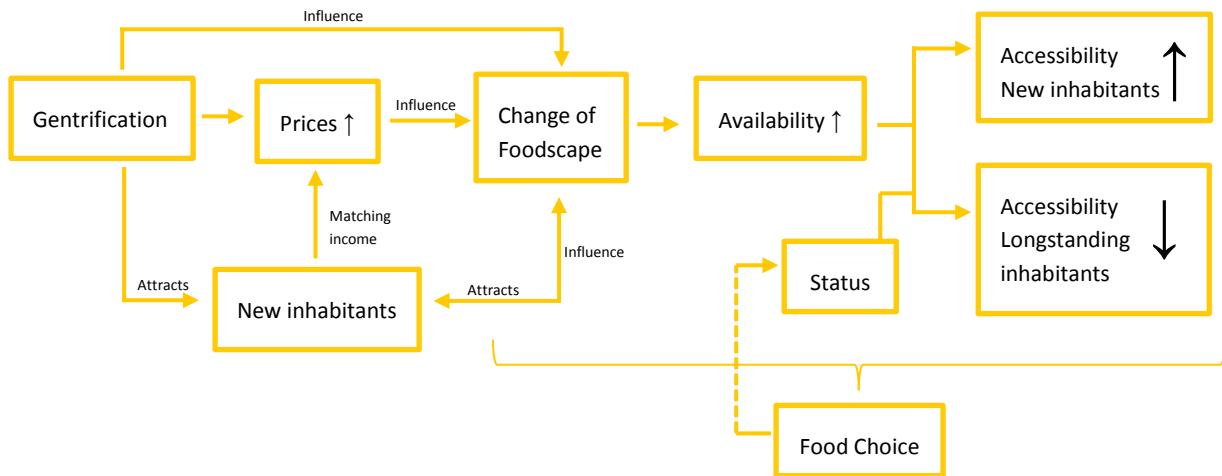


Figure 1 - Link between gentrification, foodscape and food choice

2.1 GENTRIFICATION

As mentioned in the problem statement, gentrification is an upgrading process of a neighbourhood. An important aspect of this are the houses: housing is upgraded and the prices increase. As described by (Cohen, 2018a), this attracts new, more affluent inhabitants, resulting in the longstanding inhabitants being unable to afford the housing or rental prices anymore and feel less welcome, due to the changed character of the neighbourhood. Often cities use the redevelopment of houses as a creative city strategy to attract new inhabitants (Kadi & Musterd, 2015). However, the original, low-income residents cannot afford the prices of these upgraded houses. Due to these changes and new inhabitants, the character of the community changes in favour of the new residents (Cohen, 2018a). Hochstenbach & van Gent (2015) describe that there are three models that can explain the change in inhabitants that happens when a neighbourhood upgrades or gentrifies. These are: 1. Displacement model, 2. In situ mobility model and 3. Ageing model (Figure 2).

1. Displacement model: people with a higher income move into the neighbourhood, while people with a lower income move out of the neighbourhood. Because of this, the number of people with a high income that live in the neighbourhood becomes higher than the number of people with a low income.
2. In situ mobility model: the inhabitants with a lower income experience an upward social mobility while staying in the same neighbourhood. Here there is no new group of inhabitants moving into the neighbourhood.

3. Ageing model: new inhabitants with a higher income move into the neighbourhood while the inhabitants with a low income age and pass away.

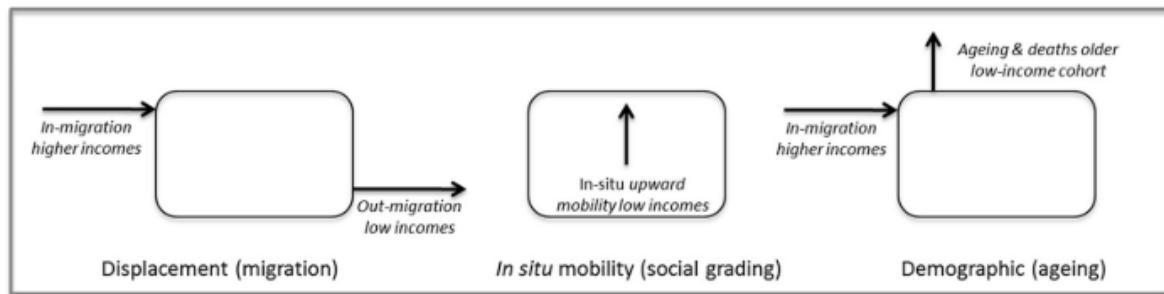


Figure 2 - Three models that explain gentrification (Hochstenbach & van Gent, 2015)

Gentrification can have all sorts of effects. Some of them are positive and can lead to improvements of the neighbourhood, such as better infrastructure and restoration of historical architecture. However a negative effect is that when original inhabitants are forced to move due to the affordability of the houses, the original culture can be lost (Cohen, 2018a). Gentrification also influences the foodscape of the neighbourhood. Rent prices increase in the gentrification process, also for businesses, resulting in original businesses being unable to pay rent and being forced to close down. The empty space is now available for more expensive businesses, which leads to food prices rising above the affordability of original inhabitants (Meltzer, 2016). At the same time food establishments can give the signal that a neighbourhood is gentrifying and trendy, thereby attracting new, often more affluent inhabitants (Cohen, 2018a). Shops tend to follow customers with money and therefore settling in a neighbourhood that is gentrifying - attracting new, affluent inhabitants - is attractive for shop owners (Pothukuchi, 2005). Anguelovski (2015) describes the gentrification of food through the phenomenon 'supermarket greenlining': the act of targeting gentrifying neighbourhoods for the development of healthy and sustainable supermarkets. This greenlining leads to inequality and exclusion, since the availability of affordable food for the low-income inhabitants decreases, while new inhabitants with a high-income are more attracted to these greenlined places. Trends such as greenlining occur mostly in the United States but an increase in 'food gentrification' is observed in Europe as well (Anguelovski, 2015). Overall, the food in a gentrifying neighbourhood fits better with the income and preferences of affluent inhabitants. At the same time longstanding inhabitants with a lower income are excluded from accessing the food due to social or financial barriers (Sullivan, 2014). An example of this is the research by Whittle et al. (2015) conducted in the San Francisco Bay Area. They revealed that increasing housing prices in this gentrifying area caused food insecurity among low-income inhabitants. The residents had insufficient money left after paying their rent to acquire enough healthy food. Another example of the influence of gentrification on food and other retail is Meltzer's (2016) research in New York City. She showed that in the gentrifying regions of East Harlem and Astoria the number of grocery stores, drug stores, doctors' offices, full-service restaurants, and exercise facilities, such as gyms increased much more compared to non-gentrifying neighbourhoods. The physical access to grocery stores increased significantly (Meltzer, 2016). This suggests that gentrification can have a positive effect on the number of 'healthy' facilities. Other gentrifying neighbourhoods of New York showed similar results: food and entertainment establishments increase in number (Meltzer, 2016). However, Meltzer only analysed the *number* of establishments, and therefore the theoretical physical accessibility, but not the *use* of these establishments by the inhabitants.

This suggests that gentrification leads to increased food access for new, affluent inhabitants, while the access for longstanding inhabitants decreases.

2.2 FOOD CHOICE

Simply put, food choice is what people decide to buy and eat (European Food Information Council, 2016). Food choice is multifaceted, it involves many aspects. Not only does it entail what is consumed and how much, but it

also involves place, time, duration, the company, the manner of consumption, the reason for consumption and sociocultural expectations (Sobal, Bisogni, & Jastran, 2014). The European Food Information Council (2006) lists a few determinants that define food choice: biological (hunger, appetite, and taste), economic (cost, income, availability), physical (access, education, skills (e.g. cooking) and time), social (culture, family, peers and meal patterns), psychological (mood, stress and guilt) and attitudes, beliefs and knowledge about food. The possibilities of food choice are influenced and changed over time when “cultures, societies, and economies shift their food values, food institutions, and food technologies” (Sobal et al., 2014, p.7). The economic, physical and social aspects mentioned by the European Food Information Council (2006) might be changed during the gentrification process. First of all, the price of the food offered and the income of the inhabitants change during the gentrification process, which relates to the economic determinant that influences food choice. In relation to this, income and socio-economic status are important factors that define whether the cost of food plays a big role in an individual’s food choice. A higher income does increase the range of foods a person can choose from (European Food Information Council, 2006). Secondly, the physical determinant is about what food is physically available and accessible to the inhabitants of the gentrifying neighbourhood. During the gentrification process the physical aspect and thereby the accessibility might change, which might influence the inhabitant’s food choice. Lastly, the social aspect is important in this research on gentrification and foodscapes, since the inhabitants of the neighbourhood influence each other with their food choices. When a new group of inhabitants comes into a neighbourhood where a group of longstanding inhabitants live with a different social background, this might influence both the food choice of longstanding, and the food choice of new inhabitants.

In this study I focus on the effect of gentrification on the food choices both new and longstanding inhabitants make. I also focus on the factors that influence the food choices of both new and longstanding inhabitants and how these relate to the gentrification process and potential changes in accessibility.

2.3 CONSUMPTION AND STATUS

People do not make food choices solely to nourish their bodies. As early as 1899, Veblen attempted to theorise and explain the important role consumption plays in society (Trigg, 2001a). Veblen coined the term ‘conspicuous consumption’, describing how the consumption of certain products is used to display one’s social status. To own or consume certain goods gives the person a high status, while not owning or consuming these goods gives the person a lower status (Trigg, 2001b). Status gives a person power and control over his/her environment. Often, people with a higher status receive goods with more respect, care and priority (Lahliou, 2008). While Veblen’s conspicuous consumption dates back to 1899, nowadays luxury items, such as designer handbags or cars are more and more common amongst people with a lower income or lower status as well. These people now buy these expensive brands themselves, or a similar, cheaper imitation. Therefore it is no longer possible to distinguish oneself with these items. This goes hand in hand with the fact that lifestyles of the elites are more visible these days and therefore more easy to copy (Currid-Halkett, 2017d). Currid-Halkett describes a shift from conspicuous consumption towards inconspicuous consumption and conspicuous production. In the 21st century, status is no longer derived from the product itself, but derived from the product’s production and it’s point of origin, Currid-Halkett (2017a) calls this ‘conspicuous production’. It is also about knowing where products come from, to avoid the negative environmental impacts of the globalized production of goods (Currid-Halkett, 2017b). In her book ‘The Sum of Small Things’ she explains this with the example of Starbucks compared to a coffee shop serving ‘specialty coffees’. This specialty shop focuses on the type of bean, the roast, the brewing process and where it comes from. This process behind the product is what makes it ‘good’ coffee that is more expensive than a ‘regular’ coffee. Whereas Starbucks is meant to “bring luxury to the masses”, creating cups of coffee with lots of syrups and dairy, coffee is not the main focus of the product (Currid-Halkett, 2017b). This example of coffee shops is often used in news articles to describe a gentrifying neighbourhood, where there is a sudden increase in ‘trendy’ coffee shops and yoga studios, fitting with the wishes and identities of the new inhabitants. Some articles even map the increase and density of these establishments, to display the gentrification process (Gualtherie van Weezel, n.d.). So, it might be possible that the food choice of the new, more affluent inhabitants

of a gentrifying neighbourhood are rooted in inconspicuous consumption or conspicuous production. If these new inhabitants, either intentionally or unintentionally, consume products that give them a higher status¹, this might increase the difference between the two groups of inhabitants.

The theory on inconspicuous consumption and conspicuous consumption has some similarities with what Johnston & Baumann (2010) found in their research on 'foodies'. Foodies are the embodiment of connecting class or status and food: it is a marker of their identity. Foodies love food and have an interest in food (Johnston & Baumann, 2010b). Cohen (2018) states in his policy brief that 'foodies' play an important role in gentrification, since 'foodies' tend to signal the change of a neighbourhood and can see potential for investment. Johnston & Baumann (2010b) indicate that, based on their interviews with 'foodies', their interest in food is shown in continually gaining knowledge on food quality, history and production. For 'foodies', the authenticity of food or a food experience is an important aspect to base their food choice on. Authenticity is not so much about the food product, it is more about the production behind the food. The place where it is produced, the history and tradition behind it, the ethnic connection of the food to the producer and place of production are important. It should be 'simple', meaning that it should be as close to its true form, as a kind of resistance to modern food processing factories (Johnston & Baumann, 2010a). When the original food establishments in the gentrifying neighbourhood are seen as 'authentic' by the new inhabitants, this will attract the new inhabitants, while at the same time, reducing the accessibility or appeal for original inhabitants (Cohen, 2018a). This means that this knowledge and labelling of authenticity by the new inhabitants can result in feelings of exclusion for the longstanding inhabitants.

In order to label food as authentic or to understand the production process, 'foodies' need a lot of cultural capital, they need knowledge to categorize food as authentic or unauthentic. Cultural capital is a term first brought up by Bourdieu. Trigg (2001, p.104) explains cultural capital as "the accumulated stock of knowledge about the products of artistic and intellectual traditions, which is learned through educational training and (...) social upbringing". This again links to the sixth food choice factor mentioned by the European Food Information Council (2006): knowledge, attitudes and beliefs. There is a lot of cultural capital needed to understand this 'story' behind food and to appreciate odd tasting or unfamiliar food (Currid-Halkett, 2017a; Johnston & Baumann, 2010a). This links to another way of gaining status from consumption: 'inconspicuous consumption'. This is a form of consumption that is not material (Currid-Halkett 2017a). Currid-Halkett (2017a) came up with two sub- forms of inconspicuous consumption defined. First, there is 'cost-of-information inconspicuous consumption', these are goods that are not necessarily more expensive, but they are only accessible through information one would need high cultural capital for to understand, specific knowledge (Currid-Halkett, 2017a). Thus, this consumption shows off the knowledge of the consumer. This goes hand in hand with what is mentioned above about the 'foodies' and their search for authenticity: they need a lot of knowledge and cultural capital to identify authenticity. This might relate to that in a gentrifying neighbourhood the 'authentic' places were originally targeted at the longstanding inhabitants with a lower income. Therefore these 'authentic' places are possibly not expensive but do require the knowledge of a 'foodie' to be classified as 'authentic'. Second, there is the case where this consumption form is used to improve the quality of health of the aspirational class nowadays (Currid-Halkett, 2017a). Currid-Halkett (2017a) mentions that this is not only about status, but also about quality of life. However, this type of consumption increases the gap between rich people that can afford this type of consumption and poor people who cannot. This might be relevant in the case of a gentrifying neighbourhood, where the long standing inhabitants often have a lower-income compared to the new inhabitants.

Overall gentrification can alter or influence inhabitant's food choice. This food choice might be influenced by conspicuous production and inconspicuous consumption behaviour. One can derive status from the food one consumes based on the production process of this food ('conspicuous production'), or the knowledge and cultural capital needed to consume the food: ('cost-of-information inconspicuous consumption'). This might

¹A higher status might be in the eyes of other people or friends and might not be something the consumers are chasing deliberately by their choices.

suggest that the feeling of exclusion longstanding inhabitants in gentrifying neighbourhoods have might be due to the fact that there is this group of new affluent inhabitants that has a higher income and different cultural capital. The consuming behaviour of the new inhabitants might give them a higher status in the eyes of other inhabitants. Therefore the gap between the affluent and lower income group might be amplified and their food choices might differ, due to the fact that higher status often results in better accessibility to the establishments. Besides that, new establishments might target this behaviour of inconspicuous consumption, leading to an increase in establishments or products that acquire a certain knowledge that not all group of inhabitants might have. Additionally, the new inhabitants might look for 'authentic' places in the neighbourhood and thereby exclude the original visitors, the longstanding inhabitants, from these places.

2.4 FOODSCAPE

To describe the food environment and assess the impact on food choice, the foodscape can be used as a tool (Mikkelsen, 2011). Often the foodscape is described as the place where food choices are made, it "encompasses any opportunity to obtain food" (Lake, Burgoine, Greenhalgh, Stamp, & Tyrrell, 2010, p. 666). The foodscape describes the relation between places, people and the food system: the connection between the physical place with the social relations of food production, consumption and production (Johnston et al., 2009). The foodscape also includes the act of eating and people's ideas of food (Mikkelsen, 2011). One could state that the foodscape brings together the different aspects of food through relations. Foodscape are nested, the micro-level (domestic foodscape: a dinner table or dining room) is embedded in the meso-level (community or urban area), that is embedded in the macro-level (society, region or even global foodscape) (Mikkelsen, 2011; Wiskerke, Verhoeven, & Reijnen, 2018). The food consumed at home, the micro-level, is dependent on the food that is present or accessible in the neighbourhood, the meso-level. Often, the businesses in the neighbourhood are dependent on the food offered and produced on a global scale, the macro-level (Wiskerke et al., 2018). The meso-level is where out-of-home eating and food purchasing occur (Wiskerke et al., 2018). The neighbourhood is the foodscape on a meso-level, this is where the change occurs during the gentrification process: the places where food can be acquired change. Additionally, inhabitant's attitude, feelings and choices are influenced or changed by these changes. So not only the physical aspect of food changes in the gentrification process but also inhabitants' relations to food change. Since the foodscape entails these relations, the concept 'foodscape' and not 'food environment' is studied in this research. The main focus lies on the accessibility and consumption of inhabitants on a meso-level. However, when analysing the results it must be kept in mind that the macro and micro-level are connected to and influence this meso-level. This means that the behaviour and choices of the inhabitants at the meso-level influence what they consume at home at a micro-level. As stated before, the foodscape entails the opportunity to obtain food; the connection between the physical place with the social relations of food production, consumption and production; the act of eating and people's ideas of food. Since investigating all these aspects of the foodscape would have exceeded my capacities and the available time for this study, I limit myself to investigating the opportunities to obtain food in the neighbourhood and the connection between the physical place and the social relation of consumption² because these aspects appear to be most influenced by the gentrification process.

² Consumption entails both the act of eating as well as acquiring food.

3 METHODOLOGY

To investigate the Van der Pek neighbourhood I performed observations, informal conversations and semi-structured interviews. Also, I made a food map of the neighbourhood. In the following paragraphs I describe these different methods and how I analysed the obtained data.

3.1 RESEARCH AREA

To investigate the effect of gentrification of a foodscape, I studied a case of a gentrifying neighbourhood. This case is the Van der Pek neighbourhood, a gentrifying neighbourhood in Amsterdam North (Figure 3).

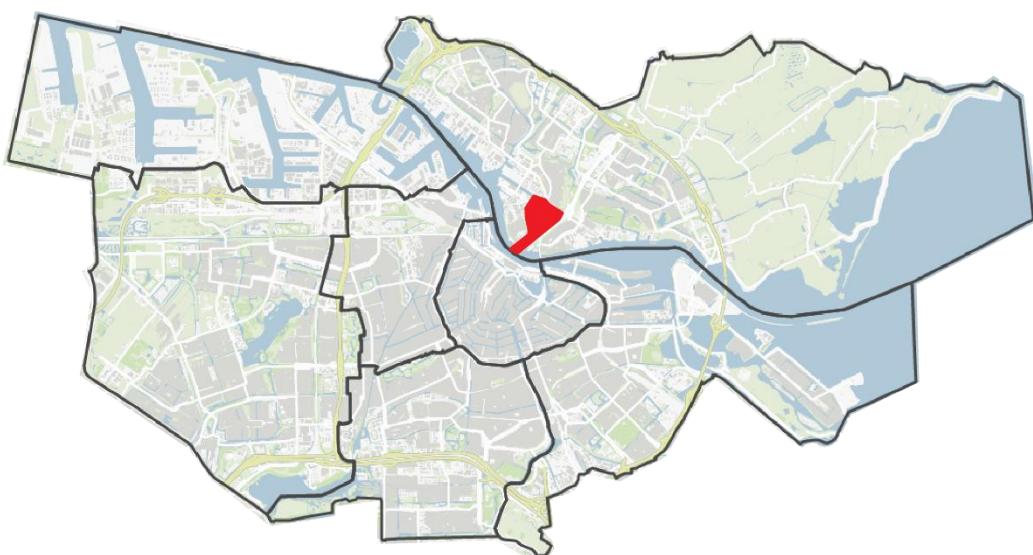


Figure 3 – Map of the different districts of Amsterdam and the Van der Pek neighbourhood (red) (source: Gemeente Amsterdam (2016) adjusted by me for clarity)

The case I investigated is the Van der Pek neighbourhood in the European metropolis Amsterdam. In many European cities policy-makers redevelop houses to attract new inhabitants as a creative city strategy (Kadi & Musterd, 2015). In the capital of the Netherlands, Amsterdam, this is also happening. Over the past decades population growth is occurring in Amsterdam, which is caused by young and higher educated households (Savini, Boterman, van Gent, & Majoor, 2016). In Amsterdam a shift was observed over the last two decades: rents increased and homeownership tripled. Besides this, the amount of social housing, mostly occupied by low-income inhabitants, decreased (Hochstenbach & van Gent, 2015). With these changes it has become easier for high-income households to find a house, but more difficult for people with a low-income. Across Amsterdam the demand housing in general is currently higher than the supply (Kadi & Musterd, 2015; van Gent, 2013). This decrease in social housing and increase in house ownership is also described by Savini et al. (2016) and van Gent (2013). They note that in the 2008 municipal housing memorandum the municipality literally states they support further gentrification of the city. Besides this aim at gentrification of the housing market, in 2006 the board of Amsterdam wanted to claim a place on the list of the 5 most wanted locations of Europe. One of their main traits was to attract talented people. This resulted in a lot of expats and highly educated Dutch people relocating to Amsterdam (Gualtherie van Weezel, n.d.). This indicates that, on the level of housing, gentrification is indeed happening in Amsterdam.

The Van der Pek neighbourhood is located in the Northern district of Amsterdam. The North is seen as an 'up-and-coming' location of the city for housing (Savini, 2013). Along the banks of the IJ river, in Amsterdam North, new housing has been developed to attract the middle-class and support the gentrification of the city (van Gent, 2013). Next to the municipal plans to upgrade the houses, the accessibility of Amsterdam North is increased by the new North-South metro line (Bestuurscommissie stadsdeel Noord, 2017a). Emiratus professor of TU Delft, F. de Zeeuw, states in a news article that this development of the new metro line will give a boost to Amsterdam North (nu.nl, 2018). The Van der Pek is described as one of the poorest neighbourhoods of Amsterdam (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019). However, in the surrounding areas there has been a lot of new housing developed. Plans of the municipality are to upgrade the current houses of the Van der Pek neighbourhood (Bestuurscommissie stadsdeel Noord, 2017b). The municipality mapped the areas that will be developed to become more future-proof and stable neighbourhoods, where investment will be focussed on, among other aspects, housing and public spaces (Gemeente Amsterdam Projectmanagementbureau, 2019; Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019). One of these areas is the Van der Pek neighbourhood (Figure 4). This all indicates that Amsterdam North and especially the Van der Pek neighbourhood provide a good case to investigate the effect of gentrification on the foodscape.

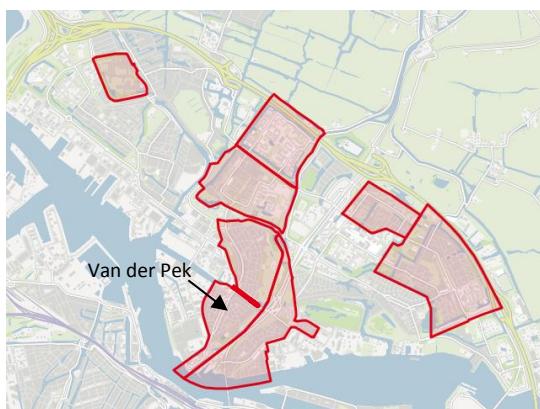


Figure 4 - Development areas of Amsterdam North (Gemeente Amsterdam Projectmanagementbureau, 2019, adjusted by me for clarity)

3.2 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

In total I performed 11 semi-structured interviews. First I made two interview guides: one for longstanding inhabitants and one for new inhabitants. Next to that I searched for respondents in the Van der Pek neighbourhood and in neighbourhoods surrounding Van der Pek who use the Van der Pek foodscape. The latter group is included, since their presence might influence the foodscape as well.

3.2.1 INTERVIEW GUIDES

Before the start of the interviews I made two interview guides including questions based on the research questions. I made one guide for the longstanding inhabitants and one for the new inhabitants. During the interview I used the questions to guide the interview. Depending on the situation, I skipped questions or asked different or additional questions when needed. These interview guides can be found in Appendix 2: Interview guide longstanding inhabitants and Appendix 3: Interview guide new inhabitants. The different topics discussed in the interviews are: 'gentrification & foodscape', 'food choice & availability', 'consumption & status' and 'demographics'.

3.2.1.1 GENTRIFICATION & FOODSCAPE

I started every interview by asking how long the respondent had been living in the neighbourhood. This way I could determine whether I should use the guide for new inhabitants (when the respondent had been living in the neighbourhood for five years or less) or for longstanding inhabitants (living in the neighbourhood for over

five years). After that I asked the participants whether they had observed a change in their neighbourhood over the past years. Additionally, I asked whether they observed a change in the houses and foodscape to assess whether inhabitants noticed the effects of gentrification. New inhabitants were asked about their first impression of the neighbourhood and the food available in the neighbourhood, and their reason to move to this neighbourhood.

3.2.1.2 FOOD CHOICE & AVAILABILITY

After questions about gentrification and the foodscape, I asked the participants multiple questions about factors they base their food choice on. They were also asked what they thought of the available food in the neighbourhood. I asked the participants whether they think the food they can retrieve in the neighbourhood is affordable and to what extent price is an important factor they base their choice on. I also asked whether the food available in the neighbourhood is healthy or not and to what extent this is important for their food choice. Besides that I asked what other factors are important when making food choices.

3.2.1.3 CONSUMPTION AND STATUS

To assess whether the participants think consumption might give people status, I asked questions about their reasons and motivation they base their food choices on. However, it should be taken into account that it might be the case that 'inconspicuous consumers' might not want to admit that they consume to gain status, since the idea behind this type of consumption is to not show off with the product or consumption style. Besides that the respondents might not be aware of the fact that this might be their motivation for certain choices. Therefore, I avoided direct questions by talking about their friends: to what extent they discuss food choice and are influenced by other's opinions and if they in general think consumption can give status.

3.2.1.4 DEMOGRAPHICS

At the end of the interviews I asked the participants about their demographics, such as gender, age, living situation and education level. I mostly used their living location and situation as background knowledge when analysing the data.

3.2.2 FINDING PARTICIPANTS

To find participants I talked to a charity shop owner who knows the neighbourhood very well. The snowball effect led to three respondents. The shop owner also brought me in contact with the manager of the community centre, who agreed to an interview. These four respondents are all longstanding inhabitants. Besides this, I contacted the 'Noordmakers', a group of people dedicated to improve Amsterdam-North and to support initiatives, ideas and innovations (Gemeente Amsterdam, n.d.). However, they were unable to get me in touch with inhabitants. This was the same when approaching shop employees or owners.

Next to that I contacted the Facebook page of the neighbourhood. I was able to put a request for participants on their Facebook, which led to two respondents, one new inhabitant and one inhabitant of a surrounding neighbourhood (Figure 5). I also put flyers in mailboxes, which led to three respondents: one longstanding inhabitant and two new inhabitants (Figure 5). The last two respondents I found through friends or contacts of my own: one new inhabitant of the Van der Pek neighbourhood and one inhabitant of another neighbourhood.

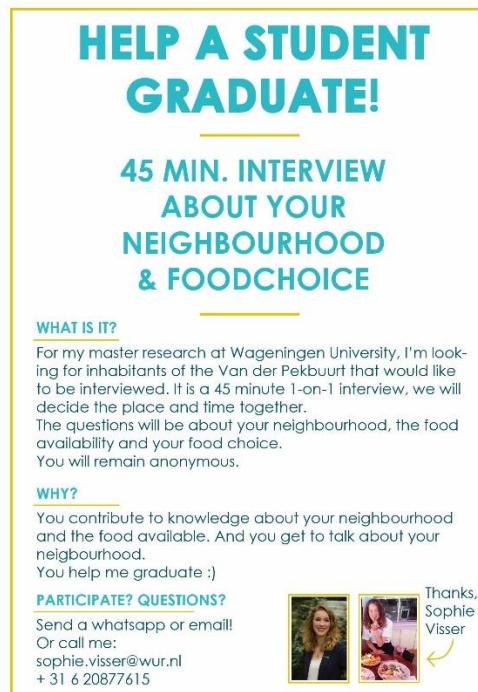


Figure 5 - Facebook post (left) and flyer (right) used to recruit respondents

3.2.3 RESPONDENTS

In total, 11 participants were interviewed; these are shown in Table 1. I interviewed 3 new inhabitants that live in the Van der Pek neighbourhood, indicated by a respondent number starting with '4'. Next to that, I interviewed 3 inhabitants of surrounding neighbourhoods, indicated by a respondent number starting with '3'. Lastly, I interviewed five longstanding inhabitants of the Van der Pek neighbourhood, indicated by a respondent number starting with '9'. Respondent #987 does not live in the Van der Pek neighbourhood. However, I categorized her as a longstanding inhabitant, since she has been working in the neighbourhood and using the Van der Pek foodscape for five years. Additionally, before she moved to her current house, she has been living in a neighbourhood close to Van der Pek for twenty years. Therefore she has known the neighbourhood for a long time and I categorized her as a longstanding inhabitant, even though she is not actually an inhabitant of the Van der Pek neighbourhood.

Table 1 - Overview of respondents (VDP = Van der Pek, WO = university, HBO = University of applied sciences, MBO = college)

Respondent #	Neighbourhood currently living in	Years living there	Age	Gender	Living situation	Highest level of education ³
324	NDSM	0.25	26	f	w/ partner	WO
329	Vogelbuurt	3	30	f	w/ partner & 3 children	WO
366	Bloemenbuurt	3	35	f	w/ partner and child	WO
409	VDP	3	46	f	w/ partner & child	WO
437	VDP	3	59	m	Alone	HBO
496	VDP	2.5	23	m	w/ housemate	WO
935	VDP	5	57	f	w/ partner and 2 children	HBO

³ It should be mentioned that most respondents have a high level of education, which might not be an exact representation of the education levels of the inhabitants in general

963	VDP	52	83	f	w/ partner	Other ⁴
964	VDP	25	49	f	w/ partner and child	MBO
987	Oost ⁵	20	57	f	w/ 2 children	WO
995	VDP	12	49	f	w/ partner	WO

To give a clear overview of the general location the respondents live, I made a map of this, using Google My Maps, edited in Adobe Illustrator (Figure 6). To secure the respondents' privacy, the map shows a rough indication of their homes, not the exact address.

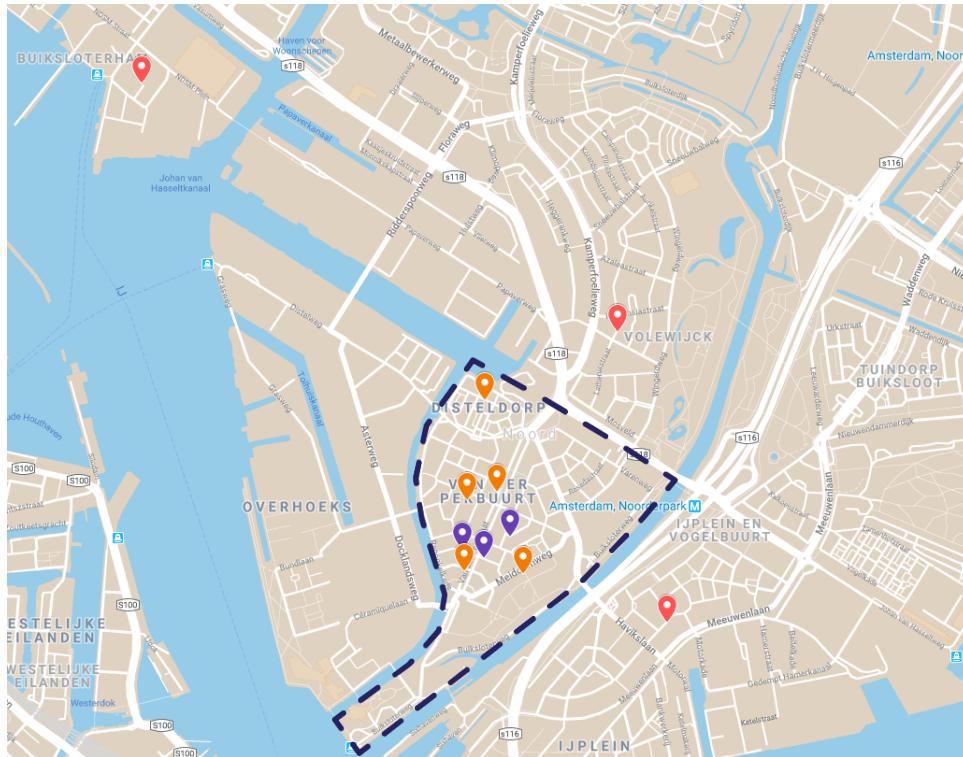


Figure 6 - Rough indication of living place of interviewed inhabitants: new inhabitants (purple), longstanding inhabitants (orange) and new inhabitants of surrounding neighbourhoods (red)

3.2.4 PRIVACY

To secure the privacy of the participants no names were mentioned in the transcription of the interview or in the thesis report. I asked the participants before the start of the interview whether they agree with being interviewed, and with the interview being recorded. Before the interviews I indicated that the recordings of the interviews would only be shared with the supervisors of this thesis project and no other parties. These recordings are only saved on my personal devices and accounts that are all protected with a password. I would explain the purpose of the interview and that no names would be mentioned anywhere. The participants signed a letter of informed consent before participating in the interview. The letter of informed consent can be found in Appendix 1: Interview Consent Form. Two participants were not able to sign the informed consent letter. One interview was conducted over the phone. Therefore I was unable to let her sign the letter. For the other interview the consent letter was not printed on paper before the start of the interview. Both times I read the consent letter to them from my computer screen and I recorded their verbal agreement. To all respondents

⁴Attended a nursing school around 1940

⁵Lived in Banne, a nearby neighbourhood in North for 20 years, moved away due to crime and dangers, works in Van der Pek since five years and it therefore categorized as longstanding inhabitant.

I explained that they were not obligated to answer any of the questions and that they could ask for answers to be removed from the transcript if they had second thoughts after or during the interview. I offered the participants the possibility to receive the recording or transcript of the interview afterwards if requested. None of them requested this. Some respondents requested to see the results of the study. These respondents will receive the summary of this thesis.

3.2.5 INTERVIEWING TECHNIQUES

The interviews were conducted face-to-face. One interview took place over phone since we were unable to set a date to meet in person. When arranging the interviews I would discuss a meeting time and place with the respondent. Most of the interviews were conducted at the participant's homes and one took place in Café Keppler. The interviews were recorded, with permission of the interviewee, with a mobile phone. Before the start of the interview, I asked the participants to sign a letter of informed consent. During the interviews I took some short notes when needed. The notes mostly entailed tips about how to find other respondents, interesting places to visit or other information that could contribute to my research. Initially, I asked the respondents to walk with me in the neighbourhood to show me what elements of the foodscape they use or did not use. However, most respondents were not willing to do so, others were unable to walk or there was no time left after the interview. After the first failures to walk around, I decided to ask the remaining respondents during the interview what places they visit or did not visit.

3.2.6 DATA ANALYSIS

After the interviews I transcribed the recordings. To analyse these transcripts I used atlas.ti to code the documents. Before I started coding I had determined different code groups, based on the interview topics. When coding the transcripts I would start each code with the initials of the code group that quote belonged to. Some quotes were coded with more than one code since they belonged to multiple code groups. During the analysis of the codes I would either look at all the quotes per code group or filter the quotes based on the three respondent groups: 'new inhabitants of Van der Pek', 'longstanding inhabitants of Van der Pek' and 'new inhabitants of surrounding neighbourhoods'. When analysing what places the different groups of inhabitants visit or do not visit, their living location might be an important factor that influences their choice. In those cases, I made a distinction between the inhabitants living outside the neighbourhood, the new inhabitants of the Van der Pek neighbourhood and the longstanding inhabitants of the Van der Pek neighbourhood. For code groups where living location did not influence the results I would categorize the inhabitants of surrounding neighbourhoods and the new inhabitants of Van der Pek neighbourhood as 'new inhabitants'. Both groups lived in or around the Van der Pek neighbourhood for less than five years and both are part the foodscape for less than five years. Although the group of respondents living outside the neighbourhood are no inhabitants of Van der Pek, they are equally new to the neighbourhood as the 'new inhabitants living in Van der Pek'. Therefore I call these two groups combined 'new inhabitants'. In some cases I did not filter the groups at all when it was relevant to know what all respondents said about a topic, regardless of how long they have been in the neighbourhood. In the following chapters I state at the beginning what groups I analyse in that chapter.

3.3 OBSERVATIONS

One of the methods I used to obtain information about the neighbourhood was through observations. I performed these observations every time I visited the neighbourhood for an interview. Additionally, before I planned the interviews I visited the neighbourhood twice to make observations. In total I visited the neighbourhood on ten separate days. The days I visited the neighbourhood were always working days, Monday to Friday, and I spent time there between 9 o'clock in the morning and 5 o'clock in the afternoon. It differed per visit how much time I spent observing the neighbourhood and at what time of the day I observed the neighbourhood. On days I had one interview I sometimes only spent time observing in the time I biked or walked to and from the interview. Other days I took time to walk around after or before an interview to make

observations varying from one to three hours. On days that I had two interviews planned I often biked or walked through the neighbourhood and made observations on my way to the interview. In between the interviews I often visited a shop, restaurant or café for approximately an hour and made observations there. I noticed that I chose places that I was most attracted to. The places I visited multiple times were Fashion & Tea, Café Keppler and the supermarket Albert Heijn. Other places that I visited, I selected because they stood out to me or because a respondent had mentioned something interesting about that place. These were places as the supermarket Deen, La Coccina, Café Oud Noord, the market and non-food shops such as the community centre, clothing store Pek & Kleren, the local bookstore and new home decor shop. I made quick notes on my phone when moving around or in my notebook when sitting in a café or restaurant. I wrote down what kind of visitors I saw, what the atmosphere was like, and what the offer was like. If there were other aspects that caught my attention I would also write these down. When sitting in a café or in the train back home I sometimes clarified the short notes on my laptop. Additionally I took pictures of the establishments in the neighbourhood that stood out to me or were often mentioned in interviews or that were of significant value for the atmosphere of the neighbourhood. The latter applies to for example Van der Pekplein, the square that serves as an entrance to the neighbourhood, a sign next to Café Modern or a cargo bike shop.

3.4 INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS

While performing observations I had occasional informal conversations with inhabitants, the manager of the community centre, shop owners of different non-food shops and cafés. Before the start of my fieldwork I had an informal conversation over the phone with a student that used to live in the neighbourhood. These informal conversations were used to get some insight in the neighbourhood and to assess what the most efficient way would be to search for interview participants.

3.5 FOOD MAPPING

To determine the existing foodscape of this neighbourhood, I assessed Google Maps to map the existing food provisioning places. I mapped these places using Google My Maps, I edited this map using Adobe Illustrator and Microsoft Word. To secure that every business was mapped out, I visited the neighbourhood to visualize and add to the map of the foodscape. To determine if the foodscape had changed during the gentrification of the neighbourhood I listed the year of establishment per business. These dates were retrieved from the Dutch Chamber of Commerce Trade Register. The places were categorised based on their description in the Dutch Chamber of Commerce Trade Register. The original year of establishment of 'Café Oud Noord' is unclear. The current owners registered the café in 2008. However respondents indicated the café has been in the neighbourhood for much longer. No one, including the employee of the café I spoke to, was able to tell me the exact year of establishment.

The map includes all businesses with the main aim of providing food to their customers, such as cafeterias, coffee shops, bars, restaurants, supermarkets, markets, food specialty shops. Excluded are businesses that have a main purpose other than selling food, such as drugstores and Tabaco shops. There are three streets in the Van der Pek neighbourhood that house establishments (Figure 7). The Van der Pekstraat, described as economic core of the Van der Pekbuurt neighbourhood, is a so-called 'city street' (Bestuurscommissie stadsdeel Noord, 2017b). A city street is an important street in the city that houses a lot of establishments (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017). At the beginning of Van der Pekstraat a square is located: Van der Pekplein, which is also included. The other two streets are Mosveld where a large new shopping mall is located, and Hagedoornweg. In between Van der Pek straat and Mosveld is a square located, Mosplein, which is also included in the research.

Additionally I made three maps using Google My Maps, edited in Adobe Illustrator, showing the grocery stores the three groups of respondents visit, based on their interviews.

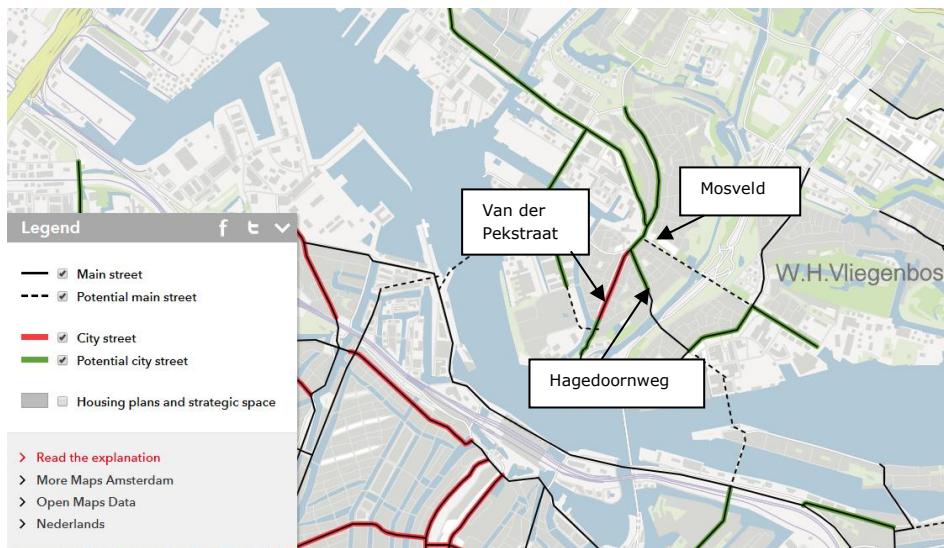


Figure 7- Van der Pekstraat, Hagedoornweg and Mosveld (Gemeente Amsterdam Ruimte en Duurzaamheid, 2017a, adjusted by the author)

4 GENTRIFICATION IN VAN DER PEK NEIGHBOURHOOD

During the fieldwork I spent a lot of time in the Van der Pek neighbourhood. To describe the neighbourhood I narrate what it was like for me to bike from the station into the neighbourhood. After that I explain how the neighbourhood is gentrifying based on my observations and interviews.

4.1 BEING THERE

From Wageningen I arrive at Amsterdam Central Station and rent a public transport bike. To cross the IJ river, I go aboard a crowded ferry. On the ferry I see a lot of locals, but what strikes me most and what I do not remember from years ago when I used to visit a friend in the North, is the amount of tourist that take the ferry to visit Amsterdam North. In less than five minutes we arrive at the other side of the IJ river. I get off the ferry and immediately see some large buildings like the Eye Film museum and two large cafés. It is super crowded at the ferry dock and difficult not to bike into tourist that hold still in the middle of the road to find out where to go. In a stream of bicycles I bike over a not very remarkable road, surrounded by some old buildings and a lot of green and water on the right. After a minute of this view I see the high buildings of the neighbourhood Overhoeks rising across the water on the left. The most eye-catching building is a futuristic looking yellow building of which I am not sure whether it is meant for housing, an office or industrial purposes. Suddenly, straight ahead, I see the typical yellow houses with orange roofs. At this point I have lost most of the other bikers and the roads become more quiet. The first thing I see is Van der Pekplein, a square perfectly split in half with on both the right and left side restaurants. It is a sunny day and the terrace on the left side of the square is crowded, it looks inviting to take a seat.

Next to the square on the right side there is an old building that houses 'Café Modern' that separates these grey houses from the yellow rest of the neighbourhood. Café Modern is a modern looking place with small lights outside. Peeking through the large windows I see the freshly baked breads stacked. On the chalkboard outside I read that these are home baked fresh sour dough breads. I enter the road that divides the square and go into the neighbourhood: Van der Pekstraat, a long street with houses on both sides and trees and parking spots in the middle section. I notice that the trees are young and not that tall yet, probably the street was renovated. After the square, there are no shops but only houses at the first part of Van der Pekstraat. Some of the streets on the left or right are obstructed due to the renovation of the houses there. At the third housing block I have to bike on the opposite side of the street because the houses of that block are being renovated. After a couple of side streets the first shops appear such as a laundrette, shoe maker and bookstore. The first place on the right is Fashion & Tea, a small shop that sells clothes and where you can sit to have coffee or tea. It is one of my favourite places for a coffee but it is not open right now. Halfway into Van der Pekstraat, I encounter more shops. This is where the market usually begins. Today there is no market: people, mostly elderly, sit on the benches in the middle section. Biking along, I see a foreign bridal shop at the right and a small shop that sells handmade puppets on the left.

Reaching the end of Van der Pekstraat, I pass by SmaaQt on the left, which is busy with people sitting on the terrace. The visitors are a mix of older people that have a coffee or lunch together. Looking through the window I see someone working on a laptop. Next to SmaaQt there is a typical brown café called 'Café Oud Noord'. This place looks quiet. Next to this is on both side of the streets a fish place. One is a traiteur and the other appears to be a restaurant. They do have the same name, I wonder why there are two of them. On the right there is a shop that stands out to me because of its looks. It is a small grocery shop with a lot of Arabic signs. The interior and smell makes me think of the shops in Morocco. However the shop front has typical Delft Blue tiles picturing products you can buy at the shop. There are a lot of visitors that are a mixture of white and non-white with a variety of international clothing fashions. I get closer to the end of Van der Pekstraat, approaching Mosplein.

At the end of Van der Pekstraat there is a roundabout, after the relatively quiet Van der Pekstraat, the traffic feels really busy. I see a large hotel looming up in front of me. There is a kebab shop that looks hip compared to

the shabby kebab shops I often see in other places. On the window is a sign that says the place welcomes flight attendants of delta air, who stay in the hotel on the other side of the road.

I try not to get hit by scooters and other cyclists who are all going in different directions and have no intention of paying attention to the rules. Through the chaos, I go straight ahead to get onto Mosplein where a lot of fast-food places are located. Then I see the new shopping centre Mosveld. A mix of all kind of people is shopping at the shopping centre. Everyone walks with shopping bags. Some people stop to talk to each other. The shopping centre feels like a wall that borders the neighbourhood, I cannot see what lays behind it. In total I have been biking for approximately five minutes when I reach Mosveld, the end of the Van der Pek neighbourhood.

4.2 GENTRIFICATION

In the previous chapter I explain why the Van der Pek neighbourhood is a suitable case to study the effects of gentrification on the foodscape and food choice of the inhabitants. During my fieldwork I encountered two indicators that there is indeed a gentrification process going on in the neighbourhood. These are: 1) The upgrading of the neighbourhood and 2) a new group of inhabitants.

4.2.1 UPGRADING AND RENOVATIONS

One clear indication of the gentrification process is directly visible when you enter the neighbourhood. In front of Café Modern, which is located next to the square at the beginning of the neighbourhood, there is a red sign that translates: "Demolish? Bad idea! We do not step aside for the rich" (Figure 8). The inhabitants of Laanweg, the street right behind Café Modern, placed this sign. The houses at Laanweg are social housings where people with a low income have priority and the monthly rent is € 540,12 (WoningNet, 2019). However an interviewee that lives at Laanweg explained that there are plans to break down the houses in order to build expensive apartments. To protest this the inhabitants of Laanweg placed this sign. The irony is that they placed the sign in front of Café Modern, a relatively new place in the neighbourhood that attracts people with a higher income. At the top floors of the Café there is a boutique hotel where you can spend one night for a price between €100 and €200 (Booking.com, n.d.). This sign in front of that specific café is the perfect example of a neighbourhood at the beginning of the gentrification process: a sign protesting the breakdown of social housing placed by inhabitants who pay €540 rent per month in front of a place where people pay €200 for one night.



Figure 8 - Sign (left top) placed by the inhabitants of Laanweg (left bottom) in front of Café Modern (middle and right), source: Google Maps street view, social media, and personal photographs

This feeling of outsiders or 'others' taking over the houses in the neighbourhood is also presented on Hoodmaps, that maps out what people think of the different neighbourhoods in the city. It is an online tool made by a Dutch entrepreneur and is based on personal observations of thousands of people (Levels, n.d.-a). The map (Figure 9) shows that in the Van der Pek neighbourhood 'hipsters are buying houses from "arbeiders" (the working class)'.

indicating this feeling of others taking over the houses of the current inhabitants, insinuating a gentrification process.

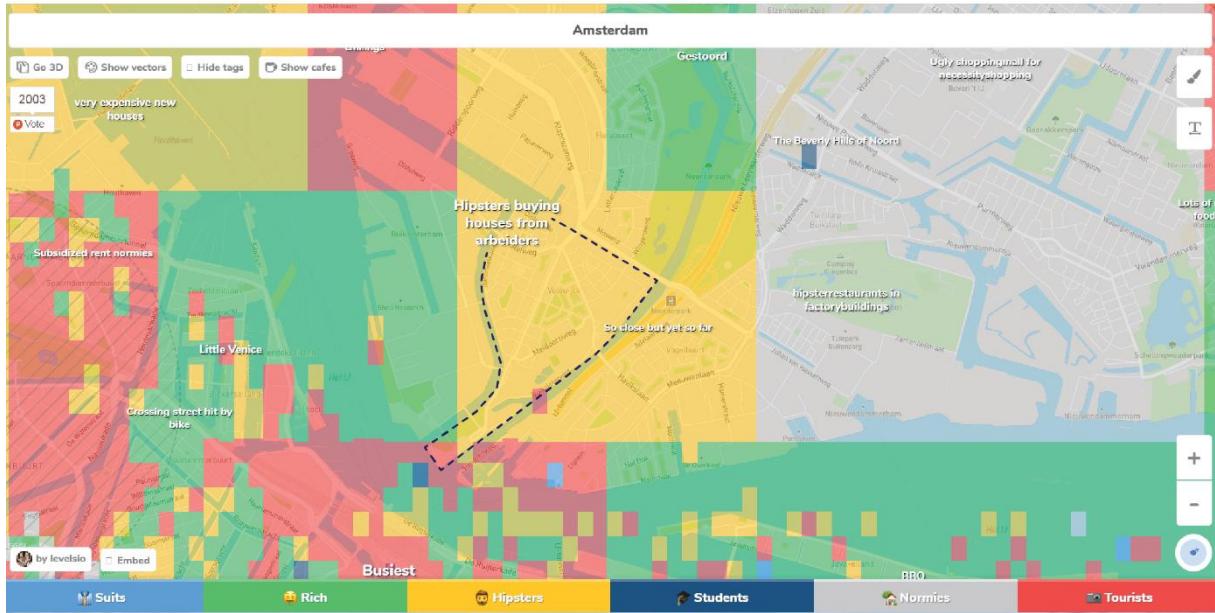


Figure 9 - map of Amsterdam listing different traits of neighbourhoods (Levels, n.d.-b)

Besides these visual signs, factors indicating that the gentrification process is happening in the neighbourhood were mentioned in the interviews with inhabitants as well. Over the years the inhabitants have seen a lot of changes in the neighbourhood. At first, there was a time from approximately 2007 to 2009 when the neighbourhood used to be a really bad place. There was a lot of criminal activity.

Respondent #964: "First we saw the neighbourhood downgrade, that was not nice, my daughter did not dare to walk on Van der Pekstraat due to murders and other incidents."

This respondent indicates that in 2009 the neighbourhood got nominated to be upgraded. She does not mention by whom. She indicates that the renovations changed the neighbourhood in a positive way. She is happy that some of the original inhabitants stayed and that the people causing problems left. Van der Pekstraat upgraded and a lot of new establishments opened. The whole image of the neighbourhood changed. A new inhabitant expresses that 10 years ago she probably would not move to the Van der Pek neighbourhood. Now, the neighbourhood has an attractive and trendy appearance. A longstanding respondent gets more positive reactions compared to the past when she says where she lives.

Respondent #963: "What I notice is that when they used to ask where I live and I would reply 'in the Van der Pek neighbourhood' then people would respond 'Oh well, you live there...' [in a negative way] but when I say that now they reply 'Wow! you live there!' [in a positive way] so that is a good indication"

Inhabitants notice that the municipality invests in the neighbourhood and they think the neighbourhood looks better. There are now also more playgrounds for children. An important part of the renovations are the houses. The houses only visibly changed on the inside, the design and appearance of the neighbourhood cannot be changed because they are specially designed by the architect Van der Pek and therefore protected. The renovation of the neighbourhood is still going on at the moment. This was something I noticed when visiting the neighbourhood: a lot of housing blocks are under construction. Some have signs of a housing corporation that sells the houses. Other blocks are renovated by a different corporation and will be rented to both the original

inhabitants and new inhabitants. The people I interviewed told me how I could tell the difference between the original and the renovated houses: the renovated houses have brighter orange tiles.

However, the inhabitants already had to go through a lot when the previous large renovations in the neighbourhood took place.

Respondent #935: "It was a hard time, first the [Van der Pek] street was broken open, we had to move [into our house] in the sand, [...] after that we were disconnected because Mosveld was built [a lot of streets] were paved and new metro lines were built, which means that for a while you are on your own with the rest [of the neighbourhood]"

All the constructions were impractical and caused some isolation. The longstanding inhabitants were not always happy about the actual changes in the neighbourhood. Especially since it caused the rental prices to go up and it would attract other inhabitants.

Respondent #964: "I heard protests amongst the inhabitants: 'They are placing all these yuppies [in the houses] and it gets more expensive!'"

According to the respondents the longstanding inhabitants really protested to keep the social housing in the neighbourhood. The sign in Figure 8 is a good example of this. The renovated houses are now rented for a higher price. However, after conversations with the housing corporation, the longstanding inhabitants are allowed to move back to their original house for a lower price than new inhabitants. Nowadays, there are less complaints compared to before.

Respondent #987: "When I came here there were a lot of complaints, now that is less"

The new inhabitants also are content about the renovations. When they list the reasons to move to the neighbourhood they mention that they saw a lot is happening in the neighbourhood, which means they noticed the upgrading and were attracted by this. Positive traits of the neighbourhood for them are that the neighbourhood is near the city centre and that there are a lot of services nearby such as shops and a school. On the other hand some indicate that it is a quiet neighbourhood and some miss the liveliness of the city. Apart from this one of the main reasons for the new inhabitants to move there is because the housing market in Amsterdam is tight and they just except any available house regardless of where it is located.

Now that the neighbourhood is upgrading, a lot more tourists are attracted to visit the neighbourhood and some houses are now also rented out on Airbnb.

Respondent #995: "There was no reason for tourist to visit the North but now you can drink good coffee here, you can go to the cinema and you can do nice shoppings"

Also inhabitants from other parts of Amsterdam come to the neighbourhood now.

Respondent #329: "The terraces [of the restaurants and cafés] are more crowded"

The increase of tourists and visitors from outside the neighbourhood is seen as positive. It leads to a livelier atmosphere and it is good for the businesses in the neighbourhood. Besides that it is a signal that the neighbourhood is becoming more attractive for outsiders.

So overall the gentrification process of the Van der Pek neighbourhood can be recognised by a couple of factors: the houses are upgraded and new inhabitants are attracted to the neighbourhood. The prices went up which was protested against by the longstanding inhabitants who are now able to move back into the renovated houses for a lower price than new inhabitants. Besides that, the neighbourhood is upgrading and attracts a lot of visitors from outside as well.

4.2.2 INHABITANTS

One important phenomenon that happens during the gentrification process is the change in inhabitants: new inhabitants are attracted to the neighbourhood. These new inhabitants often have a higher income compared to the original inhabitants because they need to be able to afford the higher prices of the upgraded houses in the neighbourhood. In the gentrification process it often happens that longstanding inhabitants no longer feel welcome in their neighbourhood due to the change of the character of the community in favour of the new residents (Cohen, 2018a).

Right now the inhabitants of the Van der Pek neighbourhood are often described as a mix: young and old, low income and high income, natives and immigrants, longstanding and new, people with problems and yuppies. Inhabitants expect that more new inhabitants will come to the neighbourhood in the future. However, one inhabitant hopes that the longstanding inhabitants will not be displaced because of all the changes. Right now, the most important reason why the number of longstanding inhabitants in the neighbourhood is decreasing is the fact that they are getting older.

Respondent #995: "A lot has changed, for starters, when I came to live here there lived a lot of older Amsterdammers but they passed away now."

So the longstanding inhabitants of Van der Pek are ageing and when they pass away this gives room to new, younger inhabitants. The respondent mentions that younger people, starters and young families come to the neighbourhood. The word 'gentrification' is literally mentioned by one respondent when he indicates the change in the neighbourhood. He describes that in the owner occupied houses there live people that both work 9 to 5.

Respondent #437: "Mostly in the owner occupied houses there often live dual-career couples"

The new inhabitants are described as Young Urban Professionals (yuppies) and some new inhabitants describe themselves as yuppie. However, the word 'yuppie' is not always positive. And the longstanding inhabitants are not always happy about them moving into their neighbourhood.

Respondent #964: "There suddenly came a number of those yuppies [to my shop], ah yuppies, new inhabitants [I mean] because I think yuppies is kind of a curse word"

Young families with dual-career parents are attracted to the neighbourhood. It is mentioned that suddenly there are a lot more children in the neighbourhood. I also saw this when biking around and the new inhabitants I interviewed often had young children. The respondents indicate that they assume the new inhabitants have a higher income because the renovated houses are more expensive. Some respondents think the new inhabitants have a higher education, where longstanding inhabitants have a lower education but they are careful with expressing this and mention that they do not know this for sure.

Another new group of inhabitants that came to this neighbourhood as a result of the gentrification process are students. They can live for a low rent in the houses that will be renovated. They occupy the houses for the housing corporation in the period of time after the original inhabitants had to move out and before the renovations are started.

Hochstenbach & van Gent (2015) describe there has been a shift in Western European cities lately. There is an increase in young people, a group of middle-class inhabitants who are willing to remain in the city after family formation, and a traditional working class that is getting older. This is currently happening in Van der Pek as well. Out of the three models from Hochstenbach & van Gent (2015) that explain gentrification (described in the conceptual framework), the ageing model best describes the Van der Pek neighbourhood: there is an influx of new inhabitants that have to pay higher rents and are therefore assumed to have a higher income. At the same time the group of longstanding inhabitants is getting older and slowly passes away.

Additionally, something that is often seen as cause for displacement of longstanding inhabitants is that the children of longstanding inhabitants cannot live in the neighbourhood anymore because they are unable to afford it and new inhabitants take their place. This is happening in the Van der Pek neighbourhood as well, mostly because of the new inhabitants who come to live in the available houses.

Respondents #964: "There came new neighbours, because the houses that became available, it was no longer granted that your daughter or son got that [house]"

The change in inhabitants also has an influence on the atmosphere in the neighbourhood. The respondents point out that in general the renovations were good for the neighbourhood but the influx of new inhabitants was not always positive for the atmosphere. The neighbourhood is often described as a village where everyone knows each other. Now that the new inhabitants live in the neighbourhood this changed.

Respondent #963: "The inhabitants complain there is little cohesion in the neighbourhood. In the past everyone used to sit on the side walk and in the streets"

Now the longstanding respondents indicate that there is still good contact with neighbours but is not as much as it used to be. Everyone thinks their neighbours are friendly, they greet each other and make small talk. However, it is mentioned by a respondent that the new inhabitants had to get used to this. Everyone is described as helpful, when you need something you can always ask your neighbour. However, the village-like gatherings in the streets disappeared when the new inhabitants came into the neighbourhood.

Respondent #964: "It is like a village, if I haven't seen my neighbour for three days, I knock on her door to ask how she is doing. That worked both ways. But now that is lost because a lot of people leave."

Thus the longstanding inhabitants see that the village-like character of the neighbourhood disappears, which is not necessarily a positive trait. On the other hand there is still a lot of social contact, just not as intense as it used to be. One reason for this is the difference in lifestyle. The new inhabitants indicate that they do not see their neighbours because they do not go to the same places as them. The longstanding inhabitants indicate that they do not see their neighbours because the new inhabitants work from 9 to 5.

Respondent #964: "I think that you don't see the new inhabitants because the costs [of the houses] are high and in the families both [parents] need to work so they order a lot online and are busy with their job"

Overall there are more young people and families moving to the neighbourhood. This changes the atmosphere in the neighbourhood. The longstanding inhabitants do not particularly like this, however the new inhabitants like the atmosphere. The two groups of inhabitants have different lifestyles that cause their differences. This is an important finding, which might give a first indication of the effects the gentrification process has on the inhabitants. The longstanding inhabitants do not indicate that they no longer feel welcome but the community is changing due to the new inhabitants. If this change keeps proceeding and more new inhabitants come to the neighbourhood, it could possibly result in longstanding inhabitants to feel unwelcome.

5 FOODSCAPE & GENTRIFICATION

This chapter illustrates the results that relate to the concept 'foodscape' in relation to the gentrification process in the neighbourhood. I describe what the physical foodscape looks like, how it has changed over the past years and what the inhabitants perceive has changed. After this, I describe what the respondents think about the affordability and accessibility of the food in the neighbourhood.

5.1 CHANGE

A lot has changed in the neighbourhood over the past years. The main change is the general increase in establishments. To illustrate the change in the neighbourhood, I present three small cases of three different establishments in the neighbourhood. In this section I compare longstanding inhabitants and new inhabitants. When I write about the 'new inhabitants', this includes both new residents of Van der Pek as well as surrounding neighbourhoods.

5.1.1 INCREASE IN PLACES OVER THE PAST YEARS

The gentrification process often goes hand-in-hand with a change or upgrade of the food available in the gentrifying neighbourhood. This was indeed the case in Van der Pek neighbourhood: an immense increase in places was seen over the past years. One important event that contributed to this was the development of a new shopping centre at Mosveld. The inhabitants express that the increase has made it easier for them to acquire food since there is now a larger variety to choose from. However, some places mostly attract new inhabitants and some are too expensive for the longstanding inhabitants. To investigate the change in the neighbourhood, I asked the participants about the change they noticed and I listed the years of establishments of the different places in the neighbourhood in Table 2. In Figure 10 I show a map of all the establishments.

Over the last years, almost all the interviewees noticed that overall the offer increased immensely. Some longstanding inhabitants point out that at first there only were an Albert Heijn supermarket, the Van der Pek market and a small turkish grocery shop. Now, there are two large supermarkets, some smaller grocery shops, some specialty shops and the market, so that one can choose where to shop for groceries. Table 2 shows that of the 38 establishments, 19 originate from five years ago to now. Seven establishments were vested nine to six years ago. The other 11 of the 38 establishments have been in the neighbourhood for longer than ten years. So, over the past 10 years, 27 new establishments came to the neighbourhood and stayed there to this day. The respondents indicate that, except for some specific shops, such as an organic supermarket, a plastic-free shop or a country specific 'toko', everything you need is available in the neighbourhood.

Table 2- List of establishment in the neighbourhood, divided per category, sorted per year of establishment

Name	Year	Age (years)	Name	Year	Age (years)			
To-Go (purple)								
Royalvis & Traiteur	2010	9	Max restaurant	1983	36			
Steakhouse Pizzeria Noord	2014	5	Eetcafé number one	2005	14			
Suri to go	2016	3	Eetcafé Mosveld - Schnitzel Place	2006	13			
Stewart & Sally	2017	2	eethuis Safir	2007	12			
Cafés (red)								
Café De Bult	1943	76	Restaurant II Pecorino	2011	8			
Café koffiehuis Blokker	2002	17	Meneer Kebab	2013	6			
Café Oud-Noord ⁶	2008	11	Royal Med	2013	6			
Café Modern	2012	7	SmaaQt	2014	5			
Café Keppler	2016	3	Kims Burgers & Broodjes	2016	3			
Specialty shops (yellow)								
Royalvis & Traiteur	2010	9	Kannibalen en Paradijsvogels	2016	3			
Bakkerij de Bakkerszonen	2015	4	La Cocina empanadas	2017	2			
Bakerij Dolzon	2016	3	Grocery stores (blue)					
Slagerij Kaddour	2018	1	Albert Heijn	1982	37			
Volendammer Vishandel Tuyp	2018	1	Tropical Center Noord	1990	29			
Fast Food (brown)			Supermarkt Van der Pek	1997	22			
Cafetarie Berry	2010	9	Avondwinkel Mina	2001	18			
Snackbar FEBO	2015	4	DEEN Supermarkt	2016	3			
Chitir Chicken	2016	3	Other (light green)					
Taco Mundo	2017	2	Fashion & Tea	2014	5			
			Van der Pek Markt ⁷	2014	5			
			Proflokaal Fromagerie Abraham Kef	2017	2			

⁶Café Oud Noord existed for longer, the new owners took over the café in 2008. It is unknown what year the café was established.

⁷The Van der Pek market has been present since the 20th century, but changed its location to Van der Pekstraat in 2014 (Pek op Noord, n.d.).

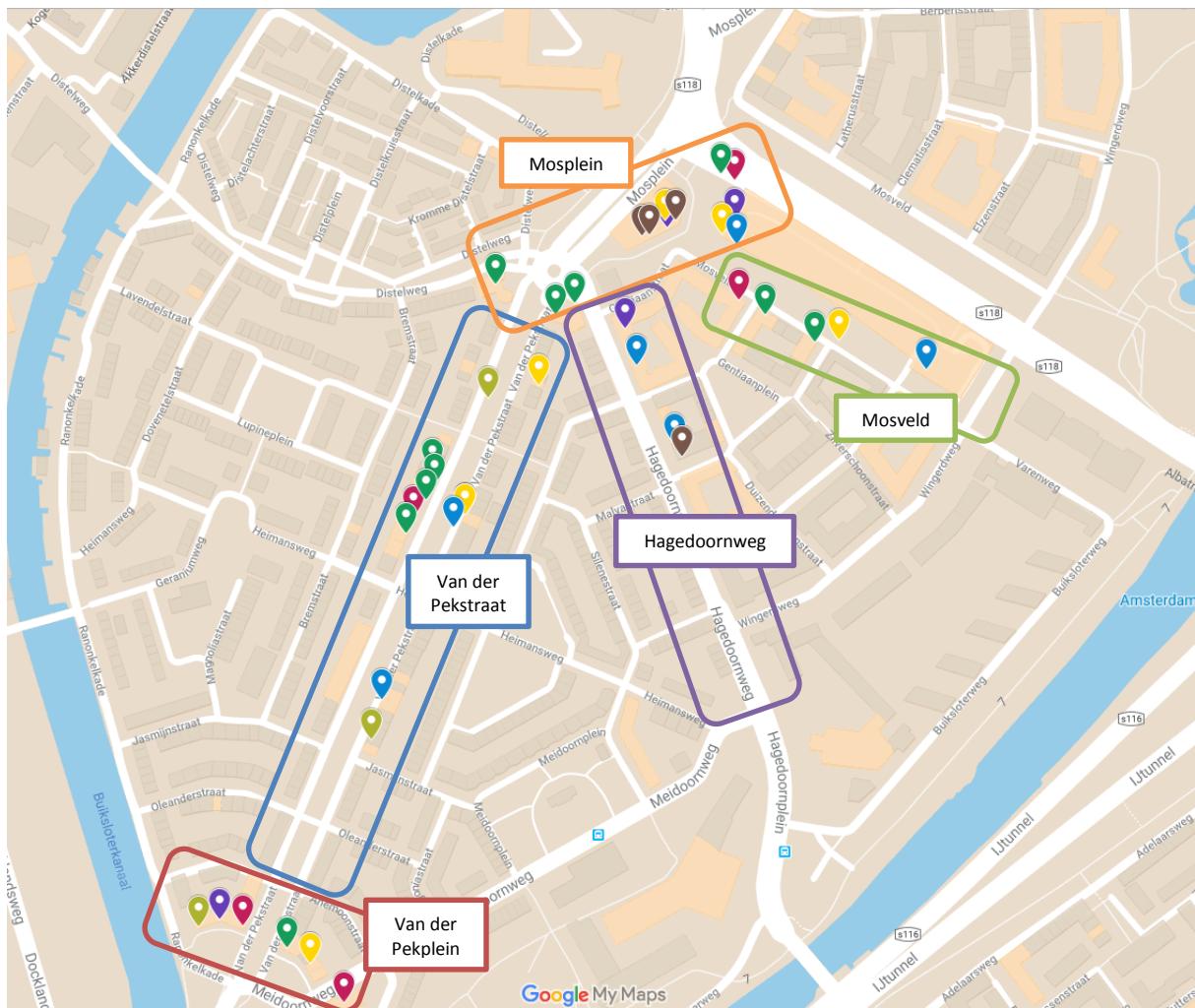


Figure 10- Map of the establishments in the Van der Pek neighbourhood, including To-Go facilities (purple), Cafés (red), specialty shops (yellow), fast food places (brown), restaurants (green), grocery stores (blue) and other procurement (light green)

One important event that contributed to the change in the neighbourhood was the new shopping centre at Mosveld. In 2014 the shopping centre was built, forcing the open market to move to Van der Pekstraat, because it was located at Mosplein, at the end of Mosveld, in the middle of the construction area (Geschiedenis Mosveld, 2018). Albert Heijn moved to the new Mosveld shopping centre and a new supermarket, Deen, opened there as well. Respondents who moved to the neighbourhood over the past years, indicate that when they moved, they knew it would be easy to acquire food, since Mosveld was built. Respondents indicate that they can buy everything they need within the neighbourhood, which is partially because of the new shops at Mosveld. However, the renewal of Mosveld was also accompanied by an increase in unhealthy fast food and to go facilities, which some interviewees describe as a negative effect. Additionally, some inhabitants are not happy with the move of the market due to the shopping centre, because they liked the old market better. However, most indicate that everything is still nearby enough.

During the time I performed fieldwork in the neighbourhood, one new home decor shop was opened. This was a non-food shop and is therefore not included in the list. Nevertheless, the informal conversation I had with the owner gives a good example of how the inhabitants respond to new places. She described that at first the longstanding inhabitants had to get used to the fact that she was opening a new shop. However, now that the

shop is opened, they come in to take a look and are enthusiastic. Still, most of her actual clients come from the neighbourhood 'Overhoeks', which is often indicated by the inhabitants as the place where the rich people live.

5.1.2 THREE MINI-CASES ILLUSTRATING THE CHANGE

To illustrate the change in establishments I will describe three mini-cases: Il Pecorino, Kims Broodjes & Burgers and Café Keppler (Figure 11). The three places are often mentioned when discussing the change in establishments in the neighbourhood over the past years, and therefore provide a good example of the change participants saw in the neighbourhood. They are often compared in the interviews to illustrate the difference between places visited by longstanding inhabitants (Kims Broodjes & Burgers) and visited by new inhabitants (Café Keppler and Il Pecorino).

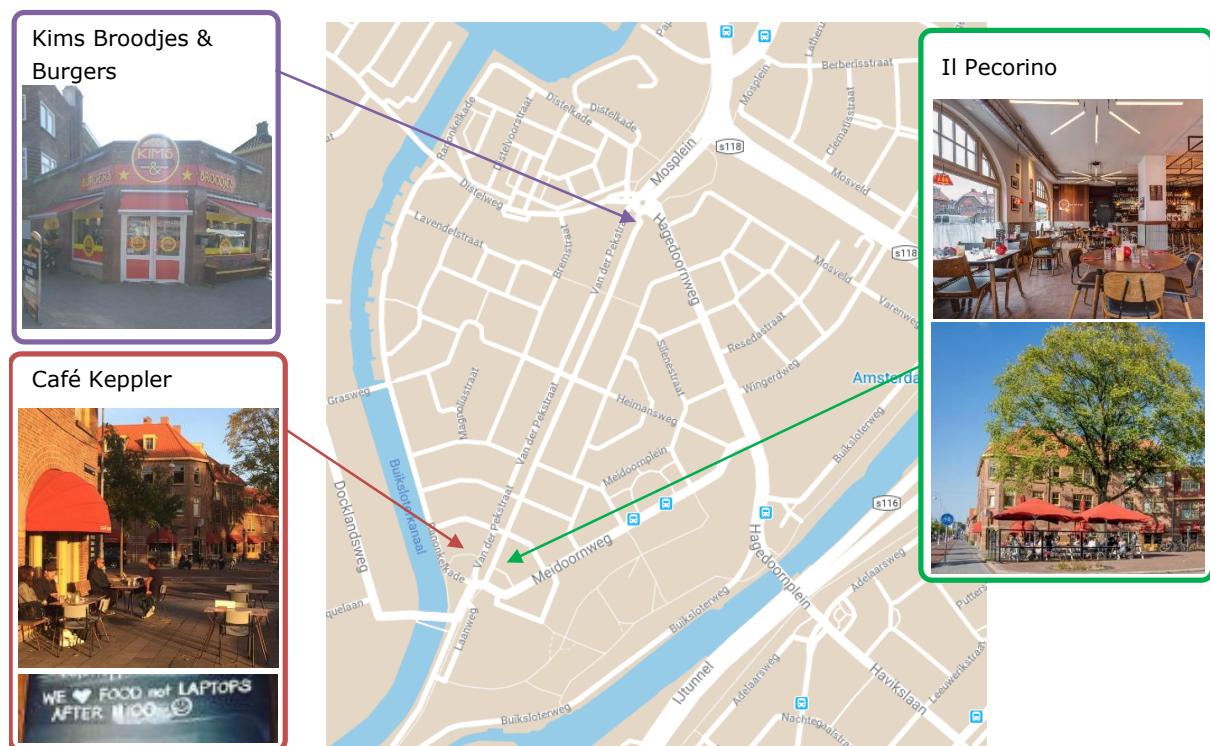


Figure 11 - Locations and pictures of the three mini-cases (source: social media and personal photographs)

5.1.2.1 IL PECORINO

The first place is Il Pecorino, an Italian pizza place. The place has been in North for almost 10 years. During that time it changed locations within the neighbourhood multiple times. At first it used to be in a small building where only six people could be seated. Now it has a prominent place in a large building at the beginning of the neighbourhood. Not only is the restaurant described as always crowded, a lot of people take away pizza there to eat at home as well. Except for one interviewee that does not like the pizzas there, most respondents are very enthusiastic about the place. However, it is often mentioned that the place is expensive, and therefore one respondent thinks it is mostly visited by new inhabitants. One longstanding inhabitant points out that because of the high prices she does not visit the place too often and thinks it is not suitable for the inhabitants. So, Il Pecorino grew out to be a popular place in the neighbourhood over the past ten years. It is relatively new and indicated as mostly suitable for new inhabitants due to the high price.

5.1.2.2 KIMS BROODJES & BURGERS

Another place that changed over the past years is what is now called 'Kims Broodjes & Burgers', a burger and sandwich shop that used to be a horse butcher. The current owner is the grandchild of the owner of the butchery. The owner's father took over the shop 25 years ago, after first being a merchant at the market. This means that the original butchery existed for over 25 years in the neighbourhood. Since the place also sold sandwiches and burgers, which got more lucrative than selling meat, the current owner changed the place into a sandwich and burger shop in 2016 (Pekopnoord, n.d.). According to an interviewee, old clients of the shop still order their meat there. It appears that Kims Broodjes & Burgers is more popular amongst longstanding inhabitants.

5.1.2.3 CAFÉ KEPPLER

A third place that is often mentioned when asked about the change in the places in the neighbourhood, is café Keppler, since it became very popular over the last years. The café was first called 'Soepboer' and located in a smaller place in Van der Pekstraat. When the café relocated and became Café Keppler, the clients from Soepboer came along. The café is now a very popular place in the neighbourhood. During my fieldwork I visited the place twice. Next to this, every time I entered the neighbourhood I came by the café and could look inside through the windows. It was always crowded with young 'hip' looking people, for example a young couple planning their trip to Australia and a fashionable couple working on their laptops. Next to this, the café also has a corner with toys for children, where I saw families sit together for lunch. Besides that, I also observed some elderly people, just having lunch or coffee together. This place is often used as an example of a place mostly new inhabitants visit. It appears to be less popular amongst longstanding inhabitants. One respondent described this by using the example of 'the cargo bike' (Figure 12)⁸, which for her is a sign of Young Urban Professionals (yuppies), a group she categorises as 'new inhabitants'.

Respondent #964: "Well there are 100 bikes parked outside the door at Café Keppler, something like that, cargo bikes, [...] THE cargo bike."

The cargo bike is mentioned by another interviewee as well to indicate new inhabitants.

Respondent #329: "Young Urban Professionals, yes you keep seeing more of them, yes we also have a cargo bike, [that means] you belong to that group."

Another factor that for me indicated the place was attractive to these 'yuppies' was that after 11 'o clock there is a no-laptop policy, which I already showed in the picture in Figure 11. This indicates that apparently the number of people working on laptops in Café Keppler was getting out of hand. This can also be interpreted as a sign of Young Urban Professionals: people who are freelancers and work from cafés on their laptops.

What also caught my eye when visiting Café Keppler was the fact that their menu (Figure 13) lists something simple as a mug of filter coffee for €2, as well as a V60 for €4 and a Chemex for €6. These last two are unfamiliar coffee names to me, and also are a lot more expensive compared to the filter coffee. This might indicate a mixed target group or at least some kind of adjustment to visitors with a lower income or less coffee knowledge than people that can afford €6 for a Chemex. On the contrary, the simple €2 filter coffee might be targeted at visitors that 'just want coffee'. This might indicate that although it is perceived as a place for mostly new inhabitants, also longstanding inhabitants are targeted at the place. I noticed this too: two longstanding inhabitants suggested to meet at the café for the interview. Two longstanding inhabitants mentioned in their interviews that they visit the place. Café Keppler is described as a place to chat with your neighbour. So, even though the café is sometimes



Figure 12 - Cargo bike shop in the Van der Pek neighbourhood

⁸ The first time I visited the neighbourhood I noticed that there is a large bike store in Van der Pekstraat that sells these cargo bikes (Figure 12). The store has been there since 2013, so six years of age. Hence, it is relatively new in the neighbourhood.

still described as a place targeted at new inhabitants, the behaviour of the interviewees themselves represent the fact that Café Keppler might target both new and longstanding inhabitants.

KOFFIE EN THEE	
Espresso	2,50
Americano	2,50
Espresso macchiato	2,80
Cortado	2,80
Cappuccino	2,80
Koffie verkeerd	3
Flat white	3,80
Mok filterkoffie	2
V60 300ml	4
Chemex 500 ml	6
Thee (GLAS / POTJE)	

Figure 13 – Coffee menu of Café Keppler

When conducting interviews I asked the participants to what extent they had seen a change in the places to acquire food over the past years. One respondent points out that there is an increase in more modern, urban places, which is symbolic for the general change in the neighbourhood that used to be more like a village. But he also thinks that both the new places and the original places are able to grow alongside each other, which he thinks is positive. This also came forward in the three mini-cases: Kims Broodjes & Burgers changed their concept to what works in the neighbourhood and is able to sell to the longstanding inhabitants, while on the other hand a places as Il Pecorino can grow because of the new inhabitants. One respondent points out that a lot more restaurants opened that she considers to be more 'hip', which she associated with being more expensive. One participant describes that five years ago the restaurant and lounge spot 'De Ceuvel' was opened just outside Van der Pek neighbourhood, which also attracts visitors from outside the neighbourhood.

Respondent #995: "For the first time you saw groups of young people who biked through North on their way to something fun"

So this indicates that the neighbourhood and surrounding neighbourhoods are becoming more attractive to visit, due to the new establishments.

Next to this, the establishments that form the three mini-cases were described when the interviewees were asked about the change in establishments. Kims Burgers & Broodjes is compared with Café Keppler and Il Pecorino as a place where mostly longstanding inhabitants come versus one where mostly new inhabitants come.

Respondent #995: I think the new mostly go to the new cafés or Keppler or Il Pecorino [...], there you see more the hip and [...] the original Amsterdam person, doesn't go there."

In summary, there is Kims Broodjes & Burgers, an establishment that has been present in the neighbourhood for over 25 years. This is a typical place for longstanding respondents. On the other hand there is Il Pecorino, a place that is relatively new in the neighbourhood and over the years grew out to become a very large and popular establishment. However, the price is a bit high for longstanding inhabitants, so mostly the new inhabitants go there. This might explain the increase in size and popularity over the last years. When the neighbourhood started gentrifying this lead to an influx of new inhabitants. These new inhabitants often have a higher income and therefore visit an establishment such as Il Pecorino. The increase in clientele made it possible for Il Pecorino to grow. One could say the place is thriving, due to gentrification. Lastly there is Café Keppler, a café that is described

to be most popular amongst new inhabitants, although the place might be aiming to target both new and longstanding inhabitants. The menu offers a variety of 'simple' and more affordable coffees, as well as more expensive and 'extravagant' coffees. These three cases illustrate that there are different kinds of establishments in the neighbourhood. There are places that have been there for a long time and are mostly visited by longstanding inhabitants. There are places that are able to grow due to the influx of new inhabitants. And then there are places that are new and might appear to attract new inhabitants but that might try to bridge the difference between longstanding and new inhabitants. What I saw in general is that the increase in places is perceived as something positive, since it leads to a larger variety of choices.

5.1.3 GREENLINING

An important concept when analysing the foodscape of a gentrifying neighbourhood is supermarket greenlining, a concept by Anguelovski (2015). She describes that in gentrifying neighbourhoods there is an increase in supermarkets or offer of organic products that promote better health and environmental friendliness, which she calls 'greenlining'. The reason for this is the fact that new inhabitants are interested in this. On the other hand, in her research Anguelovski (2015) found that this greenlining leads to feelings of exclusion amongst the longstanding inhabitants. When I asked a respondent whether she thought the inhabitants of the neighbourhood would like an organic shop, she replied:

Respondent #409: "Well I don't think the old inhabitants [would like it], but I think, other people would, when I'm with [parents of other children] [...] then I hear them talk about it as well"

In the Van der Pek neighbourhood I saw that although the new inhabitants indicate in the interviews that they are more interested in organic and sustainable options, greenlining is not yet happening on a large scale.

Respondent #409: "What I would like is if there would come an organic shop [to this neighborhood] [...], I'm not sure if there will ever open on, it might be possible"

However on a small scale it is already happening. For example, there is an organic themed market on Fridays. Next to that one respondent indicates that she has the feeling that the offer of organic and vegetarian options in the supermarket increased over the last years.

Respondent #409: "I have the feeling that at Deen [...] the offer of meat replacers and those kind of products [...] has increased compared to when we first came to live here."

However, these products are becoming more popular in general and Deen is a supermarket chain, so the offer might not solely be influenced by the increased wish for organic products of the inhabitants of the Van der Pek neighbourhood.

So the new inhabitants of the Van der Pek neighbourhood are more interested in organic and sustainable products compared to the longstanding inhabitants. As described by Anguelovski (2015), supermarket greenlining is a phenomenon that occurs in gentrifying neighbourhoods to add to the preferences of the new inhabitants. In the Van der Pek neighbourhood greenlining is not yet happening at large scale. However based on the fact that the new inhabitants are interested in organic and sustainable products, it might be possible that in the future greenlining might happen on a larger scale. If this happens, feelings of exclusion amongst longstanding inhabitants might increase, as Anguelovski (2015) states.

5.2 LONGSTANDING INHABITANTS DO NOT FEEL EXCLUDED

As mentioned in the problem statement, during the gentrification process the number of establishments might go up. At the same time the accessibility of the establishments does not increase for longstanding inhabitants.

This means that often in a gentrifying neighbourhood longstanding inhabitants feel excluded. A reason for this might be that in the gentrification process the price of houses and stores increases. This in combination with the higher income of the new inhabitants leads to higher prices of products, above the price range of longstanding inhabitants with a lower income. Next to the fact that the products are too expensive for longstanding inhabitants, they also might no longer feel welcome in the establishments. In the following two paragraphs I discuss the inhabitants perception of the 'affordability' and 'accessibility' of the establishments of the Van der Pek neighbourhood.

5.2.1 AFFORDABILITY

Most of the inhabitants indicate that the price is affordable when directly asked about the affordability of the food in the neighbourhood, especially at the market. However, it appears that not all places in the neighbourhood are affordable for every inhabitant. The offer in the neighbourhood is generally described in the interviews as 'mixed, just like the inhabitants'. In this case this relates to the fact that there is a mix of affordable and expensive places. New inhabitants answered that 'to them' the price was affordable, indicating that this only counts for them specifically, but that it might not be the case for other inhabitants. One longstanding inhabitant indicates that if you choose wisely, you can buy affordable food in this neighbourhood.

Respondent #935: "You should know what you choose, but SmaaQt is for example kind of expensive, Il Pecorino as well, but I have once had a bit cheaper there, but uhm well the fish traiteur is very affordable [...] and Paradijsvogels & Kannibalen [...] is also pretty affordable"

This means that some places are more expensive than others: if you have a lower budget, you need to choose wisely. All the respondents I interviewed indicate that they do not feel that they spend a large amount of their income on food. Most of their income is spend on their rent or mortgage.

There is an increase in 'hip' restaurants, which are thought of as more expensive. One interviewee feels that there is a division between the new inhabitants and longstanding inhabitants with a lower income. She mentions that she never sees her neighbours, who are mostly longstanding inhabitants, on the terraces of the establishments in Amsterdam North. This respondent thinks longstanding inhabitants are not looking for "these" places, indicating the terraces in North that she thinks are above their expenses. On the other hand there are inhabitants that are able to afford the cup of coffee at Café Keppler.

Respondent: The coffee prices range from €2,50 to €4,50, depending on what you order. For us that is possible but that is not the case for the average person.

Interviewer: Would you say that the other inhabitants of the neighbourhood are unable to afford that? Or are not willing to pay that price?

Respondent: Definitely not no, in our neighbourhood⁹, well every Wednesday there is a gigantic line in our street for the food bank¹⁰, those are not the kind of people that can spend that amount of money [on coffee]

This indicates a division between the places new inhabitants with a higher income visit and the places longstanding inhabitants visit. Another interviewee mentions something similar about the supermarkets in the neighbourhood:

Respondent #496: "Albert Heijn I find a bit too expensive supermarket [for this neighbourhood], in five years this might be less [a more suitable supermarket for this neighbourhood], [...] this also counts for Deen [...] but I had indeed expected a cheaper supermarket."

⁹ The food bank for inhabitants of the Northern district is located in Vogelbuurt, a neighbourhood located East of Van der Pek.

¹⁰ Apparently there is a group of inhabitants that have so little money to spend that they need to go to the food bank.

The respondents also compare the prices in the neighbourhood to other neighbourhoods in Amsterdam. A respondent living in the East of Amsterdam indicates that the food in her own neighbourhood is cheaper, however since the Van der Pek neighbourhood is easier to access for her, due to her working schedule and the available parking places, she chooses Van der Pek over her own neighbourhood. However, it is also indicated that compared to the rest of Amsterdam, the prices in the Van der Pek neighbourhood are affordable.

When asked whether they noticed a change in price over the past years, some respondents indicate that prices in the Netherlands in general went up. But this was not seen specifically only in the neighbourhood or due to the change of establishments. One also indicated that she thinks the new establishments that settle in the neighbourhood are determined by the prices of the buildings and the other places that are there already. She does not think the type of inhabitants have any influence on what establishments settle in a neighbourhood. So, based on this, it appears the respondents do not link the fact that there are now also more expensive establishments to the new inhabitants.

Overall, the respondents feel that no matter their income, inhabitants are able to buy food in this neighbourhood. However, the respondents express that if you have a lower budget, you should be more careful what you choose, because some places are too expensive for certain inhabitants. This is in line with what Cohen (2018), Meltzer, (2016) and Sullivan (2014) found: in a gentrification process new establishments settle in a gentrifying neighbourhood but these establishments are above the expanses of the longstanding inhabitants. However, they saw that the price of establishments that existed before the gentrification process also increase during gentrification. This does not seem to be the case at the Van der Pek neighbourhood right now. However, their findings might implicate that in the future the prices of the original establishments might increase. This might result in a decrease in the number of establishments where inhabitants with a low income can acquire food.

5.2.2 ACCESSIBILITY

Most interviewees indicate that the places to acquire food are easily accessible. Consumers can access the food by all means of transportation: by foot, bike or car. The physical accessibility is good and still would be if one would have problems walking. It is mentioned that friends of respondents, as an exciting trip, cross the river by ferry and go for dinner. These friends think that the food in the neighbourhood is easily accessible. Someone mentioned that outsiders regularly visit SmaaQt and Café Oud Noord. Respondents point out that everything is nearby enough for them, even the respondents that are not living in the neighbourhood itself. When directly asked both new and longstanding inhabitants indicate that they feel welcome in all the establishments in the neighbourhood. One new inhabitant indicates that there are certain places she would not visit because she does not feel like it is for her. However she indicates that she still feels welcome there:

Interviewer: Are there places where new inhabitants don't go that often, but where original inhabitants go?

[...]

Respondent: Yes, that bar, I think

Interviewer: Oud Noord?

Respondent: Sometime I stand in front of it and then I think, if I go in there, then... yes...

Interviewer: Do you feel welcome everywhere?

Respondent: Yes, well there I wouldn't easily....

Interviewer: Not there?

Respondent: No, I don't want to go there, but I do feel welcome.

When asked whether they feel different from other visitors, most indicate they do not. One respondent, living at NDSM, mentions that she feels very similar to the people in that area, since they are all the same age. However, when there are 'ultimate hipsters' she does feel different. She does feel different from the inhabitants in the Van der Pek neighbourhood. She thinks there live older people there, real original

Amsterdam-people and a lot of immigrants. However, one new inhabitant, a student, mentions that even though he thinks the inhabitants might not see it like that, he does identify as a true inhabitant of the Van der Pek neighbourhood, and sees it as his own neighbourhood. So the inhabitants do not feel different at the places they visit, but they hint towards feeling different in general.

Inhabitants do not indicate they feel excluded; it appears that everyone feels welcome and has access to the establishments in the neighbourhood. However, it appears that the inhabitants do not feel comfortable at every place. This might relate to what Cohen (2018b) describes happening in a gentrifying neighbourhood: there might be different cultural codes in the different establishments. This might cause groups of inhabitants that are unfamiliar with these codes to feel uneasy when they would enter such an establishment.

6 FOOD CHOICE

In this part I describe the food choices of the inhabitants. First I list the determinants the inhabitants base their food choice on. I also describe the results I found that relate to 'Consumption & Status'. I will discuss this as part of this chapter, because unknowingly people's food choices might be influenced by inconspicuous consumption behaviour. Secondly I describe the choice of establishments the inhabitants make.

6.1 FOOD CHOICE DETERMINANTS

During the interviews I asked what important factors the respondents base their food choice on. These determinants influence the choice of products they buy in a store, café, etc. but also what store or café they choose. Here I compare the longstanding inhabitants with the new inhabitants. I do not divide the new inhabitants based on where they live. I want to illustrate what factors influence their choice of food in general, regardless of their location. I want to illustrate the difference in food choice between the two groups in general: new versus longstanding inhabitants.

For the longstanding inhabitants health and price are the most important factors they base their food choice on. Next to that, factors as daily routine, for example coming home late from work, family composition and vegetarian diets play a role in their food choices.

Respondent #964: "[When I come home late from work, I] often call a delivery service, 'just give me a pizza'."

Additionally, cultural specific factors influence the longstanding inhabitants food choice, such as choosing halal meat. Lastly, there are some factors that influence the food choice of the respondents, such as choosing a place where they know the owner over other places. For the longstanding inhabitants the economic determinant (cost, income, availability), physical determinant (access, education, skills (e.g. cooking) and time) and social determinant (culture, family, peers and meal patterns) mentioned by European Food Information Council (2006) are the most important determinants for their food choice.

For the new inhabitants I interviewed health is an important factor they base their food choice on. Price is important in some situations but not always. Next to this, factors such as family composition, daily routines and their appetite and preferences influence their choice. Additionally, sustainable, organic and vegetarian choices are important to the respondents. Lastly, the offer and appearance of places influences the choice of some respondents. So for the new inhabitants social determinants (culture, family, peers and meal patterns) and their attitudes, beliefs and knowledge about food are the most important determinants they base their choice on.

There are two major difference between the new and longstanding inhabitants I interviewed. For the longstanding inhabitants price is very important. The new inhabitants indicate that price is important in some situations but not always. For longstanding inhabitants price is more important than for new inhabitants. Both groups mention vegetarian, organic and sustainable choices, but for the new inhabitants this appears to be more important. In the following two paragraphs I explain the differences between the two groups regarding these food choice determinants.

6.1.1 DIFFERENCE IN INCOME

In the Van der Pek neighborhood case, longstanding inhabitants indicate that price is one of the most important factors they base their food choice on. On the other hand, for the new inhabitants price can be important in certain situations but is not the most important factor in their food choices. In a gentrifying neighborhood longstanding inhabitants often have a lower income compared to the new inhabitants (Cohen, 2018a). Besides that whether the cost of food plays a big role in an individual's food choice is defined by income and socio-economic status (European Food Information Council, 2006). This might explain why for the longstanding

inhabitants price is more important when making food choices: they probably have a lower income compared to the new inhabitants. Although food is for none of the respondents one of their largest expenses, there are some clues that indicate that the longstanding inhabitants indeed have a lower income than the new inhabitants. For example one longstanding inhabitant mentioned in the interview that she does not go out to eat often because she has a small budget. Respondents think that the original inhabitants of Amsterdam North do not have a lot to spend. The example of a new clothing shop 'Pek & Kleren' is often used as an example of a new shop that opened in the neighbourhood but does not fit there at all due to the high price and the group they target. When I visited the shop to ask whether they knew some inhabitants I could interview, the owner told me she did not know anyone in the neighbourhood.

Respondent #964: "There came more shops, but then they [the Northerners] say 'not our kind of shop' [...] take Pek & Kleren, that is a very nice shop but the Northerners, the original Northerners don't go there because the price is higher. And I'm not saying that they are poor, the old Northerners, but they do pay attention to their money"

On the other hand, the new inhabitants are often described to have a higher income. When I asked whether respondents thought the new inhabitants of the neighbourhood had a higher income, one replied the following:

Respondent #964: "Well, I think they are forced to have a higher income because the costs [of the houses] are incredibly high"

Thus, the difference in income between the longstanding and new inhabitants might explain why the longstanding inhabitants I interviewed more often indicate that price is an important factor to base their food choice on. While for the new inhabitants it is only sometimes important but not the most important factor.

These findings are in line with what is mentioned in the literature about gentrification and the differences between the new and longstanding inhabitants of a gentrifying neighbourhood. Right now there are affordable and more expensive places in the neighbourhood. So, for every inhabitant with any type of income the current offer suffices. However, the new places are often more attractive to new inhabitants and are more expensive. Over time probably more new and affluent people are attracted to the Van der Pek neighbourhood because more houses are upgraded or the number of original inhabitants decreases due to aging. When this happens, shops that are suitable for longstanding inhabitants might also become more scarce, or more expensive, this is often seen during a gentrification process. If this happens, this might pose a threat for the longstanding inhabitants, since price is such an important factor to them. If the prices go up, this will not be a problem for the new inhabitants for whom price is a less important food choice determinant. Eventually, this might decrease the access for longstanding inhabitants, while it does not for new inhabitants.

6.1.2 CONSUMPTION & STATUS

Amongst the longstanding inhabitants I interviewed two indicated they eat little meat and one of them also tries to eat seasonal products. None of the longstanding inhabitants I interviewed indicate that they choose organic products. One specifically indicates she does not.

Respondent #964: "I don't care whether it is organic or not!"

On the other hand the new inhabitants talk a lot more about vegetarianism, organic products and sustainability. Vegetarianism is not explicitly mentioned as an environmentally friendly decision but there are more vegetarians or inhabitants who eat less meat amongst the new inhabitants I interviewed compared to the longstanding inhabitants. The new inhabitants in the interviews talk about making sustainable decisions whenever this is possible. This is something that did not come forward during the interviews with the longstanding inhabitants. This might relate to what Currid-Halkett (2017a) describe as 'Conspicuous production': the consumer is interested in product's production and it's point of origin. Part of this is avoiding negative environmental impacts

of globalized production of goods (Currid-Halkett, 2017b). This might give the consumer a higher status, since it requires knowledge and money to be able to consume these kinds of products. When I asked whether consumption can give a person a higher status some respondents, both new and longstanding inhabitants, think this might be true. There are also respondents who think consumption does not give a person status. None of the inhabitants indicate that they consume to gain status themselves. However, the new inhabitants seem to think that it is important to make organic, sustainable and vegetarian choices. There are also establishments in the neighbourhood that pay attention to the production and story behind their products. For example, when I visited Café Keppler it was mentioned on their menu that they roast their own coffee, bake their own bread and cake, cut their own fries, home can their own pickles and pepper their own hot sauce. This really emphasizes the production process and story behind their food, which might mean that they target inconspicuous consumers. So, even though they are not aware of this or do not want to admit it, the new inhabitants might buy these products because they have the money or knowledge to do so. They might have higher cultural capital than the longstanding inhabitants. When this indeed gives the consumer a higher status this might lead to an increased access for new inhabitants, since status can result in receiving goods with more care or higher priority (Lahlou, 2008).

Another form of consumption could be occurring in a gentrifying neighbourhood is 'inconspicuous consumption'. The first form of this 'cost-of-information inconspicuous consumption', these are goods that are not necessarily more expensive, but they are only accessible through information one would need high cultural capital for to understand, specific knowledge. I linked this to the concept 'foodies' of Johnston & Baumann (2010). There was one respondent that fits this description. She indicated that she is attracted by the looks of places; she likes places with a hip appearance.

Respondent #324: "I like those typical Amsterdam hip appearances with plants and lights and, yes, I am more attracted to that, I'm sensitive to that, to the looks of those places"

She also pays attention to the appearance of the products she buys and likes special products.

Respondent #324: "I like sweet potato fries with truffle mayonnaise, I find those more interesting than normal fries with mayonnaise"

However, when places are too 'hip' for her taste she avoids them.

Respondent #324: "Places can get annoyingly hip, or become the one too many place that looks exactly the same, [...] but that might also depend on the people that go there, when everyone is acting all hip, then it can get a bit too much"

On the other she can also be attracted to places that do not have this 'hip' appearance because those are the places where she thinks you can find surprisingly good food. In general she indicates that she often chooses more simple places, where she can eat simple food, not too chic. However, to her food is very important and part of her lifestyle. She goes out for dinner multiple times per week and extensively investigated the neighbourhood when she came to move there. She has an entire bucket list of places that she wants to visit and friends ask her for advise when they want to go somewhere. On top of all of this, she shares a lot with her friends about the places she visits. She is the one her friends come to when wanting advice on where to eat. Therefore, I would describe her as 'foodie'. It might be possible that her 'inconspicuous consumption' might give her a higher status amongst her friend who go to here for information about places to visit. She is not the only one amongst the respondents; there is a new respondent that likes to visit the Café Oud Noord, the old café in the neighbourhood. This might relate to the concept of foodies since they tend to look for authentic places. Besides that she tries to buy a lot of organic products and takes the environment in account, which links to 'conspicuous production'.

There is a form of consumption that is used to improve the quality of health, which is not only about status, but also about quality of life (Currid-Halkett, 2017c). There was nothing specifically mentioned in the interviews and

I did not observe anything in the neighbourhood to assume that this is happening in the Van der Pek neighbourhood. The respondents all indicate that it is easy for them to acquire healthy food in the neighbourhood, although for some this is more important than for others. Overall there does not appear to be a clear distinction between the longstanding and new inhabitants.

So it might be possible that the new inhabitants gain a higher status by making more organic, sustainable and vegetarian choices compared to longstanding inhabitants. The group of new inhabitants are often thought of as having a higher income and education, this might link to higher cultural capital. It might be so that the behaviour of these new inhabitants adds to their status by inconspicuous consumption and conspicuous production. Even though they might not be aware of this, they might make certain food choices that increase their status. As I described before, in gentrifying neighbourhood greenlining can occur: an increase in a more sustainable and organic offer. If this happens, this could possibly lead to an increase in inconspicuous consumption or conspicuous production amongst new inhabitants. This might lead to increased access to food for them, since a higher status might lead to receiving access with higher priority or better care (Lahlou, 2008). Additionally this could even lead to increased feelings of being unwelcome for the longstanding inhabitants if they are not treated in the same way as the new inhabitants as is often seen in gentrifying neighbourhoods (Cohen, 2018a). If this is the case, this could even lead to a further decrease in accessibility to food for longstanding inhabitants.

6.2 CHOICE OF ESTABLISHMENTS

An important aspect of 'food choice' is the choice where to buy food. In this section I make a distinction between 'new inhabitants that live within the Van der Pek neighbourhood' and 'new inhabitants of surrounding neighbourhoods'. There is a difference between the places the new and the longstanding inhabitants of the Van der Pek neighbourhood and the inhabitants of other neighbourhoods visit (Table 3). I discuss these differences in the following paragraphs.

6.2.1 GROCERY SHOPPING

When comparing the three groups of interviewees (Table 3, Figure 14), it stands out that there is a difference in places where they do their grocery shopping. The new respondents that live in the Van der Pek neighbourhood mostly do their grocery shopping within the neighbourhood. The respondents that live outside the Van der Pek neighbourhood choose the supermarket closest to them. It stands out that a lot of longstanding inhabitants shop, apart from at the market, mostly outside their own neighbourhood.

Most longstanding inhabitants indicate in the interviews that they mostly buy their groceries in a grocery store and additionally at the market. The most popular supermarket outside the Van der Pek neighbourhood is Jumbo. Jumbo has a larger offer compared to Albert Heijn. Jumbo is for some respondents a day trip: they walk there and get a coffee there. One respondent who drives a mobility scooter says that she likes Jumbo because it is easily accessible with the mobility scooter. Another reason for the longstanding inhabitants to shop outside their neighbourhood is the fact that they choose a shop that is on their route that day. Although the grocery shops are not located in the Van der Pek neighbourhood, they are still nearby enough:

Respondent #963: "They are here and that is in the neighborhood, they are actually part of it."

The two supermarkets inside the neighbourhood are Albert Heijn and Deen, they are both located at Mosveld. Mosveld is described as a place for the longstanding inhabitants, however a lot of new inhabitants say they shop at Albert Heijn that is located at Mosveld. This is also described by some interviewees.

Respondent #496: "We go to the same shops, we go to the same market eventually and uhm, that is also because there are no shops for example that focus on the upper class, so the difference is hard to see, because you just use what is present. Yes you could see a difference between Albert Heijn and Deen, that is the only class division you can see"

Table 3 - List of places visited by inhabitants, sorted on year of establishment

● = visited by 1 interviewee, ● = not visited by 1 interviewee, ○ = sometimes visited by 1 interviewee, ⚒ = 1 interviewee mentioned description of shop, but not name (VDP stands for Van der Pek neighbourhood)

Name (year of establishment)	New, outside VDP (n=3)	New in VDP (n=3)	Longstanding (n=5)
Albert Heijn (1982)	● ● ●	● ○ ●	● ● ● ●
Supermarkt Van der Pek (1997)		●	● ⚒
Number one (2005)			●
Café Oud Noord (2008)	●		
Royalvis & Traiteur (2010)		● ●	● ● ⚒
Il Pecorino (2011)	● ●	● ●	● ○
Café modern (2012)		○	
SmaaQt (2014)	●		
Fashion & Tea (2014)	●		●
Market (2014)	●	●	● ● ● ● ●
FEBO (2015)	●		
Bakkerszonen (2015)	●	●	● ⚒
Café Keppler (2016)	●	●	● ●
Dolzon (2016)		●	● ⚒
Kims Broodjes & Burgers (2016)			●
Chitir Chicken (2016)	●		
Deen (2016)	●	● ● ●	● ● ● ●
Steward & Sally (2017)	●		
La Coccina (2017)	●		
Taco Mundo (2017)	●		
Kadour (2018)		●	

¹Café Oud Noord existed for longer, the new owners took over the café in 2008. It is unknown what year the café was established.

² The Van der Pek market has been present in the neighbourhood since the 20th century, but changed its location to Van der Pekstraat in 2014 (Pek op Noord, n.d.).

One longstanding respondent thinks 'rich' people like Albert Heijn better because these people think the offer is of a higher quality. A reason to visit Albert Heijn mentioned by a new inhabitant of a nearby neighbourhood is that Albert Heijn is better accessible with the baby stroller. Another respondent living outside the neighbourhood uses Albert Heijn's grocery delivery service. The Deen supermarket is visited by a lot of inhabitants, both new and longstanding. This might relate to the fact that Deen is relatively new. Before Deen was located in the neighbourhood, only Albert Heijn was present as a large supermarket chain. Now that there is a new supermarket, inhabitants have more options. A new inhabitant of the Van der Pek chooses Deen over Albert Heijn because the organic products are better at Deen. One respondent points out that Deen is originally a shop from the province 'Noord-Holland' where Amsterdam is located, therefore it is "very local". She also thinks Albert Heijn is too expensive whereas Deen is cheaper and has simplified offer, which makes it easier to choose. Overall, Deen is described as cheap, and has kind employees, where Albert Heijn is perceived as expensive and has unkind employees. Since for the longstanding inhabitants price is an important they determine their food choice on, it makes sense that they prefer the cheaper Deen over Albert Heijn. This might mean that in the time when Albert Heijn used to be the only grocery store in the neighbourhood they had to look for alternatives outside the neighbourhood. Additionally, the longstanding inhabitant chose grocery shops outside the neighbourhood because they are located on their route home. The new inhabitants had already an alternative to Albert Heijn when they came to the neighbourhood and therefore did not have to look for a supermarket outside the Van der Pek neighbourhood. Factors such as price, quality and offer in organic products also play a role in their decision where to shop for groceries. However, distance is the most important reason to decide what shop to go to.

Respondent #496: "A lot of days in the week you just want to be able to quickly get some food [...] at the end of the day that is the most important thing, whether it is nearby or not"

This is the same for the inhabitants of surrounding neighbourhoods: they also mostly go to shops that are closest to them or that are on their route home.

The choices of the new inhabitants of both Van der Pek and outside the neighbourhood are in line with what is previously mentioned about the new inhabitants, who are mostly described as 'yuppies' who work full time. After a long day of work they just want to go to the nearest supermarket to be able to quickly cook a meal. Or they already have their food at home because they shopped for this in the weekend or got it delivered to their house.

So there is a difference in grocery shopping between the groups of inhabitants. New inhabitants go to the nearest supermarket, while longstanding inhabitants search for a supermarket of their preference outside the neighbourhood. This is partly out of habit, since they did not have an alternative to Albert Heijn before Mosveld was built. After the recent changes, Deen has also become a popular supermarket amongst the longstanding inhabitants. This implies that the gentrification process had a positive effect on the availability of food and supermarkets in the neighbourhood.



Figure 14 – Most popular places where longstanding inhabitants of Van der Pek (left, purple), new inhabitants of surrounding neighbourhoods (middle, orange) and new inhabitants of Van der Pek (right, green) shop for groceries, based on interviews (the Van der Pek neighbourhood is indicated by the dashed line)

6.2.2 NEWEST PLACES

Apart from Café Keppler and Il Pecorino (discussed in the previous chapter), La Coccina and Kannibalen & Paradisvogels are often described in the interviews as a place for newer inhabitants. However, the places are not popular amongst the respondents. Only one new inhabitant indicates to visit these places. One longstanding inhabitant does not visit Kannibalen & Paradisvogels, since she thinks they might not be able to adjust the food to her dietary restrictions. This might relate to the fact that longstanding inhabitants do not visit new places in the neighbourhood because they are unfamiliar with the food offered at these places.

It appears that in general only one new inhabitant visits the new places established after 2016. This might mean that the newest places still need to be discovered by all inhabitants. Maybe the new inhabitants might act as frontiers and be the first to try these out, since longstanding inhabitants might not recognise the offer and are not willing to try it out.

6.2.3 FAST FOOD DELIVERY

Not only do the respondents go to the market, supermarket, cafés and restaurants, they also use alternative ways to acquire food: inhabitants get food delivered, some use an app, some share or distribute left-overs from stores, the food bank or the market and some receive home grown vegetables from people they know. However, this does not always work out, some would like to use alternatives or tried it before but currently they do not use them. Again, there is not a clear difference between the new and longstanding inhabitants that I interviewed. The most used alternative is to get food delivered at home. This is equally popular among longstanding, as well as new inhabitants. In Table 3 it stands out that only one new respondent from outside the neighbourhood specifically indicates that she does not visit unhealthy fast food places such as FEBO, Chitir Chicken and Taco Mundo. It might be the case that the fast food places are not popular. However when I visited the neighbourhood, I saw that there were always visitors in these places. Besides that these places also deliver food at home. Respondents describe that over the years they saw an increase in delivery cars and scooters throughout the neighbourhood. Some interviewees indicate that they do order their meals and groceries. Some only do this once or twice a month, but there is also a respondent that gets her groceries delivered twice a week. On the other hand there are also two respondents that indicate they never order food.

Respondent #964: "Yeah getting delivered, we do that often, but mostly local"

I think respondents did not mention they visit these places because they do not physically visit them, they let the food be delivered to them at home. Besides that, for most respondents health was an important factor they base their food choice on. Therefore it makes sense that the fast food places are not used that often by the respondents. Besides that, it might be possible that the respondents did not like to admit that they also make unhealthy choices once in a while.

6.2.4 ALL INHABITANTS VISIT PLACES OUTSIDE THEIR OWN NEIGHBOURHOOD

A lot of respondents indicate that they go to the city centre or other parts of Amsterdam to go out for drinks or dinner or to meet friends. This is often seen as a nice trip, or in combination with visiting a museum. The city centre is described as a place where a lot is happening, where a lot of entertainment can be found. Therefore it is attractive to go there. Amsterdam has a lot of nice places, so they do not want to only stay in their neighbourhood.

Respondent #329: "The reason is just because it is possible [to visit places outside the neighbourhood] Amsterdam is really nice so there are enough place where you can go"

Next to that, meeting in the city is often more convenient, when meeting with friends, because then they 'meet in the middle'. De Ceuvel, a place just outside the Van der Pek neighbourhood is also very popular amongst respondents.

Respondent496: "During summertime I visit de Ceuvel [...] those are more outdoor places, targeted at outside"

So, all respondents like to go for dinner or drinks in other neighbourhoods in Amsterdam to meet with friends or as a fun activity. There is no clear difference between the new and longstanding inhabitants when they visit restaurants or cafés outside their own neighbourhood.

7 THE VAN DER PEK MARKET ILLUSTRATES THE EFFECTS OF GENTRIFICATION

In the Van der Pek neighbourhood there are places that are more described as affordable and places that are more seen as expensive. The more affordable places are more visited by longstanding inhabitants, since they often have a lower income. I also described that everyone feels welcome and does not feel excluded from places. However, respondents indicated that there is a difference between the places longstanding inhabitants and new inhabitants visit. This adds up, because if new and longstanding inhabitants visit different places, they may not feel excluded, because they only visit the places that suit their wishes and income. However, the fact that they do not *feel* excluded does not mean the gentrification does not affect them. The municipality itself observed a division between new and longstanding inhabitants in general. They relate this to the recent developments in the neighbourhoods in the Old Northern district where the Van der Pek neighbourhood is located. The original inhabitants felt the impact of renewal and the large inflow of new inhabitants. This leads towards a division between the inhabitants (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019).

The case of the Van der Pek market illustrates how the neighbourhood is changing and how this change is influenced by the influx of new inhabitants as part of the gentrification process. The market will serve as a case to describe the decrease in accessibility that is happening. Duruz, Luckman, & Bishop (2011, p. 600) describe that food markets "represent cosmopolitanism in microcosm". They argue that "food exchanges in the marketplace are key sites for examining race relations in everyday settings and the ways urban planning influences these exchanges" (Duruz et al., 2011, p. 600). They talk mostly about race relations, where I focus on new versus longstanding inhabitants. However, this indicates that investigating a market can explain a lot about what is happening in a city. I first describe the history and foodscape of the market. After that I explain how the market represents the old neighbourhood. Lastly, I describe the accessibility to the market for new inhabitants and longstanding inhabitants and how this changed.

7.1.1.1 FOODSCAPE

Duruz et al. (2011) describe a food market as 'microcosm'. In the light of this thesis I would describe The Van der Pek market as a micro foodscape within the macro foodscape that is the Van der Pek neighbourhood. The market has a long history in the neighbourhood. At the start of the 20th century the market in the Van der Pek neighbourhood was held at Mosveld that is located around the corner of Van der Pekstraat. The market was moved to Mosplein, right at the end of Van der Pekstraat in 1927. However in 1965 the market was moved back again to Mosveld due to a new road that was constructed to access the tunnel underneath the river 'IJ' (Pek op Noord, n.d.). After the renovation of Van der Pekstraat started and the decision was made to build a shopping mall at Mosveld, the market moved to Van der Pekstraat in 2014, where it is still located today (Ruijsink, 2015). Next to the regular market, 'theme' markets were added. On Fridays there is a farmers'/organic market and on Saturday artisanal products, food, art and fashion are sold. On Wednesday there is the regular market (Pek op Noord, n.d.). The actual physical foodscape of the market differs per day. Figure 15 shows a map that is based on my own observations of the market on a Friday afternoon, combined with interviewee's descriptions of the market. It is often mentioned that there are three to four vegetable and fruit stands, two fish stands and a cheese stand, as well as a nut stand. The day I visited the market there were two fish stands, one at the beginning and one at the end. The one at the end also had picnic tables set up for the people to sit and eat, which they did. On the Friday of my observations, there were two fruits and vegetables stands. There was a poultry stand, a nut stand, a candy stand and a cheese stand. In between the food stands there were other stands, most of them were selling clothes and some were selling bed linen or toiletries.

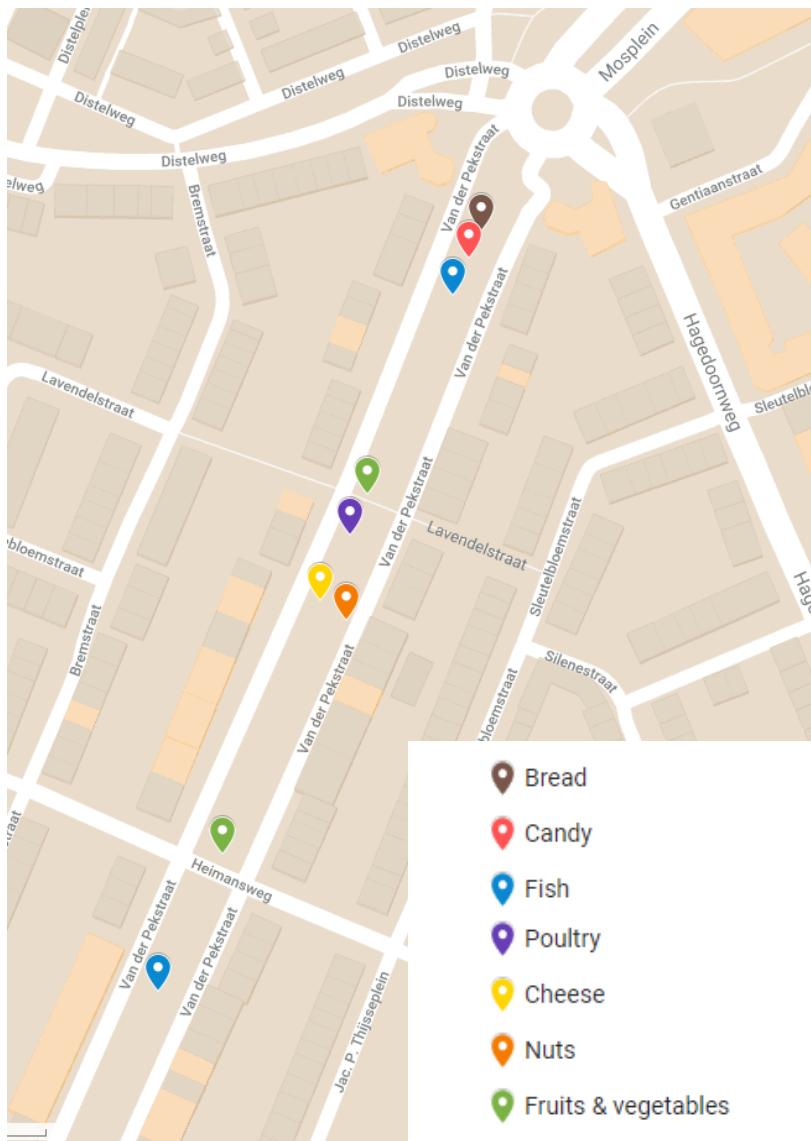


Figure 15 – Food map of the market, based on observations and interviews

A lot of interviewees indicated that they mostly get fruits and vegetables at the market, therefore they perceive the market as a healthy and fresh place. On the other hand, it is often mentioned that the fruits and vegetables do not stay fresh for a long time.

Respondent #987: "The market is cheap and good for families, but they don't stay [fresh] for long, so they need to eat it the same day"

Interviewees who have time to visit the market, do so for mostly their vegetables and sometimes cheese or fish. They buy additional products in a supermarket.

Thus, the market offers a lot of fresh products for a low price. However, the products decay fast and additional products need to be bought at the supermarket.

7.1.1.2 VAN DER PEK MARKET REFLECTS OLD NEIGHBOURHOOD

In some way, the market represents the neighbourhood:

Respondent #496: "The market I really find, this really is the Van der Pek neighbourhood, and there you really see the people that live here represented and especially people from the direct surrounding. [...] The people that are merchants at the market are, I think, locals."

When I visited the market, I saw indeed a mix of visitors. I noticed a lot of adults with children. There were also some younger people visiting the market. But most people looked a bit older, above the age of 30 or 40. Besides that, it is often indicated by respondents that the market is international, which I also noticed when walking around the market. I heard the typical Amsterdam accent, but also people that spoke foreign languages with each other and the merchants.

Respondent #935: "At the market you see all nationalities mixed, no matter how little you speak [...] with sign language you can make clear what you want"

The market also has its own norms and rules, for example one respondent indicates that a merchant selling shoes knows his clients. When she was low in money, he trusted her to pay her back later.

Respondent # 964: "when the girls were little and they needed new shoes, 'well I don't know if they fit', 'then you try time on' [...] 'take them with you and if they fit I get the money, but wait until you get the child support money'."

Another norm for the market is for example how the left-over products are handled.

Respondent #995: "when the market is just finished, then all the fruits and vegetables that, that don't make it, that are not sold, they leave them behind [...] and then we all bike to the market and get a whole freezer bag full of raspberries and blue berries and melon"

In summary, the market has been located in the neighbourhood for a long time. Respondents describe that it has its own rules and that represents the inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

7.1.1.3 NEW INHABITANTS DO NOT VISIT THE MARKET

When respondents point out how the market reflect the neighbourhood, they do not mention how it reflects the new inhabitants. This indicates that the market, in general, reflects the neighbourhood as it used to be before the new inhabitants came. The new inhabitants I interviewed indicate that they are unable to visit the market. The market does not fit in the daily lives of working people:

Respondent #329: "The market is only three days of course, and if you work full time [...] the market is more difficult, because in the weekend you also have other tasks to do"

However, some indicate that they would like to go to the market, especially for the cheap price. So, you might say that new inhabitants are excluded from the market, because it is not adjusted to the way they live their lives. However, when I spent time observing the market I did see some young parents visiting the market with their child. For me, it appeared that these people could be categorized as 'yuppies' and would possibly be new inhabitants. So there are probably new inhabitants who do visit the market. Besides that there are days that the market sells organic and artisanal products, something mostly new inhabitants base their food choice on. In the future when more new inhabitants come to the neighbourhood, they might be attracted to the market that sells products they are interested in. On the other hand, they might be able not visit the market because they do not have the time.

7.1.1.4 SHRINKING OF MARKET AFFECTS LONGSTANDING INHABITANTS

The first time I heard about the market was when talking to a friend that used to live in the neighbourhood. She mentioned that the market is now smaller and that the people are less interested in the market. She said that the new people are working full time and do not have time to visit the market. The fact that the market is not as

large as it used to be was confirmed during an informal conversation with a charity shop owner. During my fieldwork I visited the market twice, both times on a sunny Friday afternoon. Indeed, I saw that the market was not very busy and that it was rather small (Figure 16). When walking into the neighbourhood I wondered whether there actually was a market that day, since at first I did not notice it. In the interviews it was mentioned multiple times that the market is now smaller and that the old inhabitants complain about this. They preferred the market when it was still at Mosveld.

One cause for the market to get smaller was the fact that for merchants it became more and more expensive to have a stand at the market.

Respondent #964: "The market has had a death blow, because they just kept increasing the market price and kept shrinking size, that just isn't profitable for the merchants. They had to pay a fixed amount for the market and their stand, that increased so much that one could better rent a store [...] that did not benefit the atmosphere"

Next to an increase in price for the merchants and shrink in size, the access to the market for visitors from outside the neighbourhood decreased.

Respondent #935: "We got isolated because Mosveld was built [...] the market got less visitors, because they [only] got visitors from the neighbourhood, the others could not reach it"

Busses used to serve the market from neighbouring cities. It used to be a day trip for outsiders, which also led to visitors for cafés surrounding the market, market visitors would sit mostly at Café de Bult. This was until 2009, a respondent estimated, after that the prices increased and accessibility decreased. One respondent points out clearly that it is a vicious circle:

Respondent #964: "they [inhabitants] visit the market less, it is an interaction, because there is less [stands at the market], they want [to visit] less"



Figure 16 – Van der Pek market on a sunny Friday afternoon

So the fact that the market has become smaller makes it attract less visitors. Less visitors means less money for the merchants and therefore a smaller offer. A smaller offer makes the market less attractive to visitors. So this means, that the market probably will keep getting smaller, making it less and less accessible for the longstanding inhabitants

In summary, the market can be seen as a micro foodscape within the Van der Pek neighbourhood. It has a long history and its own social norms. It attracts a mix of people. The prices are low and the products are fresh, although they decay fast. Some longstanding inhabitants buy most of their food at the market. However, the market is getting smaller and thereby reducing the size or amount of places in the neighbourhood that are suitable for the longstanding inhabitants. On the other hand, for new inhabitants who work full-time, the market is also less accessible, since the opening hours do not fit in their schedule. This means that the number of visitors is not going up by the influx of new inhabitants. So, the influx is not preventing the shrink of the market, it might even enhance a further shrink in size.

When I look at this in the larger frame of gentrification, the market might be an indication of how far along the gentrification process is. The longstanding inhabitants are negatively affected by this because the market keeps

getting smaller due to the change in the neighbourhood and increase in prices of the market stands. In a gentrification process the neighbourhood changes and prices of houses and establishments increase, something similar is happening at the market. In the future this might even mean that the market, which has such a long history and represents the 'old' neighbourhood to some extent, might fade away. I can imagine that if the neighbourhood keeps attracting more and more new inhabitants, who replace longstanding inhabitants, the group of visitors for the market may become even smaller, since the opening hours are not suitable for the new inhabitants. However, the theme markets are more targeted at the preferences of the new inhabitants. So on the other hand, new inhabitants might be attracted to this. If in the future more new inhabitants move into the neighbourhood, this might lead to an increase in new visitors. When a lot of new inhabitants visit places that were originally visited by longstanding inhabitants, the longstanding inhabitants might feel less welcome and stop visiting the place (Cohen, 2018b). This might lead to decreased access to the market, a symbol of the old neighbourhood, for longstanding inhabitants.

8 DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

The main aim of this thesis is to explain the influence of the gentrification of a neighbourhood on the access to the food in this neighbourhood for the inhabitants. To explore this the following sub questions need to be answered:

- What does the current foodscape look like?
- How has the foodscape changed over the past five to ten years?
- Are longstanding inhabitants able to acquire and consume food in the foodscape of the gentrifying neighbourhood?
- Are new affluent inhabitants able to acquire and consume food in the foodscape of the gentrifying neighbourhood?
- What is the difference between the food choice of the new inhabitants and the longstanding inhabitants?

To find answers to these questions, I investigated the Van der Pek neighbourhood. I walked and biked around the neighbourhood and visited diverse establishments to make observations and had informal conversations with inhabitants and shop owners. I made a map of the foodscape and listed all the places and their year of establishment. Next to that I interviewed longstanding and new inhabitants of the Van der Pek neighbourhood and new inhabitants of surrounding neighbourhoods who use the Van der Pek foodscape. In the previous three chapters I presented the results that I retrieved from this research and here I present what I can conclude from these results.

The neighbourhood is at the beginning of the gentrification process. Houses are being renovated and longstanding inhabitants are slowly replaced by new inhabitants as they age and pass away. Other aspects of the neighbourhood are upgraded as well, such as the infrastructure and the development of a new shopping centre. There is an influx of new inhabitants into the neighbourhood. These new inhabitants are young people and families and they are often called 'yuppies'. The influx of new inhabitants changes the atmosphere in the neighbourhood. The two groups of inhabitants have different lifestyles that cause their differences. Because the number of longstanding inhabitants is slowly decreasing as they age and pass away, in the future more new inhabitants will come to the Van der Pek neighbourhood.

The current foodscape is very rich. The physical aspect of the foodscape is mostly located at Van der Pekstraat and Van der Pekplein, Mosveld and Mosplein, and at Hagedoornweg. The physical foodscape includes grocery stores, restaurants, cafés, specialty shops, fast food places, to-go places and uncategorized places such as the market. The biggest change over the past 10 years is the large increase in the number of establishments: 27 of the 38 establishments in the neighbourhood were founded in the past 10 years. For the inhabitants this increase means that now everything they need can be found in their neighbourhood. This means that one of the important factors that changed the foodscape was the development of the shopping centre at Mosveld. This resulted in an increase in establishments. The three mini-cases of Kims Broodjes & Burgers, Il Pecorino and Café Keppler illustrate that in the neighbourhood there are establishments that are suitable for longstanding inhabitants (Kims Broodjes & Burgers), places that were able to grow due to the influx of new inhabitants (Il Pecorino), and places that appear to be attractive to new inhabitants but also target longstanding inhabitants (Café Keppler). The new places are often more attractive to new inhabitants and are perceived to be more expensive. The inhabitants are overall satisfied with the changes in the foodscape. The respondents indicate that there is a variety in more expensive and cheaper places but with any size of income it is possible to acquire sufficient food in the Van der Pek neighbourhood. This increase in establishments is reflected in the inhabitant's choices in grocery shops. The longstanding inhabitants did not have a choice between different shops in their own neighbourhood, so they went looking outside their own neighbourhood for places that suited better with their wishes and preferences or were on their route to home. When the new supermarket, Deen, was opened this gave the inhabitants a new choice within their own neighbourhood. Deen became a

very popular shop, also because it is cheap. The new inhabitants had a lot more choice and simply choose the nearest supermarket. This indicates that the change has a positive effect: there is an increase in establishments within the neighbourhood. So overall, this is in line with what Cohen (2018a) and Meltzer (2016) found: gentrification leads to an increase in the establishments. Just like Meltzer (2016) I did find the increase in establishments. However, I took this one step further by also investigating the access to the establishments. Sullivan (2014) described that gentrifying foodscapes can become a 'food mirage' social or financial barriers exclude the longstanding, low-income inhabitants from accessing the food. When directly asked, the respondents indicate that the accessibility increased because the offer increased. It appears that everyone feels welcome and no one feels excluded. However, the fact that the inhabitants do not feel excluded does not mean that the changes as result of the gentrification process do not affect the inhabitants. There is a difference between the places the new and longstanding inhabitants visit. It appears that the inhabitants do not feel comfortable at every place. This links to the fact that the different groups of inhabitants have different lifestyles and that the influx of new inhabitants changes the atmosphere in the neighbourhood. Cohen (2018b) describes that in a gentrifying neighbourhood there might be different cultural codes in the different establishments, linked to these different inhabitants.

One of my findings that relate to this is the fact that the new inhabitants make more organic, sustainable and vegetarian choices compared to longstanding inhabitants. The choice of these kind of products is determined by the factor that stated by the European Food Information Council (2006) as 'attitudes, beliefs and knowledge', which is linked to cultural capital. The group of new inhabitants are often thought of as having a higher education and preference of products that acquire higher cultural capital. They make choices that relate to inconspicuous consumption and conspicuous production (Currid-Halkett, 2017c). This behaviour can give the new inhabitants, unknowingly, a higher status in the eyes of other inhabitants and shop owner. A higher status can lead to increased access to food: it might lead to receiving access with higher priority or better care (Lahlou, 2008). Right now this does not appear to be the case in the Van der Pek neighbourhood, since the offer is not that adjusted to this inconspicuous consumption or conspicuous production. The greenlining of supermarkets and establishments that Anguelovski (2015) described as an increase of these organic and sustainable products that new inhabitants prefer, is not yet happening in the neighbourhood at a large scale but it is seen at the market where now also organic and artisanal products are sold at certain days.

The other difference in food choices between the new and longstanding inhabitants I interviewed, relates to the economic determinant that is described by European Food Information Council (2006) as an important factor that influences food choice. For the longstanding inhabitants price is very important. The new inhabitants indicate that price is important in some situations but not always. For longstanding inhabitants price is more important than for new inhabitants. The respondents I talked to indicate that longstanding inhabitants often have a lower income compared to the new inhabitants. Therefore price is more important to them. Sullivan (2014) and Meltzer (2016) state that new establishments in a gentrifying neighbourhood often exceed the affordability of longstanding inhabitants. I observed something similar in the Van der Pek neighbourhood where the new establishments are often described as more expensive and more popular amongst new inhabitants. Since there are still enough affordable places present in the neighbourhood, the longstanding inhabitants still have access to affordable food. However, the case of the market might be an indication that in the future this availability in affordable places might decrease. Then, what (Sullivan, 2014) describes might also occur in the Van der Pek neighbourhood: longstanding inhabitants have no sufficient access to food because financial barriers restrain these inhabitants from acquiring food.

The implications for how the gentrification process might develop in the neighbourhood and how this affects the inhabitants all come together at the market. The market is a place where longstanding inhabitants shop for affordable groceries. It has been present in the neighbourhood for many years and reflects the old neighbourhood and its inhabitants. Currently, the market keeps getting smaller due to the change in the neighbourhood and decreasing amount of visitors. This affects the longstanding inhabitants in a negative way.

The new inhabitants currently do not visit the market since it does not suit their daily schedules and working lifestyle. The demographic shift mentioned earlier from elderly residents towards new inhabitants might result in less visitors for the market, making it become even smaller. On the other hand, the themed markets are more targeted at the preferences of the new inhabitants. So, the new inhabitants might be attracted to this. If in the future a greater number of new inhabitants move into the market, this might lead to an increase in new visitors. This influx might save the market. However, based on what Cohen (2018b) describes, this might exclude the longstanding inhabitants: when a lot of new inhabitants visit places that were originally visited by longstanding inhabitants, the longstanding inhabitants might feel less welcome.

8.1 CONCLUSION

The main question of this study is: What is the influence of the gentrification of a neighbourhood on the access to food of the inhabitants of this neighbourhood?

In conclusion, I can state that during my study period there was an increase of establishments in the gentrifying Van der Pek neighbourhood (Figure 17). This appears to be positive at first sight because the increased offer leads to an increased choice for the inhabitants. However, not all inhabitants felt comfortable at every establishment. The new establishments are often more expensive, which is unsuitable for longstanding inhabitants who based their food choice on price and often had a lower income. Additionally, the new establishments sometimes tried to target both new and longstanding inhabitants but mostly new inhabitants were attracted to these establishments. The market represents how the access for longstanding inhabitants to food might be slowly decreasing. In the future when more new inhabitants come to the neighbourhood, the longstanding inhabitants might feel less welcome and might have less places where they can acquire affordable food in the neighbourhood. So as the gentrification process furthers in the Van der Pek neighbourhood, the access to food might increase for new inhabitants but might decrease for longstanding inhabitants (Figure 17).

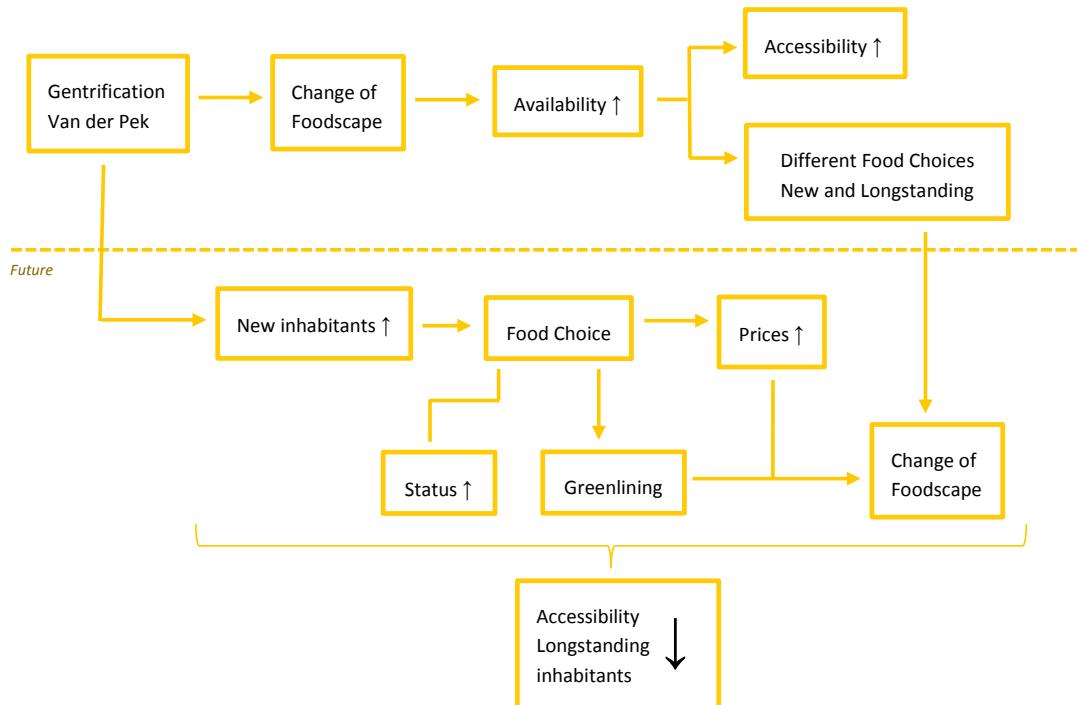


Figure 17 - Visual representation of the current effects of gentrification on the access to food (top) and the possible affects in the future (bottom)

8.2 IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The research provides some insights in the preferences and use of the foodscape of inhabitants of a gentrifying neighbourhood. A lot of European metropoles upgrade houses to attract new inhabitants (Kadi & Musterd, 2015). This is often the start of a gentrification process. The municipality of Amsterdam explicitly stated in their housing memorandum that they want to further the gentrification process (Savini et al., 2016). When municipalities strive for this they should take into account that this has consequences for the social cohesion in the neighbourhood and on the access to food. As previous studies have shown, gentrification can lead to an increase in facilities, but decrease in access to these facilities for longstanding inhabitants (Cohen, 2018a; Meltzer, 2016; Sullivan, 2014; Whittle et al., 2015). However, my research provides an example of a neighbourhood that is in an early stage of the gentrification process. The decrease in access is not yet seen amongst the longstanding inhabitants, there is just seen a difference in places visited by longstanding and new inhabitants. However, this shows that it is possible to increase access for both groups in at an early stage of the gentrification process by increasing the offer, as long as the different preferences are taken into account. Municipalities that strive towards upgrading or gentrification could take into account that this might lead to an increased access to food in the neighbourhood for both groups but that it might lead to a division between both groups since they have different preferences and incomes. Next to that, the Van der Pek neighbourhood case illustrates that original establishments and places that are of significant value to the old neighbourhood, such as a market, should stay intact to serve the needs and wishes of the longstanding inhabitants and to avoid the decrease in access to facilities for them. I suggest that further research in different neighbourhoods can be helpful for municipalities to understand how upgrading has an influence on the access to food for new inhabitants that are attracted to the neighbourhood and longstanding inhabitants that have been living in the neighbourhood before the gentrification process started.

This research was focussed on the Van der Pek neighbourhood in Amsterdam where gentrification is happening. The municipality itself already noticed that the recent developments in the neighbourhood have an influence on the inhabitants. They wrote about this in their destination plan for 2019 for the Old Northern district, where the Van der Pek neighbourhood is located, that was published after I completed my fieldwork. The municipality observed that original inhabitants felt the impact of renewal and that there is a large inflow of new inhabitants due to the recent developments in the neighbourhoods in the Old Northern district. This leads towards a division between the inhabitants, while the municipality wants to prevent this (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019). In the destination plan the municipality writes down focal points for the coming year for every neighbourhood. Some of these are about reducing this division and relate to the topics discussed in this thesis. Amongst other things, they want to obtain a variety in housing with sufficient affordable houses and social housing. Next to that they want inhabitants and entrepreneurs of the existing neighbourhood to benefit from these developments (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019). However, as I concluded from my research, an increase in offer or accessibility does not lead to decreased division. There are differences between new and longstanding inhabitants that lead to a division. The different groups have different preferences and differ in what they find important when making food choices. The longstanding inhabitants often choose the older establishments over the newer ones and often look for more affordable places. To make them benefit from the developments in the neighbourhood, the municipality could take into account that the developments target the longstanding inhabitants and their preferences. An example can be taken from Café Keppler that is described to be mainly suitable for new inhabitants. However, it appears that longstanding inhabitants are attracted to the place as well, partly because of the diverse menu. Next to that the municipality writes that the maintenance of Van der Pekstraat as economic core of the neighbourhood and strengthening the shopping centre at Mosveld are important for the neighbourhood economy (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2019). However I concluded from my research that the Van der Pek market is reducing in size and longstanding inhabitants are more and more excluded. If the municipality wants to maintain the Van der Pek market as an economic core, I suggest that they pay attention to this. They could put an effort in preventing further decrease in size of the market by for example reducing the stand prices for the merchants. Furthermore, I describe that there is a difference between the two groups of inhabitants,

further research is needed to investigate how to prevent this division between longstanding and new inhabitants in the Van der Pek foodscape.

Lastly, the gentrification process in the Van der Pek neighbourhood could be explained by the aging model of Hochstenbach & van Gent (2015): an influx of new inhabitants with a higher income and a decrease of longstanding inhabitant that age and pass away. Right now there are still living a lot of longstanding inhabitants in the neighbourhood since they were able to move back into their own house after renovations took place. When they age and pass away, this will increase the availability of renovated houses for new inhabitants. Besides that there are still a lot of housing blocks that are currently being renovated or that will be renovated in the future. This will probably lead to an influx of more new inhabitants. To track the effects of this I would suggest a longitudinal study that tracks the changes in the neighbourhood and the effects of these changes. That way it would be possible to describe the entire gentrification process and be able to draw conclusions on every part of the process. Furthermore, this research does not explain how to prevent the differences between inhabitants, it only indicates factors that cause or prohibit these differences. Further research could give more in-depth insight in how to prevent differences or exclusion from happening.

8.3 STUDY LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The methodology used in this research may have some limitations. First of all, the results regarding affordability of establishments and importance of price are based on the interpretations of the respondents of the actual prices, described by with the words 'affordable' and 'expensive'. 'Affordable' and 'expensive' do imply that respondents think a product or place is low in price or high in price according to their standards and personal judgement. This is not linked to a certain amount of money and I did not investigate what 'affordable' and 'expensive' mean to the respondents. Therefore what is meant by 'expensive' by one respondent might be 'affordable' to another respondent. This made it difficult to precisely categorise the establishments in the neighbourhood as 'expensive' or 'affordable'. When the importance of affordability of products and places is described, this is in relation to the standards of the respondents. However, it is important to know if the respondents think a place is 'expensive' or 'affordable' according to them and their standards, instead of what the actual prices are. It could have been a valuable addition to include a question in interview guide to assess the meaning of these words.

In my search for respondents, I reached out to inhabitants via flyers and a post on Facebook. Mostly new inhabitants and one longstanding respondent were approached via this way. In the flyer and Facebook post I stated that I was looking for respondents to talk about food in their neighbourhood. This attracted mostly respondents that were very interested in food and for whom food and healthy eating was very important. This might have led to an overestimation of the importance of health and food for the new inhabitants. However, other attempts to contact these inhabitants had not succeeded until then. The use of Facebook and flyers proved to be useful but also has its limitations since it only attracts a certain group of people. When using this method, avoiding to explicitly mention the research topic might be useful to attract a more diverse group of respondents.

A weakness of my observations might be that I performed them on work days from 9 o'clock in the morning until 5 o'clock in the afternoon. According to the interviewees, this is the time when new inhabitants, 'yuppies', are working and are absent in the neighbourhood. It would have provided a more complete overview of the neighbourhood if I would have also made observations during the weekends or evenings. If indeed the new inhabitants are more active and present in the neighbourhood during that time this could have provided additional insights and background information about the neighbourhood.

One of the conclusions I drew based on the results is that the offer in the neighbourhood increased. This was based on interviews as well as on the year of establishment of the places in the neighbourhood obtained from the Chamber of Commerce. However, this does not present all the establishments that were opened or had already been present in the neighbourhood before but also left over time. During the interviews I tried to obtain

information on what establishments the respondents visit and what not by asking them. Some respondents indicated that they had seen shops open and close over the past years, but could not tell me the exact details and I had no source to obtain this information. However, I do not think in this case this influenced the results to a large extent, since the majority of the respondents indicated that over the years the offer increased immensely because there was a small number of establishments to begin with. However it would have resulted in a more wholesome illustration of the changes in the neighbourhood over the years to include a list of places that are no longer present in the neighbourhood. When replicating this research in different neighbourhoods I would suggest to take this into account, since it might be important to know about the type of facilities that disappeared over the years, or the types that were established but disappeared during the gentrification process. This might create a more complete picture of the effects of gentrification on the foodscape.

The entire research is based on a case study, therefore the conclusion only applies to this case. When conducting the same research in a different neighbourhood, different results may be found. This should be taken into account when applying the findings of this study outside the context of the Van der Pek neighbourhood. However, performing a case study does have an advantage. It resulted in very intensive and thorough investigation of the neighbourhood. Besides that, this case study can be used as an example to conduct similar studies in different neighbourhoods.

Lastly, the analysis in general is based on my personal interpretation of the data and literature. When replicating this study I would advise to have a second or third researcher checking the coding and analysis to prevent bias.

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APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

English version

Interview Consent Form – Gentrification, Foodscapes & Food Choice

Researcher: Sophie Visser

You are invited to participate in a research on food choice in a gentrifying neighborhood. The research will take about 1,5 hours of your time and will consist of an interview about the neighborhood and food choices. We will have a half hour walk through the neighborhood, where you can show what facilities you do or do not use and why. With your permission, the interview will be recorded.

The interviews will be recorded and typed out these recordings. The recordings and the transcript of the recordings will not mention your name. They will be saved under a number, this way the recordings and transcripts cannot be linked to your name. The transcripts, listed under the number, not your name, will only be shared, with those who are involved in this study. Answers from the interview might directly be quoted in the report, but this will be done anonymously, without mentioning your name. If you want this, the transcript can be send to you. If you do not want a particular answer to end up in the transcript you can request this during or at the end of the interview.

The results of this research will be presented in a thesis report that is accessible to anyone. The results will also be presented in an oral presentation to other students and researchers of Wageningen University & Research. The results might also be used in scientific publications and education. Upon request, the results can be send to you.

By participating in this research you contribute to a better understanding of the effect of gentrification of the neighborhood on the food choice of the inhabitants, and thereby the possible effects it has on the inhabitants' health.

Participation in this research is completely voluntary. You have the right to stop the interview at anytime, without explanation.

If you have any questions about this research you can contact the researcher, Sophie Visser, via email: sophie.visser@wur.nl or via phone: + 31 6 20877615.

I have read (or have been read) the above information regarding this research study and consent to participate in this study.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Place: _____

Dutch version

Interview Toestemmingsformulier – Gentrification, Foodscapes & Food Choice

Onderzoeker: Sophie Visser

Hierbij wordt u gevraagd deel te nemen in een onderzoek over voedselkeuze in de Van der Pek buurt. Het onderzoek zal ongeveer 1,5 uur duren en bestaat uit een interview over de wijk en uw voedselkeuzes. We zullen een wandeling van ongeveer een half uur maken door de buurt. Daar kunt u laten zien van welke voorzieningen u gebruik maakt of juist niet, en waarom.

Het interview zal worden opgenomen en de opname zal worden uitgetypt in een transcript. Na het afronden van het thesis verslag zal de opname worden verwijderd. De opname en het transcript zullen worden opgeslagen onder een nummer. Dit nummer is door niemand terug te koppelen aan uw naam. Uw naam zal niet worden genoemd in het interview of transcript. Het transcript wordt opgeslagen op een computer waar alleen de onderzoeker toegang toe heeft. Het transcript zal, onder vermelding van het nummer, dus zonder uw naam, alleen gedeeld worden met degenen die betrokken zijn bij het onderzoek. Uitspraken uit het interview kunnen direct geciteerd worden in het verslag, maar daarbij wordt uw naam niet vermeld. Als u dat wilt, kunt u het transcript ook ontvangen. Als u niet wilt dat een specifiek antwoord zal worden opgenomen in het transcript kunt u tijdens of aan het einde van het interview vragen dit antwoord uit het transcript te laten.

De resultaten van het onderzoek zullen gepresenteerd worden in een thesis verslag dat ingezien kan worden door iedereen. De resultaten zullen ook mondeling gepresenteerd worden aan andere studenten en onderzoekers van Wageningen University & Research. Deze kunnen ook gebruikt worden in wetenschappelijk onderzoek of onderwijs. De resultaten kunnen met u gedeeld worden als u dit vraagt.

Door deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek draagt u bij aan het beter begrijpen van het effect van gentrificatie van een buurt op de voedselkeuze van de bewoners van die buurt. En daarmee de mogelijke effecten op de gezondheid van de inwoners.

Deelname aan dit onderzoek is geheel vrijwillig. U heeft het recht het onderzoek op elk moment te stoppen, zonder uitleg.

Mocht u vragen hebben over dit onderzoek, dan kunt u contact opnemen met de onderzoeker, Sophie Visser, via email: sophie.visser@wur.nl of telefonisch: + 31 6 20877615.

Ik heb de bovenstaande informatie over het onderzoek gelezen of voorgelezen gekregen, en ik geef toestemming deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek.

Naam: _____

Handtekening: _____

Datum: _____

Plaats: _____

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE LONGSTANDING INHABITANTS

Interview guide longstanding inhabitants

Gentrification & foodscape

1. How long have you been living in Amsterdam North?

Hoe lang woont u al in Amsterdam Noord?

- a. How long have you been living in this neighbourhood?

Hoe lang woont u al in deze buurt?

- i. How long have you been living in this house?

Hoe lang woont u in dit huis?

2. Did you notice a change in the neighbourhood over the past years?

Heeft u een verandering waargenomen in de buurt de afgelopen jaren?

- a. When did you start to notice things were changing?

Wanneer begon het u op te vallen dat er veranderingen optradën?

- b. What kind of changes did you notice?

Wat voor veranderingen zijn u opgevallen?

- i. Did the houses change?

Zijn de huizen veranderd?

3. Do you think the neighbourhood made an upgrade over the past years?

Denkt u dat de wijk de afgelopen jaren verbeterd is?

- a. What do you think improved?

Wat vindt u dat er verbeterd is?

- b. Do you think the houses are improved?

Vindt u dat de huizen verbeterd zijn?

4. Have you noticed a change in the kind of people living in this neighbourhood?

Heeft u een verandering opgemerkt in het soort mensen dat hier woont?

- a. No/nee → skip 5, go to 6

Yes/ja → 5

5. What kind of people used to live here? (Age, family size, income)

Wat voor soort mensen woonden hier? (leeftijd, gezinsgrootte, inkomen)

- a. Did you know the people living here personally?

Kende u de mensen die hier woonden persoonlijk?

- i. Only your direct neighbours or also other inhabitants of the neighbourhood?

Alleen uw directe buren of ook ander inwoners uit de buurt?

- ii. In what way did you have contact with them? (ex. Say hi, make small talk or visit and do things together?)

Op welke manier had u contact met uw mede-inwoners? (vb. Gedag zeggen, praatje maken, op bezoek, samen op stap?)

6. What kind of people live here now? (Age, family size, income)

Wat voor mensen wonen hier nu? (leeftijd, gezinsgrootte, inkomen)

- a. Do you know the people living here personally?

Kent u de mensen die hier wonen persoonlijk?

- i. Only your direct neighbours or also other inhabitants of the neighbourhood?

Alleen uw directe buren of ook andere inwoners uit de buurt?

- ii. In what way do you have contact with them? (ex. Say hi, make small talk or visit and do things together?)
Op welke manier heeft u contact met uw mede-inwoners? (vb. Gedag zeggen, praatje maken, op bezoek, samen op stap?)
- b. Do you know if the new people living here now have a higher income?
Weet u of de nieuwe mensen die hier nu wonen een hoger inkomen hebben?
- c. Do the new inhabitants live in different types of housing than the original inhabitants?
Wonen de nieuwe bewoners in andere type huizen dan de originele bewoners?
 - i. Are these renewed houses?
Zijn dit vernieuwde huizen?
 - ii. Do they live together in the same area or scattered over the neighbourhood?
Wonen ze dicht bij elkaar of verspreid door de buurt?

7. Did you notice anything changed in the types of shops in the neighbourhood?
Heeft u een verandering in het soort winkels gemerkt in de buurt?

- a. Did you notice a change in food procurement in the neighbourhood?
Heeft u een verandering in voedselvoorzieningen in de buurt gezien?
 - If yes:
 - i. What change did you see?
Wat voor verandering heeft u waargenomen?
 - ii. Did the number of places to acquire food increase?
Is het aantal plaatsen waar u voedsel kunt kopen toegenomen?
 - iii. Do you think this change and/or increase makes it easier to buy food?
In hoeverre denkt u dat deze verandering en/of toename zorgt dat het makkelijker is om voeding te kopen?
 - iv. Do you think this increase makes it easier to buy healthy food?
In hoeverre denkt u dat deze toename ervoor zorgt dat het makkelijker is om gezond voedsel te kopen?
 - a. Is the selection healthier in general?
Is het aanbod over het algemeen gezonder geworden?
 - v. Do you think it was easier for you to buy healthy food before the changes took place? Or harder?
Denkt u dat het makkelijker was om gezond voedsel te kopen voor de veranderingen plaats vonden?
 - vi. Do you think the food procurement in general is improved?
Vindt u dat het voedselaanbod over het algemeen is verbeterd?
 - a. In what way?
Op welke manier?

Food choice

8. Do you acquire your food in this neighbourhood?
Verkrijgt u uw voedsel in deze buurt?

- a. Do you do your grocery shopping in this neighbourhood?
Doet u uw boodschappen in deze buurt?

- i. Where?
Waar?
 - ii. How often?
Hoe vaak?
- b. Do you go to restaurants, bars and cafés in the neighbourhood?
Gaat u naar restaurants, bars en cafés in deze buurt?
 - i. Where?
Waar?
 - ii. How often?
Hoe vaak?
- c. Do you use any other ways to acquire food, such as a food bank, neighbours, community house?
Gebruikt u nog andere manieren om voedsel te verkrijgen zoals bijvoorbeeld de voedselbank, buren of buurthuis?
 - i. What do you use?
Wat gebruikt u?
 - ii. How often do you use these?
Hoe vaak gebruikt u deze?

9. Do you think the food offered in this neighbourhood is:

Vindt u dat het voedselaanbod in deze buurt:

- a. Easily accessible for you?
Makkelijk toegankelijk is voor u?
 - i. Is it nearby enough?
Is het dichtbij genoeg?
 - ii. Has this changed over the past years?
Is dit veranderd gedurende de laatste jaren?
- b. Affordable?
Betaalbaar is?
 - i. Do you base your food choice on price?
Baseert u uw voedselkeuze op prijs?
 - ii. Has this changed over the past years?
Is dit veranderd over de afgelopen jaren?
- c. Suits your wishes and preferences?
Voldoet aan uw wensen en voorkeuren?
- d. Fits with the inhabitants of the neighbourhood?
Past bij de buurtbewoners?
- e. Fits with the image of the neighbourhood?
Past bij het imago van de buurt?
- f. Healthy?
Gezond is?
 - i. Are you able to buy conform the dutch dietary guidelines in the neighbourhood?
Kunt u volgens de schijf van vijf voedsel kopen in deze buurt?
 - 1. Do you do this?
Doet u dat ook?
 - 2. Do you think that is important?
in hoeverre vindt u dat belangrijk?

ii. Do you base your food choice on healthiness of the food?

Baseert u uw voedsel keuze op de gezondheid van het voedsel?

10. What other factors do you base your food choice on?

Op welke andere factoren baseert u uw voedselkeuze?

11. Do you feel welcome in the shops, cafes and restaurants in the neighbourhood?

Voelt u zich welkom in de winkels, cafés en restaurants in de buurt?

a. Do you feel different from the average visitor of the establishments?

Voelt u zich anders dan de gemiddelde bezoeker van de voorzieningen?

b. Do you see a difference between the places you and the new inhabitants visit?

Ziet u een verschil in de plekken die u bezoekt en die de nieuwe inwoners bezoeken?

12. Do you visit the same establishments that you visited in the past?

Bezoekt u dezelfde voorzieningen als u in het verleden deed?

a. Doe you also visit new ones?

Bezoekt u ook nieuwe voorzieningen?

i. Why?

Waarom?

13. Do you also visit shops and restaurants outside this neighbourhood?

Bezoekt u ook winkels en restaurants buiten deze buurt?

a. What kind of establishments do you visit?

Wat voor soort voorzieningen?

b. How often do you visit those?

Hoe vaak bezoekt u deze?

c. Why outside the neighbourhood?

Waarom bezoekt u deze buiten uw eigen buurt?

Inconspicuous consumption

14. Do you think the production and story behind a product are important?

In hoeverre vindt u de productie en het verhaal achter een product belangrijk?

a. Does this influence your food choice?

Beïnvloedt dit uw voedselkeuze?

b. Do you think others in this neighbourhood find this important?

Denkt u dat andere mensen in de buurt dit belangrijk vinden?

15. When you buy food, what are important factors you base your choice on?

Als u voedsel koopt, wat zijn dan belangrijke factoren waarop u uw keuze baseert?

a. Is it important that the place is easy accessible?

Is het belangrijk dat de winkel goed bereikbaar is?

b. Is the price of the products important?

Is de prijs van de producten belangrijk?

i. Do you feel that you spend a large part of your income on food?

Heeft u het gevoel dat u een groot deel van uw inkomen aan voedsel besteedt?

c. To what extend do you base your choice on what friends, family or neighbours think of certain products or places?

In hoeverre baseert u uw keuze op wat vrienden, familie of buren vinden van bepaalde producten of plekken?

- d. To what extend do you base your choice on the health aspects of the product?

In hoeverre baseert u uw keuze op de gezondheids aspecten van het product?

- e. Do your friends, family or neighbours visit the same places as you?

Bezoeken uw vrienden, familie of buren dezelfde plekken als u?

- i. Do they buy similar products as you?

Kopen zij dezelfde soort producten als u?

- ii. Do your friends/family/neighbours ever comment on your choices?

Krijgt u wel eens opmerkingen over uw keuzes van vrienden/familie/buren?

- f. When you buy food for visiting family/friends/neighbours or go out with them, do you make different choices?

Als u voor vrienden/familie/buren die op bezoek komen eten koopt of u gaat buiten de deur iets eten/drinken, maakt u dan andere keuzes?

- g. Do you think the consumption of certain products or visiting certain places gives people a higher status or better image?

Denkt u dat de consumptie van bepaalde producten of het bezoeken van bepaalde plekken mensen een hogere status of beter imago geven?

General questions

16. how old are you?

Hoe oud bent u?

17. With what gender do you identify yourself?

Als welk geslacht identificeert u zichzelf?

18. With whom do you live?

Met wie woont u?

19. What is your highest level of education?

Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW GUIDE NEW INHABITANTS

Interview guide new inhabitants

Gentrification & foodscape

20. How long have you been living in Amsterdam North?

Hoe lang woont u al in Amsterdam Noord?

a. How long have you been living in this neighbourhood?

Hoe lang woont u al in deze buurt?

i. How long have you been living in this house?*

Hoe lang woont u in dit huis?

ii. What made you decide to live here?

Waarom bent u hier komen wonen?

21. When deciding to move to this neighbourhood, did you pay attention to the kind of shops, restaurants and other food procurement was available?

Toen u besloot naar deze buurt te verhuizen, heeft u toen aandacht besteed aan het soort winkels, restaurants en andere voedselvoorziening dat hier beschikbaar was?

If yes:

a. What did you see?

Wat heeft u zien veranderen?

b. What were important factors you took into account?

Wat waren belangrijke factoren waar u naar keek?

c. Did you think the number of places to acquire food was sufficient?

Vond u het aantal plaatsen waar u voedsel kunt kopen voldoende?

d. Did you think that it would be easy to acquire food in the neighbourhood?

Dacht u dat het makkelijk zou zijn om aan voedsel te komen in de buurt?

e. Was it important to you that there was healthy food available?

Vond u het belangrijk dat er gezond voedsel beschikbaar was?

f. Was it important that the food procurement has a certain appearance?

Was het belangrijk voor u dat de voedselvoorzieningen een bepaalde uitstraling hadden?

a. If so, what was important?

Zo ja, wat was belangrijk?

g. Has there anything changed after your first impression?

Is er iets veranderd sinds uw eerste indruk?

22. Did you, in general, notice a change in the neighbourhood since you came to live here?

Heeft u over het algemeen een verandering waargenomen in de buurt sinds u hier bent komen wonen?

a. When did you start to notice things were changing?

Wanneer begon het u op te vallen dat er veranderingen optradën?

b. What kind of changes did you notice?

Wat voor veranderingen zijn u opgevallen?

23. Do you think the neighbourhood made an upgrade over the past years?

Denkt u dat de wijk de afgelopen jaren verbeterd is?

a. Do you think the houses are improved?

Vindt u dat de huizen verbeterd zijn?

- b. Do you think the food procurement changed?
Vindt u dat het voedselaanbod veranderd is?
 - i. *Hoe?*
 - ii. *Is het verbeterd? Verslechterd?*
- c. Did this general upgrade influence your choice to come live here?
Heeft deze verbetering invloed gehad op uw keuze om hier te komen wonen?

24. Have you noticed a change in the kind of people living in this neighbourhood?
Heeft u een verandering opgemerkt in het soort mensen dat hier woont?

25. What kind of people live here? (Age, family size, income)
Wat voor mensen wonen hier? (leeftijd, gezinsgrootte, inkomen)

- a. Do you know the people living here personally?
Kent u de mensen die hier wonen persoonlijk?
 - i. Only your direct neighbours or also other inhabitants of the neighbourhood?
Alleen uw directe buren of ook andere inwoners uit de buurt?
 - ii. In what way do you connect to them? (ex. Say hi, make small talk or visit and do things together?)
Op welke manier connecteert u met uw mede-inwoners? (vb. Gedag zeggen, praatje maken, op bezoek, samen op stap?)

Food choice

26. Do you acquire your food in this neighbourhood?
Verkrijgt u uw voedsel in deze buurt?

- a. Do you do your grocery shopping in this neighbourhood?
Doet u uw boodschappen in deze buurt?
 - i. Where?
Waar?
 - ii. How often?
Hoe vaak?
- b. Do you go to restaurants, bars and cafés in the neighbourhood?
Gaat u naar restaurants, bars en cafés in deze buurt?
 - i. Where?
Waar?
 - ii. How often?
Hoe vaak?
- c. Do you use any other ways to acquire food, such as a food bank, neighbours, community house?
Gebruikt u nog andere manieren om voedsel te verkrijgen zoals bijvoorbeeld de voedselbank, buren of buurthuis?
 - i. What do you use?
Wat gebruikt u?
 - ii. How often do you use these?
Hoe vaak gebruikt u deze?

27. Do you think the food offered in this neighbourhood is:
Vindt u dat het voedselaanbod in deze buurt:

- a. Easily accessible for you?

Makkelijk toegankelijk is voor u?

- i. Is it nearby enough?

Is het dichtbij genoeg?

- ii. Has this changed over the past years?

Is dit veranderd gedurende de laatste jaren?

- b. Affordable?

Betaalbaar is?

- i. Do you base your food choice on price?

In hoeverre baseert u uw voedselkeuze op prijs?

- ii. Has this changed over the past years?

Is dit veranderd over de afgelopen jaren?

- c. Suits your wishes and preferences?

Voldoet aan uw wensen en voorkeuren?

- d. Fits with the inhabitants of the neighbourhood?

Past bij de buurtbewoners?

- e. Fits with the image of the neighbourhood?

Past bij het imago van de buurt?

- f. Healthy?

Gezond is?

- i. Are you able to buy conform the dutch dietary guidelines in the neighbourhood?

Kunt u volgens de schijf van vijf voedsel kopen in deze buurt?

- 1. Do you do this?

Doet u dat ook?

- 2. Do you think that is important?

Vindt u dat belangrijk?

- ii. Do you base your food choice on healthiness of the food?

Baseert u uw voedsel keuze op de gezondheid van het voedsel?

28. What other factors do you base your food choice on?

Op welke andere factoren baseert u uw voedselkeuze?

29. Do you feel welcome in the shops, cafes and restaurants in the neighbourhood?

Voelt u zich welkom in de winkels, cafés en restaurants in de buurt?

- a. Do you feel different from the average visitor of the establishments?

Voelt u zich anders dan de gemiddelde bezoeker van de voorzieningen?

- b. Do you see a difference between the places you visit and that the inhabitants that have lived here longer visit?

Ziet u een verschil in de plekken die u bezoekt en die de inwoners die hier langere tijd wonen bezoeken?

30. Do you also visit shops and restaurants outside this neighbourhood?

Bezoekt u ook winkels en restaurants buiten deze buurt?

- a. What kind of establishments do you visit?

Wat voor soort voorzieningen?

- b. How often do you visit those?

Hoe vaak bezoekt u deze?

- c. Why outside the neighbourhood?

Waarom bezoekt u deze buiten uw eigen buurt?

Inconspicuous consumption

31. Do you think the production and story behind a product are important?

In hoeverre vindt u de productie en het verhaal achter een product belangrijk?

a. Does this influence your food choice?

Beïnvloedt dit uw voedselkeuze?

b. Do you think others in this neighbourhood find this important?

Denkt u dat andere mensen in de buurt dit belangrijk vinden?

32. When you buy food, what are important factors you base your choice on?

Als u voedsel koopt, wat zijn dan belangrijke factoren waarop u uw keuze baseert?

a. Is it important that the place is easy accessible?

Is het belangrijk dat de winkel goed bereikbaar is?

b. Is the price of the products important?

Is de prijs van de producten belangrijk?

i. Do you feel that you spend a large part of your income on food?

Heeft u het gevoel dat u een groot deel van uw inkomen aan voedsel besteedt?

c. To what extend do you base your choice on what friends, family or neighbours think of certain products or places?

In hoeverre baseert u uw keuze op wat vrienden, familie of buren vinden van bepaalde producten of plekken?

d. To what extend do you base your choice on the health aspects of the product?

In hoeverre baseert u uw keuze op de gezondheids aspecten van het product?

e. Do your friends, family or neighbours visit the same places as you?

Bezoeken uw vrienden, familie of buren dezelfde plekken als u?

i. Do they buy similar products as you?

Kopen zij dezelfde soort producten als u?

ii. Do your friends/family/neighbours ever comment on your choices?

Krijgt u wel eens opmerkingen over uw keuzes van vrienden/familie/buren?

f. When you buy food for visiting family/friends/neighbours or go out with them, do you make different choices?

Als u voor vrienden/familie/buren die op bezoek komen eten koopt of u gaat buiten de deur iets eten/drinken, maakt u dan andere keuzes?

g. Do you think the consumption of certain products or visiting certain places gives people a higher status or better image?

Denkt u dat de consumptie van bepaalde producten of het bezoeken van bepaalde plekken mensen een hogere status of beter imago geven?

General questions

33. how old are you?

Hoe oud bent u?

34. With what gender do you identify yourself?

Als welk geslacht identificeert u zichzelf?

35. With whom do you live?

Met wie woont u?

36. What is your highest level of education?

Wat is uw hoogst genoten opleiding?