Street art for the neighborhood vs the neighborhood by street art

An analysis of street art in within the contest for urban space in Afrikaanderwijk

# **Research report**

Rotterdam, 19 June 2022

# Master in Sociology, Metropolitan Issues and Policy

Erasmus School of Behavioural and Social Sciences Master Thesis

## Researcher

Filippo Gattone, 614799

# Supervisor and first reader

Wenda Doff

# Second reader

Gijs Custers

# Word count

9852

## Abstract

Rotterdam, traditionally a working-class city, has been in constant change over the past few decades, slowly transforming into a city with more cultural facilities, and wealthier residents. Afrikaanderwijk, formerly labeled as a deprived area, is being renovated and annexed to the center by the hand of urban renovation policies. Afrikaanderwijk is becoming more welcoming and livable due to phenomenon as street art intended to rebrand the neighborhood. This dimension of the neighborhood as a capital magnet causes some tension, not all residents of this neighborhood are satisfied with these developments. Thereby this research focusses on the role of street art within this contest for urban space, by portraying the process by which street art comes to be in the district, identity the actors and their motives here in and representing the way street art is perceived by residents. The results indicate the duality of street art as a mean to claim the urban space. Organization and municipality preserve all the decisional power about street art and its formation. Motivated by a desire to improve the urban context of residents, they fail to realize positive changes for the neighbourhood. Instead of improving the place making for residents, the lack of participation denies the potential of street art in doing so. Withal resulting in a phenomenon more often linked with gentrification and blasé attitude by the residents. This research therefore shows that the role of street art in the contest for urban space is as stimulator of policy due to the lack of participation by residents.

Key words: right to the city, place making, gentrification, street art, symbolic economy

### Introduction

#### 1.1 General description research

Dutch cities are in constant growth and development and will continue to do so (De Vries, Boone, de Rooij & Keip 2017, 7). Within this evolution, the ever-changing urban space is placed in contestation between different actors and goals. In order to breathe new life into cities, a new type of policy that aims at higher incomes and attracting wealthy visitors to the cities has been adopted since the nineties (Van Eijk 2010; Uitermark & Duyvendak 2008). As a result, the space also changes, spaces transform to have a function for the dynamics present in the city and generating wealth (Koelemaij and Deruytter 2019).

This process is also reflected in Rotterdam, traditionally a working-class city, arising from the fruits of the harbor it owns. The housing stock in Rotterdam therefore originally consists of many working-class neighborhoods. Today, however specific districts are being renewed (Rotterdam Municipality, 2016). Afrikaanderwijk, a neighborhood where for a few years now there has been a policy focus on gentrification, through restructuring in the form of demolition, new construction and investments in outdoor space (Oostdam 2017; Koenders 2014). The city becomes a market where various actors invest capital in order to make more capital or to achieve other goals (Uitermark, Duyvendak & Kleinhans 2007). Doucet and Koenders (2018) argue that this new dimension of the neighborhood as a capital magnet causes some tension: not all residents of this neighborhood are satisfied with these developments, dissenting voices can be heard. The malcontent of processes of neoliberlization call thus for a contested space, and the right and agency to claim the urban space can be exercised in various ways.

Spaces are shaped through everyday embodied experiences and the connections people build with spaces; but also, by municipal discourses that determine the meaning of a place, such as urban rebranding to attract different new residents (Oostdam 20017; Cresswell 2004, in Jaffe and de Koning 2016). Residents can claim their neighborhood through activities, meaning and identification. This happens within a policy realm applied by the municipality; a space is therefore formed by this interaction (Cresswell 2004). The creation of urban space is thus in the midst of a contest between neoliberal processes and its enhancers and the citizen agency to make it their own. This duality is related to what Pinson and Journel (2016) call the "urbanization of neoliberalism". The urbanization of neoliberalism emphasizes the dual role of the city as both a foundation for neoliberalization and civil appropriation to it (Pinson & Journel 2016). Despite this, according to Lefebvre, most of the city's production is done by and for elites (Lefebvre 1991). Therefore, placing the focus of the research on how the duality of urban space is highlighted in the contest for the space.

#### 1.2 Case study

This study focuses on Afrikaanderwijk, which is located in Rotterdam-Zuid, in the borough of Feijenoord. The residential area was created around 1900 when the harbors in Zuid were dug. The Afrikaanderwijk was one of the first multicultural neighborhoods in the Netherlands, where a majority of the population has a non-Dutch background. The Afrikaanderwijk has about 8,100 inhabitants (Rotterdam Municipality, 2016).

The majority have a different cultural background and the level of education and income is relatively low. The district is young and lively. Many creative young people are attracted to this neighborhood. In the coming years, Afrikaanderwijk will be enriched with new-build infrastructure and social facilities (Rotterdam Municipality, 2022).

One of those things that Afrikaanderwijk has to offer is its collection of street art. In the Afrikaanderwijk passers-by and residents can come across a new mural every so often. These forms of self-expression are not an individual and static phenomenon, they are part of the urban space. They become one with the neighborhood, such as a convenience store, an intersection or other amenity. There is a total of 26 murals in Afrikaanderwijk. And in the last years the neighborhood hosted a street art festival organized by Rewriters010. Additionally, there is an app that gives the user a guided tour along all the murals in Afrikaanderwijk. Rewriters010 is an organization encouraging and curating street art in whole Rotterdam. Rotterdam has a huge amount of impressive street art, which can be admired extensively in one of the walking routes proposed by Rewriters010(Rewriters010.nl, 2022). However, Afrikaanderwijk is also one of a number of neighborhoods in inner-city Rotterdam which have been directly targeted for renovation to reverse urban degradation and to build a more 'balanced' city (Rotterdam Municipality, 2019). In 2019, the Special Rapporteurs labeled the policy aiming to transform the Tweebosbuurt, Afrikaanderwijk Rotterdam's as a violation of the human right to adequate housing. Without consultation with the residents, it was decided to demolish and renew an entire neighborhood, resulting in reducing the number of affordable housing and evictions (Special Rapporteur 2021). This agenda places the phenomenon of street art within the framework of the contest for urban space.

#### 1.3 Problem statement

In the past five years the number of murals in Afrikaanderwijk grew from under the ten to 26. With this the public debate about it grew too. In the timespan of three years Vers beton published three articles about this phenomenon, posing both negative as positive opinions on the matter (versbeton.nl 2022). On one side street art is positive for the neighborhood, it is relevant cultural work. It an aesthetic and cultural enrichment for the neighborhood from which the residents can benefit for free (Van der Doelen 2019). Also, street art has the potential to connect to the unknown in neighborhoods, offering a new perspective on a place they may have assumed they knew well. Residents gain a new perspective about the place, and their bond with it deepens (Foushée 2019). By doing this it helps the process of placemaking, by facilitating narratives and meaningful relations with space. Street art contributes to shaping a sense of place in the urban space (Duff 2010).

On the other hand, street art in Afrikaanderwijk has been perceived as a soft kind of art that has the goal of being likeable and accessible for every 'consumer' and making the city only more like accessible. In other words, street art became a publicity stunt to attract more tourists (Smets 2019). In extension to this discourse about gentrification began to arise, branding street art as a tool to attract capital and enhancing gentrification (Van Essel 2021). In the words of Thakoer: "That distracts from the fact that that neighborhood will soon become hip and unaffordable. It is a gentrification caravan that rewrites the history of the district. They take the bag of money that could have ended up elsewhere, and they move on'' (Thakoer in Van Essel 2021).

Thus, street art is globally used as a place-making tool to enhance urban regeneration and increase capital, resulting in enhanced urban environments, increased numbers of residents and tourists and improved local economy (Matthews & Gadaloff 2022). However, the impact that it can have on the residents may vary than what it can have on the neighborhood itself. Such processes deriving for it could be experienced as something positive or negative. Therefore, this research attempts to illustrate how street art can become a neoliberal process and/or a mean of placemaking.

### 1.4 Research goal

The goal of this research is to understand the process of how urban space is shaped in the case of street art and managed, by whom and what this entails for the neighborhood. This research focuses therefore specifically on street art in Afrikaanderwijk. It does so by analyzing the process of creation of street art, identifying the various actors that partake, and

enlighten the process of creation. This will help understand how the right to shape the city is distributed and illustrate how the urban space becomes. Furthermore, it will identify the motives of the actors involved in this process, in order to comprehend the process of creation and understand the later effects of street art. Finally, it will focus on how street art has developed within the neighborhood and the perceived outcomes of it. These aspects are the foundation to shine a light on the duality street art can have within this discourse, doing this based on the following question:

*What role does street art have in the contest of urban space in Afrikaanderwijk?* The following sub-questions emerge from this main research questions, while serving as a guidance to formulate an answer to the research question:

- How does street art come about? Which actors are involved?
- What are the motivations behind the creation of street art?
- *How is the street art experienced by residents?*

# 1.5 Relevance

This research is of scientific importance because it focuses on an active and discussed topic, the battle for the right to the city. It does by analysing the double role street art can have in the city. The way it can empowers the residents to claim the city, and the way how through power structures of neoliberalization it gives the right to municipality instead. The dual role of street art both in place making and for the citizen, but also possibly functioning within the idea of being made by the municipal for the increase of wealth. However, it is in this duality that the study reaches its academic relevance (Pinson and Jorunel 2016). By analysing a phenomenon, street art, as an active part of the urban market (Awad 2017), it firstly tries place street art in an urbanization sphere. But more important it shows how the city as an arena for expression and competition is a vivid concept in every scale. Furthermore, the double perspective of the case study proposes a multi-layered analysis, by analysing the concrete holistic process of realization of street art, the actors and neoliberal processes and putting those in relation to the interaction and tensions of urban space. By doing this the study offers an illustration of how a physical urban phenomenon, street art, can become a mean to claim the city, Afrikaanderwijk in this case.

Finally, the research is also of social importance because it sheds light on current urban developments. It provides insight into the lived experiences of residents of Afrikaanderwijk. Also, it may enlighten the situation about the subdivision of participation by residents in the creation of their neighbourhood. Furthermore, it has the possibility to shows hidden malcontents about policy or the way the city is used. This may later be used for a more practical utilization of the urban space, by policy makers, municipal workers or other type of organisations. For the residents it is useful, because it tries to give their perspective on a subject that can often seem too far away to reach, due to being institutionalized. It also societal relevant due to the fact that it places street art in a very active and common paradigm, remarking possible difficulties that are shared by other policy led project in the urban space. Therefore, the insights gained from this could be useful to further collaboration or better realization of urban projects. Additionally, the insights could be transferred to different districts of Rotterdam where such street art project are currently in the make.

#### 2 Theoretical framework

This study focusses on the city as a site of contest. Various actors are active and are in competition over the production of urban space and try to shape it and/or make it their own. This research will focus on how street art can enhance the appropriation of the neighbourhood by residents. Additionally, it analyses how street art can facilitate neoliberal processes in the form of gentrification, symbolic economy and creative city.

#### 2.1 The city as site of contest

The city is attracting more and more capital and thereby opportunities and people, making the urban space an increasingly crowded area. As Park (1936) states, the morphology of the physical city is determined by economic and population growth and diversification. This means that more and more interests are present in designing the urban space. Urban spaces are, of course, physical geographic contexts, but they are not exclusively site-bound (Park 1936). Urban spaces, such as cities, neighbourhoods, streets but also buildings, are stages for the exercise of communal and individual identity. They are arenas in which different parties interact and compete with each other.

Foucault (1997), for example, argued within this realm that certain power structures shape society through the affirmation of notions of truth. According to Foucault, urban spaces are created and filled in with the function of maintaining and bringing to life certain ideologies. The space, buildings and infrastructure must encourage the users of this space to exercise a fixed set of activities and modes of behaviour (Foucault 1977, in Jaffe & de Koning 2016). Cities are thus not just the product of human decisions and actions; cities determine most aspects of our daily lives. But to what extent does the average citizen have a say in how the city meets her/his needs? Who is entitled to the city? These questions forge the basis for Lefebvre's (1991) concept of 'The Right to the City'. For Lefebvre (1991), the right to the city aims to give the possibility to the inhabitants to participate in the creation of the urban (Shields 2013). He states that making the city should not be reserved for the elites: integrating citizens into the processes of building the city becomes fundamental to exercising equality and freedom to act (Schmid 2012). The population must be able to appropriate the urban space. Adding on the concept, Harvey focusses on claims by social groups that have unequal power to shape and control the urbanization process. Throughout modern history, the right to the city has been intertwined with property rights and related economic interests associated with the accumulation of capital (Harvey 2008). Today, the right to the city is largely in the hands of political and economic processes who are in a position to shape the

city according to their own interests. Harvey rejects the inevitability of this condition and calls for the assertion of another right to the city. The right to the city is not just a right to access what already exists, but a right to change it, to shape it more in accordance with own interests (Harvey 2008).

There are also some academic concerns about the use of this concept. Scholars argue that the actual meaning of this right isn't often explained; when used it takes the form of a call more than elaborated concept (Attoh 2011). This paper therefore defines the right to the city as the possibility for an actor to claim, shape or appropriate urban space and make it their own. The study also elects residents and processes and their authors as two contenders of the urban space in the form of street art in Afrikaanderwijk. As said by Lefebvre, there are multiple types of actors that influence the interpretation of the urban space of a neighbourhood: municipalities, organisations, business and citizen agency (Lefebvre 1991). Therefore, the city becomes as a two-sided contest, on one hand the citizen and on the other hand the municipal policy.

#### 2.2 Space claiming by citizens

Actors solicited by the duality of street art are the residents of Afrikaanderwijk. The following conceptualization will help enlighten different approaches to exercise their right to the city, enhanced by the presence of street art. These processes, placemaking, place attachment and resistance are used as civilian forms of claiming the urban space by making it its own.

One way for citizen to claim the city is to shape spaces through meaning (Lofland, 1998). Creswell (2004) illustrates the process of spatial creation and organization, place making. He argues that spaces are shaped by human experience (Cresswell 2014) In this process he distinguishes between space and place; space is generally seen as a more abstract phenomenon. Place, on the other hand, is understood as a form of space that has concrete physical characteristics; and is shaped by human meaning (Cresswell 2004) (Olsen 2006). Firstly, through everyday embodied experiences and the connections one builds with spaces, and secondly through the politicized discourses that also determine the meaning of a place (Cresswell (2004) in Jaffe and de Koning 2016, 24). Street artists are actively engaging in physical place-making activities. Basso (1996) believes that place-making is a universal tool of the imagination; a way of making stories and enhancing conceptions. As the artists use urban spaces to write their own stories and giving their own meaning to the space, they are also sharing this same place. Consequently, places with narrative pop up (Sennet, 1990). By

linking stories to places, individuals might become more attached to these locations and build an emotional bond with them (Van der Graaf & Duyvendak 2009). According to research street art has the ability to tell narratives and share ideas with the *public*. Street art creative nature might align with the ideas already portrayed and perceived through the place. But it also has as the potential to contradict or even resists those ideas, thus portraying picture of the place locals wish to see (Foushée 2019). Street art can be commissioned and fulfill some requirements, or portray a narrative chosen by the artist. By portraying visual narratives however residents have the possibility to use street art as a mean to form a meaningful relation to the place.

Additionally Low and Altman (2012) define this relationship between people and place through meaning as place attachment. This concept embodies the connection and involvement that people have with a physical place. One can attach to a place because of the activities one can do there or because of the emotional or symbolic meaning one attaches to a place (Williams & Roggenbuck 1989). These processes entail how place says something about the identity of individuals and vice versa (Van der Graaf & Duyvendak, 2009). In this scenario the place makes that the person feels connected (Cuba & Hummon, 1993).

Also, street art has the potential to connect to the unknown in neighborhoods, offering a new perspective on a place they may have assumed they knew well. Cultural conditions create contexts where this underground art form flourishes. Urban centers with little economic opportunity that have been neglected by policy for years offer various abandoned and old buildings. However, these conditions also provide opportunities. These 'forgotten' places thus become stages where residents can express themselves, exchange information, and build community. Street art becomes a powerful tool that to shape a new creative voice into the public space (Foushée 2019). Cognoscenti and residents might therefore be lured to parts of the city, neighborhood, that previously were unfamiliar to track down the art, and simultaneously gain a more complete perspective of the city itself. Also, the effects of street art are also manifested in the potential to enhance to local distinctiveness and belonging (Sharp et al 2005). There is a powerful aspect to the consumption of street art (Schacter 2008). The views created are not just communicating a message, but they are a process that is actively doing something in the neighborhood as mediator of communications amongst urban actors (Halsey & Young 2006). Street art therefore creates shared narratives between people, ideas, meaning and the city.

Street art thus partakes in the realization of a sense of place in the urban space. Within this discourse Casey (2001) portrays "place" as thick or thin and proposes a reciprocity

between place and the individual, whereas more thickness, the greater the agency. Thin places are spaces that have no characteristic with which individuals can actively interact with place, to build meaning. Street art create a thickness of place for both the maker and the observer. Which can result therefore in placemaking for and by the residents or policy stimulated processes explained in the following paragraph.

#### 2.3 street art policy

The other actor claiming the urban space in Afrikaanderwijk, within this research, is the municipality and its policies that transform and enhance urban social economic processes. In the next section some of this processes that transform the space through street art will be explained, creative city, gentrification and symbolic economy. The aim of this conceptualization is to shape the theoretical framework with which street art becomes a mean for neoliberal processes in the urban space.

According to Harmsma (2019), the process of spatial transformation is related to similar processes of transformation in the state, the economy and governance institutions worldwide (Harmsma 2019). This shift in political, social and economic rule has built the context for processes of urban development. Neoliberalization denotes an economic as well as a political project aimed at spreading so-called 'market thinking' to all aspects of society. Within this idea of market thinking there is room for Florida's (2003) Creative City. According to the author there is a battle over public creative, which consists of cities competing for creative professionals to achieve economic growth (Peck 2011). The main point of Florida's argument is that economic advancement is no longer a result of materials or of competition over this physical resources. To be successful in this age, cities must attract creative people who create innovations. According to Florida (2003) the city will attract this group when it has the "three T's": talent, tolerance and technology (Peck 2011). In this cycle of attracting creatives, street art provides a requested urban asset that merges into mainstream visual language (Chmielewska 2007). It has potential value if it is inviting, edgy yet polite. In this trend artists are being invited to contribute public art to revitalize and facilitate the aims of the creative city, by making it appear trendier and more creative. Street art can then arise in the creative city, as part of public-private partnerships to stimulate the production of space which attracts the creative class (Andron 2018).

Attracting this 'creative class' has become vital to city planning, in order to continue develop. These creative city discourses have made street art as a pillar for urban change and regeneration. Building on the idea of creatives and street art attracting capital it is only right

to dive into the concept of symbolic economy. Zukin (2012) analyses the role of culture as a tool to shape cities. She argues that the city is a source and container of images and memories which give access to urban places. Zukin relates the visual representation of the city to a symbolic economy, where public art plays a role in shaping urban space (Douglas 2021). The creation of urban places depends on how symbolic narratives of exclusion and rights are utilized. According to this conceptualization, culture is embodied in the city's production systems. In cities, culture became a tool in the business strategies of governments and businesses. This was caused by the same idea of Florida (2003), that investing in art leads to growth in urban economy. Cities have achieved urban growth through visual exposure (Zukin 2012). This phenomenon has been coined symbolic economy, which consists of two processes. Production of space, in which aesthetic, cultural meanings and narratives are processed in the look buildings and streets. Secondly, the production of symbols, in which abstract cultural representations dictates how urban spaces should be utilized and by whom (Douglas 2021).

For Zukin street art means a change in the neighborhood, as these spaces change from being places of production to places of consumption, as 'creatives' are replaced by gentrifiers (McAuliffe 2012). In short, culture, and street art, shapes urban space to attract new residents, shoppers, tourists and visitors from around the world in order to gain economic growth. Hence symbolic economy uses and encourages culture such as street art to gain a visual characterise that attracts tourists and capital (Mitchell 2000). Within this discourse street art has notable role in sketching the character of a city, something often promoted by public institutions (Fernandes 2021). This is motivated by the narrative of creative cities and touristification, present in the urban strategies of many cities. The growing attention to this movement and the recognition of the symbolic role it currently plays goes hand in hand with growing tourist services in different cities, through guided tours (Campos & Sequeira 2020), which is also the case in Afrikaanderwijk. This processes thus make street art a tool to obtain financial growth and with that, more decisive power over urban space.

However, by attracting capital another process has been activated. In other words, art can become an enhancer of neoliberal globalization and the urban development to gain profit (Lindner & Meissner, 2015). This along with the neoliberal process is a phenomenon that is often related with concept of gentrification. Gentrification was coined by Ruth Glass (1964) and has been described as a process in which middle-class households invade working-class neighbourhoods in search of affordable housing. Subsequently, these homes are renovated and the neighbourhood changes into a neighbourhood with many elegant and expensive

homes. The result of this is that the original residents are being pushed out of the neighbourhood, as it were, because the costs of living are becoming too expensive. Gentrification can also change the social character of a neighbourhood so much that the original residents no longer feel at home (Clay 1979).

Gentrification can also be initiated by government policy and economic processes (Blokland & Harding, 2014). Hence, related to the creative city these processes complement each other. Cities have become very attractive for people who love culture, because there are many cultural facilities in the city. Therefore, restructuring to attract creatives can also be an explanation for gentrification. With these new classes in town, the previous residents are often moving away, and more and more professionals from the innovative economy are taking their place (Hamnett, 2003). According to Douglas (2021) research street art can enhance the gentrification process by contributing to a rise in property values and the consequently the displacement of lower-income residents.

This study shows how the value of specific buildings with the presence of a mural on them increased significantly. Also, stakeholders would be willing to pay more for a building if contained with certain street art on it. On the same line studies offer the perspective of street art being stimulated by policy in order to revitalize the neighborhoods, causing gentrification. This shows how this ongoing process in the neighborhood can be a product municipal intention to change the whole neighborhood. consequently, property values increasing, attracting new residents and becoming less financial affordable previous residents (Türken 2019).

### 3 Methods

### 3.1 Design

The research has a deductive qualitative design. By using this design, an in-depth analysis of the various aspects and the complexity of this urban process has been given in a concrete daily context, street art in Afrikaanderwijk. Research of this nature is well suited to analyse the underlying aspects of urban change, enabling exposure of not only the explicit, but also the "implicit" aspects of street art related as urban development (Seamon 2008; Scheepers, Tobi & Boeije 2016). Therefore, this research focused on the process of creating street art as experienced by the different parties involved, to shine a light on how, why and what function street art gets within the neighbourhood.

To provide data and answer the research question, semi-structured interviews have been conducted with six municipal actors that are connected to the neighbourhood and/or the street art (Appendix IV Topic list). Five actors active in organizations enhancing networking and cohesion within the neighbourhood also have been interviewed. Most of the participants of these group were also residents in the neighbourhood. With the additional field note and small talk data derived from contact with residents, this group has been used to sketch the view of residents on the subject. Furthermore, two artists that worked in the neighbourhood and two members of the organization HIJS, and thereby Pow!Wow! (Appendix III Participants). The interviews were based on theoretical related topics that provided framework and guidance in managing empirical data, but left room for the participant to steer the researcher with clarifying questions and not scheduled topics (Musante & DeWalt 2011). Participants have been reached through by establishing contact through the mail/phone and snow-ball sampling, participants referred and helped connect with other participants (Creswell & Poth 2018).

In addition, further data was provided through retrieved policy documents and observations in the neighbourhood. This sort of data provided a complement and verification for the above-mentioned data (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011). These data have been gathered by an internet/social media research, received from participants or by hanging out and observation (Driessen & Jansen 2013).

### 3.2 Analysis

Data collection and data analysis are two connected processes (Boeije 2005). The interviews were transcribed and thereafter coded with Atlas.ti. After a first ordering the data is coded in three phases. First, open coding (Boeije 2014). This means the data has been labelled with

substantive code. Hereafter the data underwent axial coding, in which codes are ranked within themes. This has been done several times until saturation has been achieved (Boeije 2014). Finally, relationships and connections between the data and the theory within the themes have been made. This process provided a set of codes that resulted in the sequent themes within the relationships between the different actors and the street art, origin, motives and experiences (Appendix V codes).

#### 3.3 Ethics

In research it is important to remain aware of the implications that are linked to ethical considerations. Consideration for context bounded limits is one of the most relevant of these considerations. In the case of this research this was often an obstacle when the term gentrification was used. Participants stimulating the realization of street art in the neighborhood often were bothered by the use of this terminology, expecting the focus of the research to be on that subject. Expectations were founded on previously encountered reactions, the amount of existing research and the negative public discourse surrounding this term. This often resulted in a blasé participation or even prefabricated answering structure by the interviewees and therefore a 'piloted' set of data (Clark 2008). It was therefore important for the researcher to be aware of the perceptions of participant and to be able to rectify the goal and focus of this study.

It was also important to allow the participants to participate in the research with complete freedom. This meant that it was the researcher's task to provide the participant with this freedom (AAA 2009). This was done and achieved by informing the participant about the facets of the research and reminding him/her/x of not binding nature of the participation, also beforehand they were asked to give informed consent (Musante & DeWalt 2011; Appendix II Informed consent). This consisted in an explanation of the research and an ethics and privacy statement. Another way to enhance the liberty of speech of the participants is to enhance the safety by limiting the possible negative outcomes of participating. In this research the risk was that retrieved data could contain sensitive information. Statements from interviewee regarding other actors involved could in this scenario affect and jeopardize the relationship between these actors. In order to make sure this is not the case all participants and data have been anonymized (Bryman 2016).

Finally, there is awareness that there is expectations, perceptions and goals to the field and the way of looking at the data (DeWalt & DeWalt 2011). This set of thoughts can determine both the execution and the content of the research. However, the field began with the idea of providing a holistic view of the phenomenon of street art in Afrikaanderwijk. This meant that the intention in the field was that of looking for the hidden patterns and speaking all types of actors looking for theoretical connections. However, this could also have resulted in a measure of restraint to the holistic and inductive way of collecting data, because there may have been a search for some deep discovery or aspect that simply was not there. Furthermore, speaking with actors with different perceptions consisted in the risk of taking a side of liking, or in general to shift the research to one lens. In order to prevent this canalization of data, there were several reflection moments about what the goal of this study was, to regain focus on the neutral nature of the approach.

### 4. Results

This part focusses on the results of the interviews. The results illustrate the role of street art within Afrikaanderwijk. This section is structured in order to highlight the different dimensions in which street art is entangled with the neighbourhood, creation and actors, motives and effects.

### 4.1 Creation process and actors

In order to place street art within the realm of the contest for urban space it is vital to understands how it came to be and which actors were involved herein. Most of the murals are painted during the Pow!Wow!. This took place in 2019 and 2020 in Afrikaanderwijk. This is an international street art festival that was founded in Hong Kong in 2010 and had its first edition in Hawaii the same year. This was then brought to the Netherlands in 2018 by the organization HipHopInJeSmoel (HIJS), which manages this street art under the name Rewriters010.nl. During the festivals different artists from over the world gathered in Afrikaanderwijk to make murals during the week.

"HIJS is in short, the organization and rewriters010 a collective name for all street art activities that we do. HIJS is an organization that has been around for 21 years and started as a hip-hop website. And it was just a hobby project and then it really grew into an organization. And six years ago, we started the project of rewriters" (Respondent A, HIJS).

In 2018, the organization launched a global project to get art into public space in Rotterdam. This was presented to policy advisors at the municipality. The municipality thought it was a good plan and made a budget available to research it and come up with a project design. Subsequently, many discussions took place with the municipality until approval for the first edition in M4H, before moving later to Afrikaanderwijk. In these conversations it was vital to speak to the right fractions and the right people within the municipal. By doing so the process would encounter an ''easier way of being realized'' as mentioned by Respondent M (urban development fraction). This move was very stimulated and requested by the municipal district manager of the neighborhood (Respondent D, neighborhood manager). The realization of street art in Afrikaanderwijk took mainly place within the festival. To make this possible, municipal and non-municipal subsidies had to be gained for both editions. Artists are compensated and material is financed with this. In addition to this aspect, artists must also be selected for the festival and allocated to spaces. These are chosen by the organization itself based on the matching of their style in that specific space.

"Originality and quality are very important. Diversity is also very important. It also has to fit in well with the neighborhood. it has to blend into the environment" (Respondent A, HIJS).

The spaces, in turn, are chosen on the basis of practical requirements such as the length of their stay, ergo the lifespan of a building, and the suitability for practicing street art. The organization also must visit the property owners to obtain permission, the municipality, private individuals, project developers or housing associations. Often maintenance or the newness of the property is the reason for refusing it.

'I remember that in Afrikaanderwijk, the housing association had several buildings available, but for a very short period, due to demolition. And we didn't want that. We only did one mural on such buildings, which has now been demolished. But it is also the other way around. That you really want a specific building, and you it is not possible'' (Respondent A, HIJS).

The visual images that are been placed during the festival are protected by the creative freedom of the artist. Residents can have some say in if they want street art in a certain space, but it has been impossible to organize a participatory trajectory for the residents to influence the visual shape of the art; due to the brief timespan the organization operates in the neighborhood (Respondent F, HIJS). However, this kind of participation can be guarantee by the organization in singular murals realized outside the context of the festival. In these cases, the contractor, municipal or private party has more agency on the realization of it. However, the format of the festival instead makes it due to its temporality impossible to establish a participatory trajectory (Respondent A, HIJS). Consequently, it has been showed that the demand for the street art here is mainly through the organization. The realization is then approved and facilitated by the municipality.

However in some other cases in the neighborhood murals were produced outside of the realm of the festival. In this case private owners contracted an artist out of their own request. In one case a housing corporation contacted an artist to make a mural on one of their real estates. They however first hired someone to do research about the neighborhood and thereby help visualize the artist work. The research was the base of a set of requirements the art had to meet (Respondent K, Art consult). Finally, the artist proposed a sketch to the housing corporation, which they allowed and financed. Another example within this trend is one of an artist's asking a school if he could paint on one of their buildings. He therefore asked if they were interested, then proposed a sketch that fulfilled the child friendly requirements of the school. By explaining the processes from which street art arose in Afrikaanderwijk, we can identify the different actors. For most of the works those were the sequent HIJS as organizer and facilitator, the municipal as gate holder, (the one that gives permission), and financer and the artist as autonomous maker. However other relevant actors are the residents that could not engage in the process of creation but are the ones that are in relation with the street art by means of residence.

## 4.2 Motives

This section focusses on the different motives of the actors active in relation with the process of creating street art, municipality and HIJS. It will do so by focusing on each actor separately.

### 4.2.1 The municipality

The municipality had several reasons for allowing the promotion of street art in the first place. Firstly, it was to increase the quality of life in the neighborhood and to combat the pollution seen in graffiti. It was thought that permitting organized works would reduce the nuisance of illegal and free daubing (Respondent M, municipal fraction urban development). By doing so the decadence of the neighborhood would be changed in something that gave an actual value to it. This aspect is shown in the following municipal project note provided by Respondent M.

"A simple tag on a wall or electrical box has nothing to do with art, does not improve the vibrancy of the city, nor does it increase the sense of security. We would therefore a clear policy for counteracting and combating undesirable forms of graffiti, which has negative effects on the quality of life and safety in the city. At the same time, we also want a strong focus on the added value of street art" (Municipality 2017).

In the same trend of the increase in quality of life, it was an advantage from the municipality to promote street art. It would provide nicer places for residents and therefore a nicer living environment (Respondent J, municipal fraction culture). Hereby the perceived livelihood of the neighborhood would increase. Residents would also benefit from the interaction with art. In this case, the municipality speaks of placemaking. Residents would be faced with an object that would make them think about and realize their urban space. Thus, creating narratives and meaning. Street art would connect a story and thus residents to their neighborhood through street art. The novelty in the district would suggest cause a reason for interaction between residents. Murals would be a mean to have contact with neighbors and therefore creating

relation through and with the urban space. In addition, one of the goals is to change the perception of Afrikaanderwijk by both residents and the outside world.

"We wanted to put Afrikaanderwijk on the map. So that people would feel proud when they told where they lived. That kids would say:" I live in the rocket building"; instead of being ashamed of where they live" (Respondent E, Municipal neighborhood networker).

Street art would become the landmark of Afrikaanderwijk. Also, it would fit within the narrative of Rotterdam as city affiliated to urban culture. This should also gap the bridge between Afrikaanderwijk and different parts of the cities. Furthermore, it would provide a new story about the neighborhood for residents as well as visitors. A youthful neighborhood that moves with the times. And leave behind the stigma it has according to Respondent D (Neighborhood manager). By doing so tourism from within the city and from outside would be stimulated. By a renewed image and the concrete physical new sights. The municipality proposes measures to entice visitors to also visit other parts of the city. Rotterdam strengthens and rebrands the identity of neighborhoods with such events and walking routes, which also make them more attractive for tourists and therefore also for local economy.

In other words, motives for the municipality to support, finance and stimulate street art in Afrikaanderwijk are two-dimensional and policy fitted. They are placed within the tourism, creative industry and cultural policies of the last years. Street art is beneficial for the residents and for the neighborhood itself. For it creates a new spatial narrative that should have a positive outcome. For residents it is one of an urban renewal that uplifts their livelihood and frees them from negative connotations and creates space for meaning and contact. For the neighborhood on the other hand, revitalization means new capital. Street art becomes a tool for touristification, attractiveness to different new residents and growth in value.

## 4.2.2 HIJS

The main motive for the organization HIJS is bringing art into the public sphere (Respondent F, HIJS). When this organization first focused on street art it was due to a lack of space for it. All over the world artist were making big murals in metropolitans, which was also the case in the eighties in Rotterdam (Respondent F, HIJS).

"Many artists we encountered, for them the story was basically that they traveled everywhere to make art, in public space. Then they came back to Rotterdam and they had to go in galleries, because it was not possible outside" (Respondent A, HIJS). However, once the project took place, they moved the festival after one year to Afrikaanderwijk. The specific choice for this neighborhood was founded in the imago and stigma it had, a somewhat deprived area according to the respondent (A, HIJS). With this in mind street art was supposed to help revitalize the neighborhood, by making it visual prettier.

"The purpose was that of giving something beautiful to this neighborhood. Something physical that would change its aesthetic. But also more importantly, it is to provide people free access to art; and to make art something daily. Something to aspire not something abstract" (Respondent A, HIJS).

The motivation behind the festival and the guided tours they organize, through and with the app is one of the same. These are founded in an urge to mix the murals with the neighborhood and the residents. This accessibility additionally results in phenomenon that are making the whole of the neighborhood itself accessible and consumable.

"It is true that the murals offer a daily interaction for the residents. However, we wanted to also incorporate something active. Something through and for the whole neighborhood to partake in. Hence the festival where there are different activities, next to the realization of the murals. The apps and the tours also are there to give the murals an active dimension" (Respondent F, HIJS).

In short, what makes this organization work for the realization of street art, is the idea of making art accessible for everybody.

#### 4.3 Experience

This section elaborates on how street art is experienced through and by the neighborhood. It does so by focusing on the reaction of residents, neighborhood networkers gained through interviews small talk and fieldnotes.

The general response of residents concerning street art in the neighborhood is relatively passive. As the overall opinion is that it is a fun thing to see while walking around. A fresh sight of color in the usual color palettes of the neighborhood. This would make the space more welcoming and livelier (Fieldnotes 1, 05/05/22). However, in the general appreciation for the visual aesthetic, often residents express a minor malcontent.

"It is nice to see, and I am sure the one who made it is very good. However, I don't understand the point. I have heard a lot of elderly people not liking it, so maybe it is for the youth. But again, I find myself asking the point of it. That is municipal money that could have been invested better into the neighborhood. Even for the youth, it was *better if it was used for more sport facilities '' (Respondent B*, Neighborhood council member).

This resident highlights the important aspect of the purpose of street art. Hereby we see that street may have positive aspects but that if it does not meet the necessity of some residents, it is superfluous.

Another resident, and active administrator in community center highlights the importance of participation.

"During the festival, or just before, I had a small interaction with the organizers, however it was brief exchange. After that, and thus during the festival I never spoke to them. It is a bummer; I would have liked it if they could have done something here in the community center" (Respondent I, local social networker).

Further the respondent goes on explaining how the festival just happened and there was no real introduction for the neighborhood or points of contact. She also states that from what she perceived the main group actively partaking in the festival were the outsiders and not the residents. According to the resident the lack of participation was a restriction, since most of the residents had no affinity with street art.

'If more involved, they would have perceived it more as their own. That's the same reason I didn't even know about the app and the guided tour in our neighborhood before you told me'' (Respondent I, local social networker).

This same aspect of lack of involvement was also something that preoccupied a local entrepreneur.

"I had a nice interaction with the organizers, that's not it. But the fact that they come, organize a festival, invite artists for a week from all over the world to paint something. Something that stays there, for the residents to see" (Respondent L, local entrepreneur).

The temporality she speaks about, goes on to estrange the urban space of the neighborhood. An organization comes by for a week to physical change the neighborhood, without considering the residents. The only interaction available for the residents is to partake in the festival and to watch as outsiders how street art is made. However, after this week the interaction with the art is lost. By not engaging with the neighborhood and its resident's street art lacks meaning and connection, it is according to the respondent just another policy tool to attract publicity and wealth. Going on she places the policy that enhances such phenomena has a contributor to the gentrification process. "These are people who want to use art to achieve other goals. Art must offer new perspectives in public space, especially in deprived neighborhoods where unwanted poor residents must make room for the wealthy people. How and by whom are the choices made? Those of the city are about a flashy, fleeting, ephemeral moment that offers no continuity" (Respondent L, local entrepreneur).

To sum up, most of the residents speak positively about the visual/physical sphere of the street art in their neighborhood. They experience it has something nice to stumble up on in the daily life (fieldnotes 29/04/22). Some also stretch this thought on to street art making the urban space more enjoyable. However, the lack of participation is something that most respondents thought as a disadvantage. It places them as spectators instead of residents and 'co-owners' of that specific urban space.

#### 5. Conclusion

Most of the street art present in Afrikaanderwijk has been created in a time span of two years in the last three years. To this day they are over twenty murals, which are mostly created through the organizations of HIJS. The organization realized this by asking permission to the municipality first. Subsequently, they had held the festival for which they had to ask funding by municipality and other parties. Furthermore, for the murals they had to ask the owners of the buildings permission and invite artists willing to partake. Finally, during the festival artist had the artistic freedom to make their pieces. The process makes obvious which actors have a true shot calling position about managing street art in Afrikaanderwijk. HIJS not only is the initiator but is also the actor that chooses and pursues the actual geographic space in which street art claims the place. Furthermore, by choosing the artist and they also have a minimal say in what kind of shape that space gets, as they choose artists by style. On the other side is the other relevant active actor in this process the municipality. By being the gate holder and financer, and choosing if the festival can partake, they exercise their regent power over the right to shape the urban space. Also, by being the financer they are the stimulator, and enhancer and the investor expecting something back from it. This shows that the creation of street art in Afrikaanderwijk is one that has been structuralized through bureaucracy and realized through it.

To understand the process of creation the motives of these two-actor claiming the creation of urban space through street art the motives are of ultimate importance. First, the municipality uses its role as gatekeeper and financer to stimulate the spread of street art across the city, and in specific in Afrikaanderwijk. Reason therefore is the symbolic economy street art can generate, by rebranding the neighbourhood and shape a new image around it (Andron 2018; Schacter 2014). According to the municipality street art can augment the livelihood of the district and foster urban regeneration (Sharp et al. 2005). This occurs by shaping new spaces through place making, that can foster new meaning for the residents and for outsiders shaping a new perception of the neighbourhood. Thus, enhancing internal positive connotations for the residents and attracting more tourists and capital. HIJS on the other hand sees its motivations founded in the benefits of art (Matthews & Gadaloff 2022). Their aim is to make art free accessible for everybody. In their pursue for it they also try to generate new visual dynamics that can make the urban area thrive through to aesthetical improvement.

Both parties thus have an eye for place making as mean to urban regeneration and urban branding (Foushée 2019). This motives and their role in the creation of street art

however evidence the way this phenomenon has been perceived by the residents. The discrepancy between motives and hopes of the murals by the municipality and HIJS and the neighbourhood is one that sums up all the difficulties of street art in this neighbourhood. However, the visual aspect is by most residents perceived as something likeable it has not a real impact as hoped. Residents are more indifferent to it. The absence of participation that drives them even further away from the possibilities of street art. While the municipality was motivated by place making to gain capital, the place making potential of street art was absence for the resident, as it could not partake in the creation of the urban space. While placemaking especially succeeds when residents are involved, or even is a core element of it (Sharp et al. 2005). Furthermore, various participants remarked how this policy of making the neighbourhood trendier by rebranding it with modern urban renewal only furthered the gentrification (Türken 2019). The reason for this is that even in this kind of 'innocent' shaping of the urban space the resident of the district has been skipped.

Street art is therefore a complex phenomenon. This research shows the duality that is in its nature, from creation, motives to experiences (Pinson & Journel, 2016). Street art can as well serve or bethought as a tool of agency and placemaking for citizen, as it can enhance neoliberal process that are being pushed by policies. However, this research highlights that in the specific case, Afrikaanderwijk, street art does not lend itself to the residents. It has been claimed by an organization giving it the physical form and by the municipality using it in order to revitalize the urban district. This however does not entail that all outcomes are negative for residents, as they also can profit from the aesthetic aspect and perhaps the socioeconomic urban effects activated by it (Mabie 2018). Nonetheless in the contest of urban space, street art not only has been lost in physical design by the resident, but also in the capacity to shape a meaningful interaction with it (Shields, 2013. By the lack of participation, street art has been perceived as more as a new piece of infrastructure that does not meet the needs of the viewer. Therefore, in the case of the right to the city, street art enables the municipality to shape the urban space, leaving the residents the role of the observer and consumer.

### 6. Discussion

## 6.1 Results

If we look at the process by which street art is created, it is clear why it does not become a resource for residents. The process of creation identified two actors as the driving force behind this phenomenon. The organization acts out of its own interest and passion, with the idea of doing something good for the neighborhood by making art accessible. The government gives permission for this, facilitates this and hopes for certain effects such as place making and contact.

However, at the moment that in this entire process it is difficult to achieve a concrete effect for the residents only from the intentions and goals of these two parties. Therefore, the answer to the question is not so much shocking. However, the dimension that answers subquestion three does show something remarkable. Residents do not feel much about the visual change to the neighborhood by means of the street, but they do notice a transition. Placing street art is experienced as such a placement. In addition, street art by residents is linked to processes such as gentrification and thus the alienation and misplacement of residents through a transition in the neighborhood that transcends them.

### 6.2 Strengths, limitations & future research

This research increasingly convinced that the perspective of urban space when studying street art can lead to insights that are still rare in the academic debate. Linked to a specific context, this can lead to insights about citizen participation, urban citizenship, and citizen initiatives in relation to urban space. Building on the academic discourse on the effects street art on the neighbourhood, this can lead to new socially relevant insights into street art and its role in the city. Furthermore, the broad and general approach of the study, starting from street art, offers a clear visual on the multiple layers it has, displaying all actors, motives and others affiliated.

However, this holistic perspective is also the limitation of this study. There is still a lot to be analysed within this research, and in its possible follow-up studies. Within the research it was only possible to identify the effects of the street art by perception of the residents, without a link to statistic that confirm for example the procedure. Also, the intersection between all the parties asks for more scrutiny. Within the municipality, there were three different fractions involved in the development of street art. The underlying processes herein could not be analysed, due to lack of time and expertise. Furthermore, the research focused mainly on street art realized during the festival, since this was almost all of it, however there were other scenario's that if further analysed could propose other findings.

Hence, this research could be used as a steppingstone to academically deep dive in the different aspects mentioned above. Also, the findings of this research may be useful as a steppingstone to do a similar study in Feyenoord where this process of mural placing is now actively happening.

### 6.3 Implications

The findings of this result show how in order for street art to reach its full potential as desired by all the actors involved above, participation is a key feature. This can be achieved by working together as parties. With the organization as the one that reaches out to the residents through district managers and district networkers. And having the municipality has a caretaker, making sure everything goes as plan. This could be then concretized by actualizing quota, as in different minimum indicator of participation and collaboration must have been met before letting the project start. Also, letting local artists do this job could be a way of improving the place making. Finally, the temporality of this projects can be improved by this participation process in which the residents can have a say in the aesthetic. So that they feel co-owner of the mural.

### **Reference list**

ALL-CAPS. (2022). All Caps Capital art., about us. Available at: https://all-caps.nl/about/

Altman, I., & Low, S. M. (Eds.). (2012). Place attachment (Vol. 12). Springer Science & Business Media.

American Anthropological Association. (2009). "Code of Ethics of the American Anthropological Association." February 2009. http://s3.amazonaws.com/rdcmsaaa/files/production/public/FileDownloads/pdfs/issues/policy-advocacy/upload/AAA- Ethics-Code-2009.pdf.

Andron, S. (2018). Selling streetness as experience: The role of street art tours in branding the creative city. *The Sociological Review*, *66*(5), 1036-1057.

Attoh, K. A. (2011). What kind of right is the right to the city?. Progress in human geography, 35(5), 669-685.

Awad, S. H., Wagoner, B., & Glaveanu, V. (2017). The street art of resistance. In Resistance in everyday life (pp. 161-180). Springer, Singapore.

Babbie, E. (2016). The practice of social research, 14th edition. Wadsworth: Cengage Learning.

Basso, K. H. (1996). Wisdom sits in places: Landscape and language among the Western Apache. UNM Press.

Boeije, H. R., Drabble, S. J., & O'Cathain, A. (2015). Methodological challenges of mixed methods intervention evaluations. Methodology.

Bryman, A. (2016). Social research methods. Oxford university press.

Campos, R., & Sequeira, Á. (2020). Urban art touristification: the case of Lisbon. Tourist Studies, 20(2), 182-202.

Certeau, M. de. (2011). The practice of everyday life (S. F. Rendall, Trans.; 3rd ed.). University of California Press.

Clay, P. L. (1979). Neighborhood Renewal. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books

Conklin, T. R. (2012). Street art, ideology, and public space. Portland State University.

Cresswell, T. (2004). Defining place. Place: A Short Introduction. Malden, MA: Blackwell Ltd, 12.

Cresswell, T. (2014). Place: an introduction. John Wiley & Sons.

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2017). Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches (4th edition). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Cuba, L., & Hummon, D. M. (1993). A place to call home: Identification with dwelling, community, and region. Sociological quarterly, 34(1), 111-131.

Doucet, B., & Koenders, D. (2018). 'At least it's not a ghetto anymore': Experiencing gentrification and 'false choice urbanism'in Rotterdam's Afrikaanderwijk. Urban Studies, 55(16), 3631-3649.

Douglas, M. (1996). Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo. New York: Routledge.

Douglas, K. (2021). Investigating the perceived effects of street art in Urban Regeneration, Gentrification and on the local community in Cape Town's Woodstock and Salt River (Master's thesis, Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment).

Driessen, H., & Jansen, W. (2013). The hard work of small talk in ethnographic fieldwork. Journal of anthropological research, 69(2), 249-263.

Duff, C. (2010). On the role of affect and practice in the production of place. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 28(5), 881-895. doi:10.1068/d16209

Fernandes, C. S. G. (2021). Graffiti and urban art as political participation in the process of touristification in Lisbon: A psychosocial analysis (Doctoral dissertation).

Florida, R. (2003). Cities and the creative class. City & community, 2(1), 3-19.

Foucault, M. (1977). Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison. Vintage.

Foucault, M., & Rabinow, P. (1997). Essential works of Foucault, 1954-1988.

Foushée, D. (2019). Street art hunting: Instagram and the gamification of creative placemaking. *Arizona State University.(nd)*.

Glass, R. (1964). Aspects of change. The gentrification debates: A reader, 19-30.

Halsey, M., & Young, A. (2006). 'Our desires are ungovernable' Writing graffiti in urban space. Theoretical criminology, 10(3), 275-306.

Hamnett, C. (2003). Gentrification and the middle-class remaking of inner London, 1961-2001. Urban studies, 40(12), 2401-2426

Harding, A., & Blokland, T. (2014). Urban theory: a critical introduction to power, cities and urbanism in the 21st century. Sage.

Harmsma, J. (2019). Voorbij de oude ballast: neoliberalisme en het nieuwe marktdenken van Nederlandse economen (1945-1952). Tijdschrift Sociologie, 15(3), 253-270.

Harvey, D. (2020). "The Right to the City": New Left Review (2008). In The City Reader (pp. 281-289). Routledge.

HipHop In Je Smoel. (2022). HipHop In Je Smoel, over ons. Available at: https://www.hiphopinjesmoel.com/over-ons/

HipHop In Je Smoel. (2022). HipHop In Je Smoel, Meerjarenplan Cultuurplan 2017-2020

Stichting HIJS. Available at: <u>https://www.hiphopinjesmoel.com/wp-</u> content/uploads/2018/01/Cultuurplanaanvraag-HIJS-17-20-def-AH.pdf

HipHop In Je Smoel. (2022). HipHop In Je Smoel, Meerjarenplan Cultuurplan 2021-2024 Stichting HIJS. Available at: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1nWKJ3\_9qH8mlxlCG97UMOA3uj9E03hfL/view

Jaffe, R., & De Koning, A. (2015). Introducing urban anthropology. Routledge.

Koenders, D. E. (2014). 'At least this is not a ghetto anymore'Neighborhood perceptions of original residents in times of gentrification in the Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam (Master's thesis).

Lefebvre, H., & Nicholson-Smith, D. (1991). The production of space (Vol. 142). Blackwell: Oxford.

Lindner, C., & Meissner, M. (2015). Slow art in the creative city: Amsterdam, street photography, and urban renewal. Space and culture, 18(1), 4-24.

Lin, J., & Mele, C. (Eds.). (2012). The urban sociology reader. Routledge.

Lofland, L. H. (1998). The Public Realm: Exploring the City's Quintessential Social Territory. Aldine de Gruyter.

Mabie, A. M. (2018). Deviance Fluidity on the Urban Landscape: Graffiti and Street Art as Non-Normative Placemaking.

Matthews, T., & Gadaloff, S. (2022). Public art for placemaking and urban renewal: Insights from three regional Australian cities. *Cities*, 103747.

McAuliffe, C. (2012). Graffiti or street art? Negotiating the moral geographies of the creative city. *Journal of urban affairs*, *34*(2), 189-206.

Mitchell, K. (2000). The culture of urban space. Urban geography, 21(5), 443-449.

Musante, K., & DeWalt, B. R. (2011). Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers. Walnut Creek.

Oostdam, S. (2017). Van wie is de stad? Een onderzoek naar de mate van sturing op gentrification via woonbeleid in Rotterdam-Zuid.

Olsen, D. H. (2006). Review of Space and Place, by Y.-F. Tuan. Material Culture, 38(1), 128–130.

Park, R. E. (1936). Human Ecology, American Journal of Sociology 42, 1: 1–15. Reprinted by permission of University of Chicago Press.

Peck, J. (2011). Geographies of policy: From transfer-diffusion to mobility-mutation. Progress in human geography, 35(6), 773-797.

Rewriters010 (2022). Wie zijn Wij. https://rewriters010.nl/wie-zijn-wij/

Rotterdam Municipality (2016). Woonvisie Rotterdam: Koers naar 2030, agenda tot 2020. Available at: https://www.rotterdam.nl/wonen-leven/woon visie/DEFINITIEF-Woonvisie-Rotterdam-2030- dd-raad-15-december-2016.pdf.

Rotterdam Municipality (2019). Beleidsvisie creatieve industrie. https://rotterdam.notubiz.nl/document/7844370/1.

Rotterdam Municipality (2020). Toerismevisie: Te gast in Rotterdam, een nieuwe kijk op toerisme. Available at: <u>https://www.rotterdam.nl/nieuws/nieuwe-toerismevisie/Visie-Toerisme\_DEF\_toegankelijk.pdf</u>

Rotterdam Municipality (2022). WIjkprofiel Rotterdam 2022: Feijenoord, Afrikaanderwijk. Available at: https://wijkprofiel.rotterdam.nl/nl/2022/rotterdam/feijenoord/afrikaanderwijk

Schacter, R. (2008). An ethnography of iconoclash: An investigation into the production,

consumption and destruction of street-art in London. Journal of material culture, 13(1), 35-61.

Schacter, R. (2014). The ugly truth: Street art, graffiti and the creative city. *Art & the Public Sphere*, *3*(2), 161-176.

Scheepers, P. L. H., Tobi, H., & Boeije, H. R. (2016). Onderzoeksmethoden (9e dr.). Amsterdam: Boom uitgevers.

Sharp, J., Pollock, V., & Paddison, R. (2005). Just art for a just city: Public art and social inclusion in urban regeneration. *Urban Studies*, *42*(5-6), 1001-1023.

Schmid, C. (2012). Henri Lefebvre, the right to the city, and the new metropolitan mainstream. Cities for people, not for profit: Critical urban theory and the right to the city, 42-62.

Seamon, D., & Sowers, J. (2008). Place and Placelessness, Edward Relph. Key texts in human geography, 43-51.

Sennet, R. (1990). The Conscience of the Eye: The Design and Social Life of Cities. New York: Alfred A. Knopf

Shields, R. (2013). Lefebvre and the Right to the Open City? Space and Culture, 16(3), 345–348.

Shove, E. (2003). Converging conventions of comfort, cleanliness, and convenience. Journal of Consumer policy, 26(4), 395-418.

Smets, S. (2019). Hoe Insta-kunst de stad in de uitverkoop zet. Vers beton, kunst en cultuur. Available at: <u>https://www.versbeton.nl/2019/10/hoe-insta-kunst-de-stad-in-de-uitverkoop-zet/</u>

Türken, H. (2019). The role of street art in state-led gentrification: case study on Mural Istanbul.

Uitermark, J., Duyvendak, J. W., & Kleinhans, R. (2007). "Gentrification as a governmental strategy: social control and social cohesion in Hoogvliet, Rotterdam." Environment and planning A, 39(1), 125-141.

United Nations. (2021). Mandates of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing. AL NLD 3/2021. Available at:

https://spcommreports.ohchr.org/TMResultsBase/DownLoadPublicCommunicationFile?gId= 26359

Van der Doelen, J. (2019). Streetart Afrikaanderwijk kent wel degelijk gelaagdheid; Opinie in reactie op 'Hoe Insta-kunst de stad in de uitverkoop zet'. Vers beton, kunst en cultuur. Available at: https://www.versbeton.nl/2019/10/streetart-afrikaanderwijk-kent-wel-degelijkgelaagdheid/

Van der Geest, S. (2003). Confidentiality and pseudonyms: A fieldwork dilemma from Ghana. Anthropology Today, 19.

Van der Graaf, P., & Duyvendak, J. W. (2009). Thuis voelen in de buurt: een opgave voor stedelijke vernieuwing: een vergelijkend onderzoek naar de buurthechting van bewoners in Nederland en Engeland. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Van Essel, R. (2021). Navin Thakoer: "Street art is een gentrificatiekaravaan geworden die de geschiedenis van de wijken herschrijft". Vers beton, kunst en cultuur. Available at: <u>https://www.versbeton.nl/2021/02/navin-thakoer-street-art-is-een-gentrificatiekaravaan-geworden-die-de-geschiedenis-van-de-wijken-herschrijft/</u>

Vers beton. (2022). Wat is Vers Beton?. Available at: https://www.versbeton.nl/info/wat-is-vers-beton/

Williams, D. R., & Roggenbuck, J. W. (1989). Measuring place attachment: Some preliminary results. In NRPA Symposium on Leisure Research, San Antonio, TX (Vol. 9).

Zukin, S. (2012). Whose culture? Whose city?. In The urban sociology reader (pp. 363-371). Routledge.

# Appendix I: CHECKLIST ETHICAL AND PRIVACY ASPECTS OF RESEARCH

ERASMUS UNIVERSITEIT ROTTERDAM

## **INSTRUCTION**

This checklist should be completed for every research study that is conducted at the Department of Public Administration and Sociology (DPAS). This checklist should be completed *before* commencing with data collection or approaching participants. Students can complete this checklist with help of their supervisor.

This checklist is a mandatory part of the empirical master's thesis and has to be uploaded along with the research proposal.

The guideline for ethical aspects of research of the Dutch Sociological Association (NSV) can be found on their website (http://www.nsv-sociologie.nl/?page\_id=17). If you have doubts about ethical or privacy aspects of your research study, discuss and resolve the matter with your EUR supervisor. If needed and if advised to do so by your supervisor, you can also consult Dr. Jennifer A. Holland, coordinator of the Sociology Master's Thesis program.

## PART I: GENERAL INFORMATION

Project title:	The duality of street art in the contest of the city		
Name, email of studen	t: Filippo Gattone	614799fg@eur.nl	
Name, email of superv	isor: Wenda Doff	doff@essb.eur.nl	

Start date and duration: 11/04/2022, duration 10 weeks

Is the research study conducted within DPAS

NO

In collaboration/ under supervision with the Veldacademie organization as an internship

# PART II: HUMAN SUBJECTS

- Does your research involve human participants. YES If 'YES': does the study involve medical or physical research? NO
- Does your research involve field observations without manipulations that will not involve identification of participants. NO
  - Research involving completely anonymous data files (secondary data that has been anonymized by someone else).

NO

# PART III: PARTICIPANTS

- Will information about the nature of the study and about what participants can expect during the study be withheld from them? NO
- Will any of the participants not be asked for verbal or written 'informed consent,' whereby they agree to participate in the study? NO

- Will information about the possibility to discontinue the participation at any time be withheld from participants?
   NO
- Will the study involve actively deceiving the participants? NO
- Does the study involve the risk of causing psychological stress or negative emotions beyond those normally encountered by participants? NO
- 6. Will information be collected about special categories of data, as defined by the GDPR (e.g. racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, trade union membership, genetic data, biometric data for the purpose of uniquely identifying a person, data concerning mental or physical health, data concerning a person's sex life or sexual orientation)? *these topics are not explicitly important for my research and will not be asked about.*

NO

- 7. Will the study involve the participation of minors (<18 years old) or other groups that cannot give consent?</li>
  No, *I will 'target' residents and other participants that have are least 18 years.*
- Is the health and/or safety of participants at risk during the study? NO
- Can participants be identified by the study results or can the confidentiality of the participants' identity not be ensured? NO

Are there any other possible ethical issues with regard to this study?
 NO

What safeguards are taken to relieve possible adverse consequences of these issues (e.g., informing participants about the study afterwards, extra safety regulations, etc.).

- At the start of every interview the participant will be reminded that he/she/x can interrupt the participation at any moment and for every reason.

Are there any unintended circumstances in the study that can cause harm or have negative (emotional) consequences to the participants? Indicate what possible circumstances this could be.

- Some topics during the interviews could lead to possible unsettling theme's such as dislocation and/or neighbourhood decay. However, the possible harm is a personal matter and can't not be previously calculated. For this scenario the remedy is to state clearly that the participant is totally free to answer or not answer question as well as to participate or not with the research.

# PART IV: SAMPLE

Where will you collect or obtain your data?

- Afrikaanderwijk, Rotterdam. In specific by residents met in the neighborhood and bypassers admiring the street art.
- *Rewriters010, Rotterdam. Organization that curates street art and street art events in Rotterdam.*

What is the size of your sample?

- 15
- o 6 residents/local social netoworkers
- 0 2 members of Rewriters010/ Stichting HIJS
- o 2 street artists
- o 5 district official/ municipal employee/ neighborhood council

During observation activities the number of participants is variable per context.
 However if possible I would like to interact, even if briefly or very informal, with at least another 10 +/- in these settings.

What is the size of the population from which you will sample?

- Population Afrikaanderwijk: 8000 residents +/-

# Part V: Data storage and backup

Where and when will you store your data in the short term, after acquisition?

- Data retrieved from the interviews will be stored on the computer and on a physical external hard disk accessible only by the researcher.
- Observational and other handwritten notes will be stored in a notebook.

Who is responsible for the immediate day-to-day management, storage and backup of the data arising from your research?

- All kind of data will exclusively be handled by the researcher. Therefore, it is only accessible by or under supervision of the researcher.

How (frequently) will you back-up your research data for short-term data security?

- Data will be moved daily from recorder device and notebook to the computer storage disk and the external hard disk

In case of collecting personal data how will you anonymize the data?

- All personal data that can facilitate identification of the participants will be replaced with made up names by the researcher. In case necessary also physical feature can neglected or changed to save anonymity. In a secured file the changed features and names will be listed next to the original in order for the researcher to remember the participants.

# PART VI: SIGNATURE

Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the ethical guidelines in the conduct of your study. This includes providing information to participants about the study and ensuring

confidentiality in storage and use of personal data. Treat participants respectfully, be on time at appointments, call participants when they have signed up for your study and fulfil promises made to participants.

Furthermore, it is your responsibility that data are authentic, of high quality and properly stored. The principle is always that the supervisor (or strictly speaking the Erasmus University Rotterdam) remains owner of the data, and that the student should therefore hand over all data to the supervisor.

Hereby I declare that the study will be conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the Department of Public Administration and Sociology at Erasmus University Rotterdam. I have answered the questions truthfully.

Name student: Filippo Gattone

Name (EUR) supervisor: Wenda Doff

Date: 18/04/2022

Date: 20-03-2022

## **APPENDIX II: Informed Consent Form**

# Research: "The duality of street art in the contest of the city"

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask questions if anything you read is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether to take part.

My name is Filippo Gattone, I am a sociology master student at Erasmus University Rotterdam. The overall aim of the study is to understand the importance of street art for Afrikaanderwijk and its residents. This will be achieved by looking at the consequences of the street art in Afrikanderwijk; what do they mean for the residents? and what do they bring to the market appeal of Afrikaanderwijk?

By participating you agree to answer questions about street art and their meaning for you; feelings and memories related to Afrikaanderwijk; your relationship with places and people within the neighborhood. Also, there will be question asked about changes in the neighborhood municipal plans and outcomes. You will be asked to participate because you are a resident or connected to one of the other topics within the neighborhood.

Participation is completely voluntary, and the participant has the right to refuse participation, refuse any question and withdraw at any time without any consequence whatsoever. In that case, material obtained from that participant will not be used and destroyed immediately.

Furthermore, I would like to ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of the participant and any individuals they talk about. Individuals that provide information will at all times remain anonymous. The material will be fully confidential and only used for scientific analysis by the researcher of and eventually consulted by the Erasmus University supervisor. Nobody else will have access to your information. No personal names of participants or specific locations where participants live will ever be revealed in these publications. Also, non-anonymized data in the form of signed consent forms and audio recordings are collected and retained as part of the research process. However, these will be treated with extreme caution and eliminated at the end of the research.

The recorded interviews, and all other collected data will be retained on the researcher personal computer until after my degree has been conferred. A transcript of interviews in which all identifying information has been removed will be retained for a further one years after this. Under freedom of information legalization, you are entitled to access the information you have provided at any time. However, after this period all data will be deleted from all platforms.

## **APPENDIX III: Participants**

Respondent A	HIJS, Pow!Wow!/ALL-CAPS and rewriters010
Respondent B	Neighborhood council member, resident

Respondent C	Author article Vers beton and member of municipal art institutions
	Centrum beeldende kunst and Beeldende Kunst & Openbare Ruimte
	Rotterdam
Respondent D	Neighborhood manager, Municipality
Respondent E	Neighborhood networker, Municipality
Respondent F	HIJS, Pow!Wow!/ALL-CAPS and rewriters010
Respondent G	Municpality, culture fraction
Respondent H	Artist
Respondent I	Local social networker; SOL & durf te doen, resident
Respondent J	Municipality, culture fraction
Respondent K	Art consult, collaborator Vestia, resident
Respondent L	Local entrepeneur, resident
Respondent M	Urban planning, fraction urban development, Municipality
Respondent N	Artist
Respondent O	Cultuurconcreet, local social networker

\*In addition to the respondents of the interviews, a number of residents has been briefly asked about the street art in an informal way. This happened in three observation moments at Afrikaanderplein.

29/04	3	Male, 47. Female, 61. Male, 19.
05/05	5	Male, 30. Female, 42. Female, 58. Male, 24. Male, 41.
11/05	2	Female, 38. Male, 63. Male, 33.

# APPENDIX IV: Topic list

<u>Topic</u>	questions
Organization	- What is the purpose of the organization?
	- What kind of relationship does the
	organization have with the municipality of
	Rotterdam? And with neighborhood
	organizations?
	- How is the foundation financed?

	- Are there any requirements for the	
	continued existence of the organization? If	
	yes which one?	
Street art	- How are the street art pieces created? Is	
	this requested? Or are you suggesting	
	this? And what is the bureaucratic	
	process here?	
	- Who determines the aesthetic of Art?	
	Are there guidelines? If so, who do	
	these come from? Are residents	
	included? Does the municipality have	
	any say?	
	- What influence does urban policy have	
	on the placement of street art? based on	
	what are certain locations chosen?	
	- Does the street art have to meet certain	
	requirements of the municipality? If yes	
	which one?	
	- What disadvantages or conflicts does	
	street art entail? With the residents and	
	with the municipality? Or other parties?	
Neighborhood	- Which parties are involved?	
	- What is the purpose of street art in	
	Afrikaanderwijk?	
	- What are the requirements it must meet?	
	- How is it maintained?	
	- Who finances such projects and why?	
	What are the desired effects?	
Placing	- What benefits do you think the	
	neighborhood/municipality gets from	
	placing street art? And what kind of	
	drawbacks?	
	Grawbacks:	

- Why do you organize guided tours?
Who do you want to reach? What do
you think this could do for the
neighborhood?
- What is the purpose of the festival? and
how does it work? How does that come
about? Which parties are involved?
- What are the desired or experienced
effects for the participants? In what
way?

# **APPENDIX V: Codes**

Axial & selective codes	Codes
$\circ$ contact/interaction	31
Motives	
o revival	26
Motives	
o image/perception	28
Motives	
○ art	20
Perceived by residents	
$\circ$ livability	30
Motives	
○ place making	22
Motives	
○ publicity	21
Perceived by residents	
o representation	25
Perceived by residents	

$\circ$ collaboration/participation	31
Creation process	
o subsidy/financing	32
Creation process	
$\circ$ life span	19
Perceived by residents	
• accessibility culture	21
Motives	
○ tourism	15
Motives	
• permission	22
Creation process	
o policy	24
Creation process	
o gentrification	13
Perceived by residents	

This table shows the codes I found. On the left are the axial codes, these are collective terms for several subcodes that I found in the first coding phase. The row on the right shows how many first-round codes were found within the theme of the axial code. Think of codes such as, 'greeting, stop to chat and talk about the mural' by an axial code as contact/interaction for example. Finally, in italic we see under each axial code, the theme to which each axial code belongs, the selective codes.