Leefvelden Analysis of Carnisse Oskar Oonk, Yaron Mor, Robin Janz

Multidisciplinary Analysis Report

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INDEX

1.Introduction	4	5.4 Varied program 5.5 Anchor point cluster types
2.Observations	6	5.6 Duration of stay
2.1 Introduction	7	5.7 Link between duration of stay
2.2 Just and Unjust - general impressions	9	and type of anchor point
2.3 Pictures - Parks and Landscapes	10	5.8 Conclusion
2.4 Pictures - Facilities 11	10	3.0 CONCIDENT
2.5 Pictures - Transition from housing to park	12	6. Conclusion
2.6 Key lessons learned	13	o. Conclusion
2.0 Ney lessons learned	15	7. Discussion
3.Data inventory	14	7. Discussion
3.1 Introduction	15	8.References
	16	o.References
3.2 Demographic profile	10	Q Appondix
3.3 Neighborhood profile 18	10	9.Appendix
3.3.1 Neighborhood profile - physical index	19	9.1 Interview protocol
3.3.2 Neighborhood profile - social index	20	9.2 Interviews
3.3.4 Neighborhood profile - safety index	21	9.3 Duration of stay
3.3.5 Neighborhood profile - Key lessons learned	22	
3.4 Interventions introductions 23	27	
3.4.1 Interventions "Carnisse Poort"	24	
3.4.2 Interventions "De hofjes van Carnisse"	25	
3.5 Data mapping - introduction 26		
3.5.1 Data mapping - Sports and Parks	28	
3.5.2 Data mapping - Shops and bars	30	
3.5.3 Data mapping - Culture	32	
3.6 Other data	33	
3.7 Key lessons learned	34	
4.Interviews	35	
4.1 Introduction	36	
4.2 Interview design	37	
4.3 Comments in theme	44	
4.4 Key lessons learned	46	
5.Anchor points analysis	47	
5.1 Introduction	48	
5.2 Presence of facilities	49	
5.3 Physically recognizable places	52	

1. INTRODUCTION

Introduction

This multidisciplinary analysis report (MAR) is aimed at investigating, mapping and analyzing the socio-spatial inequality in the neighborhood of Carnisse. Specifically, the MAR will focus on the area of Sports, Culture, and Leisure & Recreation.

Carnisse is an area with a long history which originates in the old village of Charlois. Remnants of this era gone by can still be found in some of the facades of the Klaverstraat, although today little of peace and quiet of the olden days remains. Throughout the last century and a half, the little village became engulfed in the metropolitan network of Rotterdam.

The neighborhood was introduced to the modern industrial era with the emergence of the Waalhaven as a fully industrial harbor form 1907 to 1930, attracting capital and improving employment opportunities. Not much later, the population rose astronomically in the aftermath of the bombing of Rotterdam, where large scores of people in need of housing were moved to developments below in Carnisse (ProgrammaBureau NPRZ, 2019). By the end of the 20th century, the area south of Rotterdam housed a large population of low skilled workers from the Netherlands and abroad, attracted to employment opportunities of the harbor and its auxiliary activities.

Though the harbor continues to flourish to date, the labor opportunities it provided to the neighborhood have long dissipated. Where the harbor employed a total estimate of 17.000 people in 1965, in 2000 it only employed 5.000. The type of employment in the harbor has also shifted, with high skilled logistics and coordination jobs remaining as the manual labor has largely been replaced by machinery. This left many neighborhoods in Rotterdam Zuid in the precarious position of having large scores of low skilled workers, often from diverse backgrounds, but little to no job opportunities for the inhabitants to make a living wage.

As you will find out throughout the MAR, this change had far reaching implementations for the neighborhood. Entering a spiral of self-perpetuating poverty and inequality, with all the associated characteristics such as high crime and low levels of education Carnisse and the wider area of Rotterdam Zuid needed help.

In 2011 the Nationaal Programma Rotterdam Zuid [National Program Rotterdam South] (NPRZ) was initiated. From that moment, multiple

government, private and local stakeholders have bundled their resources to improving the area of Rotterdam Zuid. The policy and intervention is aimed at an holistic improvement engaging in all aspect of (urban) life to create a living, working and recreating environment that is physically and socially on par with the neighboring areas on the other side of the river (ProgrammaBureau NPRZ, 2019).

As mentioned in the introduction, this MAR is aimed at investigating Carnisse. Specifically, we are investigating the following question:

How does socio-spatial inequality manifest itself in Carnisse in facilities for sports, culture, and leisure & recreation?

In order to answer this question systematically, two sub-questions will further guide the research:

Which organizations are active in the neighborhood in the domain of sports, culture, and leisure & recreation?

How important are these organizations for the social networks of residents?

Rooted in the larger urban fabric of Rotterdam Zuid, and highly interconnected with the wider investigations of the NPRZ, we will be investigating sports, culture, and leisure & recreation facilities in Carnisse.

The MAR as the name suggest is multidisciplinary of nature and takes a broad range of perspectives to formulate its final conclusions. The report will commence by a mostly primary sensory account of the observation of the area. These observations will guide the reader to a firmer understanding of the problem as investigated through data analysis in the second part. Thirdly, to account for the invaluable local perspective, interviews will be presented and analyzed. Finally all the gathered information will be compiled in the fifth and final chapter, the anchor point analysis. Here the multidisciplinary data on key areas in our domain will be visualized. Although each section will be summarized by a discussion of the 'key lessons learned' a final comprehensive conclusion with synthesize all the findings in the report to deliver a cohesive final verdict on sports, culture, and leisure & recreation in the area.

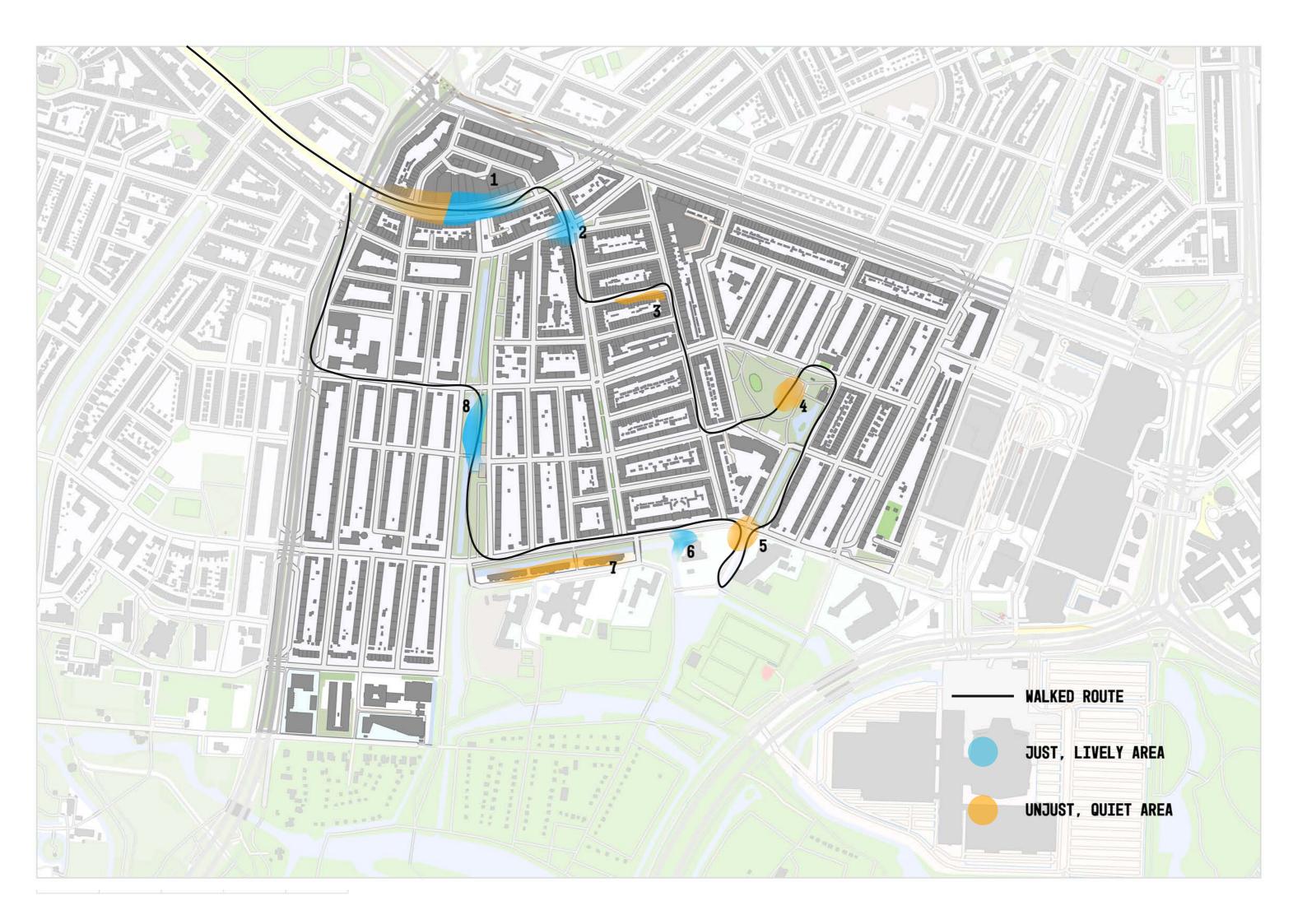
2. OBSERVATIONS

2.1 Introduction

What better way to start investigating an area than by observing it. Carnisse is an area where people live and work, recreate and get education. Much of a neighborhood can be learned by walking around and trying to experience it as a local would. Looking at the ease with which you can reach key facilities, how the space feels and looks, who has the dominant claim to some areas.

To find out exactly that, the first thing we did when commencing our research was to go out and explore the streets of Carnisse. We extensively documented every element that caught our attention and recorded voice memo's to keep track of our initial reactions. As you will learn throughout this chapter, we were pleasantly surprised by the availability and the quality of the green space in Carnisse. One definite injustice was the excessive littering and overall low maintenance of the area.

In this chapter we have compiled the most prominent visual findings, pictures that represent a set of problems that reoccur throughout the entire neighborhood. First we will 'walk you through' our initial visit of the neighborhood and touch upon the theme of just and unjust to identify some of the strengths and weaknesses. We then go through some main themes through a map on which pictures with text indicate certain features. As with every chapter we summarize our main findings with a section on key lessons learned.



2.2 Just and Unjust - general impressions

When walking through a neighborhood, some streets give you a certain feeling. This feeling is sometimes explainable, but most of the time it depends on a lot of different factors. We summarized out first walking route through the neighborhood, and try to explain our feelings and the general atmosphere.

- **1 -** The street through which we entered Carnisse left us with mixed feelings. The street was lively, with lots of shops and activity. The unjust part was the inconvenient pedestrian crossover.
- **6 -** Next to the park entrance, we found a beautiful church with chickens running around the area. The church and the adjacent area looked well maintained and the animals gave it a lively feeling just walking past.
- **2 -** When walking further into the neighborhood, we came across this little square were there was a bakery and a flower shop. The shops were attracting lively clientele and there was a nice atmosphere.
- **7 -** In this area we saw a big row of buildings that closed the area off from the park. Because of this buildings, you had no direct view to the park. Because these buildings are meant for elderly, the area was not really lively.
- **3 -** The next street we entered was quiet, and the buildings were not occupied. The windows were boarded up, and there was a strange and unsafe feeling. There were also some youngsters hanging out as if they were protecting the unoccupied buildings.
- **8 -** We ended the route by entering this big green lane. There was a lot of space and a nice little canal in the middle. We do think that the area, because it is so big, can be used better by adding more elements in the landscape.
- **4 -** The park was the next thing we saw during the route. The park was, at first impression, not an unjust area at all. But when walking trough the park, we came across a lot of trash, empty beer cans and traces of drug use. By this observation we can say that there is not much social control and that people can hang out in the park whenever they want.
- All in all, we were positively surprised about the green areas in the neighborhood, despite the fact that they are not always well cared for. It seems that waste in the neighborhood is a problem. We also didn't always feel very safe, but this feeling only came up in a number of streets. There were also areas where we experienced a positive feeling.
- **5 -** At this point we discovered that the Zuiderpark was right next to the neighborhood, but the entrance was very hidden and quiet. The park does not stand out very well if you want to enter the park from the neighborhood.

2.3 Pictures - Parks and Landscapes





Wolphartsbocht

This street is taken over by a tram line. The nice part is the green ground coverage they made to soften out the tram infrastructure. The bad part is that it is completely bordered by a low bar. This makes crossing the street uncomfortable for pedestrians and the connectivity between both sides of the street is greatly reduced.



Amelandseplein

The square in the middle of the neighborhood looked nice at first glance. Walking into the park actually gave it another vibe. There was a lot of trash, both on the grass and in the shrubbery. You could see that people used this place by night to drink alcohol and probably use drugs. The park has no fence and opening hours, so everybody can enter at any time.



<u>Lepelaarssingel</u>

The Lepelaarssingel is a large lane surrounded by houses. It is about 75 meters wide, and there is a lot of space unused. This lane has a lot of potential but we felt that the space is not used that well. Somehow it felt very barren and unwelcoming.



Zuidpark

Next to Carnisse there is a huge park, the Zuidpark. It was hidden behind some buildings and we found it by coincidence. There could be a better connection with the neighborhood and the big park. The park looked nice and big and there were a few people hanging out and walking there dogs. However, there were also traces of drug and alcohol use and general litter.

2.4 Pictures - Facilities





Small Playgrounds

In some of the streets, there were some small playground like the one on the picture. This was placed right on to the sidewalk.

There were no children playing, but we visited this street during school ours.



Community Center

Next to the Amelanseplein there is a community center. However, it is not accessible for unauthorized people, only for people who actually life in the center (elderly). It was therefor not possible for us to go in and have a look.

Overall thoughts

As far as facilities go, there is not that much in the neighborhood. This is probably because the area is mainly intended for housing. There are a few playgrounds for children, but it seemed that for older children, there is not much to do in the area of the neighborhood.



Historical walking route

Near to the community center we found a sign that told us about this historical walking route. We think that the route is actually not really used by someone, and the sign seemed a bit old and out dated. Yet it shows that there have been initiatives to highlight the unique identity of Carnisse.

2.5 Pictures - Transition from housing to park



Buildings

Between the neighborhood and the Zuidpark was a long building that obstructs the view from the neighborhood to the park. There was not really a nice way to pass this building and walk into the park.



The connecting street

The street that was connected to the buildings was quite nice. There was a wide sidewalk with a lot of trees. The only remark was that there was a lot of trash in the water besides the buildings.

Main thoughts

We feel like improvements can be made when it comes to connecting the neighborhood to the green facilities. The park was in our eyes very nice, but we question the fact if inhabitant actually use this park. The way the layout of the neighborhood works now, usage of the park is not at all encouraged and some of the entry ways are dark with little surveillance attributing to unsafe feelings certainly at the darker hours of the day.



Entrance

The entrance from the park was hidden. As soon as you walked into the park, you were surprised by the size and nature that was there. There could be a better connection to the entrance to attract people to the park.

2.6 Key lessons learned

Our initial conception of the neighborhood was not conclusively positive. We had heard the rumors and the preliminary briefing on the area also spelled little good. However, when we entered the neighborhood for the first time, we were actually positively surprised. The atmosphere was lively and the outward appearance of the houses and apartments surprised us in a way that we thought they were pretty nice for an "overdue" neighborhood. Another surprising quality of the neighborhood was the close proximity of the Zuidpark, which offers expansive green facilities just on the doorstep of Carnisse.

Yet upon closer inspection of the neighborhood we did stumbled upon some evidence of the problems this area might be faced with. Although the available green space looks adequate at face value, closer inspection reveals a lack of upkeep and the frequenting of substance abusers in the darker corners of the spaces. Strikingly, especially Amelandseplein, which is one of the public facilities of higher quality, shows signs of ill-maintenance and lack of social control and shared responsibility for the cleanliness of the space.

As far as social connections go, it was a bit hard to understand what kind of society or community people have that life in Carnisse. We saw so many different ethnicities. This could either be a positive or negative for the social connections in Carnisse. Striking was that we saw very little inter-ethnic connections which could suggest a weak 'community'.

3. DATA INVENTORY

3.1 Introduction

Having developed a better feel of the physical and social dimensions of Carnisse through observation, the next step in this report is the data analysis. Although figures sometimes fail to convey truthfully the complexities and interconnectedness of problems, they are crucial to contextualize the qualitative data.

Therefore this chapter focuses on compiling and connecting mainly quantitative data from a variety of sources in order to get a better understanding of what is going on in Carnisse beyond what we might be able to observe.

We began by collecting basic demographic statistics to find out more about the resident profile. After all, the neighborhood is the sum of a collective of people. This resulted in the first section, the demographic profile. Then, consulting the wijkmonitor, we compiled data about resident satisfaction and other measures of the 'quality of the neighborhood'. The data used here is most useful as it gives us a direct comparison with the rest of Rotterdam and contextualizes the otherwise rather difficult to gauge data. Thirdly we examined some of the current and future policy interventions planned for the neighborhood to develop an understanding of what is happening in the area.

The fourth section shows the spatial distribution of facilities in the area categorized along our theme. Here we collected data on the location of facilities and compiled all of this in a map. In the fifth section we briefly touch upon some of the elements of the data analysis that helped us get a more complete image but that weren't developed much further. We decided to include them in the final product because the pieces are very characterizing for Carnisse.

As always the chapter comes to a close with a key lessons learned summarizing all the main finds of our data analysis.

3.2 Demographic profile

To ensure that we get a good idea from the inhabitants of Carnisse, it is important to look at the demographic profile of the residents. This ensures that we can put our other findings into context. We picked out a few topics that fit within our theme such as ethnicity and health, but we stick to this basic data and will not delve deeper into the demographic profile of the people from Carnisse.

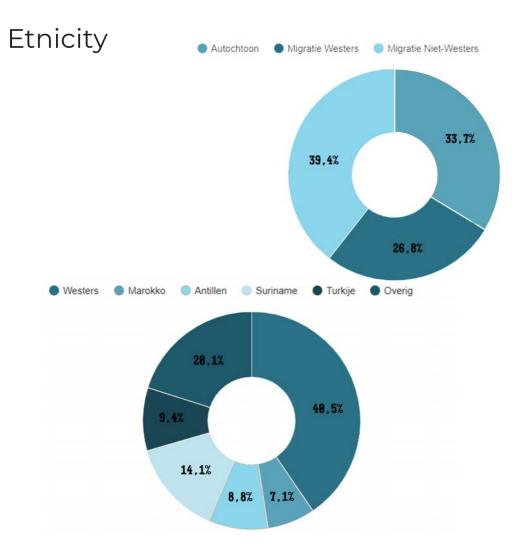


Figure 3.1 - Source: https://allecijfers.nl/buurt/carnisse-rotterdam/

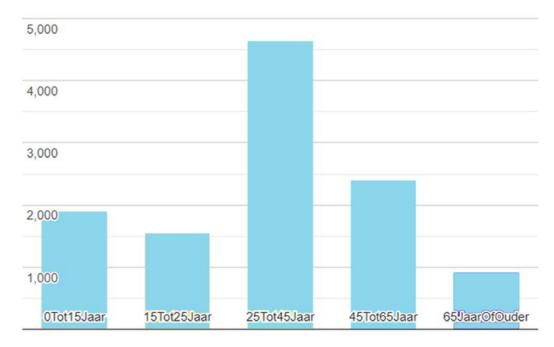
The majority of the inhabitants are immigrants. Only 1/3 of the population in Carnisse in native Dutch. Most of the immigrants are Western immigrants.

Population	11 360
Households	6 210

Figure 3.2 - Source: https://allecijfers.nl/buurt/carnisse-rotterdam/

The total population of Carnisse in 2018 amounts just over 11 000 people. With an average of 1,8 person per household we can say that there are not a lot of families occupying the housing. The average size of the houses is 80 m2 which is below the Dutch average.

Age and income



Figur 3.3 - Source: https://allecijfers.nl/buurt/carnisse-rotterdam/

When we look at the basic information about the inhabitants of Carnisse we see that the majority of the people is between 25 and 45 years old. The smallest population are the people that are 65 years and older, which is remarkable because this group is a lot smaller then the Dutch average.

Health

This diagram shows the percentage of the inhabitants (older than 19) that says to be a sporter, drinker, being overweight, smoker or a family carer. Remarkable is that there are a lot of people that indicates to be a drinker, as well as being overweight.

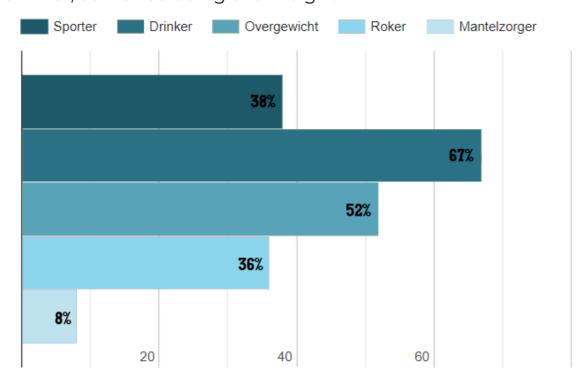


Figure 3.4 - Source: https://allecijfers.nl/buurt/carnisse-rotterdam/

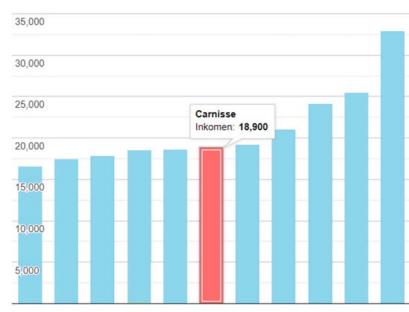


Figure 3.5 - Source: https://allecijfers.nl/buurt/carnisse-rotter-dam/

When we look at the average income of the inhabitants of Carnisse, we see that it is somewhere in the middle when we compare it to the other neighborhoods in Rotterdam South (see diagram). The average income is still way below the modal Dutch income. One cause of the low income can be that only 63% of the people living in Carnisse has a job.

Facilities and distances

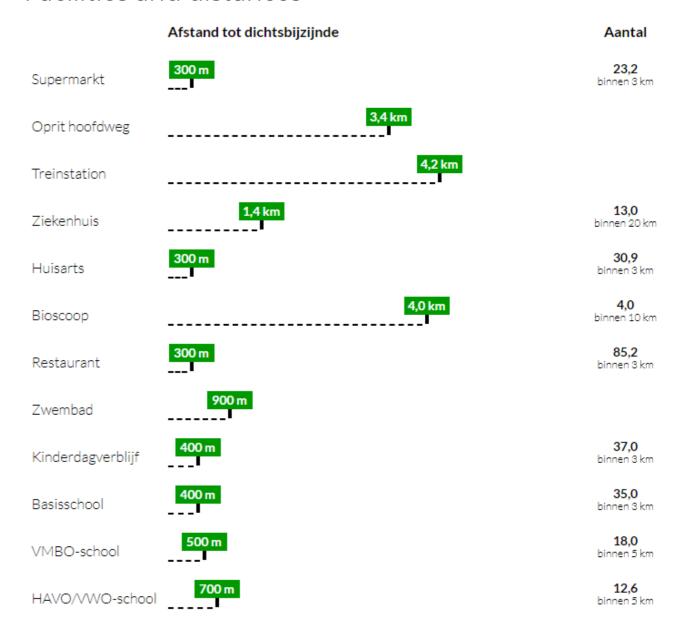


Figure 3.6 - Source:http://www.weetmeer.nl/buurt/Rotterdam/Carnisse/05991572

When we have a look at the surrounding facilities in Carnisse, we see that most of the facilities are at a reasonable walking distance. The only thing that is quite far away would be the train station, but with Zuidplein around the corner there are a lot of other possibilities to go around by public transport.

3.3 Neighborhood profile

To find out what people think about the neighborhood, we went onto the streets and conducted several interviews with inhabitants, as we will discuss later. Another thing were we got information from, is the Neighborhood Profile, created by the municipality of Rotterdam. They divided the neighborhood into three indexes, physical, safety and social. The highlighted parts are connected to our theme, and we will discuss them a little bit more in detail to find out what the perspective of the neighborhood is according to the inhabitants.

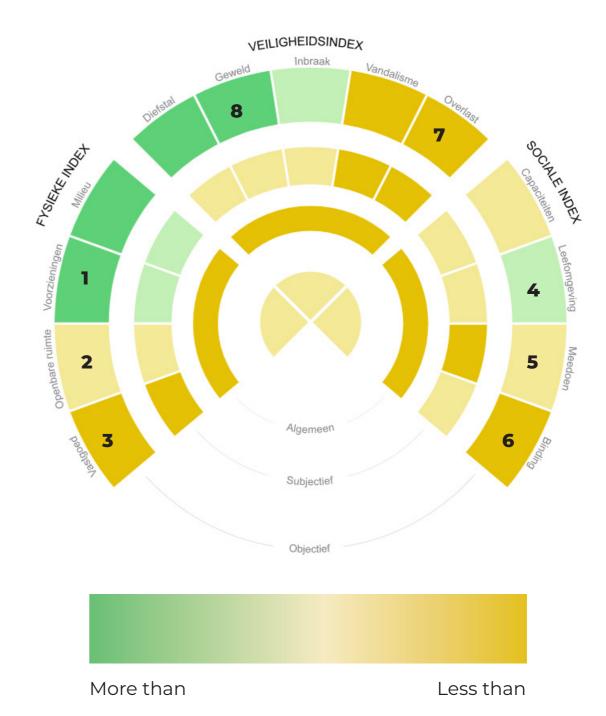


Figure 3.7 - Source: https://wijkprofiel.rotterdam.nl/nl/2016/rotterdam/charlois/carnisse

3.3.1 Neighborhood profile - physical index

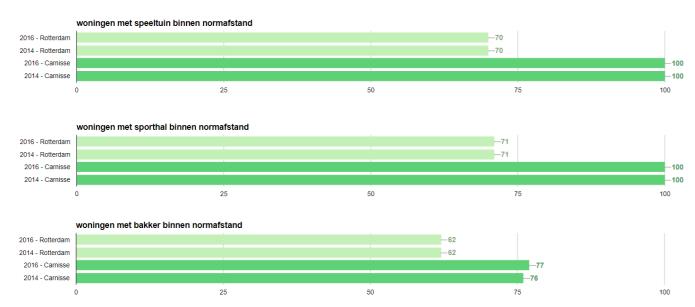


Figure 3.8 - Facilities

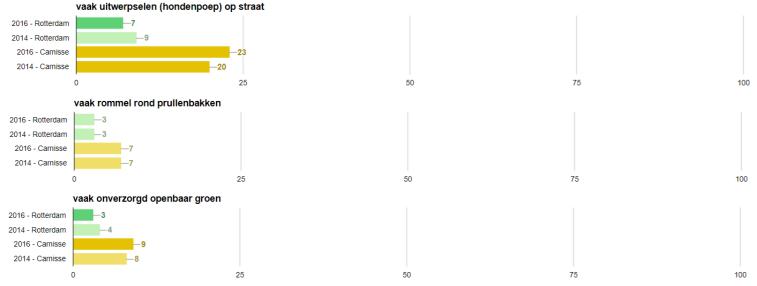


Figure 3.9 - Public space

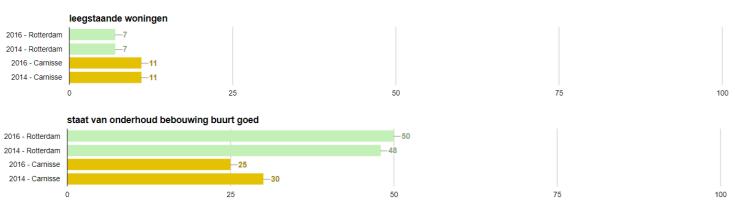


Figure 3.10 - Housing

1 - Facilities

For the facilities in the neighborhood, Carnisse is rated above average. For the facilities they looked into the standard distance that facilities have in the area (this distance varied from 200 to 300 meters. When we look at a bakery, playground or sport-hall, we see that Carnisse scores above the average numbers that Rotterdam has.

When we look at out own observations and this data for facilities, we do think that it matches.

2 - Public space

The next category that is interesting for our theme, is public space. In contrast with the facilities, the public space has a rate that is way lower. People think that there is a lot of litter and dog poop on the streets and they find that the public green is not well maintained. This are things that we saw as well when walking trough the neighborhood.

3 - Housing

Although housing doesn't really fit within our theme, it is important to have a quick look at the quality because it can say a lot about the public space. When we look at the diagrams, we see that there are a lot of empty and badly maintained buildings in comparison with Rotterdam as a whole.

3.3.2 Neighborhood profile - social index

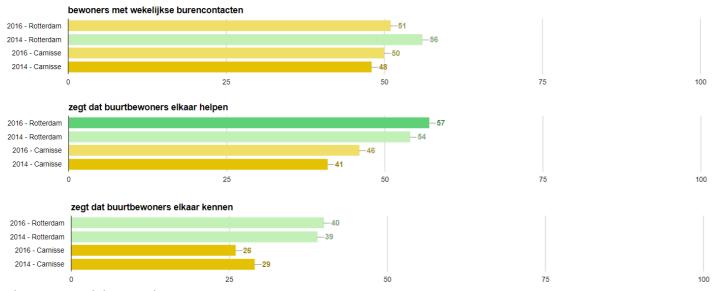


Figure 3.11 - Living Environment

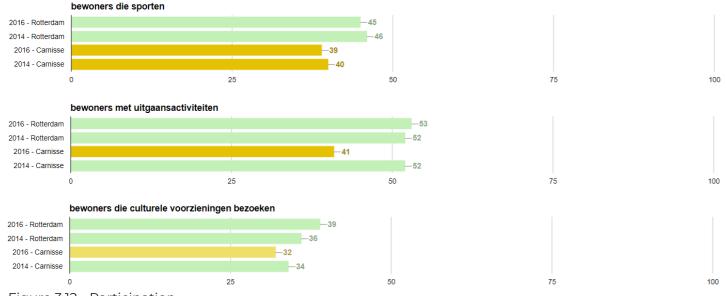


Figure 3.12 - Participation

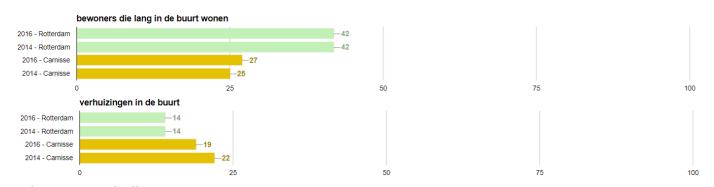


Figure 3.12 - Binding

4 - Living environment

The social index can tell us a lot about the connections that inhabitants have with each other. Unfortunately, these numbers don't really tell us any good. The diagram shows that people don't have a lot of contact with their neighbors, and the will to help each other is low as well.

5 - Participation

When we look at the numbers for participation, we see a remarkable finding. The participation was better back in 2014, were as the numbers are a lot worse two years later. Mainly the entertainment activities are quite low in Carnisse (in comparison to Rotterdam as well).

6 - Binding

This diagrams show us that there is a high turn over rate in the neighborhood and that people tend to stay a short time in Carnisse. This doesn't have to be a bad thing, but it could. It could mean that people don't really like the area or don't feel connected with the area.

3.3.4 Neighborhood profile - safety index

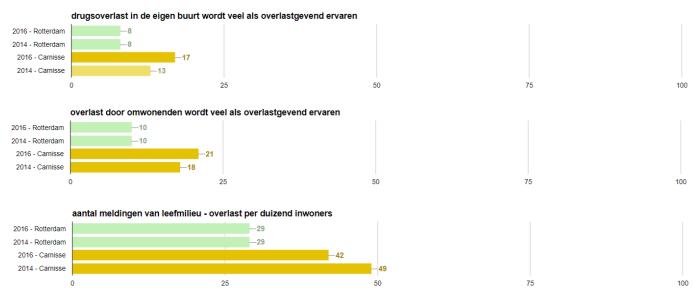


Figure 3.13 - Nuisance

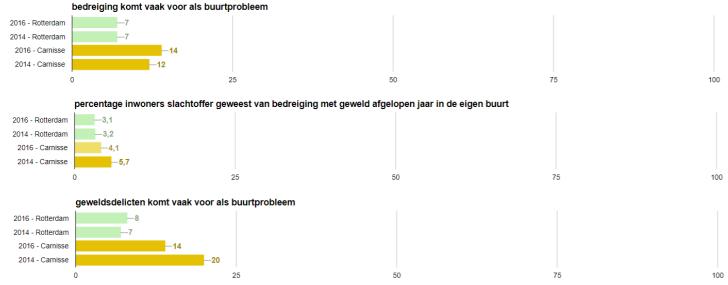


Figure 3.14 - Violence

7 - Nuisance

If we look at the nuisance people experience in the neighborhood, we don't see good numbers. There are quite a lot of nuisance reports and drug use is also not staying unnoticed. The average nuisance in Rotterdam as a whole is a lot lower according to this diagram.

8 - Violence

The level of violence experienced in Carnisse is also not that good. Inhabitants of Carnisse see violence and threats as a problem for the neighborhood.



3.3.5 Neighborhood profile - Key lessons learned

When it comes to the quality of the physical living environment, we can say that the inhabitants are not that happy. The litter and quality of the public greens is not considered as something positive. The average thought that inhabitants have is far below the overall thought that people have about Rotterdam as a whole.

As far as social connections are experienced in the neighborhood, people feel like there is a lack of participation and social contact. This is were out assumptions meet the data.

The fact that residents have little contact with for example, their neighbors, may indicate that there are not many social networks in the area. This is also confirmed when we look at the nuisance and vandalism. The figures do not show us good things, and this may indicate the lack of a social aspect in the neighborhood.

Of course it is not easy to have an opinion if we have not spoken to anyone yet and later in the report it will become clear what inhabitants actually have to say about both the physical and the social aspect of Carnisse.

3.4 Interventions introduction

When researching a neighborhood, it is always important to consider if there are already existing plans for the area. This applies for Carnisse as well. We will discuss two different interventions to see whether these plans might effect our data analysis.

The first project will describe how a better connection can be made with Carnisse and the facilities of the new Zuidplein. The second project describes a detailed plan that attempts to upgrade the social network through physical interventions.

3.4.1 Interventions

"Carnisse Poort"



Picture 3.1 - Top view

This connection is going to make sure that inhabitants are more willing to enter the area of Rotterdam Zuidplein and will use the facilities that are available more often.

With the new developments at Zuidplein, there are a lot of new opportunities for Carnisse and the other adjacent areas. The zuidplein brings a lot of new facilities like a swimming pool and a cinema (in the future).

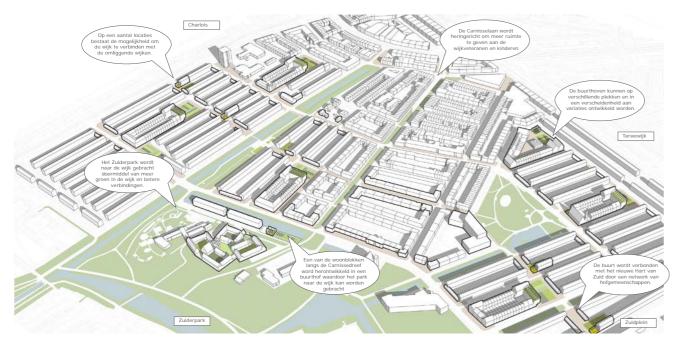
The only thing that is missing here, is the actual connection between Carnisse and the renewed Zuidplein. To let people from Carnisse benefit from the new facilities at Zuidplein, this connection is necessary. To make this new and attractive connection, 52 homes have been purchased by the municipality to be demolished. These houses will be replaced by an improved outdoor space and a number of new corner houses.



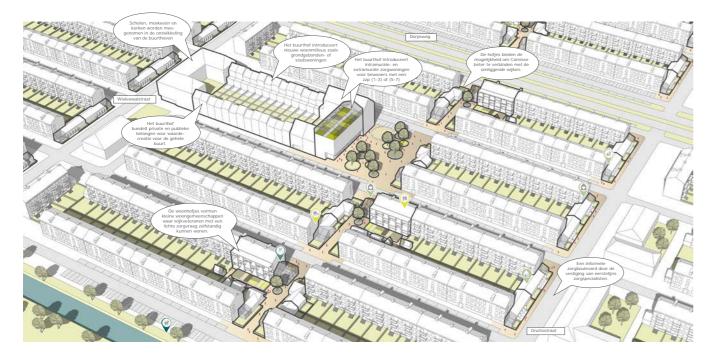
Picture 3.2 - Birds eye view

3.4.2 Interventions

"De hofjes van Carnisse"



Picture 3.3 - Birds eye view



Picture 3.4 - Isometric view

Hofjes van Carnisse is a plan made by a team of architects that developed a vision for Carnisse. In this vision they describe Carnisse as a city district where the elderly have the opportunity to live independently for longer and where together they can become an active part of a productive, urban society.

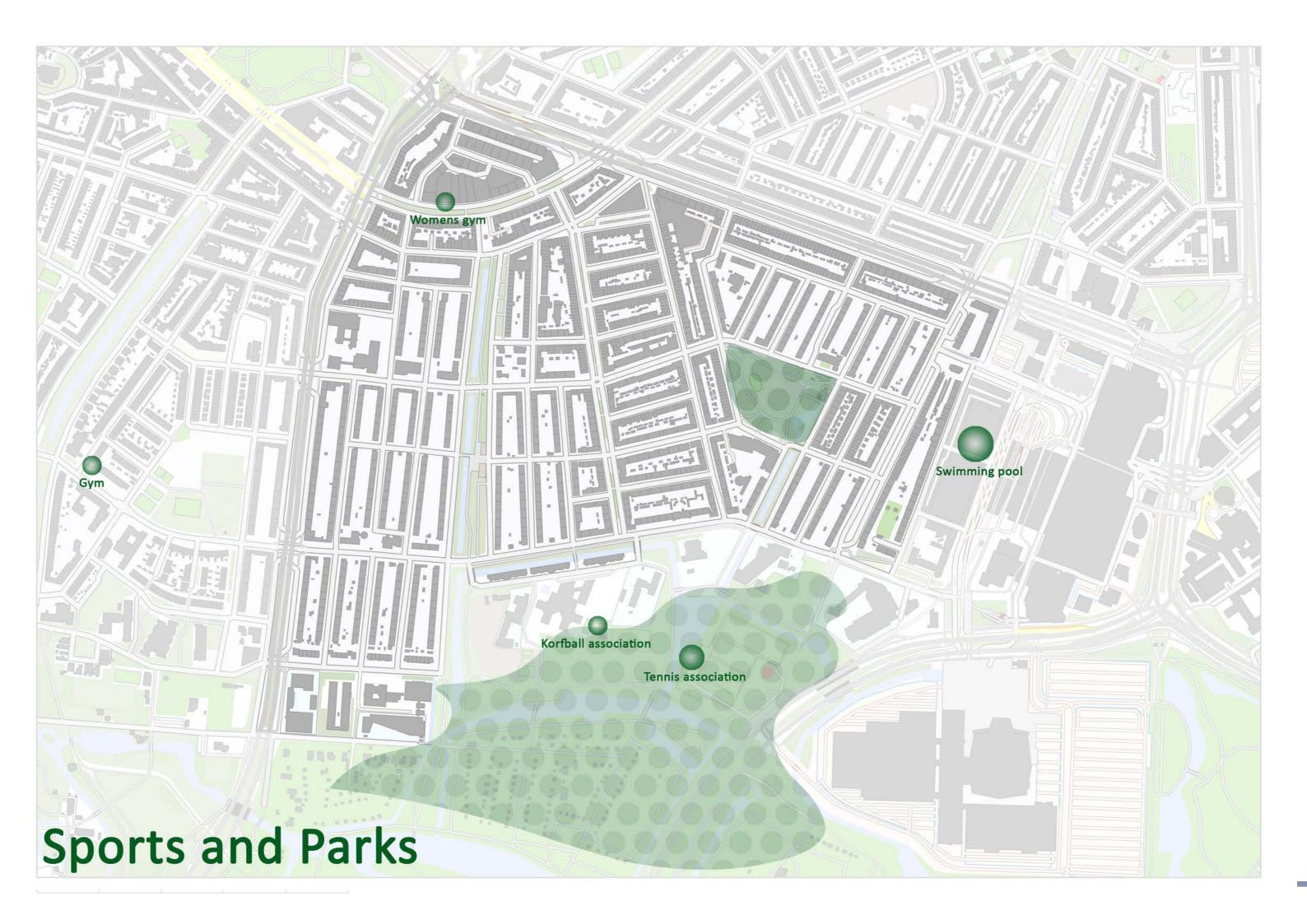
They do this by making, so named, "hofjes". Small area's were people can meet each other and work together to make the society even stronger. They also propose to transform some corner houses to houses that are suitable for informal care.

This plan sounds pretty progressive and maybe a little bit unrealistic. Especially when we think about the fact that this plan completely focuses on elderly, and that the part of the inhabitants is actually old, is quite low in comparison to the average number in the Netherlands.

3.5 Data mapping - introduction

To ensure that we have the right information to determine the quality of the neighborhood, we must have an inventory of what facilities are available in the area. We divided these facilities into three categories; Sports, retail (recreation) and culture. These maps show the locations of the facilities and the kind of building that is marked.

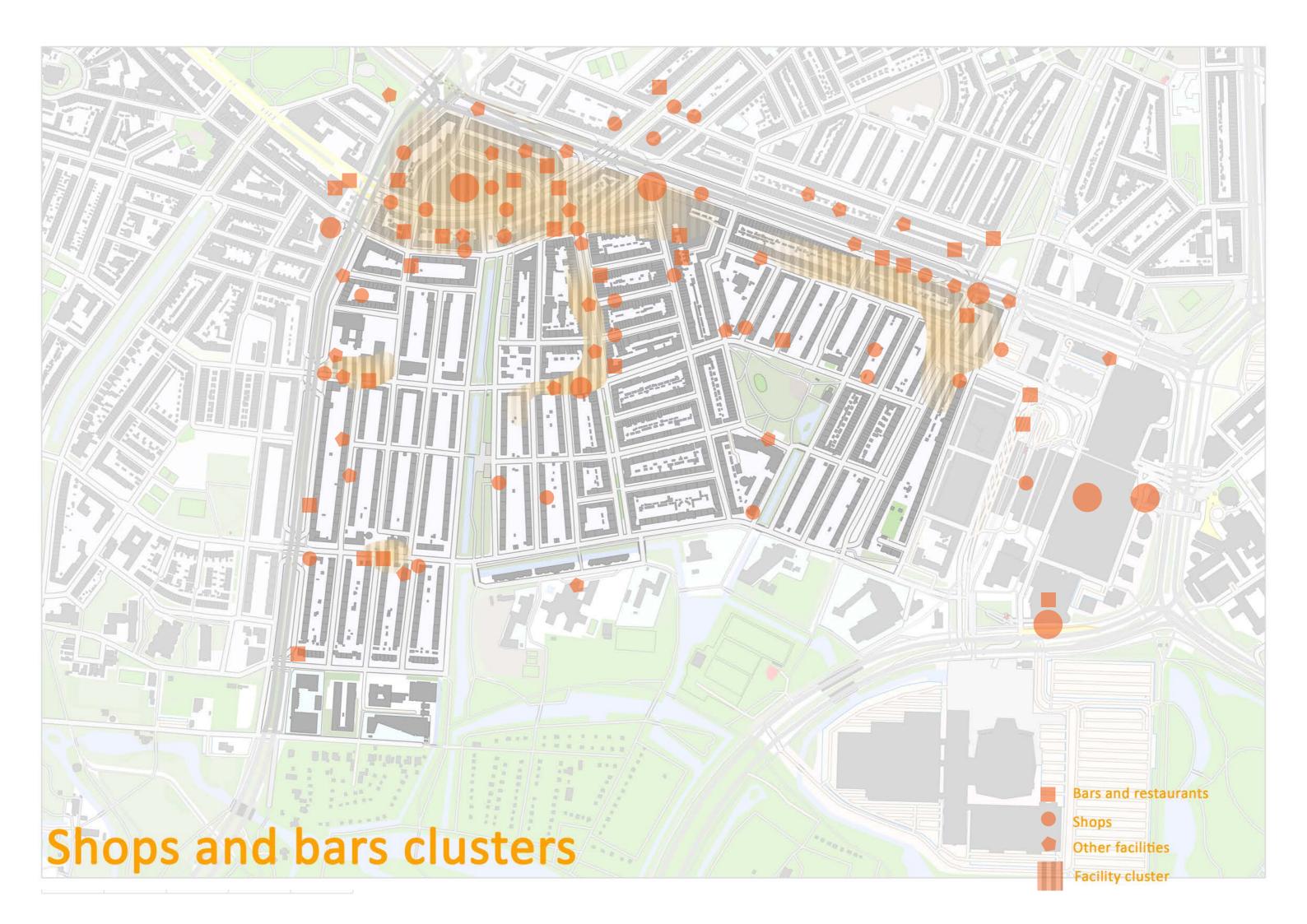
By making these maps we get a good picture of the presence of facilities so that we, later on, know well what is actually going on, later in the process. Together with the demographic profile, the neighborhood profile and our observations, they form the context of the research. Later in the anchor point analysis, we will analyse the data mapping again in order to be able to use it for the anhcorpoint analysis.



3.5.1 Data mapping - Sports and Parks

For sport facilities it is remarkable that there are actually not that much facilities in the neighborhood. The sport associations that are really close to the neighborhood are all just outside of the border of Carnisse. With the new developments at the Zuidplein, there is a swimming pool nearby, and just a few meters outside of the official border.

The Zuiderpark, that is next to Carnisse, makes it possible for inhabitants in Carnisse to recreate in a green environment. There is also a tennis and a korfball association in the park. The other green facility that is existing in Carnisse is the Amelandsplein. There is even a small football field inside this park and there quite a big playground.

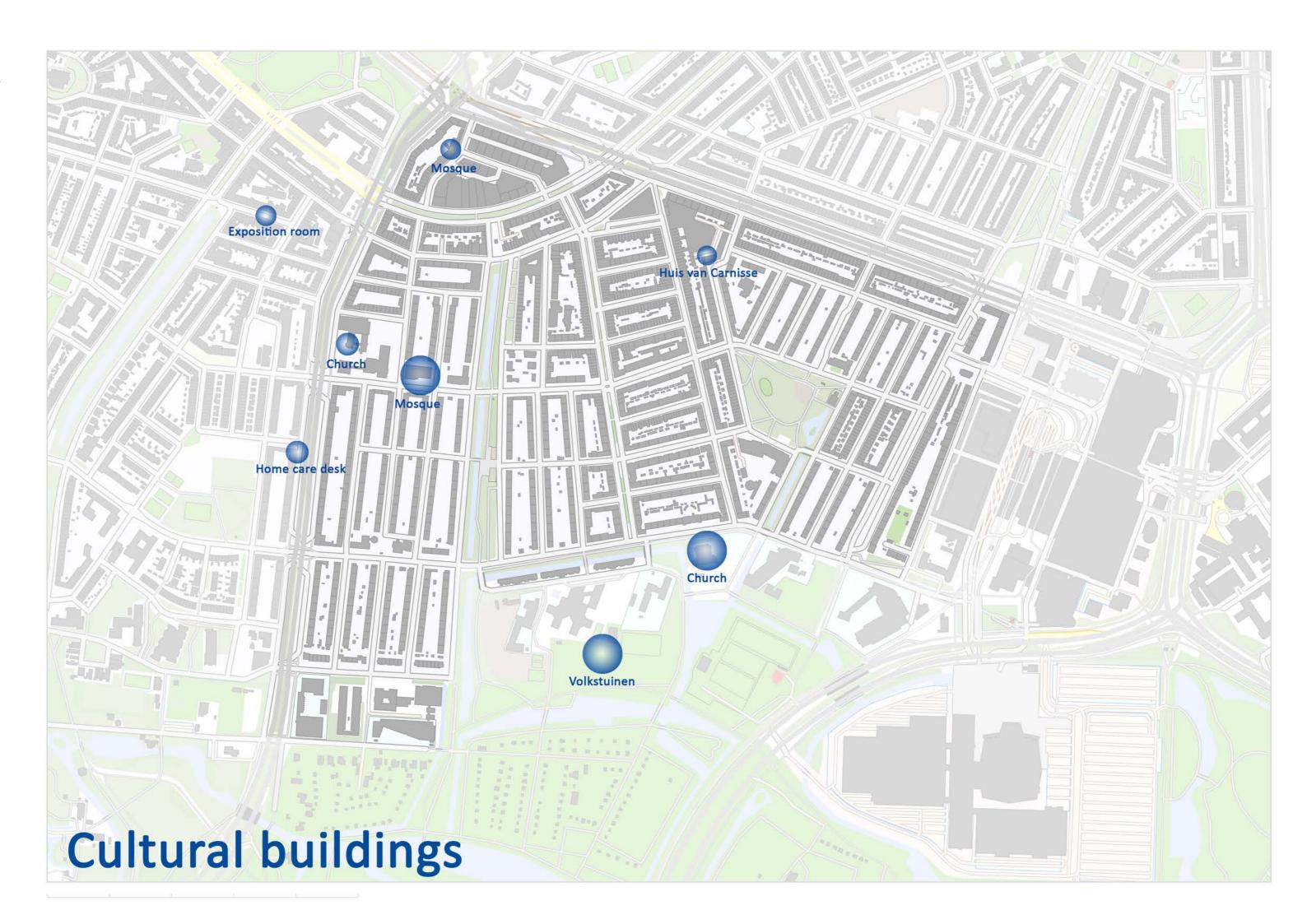


3.5.2 Data mapping - Shops and bars

In the area of Carnisse there are a lot of shopping and food facilities to find. The main facilities consist of small (mostly foreign) supermarkets. There are only a few bigger supermarkets (the bigger the circle, the bigger the shop). There are a lot of bigger shops in the adjacent Zuidplein.

Not only small supermarkets are present in abundance, there are also a lot of hairdressers and second hand shops (marked as "other facilities"). A lot of these facilities are also run by foreign inhabitants.

There are a few restaurants and bars in the neighborhood, but they mainly consist of snack-bars. There is a lack of higher end restaurants and bars in the area. The Zuidplein is giving some new opportunities for this kind of industry.



3.5.3 Data mapping - Culture

For culture facilities we mainly see religious buildings. There are multiple churches and a mosque. The thing that we didn't really find were cultural buildings for secular purposes. The only thing that we found inside the neighborhood was "Huis van Carnisse". They seem to organize different events to bring the inhabitants together. But we got the impression this association is not very active in the neighborhood.

The only art related facility that we found, was one block outside of the neighborhood and it was quite small as well. It was just a startup company, but the owner was talking about connecting different neighborhoods into his art company.

3.6 Other data

Although our data analysis mainly focused on statistical data, we nonetheless also consulted other sources. Here you can see some of the screenshots of our most interesting non-statistical finds which greatly helped us contextualize some of the issues Carnisse is faced with.

deVolkskrant

Maar hoe realistisch is het plan voor een Cultuurcampus? 'Ik gun Rotterdam-Zuid een cultuurcampus, maar voor wie doe je het precies?', zegt Wim Pijbes, zelf niet betrokken bij het project. De oud-directeur van het Rijksmuseum en de Kunsthal pompt als directeur van de filantropische stichting Droom en Daad tientallen miljoenen in de Rotterdamse cultuursector. 'Is de campus bedoeld voor de inwoners van Zuid, voor de toeristen, de studenten? Als je voor iedereen bouwt, bouw je voor niemand.'



Katendrechtse Lagedijk 314

3083 GM Rotterdam

€ 249.500 k.k.

118 m² • 3 kamers

RE/MAX Totaal Makelaars





Terschellingsestraat 8 a

3083 PL Rotterdam

€ 125.000 k.k.

57 m² • 4 kamers

Van Kleef NVM Makelaars



▲ De wijk Carnisse scoort op gebied van veiligheid, leefomgeving en voorzieningen slechter dan de rest van Rotterdam. © Arie Kievit

Carnisse

Carnisse is dan ook niet zomaar een stukje Maasstad. Het is misschien wel een van de meest sleetse stukken van Rotterdam-Zuid, waar niet voor niets al een heel 'Nationaal Programma' op los is gelaten om achterstanden in werk, onderwijs en woningbouw weg te werken.

Carnisse, onderdeel van Charlois, scoort in het 'Wijkprofiel 2018' over het geheel slechter dan andere Rotterdamse wijken op zowel gebied van veiligheid (overlast, vandalisme, geweld), als sociale aspecten (meedoen, binding, leefomgeving) en 'fysieke structuur' (vastgoed, openbare ruimte, voorzieningen).

Onderlinge band

De 78-jarige Bep van Beek – al vanaf 1941 bewoner – zou zo graag zien dat er 'een onderlinge band' is. "Het is hier een doorgangshuis. Mensen starten hier hun wooncarrière en verhuizen vervolgens de wijk uit." Armoe is troef: zo'n 60 procent heeft een jaarlijks besteedbaar inkomen onder de 19.800 euro. "Hoe sommige huizen erbij staan! Er kan nog geen fatsoenlijke gordijntje vanaf." Van Beek, groot voorstander van meer gezelligheid, beheert samen met anderen een wijktuin met fonteintjes, zitjes en paadjes. "Was er maar een grote woningstichting die een hand kon helpen, maar het zijn allemaal particulieren."

Ook de middenstand sappelt, vertelt groenteman De Vries. "De mensen hier begrijpen weinig van branchedifferentiatie. Ze willen allemaal een Turkse bakkerij. De winkeliersvereniging? Eind vorig jaar opgeheven. Sommigen konden de jaarlijkse contributie van 150 euro niet meer betalen." De Vries haalt veel van zijn inkomsten uit leveringen in Rotterdam-Noord, het stadsdeel dat beter bekend staat. "Ik heb vier wagens rondrijden."

Verkocht onder voorbehoud



3.7 Key lessons learned

Walking around in the neighborhood during the day, gave us the impressions that there was not much around in the neighborhood. Our data analysis shows similar results. There are a lot of supermarkets and things like snack-bars, but as far as other recreational buildings go, there is not much to experience in Carnisse. However, the neighborhood profile does show us that people in Carnisse are happy with the facilities. Of these facilities are actually inside the neighborhood, is unknown. Something to take in consideration.

Sport facilities are lacking as well, this might explain the fact that, according to the neighborhood profile, not that many people attend to play a sport in Carnisse.

Carnisse is a neighborhood with people with so many different backgrounds, with more than 2/3 of the inhabitants being a foreigner. Looking at what inhabitants think about the social connections in Carnisse, we see that Carnisse can still progress a lot. If this has something to do with all the different populations in Carnisse, is just an assumption, but won't surprise us.

4. INTERVIEWS

4.1 Introduction

After having extensively investigated the neighborhood through observation and data analysis, we have arrived at the most engaging section of the report, interviewing. Although the visual and data analysis gave us valuable insight into physically present strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats, observation alone does not constitute a solid grounds for in depth analysis.

Interviews will need to be conducted to come to a clear vision of the social interaction with the physical, allowing us to develop a holistic understanding of the socio-spatial inequalities with regards to sports, culture, and leisure & recreation facilities in Carnisse. The interviews are thus aimed at allowing us to conceptualize the social reality, looking at issues such as contested space, spatial identity and social cohesion.

Through the process of formulating our interview questions, our initial aim of investigating specific facilities shifted. Aware of time constraints and limited capacities to investigate the relationship between residents and individual facilities, we instead shifted our focus on the accessibility of overall facilities. These interviews are thus aimed at investigating constraints, social and physical, that inhibit residents from engaging with the facilities. Moreover, the interviews tried to gauge general impressions of the residents with regards to the availability and quality of facilities, and the potential lack thereof.

In this chapter we will be discussing the process of the interview design and the final interview protocol formulated. Secondly we will present some of our main findings along side a map that ties the statements to specific locations. Having analyzed and coded our interviews thematically, the third section will discuss the main themes of the interviews. As usual, the chapter on interviews will draw to a close with the section on 'key lessons learned'.

4.2 Interviews

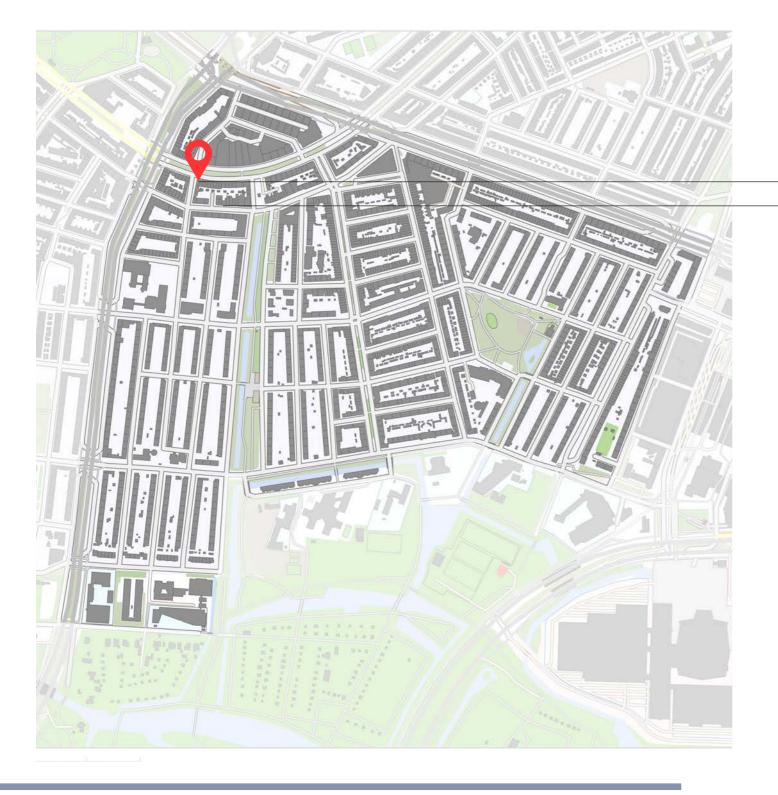
As we set out designing the interviews, the initial intention was to have a large number of interviews conducted along a predetermined structure which would allow us to approach a more quantitative nomothetic conclusion from the qualitative data gathered. As we soon realized that time constraints would allow us to realistically only gather idiographic qualitative data we steered away from the structured interview protocol (appendix 8.1), and instead adopted a semi-structured approach letting the conversation flow around some central questions of our original protocol.

The result is a high variety in interviews covering a wide range of topics. It opened up our eyes to diverse perspectives on the neighborhood overall and its facilities. Although it contributed substantially to a solidified contextual understanding of the neighborhood and the implicit social dimensions, the semi-structured approach and the number of interviews allows us to go no further than highly subjective idiographic accounts. However, this information would be highly informative for a potential second round of interviews where the results of our initial interviews could function as stepping stones to the core problems in the area.

For the full interviews please consult the appendix.

The Guitar shop

As we enter Carnisse, crossing the Dorpsweg onto the Wolphaertsbocht, we come across one of the first shops on the corner of the street and enter to see if we can speak with the owner/employee.





"A lot of the Dutch facilities have been replaced by facilities aimed specifically at eastern European migrant workers"

"They misuse the parking space around my store"

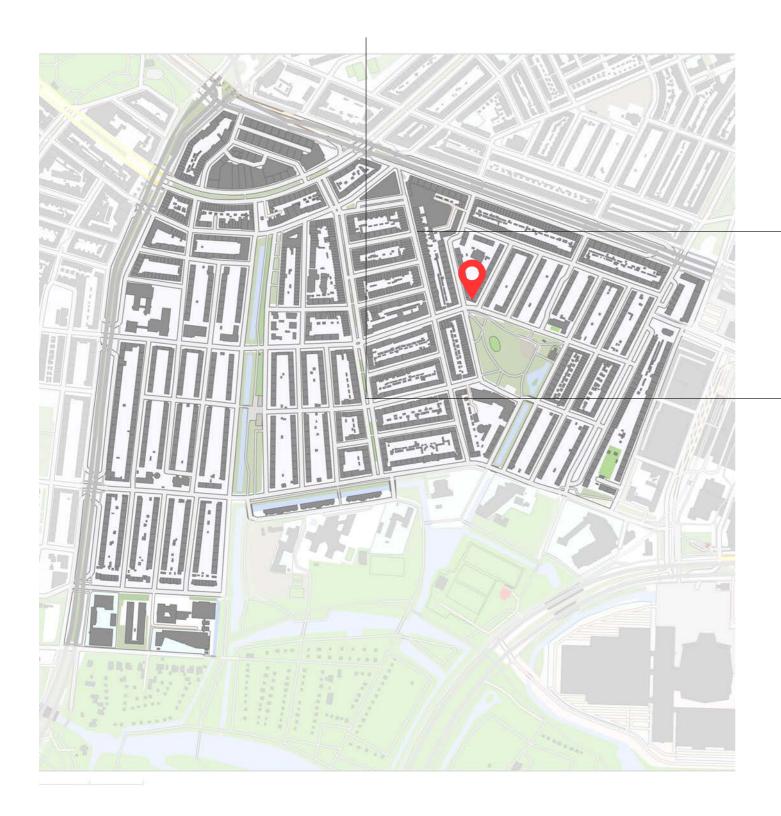
"The people that only come here to work, aren't connected to the area enough to treat it with respect"

"They always tell us that there is going to be an improvement in the neighborhood, but I've lost hope."

"The community that once was here, is not here anymore."

The vegetable store

We were looking at the facilities around the Amelandseplein, and we found this little, but nice looking local vegetable store. We walked in with an open approach and decided that we should just ask them of they knew somewhere nice to go around the neighborhood.





"Koffie and Ambacht is really the only nice bar in the neighborhood."

"I often go outside of the area for groceries"

"You guys should start your own bar, we miss that in the area!"

"I don't mind traveling a little bit for facilities that are outside of the neighborhood"

Laleli Moskee

In search of the Carnisse Huis we walk along the Gruttostraat. We knew from google maps that there would be a mosque there. We come across an empty looking building with signs showing us that it is the Turkish mosque we had been looking for. The front door is open. The front door of the much larger Roman Catholic parish of the Holy Michael & Clemens, just around the corner, was closed. We walk into the buildings dimly lit central hall to see if we can find someone to speak to. To our right we see a cafeteria with a few old men. We walk there and meet the employee/volunteer who works there.





"Everybody is welcome to come in as long as they respect that we are a mosque"

"We try to provide education for youngsters, but at the moment we don't have enough professionals."

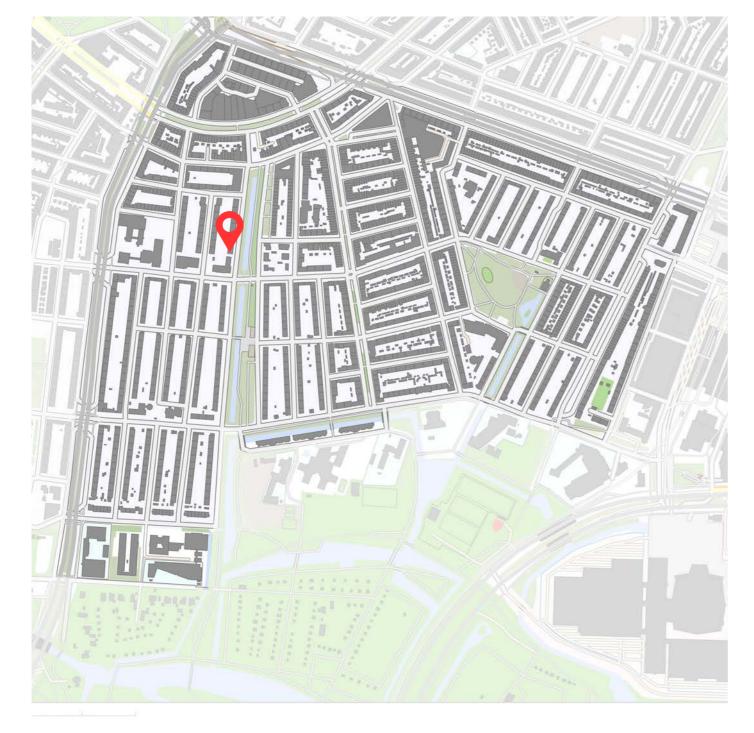
"The neighborhood has been declining the past 10 to 20 years"

> "The Dutch and Islamic community are keeping the streets clean, but that changed now that there are other population groups."

"The social security used to be a lot better than it is nowadays."

Intern BENU Pharmacy

We walk onto the Lepelaarssingel, a broad green boulevard almost running down the entire length of the neighborhood. On the corner of the central crossing of the green boulevard is the medical centre Carnissehuis. We are curious to see if the employees of the medical centre have interesting insights in the socio-cultural situation of the neighborhood. Although less relevant for our topic we decide to ask some questions in the pharmacy. The outside looks very accessible and well organized.





"I really enjoy working here!"

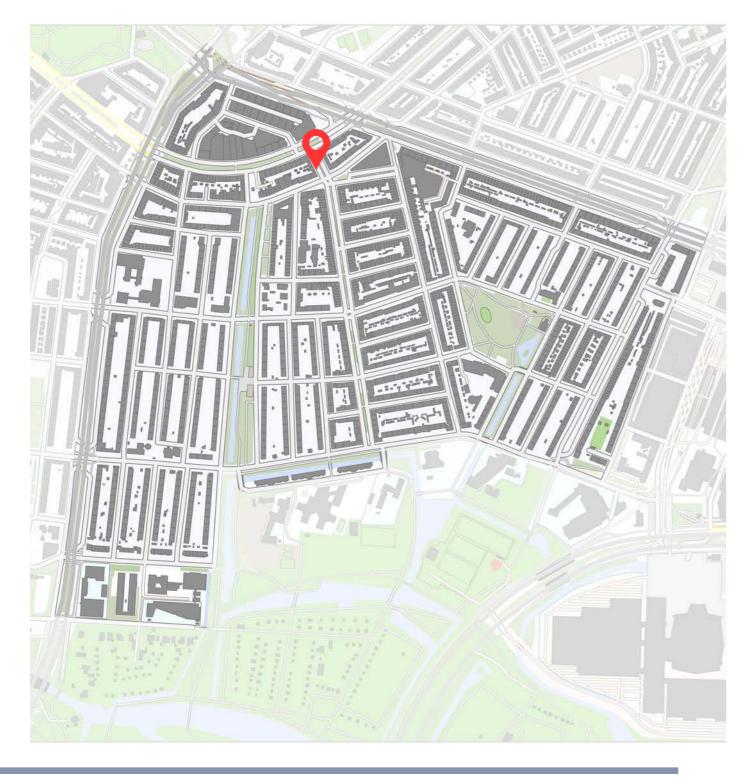
"I feel like all the people that visit this pharmacy get along very well, although they all have different backgrounds"

"People don't seem afraid to get the health care they need."

"I don't live in the neighborhood myself but is seems pretty nice."

Cafetaria Van Putten

On a side street bridging the Wolphaertsbocht and the Katendrechtse Lagedijk, we see a large and well kept frituur. A young lady works behind the counter. There are no customers when we walk in.





"I can see that people that maybe not live in this neighborhood might be shocked, I do like it here actually."

"At night, Carnisse becomes very different, sketchy people hang around on the streets."

"Most of the problems the neighborhood has (for example alcohol and drug use) is because the lack of surveillance"

"You cannot assign the problems in the neighborhood to a certain population group."

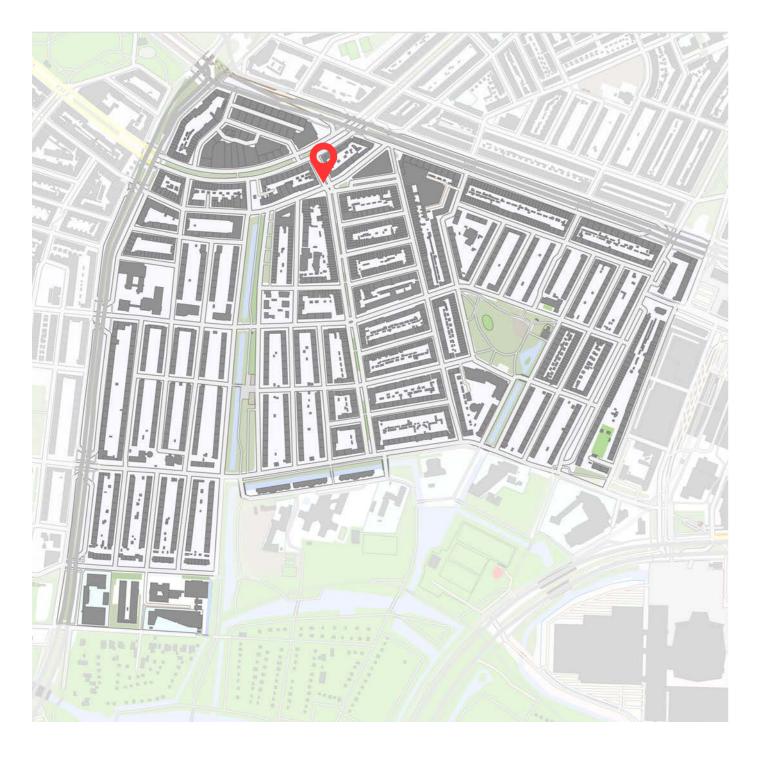
"There are very limited facilities or events for children."

"All children go very well together, regardless of their background, the parents on the other hand seem to have a problem with integrating in the social network."

> "The Zuidplein developments are mainly meant for a wealthier group than the people that live in Carnisse."

Banketbakkerij Chocolaterie Groen

From the snackbar we walk down the Zandblokstraat towards the Katendrechtse Lagedijk. We pass a florist shop with a beautiful store front full of plants and flowers. Across the street, at the corner of Katendrechtse Lagedijk and Carnisselaan we see that fine bakery that we saw on our very first day exploring the neighbourhood. Luckily, today we came at the right time. As we walked into the bakery, we were met with the wonderful smell of fresh baked goods that you can only find at the few true bakeries remaining in the big cities of the Netherlands.





"When I moved here 40 years ago, it was a really nice neighborhood with strong social connections."

"Many of the Eastern European inhabitants are very friendly and open."

"I prefer to go elsewhere in the city to go to a bar or restaurant, but that is mainly because I work here and I don't want to talk to costumers all the time."

> "There is a substantial room for improvement in the area."

"Changing for example the streets lights would make me feel a lot saver when I work at the bakery at night."

"If we keep having a negative attitude against the neighborhood, there is never going to change something."

4.3 Comments in theme

If we look at the neighborhood and the central themes that emerged from the interviews we can identify the following topics, Safety and Ethnicity. In this section we will briefly summarize the main perspectives that came forward through the interviews organized along these topics. In each of these sections we will try to draw a direct link between the topic and our subject of sports, culture, and leisure & recreation facilities.

Safety

Generally safety is considered to be very poor in Carnisse. Although it highly depends on the duration that the interviewees have lived in the area and the time of the day that they are in the area. Much like our own initial reaction, an employee of the pharmacy who only really saw the neighborhood just before and after opening hours (08:00-17:30) since she started working in spring, felt that the neighborhood was actually rather safe. Like us, it became apparent that she had not been in the neighborhood during the darker hours of day, when according to both the woman of the snack-bar and the owner of the bakery, Carnisse really changes face.

According to the two, when it gets dark, substance abusers take hold of the public space. Walking through the green stretch on Lepelaarssingel or in Amelandseplein, and especially entering the Zuidpark becomes a very unpleasant experience around that time. However, it is not just contained to the more isolated parks. All around the snack bar, substance abusers will loiter in the archways of houses and under trees and on street corners.

For those interviewees who had lived in the neighborhood longer and who had seen the gradual emergence of substance abusers, it is less chocking. They confess to knowing better how to read the behavior of these individuals and know when something is an empty threat and when they are actually in danger. Because there is a high turnover in the neighborhood and many families living there do not have this 'neighborhood intuition' they will steer away from going out after dark beyond what's absolutely necessary.

Although no absolute conclusions can be drawn from this anecdotal evidence, this pattern of avoidance essentially seems to leave the substance abusers unopposed in their claim to the public space during night time. Without more surveillance, be it organized by an organization like the police, or by increased social control through more frequent use of the public space at night, this situation seems unlikely to change.

Drawing this back to our theme, the serious issue of safety could therefore become a real threshold for residents to make use of sports, cultural, and leisure & recreation facilities at night. Moreover, the issue of safety will asymmetrically target more vulnerable groups such as women, elderly and children more severely than middle aged males. This could likely contribute to socio-spatial inequality instigated by this barrier of safety.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity seems to be a recurring theme in the interviews we conducted without specifically bringing up this topic. It is important to note that ethnicity specifically is a very complex topic and it is often very hard to distinguish between stereotypes and prejudice and reality. In some cases even prejudice and stereotypes can truly create a tangible reality on its own alongside that of the more objective reality. In this section we thus do not want to lay the blame with any one specific ethnicity, but we want to illustrate that ethnicity is a subject very much so alive in the discourse about the issues that Carnisse is facing.

We have also found out that the perspectives widely range on ethnicities depending on the type of community role our interviewee fulfilled. Our first interviewee, the owner of Guitarium was largely very critical of the eastern-european community. Similarly, although much less explicit, the volunteer/employee we interviewed in the mosque also seemed to have his opinions about the new wave of eastern european immigrants.

The interviewees at the pharmacy, the snackbar and the bakery, however, seemed much more positive about the eastern european community. In fact they seemed to largely agree that the issues in the neighborhood were not at all connected to one specific ethnicity at all.

Although merely speculative, when we look at the major difference between the two groups we can see that while the latter has a much more democratic and wider customer base, the former has a very specific clientele. It seems unlikely that many people will frequent the guitar shop as playing an instrument is largely seen as a privilege and buying equipment can be very costly. Hence much of the residents will most likely never set foot in the store because even if they play an instrument only those playing guitar would really be tempted to go there. The mosque and community centre, although open to all, is primarily aimed at islamic and specifically turkish residents of Carnisse and will similarly not

attract a wide variety of customers.

The pharmacy, bakery and snackbar all attract a much more diverse customer base and regularly have contact with people from all ethnicities. This is not only something that we learned through the interview but got to experience ourselves with a variety of ethnicities using the facilities while we were conducting the interview.

It is hard to assess, however, whether those in contact with more ethnicities have a more accurate image of the ethic problems in the neighborhood or whether the contact has created a positive stereotype of the ethnicity that does not correspond with the overall population.

As I said however, this section does not aim to pinpoint one specific ethnicity at the heart of the problem. Instead it attempts to demonstrate that whether or not ethnicity is a part of the problem, this topic is very much so alive in Carnisse.

We already see that with the high ethnic diversity in the neighborhood, people prefer to use segregated facilities potentially driven apart by existing stereotypes and by using segregated facilities further enforcing these. A definitive downside with regards to the quality of the facilities is that this high degree of diversification of facilities for small target groups that facilities will never be able to rely on the large overall population as their customer base, putting them at an economic disadvantage to stores who do not have a strong ethinic profile.

4.4 Key lessons learned

In this chapter we learned much about the neighborhood and about the complexity between perception and the 'actual' problem. As we discussed in the beginning we saw that the structured interview approach was largely inhibiting us from getting to the core of the problem. The subsequent semi-structured approach gave us many new insights on a diverse range of topics but also greatly complicated the analysis and really only provided us with idiographic subjective accounts of the problems of socio-spatial inequality in relation to sport, culture, and leisure & recreation facilities.

In presenting the interviews and the following thematic discussion some major themes did emerge, related mainly to safety and ethnicity. Although informative in terms of content, the interviews were probably most insightful in highlighting the role of perception on the behavior of inhabitants. Through the interviews we uncovered that the 'actual' problems live alongside, or more accurately, intertwined with the highly diverse individual perceptions of the area. Although when talking about perception we often think of immaterial thoughts that do not manifest themselves physically, it became apparent that perceptions did in fact alter the interactions of the inhabitants with the physical. Consequently the manifold of ideas about the neighborhood and the different ethnicities living there result indirectly in the establishment of segregated 'worlds' with individual facilities. With regards to the issue of safety we see that the behaviors of avoidance influenced by real but also perceived safety alter the balance of spatial inequality, strengthening the contested claim to space of those individuals that harm the public space the most.

Although mostly speculative and tied to personal experience we thus see that we can still extract some 'objective' truths from these subjective experiences. Rather than taking these truths for granted however, these interviews and formulated conclusions provide a stepping stone for further and more detailed research into the social dimensions at play in the neighborhood.

5. ANCHOR POINT ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

As part of the research concerning spatial inequality in Carnisse, the previous inventarizations of maps and interviews bring about a certain pattern. Each of the places visited for interviews were first inventorized through data mapping, and then chosen to visit based on the estimated effect it has on sports, culture and leisure in carnisse. Another main requirement was that there would be people in the facilities with which we could talk to.

A park for example, has hardly any need for any service personnel in order for people to reap the benefits of its qualities. Needless to say, a park brings a certain quality to the life in a neighborhood, but we have chosen not to name the several parks in the area as anchor points, instead giving more emphasis to the specific facilities that give Carnisse its identity.

The procedure (way of conduct) that was used for the analysis of the anchor points is as follows:

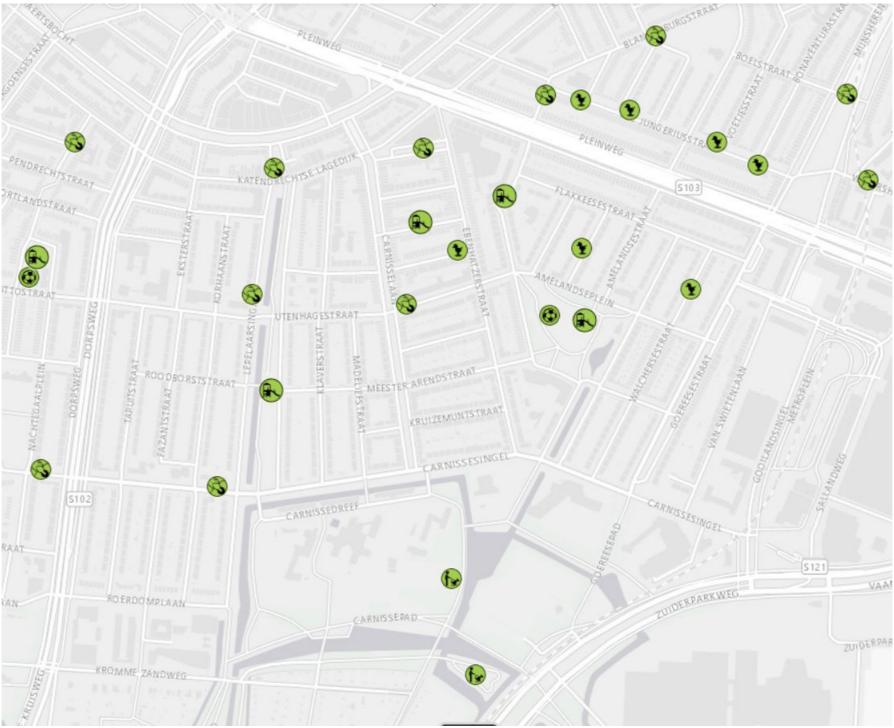
Data mapping > Selection of anchor points to visit > Creation of a survey route > Spotting the central points, which has given an initial impression of each > entering the anchor points and interviewing the owners, workers and visitors.

The cause(Data mapping) and effect(Individual opinions of interviewees) in this chain were already inventorized in the previous sections, but how do they relate? And what does the spatial quality of each of the anchor points have to do with it? That is the main question that will be answered in this section.

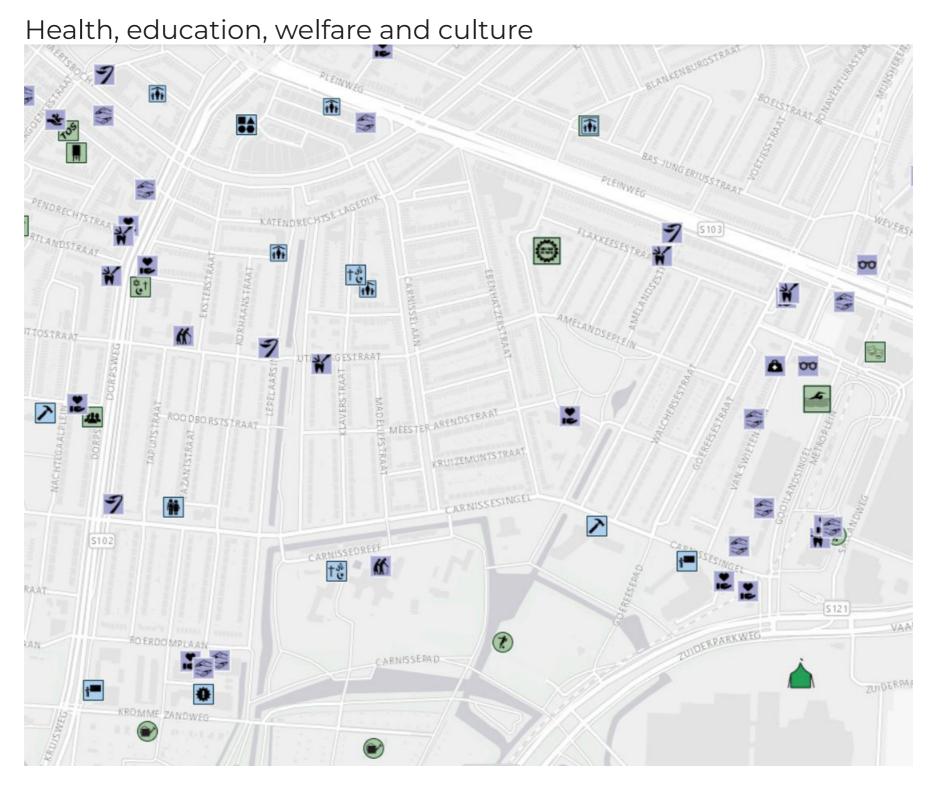
First will we look at the data mapping again, this time with the already existing maps from the Veldhuisacademie. We look again at the existing data in order to make optimal use of this data for making the anchor point analysis. After this we show the physically recognizable places to showcase the different visible elements in the neighbourhood. After this, the anchor point analysis can be assembled. The anchorpoint analysis will consist of a

combination between the program, the turn over rate and the different clusters that exist in Carnisse.

Outside leisure facilities



Playgrounds and pocket parks seem to be evenly spread out across Carnisse, although the size and importance of each facility isn't really displayed in this map. The most important outside leisure facilities are situated at the parks in the neighborhood, mainly Amelandse-plein park and Zuiderpark, which has two direct connections to Carnisse from the south.



These facilities are mainly spread around the western part of Carnisse, this can be explained due to the concentration of amenities situated at Zuidplein, located to the east of Carnisse.

Daily facilities

The daily facilities are shops, restaurants and other amenities that provide more specific services and products. The north of Carnisse seems to exhibit a very high concentration of such facilities while the southern neighborhoods offer such facilities in only scarce amounts.

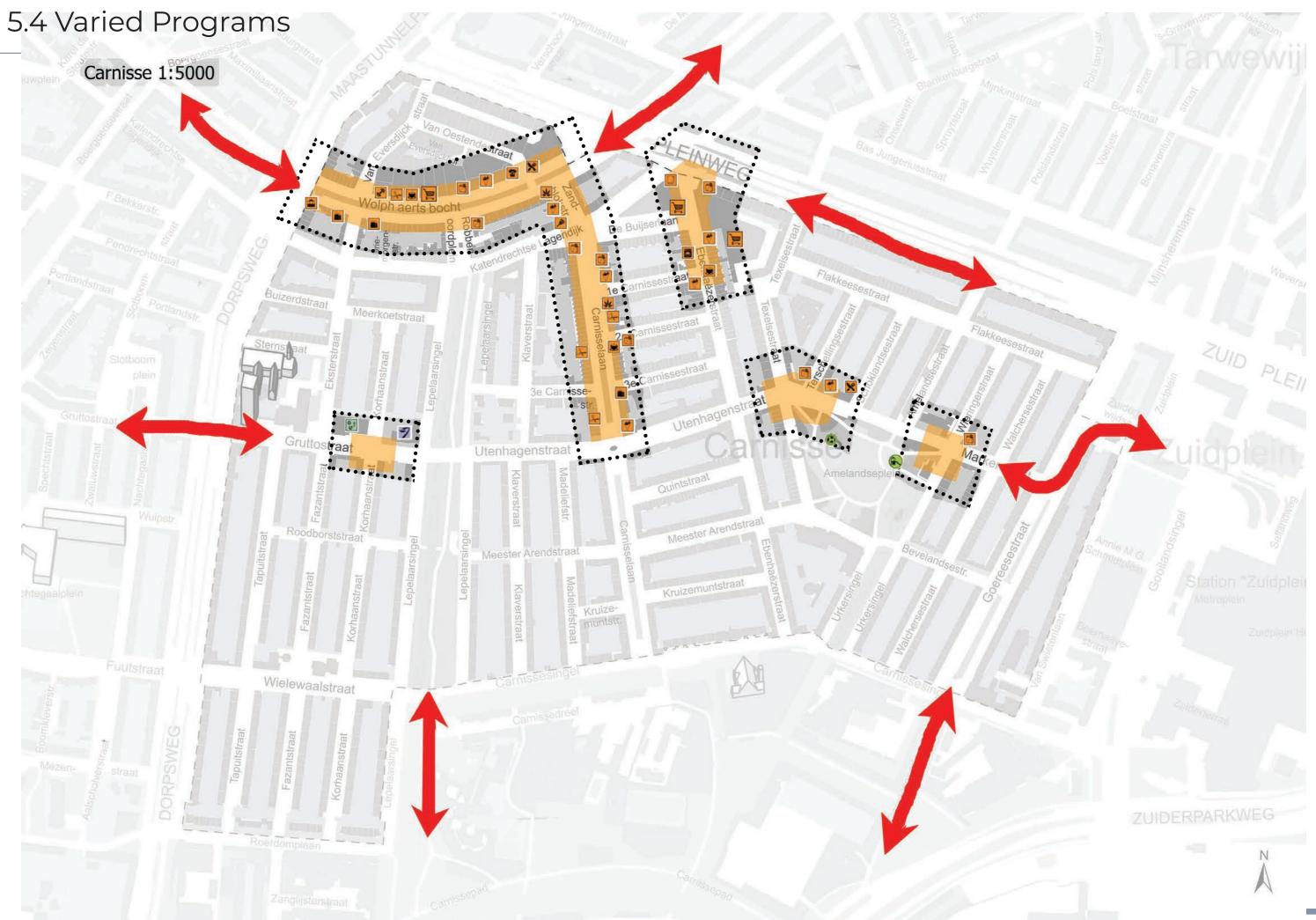
5.3 Physically recognizable places



The aim of this map is to show-case the different visible elements in the neighborhood. Throughout the excursions to Carnisse, there were multiple visible characteristics that were apparent in the different areas of the neighborhood. Aside from recognizable places such as shops, schools, parks and religious buildings, there were also elements which were spotted through visual analysis of the area at the time of the excursions.

One element which stood out was the very wide street that divides Charlois from Carnisse and runs on its western border. The impression given from the street was that of a very wide, busy and unwelcoming crossing, which means that the road acts as an actual barrier between the two neighborhoods.

Another main visual element that stood out in Carnisse was the railing stationed along the sides of the tram path in the portion Wolphaertsbocht street that is stationed in the north part of the Neighborhood.



Varied Programs

The varied programs analysis showcases the different functionalities that populate the main perceived clusters of the neighbourhood of Carnisse, or in other words - these are the anchor point of Carnisse. These are areas in the Carnisse that we found to have a specific sphere due to the conglomeration of buildings that reciprocate one another in a way that creates a place between them. Each of the clusters that were identified as having a social impact in accordance to data mapping and visual analysis by means of excursions to the areas can be seen as an individual anchor point. The different clusters are:

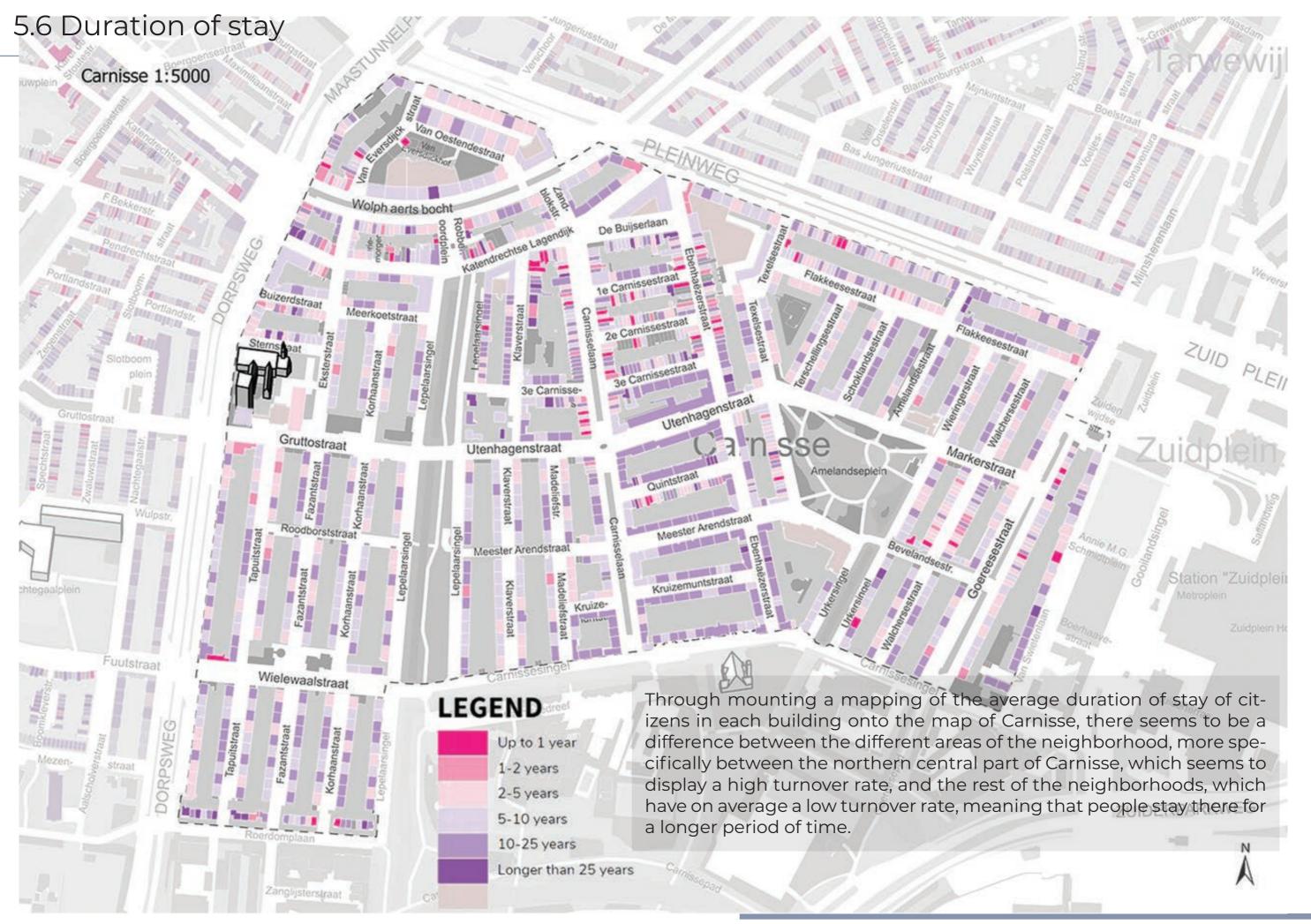
- The cluster of shops and amenities along Wolphaertsbocht and the north of Carnisselaan
- The cluster of supermarkets, shopping amenities and cafe on the northern part of Ebenhaezer street
- The cluster of public facilities situation in and close to Gruttostraat
- The two upper corners of Amelandseplein park, which facilitate mainly food shops, as well as amenities in the park

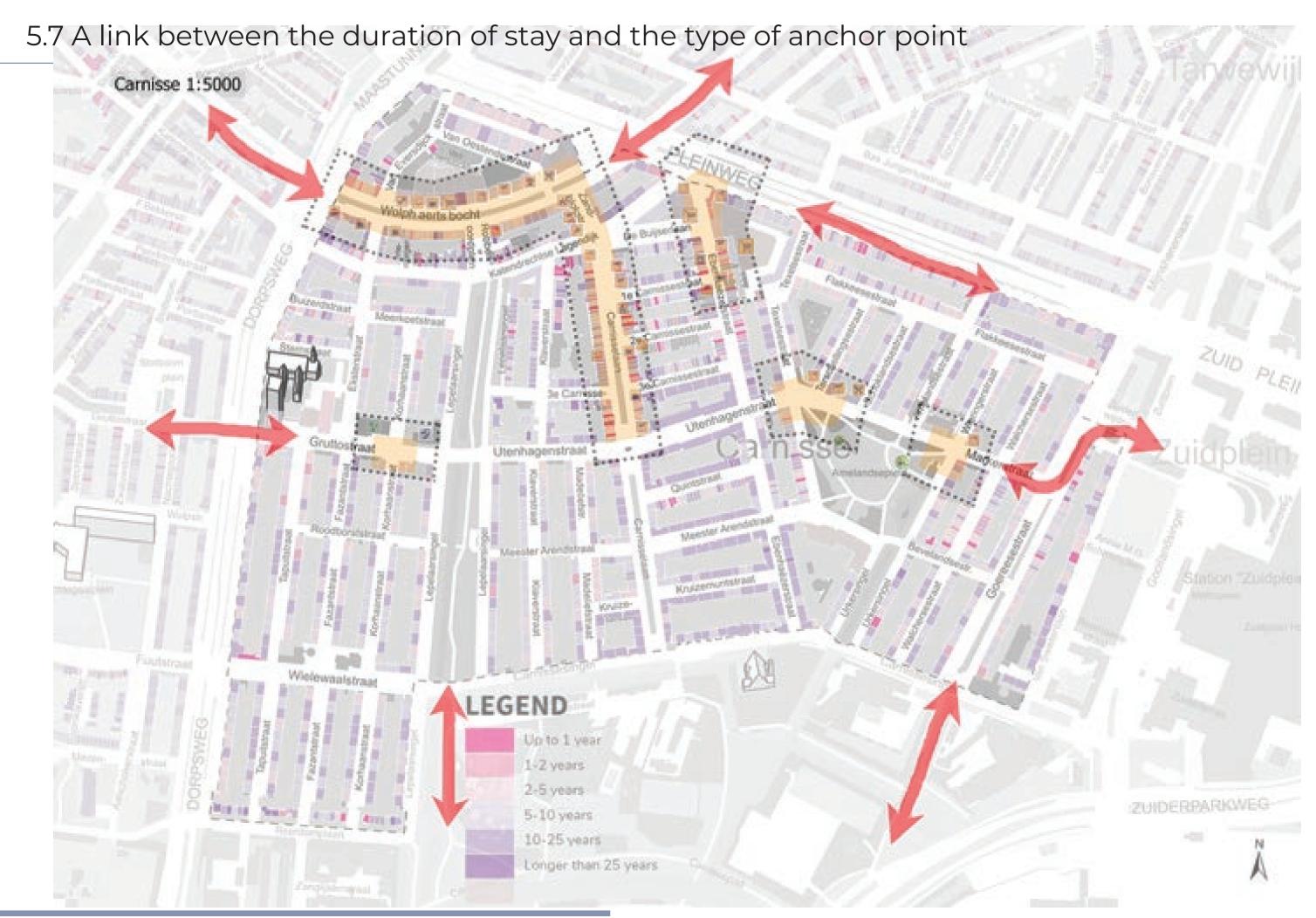


Anchor point cluster types

After setting an area of impact with a radius of 100 meters around individual facilities that are situated inside the anchor points, the nature of the areas has become more apparent. Three main types of anchor point clusters have been determined to appear inside Carnisse:

- Shopping and horeca These facilitate the diversity of shops and amenities that offer varied products for consumers, however, these anchor points lack the facilities that the other two anchor point cluster types facilitate.
- Healthcare and community gathering This anchor point facilitates the needs of individuals in the neighborhood to get together as well as to get external support from healthcare and community organizations in Carnisse.
- Sports and health These anchor points offer places from which to buy organic or affordable food as well as a place to dine in proximity to a park which offers facilities for children, adults and young adults to spend their time in and to connect with other people from the neighborhood.





A link between the duration of stay and the type of anchor point cluster

When mounting the map of the anchor points onto the map of the duration of stay, a link seems to emerge - the area in which the shopping and horeca anchor points are located seem to experience the highest turnover rates. This can be explained through different reasons:

- As described in the anchor point cluster types section, the shopping and horeca anchor points don't offer the same opportunity to connect with the other people in the neighborhood like the rest of the anchor points do due to a lack of facilities that provide this opportunity.
- Shops are usually seen as business opportunities for citizens, not only from inside Carnisse but also from outside of it. People move into the business in order to establish a business, which means that if the business fails, there will be little to no reason for them to relocate.
- The sphere created by the shopping and horeca anchor points is not as attractive for citizens as the spheres in the other anchor point regions, perhaps due to higher street activity. This might point towards a certain preference that the people of Carnisse have of wanting to be in a more relaxed environment with more greenery.

5.8 Conclusion

In both Carnisse and Tarwewijk, the neighbourhood consists of many different population groups with a lot of different ethnic backgrounds. The existing of all these different groups is not a problem itself, but the fact that

these different groups don't interact within the area and segregation appears. The way socio-spatial inequality manifest itself in Carnisse in facilities for Sports, Culture and recreation, was not very noticeable at first glance. The broad streets with green implemented together with the brick buildings didn't give the neighborhood a bad impression at first.

The neighbourhood is mainly arranged as a residential area, so it turned out to be no problem at first that there were not many facilities in the area where one could spend one's free time.

After studying not only the physical but also the social aspect, it became clear, however, that the lack of these facilities has a great influence on the social network of the neighbourhood. In Carnisse there are no places where the community could get together and recreate. In this way the different population groups do not meet each other and this leads to a lack of understanding towards each other.

The main conclusion of the anchor point analysis of Carnisse is that there's a split between different spheres in the neighborhood. The anchor points at the northern side of the Carnisse that have a large concentration of daily facilities such as shops and restaurants has been shown to have a much higher turnover rate than the rest of the neighbourhood. It can be concluded that the people of Carnisse prefer having a quiet and green environment, which is why Carnisse's part in Zuid(p)Lijn has been chosen to have a suburban sphere to it.

6. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter we will discuss the main conclusions we found during this multidisciplinary analysis. Additionally, we will answer our main research question;

How does socio-spatial inequality manifest itself in Carnisse in facilities for sports, culture, and leisure & recreation?

First Impressions

We started our analysis with an open and inquisitive mindset and therefore, our first impressions were not too bad. The atmosphere in the neighborhood was calm and felt safe at first impression. The exterior of the buildings didn't look too bad from the outside, since the mainly brick facades ensured a well-kept appearance. We figured that the only downside was that there was not a lot of variation in the appearance of the housing, which made the streets look all very similar to each other. The streets were not very busy, but it was mainly due to the fact that we visited the area during work hours.

When we eventually began our data research, we discovered that the neighborhood may have a lot more problems than it might suggest.

Presence of facilities

Looking at the facts and figures for Carnisse, it can be concluded that the neighborhood lags in many areas behind the rest of Rotterdam, given for example the average income and unemployment rate. Low incomes and the lower educated people are the majority in Carnisse, and that may indicate that facilities are lagging behind. It can be tricky to assume how the mostly small apartments may look from the inside, since the houses may look good from the outside, but there is a good chance that the quality is not as good as it seems to be. We can also clarify this lack of

quality when we look at the neighborhood profile. In general, people are satisfied with the amount of facilities, but the quality remains to be improved. People are not satisfied with, for example, the maintenance of parks and there are on average a few people who use any entertainment facility. In the interviews, which we will discuss later in the conclusion, we can conclude that people are not happy with the quality of the facilities that carnisse has to offer.

From this part of the research we can therefore state that the quantity of the facilities is perceived as good by many people, but the quality as an area for improvement. The data maps however, tells us that not all types of facilities are present in Carnisse. The cultural facilities actually go no further than facilities for religion. There are few or no facilities available that, for example, have to do with art, theater or other types of associations.

The sports facilities are also lagging behind. In fact, only Zuiderpark offers a few opportunities for sports, but here too there are only two associations. Amelandseplein gives the opportunity to play football, but it stops there. These results fit well with the results that the neighborhood profile shows us, namely that on average there are few people in Carnisse who practice a sport.

When we look at shops and bars, there seems to be many amenities in the area. There are many places to be found especially in the north of the neighborhood. However, if we look at what these stores and bars have to offer, we often see the same thing. Most stores are small foreign supermarkets and thrift stores. There are also not that many real restaurants, but many smaller shops like snack bars. This connects to the anchor point analysis, that indicates that the turn over rate in the area might be related to the types of facilities that are present in the different streets. The places where there actually are a lot of facilities are not places where people stay for a long time. The turn over rate is higher in the regions where the street activity is higher.

So when we ask ourselves the question "Which organizations are ac-

tive in the neighborhood in the domain of sports, culture, and leisure & recreation?" we can state there might be a lot of activities in the area, but when you dive deeper into the data, it's shown to not be the case.

As soon as we started to interview people, our data was being conformed. People indeed say that they have all the basic facilities in the area that they need, but that it is often the same and that they sometimes miss shops and restaurants of quality. Usually when they do something fun in their free time, they do this outside the neighborhood and go mostly to the city center. There were a number of people who made use of the facilities on Zuidplein, but most people still went to the facilities in the city. They do say that they don't necessarily see this as a problem.

Over all we can say that our desk research meets the opinions we got from the interviews and that there is room for improvement both in terms of the quality and quantity of the facilities in Carnisse.

The presence of a social network

One thing that goes hand in hand with the way people recreate is the presence of their social network. The data research first showed us that there are many people living in carnisse with all different ethnic backgrounds. This could indicate that there are therefore many different types of networks present in the neighborhood. Not only the data shows us that, but also from our own observations we can establish that carnisse is a very multicultural neighborhood. In recent years many Eastern Europeans have also settled in Carnisse and this has only increased ethnic diversity. However, this great diversity doesn't only have positive consequences. The Neighborhood Profile shows us that people in Carnisse have little contact with their neighbors for example. This could well be due to the fact that different population groups live together, each with different norms, values, working hours and recreational preferences.

Nuisance is also seen as a problem in the neighborhood. For exam-

ple, there is a drug nuisance and alcohol abuse. According to the neighborhood profile, there is a lot more nuisance in Carnisse than was measured on average in Rotterdam as a whole city. If you feel connected to your own neighborhood as a resident, you are less likely to cause a nuisance in the neighborhood. This excessive nuisance could well arise because there is no sense of connectivity with the neighborhood and the people, the socalled place making seems to be absent in Carnisse. Placemaking means that a place is not only a space, but also has its people and culture that make it into the place it is. For example, users of a public space feel more connected to a place created by placemaking. When a public space or a building becomes more meaningful, this has a positive effect on the value of a location, and therefore also on the way in which people use this space. (Tureay, 2013). The observations and data analysis show that in Carnisse there is little case of this concept of place-making. However, the anchor points in Canisse could be seen as a product of placemaking, although it has been shown that the anchor points with sports and cultural facilities situated in them are the ones that encourage people to stay in the neighbourhood.

The interviews also clearly showed that much has changed in the field of social connections in recent years. People that we have interviewed do not want to put it down to the arrival of different population groups, they do indicate that much has changed since the creation of this multi-cultural society. By having a language barrier, having different norms and values and a different rhythm in which people live, most residents do not feel very involved with the rest of the residents. From the interviews we can conclude that there is not a certain group that people are bothered about, but that it is mainly about the lack of respect that people have for the neighborhood. The original inhabitants of Carnisse do not have the feeling that the residents from abroad feel connected to the neighborhood. According to them, these things lead to nuisance, a lack of social control and pollution of

the streets.

They also indicate that the neighborhood is lagging behind when it comes to, for example, organizing events or having central places where residents can meet. In this way it becomes more difficult to develop a real social network in Carnisse. So when we look at the question "How important are these organizations for the social networks of residents?" we can say that the lack of some facilities can indeed ensure that the social network is not stimulated. There are nearly no facilities that ensure that people feel connected to the neighborhood, and this does not stimulate the concept of place-making. In addition, there is also the chance that not everyone has access to the facilities that are present in the neighborhood. This may be because the language is not mastered, or because there is simply no money to undertake activities.

In conclusion

All in all we can say that at first sight nothing seems wrong with Carnisse. However, if you look further into the neighbourhood and try to get a picture of all networks in Carnisse, there are problems. There is a divide between the different areas of Carnisse, the quality of most facilities is low, and there are no facilities whose aim is to stimulate and improve Carnisse's social network. This means that people do not feel connected to the neighborhood or to each other. Because of this chain reaction, social inequality arises in its place again. A neighborhood where people do not look out for each other, but look down on people. The lack of placemaking in the city ensures that residents are not given the opportunity to socialize in the neighborhood. Because of this, the different population groups have little or no interaction with each other, there is a good chance that social inequality will only increase.

The answer to the main question; "How does socio-spatial inequality manifest itself in Carnisse in facilities for sports, culture, and leisure & recreation?" is therefore not simple at all. However, we can state that in parts of the neighborhood, especially the northern part, there is a lack of facilities that bring the social and spatial aspects of a city together, people do not connect with each other because of this, they do not know each other, and again, because of this they look down on each other. People in Carnisse might have need for a more quiet and green environment, due to the turnover rate indicated in the more northern, busy part of Carnisse. Sport, culture and recreation is something that can bring people closer together, but unfortunately we see that Carnisse has a lot of space to cover in that regard and almost seems that the facilities that are present right now, only drive people out of the neighborhood. Sport, Culture and Recreation can help people to stimulate social connections and thus counteract social inequality in Carnisse but unfortunately this as well established as it could be in this area.

7. DISCUSSION

When we started this multi-disciplinary analysis, we found it difficult to get a grip on what we were actually doing. The assignment was not yet completely clear and this made it difficult to make a start. We were also of the opinion that problems might have been thrown into our lap at the first stage of the research, which we did not initially see as we walked through the neighborhood. When we eventually started to do further research ourselves into the qualities of the neighborhood, we discovered that there were more problems behind Carnisse. However, we still believe that Carnisse is a neighborhood where the problems are present but are not yet problematic. This meant that we sometimes did not know what we were actually looking for, so the start was a bit slower than expected.

In addition, we found it difficult to understand what would happen to all our data. Certainly when we started conducting street interviews, we found it difficult to approach people from the point of view of study, because many people had a bias about this. What happens to the opinions of the residents? We felt that people did not think that something would actually change in the neighborhood as a result of our investigation. This sometimes made us feel a bit out of place in the situation.

Regarding the conclusion, we think that five weeks are actually too short to make really harsh statements about social inequality in the neighborhood. We think that we have made a nice step in the direction, but that there is still much to be gained and investigated in the field of socio-spatial influences on social inequality in Carnisse.

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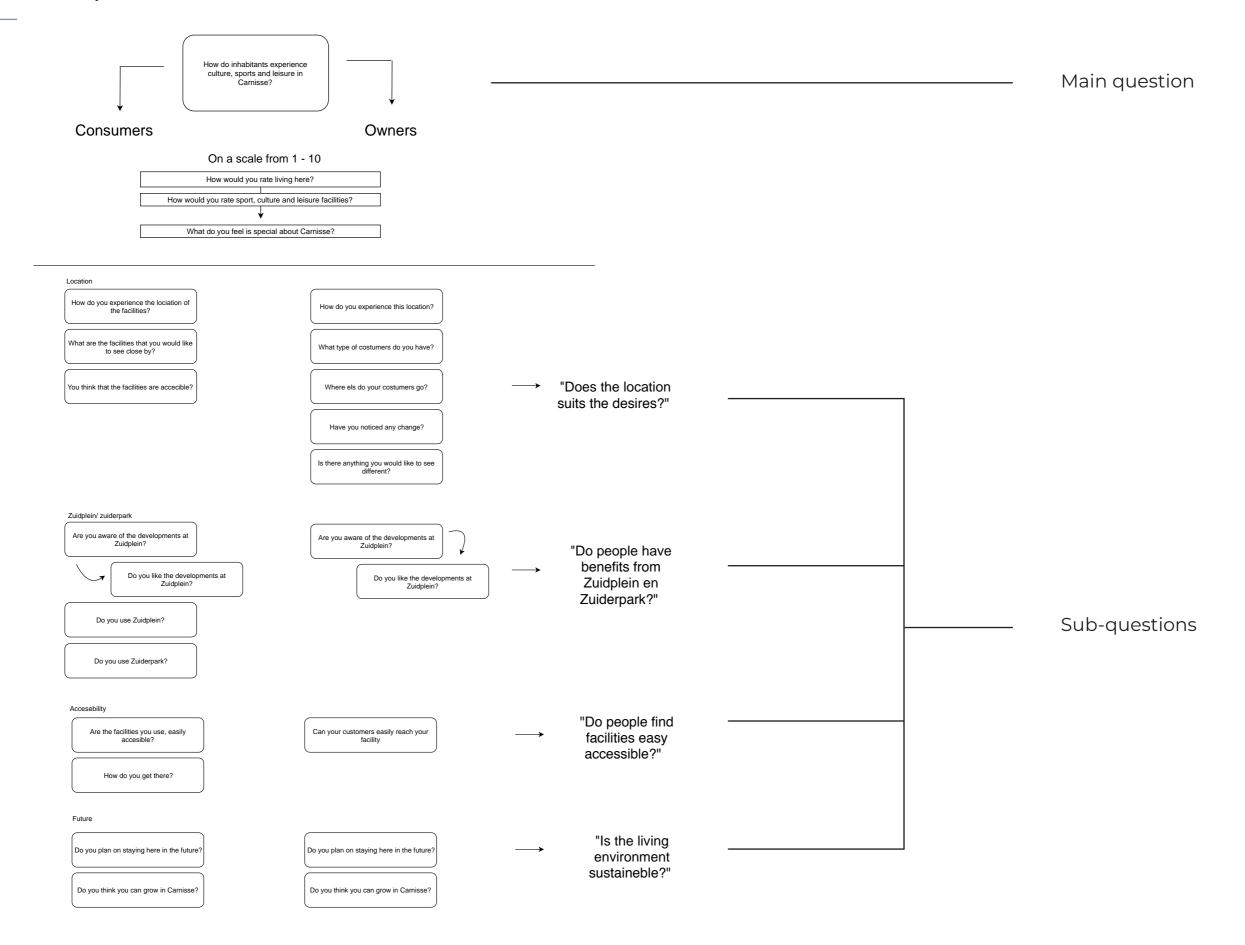
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9. APPENDIX

9.1 Interview protocol



9.2 Interviews

03/11/19 - Interview Owner Gitarium - Wolphaertsbocht 205A, 3083 MJ Rotterdam

Women Dutch Mid Age

As we enter Carnisse, crossing the Dorpsweg onto the Wolphaertsbocht, we come across one of the first shops on the corner of the street and enter to see if we can speak with the owner/employee.

Opening question.

She expressed to us that many other students had come to answer questions and that she did not feel comfortable giving her personal opinion.

Thanking her for her time.

Nonetheless she felt willing to disclose that despite her personal opinions the neighborhood had changed drastically over the years.

Engaging with the term 'changed'. Was it the prices? The quality of the houses? Crime?

She said it was none of the above changes.

Asking for clarification/follow up question. What has changed?

Initially a hesitant response. The woman expresses that she is afraid she might be misunderstood, that she might have an unpopular opinion.

Then she explains that it is the people.

Asking which people specifically she is referring to. Is she referring to the islamic community?

She interrupts immediately emphasizing that it has nothing to do with religion, and that in fact the guest workers (islamic community) have lived in Carnisse alongside the Dutch citizens for many years in good conditions and friendship.

She continues to explain that it is the polish (eastern-european) community that comes here mainly for seasonal work.

Asking for elaboration.

Amongst the list of grievances:

A lot of the Dutch facilities have been replaced by facilities aimed specifically at eastern european migrant workers.

With a lack of connectivity to the area and short duration of stay, this group displays negative behaviour that disturbs the public peace. Extreme cases of littering, excessive substance abuse (in public areas) - and a specific problem for her business - the misuse of free parking spaces meant for shop ping consumers but instead claimed for long term parking of vehicles.

We ask her about her future perspective for the neighborhood.

Her answer is pessimistic and shows little faith in the possibility of Carnisse improving - or returning to previous conditions. The community services and spirit have been damaged permanently. She recommends that we should talk to the butcher, although it is not specified which one.

We thank her for her time and leave.

On the Wolphaertsbocht we see several vehicles with polish and romanian license plates parked. We also see a polish supermarket further down the road.

03/11/19 - Interview Employee Małpka Exspress - Wolphaertsbocht 247A, 3083 ML Rotterdam

Man Middle - Eastern (Turkish?) Young Adult

Keen to explore a different perspective, we approach the Polish supermarket to find out their perspective. Inside we see an older man in the corner and a younger man behind the cash register. We approach the man behind the cash register.

Introducing ourselves and asking whether it would be possible to ask some questions.

The employee affirms hesitantly, seemingly unsure what to make of the situ ation.

We see him making eye contact with the old man who is probably his boss. The older man returns the gaze with a stern displeased look but does not say anything.

He returns his attention back to us.

We ask if he is from this neighborhood.

He is not.

We ask whether he enjoys working here.

Aware that his boss is watching he affirms, also perhaps slightly puzzled by the purpose of this question.

Would he ever consider living here?

He says he would prefer not to live here as there are better places in Rotterdam in terms of living environment and facilities.

Aware that the conversation seems to stagnate, we thank him and leave.

18/11/19 - Interview Groeteboer - location

Basic demographics

We were looking at the facilities around the Amelandseplein, and we found this little, but nice looking local vegetable store. We walked in with an open approach and decided that we should just ask them of they knew somewhere nice to go around the neighborhood.

While we were paying our apples, we started the conversation by just asking the employers if they knew a nice bar in the neighborhood.

The lady told us that is she goes to a nice place to get a drink or something to eat, she never does that in the neighborhood but in the city center or closer to the river.

We ask is there is nothing in the actual neighborhood.

She told us that she only knows one nice place that is in Carnisse, and all the other things that she mentioned were outside of the neighborhood and that if we wanted to visit those places that we should go by bike.

At this point a customer walks in and starts to join our conversation.

This man told us that he always goes outside of the neighborhood for facilities and for his big groceries as well, he visits the Fenix Food Factory at Katendrecht a lot. He said that he was not happy with the recreational facilities, like bars and restaurants, in Carnisse, but is was no problem for him to travel a little bit for shops and bars.

Then we asked whether this is something that they actually miss in the neighborhood.

They told us (both employee and customer) that if we want to make a lot of money, we should open our own bar (they meant it more as a joke, but it told us that there is a lack of nice bars and restaurants in the area).

We thanked them for their time to give us some advice for nice bars and restaurants.



24/11/19 - Interview Employee/Volunteer Laleli Moskee - Gruttostraat 9, 3083 KZ Rotterdam

Man Turkish Mid Age

In search of the Carnisse Huis we walk along the Gruttostraat. We knew from google maps that there would be a mosque there. We come across an empty looking building with signs showing us that it is the Turkish mosque we had been looking for. The front door is open. The front door of the much larger Roman Catholic parish of the Holy Michael & Clemens, just around the corner, was closed. We walk into the buildings dimly lit central hall to see if we can find someone to speak to. To our right we see a cafeteria with a few old men. We walk there and meet the employee/volunteer who works there.

Introduction. Can we ask some questions/is there someone we can speak to?

The board is currently not there but we can ask him some questions.

Asking for clarification about the exact function of the space.

It is a mosque, but also a community centre. Anyone is welcome but for obvious reasons most people that use it are muslim and turkish. He explains that is is always open as a community centre but of course also a mosque.

Then he says that if we want to know more we should just make an appointment with the board.

We explain that we would also like to hear his opinion on the matter.

He explains that in that case maybe we should have some tea and sit down and then he can answer some of our questions.

We wait for him to serve someone else before we sit down, we shake hand to introduce ourselves.

The man brings over some tea for us.

We ask him if he can tell some more about the place.

He explains that the place has been around for about 20/30 years? and that just five years ago they moved into an old neighborhood center. They have religious services there, a communal area with a pool table and foosball table, but also classes for children on wednesday and on the weekends to teach about religious matters.

He explains that they had also hoped to help kids with home/school work but

that thus far they haven't been able to get the right staff.

We ask him if the neighborhood has changed.

He explains that in the last 10/20 years the neighbourhood has declined. Previously the Dutch and islamic communities kept the place clean and the social security was better but that has all changed. He specifically names the Polish community as a catalyst for this change, although he did not feel comfortable to say much about this. Generally he expressed that he was still content with the neighborhood.

Because the man has suggested multiple times that we should make an appointment with the board to ask these questions, we ask for the contact details.

He gives us the contact details and we greet each other goodbye.

After the interview, we did some more research online and we found out that the mosque was at the heart of a Pegida protest where large crowds of islamophobes and xenophobes had gathered themselves to protest against the existence of the mosque. At the time of the protest, which caused a lot of grief amongst the community, the islamic community was supported by some of locals of the christian community. A sign that despite differences the communities do care for each other and stand with each other especially when they are under attack.

Ziyattin Komürcü is ook blij met alle steun die zij hebben gekregen. "Er waren hier Marokkanen, Turken, Pakistanen, Surinamers en Nederlanders. Allemaal stonden ze achter ons. Ook de mensen die eerder op vrijdag bloemen hebben gebracht, worden hartelijk bedankt." (https://www.rijnmond.nl/nieuws/169391/Laleli-Moskeebestuurder-Ik-moest-een-paar-tranen-laten)

24/11/19 - Interview Intern BENU Apotheek - Lepelaarsingel 49, 3083 KB Rotterdam

Woman Dutch Young Adult

We walk onto the Lepelaarssingel, a broad green boulevard almost running down the entire length of the neighborhood. On the corner of the central crossing of the green boulevard is the medical centre Carnissehuis. We are curious to see if the employees of the medical centre have interesting insights in the socio-cultural situation of the neighborhood. Although less relevant for our topic we decide to ask some questions in the pharmacy. The outside looks very accessible and well organized .

Introducing ourselves as students we see if we can ask some questions about the neighbourhood. Because they are currently understaffed the intern walks up to us willing to answer some questions.

The intern explains that she is not from Carnisse, and recently arrived here as an intern, so she might not be able to say much about the neighborhood.

We ask about her general experience working here.

She expresses that she really enjoys working here and that they never have problems. Again she acknowledges that she might not be able to say much.

We enquire about the type of person that comes in. Are all people able to access the facilities equally, specifically the eastern european community?

She explains that there is never a problem with people finding access to healthcare, regardless of their background. Moreover, people appear to her as friendly and seemingly get along.

As it gets busier we thank her for her time and leave.

Outside we notice a sign that says "Een Punt van Veiligheid. OK" (A Place of Safety. OK). We find that this is a Rotterdam wide initiative from the 2000's to improve safety and allow people to easily identify safe places in case of harassment, violence of feelings of discomfort in public.

24/11/19 - Interview Employee Cafetaria Van Putten - Zandblokstraat 5, 3083 MZ Rotterdam

Woman Dutch Young Adult

On a side street bridging the Wolphaertsbocht and the Katendrechtse Lagedijk, we see a large and well kept frituur. A young lady works behind the counter. There are no customers when we walk in.

We introduce ourselves as students and ask if she would be willing to answer some questions.

She enthusiastically agrees, immediately showing us that she understand why Carnisse specifically would be our subject of study. She says that she is 'used to it now' seeing as she was born and raised here but understands why other people can be shocked when they first come here.

We explain to her that our initial impression of Carnisse was not too bad at all and ask why she as a resident specifically thinks that this neighborhood is worth studying?

She asks if we have been here before around night time or only during the day.

We explain that we have only been here during the day.

At night, she explains, Carnisse becomes very different. There is a lot of (heavy) substance abuse and at night the streets will be full of dodgy people sitting in the front porches of peoples houses. Because there is a shelter just around the corner of the snackbar, the problems is specifically visible.

She also explains that the shelter allows the people to continue using (crack) because then at least they can retain the users in a controlled environment.

The coffee shop next door, on the other hand, results in very little disturbance as the guards make sure that customers will behave in and around the premises of the coffee shop.

We ask her is she thinks anything can be done about it in her opinion.

She says that it is a lack of surveillance. In her opinion the neighbourhood desperately needs police and neighborhood patrol on the streets. The people that are using substances out on the street always leave as soon as there is security officers around.

However, she also says she is not too bothered by it. She does understand that other people that did not grow up with this might feel very unsafe with people calling them late at night and people engaging in substance abuse in the public parks and on the streets.

We ask her if she sees any connection between ethnic background and the disturbances.

She says that it really isn't tied to any specific group of people and that you can't say that it is all caused by the polish community or the islamic community or the dutch themselves.

Customers come in so we step aside. When she has taken the order from the customers she comes back to talk to us about it.

Changing the topic we ask her if there are any facilities for culture sports or recreation in the area that she uses, or if she prefers to go to other parts of the city.

She explains to us that she is a mom of a 6 year old and doesn't really do much outside the house.

We continue to ask about her experience as a mom of a young girl in Carnisse.

Generally she says that there is a very limited amount of facilities and activities for children. She notes that a lot of improvements could be made.

We ask if contact with other children in the neighborhood is good, especially with those of different ethnic backgrounds?

Positively she remarks that all the children regardless of their background seem to get along perfectly fine. Smiling she acknowledges that children aren't aware of the stereotypical accounts of ethnicities and such that form barriers in adult life. Children seem to bring families from all walks of life together in the primary schools. Unfortunately a barrier for closer friendships remains when parents with an immigration background do not speak Dutch and have difficulty communicating with other parents.

We ask if children play outside on the street a lot.

Generally, kids do not play outside as much in Carnisse. The woman acknowl

edges the role of new digital media in keeping the kids at home indoors on their devices. She does notice a difference in her street which has predominantly Dutch residents, and other parts of the neighborhood with less Dutch inhabitants. There, playing outside is even less common amongst the children.

We ask if she ever makes use of the park at Amelandseplein, or in Lepelaarssingel or the Zuiderpark.

She says that occasionally events are hosted at Amelandseplein (although too little in her opinion), but that generally she steers away from these places. Especially at night park benches are claimed by people engaging in substance abuse, frequently catcalling passer -bys. She tells us that just recently, some benches were removed next to the very sheltered deer encampment as this proved to be a hotspot for substance abuse and intimidation.

Enquiring about potential measures to improve this situation, she says the following,

She acknowledges the huge potential of these park and once again empha sizes that mainly a lack of surveillance causes these problems, naturally, in creased surveillance could substantially improve the situation.

Next we ask her if she would like her child to make Carnisse her own home later, or if she would prefer for her to get out.

Without any hesitation the woman tells us that she would prefer her daughter to start a family somewhere else where there are more opportunities. She does not deem it likely that any improvement to the neighbourhood could possibly make her change her mind.

Another customer comes in and we step aside. Having heard a lot about her personal experience living her, and raising a daughter in this neighbourhood, we are curious to get a final perspective from her on working here and the success of this place. Also we would like to hear her opinion on the Hart van Zuid area, possible competition for the snack bar she works at.

We ask her if business has been good, remarking that judging off the pictures in the wall, this place seems to have survived a good 90 years already.

She tells us that it is one of the best running businesses in the area (perhaps a little bias there). Nonetheless, this place has existed for a very long time and she tells us that it still attracts many customers and also has a large collection of regulars finding their way to the snack bar at almost every hour of the day.

We ask her if she is aware of the Hart van Zuid/Zuidplein developments.

She tells us she is aware of it and initially seems to react positively towards the plan.

Asking her if she finds it just that so much money is spent on that small area, or if she feels that the envisioned 'trickle down' effect will lead to positive changes for Carnisse as well.

She says that although the plans seem really nice, she does not feel like they will spell any good for Carnisse. As of yet, Carnisse is too far our, and people (other than Carnisse residents) will not have any real reason to go from the Hart van Zuid area to Carnisse. Additionally, she feels like this development is more an extension of the cruising ground of the wealthier inner city residents of Rotterdam than for the people of Rotterdam Zuid.

She reckons part of that money could have been spent better on improving surveillance and security in Carnisse.

Having taken up a lot of her time, and realizing that more customers are coming in, we thank her for her detailed input. Before leaving we buy something as a little sign of appreciation. Walking out again we notice the big glass facade and the relatively clean and modern look of the snackbar compared to other similar establishments in the area.



Chapter 9 - Appendix

24/11/19 - Interview Owner Banketbakkerij Chocolaterie Groen - Katendrechtse Lagedijk 288 A, 3083 GL Rotterdam

Woman Dutch Mid Age/ Senior

From the snackbar we walk down the Zandblokstraat towards the Katendrechtse Lagedijk. We pass a florist shop with a beautiful store front full of plants and flowers. Across the street, at the corner of Katendrechtse Lagedijk and Carnisselaan we see that fine bakery that we saw on our very first day exploring the neighbourhood. Luckily, today we came at the right time. As we walked into the bakery, we were met with the wonderful smell of fresh baked goods that you can only find at the few true bakeries remaining in the big cities of the Netherlands.

We walked inside a little hesitantly, distracted by the amazing smell and looking to see if there was anyone there we could talk to. As we walked through the store an older woman approached us from the bakery kitchen in the back of the store. We greeted her and introduced ourselves, and asked whether she would have some time for us.

She responded kindly and said that she would be more than willing to help us along with our research.

Thanking her, we asked her about her general experience living her and working here.

She proceeded by telling us that she was originally from the countryside but moved to Rotterdam in the 80's with her husband to establish this bakery that she has now been running for almost 40 years.

When she started to live here she recalled there being a strong community with good social ties and shared responsibility for the neighborhood. How ever, she did notice that it had drastically changed over the years. She specifically mentioned that the moroccan and antillian community can be quite closed off, and sometimes a little impatient and aggressive and did not get on well with the older residents of the neighborhood.

We asked her if other groups also struggled to fit in, acknowledging that other interviewees had mentioned the eastern european community specifically as a problem.

Without hesitating she continued to assure us that in her opinion the Eastern Europeans integrated best. Yes, there were some lone male migrant workers who displayed anti-social behaviour, but from her experience as a baker, she found that many of the Eastern Europeans shared the same christian faith. and often came to her store for christian holidays. Many of these customers

where families that spoke dutch and had integrated well into society, even being active community members sometimes.

She mentioned that the turkish community too often made use of her bakery to buy goods for their holidays and that they too seemed to have integrat ed very well. (Of course there is a clear bias towards loyal customers, but nonetheless this is very informative).

Next we asked her what she thought of the cultural and leisure facilities.

She told us that despite in her opinion the facilities being sufficient on a local level, she preferred to go elsewhere in the city. This had nothing to do with the quality or offer of the local facilities, but merely because her job as a baker made her a public figure of sorts and she did not want to be confronted with her regular customers in her free time.

After making this statement she rephrases her earlier affirmation that the facilities here are sufficient and says that there is actually also substantial room for improvement in the area.

We ask her if Zuidplein would be a place where she would go once it is remodelled completely.

She tells us that she already uses the swimming pool regularly to go out for a swim in the morning. She also says that she really likes the developments there. However, she also sees that the developments, in her opinion, might not be very accessible for the average resident of Carnisse.

Should there be more attention to the needs of the local residents.

She explains that on various occasions she has made attempts with the other businesses on the cross section to make the area more attractive adding for example planters on the lanterns. However, funds to sustain even these minimal efforts to make the area a nice place to recreate and a true community centre just away from the busy transport artery of the Wolphaertsbocht, were never continued.

Additionally she remarked that on several occasions she had addressed the issue of lighting. The bakery often work till late to prepare for the clients in the early morning. When she would exist her shop on late hours she would always look carefully through the curtains before existing to see if it is safe.

Changing the street lighting could greatly improve the sense of safety and the attraction of the area at later hours of the day.

We ask if, despite some of the issues the business is running well.

She tells us that, in all honesty, she would not be able to survive only on the profits of the store. She also has a market stall once a week run by her husband and they do other activities to make sure that they get enough revenues to stay open.

As we talk, a young couple comes into the store. They overheard our conversation and the husband approached us curiously.

We explain that we have been working to investigate the area especially looking at sports, leisure and recreation and cultural facilities. We ask him what attracted him to this neighborhood.

He explains that his family moved here mainly because of the cheap housing stock and the relatively good location. He seemed to like the area but he did acknowledge that there is a lot that needs improvement but they were specifically drawn to the few remaining truly local facilities such as the bakery. They go out of their way to get bread from this specific bakery.

The couple turns their attention again to their shopping and leave the store. Picking up after our conversation the woman from the store gives us some more context.

She explains that many young couples come to the area because of the relatively cheap housing stock especially compared to the rest of the randstad and in relation to the relative connectivity of the area. She has seen many couples buy a starters home here and renovate it to be able to sell it again for a generous profit so they can move up on the property ladder.

We ask her if all considering she is happy living here.

She tells us that she is originally from the countryside and that she still miss es the peace and quiet and hearing birds sing. She did not mind staying here for the remainder of her life but she really needs to go back to the country side from time to time to calm down and recuperate from the busy city life.

We noticed that she did not seem to feel like the Zuiderpark could fulfil this function for her, although the largest park in the Netherlands should be a perfect antidote for city life.

Reflecting on her generally positive attitude we ask her if she is hopeful about the future of the neighbourhood.

She says that it is very easy to get into a pattern of negativity but that if you truly want the neighbourhood to improve such a thought pattern is detri mental. Despite all the grievances she emphasises that she is hopeful and that Carnisse still has the ability to be a wonderful place to live much like the neighborhood that she moved into in the 80's.

Before leaving the store we are interrupted by two clients walking in. We wanted to buy some of her baked goods for lunch but and Eastern European lady decided that she would be allowed to skip the line and go before us. A little puzzled to lady from the store allows the woman to go before us. After the customer walks out, the other customer in the store and the owner both smile and remark that we were clearly in front and that it was a strange move from the guest. Nonetheless none of us were in a hurry and we buy our bread, strongly recommended by the other customer, thank the owner for her time and leave.

Chapter 9 - Appendix

24/11/19 - Interview Curator RIB - Katendrechtse Lagedijk 490B, 3082 GJ Rotterdam

Man Iranian/Persian Adult

Walking back from Carnisse, through Oud-Charlois, we come across an odd looking shop that we passed earlier in the morning. Now the place is open and the owner/curator just happened to be on the sidewalk in front of the store. Out of curiosity we ask him what the store is and compliment the intriguing interior. He invites us in to have a look and tells us about the store. After he explained that is was an art gallery, and that it engages the community and is supported by the municipality, he asked us about our story.

We explained him that we were students from the TU Delft doing research in the area and collaborating with the Veldacademie.

He reacts rather awkwardly and expresses that he is not very positive about this phenomenon. He says that he is rather critical about the way these students are sent here to exploit and extract problems of the neighborhood for their own education.

We explain that we have been troubled with the same feeling that our role in this project is unjust towards the residents. We feel that we could either help make an actual difference or maybe approach this research in a different way.

We leave the art gallery feeling again that the way that this research is set up is not respecting the human dignity of the residents.

