

## Tekst 4

## Gentrification

- 1 GENTRIFIER has surpassed many worthier slurs to become the dirtiest word in American cities. In the popular telling, hordes of well-to-do hipsters are descending upon poor, minority neighbourhoods that were made to endure decades of discrimination. With their avocado on toast, beard oil and cappuccinos, these people snuff out local culture.
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- 2 The anti-gentrification brigades often cite anecdotes from residents forced to move. Yet the data suggest a different story. An influential study by Lance Freeman and Frank Braconi found that poor residents living in New York's gentrifying neighbourhoods during the 1990s were actually less likely to move than poor residents of non-gentrifying areas. A follow-up study by Mr Freeman, using a nationwide sample, found scant association between gentrification and displacement. A more recent examination found that financially vulnerable residents in Philadelphia — those with low credit scores and no mortgages — are no more likely to move if they live in a gentrifying neighbourhood. These studies 7 the widely held belief that for every horrid kale-munching millennial moving in, one long-time resident must be chucked out. The surprising result is explained by three underlying trends.
- 3 The first is that poor Americans are obliged to move very frequently, regardless of the circumstances of their district, as the Princeton sociologist Matthew Desmond so harrowingly demonstrated in his research on eviction. The second is that poor neighbourhoods have lacked investment for decades, and so have considerable slack in their commercial and residential property markets. A lot of wealthier city dwellers can thus move in without pushing out incumbent residents or businesses. "Given the typical pattern of low-income renter mobility in New York City, a neighbourhood could go from a 30% poverty population to 12% in as few as ten years without any displacement whatsoever," noted Messrs Freeman and Braconi in their study. Third, city governments often promote affordable-housing schemes, such as rent control or stabilisation, in response to rising rents.
- 4 9 That does not make them any less real. Residents of gentrifying neighbourhoods who own their homes have reaped considerable windfalls. One original resident of Logan Circle, a residential district in downtown Washington, bought his home in 1993 for \$130,000. He recently sold it for \$1.6m. Businesses gain from having more customers, with more to spend. Having new shops, like well-stocked grocery stores, and sources of employment nearby can reduce commuting costs and

time. Crime, already on the decline in American city centres, seems to fall even further in gentrifying neighbourhoods.

5 Those who bemoan segregation and gentrification simultaneously risk contradiction. The introduction of affluent residents into poor minority districts boosts racial and economic integration. It can dilute the concentration of poverty – which a mountain of economic and sociological literature has linked to all manner of poor outcomes, including teenage pregnancy and incarceration. Gentrification steers cash into deprived neighbourhoods and brings people into depopulated areas through market forces, all without the necessity of governmental intervention. The current government is unlikely to offer large infusions of cash to dilapidated cities. In these circumstances, arguing against gentrification can amount to insistence that poor neighbourhoods remain poor and that racially segregated neighbourhoods stay cut off.

6 What, then, accounts for the antipathy towards gentrification? The first reason is financial.

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7 A second reason gentrification is disliked is culture. The argument is that the arrival of yuppie professionals will alter the character of a place in an unseemly way. 'Don't Brooklyn my Detroit' T-shirts are now a common sight in Motor City. In truth, Detroit would do well with a bit more Brooklyn. Across big American cities, for every gentrifying neighbourhood ten remain poor.

8 The term gentrification has become tarred. But called by any other name – revitalisation, reinvestment, renaissance – it would smell sweet. Take Shaw, a historical centre of black culture in Washington, which limped into the 1970s as a shadow of itself after a series of race riots. Decades of decline followed, in which a crack epidemic caused the murder rate to spike. Today, crime is down. The O Street Market, where one person was killed and eight were injured in a shoot-out in 1994, is now a tranquil grocery store. Luxury flats with angular chairs and oversized espresso machines in the lobby have sprouted opposite liquor stores. At the Columbia Room, a wood-panelled bar with leather chairs, mixologists conjure \$16 concoctions of scotch, blackberry shrub and porcini mushrooms. This is how progress tastes.

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“Gentrifier has surpassed many worthier slurs to become the dirtiest word in American cities.” (paragraph 1)

- 1p 6 What is ‘dirty’ about the word ‘gentrifier’, according to the text?  
According to critics it stands for
- A a group of residents who have lost their sense of decency.
  - B affluent citizens who drive away the original residents.
  - C people who have enriched themselves at the expense of others.
  - D people whose intolerance makes the city difficult to live in.
- 1p 7 Which of the following fits the gap in paragraph 2?
- A highlight
  - B ignore
  - C misrepresent
  - D reinforce
  - E undermine
- 1p 8 What is paragraph 3 meant to make clear?
- A that the government is reluctant to regulate the local housing market
  - B that the rich may not be depriving the poor of reasonably priced houses
  - C that there is a correlation between increasing housing prices and poverty
  - D that there is a tenuous connection between income and social mobility
- The first sentence of paragraph 4 has been left out.
- 1p 9 Which of the following was the original first sentence of paragraph 4?
- A Gentrification has become so widespread that no one is certain what its economic consequences might be.
  - B Gentrification has been misrepresented in such a way that publications about it have had adverse effects.
  - C Gentrification has been so thoroughly demonised that a mere discussion of its benefits might seem subversive.
  - D Gentrification has caused politicians to claim that it has grave implications for urban development.

2p 10 Geef van de volgende beweringen aan of ze overeenkomen met de inhoud van alinea's 4 en 5.

Noteer 'wel' of 'niet' achter elk nummer op het antwoordblad.

- 1 Original inhabitants of particularly poor neighbourhoods are often the ones who benefit least from the economic changes.
- 2 Retailers have substantial advantages to look forward to when neighbourhoods gentrify.
- 3 Welcoming wealthy new inhabitants into the neighbourhood will provide new job opportunities for residents.
- 4 Research shows the sudden arrival of wealthy people in poor neighbourhoods can have several negative side effects.

De volgende drie zinnen kwamen oorspronkelijk na de eerste zin van alinea 6, maar zijn uit de tekst weggehaald (zie stippelijntjes in de tekst).

- a The share of households that are 'rent burdened' – those spending more than 30% of pre-tax income on rent – has increased from 32% in 2001 to 38% in 2015. Things are worse among the poor; 52% of those below the federal poverty line spend over half their income on rent.
- b These rents have risen dramatically, though this can be the fault of thoughtless regulations which hinder supply more than the malevolence of gentrifiers.
- c To be more specific, it can be linked to the cost of housing in American cities. Though the process of gentrification has been going on for a few decades, the increased attention for it comes in the middle of this broader concern.

1p 11 In welke volgorde stonden de zinnen in alinea 6?  
Zet de letters in de juiste volgorde.

- 1p 12 What does the writer wish to convey in paragraph 7?
- A He acknowledges the differences between the people of Detroit and Brooklyn.
  - B He believes that the people of Detroit should be more open to ideas that improve their situation.
  - C He empathises with the hardship the people of Detroit and Brooklyn have to endure.
  - D He feels the people of Detroit might be better off moving to a place that has already been upgraded.

- 1p 13 What is the main point made in paragraph 8?
- A Difficult terms like gentrification seem to conjure up a negative image for people.
  - B For lack of a more positive description, the term gentrification will continue to be used.
  - C Since the term gentrification has a negative ring to it, it would be best to use another term.
  - D The term gentrification has also been applied to positive developments that have other causes.
  - E Whatever term people use for the process, gentrification has had a positive effect.