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"They Will Make It Center": Navigating Food Gentrification in Amsterdam's Javastraat

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Abstract

Food gentrification is a key driver of socio-economic and socio-cultural change in urban spaces. The influx of affluent populations into marginalized neighborhoods often leads to the rise of new food outlets—upscale restaurants, artisan cafés, and boutique-style food shops—that may initially complement but eventually displace local food cultures. This study examines Javastraat in Amsterdam as a prominent example of urban (food) gentrification in Europe, focusing in particular on the long-term effects of gentrification on restaurants and food shops who identify as non-European in their menus and food marketing. State-led redevelopment in Javastraat has displaced local shops and eateries while imposing cosmopolitan ideals of diversity and sustainability. As a result, long-established immigrant food establishments have been pressured to align their menus to the tastes of the incoming affluent residents and elite workers. This shift has generated insecurity and alienation among the owners and employees of these vital social gathering spaces. By framing Javastraat as a space in flux, we analyze the experiences of these stakeholders through the lens of social navigation and explore how these gastronomic professionals are navigating shifting food cultures and urban environments.

Keywords

Amsterdam; food gentrification; foodscape; gastronomic professionals; migration; social navigation

1. Introduction

Scholars from various disciplines, including sociology (Steigemann, 2020; Zukin, 2008, 2009), anthropology (Klein & Murcott, 2014), the life sciences (Barnhill & Bonotti, 2022; Bonotti & Barnhill, 2022), and human geography (Alkon et al., 2020; Lütke & Jäger, 2021), have, increasingly, been exploring the connection between food and urban spaces and examining how food influences and shapes urban experiences.

Research in urban food studies spans a wide range of topics from food access and security to questions of identity and belonging (Sbicca, 2018). Food is often also central to discussions of culture, ethnicity, and race, and research that critically addresses structural inequalities (Skinner et al., 2016), such as "food apartheid" (Gripper et al., 2022). It has even been studied as a means of establishing encounters (Low & Lynn-Ee Ho, 2018), building community, and signaling distinction (Zukin, 2008). More recent work has expanded on these discussions to include the sensory aspects of food, exploring how food practices engage the body and influence perceptions of urban space (Degen, 2008; Fiore, 2021).

This article builds upon these critical discussions by analyzing motion within the gastronomic sector in urban Europe, offering a focused contribution to the evolving understanding of food gentrification. Though still an emerging subfield that is predominantly US-oriented, food gentrification has proven to be a compelling lens for examining the active role of food in urban transformation. Drawing on the foundational pillars of gentrification—capital, culture, and policy (Lees et al., 2016)—scholars have shown that food is not merely entangled with urban change but frequently serves as a key catalyst (Sbicca et al., 2020; Zukin, 2008). Research also highlights how the vibrancy and appeal of urban spaces are closely tied to the cultural and social significance of food, the blending of local and global culinary practices, and the place-specific dynamics of food production, distribution, and consumption (Bonotti & Barnhill, 2022). Informed by interdisciplinary approaches, food gentrification scholarship is continuing to reveal how food shapes urban restructuring and opens new avenues for understanding contemporary forms of gentrification that extend beyond housing.

Research on food gentrification has underscored the central role of class, particularly through the figure of the "foodie," a middle-class consumer in search of "exotic" and "authentic" culinary experiences (Lütke & Jäger, 2021). Often associated with the "creative class" (Florida, 2002), these food enthusiasts leverage food's cultural capital to distinguish themselves from mainstream consumer culture (Johnston & Baumann, 2015). While such pursuits may enhance the vibrancy and perceived diversity of urban foodscapes, they also contribute to cultural alienation, social exclusion, and—as numerous studies have shown—physical displacement (Polat, 2020; Zukin, 2009). Beyond individual consumer practices, scholars have examined how food is instrumentalized within broader urban development strategies aimed at global competitiveness. Particularly in the US context, municipal actors have been shown to capitalize on food's cultural appeal to increase property values and rebrand local food cultures. These strategies frequently target affluent groups, such as global elites, tech workers, expatriates, and foodies themselves, who serve as key agents in the consumer-driven processes of food gentrification (Alkon & Cadji, 2020; Joassart-Marcelli, 2021; Martin, 2020).

Moreover, scholarship on food gentrification has increasingly engaged with the intersections of race, ethnicity, and food in order to address a critical gap in the literature that is also the central concern of this article. A growing body of research has documented the proliferation of upscale restaurants, artisanal cafés, and boutique-style food shops in historically marginalized neighborhoods—a trend frequently linked to the influx of more affluent and culturally capital-rich populations (Polat, 2020; Steigemann, 2020; Zukin, 2009). Attuned to the cultural and emotional significance of food, this scholarship explores how such establishments reframe and reappropriate local and immigrant culinary traditions, reshaping both the material landscape and the social fabric of place (Fiore, 2021; Sbicca et al., 2020; Schrobenhauser & Lütke, 2025). Amid the notable rise of food gentrification in immigrant-dense neighborhoods, Joassart-Marcelli

(2021), a leading scholar in the subfield, has gone so far as to claim that food gentrification marks the urban transformation from ethnic (though this term has been critiqued, see Steigemann, 2020) to cosmopolitan food and tastes. As noted by Phillips et al. (2014) and others (Fiore & Plate, 2021; Zukin, 2009), food gentrification often follows patterns of racial and class reconfigurations and profoundly alters the sense of place for working-class communities and communities of color: two social groups that typically possess less agency to resist the manifold pressures of food gentrification.

This article investigates food gentrification through the case study of Javastraat, a vibrant, food-centric high street in Amsterdam's historically immigrant-rich Indische Buurt neighborhood. Widely recognized as a key example of state-led gentrification in Europe, Javastraat has undergone profound changes over the past 15 years that are reflected in both its shifting demographic and the transformation of its food landscape. Once characterized by a strong presence of Turkish and Moroccan eateries, this well-documented foodscape (Fiore, 2021; Fiore & Plate, 2021; Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2020) has been gradually transformed into a cosmopolitan ideal of "world shops" (Eigen Haard et al., 2008). This state-led redevelopment has displaced many Turkish and Moroccan businesses, and there is mounting pressure on the remaining immigrant/ethnic and working-class restaurants and food shops to adapt their menus to meet the preferences of the increasingly dominant gentrifying class, which includes the incoming middle-class residents, affluent visitors, elite workers, and, of course, the foodies (Dziduch, 2023; Fiore, 2021). While this shift is often framed as an entrepreneurial success, it has severely affected the local food scene and caused widespread insecurity and alienation among non-European gastronomic professionals.

Recent developments along Javastraat further support this argument. As the municipality, media, affluent residents, and business owners push for a "more sustainable" and "queerer" vision of Javastraat, the area is currently being shaped into an emblem of elusive cosmopolitanism (Joassart-Marcelli, 2021). This transformation is partially evidenced by the planning documents, university proposals ("Making Indische Buurt healthier, greener and safer"; Hanze University of Applied Sciences, 2023; van Malsen & de Vreeze, 2020), and urban gardening initiatives (Urban Nature Atlas, 2021), all of which position Javastraat as a testing ground for "sustainability." It is also reflected in the prominent display of LGBTQ+ flags, which symbolize inclusivity and queerness, throughout the area (Dziduch, 2023). While these gestures, installed by landlords and local restaurant associations, may reflect progressive values and urban openness (Wenzel et al., 2024), they also represent a confusing and, at times, unsettling shift for immigrant business owners and employees. For many, the push for sustainability and LGBTQ+ friendliness introduces changes that are difficult to comprehend and navigate. Indeed, the spatial dimensions of queerness and their entanglements with processes of (food) gentrification have also emerged as an increasingly important focus in critical urban scholarship that documents these intersections across various urban contexts (Cofield, 2021; Hess, 2019).

This sense of flux and unease among the immigrant business owners and employees has been further intensified by ongoing crises and shifting political conditions including the aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic, rising inflation, increasing political hostility toward migration, and mounting concerns about urban decay (e.g., drug abuse and homelessness). Within these overlapping dynamics, gastronomic work in Amsterdam's Javastraat remains fraught with challenges, especially for people who are already grappling with the pressure of food gentrification. In this context, Javastraat emerges as a contested site of negotiation, where competing imaginaries of identity, belonging, and progress intersect with the everyday realities of entrepreneurial survival amid an evolving foodscape.

By framing Javastraat as a space in flux and examining the experiences of restaurant/food shop owners and employees in non-European-identifying gastronomy through the lens of "social navigation" (Vigh, 2006, 2009), this study illuminates how contemporary expressions of food gentrification are experienced, lived, and negotiated in daily practice. It argues, and seeks to demonstrate, that social navigation provides a timely and generative framework for understanding the lived realities of Javastraat. Grounded in the concept of "motion within motion" (Vigh, 2009, p. 420), it emphasizes the fluidity and instability of contemporary urban (food) spaces, and the real and imagined movements that shape how individuals live, work, and, most importantly, navigate within them.

Social navigation transcends conventional understandings of agency by emphasizing the dynamic interplay of social, cultural, material, and spatial forces (see Chouinard, 1997; Gregory, 1994). As such, it offers a broader analytical framework for examining food gentrification, revealing its entanglements with other transformative forces in the urban landscape, including crisis-driven redevelopment, shifting cosmopolitan ideals, and evolving urban imaginaries. Focusing on social navigation not only underscores the precarity of gentrifying urban environments but also exposes the mechanisms by which these transformations are sustained and, in cases like Javastraat, intensified. At the same time, it foregrounds the everyday strategies employed by those with constrained agency—particularly immigrant restaurant and food shop owners—as they adapt to unstable and exclusionary urban conditions. In this way, social navigation contributes meaningfully to the growing literature at the intersection of food gentrification, race, and ethnicity, offering a valuable conceptual toolkit for understanding how actors negotiate the shift from "ethnic" to "cosmopolitan" tastes (Joassart-Marcelli, 2021).

This leads to two central questions guiding this exploratory study: How are the owners and employees of non-European-identifying gastronomic businesses on Amsterdam's Javastraat navigating processes of food gentrification, and in what ways are their navigational pursuits responding and to aligning with the street's evolving socio-spatial dynamics?

In the following sections, we outline the conceptual framework and methodology for the empirical study of Javastraat in Amsterdam. The article's core is based on navigational accounts from gastronomic professionals from non-European restaurants and food shops on Javastraat.

2. Navigating Food Gentrification

2.1. Urban Foodscapes and Food Gentrification

This study contributes to critical urban food studies by engaging with recent scholarship on urban foodscapes (Joassart-Marcelli, 2021; Steigemann, 2020). The concept of urban foodscapes emphasizes the implications of "cultural landscapes" and, in so doing, goes beyond mere physical descriptions of space (Joassart-Marcelli, 2021). Research on foodscapes and urban transformation highlights the symbolic, political, and ideological dimensions that emerge at the intersection of food and space, illustrating how foodscapes are deeply interwoven with the complexities of everyday life and its ongoing transformation (Low & Lynn-Ee Ho, 2018). The interconnections among food, culture (as identity), the body (as sustenance and emotional expression), and place (as a site of community and power) make the urban foodscape a powerful lens through which to analyze lived experience (Bonotti & Barnhill, 2022). As Johnston and

Baumann (2015), assert, urban foodscapes are "a dynamic social construction that relates food to places, people, meanings, *and* material processes [emphasis in original]" (p. 3). Joassart-Marcelli (2021) further elaborates that foodscapes encompass the "social, political, economic, and cultural setting in which food acquires meaning and value" (p. 6), including "lived and imagined places in which inhabitants…relate to each other through food in material and sensory ways" (p. 23). In short, urban foodscapes reflect the fluidity of contemporary urban space, shaped by shifting power relations, cultural identities, and everyday practices.

The connection between urban foodscapes and food gentrification is a compelling, if yet underexplored, aspect of the foodscape literature and a growing subcategory of gentrification research (Alkon et al., 2020; Sbicca, 2018). Work in this area also intersects with the subfield of retail gentrification, a dynamic but less food-centered strand of scholarship (Hubbard, 2017; Kasinitz & Zukin, 2015). The foodscape perspective is particularly useful for examining locally felt power shifts, that is, dynamics that become especially clear when municipal agendas are actively driving the food gentrification process, as in Amsterdam's Javastraat. Thus, an approach that combines foodscapes and food gentrification offers a unique, place-based view into the intricate interplay between urban policy, cultural transformation, and the lived realities of the people navigating these shifts. It foregrounds the local dimension of the neoliberal urban agenda, including the "creative city" paradigm (Florida, 2002) and global urban competition: developments that resist straightforward classification as wholly positive or negative.

Research into food gentrification has demonstrated that "food is often a central way that cities brand themselves as ripe for redevelopment" (Alkon & Cadji, 2020, p. 119). This branding logic, coupled with the real estate market's pursuit of profit, has spurred the proliferation of exclusive food halls (Bourlessas et al., 2021), upscale food markets (Polat, 2020), and trendy food truck gatherings (Lütke & Lemon, 2021), all activities designed to revitalize neighborhoods and boost property values (Joassart-Marcelli, 2021). In this competitive landscape, cities are now marketing themselves through food and related buzzwords like "authentic," "diverse," and "sustainable" to attract upscale businesses, culturally savvy consumers, and elite workers (Alkon & Cadji, 2020). However, the quest for cosmopolitan foodscapes, which Alkon and Cadji (2020) define as "middle-class consumer destinations…reliant on new residents' higher levels of disposable income" (p. 110), often results in alienation and displacement. As Zukin (2008) observes, the gentrifiers' "desire for alternative foods, both gourmet and organic, and for 'middle class' shopping areas encourages a dynamic of urban redevelopment that displaces working-class and ethnic minority consumers" (p. 724).

Studies linking foodscapes to food gentrification examine how the material, symbolic, and cultural aspects of space evolve, highlighting both social and physical shifts. Emerging literature indicates that food gentrification becomes most visible in spaces where diverse socialization patterns converge (Degen, 2008; Fiore, 2021; Joassart-Marcelli, 2021). In Europe, this is particularly evident in urban areas with significant immigrant populations or prominent "ethnic" food cultures, such as Amsterdam's Indische Buurt, which have become increasingly affected by gentrification (Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2020). However, the impact of food gentrification on urban residents, especially displacement, remains largely unexplored. Much of the existing research focuses on the desires of foodies and other affluent groups, leaving a gap in our understanding of the experiences of the original residents, workers, and small-scale entrepreneurs. As Joassart-Marcelli (2021) points out, "few researchers have focused on the geographic encounters between the producers and consumers of ethnic food and how the symbolic nature of ethnic food and its everyday material reality are interwoven" (p. 30). This study addresses this gap by linking foodscapes to the concept of social navigation:

a creative lens that illuminates how individuals with limited economic and political power navigate shifting and unstable social environments, such as that emerging from the gentrifying foodscape of Javastraat.

2.2. Social Navigation

As the 21st century progressed, the concept of "navigation" gradually gained traction in the fields of anthropology (Johnson-Hanks, 2002), migrant studies (Schapendonk, 2018; Triandafyllidou, 2019), and human geography (McQuaid et al., 2021; November et al., 2010). Despite its increased use, the term remains largely under-theorized. However, one notable study on the topic is Vigh's (2006, 2009) anthropological work on "social navigation," which presents a compelling case for the concept. Drawing on extensive fieldwork with marginalized populations in Bissau (the conflict-stricken capital of Guinea-Bissau, West Africa) and sans-papier migrants in Lisbon (the vibrant capital of Portugal, Europe), Vigh conceives of social navigation as a response to the fluidity and perceived instability of urban social environments. Using the analogy of navigation (from the Latin word *navigare*, meaning "to sail"), he introduces the term "seascape" to capture how urban environments, especially those outside dominant power structures, are in a constant state of flux (Vigh, 2009, p. 429). In Vigh's view, urban social environments are never static but always emergent, requiring continuous movement, adaptation, and recalibration from those living and working within them.

What makes Vigh's concept of social navigation particularly powerful is its emphasis on the dynamic interaction between agents and the environments they navigate. For Vigh (2009), urban life is best understood as "motion within motion" (p. 420), that is, as a continuous, reciprocal process in which both agents and social environments are in a constant state of transformation (Nunn et al., 2017). From this perspective, social navigation expands the concept of agency beyond a static, individual act, presenting it as an ongoing practice of adaptation, anticipation, and recalibration within ever-changing social landscapes. Vigh (2009) highlights how agents, attuned to the surrounding flux, engage in "tentative mappings" (p. 428), constantly negotiating the shifting forces that influence their actions. In this way, Vigh's (2009) concept of social navigation is not only attuned to the "socially *immediate* [emphasis in original]" (p. 425) but also to "the socially *imagined* [emphasis in original]" (p. 425). Furthermore, social navigation is responsive to both the lived present and the uncertainties of the future (Jevtic & Park, 2021). This dual perspective on change and motion is not merely about physical movement through space. It is also about how agents chart their futures in environments that are often beyond their control. It involves moving through spaces governed and shaped by larger, often invisible, forces (Schapendonk, 2018; Triandafyllidou, 2019; Vigh, 2009).

In addition, the concept of social navigation provides a human-centered, motion-focused framework for understanding urban spaces in flux. As Vigh (2009) conceptualized it, social navigation is intricately attuned to power dynamics and the struggles of those with limited control over their environments, especially when they are confronted with larger forces such as urban renewal. This framework proves valuable for analyzing the experiences of immigrant restaurant/food shop owners and employees working in gentrifying urban foodscapes. While their challenges may not mirror the extreme upheaval faced by Vigh's informants in Bissau and Lisbon, these individuals are still navigating precarious, fluid, and unpredictable urban environments. This is evident in neighborhoods like Amsterdam's Indische Buurt, where gastronomic work is marked by constant movement, fluctuating between opportunity and threat, change and resistance. The concept of social navigation sheds light on how these gastronomic professionals are maneuvering

through a landscape that is both mutable and yielding. When applied to urban foodscapes, this framework reveals how gastronomic professionals are embedded in multiple layers of power, food desires, and urban imaginaries and have to continuously adjust to the shifting conditions. As Vigh (2009) notes, social navigation is particularly valuable for understanding how individuals in liminal positions, those in constant motion, engage with the forces attempting to shape their lives (Çağlar & Glick Schiller, 2018).

2.3. Making Amsterdam's Javastraat

The Javastraat in Amsterdam's Indische Buurt (see Figure 1) vividly illustrates the transformative effects of (food) gentrification and has garnered significant attention from urban scholars (Bronsvoort & Uitermark, 2022; Fiore & Plate, 2021; Hagemans et al., 2015; Sakızlıoğlu & Lees, 2020) and social advocacy groups (Dziduch, 2023). Over the past 15 years, particularly after two waves of gentrification in 2009 and 2016, the once gritty and immigrant-dominated neighborhood has been repositioned as a symbol of globalized urban chic. Formerly described as the neighborhood's "commercial artery" (Fiore & Plate, 2021, p. 392), Javastraat is now lined with upscale boutiques, artisanal cafés, and pricy restaurants, which have replaced the working-class shops and eateries that once defined the area. While local authorities and newer residents often frame this transformation as a success, the narrative of revitalization masks a more complex reality of displacement and alienation. Many businesses owned by Turkish and Moroccan immigrants have disappeared (Fiore, 2021; Sezer & Maldonado, 2017) and since been replaced by establishments that primarily cater to middle-class locals, tourists, and expatriates. Long stigmatized as an "immigrant ghetto" (Fiore & Plate, 2021, p. 393), the area is now promoted as a model of "multiculturalism," albeit a sanitized, gentrified version designed to appeal to a Whiter, wealthier demographic. As Dziduch (2023) notes, "People who are so present on Javastraat—immigrants, mostly Turkish and Moroccan—do not actually live on the street anymore." During gentrification, although businesses may remain, "the residents leave for poorer areas," with the result that "[t]he neighborhood can become false" (quote from Noam, an Israeli student living on Javastraat, interviewed by Dziduch, 2023).

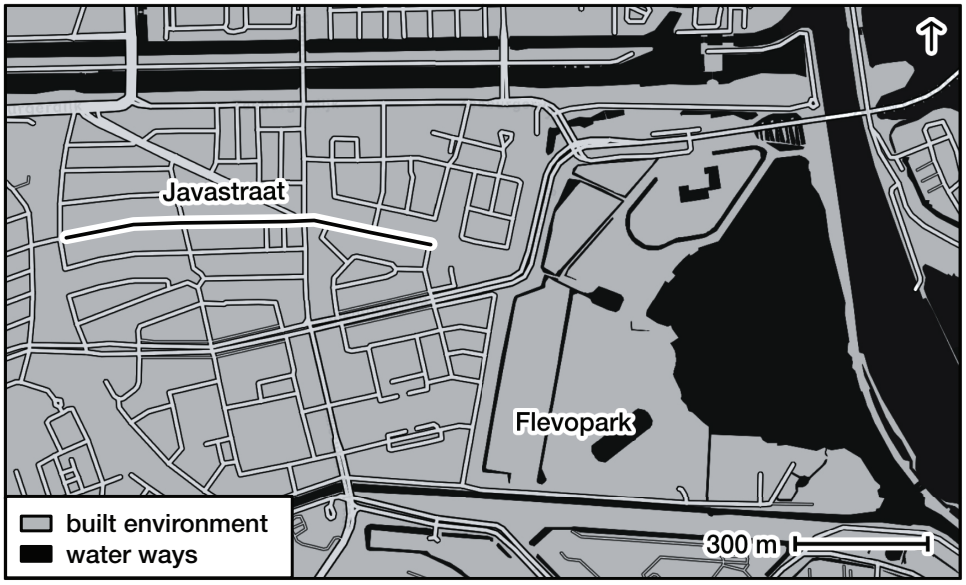

Figure 1. Map of the Indische Buurt neighborhood and the Javastraat. Source: ArcGIS Online, own adaptation.

This gentrification, on both the residential and commercial levels, was driven by the institutional idea that the Javastraat should be a space of "world shops" (Eigen Haard et al., 2008), a marketplace where difference was commodified for both capitalist and symbolic purposes (Fiore & Plate, 2021). Diversity, in this context, was not an honest reflection of the area's demographic composition, but rather an intentional "corrective" to a perceived undesirable, low-income, "non-native" population that was viewed as an obstacle to urban development and rent-gap capitalism (Fiore & Plate, 2021, p. 393; see also van Eck et al., 2020). The city's intervention kicked off with the restructuring of housing and tenure, followed by a second phase focused on the regeneration of Javastraat's commercial spaces, particularly those with Turkish and Moroccan appearance (Fiore, 2021; Sezer & Maldonado, 2017). This commercial rebranding, which is the focus of this article, was based on an ethnocentric, middle-class, and White narrative of otherness. The goal was to align the neighborhood with the tastes of the Dutch middle class and visitors and create a curated aesthetic of diversity and exoticism that was heavily rooted in stereotypes. As a result, Javastraat became a "controlled and aestheticized 'collection of otherness'" (Fiore & Plate, 2021, p. 397), a form of governmentality that positioned the domestication of ethnic communities as a prerequisite for their inclusion in a cosmopolitan society.

Recently, new initiatives and planning documents have emerged that position Indische Buurt as a potential hub for sustainability and urban greening (Hanze University of Applied Sciences, 2023). In addition, Javastraat has undergone another transformation, this time under the banner of queer friendliness. Following an incident in April 2020, where a gay couple was insulted in Indische Buurt and its surroundings (Dziduch, 2023), residents and gastronomic organizations began to display rainbow flags and then commissioned a mural to signal solidarity with the LGBTQ+ community (Wenzel et al., 2024). While these symbols were intended to express openness and pluralism, for many original residents, shopkeepers, and workers who had already weathered earlier waves of gentrification, they represented yet another sign of a top-down change that was unmediated and imposed from "above."

3. Methods: Focused Ethnography

This exploratory study employs a mixed-methods approach based on qualitative fieldwork conducted on Amsterdam's Javastraat in January and February 2023. The research includes observational walks, interviews with immigrant restaurant and food shop owners and employees, photographic documentation, and an initial mapping of shop fronts along the high street. These methods were complemented by a guided tour with a local expert on the area's gentrification history. Grounded in focused ethnography, the empirical material is further enriched by autoethnographic reflections and a group discussion with the local expert that offered deeper insight into the dynamics at play.

Focused ethnography provides a flexible and pragmatic approach to ethnographic research that contributes to the expanding body of "experimental, values-based, and critical forms of ethnography" (Wall, 2015). By challenging traditional anthropological boundaries, it departs from the assumption that ethnography must be inherently holistic, descriptive, and resource-intensive (Trundle & Phillips, 2023). Grounded in the belief that "we no longer need to travel to far-away places to study culture" (Mayan, 2009, p. 37), focused ethnography promotes a more targeted methodology that addresses specific, pre-defined issues within clearly delineated contexts and often concentrates on subcultural groups. More narrowly defined and manageable in scope than conventional ethnography (Knoblauch, 2005), it has proven particularly effective

for studying fragmented, specialized, and fast-paced social environments, such as nurseries (Trundle & Phillips, 2023), and gentrifying urban foodscapes (Polat, 2020).

Focused ethnography emphasizes shared cultural understandings within specific social contexts (Knoblauch, 2005). It is typically characterized by short-term or intermittent field visits, a clearly defined research question, and a researcher who possesses insider knowledge of the cultural group under study (Higginbottom et al., 2013). This approach often incorporates intensive data collection methods, such as video, photography, or audio recordings (Knoblauch, 2005), and tends to concentrate on small, well-defined sub-populations, frequently in collaboration with local field experts. While its brief and concentrated nature has attracted critique, in particular concerning potential data limitations and questions of trustworthiness (Wall, 2015), this study argues, in line with a substantial body of focused ethnography literature (see Trundle & Phillips, 2023), that it remains a valuable and generative method for producing exploratory insights into food gentrification. As both Wall (2015) and Knoblauch (2005) contend, ethnography is defined not by the quantity of data collected but by the depth of cultural understanding it yields.

Building on the central research questions and the extensive body of prior studies on Indische Buurt (see Section 2.3), this study employs focused ethnography to investigate the lived experiences of immigrant restaurant and food shop owners and employees on Javastraat, our primary case study. To engage with these gastronomic professionals, the local foodscape was surveyed with particular attention paid to national and/or regional self-representations, as expressed through cuisines, food advertisements, and devotional objects such as national flags, religious symbols, and other culturally significant imagery (see Metzger, 2017; Table 1). This approach acknowledges the strategic self-positioning of restaurants and food shops on Javastraat and has also proven effective in initiating conversations. Given the small-scale and exploratory nature of this study, the selection was further narrowed to food establishments exhibiting non-European cultural affiliations and, therefore, presumed to be particularly vulnerable to the negative impacts of food gentrification in Europe (Polat, 2020; Steigemann, 2020; Stock, 2014).

Following this initial pre-selection, all restaurants and food shops along Javastraat exhibiting non-European aesthetic codes were systematically mapped and approached by the researchers in situ during working hours. This "visceral" and sequential approach enabled the identification and engagement of potential interview partners, ultimately resulting in six semi-structured narrative interviews with immigrant gastronomic professionals (see Table 1). These interviews were crucial for capturing local perceptions and adaptation strategies that, reflecting Vigh's (2009) notion of "motion within motion" (p. 420), take center stage in the following sections. The relatively small number of interviews, as well as the inclusion of restaurant/food shop employees, reflects several refusals from restaurant/food shop owners, largely due to time constraints, as they were often absent or occupied with competing service or managerial duties. Nonetheless, including employees, who remain deeply attuned to local transformations despite often lacking formal decision-making power, proved highly insightful and enriching. Their participation introduced an important interpretive layer to the adapted framework of social navigation, expanding and deepening our analytical understanding of the diverse ways in which (immigrant) gastronomic professionals socially navigate the shifting realities of culinary work along Amsterdam's Javastraat.

The Interviews, conducted in English, were transcribed verbatim and then lightly edited for readability and clarity. Their lengths varied, reflecting the rhythms and constraints of gastronomic work within the context

of food gentrification. As a result, some conversations allowed for deeper reflections on ongoing changes and adaptive strategies, while others were more constrained in scope. To interpret the interviews, we used thematic analysis, the well-established method for identifying, organizing, and interpreting patterns or "themes" within qualitative data (Nowell et al., 2017). Valued for its flexibility, thematic analysis enables topics and codes to emerge organically, allowing room for diverse perspectives and unexpected insights. It provides an open and responsive approach to qualitative inquiry, an approach that is particularly attuned

Table 1. Overview of the interviewed gastronomic professionals and their businesses. To protect the anonymity of participants, all interviewees have been assigned pseudonyms that reflect their unique migration histories.

Cultural Affiliation	Business Description + Staff and Special Features	Interviewee + Length	Demographics	Professional Role + Qualifications	Motivation (Personal and Professional Drivers)
Turkish	Low-cost baklava shop catering to Turkish and Arab diaspora (est. 2012) One employee; owner and son also assist	Adama (M) 50 min	Born 2004 2nd generation Turkish descent, born in Amsterdam	Employee High school student	To cover living costs, feels emotionally obliged to help in the family business
Moroccan	Traditional couscous restaurant (est. 2016) 17 employees, mostly women; two female co-owners; one of two locations	Averde (F) 27 min	Born 1995 Moroccan descent	Employee Trained chef, aspiring barber	To cover living costs, feels emotionally attached to supporting the restaurant
Pakistani	Niche supermarket with trendy Asian street food bar (est. 1997) Run by owner with help from brother and brother-in-law	Bilal (M) 35 min	Born 1975 1st generation Pakistani descent	Owner Experienced shopkeeper, high school graduate	Inherited and continues the family business
Syrian	Baklava and clothing shop (est. 2023) All employees are of Syrian descent	Firas (M) 8 min	Born ~1990 1st generation Syrian descent	Owner	Driven by diaspora support, feels a moral obligation to the Syrian community
Indonesian	Upscale fusion restaurant (est. 2021) 15 employees (six full-time); one of two locations	Eka (F) 12 min	Born 1985 1st generation Indonesian descent	Employee Spokesperson, law degree	Advocacy for the Indonesian diaspora in Amsterdam
Indonesian	Mid-range restaurant with popular dishes (est. 2020) One of four branches	Sahil (M) 32 min	Born 2001 1st generation Born in Amsterdam, raised in Indonesia	Employee Accounting student	To cover living costs, seeks integration into Dutch society

Note: To protect the anonymity of participants, all interviewees have been assigned pseudonyms that reflect their unique migration histories.

to participants' lived experiences, as well as their varied views, behaviors, and practices (Clarke & Braun, 2017). This adaptability makes thematic analysis especially well-suited to exploratory research and iterative methods of data collection and interpretation, as employed in this study. In our case, it proved a productive complement to focused ethnography that facilitated the inductive development of thematic codes related to social navigation (Vigh, 2009), food gentrification, and the everyday vibrancy of gastronomic life on Javastraat. Given the relatively small number of interviews and the emergent character of the categories, we opted for manual coding rather than using specialized software such as MAXQDA.

4. Moving and Working Through the Foodscape of Amsterdam's Javastraat

Guided by scholarship from the fields of food gentrification and urban foodscape research, the following three subsections, which comprise the empirical core of this article, investigate gastronomic life on Javastraat through the lens of social navigation. In Section 4.1, we demonstrate how food gentrification generates uncertainty and a persistent sense of motion among immigrant gastronomic professionals. In Section 4.2, we consider how this uncertainty prompts strategic, finely tuned adjustments to menus and marketing practices. Then, in Section 4.3, we explore how the notion of motion itself is reappropriated by the interviewees as a guiding principle and ultimately becomes their modus operandi.

4.1. "They Will Make It Center": Inflicting Uncertainty, Installing Motion

The interviews reflect media and planning discourses about Indische Buurt and Javastraat, highlighting significant material and social changes in the area. However, they diverge from official urban renewal reports in that they offer a bleaker, more nuanced view of the effects of food gentrification. Unlike the official narrative, the immigrant restaurant/food shop owners and employees interviewed present a complex and often ambiguous picture of the change (van Eck et al., 2020). They emphasize how the atmosphere (or sense of place) in Javastraat and its surroundings has shifted under the influence of the Dutch middle class, affluent expats, and visitors. While these shifts have brought new opportunities and encounters, they have also led to losses, including the dissolution of social networks, the erosion of a familiar social environment, and deep feelings of alienation. This sense of displacement, a regular feature of (food) gentrification, is most acutely felt by minority groups and those already marginalized by discrimination or racism. This has been consistently demonstrated in research from both the US (Alkon et al., 2020) and Europe (Fiore, 2021; Polat, 2020).

Building on existing literature regarding these negative effects of (food) gentrification, an issue that remains critically relevant, especially in the face of rising right-wing sentiment in the US and Europe, this study deepens our understanding of food gentrification by focusing on the lived life during urban motion and subsequent individual countermotion situations. As previously mentioned, rather than reinforcing the conventional narrative of social disenfranchisement and marginalization, the interviews resonate more closely with Vigh's (2006, 2009) concept of "social navigation." The immigrant restaurant/food shop owners and employees interviewed did not consider gentrification a fixed endpoint or as heralding an inevitable conclusion for their businesses or livelihoods, despite the visible disappearance of many Turkish and Moroccan eateries. Instead, they described experiencing food gentrification as an ongoing, dynamic force that demands constant adjustment and repositioning. As Vigh (2009) compellingly illustrates, the process of "social navigation" requires that individuals remain attuned to shifting environments, reading and responding

to the signals of power, resources, and changing identities around them. For the gastronomic professionals on Javastraat, the high street is not a stable, predictable space but a site of continuous transformation and flux: a space where survival and success hinge on their ability to "navigate" the ever-changing social, economic, and cultural urban foodscape.

This sense of unrest and motion, evident in the interviews and palpable in the observed rhythms of the street (see Section 3), is particularly pronounced in the accounts of long-time restaurant employees like Adama and Averde, who live in or near Indische Buurt and have been embedded in Javastraat for years. Their lived experiences offer intimate insight into the intersection of food gentrification and social navigation that is the central theme of this study. Adama, a baker at a Turkish baklava shop, and Averde, an employee at a Moroccan couscous restaurant, reflect on the social and material transformations of the Javastraat, highlighting the challenges of operating in such a shifting and fluctuating environment. They emphasize how the simultaneous influx of capital and new sensibilities brought by newcomers is reshaping the street. Averde referred to these individuals as "young and rich people" (p. 5), while Adama spoke of affluent "Holland people" (pp. 7, 8). Both noted how the arrival of the Dutch middle class, particularly real estate investors, has altered the neighborhood's social and aesthetic topography. These shifts introduce new "place gestures" (Degen, 2008, p. 49) that contrast starkly with the area's previous social atmosphere and generate feelings of uncertainty, disbelief, and most notably, a profound sense of motion. For Averde, motion primarily originates from a change in dining habits, noting that "Dutch people only eat warm in the evenings" (p. 9). For Adama, uncertainty, motion, mobility, and the need to adapt to new social and spatial realities arise from the increasing visibility of LGBTQ+ flags on the street, as well as their presence in online maps and news outlets:

> The area was more like…how can I put it? A ghetto? It has really developed since then. And now there are a lot of Holland people. More than Turkish or Moroccan people. People never expected, like the flags, the LGBTQ+ flags, and so on. Nobody thought that this was even possible in this area. (Adama, p. 7)

What stands out in this context is not only that both interviewees seem to adopt and incorporate stigmatizing attitudes and discourses, such as the overly problematic notion of the "ghetto" (for further critical reflections on the term and the adoption of stigmatizing attitudes, see Göle, 2003; Wacquant, 2012), but also the way Adama and Averde make sense of gentrification, particularly in terms of the nature of local food gentrification. Contrary to expectations, they don't describe gentrification as a phenomenon of the past, despite the two waves of gentrification already experienced in the neighborhood. For them, food gentrification is very much a present reality, one that will continue to escalate and intensify in the near future. This sentiment, shared by most of the interviewees, is encapsulated in Averde's forecast. As quoted in the title of this article, she predicted that "I think that actually this part is not center yet, but they got to make it….So yeah, I think this street is really going to be a central street with more shops and will just explode even more" (Averde, p. 5). What is striking about this statement is both the anticipated change and the way Averde describes the drivers and potential developments of food gentrification. For both Averde and the other interview participants, these forces remain a distant, almost shadowy "them," a powerful but elusive presence that must be adapted to (Vigh, 2009). In this context, "them" refers to the Amsterdam municipality, the local planning council, and the new affluent residents (the gentrifying class) who now dominate the street. These institutions and individuals have become increasingly prominent in the assessments of immigrant restaurant/food shop owners and employees, yet they remain opaque and

undefined, amplifying the climate of uncertainty. Yet, as the theory of social navigation predicts, Averde, Adama, and the other gastronomic professionals on Javastraat do not stand still in the face of this uncertainty and perceived socio-material motion. They move and adapt in dynamic environments, reading and responding to the bodies and people they encounter—the White Dutch middle-class residents, expats, affluent visitors, and, of course, the foodies.

4.2. Dialing Up and Dialing Down Sweetness: Anticipating Food Gentrification

The influx of White Dutch middle-class residents, expats, and affluent visitors has dramatically transformed housing prices, infrastructure, and the overall atmosphere of Javastraat and Indische Buurt, introducing new demographics, aesthetics, and shifting food demands. In turn, this demographic shift has reshaped the local food scene, compelling gastronomic professionals to continuously adapt their offerings. Our interviews indicate how the local immigrant food scene navigates the fluctuating "seascape" of food and taste (Vigh, 2009, p. 429) by becoming more attuned to the flavors, textures, and culinary practices favored by wealthier, health-conscious (foodie) patrons. In this context, food becomes a tool of negotiation that is constantly being redefined to meet evolving desires. These negotiations are particularly evident in how "ethnic" and "immigrant" foods are altered to meet the expectations of more affluent customers in a process that often generates tension with the cultural norms and practices of the professionals who prepare them. The interviews reveal the complexities of navigating shifting tastes and cultural identities, highlighting how the "gentrification of food" (Sbicca, 2018, p. 6) sets the local food scene in motion. This sense of flux is expressed through feelings of alienation and was especially evident in the experiences of Sahil and Firas, two immigrant employees with pragmatic perspectives on Indische Buurt who are enacting social navigation through differing interpretations of "sweetness."

Sahil, a young Indonesian employee at an Indonesian restaurant, explains that he and his colleagues intentionally sweeten the Indonesian dishes they serve, despite their personal dislike for the sweetness and its alienating effect on their Indonesian peers. They have made this adjustment because Dutch middle-class patrons—now their primary audience—are accustomed to the sweeter version of Indonesian food that is found in supermarkets like Albert Heijn. However, this process also carries both economic and cultural implications. Sahil points out that sugar is scarce and expensive in Indonesia, making it less common in traditional cooking, while in the Netherlands, sugar is cheap, making it a viable option for adaptation. He explains:

> In Indonesia, we prefer spicy food, and sugar is expensive, so we don't use much. But here, sugar is cheap, and Dutch people like it sweet. When I first came, I thought, "This food is too sweet and not spicy!" (Sahil, p. 3)

For Sahil, sweetening the dishes is not merely about catering to Dutch tastes; it is also about making Indonesian cuisine legible within a Dutch culinary context—an act of cultural assimilation mediated through food. This process of adaptation involves linguistic and cultural domestication, where terms like "spicy rice" or "curry rice" are used to simplify and align Indonesian dishes with Dutch expectations, reducing the original complexity of the cuisine to fit a more familiar and consumable framework. In relation to the social navigation concept, one could argue that the strategy of sweetening, adopted by Sahil and his colleagues, represents a pragmatic attunement to the socially and economically dominant tastes of the gentrifying class and, thus, a means to stay afloat in the ever-changing sea of desires shaped by food gentrification.

While Sahil's strategy of sweetening dishes to suit the Dutch palate is adaptive and utilitarian, other gastronomic professionals, such as Firas, a Syrian entrepreneur who operates both a clothing store and a shop selling Syrian sweets, have taken the opposite approach. Instead of sweetening his products, Firas promotes a less sugary version of traditional Syrian sweets, particularly baklava, setting it apart from the sweeter Turkish varieties sold elsewhere. He intentionally reduces the sugar content to challenge the perception of baklava as overly sugary and unhealthy and, thus, tap into the urban middle class's growing interest in healthier, more "authentic" food options (Zukin, 2008). He explains:

> Syrian people love pistachios. We try to make it less sweet because the original food is too sweet—people from Syria like a lot of sugar. So here, we reduce the sweetness as much as possible so other people can enjoy it too. (Firas, p. 2)

Firas's approach is not just market-driven; it is also a cultural assertion. He is attempting to introduce something unique to the neighborhood, to represent Syrian culture while challenging common negative stereotypes about non-European foods and culture in Dutch society, such as "the perceived uniformity of [the] ethnic businesses in terms of their physical appeal and offer of products" (van Eck et al., 2020, p. 3308). Like Sahil's strategy, Firas's food reflects a deeper cultural negotiation and serves as both a symbol of pride and resistance. Firas describes his strategy as follows:

> I don't want to be the best. It's about complementing each other. Before I started, I noticed there was no place in the area serving Syrian food or sweets in a good way….It's something different, something no one else is doing. (Firas, p. 2)

In this, Firas illustrates the manifold ways in which immigrant restaurant/food shop owners and employees draw on their social and cultural understandings and capital to navigate the fluctuating environment of Javastraat. Thus, these accounts of gastronomic work highlight how food gentrification is met with a variety of nuanced, often emotionally charged responses and adaptive strategies of "survival." Social navigation theory sheds light on the reciprocal and often finely tuned adjustments individuals make in response to changing social environments. Yet the concept reveals even more: it highlights how social and spatial motions both arise from and are carried out by agents compelled to act amid movement and uncertainty.

4.3. Sourcing Freshness: Utilizing Motion

At the time of the interviews, the lingering effects of the Covid-19 pandemic and the emerging impact of the war in Ukraine were palpable in Javastraat. Inflation had become a major concern, exacerbated by rising prices for food ingredients and supply shortages affecting eateries, shops, and restaurants. These shifts not only increased the cost of food but also heightened the need for stability. In response, the gastronomic professionals we interviewed had developed strategies to weatherproof their businesses against these challenges that commonly involved two main approaches, sometimes used independently but often interwoven. The first strategy focused on culinary and aesthetic experimentation with a view to adapting dishes to the tastes of the new, affluent, predominantly "White clientele." This "see what sticks" approach involved trial and error to gauge current demand and future trends. The second strategy involved building alliances with more powerful local actors, such as food bloggers, planning officials, and influential food suppliers, who could provide resources and insight into future developments on the street and, thus, strengthen the restaurant's competitive edge.

In this regard, the accounts provided by Eka and Bilal stand out. Eka, a senior employee at an upscale Indonesian restaurant, also oversees two other eateries owned by a fellow Indonesian immigrant, reflecting a growing entrepreneurial network within the community. Bilal, who has had a presence on Javastraat for a long time, since 1997, initially sold exotic fruits and ingredients but recently revamped his shop, prompted by a local planning initiative, to include street food and especially curries. Despite their different backgrounds, both Eka and Bilal are experimenting with new menus, food offerings, and store layouts in an attempt to stay relevant, particularly to the dominant White, middle-class consumer base. These changes can be understood as tactical tests designed to determine what works in an increasingly competitive market. This is illustrated in Bilal's statement:

> A lot of young guys came in and bought up almost all the street. The area became very expensive. So you had to catch up with your ideas. A lot of things weren't running then. And now I have to figure out, "Hey, what do they like? Yeah, they like herbal things. They like small, small items, not big bags." So a lot of things changed. You have to go with the flow, basically. (Bilal, p. 2)

This focus on aesthetics, tastes, and atmospheres is driven by the need to create unique selling points, distinct offerings that set one shop apart from the others on Javastraat and in the surrounding areas. This strategy of differentiation helps businesses carve out a niche in a competitive market, often through specialized products, the activation of "authenticity," or alignment with emerging food trends popular among middle-class Whites and their foodie outposts, as well as affluent, culture-leaning expats. Trends like "clean eating" or "healthy hedonism" seem particularly appealing. As Bilal explains, "I am trying to focus on healthy foods, non-allergic foods. Not the regular foods that every shop is selling….There was not a big market for this, but we are still managing, we're changing" (p. 2). For Bilal, his competitive edge primarily comes from importing "exotic fruits," especially Pakistani mangos, which he promotes through social media and local food bloggers, positioning his products as healthy, special, and fresh. The true backbone of his business, however, lies in his carefully cultivated network of suppliers, a network his brother works on strengthening daily. This supply chain enables Bilal to offer "exotic freshness" all year-round while staying up-to-date on the shifting landscape of aesthetic and food trends.

Eka is using a similar strategy but with a different focus. While Sahil adapts Indonesian food to Dutch tastes, Eka promotes "authentic" Indonesian dishes, though she admits that she and her team do not use the spicier ingredients typical of traditional recipes. What sets the restaurant Eka is working for apart is the focus on seasonality. Eka explained that her team is developing summer-specific menu options to enhance the seasonal food experience for Javastraat customers. Unlike Bilal's year-round offerings, Eka is embracing seasonal changes by introducing fresh ingredients: "Because we try to refresh our menu every season, we also want to make a new menu for the summer. So, we want to make more fresh food, comfort food for summer, more like dessert, icy, something like that" (Eka, p. 4). Both Eka and Bilal are leveraging the changing dynamics of Javastraat and food gentrification to strengthen their positioning. Their constant menu adjustments have not only become a selling point; they have become a core survival strategy in an ever-evolving market through which these proprietors harness motion in the face of motion.

5. Discussion: Making Motion on Amsterdam's Javastraat

This study offers exploratory insight into the intersection of food gentrification and social navigation theory. By focusing on the voices and experiences of immigrant gastronomic professionals, it sheds light on the complex dynamics of food gentrification on Javastraat. Drawing on focused ethnographic research, the findings challenge the prevailing notion of "immobility": the idea of slow, stagnant processes of change that have long shaped Western understandings of social formations and urban life. Instead, they align with Vigh's (2006, 2009) concept of social navigation, which provides the article's central theoretical framework.

Through the metaphor of "motion within motion," social navigation rejects conventional assumptions of stability, durability, and predictability, offering an alternative vision of life as inherently fluid, unstable, and precarious. From this perspective, social environments—even in historically stable regions such as Europe and the US—are neither fixed nor foreseeable and are becoming increasingly less so. On Javastraat, the rhythms of gastronomic life mirror what Vigh (2009, p. 429) describes as a "seascape," echoing Lefebvre's (1991) metaphor of the "convergence of waves and currents" (pp. 91–92), according to which continual adaptation to shifting realities and uncertain futures becomes not the exception but the norm.

The application of social navigation theory to the study of food gentrification as explored in this article offers a valuable framework for reconceptualizing both food gentrification and the urban landscapes it reshapes. Through the lens of social navigation, food gentrification does not emerge as a linear or static process but as a force that generates movement "of figure and ground" (Vigh, 2009, p. 433). This perspective reframes food gentrification as a dynamic, co-creative process, highlighting the complex interaction between mobile social actors and the ever-changing environments they inhabit. Rather than viewing transformation as a one-way imposition on space, it emphasizes the reciprocal, ongoing relationship between people in motion and the urban spaces that shift both with and because of them.

In this context, the experiences, practices, and strategies of immigrant gastronomic professionals on Javastraat offer a compelling illustration of social navigation in action. Situated within a classed and racialized process of urban restructuring—and possessing limited power to shape the trajectory of food gentrification—these individuals are continually compelled to adapt, anticipate, and respond to changing dynamics within the urban foodscape. They engage in the complex, embodied practice of navigation: forecasting potential outcomes, negotiating present constraints, and striving to stay afloat in an increasingly volatile urban environment. Against this backdrop, the interviews analyzed in this study yield concrete—at times unexpected—insight into the guiding research questions: how immigrant gastronomic professionals perceive, move through, and adapt to the experience of food gentrification along Amsterdam's Javastraat.

Social navigation, as revealed through the focused and limited empirical material, first becomes apparent in the persistent need to act within a shifting and seemingly unpredictable urban landscape. Despite the narrow scope, the six interviews convey a vivid sense of unrest among restaurant/food shop owners and employees. These accounts highlight how food gentrification fosters a heightened awareness of social and physical transformations within the urban foodscape and deep concerns about their potentially harmful consequences. This prevailing sense of instability and change, an insight that was not anticipated at the outset of this research, is most powerfully expressed through the recurring references to "they": a powerful yet ambiguous external force perceived as poised to transform Javastraat into a central hub meeting the

demand for cosmopolitan food (see Section 4.1). This anticipation of externally driven change can be interpreted as a lived sensitivity to displacement and adaptation that positions navigation as both a practical strategy and a sensory-perceptive and experiential mode of survival.

The interviews suggest that the immigrant gastronomic professionals at the center of this exploratory study closely monitor social and material shifts both within and around their professional environments, while remaining attentive to potential future changes. This navigational practice—marked by the continuous anticipation of and response to change—is not an end in itself; rather, as the theory of social navigation predicts, it prompts deliberate, concrete, and tangible actions. Highly attuned to present developments and adept at projecting potential "food futures," the interviewed immigrant restaurant/food shop owners and employees demonstrate a capacity to devise strategies—or motions—designed to cope with, counter, or capitalize on the evolving dynamics of Javastraat. The gastronomic professionals featured in this study have actively and astutely interpreted and anticipated the preferences of incoming—and increasingly dominant—gentrifying clientele. One clear example of this navigational practice is the strategic adjustment of flavor profiles, such as modifying the sweetness of dishes, to align with shifting taste expectations (see Section 4.2). These micro-level adaptations reflect a sharp awareness of the interconnected cultural and economic forces at play, illustrating how everyday culinary decisions become part of a broader, embodied response to urban transformation.

Yet, the employed framework of focused ethnography reveals even more. Strikingly, the interviewees seem to harness motion itself as a tactic. Rather than resisting change, they actively engage with and capitalize on the dynamic flows of the urban foodscape, as marked by the shifting food trends and evolving cosmopolitan ideals surrounding sustainability, queerness, and ethical consumption, in order to remain relevant and competitive. This is exemplified by the continual revision of food offerings and menus to align with the changing desires of urban elites, expats, and foodies. The immigrant gastronomic professionals interviewed seem to have structured their businesses around this logic of motion, offering seasonally adaptive menus and forging flexible alliances with suppliers to curate novel and responsive food experiences (see Section 4.3). These strategies do more than provide a competitive edge in Javastraat's fast-paced gastronomic environment; they illustrate how these actors are not merely reacting to change but actively contributing to the high-velocity urban foodscape. In this sense, social navigation is not confined to perceiving and adapting to external pressures. Rather, it emerges as a generative force in its own right. Social navigation itself produces new forms of motion, and, with them, additional layers of complexity and uncertainty.

By bringing the experiences of immigrant gastronomic professionals to the fore, this study contributes to a more nuanced understanding of food gentrification as a site of both constraint and agency, transformation and resistance. In addition, these findings open up promising avenues for future research. For example, subsequent studies could examine how social navigation can more effectively capture the various experiences and historical contexts of immigrant communities affected by food gentrification. Furthermore, researchers might explore what we, as a society, can learn from individuals skilled in the art of social navigation in terms of ways to cope with the shifting and often uncertain boundaries of our turbulent times.

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The authors declare no conflict of interests.

LLMs Disclosure

ChatGPT was used to improve grammar and phrasing, as both authors are non-native speakers.

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