

Displacement myths

The real and presumed effects of forced relocations resulting from urban renewal

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DISPLACEMENT MYTHS

The real and presumed effects of forced relocations
resulting from urban renewal

GEDWONGEN VERHUIZINGEN: FEITEN EN FABELS

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

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ONE

DISPLACEMENT:
A WORRYING PRACTICE?

1.1 INTRODUCTION

- “ It took ages to get used to my new place; in fact, I’m still trying to adjust. I’m looking for my memories, but they’re still in my old place, and there’s no way to get them back. I still remember vividly that in the beginning, when the buildings were getting demolished, there were fences around my old block and I used to stop my car in front of them, and sit there and cry. It was part of my life for 50 years...” [Native female, widow, 83 years, Ede]
- “ The move was a blessing. I’m getting on a bit, and at some point in time you need some more rest. This move enabled me to settle in a much quieter place. In fact, I can look straight out at the sand dunes from my living room. And I only have to walk 50 or 60 metres and I’m on the beach.” [Native male, couple, 61 years, The Hague]

These quotes are striking illustrations of the possible effects of displacement, that is, the relocation of households that are displaced irrespective of their preferences and despite their having met all previous conditions of occupancy (Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008 cf. Marcuse, 1986). This dissertation describes the effects of displacement within the context of one of the most common urban renewal strategies: the replacement of relatively inexpensive and often social-rented dwellings, by more expensive rental and owner-occupied dwellings.

In recent decades, the mixing of housing types has been a common practice in American and Western European cities. The idea is that a more varied housing stock will attract a more mixed population, and thus alleviate problems related to concentrations of low-income residents, such as physical deterioration, low levels of safety and liveability, and weak social cohesion (Andersen, 2002; Dekker & Van Kempen, 2004; Swaroop & Morenoff, 2006; Wassenberg, 2004). In addition, the residents¹ who make way for more affluent residents will be offered a unique chance to escape from highly distressed areas and climb the social ladder (Bolt et al., 2009; Kearns & Mason, 2007). Their relocation to more prosperous neighbourhoods will also be beneficial because it helps to prevent the reconcentration of low-income residents and the associated problems in other neighbourhoods.

However, the effectiveness of mixing policies is hotly debated by tenants and their associations, journalists, community activists, policymakers and scholars. In response to this, many scientific studies have examined whether mixing policies indeed have the desired effects in the targeted areas (e.g., Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Bond et al., 2011; Brooks et al., 2005; Chaskin & Joseph, 2011; Kearns &

¹ Because within the context of this research all those who were forced to move are tenants, they are referred to interchangeably as ‘displaced residents’ and ‘displaced tenants’.

Mason, 2007; Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008; Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen, 2003). Although their number has increased in recent years, far fewer studies have investigated the effects of forced relocations (e.g. Bolt et al., 2009; Chaskin et al., 2012; Goetz, 2010; Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008; Kleit & Manzo, 2006; Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Smith, 2002). This dissertation contributes to filling this gap.

1.2 FOUR CONCERNS ABOUT DISPLACEMENT

There are major concerns about forcibly relocating residents in order to create more mixed neighbourhoods. It is feared that forced relocations will not enable residents to move out of distressed areas and improve their housing situation, and that their displacement will result in negative outcomes. This dissertation provides more insight into the validity of four of the most common and persistent concerns about displacement:

- 1 Displaced tenants have few relocation alternatives.
- 2 Displaced tenants move to other socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods because of their restrictions.
- 3 Displaced tenants are dissatisfied with their relocation outcomes.
- 4 Residents experience neighbourhood decline when many displaced tenants move into their neighbourhood.

Although these concerns are present in many countries, this dissertation is based primarily on data collected in the Netherlands. As the Netherlands is one of the Western European countries in which mixing strategies have been implemented on a relatively large scale, the effects of mixing should be evident there. The data were collected in the cities of Breda, The Hague, Ede, Groningen and Rotterdam. These cities differ in terms of the size of the social-rented housing sector, the allocation of social-rented dwellings and the scale of renewal policies.

● ● ● ● ● 1.2.1 DISPLACED TENANTS HAVE FEW RELOCATION ALTERNATIVES

THE ARGUMENT

Displaced residents not only have no say in whether to move in the first place, but also have few relocation alternatives. First, their relatively low incomes (on average, they are lower than those of regular residents in the social-housing sector) restrict their relocation options to affordable dwellings (Bolt et al., 2009; Brooks et al., 2005; Pendall, 2000). Various, primarily American studies have stressed that the supply of these dwellings can be limited (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Manzo et al., 2008; Smith, 2002). Consequently, tenants would be more concerned about

finding a dwelling in a neighbourhood that meets their basic safety standards, than about finding a dwelling in a neighbourhood that offered them more economic opportunities, which is one of the aims of mixing policies. Relocated residents' alternatives are further restricted because they have to move before a certain date. As the relocation deadline approaches, residents become increasingly likely to accept whatever they are offered, rather than only housing that is in line with their preferences (Smith, 2002). Finally, displaced tenants' choices can be constrained by housing associations' relocation counsellors: since the latter's main goal is to relocate as many tenants as soon as possible, they have sometimes pushed tenants to opt for a suboptimal housing situation (Chaskin & Joseph, 2011).

THE COUNTERARGUMENT

Displaced residents may have a larger say in their relocation process than is often assumed. Forced moves can not only limit but also increase their relocation alternatives (Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008). They may profit from the measures that are implemented to compensate for their forced relocation. However, the generosity of such compensation measures varies widely across countries. In the Netherlands, compensation regulations are relatively generous. They include a replacement dwelling in the social-rented sector that is comparable in size, type and tenure to the old dwelling, an allowance to cover relocation expenses and help from the housing association in finding new housing. The position of Dutch displaced residents is also relatively strong because the social-rented housing sector is much bigger than it is in many other countries. For example, in the five Dutch cities that are central to this dissertation, almost one third of the housing stock consists of social-rented dwellings.

Although Dutch displaced tenants may be particularly likely to have some degree of freedom of choice during their relocation process, also in the United States – a country that is known for its meagre compensation measures – tenants have been found to be active agents who make various decisions during their relocation process (Briggs et al., 2010; Manzo et al., 2008; Smith, 2002). Hence, even in tight circumstances, displaced residents seem to have more choice than is often assumed.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THIS DISSERTATION

Because displaced tenants are generally perceived to have very little room to manoeuvre within the institutional and housing market context of their forced relocation, studies have rarely paid attention to their choice process. However, the few studies that did focus on this process have indicated that displaced residents do make conscious choices (Briggs et al., 2010; Manzo et al., 2008; Smith, 2002). If this is true, it is essential to understand the behaviour of displaced residents during their relocation process in order to grasp their relocation outcomes.

This dissertation contributes in this respect by answering in Chapter 2 the following question:

How do the regulations concerning the allocation of social-rented dwellings to Dutch displaced tenants affect their choice strategies?

The chapter describes the choice strategies of Dutch displaced residents in two contexts: 1) when they had to conduct their own search and 2) when they were offered dwellings by their housing association. Residents who had to conduct their own search had to carry a larger responsibility, but had more potential relocation alternatives. The chapter shows whether and, if so, how these differences (which can also be found in and across other countries) affected the choice strategies of displaced tenants. This provides more insight into the influence of institutional arrangements on the behaviour of displaced tenants during their relocation process.

● ● ● ● ● 1.2.2 DISPLACED TENANTS MOVE TO OTHER SOCIOECONOMICALLY DISADVANTAGED NEIGHBOURHOODS BECAUSE OF THEIR RESTRICTIONS

THE ARGUMENT

There are great concerns that displaced residents make sideway moves; that is, that they move from one socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhood to another socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhood. This would mean that two of the goals of mixing policies – namely to reduce concentrations of low-income households and to improve residents' chances of achieving social mobility – do not get realised. Spatial concentrations of poor residents would merely be replaced, and residents would not benefit from the lack of negative neighbourhood effects in more prosperous neighbourhoods and the potential help that they could receive from their new neighbours to climb the social ladder. These concerns are reinforced by the results of previous research. Displaced tenants' new neighbourhoods have also been found to be characterised by a low average income, high poverty and unemployment rates, welfare dependency and low average education (Hartung & Henig, 1997; Kingsley et al., 2003; Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Pendall, 2000).

The reasons why displaced tenants move to such neighbourhoods were generally not examined by previous studies. However, it is often suggested that displaced residents move to socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods because they have no alternative (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Smith, 2002). They can only afford cheap dwellings, and these dwellings are concentrated in certain neighbourhoods, which attract many other low-income residents. Besides, certain relocation regulations also draw displaced residents towards socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods. For example, residents in the US Housing Choice Voucher (HCV)

programme, who receive a voucher to get a discount on privately rented properties, are sometimes not accepted by landlords. Landlords are allowed to reject HCV residents, which can reduce considerably the range of dwellings and neighbourhoods from which they can choose (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004).

THE COUNTERARGUMENT

Although displaced tenants have limited relocation options, they may still have relocation alternatives in more prosperous neighbourhoods. Certain institutional arrangements, such as the American HCV programme, may sometimes enable residents to move to more prosperous neighbourhoods: landlords tend to disregard the risk of accepting tenants with vouchers when the real estate market is such that they can make more money by accepting these tenants (Turner et al., 2000). Besides, when countries and cities are characterised by relatively large shares of affordable dwellings, it is likely that these dwellings can also be found in somewhat more prosperous neighbourhoods, which increases displaced tenants' chances of moving to such neighbourhoods. The Netherlands stands out in this respect: it is known for its high quality, large and widespread social-rented housing stock.

Furthermore, although displaced tenants may move to socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods because of their constraints, they may also do so in order to realise their preferences. It has been argued, for instance, that residents feel more at home among residents from similar backgrounds (Ioannides & Zabel, 2008). Since displaced residents often have a low socioeconomic position this could mean they would feel more at home in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods. In addition, relocated tenants have sometimes expressed the desire to move to a new home in their old socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhood in order to remain in a familiar social environment (Manzo et al., 2008; Venkatesh & Celimli, 2004). When tenants move to socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods because they want to and not because they have no alternative, these moves can be perceived in a somewhat more positive light, as then they reflect not the restrictions but the preferences of displaced residents.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THIS DISSERTATION

It is asserted that displaced tenants move to socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods because they have no alternative. Although various arguments can be put forward to reject this reasoning, very few studies have examined its validity. This dissertation provides more clarity on this matter.

First, Chapter 3 shows that Dutch displaced tenants – who are relatively less constrained than tenants in many other countries – also move to socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods. To be more precise, the chapter answers the following two questions:

How can neighbourhoods to which Dutch displaced households move be characterised? And how do the neighbourhoods to which many displaced households move, differ from their previous neighbourhoods?

Chapter 4 explains the above finding by answering the following question:

Why do displaced residents move to socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods?

To do so, the chapter focuses on two possible explanations: 1) even Dutch displaced residents are so constrained that they have no choice but to move to socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods, or 2) they move to socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods in order to realise their preferences.

● ● ● ● ● 1.2.3 DISPLACED TENANTS ARE DISSATISFIED WITH THEIR RELOCATION OUTCOMES

THE ARGUMENT

The potential harmful effects of forced relocations on residents have often been underscored. Many scholars take a highly critical stance towards urban renewal, as they see it as a form of state-led gentrification in which low-income residents are purposefully displaced (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Lees, 2008; Lees, 2011) and thus victimized. It is also argued that residents suffer from their relocation, because they become confronted with several pressing problems: they need to find new dwellings within a limited period of time, they might have to pay higher rents, and they are forced to leave a familiar environment and adapt to a new one (Manzo et al., 2008). Consequently, relocated residents would be more likely to end up in a dissatisfactory housing situation than to benefit from their forced relocation, which is one of the aims of mixing policies.

Several studies have indeed found that displaced tenants are dissatisfied with their new housing situation (Goetz, 2002; Oakley & Burchfield, 2009). The most cited reason for this is that forced relocations disrupt their social environment. Various studies have stressed that locally based social networks are more important for low-income households, like displaced households, and that place attachment is stronger among them (Fried, 2000; Trudeau, 2006). Such networks provide them with stability and social support. Displaced residents have also been found to become more conscious of the value of their local social networks after they were notified about their impending forced relocation (Venkatesh & Celimli, 2004). It made them realise that the social networks that they had always taken for granted, are valuable assets that they do not want to lose. Displaced residents who relied on locally based social networks have indeed been found to suffer from their relocation (Clampet-Lundquist, 2007; Greenbaum et al., 2008; Manzo et al., 2008).

THE COUNTERARGUMENT

Previous studies primarily argue that displaced tenants are the victims of mixing policies because their social environment becomes disrupted. However, it can be questioned whether this argument is always valid. First, some tenants might be able to maintain their social environment by moving to new homes that are only a short distance from their old ones. Second, not all displaced residents will have had strong bonds with their old home and the old neighbourhood and its residents. This situation is probably quite common, since the weak social cohesion in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods is one of the problems that mixing policies are supposed to solve (Arthurson, 2002; Tunstall, 2003; Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). It is therefore unlikely that forced relocations will always result in the disruption of their social environment. Finally, the breaking of social networks is not by definition negative. For example, tenants may want to cut their social ties with neighbours who require too much support (Briggs et al., 2010; Smith, 2002).

In addition, displaced residents' satisfaction with their new housing situation will depend not only on the changes in their social environment, but also on the many other negative or positive changes. For instance, they are quite likely to move to better maintained dwellings, which is something that may be expected to increase their dwelling satisfaction (Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008). Previous studies have also shown that residents' neighbourhood evaluations depend both on the social characteristics of their neighbourhood, and on such other characteristics as the population composition, safety, and the presence of such facilities as shops and public transport (Basolo & Strong, 2002; Feijten & Van Ham, 2009; Mohan & Twigg, 2007; Parkes et al., 2002). Hence, it can only be judged whether displaced tenants are dissatisfied by taking into account the various changes they experience in their housing situation.

Finally, the context in which residents are relocated is also likely to influence their perceived relocation outcomes. Important contextual factors include the number and location of affordable dwellings as well as the allocation of these dwellings. When the relocation context offers displaced tenants relatively many alternatives to satisfy their preferences, as is the case in the Netherlands, they may be less likely to be dissatisfied after their relocation.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THIS DISSERTATION

Although displaced tenants are often perceived as the victims of urban renewal, there are reasons to doubt that this is true. Only a few studies have analysed the ways in which displaced residents experience their new housing situation, and their results have been mixed (Goetz, 2002; Kleinhans, 2003; Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Varady & Walker, 2000). It would therefore be useful to gain an insight into the determinants of displaced tenants' housing satisfaction. However, few studies have examined why certain types of displaced residents are more satisfied with

their housing situation than others (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2002; Doff & Kleinhans, 2011). Therefore, Chapter 5 answers the question:

How satisfied are displaced residents with their housing situation after their forced move, and what factors are responsible for the extent to which they are satisfied with their new housing situation?

The chapter provides insight into the way displaced tenants' housing satisfaction has altered, as well as the factors that are at the heart of their current housing satisfaction. The influence of the social environment is, of course, taken into consideration in this analysis. One of the key findings is that, in contrast to what is often feared, most Dutch displaced residents are not less but more satisfied with their new neighbourhood.

Chapter 5 presents several explanations for this surprisingly positive outcome. Another important explanation is presented in Chapter 6, which provides an analysis of the extent to which the positive neighbourhood evaluations of Dutch displaced tenants can be explained by the relatively unconstrained housing context in which they had to conduct their housing search. To this end, the chapter compares the post-relocation neighbourhood satisfaction of relatively unconstrained Dutch and more constrained French displaced tenants. This comparison is used to answer the following questions:

To what extent are less constrained displaced tenants more satisfied with their new neighbourhood than more constrained displaced tenants? And for what reasons?

● ● ● ● ● 1.2.4 RESIDENTS EXPERIENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD DECLINE WHEN MANY DISPLACED TENANTS MOVE INTO THEIR NEIGHBOURHOOD

THE ARGUMENT

In the public debate, different stakeholders have stressed the possibility that residents who are forced to relocate cause problems in their new (or 'host') neighbourhoods. Residents of host neighbourhoods fear that the inflow of displaced tenants will lead to a decrease in property prices and damage the neighbourhood's social fabric. They therefore often express 'not in my backyard' (NIMBY) sentiments towards the arrival of displaced tenants. The concerns of these residents have sometimes also been adopted by the media, especially in the United States (Briggs & Dreier, 2008; Rosin, 2008). Concerns are also voiced in policy debates that deconcentration efforts will not solve but merely replace concentrations of low-income residents.

Numerous studies have shown that certain neighbourhoods received a disproportionately large share of displaced tenants (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Goetz, 2002; Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Varady et al., 2001). However, few studies have

examined whether these neighbourhoods suffered from the inflow of displaced residents in terms of objective neighbourhood decline, such as increasing crime rates and falling property prices (Galster et al., 1999; Kleinhans & Varady, 2011; Lee et al., 1999; Nguyen, 2005; Santiago et al., 2001). Although these studies did not always find effects, some small negative impacts were found. Furthermore, the few pioneer studies that investigated the effects of the inflow of displaced tenants on the experiences of residents of host neighbourhoods found some support for the presence of such effects (Duke, 2010; Greenbaum et al., 2008). Duke (2010) indicated that most residents of more prosperous neighbourhoods disliked the idea that people on low incomes had been given the opportunity to move into their neighbourhoods. Furthermore, Greenbaum and colleagues (2008) found that the original residents and the new residents from relocation sites did not get along very well. In particular, tensions emerged between white home-owners and relocated African-American adolescents.

THE COUNTERARGUMENT

The gravity of the concern that many host neighbourhoods will suffer from the inflow of displaced tenants is perhaps exaggerated. To start with, the number of neighbourhoods that have been found to experience a large inflow of displaced residents is small (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Kingsley et al., 2003; Slob et al., 2008). Therefore, the risk that the inflow of displaced residents will have negative effects appears to be limited to only a few neighbourhoods. Besides, it can be asked whether the residents of host neighbourhoods know which newcomers are regular movers and which are forced movers. As such, it can also be asked whether they will experience different effects from the inflow of displaced rather than of regular residents.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THIS DISSERTATION

While there are serious concerns about the negative effects displaced tenants might have on their hosting neighbourhoods, only a few studies have investigated these effects. Very few studies have focused on the perceptions of the residents of host neighbourhoods. As such, only very little insight has been gained into the relation between the inflow of displaced tenants and the experiences of the original residents. In order to contribute to our understanding of this relation, Chapter 7 answers the question:

Do residents experience certain types of neighbourhood decline when many displaced tenants move into their neighbourhood and, if so, why?

This question is answered on the basis of a case study in Rotterdam, the Dutch city in which relatively most residents have been displaced. The experiences of residents of a neighbourhood where many displaced tenants had settled were com-

pared with those of residents of neighbourhoods where only few displaced tenants had settled, in order to determine whether the trends the former perceived were due to the inflow of displaced tenants.

1.3 RESEARCH DATA

Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected² and analysed for the research upon which this dissertation is founded. Such a mixed methods approach was useful, because the quantitative data provided the opportunity to test different hypotheses about the outcomes of displacement, while the qualitative data made it possible to obtain a more thorough understanding of the processes and reasons underlying these outcomes.

To analyse the effects of forced relocations on displaced residents, three different datasets were collected. First, relocation matrices indicating from which and to which neighbourhoods displaced residents had moved, were gathered in Breda, Ede and Rotterdam. In combination with existing data on neighbourhood characteristics obtained from the Netherlands' national statistics office (CBS), these matrices were used to determine the socioeconomic characteristics of displaced tenants' new neighbourhoods (Chapter 3). Second, a survey was conducted among displaced households in Breda, The Hague, Ede, Groningen and Rotterdam, resulting in 868 correctly completed questionnaires. This survey focused on the changes displaced tenants had experienced with respect to their new dwelling and their new neighbourhood. Third, a subset of the survey respondents were approached for qualitative follow-up interviews about their choice process. These telephonic interviews were conducted with 144 displaced residents and lasted around 20 minutes. These last two datasets are used to show how the displaced tenants experienced their relocation process and behaved during it (Chapter 2), why they moved to socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Chapter 4), why they are satisfied or dissatisfied with their new neighbourhood (Chapter 5), and to what degree their satisfaction is related to the housing market constraints they were facing (Chapter 6). In order to compare the influence of different housing market contexts on displaced tenants' housing satisfaction, Chapter 6 also makes use of interviews conducted with 48 French displaced tenants.

As mentioned, a case study was conducted in Rotterdam in order to gain an insight into the experiences of residents living in neighbourhoods where many displaced residents had settled. First, a survey on perceived neighbourhood change was carried out among residents of a host neighbourhood where relatively many displaced

2 The data in this dissertation are part of the data collection in the 'Spillover effects of urban renewal' research project implemented by the Nicis Institute, Corpovenista, Utrecht University, TU Delft and the municipalities of Breda, Ede, Groningen, Rotterdam and The Hague.

tenants had settled, and among the residents of a control neighbourhood with a similar population and similar housing characteristics where only a few displaced tenants had settled (n=245). The case study also included a small number of qualitative follow-up interviews with residents of the host neighbourhood, and a focus group meeting with public sector employees. The latter was organised in order to hear about the trends they had observed in the host neighbourhood. All of these data were used to gain an insight into the experiences of residents in host neighbourhoods (Chapter 7).

1.4 STRUCTURE OF THIS DISSERTATION

Chapter 2 focuses on the ways in which displaced residents experience and behave during their relocation process. Thereafter, the focus is on the outcomes of this process. First, on the kind of neighbourhoods in which the displaced tenants settled (Chapter 3) and on the reasons they settled in these neighbourhoods (Chapter 4). Then, on their satisfaction with their new housing situation as well as the determinants of this satisfaction (Chapters 5 & 6). Thereupon, the focus shifts from the experiences of displaced residents to the experiences of residents who live in neighbourhoods where many displaced tenants have settled (Chapter 7). Finally (in Chapter 8), this dissertation returns to the four concerns presented in this introduction and draws conclusions about their validity: are they facts or myths?

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TWO

CHOICE WITHIN LIMITS

HOW THE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT OF FORCED
RELOCATION AFFECTS TENANTS' HOUSING SEARCHES
AND CHOICE STRATEGIES

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ABSTRACT

Whether renewal-induced relocations have a positive or a negative impact on displaced tenants is hotly debated on both sides of the Atlantic. In response, scientists have examined the outcomes of forced relocations and shown that they can be both negative and positive. However, the choice processes and strategies underlying these mixed outcomes have received much less attention in academia. We therefore examined how the institutional context of forced relocation affects displaced tenants' choice processes and strategies. The results of a qualitative analysis of interviews with 144 displaced tenants from five Dutch cities show that they can be considered active agents because they adopt different choice strategies. Nevertheless, the choice strategies and experienced freedom of choice differed between tenants who were confronted with different relocation regulations. The limits imposed by and the opportunities of institutional contexts steer the choice processes and strategies of displaced tenants, but are by no means deterministic.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, many US and European cities have undergone substantial neighbourhood renewal programmes aimed at improving the prospects of deprived neighbourhoods and their residents (e.g. Andersson & Musterd, 2005; Popkin et al., 2004). Until quite recently, thousands of Dutch social tenants were forcibly relocated every year from housing that was slated for demolition. Irrespective of what they wanted, they had to move. This form of displacement is an essential part of Dutch urban restructuring policy in post-war neighbourhoods (see e.g. Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008; Kleinhans & Varady, 2011). As the majority of the replacement housing units are more expensive rental or owner-occupied units, many of the displaced tenants have to find somewhere else to live.

The relocation process of displaced tenants is quite different from that of regular house-seekers in the social-rented sector. While the initial trigger is a top-down force – a pending eviction notice from the housing association (HA) – legal compensatory mechanisms such as the priority status may strongly favour their position on the housing market above regular, non-urgent house-seekers. In addition, the regulations that apply to the compensation mechanisms also affect displaced tenants' choice processes and decisions.

Whether the specific situation of displaced tenants affects their housing search in a primarily positive or negative way is much debated in both the USA and many European countries. Previous studies on forced relocation mainly focused on the outcomes of the relocation process defined in terms of, for example, housing and neighbourhood quality (compared to the pre-relocation situation), satisfaction, social ties and utility costs. The results of these studies are mixed: both positive and negative relocation outcomes have been found (e.g. Goetz, 2002; Kleinhans, 2003; Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Varady & Walker, 2000).

However, the choice processes underlying displaced tenants' relocation outcomes as well as their personal experiences of these processes are still under-examined (see Bolt et al., 2009, p. 515; Clampet-Lundquist, 2004, p. 422; Joseph & Chaskin, 2012, p. 380; Kleit & Galvez, 2011, p. 378). To date, most studies have focused on relocation outcomes and used quantitative techniques with panel data. Research that focussed on the relocation process itself is predominantly qualitative, small scale and mostly limited to tenants' experiences with information, counselling and communication from their HA. Hence, both types of studies fail to properly address complex trade-offs made by residents in certain institutional contexts. Finally, some research posits a one-sided image of displaced tenants as victims with little room to manoeuvre within the institutional and housing market context of relocation. Several studies, however, provide indications that this perception is obsolete, or at least incomplete. Even in very constraining circumstances, displaced tenants have been found to be active agents who make different

decisions in their relocation process (Briggs et al., 2010; Manzo et al., 2008; Smith, 2002). Thus, while the institutional context does shape their trade-offs and decisions, it is not clear from the outset how this unfolds in detail.

Therefore, this chapter aims to reveal how the specific context and regulations of forced relocation in Dutch urban restructuring affect displaced tenants' choice processes and strategies. Here, context and regulations refer to the availability of social-rented housing and the formal regulations attached to its allocation to displaced tenants. Specific attention is paid to the influence of two different institutional contexts with which Dutch displaced tenants are generally confronted: the context in which they are required to look for alternatives themselves, and the context in which they have to choose between different options that are directly offered by their HAs.

While tenants who are required to apply for properties themselves are allowed to choose from all available properties for which they are eligible (see Section 2.3.1), those who are offered homes by their HAs generally have to pick one of (at most) three consecutive offers. Thus, both the number of potential alternatives and the tenants' responsibility are greater when they are required to conduct their own search. These differences are likely to shape displaced tenants' choice processes and strategies. They may also affect the degree to which tenants feel in control, free to choose, and guided in their choice process. It is of key importance to get insight in these various influences to understand how relocation processes can best be organised. That is why this chapter answers the following question:

How do the regulations concerning the allocation of social-rented dwellings to Dutch displaced tenants affect their choice strategies?

To answer this question, we drew from a Dutch dataset of 144 in-depth interviews with displaced tenants in five cities: Breda, The Hague, Ede, Groningen and Rotterdam. The interviews focussed on the respondents' perceived opportunities and constraints, details of their choice processes and decisions.

2.2 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Many residential moves can be related to events in life course trajectories, such as changes in household composition or socioeconomic situation (education, income, job), or in residents' local environments (e.g. Clark et al., 2006; Mulder & Hooimeijer, 1999). An important trigger is an increase in residential stress due to a mismatch between a household's residential needs and preferences and the characteristics of its current housing and neighbourhood (e.g. Lu, 1998; Speare et al., 1975).

Traditional models of residential mobility often presuppose that a certain adjustment will occur if satisfaction with the housing situation falls below a certain level or threshold value. Popp's theoretical approach (1976) was one of the first to explicitly incorporate various involuntary moving reasons, such as fire, divorce, demolition or a sudden decrease in income. He also rightly acknowledged that households can react in various ways to this external trigger. His approach is furthermore relevant in its recognition that households in buildings slated for demolition may not always have to find alternative housing themselves, but may be offered a new home by a housing provider. Moreover, Popp also pointed out that people may not actually experience a forced move as such, because they already have a strong desire to move (*ibid.*, p. 302-304).

Although Popp raised very relevant issues in the context of forced relocation, his approach may be critiqued because the word 'choice' is somewhat misleading in relation to forced relocations (Goetz, 2002, 2003): the initial decision to move is not made by households themselves but by the owner of the building, usually an HA, a social housing landlord or a public housing authority. Thus, the choice of a new home is tied to top-down pressure to relocate. However, Popp's notion that relocation resulting from the impending demolition of one's building may not be experienced as an involuntary matter has been confirmed. Residents who had intended to move before they received an eviction notice ahead of the planned demolition of their homes may react different than residents who had no intention to leave (Kleinhans, 2003).

Like regular movers, forced movers have to deal with certain opportunities and constraints on the housing market, taking into account their own resources, preferences and restrictions (Joseph & Chaskin, 2012; Kleit & Galvez, 2011; Mulder & Hooimeijer, 1999). How this influences their choice process is unclear. As mentioned, through the dominance of quantitative research on housing mobility, including forced relocation, "we tend to know quite a bit about outcomes and precious little about process" (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004, p. 422). In the remainder of this section, we review evidence from the few qualitative studies that have looked at displaced tenants' experiences of the choice process.

In their housing search, displaced tenants have been found to strive to satisfy various preferences. According to Joseph and Chaskin (2012, p. 381), "The most consistent findings from existing research on involuntary relocation are that public housing residents' choices from among their relocation options are driven strongly by attachment to place and attachment to neighbors" (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Gibson 2007; Kleit & Galvez 2011; Kleit & Manzo 2004; Manzo et al., 2008; Vale, 1997; Venkatesh, 2002). Other place-based factors also play an important role in the process of choosing a new location. The most important factors are improved neighbourhood quality and safety, and the quality of schools, shopping facilities and transport (Clampet-Lundquist 2004; Comey, 2007; Gibson, 2007; Kleit & Manzo, 2004).

However, satisfying certain preferences has to be accomplished within overriding constraints that are beyond tenants' sphere of influence. Time constraints and the limited availability of affordable housing can create a situation in which tenants are more concerned about finding an acceptable unit in a neighbourhood that meets their minimum community standards for safety and basic amenities, than about moving to a neighbourhood that might offer improved amenities and economic opportunity (Manzo et al., 2008; Smith, 2002; Turner et al., 2000). Relocates have to explore their options and choose a unit within a limited period of time (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Smith, 2002; Venkatesh, 2002). It was found stressful to find these options when "in many areas an already inadequate supply of affordable housing lessened availability" (Smith, 2002, p. 21). The 'ticking clock' was also found to be a source of stress: "the longer a person searched without satisfactory results, the more nervous they became and the more willing they were to settle for any available unit" (ibid., p. 23). Furthermore, the flood of displaced tenants onto the market at the same time increased the competition for units. Some Dutch qualitative studies showed that several displaced tenants had accepted the first real option, fearing competition from other displaced tenants (Kleinhans, 2003; Posthumus et al., 2013; Van der Zwaard & De Wilde, 2008). They had decided to abandon their preferences because they feared losing out to other displaced tenants and ending up homeless.

Cole and Flint (2007) suggested that displaced tenants also limit their own options beyond constraints imposed by institutional factors. They found that "many residents have a strong desire for very local moves, and often confine the locations they will consider being relocated in to very narrowly defined areas adjacent to their existing neighbourhoods which are subject to clearance" (ibid. p. 19). Thus, limited housing availability may sometimes be more a function of search area than of actual availability of vacant units. Yet the simultaneous regeneration of several areas that are close to each other increases the difficulty of offering enough choice to everyone who needs to be relocated. Focus group research in Glasgow revealed:

“ ... how complicated the issue of choice is within a clearance situation: several participants said they had felt 'forced' to accept the house they were now in, for fear of not getting a better offer, because they felt under pressure to make a decision, and through not having several alternatives to consider simultaneously.” (GoWell, 2011, p. 37)

Displaced tenants' relocation choices have also been found to be strongly mediated by the relocation staff of housing authorities. With reference to Comey (2007) and Goetz (2003), Joseph and Chaskin (2012, p. 382) reported "evidence of pressure from relocation staff for residents to select a relocation destination from

among readily available options, rather than more fully exploring possibilities throughout the metropolitan area”.

2.3 SPECIFIC INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT OF FORCED RELOCATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

Since Dutch displaced tenants have a lower average income than other Dutch tenants in the social-rented sector (Bolt et al., 2009), they generally have to move to another social-rented property. To understand their relocation processes and choice strategies, it is therefore crucial to take into account the allocation and availability of social-rented housing.

• • • • • 2.3.1 ALLOCATION OF SOCIAL-RENTED HOUSING

Although allocation policies are framed differently across cities in the Netherlands (for a full overview, see Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008; Van Daalen & Van der Land, 2008), displaced tenants are legally entitled to various forms of compensation: another property comparable in size, type and tenure; a reasonable allowance to cover their relocation expenses; and additional assistance from the HA, such as help with their search for suitable housing. HAs are allowed to relocate tenants only if these requirements are met.

The most common allocation policy in the Netherlands is the choice-based letting system, or the ‘Delft model’ (Kullberg, 2002). This model, which is implemented in four of our five research cities (The Hague, Ede, Groningen, Rotterdam), requires house-seekers to actively respond to weekly/biweekly listings of vacant social housing units. To give displaced tenants a head start, they are given priority over regular house-seekers in the local social housing sector. In contrast to regular house-seekers, displaced tenants do not need to have been on the waiting list for the longest to obtain a new home, as they have priority status. However, they still have to meet the eligibility criteria, which usually concern household size, age and income. In addition, their priority status is generally valid only for a certain time and for specific types of housing. If several house-seekers with priority status apply for the same property, it is allocated to the applicant whose priority status certificate has been extended or expires the soonest.

The only city that does not use choice-based letting is Breda, which employs an ‘option model’³. In this model, households that have to move can indicate to what type of social-rented housing (number of rooms etc.) and to which neighbourhood they want to move. There are no restrictions imposed on their preferences. The HA will then offer a property that matches the options indicated as soon as one

3 Housing associations in Breda have recently switched from the option model to a choice-based letting system. Our data were gathered while the option model was still in use.

becomes available. Whereas tenants displaced from buildings that are due to be demolished are always prioritized over regular house-seekers, if they turn down three properties in a row they lose their priority status.

Although Breda is the only city to use the option model to allocate its social-rented housing, the other four cities sometimes use direct mediation. That is, they allocate housing to tenants who have not been able to find a new home within the allowed search period, and to tenants who are expected to experience difficulties in finding one themselves (e.g. elderly people). Tenants who are subject to direct mediation are offered, like tenants who are subject to the option model, a limited number of consecutive offers (usually three). As such, their institutional search context is comparable to that of tenants who are subject to the option model.

● ● ● ● ● 2.3.2 AVAILABILITY OF SOCIAL-RENTED HOUSING

The Netherlands has a relatively large share of social-rented housing. In the five cities under discussion, on average 36.2% (CBS, 2010) of housing units are part of the social-rented stock. As a result, the number of units available to displaced tenants is larger than in many other countries. However, this does not mean that Dutch displaced tenants do not experience any constraints. Social-rented housing units are not evenly distributed over neighbourhoods. The turnover rate of such units also differs considerably between neighbourhoods. Moreover, urban restructuring has already led to a much tighter balance between affordable rental housing and the primary target group in both Breda and The Hague (Dol & Kleinhans, 2012). This means that all vacant properties are in strong demand from both regular house-seekers and tenants who are facing relocation.

2.4 DATA AND METHODS

Our dataset comprised 144 in-depth interviews with displaced tenants in Rotterdam, The Hague, Breda, Groningen and Ede. Rotterdam and The Hague are the second and the third largest city in the Netherlands, respectively. The other three are mid-sized cities.

The respondents were recruited through a survey among a much larger group of displaced tenants in these cities (for an overview, see Posthumus et al., 2012). The survey was primarily aimed at collecting data on the previous and current homes and neighbourhoods of displaced tenants.

In the second wave of the research, we contacted respondents who had indicated their willingness to participate in a follow-up interview. The interviewers used a semi-structured interview schedule with open-ended questions covering a range of topics related to perceived opportunities and limitations with regard to the search for a new home, the nature of and satisfaction with relocation counselling, pre-move preferences for housing and neighbourhood characteristics, strategies

used in the choice process, length of the choice process and satisfaction with the new situation.

The interviews were conducted by phone and lasted approximately 15-20 minutes. They were recorded digitally and fully transcribed. The background characteristics of the interviewees are presented in Table 2.1. Our analysis was based on the questions concerning perceived opportunities and constraints encountered during the housing search, and the strategies used in the relocation process.

The analysis was both deductive and inductive. We initially coded for the general topics and questions represented in the interview schedule. Throughout the coding process, we also identified codes/sub-codes that we had not anticipated. This inductive analysis revealed some of the issues described further on in this chapter.

2.5 RESULTS

We first present the relation between contextual factors and the choice process of respondents who were offered housing units by their HAs (i.e. tenants subject to the option model and direct mediation). We then do the same for respondents who were responsible for their own housing search (i.e. tenants subject to choice-based letting).

• • • • • 2.5.1 WHEN HOUSING ASSOCIATIONS OFFER UNITS

When tenants are subject to the option model or direct mediation they are offered housing units by their HAs. Consequently, they have less control over their relocation outcomes than residents who are subject to choice-based letting; a factor known to be important for residents who are forced to relocate (Allen, 2000). Besides they have fewer alternatives as they cannot apply for many properties, but have to pick one from at most three offers from their HAs. Our respondents had also experienced this. Those who had been offered housing by their HAs were much more likely to complain about the limited number of alternatives available to them. One respondent referred as follows to the limited number of alternatives in the option model:

“ They only offer you three places, so you have little choice. They offer you a place and if you refuse it, you have one option less. You can only refuse three offers. And when you’ve refused three, you have to sort everything out by yourself. ” [Breda, male, 61 years]

Table 2.1 Interviewees' background characteristics (n=144)

	Number
ALLOCATION SYSTEM	
Choice-based letting	88
Option model	16
Direct mediation ⁴	40
CITY	
Breda	16
The Hague	51
Ede	22
Groningen	29
Rotterdam	26
ETHNICITY	
Dutch	103
Non-western minority	29
Western minority	6
Unknown	6
NET MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME	
€0-1100	54
€1100-1700	46
Over €1700	21
Unknown	23
AGE	
18-39	48
40-64	74
65 or over	17
Unknown	5
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	
Low (none, primary school, secondary/lower secondary vocational training or lower tertiary vocational training)	50
Average (tertiary vocational training or higher secondary training)	52
High (higher professional education, polytechnic or university)	36
Unknown	6

Source: Own interviews

4 17 of these residents were originally required to conduct their own housing search. Since they had not found new homes within nine months after receiving their priority status, they were offered direct mediation.

When tenants are offered housing units by their HAs, the offers are not only limited in number but also presented one by one. This creates a dilemma: will the next offer be better, or is the current one the most sensible choice? It is very difficult if not impossible to compare different options beforehand. Many of our respondents had struggled with this:

“ After three, four months they offered me a place. I was doubtful, but I took a look anyway. Then they told me: ‘If you refuse this and we find another one and you liked the first one better after all, it’ll be too late. You’d better take the first one you like. If you refuse three, you’ll have to accept the fourth one.’ So I figured I should go for it anyway.” [Groningen, female, 23 years]

Research in Glasgow revealed a similar dilemma: several focus group participants said that they “had felt ‘forced’ to accept the house they were now in, for fear of not getting a better offer, because they felt under pressure to make a decision, and through not having several alternatives to consider simultaneously” (GoWell, 2011, p. 37). The above quote also provides evidence of a kind of ‘soft’ pressure roughly in line with reports on pressure from US relocation staff on tenants to select a relocation destination from among readily available options (Comey, 2007; Goetz, 2003). In response to this dilemma, many of our respondents had decided to compromise:

“ I got an offer for a completely dilapidated house that I didn’t like. But the housing association told me it was either this place – a single-family house – or a flat. I decided to take the house, but it was hard to get used to it over here. It really wasn’t my first choice, but as I had to move soon, I had to make a quick decision. Everything went way too fast for my liking.” [Ede, Female, 43 years]

However, not all respondents had felt restricted by the limited options and had had to compromise. In fact, several respondents had actually liked one of the offers and had been happy to accept it:

“ I accepted the very first place I was offered. It was a lovely small place with a nice view. So I took it.” [Groningen, female, 56 years]

A very small number of respondents had refused all offers they did not like. Many of them had been offered more and better homes than they were entitled to, and were generally rather satisfied with the offer they had accepted. According to these tenants, they had had the right to refuse more offers because they had perceived their forced relocation in itself as a big enough sacrifice. In their eyes, it was unjust to require tenants who were being forced to relocate to make any compro-

mises (see also Kleinhans & Kruythoff, 2002; Van der Zwaard & De Wilde, 2008). Instead, they believed that the HA should stretch their options to find a satisfactory alternative, without imposing any restrictions.

● ● ● ● ● 2.5.2 WHEN TENANTS CONDUCT THEIR OWN SEARCH

Tenants who are subject to choice-based letting are responsible for finding alternative housing by reacting to the advertised vacancies. This gives them both greater responsibility and more alternatives than tenants who are offered new homes by their HAs. To give displaced tenants a head start, they receive a special status by which they get priority over regular house-seekers. However, certain restrictions are attached to this status. In addition, the limited availability of social-rented housing may restrict displaced tenants' chances of finding a suitable new home. In the following, we examine how these contextual factors affect displaced tenants' choice processes and strategies.

PRIORITY STATUS

To accelerate their relocation process, displaced tenants are given priority status (see Section 2.3). Because this status puts these tenants at the top of the waiting list, it would seem that housing availability is hardly an issue for them. However, the reality is different, as several respondents had experienced competition, not from regular house-seekers, but from other displaced tenants with priority status⁵. This had sometimes resulted in a choice strategy that involved making compromises. Respondents had been willing to settle for a suboptimal housing situation because they were afraid that, since so many others also had to relocate, only worse alternatives would become available:

“ I didn't really have much choice. There was a housing shortage because several neighbourhoods were being torn down. Blocks with 11, maybe even 13 floors with 14 flats per floor were demolished. So I figured, let's go right away, before everybody else does. I wouldn't have picked this neighbourhood had I been free to choose. But at least I've got something reasonable, while had I waited I might have got something really bad. ” [Ede, female, 54 years]

OPTIONS PROFILE

Apart from the priority status itself, the restrictions that are attached to this priority status may also influence displaced tenants' choice processes and strategies. One important restriction is that the status applies only to a certain range of housing units. In general, these are units that are in several respects comparable

5 When multiple priority holders apply for the same property, the holder whose priority status was issued first will be allotted the property. If priority statuses were issued on the same day, the holder with the longest duration of stay in the previous home is allotted the property.

to those that are to be demolished. This comparability criterion mostly applies to the type, the number of rooms (the maximum number depends on the number of household members) and sometimes the rent.

Most of our respondents recognised that this had limited their options. They were also aware that it had prevented them from improving their housing situation, particularly with respect to housing type and number of rooms. Most respondents had taken these restrictions for granted. In order to find a home that suited their options, some had compromised, for example with regard to their neighbourhoods:

“ I’d have preferred to live in a completely different neighbourhood, but there’re no flats over there, so that made the decision easier. There are only two blocks of flats in Ede with a good reputation, and that’s this one and the one right across the street. ” [Ede, female, 30 years]

In contrast to these tenants, a surprisingly large share of our respondents stated that their HA had not restricted their choices. Almost half of them did so, and many more did so than when tenants had been offered housing by their HAs. Most of these tenants said that they had been able to satisfy their preferences:

“ All the things we wanted are here. A garden, a bath, a fireplace, and just before we arrived a new kitchen was fitted. The bathroom looked nice. Another advantage is the neighbourhood: it’s exactly where we wanted to live. This place provides us with even more than we wanted. It really does satisfy all our preferences. ” [Ede, male, 31 years]

Some of our respondents can be considered ‘dispositional optimists’ who had tried to overcome the constraints attached to their priority status in order to take full advantage of the situation. Such optimists generally, and especially in the face of difficult circumstances (such as relocation contexts), actively seek to exploit their opportunities to achieve outcomes that are as beneficial as possible (see also Ekström, 1994; Kleinhans, 2003; Scheier & Carver 1987). This strategy was much more common among respondents who had been subject to choice-based letting than among those who had been offered housing directly. Because choice-based letting forces tenants to take a more active role in their relocation process, they are stimulated to consider different courses of action, which apparently include the possibility to stretch the regulations. This tactic had often been successful: many displaced tenants had been able to find dwellings for which they were not formally

eligible. The conscious striving for beneficial outcomes by certain tenants who had been subject to choice-based letting is illustrated by the following quote:

“ I filtered properties on location, the environment, the size of the place. [...] Getting the maximum out of it. ” [Groningen, male, 35 years]

Several respondents had seen their forced relocation as a chance to improve their housing situation, because they had already been considering or planning a move. The perception of forced relocation as a springboard for improvement of the housing situation is not necessarily based on push factors (such as a high level of dissatisfaction); it can be based on the awareness that the priority status strongly improves one's chances of moving to a better property and/or neighbourhood. Tenants who revealed this attitude had already become accustomed to the idea that they wanted to move, with or without the external trigger. Earlier research has also shown that the preparedness for change heavily influence movers' opinions of the relocation process and changed housing situation (Fried, 1963, 1967; GoWell, 2011; Kleinhans, 2003; Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008; Kleit & Manzo, 2006).

An interesting final group of respondents had experienced restrictions imposed by their HAs but had refused to abide by the rules. To them, the simple fact that an external actor had required them to leave justified proper compensation without any a priori limitations on housing type, size or location (see also Kleinhans & Kruythoff, 2002; Van der Zwaard & De Wilde, 2008). Although we encountered this line of reasoning among respondents who had been subject to the option model, it prevailed among those who had dealt with a choice-based letting system. Hence, choice-based letting had stimulated certain tenants not only to make the most of their available opportunities, but also to refuse to abide by the rules. The following is an exemplary quote:

“ The housing association wants to demolish my house, so if they want me out then they'll have to get me a new house and make sure I'm satisfied with it. ” [Rotterdam, female, 61 years]

Although these respondents did not have the law on their side (HAs are legally allowed to relocate their tenants in the case of restructuring), many had been able to stretch the regulations and gain access to housing to which they were not formally entitled.

TIME RESTRICTIONS

The priority status of a displaced tenant is also subject to a time restriction: it is usually valid for only one year. However, this is not always regarded as a hard restriction. To start with, a small group of respondents had not perceived any time pressure because they believed that their forced move justified a longer search period. In addition, a much larger group of respondents had not perceived time pressure because they had quickly found a new home that satisfied their preferences.

Other respondents had felt the time pressure much more strongly. Especially those who had not found a new home within a short period had often adjusted their demands as the expiration date of their priority status approached. They had started to compromise as they did not dare to gamble on an extension of their priority status:

“ First you look for very specific properties; there’s no need to expand your search area. As long as places are available in certain neighbourhoods, you don’t have to opt for less desirable neighbourhoods. However, if the opportunities because of finances or the availability of properties are exhausted, you have to expand your search area. So, you also start to consider neighbourhoods that you don’t really like. ” [The Hague, female, 39 years]

A smaller group of respondents had not only abandoned one or two of their preferences as time ran out, but had also started panicking. This reaction was much less common among tenants who had been offered homes by their HAs. This seems to indicate that tenants who had been responsible for their own housing search had more often experienced great pressure to accept a property at any cost. For example:

“ I reacted to so many properties, even in bad neighbourhoods. I really didn’t care where my new home was situated, as long as I’d get one. In the end, I found this place, out of necessity. I got it because it’s too expensive for many people. But, actually, it’s too expensive for me, too. ” [The Hague, male, 54 years]

For these respondents, their relocation decision was not about satisfying their preferences, but about avoiding the risk of becoming homeless (Kleit & Manzo, 2006). American research provides several examples of tenants choosing a property and neighbourhood without holding onto their preferences because of time pressures (e.g. Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Smith, 2002; Venkatesh, 2002). These respondents can be characterised as ‘panickers’ (Posthumus et al., 2013) who are willing to accept any type of housing in any condition in any neighbourhood out of fear of becoming homeless. Unfortunately, this fear is often based on a misconcep-

tion with regard to the legal powers and options of landlords. Dutch HAs cannot simply evict tenants after the expiration of their search time. The usual practice in this situation is that the HA makes several offers of properties that suit the tenants' preferences. If the tenants continue to refuse, the HA can ask for a formal court order to start an eviction procedure. However, this virtually never happens in the Netherlands.

Some respondents had adapted their choice strategy early on because of the time pressure they were experiencing. They had wanted to avoid getting stuck in a deserted building and had therefore made substantial compromises. However, their sacrifices had usually been much less substantial than those of the panickers:

“ Just after I heard we had to move, I noticed this place. Lots of people had already refused it because of its bad condition. But it's very close to my children's school. So I thought: 'I'll be happy enough if I get that.' I didn't know where else I could move to or how long I'd have to wait to find something else. ” [Groningen, female, 39 years]

AVAILABILITY OF HOUSING

Apart from the regulations attached to the allocation of social-rented housing, the availability of such housing can also be expected to affect displaced tenants' choices. Our analysis shows that the limited availability of housing had affected displaced tenants' choice strategies in several ways. To start with, as we have seen, a small group had had severe problems finding a new home within a certain time span. Because they had perceived availability as a problem, they had panicked and abandoned their preferences in order to increase their choices.

In response to the limited availability of housing, many more respondents had changed their choice strategies rather than abandon their preferences; for example, some widened their neighbourhood options. Many respondents had not moved to their neighbourhood of choice, or had failed to fulfil their wish to remain in their previous neighbourhood. Respondents often related this to the implementation of social mixing policies:

“ I planned to return to a new-build in my old neighbourhood, but it was too expensive. I mainly wanted to go back there because it's quite a nice neighbourhood. I didn't do so, because the places are too small for their rent. ” [The Hague, male, 49 years]

In contrast, a considerable number of respondents had not abandoned their preferences, because their initial fears of a limited availability of housing units had not been realised. A number of respondents even explicitly indicated that their a priori expectations with regard to availability had led them to believe that they would be limited to housing in 'bad' neighbourhoods:

“ I had to move out of a disadvantaged neighbourhood and I was afraid that I'd have to look for a place in another disadvantaged neighbourhood. I thought I'd have to live in a bad neighbourhood, and I really didn't want that. But that wasn't the case.” [The Hague, male, 48 years]

2.6 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

While numerous studies have focused on displaced tenants' relocation outcomes, only a few have examined the processes underlying these outcomes. These processes are important to understand why forced relocation has been found to result in positive and negative outcomes and therewith gain insight in the institutional contexts that are most beneficial for displaced residents. To fill this gap, this chapter has shown how the specific context of forced relocation affects displaced tenants' choice strategies.

The choice strategies of Dutch displaced tenants facing two different search systems were examined: one in which tenants are offered a maximum of three consecutive properties by their housing association, and one in which they have to conduct their own search and apply for vacant properties in their municipality on a weekly/biweekly basis for a maximum period of one year. We thus examined the experiences of tenants who had few potential alternatives and little responsibility, and those who had many potential alternatives and a lot of responsibility.

Tenants who participated in the different search systems adopted choice strategies with different attitudes towards compromising. Tenants who were offered housing by their HAs predominantly adopted a choice strategy that entailed some compromises. They accepted housing that did not fit all of their preferences, because they did not want to take the risk that future offers would be worse than the current offer, and they knew that they could not simply go on rejecting housing units. However, some tenants were offered a unit that satisfied their preferences. To them this dilemma was irrelevant, as they did not feel that they had to make any compromises.

Tenants who had had to conduct their own housing searches were much more likely to have felt unconstrained in those searches. All these tenants had had a larger number of opportunities to satisfy their preferences, and almost half of them had not had to make any compromises. Nevertheless, several tenants still felt constrained in some way by the restrictions attached to their priority status

and the limited availability of housing. These tenants were the most likely to have made some compromises. Some tenants, however, had opted for more extreme and harmful choice strategies.

The combination of being responsible for finding a new home, a limited availability of housing and the limited validity of their priority status, made some tenants panic. They had no longer tried to satisfy their preferences, but had simply done their best to avoid the risk of becoming homeless. Tragically, the fear of homelessness is based upon a misconception with regard to the legal powers and eviction options of landlords: Dutch HAs cannot evict tenants after the expiration of their priority status; extensions of this status are more a rule than an exception and courts virtually never issue orders to evict resisting tenants. In order to prevent panicking behaviour, HAs should aim to eliminate this misconception about time constraints, without reducing the pressure on relocatees to move out before the expiration of their priority status. Providing these tenants with direct mediation, at either the beginning or the end of the relocation process, is an alternative. Another option is to provide more counselling during the relocation process, by actively helping relocatees to track and weigh various options.

Some tenants who had had to conduct their own searches had been aware of the institutional constraints imposed on them, but had believed that they could ignore (and often had ignored) these constraints. In some cases, they had hoped to get the most out of their relocation. In other cases, they had perceived their forced relocation as such a big sacrifice that any restriction on their relocation options would be unjust. This shows that relocation regulations are flexible, and that assertive and calculating behaviour pays off. HAs try to keep this practice quiet as they fear it may function as a precedent. Nevertheless, they should be wary of giving displaced tenants unequal treatment by allowing some to deviate from the regulations. However, in some instances, there might be good reasons to deviate from the regulations. For instance, in the case of an impending family expansion it may be fair to allow a household to relocate to a large property than they are entitled to at the moment of relocation.

Although it is problematic that tenants who are subject to choice-based letting sometimes panic and behave calculating, it should be considered as the more beneficial allocation model. While tenants who are offered a limited number of dwellings because they are subject to the option model or direct mediation tend to feel constrained and forced to accept certain disadvantages, many of the tenants that have to conduct their own search because they are subject to choice-based letting are able to realise their preferences. Therewith, this chapter is a plea to favour allocation models that offer displaced residents responsibility and a wide variety of alternatives over 'paternalistic' models that offer little choice. The latter type of models can be preferred only with tenants that do not have the skills to conduct a successful search by themselves.

Above all, the different strategies that displaced tenants adopt (e.g. panicking behaviour, compromising on preferences, maximizing benefits and resistance) are clear proof of their agency, albeit not always in positive forms. Our conclusion is therefore in line with the findings of Manzo and colleagues (2008), namely that “tenants are not passive victims” and that data from their relocation research “reflect the human agency of tenants as they actively work to make sense of the redevelopment, plan for relocation and weigh their relocation options” (ibid., p. 1872). However, we also found that displaced tenants’ behaviour is strongly steered by their institutional context: specific choice strategies were much more prevalent in certain institutional contexts. We therefore believe that the institutional context should be perceived not as determining but as shaping displaced tenants’ choices. Hence, the institutional context displaced tenants are in does not eliminate choice, but induces choice within certain limits that are not always as hard as they appear at first sight.

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THREE

URBAN RESTRUCTURING, DISPLACED HOUSEHOLDS AND NEIGHBOURHOOD CHANGE

RESULTS FROM THREE DUTCH CITIES

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3.1 INTRODUCTION

In most European countries many neighbourhoods were explicitly planned and many dwellings were built in the first three decades after World War II. Housing production was considered necessary because of the post-war housing shortage and a growing number of households. Many of these dwellings were built in relatively large social housing estates, often in green and spacious environments. Although some mix of housing types did exist, large numbers of dwellings were built in rather monotonous apartment complexes and often they were affordable for households with low to medium incomes. Initially these areas were considered to be desirable by the new inhabitants: people moved there, because they liked it (Dekker & Van Kempen, 2004).

Whereas the future for these neighbourhoods initially seemed promising, nowadays they are often perceived to be some of the most problematic areas of cities in Western European countries. Post-WWII neighbourhoods face a multitude of problems. First, the dwellings and public space have often been maintained poorly resulting in discomfort and physical deterioration. Second, the influx of households with low incomes and minority ethnic groups increased over time, which some, including the traditional inhabitants of these areas, have considered as a problematic issue (Slob et al., 2008). Many of the more prosperous families, who could afford more expensive dwellings, reacted to the neighbourhood changes by moving out of these neighbourhoods. This process created opportunities for new households – again often belonging to lower income and minority ethnic categories – to move to these neighbourhoods. The changing mix of households has negatively affected the social cohesion in post-WWII neighbourhoods because the traditional, more stable population (in terms of length of stay in the neighbourhood) was replaced by a more fluid population, who would typically move onwards within a few years.

A third problem that developed in many post-WWII neighbourhoods is a high unemployment level. Many newcomers in the post-WWII neighbourhoods did not have a job when moving there and a substantial number who did have one, lost their job as a consequence of economic restructuring in the last two decades and, more specifically, because of the economic and financial crisis during the last few years. The fourth and final problem of post-WWII neighbourhoods is a lack of safety. The physical environment of the neighbourhoods is such that it facilitates criminal activity especially when combined with a young population for whom there are few activities and who come from families with few financial resources. As a result criminality has increased in a number of post-WWII neighbourhoods in Western countries (Andersen, 2002; Dekker & Van Kempen, 2004; Swaroop & Morenoff, 2006; Wassenberg, 2004). As a consequence of all these developments, the liveability, popularity and reputation of post-WWII neighbourhoods have

been increasingly under pressure (e.g., Dekker & Van Kempen, 2004; Permentier et al., 2009).

Population mixing strategies have been implemented in post-WWII neighbourhoods both in the Netherlands as well as in many other European countries to reduce concentrations of residents with a weak socioeconomic position (Andersen & Van Kempen, 2003; Ministry VROM, 1997; Ministry VROM, 2000; Ministry VROM, 2007; Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). These strategies usually entail the demolition of parts of the original, inexpensive, social-rented housing stock to be followed by the construction of more expensive rental and, especially, owner-occupied dwellings. Residents with a higher socioeconomic status than the average of the original residents would move to these dwellings, making the socioeconomic neighbourhood composition more mixed. The shifts in the physical structure and composition of the population resulting from this policy would reduce the problems many post-WWII neighbourhoods face (Ministry VROM, 2008; Uitermark, 2003).

The policy goal of a mixed neighbourhood population originates in the fear of the negative effects of spatial concentrations of the poor. There is a vast literature on the possible negative effects of these kinds of concentrations and much stems from the literature on American ghettos in general (Wilson, 1987) and more specifically in the literature on neighbourhood effects (see for instance Galster et al., 2008; Galster et al., 2010; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Oberwittler, 2007; Macintyre et al., 2008; Musterd et al., 2008). The main message in this literature is that spatial concentrations of the poor lead to negative effects: without the buffer of the middle class, the poor suffer a damaging social isolation (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Friedrichs, 1998; Wilson 1987, 1996).

Ideas about the formation of ghettos and the negative ideas of living in ghettos are easily transported to Europe and adopted by politicians and policy makers as well as by some social scientists (for discussion see Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007; Van Kempen & Bolt, 2012). European cities are definitely characterised by areas that can be called poor, distressed or disadvantaged and do contain concentrations of poor and minority ethnic groups. The reasoning is clear: if so many problems emerge from those concentration areas, as exemplified in the American literature, then something must be done to break these patterns of socioeconomic and ethnic segregation and concentration. The logical alternative is to create a social and ethnic mix. Although mixing is a widespread policy goal, the effectiveness of such policies is much debated (Graham et al., 2009; Joseph et al., 2007; Van Ham & Manley, 2010).

In the literature there has been much attention paid to the effects of mixed-housing policies on the targeted areas (e.g., Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Kintrea, 2007; Popkin et al., 2004; Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen, 2003). The de-concentration of the (low-income) population, as well as a better mix between different income-groups are seen as positive effects of such a policy. Two of the major insights stemming

from research into the effect of mixing strategies are that: (1) urban restructuring often improves the quality of dwellings and safety; but that (2) despite the increase in population mixing, the desired interaction between different population groups (such as more and less well-off residents, new and old inhabitants, natives and non-natives) in the neighbourhood rarely develops (e.g., Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Brooks et al., 2005; Kleinhans et al., 2007; Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008; Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen, 2003).

The literature about the effects of restructuring policies on the neighbourhoods that have been restructured is extensive. Less attention, however, has been paid to the households that had to move to other neighbourhoods because of the restructuring process and on the effects of these moves on the receiving neighbourhoods. In this chapter our focus is specifically on the moves of these displaced households and on the type of neighbourhoods they move to. This is an important topic since the main aim of mixing policies both in the Netherlands as well as in other countries is to reduce problems in neighbourhoods by mixing their population. When the moves of displaced residents result in reconcentrations of the same people but in other neighbourhoods, problems are not solved but simply moved. The policy logic of mixing policies implies that displaced residents need to move to a different type of neighbourhood than the one they leave in order to achieve an overall reduction in concentration related problems on a city-wide scale. Another important aim of mixing is to improve the situation of all residents, including those who are displaced, who are considered to be relatively deprived. Displaced residents would have limited chances for social mobility in their old neighbourhoods because of the presence of high concentrations of (other) deprived residents. These chances would, theoretically, increase by moving to neighbourhoods with better perspectives. Hence, it would be beneficial when displaced households move to a less deprived neighbourhood.

Because one of the goals of mixed communities policies is that displaced residents move to less deprived neighbourhoods than the neighbourhoods they left, it is important to answer the following question: *(a) How can neighbourhoods to which displaced households move be characterised?* To determine whether moves to neighbourhoods with certain characteristics also mean that displaced households move to 'better' neighbourhoods we ask: *(b) How do the neighbourhoods to which many displaced households move, differ from their previous neighbourhoods?* We acknowledge that the success of mixing policies does not solely depend on whether displaced residents do or do not move to neighbourhoods with certain characteristics. Only when the assumptions that a mixed population reduces neighbourhood problems and stimulates social mobility hold, could this be the case. Although this issue is pertinent, it is not within the scope of this chapter.

In the next section we briefly analyse the insights from previous research and formulate several hypotheses about the type of neighbourhoods displaced households move to. These hypotheses are then tested using three different methods:

(1) an analysis of the dispersal patterns; (2) an examination of the correlations between neighbourhood characteristics and the number of displaced households neighbourhoods receive; and (3) a comparison between neighbourhoods where restructuring takes place, neighbourhoods where many displaced residents settle, and other neighbourhoods. Based on these analyses the answers to the main questions will be formulated and reflected upon.

3.2 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

When neighbourhoods are restructured and change from areas with a large number of affordable rented dwellings into areas with a mix of housing types and tenures, a number of the original tenants will not be able to stay in the neighbourhood. They have to move elsewhere, because they cannot afford the rent or purchase of the new homes in that area. Obviously, this is often exactly the aim of a policy of restructuring: only by displacing a number of relatively poor households, a social mix can be achieved.

● ● ● ● ● 3.2.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBOURHOODS TO WHICH THE DISPLACED MOVE

The question is where do these displaced households move to? When the aim is to diminish spatial concentrations of low-income households, the idea is of course that the displaced households move to a large number of different areas, in order to avoid new concentrations of poverty elsewhere in the city or urban region. Some studies have shown that displaced households tend to move to a wide variety of neighbourhoods. However, the same studies have also shown that some neighbourhoods receive many more displaced households than others (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Kingsley et al., 2003; Slob et al., 2008). As such, re-concentration of low-income households does seem to take place, at least to a certain extent. The neighbourhoods to which many displaced residents move, have certain distinctive characteristics.

A first characteristic of neighbourhoods that receive many displaced residents is that they are often quite close to areas where the process of urban restructuring took place (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Hartung & Henig, 1997; Varady et al., 2001). This is to be expected because the lack of knowledge about more distant neighbourhoods stimulates residents to 'choose' nearby neighbourhoods. Another possible reason for selecting an area close to the previous place is the possibility of maintaining one's local social networks.

Second, neighbourhoods to which many displaced residents move are characterised by a large inexpensive housing stock (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Hartung & Henig, 1997; Pendall, 2000; Varady & Walker, 2000). The relatively unpopular dwellings that are listed for restructuring tend to be occupied by residents with

a low income (Bolt et al., 2009). Their restricted budget forces them to choose another, inexpensive, dwelling when they have to move. As such, it can be expected that displaced households often move to neighbourhoods with a sizeable inexpensive housing stock.

Because of these housing characteristics, displaced residents are more likely to move to neighbourhoods with a low average income, high poverty rates, unemployment, welfare-dependency and low average education (Hartung & Henig, 1997; Kingsley et al., 2003; Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Pendall, 2000). Just like displaced residents, other residents with a weak socioeconomic position are designated to inexpensive dwellings which are overrepresented in certain neighbourhoods. Furthermore, it is possible that displaced residents prefer to live in neighbourhoods with many residents with a low socioeconomic status because it is easier to create a social safety net (Trudeau, 2006). When many neighbours face similar difficulties they would be more willing to help another.

Finally, neighbourhoods that receive many displaced residents are characterised by a large share of ethnic minorities (Goetz, 2002; Hartung & Henig, 1997; Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Pendall, 2000). One explanation for this finding is that minorities are overrepresented in neighbourhoods with an inexpensive housing stock because of their relatively weak socioeconomic position. Another explanation is that a large proportion of displaced residents also belong to an ethnic minority (Bolt et al., 2009) which results in their overrepresentation in neighbourhoods with a large share of minorities. This may be due to a preference to live among co-ethnics, but also to factors that restrict their choice on the housing market (Freeman, 2000; Phillips, 1998). As the immigrants among the ethnic minorities have on average less well-developed language skills than natives, and are less familiar with societal institutions and regulations, they tend to have more difficulties with the search process for a new dwelling (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010). Furthermore, discrimination (Galster, 1999) and fear of racial harassment (Krysan & Farley, 2002) may mean that ethnic minorities are less successful than non-minority households in obtaining a better place and thus 'choose' from a limited number of neighbourhoods.

● ● ● ● ● 3.2.2 NEIGHBOURHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND NEIGHBOURHOOD PROBLEMS

Displaced residents tend to move to nearby neighbourhoods with an inexpensive housing stock, low average income, and a large share of ethnic minorities. Apart from the proximity to their old neighbourhood, all other characteristics of neighbourhoods that receive many displaced residents have been related to the presence of neighbourhood problems (See for an intensive overview Sampson, 2009; Sirgy & Cornwell, 2002).

To start with, neighbourhoods with many (inexpensive) dwellings, specifically rented dwellings, experience more problems than neighbourhoods with a more

expensive housing stock. It has been widely acknowledged that renters are less inclined than owners to invest in the maintenance of their dwelling and neighbourhood (Dietz & Haurin, 2003; Friedrichs & Blasius, 2009; Galster, 1983). Furthermore, the owners of the rented stock (housing corporations, private owners, other institutions) are not always inclined to invest in all neighbourhoods and all dwellings equally. Investment in restructuring in one neighbourhood may result in little or no investment in other parts of the city. Consequently, physical deterioration can be relatively severe in neighbourhoods with many rented, inexpensive, dwellings in which no investment takes place.

According to the influential broken-windows thesis of Wilson and Kelling (1982), the physical deterioration of neighbourhoods may facilitate feelings of insecurity and illegal activities (see for instance Scarborough et al., 2010; Wyant, 2008). However, Sampson et al. (1997) found that there is not a causal association between physical deterioration and crime (see also Sampson, 2009). Instead, the level of social cohesion among residents is a crucial factor that affects both public disorder and crime (Sampson, 2009). The rejection of the broken-windows hypothesis does not imply that the tenure distribution in the neighbourhood is irrelevant, as the level of social cohesion is found to be positively associated to homeownership (Dekker & Bolt, 2005; DiPasquale & Glaeser, 1999).

In addition, the level of social cohesion is strongly influenced by the socioeconomic status of neighbourhoods. In relatively poor neighbourhoods a lack of social organization and collective efficacy has been identified, resulting in higher levels of criminality (Sampson et al., 1997; Sampson & Groves, 1989; Webster et al., 2006). Several studies have argued that poorer neighbourhoods hinder the social mobility of its residents because there are fewer opportunities to meet others with valuable resources (Galster et al., 2010; Musterd & Andersson, 2006). Other studies have argued that mixing will not result in more social mobility because residents with different backgrounds are unlikely to interact with each other (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Kleinhans et al., 2007). The presence of a large share of minorities is also considered to be problematic for neighbourhoods as it negatively affects the social cohesion in the neighbourhood (Laurence, 2011; Putnam, 2007) and restricts the socio-cultural integration of minorities (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2007; Vervoort et al., 2010). Furthermore, a number of authors have found that an influx of minorities has been found to increase the outflow of more prosperous residents increasing the problems associated with a population consisting of residents with a low socioeconomic status (Van Ham & Clark, 2009).

● ● ● ● ● 3.2.3 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE OLD AND THE NEW NEIGHBOURHOOD

Even when displaced households move to relatively weak or problematic neighbourhoods, it is still possible that these new neighbourhoods are less deprived than the neighbourhoods that they exited. Therefore, our second main question is valid: How do the neighbourhoods to which many displaced households move,

differ from their previous neighbourhoods? There is less literature on this topic: when the differences between the old and the new neighbourhood are examined, it is usually done on the basis of an analysis of questionnaires and interviews held with the displaced residents themselves (Goetz, 2002; Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008; Manzo et al., 2008; Varady & Walker, 2000). Whilst there is, in principle, nothing wrong with this approach we should keep in mind that such subjective data may be biased. It is clear from the literature on residential mobility, for example, that people who recently moved usually evaluate their new situation positively. In some cases this positive view might be the result of a need to justify the move, or to adjust for the fact that they were forced to move. On the other hand, it might be expected that people are positive about their new situation, because in the case of urban restructuring people are often forced to move from the most deteriorated parts of the city and they do move to better places. A small change (a slightly safer neighbourhood, or some more facilities for children) can already be seen as a large improvement.

Other authors have taken an approach that used administrative data (see, e.g., Kingsley et al., 2003; Oakley & Burchfield, 2009). The results from these kinds of studies are quite different. Although, some studies have shown that displaced residents move to better neighbourhoods, other studies have shown that this is generally not the case (Goetz, 2002; Kingsley et al., 2003; Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Rubenstein, 1988; Varady & Walker, 2000). Compared to the international literature (mostly from the United States), the Dutch literature shows somewhat more positive outcomes: displaced residents have in general been able to improve their situation after moving. The progress they make is however often limited (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Kleinhans, 2003; Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008; Slob et al., 2008).

● ● ● ● ● 3.2.4 HYPOTHESES

Based on the findings and arguments outlined above, six hypotheses regarding the neighbourhoods displaced residents will move to can be formulated. Displaced residents tend to move to:

- 1 a limited number of neighbourhoods;
- 2 neighbourhoods near the restructuring projects from which they are displaced;
- 3 neighbourhoods with a large inexpensive housing stock;
- 4 neighbourhoods with a low average socioeconomic status;
- 5 neighbourhoods with a large proportion of ethnic minorities;
- 6 neighbourhoods that are rather similar but more popular than the neighbourhoods they leave.

3.3 RESEARCH AREAS AND DATA

The data we use to test these hypotheses were collected from three Dutch cities: Rotterdam, Ede and Breda. We picked these cities in order to compare the dispersal patterns of displaced households in cities of different sizes. Until now, most research on the effects of urban restructuring has focused on large cities (Goetz, 2002; Kleinhans, 2003; Varady & Walker, 2000). However, the effects of restructuring in smaller cities may be different to those found in large cities for two reasons. First, medium sized cities have fewer neighbourhoods with a suitable housing stock for displaced households, which means that in theory these households have fewer choices between neighbourhoods. Second, in large cities, urban renewal policies have generally been carried out for a longer period of time compared to medium sized cities. In the 1970s and 1980s most of the urban renewal funds in the Netherlands were spent in the four largest cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht), as these cities had a large stock of old and deteriorated dwellings, especially in the pre-WWII part of the housing stock. In midsized cities the pre-WWII housing stock is relatively small. The present pre-WWII areas were considered to be less deteriorated. During this period a policy philosophy of 'Building for the Neighbourhood', rather than promoting social mix was followed, which meant that new dwellings were built for the current inhabitants of the neighbourhood rather than for residents from outside. This resulted in a focus on renovating and rebuilding affordable rented dwellings. As a consequence, most of these neighbourhoods remained amongst the poorest of the city after the urban renewal process (Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). Nowadays, the urban restructuring process is much more focused on post-WWII neighbourhoods with a large proportion of social-rented dwellings. In medium sized cities like Breda and Ede, these neighbourhoods are amongst the worst of the city. In Rotterdam, however, the neighbourhoods currently targeted for restructuring are not always the weakest. For displaced households there is more scope for improvement in Breda and Ede, as a household is less likely to move down the neighbourhood hierarchy because they are leaving neighbourhoods already at the bottom on the neighbourhood hierarchy. In Rotterdam, this is not the case as it is possible to move down as well as up the neighbourhood hierarchy.

Two types of data are used in the analysis. Firstly we use data from public databases that provide information about neighbourhood characteristics. The neighbourhood level is the lowest administrative level at which aggregated data are present. What constitutes a neighbourhood is defined by each municipality separately. They usually define neighbourhoods on the basis of natural borders, and architectural styles. Secondly we use data regarding the moving behaviour of displaced residents. We know the previous and present addresses, and by extension the neighbourhoods, of displaced households. Using these data we can depict dispersal patterns and by combining both dispersal and neighbourhood data we can gain

greater insight into the relationships between the characteristics of neighbourhoods and the number of displaced households neighbourhoods receive.

In Table 3.1 some of the main characteristics of the three selected cities are presented. Rotterdam is much larger than Breda and Ede. Ede is the smallest of the three areas in terms of the number of residents, but has more neighbourhoods than Breda. The proportion of ethnic minorities is the highest in Rotterdam compared with Breda and Ede. In Breda and Ede the proportion of the population belonging to an ethnic minority is about the same. In comparison with Ede, the proportion of homeowners is somewhat smaller and the share of social-rented dwellings somewhat larger in Breda. The housing market in Rotterdam consists of a considerably greater proportion of social-rented dwellings than the housing market in the other two cities, and the housing stock in Rotterdam is on average much older, as almost a third of the dwellings have been built before WWII.

Table 3.1 Core characteristics of Breda, Ede and Rotterdam

	Breda	Ede	Rotterdam
Total number of residents	172,085	107,588	587,130
% Ethnic minorities ⁶	11	7	34
Number of dwellings	75,886	41,408	289,337
% Owner-occupied dwellings	60	70	32
% Social-rented dwellings	32	20	49
% Pre-WWII dwellings	16	12	32
Number of neighbourhoods	54	67	89
Average number of residents per neighbourhood	3,187	1,606	6,597
Average size of neighbourhoods (km ²)	2.39	4.76	3.02

Source: CBS Statline, Buurtmonitor Breda, Buurtmonitor Ede, Buurtmonitor Rotterdam

In Breda we followed households that were forced to leave their social-rented dwelling because of urban restructuring between 2003 and 2009. In total 358 households moved in this period from restructuring projects in three neighbourhoods: Heuvel, De Geeren-Noord and Brabant Park. The displaced households moved to 34 different neighbourhoods. Information about the three restructured neighbourhoods in Breda is provided in Table 3.2. This table shows that the restructured neighbourhoods are characterised by a very high proportion of social-rented dwellings. Furthermore, there are few neighbourhoods with a lower average income than the restructured neighbourhoods in Breda.

⁶ When we refer to ethnic minorities in The Netherlands, we use the following definition: a person belongs to an ethnic minority when at least one of his or her parents were born in a non-Western country.

Table 3.2 Top 3 restructured neighbourhoods in Breda, Ede and Rotterdam

BREDA	Heuvel	De Geeren- Noord	Brabantpark
Number of displaced households	85	147	126
% Total displaced households	24	41	35
Number of dwellings	3,125	1,410	4,210
% Social-rented dwellings	66	72	44
% Neighbourhoods with a lower average income per income recipient	22	10	29
% Moves within the neighbourhood	49	9	33
% Moves to other neighbourhoods within the city	39	63	59
% Moves to other municipalities	12	28	8

EDE	De Burgen	De Horsten	Uitvindersbuurt
Number of displaced households	146	80	208
% Total displaced households	29	16	41
Number of dwellings	810	940	1,100
% Social-rented dwellings	56	42	37
% Neighbourhoods with a lower average income per income recipient	12	16	23
% Moves within the neighbourhood	26	0	9
% Moves to other neighbourhoods within the city	61	78	80
% Moves to other municipalities	13	23	12

ROTTERDAM	Hoogvliet- Zuid	Lombardijen	Zuidwijk
Displaced Households	261	290	251
% Total displaced households	9	10	9
Number of dwellings	10,105	6,895	6,720
% Social-rented dwellings	58	56	75
% Neighbourhoods with a lower average income per income recipient	59	44	39
% Moves within the neighbourhood	58	33	16
% Moves to other neighbourhoods within the city	32	54	67
% Moves to other municipalities	10	13	18

Source: WonenBreda, Woonstede, Maaskoepel, CBS Statline, Buurtmonitor Breda, Buurtmonitor Ede, Buurtmonitor Rotterdam

In Ede we followed 507 households who were forced to relocate between 2003 and 2008. Restructuring projects took place in 20 neighbourhoods, but the largest projects took place in just three neighbourhoods: De Burgen, De Horsten and Uitvindersbuurt (434 displaced households in total). The displaced households moved to 30 different neighbourhoods. Table 3.2 shows that the proportion of

social-rented dwellings in restructured neighbourhoods in Ede is smaller than in the other two cities. The number of dwellings in the restructured neighbourhoods is also considerably smaller in Ede.

In *Rotterdam* we followed 2,818 residents who were forced to relocate in 2007, 2008 or 2009. Since the number of displaced residents is much larger in *Rotterdam* than in the other two cities, we only use three years of data. The three largest urban restructuring projects all took place in post-WWII neighbourhoods: Lombardijen, Zuidwijk and Hoogvliet-Zuid. The residents from the restructured neighbourhoods moved to 54 different neighbourhoods. Table 3.2 shows that the three largest restructuring projects in *Rotterdam* account for a considerably smaller proportion of displaced households than the three largest restructuring projects in Ede and Breda. Furthermore, a relatively large proportion of *Rotterdam's* neighbourhoods have a lower average income than the restructured neighbourhoods.

The rules and regulations surrounding the relocation process of those who were forced to move is one of the most important factors when investigating the outcomes of the relocation. There are some important differences in the rights people have in the three cities under investigation. The relocation process in *Breda* was organised according to a so-called 'option system'. This means that residents who have to move can indicate to what kind of dwelling (within the social housing sector) and neighbourhood they want to move. Based on this information the housing corporation will offer a dwelling that matches the indicated options, as soon as such a dwelling becomes available. A suitable dwelling is always offered first to a household that has to move because of urban restructuring before it is offered to other social housing applicants. However, if three offers are turned down, the displaced resident loses their special status.

In *Ede* displaced residents have to search for a new dwelling themselves. Within the social-renting sector this means that relocated residents have to access the weekly updated list of available dwellings. Residents who are forced to move because of restructuring receive a special priority status with which they will get certain types of dwellings before other prospective tenants. The type of priority status a displaced resident receives depends on the period they lived in the dwelling that will be demolished. When a resident has lived less than 7 years in the dwelling they receive a priority status for a similar type of dwelling. When a resident has lived between 7 and 12 years in the dwelling they receive a priority status for a single-family dwelling across a selected group of neighbourhoods, and when a resident has lived 12 years or more in the dwelling to be demolished they receive a priority status for all single-family dwellings in the local housing market area. As long as displaced residents apply for dwellings which match their priority status the dwelling will be offered to them before it is made available to other prospective tenants.

Like in *Ede*, displaced households in *Rotterdam* get a special status with which they get priority over other house seekers when they apply for social-rented dwellings.

In contrast to the situation in Ede, this priority status is similar for all displaced residents regardless of the length of time they have lived in the property. The priority status only holds for dwellings that are comparable to their previous dwelling in terms of type, size and price. It should be noted that comparability is a rather flexible concept. In practice it often turns out that only single-family dwellings in the social-rented sector are not within reach for displaced residents. During the first 9 months residents have to try to find a new dwelling themselves, afterwards they receive help of the housing corporation for a period of 3 months. If they still do not have another dwelling after this period, a juridical procedure is started which can take about another 3 months.

3.4 DISPERSAL PATTERNS

An analysis of the dispersal patterns of displaced households is presented to examine our first two hypotheses: that displaced households move to a small number of neighbourhoods, which are frequently nearby their current location. Figure 3.1 shows the dispersal patterns of displaced households that moved out of their neighbourhood of origin but within the same municipality. For each city the moves from the three largest restructuring projects to other neighbourhoods within the city are depicted. The width of the lines indicates the size of the flows of displaced households between different neighbourhoods. These maps show first of all that displaced households moved to a large number of different neighbourhoods, but that moves to some neighbourhoods were much more common than moves to other neighbourhoods. Most neighbourhoods do not even receive a single displaced household. In each city the neighbourhood that received most displaced households accounts for around 10 per cent of all displaced residents only.

The proportion of displaced residents who left their municipality differs between cities: the proportion is larger in Breda and Ede (17 and 14% respectively) than in Rotterdam (8%). Since Rotterdam is a larger city, it offers displaced residents more local choice, and less incentive to leave the municipality. The proportion of displaced households who moved within their neighbourhood is considerable in all cities. However, there are clear differences between cities. Whereas in Ede only 18% of the displaced households moved within their neighbourhood, in Breda this is 33%, and in Rotterdam even 43%. To some extent, this will be related to the size of the neighbourhood (Table 3.2). As the neighbourhoods in Rotterdam are larger, there are more options for households who wish to stay within the neighbourhood. In Ede the neighbourhoods are relatively small, which gives on average fewer opportunities to move within a neighbourhood. Moving within the neighbourhood is further restricted here by the fact that a relatively large proportion of the social-rented housing stock has been demolished.

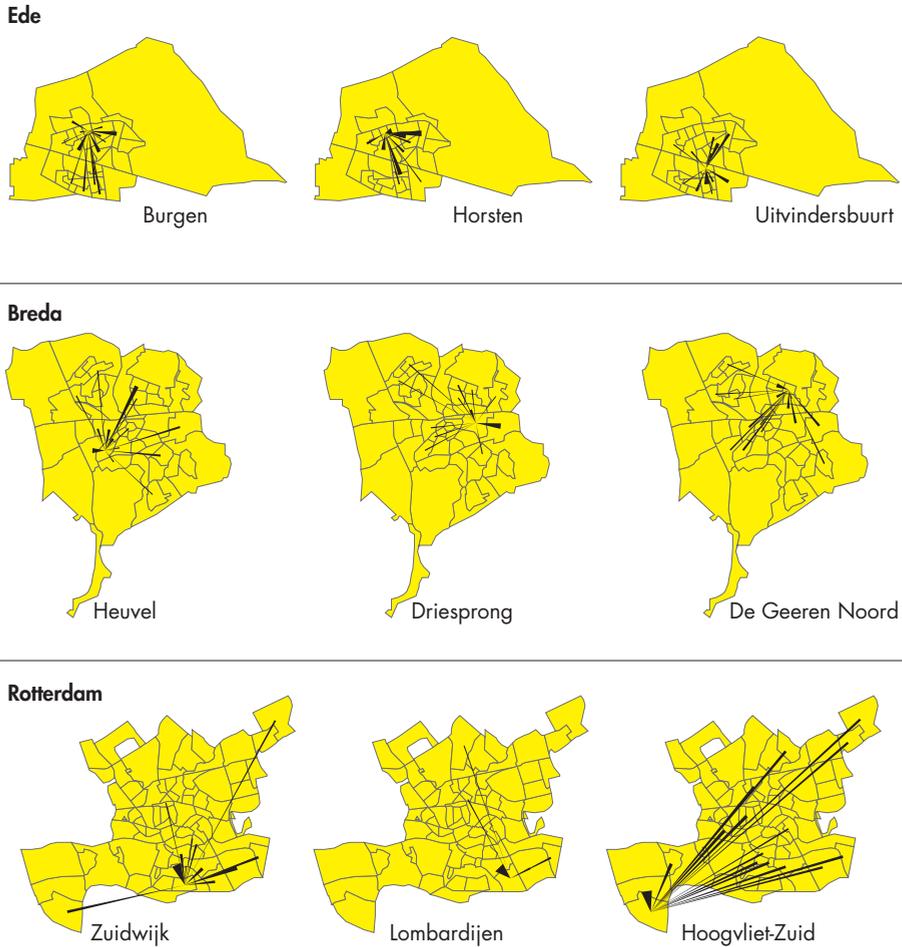
Although displaced residents appear to re-concentrate in certain neighbourhoods, it is not the case that only a small number of neighbourhoods receive the large majority of displaced households. As such we can conclude that our first hypothesis that displaced households move to only a few neighbourhoods is only confirmed to a limited extent.

The maps in Figure 3.1 also provide information regarding the distance between the old and new neighbourhood of displaced households from the largest restructuring projects in the selected cities. In Ede displaced residents were most likely to move to nearby neighbourhoods. Ede is a small city, so it is quite unlikely that people move over large distances. The more distant rural areas in the municipality did not attract many households. This largely has to do with the limited number of affordable dwellings in these areas. In Breda there is also a tendency to move to neighbourhoods near to their previous location, with the area of Heuvel as a clear exception. This pattern can be explained by the large proportion of displaced residents that moved within Heuvel (see Table 3.2).

In contrast to Ede and Breda, we clearly see that in Rotterdam moves from the renewed neighbourhoods are commonly made to one of the adjacent neighbourhoods, and that most residents stay close to their old neighbourhood. Only in the case of Hoogvliet-Zuid, the dispersal pattern is rather diffuse, with sizeable flows to more distant neighbourhoods. The reason for that is probably the same as for Heuvel in Breda: a large proportion of the displaced households have managed to move within the neighbourhood (or to the adjacent Hoogvliet-Noord), so there were few moves made to other adjacent neighbourhoods. The small proportion that moved further away probably felt less attached to the area of origin.

Hence, the second hypothesis – displaced households move to nearby neighbourhoods – can be confirmed in most cases, with the exception of Heuvel (Breda) and Hoogvliet-Zuid (Rotterdam). But in those neighbourhoods a sizable number of households has moved within the neighbourhood, indicating that moving to nearby places is quite common for displaced households.

Figure 3.1 Dispersal patterns of displaced households in Ede, Breda and Rotterdam



- * In Ede and Breda only those flows that account for at least 2% of all moves are depicted.
 - * Since Rotterdam consists of more neighbourhoods, the flows that account for at least 1.5% of all movers are depicted.
 - * In Ede not all neighbourhoods are depicted. A smaller area is depicted since the outskirts of this municipality are very large and very few displaced residents move to these outskirts.
- Source: Woonstede, WonenBreburg, Maaskoepel

3.5 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NEIGHBOURHOOD CHARACTERISTICS AND THE NUMBER OF RECEIVED DISPLACED HOUSEHOLDS

Despite the variety of neighbourhoods displaced households moved to, some neighbourhoods received many more households than others. Based on previous research we expect that these neighbourhoods are located in close proximity to the restructuring projects, have a large inexpensive housing stock, a low socioeconomic status, and a large share of ethnic minorities. We test these expectations by analysing the correlations between different neighbourhood characteristics and the *receive rate* in neighbourhoods. The *receive rate* is defined as the number of received displaced households in neighbourhoods compared to the expected number of displaced households based on the number of dwellings in a neighbourhood. An example: Breda has 358 displaced households and 75,886 dwellings. This means that we expect 1 displaced household per 211.97 dwellings ($75,886/358$). In Fellenoord, a neighbourhood with 895 dwellings, we therefore expect that $895/211.97 = 4.22$ displaced households would have settled there. In reality 3 displaced households moved to Fellenoord. The *receive rate* is therefore $3/4.22=0.71$. A *receive rate* under 1 means that fewer displaced households settled than expected, while a *receive rate* over 1 means that more displaced households settled than expected. It would be expected that, if displaced households distributed equally across all neighbourhoods, the *receive rate* would be 1 for all places.

As we already concluded from our analysis of the dispersal patterns, the relationship between distance and the number of received displaced households differs greatly between neighbourhoods. The negative correlation between these two variables is especially strong for the neighbourhoods of Ede and for the De Geeren-Noord in Breda (Table 3.3). That the correlations in Rotterdam are somewhat lower is not surprising as displaced households have moved out of a wide variety of neighbourhoods. Less than a third has moved out of one of the top 3 neighbourhoods (Table 3.2). For Heuvel (Breda) and Hoogvliet-Zuid (Rotterdam), the correlation between distance and moving rate is very small. Apparently, the dispersal pattern is less predictable in these two cases where a large proportion of movers stayed within the neighbourhood (see previous section). When displaced households move out of the neighbourhood (the other seven cases) there is a clear tendency to move to nearby areas. This underlines our conclusion in the previous section about the second hypothesis. Displaced households tend to move to nearby neighbourhoods, at least in most cases.

Our third hypothesis stated that displaced residents would move to neighbourhoods with an inexpensive housing stock. Inexpensive neighbourhoods are defined as neighbourhoods with a low average house value and a large proportion of social-rented dwellings. We expected that displaced residents mostly move to neighbourhoods with a relatively low average house value since these residents

only have a small budget to spend on their housing. The correlation between the average house value and receive rate is indeed negative in all three cities, although relatively strong in Ede and Breda and relatively weak in Rotterdam.

We also expected that displaced residents would move within the social-rented sector since they lived in dwellings within this sector before and will often stay dependent on this subsidized form of housing. At the neighbourhood level, we expect that most displaced households will move to neighbourhoods with large numbers of social-rented dwellings. The correlation between the proportion of social dwellings in the neighbourhood and the receive rate is strong and positive in all cities. Hence, the third hypothesis that displaced households move to neighbourhoods with a relatively inexpensive housing stock is confirmed. The extent to which displaced households have moved to neighbourhoods with an inexpensive housing stock differs however considerably between cities.

Table 3.3 Correlations between neighbourhood characteristics and receive rates in neighbourhoods in Breda, Ede and Rotterdam

	Breda (48 n'hoods)	Ede (54 n'hoods)	Rotterdam (59 n'hoods)
Distance De Burgen	X	-0.47	X
Distance De Horsten	X	-0.46	X
Distance Uitvindersbuurt	X	-0.51	X
Distance Heuvel	0.03	X	X
Distance De Geeren-Noord	-0.49	X	X
Distance Brabant Park	-0.36	X	X
Distance Hoogvliet-Zuid	X	X	-0.11
Distance Zuidwijk	X	X	-0.27
Distance Lombardijen	X	X	-0.30
% Social-rented dwellings	0.72	0.82	0.64
Average house value x €1000	-0.52	-0.60	-0.25
Average income per income recipient x €1000	-0.54	-0.39	-0.37
Number of social welfare recipients per 1000 residents	0.64	0.77	0.55
% Ethnic minorities	0.75	0.84	0.40

* Neighbourhoods with under 100 residents are not included in the analyses.

* The restructured neighbourhoods, neighbourhoods with a leave rate over 1 and over 60 displaced households, are not included in the analyses.

Source: WonenBreda, Woonstede, Maaskoepel, CBS Statline, Buurtmonitor Breda, Buurtmonitor Ede, Buurtmonitor Rotterdam.

Fourth, we hypothesise that displaced households move to neighbourhoods with a low socioeconomic status. To measure the socioeconomic status of a neighbourhood we used two indicators: the average income for those in receipt of some means of payment either through work, or benefits of pension and the number of social welfare recipients. As expected, there is a positive correlation between a low average income and the receive rate in neighbourhoods. This relationship is clearly strongest in Breda. The receive rate is also positively related to a high number of social welfare recipients in all cities. In Ede and Breda this relationship is however stronger than in Rotterdam. Nevertheless, the hypothesis that displaced households move to neighbourhoods with a low socioeconomic status can be confirmed for all cities.

In line with our fifth hypothesis, displaced households move to neighbourhoods with a relatively large share of ethnic minorities. The table shows once again that this is true across all cities, but that the correlation is much stronger in Breda and Ede than in Rotterdam. Again, we can confirm the hypothesis.

An explanation for the weaker correlations between neighbourhood characteristics and the receive rate in Rotterdam is that there are many more neighbourhoods available with a large inexpensive housing stock, low socioeconomic status, and large share of ethnic minorities. In Breda and Ede fewer neighbourhoods have these characteristics and as a result displaced households are more restricted in their neighbourhood choices. Since displaced households are less dispersed over different neighbourhoods in Breda and Ede it would be expected that the correlation between the receive rate and neighbourhood characteristics is stronger.

3.6 COMPARING RESTRUCTURED NEIGHBOURHOODS, RECEIVING NEIGHBOURHOODS AND OTHER NEIGHBOURHOODS

Whether displaced households move to similar neighbourhoods or not can be examined by a comparison of the characteristics of three types of neighbourhoods: (1) neighbourhoods that received many displaced households; (2) restructured neighbourhoods; and (3) neighbourhoods that did not receive many displaced households (all other neighbourhoods). We define restructured neighbourhoods as neighbourhoods where more households are displaced than could be expected on the basis of the number of dwellings. In order to prevent that neighbourhoods with very small numbers of displaced households being characterized as restructured, we only include neighbourhoods in this category when at least 60 households were forced to move. Receiving neighbourhoods are defined as neighbourhoods that are not characterised as restructured neighbourhoods and which have a receive rate (see the discussion above) over 1 and where over 20 displaced households settled.

Those neighbourhoods that do not fall into either of these two categories were defined in the 'all other neighbourhoods' category.

Table 3.4 shows a comparison between the characteristics of restructured, receiving and other neighbourhoods in all three cities. In Breda and Ede the restructured neighbourhoods are characterised by the highest proportions of social-rented dwellings, ethnic minorities, social welfare recipients, and the lowest average house values and lowest average income. This finding is important as it shows that despite the restructuring policy carried out here; these neighbourhoods still seem to belong to the category of most distressed areas.

In general, the receiving neighbourhoods have more positive scores, although the scores are not equally positive across all cities. Whilst the scores for Breda and Ede allow us to confirm the hypothesis that displaced households move to somewhat better-off neighbourhoods, in Rotterdam we have to reject this hypothesis as displaced households move to worse-off neighbourhoods. For all three cities it holds that restructuring and receiving neighbourhoods are similar and clearly different to the neighbourhoods in the other neighbourhood category. These other neighbourhoods are characterised by a high average income, few social welfare recipients, a high average house value and a large proportion of single family dwellings. The step upwards in the neighbourhood hierarchy that displaced households experience in Breda and Ede is thus limited.

A possible explanation for the differences between outcomes for Ede and Breda on the one hand and Rotterdam on the other is that displaced households in Rotterdam are more restricted by the allocation system. In Rotterdam the priority status is not valid when a household applies for a single family dwelling, which is not the case for Ede, at least for those with a long length of residence (7 years or more). The option model in Breda also does not restrict moves into a single family dwelling.

An alternative explanation is that restructuring is a much more recent phenomenon in the medium sized cities such as Breda and Ede. In these cities restructuring is now targeting neighbourhoods at the bottom of the local neighbourhood hierarchy, whereas in large cities these neighbourhoods have already undergone improvement by the urban renewal processes of the 1970s and 1980s. While these neighbourhoods are still amongst the worst of the city, the current focus of urban restructuring is on neighbourhoods that are not at the bottom of the neighbourhood hierarchy. As such the chance to move to a worse neighbourhood is bigger in Rotterdam than in the other two cities.

Table 3.4 Average characteristics of restructured, receiving, and other neighbourhoods in Breda, Ede and Rotterdam

	BREDA			EDE			ROTTERDAM		
	Restructured (3)	Receiving (2)	Other (46)	Restructured (3)	Receiving (8)	Other (46)	Restructured (12)	Receiving (6)	Other (53)
% Social-rented dwellings	60.4	48.2	22.9	45.0	41.9	14.5	66.0	76.7	40.0
Average house value x €1000	149.7	174.0	283.3	175.3	203.6	337.1	130.9	128.6	172.7
% Single family dwellings	46.3	66.9	70.5	60.5	59.8	85.0	26.5	12.8	31.5
Average income per income recipient x €1000	15.3	17.5	20.0	15.7	16.8	19.6	16.3	15.7	18.8
Number of social welfare takers per 1000 households	98.7	66.0	37.6	106.0	60.5	13.9	155.8	193.7	97.6
% Ethnic minorities	22.3	18.5	7.9	31.7	12.1	2.6	41.4	49.7	19.6
Average distance Brabant Park (km)		2.2	3.7						
Average distance De Geeren-Noord (km)		2.0	4.2						
Average distance Heuvel (km)		5.1	3.6						
Average distance De Burgen (km)					1.9	4.8			
Average distance De Horsten (km)					2.0	4.8			
Average distance Ujvindersbuurt (km)					1.3	5.1			
Average distance HoogvlietZuid (km)								11.1	11.3
Average distance Zuidwijk (km)								4.8	6.1
Average distance Lombardijen (km)								4.9	6.5

* Neighbourhoods with under 100 residents are excluded from the analyses.

Source: CBS Stalene, Buurtmonitor Breda, Buurtmonitor Ede, Buurtmonitor Rotterdam, WonenBreda, Woonstede, Maaskoepel

3.7 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Two questions were raised in this chapter. First, we asked: *How can neighbourhoods to which displaced households move be characterised?* Our results show that despite the wide variety of neighbourhoods to which displaced households move, there is a tendency for households to concentrate in neighbourhoods with specific characteristics. These neighbourhoods are, in general, near to the restructured neighbourhoods, consist of an inexpensive housing stock, have a low average socioeconomic status, and a large share of ethnic minorities. Only in two (out of nine) cases of displacement mobility do we find no support that displaced households move over short distances to nearby neighbourhoods. However, both of these cases have a very large proportion of displaced household moved within their neighbourhoods of origin. This strengthens our hypothesis that displaced households move over short distances. Furthermore, we noted that the relationship between the receive rate and neighbourhood characteristics is considerably weaker in Rotterdam than in the medium sized cities. This may be due to the greater choices that displaced households have in Rotterdam: many more neighbourhoods have a suitable housing stock than in the cities of Breda or Ede. As a result, the effects of displacement cannot be seen separated from the structure of the local housing market.

The second question we addressed was: *How do the neighbourhoods to which many displaced households move, differ from their neighbourhood of origin?* In all three cities we observe that restructured and receiving neighbourhoods are relatively similar. However, whilst we find that displaced residents in Breda and Ede move to neighbourhoods that are generally classified as being better (less social-rented dwellings, higher average house value, more single-family dwellings, higher average income, less social welfare recipients, less minorities), those displaced households moving within Rotterdam tend to move into neighbourhoods that are generally classified to be worse. We suggest that this is a consequence of the nature of the restructuring that is taking place in these cities: the neighbourhoods currently undergoing restructuring in Rotterdam are not as bad as those in Breda and Ede. The urban renewal process has been running for a longer period of time in Rotterdam, so that the weakest neighbourhoods have already been restructured. In Breda and Ede the current focus is on the weakest neighbourhoods, which implies that a move to another neighbourhood almost automatically means an upward move.

The current re-concentration of displaced households in rather similar neighbourhoods can have negative effects for these neighbourhoods. Previous research has shown that concentrations of disadvantaged residents are related to problems such as increased insecurity in the neighbourhood, criminality and tensions between residents, decreased social cohesion, fewer opportunities for social mobility and a slow integration of minorities. Since displaced residents are often relatively disadvantaged, their arrival would worsen the concentration of disadvantaged residents

in the destination neighbourhoods and the problems related to it. The impact of the increase of problems may be linearly related to the increase in disadvantaged residents, or it may change when certain thresholds are passed (Galster et al., 2000). When this assumption holds, the arrival of displaced residents may cause a rapid increase of problems.

The re-concentration of displaced households does however not need to have negative effects. Negative effects may not occur since the total numbers of displaced households that settle in specific neighbourhoods are small in comparison with the total population of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the increase of problems in neighbourhoods may not be directly related to the number of displaced residents that settle in that neighbourhood but more to the type of displaced residents: the arrival of a few multi-problem families may have a much more severe effect than the arrival of a relatively large number of regular families (Kleinhans & Varady, 2011). Further research will need to reveal the possible link between problems in the neighbourhood and the inflow of displaced households.

Although the re-concentration of displaced households does not necessarily imply that problems are displaced as well, the re-concentration of displaced households implies that mixing – and its assumed positive effects – does not take place on a city-wide scale. Not many residents move to neighbourhoods with a considerably higher status and earlier research findings (Bolt et al., 2009) suggest that it is especially the small group of households with a relatively high income amongst the displaced that manages to move upwards in the neighbourhood hierarchy. Desegregation will only take place when the moving behaviour of displaced households alters. In other words: based on our current results we can conclude that displaced residents often move to areas that have comparable characteristics with their previous neighbourhoods. Re-concentration in such neighbourhoods is a more apt term than urban desegregation for the process we observe.

The re-concentration of displaced residents in disadvantaged neighbourhoods means that the policy of urban restructuring, which frequently aims to produce mixed neighbourhoods, cannot be seen as an automatic success. While the restructuring process results in a greater degree of social mix in the restructured neighbourhoods those neighbourhoods that receive the majority of displaced residents become more segregated. New concentrations of poor households occur in those areas that are not restructured. In order to get rid of these concentrations the process of urban restructuring would need to be extended to the receiving neighbourhoods. However, it has to be accepted that restructuring neighbourhoods in this manner will not automatically solve the problems for disadvantaged individuals: when all neighbourhoods have been restructured there will be no affordable rented houses left and this can be detrimental for a wide range of groups trying to access the urban housing market, including poor minority ethnic groups and young families. Policy makers should therefore ask themselves whether they

are interested in tackling the concentrations of poverty or some of the structural causes behind individual disadvantage.

Further research will need to reveal what criteria displaced residents use to judge whether a neighbourhood is a good place for them to live and how they use their resources (both economic and cultural) to suffice their preferences. It may be that some of the aspects of neighbourhoods that are characterised as problematic are in fact desirable for displaced residents (see for instance Bauder, 2002). Whereas negative effects of a concentration of low-income residents have been identified in many studies, displaced households may prefer to live in such a neighbourhood because of the wide availability of support networks. Apart from the preferences of displaced residents, the restrictions they experience can also affect their choices. When displaced residents for example feel a strong pressure to find a dwelling as soon as possible or have problems to understand the relocation procedures, they may choose for dwellings and neighbourhoods they actually do not prefer (Manley & Van Ham, 2011). All in all, the current choices of displaced households result in re-concentration. When policy makers aim to develop mixing policies that do not result in re-concentration it seems therefore worth the effort to take a closer look at the decision making process of displaced households.

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FOUR

WHY DO DISPLACED RESIDENTS MOVE TO SOCIOECONOMICALLY DISADVANTAGED NEIGHBOURHOODS?

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ABSTRACT

Urban restructuring – the large-scale demolition of low-rent dwellings, followed by the construction of more upmarket alternatives – forces residents to make a step in their housing career. Because displaced residents tend to have a low socioeconomic position, they are often confined to the most affordable parts of the housing stock. Since these dwellings are generally concentrated in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods, displaced residents are likely to move to such neighbourhoods. However, they do have a measure of freedom to choose their new neighbourhood. This chapter reveals which kinds of households move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods and why they do so. An analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data collected in five Dutch cities shows that not only displaced households' restrictions, but also their preferences are crucial to understand their relocation choices.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Social mixing policies are implemented on a relatively large scale in the Netherlands (Van der Flier & Thomsen, 2006). Many low-rent dwellings in disadvantaged neighbourhoods are demolished and replaced with more upmarket alternatives in order to mix the population and improve the quality of the housing stock (Harrison et al., 2005; Van Gent et al., 2009). As a result, households are forced to move and there is concern that they are paying a heavy price for urban restructuring. In contrast to voluntary movers, displaced residents might have liked their old housing situation and have had no inclination to move. Besides, their relatively weak socioeconomic position is a considerable restraint on their moving options (Bolt et al., 2009). Compared to voluntary movers, forced movers might therefore less often experience their move as a step forward in their housing career. This has led several Dutch scholars to examine the steps displaced residents make. However, most studies on this subject have been conducted in the USA (Dekker & Varady, 2011).

Both Dutch and American studies have found that displaced residents frequently move to more favourable dwellings and become more satisfied (Kingsley et al., 2003; Kleinhans & Doff, 2008; Posthumus et al., 2013a; Varady & Walker, 2000). This is to be expected, because displaced residents are often forced to move out of dilapidated dwellings. It is less clear whether displaced residents also move to better neighbourhoods. Although the characteristics of displaced residents' new neighbourhoods are often considered unfavourable, they tend to be more satisfied with their new neighbourhoods.

The level of the socioeconomic disadvantage of displaced residents' neighbourhoods is often used as an indicator of their quality. Here, we use a multiplex and relative definition of socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods. It is multiplex in that multiple indicators of socioeconomic disadvantage are used (average income, house value, share of welfare recipients), and relative in that what is considered a disadvantaged neighbourhood depends on the position of a neighbourhood in relation to other neighbourhoods in the same city. According to the locational attainment model (South & Crowder, 1997), socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods (hereafter 'disadvantaged neighbourhoods') provide their residents with a lower quality of life because they exert negative effects on their residents, for instance with respect to employment and educational prospects (Galster, 1999; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000), and likelihood of being exposed to crime (Sampson et al., 2002) and neighbourhood deterioration (Harris, 2001). This implies that when residents want to move to high quality neighbourhoods but end up in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, they have suffered from a lack of alternatives.

The main finding of studies into the level of disadvantage of displaced residents' previous and current neighbourhoods, is that the neighbourhoods they move to

are characterized by a relatively low average income, low average house values and many welfare recipients compared to other neighbourhoods in the city (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Hartung & Henig, 1997; Kingsley et al., 2003; Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Posthumus et al., 2013b)⁷. However, displaced residents might not always be as negative about their new neighbourhood as one might expect on the basis of the characteristics of these neighbourhoods. Several studies have shown that displaced residents become considerably more satisfied with their new neighbourhood, even if it too is disadvantaged (Brooks et al., 2005; Posthumus et al., 2013a; Varady & Walker, 2000). This might be the result of their increased dwelling satisfaction, as previous studies provide ample evidence that dwelling and neighbourhood satisfaction are interrelated (Galster & Hesser, 1981; Lu, 1999; Posthumus et al., 2013a; Varady & Carozza, 2000). Another possible explanation is that displaced residents are able to satisfy some of their preferences in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Whether a move to a disadvantaged neighbourhood is problematic for displaced residents will then depend on the extent to which their preferences pull and their restrictions push them towards such neighbourhoods. Displaced residents' preferences and restrictions might well differ from those of voluntary movers in the social rented housing sector. They do not always consciously move to improve their housing situation, they have a relatively weak socioeconomic position, and they face specific regulations that can both increase and restrict their freedom of choice (Bolt et al., 2009). Considering these differences, some displaced residents might have much less freedom of choice than voluntary movers. Nevertheless, they do weigh alternatives and make decisions (Popp, 1976). It is unclear, however, why this process often results in their moving to disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

While quantitative analyses are useful to gain an insight into the extent to which moves to disadvantaged neighbourhoods are related to displaced residents' background characteristics, a qualitative approach is needed to understand the roles that restrictions and preferences play in the decision to move to a disadvantaged neighbourhood. We therefore collected quantitative and qualitative data on these roles, and used them to work towards a more complete answer to the question:

Why do displaced residents move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods?

⁷ Although both in the Netherlands and the USA displaced residents tend to move to neighbourhoods that are only somewhat less disadvantaged, in the USA the neighbourhoods they leave are considerably more disadvantaged. Nevertheless, numerous Dutch neighbourhoods face problematic levels of socioeconomic disadvantage (Dekker & Varady, 2011).

4.2 DETERMINANTS OF RELOCATION DECISIONS

• • • • • 4.2.1 MOVER CONSTRAINTS

When displaced residents move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods, this is often interpreted as the result of the constraints on them (Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Pendall, 2000). The following are specific constraints that could explain displaced residents' tendency to move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

INCOME

The limited financial resources of displaced residents constrain their relocation options. Dwellings that are slated for demolition are generally among the cheapest in the social rented housing market and of the lowest quality. Because in the Dutch social rented housing system only low-income⁸ households have access to dwellings with low rents, especially low-income households reside in these dwellings (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Brooks et al., 2005; Pendall, 2000). In the case of a forced move, many of these households are only able to move to other relatively inexpensive dwellings. Others, however, will be earning somewhat more than they were when they moved into the dwelling that is to be demolished. For voluntary movers, a higher income increases the opportunities to move to better dwellings and richer neighbourhoods (e.g., Clark et al., 2006; Dieleman et al., 2000). Although the same applies to displaced residents with a higher income, their higher income can in fact limit their choices in the Netherlands, as the cheapest dwellings within the social rented sector are not available to households with incomes over a certain threshold (see footnote 8).

KNOWLEDGE

The low income of displaced residents is often related to their relatively low level of education. This, however, is not the only way in which a low education can be a disadvantage in the case of a forced move. Residents with a lower education are also likely to have fewer of the skills that are required to obtain valuable information, such as knowledge of regulations, tenants' rights (or the rights of forced movers), where to search for dwellings and where to go for help with a house search. The limited knowledge of people with a lower education might result in a smaller awareness space (Brown & Moore, 1970) – a limited awareness of all the available opportunities in the housing market – and thus in suboptimal housing choices. Both for voluntary movers (Feijten, 2005) and forced movers (Kleinmans & Doff,

8 In 2011, only households with a maximum taxable income of €22,026 were allowed to apply for dwellings with a monthly rental of up to €366.37. Residents with a maximum taxable income of between €22,026 and €33,614 were allowed to apply for dwellings with a monthly rental of between €366.37 and €652.52.

2008), it has been found that those with less education have a smaller probability of obtaining good quality housing.

As the educational level of ethnic minorities is on average considerably lower than that of native Dutch people (CBS, 2010; Kaufman et al., 2001), displaced residents from ethnic minorities have a relatively lower income and more restricted access to useful knowledge. Not being a native speaker and having less experience of the institutions in their host society might make it even more difficult to take a well-informed relocation decision. The probability of ethnic minorities finding dwellings in more prosperous neighbourhoods might furthermore be reduced by the discriminatory nature of housing markets (Kyle, 2001). Studies also show that displaced ethnic minorities are more likely to move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Kleinhans & Doff, 2008; South & Crowder, 1997).

Although not all displaced residents will be aware of all opportunities in the housing market, they will be aware of some, especially those near their demolished dwelling since many of their daily activities take place in this area (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Brown & Moore, 1970). It is a safe option to choose a dwelling within this comfort zone: in contrast to alternatives further away, they know what they will get. They might not even consider dwellings in neighbourhoods that are further away, even if those neighbourhoods better suit their preferences. As restructured neighbourhoods are often situated in parts of the city that have many cheap dwellings, a move within the comfort zone often implies a move to a disadvantaged neighbourhood.

REGULATIONS

The dwellings and neighbourhoods to which displaced residents may move are restricted by regulations. These regulations differ between countries. In the USA, for instance, displaced residents receive considerably less assistance than they do in the Netherlands (Dekker & Varady, 2011), where the social arrangements on which displaced residents can rely are relatively generous. Also compared to other European countries, the social arrangements on which displaced residents can rely in the Netherlands are known to be relatively generous. Since we focus on the relocation choices of Dutch displaced residents we continue with an elaboration of the Dutch relocation regulations. Although there are local differences in relocation policies in the Netherlands, the policies share certain principles.

First, only residents of social rented dwellings are forced to relocate. A housing association that forces a household to relocate must enable residents to move into an alternative social rented dwelling whose rental value is below a certain

maximum (€652.52 a month in 2011). Almost all displaced residents therefore continue to live in social rented dwellings⁹.

Second, the household income determines both the rental range in which one is allowed to apply for a dwelling, as well as the rent above which one will receive a subsidy. As such, residents can move to a dwelling with a higher rent while paying the same rent as they paid previously.

Third, in most cities¹⁰ housing associations implement choice-based letting (Kullberg, 2002): residents subscribe to the city's social rented housing network and apply for dwellings as they become available. They are announced on a weekly basis on the Internet and in a newspaper, and are usually offered to those who have been on the waiting list the longest. Displaced residents, however, are given a priority status, which gives them precedence over regular house-seekers, even if the latter have been on the waiting list for longer. Apart from the restrictions that hold for all applicants to social-rented housing, additional restrictions can be attached to this priority status. One of the most important is that the priority status can be used for only a limited period, usually a year. They therefore cannot simply wait until their preferred dwelling becomes available, and may thus be more likely to move to a suboptimal housing situation (Goetgeluk, 1997). A displaced resident's priority status is furthermore usually restricted to dwellings of a certain type, size and rental value.

Fourth, Dutch displaced residents are entitled to relocation counselling of their housing association. This counselling both includes the provision of written information and personal assistance during the relocation process. Previous American research has shown that counselling does not increase displaced residents' relocation alternatives. Instead, relocation staff has been found to pressure residents to accept readily available options, rather than to fully explore all of their opportunities (Comey, 2007; Goetz, 2003; Joseph & Chaskin, 2012). In the Netherlands, there are also indications that housing officers influence the relocation decisions of displaced residents. Counsellors have stated that they sometimes try to seduce residents to choose for a different neighbourhood in order to prevent the re-concentration of displaced residents (Posthumus et al., 2012).

AVAILABILITY OF AFFORDABLE DWELLINGS

Thus, displaced residents' moving options are restricted to inexpensive dwellings that they know how to access and that are in accordance with the relocation

⁹ This is a clear difference with the HOPE VI program in the US where relocatees are given housing vouchers to use in the private rental stock (Dekker & Varady, 2011).

¹⁰ Out of the five cities that are central to this study, four (The Hague, Ede, Groningen and Rotterdam) use choice-based letting, whereas Breda implements an option model: displaced residents indicate to which kind of social rented dwelling and to which neighbourhoods they want to move, and the housing association offers them a dwelling that matches their preferences as soon as such a dwelling becomes available.

regulations. Whether displaced residents are forced to move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods depends on the distribution of vacant dwellings that fit this profile over disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

In comparison to other European countries and the USA, the Netherlands has a relatively large social rented housing stock. In the five cities that are central to this study, 20–49% of the total housing stock comprises social rented dwellings. Consequently, not all residents of social rented dwellings are poor (Pinkster, 2006; Van Kempen & Priemus, 2002). Similarly, not all social rented dwellings are in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods. However, the Dutch neighbourhoods with the largest shares of social rented dwellings are relatively often disadvantaged. These neighbourhoods were built in order to provide moderate-to low-income households with homes, and they often attract many low-income households. Furthermore, turnover rates are especially high in neighbourhoods that are declining (Andersson & Brama, 2004). In these neighbourhoods, all home-seekers have relatively many opportunities to find a dwelling. Thus, although displaced residents have access to dwellings in disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged neighbourhoods, the available housing is relatively often located in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

● ● ● ● ● 4.2.2 MOVER PREFERENCES

The preferences of displaced residents might also affect their relocation decision: studies have found that displaced residents become more satisfied with their neighbourhood, even if it is disadvantaged (Brooks et al., 2005; Posthumus et al., 2013a; Varady & Walker, 2000). The following preferences might help to explain why displaced residents move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Since it is much more common to examine the role of preferences in the relocation decisions of voluntary than of forced movers, this overview often relies on studies that focused on the former.

DWELLING AS TOP PRIORITY

Relocations are traditionally assumed to be the result of dissatisfaction with the current housing situation (Rossi, 1955). Residents are most likely to become dissatisfied with their housing situation after the occurrence of life course events that have an impact on their dwelling needs (Mulder & Hooimeijer, 1999). More recent studies have shown that life course events can also alter neighbourhood needs (Clark & Huang, 2003; Rabe & Taylor, 2010). Therefore, both dwelling and neighbourhood characteristics can be reasons to move. Several studies have examined the relative importance of these characteristics. The role of the neighbourhood is often found to be quite modest compared to the role of the dwelling (Boheim & Taylor, 2002; Clark & Ledwith, 2005; Clark et al., 2006). For example, many people might find it particularly important to live in a single-family dwelling, or to have a certain number of rooms or a garden, etc. Some studies, however, show that

neighbourhood characteristics are also important in relocation choices, particularly when households have children (South & Crowder, 1997). When residents' neighbourhood preferences are less important than their dwelling preferences, they may be less likely to avoid moving into a disadvantaged neighbourhood (in comparison to other residents).

PRESERVATION OF SOCIAL NETWORKS

The social networks of displaced residents can also draw them to disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Displaced residents who want to maintain their social contacts in the neighbourhood are motivated to move within their neighbourhood or to an adjacent area. Since both the neighbourhoods in which renewal takes place and their adjacent areas are often disadvantaged, such moves will relatively often be to disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010).

The importance of maintaining social networks in the neighbourhood differs between residents. People in a vulnerable socioeconomic position have for instance been found to rely on place-based social networks as part of their survival strategy (Trudeau, 2006), and therefore maintaining social contacts might be particularly important to them. This is also likely to be the case for women, as they have been found to attach greater value to the social networks in their neighbourhood (Ajrouch et al., 2008; Trudeau, 2006). Furthermore, long-term residents of a neighbourhood might have stronger preferences to move only a short distance away because they are more attached to the area (Lewicka, 2010). Since the elderly have often lived in their dwellings longer than younger residents, they are expected to be more attached to their neighbourhood (Campbell & Lee, 1992; Oh & Kim, 2009; Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen, 2006) and to express stronger preferences to move only a short distance. Finally, families with children might want to move only a short distance in order to keep their children in the same social environment and thus provide them with stability after a move (Nivalainen, 2004).

FACILITATION OF DAILY ROUTINES

Displaced residents might also prefer to move only a short distance (and thus probably to a disadvantaged neighbourhood) in order to maintain their daily routines. The proximity of, for example, jobs, schools or certain services (e.g. public transport) can be important motives to move only a short distance (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Kleinhans, 2003). The importance of maintaining daily routines is stressed in a study by Clampet-Lundquist (2004, p. 441) on relocation: households "largely based their choice on the neighbourhoods that would fit their current daily routine rather than on future possibilities for social mobility."

SIMILAR RESIDENTS

A displaced resident might also consciously decide to move to a disadvantaged neighbourhood, regardless of its proximity. Since displaced residents often have a rather weak socioeconomic position they might feel much more at home in neighbourhoods in which many residents are in a similar position, than in neighbourhoods in which the residents are better off. It is a well-known socio-psychological principle – the similarity attraction paradigm – that people like others who are similar to them (Byrne, 1971). Ioannides and Zabel (2008) also found that residents are inclined to move to neighbourhoods where the residents are like themselves in terms of income, minority status, education, age and household composition.

In the case of ethnic minorities, the preference to live with similar residents (i.e. other minority residents) might be especially strong, as argued in the ‘ethnic enclave model’. Moving to a neighbourhood where there are people from a similar ethnic background has several advantages (Johnston et al., 2002; van Kempen & Özüekren, 1998). First, the networks that are organized along ethnic lines could provide useful support, for instance in the case of discrimination. Second, residents could feel less isolated when many residents are alike. Third, the ethnic entrepreneurs that are present in ethnic enclaves could provide new residents with jobs.

● ● ● ● ● 4.2.3 REMAINING QUESTIONS

Although previous studies identified various factors that might explain why displaced residents move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods, they did not establish which motives actually play a role in displaced residents’ decisions to move to such neighbourhoods. And although studies frequently refer to constraints as a driving force behind displaced residents’ moves, the role of various specific (perceived) constraints have not been examined. The possibility that preferences also play a role has received even less attention. This hiatus may be attributed to the common perception that displaced residents are so restricted that their preferences are irrelevant.

Here, we provide a more complete overview of the reasons why displaced residents move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods. To this end, we answer the following questions:

- 1 *To what extent can the movement of displaced residents to move into disadvantaged neighbourhoods be related to their background characteristics (like income, level of education, ethnic background etc.)?*
- 2 *What is the role of constraints in displaced residents’ decisions to move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods?*
- 3 *What is the role of preferences in displaced residents’ decisions to move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods?*

4.3 STUDY AND METHODS

4.3.1 RESEARCH CONTEXT

It was interesting to study this topic within the Dutch context, since in the Netherlands displaced residents have a relatively large amount of choice regarding the neighbourhoods to which they may move: although social rented dwellings are overrepresented in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods, a considerable number are present in more prosperous neighbourhoods. This allowed us to examine the roles of restrictions and preferences in choosing socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Displaced residents, i.e. tenants that were forced to move because their housing association decided to demolish or renovate their dwelling, in five Dutch cities were studied (Breda, The Hague, Ede, Groningen and Rotterdam). The size of the social rented housing stock differs considerably between these cities (Table 4.1). Especially in Rotterdam a much larger share of the housing stock consists of social rented dwellings. The distribution of such dwellings over neighbourhoods is also quite different across the cities. Whereas a high level of segregation is present in The Hague, the level of segregation is rather low in Groningen.

Table 4.1 Core characteristics of Breda, The Hague, Ede, Groningen and Rotterdam

	Breda	The Hague	Ede	Groningen	Rotterdam
No. of residents	173,350	473,940	107,500	181,610	584,060
% ethnic minorities*	10	33	7	9	36
% owner-occupied dwellings	60	45	70	41	28
% social-rented dwellings	32	34	20**	43	51
Segregation index social-rented dwellings	39	54	33**	19	34
No. of neighbourhoods	54	115	67	70	89

* When we refer to ethnic minorities in the Netherlands, we use the following definition: an individual is from an ethnic minority group when at least one of his or her parents was born in a non-Western country.

** Based on the social-rented dwellings of Woonstede alone. This is the largest corporation in Ede.

Source: CBS Statline, 2007

● ● ● ● ● 4.3.2 DATA AND METHODS

We collected quantitative data in order to answer the first sub-question (i.e. whether displaced residents' background characteristics affect their probability of moving to disadvantaged neighbourhoods) and qualitative data in order to answer the second and third sub-questions (i.e. about the relation between displaced residents' decision to move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and the constraints they perceive and the preferences they have). Displaced residents' perceived constraints and preferences are much more difficult to grasp in quantitative data than their background characteristics. Compared to interviews, questionnaires provide less opportunities to answer complex questions such as why displaced residents' hold certain preferences and experience certain constraints, why they perceive some preferences and constraints to prevail over others, how preferences and constraints interact with each other, and how this affects their relocation decisions. Therefore, a qualitative analysis of interview data is important to understand the roles of residents' constraints and preferences in full. Before we continue with a detailed overview of our qualitative approach, we first discuss our quantitative approach.

The quantitative data comprised data on neighbourhood characteristics derived from national and local monitors¹¹, and data we collected by means of a questionnaire. We sent the questionnaire to:

- all 358 households that had been displaced in Breda in 2003–09
- all 507 households that had been displaced in Ede in 2003–08
- 700 of the 1367 households that had been displaced in Groningen in 2003–09
- 600 of the 2818 households that had been displaced in Rotterdam in 2007–09
- 1300 of the 1867 households that had been displaced in The Hague in 2006–09 (this sample was larger because the municipality requested more extensive research than the other municipalities).

In order to increase the response, and thus reduce the risk of a selective response and biased results, research assistants were hired to approach the potential respondents face to face. The assistants were selected on the basis of their capabilities and ethnic background. The use of an ethnically diverse research team lowered the language and cultural barriers to participation as much as was possible. This approach resulted in 868 correctly completed questionnaires. The response rate did not differ much between the cities: the average was 26%, with a range of 21 to 29%. The rate was rather low, probably because the targeted residents were hard to reach, as many are low-educated, non-native Dutch people. Unfortunately, it is unclear whether and, if so, to what degree the response was selective, because the background characteristics of the total population of displaced residents are not

¹¹ The data on the quality of neighbourhoods stem from a national database (CBS Statline) and several local databases (BreData, Ede in Cijfers, Gronometer, BIRD, and Den Haag in cijfers).

known. However, since a considerable number of questionnaires were completed, a lot of valuable information has been obtained. As we do not know whether this information is biased, we need to be careful in interpreting it.

Only the 706 respondents who had moved within their municipalities were included in our analyses. There are two reasons for this. First, displaced residents who move out of their municipalities are likely to have very different motives (e.g. new jobs in distant places, or new partners who live elsewhere; Feijten, 2005). Second, our definition of disadvantaged neighbourhood would not be adequate in non-urban municipalities. We define a neighbourhood as disadvantaged or not disadvantaged in light of the characteristics of all the neighbourhoods in that municipality. Whereas this provides an adequate overview of the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods in urban municipalities, it would not do so in rural areas, as villages often comprise only one or two neighbourhoods.

Qualitative data were used to establish why some of the displaced residents moved to disadvantaged neighbourhoods while others did not. We collected these data during 150 qualitative follow-up telephone interviews with residents who had indicated in their questionnaire that they were interested in such an interview. We were able to select interviewees who were representative of the respondents with respect to several core characteristics (i.e. ethnic background, household composition and educational level) because many displaced residents had shown interest in follow-up interviews. In these interviews, we used open questions focused on displaced residents' reasons to choose their new dwelling and neighbourhood. Because the questionnaire had provided us with a lot of data on the respondents, the interviews did not have to take long (average length: 15 minutes).

All interviews were recorded and literally transcribed. For a thorough and structured analysis of the interviews, we used the Nvivo qualitative analysis program. In this program, all transcriptions were coded using both open and axial coding. Open coding was used to code the transcriptions close to the text, while axial coding was used to relate the codes to each other. This iterative process resulted in an extensive coding tree that provided an overview of the most important perceived constraints on and preferences of displaced residents. Since the respondents' residential location choices were added to the interviews, it was possible to compare the specific preferences and perceived constraints between people that moved to disadvantaged neighbourhoods and those that moved to other neighbourhoods.

● ● ● ● ● 4.3.3 MEASUREMENTS

DEPENDENT VARIABLES – LEVEL OF DISADVANTAGE OF NEIGHBOURHOODS

The core variables refer to the socioeconomic position of the displaced residents' new and old neighbourhoods, and the difference between the two. We used data from 2007¹² to compute socioeconomic disadvantage scores for all neighbourhoods in each city separately, as we wanted to examine whether displaced residents move to neighbourhoods that, according to the standards of their city, are disadvantaged. The socioeconomic disadvantage scores of neighbourhoods were based on the average income per income recipient, the number of welfare recipients per 1000 residents and the average house value¹³. Factor analyses were used to reduce these three variables to one variable, which is a standardized measure of socioeconomic disadvantage. A score of 0 indicates an average position; a score of -1 and +1 indicate a standard deviation below and above, respectively, the average level of disadvantage in the municipality. Neighbourhoods that scored half a standard deviation above the mean for each city (above 0.5) were considered disadvantaged¹⁴.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES FOR THE QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS – BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

The educational level of the displaced residents was divided into three dummy variables indicating low educated residents (no education at all, or just primary school), higher educated residents (degree from a university of applied sciences (polytechnic) or a regular university) and average educated residents. Average income refers to the average monthly net income of households. The dummy variable 'non-native' is defined as those residents who have one or more parents who were born in a non-Western country. The 'length of residence' variable indicates the number of years that someone had lived in his/her previous dwelling. The dummy variable 'female-headed household' was included to indicate whether a household is headed by a single female or a single mother. Two age-related variables were constructed: 'age' and 'elderly', which is a dummy indicating whether a respondent is over 65 years of age. A dummy for the presence of children in a household was also included. Table 4.2 presents the descriptives of these variables.

12 The socioeconomic position of neighbourhoods in 2007 is a valid proxy for their socioeconomic position in other years: the socioeconomic positions of neighbourhoods in the selected research cities have barely changed over time.

13 In Breda, the average house value was not measured for most neighbourhoods. We therefore used the percentage of multifamily dwellings.

14 According to this definition 30% of the neighbourhoods in Breda and The Hague, 19% of the neighbourhoods in Ede, 26% of the neighbourhoods in Groningen and 28% of the neighbourhoods in Rotterdam are disadvantaged.

Table 4.2 Descriptives respondents – Means per city

	Breda (n=55)	The Hague (n=257)	Ede (n=114)	Groningen (n=152)	Rotterdam (n=128)
Z-score – level of socioeconomic disadvantage of previous neighbourhood	1.30	1.08	1.89	0.87	0.51
Z-score – level of socioeconomic disadvantage of current neighbourhood	0.80	0.78	1.29	0.46	0.35
Z-score – changed level of socioeconomic disadvantage between previous and current neighbourhood	-0.50	-0.30	-0.62	-0.40	-0.16
Low educated	18.18%	25.29%	19.30%	9.21%	18.75%
Average educated	68.00%	57.92%	63.46%	46.67%	65.29%
High educated	11.32%	14.57%	14.81%	43.71%	14.40%
Monthly net household income * €1000	1.47	1.38	1.49	1.38	1.36
Non-native Dutch people	20.00%	39.69%	21.05%	11.18%	41.41%
Duration of stay (years)	11.53	11.00	10.24	8.76	12.07
Female-headed household	25.45%	34.63%	33.33%	39.47%	46.09%
Age	49.13	52.32	49.45	43.51	54.50
Elderly	12.73%	20.23%	19.30%	8.55%	25.78%
Children living at home	36.36%	23.35%	35.09%	15.79%	27.34%

Source: Own survey

4.4 THE BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF DISPLACED RESIDENTS WHO MOVE TO DISADVANTAGED NEIGHBOURHOODS

Not surprisingly, the origin neighbourhoods of forced movers are characterised by disadvantage scores well above the city average (Table 2, 1st row). The destination neighbourhood tends to have a somewhat lower disadvantage score¹⁵. Nevertheless, most displaced residents (62 %) moved to a disadvantaged neighbourhood (according to our definition: a score of at least +0.5). The probability of moving to a disadvantaged neighbourhood is not the same for all displaced residents, as shown by the results of a multiple regression analysis in which the level of disadvantage of the current neighbourhood of displaced residents is predicted by their background characteristics (Table 4.3).

15 In Rotterdam, the difference between origin and destination neighbourhood is smallest. This might be due to the fact that restructuring has not taken place in the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods of Rotterdam.

Table 4.3 Multiple regression analysis: predicting the deprivation level of the current neighbourhood by respondents' background characteristics

	Breda (R ² 0.26) (n=48) (F=2.28, df=47, p=0.04)		The Hague (R ² 0.21) (n=223) (F=6.15, df=222, p=0.00)		Ede (R ² 0.28) (n=75) (F=2.76, df=74, p=0.01)		Groningen (R ² 0.12) (n=139) (F=1.96, df=138, p=0.05)		Rotterdam (R ² 0.23) (n=111) (F=4.74, df=110, p=0.00)	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
Intercept	0.48***	0.16	1.25***	0.24	0.80	0.87	0.60	0.39	-0.50*	0.30
Deprivation of previous neighbourhood	0.49***	0.04	0.30***	0.09	0.14	0.19	0.21	0.13	0.60***	0.12
Average educated	-0.04	0.07	-0.11	0.09	0.24	0.28	0.27	0.23	0.05	0.13
High educated	-0.13	0.09	-0.16	0.14	-0.15	0.38	0.16	0.23	0.15	0.19
Monthly net household income * €1000	-0.16***	0.04	-0.28***	0.07	-0.02	0.16	-0.19**	0.09	-0.09*	0.09
Non-native Dutch people	0.10*	0.06	0.16*	0.09	0.71***	0.28	-0.07	0.18	0.20*	0.12
Length of residence	-0.01	0.01	-0.00	0.01	-0.03	0.02	-0.00	0.01	-0.00	0.01
Female-headed household	0.03	0.06	-0.01	0.09	0.13	0.22	-0.01	0.12	0.10	0.11
Age	-0.00	0.00	-0.01**	0.00	0.00	0.01	-0.01	0.01	0.01**	0.00
Child(ren) living at home	0.17***	0.07	-0.04	0.10	0.43*	0.23	0.25	0.15	0.05	0.12

*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01

Source: Own survey

In Breda, The Hague and Rotterdam, displaced residents who left relatively disadvantaged neighbourhoods were more likely to move to other relatively disadvantaged neighbourhoods. To establish whether this is a result of displaced residents moving within their old, disadvantaged neighbourhood, the analysis was also conducted without those residents who had moved within their old neighbourhood (not shown). The effects of leaving a relatively disadvantaged neighbourhood, however, persist in all three cities. Apparently, residents originating from disadvantaged areas are not likely to move into substantially less disadvantaged or even relatively prosperous neighbourhoods. The absence of the effect of deprivation level in Groningen is likely to be due to the specific distribution of social rented dwellings in that city: the relatively large and evenly divided social rented housing stock (Table 4.2) provides displaced residents with ample opportunities to move to non-disadvantaged neighbourhoods. In Ede, the deprivation level of the previous neighbourhood has probably no effect, because displaced residents move out of neighbourhoods that have very similar deprivation levels. Ede residents are displaced in relatively few neighbourhoods, and the deprivation level in these neighbourhoods is about the same.

The individual characteristics of displaced residents also affect the probability of moving to disadvantaged neighbourhoods. In all cities but Ede, for example, displaced residents with higher incomes are less likely to move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Although the location of social rented dwellings is not taken into account in the calculation of their rent, it is likely that social rented dwellings with higher rents are relatively more often located in non-disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Consequently, residents who can afford these dwellings are more likely to move to non-disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Interestingly, level of education does not predict the disadvantage level of the destination neighbourhood once the effect of income is taken into account.

Another common result is that non-native Dutch people are more likely to move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods, possibly because they are less familiar with the functioning of Dutch institutions and therefore have greater difficulty in understanding their rights and opportunities to move to non-disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Groningen is the only city in which non-native Dutch people are not more likely to move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods. This is probably due to the small number of non-native Dutch people in Groningen who participated in the study (Table 4.2).

In the two cities in which an effect of age was found, the direction of the effect differs. While older residents in The Hague are less likely to move to a disadvantaged neighbourhood, older residents in Rotterdam are more likely to. This might be caused by the location of dwellings for residents over 55 years of age in the two cities.

Finally, household composition affects the probability of moving to a disadvantaged neighbourhood. In the cities where relatively most displaced households with children live and participated (Breda and Ede), families with children are more likely to move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods than families without children. This is contra-intuitive, as one would expect that families with children try to avoid disadvantaged neighbourhoods. However, maintaining their children's social networks and school places might be important reasons for households to move only a short distance away, even if this means that they continue to live in a disadvantaged neighbourhood (Nivalainen, 2004). When residents who move within the same neighbourhoods are excluded from the analysis (not shown), the effect of the presence of children disappears. This indicates that social networks are important in the relocation decisions of households with children.

4.5 WHY DISPLACED RESIDENTS MOVE TO DISADVANTAGED NEIGHBOURHOODS

The previous section showed that there is a clear tendency amongst displaced residents to move to (another) disadvantaged neighbourhood and that this tendency is even stronger for specific categories, like non-natives and the lowest income categories. On the basis of the 150 follow-up interviews, this section aims to give insight in the reasons for moving into disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

● ● ● ● ● 4.5.1 MOVER CONSTRAINTS

In the literature on displacement, much emphasis is put on the constraints that affect relocation choices, like a low income, lack of knowledge, and the regulations with respect to relocation. The results of our interviews indeed indicate that most displaced residents perceive constraints. However, they also show that the degree to which residents do so differs considerably. Only a small number felt severely restricted and had been very frightened of becoming homeless upon the expiration of their priority status, which usually lasts for a year. For example, one of these 'panickers' said: "I just wanted to have a home. I didn't care whether it was old or going to be demolished, or anything." Panickers tend to accept any dwelling they can get, irrespective of whether it suits their preferences. Almost all of these residents moved to disadvantaged neighbourhoods. This seems to be related to the larger number of vacant dwellings in such neighbourhoods.

However, most displaced residents believe that they have space to satisfy at least some of their preferences. They are aware of the restrictions but do not consider them crucial. Exemplary statements are: "You only apply for places you might actually get, not for those that you know are out of your reach" and "I'd of course prefer

to live in a detached villa; you can always improve your situation, so to say.” Displaced residents who perceive some freedom of choice generally also succeeded in satisfying some of their preferences:

“ I just wanted to move to a neighbourhood where people let each other be and don’t cause any trouble, and that’s exactly how it worked out. I really live in a great environment at the moment. ”

“ I live near my friends, and my home is somewhat bigger. That’ll do for me. It’s actually exactly what I asked for. ”

“ I wanted my kids to have a good home, and now I live right across from a large park where they can play safely. There’s nothing more I could wish for. ”

Displaced residents who perceive a certain degree of freedom of choice sometimes do and sometimes do not move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Clearly, the restrictions they perceive cannot explain this.

● ● ● ● ● 4.5.2 MOVER PREFERENCES

To examine the role of displaced residents’ preferences in their decision to move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods we first analysed the various preferences that displaced residents mentioned during the qualitative interviews. We then compared the types of preferences of those who had moved to disadvantaged neighbourhoods with the types of preferences of those who had moved to non-disadvantaged neighbourhoods. This revealed that residents who have certain types of preferences are particularly likely to move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods. An overview of the types of residents who are likely or not likely to move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods is presented in Table 4.4. We elaborate upon this typology in the remainder of this section.

Table 4.4 Overview of the tendency of different types of residents to move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods

Search space	Preferences	Neighbourhood preferences	Tendency to settle in disadvantaged neighbourhood	
Very limited	No → Panickers	No	Yes	
Yes	Yes → Neighbourhood (& dwelling)	Yes → Home-bonders	Yes	
		Yes → No middle-classes	Yes	
		Yes → Anti-ghettoists	Mostly not	
		Yes → Belongers	Yes	
		Yes → Amenity-seekers	Yes	
		Yes → Combiners	Deliberators	Sometimes, when anti-ghettoist preferences are present
			High-demanders	Mostly not, when anti-ghettoist preferences are present

Source: Own interviews

HOME-BONDERS

In line with what was found in other studies (Boheim & Taylor, 2002; Clark & Ledwith, 2005; Clark et al., 2006), a considerable number of residents stressed that the characteristics of their dwelling are much more important than their neighbourhood. They had been determined to find a dwelling with specific characteristics, such as a certain size, type or rent. These residents had wanted a certain dwelling and had not been concerned about the kind of neighbourhood it was in. As one resident put it: “Of course you have some contacts with your neighbours, but that’s not such a big deal. To me, it is most important to enjoy living in your home. So the place itself is my top priority.” Residents who have this kind of preference often move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods because dwellings are more often readily available in such neighbourhoods. However, there are exceptions to this. Especially when suitable dwellings are available in various neighbourhoods, displaced residents pick the least disadvantaged neighbourhood.

Most residents have preferences regarding their neighbourhood. We now discuss which of these neighbourhood preferences are held by residents and how these relate to the tendency to move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

NO MIDDLE-CLASSERS

A small group of displaced residents were not interested in middle-class neighbourhoods. This is nicely illustrated a statement made by a somewhat older, native Dutch housewife that does not feel connected to dual earners:

“ We didn't want to move to a new neighbourhood. Those neighbourhoods only attract young people and everybody is out at work all day. The residents don't get involved with each other. But we really like to, so we chose a more mixed neighbourhood, one with both old and young residents.”

It has often been argued that middle-class suburbs are nice places to live. Our interviews revealed that this does not hold for everybody. Some people do not like middle-class neighbourhoods because relatively few like-minded residents live in them (Ioannides & Zabel, 2008). Residents who do not want to live in such an environment tend to choose a disadvantaged over a non-disadvantaged neighbourhood.

ANTI-GHETTOISTS

A much larger group stressed that they did not want to move to neighbourhoods they consider very problematic. The most frequently mentioned problems were nuisance, lack of safety, anti-social behaviour, and the presence of ethnic minorities and unemployed people. Some people were concerned with avoiding only one of these problems. The presence of ethnic minorities was often named in this respect:

“ Well, there're some neighbourhoods in The Hague where you really do not want to live as a white person. You can't connect to the residents of those neighbourhoods. As a result, the contacts with neighbours are of course very bad.”

However, many displaced residents related several social problems to each other:

“ There are some high-rise buildings in a small area where I really did not want to go. It's because of the residents, the many foreigners who live there. There's also a lot of nuisance. I really don't want to live there with my two kids.”

Since the problems these residents want to avoid are relatively likely to be present in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, they will often strive to shun such neighbourhoods. Although the majority of anti-ghettoists move to non-disadvantaged neighbourhoods, some do not. This does not necessarily contradict their preferences: what we define as disadvantaged neighbourhoods can differ from what residents perceive as problematic neighbourhoods. Research has revealed discrepancies

between objective and subjective measures of quality of life (McCrea et al., 2006).

The results show the existence of different perceptions of problematic neighbourhoods. Some residents just wanted to avoid one or two particular neighbourhoods that, in their opinion, have severe problems:

“ I don't have anything against neighbourhoods with many minorities, but Transvaal and Schilderswijk [two neighbourhoods in The Hague] are really becoming ghettos. I saw huge fights between Turks and Kurds after an innocent football game over there. It's just that you can feel the ethnic tensions, and I really don't want that.”

Others wanted to avoid large parts of the city: “Well, almost all neighbourhoods in The Hague are unsafe. So quite a few neighbourhoods weren't viable options”. We found that the smaller the number of neighbourhoods that are considered problematic places to live, the more likely someone is to move to a disadvantaged neighbourhood. The perception of what is a 'ghetto' is thus the key to understanding why some anti-ghettoists do and others do not move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

BELONGERS

A large group of displaced residents had wanted to move to a specific neighbourhood because of their sense of belonging. This feeling can be directed towards the neighbourhood in which one grew up, or towards a neighbourhood in which many family members live: “I wanted to go back to Scheveningen [a traditional neighbourhood in The Hague], because I'd just turned 87 and my brother and sister live there”. In general, however, belongers have a strong attachment to their old neighbourhood.

Residents used two arguments to express their sense of belonging to their old neighbourhood. The first is the time argument: one belongs to a neighbourhood because one has lived there for a long time. As one woman put it: “I really wanted to stay in this neighbourhood. I was raised here and all my family live nearby. In a way I'm part of the furniture of this neighbourhood.” The second argument is that one belongs to a neighbourhood because of the social contacts one has there (see also Kleinhans 2003; Popkin et al., 2004). One respondent expressed the importance of contact with old neighbours as follows:

“ Everyone's really friendly in the old neighbourhood. You know a lot of the residents; it's like a village, like a big family of friends and acquaintances; you all know each other. If I moved to another neighbourhood I wouldn't run into these people again, and that would really be a shame.”

What residents value in their old neighbourhood is not so much the intensive contacts with neighbours, as the small talk with and the greeting of neighbours. It can be expected that residents with a strong sense of belonging to their old neighbourhood prefer to move only a short distance away. Since displacement mostly takes place in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, moves within the neighbourhood or to areas nearby often imply moves to disadvantaged neighbourhoods. We indeed found that many residents with a strong sense of belonging move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

AMENITY-SEEKERS

Some residents had based their housing choice not on the social but on the physical characteristics of neighbourhoods. Some had wanted to move to a neighbourhood that, for example, is close to the city centre, is near public transport and/or has good access to highways. Others had based their choice on the green character of the neighbourhood:

“ The other dwellings are just situated in the middle of a neighbourhood, and this one faces a park that's got many trees; that just adds something to it. That you don't live in a concrete environment, but look out over the park. That's why I picked this place. ”

Many residents also said that the distance between their home and the shops and other facilities had played a role in their housing choice (cf. Clampet-Lundquist, 2004). Many of the Dutch early post-WWII neighbourhoods (built between 1950 and 1975) are well connected to the public transport network or nearby highways and are characterized by a lot of green areas and the presence of local shopping centres. Residents who have strong physical preferences can therefore be expected to move to such neighbourhoods, also because many social rented dwellings are available in these areas. These neighbourhoods are relatively often perceived as disadvantaged in other respects: they house many low-income households and ethnic minority groups, and they are relatively unsafe. For those who put a high value on the physical characteristics of a neighbourhood, these social characteristics play only a minor role. As such, it is not much of a surprise that most amenity-seekers move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

COMBINERS

Although most displaced residents can be categorized as one of the types mentioned above, some cannot as they have different types of equally strong preferences. These residents can be subdivided into high-demanders and deliberators. Whereas high-demanders are unwilling to drop any of their demands, deliberators are willing to drop some of them in return for the realization of other demands. Exemplary statements of high-demanders are:

“ I certainly didn't want to move to the other side of the city. But I did want to move to a child-friendly neighbourhood, near a bus stop, my job and the shops ”

“ I wanted to stay in the city centre of The Hague anyway. But I didn't want to move to an old building, because they're rather damp and not so well maintained. And the rent had to be under 550 euros. So, yeah, it was about both the location and the rent. ”

A typical quote from a deliberator is:

“ We didn't move to the neighbourhood we wanted to move to, but we found such a beautiful place that it really would have been a shame not to take it. ”

Certain deliberators and high-demanders have anti-ghettoist preferences and prefer a social neighbourhood situation that is hard to find in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. In such cases, high-demanders are more likely to actually move to non-disadvantaged neighbourhoods than deliberators. In contrast to deliberators, high-demanders are not willing to drop their preferences regarding the social characteristics of their neighbourhood.

4.6 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

There are widespread concerns among politicians, policymakers and academics that displaced residents are having to pay a heavy price for urban renewal. Their tendency to settle in disadvantaged neighbourhoods is often considered evidence of this: it expresses their lack of opportunities. Or does it? What if displaced residents move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods in order to satisfy their preferences, or at least some of them? Then, urban renewal would not be so harmful to displaced residents, and perhaps even be beneficial to them.

While many studies have examined whether displaced residents move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods, the factors that drive these decisions have received only little attention (Bolt & van Kempen, 2010; Hartung & Henig, 1997; Kingsley et al., 2003; Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Posthumus et al., 2013b). To increase our understanding of the reasons why displaced residents often move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods, we examined the roles of two potential types of drivers behind displaced residents' relocation decisions: the constraints they face and the preferences they have.

However, we first checked whether displaced residents actually moved to disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Our quantitative analysis showed that this is indeed the case, but that there are variations between different types of residents.

These variations differ per city, but certain effects were found in multiple cities. First, in several cities residents with higher incomes are more likely to move to less disadvantaged neighbourhoods because the rental dwellings they desire, or are attracted to, are less often situated in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Second, in various cities non-native Dutch people move to more disadvantaged neighbourhoods than native Dutch people. The language and cultural barriers they face might result in a relatively limited understanding of their relocation opportunities, resulting in moves to disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Finally, in some cities households with children are more likely to move within their old, disadvantaged neighbourhood, possibly because they want to maintain their children's social network and keep them in the same school.

It has often been suggested that displaced residents' constraints push them towards disadvantaged neighbourhoods, as these are the only neighbourhoods with dwellings that displaced residents can afford and know how to access, and that are in accordance with the relocation regulations. Although our qualitative analysis shows that most displaced residents do experience constraints, only a small number do not perceive any freedom of choice. These residents panic and put all their preferences aside in an attempt to avoid becoming homeless. Almost all of these people move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Although many displaced residents do not experience severe restrictions, they still move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods. This behaviour is expressed particularly by residents who have certain preferences. Displaced residents who prioritize the physical aspects of their neighbourhood (amenity-seekers), who dislike middle-class neighbourhoods (no middle-classers) or who want to move to a familiar environment (belongers) tend to move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods, but they do so for different reasons. All of these preferences can be satisfied in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Home-bonders and amenity-seekers can satisfy their preferences just as well in disadvantaged as in more prosperous neighbourhoods. For the no middle-classers and the belongers, it even holds that their preferences would best be satisfied in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Displaced residents who did not want to move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods because of the presence of social problems (the anti-ghettoists) often did not move to such neighbourhoods. However, when they did move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods, they often did not perceive their new neighbourhoods to be disadvantaged. This might be due to their frame of reference: many displaced residents are used to living in one of a city's most disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and are therefore less likely to perceive other neighbourhoods as disadvantaged. This might also explain why the quantitative analysis showed that residents who leave relatively disadvantaged neighbourhoods tend to settle in other relatively disadvantaged neighbourhoods: to them, this is already quite an improvement.

Thus, the movements of displaced residents into disadvantaged neighbourhoods can not only be explained by their constraints, but also need to be contributed to their preferences. To grasp the role of these preferences, it is of key importance to study which preferences are held by residents who move into disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Let us conclude with some considerations. First, displaced residents in the Netherlands are likely to have more freedom of choice than displaced residents in some other countries. Since Dutch cities are characterized by large social rented housing markets, and displaced residents get priority over other house-seekers in these markets, they have more opportunities to satisfy their preferences than displaced residents elsewhere. Displaced residents in the USA, however, become more satisfied with their neighbourhood (Brooks et al., 2005; Varady & Walker, 2000), as do displaced residents in the Netherlands. This suggests that preferences might also play a role in displaced residents' relocation decisions in other countries. For future research, it would therefore be worthwhile to examine the role of preferences in the relocation decisions of displaced residents in multiple countries.

Second, displaced residents might have adapted their preferences to their expectations of the dwelling they could obtain. They might have expressed more or stronger preferences had they been aware that they could also satisfy other preferences. This is certainly the case for the panicking residents; however, other residents might have restricted their wish-list more than they would have wanted to. For future research, it would therefore be interesting to take a closer look at how perceived restrictions relate to the formulation of preferences. If residents do formulate fewer preferences when they feel more restricted, policymakers might want to look into the ways they can make all residents equally aware of their opportunities. As a result, more displaced residents might be able to choose the housing situation that best suits their preferences.

Third, residents who have different types of preferences can find satisfactory housing situations in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. This suggests that displaced residents often use indicators of neighbourhood quality that are different from those of professionals, such as policymakers and scientists. As such, it might be worth reconsidering the measurement of neighbourhood quality. Perhaps it would be more accurate to use the discrepancy between the actual and the preferred neighbourhood situation to measure neighbourhood quality, instead of certain objective indicators.

All in all, the major contribution of this chapter is that it shows that preferences play a much larger role in the relocation decisions of displaced residents than is often assumed. The notion that displaced residents are victims of urban renewal because they move to disadvantaged neighbourhoods is misguided.

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FIVE

VICTIMS OR VICTORS?

THE EFFECTS OF FORCED RELOCATIONS ON HOUSING SATISFACTION IN DUTCH CITIES

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ABSTRACT

Urban restructuring is changing the face of many Western European cities. Old, relatively cheap dwellings are being demolished and replaced by new, more expensive ones. The spatial effects of this process have been extensively studied, but little is known about the residents who are forced to relocate so that their dwellings can be demolished or updated. We therefore studied how satisfied forced movers are with their current housing situation, and what factors contribute to this. Using data from four Dutch cities, we found that most displaced residents were quite satisfied with their new dwellings and neighbourhoods. However, those on low incomes and those from ethnic minority groups were less satisfied with their homes and neighbourhoods. We can explain their lower level of neighbourhood satisfaction by the fact that they move to less desirable neighbourhoods, e.g. ones with higher concentrations of ethnic minorities.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

There are certain neighbourhoods in Dutch cities, and in many other Western cities, that are afflicted by a diverse range of problems, such as high unemployment, physical deterioration, and low levels of safety, social cohesion, and liveability (Andersen, 2002; Dekker & Van Kempen, 2004; Swaroop & Morenoff, 2006; Wasenberg, 2004). These problems are often said to be the result of a concentration of residents with low incomes. A common solution to the problem is to implement mixing strategies (Andersen & Van Kempen, 2003; VROM, 1997; VROM, 2000; VROM, 2007; Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). This type of urban restructuring entails replacing some of the old, cheap, homogeneous social-rented housing stock with a new, more diverse stock. These new developments usually consist largely of more expensive rental and owner-occupied dwellings. The idea is that the people who will be attracted by these dwellings will increase the diversity of the neighbourhood's population. The expectation is that a more mixed population will improve safety and liveability, and increase social contacts between various groups, thus improving social cohesion. Hence, the rationale behind mixing strategies is that severely distressed neighbourhoods will be improved by altering their physical structure and mixing the composition of the population (Uitermark, 2003; VROM, 2008).

Much attention has been paid in the American and European scientific literature to the effects of mixing policies (Atkinson & Kintrea, 1999; Kintrea, 2007; Popkin et al., 2004; Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen, 2003). One of the major insights stemming from such research, is that although urban restructuring often improves the quality of the dwellings and the neighbourhood, the desired interaction between various population groups – such as more and less well-off residents, new and old inhabitants, natives and non-natives – rarely develops (Atkinson & Kintrea, 1999; Brooks et al., 2005; Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008; Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen, 2003).

The effects of urban restructuring are not restricted to the areas in which the policy is implemented. Restructuring also affects the residents who are forced to move because their homes are to be demolished or renovated. Many scholars are highly critical of what, in their eyes, is the purposeful displacement of low-income residents under the guise of creating more mixed communities (Hackworth & Smith, 2000; Lees, 2008; Lees, 2011; Watt, 2009). They perceive urban renewal and mixing policies as forms of state-led gentrification. As well as being unjust, the displacement of low-income residents is held to be problematic, because it presents residents with numerous pressing problems: they need to find new dwellings and adapt to their new environments, they might have to pay higher rents, and so forth (Manzo et al., 2008).

However, the displacement of households is not always seen as a problem. It has been argued that displaced households are offered unique opportunities to improve their housing conditions: they vacate the least popular dwellings and neighbourhoods, and are offered better alternatives (Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008).

Scholars have usually addressed the question whether displaced households improve their housing conditions, by comparing the objective characteristics of the previous and the present housing conditions (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Goetz, 2002; Kingsley et al. 2003). Only a few studies have focused on how displaced residents experience their new housing situation¹⁶. Researchers who did examine the experiences of displaced residents have reported mixed findings: some showed that the residents' housing situation changed for the worse (Goetz, 2002; Oakley & Burchfield, 2009), while others showed that it changed for the better (Kleinhans, 2003; Varady & Walker, 2000).

These contradictory findings could perhaps be understood if we knew the determinants of displaced residents' housing satisfaction. However, few studies have examined why certain types of displaced residents are more satisfied with their housing situation than others (Brooks et al., 2005; Kleinhans, 2003). Only income has been related to displaced residents' housing satisfaction: low-income residents suffer most from forced relocations (Hackworth & Smith, 2000; Lees, 2008; Lees, 2011; Watt, 2009). Furthermore, it may be expected that the 'hard to house' (e.g. grandparents caring for their grandchildren, those with health problems, struggling with substance abuse and a criminal record) are less likely to find a satisfactory housing situation as it has been found that their struggle with the transition from a restructuring to a more prosperous site is more severe (Popkin, 2005). Although we acknowledge that displaced residents with low incomes and residents who are hard to house may well be less satisfied with their housing situation, we want to underscore that other factors can also play a role.

Various scholars recently made a similar analysis, and began to examine a broader range of factors underlying the satisfaction of displaced residents (Doff & Kleinhans, 2011; Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008; Varady & Walker, 2005). The studies by Doff and Kleinhans (2011) and Kleinhans and Van der Laan Bouma-Doff (2008) are particularly relevant, because they were, like this study, conducted in the Netherlands. However, their studies focused on reported neighbourhood improvement and reported dwelling progress, respectively, while we focused on current satisfaction. A disadvantage of focusing on changes in satisfaction, is that people who experience no improvement are not necessarily worse off than those who report improvement, since some of them might have experienced good conditions both before and after their move.

¹⁶ 'Housing situation' refers to both the dwelling and the neighbourhood.

Considering the limited number of studies that have focused on the housing satisfaction of displaced residents, and the even smaller number of studies that aimed to explain this satisfaction by a broad range of determinants, our understanding of whether and why displaced residents are satisfied or dissatisfied with their new housing situation is limited. It is important to increase this understanding, because one of the most pressing questions in the lively debate on the effects of displacement is whether it harms residents. We therefore set out to answer two questions: (1) *How satisfied are displaced residents with their housing situation after their forced move, and (2) what factors are responsible for the extent to which they are satisfied with their new housing situation?* To do so, we carried out fieldwork in four Dutch cities, namely The Hague, Groningen, Rotterdam, and Ede.

5.2 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

• • • • • 5.2.1 RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

In the literature on residential mobility, regular (i.e., unforced) moves are explained by the dissatisfaction of residents. This dissatisfaction is attributed to housing situations that do not meet the residents' housing needs or aspirations (Galster, 1987). These are argued to be influenced by changes in the life course (Clark & Huang, 2003; Lu, 1999; Rossi, 1955). Societal norms also affect housing satisfaction, as residents judge their housing conditions according to culturally defined norms (Bruin & Cook, 1997; Lu, 1999; Morris & Winter, 1976). Although displaced residents might have been dissatisfied with their previous housing situation and eager to move, this is not necessarily the case. Therefore, displaced households are more likely to be dissatisfied – all other factors held constant – than voluntary movers.

This, however, might not apply to the same extent to all displaced residents. Previous studies on the housing situation of regular movers have shown that housing satisfaction is related to a broad range of factors, of which the most important are individual, household, dwelling, and neighbourhood characteristics. Although some studies have looked at the influence of a number of these factors on the satisfaction of displaced residents, an overview of the influences of all of these factors is lacking. In addition, the satisfaction of displaced residents can also be related to certain factors that do not apply to regular movers. Displaced residents' moving intentions, their initial attitude toward moving, and the quality of the counselling they received during the relocation process, could also affect their current housing satisfaction. Before focusing on the factors that are specific to displaced residents, we present an overview of the general forces that possibly affect housing satisfaction, based on the literature on both regular and forced movers.

● ● ● ● ● 5.2.2 INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

Regular residents with higher incomes have, of course, more opportunities to move to desirable dwellings and neighbourhoods (e.g. Clark et al. 2006; Deurloo et al., 1994; Dieleman et al., 2000; Rex & Moore, 1967). Not surprisingly, people with higher incomes are more satisfied with their housing situation (Dekker et al., 2011; Lu, 1999; Vera-Toscano & Ateca-Amestoy, 2008). In general, so too are older people and households with children (Diaz-Serrano & Stoyanova, 2010; Lu, 1999).

The literature on the influences of individual characteristics on the dwelling satisfaction of displaced residents is much less extensive. Most attention has been paid to the effects of just two characteristics, that is, income and minority status. It has been argued that displaced households with lower incomes are less likely to achieve satisfactory housing situations than households with higher incomes, as is the case with regular movers. Varady and Walker (2000), for example, suggested that displaced families on welfare lack the capacity and motivation to conduct a successful search for a new dwelling. However, the results of their study on four distressed housing developments in American cities were mixed in this respect. Kleinhans and Van der Laan Bouma-Doff (2008) carried out their research in the Netherlands. They expected to find that the lowest income groups experience the least progress after a forced relocation, since they suffer most from increased rents. However, they found that displaced residents with relatively high incomes were less likely to report housing progress. This failure could be the result of the housing allocation system in the Netherlands: households with higher incomes do not have access to the cheapest rental dwellings, and do not receive the financial assistance that poorer families get. Nevertheless, higher income groups are more likely than low-income groups to report an improvement with regard to the neighbourhood (Doff & Kleinhans, 2011). This might be due to their tendency to move to more prosperous neighbourhoods (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010).

Although the findings on the relation between income and satisfaction are mixed in the literature on displaced households, studies on regular residents consistently show a positive effect of income on satisfaction. Residents with higher incomes have more opportunities to move to a more desirable housing situation. Therefore, we expected that:

- 1 *Displaced households with low incomes would be less satisfied with their housing situation after a forced move than displaced households with higher incomes.*

Since displaced residents from ethnic minority groups¹⁷ generally have an even less favourable income position than other displaced residents, they are likely to experience relatively strong limitations in their attempts to move to better dwellings and neighbourhoods. Other factors could further reduce the likelihood that they will improve their housing situation. Because ethnic minorities in the Netherlands generally have less sophisticated language skills than natives, and are less familiar with societal institutions and regulations, we expected them to have more difficulties in searching for new dwellings. Institutions, such as the municipality or a housing corporation, might provide information that is inadequate for or incomprehensible to certain groups. The result can be horizontal moves, namely moves to dwellings that are, at best, only slightly better than the previous dwellings, or to neighbourhoods that have more or less the same characteristics (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008). Furthermore, American studies have shown that ethnic minorities may move to relatively lower-status neighbourhoods for negative reasons, such as discrimination (Galster, 1999) or racial harassment (Krysan & Farly, 2002). In contrast, it can be argued that ethnic minorities prefer to live in neighbourhoods that have a lower status if many other families sharing their ethnicity live there: it is easier for them to build support networks in such neighbourhoods (Freeman, 2000; Phillips, 1998).

Although most arguments predict that ethnic minorities are relatively less likely to move to a satisfactory situation, the evidence on the effect of ethnic background is mixed (Permentier et al., 2011). In both the American and the Dutch context, some studies found that ethnic minorities express lower levels of neighbourhood satisfaction (Bolt, 2001; Campbell et al., 1976; Lu, 1999), while other studies did not (Permentier et al., 2011; Parkes et al., 2002; Harris, 2001). Studies that focused on the relocation outcomes of displaced minority residents in the Netherlands also reported some mixed results. While there is no effect of ethnic background on reported progress with regard to the dwelling, ethnic minorities are less likely to experience neighbourhood improvement (Doff & Kleinhans, 2011).

Although the effect of ethnic background was not found in all of the studies referred to above, we expected that ethnic minorities would face relatively more constraints to realise their housing preferences and for that reason that:

- 2 *Displaced residents from ethnic minorities would be less satisfied than native residents with their housing situation after a forced move.*

¹⁷ Note that in the American literature, it is common to focus on one minority group. Most studies focus on 'African American' or 'Black' minorities, although attention is sometimes also paid to Latino or Asian minorities. In the Dutch literature, the term 'ethnic minorities' refers to several minority groups. In the Netherlands, residents are generally perceived to belong to an ethnic minority if they have at least one parent who was born in a non-Western country. According to this definition, the largest minorities in the Netherlands are Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, and Antilleans.

● ● ● ● ● 5.2.3 DWELLING CHARACTERISTICS

A dwelling characteristic that has been shown to have a considerable effect on the dwelling satisfaction of regular movers is size: the bigger the dwelling, the greater the satisfaction (Diaz-Serrano & Stoyanova, 2010; Lu, 1999). Deficiencies such as rotting window frames, leaky roofs, inadequate heating facilities, and insufficient light, have a negative effect on satisfaction (Diaz-Serrano & Stoyanova, 2010; Varady & Carrozza, 2000).

Dwellings slated for demolition are generally of poor quality. Displaced households are therefore likely to experience a considerable improvement in the quality of their housing, and thus be more satisfied than before the move. Despite this, the relationship between the characteristics of displaced residents' dwellings and their dwelling satisfaction has rarely been examined. One of the studies that did focus on this topic, found that in several American cities about two thirds of the displaced residents reported being more satisfied with their new homes (Varady & Walker, 2000). The perceived improvements were related to better maintenance and moves from apartments to either detached or attached single-family housing. It should be noted, however, that although a substantial number of the displaced residents (43%) had moved from apartments to single-family dwellings, and many residents stated that they very much liked having their own front doors, many of these dwellings were in poor condition. In the Netherlands, stronger evidence has been found that the quality of the new dwellings of displaced residents is more satisfactory (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Kleinhans, 2003; Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008). According to these studies, higher levels of satisfaction among displaced households were linked to building size, followed by better insulation, maintenance, dwelling type, and technical quality.

Hence, both the literature on displaced households and more general literature on residential satisfaction show that dwelling quality is strongly related to residents' dwelling satisfaction. Therefore, we expected that:

- 3 *Displaced residents would be more satisfied with dwellings that are larger, single-family dwellings rather than apartments, and that are better maintained.*

● ● ● ● ● 5.2.4 NEIGHBOURHOOD CHARACTERISTICS

The physical appearance of a neighbourhood has been related to regular residents' neighbourhood satisfaction (Parkes et al., 2002). The availability of such facilities as good schools and public services also influences satisfaction (Basolo & Strong, 2002; Parkes et al., 2002). In addition, a high prevalence of problems in the neighbourhood – such as trash on the street, drug-related problems, vandalism, criminality, and traffic problems – correlates with negative attitudes and less satisfaction (Harris, 1999; Lu, 1999). Safety is another important issue: feelings of insecurity can generate strong feelings of dissatisfaction and a strong desire to move (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2002; Mohan & Twigg, 2007). Safety issues greatly

affect the neighbourhood satisfaction particularly of residents who have children (South & Crowder, 1997).

Special attention has been paid to the effect of the composition of the neighbourhood population on satisfaction. Both American and British studies have shown that living in a poor neighbourhood has a negative effect on satisfaction (Harris, 2001; Mohan & Twigg, 2007; Parkes et al., 2002). The proportion of Black or minority residents has also been found to be negatively associated with neighbourhood satisfaction (Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996; Clark, 1991; 1992; Feijten & Van Ham, 2009).

In contrast to regular residents, the neighbourhood satisfaction of displaced residents has often been measured in an indirect way. It is assumed that displaced residents are more satisfied if their new neighbourhoods have certain characteristics. Studies in both the USA and the Netherlands have shown that although displaced households move to neighbourhoods that are rather similar to the ones they left, they have somewhat more favourable characteristics. The new neighbourhoods are mainly characterised by somewhat higher average house values, fewer social-rented dwellings, fewer ethnic minority households, higher average incomes, and less poverty (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Goetz, 2002; Kingsley et al., 2003). The small number of studies that directly measured the change in satisfaction with the neighbourhood provide a more mixed picture: whereas Brazley and Gilderbloom (2007) and Goetz (2002) concluded that displaced residents rarely report improved living conditions, Brooks and colleagues (2005) and Varady and Walker (2000) found increased satisfaction after the forced move. Although the latter studies did not investigate why displaced residents were or were not more satisfied, both did link increased satisfaction with an increased feeling of security. The only Dutch study on the experienced neighbourhood improvement of displaced residents, found that progress is less likely to be reported after a move to an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood (often one with a mixture of minority groups, Doff & Kleinmans, 2011).

Distance from the old neighbourhood might also affect the satisfaction with the new housing situation. Research has shown that neighbourhoods that receive relatively many displaced households are often close to the restructured neighbourhoods (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Posthumus et al., 2013a). Although some consider this a negative tendency – since the displaced households remain in an environment that is plagued by, for example, gangs and drug nuisance (Feins & Shroder, 2005) – it is mostly regarded as reflecting the preferences of displaced households: people like to be near their old neighbourhoods as it allows them to maintain their social contacts and support networks (Greenbaum et al., 2008). This is of particular importance for households with children (Clampet-Lundquist, 2007). Hence, it can be assumed that the presence of positive contacts with neighbours results in satisfaction. Nevertheless, the role of social interactions has generally been neglected in studies on residential

satisfaction. The studies by Vera-Toscano and Ateca-Amestoy (2008) and Permentier and colleagues (2011) are exceptions. However, they did not find any effect of informal social contacts with neighbours on either housing or neighbourhood satisfaction.

Thus, for the reasons outlined before, displaced households are held to be more satisfied with their new neighbourhood if it has certain characteristics. We therefore expected that:

- 4 *Displaced residents would be more satisfied with their new neighbourhood if it has a higher socioeconomic status, a lower proportion of ethnic minority households, and is closer to their old neighbourhood, and if they evaluate specific neighbourhood attributes (e.g., safety, facilities and social atmosphere) more positively.*

● ● ● ● ● 5.2.5 FACTORS SPECIFIC TO DISPLACED RESIDENTS

The key difference between regular and forced movers is, of course, the involuntary nature of their moves. Nevertheless, not all displaced residents will have been reluctant to move. In fact, some of them will have wanted to move, or were happy about moving once they had been notified of their forced relocation. To people who are not very satisfied with or attached to their housing situation, a forced move can be a unique opportunity to find a more satisfactory housing situation. In the Netherlands, the compensation regulations related to forced moves increase these people's freedom of choice. Even though the regulations also apply to residents who are very satisfied with or attached to their housing situation, these residents might be less likely to find a satisfactory housing situation. The results of a study in the city of The Hague, indicated that displaced residents who were initially more positive about their forced relocation, were more likely to experience improvements with regard to both the dwelling (Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008) and the neighbourhood (Doff & Kleinhans, 2011). Therefore, we expected that:

- 5 *Displaced residents who had a positive attitude toward their move, would be more satisfied with their housing situation after a forced move than residents who had a negative attitude toward their move.*

The counselling provided by housing corporations is thought to be another factor that affects displaced residents' chances of finding a satisfactory housing situation. Housing corporations function as gatekeepers to resources that enable residents to find a satisfactory housing situation (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Clapham & Kintrea, 1984). It has been argued that they have 'selective door policies': certain residents are provided with more resources than others. Few studies have tested the effects of counselling. However, one Dutch study did show that displaced

residents who were more satisfied with the counselling they received, were more likely to move to improved neighbourhoods (Doff & Kleinhans, 2011).

Therefore, we assumed that counselling will indeed provide residents with resources to find a satisfactory housing situation, and expected that:

- 6 *Displaced residents who were more satisfied with the counselling from their housing corporation would be more satisfied with their housing situation after a forced move.*

5.3 LOCAL CONTEXTS

The data we used to test our expectations stem from a research project in four Dutch cities, namely The Hague, Groningen, Rotterdam, and Ede. Table 5.1 presents some of the core characteristics of these cities.

Rotterdam and The Hague are the Netherlands' second and third largest cities, respectively. Groningen and Ede are much smaller. The former two cities have larger proportions of ethnic minorities than the latter two cities. The largest proportions of social-rented dwellings are in Rotterdam and Groningen. The proportion of single-family dwellings is much larger in Ede than in the other cities. In all cities, restructured neighbourhoods are characterised by relatively large proportions of ethnic minorities and low average incomes.

In the Netherlands, almost all the dwellings that are demolished to make way for urban renewal are in the social-rented housing stock. The two major aims of renewal policies are to mix the population and to replace dilapidated buildings with better ones. Most of the residents who are forced to relocate, move from one social-rented dwelling to another social-rented dwelling. Because their average income is even lower than that of regular residents in the social-rented housing sector (Bolt et al., 2009), many can only afford social-rented dwellings. Social-rented dwellings have a maximum rent of €652.52¹⁸. The rent is based on a 'dwelling valuation model' that takes into account several factors, for example, dwelling type, size of dwelling, size of exterior space, size of kitchen, level of insulation, and heating system. Because location is not reflected in the rent, social-rented dwellings in relatively wealthy areas are accessible to low-income groups.

The allocation of social-rented dwellings is organised differently across cities in the Netherlands. However, choice-based letting is the most common system, and it is applied in the cities we selected. In this system, households that are looking for a new home have to react to announcements of available dwellings, which are listed each week in a newspaper and on the internet. In principle, the household that has been on the waiting list the longest, gets the dwelling.

¹⁸ All rent data stem from 2011.

Table 5.1 Core characteristics of The Hague, Groningen, Rotterdam, and Ede

	The Hague	Groningen	Rotterdam	Ede
Number of residents	473,940	181,610	584,060	107,500
Percentage of ethnic minorities ¹⁹	33	9	36	7
Average income per income recipient * €1000	19.2	16.4	17.7	18.7
Number of dwellings	231,995	82,850	288,350	40,290
Percentage of owner-occupied dwellings	45.3	41.1	28	70
Percentage of social-rented dwellings	33.6	43.3	51	20
Percentage of single-family dwellings	20.4	39.1	23.0	75.8
Number of neighbourhoods	115	70	89	67
Average percentage of ethnic minorities in restructured neighbourhood ²⁰	46.2	14.9	39.7	29.5
Average income per income recipient * €1000 in restructured neighbourhood ²¹	16.1	14.1	16.2	15.9

Source: CBS Statline (Data 2007)

The dwellings for which a household is eligible depends on the household's income, size, and age. People with a maximum taxable income of €22,026 are eligible for dwellings with a monthly rental of up to €366.37; those with a maximum taxable income of between €22,026 and €33,614 are eligible for dwellings with a monthly rental of between €366.37 and €652.52 (those earning over €33,614 before tax are ineligible for social-rented dwellings). The number of household members determines the maximum number of rooms that their new dwelling may have. People are usually eligible only for dwellings that have at most one more room than the number of members of their household. Age restrictions apply to dwellings that are specifically designated for elderly residents: applicants must be over a certain age (usually 55 or 65).

Displaced households receive priority status; that is, their applications are considered before those from other households, even if the latter have been waiting longer. The only condition is that the dwelling is comparable with the old dwelling in terms of type, size, and rent. It should be noted, however, that comparability is a rather flexible concept. In practice, priority status is often not valid for single-family dwellings in the social-rented sector. Most single-family dwellings in the sector are attached dwellings; detached single-family dwellings are very scarce.

19 When we refer to ethnic minorities in the Netherlands, we use the following definition: an individual belongs to an ethnic minority group if at least one of his or her parents was born in a non-Western country. Non-Western countries are Turkey and all countries in Africa, Latin America, and Asia (with the exception of Japan and Indonesia).

20 This percentage is weighted on the basis of the number of displaced residents per neighbourhood.

21 See footnote 20.

Displaced households have to compete for single-family dwellings with regular movers on the basis of their length of residence at the previous location. All displaced residents in the Netherlands are entitled to counselling by their housing corporation. This counselling can take different forms ranging from the distribution of folders with information, to intensive help in their housing search. Which type of counselling residents receive largely depends on their needs. Most residents do not need intensive counselling and will often just receive some practical information and one or two personal consults. More intense counselling is provided to more vulnerable residents. These residents are sometimes already known by the housing corporation, but residents can also indicate themselves that they need more assistance.

5.4 DATA, MEASUREMENTS, METHODS

We drew data from the Netherlands national statistics office (CBS) and several local databases regarding neighbourhood characteristics, to indicate the characteristics of displaced households' new neighbourhoods. However, most of the variables are based on the data we collected by means of a questionnaire completed by displaced households.

In Ede, we asked all 507 households displaced between 2003 and 2008 to complete the survey. In Groningen, we drew a random sample of 700 of the 1367 households displaced between 2003 and 2009. Since many more households have been displaced in Rotterdam and The Hague, we decided to focus on the more recent displacements. In Rotterdam, we drew a sample of 600 of the 2818 households displaced between 2007 and 2009, and in The Hague – which had requested a more detailed study – we drew an even larger sample, namely 1300 of the 1867 households displaced between 2006 and 2009²².

As we did not have the potential respondents' telephone numbers, we approached them with a postal questionnaire. The procedure in The Hague, Ede, and Rotterdam was that unsatisfactory responses to this questionnaire were followed up by visits from research assistants, who interviewed the respondents²³. The team of assistants was ethnically diverse in order to lower the language and cultural barriers to participation.

This approach resulted in 738 correctly completed questionnaires (24.9 per cent response rate): 303 from The Hague (21 per cent response rate), 156 from Groningen (23 per cent response rate), 155 from Rotterdam (27 per cent response rate),

22 Some of the selected households did not live at the addresses we selected. The following numbers of households were reached: 1273 in The Hague, 687 in Groningen, 583 in Rotterdam and 425 in Ede.

23 In The Hague, 42 face-to-face interviews were conducted; 13 and 17 were held in Ede and Rotterdam, respectively.

and 124 from Ede (29 per cent response rate). These rather low response rates may be due to the fact that many of the targeted respondents are poorly educated and non-native. It is unclear whether the response was selective, since the background characteristics of the total population of displaced residents are not known²⁴. Nevertheless, we collected a considerable number of questionnaires among this hard to reach group of residents and they provided a lot of valuable information. As it is unclear whether this information is representative of all displaced residents, we need to interpret our results with care.

The two dependent variables in this study (Table 5.2) were displaced residents' dwelling satisfaction and neighbourhood satisfaction after their forced relocation. Both variables were measured by the scores (1-10) that displaced households gave to their new dwellings and neighbourhoods.

Individual characteristics (age, gender, minority status, household situation, level of education, income) were measured directly by responses to the questionnaire. Since the effects of age are often nonlinear, we also included age squared. A substantial number of residents (n=43, 5.8%) refused to answer questions regarding their income. In order to reduce the number of missing cases in the analyses, we imputed the mean income for these residents. To ensure that this procedure would not affect the outcomes of our analyses, we included a dummy variable indicating whether someone had (0) or had not (1) entered their household income.

To measure dwelling characteristics, we computed the following variables: number of household members per room, perceived improvements in maintenance, and single-family dwelling. We examined the possibility of including tenure status as an explanatory variable; however, since only 7.5% of the displaced residents became owner-occupiers after their forced move, we decided against it. Unfortunately, the questionnaire did not include questions regarding satisfaction with the maintenance of the new dwelling. However, since a question was asked about the quality of the maintenance of the new dwelling compared to that of the old dwelling, we decided to use a dummy variable indicating whether the quality of the maintenance of the new dwelling is (1) or is not (0) better than that of the old one. The variable 'single-family dwelling' is a dummy variable indicating whether a displaced household had moved (1) or had not moved (0) into a single-family dwelling.

The neighbourhood characteristics were assessed by both objective and subjective measures. The objectively measured neighbourhood characteristics were distance between old and new neighbourhood, average income, proportion of ethnic

24 For the same reason it is also not possible to make a comparison with the other residents in the selected cities. However, on the basis of a national survey, it can be expected that the proportion of low-income households and ethnic minorities is higher among displaced households than among regular residents of social-rented dwellings (Bolt et al., 2009).

minorities²⁵, proportion of social-rented dwellings, and number of welfare recipients per 1000 residents.

The first subjectively measured variable indicates whether displaced residents had less contact with neighbours in their new (1) than in their old (0) neighbourhood. The second subjective variable is about feeling at home. It was measured by the respondents' reaction to the statement 'I feel very much at home in my new neighbourhood' on a 5-point scale ranging from totally disagree (1) to totally agree (5). The other subjectively measured neighbourhood characteristics were satisfaction with: population composition, shopping facilities, safety, green spaces, and child friendliness. Respondents indicated their satisfaction on a 5-point scale ranging from very dissatisfied (1) to very satisfied (5).

Table 5.2 Descriptions variables

	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD
DEPENDENT VARIABLES				
Dwelling satisfaction	1	10	7.56	1.63
Neighbourhood satisfaction	1	10	7.25	1.76
INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS				
Age	16	97	49.94	15.88
Age ²	256	9409	2746.04	1719.37
Percentage female			56.59%	0.48
Percentage belonging to an ethnic minority			29.27%	0.46
Percentage of households with child(ren)			24.80%	0.43
Percentage singles			48.78%	0.50
Years lived in old dwelling	0.50	20.00	10.59	6.61
Percentage poorly educated (no education, primary school, lower level high-school)			43.63%	0.50
Welfare recipient			19.00%	0.39
Monthly net household income* €1000	0.4	4.5	1.42	0.67
Score on income missing			5.83%	0.23
Pre-relocation factors				
Already wanted to move			25.03%	0.43

25 Since the proportions of ethnic minorities are so different in the cities (Groningen: 9%; The Hague: 32%; Rotterdam: 36%; Ede: 7%), a similar increase or decrease in this proportion may have very different effects on satisfaction in the cities. This is the only variable where such big discrepancies exist. In the case of the proportion of minorities, we therefore decided that it was more appropriate to use a location coefficient instead of absolute numbers to indicate the proportion of minorities in the new neighbourhood. Thus, we divided the percentage of minorities in the neighbourhood by the average percentage of minorities in the cities.

Table 5.2 (continued)

	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD
Positive first reaction to impending relocation	1	5	3.38	1.26
Satisfaction with housing corporation counselling	1	10	5.93	2.19
DWELLING CHARACTERISTICS				
Number of household members per room	0.2	2.5	0.54	0.28
Single-family dwelling			23.17%	0.42
Improved maintenance of dwelling			66.81%	0.46
OBJECTIVE NEIGHBOURHOOD CHARACTERISTICS				
Distance from old neighbourhood (km)	0.00	14.37	1.70	1.78
Average income, income recipients	13.00	36.40	16.52	2.42
Proportion of non-Western minorities (location coefficient)	0.00	6.71	1.27	1.08
Percentage of social-rented dwellings	0.00	98.00	52.25	23.04
Number of welfare recipients per 1000 residents	0	310	107.77	67.67
SUBJECTIVE NEIGHBOURHOOD CHARACTERISTICS				
Less contact with neighbours than in old neighbourhood			31.84%	0.47
Feeling at home	1	5	3.78	1.00
Satisfaction with population composition	1	5	3.51	0.93
Satisfaction with shopping facilities	1	5	3.73	1.01
Satisfaction with safety	1	5	3.60	0.86
Satisfaction with green spaces	1	5	3.76	0.95
Satisfaction with child friendliness	1	5	3.55	0.92

Source: Own survey

The factors specific to displaced residents were measured with three variables. The first two captured their attitudes toward their forced relocation. They were asked: 'How did you feel when you were notified about your forced relocation?' Respondents answered on a 5-point scale ranging from very displeased (1) to very pleased (5). Next to that, they were asked whether they had (1) or had not (0) planned to move anyway²⁶. The third variable referred to the score (on a 10-point scale) that displaced residents gave to the counselling they had received during their search process.

We subjected the data thus collected to several tests. In order to establish whether the housing situation of the displaced residents had changed (with respect to dwelling type, number of rooms per household member, average income, proportion

²⁶ The two variables capturing displaced residents' attitudes towards forced relocation are not highly correlated (Pearson's $r = 0.15$).

of ethnic minorities, social-rented dwellings and welfare recipients in the neighbourhood, and satisfaction with the neighbourhood and dwelling), we used paired t-tests to see whether their previous situation differed significantly from their current one.

To explain how displaced residents' dwelling and neighbourhood satisfaction was influenced by different sets of variables, we conducted three consecutive multiple regression analyses. The first model incorporates different background characteristics. In the second model factors that apply specifically to displaced residents are added. And in the third model dwelling/neighbourhood characteristics are included as well. This stepwise inclusion of different sets of variables enabled us to determine their additional power in explaining dwelling and neighbourhood satisfaction. It showed whether and to what degree the added variables were useful to explain displaced residents' satisfaction. Another advantage of this stepwise approach is that it is helpful in determining how certain background characteristics affect dwelling and neighbourhood satisfaction indirectly through intermediary variables. When the influence of a background characteristic on satisfaction loses its significance after the addition of a certain variable, it is an indication that the effect of this background characteristic is intermediated by this variable.

5.5 RESULTS

This section comprises two parts. The first provides a basic description of the differences between the old and new dwellings and neighbourhoods of the displaced residents, the second focuses on the determinants of their current dwelling and neighbourhood satisfaction.

● ● ● ● ● 5.5.1 COMPARING THE OLD AND THE NEW HOUSING SITUATION

THE OLD AND THE NEW DWELLING

The overview in Table 5.3 of changes with respect to the dwelling, clearly indicates that many displaced residents have improved their dwelling situation. Their new dwellings offer them significantly more rooms per household member, and they are now more likely to live in single-family dwellings. Displaced residents also evaluated their new dwellings more positively than their old ones. Over half indicated that their new dwellings have a better size and are better maintained, and that they give them more value for their money than their old dwellings. Considering these positive evaluations, it is no surprise that displaced residents gave their new dwellings considerably, and significantly, higher scores than their old dwellings. The average score increased from a 6.15 to a 7.56, which is more than adequate.

These positive results contrast sharply with some scholars' conception that forced relocations are harmful events (Hackworth & Smith, 2000; Lees, 2008; Lees, 2011; Watt, 2009). In fact, our results provide much stronger support for the opposite line of thought, namely that forced relocations offer displaced residents opportunities to move out of their often badly maintained dwellings and improve their dwelling situation.

Table 5.3 Changes with respect to the dwelling (n=738)

OBJECTIVE CHANGES

	Before relocation	After relocation	Difference significant? (Paired T-test)
Number of household members per room	0.59	0.54	5.49 (df=737)*
Percentage living in a single-family dwelling	17.48	23.17	-3.08 (df=737)*

SUBJECTIVE CHANGES

	Before relocation	After relocation	Difference significant? (Paired T-test)
Average dwelling score (10-point scale)	6.15	7.56	-17.32 (df=737)*
	Current situation is worse	Current situation is similar	Current situation is better
Dwelling size	17.4%	19.9%	62.7%
Maintenance	9.8%	23.4%	66.8%
Value for money	6.7%	38.2%	55.1%

*p<.01

Source: Own survey

THE OLD AND THE NEW NEIGHBOURHOOD

Table 5.4 provides an overview of the changes in the displaced residents' neighbourhood situation. It shows that the objective characteristics of displaced residents' old and new neighbourhoods differ, but not to a great extent. While they moved to neighbourhoods with a significantly higher average incomes and lower proportions of ethnic minorities, social-rented dwellings and welfare recipients, the difference from their old neighbourhoods is not very large. In contrast, the perceived changes they experienced are often considerable. Table 5.4 shows that many displaced residents were more satisfied with the characteristics of their new neighbourhoods than with those of their old ones. This applies particularly to displaced residents' satisfaction with the level of safety, population composition, and child friendliness.

Displaced residents were somewhat less positive about their new neighbourhoods in one important respect, namely their contacts with neighbours. The proportion of residents who judged contacts between neighbours to be better in their new than in their old neighbourhoods, is not much larger than the proportion of residents who judged them to be worse. However, since contacts between neighbours need time to develop and the displaced residents had lived in their new neighbourhoods for only a short period of time, their satisfaction with their contacts with neighbours may well increase.

The displaced residents' overall neighbourhood satisfaction also increased: they gave their new neighbourhoods a significantly higher average score (7.25 out of 10) than their old ones (6.22). This high score indicates that displaced residents are generally quite satisfied with their new neighbourhoods. Hence, also with respect to their neighbourhoods, displaced residents did not tend to experience the distress that some scholars fear (Hackworth & Smith, 2000; Lees, 2008; Lees, 2011; Watt, 2009).

Table 5.4 Changes with respect to the neighbourhood (n=738)

OBJECTIVE CHANGES			
	Before relocation	After relocation	Difference significant? (Paired T-test)
Average income per income recipient	€15,356	€16,516	11.31 (df=737)**
Percentage of ethnic minorities	34.82%	27.36%	-10.06 (df=737)**
Percentage of social-rented dwellings	62.03%	52.25%	-10.37 (df=737)**
Number of welfare recipients per 1000 residents	136.27	107.77	-11.07 (df=737)**
SUBJECTIVE CHANGES			
	Before relocation	After relocation	Difference significant? (Paired T-test)
Average neighbourhood score (10-point scale)	6.22	7.25	-10.91 (df=737)**
	Current situation is worse	Current situation is similar	Current situation is better
Population composition	21.3%	36.3%	42.4%
Shopping facilities	27.2%	40.4%	32.4%
Green spaces	24.9%	40.2%	34.8%
Child friendliness	23.7%	38.6%	37.7%
Social safety	9.2%	47.0%	43.8%
Contacts with neighbours	21.7%	49.0%	29.3%

*p<.05, **p<.01
Source: Own survey

● ● ● ● ● 5.5.2 EXPLANATORY ANALYSIS

DWELLING SATISFACTION

Although displaced residents generally move to rather satisfactory dwelling situations, this does not apply to the same extent to all displaced residents. Table 5.5 presents the outcomes of three multiple regression models that showed whether and, if so, why certain residents lag behind.

In the first model, the influence of displaced residents' background characteristics on their neighbourhood satisfaction was examined. According to our first and second expectations, income and minority status are the two background characteristics that are most likely to influence dwelling satisfaction. The results confirmed these expectations: higher income and native Dutch residents were more satisfied with their dwellings than their counterparts. This, however, does not mean that most low-income residents or residents from minority groups are dissatisfied. Even among the lowest income group, the average score for the dwelling was satisfactory (7.27, compared to 5.99 for the old dwelling). Members of minority ethnic groups gave an average score of 7.20, compared to 5.75 for the old dwelling.

Other background characteristics that increased dwelling satisfaction were being female and the length of residence in the old dwelling. Residents with a longer length of residence, which are often elderly residents, might be more satisfied because they could avoid the restrictions that are attached to displaced residents' priority status. They had been on the waiting list for so long that, in contrast to residents with a shorter length of residence, they could easily compete with regular house-seekers, who are less constrained by the housing corporation's regulations.

Table 5.5 Multiple regression analyses predicting displaced residents' current dwelling satisfaction

	Model 1 Background characteristics (n=738, R ² =0.08)	Model 2 + pre-relocation factors (n=738, R ² =0.18)	Model 3 + dwelling characteristics (n=738, R ² =0.24)
	B	B	B
Intercept	6.31***	4.59***	5.45***
The Hague	0.01	0.00	0.00
Groningen	0.07	-0.00	-0.12
Rotterdam	-0.08	-0.07	-0.14
Female	0.39***	0.33***	0.30***
Age	0.00	-0.00	-0.00
Age ²	0.00	-0.00	0.00
Children present	0.05	0.14	0.36**
Single	0.12	0.05	-0.24
Years lived in old dwelling	0.03***	0.04***	0.04***
Low education level	0.12	0.08	0.10
Welfare recipient	0.10	0.14	0.06
Ethnic minority	-0.31*	-0.36**	-0.36***
Monthly net household income * €1000	0.48***	0.39***	0.28***
Score on income missing	-0.16	-0.07	-0.06
Already wanted to move		-0.00	-0.06
Positive first reaction to relocation		0.29***	0.23***
Satisfaction with housing corporation counselling		0.14***	0.13***
Number of rooms per household member			-0.89***
Single-family dwelling			-0.20
Improved maintenance of dwelling			0.83***

*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01

Source: Own survey

The second model in Table 5.5 presents the effects of the factors that we expected to be specifically related to displaced residents' satisfaction. Displaced residents would be more satisfied with their new dwelling if they initially had a positive attitude toward their forced relocation (expectation 5), and were satisfied with the counselling from the housing corporation (expectation 6). To test our fifth expectation we assessed how dwelling satisfaction was influenced by already existing desires to move and the way in which residents initially reacted towards

their relocation notification. We found dwelling satisfaction to be affected by one of these indicators: displaced residents were more satisfied when they had initially been more positive about their forced relocation. Furthermore, we found support for the sixth expectation. When residents were more satisfied with the counselling they had received, they were also more satisfied with their dwelling. This underscores the importance of good quality counselling. In contrast to many other causes of displaced residents' satisfaction or dissatisfaction, counselling approaches can be influenced.

In the third step, we examined the influences of dwelling characteristics. We had expected displaced residents to be more satisfied with their dwelling if it provides the family members with more private spaces, is better maintained, and is a single-family dwelling rather than an apartment (expectation 3). The results indicated that displaced residents were indeed substantially more satisfied with their new dwelling if it provided more rooms per household member, and was better maintained than the old dwelling. In contrast to earlier findings (Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008), no effect of living in a single-family dwelling compared to living in an apartment was found. This might be due to the needs of different household types. While larger households, especially those with children, can be expected to prefer single-family dwellings to apartments, it is doubtful whether this also applies to smaller households. The large proportion of single respondents (48.78%; see Table 5.2) and the relatively high average age of the respondents (49.94 years; see Table 5.2) in the sample might therefore explain why living in a single-family dwelling does not add to dwelling satisfaction.

NEIGHBOURHOOD SATISFACTION

Although the displaced residents were not as satisfied with their new neighbourhoods as they were with their new dwellings, they were on average quite satisfied. We used the three regression models presented in Table 5.6 to investigate whether this held for all residents.

In the first model, we analysed the role of background characteristics. In line with our first and second expectations, ethnic minorities and poorer households gave their neighbourhoods relatively low scores. Again, it should be stressed that this does not mean that most of them are dissatisfied. The average grade given by the lowest income group (6.93) is still quite adequate (compared to a 6.19 for the old neighbourhood). Members of minority ethnic groups gave an average score of 6.90, compared to 6.16 for the old neighbourhood.

In the next step (Model 2, Table 5.6), factors that apply specifically to displaced residents were also taken into account. Were displaced residents indeed more satisfied if they had a positive attitude toward their relocation (i.e. wanted to move anyway, or a positive initial reaction towards their forced relocation) (expectation 5), and were satisfied with the counselling from the housing corporation (expectation 6)? The answer to the latter question is 'yes', which reinforces the point we made with

respect to the role of counselling in dwelling satisfaction: it is an important policy tool to increase displaced residents' satisfaction. The answer to the former question is mixed. Displaced residents were more satisfied had their initial reaction to their relocation been more positive, but we did not find an effect of having wanted to move anyway. In other words, households that had had no plans to move prior to their displacement, had nonetheless seized the opportunity to move to a more satisfactory housing situation.

Again, including the factors that apply specifically to displaced residents in the model, gave length of residence in old dwelling a significant effect. Residents who had lived for a longer period in their old dwellings, usually older residents, were more satisfied with their new neighbourhoods. As we stressed above, displaced residents with a longer length of residence do not have to rely on a priority status, and can better compete with regular movers for dwellings for which a priority status is not valid. This wider choice set apparently leads not only to more dwelling satisfaction, but also to more neighbourhood satisfaction.

The third model (Table 5.6) examined the influence of neighbourhood characteristics on neighbourhood satisfaction. Residents were expected to be more satisfied with neighbourhoods that have certain objective and subjective characteristics (expectation 4). The objective characteristics we expected to have an influence were distance to old neighbourhood, average income, and proportion of ethnic minorities, social-rented dwellings, and welfare recipients. However, only proportion of ethnic minorities turned out to affect neighbourhood satisfaction: the smaller this proportion, the more satisfied the displaced residents. This is in line with previous research that underpinned the importance of the presence of ethnic minorities for residents' satisfactions (Harris, 2001; Permentier et al., 2011).

As expected, satisfaction with the neighbourhood is also associated with the subjective evaluation of specific neighbourhood characteristics. The results show that displaced residents who express greater satisfaction with the population composition, safety, and child friendliness, are especially more satisfied with their neighbourhoods. These are also the neighbourhood characteristics that relatively many displaced residents believed to be better in their new than in their old neighbourhoods (Table 5.5). We also found that contacts with neighbours and the degree to which people feel at home in the neighbourhood, positively affect neighbourhood satisfaction. In contrast, satisfaction with neighbourhood facilities (shops and green spaces) does not contribute to the overall satisfaction with the neighbourhood.

Once we took into consideration the influences of neighbourhood characteristics on neighbourhood satisfaction, we saw an interesting shift in the effects of income and minority status: they disappeared. This suggests that low-income and minority residents are more likely to have settled in neighbourhoods that have less favourable characteristics.

An additional analysis (not shown) revealed that low-income residents are particularly less likely to feel at home and to be satisfied with the level of safety in their new neighbourhoods. As feeling at home and perceived safety turned out to be important predictors of neighbourhood satisfaction, this may explain why low-income residents are less satisfied with their neighbourhoods²⁷. This is in line with studies that have stressed the important role of perceived safety on neighbourhood satisfaction (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2002; Brooks et al., 2005; Mohan & Twigg, 2007; Varady & Walker, 2000).

The additional analysis also revealed that the lower satisfaction of ethnic minorities might be explained by their greater tendency to feel less at home and to move to neighbourhoods with larger proportions of other minority residents²⁸. Previous studies also found that displaced residents with a minority status are more likely to move to ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods (Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Pendall, 2000; Goetz, 2002; Doff & Kleinhans, 2011). While it has been argued that this tendency can be explained by the preferences of displaced residents from ethnic minorities (Clark, 1992; Freeman, 2000), our results suggest otherwise. The move into ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods is more likely to be a consequence of constraints (not captured by our model) that minority groups have to face on the housing market (e.g. Charles, 2003).

Ethnic minorities do not differ from native Dutch residents in their evaluation of the ethnic make-up of the neighbourhood. For both categories there is the same negative association between ethnic concentration and neighbourhood satisfaction. The same is found in a study of Bolt et al. (2008) on the basis of a national representative Dutch study. These findings are in line with the racial proxy hypothesis of Harris (2001), who stated that the preference for nonminority neighbourhoods should not be understood as racism, but as the consequence of the negative association (among all ethnic groups) of ethnic concentration with crime and low-quality facilities. In our research, we found for both groups that the proportion of non-Western minorities in the neighbourhood is indeed negatively associated with safety and feeling at home (also see Ellen, 2000; Sampson, 2009).

27 This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that income shows up again as a significant predictor once feeling at home and satisfaction with the safety in the neighbourhood are left out of the regression equation.

28 A significant effect of ethnic minority status shows up again once these two variables are left out of the regression equation.

Table 5.6 Multiple regression analyses predicting displaced residents' current neighbourhood satisfaction

	Model 1 Background characteristics (n=738, R ² =0.04)	Model 2 + pre relocation factors (n=738, R ² =0.20)	Model 3 + neighbourhood characteristics (n=738, R ² =0.53)
	B	B	B
Intercept	6.90***	4.65***	1.26**
The Hague	0.09	0.00	0.00
Groningen	0.06	-0.04	-0.37**
Rotterdam	-0.01	-0.00	-0.13
Female	0.19	0.11	-0.02
Age	-0.02	-0.00	0.00
Age ²	0.00	0.00	-0.00
Children present	0.06	0.18	0.27**
Single	0.25	0.15	0.12
Years lived in old dwelling	0.01	0.02*	0.01
Low education level	-0.10	-0.16	-0.23**
Welfare recipient	-0.19	-0.13	-0.06
Ethnic minority	-0.30*	-0.36**	-0.19
Monthly net household income * €1000	0.32***	0.20*	0.03
Score on income missing	0.00	0.12	-0.05
Already wanted to move		0.02	-0.04
Positive first reaction to relocation		0.39***	0.07
Satisfaction with housing corporation counselling		0.18***	0.07***
Distance from old neighbourhood (km)			0.03
Average income, income recipients			0.02
Proportion of non-Western minorities (location coefficient)			-0.18***
Percentage of social-rented dwellings			-0.00
Proportion of welfare recipients			0.00
Less contact with neighbours than in old neighbourhood			-0.28**
Feeling at home			0.57***
Satisfaction with population composition			0.25***
Satisfaction with shopping facilities			0.01
Satisfaction with safety			0.44***
Satisfaction with green spaces			-0.03
Satisfaction with child friendliness			0.19***

*p<.10, **p<.05, ***p<.01

Source: Own survey

5.6 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Although displacement is usually considered a negative consequence of urban restructuring, it can also be regarded as a unique opportunity for households at the bottom of the housing market to find a satisfactory housing situation. Which of these views is correct – and why? Our results support the second view. The scores given to the new dwellings and neighbourhoods were both amply sufficient and considerably higher than those given to the old dwellings and neighbourhoods. However, not all displaced residents were equally satisfied with their new dwellings and neighbourhoods after their relocation.

With respect to their dwelling, we found residents with a shorter length of residence in their old dwelling, with lower incomes and those from ethnic minorities to be less satisfied. This is in accordance with our expectations: low-income and minority residents are less satisfied because they have less awareness of the opportunities on the housing market. Although they were less satisfied, the grades they gave (for both the new dwellings and neighbourhoods) were relatively high. As such, we do not find support for the common perception that low-income residents are victims of displacement.

In line with our expectations, we also found that displaced residents' dwelling satisfaction is related to their initial attitude toward their relocation. The more positive they were, the more satisfied they became. Besides, residents who appreciated the counselling they had received, were more satisfied with their new housing situation. This implies that housing corporations can influence the housing satisfaction of residents not only by imposing a forced relocation on them, but also by providing them with counselling. Future research should examine how counselling can be organised in such a manner that it better helps displaced residents.

Displaced residents' dwelling satisfaction was finally expected to be influenced by the characteristics of that dwelling. The results indeed show that dwelling characteristics have a considerable influence on residents' satisfaction with their dwellings: residents who moved to dwellings that provided more rooms per household member and that were better maintained than their previous dwelling were relatively more satisfied with their current dwelling.

In our examination of the determinants of displaced residents' satisfaction with their neighbourhood, we found residents with lower incomes and minority residents to be less satisfied. Nevertheless, as was the case with respect to their dwelling, these residents gave sufficiently high grades to their neighbourhood. Besides, we found that the greater dissatisfaction of low-income residents can be related to their tendency to move to neighbourhoods in which they feel less at home and less safe, and that of ethnic minorities to their stronger inclination to move to neighbourhoods with a large proportion of minority residents. Just like native residents, ethnic minorities feel less at home and safe when there is a large proportion

of ethnic minorities in their neighbourhoods. Future studies should analyse why ethnic minorities feel less at home and less safe in high density ethnic areas. Apart from background characteristics, displaced residents' satisfaction with their neighbourhood was also affected by their initial stance towards their relocation and their satisfaction with the counselling of the housing corporation. In line with what we expected, residents who were more positive about their relocation and counselling were also more positive about their current neighbourhood. The neighbourhood characteristics that we assumed to affect neighbourhood satisfaction did not always have the expected effects. Only one objective neighbourhood characteristic affected neighbourhood satisfaction: residents who had moved to neighbourhoods with larger proportions of ethnic minorities were less satisfied. In these neighbourhoods, residents were feeling less at home and safe. However, many subjective indicators of the neighbourhood situation did influence neighbourhood satisfaction. Interestingly, it appears that the areas in which displaced residents experienced most improvements (i.e., population composition, safety, child friendliness), were those that most affected their neighbourhood satisfaction. In other words, many displaced residents succeeded in moving to neighbourhoods that have the characteristics that matter most to them. Altogether, this chapter tells a positive story about the relocation outcomes of displaced residents. Although lower income and ethnic minority residents are somewhat less satisfied, they are still quite satisfied. Besides, the overall level of both dwelling and neighbourhood satisfaction is rather high. For the interpretation of these results, it is crucial to note that they concern the Netherlands, a country that offers displaced residents a favourable climate in which to find a new dwelling (Posthumus et al., 2013b). The country's social-rented housing sector is large, and its displaced residents have strong rights and receive adequate counselling. Thus, when displaced residents are offered many opportunities to weigh their alternatives, they are able to move to satisfactory housing and neighbourhood situations. Although it may not be possible to provide displaced residents in other developed countries with the same opportunities – particularly in light of cut-backs in funding on both sides of the Atlantic – the Dutch example can be used to support a plea for a wider set of choices for displaced residents as well as the need for more high quality counselling.

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SIX

HOW LOCAL CONTEXTS INFLUENCE THE NEIGHBOURHOOD SATISFACTION OF DISPLACED TENANTS IN THE NETHERLANDS AND FRANCE

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This chapter is currently under review at an international journal.

ABSTRACT

A number of studies have examined the effects of social mixing policies on tenants who are forced to relocate to make way for more prosperous residents. They found that forced relocations can have both positive and negative effects on displaced tenants' neighbourhood satisfaction. The present study looked at a potential explanation for these mixed results, namely differences between social housing contexts. As displaced tenants have low incomes, they are generally restricted to moves within the social-rented housing sector. Therefore, the availability and allocation of social housing may strongly influence their opportunities to move to a satisfactory neighbourhood. Previous studies have not been able to distinguish the role of different social housing contexts on displaced tenants' neighbourhood satisfaction, because they focused either on single cases or on multiple cases in the same relocation context. The present study has filled this gap by conducting a total of 109 qualitative interviews with displaced tenants in both the Netherlands – where the social housing context imposes relatively few constraints on tenants – and France, where tenants face many constraints. It was found that, contrary to expectations, constraints did not always lead to tenants being less satisfied with their new neighbourhood.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Restructuring and mixing policies have been implemented on a large scale in the United States and Western Europe with the intention of improving the livability of the targeted neighbourhoods by diversifying the housing stock and the population (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Galster, 2007; Goetz, 2010; Van Gent et al., 2009). Although studies have investigated the effects of such policies on the targeted areas, only recently has attention been paid to the experiences of the tenants who were forced to relocate in order to make way for more affluent residents (e.g. Goetz, 2002; Kleinmans, 2003; Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Smith, 2002; Varady & Walker, 2000). These studies consistently showed that displaced tenants are more satisfied with their new than with their old housing (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Kleinmans, 2003; Kleinmans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008; Varady & Walker, 2000).

However, it is less clear whether they are also more satisfied with their new neighbourhood, as the results of previous studies have been mixed (Goetz, 2002; Kleinmans, 2003; Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Varady & Walker, 2000). To explain these contradictory results, some studies have examined the role of the background characteristics of displaced tenants (Brooks et al., 2005; Kleinmans, 2003). These studies found that certain characteristics limit displaced tenants' opportunities to satisfy their neighbourhood preferences. In this respect, the role of income has received the most emphasis: low-income residents face more constraints in satisfying their preferences and are therefore less satisfied with their new neighbourhood (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Lees, 2008; Lees, 2011; Watt, 2009).

However, displaced tenants' freedom of neighbourhood choice may be more constrained by the availability of social housing and the regulations on its allocation to displaced tenants, than by their background characteristics. The incomes of most displaced tenants are so low that they are dependent on the social housing sector (Bolt et al., 2009). Therefore, the availability and allocation of social housing units may have a particularly strong influence on their opportunities to satisfy their neighbourhood preferences.

As the availability and allocation of social housing differs considerably in and across countries, displaced tenants' opportunities to satisfy their neighbourhood preferences and the constraints they face when trying to do so are also very different. It was unclear whether and, if so, how these different contexts affect displaced tenants' neighbourhood evaluations, as the evaluations of displaced tenants in more and less constraining housing contexts had rarely been compared. The present study has filled that gap by focusing on the following question:

To what extent are less constrained displaced tenants more satisfied with their new neighbourhood than more constrained displaced tenants, and for what reasons?

To answer this question, we analysed 109 qualitative interviews with displaced tenants from two Dutch cities (Rotterdam and The Hague) – which offer displaced tenants a considerable freedom of neighbourhood choice – and from two French suburban cities nearby Paris (Orly and Bagneux), where displaced tenants face severe constraints regarding their neighbourhood choice. Dutch displaced tenants are less constrained in their neighbourhood choice than their French counterparts because of two main reasons: the supply of social housing and allocation regulations. Compared to the French cities, the Dutch cities have a larger social housing stock that is divided over a larger number of neighbourhoods. Besides, Dutch displaced tenants are allowed to react on all available social rented dwellings of all housing corporations throughout their municipality. In contrast, the tenants in the French cities get a maximum of three relocation offers from their housing association. Since these associations are most inclined to relocate their tenants within their own housing stock, displaced tenants' relocation alternatives tend to depend on the location of their association's housing stock.

6.2 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

This chapter builds upon previous research on three related topics: 1) the specific neighbourhood preferences of displaced tenants, 2) the factors that could prevent these preferences being satisfied and 3) displaced tenants' post-relocation neighbourhood satisfaction.

● ● ● ● ● 6.2.1 NEIGHBOURHOOD PREFERENCES

Like regular movers, displaced tenants have a wide range of preferences regarding the neighbourhood they would like to move to. However, two preferences are thought to be particularly important for displaced residents, namely the preference regarding the social environment and that regarding the liveability of the neighbourhood.

THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Displaced tenants have particularly strong preferences regarding the social environment of their neighbourhood. It has been argued that, for various reasons, the social environment of their neighbourhood makes displaced tenants reluctant to move and to express a strong desire to move only a short distance away from it.

According to Giuliani and Feldman (1983), displaced tenants prefer to remain in their neighbourhood because of their strong emotional bonds with or place attachment to it. Those with place attachment have been found to be unwilling to move because they are reluctant to break their emotional bonds with their neighbours and a place that provides them with stability (Brown & Perkins, 1992; Kleit

& Manzo, 2006). As this stability is more important for low-income residents, displaced tenants are thought to have a relatively strong place attachment (Fried, 2000). Manzo and colleagues (2008) clearly illustrated the presence of place attachment at a relocation site in the Pacific Northwest of the USA. Their study on the experiences of tenants at a HOPE VI site revealed that “social ties and neighbouring activities provided a sense of belonging by offering friendship and companionship” (ibid., p. 1867).

Displaced tenants also prefer to move within or nearby their neighbourhood because of their place-dependence: their neighbourhood fulfils many of their needs (Kleit & Manzo, 2006). Their impending forced relocation makes them realize how much they rely on their neighbourhood in their daily lives, and they thus prefer to remain there (Fried, 1966; Stokols & Schumaker, 1981). In a study on displacement in Philadelphia Clampet-Lundquist (2004) emphasized that displaced tenants’ relocation decisions were heavily influenced by their preference to maintain their daily routines after their relocation. She found that, in making their relocation decision, tenants “primarily used factors relating to their daily routines, such as proximity to family, public transportation, and familiar amenities” (ibid., p. 432). Moves within the neighbourhood can also be functional because they enable tenants to maintain their social-support networks. The importance of such networks is stressed in a study by Venkatesh and Celimli (2004) of displaced tenants at a HOPE VI site in Chicago. They showed that displaced residents often moved only a short distance from or remained in their old neighbourhood because “the social support networks they spent years, if not decades, building up are not easy to cast aside”.

While the social environment of displaced tenants’ old neighbourhoods is most often perceived as a pull factor, some studies have shown that it can also be a push factor. These studies found that some residents wanted to leave their neighbourhood in order to break their local bonds. Both regular movers (Curley, 2009; Manzo, 2005) and forced movers (Briggs et al., 2010; Smith, 2002) have been found to express the desire to break their social bonds in their neighbourhood if they feel them to be a burden. In addition, some residents who have emotional bonds with another neighbourhood prefer to move to that neighbourhood (Smith, 2002).

However, it has also been argued that the importance of displaced tenants’ social environments should not be overstated. Some displaced tenants may not have strong emotional bonds with or social networks in their neighbourhood. Several studies have indicated that the importance of social interactions and ties is decreasing in neighbourhoods (e.g. Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Guest & Wierzbicki, 1999; Kleinmans, 2003; Wellman et al., 1988). If displaced tenants do not value the social environment in their neighbourhood, a move to another neighbourhood might not be less preferable than remaining in their old neighbourhood. It is interesting to note in this respect that Goetz (2002) reported that residents had

experienced improvements in a forced and a voluntary mobility programme in the Twin Cities region of Minneapolis/Saint Paul. He found that relocated residents did not have fewer social interactions with neighbours after they moved out of their old neighbourhood. Similarly, Feins and Shroder's (2005) study on the subsequent residential experiences of residents participating in the Moving to Opportunity programme revealed that the residents did not lose any contacts.

BETTER LIVEABILITY

The liveability of their neighbourhood is also argued to influence displaced tenants' relocation preferences. Some tenants might be pleased to leave their neighbourhood because they already wanted to move because of liveability problems in their neighbourhood. To these tenants, their forced relocation offers them a chance to avoid waiting lists and move out within a much shorter period of time (Popp, 1976; Kleinhans, 2003). Besides, it has been argued that receiving notification of an impending forced relocation makes tenants reflect upon their housing situation, and they thus become aware of their dissatisfaction with their neighbourhood in this respect (Kleit & Manzo, 2006). Therefore, displaced tenants are prone to leave their neighbourhood. It is exactly this reaction that is anticipated by mixing policies in Western countries (at least in the United States, the Netherlands and France). Policymakers believe that displaced tenants will be pleased to be given a chance to improve their housing situation by escaping from the negative influences in their neighbourhood, such as high levels of crime, few employment opportunities and low-quality public services (Goetz, 2010). Smith (2002) observed among HOPE VI residents that several residents wanted to leave their neighbourhood in order to gain access to better amenities and a better quality of life. A similar result emerged from the Dutch study by Posthumus and colleagues (2013a), who found 'anti-ghettoist' sentiments among displaced tenants. Several tenants stressed that they wanted to escape from the problems in their neighbourhood, for example nuisance, a lack of safety and the concentration of ethnic minorities and unemployed people.

● ● ● ● ● 6.2.2 PERCEIVED AND ACTUAL RESTRICTIONS

Displaced tenants' opportunities to satisfy their preferences have been argued to be restricted by three major factors: their relatively weak socioeconomic position (which restricts them to cheap housing, and leads to possible problems in understanding their rights and other information), housing market constraints (limited availability of cheap housing) and regulations (time limits, restricted number of alternatives, allocation policies) (for further information, see e.g. Bolt et al., 2009; Brown & King, 2005; Kleit & Galvez, 2011; Manzo et al., 2008; Smith, 2002). These restrictions can make displaced tenants feel that they have no control over the situation. Being in control of their relocation process is very important to tenants who are forced to relocate (Allen, 2000). Several studies have shown that

displaced tenants do not always feel in control, and that they feel that they do not have any choice regarding the dwelling or the neighbourhood they will move to (Lelévrier, 2010; Posthumus et al., 2013a; Smith, 2002). Although it has also been found that displaced tenants have a certain level of agency to satisfy their preferences (Briggs et al., 2010; Manzo et al., 2008; Smith, 2002), the extent to which they perceive themselves to be active agents differs between relocation contexts. American displaced tenants, who are generally confronted with a smaller social housing stock, face more severe constraints than European tenants (Posthumus et al., 2013a; Smith, 2002).

There are also differences between European countries. Dutch displaced tenants have been found to feel that they have considerable freedom of choice (Posthumus et al., 2013a). Although they know that they are restricted to cheap, social housing, they often have access to a sufficient range of properties and locations to satisfy their most important preferences. In contrast, French displaced tenants have little room to manoeuvre, and they are aware of that (Faure, 2009; Gilbert, 2009). French housing associations strongly influence their displaced tenants' relocation outcomes, even though some associations do try to fulfil their tenants' desires (Oblet & Villechaise, 2011). One of the most important preferences of tenants is to remain in their old neighbourhood (Lelévrier, 2010). However, it is not always possible to satisfy this preference. Gilbert (2009) showed for Lyon that 16% of relocated households were forced to move out of their neighbourhood against their will. Due to the large-scale demolition activities, the old neighbourhoods had insufficient affordable housing to enable all displaced tenants who wanted to stay in the neighbourhood to do so. However, households with higher incomes and those with a lot of local social capital were in a better position to negotiate with their housing association and were more likely to remain in their old neighbourhood.

● ● ● ● ● 6.2.3 POST-RELOCATION NEIGHBOURHOOD SATISFACTION

The results of studies that have examined the neighbourhood satisfaction of displaced tenants are mixed: some found that displaced tenants evaluated their new neighbourhood better than their previous neighbourhood (Brazley & Gilderbloom, 2007; Goetz, 2002), while others found the opposite (Brooks et al., 2005; Varady & Walker, 2000).

Scholars have used several factors to explain the different levels of satisfaction with the new neighbourhood of displaced tenants. The most common factor is income. Displaced tenants with lower incomes suffer the most from forced relocations (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Lees, 2008; Lees, 2011; Watt, 2009). Displaced tenants' neighbourhood satisfaction has also been related to what are assumed to be more and less preferable characteristics of their new neighbourhood. For instance, it has been associated with the distance from the previous neighbourhood, and the safety and the social atmosphere of the new neighbourhood (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2002; Doff & Kleinhans, 2011; Posthumus et al., 2013b). The neighbourhood

characteristic that is argued to be most influential, however, is the population composition. In particular, living in an ethnically diverse neighbourhood is argued to negatively influence residents' neighbourhood satisfaction: residents (belonging to all ethnic groups) would associate ethnic concentration with crime and low-quality facilities (Harris, 2001).

Previous studies have rarely paid attention to the relationships between different relocation contexts and displaced tenants' different levels of neighbourhood satisfaction. However, relocation contexts may well influence tenants' opportunities to achieve their neighbourhood preferences. Besides, different relocation contexts may make displaced tenants feel differently about how they are being treated, directly affecting their post-relocation satisfaction. The descriptions of the local context in which studies after the experiences of displaced tenants were conducted suggest that researchers have acknowledged the possible influence of this context. However, because the experiences of tenants in different relocation contexts have not been examined simultaneously yet, it is not clear whether and, if so, how different relocation contexts influence displaced tenants' neighbourhood satisfaction.

We have filled this gap by comparing the neighbourhood satisfaction of displaced tenants in two Dutch cities (Rotterdam and The Hague), which have less constraining relocation contexts, with the neighbourhood satisfaction of displaced tenants in two French suburban cities (Orly and context should at least get mentioned so the reader knows what is being referred to by this phrase.

6.3 CASE STUDIES

• • • • • 6.3.1 DISPLACEMENT IN THE NETHERLANDS AND FRANCE

The aim of urban renewal in both countries is to create a more diversified social housing stock in order to improve the image of disadvantaged neighbourhoods and to generate benefits from a more mixed population (Blanc, 2010, Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). Despite this commonality, there are important differences between the relocation process in the Netherlands and that in France. This is partly due to the differences between the housing allocation systems in these countries.

Dutch tenants who are forced to move as a result of mixing policies have several rights: they are entitled to comparable replacement housing, a reasonable allowance to cover their relocation expenses and assistance from their housing association, such as counselling related to their search for suitable housing. In the two cities in which we conducted our research, replacement housing was allocated according to the country's most common allocation policy, namely choice-based letting (see also Kullberg, 2002). This policy allows tenants to respond on a weekly or biweekly basis to notifications of all available social housing units of all housing corporations in their municipality for which they meet the eligibility criteria.

These criteria usually include age, household size and household income. To speed up their housing search, they receive priority status, which gives them precedence over other house-seekers for a period of one year (with a possible extension). However, this precedence applies only to housing that is comparable to their old home in terms of type, number of rooms and sometimes the rent.

In France, according to the rules of the national urban renewal programme that was launched in 2003, all tenants who live in a building that is slated for demolition have the right to be relocated to another social housing unit. A local agreement, signed by the local authorities, housing associations and tenants' representatives, formalizes the framework of this relocation process. The agreement primarily grants tenants the right to remain in their neighbourhood, to be offered three new dwellings, and to be given financial and technical assistance with their move.

The choice of alternative social housing on offer in France is much more limited than in the Netherlands. There are two main reasons for this. First, the housing associations that are involved in renewals manage the whole relocation process and tend to relocate tenants to homes that are part of their own housing stock. Therefore, the location of the offered housing will depend on the location of the association's housing stock. In Orly, the stock of the housing association that had to relocate its residents is concentrated in a large disadvantaged neighbourhood of 5000 dwellings. In contrast, the housing stock of the association in Bagneux is scattered over the city and there is very little left in the demolished neighbourhood. Displaced tenants in Orly are consequently likely to move to new homes in the same neighbourhood, whereas displaced tenants from Bagneux are likely to move out of their neighbourhood.

Second, France has neither a US-style voucher system nor a list of dwellings that tenants can apply for. Instead, local relocation committees composed of representatives from the local council, central government and housing associations, examine the situation of each relocated household. They then draw up a list of suitable properties on the basis of the household's income and size. Usually, only three successive proposals are made to each household.

● ● ● ● ● 6.3.2 DISPLACEMENT IN ROTTERDAM, THE HAGUE, ORLY AND BAGNEUX

Two of the case studies concern urban suburban cities just south of Paris, and two are on cities in the southwestern wing of the Netherlands' Randstad (a large conurbation in the west of the country). Although the two French cities are smaller and more suburban than the two Dutch cities, all four have substantive shares of social housing and low-income residents, and suffer from common urban problems, such as relatively high levels of criminality and drug abuse. However, the most important commonality is that all four have been undergoing large-scale urban renewal projects, which have involved large numbers of forced relocations. Some core characteristics of the four cases are presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Core characteristics of the case studies

	Rotterdam	The Hague	Orly	Bagneux
Number of households	296,420	240,300	8,742	16,767
Number of neighbourhoods	91	114	9	17
Number of displaced households 2006-08(NL) 2005-09(FR)	2,813	2,000	376	352
% of non-Western migrants ²⁹	36	33	20.2	19.7
% Social-rented housing	49	30	60	60
% of residents over 65 years of age	14	13	12.5	12.3
Indexed average disposable household income x €1000 ³⁰	88.8	95.8	83.5	89.6

Source: Dutch data, CBS Statline, 2009; French data, General Census, 2008

The two Dutch case studies concern the country's second largest city (Rotterdam) and its third largest city (The Hague), respectively. The housing markets in both cities are characterised by a large share of social housing units (around 50% in Rotterdam and 30% in The Hague). The social housing sector in Rotterdam is larger because much social housing was built to replace the homes that were destroyed by heavy bombing during the second world war. In both cities, the social housing stock is spread over many neighbourhoods. In the period 2006-08, the implementation of urban renewal policies resulted in the relocation of 2813 and 2000 households in Rotterdam and The Hague, respectively.

The first French case study concerns Orly, a suburban city 15 kilometres (35 minutes by train) south of Paris. This old industrial area now houses many old and retired tenants. Its social housing is concentrated on one large estate of 5392 units that was built close to the airport at the beginning of the 1960s. The renewal in Orly began in the 1980s, and in 2013, 1631 units in nine buildings will have been replaced by a mix of social (800) and private housing (633). In the period we focused on in this study (2006-09), 376 households were relocated.

The second French case study concerns Bagneux, a suburban city just 8 kilometres (20 minutes by public transport) south of Paris. This more deprived city is in a wealthier and greener area than Orly. Sixty per cent of the housing stock is social housing; it is spread over the city and is owned by three housing associations. The southern district of Bagneux – where the demolition and urban renewal programme is concentrated – accounts for just less than 7% of the city's total housing stock. Only one building (273 dwellings) from the 1960s has been demolished since 2003. Over half (57%) of the units were 5- or 6-room flats occupied by large

29 In the Dutch cases this number refers to the share of residents who have at least one parent who was born in a non-Western country. In the French cases this number refers to the share of residents who are born as a foreigner in a foreign country.

30 This index refers to the income position of the households in the research areas compared to the national average.

immigrant families from Senegal or Mali. The two Dutch case studies concern the country's second largest city (Rotterdam) and its third largest city (The Hague), respectively. The housing markets in both cities are characterised by a large share of social housing units (around 50% in Rotterdam and 30% in The Hague). The social housing sector in Rotterdam is larger because much social housing was built to replace the homes that were destroyed by heavy bombing during the second world war. In both cities, the social housing stock is spread over many neighbourhoods. In the period 2006-08, the implementation of urban renewal policies resulted in the relocation of 2813 and 2000 households in Rotterdam and The Hague, respectively.

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● ● ● ● ● 6.3.3 DATA AND METHODS

Interviews were held in Rotterdam with 18 tenants who had been forced to relocate between 2006 and 2009, and in The Hague with 43 tenants who had had to move between 2007 and 2009. All interviewees were recruited through a survey (155 in Rotterdam and 301 in The Hague) on the changes in their housing situation. Respondents who had indicated their willingness to participate in a follow-up study were approached for telephonic interviews. During these semi-structured interviews, open-ended questions were used to gain an insight into the displaced tenants' search for alternative housing. The questions covered their preferences regarding housing and neighbourhood characteristics, the constraints on and opportunities for satisfying these preferences, and their experiences with their new housing and new neighbourhood. The interviews lasted approximately 15-20 minutes.

In France, in-depth, face-to-face interviews lasting 60 to 90 minutes were held with 48 displaced tenants (24 in Orly and 24 in Bagneux) who had been forced to relocate

between 2005 and 2009. The respondents were chosen from a list of displaced tenants who had participated in a survey carried out by their housing association. Many of the respondents from Bagnaux stood out from those in the other cases because they were part of large, polygamous African migrant households. The analysis of the interviews was both deductive and inductive. We initially coded for the general topics and questions present in the interviews. Then, we focused on those topics and question that specifically addressed displaced tenants' neighbourhood choices and satisfaction. Throughout the coding process, we also identified codes/sub-codes that we had not anticipated. This inductive analysis revealed some of the issues described further on in this chapter.

6.4 RESULTS

The results of our qualitative analysis will be presented in three steps. The first step provides insight into the degree to which displaced tenants had felt constrained in their neighbourhood choice. The second step reveals the neighbourhood satisfaction of the displaced tenants. The third step shows whether and, if so, how the different levels of tenants' neighbourhood satisfaction across the cases can be explained by their more and less constraining relocation contexts.

● ● ● ● ● 6.4.1 THE NEW NEIGHBOURHOOD: A MATTER OF CHOICE?

Compared to the French tenants, the Dutch tenants had experienced much more freedom of choice regarding their new homes and new neighbourhoods. Although a small number had not felt that they had any choice, the large majority had felt that they had the opportunity to make different relocation decisions, for instance to move within or outside their neighbourhood. Some had even felt completely unconstrained. The following quote concerning the search process is typical of that experienced by many Dutch displaced tenants:

“ I had different demands. I wanted to stay in the city centre but not in an old building, because old buildings are generally badly maintained. Besides, I didn't want to pay more than 550 euros in rent. There were enough opportunities. Of course, there were long waiting lists for the places I liked, but because of my priority status, that wasn't a problem for me.” [Native-Dutch male, 47 years old, single, The Hague]

In contrast to the displaced tenants in the Dutch cities, the tenants in both French cities could not look for relocation alternatives themselves, but had to choose one of three consecutive offers from their housing association. Since the tenants had no insight into the future offers they might receive, they generally felt very constrained in their relocation decisions:

“ We wouldn’t have said no; we were ready to say yes to any kind of proposal ... They press you so much that you don’t have a choice; you don’t know if you’d get another offer afterwards, so it’s risky, and you just have to take the first one ... If we’d known, we would have waited to get a better flat.” [Romanian male, 25 years old, part of a couple, Bagneux]

Another reason the French displaced tenants felt much more constrained in their neighbourhood choice, is that their housing associations only offered units that were part of their own housing stock. The location of this housing stock therefore strongly influenced the displaced tenants’ relocation alternatives. While the housing association in Orly has many units in the renewed neighbourhood, that in Bagneux does not. Consequently, many displaced tenants in Orly were and felt confined to moves within their neighbourhood, unlike the tenants in Bagneux. This also is reflected in their relocation outcomes: Table 6.2 shows that tenants in Orly tended to stay within the administrative borders of their neighbourhood, whereas those from Bagneux tended to move out of it.

Table 6.2 Relocation destinations of displaced tenants

	Rotterdam	The Hague	Orly	Bagneux
Within the neighbourhood	9	14	17	6
Outside the neighbourhood	9	29	7	18
Total	18	41	24	24

Source: Own interviews

● ● ● ● ● 6.4.2 HOW DO DISPLACED TENANTS EVALUATE THEIR NEW NEIGHBOURHOOD?

Since Dutch displaced tenants had, or felt that they had, plenty of opportunities to satisfy their neighbourhood preferences, we expected that many of them would report satisfaction with their new neighbourhood. As Table 6.3 shows, this was indeed the case. Apart from the small number of tenants who felt that they had had no choice, almost all tenants were satisfied.

We also rightly expected that the more constrained tenants in Bagneux – who had little choice but to leave their neighbourhood – were much more likely to be dissatisfied. This, however, did not hold for the displaced tenants from Orly. Although they also felt that they had little freedom of choice and were strongly confined to moves within the neighbourhood, they were often satisfied with their new neighbourhood. This result indicates that more constrained tenants are not always less satisfied after their relocation.

Table 6.3 Neighbourhood satisfaction after relocation

	Rotterdam	The Hague	Orly	Bagneux
Satisfied	12	25	21	11
Could be better	1	9	2	1
Dissatisfied	5	7	1	12
Total	18	41	24	24

Source: Own interviews

● ● ● ● ● 6.4.3 WHEN DO MORE CONSTRAINED RELOCATION CONTEXTS NEGATIVELY INFLUENCE DISPLACED TENANTS' NEIGHBOURHOOD SATISFACTION?

Thus, more constrained displaced tenants are not always less satisfied with their new neighbourhood. We found that this is related to the satisfaction of their preferences: even in more constrained contexts, several tenants can satisfy their preferences. In the following, we show how the different relocation contexts of our case studies influence tenants' opportunities to satisfy their neighbourhood preferences. We do so for the two types of neighbourhood preferences whose satisfaction we found to be most influential for their neighbourhood satisfaction, namely preferences regarding the social environment and those with respect to the liveability of that environment.

OPPORTUNITIES TO STAY IN THE SAME SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

As was also found by previous studies, many displaced tenants in the Dutch and the French cases expressed a strong desire to move only a short distance in order to preserve their social environment (Fried, 2000; Manzo et al., 2008; Posthumus et al., 2013a; Venkatesh & Celimli, 2004). Three aspects of the social environment have been posited to be of importance in this respect: displaced tenants' local contacts, their attachment to their social environment and their familiarity with that environment (Blokland, 2003). However, these aspects were particularly important for certain categories of displaced tenants. The elderly and families with children relied more often on the 'location specific capital' (DaVanzo, 1981) provided by their local support networks. They were therefore more likely to express the desire to move only a short distance. Tenants who had lived for a long period of time in a neighbourhood more often felt attached to that neighbourhood and were thus more reluctant to leave.

The opportunities to move within the neighbourhood differed considerably between the case studies. Many of the Dutch tenants who wanted to stay in their social environment made use of their access to a considerable number of relocation alternatives, including alternatives close to their original housing. Many of them were satisfied:

“ I see my old neighbours on a frequent basis. We can still get together. I used to have Turkish neighbours. I lived above them for 16 years, and now they’ve bought a place right across the street from me. You keep those contacts, and that’s important to me. If you were to end up in a neighbourhood you don’t know and you don’t know anybody there, I think you’d get very lonely.”
[Native-Dutch female, 54 years old, single, The Hague]

However, moving only a short distance was no guarantee that tenants had preserved their social and familiar environment. Since many other neighbours had moved as well, some displaced tenants lost their social contacts even though they remained nearby:

“ We moved only a couple of blocks, but the contacts are not as good over here. It takes a long time to become familiar with each other. We’ve only lived here for two years, and we’d lived there for 30 years, and that’s quite a difference. Besides, one building block is dominated by Hindustani families and another one by Turks, and they tend to cluster together. Those people only interact with each other. But then I don’t need to interact with them; they’re so different...”
[Native-Dutch male, 65 years old, part of a couple, The Hague]

The tenants in Orly had little choice but to move within the neighbourhood, so those tenants who wanted to stay in the same social environment often succeeded in doing so. These, often elderly tenants were generally satisfied after their relocation:

“ I wanted to stay here. I asked to stay near or in my neighbourhood – PAP – because we’re used to it. I didn’t want change; there are shops on the corner and it’s fine. I didn’t want to go to another corner, it’s not the same neighbourhood and people, so that’s fine, we got a larger flat on the same corner.”
[Native-French male, 57 years old, part of a couple with 3 children, Orly]

The displaced tenants from Bagneux were not restricted to moves within the neighbourhood and many were forced to accept an offer of a home in the north of the city. This entailed a complete change in terms of schools, transport systems and shops. However, even a move within the southern part of the city meant a large change for these displaced tenants, as many regarded their demolished high-rise as the neighbourhood, a ‘village’ with strong ties that the tenants could not easily regain:

“ There, there’re little gardens, the flats are more spacious... But not the people... They don’t have the same spirit and behaviour as in the Tertres [the demolished high-rises]... In the Tertres, we were like a family; everybody took

care of their neighbours...” [Algerian female, 48 years old, part of a couple with 3 children, Bagneux]

Consequently, the tenants who had wanted to stay in their familiar social environment were often dissatisfied after their relocation.

A factor that further complicated the relocation process in Bagneux was that polygamous families from Africa (e.g. Mali, Senegal) with more than eight children had to be relocated. Because large flats are scarce and polygamy is forbidden in France, the housing relocation committee proposed to relocate each wife and her children to a different flat. The older children who were still living with their families were also offered the opportunity to move into their own flats. Although this strategy enabled the housing association to relocate large families to standard-sized flats, polygamous families suffered severely from this approach. The structure of their families was disrupted, and they were forced to leave their old flats where they had their community networks, where their children went to school, and where they received childcare assistance from family members. The pain of families who had to leave their much appreciated flats is shown by the following quote:

“ I wanted to stay in the Tertres. I loved it there, and when I had to move, I just cried. All my children cried because we had lived there for 34 years. The children cut out a piece of the wallpaper to take with us. We didn't want to leave the Tertres, we'd lived there for such a long time. I'm not happy here...” [Senegalese female, 60 years old, part of a couple with 11 children, Bagneux]

The dissatisfaction of large immigrant families in Bagneux was also due to a feeling of rejection by and conflict with their neighbours in the new neighbourhood. Their new lives could be difficult especially when they were relocated to buildings occupied by old people. As one of them put it:

“ We liked it in the Tertres building. Because we got along with our neighbours, there was no problem... Here, we have to be careful not to quarrel with our neighbours, because we have children and they run up and down the stairs and the neighbours complain all the time. They don't like us...” [Malian female, 54 years, part of a couple with 6 children, Bagneux]

However, not all tenants in Bagneux suffered from their relocation to the northern part of the city. Especially the children of large immigrant families and young working couples from an immigrant background were not so dissatisfied with their new situation. Their community links were not so strong and they saw some of the opportunities and benefits of their move. Many of these tenants were quite satisfied after their relocation. Besides, elderly tenants were more likely to satisfy

their preference to move near their previous location in the South of Bagneux because it was relatively easier to find small flats in this area.

OPPORTUNITIES TO MOVE TO A MORE LIVEABLE ENVIRONMENT

A move to a liveable neighbourhood was also mentioned as an important preference by both Dutch and French displaced tenants. When we asked what tenants meant by a 'liveable environment', they often referred to a 'mixed' neighbourhood. Dutch respondents often talked about the ethnic mix of the neighbourhood. Both native and minority respondents perceived neighbourhoods to be safer, neater and/or quieter when their populations consist of a smaller share of ethnic minorities:

“ I wouldn't go back. Only when you have left you realise that you were out of place among all those migrants. I didn't feel at home. Of course, migrants also have the right to live over here, but I can't relate to them. ” [Native-Dutch female, 68 years old, part of a couple, The Hague]

In the French cases, displaced tenants related the liveability of their new neighbourhood not to its ethnic mix but to its income mix, even though they also mentioned the role of ethnic concentration. They said that mixed income neighbourhoods provide better employment opportunities and a better future for their children (better schools and less risk of getting involved in delinquent behaviour). This last argument was given by, for instance, the following respondent:

“ I didn't want to raise my children where I was born and raised. I know what it's like there, and it's a bad neighbourhood. I didn't want my son to be educated in these strange 'zones', that's all! It took a long time to get a flat outside Orly. The social landlord [OPAC] came and asked me questions about that, but I was prepared to wait. ” [Second-generation Algerian immigrants, 28/25 years old, couple with 1 child, Orly]

The displaced tenants used very different strategies to fulfil their desire to move to a more liveable, or a mixed, neighbourhood. Most Dutch respondents tried to realize this desire by looking for a new home in a neighbourhood they perceived to be more liveable than other neighbourhoods in the city. They were often successful in this: affordable housing was available in such neighbourhoods, and the allocation model enabled them to access it. Consequently, they were often more satisfied with their new neighbourhood situation:

“ I would never go back there. Here, we have many fewer problems with youngsters hanging around. It is also much more quiet, because you have open spaces outside. ” [Native-Dutch male, 77 years, part of a couple, Rotterdam]

It was much more difficult for French displaced households to move to more liveable, or mixed, neighbourhoods elsewhere in the city. French housing associations, in contrast to Dutch ones, do not possess many vacant units in more prosperous neighbourhoods. Consequently, French displaced tenants were generally confined to choosing from units in either a disadvantaged *Zone Urbaine Sensitive* neighbourhood they knew, or a disadvantaged neighbourhood they did not know, except from what they had heard or read about it. This explains why Bagneux tenants who wanted to move to a more liveable neighbourhood did not perceive it as an advantage to be relocated to another neighbourhood. They were not offered housing in a neighbourhood they thought of as attractive:

“ I'd have liked to leave Bagneux and go to C. or S., but it was not possible, they had no flats available there. Besides, I know that the schools are better elsewhere. ” [African female, 39 years old, single with 3 children, Bagneux]

Considering their very limited access to more prosperous neighbourhoods, many French displaced tenants wanted to move within their neighbourhood, as they could then use their local knowledge to prevent themselves from being relocated to the worst places and worst buildings. They could thus 'move out of the cité [ghetto]' even though they moved only a short distance. This is illustrated by the following quote:

“ I asked for a flat with one room for each child, and I also asked for a place where I did not have to cross the 'Cité les Saules' to go to school with my children... I made it clear that if they did not propose what I asked for, it was not worth proposing to me in the first place, as I would have refused to move... ” [Guadeloupian Male, 42 years, part of a couple with 3 children, Orly]

When French displaced tenants succeeded in moving out of the cité by moving within their neighbourhood, they were often more satisfied with their new neighbourhood situation. These tenants were allocated what they called 'quiet' buildings without young people and drug dealers in the staircases. For this woman in Orly, it was even 'the end of the neighbourhood':

“ Here, this is not really a neighbourhood, it is more a résidence [limited-access dwellings built around an open space], the neighbourhood, that was there, that was something else, we used to say 'the neighbourhood of the

Navigateurs', but here I never say that, I say the résidence, we are more mixed, a mix of renters and owners.” [Italian female, 64 years, part of a couple, Orly]

However, not all French tenants had moved to a more liveable environment by moving within their neighbourhood. A small number had succeeded in moving to another more liveable neighbourhood. This step, however, was almost exclusively taken by tenants who were climbing the social ladder: young, second-generation immigrant couples and families from North Africa, Portugal and Chile. These tenants had developed relatively large networks outside their neighbourhood through, for example, their work or leisure activities. They were therefore more aware of the opportunities other neighbourhoods could offer them, and were more ready to leave the old neighbourhood. These tenants were often found to be satisfied after their relocation. This shows that a move outside the neighbourhood can, in some cases, lead to an improvement in the housing situation also for French displaced tenants:

“ I just want to stay here all my life! I'm so lucky to live in this place, I won't move, ever! It is so difficult to leave Orly and go to a city like C. It is a 'gentrified' place, very selective. We're here because we got this opportunity in the relocation process, but only because of that. Without the demolition, they would never have given me a flat here! ” [Male, 38 years, part of a couple with 2 children, Orly]

6.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter dealt with how more and less constraining relocation contexts influence displaced tenants' satisfaction with their new neighbourhood. We expected that more constrained tenants would have had fewer opportunities to satisfy their neighbourhood preferences and would therefore be less satisfied with their new neighbourhood. To this end, we compared the neighbourhood satisfaction of displaced tenants who were relocated in two more constraining contexts (in Bagneux and Orly, France) and in two less constraining contexts (The Hague and Rotterdam, the Netherlands). This comparison confounded our expectation. It showed that in addition to the Dutch displaced tenants, tenants in Orly were also often satisfied with their new neighbourhood. Only in Bagneux were displaced tenants frequently dissatisfied. This finding was explained by the fact that in all cases except the case of Bagneux, the displaced tenants had been able to satisfy their neighbourhood preferences.

Displaced tenants' neighbourhood satisfaction mostly depended on their realization of two desires, namely to remain in their social environment and to move to a more liveable environment.. The opportunities to fulfil these desires differed

massively between the cases. The tenants in the Dutch cases had many opportunities to satisfy their preferences because they were allowed to apply on a weekly or biweekly basis for any available social-rented unit of any housing association in their city. These units were large in number and spread over many neighbourhoods, including their old neighbourhood and more prosperous ones. The French respondents were much more constrained because they had to accept one of three offers of housing. In addition, they were generally only offered units owned by their housing association. Since virtually the entire housing stock owned by the housing association in Orly is in the tenants' old neighbourhood, few could move out of it. In contrast, the housing association in Bagneux predominantly owned units in other neighbourhoods, and thus forced tenants to move to other parts of the city.

The Dutch displaced tenants often satisfied the first key preference, namely to remain in the same social environment, by applying for housing in their neighbourhood. Most tenants with this preferences succeeded in getting a dwelling in their old neighbourhood, resulting in neighbourhood satisfaction. In the case of Orly, the tenants had little choice but to stay in the same neighbourhood. Therefore, the tenants who wanted to stay in the same social environment often satisfied their preference. In contrast, tenants in Bagneux were often forced to accept housing outside their neighbourhood. In addition, because many displaced tenants in Bagneux regarded their demolished high-rise as their old neighbourhood, even when they were offered other dwellings in their neighbourhood, they still felt as though they were being forced to leave it. Consequently, most tenants in Bagneux who had wanted to stay in the same social environment were dissatisfied after their relocation. This was particularly true for the large, polygamous immigrant families that had to be relocated in Bagneux. They were not only forced to leave their beloved neighbourhood, but their families were often broken up because each wife was offered her own unit.

With respect to the second key preference, namely to move to a more liveable neighbourhood, we found that the Dutch displaced tenants often applied for housing in what they perceived as more liveable neighbourhoods. Because their priority status gave them precedence over regular house-seekers, they often obtained new housing in these neighbourhoods, resulting in more neighbourhood satisfaction. In the French cases, a small number of socially mobile residents also succeeded in moving to a neighbourhood they considered more prosperous. However, most tenants did not get this opportunity because social housing is rarely available in the more prosperous neighbourhoods of French towns and cities. They moved either within their own disadvantaged neighbourhood or to a similar neighbourhood. Considering these circumstances, most tenants preferred to move within their neighbourhood, because it allowed them to use their local knowledge to find a new home in a better area or better building. Since displaced tenants in Bagneux were unlikely to receive offers in their old neighbourhood, we often found that they had

been unable to satisfy their preference to move to a more liveable environment. However, many tenants in Orly had been able to satisfy this preference by moving to another, more liveable part of their old neighbourhood.

All in all, this chapter shows that more constrained tenants are not always less satisfied with their neighbourhood after their relocation. Although the French tenants reported that they had had much less control over their neighbourhood outcomes, they did not always perceive these outcomes as less satisfactory. Tenants indicated that they were dissatisfied only when they could not satisfy their neighbourhood preferences, as was the case in Bagneux. It should be noted, however, that French displaced tenants seem to formulate more modest preferences as a result of the constraints they face. They do not aim to move to a neighbourhood with fewer liveability problems, but only to a better part of their old neighbourhood, because they know they are very unlikely to succeed in this. Thus, displaced tenants in more constrained relocation contexts are not necessarily less satisfied, but may be satisfied with less.

Thus, the Dutch is preferable to the French relocation context. The more positive experiences of Dutch displaced tenants are mainly a result of their larger number of relocation alternatives. To increase the choices offered to French displaced tenants, policymakers could adopt aspects of the Dutch allocation policy. For instance, they could allocate housing according to choice-based letting instead of an option model. Tenants' opportunities to satisfy their preferences increase substantially when they are not offered a maximum of three housing units, but are allowed to apply for any available unit during a period of a few months. If French housing associations were to cooperate more intensively and enable tenants to apply for units owned by other housing associations, as it the case in the Netherlands, displaced tenants would have considerably more options. And even if they do not make use these options, they will perceive to have more freedom of choice.

These conclusions evidence the additional value of a comparative study: this study has not only explained why different contexts trigger different experiences, but also provided clues about which contextual factors should be changed to improve these experiences. It has therefore shown that it is worthwhile to pay more attention to such comparisons in the future.

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SEVEN

WHEN DISPLACED TENANTS MOVE IN...

A ROTTERDAM CASE STUDY ON THE ROLE
OF THE INFLOW OF DISPLACED TENANTS
IN PERCEIVED NEIGHBOURHOOD DECLINE

A slightly different version of this chapter will be published in:
Cities (2013).

ABSTRACT

Although urban renewal policies target specific areas, their effects can also be felt in other areas. Forced relocations tend to be part of urban renewal processes, as it is a common renewal strategy to replace some of the cheap housing stock with more upmarket alternatives. A large inflow of displaced tenants might have negative effects on the receiving neighbourhood. Although this risk is underscored in both societal and scientific debates, very few studies have focused on it. This chapter reports on a case study on perceived changes in a Rotterdam neighbourhood in which many displaced tenants had settled. An expert meeting with public sector employees and a questionnaire completed by and in-depth interviews with residents were used to examine whether and, if so, why residents perceive neighbourhood decline when displaced tenants move in. The results show that the residents of the receiving neighbourhood do perceive more neighbourhood decline, and that this is because they are more negative about the development of their neighbourhood's population composition. However, this perception is only partly related to the inflow of displaced tenants.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Social mixing is a frequently implemented renewal strategy that is primarily aimed at reducing problems in low-income neighbourhoods by attracting a more affluent population through the diversification of the housing stock (Andersen, 2002; Dekker & Van Kempen, 2004; Swaroop & Morenoff, 2006; Wassenberg, 2004). We set out to explore the possibility that this policy negatively affects non-targeted neighbourhoods. Our central question was whether established residents perceive neighbourhood decline when people who have been displaced as a result of mixing policies move into their neighbourhood, and if so, why.

In the public debate, politicians, practitioners and community activists have often stressed that inflows of displaced tenants could have negative effects on neighbourhoods (Kleinhans & Varady, 2011). Some residents of neighbourhoods in which many displaced tenants might settle have the same worries: they fear that the incomers will damage the social fabric and cause a drop in property prices (Duke, 2010). 'Not in my backyard' (NIMBY) attitudes and community protest are therefore common responses to the displacement of tenants. In the USA, the media has also paid considerable attention to the negative effects of the inflow of displaced tenants in terms of the risk of crime displacement (Briggs & Dreier, 2008; Kleinhans & Varady, 2011; Rosin, 2008).

Despite the attention paid in the public debate to the risk of negative effects stemming from the inflow of displaced tenants, few studies have tested whether these effects actually exist. However, numerous studies have examined the condition under which such effects are most likely to occur, namely the re-concentration of displaced tenants in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The results of such studies suggest that although these conditions are not present in many neighbourhoods, some neighbourhoods in both the USA and Western Europe that have weak socioeconomic positions are indeed confronted with large inflows of displaced tenants (e.g. Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Kingsley et al., 2003; McClure, 2008; Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Popkin et al., 2009; Posthumus et al., 2013; Varady et al., 2010).

Most studies that have investigated the effects of an inflow of displaced tenants looked at whether the inflow had resulted in *objective* neighbourhood decline in terms of crime displacement and falling property prices (Galster et al., 1999; Kleinhans & Varady, 2011; Lee et al., 1999; Nguyen, 2005; Santiago et al., 2001). We, however, focused on a less examined effect, namely that on *perceived* neighbourhood decline. Rather than objective indicators of decline, perceptions of decline guide residents' behaviour (Sampson, 2012), such as the decision to move or not, or to invest in one's property or not (Feijten & Van Ham, 2009). As such responses are crucial for the development of neighbourhoods, it deems highly relevant to gain a better understanding of the influence of the inflow of displaced tenants on perceived neighbourhood decline.

A small number of American case studies had provided some first insights in this by describing in detail the reaction of residents to the inflow of displaced tenants (Briggs et al., 1999; Greenbaum et al., 2008) and tenants participating in mobility programmes (Duke, 2010). The results of these studies, however, are not uniform: the extent to which the arrival of tenants participating in mobility programmes is considered problematic, differed substantially between the cases. Contradictory results were also found by some rather elementary Dutch studies that addressed the relation between the inflow of displaced tenants and perceived neighbourhood decline (Slob et al., 2008; Van Bergeijk et al., 2008; Veldboer et al., 2007).

Thus, our understanding of the above effects is rather limited. We therefore carried out a case study in the Dutch city of Rotterdam to obtain a more complete picture of the relation between the inflow of displaced tenants and perceived neighbourhood decline. The case study comprised two steps.

We first investigated whether established residents had perceived neighbourhood decline since the arrival of displaced tenants. To do so, we distributed a questionnaire in a neighbourhood that hosts many displaced tenants ('host neighbourhood'). A unique feature of this study is that we also distributed the questionnaire in a neighbourhood in which only a small number of displaced tenants had settled ('control neighbourhood'). Since the host and control neighbourhoods are similar in many respects, we assumed that stronger perceptions of decline in the host neighbourhood would indicate the presence of negative effects of the inflow of displaced tenants.

As it turned out that some of the established residents of the host neighbourhood had perceived certain types of neighbourhood decline, we explored why that was the case. To this end, we examined the questionnaire data and analysed the in-depth follow-up interviews we had conducted with residents of the host neighbourhood, as well as the transcripts of the meeting we had held with public sector employees (policymakers, police officers, social workers and youth workers) who work in or are involved in some other way with this neighbourhood.

7.2 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

● ● ● ● ● 7.2.1 PREREQUISITES FOR NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF DISPLACED TENANTS

Several studies have examined the conditions under which neighbourhoods can be expected to suffer the most negative effects of inflows of displaced tenants. The re-concentration of displaced tenants is most often considered the essential prerequisite for the emergence of negative effects (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Kingsley et al., 2003; Kleinhans & Varady, 2011; Varady et al., 2010). The main finding of both American and Dutch studies on the relocation patterns of displaced tenants is that although displaced tenants move to a wide range of neighbourhoods, they are more likely to move to nearby neighbourhoods, which sometimes results in

clustering (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Kingsley et al., 2003; Posthumus et al., 2013; Varady et al., 2010).

Since displaced tenants are relatively poor, it is feared that they will weaken the socioeconomic position of the neighbourhoods in which they re-concentrate. It should be noted that although the socioeconomic position of neighbourhoods can be much weaker in American than in European cities, even in a welfare state like the Netherlands there are concerns that large inflows of displaced tenants have negative effects on neighbourhoods (Kleinhans & Varady, 2011). When the socioeconomic position of a neighbourhood weakens as a result of the clustering of displaced tenants, it is feared that the living conditions deteriorate and established residents start to perceive neighbourhood decline. Many studies have found that the residents of less affluent neighbourhoods are less satisfied with their neighbourhoods because of the relatively poor maintenance of the housing and the public spaces, and the nuisance caused by drug abuse, youths, vandalism and criminality (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2002; Basolo & Strong, 2002; Harris, 1999; Lu, 1999; Mohan & Twigg, 2007; Parkes et al., 2002).

The likelihood that a large inflow of displaced tenants will have a negative effect is expected to differ between neighbourhoods. The likelihood is widely believed to be greater in poorer and ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods (Kleinhans & Varady, 2011), where displaced tenants would be particularly likely to push the neighbourhood composition over the threshold at which more rapid neighbourhood decline sets in (Galster, 2005). However, no uniform thresholds have been defined (Freeman & Rohe, 2000; Galster, 2005; McClure, 2010; Quercia & Galster, 2000). Nevertheless, numerous studies have shown that displaced tenants do tend to move to neighbourhoods that have concentrations of minority ethnic groups and a weak socioeconomic position (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Kingsley et al., 2003; McClure, 2008; Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Popkin et al., 2009; Posthumus et al., 2013; Varady et al., 2010). This, of course, is not surprising, since the in general low-income displaced households (Bolt et al., 2009) cannot afford to move to more expensive neighbourhoods.

A few studies have found that not only the number but also the type of displaced tenants who settle in a neighbourhood determine whether they might have a negative influence (Kleinhans & Slob, 2008; Kleinhans & Varady, 2011; Smith, 2002). Specific reference has been made to the arrival of displaced tenants with multiple problems (Popkin et al., 2005). Smith (2002, p. 40-41) argued that:

“ Numbers are a helpful indicator that can highlight areas where potential problems may exist but they cannot tell a neighbourhood’s story. One area may have fifteen character with no change in community standards whereas another can have only five and a surplus of trouble. ”

Research has also shown that the arrival of small numbers of displaced tenants with problematic character can cause a disproportionate increase in the level of nuisance (Posthumus et al., 2012).

● ● ● ● ● 7.2.2 DISPLACED TENANTS AND NEIGHBOURHOOD DECLINE

The debate about the possible negative effects of the inflow of displaced tenants on their host neighbourhoods can be placed within wider research on the negative effects of residential mobility on host neighbourhoods. One of the most prominent findings within this research field is that neighbourhoods with more residential mobility are confronted with higher levels of crime, perceived disorder and unsafety (Rhineberger-Dunn & Carlson, 2011; Sampson & Raudenbush, 2004; Sampson, 2009). Residents of highly mobile neighbourhoods do not have enough time to form networks and therefore do not develop the informal control mechanisms that help to prevent crime (Kasadra & Janowitz, 1974; Shaw & McKay, 1942). Both the number of and the types of incomers have been found to affect the development of host neighbourhoods. In this respect, most references are made to the negative influences of inflows of low-income households from minority backgrounds (Peterson & Krivo, 2009; Quillian & Pager, 2001; Sampson, 2009; Wei et al., 2005).

Since displaced tenants are known to have relatively low incomes (Bolt et al., 2009), they can be expected to have a negative influence on their host neighbourhoods. Their arrival may, however, be regarded as even more problematic than that of other low-income households because of the stigma attached to their previous neighbourhoods and the notion that those who live there are trouble makers (Manzo et al., 2008). As a result, established residents may take a particularly negative stance towards the inflow of displaced tenants.

The few studies that have investigated the effects of the inflow of displaced tenants on receiving neighbourhoods have most often looked at their effects on objective indicators of neighbourhood quality, such as crime levels and property prices (Galster et al., 1999; Kleinhans & Varady, 2011; Lee et al., 1999; Nguyen, 2005; Santiago et al., 2001). These effects were only sometimes found, and when they were present they were generally small. The impact of inflows of displaced tenants is sometimes also related to perceived rather than actual neighbourhood change (Briggs et al., 1999; Duke, 2010; Greenbaum et al., 2008; Slob et al., 2008; Van Bergeijk et al., 2008; Veldboer et al., 2007). This relation is central in this chapter.

Three American case studies have provided particularly useful insights into the effects of inflows of displaced tenants on perceived neighbourhood decline. Duke (2010) conducted a case study in two public relocation projects in Dallas and Fort Worth (Texas). She used 153 questionnaires completed by home-owners in neighbourhoods where public housing replacement units are located, to shed light on the home-owners' opinions on mobility programmes and new neighbours with lower incomes. Her study showed that discrepancies between the ideology of mixing

policies and the established residents of host neighbourhoods are a major cause of hostility towards displaced tenants. American social mixing policies differ from their Dutch counterparts in that they emphasize more strongly that mixing policies should not only improve the targeted areas, but also the displaced tenants' housing situation by enabling them to relocate to more prosperous neighbourhoods: people on low incomes are entitled to live in more prosperous neighbourhoods, because all people have the right to choose where to live, regardless of their income. In her study, Duke (*ibid.*) showed that most residents of more prosperous neighbourhoods do not share this idea and are therefore not inclined to regard displaced tenants as part of their community.

The second interesting case study is that carried out by Greenbaum and colleagues (2008) in two neighbourhoods in Tampa (Florida) to examine whether the social capital of displaced tenants had increased since their move. To this end, they interviewed displaced tenants and their neighbouring home-owners in a high-poverty and a low-poverty neighbourhood. Although the aim was not to show how displaced tenants affect their host neighbourhood, the interviews with home-owners provided interesting insights in this respect. The home-owners were very negative about the displaced tenants, did not want to become acquainted with them and believed that the quality of their neighbourhood had declined because of them: it had become less safe and less social, and property prices had fallen. The tensions were the greatest between older white home-owners and relocated African-American adolescents. The home-owners' increasing dissatisfaction with their neighbourhood had resulted in both fight and flight.

Finally, Briggs and colleagues (1999) conducted a notable case study in the city of Yonkers (New York). Despite much resistance, scattered-site housing had been implemented in this racially segregated city. The researchers examined how the new residents of one of these housing projects had affected established residents' financial investments (e.g. property prices and reinvestment decisions) and non-financial investments (e.g. plans to move and participation in neighbourhood improvement activities). Although this study addressed the impact of a large inflow of voluntary rather than forced movers, it is relevant to discuss it in more detail here because it showed how residents reacted to incomers who had bad reputations, and this is something that displaced tenants are also expected to suffer from. An analysis of 691 telephonic interviews with established residents about their attitudes towards their neighbourhood and their expectations for the future, provided little evidence for the presence of negative effects on their nonfinancial investments. A large majority of the residents were still very content with their neighbourhood and had not lost their sense of community, and no evidence for white flight was found. Some, however, were more likely to be negative about scattered-site housing: the most negative were male home-owners who lived near the scattered sites, were conservative and held racial stereotypes. The authors

concluded that the status anxiety of middle-class families is an important cause of their opposition.

Some attention has also been paid in the Netherlands to the effects of inflows of displaced tenants on perceived neighbourhood decline. These studies have not been published in international journals and most were based only on interviews with the established residents of host neighbourhoods and public sector employees who work in or are involved in some other way with these neighbourhoods (Van Bergeijk et al., 2008; Veldboer et al., 2007). The interviews revealed that some of the residents and public sector employees did relate the inflow of displaced tenants to neighbourhood decline (Van Bergeijk et al., 2008; Veldboer et al., 2007). However, the authors barely discussed the prevalence of these opinions or the reasons behind them. Slob and colleagues (2008) used another method. They compared the neighbourhood satisfaction of residents of three control neighbourhoods with residents of three host neighbourhoods in the cities of Leiden, Utrecht and The Hague. Although they concluded that the residents of host neighbourhoods are less satisfied with social and physical neighbourhood characteristics, they also stressed that these differences are not necessarily due to the inflow of displaced tenants.

7.3 LOCAL CONTEXT

Although there are concerns in both the United States and Europe about the negative effects of inflows of displaced tenants, scientific studies on these effects have predominantly focused on American cases. The inflows might, however, have different effects in American than in European host neighbourhoods, because the weaker socioeconomic position of the former might make them more susceptible to negative spill-over effects.

As the urban restructuring programme in the Netherlands is an example of European renewal programmes that involve the relocation of substantial numbers of tenants, we thought it relevant to select a Dutch case. The tenants who are forced to relocate in the Netherlands are known to have a lower average income than other tenants in the social-rented housing sector (Bolt et al., 2009). Hence, the inflow of displaced tenants generally implies an inflow of low-income households.

If there is one city in the Netherlands where negative effects of inflows of displaced tenants can be expected, it is Rotterdam (Posthumus et al., 2012), as this is the Dutch city in which relatively most tenants have been forced to relocate. For example, in 2007-09 alone, 2,586 households were displaced as a result of mixing policies. These tenants were legally entitled to replacement housing units comparable in size, type and tenure, a reasonable relocation allowance to cover their expenses, and assistance from the housing association, such as help with their housing search. Displaced tenants were not formally restricted in their neighbourhood

choice; they could choose from all the available social-rented housing units within the municipality.

● ● ● ● ● 7.3.1 THE CASE

Rotterdam is the Netherlands' second largest city. Because of its harac, it was heavily bombed during the second world war; in the aftermath, many large housing estates were built. About half of the housing stock consists of social-rented housing units³¹ (see Table 7.1 for this and other core characteristics of Rotterdam). Of the four largest Dutch cities, Rotterdam houses relatively most low-income and low-educated tenants. Typical urban problems are also most pronounced in this city.

Table 7.1 Core characteristics of the selected neighbourhoods and Rotterdam

	Host n'hood Vreewijk	Control n'hood De Esch	Rotterdam
Inflow of displaced households 2007-09 ³²	182	10	2586
% of displaced households who moved to a/another social-rented dwelling 2007-09	24.4	4.5	12.4
Outflow of displaced households 2007-09	32	0	2818
% of social-rented dwellings ³³	91	54	49
% of owner-occupied dwellings	12	18	32
% of non-Western migrants	24	31	36
% of residents over 65 years of age	20.6	15.2	14.3
Average disposable household income x €1000	26.5	28.9	29.3
Number of households	6,866	2,573	296,420
Residential mobility ³⁴	9.9	11.8	11.9

Source: CBS Statline, Maaskoepel, Municipality of Rotterdam

31 In 2011 (the year in which the data collection for this chapter took place), social-rented housing units were rented out by housing corporations for a maximum rent of €652.52 to households with a maximum taxable income of €33,614.

32 We only have data regarding the inflow of displaced residents that were forced to move out of a dwelling in the municipality of Rotterdam.

33 Apart from the average disposable household income, all static neighbourhood characteristics have been measured in 2009. We used data from 2008 to indicate the average disposable household income because these data were not available for 2009.

34 Definition = 100*(number of leavers (inside+outside Rotterdam) + number of arrivers (inside+outside Rotterdam))/average population.

This case study centred on two neighbourhoods in Rotterdam: one in which relatively many displaced tenants had settled (host neighbourhood) and one comparable neighbourhood in which relatively few displaced tenants had settled (control neighbourhood). The selection of the host neighbourhood was based on two considerations. First, it must have received a substantial inflow of displaced tenants. Second, it must not have undergone urban renewal, as such neighbourhoods go through so many changes that it is virtually impossible to determine which of the changes are due to the inflow of displaced tenants. This requirement severely limited the number of potential host neighbourhoods on our shortlist. However, one neighbourhood – Vreewijk – stood out on this list. Vreewijk is an exceptional case because it has received more displaced tenants than any other neighbourhood in Rotterdam, without undergoing any urban renewal itself. We therefore selected it as our host neighbourhood.

The residential neighbourhood of Vreewijk was built between 1919 and 1950. It has the character of a village: there are many single-family homes with relatively large gardens. Local public sector employees also consider the social environment village-like: the neighbourhood is inhabited by many native elderly people who generally have many contacts with each other. The neighbourhood received 182 displaced households between 2007 and 2009.

The control neighbourhood needed to be as unaffected as possible by urban renewal. We therefore excluded neighbourhoods that had undergone restructuring and neighbourhoods in which many displaced tenants had settled. There also had to be a considerable proportion of social housing, so that displaced tenants would have had a chance to move into social-rented housing units. Furthermore, the residential mobility in the control neighbourhood needed to be comparable to that in the host neighbourhood in order to exclude the possibility that any perceived decline had been a result of population turnover in general, rather than the inflow of displaced tenants. Of the neighbourhoods that met these requirements, we selected the one that most resembled the host neighbourhood in terms of its socioeconomic composition: De Esch (see Table 7.1).

De Esch is a relatively new residential neighbourhood on the outskirts of Rotterdam. It was built on the banks of the river Maas in the 1980s and 1990s. The neighbourhood is characterized by both semi-high-rise and high-rise blocks, and the street pattern is straight. Local public sector employees regard De Esch as a neighbourhood with relatively many native Dutch residents and limited social cohesion.

7.4 DATA COLLECTION

We distributed 450 questionnaires to randomly drawn households in each of the neighbourhoods. As the initial response rates were rather low, we brought in interviewers to increase the rates. This resulted in a total of 245 completed questionnaires: 122 from Vreewijk (27% response rate) and 123 from De Esch (27% response rate). Considering this rather low response rate, our results should be interpreted carefully. A response analysis, however, showed that the respondents are representative of the other residents of their neighbourhood with respect to several important characteristics, such as ethnicity and tenure.

Table 7.2 presents the variables derived from the questionnaires and used in the analyses. Some of these variables need an explanation. The background characteristic 'low educated' refers to residents with no education or only primary education. The variables measuring perceptions of neighbourhood change were derived from a list of statements in the questionnaire. Established residents could react to these statements on a 5-point scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). The dummy variable 'less satisfaction with the neighbourhood composition' is the only variable indicating neighbourhood change that was constructed in a different manner. It was based on the question: 'How has the population composition of the neighbourhood changed during the last couple of years?' Residents who answered 'deteriorated' were given a 1, and those who answered 'stayed the same' or 'improved' were given a 0.

Several dummies indicate specific perceived changes in the population composition. Those that indicate the types of people who had left the neighbourhood were based on a series of statements to which the residents responded, indicating that they did (1) or did not (0) believe that many people of a certain type had left their neighbourhood. The variables indicating the type of people who had recently arrived in the neighbourhood were also based on reactions to statements on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). One variable referring to the type of incomers was measured in a different manner. The dummy 'large inflow of displaced tenants' indicates whether established residents believed that many (1) or only a few or no (0) displaced tenants had moved into their neighbourhood.

The interviews with established residents of the host neighbourhood and the expert meeting were conducted in order to obtain some indications of the reasons why the residents of the host neighbourhood did or did not perceive neighbourhood decline as a result of the inflow of displaced tenants. In the host neighbourhood, four in-depth interviews lasting over an hour each were conducted with residents. The expert meeting was attended by 16 public sector employees and lasted two hours. The qualitative material was analysed using the Nvivo qualitative analysis software.

Table 7.2 Descriptives survey neighbourhood trends – means

	Host n'hood Vreewijk (n=122)	Control n'hood De Esch (n=123)	Total (n=245)
BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS			
Female	62.00%	48.00%	55.00%
Lived <5 years in neighbourhood	20.00%	33.33%	26.67%
Age	57.43	50.79	54.15
Single	34.43%	42.28%	38.37%
Non-Western migrant ³⁵	14.43%	26.09%	20.11%
Monthly net household income*€1000	1.70	2.07	1.90
Has child(ren)	25.41%	20.33%	22.86%
Low educated	45.90%	15.45%	30.61%
Social-rented dwelling	71.19%	46.67%	58.82%
PERCEIVED NEIGHBOURHOOD TRENDS			
Better maintenance of dwellings	2.71	3.00	2.86
Better maintenance of public space	2.84	3.07	2.95
Less drug-related nuisance	2.86	2.89	2.88
Less nuisance caused by youngsters	2.73	2.92	2.83
Less vandalism	2.79	3.00	2.90
Less criminality	2.76	2.85	2.81
Less rubbish on streets	2.46	2.90	2.68
Better contact with neighbours	2.87	3.06	2.97
Better atmosphere	2.77	3.03	2.91
Better traffic safety	2.78	3.07	2.93
Less satisfaction with population composition	40.71%	18.42%	29.52%
PERCEIVED CHANGES IN THE POPULATION COMPOSITION			
Large inflow of displaced residents	28.00%	4.86%	16.39%
Many singles have left	18.00%	13.00%	15.00%
Many couples have left	20.00%	27.00%	23.00%
Many families have left	40.00%	30.00%	35.00%
Many elderly have left	42.00%	13.00%	27.00%
Many non-natives have left	3.00%	6.00%	5.00%
Many natives have left	24.00%	14.00%	19.00%
New residents are not native	3.38	3.00	3.19
New residents are not well-educated	3.49	3.11	3.30
New residents are unemployed	2.92	2.49	2.70

Source: Own survey

35 Residents are non-western migrants when they have at least one parent who was born in a non-Western country. According to this definition, the largest migrant groups in the Netherlands are Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, and Antilleans.

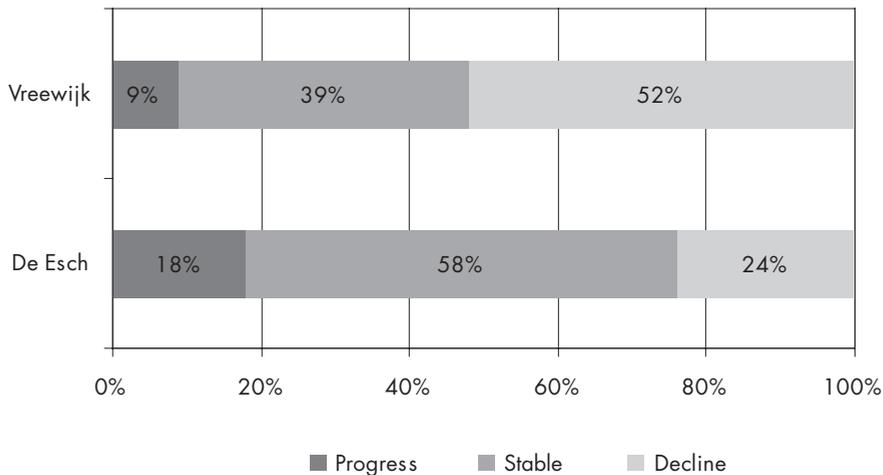
7.5 RESULTS

7.5.1 DO RESIDENTS OF HOST NEIGHBOURHOODS PERCEIVE MORE NEIGHBOURHOOD DECLINE?

To understand the impact of the re-concentration of displaced tenants, we compared the proportion of residents who perceived neighbourhood decline in the host and control neighbourhoods using the answers to the question: 'How has your neighbourhood changed in the last couple of years?' Residents were considered to perceive neighbourhood decline if they indicated that their neighbourhood had 'deteriorated'. If they indicated that it had 'stayed the same' or 'improved', they were considered to perceive no neighbourhood decline.

The results of this comparison showed that the residents of the host neighbourhood (Vreewijk) were considerably more negative about the development of their neighbourhood than the residents of the control neighbourhood (De Esch) (see Figure 7.1). As such, it is not surprising that chi-square tests showed that the perceived developments in the host and the control neighbourhood differ significantly ($\text{Chi}^2=19.77, \text{df}=1, p<.01$). This difference might be, but is not necessarily, due to the size of the inflow of displaced tenants.

Figure 7.1 Perceived neighbourhood development (n=245)



Source: Own survey

● ● ● ● ● 7.5.2 WHY DO THE RESIDENTS OF HOST NEIGHBOURHOODS PERCEIVE MORE NEIGHBOURHOOD DECLINE?

A STATISTICAL APPROACH

We knew that apart from a larger inflow of displaced tenants, other factors might also explain why the residents of a host neighbourhood are more likely to perceive neighbourhood decline. First, they might perceive more neighbourhood decline because they have different background characteristics. We tested this alternative explanation with a logistic regression analysis. The results showed that residents who had lived in the host neighbourhood for less than five years had perceived less neighbourhood decline (Table 7.3). However, the effect of living in the host neighbourhood remained.

We conducted a second logistic regression analysis to examine whether the stronger perceived neighbourhood decline in the host neighbourhood could be related to different perceptions of neighbourhood change. Of these perceptions, only the perceptions that the contacts between neighbours were not improving and that the population composition was deteriorating were significantly related to perceived neighbourhood decline. After taking the perception that the population composition was deteriorating into account, the relationship between living for less than five years in the neighbourhood and perceived neighbourhood decline disappeared. Of greater importance is the fact that the effect of living in a host neighbourhood also disappeared: the difference between Vreewijk and De Esch disappeared completely when we took into account the changed satisfaction with the population composition. Thus, the residents of the host neighbourhood more often perceived neighbourhood decline than the residents of the control neighbourhood because they perceived a stronger deterioration of the population composition. This is a remarkable result since the total residential mobility is lower in the host than in the control neighbourhood (see Table 7.1). Hence, although there is less population turnover in Vreewijk than in De Esch, residents perceive this turnover in a more negative light.

Table 7.3 Logistic regression analyses predicting perceived neighbourhood decline

	Background characteristics (n=235; Nagelkerke R ² = 0.25)		Perceived changes (n=215; Nagelkerke R ² = 0.65)	
	B	p	B	p
Intercept	-0.70	0.49	10.01**	0.00
Vreewijk	1.10**	0.00	0.61	0.21
Female	0.03	0.94	-0.16	0.75
Lived <5 years in neighbourhood	-1.55**	0.00	-1.28	0.09
Age	0.00	0.70	0.01	0.77
Single	-0.60	0.12	-0.29	0.61
Non-Western migrant	-0.12	0.81	0.24	0.76
Income*€1000	-0.09	0.66	-0.13	0.70
Has child(ren)	0.11	0.80	0.03	0.96
Low educated	0.05	0.89	0.03	0.96
Social-rented dwelling	0.10	0.76	0.40	0.41
Better maintenance of dwellings			-0.61	0.12
Better maintenance of public space			-0.18	0.64
Less drug-related nuisance			-0.55	0.31
Less nuisance caused by youngsters			-0.69	0.11
Less vandalism			-0.17	0.79
Less criminality			0.23	0.66
Less rubbish on streets			-0.82	0.12
Better contact with neighbours			-1.25*	0.04
Better atmosphere			0.37	0.57
Better traffic safety			-0.37	0.28
Less satisfaction with population composition			2.15**	0.00

*p<.05 **p<.01

Source: Own survey

The correlation matrix presented in Table 7.4 provides more insight into the specific perceived alterations of the population composition that are linked to a decreasing satisfaction with the population composition. One interesting outcome is that decreasing satisfaction with the population composition correlates with the perception that many displaced tenants had moved into the neighbourhood. However, it also shows that decreasing satisfaction with the population composition is related to other perceived changes in the population composition. Residents who perceived that many elderly, natives and families had left, and that

the new residents were unemployed, non-native and not well-educated, were more likely to perceive that the population composition was deteriorating.

Table 7.4 Correlations between decreased satisfaction with the population composition and perceived changes in the population composition (n=245)

Changes in population composition	Correlation with decreased satisfaction with the population composition (Pearson's r)
Many single people have left	0.10
Many couples have left	0.13
Many families have left	0.28*
Many elderly people have left	0.33*
Many non-native people have left	0.09
Many native people have left	0.36*
New residents are not native	0.29*
New residents are not well-educated	0.36*
New residents are unemployed	0.28*
Large inflow of displaced residents	0.32*

*p<.01

Source: Own survey

A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

The results of the quantitative analysis indicated where we would find the answer to the question why the residents of host neighbourhoods perceive more neighbourhood decline: it is related to the residents' perceptions of a deteriorating population composition. To increase our understanding of the relation between perceptions of a deteriorating population composition and perceived neighbourhood decline, we conducted interviews with residents of the host neighbourhood and held an expert meeting with public sector employees who work in or are involved in other ways with this neighbourhood.

Our qualitative analysis confirmed that the residents of the host neighbourhood perceived a deteriorating population composition to be the main cause of neighbourhood decline. In the interviews, residents name several reasons why a deteriorating population composition has negative consequences. To start with, residents of Vreewijk (the host neighbourhood) indicate that the quality of their contacts in the neighbourhood had decreased, because new residents are less willing to participate in social networks. Or, in the words of an established resident:

“ I've lived my whole life in this neighbourhood, so I've seen all the changes. Back in the old days, we used to sit together outside, a paddling pool was

brought out, everyone watched the children, did grocery shopping for each other... But that's all gone because of the changing population.”

Another problem for which new residents are blamed is the increasing physical deterioration of the neighbourhood. We were told that new residents do not maintain their homes and gardens as well, do not always leave their rubbish in the designated areas or at the designated times, and are more likely to drop litter in the street. Finally, a changing neighbourhood composition was related to increased criminality and reduced safety in the neighbourhood.

Certain changes in the population composition were related to the development of the problems mentioned above. Residents perceive the inflow of ethnic minorities to be particularly problematic. They believe that ethnic minorities do not adjust themselves to Dutch culture or their new neighbourhood. As a result, they have a different mentality and behaviour, which is regarded as problematic. This is reflected in, for instance, a lack of interest in other neighbours and lower standards regarding the maintenance of gardens and even the curtains they use: “Those people [ethnic minorities] have an entirely different mentality. I mean, you only have to look at what they hang in their windows – rags, newspapers and God knows what else.”

Residents also referred to the negative influence of the inflow of younger native residents. They, like ethnic minorities, were said to have a different, less agreeable mentality and different, less agreeable behavioural standards. Besides, residents of Vreewijk referred to the inflow of displaced tenants in relation to the development of problems. One resident described the inflow of displaced tenants as follows:

“ They had to offer those people [displaced tenants] somewhere to live. And it was like, ‘Oh, where shall we put them?’ Here, in this working-class neighbourhood, that's where. Those people needed houses. So they just squeezed them in anywhere, in between us. Some of them are good people, but others, well... And there are less affluent ones, too.”

Residents of the host neighbourhood said that displaced tenants – like other people who have to be housed somewhere, such as the mentally disadvantaged and ex-convicts – are purposively placed in their neighbourhood. Their neighbourhood was being used as a ‘rubbish bin’ so that its quality will deteriorate to a level at which demolition is justified.

The qualitative results furthermore show that the culture in the host neighbourhood also affects the likelihood of incomers being problematized. Participants in the expert meeting said that Vreewijk residents express more serious complaints about incomers than residents of other neighbourhoods because of the less tolerant culture in the neighbourhood. Residents are known to perceive many more

problems, like youth nuisance, than would be expected on the basis of the objective nuisance figures. One participant formulated it like this:

“ I believe that what people say about feeling unsafe, the subjective feeling that everything is getting worse, doesn't relate to the facts. Of course, the houses are getting somewhat worse, but they're not falling apart. And the public space... Well, okay, there is some litter, but Vreewijk is still one of the cleanest neighbourhoods in the entire city of Rotterdam. So that's where it pinches a little. The feeling that it's all going terribly bad is not really supported by the facts.”

According to the participants, the less tolerant culture is a result of the tight sense of community in the neighbourhood. Because many residents know each other quite well, they stoke each other's anxieties about the arrival of incomers. During the interviews, numerous residents expressed a great fear of incomers. Some also based their judgements on information provided by others:

“ You miss the Dutch things among neighbours. Other cultures are very noisy, for instance. They're noisy people. When you live next door to them, it can drive you really crazy. At least, that's what I've heard from other people. We [native residents] are all a bit more quiet.”

7.6 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The main research question was whether inflows of displaced tenants result in perceived neighbourhood decline, and our results show that this is indeed the case: the residents of the neighbourhood that hosts many displaced tenants (Vreewijk) were relatively more negative about the development of their neighbourhood than the residents of the neighbourhood that hosts few displaced tenants (De Esch). In other Dutch cities where similar case studies have been conducted, the residents of host neighbourhoods were not found to be consistently more negative about the development of their neighbourhood (Posthumus et al., 2012). The exceptional findings in Rotterdam are related to the city's large-scale mixing policies: it is the Dutch city in which the largest number of tenants are displaced, and thus its neighbourhoods are confronted with the largest inflows of displaced tenants.

However, the larger numbers of displaced tenants who settle in Vreewijk cannot account for all the neighbourhood decline that its residents perceive. The results of both the quantitative and the qualitative analysis show that dissatisfaction with the development of the population composition is the major reason why the residents of the host neighbourhood perceive more neighbourhood decline. Although Vreewijk is characterised by less residential mobility than De Esch, its residents

were more negative about the changes brought about by incomers. The inflow of displaced tenants is considered one of the detrimental changes in the population composition, but not the only one. Residents also often referred to the inflow of ethnic minorities and younger native residents as the cause of the deteriorating population composition. The reasons why residents regard the inflow of ethnic minorities, younger native people and displaced tenants as problematic are similar: they have a different, less agreeable mentality and different, less agreeable behavioural standards.

Both the type of new residents and the level of tolerance in the host neighbourhood affect the likelihood that incomers are regarded as a problem. In the host neighbourhood of Vreewijk, residents tend to be less tolerant towards incomers. Since the social networks of these residents are relatively often based in their neighbourhood, changes in the neighbourhood composition are particularly threatening to them. Hence, in order to understand whether new residents (e.g. displaced tenants) will be seen as a problem, it is important to take into account the characteristics of both the incomers and the host neighbourhood.

Conflicts could be avoided by counselling of housing officials who help displaced tenants to find new accommodation. They could for instance advise tenants about the neighbourhoods in which they would or would not feel accepted. These officials could also help prevent conflicts between new and established residents from escalating, by monitoring their relations and, if necessary, intervening. This implies that housing officials' help should not be withdrawn when displaced tenants move on, but should continue in the tenants' new neighbourhoods.

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EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS: DISPLACEMENT MYTHS AND FACTS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of the research underlying this dissertation was to examine the validity of concerns about displacement in the context of mixing policies. Mixing policies are supposed to have a positive effect on both the targeted neighbourhoods and the residents who are forced to relocate in order to create a social mix. However, it is vigorously debated whether this is actually true. In response to these concerns, the effects of mixing policies on targeted areas have been studied in detail (e.g. Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Bond et al., 2011; Brooks et al., 2005; Chaskin & Joseph, 2011; Kearns & Mason, 2007; Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008; Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen, 2003). However, as this does not hold for the effects of displacement, relatively little is known about the benefits of or the harm caused by displacement. The aim of this dissertation is to fill this gap by presenting evidence regarding whether four of the most common and persistent concerns about displacement are myths or facts. These concerns are that:

- 1 Displaced tenants have few relocation alternatives.
- 2 Displaced tenants move to other socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods because of their restrictions.
- 3 Displaced tenants are dissatisfied with their relocation outcomes.
- 4 Residents experience neighbourhood decline when many displaced tenants move into their neighbourhood.

The following comprises a discussion of the key findings presented in Chapters 2-7, avenues for future research and several policy implications.

8.2 CONCERNS ABOUT DISPLACEMENT: LEGITIMATE OR EXAGGERATED?

● ● ● ● ● 8.2.1 DISPLACED TENANTS HAVE FEW RELOCATION ALTERNATIVES

It is argued that those who are forced to move have not only no say in the decision to relocate, but also few alternative properties to choose from. Their low incomes, the limited availability of affordable housing and the relocation regulations are said to reduce their relocation alternatives to a minimum. However, some scholars have indicated that even under highly constraining circumstances, displaced residents are active agents that influence their relocation outcomes (Briggs et al., 2010; Manzo et al., 2008; Smith, 2002). But how displaced tenants do this, and how their

actions are shaped by their relocation context, was unclear. Therefore, Chapter 2 addressed the following research question:

How do the regulations attached to the allocation of social-rented dwellings to Dutch displaced tenants affect their choice strategies?

This question was answered by comparing the choice strategies of Dutch displaced tenants in two contexts: one in which tenants conducted their own searches and were allowed to apply for many housing units, and one in which they were offered at most three alternative units by their housing association. The results of a qualitative analysis of interviews with displaced tenants in both contexts showed that rather than being passive victims, most had been active agents who had adopted various choice strategies.

However, their contexts influenced the choice strategies they applied. For instance, the large majority of residents who received offers from their housing association accepted new housing that did not satisfy all of their preferences, because they were afraid that future offers would be even less preferable. Tenants who conducted their own searches were much less likely to have made such compromises: almost half of them had not felt constrained at all. Nevertheless, this did not hold for all displaced tenants. Having to find a home within a limited period of time had made some panic. Their only aim was to avoid becoming homeless, and they accepted any dwelling they could get, even if it did not come close to their preferred housing situation. Other residents were also aware of the restrictions imposed on them, but believed that they could ignore these restrictions and make greater demands, as their housing associations needed them to move in order to continue their renewal programmes. Many were right, and were allocated housing to which they were not formally entitled.

Altogether, Chapter 2 indicates that the relocation context of displaced tenants affected but did not determine their choice strategies. Most displaced tenants were exercising their preferences within their constraints. Therefore, the idea that displaced tenants are passive victims that have little to choose from is not always valid.

● ● ● ● ● 8.2.2 DISPLACED TENANTS MOVE TO OTHER SOCIOECONOMICALLY DISADVANTAGED NEIGHBOURHOODS BECAUSE OF THEIR RESTRICTIONS

A second concern is that displaced tenants are limited to horizontal moves from one socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhood to a similar neighbourhood, which would thwart two of the most important objectives of mixing policies, namely to achieve an overall reduction in the concentration of low-income

residents on a city-wide scale, and to improve the chances of displaced tenants achieving social mobility. In this light, Chapter 3 answered the following research questions:

How can neighbourhoods to which Dutch displaced households move be characterised? And how do the neighbourhoods to which many displaced households move, differ from their previous neighbourhoods?

The first key outcome of a quantitative analysis of relocation matrices and data on neighbourhood characteristics in the Dutch cities of Breda, Ede and Rotterdam, is that although displaced residents had moved to various neighbourhoods, they were most likely to have moved to neighbourhoods near their old neighbourhoods that have an inexpensive housing stock, a low average socioeconomic position and a large share of ethnic minorities. The socioeconomic characteristics of displaced tenants' new neighbourhoods were also found to strongly resemble those of the neighbourhoods they had left. However, whilst displaced residents in Breda and Ede moved to neighbourhoods that were in general a little less disadvantaged, those moving within Rotterdam tended to move to neighbourhoods that are somewhat more disadvantaged. This may be explained by the nature of the restructuring that is taking place in these cities: the neighbourhoods currently undergoing restructuring in Rotterdam are relatively less disadvantaged than those in Breda and Ede. The urban renewal process was started earlier in Rotterdam, and thus the weakest neighbourhoods have already been restructured. In Breda and Ede, the weakest neighbourhoods are currently facing renewal, which implies that a move to another neighbourhood almost automatically means an upward move.

One of the main conclusions of Chapter 3 is that many Dutch displaced tenants had moved from one socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhood to a similar neighbourhood. This tendency is often considered evidence of their lack of opportunities. But is this really true? Dutch displaced residents are known to have relatively many relocation alternatives. They have strong rights and the social-rented housing stock is larger, of a better quality and more dispersed than it is in many other countries. Therefore, Chapter 4 addressed the question

Why do Dutch displaced residents move to socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods?

To answer this question, both the displaced tenants' preferences and the roles played by the restrictions on them were taken into consideration.

A quantitative analysis of survey data collected among Dutch displaced residents showed once again that most Dutch displaced residents moved to socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The analysis also revealed that the tendency to move to such neighbourhoods was even stronger among certain categories of

tenants, namely ethnic minorities and tenants on lower incomes. To understand why displaced tenants moved to disadvantaged neighbourhoods, qualitative follow-up interviews with such tenants were conducted and analysed. This analysis revealed that displaced tenants' restrictions could not fully explain their tendency to move to socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Although a small number of residents had felt tightly constrained and had accepted dwellings in disadvantaged neighbourhoods they disliked, most had not considered them to be crucial. They had felt some degree of freedom of choice – a freedom that many had exercised to move to a socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhood. Many of the preferences of displaced tenants could be satisfied just as well, and sometimes even better in such neighbourhoods than in more prosperous ones; for example, some preferred to live near such amenities as shops and public transport, and among like-minded residents.

Thus, although many displaced tenants moved to socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods, this finding should not be understood to reflect their restrictions. While some had indeed moved to disadvantaged neighbourhoods because they had felt that they had no other choice, most residents had done so in order to satisfy their preferences. As such, the concern that displaced tenants do not move to more affluent neighbourhoods because of the restrictions imposed on them, does not apply to most displaced tenants.

● ● ● ● ● 8.2.3 DISPLACED TENANTS ARE DISSATISFIED WITH THEIR RELOCATION OUTCOMES

A third important concern is that displaced tenants are not offered the opportunity to move to better homes in less distressed areas that will provide them with more opportunities for social mobility, as is argued in mixing policies (Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008). Instead, it is posited that displaced residents are dissatisfied with their relocation outcomes because they are uprooted from their familiar environments, have difficulties adapting to their new environments, have to pay higher rents, etc. (Hackworth & Smith, 2000; Lees, 2008; Lees, 2011; Manzo et al., 2008). In response to this critique, Chapter 5 answered the following research questions:

How satisfied are displaced residents with their housing situation after their forced move, and what factors are responsible for the extent to which they are satisfied with their new housing situation?

Surveys among Dutch displaced tenants showed that most tenants were not dissatisfied after their relocation. In fact, most reported considerable improvements with respect to both their homes and their neighbourhoods. However, the improvements they reported regarding their new homes were more substantial than those regarding their new neighbourhoods.

Not all displaced tenants were as satisfied with their new housing situation. Those from ethnic minorities and those on lower incomes were less satisfied with their new homes and new neighbourhoods. However, since they were considerably more satisfied with their current housing situation than with their old housing situation, they cannot be seen as victims of mixing. The quality of the tenants' relocation counselling as well as their initial stance towards their relocation affected their housing satisfaction: the more positive they were in these respects, the more satisfied they tended to be. Some of the characteristics of their new homes and neighbourhoods also influenced their satisfaction with their new housing situation. Residents were more satisfied with their new homes when they provided more rooms per household member and were better maintained than their previous homes. Regarding satisfaction with the new neighbourhood, only one objective neighbourhood characteristic turned out to be of influence: the proportion of ethnic minorities. The larger this proportion, the less safe and at home displaced tenants felt and the less satisfied they were. This applies to both native and non-native displaced tenants. In fact, the stronger tendency of displaced residents from ethnic minorities to move to ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods, explained why they were less satisfied with their new neighbourhoods.

One of the key outcomes presented in Chapter 5 is that, in contrast to what is often expected, most displaced tenants were satisfied with their new housing situation. However, this positive result might be explained by the relatively unconstrained context in which Dutch displaced tenants conduct their housing search. Therefore, Chapter 6 compared the experiences of Dutch displaced residents with those of more constrained French displaced residents.

Here, two questions – namely:

To what extent are less constrained displaced residents more satisfied with their new neighbourhood than more constrained displaced residents, and for what reasons?

– were answered by means of a qualitative analysis of interviews with displaced tenants from two Dutch cities (The Hague and Rotterdam) and two French cities (Orly and Bagneux). The tenants in the Dutch cities had had considerable freedom of choice because they had been allowed to apply on a biweekly basis for many of the available units in the large, high quality and widespread social housing stock of all housing associations within their municipality. The tenants in the French cities, however, had had to choose one of three consecutive offers from only their own housing association. Since the housing association in Orly did not own many units outside the restructured neighbourhood, and the housing association in Bagneux owned only a few units in this neighbourhood, tenants had predominantly been limited to moves within and outside their neighbourhood, respectively.

The analysis of displaced residents' neighbourhood satisfaction revealed an unexpected result: the more constrained French displaced residents were not always

less satisfied than the Dutch residents. While the neighbourhood satisfaction of displaced residents from Bagneux was considerably lower than that of residents in the Dutch cases, tenants from Orly were just as satisfied. Although limited to moves within their neighbourhood, they had been able to satisfy the preferences that were most important to them, namely to remain in the same social environment and to move to a more liveable neighbourhood. Although it is logical that moving only a short distance had enabled tenants to remain in their original social environment, it is somewhat surprising that such moves had also fulfilled the tenants' desire to move to a more liveable environment. However, in the French cities social-rented housing units are available virtually only in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Therefore, the French residents had known that were they to accept a housing unit in another neighbourhood, they would be confronted with the same liveability problems but now in an unfamiliar environment. It is consequently understandable that most tenants had preferred offers within their old neighbourhoods, as they had been able to use their local knowledge to find new homes in better areas or better buildings.

All in all, Chapters 5 and 6 showed that although some displaced tenants were dissatisfied with the outcomes of their forced relocation, this by no means holds for all of them. In fact, by far most Dutch displaced residents were positive about their relocation. They had been able to satisfy their most important preferences. Even the more constrained French displaced residents were frequently found to have been able to satisfy their neighbourhood preferences. Many displaced tenants had been able to realise their preferences within the constraints they were facing. Therefore, the fear that displaced tenants tend to be dissatisfied after their relocation is seldom justified.

● ● ● ● ● 8.2.4 RESIDENTS OF NEIGHBOURHOODS THAT HOST MANY DISPLACED TENANTS WILL EXPERIENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD DECLINE

That inflows of displaced tenants have negative effects on neighbourhoods is the concern about displacement that has received the least attention in previous research. Nevertheless, it is a concern that has frequently been raised by residents, the media and participants in policy debates in the United States, as well as in Western Europe. The few studies that have investigated the effects of an inflow of displaced residents looked at whether the inflow had resulted in objective neighbourhood decline in terms of crime displacement and falling property prices (Galster et al., 1999; Lee et al., 1999; Kleinhans & Varady, 2011; Nguyen, 2005; Santiago et al., 2001). However, Chapter 7 looked at an even less examined influence, namely that on perceived neighbourhood decline. The research question was:

Do residents experience certain types of neighbourhood decline when many displaced tenants move into their neighbourhood, and if so, why?

This question was answered on the basis of a case study in Rotterdam, the Dutch city in which relatively most tenants have been displaced. The experiences of the residents of a neighbourhood where many displaced residents had settled (host neighbourhood), were compared with the experiences of the residents of a neighbourhood where only a few displaced residents had settled and that was comparable in terms of housing and population composition (control neighbourhood). This comparison was based on a survey among the residents about neighbourhood change, and on follow-up interviews and an expert meeting with public sector employees.

The survey data showed that the residents of the host neighbourhood perceived more neighbourhood decline than the residents of the control neighbourhood. To explain this difference, a logistic regression analysis was conducted in which perceived neighbourhood decline was predicted by living in a host or a control neighbourhood, as well as by individual background characteristics and perceived neighbourhood trends. It revealed that the residents of the host neighbourhood perceived more neighbourhood decline because they had experienced a stronger worsening of the population composition. The inflow of displaced tenants was one of many perceived shifts in the population composition that had contributed to this perception. However, other perceived changes of the population composition, in particular the inflow of ethnic minorities, were more strongly related to the idea that the population composition was worsening. This also showed from the follow-up interviews, which additionally revealed that the residents of the host neighbourhood thought that the newcomers had a negative influence because they were less willing to participate in existing social networks, and behaved in a less orderly fashion. Finally, the public sector employees indicated that the negative stance of residents towards newcomers might also be related to the culture in the host neighbourhood. They observed that the original residents fear newcomers because they are afraid that they will disrupt their strong local community.

Altogether, Chapter 7 revealed that the inflow of displaced tenants can at most indirectly explain why residents of the host neighbourhood perceived more neighbourhood decline. It showed that an inflow of displaced residents can contribute to perceptions of neighbourhood decline, but that the influence of this trend should not be overestimated. It should also be noted that in four other Dutch cities where similar analyses have been conducted, no differences between host and control neighbourhood were found (Posthumus et al., 2012). Thus, although there is a risk that the residents of host neighbourhoods will experience neighbourhood decline, this risk should not be overstated.

8.3 FUTURE RESEARCH

This dissertation showed that the validity of four of the most important concerns about displacement is limited. It thus makes an important contribution to our understanding of the effects of mixing policies, and particularly the effects of displacement. However, this does not imply that there is no need for further research on the effects of displacement. Several of the findings presented in this dissertation raise new questions that require new research.

First, future studies should move away from the assumption that displaced tenants' relocation outcomes are a result of the restrictions imposed on such tenants. Instead, they should be understood as a result of an interactive process between their restrictions and preferences. Future studies could further increase our understanding of this process by examining displaced tenants' experiences at various points in time during and after their relocation. Such a longitudinal approach would provide more insight into the various ways in which restrictions and preferences interact with each other during the various stages of displaced tenants' relocation processes. For instance, tenants might formulate quite different preferences at the beginning of the relocation process than when their relocation deadline is approaching. Their feelings about the compromises they made may also change as time passes. Tenants who believed during their search for new housing that they should make compromises, might think after their relocation that they had made too many compromises. Similarly, tenants who have many problems accepting a dwelling that does not satisfy their preferences, might justify their decision at a later time.

Second, the results of this research suggest that it would be worthwhile to focus on the experiences of one specific category of displaced tenants in future research: tenants from ethnic minorities. These residents were found to be less likely to find satisfactory new housing situations. While it has been assumed that minority residents are less satisfied because they have fewer of the skills required to find satisfactory housing situations, this assumption still needs to be proven. Perhaps future research could provide more insight into this. It seems particularly promising to examine the possibility that minority residents lack the skills required to adopt the most beneficial choice strategies. This thesis showed that the displaced tenants' choice strategies had influenced the quality of their relocation outcomes. While many of the tenants who panicked and accepted any dwelling they were offered became dissatisfied, tenants who had purposefully tried to stretch the regulations were often successful. Thus, to explain the different levels of satisfaction between displaced tenants, it might be worthwhile examining whether and, if so, why different types of tenants adopted different choice strategies.

The findings regarding the lower neighbourhood satisfaction of ethnic minority residents suggest yet another path for future research. Although the greater neighbourhood dissatisfaction of residents from minority backgrounds was found to

be related to their tendency to move to ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods, some of these residents expressed great satisfaction that they had been able to move closer to family members and acquaintances from a similar minority background. Future research could examine how these results can coexist. A possible explanation is that displaced residents from ethnic minorities are dissatisfied in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods only if they do not belong to the largest minority group (see also Havekes et al., 2011). Displaced tenants of Turkish descent might, for instance, be dissatisfied in predominantly Moroccan neighbourhoods, but perfectly satisfied in neighbourhoods where Turkish people form the largest minority group. Another explanation that deserves exploration lies in the scale of displaced tenants' preferences. Minority residents might dislike living in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods, but like to have a small circle of other minority members around them (see also Heringa et al., 2012; Zorlu, 2009 for more information about the importance of family networks). They appreciate the proximity of minority residents within their own networks, but are negative about the presence of 'others'.

Third, it would be interesting to investigate how forced relocations affect displaced tenants' social networks. The present research has provided insight into displaced tenants' preferences regarding their social environment, and into the influence of changes of this environment on their neighbourhood satisfaction, but it did not look at the ways in which their local-based networks changed after their relocation. Which contacts did the tenants maintain, which did they lose and what new ones did they make? It would be highly interesting to answer these questions, because the proponents of mixing policies argue that displaced tenants will acquire more resourceful networks after their relocation and that these networks will stimulate them to climb the social ladder. However, it is also feared that displaced tenants lose important social contacts after their relocation. Insight into the changes in displaced tenants' social networks could be gained by conducting a longitudinal study in which displaced tenants describe their social networks before their relocation and at various points in time after their relocation.

Fourth, it would be interesting to gain more insight into why the residents of host neighbourhoods perceive the inflow of displaced tenants as particularly problematic. The present research revealed that the residents of a host neighbourhood perceived the inflow of displaced tenants to be threatening, and found several clues to why they felt this way. However, future studies could provide more insight into this by, for instance, paying more attention to the role of the stigma of displaced residents. How does the bad name of their old neighbourhood influence the way in which their new neighbours react to them? And does this differ across relocation sites? Is the inflow of displaced tenants from certain stigmatized neighbourhoods perceived as a greater threat? Qualitative interviews with residents in host neighbourhoods as well as professionals working in these neighbourhoods would be particularly helpful in answering these questions.

Finally, future studies could investigate the effects of policy measures that are implemented instead of large-scale mixing policies. Because the economic climate has changed in recent years, large-scale mixing policies are being implemented less often. Such policies require large investments, which in the current market are unlikely to be recouped. More expensive housing units are hard to rent out or sell. However, the problems in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods will continue to require interventions. Housing associations therefore need to find substitutes for large-scale mixing policies. They may decide to adopt strategies to attract more prosperous residents to socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods by, for instance, implementing smaller scale mixing projects or selling off social-rented units. Or perhaps they will shift their focus to the implementation of social policies, or to the maintenance of the existing housing stock. Another possibility is that they decide to invest as little as possible and wait until the economic situation improves. The relatively unwanted units that become vacant in such a scenario could be filled with less demanding residents, such as students or temporary foreign workers. Irrespective of which strategy housing associations adopt, it will affect socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods and their residents. The question is how it will affect them. This is a challenge for future research.

8.4 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The results of the present research have a number of implications for policymakers engaged in mixing policies. To start with, the findings indicate that large-scale mixing policies are not effective in reducing concentrations of low-income residents: as displaced tenants move to other socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods, concentrations of low-income residents are not reduced on a city-wide scale. This is a disappointing outcome, since the deconcentration of low-income residents is the prime objective of Dutch mixing policies.

However, the research also revealed that mixing policies are effective in that they improve the housing situation of displaced tenants. Dutch displaced tenants are on average considerably more satisfied with their new homes and new neighbourhoods. However, mixing is a very expensive and radical way to improve the housing satisfaction of tenants. Housing associations are in general unable to recoup their investments in newly built social-rented units. It is therefore preferable to invest in other, less time- and money-consuming area-based interventions that have been proven to increase residents' housing satisfaction. Such measures include the upgrading of public spaces in neighbourhoods (Leslie & Cerin, 2008) and stimulating residents' participation in their neighbourhoods (Dassopoulos & Monnat, 2011).

To sum up, large-scale mixing policies are not effective in reducing concentrations of low-income residents, and are perhaps not the most efficient way to improve the housing situation of the residents of socioeconomically disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Furthermore, mixing policies should provide displaced tenants with high quality counselling and a wide set of choices. Displaced tenants were found to be satisfied with their new housing situation as long as they had satisfied their preferences. This is something that many of the Dutch displaced tenants had achieved as a result of the favourable relocation context they were in: the Dutch social-rented housing stock is of a high quality and is large and widespread, and displaced residents receive counselling as well as financial compensation to cover their relocation expenses. In addition, the Dutch residents who had been subject to the allocation model that provides the most relocation alternatives, were most likely to have satisfied their preferences. This again underscores the importance of a wide choice set for displaced residents' relocation outcomes.

Other countries may want to follow the example of the Dutch relocation context and try to increase the number of relocation alternatives that are available to displaced tenants. While housing associations in other countries cannot easily increase the share of social-rented units, they could increase the opportunities of their relocated tenants in other ways, for instance by changing their allocation system. Instead of an option model in which displaced residents have to choose from a limited number of relocation alternatives, housing associations could implement a model whereby residents are allowed to apply for all the available units of all housing associations. To this end, housing associations should improve their cooperation.

Another policy implication is that measures should be taken to prevent panicking behaviour among displaced tenants. Certain tenants were found to have moved to homes and neighbourhoods they disliked, because they had panicked. They abandoned all their demands because they had been afraid of becoming homeless – a fear that is not realistic in the Netherlands. Dutch housing associations cannot simply evict tenants after their search period has expired. They first need to offer them several properties that satisfy their preferences. Only if tenants continue to refuse these offers can housing associations ask for a court order to start an eviction procedure. This, however, virtually never happens in the Netherlands. In order to avert panicking behaviour, housing associations should try to dispel this misconception but without reducing the pressure on tenants to do their best to move out. Providing these tenants with direct mediation is an alternative, at either the beginning or the end of the search process. Another option is to provide more counselling during the search process, by actively helping displaced tenants to track and weigh various options. This counselling should be customized to the needs of the specific household. For example, a large immigrant family will most probably have quite different needs from those of an older couple.

Finally, it is important to develop a policy that will prevent tensions from arising between displaced tenants and their new neighbours. This dissertation has shown that residents disliked the inflow of displaced tenants into their neighbourhood, fearing that the newcomers would not fit into the social community and would be less orderly. Such tensions might be eased or even resolved by informing displaced tenants about the neighbourhoods they are considering. Housing officers could provide this information. They could tell displaced tenants about the types of neighbourhoods that are accessible to them and warn them about neighbourhoods in which they might not feel at home or accepted. It might also be helpful to guide displaced tenants not only before but also after their relocation, as this would allow housing officers to detect tensions between displaced tenants and other residents in an early stage and prevent escalations. It might also be easier for residents of host neighbourhoods to familiarize themselves with their new neighbours by introducing them during informal events, such as neighbourhood festivals.

8.5 TO CONCLUDE

The research underlying this dissertation examined the validity of four widely held concerns about displacement in the context of social mixing. While the proponents of mixing policies argue that forced relocations are beneficial to displaced tenants, the public debate in which tenants and their associations, journalists, community activists and scholars participate stresses their potential negative effects. These opponents argue that forced relocations harm displaced tenants because they have so little to choose from, are limited to moves to other bad neighbourhoods and are likely to end up in dissatisfactory housing situations, and that established residents suffer from the inflow of displaced tenants into their neighbourhood because the latter bring with them the problems from their previous neighbourhood. The present research, however, has shown that these risks should not be overstated. Although the effects of forced relocations can be negative, the scale of these effects is much smaller scale than is often argued in the public debate. That is why this thesis pleads for a more nuanced debate about the effects of displacement in the context of urban renewal. A debate in which the risks of displacement are acknowledged, but not magnified to mythical proportions.

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NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

GEDWONGEN VERHUIZINGEN:
FEITEN EN FABELS

Deze dissertatie draagt bij aan het onderzoek naar de effecten van stedelijke herstructurering in het algemeen en de effecten van mengingsbeleid in het bijzonder. Dit beleid beoogt welvarende bewoners te verleiden naar relatief arme buurten te verhuizen door goedkope sociale huurwoningen te vervangen door duurdere huur- en koopwoningen. De deconcentratie van bewoners met lage inkomens zou bijdragen aan de oplossing van buurtproblemen zoals verloedering, onveiligheid, en een gebrek aan sociale cohesie.

Behalve de deconcentratie van arme bewoners, heeft mengingsbeleid echter nog een ander belangrijk doel: bewoners een uitweg bieden uit achterstandsbuurten. De huurders die moeten vertrekken vanwege de sloop van hun woning, zouden een unieke kans krijgen om naar een welvarender buurt te verhuizen die hun een beter toekomstperspectief biedt. Hun verhuizing naar rijkere buurten is ook vanuit een ander oogpunt voordelig: het voorkomt de herconcentratie van bewoners met lage inkomens en de daaraan gerelateerde problemen in andere sociaaleconomisch zwakke buurten.

In het publieke debat zijn bewoners en hun organisaties, journalisten en maatschappelijke activisten echter kritisch over de veronderstelde positieve effecten van mengingsbeleid. In reactie hierop heeft een groot aantal studies de effecten van mengingsbeleid op de aangepakte buurten onderzocht. Dit geldt in veel mindere mate voor de effecten van gedwongen verhuizingen die plaatsvinden in het kader van mengingsbeleid.

Dit is een gemis, want het is nog maar de vraag of bewoners wel baat hebben bij een gedwongen verhuizing. Hoewel het onderzoek naar de effecten van gedwongen verhuizingen de laatste jaren wel is toegenomen, is het nog altijd onduidelijk of deze al dan niet schadelijk zijn.

Deze dissertatie brengt daar verandering in en onderzoekt de validiteit van vier van de meest voorkomende zorgen over gedwongen verhuizingen:

- 1 Gedwongen verhuizers hebben weinig verhuisalternatieven.
- 2 Vanwege hun beperkingen verhuizen gedwongen verhuizers van de ene naar de andere achterstandsbuurt.
- 3 Gedwongen verhuizers zijn ontevreden met hun nieuwe woonsituatie.
- 4 Bewoners ervaren buurtverval wanneer er veel gedwongen verhuizers in hun buurt terecht komen.

Hoewel de hiervoor genoemde zorgen in veel landen aanwezig zijn, richt dit proefschrift zich voornamelijk op de effecten van gedwongen verhuizingen in Nederland (in één hoofdstuk wordt een vergelijking met Frankrijk gemaakt). Nederland is één van de West-Europese landen waar mengingsbeleid op grote schaal is

geïmplementeerd. Daarmee is het een land waar de effecten van menging en gedwongen verhuizingen goed voelbaar zouden kunnen zijn.

2 GEVAREN VAN GEDWONGEN VERHUIZINGEN: FEITEN OF FABELS?

- • • • • 2.1 GEDWONGEN VERHUIZERS HEBBEN WEINIG VERHUISALTERNATIEVEN
Gedwongen verhuizingen worden in het publieke debat allereerst geproblematiseerd, omdat diegenen die moeten vertrekken weinig verhuisalternatieven zouden hebben. Vanwege hun relatief lage inkomen, het beperkte aanbod van goedkope woningen en de regels die rondom een verhuizing gelden, zou hun keuze tot een absoluut minimum worden beperkt. Sommige studies geven echter aan dat zelfs onder sterk beperkende omstandigheden, gedwongen verhuizers nog altijd tot op zekere hoogte hun verhuisuitkomsten kunnen beïnvloeden en daarom moeten worden gezien als ‘active agents’. Het is echter nog onbekend hoe deze ‘agency’ er precies uitziet in de context van een gedwongen verhuizing. Om hier inzicht in te krijgen, beantwoordt hoofdstuk 2 van deze dissertatie de volgende vraag:

Hoe beïnvloeden de regels rondom de toewijzing van sociale huurwoningen aan gedwongen verhuizers hun keuzestrategieën?

Het hoofdstuk is gebaseerd op een kwalitatieve analyse van een groot aantal interviews met gedwongen verhuizers in vijf Nederlandse steden waar op grote schaal is geherstructureerd: Breda, Den Haag, Ede, Groningen en Rotterdam. Bij de analyse van de interviews is onderscheid gemaakt tussen de keuzestrategieën van verhuizers in twee verschillende verhuiscontexten: één waarin zij zelf vervangende woonruimte moesten zoeken en de mogelijkheid hadden om op veel verschillende woningen te reageren en één waarin zij uit drie opeenvolgende aanbiedingen van hun woningcorporatie moesten kiezen. In beide contexten blijken de meeste gedwongen verhuizers in staat om hun verhuisuitkomsten te beïnvloeden en zich te gedragen als ‘active agents’. Niettemin beïnvloedt de verhuiscontext hun zoekstrategieën wel degelijk. Diegenen die opties hadden ontvangen van hun woningcorporatie waren sterker geneigd om woningen te accepteren die niet aan al hun voorkeuren voldeden. Zij deden dit omdat zij bang waren dat toekomstige aanbiedingen nog minder aan hun voorkeuren zouden voldoen. Daarentegen voelde bijna de helft van de huurders die zelf een alternatieve woonruimte had moeten zoeken zich überhaupt niet beperkt bij de zoektocht naar een nieuwe woning. De verantwoordelijkheid om zelf een woning te vinden binnen een bepaalde tijdsspanne leidde bij een kleine groep huurders echter tot paniek. Zij waren geneigd om op woningen te reageren die bij lange na niet aan hun voorkeuren voldeden. Een andere kleine groep ervoer ook beperkingen, maar was ervan overtuigd deze

te kunnen negeren. Omdat deze verhuizers beseften dat hun woningcorporatie er een groot belang bij had dat zij snel zouden verhuizen, stelden zij hogere eisen aan hun woning dan waar zij formeel recht op hadden. Eisen die inderdaad vaak werden ingewilligd.

De verschillende zoekstrategieën die uit hoofdstuk 2 naar voren komen, laten duidelijk zien dat de verhuiscontext van gedwongen verhuizers hun gedrag beïnvloedt, maar meestal niet bepaalt. Dit betekent dat de zorg dat gedwongen verhuizers niets te kiezen hebben vaak ongegrond is.

● ● ● ● ● 2.2 VANWEGE HUN BEPERKINGEN VERHUIZEN GEDWONGEN VERHUIZERS VAN DE ENE NAAR DE ANDERE ACHTERSTANDSBUURT

Een tweede gevaar van herstructurering is dat huurders verhuizen van de ene naar de andere zwakke buurt. Hierdoor zou de realisatie van twee belangrijke doelen van mengingsbeleid in gevaar komen: de deconcentratie van bewoners met een laag inkomen en de mogelijkheid om aan negatieve buurtinvloeden te ontsnappen door een gedwongen verhuizing. Om te onderzoeken of deze vrees reëel is, beantwoordt het derde hoofdstuk uit dit proefschrift de volgende vragen:

*Hoe kunnen de buurten waar gedwongen verhuizers terecht komen worden gekenmerkt?
En op welke manieren verschillen de buurten waar veel gedwongen verhuizers terecht komen van de buurten waar zij uit vertrekken?*

Hiertoe zijn relocatiematrixen (die aangeven van welke naar welke buurt gedwongen verhuizers zijn verhuisd) gecombineerd met bestaande data over buurtkenmerken (CBS) in Breda, Ede en Rotterdam.

Uit de koppeling van deze data blijkt dat gedwongen verhuizers in veel verschillende buurten terecht komen. Wel verhuizen zij relatief vaak naar buurten nabij hun oude buurt, met een goedkope woningvoorraad, een gemiddeld zwakke sociaaleconomische positie en een relatief groot aandeel niet-westerse allochtonen. Daarnaast lijken de kenmerken van de nieuwe buurten van gedwongen verhuizers sterk op de kenmerken van hun oude buurt. Hierbij dient wel te worden opgemerkt dat terwijl huurders in Breda en Ede gemiddeld naar iets minder zwakke buurten verhuizen, huurders in Rotterdam juist in iets zwakkere buurten terecht komen. Dit komt waarschijnlijk door de aard van de herstructurering die de steden recentelijk hebben ondergaan: de buurten die momenteel worden aangepakt in Rotterdam zijn relatief minder zwak dan die in Breda en Ede. Hierdoor hebben gedwongen verhuizers uit Breda en Ede een grotere kans om naar een minder zwakke buurt te verhuizen.

Hoewel hoofdstuk 3 aantoont dat gedwongen verhuizers – zoals gevreesd – vaak naar andere achterstandsbuurten verhuizen, wordt niet bewezen dat dit het resultaat is van hun gebrek aan betere alternatieven. Dit is niet vanzelfsprekend het geval. De Nederlandse verhuiscontext staat namelijk bekend als een context die gedwongen verhuizers relatief veel alternatieven biedt: verhuizers hebben sterke rechten en de sociale huursector is groter, van een betere kwaliteit en minder geconcentreerd dan in de meeste andere landen. Hoofdstuk 4 beantwoordt daarom de volgende vraag:

Waarom verhuizen gedwongen verhuizers naar achterstandsbuurten?

Dit wordt gedaan aan de hand van een kwantitatieve analyse van enquêtedata, en een kwalitatieve analyse van vervolginterviews met gedwongen verhuizers uit vijf steden: Breda, Den Haag, Ede, Groningen, Rotterdam.

Op basis van multiple regressieanalyses gaat het hoofdstuk allereerst in op de vraag of bepaalde groepen gedwongen verhuizers zich vaker in achterstandsbuurten vestigen. Dit blijkt inderdaad zo te zijn: niet-westerse allochtonen en bewoners met lagere inkomens en kinderen verhuizen vaker naar zulke buurten. Deze resultaten kunnen erop duiden dat bewoners met lagere inkomens en niet-westerse allochtonen niet over de juiste vaardigheden beschikken om woningen in welgesteldere buurten te vinden. Gezinnen met kinderen verhuisden naar buurten met een relatief zwakke sociaaleconomische positie omdat zij vaker binnen de oude buurt verhuisden. Dit deden zij waarschijnlijk omdat zij hun kinderen niet van hun school en uit hun vertrouwde sociale omgeving wilden halen.

De analyse van de kwalitatieve vervolginterviews laat verder zien dat veel gedwongen verhuizers zich op een of andere manier beperkt voelden in hun verhuiskeuze, maar dat dit zelden de reden was om naar een achterstandsbuurt te verhuizen. Dit deed men meestal omdat men daar eveneens, of zelfs beter, in staat was om zijn of haar buurtvoorkeuren te realiseren dan in een welvarender buurt. Het gaat dan bijvoorbeeld om voorkeuren als de nabijheid van bekenden of de aanwezigheid van voorzieningen, zoals winkels en OV. Slechts een kleine groep gedwongen verhuizers kwam tegen zijn zin in een andere achterstandsbuurt terecht. Dit zijn voornamelijk mensen die in paniek zijn geraakt vanwege hun gedwongen verhuizing en de eerste woning die op hun pad kwam hebben geaccepteerd.

Hoewel hoofdstuk 3 laat zien dat gedwongen verhuizers vaak naar achterstandsbuurten verhuizen, blijkt uit hoofdstuk 4 dat dit zelden tegen de zin van gedwongen verhuizers is. In tegendeel, zij verhuizen meestal naar sociaaleconomisch zwakke buurten, omdat zij daar hun voorkeuren kunnen realiseren. De zorg dat gedwongen verhuizers vanwege hun beperkingen naar achterstandsbuurten verhuizen blijkt dus meestal onterecht.

● ● ● ● ● 2.3 GEDWONGEN VERHUIZERS ZIJN ONTEVREDEN OVER HUN NIEUWE WOONSITUATIE

Ten derde wordt het betwijfeld of gedwongen verhuizers wel profijt hebben van hun verhuizing, zoals wordt verondersteld in mengingsbeleid. Critici beweren dat gedwongen verhuizers ontevreden zullen zijn met hun nieuwe woonsituatie: zij zijn gedwongen om hun oude, vertrouwde en gewaardeerde leefomgeving te verlaten, moeten zich aanpassen aan hun nieuwe omgeving en daarbij vaak ook hogere huren betalen. Naar aanleiding van deze kritieken heeft een aantal studies de tevredenheid van gedwongen verhuizers met hun nieuwe woonsituatie onderzocht. Zij komen tot tegenstrijdige conclusies. Om deze tegenstrijdigheid te kunnen verklaren is het belangrijk om meer inzicht te krijgen in de factoren die de woontevredenheid van gedwongen verhuizers bepalen. Hoofdstuk 5 beantwoordt daarom de volgende vragen:

Hoe tevreden zijn gedwongen verhuizers met hun woonsituatie na hun verhuizing en welke factoren liggen hieraan ten grondslag?

Aan de hand van een analyse van enquêtes die zijn gehouden met gedwongen verhuizers uit Ede, Den Haag, Groningen en Rotterdam laat het hoofdstuk allereerst zien dat zij gemiddeld niet minder tevreden, maar juist tevredener zijn met hun nieuwe woonsituatie. Dit geldt echter niet voor iedereen in dezelfde mate. Wat betreft de woning laten multiple regressieanalyses zien dat gedwongen verhuizers met lagere inkomens en niet-westerse allochtonen minder tevreden zijn met hun nieuwe woning. Zelfs zij zijn echter fors tevredener met hun nieuwe woning. Verder zijn gedwongen verhuizers tevredener wanneer zij hun begeleiding beter waardeerden en positiever reageerden op hun verhuisbericht. Tot slot zijn verhuizers tevredener wanneer zij naar beter onderhouden woningen verhuizen en wanneer de nieuwe woning meer kamers per persoon in het huishouden biedt.

Ook wat betreft de buurt blijkt uit multiple regressieanalyses dat gedwongen verhuizers met lagere inkomens en niet-westerse allochtonen minder tevreden zijn. Eveneens blijkt men tevredener over de nieuwe buurt wanneer de begeleiding beter was bevallen en men positiever tegenover het verhuisbericht stond. Slechts één objectief buurtkenmerk blijkt de buurttevredenheid te beïnvloeden: het aandeel niet-westerse allochtonen. Hoe groter dit aandeel, hoe minder tevredenheid bij de gedwongen verhuizers. Dit verklaart waarom niet-westerse allochtonen gemiddeld minder tevreden zijn met hun nieuwe buurt; zij verhuizen vaker naar buurten met een groter aandeel niet-westerse allochtonen. Net als autochtonen, blijken zij zich ook minder thuis en veilig te voelen in buurten met een groter aandeel niet-westerse allochtonen.

Een van de belangrijkste conclusies uit hoofdstuk 5 is dat de meeste gedwongen verhuizers tevredener zijn met hun nieuwe dan met hun oude buurt. Dit positieve resultaat moet echter voorzichtig worden geïnterpreteerd. Is het niet het resultaat van de vele verhuisalternatieven die Nederlandse gedwongen verhuizers hebben? Om dit te onderzoeken, vergelijkt hoofdstuk 6 de ervaringen van Nederlandse gedwongen verhuizers met die van Franse gedwongen verhuizers die veel minder verhuisalternatieven hebben. De volgende vragen staan daarbij centraal:

In welke mate zijn gedwongen verhuizers in Nederland tevredener met hun nieuwe buurt dan gedwongen verhuizers in Frankrijk? En om welke redenen?

De vergelijking in hoofdstuk 6 is gestoeld op kwalitatieve interviews met gedwongen verhuizers uit twee Nederlandse steden (Den Haag en Rotterdam) en twee Franse steden (Orly en Bagneux). De Nederlandse gedwongen verhuizers hadden een relatief grote keuzevrijheid, omdat zij iedere week (en soms iedere twee weken) op veel van de beschikbare sociale huurwoningen binnen de grote, kwalitatief hoogwaardige en wijdverspreide sociale huursector in hun gemeente konden reageren. Daarentegen moesten hun Franse collega's één van maximaal drie aanbiedingen van hun woningcorporatie accepteren. Deze aanbiedingen kwamen steevast uit de woningvoorraad van hun eigen woningcorporatie. De woningcorporatie in Orly bezit amper woningen buiten het gesloopte gebied en die in Bagneux juist weinig woningen daarbinnen. Hierdoor waren verhuizers uit Orly voornamelijk aangewezen op woningen binnen de buurt en verhuizers uit Bagneux juist op woningen buiten de buurt.

Zoals verwacht, blijken de geïnterviewde verhuizers uit Den Haag en Rotterdam vaak tevreden met hun nieuwe buurt. Verder zijn de sterk beperkte bewoners uit Bagneux juist vaak ontevreden. In tegenstelling tot wat was verwacht, zijn de eveneens sterk beperkte verhuizers uit Orly net zo vaak tevreden als de verhuizers uit de Nederlandse steden. Zij zijn even goed in staat om hun twee belangrijkste buurtvoorkeuren te realiseren: om binnen dezelfde sociale omgeving te verhuizen en om naar een leefbaarder omgeving te verhuizen. Het is niet zo verrassend dat degenen die graag in de vertrouwde omgeving wilden blijven wonen aan hun trekken komen in Orly; men had daar immers weinig kans om buiten de buurt te verhuizen. Opvallender is het dat de verhuizers uit de Franse steden die het belangrijk vonden om naar een leefbaarder omgeving te verhuizen, ook liever binnen dan buiten de buurt wilden verhuizen. Toch is hier een logische verklaring voor. In Frankrijk zijn goedkope sociale huurwoningen amper voorradig in welvarender buurten. Bewoners prefereren in een dergelijke situatie een aanbieding in een bekende boven een aanbieding in een onbekende achterstandsbuurt. Dat stelt hen namelijk in staat om hun lokale kennis te gebruiken en alleen die aanbiedingen te accepteren die zich in een beter deel van de buurt bevinden.

Hoofdstuk 5 en 6 laten zien dat sommige gedwongen verhuizers ontevreden zijn over hun nieuwe woonsituatie. Dit geldt echter bij lange na niet voor alle gedwongen verhuizers. Nederlandse verhuizers zijn gemiddeld aanzienlijk tevredener met hun nieuwe woonsituatie en ook in Frankrijk is een behoorlijk aandeel bewoners tevreden na hun gedwongen verhuizing. Dit leidt dan ook tot de conclusie dat de vrees dat gedwongen verhuizers ontevreden zijn met hun nieuwe woonsituatie meestal onterecht is.

● ● ● ● ● 2.4 BEWONERS ERVAREN BUURTVERVAL WANNEER ER VEEL GEDWONGEN VERHUIZERS IN HUN BUURT TERECHT KOMEN

Tot slot onderzoekt deze dissertatie het gevaar dat gedwongen verhuizers een negatieve invloed hebben op hun nieuwe buurt. Hoewel dit risico herhaaldelijk is benoemd door bewoners, media en beleidsmakers, is hier nog haast geen onderzoek naar verricht. De studies die er wel zijn, kijken vooral naar de invloed van de instroom van gedwongen verhuizers op objectieve indicatoren van buurtverval, zoals toenemende criminaliteitscijfers en dalende huizenprijzen. Hoofdstuk 7 van dit proefschrift onderzoekt een ander, nog minder onderzocht risico van de instroom van gedwongen verhuizers: namelijk dat zittende buurtbewoners buurtverval ervaren. De precieze vragen die het hoofdstuk beantwoord luiden:

Ervaren bewoners bepaalde vormen van buurtverval wanneer er veel gedwongen verhuizers in hun buurt komen wonen? En zo ja, waarom?

Het antwoord op deze vragen is gebaseerd op een casusstudie in de Nederlandse stad waar de meeste gedwongen verhuizingen plaatsvinden; Rotterdam. In Rotterdam zijn de ervaren buurtontwikkelingen van bewoners in een buurt waar veel gedwongen verhuizers zich hebben gevestigd (ontvangstbuurt) vergeleken met de ervaringen van bewoners in een buurt waar dit niet het geval was (controlebuurt). Deze vergelijking is gebaseerd op een enquête onder bewoners over buurtveranderingen, vervol ginterviews en een expert meeting met professionals die in de buurten werkzaam zijn, zoals buurtagenten, welzijnswerkers en woonconsulenten.

De enquêtedata tonen aan dat bewoners van de ontvangstbuurt inderdaad vaker buurtverval ervaren dan bewoners van de controlebuurt. Logistische regressie-analyses laten zien dat dit verschil valt toe te schrijven aan de negatievere ontwikkeling van de bevolkingssamenstelling die bewoners van de ontvangstbuurt ervaren. De instroom van bewoners uit sloopwoningen is naast andere veranderingen, zoals de instroom van niet-westerse allochtonen, één van de trends die men hiermee associeert. Uit de vervol ginterviews met bewoners in de ontvangstbuurt blijkt verder dat men negatief is over nieuwkomers, omdat zij minder bereid zouden zijn om aan de bestaande sociale netwerken deel te nemen en omdat zij slordiger zijn. Dit geldt volgens bewoners van de ontvangstbuurt vooral voor

bepaalde groepen nieuwkomers: meestal niet-westerse allochtonen, maar in mindere mate ook jongere bewoners en bewoners uit sloopwoningen. Professionals geven verder aan dat de sterke buurtcultuur in de ontvangstbuurt de negatieve reacties tegenover nieuwkomers deels zouden kunnen verklaren. Bewoners zijn bang voor nieuwkomers, omdat zij vrezen dat zij de sterke lokale gemeenschapszin zullen verzwakken.

Al met al laat hoofdstuk 7 zien dat de relatie tussen een grote instroom van bewoners uit sloopwoningen en ervaren buurtverval indirect is. De ervaren instroom van gedwongen verhuizers draagt dus wel bij aan het gevoel dat de buurt achteruit gaat, maar deze invloed moet niet worden overschat. Daarbij moet worden vermeld dat in vier andere Nederlandse steden waar soortgelijke casussen zijn onderzocht, een dergelijke relatie niet is gevonden.

3 TOEKOMSTIG ONDERZOEK

Hoewel dit proefschrift meer duidelijkheid geeft in de aan- en afwezigheid van de negatieve effecten van gedwongen verhuizingen, vragen verschillende bevindingen om vervolgonderzoek. Ten eerste blijkt uit deze dissertatie dat de verhuisuitkomsten van gedwongen verhuizingen niet enkel het resultaat zijn van hun beperkingen, maar van een wisselwerking tussen hun voorkeuren en beperkingen. Dit samenspel zou nog beter in kaart kunnen worden gebracht door een longitudinale studie uit te voeren waarbij de ervaren beperkingen en voorkeuren van gedwongen verhuizers tijdens verschillende fases van hun verhuisproces in kaart worden gebracht.

Ten tweede zou het interessant zijn om meer onderzoek te doen naar één subgroep gedwongen verhuizers: niet-westerse allochtonen. Waarom zijn zij relatief minder tevreden met hun nieuwe woning en buurt? Hierbij zou het interessant kunnen zijn om de zoekstrategieën van niet-westerse allochtonen nader te onderzoeken. Uit dit proefschrift blijkt namelijk dat de zoekstrategieën die gedwongen verhuizers gebruiken van invloed zijn op de kwaliteit van hun uitkomsten. De verhuisuitkomsten van diegenen die weinig selectief waren uit vrees dakloos te worden waren bijvoorbeeld veel minder positief dan van diegenen die de regels probeerden op te rekken omdat zij begrepen dat hun woningcorporatie een groot belang had bij een snelle verhuizing.

De bevinding dat niet-westerse allochtonen minder tevreden zijn, vraagt ook om een andere reden om vervolgonderzoek. Enerzijds laat dit proefschrift zien dat niet-westerse allochtonen minder tevreden zijn omdat zij vaker naar buurten verhuizen waar het aandeel allochtonen hoog is. Anderzijds blijkt echter ook dat zij vaak veel belang hechten aan de nabijheid van familie en kennissen met eenzelfde etnische achtergrond. Vervolgonderzoek moet uitwijzen hoe deze verschillende resultaten naast elkaar kunnen bestaan.

Ten derde zou het waardevol zijn om in toekomstig onderzoek in te gaan op de manier waarop gedwongen verhuizingen de sociale netwerken van bewoners beïnvloeden. Dit proefschrift laat al zien dat de realisatie van de voorkeuren van gedwongen verhuizers aangaande hun sociale omgeving, alsmede de veranderingen van deze omgeving, van invloed zijn op hun buurttevredenheid. Er is echter nog niet gekeken hoe de buurtcontacten van gedwongen verhuizers veranderen: welke contacten hebben zij behouden, welke zijn verdwenen en welke hebben zij opgebouwd?

Ten vierde zou het de moeite lonen om nader in te gaan op de invloed van de instroom van gedwongen verhuizers op ervaren buurtverval. Uit deze dissertatie blijkt dat de instroom van gedwongen verhuizers een rol kan spelen in de ervaring dat de buurt achteruit gaat. Toekomstig onderzoek zou nog dieper in kunnen gaan op de redenen dat de instroom van gedwongen verhuizers als een negatieve invloed worden gezien. Bijvoorbeeld door kwalitatief onderzoek uit te voeren naar de rol van stigma. Beïnvloedt de slechte naam van de oude buurt de manier waarop buurtbewoners nieuwkomers uit sloopwoningen zien?

Tot slot is het relevant om in vervolgonderzoek in te gaan op de invloed van beleidsmaatregelen die momenteel worden geïmplementeerd in plaats van grootschalig mengingsbeleid. Omdat het economische klimaat de laatste jaren is veranderd, worden grootschalige mengingsoperaties (waarvan de gevolgen in deze dissertatie centraal staan) steeds minder vaak uitgevoerd. De grootschalige investeringen die daarvoor nodig zijn kunnen niet meer worden terugverdiend, omdat duurdere huurwoningen en koopwoningen lastig zijn te verhuren en verkopen. De problemen in sociaaleconomisch zwakke buurten blijven echter bestaan en vragen om alternatieve beleidsingrepen. Woningcorporaties kunnen bijvoorbeeld besluiten om een andere strategie te gebruiken om welvarender bewoners aan te trekken, zoals door de implementatie kleinschaliger mengingsbeleid of de verkoop van sociale huurwoningen. Ook kunnen zij de nadruk van hun beleid verleggen en zich bijvoorbeeld gaan richten op sociaal beleid, of het onderhoud van de bestaande woningen. Een andere optie is om zo min mogelijk te investeren en te wachten totdat de economische situatie verbeterd. Elk van deze alternatieven heeft gevolgen voor de aangepakte buurten en haar bewoners. Het is een taak voor toekomstig onderzoek om in kaart te brengen hoe deze invloeden eruit zien.

4 BELEIDSIMPLICATIES

De resultaten uit deze dissertatie vragen niet alleen om meer onderzoek, maar leiden ook tot een aantal inzichten die gebruikt kunnen worden door beleidsmakers die zich bezig houden met sociale menging. Om te beginnen laat deze dissertatie zien dat menging niet tot een afname van de concentratie van bewoners met een

laag inkomen leidt. Dit is een teleurstellend resultaat, omdat de deconcentratie van bewoners met een laag inkomen één van de kerndoelen is van Nederlands herstructureringsbeleid. Niettemin laat deze dissertatie ook zien dat mengingsbeleid op een ander gebied wel degelijk effectief is: de situatie van gedwongen verhuizers is in de regel behoorlijk verbeterd. Wellicht zou de woonsituatie van bewoners van arme buurten echter ook met minder ingrijpende en dure middelen kunnen worden verbeterd. Hoewel het beleid in dit opzicht dus wel effectief is, blijft het wel de vraag of het wel efficiënt is.

Daarnaast pleiten de resultaten uit dit proefschrift voor mengingsbeleid dat gedwongen verhuizers veel alternatieven en goede begeleiding biedt. Gedwongen verhuizers bleken tevreden zolang zij hun voorkeuren konden realiseren. Dit lukte veel Nederlandse gedwongen verhuizers vanwege de vele aanwezige verhuisalternatieven. Andere landen kunnen hier een voorbeeld aan nemen en de mogelijkheden voor gedwongen verhuizers vergroten. Dit kan bijvoorbeeld door een allocatiesysteem te kiezen waarbij bewoners niet een beperkt aantal aanbiedingen krijgen, maar zelf op alle beschikbare woningen van alle woningcorporaties in de betreffende stad kunnen reageren.

Een andere beleidsimplicatie die uit deze thesis naar voren komt is dat paniekgedrag onder gedwongen verhuizers moet worden voorkomen. Hiervoor is het essentieel om bewoners ervan bewust te maken dat zij niet zomaar op straat gezet kunnen worden. Daarnaast is het belangrijk om bewoners goed te begeleiden, vooral als zij de neiging hebben in paniek te raken. Dit kan door samen met hen actief na te denken over de kosten en baten van verschillende verhuisopties. Een andere mogelijkheid is om bewoners die de verantwoordelijkheid om zelf een woning te zoeken niet goed aankunnen directe bemiddeling aan te bieden. Dit betekent dat zij niet meer zelf hoeven te zoeken, maar een aantal aanbiedingen ontvangen van hun woningcorporatie.

Tenslotte is het belangrijk om beleid te ontwikkelen waarmee spanningen tussen gedwongen verhuizers en hun nieuwe burens kan worden voorkomen. Dit kan bijvoorbeeld door woonconsulenten gedwongen verhuizers beter te laten informeren over de buurten die zij overwegen: voelen zij zich daar wel thuis, passen zij er wel tussen? Verder kan de escalatie van conflicten tussen gedwongen verhuizers en hun nieuwe burens worden voorkomen wanneer zij niet alleen voor, maar ook na hun verhuizing begeleiding ontvangen. Bij dreigende escalatie kan dan eerder worden ingegrepen. Tot slot kan men activiteiten organiseren om bewoners van ontvangstbuurten te laten wennen aan hun nieuwe burens. Dit kan bijvoorbeeld door een jaarlijks welkomstfeest voor alle nieuwkomers te organiseren.

In deze dissertatie is onderzocht of gedwongen verhuizingen die plaatsvinden in het kader van sociale menging daadwerkelijk zo schadelijk zijn als vaak wordt verwacht. Terwijl gedwongen verhuizingen worden gepresenteerd als een unieke kans voor huurders om hun woonsituatie te verbeteren, is men in het publieke debat vooral kritisch over dergelijke verhuizingen. Gedwongen verhuizingen zouden slecht zijn voor bewoners, omdat zij weinig te kiezen hebben, zij van de ene in de andere slechte buurt terecht komen en zij erg ontevreden zijn met hun nieuwe woningsituatie. Verder zouden gedwongen verhuizers de problemen uit hun oude buurt simpelweg meenemen naar hun nieuwe buurt. Dit proefschrift heeft elk van deze gevaren onderzocht. Een zoektocht die laat zien dat de effecten van gedwongen verhuizingen soms inderdaad negatief zijn, maar dat deze effecten op een veel kleinere schaal voorkomen dan vaak wordt verondersteld. Deze dissertatie vormt dan ook een pleidooi voor een meer genuanceerd debat over de effecten van gedwongen verhuizingen. Een debat waarin de risico's worden onderkend, zonder ze tot fabelachtige proporties op te blazen.