Social cohesion: 'Collectief Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap' two case studies in the Netherlands





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Acknowledgements

In front of you lies the thesis 'Collectief Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap' and social cohesion, written in the context of the master Planning at the Faculty of Spatial Sciences at the University of Groningen. The aim of the thesis is to determine whether there is a stronger social cohesion with the rest of the neighbourhood resulting from the CPO-project and not just amongst residents of the CPO-project.

For this research literature about CPO, self-organization and social cohesion is consulted. Surveys and interviews are held in the two assessed case studies, Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid (Groningen) and Stadshagen I (Zwolle).

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Abstract

Several international and national studies suggest that cohousing may contribute to the social cohesion in a neighbourhood. This research will focus on the degree of social cohesion in a neighbourhood by assessing two CPO projects, Veenhof (Groningen) and Meanderhof (Zwolle). The objective is to investigate whether there is a stronger social cohesion with the rest of the neighbourhood resulting from the CPO-projects and not only amongst residents of the CPO-project. Also, potential improvements to the influence of local level spatial policies will be explored to hopefully better the effectiveness of CPO in improving social cohesion.

The research method used is a mixed approach of quantitative and qualitative data. The main focus lies on the quantitative data, i.e. the survey. In addition, interviews are held to get in-depth qualitative information about the process side of CPO-projects and detailed information about social cohesion within their neighbourhood. The data gathered through interviews are used as background information.

Resulting from the analysis of this research, members of Veenhof (Groningen) seem to be less cohesive then people living in proximity to it. In the analysis of the data of Meanderhof (Zwolle) a positive relation is found between social networks and a CPO-project. There is also a positive relation found for participation and place attachment. It seems that residents of the Meanderhof have larger social networks and are therefore more attached to a place. This is much in line with the theory on participation which assumes that more involvement leads to place attachment and stronger social networks. For CPO in general, it applies that collective facilities have a positive influence on social networks. Especially, when those facilities are actively used and maintained together.

To successfully improve social cohesion through CPO-projects, local level spatial policies should allow for citizens' participation. Although self-organization seems to be straightforward, it is often a process that is not entirely self-organized. The design is often provided by (local) government in which residents can participate, such as CPO. A CPO-project can be considered as a physical intervention in a neighbourhood in which citizens' have empowerment over the process. Through this, they possibly can add to the social cohesion amongst residents.

1. Introduction

In the last decades a worldwide increase in individualization, emancipation, and a diversification of population demographics took place. These factors can lead to a crisis of social cohesion at the neighbourhood level (Kearns and Forrest, 2000). In the Netherlands, the social cohesion at neighbourhood level is decreasing. The Netherlands used to have a strong 'pillarization' of society in the 1960s based for the most part on religion. Such a society where social cohesion was strong, the religious movements formed a binding factor. But with the 'depillarization', increasing individualization and the rise of a multi-ethnic society, social cohesion came under pressure (Dekker and van Kempen, 2009). A decrease of social cohesion is considered to be a problem as it influences several factors like the livability and safety in a neighbourhood (Dekker and van Kempen, 2009; SEV, 2006; Hart et al., 2002). If people don't know each other, they are less resilient; they perceive a decreasing responsibility in respect to the maintenance and management of the residential area. Eventually, all these factors can lead to a decline of the quality of the neighbourhood (SEV, 2006).

Self-organization of residents can be a way to increase the social cohesion in a neighbourhood (SEV, 2010). Self-organization can be defined as a process in which there is a lack of coordination of external organizations, like the government (Bayer, 2011). 'Collectief Partiuclier Opdrachtgeverschap' (In Dutch; CPO) can be seen as such a form of self-organization. A group of people acquire a piece of land by themselves and choose who to work with. Several international studies (Williams, 2005; Williams, 2007) and Dutch studies (Boelens and Visser, 2011) suggest that CPO perhaps can contribute to the social cohesion in a neighbourhood. One of the reasons people choose for CPO is because they want to live in a neighbourhood with "people like us" (SEV, 2010).

In this study CPO is exclusively discussed in the Dutch context, as there is a distinction between the international term cohousing and the Dutch term 'Collectief Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap'. Cohousing in the international terminology often means:

"A type of collaborative housing in which residents actively participate in the design and operation of their own neighbourhoods. Cohousing residents are consciously committed to living as a community" (Tummers, 2011: 2).

Thus, internationally, cohousing is defined as a kind of community where people live under the same roof and share daily tasks and communal services, etc. In the Netherlands, this kind of cohousing is uncommon. In the Netherlands cohousing has a different kind of meaning, namely:

"Collectief particulier opdrachtgeverschap (CPO) are individuals who organize themselves in legal non-profit organizations. They acquire a piece of land and they act as principal and decide which parties do carry out the project. The houses are realized with a group, but are for own use" (SEV, 2007: 5).

So, in the Netherlands cohousing is more used by individuals, who work together in a group to build their own houses. One of the main reasons individuals choose for this is because they are not satisfied with the current housing stock (SEV, 2006).

The expectation is that projects managed by the CPO principle will react better to the demand for houses and will lead to more diversity in the housing stock (Bayer, 2011). Another expectation is that when the demands of the residents are better met, they will have a stronger attachment to that place (SEV, 2010). In other words, CPO can be seen as projects to which the government or municipality sets the framework and have a facilitating role instead of a dictating role. Moreover, in which the residents are taking the initiative in the process. The private party, the users, decides what kind of interpretation will be used during the project (Bayer, 2011).

Thus, several Dutch studies concluded in their research that CPO is a way to increase the social cohesion in a neighbourhood. It is not clear to what extent and in which way it does influence the social cohesion in a neighbourhood. Therefore, analyzing the influence of CPO on social cohesion within a neighbourhood, not only between the members of a CPO-project but also with the rest of the neighbourhood, is the central focus of this thesis.

1.1 Research aim and objectives

The aim of this research is to add to the current knowledge about cohousing and social cohesion. It will focus on the extent and the way in which cohousing enhances the social cohesion in a neighbourhood. This research will analyze the degree of social cohesion in neighbourhoods by assessing two CPO projects. The objective is to investigate whether there is a stronger social cohesion with the rest of the neighbourhood resulting from the CPO-projects and not only amongst residents of the CPO-project. Subsequently, potential improvements to the influence of local level spatial policies will be explored to hopefully better the effectiveness of CPO in improving social cohesion.

1.2 Research questions

The main research question is as follows:

To what extent and in which way does 'Collectief Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap' (CPO) enhance the social cohesion in Dutch neighbourhoods and what lessons can be learnt regarding local level spatial policies considering these effects?

To answer to the main research question this research will make a comparison between two CPO projects and their surrounding neighbourhoods in the Netherlands, focusing on the difference in social cohesion within these neighbourhoods.

This main research question is divided in the following sub-questions:

 What are the characteristics of CPO projects in the Netherlands? Taking into account the context and history in Dutch planning practice.

- What are the reasons that CPO can be seen as a way to enhance social cohesion in the neighbourhood?
- What is self-organization and how can it be related to CPO?
- How can social cohesion be achieved and what aspects influence social cohesion in a neighbourhood and how can this be operationalized?
- How can CPO contribute to the local level spatial policy of social cohesion and what lessons can be learnt?

1.3 Outline

The following chapter, chapter Two, discusses the theoretical framework. The purpose of the chapter is discussing the theories related to the research questions and aims. The first section will discuss the context of CPO, continued by a discussion of self-organization in section two and, lastly, theories about social cohesion will be discussed. Chapter Three will outline the steps taken in this research. Chapter Four will continue on with the policies about social cohesion. This chapter will briefly discuss the policies at national and local level. Chapter Five will describe the case study Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid (Groningen). First it describes the context of the case and the CPO-project, continued by the findings of the survey and conclusion. The same is done in chapter Six for the case of Stadshagen I (Zwolle). Thereafter, in chapter Seven, an analysis of the differences and similarities between the cases will be given and, finally, a conclusion is given in chapter Eight on basis of the research aim and questions.

Theoretical framework

This chapter will provide the theoretical basis to this study by elaborating on the topics of 'Collectief Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap', self-organization and social cohesion. First in section 2.1, the concept of collectief particulier opdrachtgeverschap will be discussed by looking at the international and national context and the process. Then section 2.2 discusses the concept of self-organization and how it can relate to the concept of CPO. Next, various aspects of social cohesion are analyzed in section 2.3 to see what kind of influence it has on CPO. And lastly, in section 2.4, all these different concepts of the preceding sections are put together and some assumptions are made.

2.1 'Collectief particulier opdrachtgeverschap'

There are multiple definitions for CPO, nonetheless, the most common definition used is:

"Collectief particulier opdrachtgeverschap (CPO) are individuals who organize themselves in legal non-profit organizations. They acquire a piece of land and they act as principal and decide which parties do carry out the project. The houses are realized with a group, but are for own use." (SEV, 2007: 5)

However, Boelens and Visser (2011) argue that there is a distinction in the concept of cohousing. They made the following distinction: private, collective and participating. Private cohousing means that a private party acquires a piece of land and decides amongst themselves together with which party they will construct their house. Collective cohousing means that a collective of like-minded private parties acquire a piece of land and decide how and with which parties they construct their houses. Lastly, participatory cohousing means that the developer or corporation is the initiating party. The future residents make known their preferences about the housing; they are involved in the early stage of the process. Van den Ham and Keers (2010) define of these different types of cohousing based on the degree of control. The degree of control is an important aspect of cohousing. It gives people the possibility to steer the process and the end result.

Private cohousing has the highest degree of control for residents, followed by collective cohousing. Because collective cohousing (CPO) is done in a group it has some limitations in the degree of control. Decisions have to be made in concurrence with the group. For an overview of all the different types of building and degree of control, see figure 2.1 below. The boundary of constructing a house by yourself or buy it from a developer lies in the area of co-commissioning (MO). Consumer oriented means houses are built to meet the demand of the consumers; residents have limited degree of control because the houses are built by a developer (SEV, 2008).

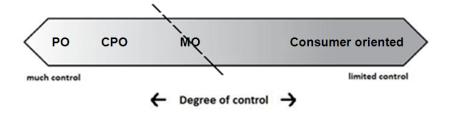


Figure 2.1: Degree of control (SEV, 2008).

Six fundamental characteristics of cohousing in the international perspective

Lietaert (2010) explains that cohousing can be adapted to a particular context, due to its high degree of flexible bottom-up approach. The cohousers themselves are the driving forces behind the process. He argues, therefore, that cohousing is based on the degrowth theory. Degrowth theorist criticize the unsustainable and overproduction of the current economic system. Lietaert defines cohousing communities as neighbourhood developments where the private and common facilities are combined in response to the social and practical needs of the contemporary urban citizens.

Lietaert defines six fundamental characteristics of cohousing. These characteristics describe how cohousing is seen in the international context and which characteristics play an important role. The first characteristic is that cohousing is a participatory process. Cohousers manage the whole process without the dictating role of the government. Cohousers do not only participate in the process, but they are also in charge to decide who is going to help them, for example which architect they are going to employ. Therefore, they have more freedom than traditional urban development on the building process. With a traditional building process people buy often a house that a developer has designed; they have limited influence on the building process. The second characteristic is that cohousers not only design the house but the environment as well. Thirdly, there is a need of extensive common facilities. These common facilities are often a vital part of the cohousing community. The fourth characteristic is that cohousing communities need a complete resident management. They have to meet on a regular basis to prevent that discrepancies will arise within the community. Fifthly, there has to be an absence of hierarchy in the community. And finally, the income of the community has to be separated. The argument for that is that cohousing is not a commune. Everyone in the community has its own income, the only thing that is shared are the common facilities.

The most important aspects of cohousing are that cohousing in the international context is mostly based on living together. It is about a participatory process, citizens take the initiative in the process.

CPO in the Netherlands

This international perspective of cohousing differs from the Dutch term. The international perspective is more community based, whereas the Dutch term is about building together instead of living together.

The Netherlands used to have a society where houses were built through CPO. Housing associations are an outgrowth of what once CPO was. However, CPO disappeared with the restoration after World War II. High production numbers had to be achieved to deal with the housing shortage (Boelens and Visser, 2011). In the 1990s, there was increased attention for

CPO, during this period it became a subject of government policy. It was part of the 'nota Mensen, Wensen en Wonen' of 2000, in which the government suggested that 1/3 of the housing numbers had to be achieved through (C)PO (van den Ham and Keers, 2010). Besides that, other aspects have increased the attention for CPO. Municipalities see CPO as projects to bridge the gap on the housing market for starters and elderly, to meet the demand of the residents and to provide adequate housing. Another aspect is a cultural change in the Netherlands, in which citizens are becoming increasingly empowered. Subsequently, municipalities consider CPO to be a promising strategy for giving residents more freedom and a higher degree of control (Kastein, 2008).

Building process of CPO

There is a distinction in the way in which CPO is executed. For example, CPO can consist of homogenous buildings or the CPO is connected with the existing built environment. Alternatively, there are also CPO projects where the central focus is heterogeneity. In other words, those projects do not strive for a physical connection with the neighbourhood and environment. Either homogenous or heterogeneous urban design of CPO-projects may indeed have different outcomes in social cohesion of a neighbourhood.

Ideally, the building process starts with the initiative of a single person; who will seek other persons who are like-minded, resulting in a group of people sharing the same idea. The scheme in figure 2.2 shows how the process of developing a CPO project can be seen in the ideal situation. However the group has often limited control regarding the building location of the project. In the Dutch context, the government often provides a location where they can build their CPO-project.

However, in practice the group is not stable in the early phase of the process. Some people will drop out and other people join the process. Moreover, various external parties will be used at different times during the process. Therefore, there is always a different set of actors involved in the process. To limit inefficiency, it is in every ones interest that the process is well organized with clear appointments and responsibilities and a good decision making process (Bronkhorst et al., 2006).

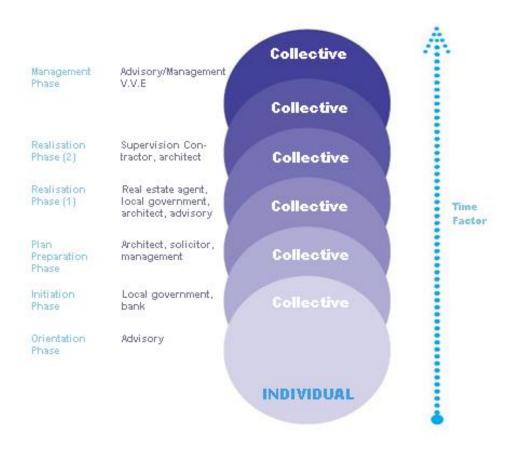


Figure 2.2: Schematic view of 'Collectief Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap' process (Boelens and Visser, 2011).

Summary

There is an increased attention to CPO over the last years. CPO is often a group of like-minded people who organize themselves and build houses together for its own use. Unlike the international concept of cohousing, this focuses on living together. People have a lot of influence steering the process; they can decide where they want to live and with which parties they are going to collaborate with.

2.2 Self-organization

This section will discuss what self-organization is, where it originated, what its characteristics are and how it can be related to the concept of CPO.

What is self-organization?

Self-organization is a continuous interaction and movement between different elements. This constant movement enables spontaneous patterns to emerge and, subsequently, unforeseen initiatives come to surface (Boonstra, 2010). The process cannot be controlled by internal or external agents (Heylighen, 2008). These spontaneous initiatives originate in society from

autonomous community-based networks. The process is equally distributed over all the agents. In other words, it is a collective process (Heylighen, 2008; Boonstra, 2010).

According to Boonstra and Boelens self-organization refers to "the notion of a complex society, one in which there is endless and continuous movement and interaction between all its different elements, like people, places and institutions" (2011: 108). As explained by Portugali (2008) the interaction of these different elements contribute to the system and influence the outcome.

The concept of self-organization was first introduced in hard sciences like physics, chemistry and mathematics. It was applied to study the transition of phenomena of spontaneous ordering of molecules. Later on it was adopted by other domains of science, including social sciences (Heylighen, 2008). According to Portugali (2008), self-organization in social sciences is very complex. Each part in the system, like individuals, households, firms, is in itself a complex system. All these parts have endogenous cognitive capabilities, like learning, thinking and decision-making, and act on different scale.

Characteristics of self-organization

Self-organization has various characteristics; important characteristics related to self-organization in social sciences will be explained. An important aspect of self-organization is the bottom-up structure. The initiative is taken by citizens and not by the government. Van der Velden (2010) argues that self-organization in the Netherlands is in the first place independent from government control. However, later on during the process the collective has to collaborate with the government (Van der Velden, 2010). Two other important aspects of self-organization are adaptivity and flexibility. Systems organize themselves spontaneously; they can better cope with internal and external disorder and conflicts. Therefore, systems can evolve and adapt to a constantly changing environment (Heylighen, 2008).

Planning context

In the context of planning, self-organization refers to a situation in which citizens and different agents contribute to urban development from of their own interests and resources, and, if necessary, these urban developments will be facilitated, not directed, by planners and governments (Boonstra, 2010). Van der Velden (2010) adds to this that self-organization is one of the most comprehensive forms of citizen participation in social processes. It is often arranged around a theme. The responsibility of the decision-making is in hands of the initiators. Therefore, self-organization is not seen as a means to increase the involvement by government policies, but to stimulate initiative that come from society (Boonstra, 2010).

The different elements of a system interact only locally in the first place. The elements interact with the people they know, like their neighbours. And these different elements cooperate with others who come on their way. Therefore, the structure of self-organization can exemplify a network (Heylighen, 2008).

An example of a self-organized initiative can be a lifestyle group who develop their own living environment or street community by spatially improving it (Boonstra, 2010).

CPO and self-organization

As stated in the previous section, self-organization consists of several characteristics, such as bottom-up structure, flexibility and adaptivity. As a result, CPO can be seen as a form of self-organization because CPO is more flexible than a traditional building process. Due to the fact

that people themselves are concerned with the process, the group has a collective aim to attain. CPO is a bottom-up process as people have to take initiative in the process and not depend on one party that sets the rules top-down. Also moreover, CPO can be more adaptive because people themselves can decide during the process.

As explained in the previous chapter, CPO in the Netherlands is often facilitated by the enduser. Yet, the government provides the site to build. Therefore, Boonstra and Boelens (2011) argue that the government can play a crucial role at the success of spatial interventions through self-organization. Ideally, the government does not affect the autonomy of the initiatives.

2.3 Social cohesion at neighbourhood level

As pointed out in the previous sections, CPO and self-organization are both bottom-up processes. An important question to ask is if citizens' initiative can help increase the social cohesion in a neighbourhood. This section first looks at what the concept of social cohesion is all about. Then the different dimensions of social cohesion will be discussed. Which aspects are often used to measure social cohesion in the neighbourhood? And how can it be operationalized? And finally, place-attachment and participation of citizens is discussed. Here, assumptions will be made about how citizens' initiatives can potentially help to increase social cohesion.

Concept of social cohesion

At the end of the 19th century the term social cohesion gets its first social formulations. This was due to the disruptive consequences of the fast changing society resulting from the Industrial Revolution (Koonce, 2011). Forrest and Kearns (2001) concur in that there is the assumption that the nature of social interaction is changing. The old social cement of society is crumbling; the previous rules of social interaction and integration can no longer be applied. Due to the information technology new virtual networks arise and there is a greater fluidity in contacts.

Social cohesion is an important concept for measuring social developments (Hart et al., 2002). Koonce (2011) adds to this that social cohesion can be defined as a performance variable. It is a measure for the degree of trust that members of society or neighbourhoods have in each other. It is rooted in voluntary actions of individuals that are in agreement with the existing social norms. Hart et al. (2002) and Forrest and Kearns (2001) state that the public discussion about social cohesion is often based on the perception of a crisis. A crisis of social cohesion is often referred to as a problematic development or situation, for example, the disintegration of the neighbourhood or decreased social interactions.

Forrest and Kearns (2001) observe a distinction in social cohesion; they argue that social cohesion is scale dependent. The level of cohesion is different on distinct scales, national, city, neighbourhood. For this reason, social cohesion can be seen as an ambiguous concept. It refers to social institutions, social contacts people have with each other, but also the collective norms and values of society. There are a lot of different ways in which social cohesion can appear, like the willingness to help other people in a neighbourhood or even worldwide solidarity.

This research will analyze aspects of social cohesion at the neighbourhood level and how CPO can influence the social cohesion in a neighbourhood. Here, the focus lies on the internal bond of a neighbourhood. Therefore, the neighbourhood is regarded as a social system.

Dimensions of social cohesion

Social cohesion comprises six dimensions:

- 1. "Social networks and social capital, based on a high degree of social interaction within communities and families;
- 2. Social order and social control, based in absence of general conflicts between groups at large;
- 3. Place attachment and an intertwining of personal and place identity;
- 4. Common values and a civic culture, based in more common moral principles and codes of behavior;
- 5. Social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities, based in equal access to services and welfare benefits, redistribution of public finances and opportunities, and ready acknowledgement of social obligations." (Kearns and Forrest, 2001:2129).
- 6. Participation (Dekker and Bolt, 2004)

Dimensions 4 and 5 are more related to national policy, although they do play a role on neighbourhood level. The first three dimensions are relevant for cohesion on neighbourhood level.

Each of these dimensions according to Forrest and Kearns (2000), social networks, social order, solidarity and common values, and place attachment will be explained in more detail. Furthermore, participation can also play a role in social cohesion. This dimension will be discussed lastly.

Social networks

Social networks, the first dimension mentioned by Forrest and Kearns (2000) refers to ties people have within society or within a neighbourhood and are spatially structured. People create an urban environment which structures their social live. These ties between persons refer to informal relations, and, in contrast, it can also refer to things as belonging to a certain group (Dekker and Bolt, 2004). At the neighbourhood level, this implies that social networks are concerned with the interactions between residents, and the range in which they can live in social agreement with each other (Amin, 2002).

According to Dekker and van Kempen (2009) social cohesion is often referred to as a positive term with positive values such as openness, tolerance, equality, security and solidarity. However, it should be taken into account that it can be negative as well. Increased social cohesion does not always lead to a better society as opposed to when there is limited social cohesion. When there is too much cohesion among one group in society, it may lead to the exclusion of others; indeed, cohesion within groups does not entail cohesion between groups. Putnam (2000) also made this distinction by using the concepts bonding 'us' and bridging 'the others'. Bonding can be seen as exclusive and inward looking, like cohesion in a group or neighbourhood. An advantage of bonding is that it is good for the reciprocity and solidarity in a

neighbourhood. Although at the same time this can be a limitation, as it only strengthens cohesion within the group and not with 'the others'. However, there is not a clear distinction between these two concepts of bonding and bridging. One may bond along some social dimensions and bridge across others. However, people often take part of rather homogenous networks.

Social control, solidarity and common values

Social cohesion refers to social solidarity which means that people tend to have a common set of values and goals, a general idea about social order, and social control. Forrest and Kearns (2000) argue that when people share the same set of common values and goals about behaviour in everyday life, they share interest in each other, and are more willing to help and engage in collective action in the neighbourhood. However, it is not necessary that it is based on a homogenous set of common values and goals. It is more important that they respect the differences between each other. When people feel they are respected, they feel more attached and part of the neighbourhood community.

Place attachment

Another dimension Forrest and Kearns (2000) distinguish, is place attachment. Forrest and Kearns (2001) argue that it seems that place attachment in the neighbourhood is being eroded with the emergence of a more individualized way of life. Nowadays, social networks are worldwide, increasingly virtual, and more flexible. These aspects may lead to a more social society, albeit indirect. However, globalizing processes may enhance social cohesion too. Due to the forces that bear down upon the people it may seem increasingly remote. Therefore, local social interaction in the neighbourhood may take greater significance in sources of comfort and security. For instance, Blokland (2000) claimed that "the idea is that people have ties not only with other people, but also with their immediate environment". Dekker and van Kempen (2009) go further in that they argue that when people feel connected to their neighbourhood, there are many positive consequences. People may feel better supported, more related to other people, have stronger levels of social support and social connectedness. Dekker and Bolt (2005) argue that place attachment not only contribute to the willingness to cooperate in social networks, but also in respecting the common values and norms. However, identification with the neighbourhood can lead to imagined communities. This means that the social value residents attach to their neighbourhood is not usually based on real contacts, but instead on perceived feelings of belonging to the neighbourhood.

Dekker and van Kempen (2009) explain that social cohesion may have different meanings in different socio-economic environments. For example, in poorer areas social cohesion may help people to survive, but may not improve their socio-economic well-being enough. Contrarily, for the middle class social cohesion may help to improve the quality of their environment or may improve their feelings of safety in the neighbourhood. In respect to Dekker and Bolt (2005), they also argue that income has an influence on place attachment of residents. Higher incomes are more likely to feel attached to their neighbourhood than lower incomes. The reason for this is that higher incomes have more capital to satisfy their housing needs. However, higher incomes have more contacts outside the neighbourhood and think they can move easier to another, more convenient, neighbourhood.

The discussed studies have explained what aspects and dimensions are of influence for the social cohesion in a neighbourhood. Some aspects have different outcomes than others.

Participation

Another factor that plays a role in social cohesion is participation. People feel more involved and attached to a place when they can participate (Dekker and Bolt, 2004). Participation means that people are taking place in social supporting local communities. Participation can be encouraged when people feel that they are attached to a neighbourhood and identify with it; what belongs to you needs to be protected, taken care of, and influenced. Boonstra and Boelens (2011) put forward four arguments for citizen involvement in planning. The first argument is on the social context. In this context participatory planning is used as an instrument to improve social conditions in a neighbourhood. It is expected that it stimulates the social coherence in society through empowerment of citizens. The idea is that, through this participatory planning, minorities will meet in a new kind of setting and new social networks will form. The second argument for participatory planning is about the spatial conditions of a certain area. When citizens participate and can contribute to the spatial conditions of the area, it will improve the spatial quality of their environment. Eventually this improvement would lead to a greater sense of belonging to a certain place. It will increase the embeddedness of spatial interventions in a local community and therefore it will improve the support for and the commitment to such spatial interventions. Thirdly, it is expected that citizen participation will not only achieve savings in the short run, like increased social cohesion, but that it will also enhance the economic robustness on the long run. The last argument concerns politics. This is part of the debate on the perceived gap between citizens and government. When people can participate, it strengthens the civic support for public policies or spatial interactions.

Summarizing, because people are more empowered through participation in urban development, new informal networks arise resulting in that residents feel more attached to a neighbourhood. This attachment is a result of the participation.

Operationalization of the dimensions

Hart et al. (2002) made a distinction to operationalize the previously described dimensions. They distinguish some indicators to operationalize social cohesion. There is a distinction between general and indicative indicators. The following dimensions are the general indicators:

- 1. Social-demographic characteristics, such as the number of residents, housing stock, age, income etc.
- 2. Residential mobility; how long do residents live on their current address, how often did they moved?
- 3. Living satisfaction
- 4. Perception of the local community; who belongs to the community and who not? Do they feel they belong to the community? Are they connected to the people in their street or neighbourhood?

The following indicative dimensions concern people's judgment of the quality of social relations in their neighbourhood.

- 1. Are neighbours open to contact and are they considered be willing to help?
- 2. How is the willingness to help of neighbours in concrete situations? In which situations do they appeal to their neighbours?
- 3. In which frequency do they have contact with neighbours?

All these indicators, general and indicative, can be divided into the various dimensions mentioned by Forrest and Kearns (2000) which can be used to get an impression of the social cohesion in a neighbourhood.

2.4 CPO, self-organization and social cohesion

Putting together all the theories of the preceding sections, various assumptions can be made about CPO and social cohesion. A distinction can be made in the assumptions for members of the CPO-project and assumptions for the rest of the neighbourhood.

Firstly, assumptions for members of the CPO-project in relation to self-organization and social cohesion will be made. One assumption is that the contact between members of the CPO-project is better than the contact with the rest of the neighbourhood, resulting from the contact people have with each other during the building process. As mentioned in section 2.1, in CPO projects people can choose who to work with and have, therefore, a certain degree of control over the process. They are a self-organized collective of like-minded people. Thus, one can expect that new informal social networks within the members of the CPO project will arise during the decision-making and building process.

In addition, one can assume that this collective aim can result in increased responsibility for each other and respecting each other and a willingness to help. As result of this, people feel more respected in their neighbourhood.

Another assumption is that the bottom-up process of CPO affects the way residents feel about their neighbourhood. When residents can participate and feel empowerment over the process, they feel more attached to a place. And therefore, feel more responsible to their neighbourhood (Dekker and van Kempen, 2009; Dekker and Bolt, 2005). All these aspects can possibly increase the social cohesion in a neighbourhood for people attending the CPO-project.

The following assumptions made are related to the rest of the neighbourhood. The expectation is that there is a different kind of contact with the rest of the neighbourhood, because people do not have contact with each other beforehand, unlike the residents of the CPO-project. Thus, an assumption is that there are less social networks because they do not arise beforehand. Also the members of the CPO-project may be seen as a group of people, 'the others', by the rest of the neighbourhood.

Another assumption is that the rest of the neighbourhood will only have contact with their direct neighbours and not with the entire street. They do not have automatically contact with each other as they have to seek contact with their neighbours by themselves. Therefore, it is assumed that residents living around the CPO-project may have less social cohesion than members of the CPO-project.

2.5 Conceptual model

All relevant theories of the previous sections are joined in a conceptual model, see figure 2.3. The conceptual model explains the relationship between CPO, self-organization and social cohesion.

As a form of self-organization, CPO can enhance the social cohesion in the neighbourhood. The bottom-up process, collective group and aim and empowerment have a positive influence on the dimensions of social cohesion. The six dimensions can have a positive or negative influence on social cohesion; this is dependent on the scale. For example, the social cohesion for a district may be considered satisfactory, even though levels of cohesion may differ locally between lower level neighbourhoods. Increased social cohesion may also bring about negative outcomes, for example, it may lead to the exclusion of others.

Policies for improving social cohesion work through a set of (physical) interventions, like CPO. Policies can influence the physical interventions and vice versa. The same for the six dimensions this may play a role in the policies and the policies may be based on the six dimensions.

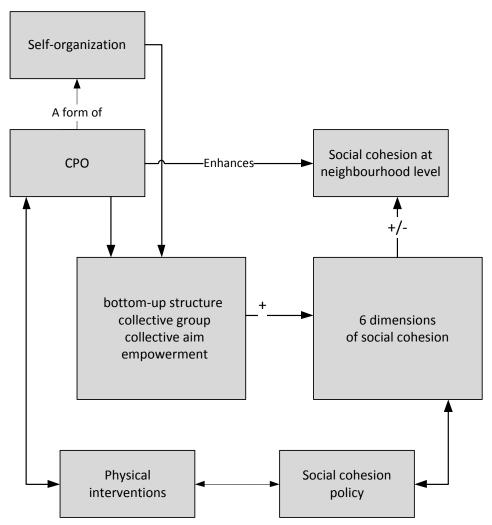


Figure 2.3: Conceptual model: researching CPO and social cohesion.

3. Methodology

To answer the research questions a distinction between the primary and secondary data collection is made. Primary data are surveys and interviews and secondary data will contain desk research. Besides the distinction of primary and secondary data collection, two case studies will be used for further explanation.

3.1 Primary data collection

A mixed approach is used to answer the research questions, quantitative as well as qualitative data. The main focus of this research lies on the quantitative data, the results of the survey. The survey is used to obtain an overview of the social cohesion in the neighbourhood and whether there is a difference between CPO and not CPO. In addition, interviews were conducted to obtain useful qualitative information about the process of the CPO project and more detailed information about social cohesion in their neighbourhood. The qualitative data is used as background information.

Case selection

Because the aim of the research is to identify and get a better understanding of the way CPO can enhance the social cohesion, a case study strategy is used to describe and document these linkages. They are used to bring new variables to light on social cohesion and CPO projects. It will give a better understanding of to what extent and in which way CPO project contribute to the social cohesion in a neighbourhood. The cases are selected in the Netherlands and they have to meet certain criteria:

- 1. A neighbourhood which has a CPO project in it. Thus, there have to be regular houses and houses made by CPO projects in the neighbourhood.
- 2. Another criteria is that the CPO projects have to be finished, preferably for at least two years or longer.

But not only will these criteria influence the case selection there are also certain constraints by choosing a case. In this research it is the distance, due to the short timeframe of the research project, the traveling time of the cases should not be too long and the cases have to be accessible with public transport.

Both selected cases, Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid (Groningen) and Stadshagen I (Zwolle), are chosen because the context of both neighbourhoods is different. The CPO-project (Veenhof) in Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid consists of 13 private houses, and is built in an existing neighbourhood. The CPO-project (Meanderhof) in Stadshagen I is a project that consists of 52 houses, with a mix of rental and private houses in the project. This project is situated in one of the newest neighbourhoods of Zwolle. It is a vinex location. Both CPO-projects were finished in 2007. Hence, they meet criteria number two that the projects have to be finished for at least two years. Further details about the cases are explained more thoroughly in chapters Five and Six.

Surveys

Surveys are used to answer questions about the social cohesion in the neighbourhood. The survey consists mainly of closed questions. However, there are some open questions which are categorized later on. Flowerdew and Martin (2005) mention that a survey is a necessary tool when primary data is needed about people, attitudes and opinions and their awareness of specific issues. A limitation of the survey can be the response rate and in-depth data that is missing. To tackle these limitations, a couple of interviews with residents of the CPO-project were held to obtain missing information and to set the context. The survey is accompanied by a letter of the researcher explaining the context and aims and objectives of the research project. In this letter there are two ways provided to respond, namely by paper or via the internet. Because there is no stamped envelope provided with the survey, the respondents are asked to hand in the survey at the local supermarket.

In this research, the survey is used to obtain information about residents' attitudes, opinions and awareness about social cohesion in their neighbourhood. The first part of the survey consists of 23 propositions which residents have to answer on a Likert-scale, see appendix B. These propositions relate to the six dimensions of social cohesion mentioned in section 2.3. In addition, general indicators are asked, such as age, income, education level, and how long they live at their current address.

The survey was held in Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid (Groningen) and Stadshagen I (Zwolle) where 250 surveys were distributed. The scope is about 250 meter around the CPO project in the researched neighbourhood. People that live far away from the CPO-project do not have the same effect of social cohesion as people who live nearby.

The aim of the survey is to see whether there is any difference between social cohesion of residents within a CPO project and the rest of the neighbourhood. In the end, an overview will be given of what residents in the case study think is most important, how CPO contributes to the social cohesion in the neighbourhood, and how it affects their neighbours.

Interviews

Several interviews were held to gather some missing in-depth information; the interviews are used to get complementary qualitative information. Thus, the aim of the interviews is widening in order to obtain useful information about the CPO-project and social cohesion in their neighbourhood. In the interviews, questions such as, the degree of self-organization and the process of the project with the rest of the neighbourhood were asked to see what kind of influence those aspects have on social cohesion. For example, if there is a high degree of self-organization, do residents feel more or less attached to a neighbourhood. Or is there no difference?

The interviews are semi-structured which means that the questions are not fully fixed following a predetermined order but also not fully free. It will be more flexible than a structured interview. The advantage of this is that it can deliver other interesting and unexpected data, of which the interviewer has not thought of (O'Leary, 2010).

Interviews are needed because of the extra information they give. They do not merely provide answers to the questions the researcher has constructed as is in the survey. The advantage is that people can share their experiences. Therefore, it can be complementary to the surveys. There is more room for a wide-ranging discussion than a survey would allow for. Another

advantage of conducting interviews is that the researcher has the chance to ask questions in different ways in order to explore issues more thoroughly, and interviewees have more room to explain the complexities and contradictions they experience.

But there are also limitations; there is always a certain kind of subjectivity in interviews, the identity of the interviewer will shape the interactions and will influence the outcome (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005). To prevent this, the interviewer has to keep in mind that the respondents' experiences, opinions and feelings are the central focus. This means that the interviewer should not express her own opinions.

There were five interviews conducted with different people. One with a person from the local government concerned policies of social cohesion. The other interviews were held with residents of the selected CPO-projects in Groningen and Zwolle. Preferably, the interviews took place in their own environment so they could point out things in their own neighbourhood and, maybe, were triggered because of their environment to share certain experiences and emotions.

Ethics

The following ethical issues have to take in mind before the interview. The interviewer will be facilitating open and honest responses and present itself as nonjudgmental. In addition, aspects such as gender, age and class of the interviewer as well as of the interviewee might affect the interview process. At the start of the interview, the interviewer explained to the interviewees that all the information they share will be kept confidential and that they are not obligated to answer a question if they don not want to answer it. The participants of the interviews will be informed about the research context, aims and objectives.

3.2 Secondary data collection

Available literature is used to answer the questions about the context and history of CPO projects and the concept of social cohesion, what kind of aspects do influence the social cohesion in a neighbourhood? This is relevant because it gives a broader overview of these concepts.

The literature that is used, are relevant scientific books, articles en different internet sites of involved organizations. To see whether the literature was relevant for the research, the following steps were taken. First, the abstract and conclusion was read and a look was given to the table of contents. Upon reading these segments, the relevancy, social cohesion and, especially, cohesion in the Netherlands, at the neighbourhood level and in respect to participation and place attachment were critically revised.

The relevancy was also checked by looking at the audience of the article: is it for an academic audience or for a broader public? After checking the relevance and the validity of the article, it would be then used for this research.

3.3 Data-analysis

Survey

The survey data is processed in SPSS, a statistical analysis program. Each case is treated separately in SPSS. One survey has been omitted from the analysis of Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid as it was not fully filled out.

One way variance analysis

The statistical test used to analyse both data sets is the one-way ANOVA. A one-way ANOVA is usually employed for ratio variables; however, it can be used for ordinal variables as well. Therefore, the ordinal variables are treated here as ratio variables. The equality of variance assumption assumes that the difference between all variables is the same, even though there may not be a equal difference between the answers of the ordinal choices.

In this test only the 23 propositions and the residential area are compared. The answers for the 23 propositions are ordered on an ordinal scale, namely:

- 1. = totally agree
- **2.** = agree
- 3. = neutral
- 4. = disagree
- 5. = totally disagree

A high value (an average value near to 5) at the dependent variables means that the respondents' average is close to totally disagree.

For each of the propositions a one-way ANOVA was conducted. The dependent variables are the propositions about social cohesion. The independent variable is the residential area. The residential area can be categorized as a nominal variable. It consists of three variables:

- 1. = CPO-project Groningen or Zwolle
- 2. = Residential area 2 (about 100 meters around the CPO-project)
- 3. = Residential area 3 (about 250 meters around the CPO-project)

This distinction results from the notion mentioned earlier, that the effect of social cohesion is affected by the distance of the project.

The hypotheses are as follows:

Null hypothesis = There is no difference in people's opinions about social cohesion between the different residential areas in Groningen/Zwolle.

Alternative hypothesis = There is difference in people's opinions about social cohesion between the different residential areas in Groningen/Zwolle.

Significant means in this research the following:

The average results deviate significantly from the probability (significance level) of 0.05 (5%) is exceeded. If the probability is greatly exceeded then the result is highly significant. In other words, a highly significant result indicates that the outcome largely supports the assumption that a difference is not caused by chance, but by other things (Moore et al., 2012).

The one-way ANOVA tests whether there is a difference between the areas. If a significant difference is found, a post-hoc test is conducted, i.e. the Bonferroni test, to find the difference between these areas. Notably, a limitation of the one-way ANOVA is that it only tests for the difference between the areas; yet, it does not explain why these areas differ from each other.

Interviews

Except for one interview, all interviews were recorded and transcribed. The interviews were transcribed directly or a summary was made of the discussed topics.

The qualitative data of the interviews transcripts is often unstructured. Therefore, to order and structure this data can generate meaning and significance. This ordering and structuring is done on paper. This enables the researcher to order and structure the data systematically.

The data of the interview transcripts was analyzed by making categories and codes. Each time a respondent refers to a particular explanation it is given the same code. The manner used to analyze the transcribed data is inductive as well as deductive. This means that part of the codes and themes emerged from the data (inductive) and part of it through predetermined (deductive) themes.

These codes and categories helped to catalogue the key concepts respondents' referred to in their interviews, while preserving the context in which these key concepts occur. (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005; O'Leary, 2010). Quotes used from the interviews are given in Dutch, this to maintain the context, and to ensure that no information is lost in translation.

4. Current spatial policies about social cohesion

In this chapter, the policies on social cohesion in the Dutch context will discussed briefly. What kind of policies can be identified at the different levels and what are the main aims of these policies. This discussion introduces the context of the policies. First policies at the national level will be discussed, followed by a discussion of policies at the local level in Groningen and Zwolle. This is to provide an overview of the policies, and to see what kind of developments there are during the years. In the conclusion of this thesis some recommendations are made on basis of the current spatial policies described below.

4.1 National level

As discussed earlier in this thesis, a lack of social cohesion can lead to tensions in the neighbourhood. It has negative consequences for the quality of living together in the neighbourhood, for example, there is a lack of common values and goals, mutual tolerance and there is no social control in the neighbourhood. Therefore, the lack of social cohesion can become a reason to intervene. This can be done through management measures, as well as through physical interventions in the housing stock or environment (de Kam and Needham, 2003).

Therefore, social cohesion is a concept that is high on the political agenda; it is subject of much current politics and policies. To see what kind of policies there are on national level, two different policies are explained in the context of social cohesion. What is the main task of the policy and did it change over time?

One of the policies on national level is 'Grote Steden Beleid' (GSB), implemented in 1995. The government discussed regarding the question how the government should stimulate a cohesive society through policies. It was seen as a major task of the government to reduce and prevent deprivation of certain groups in society. GSB is directed on an integral approach to reduce the number of disadvantaged areas on a local level. The policy aims to enhance the position of the cities, being vital, safe and livable places to live. The focus lies on three points, namely physical such as urban renewal, economical such as work and social such as livable and safe cities (KEI, 2012; Schnabel et al., 2008).

The fact that social cohesion still plays an important role is exemplified by the government coalition agreement of 2007. Social cohesion is seen as an important factor for a pleasant and livable environment. Also the improvement of the social infrastructure, which relates to health care, education and social welfare, plays still a role this is reflected in the '*Prachtwijken*' policy, implemented in 2007 and focusing on improving deprived neighbourhoods. More than with the GSB policy, people themselves are accountable for their situation. The focus is shifting from policy dictated by the government to participation of citizens (Schnabel et al., 2008). This can also be seen in the '*Nota: Mensen, wensen en wonen*' implemented in 2000. The focus in the

Nota is to increase the quality and the degree of control of citizens in the housing policy to preserve the social cohesion. The citizens' self-have to take more responsibility for the quality of housing and the environment (VROM, n.d.).

Summarizing the national policies, there is a shift taking place over time. In the nineties the government had a dictating role in the policies they set the rules. Later on the citizens became more and more involved at the policies. Currently, citizens' participation is one of the important aspects of policies about social cohesion. The government is an actor that also participates in the field of social policies and not the actor that sets the rules. Citizens themselves are accountable for their situation thus; they have to participate in society.

4.2 Local level

The local government has the broadest responsibility of all actors with regard to social cohesion. Their responsibilities range from the local economy to the living environment and the well-being of their citizens (de Kam and Needham, 2003). Social cohesion is seen as a broad theme and is related to a lot of things such as safety, healthcare, economy etc. Therefore, there is no specific policy on social cohesion at the local level. The concept of social cohesion is part of a lot of policies and projects (Gemeente Groningen, 2012).

An important policy that is based on participation and social cohesion in the neighbourhood is 'Wet Maatschappelijke Ondersteuning' (WMO). The WMO legislation is a very broad legislation, it consists of nine performance fields and one of them is stimulating social cohesion in the neighbourhood. The government has given the local authorities the responsibility for this legislation, due to the fact that local governments are more engaged with their residents. The aim of the WMO is participation of everyone in society, irrespective of their social and economic position. Local governments have a lot of freedom in implementing the WMO legislation. Therefore differences between local governments are present. However all the local governments must adhere to the compensation obligation. The compensation obligation means that the needs of citizens with disabilities should be taken into account in order to enable them to fully participate in society (Gemeente Zwolle, 2012a; Gemeente Groningen, 2012).

The central focus of the WMO legislations in Zwolle and Groningen lies on citizens' participation. This is also represented by the names the policies are given, such as in Zwolle this is 'Iedereen Zwolle: mensen maken het verschil' and in Groningen the policy is called 'Samen sterk in de stad'. The focus of both WMO policies lies on the self-organizing capacity of the residents. Everyone should have the ability to participate in society. One of the tasks included in the policy for Groningen is to increase the self-organizing capacity and stimulate the participation by citizens, through the self-reliance of citizens. Citizens have to use their own power and responsibilities in situations. Same for Zwolle, the policy states that local government and society cannot do something without efforts from citizens. If citizens participate and make efforts they will feel more responsible for their environment. Private initiatives are seen as important in maintaining and promoting the social participation and involvement of residents. Stimulating social cohesion is done through physical interventions, like putting an art piece by initiative of citizens at a roundabout. CPO can also be seen as an example of a physical

people can participate in the process. But, stimulating social cohesion can also be done through social interventions. An example of this, mentioned by the interviewee, are the STIPS (*Steun en Informatiepunten*) in the city of Groningen. These STIPS provide information for citizens about what kind of activities there are in the neighbourhood, but also information about where one can get help and support. For example, when an old lady wants to do her garden she can ask at a STIP if someone is willing to help her. But, one can also go to a STIP when you have a good idea for the neighbourhood. They will look how and with who this idea can be realized (Gemeente Groningen, 2012). Thus, the WMO policy, inter alia the STIPS, are very much focusing on the initiatives and ability of self-organization of the citizens. The focus, roles and responsibilities of different actors in the field is changing. The local government is setting the framework of the policy; however the citizens themselves are often held responsible for the implementation.

4.3 Conclusion

Summarizing, social cohesion is a concept high on the agenda in policy debates at the national and local level. However there is no specific policy about social cohesion, there are a lot of policies and projects that have as aim to stimulate the cohesion. Currently, these are often focused on the participation of citizens, specifically the self-organizing capacity of the citizens. Through stimulation of social cohesion in a city or neighbourhood other aims can also be pursued, like safety, healthcare, economic situation and livability.

For both national and local level applies that social cohesion is an aspect of a larger whole. Social cohesion is intertwined to other themes like safety, health, and etcetera. The national policies are mainly focused on neighbourhoods which have a lack of social cohesion, while the local policies are focused on all citizens in an area. This is reflected in the name of both local WMO policies in Groningen en Zwolle. The difference between national and local level can be seen in the fact that the local government has the broadest responsibility due to the fact that the local government is responsible for the living environment. In this local policies citizens' themselves are held responsible, they have the ability to self-organize.

5. Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid (Groningen)

In this chapter, a description is given of the case Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid (Groningen), to identify the context in which the research is conducted. A description is given on how CPO in practice can contribute to the social cohesion in the neighbourhood.

First, the history and context will be discussed briefly, followed by a description of the CPO-project. Then, the findings of the data will be described. And lastly, a conclusion will be made.

5.1 History and context

Corpus den Hoorn (Groningen) is located at the southwest of the city Groningen, west of the North-Willemskanaal and south of Stadspark, see figure 5.1. The district was created in 1950-1960. It was the first major post-war urban expansion of the city. It is the first district that was created from the ideas of sense of community, a sociological view of living in new post-war neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. The district mainly consists of social housing due to this it used to have little variation in the population demographics. However, a part of the old housing stock is replaced by new buildings during the years. The newest part of Corpus den Hoorn is located at the south, in this part there is a mix of houses and offices.

The district Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid can be subdivided into three different neighbourhoods, Piccardthof, Hoornse Meer and Hoornse Park (Gemeente Groningen, n.d.a; Gemeente Groningen, 2003; Gemeente Groningen, 2008).



Figure 5.1: The location of Corpus den Hoorn - Zuid (Google Maps, 2012).

The socio-demographics of Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid will be discussed briefly, with this information the response rate of the survey can be put in perspective.

The total population of the neighbourhood consists of 6376 residents, divided into 3220 households, measured in 2011. The main age group in the neighbourhood lies between 35 and 64 years, making up about 44 percent of the people living here, see table 5.2.

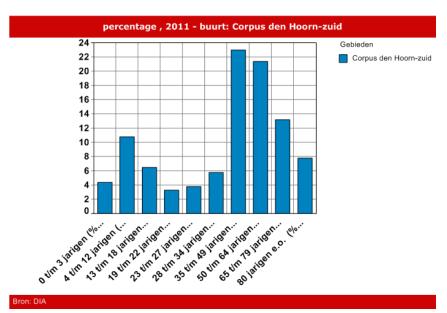


Figure 5.2: Age structure of Corpus den Hoorn - Zuid (Groningen, 2012).

The average income level per household in Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid is about 3100 euro per month, measured in 2008 (Groningen, 2012).

Summarizing, Corpus den Hoorn is an old post-war expansion neighbourhood located at the south of Groningen, built between 1950 and 1960. In relation to age it is not a young neighbourhood, as the age of most people living here is 35 or higher.

5.2 CPO project Veenweg

One of these neighbourhoods is Hoornse Park. This neighbourhood is located in the south of the district Corpus den Hoorn. The central axis of the neighbourhood runs parallel with the Veenweg. On the west of Veenweg is Hoornse Park and located on the east is Hoornse Meer. Hoornse Park has the character of an open parkland, with predominantly houses on large lots and a lot of green and is built between 1988 and 1995. The neighbourhood consists of approximately 300 houses (Gemeente Groningen, 2003). Unlike the original and historical structure of Hoornse Park, here a group of houses is realized through CPO in 2009. The CPO project is located on the side of the Veenweg, adjacent to the neighbourhood Hoornse Meer. The location used to be a paint factory, which was demolished several years ago and the municipality of Groningen remediated the land (Gemeente Groningen, n.d. *b*).

Also, the socio-demographics for the Veenhof will be discussed. The area consists of 13 households. The average age of the residents of the Veehof is 46 years, compared to Corpus den

Hoorn – Zuid this is the same. The average income for Veenhof lies between the 2600 and 33000 euros per month, and they live for about 4 years in the neighbourhood.

Process

A group of approximately five people started with the idea of living together. The group started very idealistic, they had an idealistic view on how to live together. Such as an interviewee told: "Samen leven, maar ook ieder zijn eigen privacy. Privacy in de zin van wel schuttingen maar groene schuttingen" (Interviewee no. 4, 2012). They used the former location of the paint factory to build their houses. Accompanied by KUUB, a consultancy that advises residents, supervises and supports the development of homes, 13 houses are built through 'Collectief Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap'. The design of these houses is as well from the inside as from the outside different from each other (ICEB, 2012). The architect of the project had devised the idea that every resident had a maximum of four blocks of 7 by 7 meter to build their houses. The residents could also decide on which height the windows had to be realized. Together they decided on the exterior of the houses, e.g. will there be metal or wood on the outside.



Figure 5.3: The location of the CPO project Veenhof in Groningen (Google Maps, 2012; ICEB, 2012).

The comments of the interviewees, after finishing the project, are almost always that the process of building was taking a long time. Some people dropped out during the process.

Surroundings

At first, the street Veenweg, where the project was built, was against the project. It seems from the data that this was mostly based on a NIMBY effect (Not In My Backyard), due to the fact that the location had been empty for years and now 13 new houses were built on that location. Veenweg is a very old piece of land, before the CPO-project was built it was already a very cohesive street. Inhabitants did a lot together, like organizing a yearly festival. Residents of the

CPO-project feel that the existing residents may perceive them as a group as the 13 new households moved in together simultaneously.

Collective facilities

Veenhof has some collective facilities, such as streetlights on their parcel, a small garden in front of their houses, and a collective garden which is mostly being used by playing children belonging to Veenhof.

It seems from the data that some people are more active than others. For instance, not all the members of the project are evenly active in maintaining the garden.

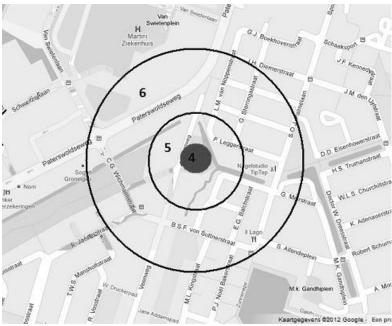
Once a year they organize a collective activity for all the members of the project. In addition, there are activities organized in which the rest of the street can participate; notably, the invitation comes from the group and not from one person. On the other hand, residents of the CPO-project are invited for activities the neighbours organize too.

5.3 Survey results

In this section the survey results are presented. In total 250 surveys were distributed throughout the neighbourhood resulting in 43 respondents filling out the survey. This is a response rate of 17 percent. Table 5.4 is provided to get an overview of the data per area and picture 5.5 provides an overview of the areas in which the surveys are distributed.

Which area?	Frequency
Veenhof (CPO), area 4	6
Groningen area 5	9
Groningen area 6	27
Total	42

Table 5.4: The scope of the distributed questionnaires.



Picture 5.5: Scope of the survey area in Corpus den Hoorn - Zuid (Google maps, 2012).

An apparent limitation of the data set of Groningen is the small sample size of the Veenhof. But, this area only consists of 13 houses and there were six respondents to the survey, see table 5.4. Despite of the small sample size, approximately 50 percent of the residents' in this area responded. Area 5 has also a small sample size. Larger samples do have limited variability in the possible outcomes; in small size samples a single answer has a strong influence on the outcome. Thus, this should be taken into account during data analysis.

Results between the areas do not differ much. The only notable difference between the areas is the manner in which the houses are built. Residents of the Veenhof had a high degree of control over the process; the other areas consist mainly of consumer oriented houses. Income, education level and working hours are nearly the same in each area.

Survey results

For each proposition a one-way ANOVA is done. A significant outcome implies that there is a difference between the areas. The survey results are grouped and discussed on basis of the six dimensions. The null hypothesis is: *There is no difference in people's opinions about social cohesion between the different residential areas in Groningen*. The significant variables are shown in appendix C.

Social networks

For this dimension only the proposition 'I believe that contact with neighbours is important' yielded significant results. Remarkably, the area 100 meters around the CPO-project Veenhof is more positive about this proposition. The answers for this area lie between 1 (totally agree) and 2 (agree), while the answers of the Veenhof lie between the 2 (agree) and 3 (neutral). Thus, it seems that people living next to the Veenhof believe that contact with neighbours is important. The interviewees mentioned that the Veenweg lying in the area around the CPO-project was

already a very cohesive street. This can be a reason why this area is more positive about this proposition.

The other propositions of the dimension social networks were not significant. These propositions were about friends living in the neighbourhood, contacts in the neighbourhood.

Place attachment

Results for the variable 'I want to live as long as possible in this neighbourhood' are significant. Again, there is a significant difference between Veenhof and the residents living next to the Veenhof. Most answers of the Veenhof are neutral, while the answers of the area next to it are more positive, they totally agree with this proposition. The cohesive street may also play a role in this; people in this area do not move their residence often. Therefore, it seems that they know each other better and have more social networks.

Common values and goals; solidarity; social control and participation

Resulting from this research, there is no significant difference demonstrated for these four dimensions between the areas. Each area did agree on the aspect that neighbours share the same set of common values and goals.

Remarkable is that with both significant differences, the area next to the Veenhof seemed to be more positive about social networks and place attachment than Veenhof. A reason for this can be the small sample size of Veenhof or that the social cohesion in the area around the Veenhof is stronger. Both interviewees mentioned that the Veenweg was already a very cohesive street before they came to live there. However, this difference cannot be explained completely due to the fact that no interviews were conducted with residents from the area around it.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of the case Corpus den Hoorn - Zuid, a district formed in 1950 - 1960. It is an elderly neighbourhood with an income level per household above average. Veenhof is a CPO project of 13 houses built in an already very cohesive street. The project has paid some attention to collective facilities, such as a garden. However, not many residents make use of this.

The survey of Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid resulted in 44 cases. The 23 propositions have been tested with a one-way ANOVA in order to test the difference in answers between the areas. The significant propositions are given in the table below. The propositions are related to two dimensions.

Dimension	Proposition
Social networks	 I believe contact with neighbours is important
Place attachement	 I want to live as long as possible in this neighbourhood

Table 5.6: Significant propositions per dimension.

Worth noting is that Veenhof is more negative about these propositions. The significant difference cannot fully be explained, because residents of the other areas are not interviewed. However, as a potential explanation, residents of the Veenhof did mention that the first part of the Veenweg was already a very cohesive street before they came there. People in this street do not move very often. This also seems from the data of the surveys, people of the Veenhof live approximately for 4 years in the neighbourhood, while people living in the area next to it live for about 10 years in the neighbourhood.

6. Stadshagen I (Zwolle)

In this chapter, a description is given of case study Stadshagen I (Zwolle) to identify the context in which the research is conducted. The central question will be: what is the extent of social cohesion and is there any difference in social cohesion between members of a CPO-project and not-CPO members in the neighbourhood. A description is given on how CPO in practice can contribute to the social cohesion in the neighbourhood. First, a short history and context of each of the areas will be given, followed by a description of the CPO-project. Then, the results of the data will be discussed and a conclusion will be made.

6.1 History and context

Stadshagen (Zwolle) is located at northwest of the city Zwolle, and is a vinex location. It is the first district built on the other side of the river 'Zwarte Water', see figure 6.1. The first homes were built in 1996. Stadshagen I is one of the youngest districts of Zwolle. With the development of Stadshagen the following concepts were used: diversity, multifunctionality and sustainability. Stadshagen I consists of four different neighbourhoods, Frankhuis, Werkeren, Schoonhorst and Millingen (Gemeente Zwolle, 2012b).

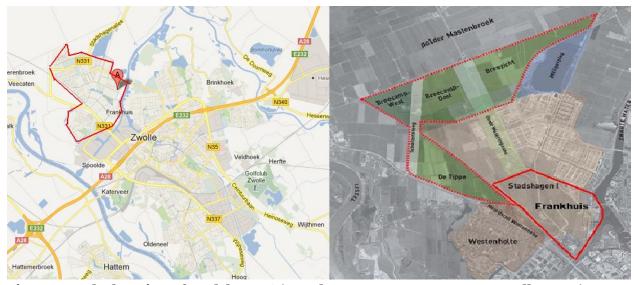


Figure 6.1: The location of Stadshagen I (Google maps, 2012; Gemeente Zwolle, 2012).

The socio-demographics of Frankhuis, the neighbourhood where the CPO-project is located, will be briefly discussed. The neighbourhood has a total population of 5794 people and 1919 households measured in 2011. More than half of the households are households with children. The main age group of the neighbourhood lies between the 25 and 39 years. The average age is 28, see figure 6.2 (Zwolle, 2012).

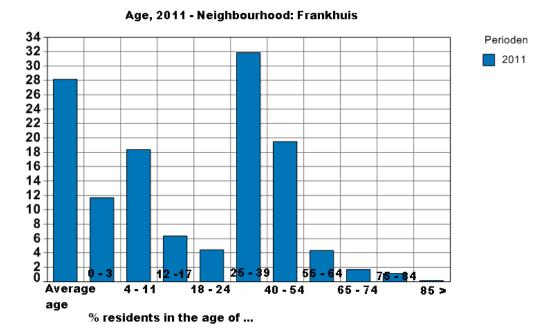


Figure 6.2: Age structure of Frankhuis (Zwolle, 2012).

Thus, Frankhuis, one of the newest neighbourhoods of Zwolle, and is a vinex location. Based on the socio-demographics it is a young neighbourhood.

6.2 CPO project Meanderhof

The Meanderhof is a CPO-project established in Frankhuis in the district Stadshagen I. Meanderhof is a continuation of an earlier CPO-project, namely 'de Bongerd' in Zwolle-Zuid. Some people could not find a place to live in 'de Bongerd', and therefore, started a second CPO-project in 1998 which was realized in 2007. The idea of the project was to live in a courtyard, one half wanted to live on the side of the courtyard and the other half to the street. Therefore, the urban plan did get the form of an omega, see figure 6.3.

Also, the socio-demographics of the Meanderhof will be discussed briefly. The average age of the residents of the Meanderhof is 43 years; compared to the average age of the neighbourhood this is older. And, the average income of the Meanderhof lies between the 2100 and 2600 euros per month.



Figure 6.3: The urban plan of the Meanderhof (MMWZ, 2012).

The project consists of 52 'green' houses, with a mix of rental and private houses. Therefore, the project is built with collaboration of a housing corporation. These rental en private houses are not clustered, but are intertwined. This is a decision made by the residents; they did not want a distinction between rental and private houses. Also, residents could decide on which place in the project they wanted to live, and if there is an empty house in the project, residents of the project can decide who can live there. New residents have meetings with people from the project to see if they fit in with the current residents.

Collective facilities

In the urban plan there is paid attention to collective facilities, there is a public garden, a meeting room and three bicycle storages. The interviewees mentioned that these collective facilities should stimulate contact between residents.

The meeting room is used for different activities, such as watching football, movie nights, but also a weekly cooking club. According to the interviewees the meeting room is mainly meant for, and used by the residents of the project. Most activities that take place in the room are limited to residents of the project and not for the rest of the neighbourhood.

Sometimes there are activities in which people from outside the project can participate. However, this is not the main purpose of the room. A reason for this can be the fact that the residents of the project have to pay a monthly rent for the room to the housing corporation.

Another collective facility forms the two collective gardens, one at the courtyard and one at the back of the houses. The garden in front is open for everyone in the neighbourhood and a bicycle path is running through the garden. An interviewee gave an example of the social contacts taking place in the gardens: "Als het heet weer is dan zitten we vooral aan de voorkant want dat is het zuiden, dat we daar met een stoeltje zitten. Dat kwam ik alleen tegen vroeger in achterbuurtjes daar zaten mensen op een stoeltje buiten, daar ga je toch niet zitten. En hier gaan we juist buiten zitten om juist contact te hebben met elkaar" (Interviewee no. 3, 2012).

The other garden, at the back of the houses, is semi-open. It is only used by the residents living around this garden; the rest of the neighbourhood is not making use of it. Residents have to work in the collective garden once a month. This is not obligated, but also not completely free.

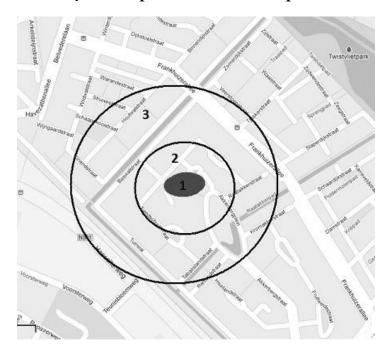
Following the interviewees, there is more coherence between residents due to the collective facilities. It stimulates the meetings between residents of the project.

6.3 Survey results

In this section the results of the survey are presented. In total 250 surveys were distributed throughout Stadshagen I yielding 31 responses resulting in a response rate of 12 percent. Table 6.4 is provided to get an overview of the data per area and picture 6.5 provides an overview of the areas in which the survey is distributed.

Which area?	Frequency
Meanderhof (CPO) area 1	13
Zwolle, area 2	7
Zwolle, area 3	11
Total	31

Table 6.4: The scope of the distributed questionnaires.



Picture 6.5: Scope of the survey area in Stadshagen I (Google maps, 2012).

All the areas are very alike, there is a slightly difference in age and education level between the Meanderhof and the other areas. The average age of Meanderhof is 43, while the average age of the other areas is 41. The only notable difference between the areas is the income level; the income level of area 2 is lower than the other areas.

Survey results

For each proposition a one-way ANOVA is done. A significant outcome implies that there is a difference between the areas. In total there are 10 out of the 23 variables that differ significantly

from the null hypothesis. The survey results are grouped and discussed on basis of the six dimensions. The null hypothesis was: *There is no difference in answers about social cohesion between the different residential areas in Zwolle*. All the significant variables are shown in appendix D.

Social networks

Resulting from the survey, Meanderhof compared to the areas around it differ on the aspect of friends living in the neighbourhood. The answers for the Meanderhof lie between 1 (totally agree) and 2 (agree). For the areas around it the answers lie between 3 (neutral) and 4 (disagree). Thus, it seems that people in the Meanderhof agree more on the fact that friends of them are living in the same neighbourhood. A reason for this can be the fact that residents of the Meanderhof met each other during the building process. Thus, they had time to establish contacts before they started living in the neighbourhood. This is different amongst residents of the other areas; they buy a house from a developer and often start to know their neighbours when they live there. Another factor is the collective facilities of the Meanderhof, such as the meeting room and garden. The aim of the collective facilities is to stimulate the interactions between the residents of the Meanderhof like, working together in the garden or the weekly cooking club in the meeting room.

Also, resulting from the survey, Meanderhof and residents living next to it do know each other better and have more contacts with other people in their neighbourhood. However, the two areas compared with the area that lies 250 meters away from the Meanderhof differ from each other. Meanderhof and the area next to it did agree with this proposition, while the other area was neutral about this proposition.

The next variable 'My social life largely takes place outside this neighbourhood' differs between Meanderhof and the area 250 meters away. The answers of the people of the Meanderhof and the area next to it lie between the 3 (neutral) and 4 (disagree), while the answers of the other area lie between 2 (agree) and 3 (neutral). Residents of the other area seem to be more individualistic; their social life takes largely place outside the neighbourhood. It seems to be that this result supports the significant differences of the other variables; they do not have a lot of contacts in the neighbourhood, and therefore, do not know a lot of people in the neighbourhood. However, there is no significant difference between Meanderhof and the area next to it. It is possible that the Meanderhof has some effect on area round it, due to the fact that a part of the Meanderhof adjoins the street, which could stimulate contacts. Interviewee no. 2 mentioned that some neighbours that do not belong to the CPO-project sometimes participate with activities they organize, like watching a movie in the meeting room. This possibly can contribute to the aspect that people near the project know other people well. On the other hand, everybody in the neighbourhood seems to find contact with the neighbours important and does speak their neighbours regularly.

Summarizing, in the theoretical background it is argued that social networks can refer to belonging to a rather homogenous group. Thus, it seems that the CPO-project can be seen as a homogenous group. It seems from the results of this research that the Meanderhof (CPO) has greater social networks in the neighbourhood. They have more friends living in the area and do know more people in the neighbourhood than the other areas.

Social control

The following variable can be related to the dimension social control. The variable 'I feel safe in this neighbourhood' is significant. There is a significant difference between the Meanderhof and the area next to it. Inhabitants of the Meanderhof answered 1 (totally agree) and 2 (agree), while one person in the area next to it answered with neutral, as a result of this, the answers for that area lies between 1 (totally agree) and 3 (neutral). Residents of the Meanderhof seem to feel safer in their neighbourhood; this may be because they know each other better. Following interviewee no. 3 it is easier to speak out to each other when you know each other. The interviewee also mentioned the fact that members of the Meanderhof have a newsletter and if something is happening than it is immediately available on the newsflash. Therefore, they know what is happening in their neighbourhood and may feel safer.

Place attachment

The following variable 'I feel connected to the neighbourhood' is significant between groups in the one-way ANOVA test result. Although, when a post-hoc test is conducted, there is no significant difference between the areas. Nonetheless, respondents of the Meanderhof were more positive about this proposition. An explanation for this result can be the small sample size of the cases in each area, when larger samples are used there is a greater level of precision in outcomes (Nichols, 1998).

Residents of the Meanderhof feel themselves more involved in the neighbourhood due to the degree of control than the other areas. People living in the Meanderhof mostly agreed with this, while people in the other areas disagreed. This supports the theory that if one has a lot of influence and degree of control over their house, feels more involved and attached to a place. Like an interviewee mentioned: "Wij hebben mede de wijk gemaakt, de anderen kwamen in de wijk" (Interviewee no. 3, 2012). Residents of the Meanderhof did know their location beforehand, before anything was build. Involvement to a place contributes also to the willingness to cooperate in social networks (Dekker and Bolt, 2005). This can be supported by the fact that people of the Meanderhof seem to know more people in their neighbourhood and their social life largely takes place in their neighbourhood.

Participation

The variable 'I have been active to improve my neighbourhood last year' has a strong significant level. There is a difference between members of the Meanderhof and inhabitants in the areas around it. The answers of inhabitants of the Meanderhof lie between 1 (totally agree) and 2 (agree), while the answers of the other areas lie between the 2 (agree) and 4 (disagree). People who are self-organized with much degree of control over the process seem to be attached to a place, and therefore feel more involved and are more willing to be active in the neighbourhood.

Also, the variable 'I did have much degree of control in the realization of my home' is significant. There is a difference between Meanderhof and the area around it. Respondents of the Meanderhof did agree with this proposition, while the answers of the area around the Meanderhof were neutral or they disagreed. Thus, it seems that people who build their houses by CPO have much degree of control in the realization of their home. Members of the CPO-project can choose their architect and have a lot of freedom in the building process.

The variable 'In this neighbourhood a lot of community events are organized' is also significant in the one-way ANOVA. But, when a post-hoc test is used to see what the difference between the areas, there is no significant difference. Participants living in the Meanderhof did totally agree or agree with this proposition. The area next to it was neutral and the answers of the last area lies between 2 (agree) and 3 (neutral). Thus, it seems from the data that members belonging to the Meanderhof are more positive about this proposition then in other areas. However, there cannot be said that this is not based on coincidence, lager samples are needed to explain this difference.

Common values and goals; solidarity

In this research, there is no significant difference demonstrated between the areas in two dimensions. The answers about common values and goals in their neighbourhood were neutral. The dimension solidarity refers to willingness to help each other, and all respondents seem to be willing to help their neighbours. As the results are not significant, nothing can be said about these dimensions. So, this could use further research.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview of the case Stadshagen I and analysis of the data of the survey. Stadshagen I is one of the newest districts in Zwolle, it is a vinex location and it is a young district. This is reflected in the average age which is 28. Stadshagen I consists of four different neighbourhoods. In one of these neighbourhoods a CPO-project is established, which consists of 52 houses with a mix of private and rental houses. There is also attention paid to the collective facilities in the project.

The survey of Zwolle contains 31 cases. The 23 propositions have been tested with a one-way ANOVA. In this test the difference in answers between the areas is analyzed. The significant propositions are given in the table below. The propositions are related to four dimensions.

Dimension	Proposition
Social networks	 In this neighbourhood I have many friends living In this neighbourhood I know other people well I have a lot of contacts in this neighbourhood My social life largely takes place outside this neighbourhood
Social control	I feel safe in this neighbourhood
Place attachment	 I feel connected to the neighbourhood I feel involved in the neighbourhood due to the degree of control I had
Participation	 I have been active to improve my neighbourhood last year In this neighbourhood a lot of community events are organized I did have a high degree of control in the realization of my home

Table 6.5: Significant propositions per dimension.

In table 6.5 it can be seen that most significant differences are in the dimensions social networks and participation. There is no significant difference in the dimensions, solidarity and common values and goals.

Notable is that the variables 'I feel connected to the neighbourhood', and 'In this neighbourhood a lot of community events are organized' are significant in the one-way ANOVA. But, when a post-hoc test is conducted there is no significance difference between the areas. This can be due to the small sample size of the cases in each area, larger samples are more accurate.

Also worth noting is that respondents of the Meanderhof do have more friends living in the neighbourhood, and are more active. This can be a result of the process of CPO and the collective facilities the project has. People who built a house by CPO do know the whole group beforehand, because they often had meetings beforehand, therefore, social networks may arise. People's social interactions mostly take place in rather homogenous groups. From the data it seems that the collective facilities of the Meanderhof probably stimulate meetings between the residents.

Residents from the Meanderhof did feel more involved in the neighbourhood due to the degree of control they had, and had a higher degree of control in the realization of their homes, than the other areas, these aspects can be related to the dimensions participation and place attachment. Dekker and Bolt (2005) argued that involvement to a place contributes to the willingness to cooperate in social networks. This seems also be true for the Meanderhof, because they have greater social networks in their neighbourhood than the other areas.

Summarizing, the findings in this research show that people of the Meanderhof seem to have more social networks in the neighbourhood probably due to the fact they meet often on beforehand, and are more active to improve their neighbourhood.

7. Analysis of Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid and Stadshagen I

In this chapter the results of both cases, Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid (Groningen) and Stadshagen I (Zwolle) will be analyzed, looking specifically at the differences and similarities between both CPO-projects and their environment. Regarding the conceptual model, the following six dimensions will be used to analyze both cases, namely social networks, common values and goals, solidarity, place attachment, social control and participation. First, the differences of both CPO-projects and their environment are explained, followed by the similarities of the projects and their environment.

7.1 Differences

Social networks

For Stadshagen I (Zwolle) the social networks are stronger for members of the CPO project then the rest of the neighbourhood. For Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid (Groningen) there are no stronger social networks between members of the CPO-project. Notably, the social networks for the area around it are assessed as being more positive.

The outcomes for the Meanderhof (Zwolle) were highly significant for the variables friends living in the area, and whether they were active to improve the neighbourhood. It seems that residents in the Meanderhof do tend to know each other better than residents in the other areas. This is not the case in Veenhof (Groningen); the outcomes for the Veenhof were more negative. Here it seems that residents living next to the Veenhof find it more important to have contacts with their neighbours.

An explanation for the difference between both CPO-projects, Meanderhof and Veenhof, may be found in the context of both projects. Meanderhof did pay a lot of attention to the collective facilities to stimulate contacts between residents. Veenhof does not have this kind of extensive collective facilities, such as a meeting room. This can possibly explain the difference in social networks between the two CPO-projects.

Place attachment

Again, for Stadshagen I (Zwolle) the members of the CPO-project are more positive about this dimension than the other areas and for Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid (Groningen) the area around it is more positive about this dimension.

Members of the CPO-project from the Meanderhof feel themselves more involved to the neighbourhood due to the degree of control they had. This supports the theory that people who have larger social networks in their neighbourhood seem to be more attached to a place than other residents (Dekker and van Kempen, 2009).

The area around Veenhof (Groningen) wants to live as long as possible in the neighbourhood. A reason for this outcome can be found in the context of the neighbourhood, Veenweg is a street with a long history. Following the interviewees people of this area do not change residence

often; they live there for a long time and therefore do know each other. Another reason mentioned by the interviewees is the elementary school in this street; all children in the neighbourhood go to this school. Because their children play together residents do have contact with each other.

Also, the context of both areas differs from each other, Stadshagen I is a new neighbourhood and Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid is an existing neighbourhood. Thus, the Meanderhof (Zwolle) is built in a new neighbourhood probably without existing networks and Veenhof (Groningen) built in an existing neighbourhood in which people probably do have already existing social networks in the neighbourhood. This can possibly explain the differences between both CPO-projects and their areas.

Participation

For Stadshagen I (Zwolle) there is a difference observed in the dimension participation, this is not the case for Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid (Groningen).

Residents of the Meanderhof feel themselves more involved in the neighbourhood due to the degree of control they had. They seem to be more active to improve their neighbourhood than the other areas. This supports the theory that when people can participate they are more attached to a place, and in this way people can be encouraged to participate because they identify themselves with a place. A result of participation can be that new social networks can arise, when people can participate they are empowered in the process and new informal networks may arise.

Conclusion

It seems from the data, of the case Zwolle, that there may be a positive relation between CPO and place attachment and social networks. People who have a large social network in their neighbourhood seem to be more attached to a place than other residents. So, these findings seem to add further to the theory of Dekker and Bolt (2005) as they argued that when people feel attached to a place they more willing to cooperate in social networks. Also, participation plays a role in social networks, when people are willing to participate, they start to know each other and therefore new social networks may arise. Thus, these findings support the theory of Boonstra and Boelens (2011) that participation can be used as an instrument to improve social conditions in the neighbourhood.

7.2 Similarities

Solidarity, social control and common values and goals

In relation to the dimensions solidarity, social control and common values and goals the difference between all the areas is not clear. Inhabitants of both neighbourhoods seem to agree that people living in their neighbourhood share the same values and goals; this applies for the entire neighbourhood. And also, they did agree on the aspect that neighbours are willing to help each other. So, these findings seem to add further to the theory of Forrest and Kearns (2000) that people who share the same set of values and goals are more willing to help each other.

However, following the findings in this research it seems that CPO does not have an influence on solidarity and common values and goals in the neighbourhood.

An aspect that applies to both CPO-projects is the fact that members of the CPO-project have to pay the association a monthly fee for the collective facilities. Because they are connected to each other in this way, they automatically have more contact with each other. Thus, they are in a different way involved with each other than the rest of the neighbourhood is.

8. Conclusion

This chapter will address the research aim, objectives and research questions laid out in the first chapter. The survey findings of the two cases will be put in perspective in relation to the literature. The aim of the research is analyzing the degree of social cohesion by assessing the effect of two CPO-projects on the social cohesion of their neighbourhood. Therefore, the research focuses on the extent and the way in which cohousing enhances the social cohesion in a neighbourhood.

8.1 Review

There is an increased attention to CPO the last years. Multiple definitions for CPO are used, the definition used for this research is:

"Collectief particulier opdrachtgeverschap (CPO) are individuals who organize themselves in legal non-profit organizations. They acquire a piece of land and they act as principal and decide which parties do carry out the project. The houses are realized with a group, but are for own use." (SEV, 2007: 5)

Important aspects of CPO are that it is often a group of like-minded people who organize themselves and build houses together for their own use. Citizens take the initiative in the process; therefore it is a participatory process. People exert a strong influence over the process; they can decide where they want to live on which location and also they can decide which parties will be involved in the process. Thus, people have a high degree of control over the process.

Self-organization can be seen as a comprehensive form of citizen participation in social processes, it consists of several characteristics such as bottom-up structure, flexibility and adaptivity.

Self-organization and CPO are both bottom-up processes. This is due to the fact that people themselves are concerned with the process; the group has a collective aim to attain. CPO is more flexible than the traditional building process, because members of a CPO-project have influence over the building process. It can also be more adaptive because people themselves can decide throughout the process. Therefore, CPO can be seen as a form of self-organization.

An important question to ask is whether citizens' initiative can help increase the social cohesion in a neighbourhood. Social cohesion is an important concept for measuring social developments. It can be defined as a performance variable for it is scale dependent. Therefore, social cohesion can be seen as an ambiguous concept (Koonce, 2011).

Six dimensions of social cohesion are distinguished. *Social networks* at neighbourhood level refer to the interactions between residents, and the extent to which they can live in social agreement with each other.

It refers also to social *solidarity* which means that people tend to have a *common set of values* and *goals*, reflected in a general idea about *social control*. When people share the same set of

common values and goals about behaviour in everyday life, they share interest in each other, and are more willing to help and engage in collective action in the neighbourhood.

Another dimension is *place attachment*, when people feel connected to their neighbourhood, there are many positive consequences. People may feel better supported, more related to other people, have stronger levels of social support and social connectedness. It contributes to the willingness to cooperate in social networks, and also to respecting the common values and norms.

An aspect that relates to place attachment is the sixth dimension, namely: *participation*. Residents feel more involved to a place when they can participate in the process. Because people are more empowered through participation in urban development, new informal networks arise (Dekker and Bolt, 2004).

Social cohesion is a concept that is prominently on the national and local political agenda; it is the subject of many current policies. The local government has the broadest responsibility of all actors with regard to social cohesion. These responsibilities include the well-being of, and housing for their citizens, ranging from the local economy to the living environment. Because the concept of cohesion is a broad theme and related to a lot of themes, there is no specific policy on social cohesion on the local level. The central focus lies on citizens' participation, as they have to use their self-organizing capacity. Through stimulation of social cohesion in a city or neighbourhood other aims can also be pursued, such as safety, healthcare, economic situation and livability.

8.2 Conclusion and recommendations

The conclusion can be divided in three levels, about the two cases, about CPO in general and about the theory.

Cases

It can be concluded that the assumptions made in section 2.4 and the conceptual model correspond in this research with Stadshagen I (Zwolle) and not with Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid (Groningen). In the analysis of the data of Stadshagen I a positive relation is found for the Meanderhof (CPO) and three dimensions: social networks, place attachment and participation. It seems from the data that residents of the Meanderhof have larger social networks and are therefore more attached to a place. This is much in line with the theory on participation which assumes that more involvement leads to place attachment and stronger social networks.

The outcomes for the Veenhof (CPO) do not correspond with the assumptions made in section 2.4. Residents living 100 meters around the Veenhof were more positive about the two significant dimensions social networks and place attachment. Members of the CPO-project mentioned that the head of the Veenweg was already a very cohesive street. However, further research, such as interviews with residents of this area, is needed to explain this difference more thoroughly.

Thus, one CPO-project in this case studies seem to have a positive influence on the dimensions social networks, place attachment and participation in the neighbourhood. However, it seems to be that CPO-projects do not have a lot of influence on the social cohesion in the entire

neighbourhood; most differences in social cohesion take place between the areas. Further research is needed about the social interactions residents of CPO-projects have with their direct neighbours, is this contact different or not.

Also, there may be a difference in the context of both areas. The Meanderhof (Zwolle) is built in a new neighbourhood and Veenhof (Groningen) is built in an existing neighbourhood. This probably could have influence on the social networks.

CPO in general

The literature suggests that CPO may have a positive influence on the social cohesion in the neighbourhood. CPO is often a group of more or less like-minded people. However, resulting from this research the positive influence from CPO on the social cohesion is also depending on the context in which the project is built. When people are unsatisfied with the building process or are less active than others, this possibly can affect the cohesion between residents.

It seems from this research that collective facilities have a positive influence on social networks; they stimulate the interactions between residents. Thus, one can say that social cohesion appears to be strongest when collective facilities are present. Especially, when these collective facilities are used actively and are maintained by the group. It seems that only doing a building process together is not enough to stimulate the social networks; residents have to use the collective facilities actively.

Self-organization

To successfully improve social cohesion through CPO-projects, local level spatial policies should allow for citizens' participation. Although self-organization seems to be straightforward, it is often a process that is not entirely self-organized. The framework is often provided by (local) government in which residents can participate, such as CPO.

For local level spatial policies this could mean that when citizens are allowed to participate in a project and have much empowerment over the process, they are more responsible for their environment. A CPO-project can be considered as a physical intervention in a neighbourhood in which citizens' have empowerment over the process. That way, they possibly can add to the social cohesion amongst residents. However, also nuances in self-organization can be placed, it may be that the aspect of self-organization only plays a role on a small scale, due to the fact that only people concerning with the self-organizing theme are included. Therefore, it may lead to the social exclusion of others; cohesion within groups does not entail cohesion between groups. People may consider such a group as the others, to what extent this plays a role in CPO-projects have to be concerned with further research.

CPO seems to be primarily a matter for local policies, as citizens are more connected to local policies than national policies. The aim of local policies is to take care of the living environment and the houses of their citizens. Also, are local policies more based on participation and the self-organizing capacity of residents. However, on basis of this research it is difficult to make recommendations for CPO and local policies; therefore, further research is needed on this subject.

8.3 Reflection

The case Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid (Groningen), seems to be less cohesive CPO-project than the area in proximity to it, perhaps resulting from the small sample size of the Veenhof and the area around it. Therefore, a larger sample size is needed to better understand this phenomenon, as it will provide greater levels of precision. An advantage of surveys is the amount of data you get on short notice; however, the process of making and distributing the surveys in the neighbourhoods is time consuming. Still, it seems well worth it as the data for this research did yield significant results.

The results of the case Corpus den Hoorn – Zuid (Groningen) could not be explained thoroughly, due to the lack of in-depth information of the other areas.

A limitation of the interviews used for this research is that they are mainly used as background information; however, they could have provided a stronger topical understanding of social cohesion and with that a better understanding of the survey design and data analysis. A mixed approach, surveys and interviews, is a satisfactory method when above comments are included. This research showed the differences between the areas, however, a time element is missing. The research was a single moment of measurement. Therefore, there is no opportunity to counter the findings of this research. Due to the fact that there is no data available about the social cohesion before the CPO project came in the neighbourhood. So, nothing can be said about the social cohesion over time did it change or not.

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Appendix A – List of interviewees

	Who?	When?
1.	Program leader of 'Nieuw Lokaal	June 11, 2012
	Akkoord' – employee of the local	
	government Groningen – social cohesion	
2.	Resident and starter of CPO-project the	June 14, 2012
	Meanderhof (Zwolle)	
3.	Resident of CPO-project Meanderhof	July 2, 2012
	(Zwolle)	
4.	Resident and starter of CPO-project	July 5, 2012
	Veenhof (Groningen)	
5.	Resident of the CPO-project Veenhof	July, 9 2012
	(Groningen)	

Appendix B – Survey (introduction letter and questionnaire)

Datum 29 Juni 2012

Onderwerp Enquête over sociale samenhang

Geachte bewoner(s),

Graag wil ik u via deze brief vragen mij te helpen bij mijn afstudeeronderzoek door middel van het invullen van een 5 minuten durende enquête. Mijn naam is Mieke de Groot, momenteel ben ik bezig met mijn afstudeeronderzoek van de master Planologie aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. Mijn onderzoek gaat over of en hoe Collectief Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap (CPO)* invloed heeft op de sociale samenhang in een wijk. Het doel van het onderzoek is om te kijken of er verschil in ervaring van sociale samenhang is tussen mensen die door middel van CPO hun huis hebben gebouwd en de rest van de buurt.

De vragen zullen voornamelijk gaan over wat uw mening is over de sociale samenhang in uw buurt. Door middel van 23 stellingen, met een schaal van 1 (helemaal mee eens) tot 5 (helemaal mee oneens), wordt dit getoetst. Daarnaast wordt er naar een aantal persoonlijke kenmerken gevraagd. Uw bijdrage is cruciaal om mijn onderzoek succesvol af te kunnen ronden.

Ik hoop dat u de vragenlijst in wilt vullen. Dit kan op twee manieren:

- Via internet: www.thesistools.com/onderzoeksocialesamenhang
- Door middel van de meegezonden vragenlijst. Deze kunt u na het invullen retouren in de daarvoor bestemde box bij de servicebalie van de Albert Heijn aan de B S F von Suttnerstraat 1

Uw naam hoeft u niet op de vragenlijst te zetten. Wat u invult zal vertrouwelijk worden behandeld, de gegevens zullen alleen in handen komen van de onderzoeker. Het invullen van de vragenlijst duurt ongeveer **5 minuten**.

Wilt u de enquête **vóór 12 juli** invullen/in de brievenbus doen?

Voor vragen of opmerkingen kunt u mailen naar: m.m.de.groot.2@student.rug.nl

Alvast veel dank voor uw medewerking!

Met vriendelijke groet,

Mieke de Groot

^{*} Onder Collectief Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap wordt het volgende verstaan: "Particulieren die zich organiseren in een rechtspersoon zonder winstoogmerk en als opdrachtgever optreedt. De particulieren besluiten zelf met welke partijen het project wordt uitgevoerd. De woningen worden in groepsverband en voor eigen gebruik gerealiseerd."

Enquête sociale samenhang

De onderstaande vragen gaan over de sociale samenhang in uw buurt. Het invullen van de enquête kost 5 minuten. Alvast veel dank voor uw medewerking.

Kunt u, op een schaal van 1 tot 5, aangeven in welke mate u het eens bent met de volgende stellingen?

- 1 = helemaal mee eens
- 2 = mee eens
- 3 = neutraal
- 4 = mee oneens
- 5 = helemaal mee oneens

	Helemaal mee eens				Helemaal mee oneens
Ik ben tevreden met de buurt waarin ik woon	0	0	0	0	0
In deze buurt heb ik veel vrienden wonen	0	0	0	0	0
In deze buurt ken ik andere bewoners goed	0	0	0	0	0
4. Ik heb veel contacten in de buurt	0	0	0	0	0
Contact met buurtgenoten vind ik belangrijk	0	0	0	0	0
6. Ik spreek mijn buren regelmatig	0	0	0	0	0
7. In deze buurt kunnen bewoners slecht met elkaar opschieten	0	0	0	0	0
In deze buurt zijn buurtgenoten bereid elkaar te helpen	0	0	0	0	0
In deze buurt delen bewoners dezelfde normen en waarden	0	0	0	0	0
10. Mijn sociale leven speelt zich grotendeels af buiten deze buurt	0	0	0	0	0
11. In deze buurt leven mensen naast elkaar in plaats van met elkaar	0	0	0	0	0
12. Ik heb dezelfde opvattingen en ideeën over hoe met elkaar om te gaan in de buurt als mijn buurtgenoten	0	0	0	0	0
13. Als het nodig is laat ik de huissleutel achter bij de buren (bijvoorbeeld om de planten te verzorgen)	0	0	0	0	0
14. Ik voel me thuis in de buurt	0	0	0	0	0

15. lk wil zo lang mogelijk in deze buurt blijven wonen	0	0	0	0	0
16. Ik voel me veilig in deze buurt	0	0	0	0	0
17. In deze buurt is de mate van sociale controle groot	0	0	0	0	0
	Helemaal mee eens				Helemaal mee oneens
18. In deze buurt ervaar ik de sociale controle als een positieve eigenschap van de buurt	0	0	0	0	0
19. Ik voel me verbonden met de buurt	0	0	0	0	0
20. Ik ben het laatste jaar actief geweest om mijn buurt te verbeteren	0	0	0	0	0
21. In deze buurt worden veel buurtactiviteiten georganiseerd	0	0	0	0	0
22. Ik voel mij betrokken bij de buurt door de zeggenschap die ik heb gehad	0	0	0	0	0
23. Ik heb veel zeggenschap gehad in het tot stand komen van mijn woning	0	0	0	0	0

De laatste vragen van deze enquête gaan over uw persoonlijke kenmerken:

24.	Wat is uw leeftijd? jaar
25.	Hoeveel jaren bent u woonachtig in deze buurt? jaar
26.	Wat is de type woningbouw van uw woning?
0	Traditionele bouw
0	Consumentgericht bouwen
0	Individueel opdrachtgeverschap
0	Collectief Particulier Opdrachtgeverschap
0	Anders, namelijk

27. Wat is uw hoogst voltooide opleiding?

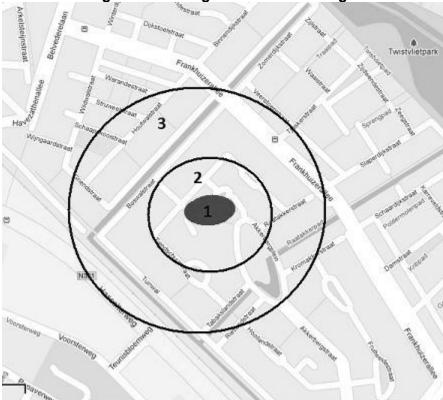
- o Lagere (beroeps) onderwijs
- Middelbaar Voortgezet Onderwijs
- Middelbaar Beroepsonderwijs (MBO)
- Hoger Beroepsonderwijs (HBO)
- Universiteit (WO)

28. Welke situatie is het meest van toepassing?

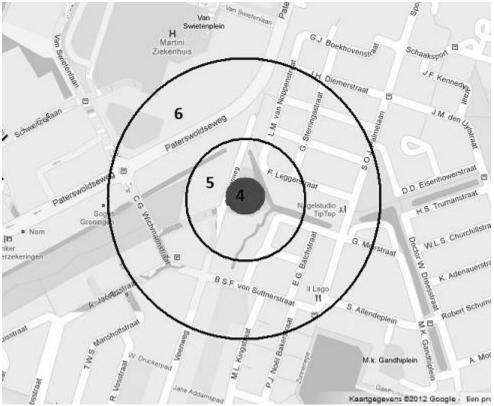
o Betaald werk, meer dan 20 uur per week

- o Betaald werk, minder dan 20 uur per week
- o Huisvrouw/huisman
- Werkloos / werkzoekend
- Gepensioneerd
- o Anders, namelijk.....
- 29. Kunt u aangeven in welk van de volgende inkomenscategorieën het netto inkomen van uw huishouden valt? Het netto inkomen is het bedrag dat maandelijks op uw rekening wordt gestort.
- o Minder dan € 1.100- per maand
- o 1.100,- tot € 1.600,- per maand
- o 1.600,- tot € 2.100,- per maand
- o 2.100,- tot € 2.600,- per maand
- o 2.600,- tot € 3.300,- per maand
- o Meer dan € 3.300,- per maand

30. Kunt u aangeven in welk gebied u woonachtig bent?



Zwolle, gebied 1 = Meanderhof



Groningen, gebied 4 = Veenhof

- Zwolle gebied 1Zwolle gebied 2Zwolle gebied 3

- o Groningen gebied 4
- Groningen gebied 5 Groningen gebied 6

Dit was de laatste vraag van de vragenlijst. Hartelijk dank voor het invullen!

In the following table are the propositions subdivided into the six dimensions used in this research.

Dimensions:	Propositions
Social networks	2. In deze buurt heb ik veel vrienden wonen
	3. In deze buurt ken ik andere bewoners goed
	4. Ik heb veel contacten in de buurt
	5. Contact met buurgenoten vind ik belangrijk
	6. Ik spreek mijn buren regelmatig
	7. In deze buurt kunnen bewoners slecht met
	elkaar opschieten
	10. Mijn sociale leven speelt zich grotendeels af
	buiten deze buurt
	11. In deze buurt leven mensen naast elkaar in
	plaats van met elkaar
Common values and goals	9. In deze buurt delen bewoners dezelfde
	normen en waarden
	12. Ik heb dezelfde opvattingen en ideeën over
	hoe met elkaar om te gaan in de buurt als mijn
	buurtgenoten
Solidarity	8. In deze buurt zijn buurtgenoten bereid elkaar
	te helpen
	13. Als het nodig is laat ik de huissleutel achter
	bij de buren (bijvoorbeeld om de planten te
	verzorgen)
Place attachment	1. In ben tevreden met de buurt waarin ik woon
	14. Ik voel me thuis in de buurt
	15. Ik wil zo lang mogelijk in deze buurt blijven
	wonen
	19. Ik voel me verbonden met de buurt
	22. Ik voel me betrokken bij de buurt door de
	zeggenschap die ik heb gehad
Social control	16. Ik voel me veilig in deze buurt
	17. In deze buurt is de mate van sociale controle
	groot
	18. In deze buurt ervaar ik de sociale controle als
	een positieve eigenschap van de buurt
Participation	20. Ik ben het laatste jaar actief geweest om
	mijn buurt te verbeteren
	21. In deze buurt worden veel buurtactiviteiten
	georganiseerd
	23. Ik heb veel zeggenschap gehad in het tot
	stand komen van mijn woning

Appendix C – Survey results Groningen

Contact met buurgenoten vind ik belangrijk

					95% Confide			
			Std.	Std.	Lower Upper		Minimu	Maximu
	N	Mean	Deviation	Error	Bound	Bound	m	m
Veenhof (CPO)	6	2,50	,837	,342	1,62	3,38	1	3
Groningen, Area 5	9	1,44	,527	,176	1,04	1,85	1	2
Groningen, Area 6	27	1,85	,770	,148	1,55	2,16	1	4
Total	42	1,86	,783	,121	1,61	2,10	1	4

ANOVA

Contact met buurgenoten vind ik belangrijk

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	4,013	2	2,007	3,704	,034
Within Groups	21,130	39	,542		
Total	25,143	41			

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Contact met buurgenoten vind ik belangrijk

Bonferroni

(I) Kunt u aangeven in	(J) Kunt u aangeven in	Mean	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interva	
welk gebied u	welk gebied u	Difference (I-			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
woonachtig bent?	woonachtig bent?	J)				
Vacabat (CDO)	Groningen, Area 5	1,306 [*]	,424	,012	,24	2,37
Veenhof (CPO)	Groningen, Area 6	,898,	,378	,068	-,05	1,85
Croningon Aroo F	Veenhof (CPO)	-1,306 [*]	,424	,012	-2,37	-,24
Groningen, Area 5	Groningen, Area 6	-,407	,271	,425	-1,09	,27
Onesiana Ana O	Veenhof (CPO)	-,898	,378	,068	-1,85	,05
Groningen, Area 6	Groningen, Area 5	,407	,271	,425	-,27	1,09

^{*.} The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 1: proposition 5: I believe contact with neighbours is important

Ik wil zo lang mogelijk in deze buurt blijven wonen

Bonferroni

(I) Kunt u aangeven in	(J) Kunt u aangeven in	Mean			95% Confidence Interval		
welk gebied u	welk gebied u	Difference (I-					
woonachtig bent?	woonachtig bent?	J)	Std. Error	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
Veenhof (CPO)	Groningen, Area 5	,944*	,350	,031	,07	1,82	
	Groningen, Area 6	,744	,301	,054	-,01	1,50	
Groningen, Area 5	Veenhof (CPO)	-,944 [*]	,350	,031	-1,82	-,07	
	Groningen, Area 6	-,201	,257	1,000	-,84	,44	
Groningen, Area 6	Veenhof (CPO)	-,744	,301	,054	-1,50	,01	
	Groningen, Area 5	,201	,257	1,000	-,44	,84	

^{*.} The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level. **Table 2: proposition 15: I want to live as long as possible in this neighbourhood (SPSS,** 2012).

Appendix D – Survey results Zwolle

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: In deze buurt heb ik veel vrienden wonen

Bonferroni

(I) Kunt u aangeven in	(J) Kunt u aangeven in	Mean	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
welk gebied u woonachtig	welk gebied u woonachtig	Difference (I-J)			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
bent?	bent?					
Maandarhaf (CDO)	Zwolle, Area 2	-2,022 [*]	,450	,000	-3,17	-,88
Meanderhof (CPO)	Zwolle, Area 3	-1,490 [*]	,394	,002	-2,49	-,49
Zwelle Area O	Meanderhof (CPO)	2,022*	,450	,000	,88	3,17
Zwolle, Area 2	Zwolle, Area 3	,532	,464	,784	-,65	1,72
7 11 4 0	Meanderhof (CPO)	1,490 [*]	,394	,002	,49	2,49
Zwolle, Area 3	Zwolle, Area 2	-,532	,464	,784	-1,72	,65

^{*.} The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 1: Proposition 2: In have many friends living in this neighbourhood (SPSS, 2012).

Multiple Comparisons

In deze buurt ken ik andere bewoners goed

Bonferroni

(I) Kunt u aangeven in	(J) Kunt u aangeven in	Mean			95% Confidence Interval	
welk gebied u	welk gebied u	Difference (I-	Std.		Lower	Upper
woonachtig bent?	woonachtig bent?	J)	Error	Sig.	Bound	Bound
Meanderhof (CPO)	Zwolle, Area 2	-,813	,400	,156	-1,83	,21
	Zwolle, Area 3	-1,203 [*]	,350	,006	-2,09	-,31
Zwolle, Area 2	Meanderhof (CPO)	,813	,400	,156	-,21	1,83
	Zwolle, Area 3	-,390	,413	1,000	-1,44	,66
Zwolle, Area 3	Meanderhof (CPO)	1,203	,350	,006	,31	2,09
	Zwolle, Area 2	,390	,413	1,000	-,66	1,44

^{*.} The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 2: proposition 3: I know other people well in this neighbourhood (SPSS, 2012).

Ik heb veel contacten in de buurt

Bonferroni

(I) Kunt u aangeven in	(J) Kunt u aangeven in	Mean			95% Confidence Interval	
welk gebied u	welk gebied u	Difference (I-	Std.		Lower	Upper
woonachtig bent?	woonachtig bent?	J)	Error	Sig.	Bound	Bound
Meanderhof (CPO)	Zwolle, Area 2	-,747	,418	,255	-1,81	,32
	Zwolle, Area 3	-1,280 [*]	,366	,005	-2,21	-,35
Zwolle, Area	Meanderhof (CPO)	,747	,418	,255	-,32	1,81
	Zwolle, Area 3	-,532	,431	,682	-1,63	,57
Zwolle, Area 3	Meanderhof (CPO)	1,280*	,366	,005	,35	2,21
	Zwolle, Area 2	,532	,431	,682	-,57	1,63

^{*.} The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 3: Proposition 4: I have a lot of contacts in the neighbourhood (SPSS, 2012).

Multiple Comparisons

Mijn sociale leven speelt zich grotendeels af buiten deze buurt

Bonferroni

(I) Kunt u aangeven in	(J) Kunt u aangeven in	Mean			95% Confidence Interva	
welk gebied u	welk gebied u	Difference (I-	Std.		Lower	Upper
woonachtig bent?	woonachtig bent?	J)	Error	Sig.	Bound	Bound
Meanderhof (CPO)	Zwolle, Area 2	,187	,448	1,000	-,95	1,33
	Zwolle, Area 3	1,161 [*]	,391	,018	,16	2,16
Zwolle, Area 2	Meanderhof (CPO)	-,187	,448	1,000	-1,33	,95
	Zwolle, Area 3	,974	,462	,132	-,20	2,15
Zwolle, Area 3	Meanderhof (CPO)	-1,161 [*]	,391	,018	-2,16	-,16
	Zwolle, Area 2	-,974	,462	,132	-2,15	,20

^{*.} The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 4: proposition 10: My social life largely takes place outside this neighbourhood (SPSS, 2012).

Ik voel me veilig in deze buurt

Bonferroni

(I) Kunt u aangeven in	(J) Kunt u aangeven in	Mean			95% Confidence Interval	
welk gebied u	welk gebied u	Difference (I-				
woonachtig bent?	woonachtig bent?	J)	Std. Error	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Meanderhof (CPO)	Zwolle, Area 2	-,703 [*]	,236	,018	-1,30	-,10
	Zwolle, Area 3	-,210	,206	,953	-,73	,32
Zwolle, Area 2	Meanderhof (CPO)	,703 [*]	,236	,018	,10	1,30
	Zwolle, Area 3	,494	,243	,157	-,13	1,11
Zwolle, Area 3	Meanderhof (CPO)	,210	,206	,953	-,32	,73
	Zwolle, Area 2	-,494	,243	,157	-1,11	,13

^{*.} The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 5: proposition 14: I feel safe in this neighbourhood (SPSS, 2012).

ANOVA

Ik voel me verbonden met de buurt

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	4,414	2	2,207	4,323	,023
Within Groups	14,296	28	,511		
Total	18,710	30			

Ik voel me verbonden met de buurt

Bonferroni

(I) Kunt u aangeven in	(J) Kunt u aangeven in	Mean			95% Confidence Interval	
welk gebied u	welk gebied u	Difference (I-				
woonachtig bent?	woonachtig bent?	J)	Std. Error	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Meanderhof (CPO)	Zwolle, Area 2	-,824	,335	,061	-1,68	,03
	Zwolle, Area 3	-,720	,293	,061	-1,47	,03
Zwolle, Area 2	Meanderhof (CPO)	,824	,335	,061	-,03	1,68
	Zwolle, Area 3	,104	,345	1,000	-,78	,98
Zwolle, Area 3	Meanderhof (CPO)	,720	,293	,061	-,03	1,47
	Zwolle, Area 2	-,104	,345	1,000	-,98	,78

Table 6: proposition 19: I feel connected to the neighbourhood (SPSS, 2012).

Multiple Comparisons

Ik ben het laatste jaar actief geweest om mijn buurt te verbeteren

Bonferroni

(I) Kunt u aangeven in	(J) Kunt u aangeven in				95% Confidence Interval	
welk gebied u woonachtig	welk gebied u woonachtig	Mean				
bent?	bent?	Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Meanderhof (CPO)	Zwolle, Area 2	-1,396 [*]	,393	,004	-2,40	-,39
	Zwolle, Area 3	-1,720 [*]	,344	,000	-2,60	-,84
Zwolle, Area 2	Meanderhof (CPO)	1,396 [*]	,393	,004	,39	2,40
	Zwolle, Area 3	-,325	,406	1,000	-1,36	,71
Zwolle, Area 3	Meanderhof (CPO)	1,720*	,344	,000	,84	2,60
	Zwolle, Area 2	,325	,406	1,000	-,71	1,36

^{*.} The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 7: proposition 20: I have been active to improve my neighbourhood last year (SPSS, 2012).

ANOVA

In deze buurt worden veel buurtactiviteiten georganiseerd

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	6,677	2	3,339	3,538	,043
Within Groups	26,420	28	,944		
Total	33,097	30			

In deze buurt worden veel buurtactiviteiten georganiseerd

Bonferroni

(I) Kunt u aangeven in	(J) Kunt u aangeven in	Mean			95% Confidence Interval	
welk gebied u	welk gebied u	Difference (I-				
woonachtig bent?	woonachtig bent?	J)	Std. Error	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Meanderhof (CPO)	Zwolle, Area 2	-1,154	,455	,051	-2,31	,01
	Zwolle, Area 3	-,699	,398	,269	-1,71	,31
Zwolle, Area 2	Meanderhof (CPO)	1,154	,455	,051	-,01	2,31
	Zwolle, Area 3	,455	,470	1,000	-,74	1,65
Zwolle, Area 3	Meanderhof (CPO)	,699	,398	,269	-,31	1,71
	Zwolle, Area 2	-,455	,470	1,000	-1,65	,74

Table 8: proposition 21: A lot of community events are organized in this neighbourhood (SPSS, 2012).

Multiple Comparisons

Ik voel mij betrokken bij de buurt door de zeggenschap die ik heb gehad

Bonferroni

(I) Kunt u aangeven in	(J) Kunt u aangeven in	Mean			95% Confidence Interval	
welk gebied u woonachtig	welk gebied u	Difference (I-				
bent?	woonachtig bent?	J)	Std. Error	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Meanderhof (CPO)	Zwolle, Area 2	-1,429 [*]	,533	,037	-2,79	-,07
	Zwolle, Area 3	-1,636 [*]	,466	,005	-2,82	-,45
Zwolle, Area 2	Meanderhof (CPO)	1,429*	,533	,037	,07	2,79
	Zwolle, Area 3	-,208	,550	1,000	-1,61	1,19
Zwolle, Area 3	Meanderhof (CPO)	1,636 [*]	,466	,005	,45	2,82
	Zwolle, Area 2	,208	,550	1,000	-1,19	1,61

^{*.} The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 9: proposition 22: I feel involved in the neighbourhood due to the degree of control I had (SPSS, 2012).

Ik heb veel zeggenschap gehad in het tot stand komen van mijn woning

Bonferroni

(I) Kunt u aangeven in	(J) Kunt u aangeven in	Mean			95% Confidence Interval	
welk gebied u	welk gebied u	Difference (I-				
woonachtig bent?	woonachtig bent?	J)	Std. Error	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Meanderhof (CPO)	Zwolle, Area 2	-1,659 [*]	,631	,042	-3,27	-,05
	Zwolle, Area 3	-1,331	,566	,079	-2,78	,11
Zwolle, Area 2	Meanderhof (CPO)	1,659 [*]	,631	,042	,05	3,27
	Zwolle, Area 3	,329	,663	1,000	-1,36	2,02
Zwolle, Area 3	Meanderhof (CPO)	1,331	,566	,079	-,11	2,78
	Zwolle, Area 2	-,329	,663	1,000	-2,02	1,36

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 10: proposition 23: I did had a lot of degree of control in the realization of my home (SPSS, 2012).