Spatial Segregation

Social Housing In The City Of Groningen

Source: Nijestee

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Summary

The topic for this paper is spatial segregation. With this topic in mind, this research study investigates the social housing situation in the city of Groningen and how spatial segregation is a result of the decisions being made by both municipality and housing corporations.) The question that is central in this paper is: *"How has the current distribution of social housing influenced the city of Groningen in terms of spatial segregation?"*. To analyse the influence of social housing on spatial segregation, data has been collected from interviews, policy documents and municipality annual plans. The interviews with both the municipality and two housing corporations have provided, together with the secondary data, an indication that there is a negative impact on neighbourhoods with an abundance of social housing. Most of the neighbourhoods, compared to the average of the municipality, score low on both educational levels and social levels. This results in that residents are less likely to stay or less likely to have a pleasant experience living in these neighbourhoods.

For future research, more case studies such as the city of Vienna should be incorporated. Vienna is universally known for their successful implementation of social housing within its city. As for the interviews, more housing corporations could be included to depict a broader image of the situation in Groningen.

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1. Introduction

 In the Netherlands, the inequality the country faces are not as perceivable as in some other parts of the world. Inequality in the Netherlands occurs primarily in the socio-economic sector, for example the housing market and the distribution of social housing within neighbourhoods. The city of Groningen is experiencing a skewed distribution of social housing within its neighbourhoods resulting in an increase of inequality between the lower income classes and the higher income classes, and thus creating spatial segregation. Abramsson & Borgegård (1998) have reviewed multiple international studies of countries (e.g. The Netherlands), and their study shows that if the social housing sector becomes smaller or marginalized it leads to an increase in spatial segregation between socio-economic groups. It results in low-income households remaining in the decreased social housing sector. An increase of lower income households results in a larger portion of these households getting involved with the social housing sector, even if the sector does not change. Some of the northern and less well-off neighbourhoods in the city of Groningen are seeing more types of social housing than there are established in some of the southern or affluent neighbourhoods of the city. The city is aiming to tackle this problem within the next ten years (van Akkeren, 2023). Dutch cities, and for this case Groningen, are seeing "pockets of poverty" and gated communities that are being created as a result of regulation implemented under government policies and sustained by housing corporations (Trommel, 2019).

This study will investigate the social housing situation in the city of Groningen and the formation of spatial segregation as a result of government policies and the role housing corporations play in sustaining or obstructing spatial segregation.

Similar research has been done by Crook et al. (2016) where England is the centre of the study and another study of Boterman, et al. (2020) where Amsterdam is the primary focus. Crook et al. (2016) considered the location of new social housing projects as well as low-cost home ownership in England to determine if it had bettered spatial segregation or deprived the area of a balanced social mix. A comparable approach for a case study can be done with Groningen.
In the article of Boterman et al. (2020), it aims to expand the knowledge of residential segregation, and that there is indeed a slow progression towards spatial inequality in the Netherlands. With their claim of policies implementing stricter rules for the distribution of homes in the social housing sector, this paper will determine whether this has also occurred in the city of Groningen. Gastkemper (2018) has implied that the revised Dutch Housing Law of 2015 has had something to do with these stricter rules and that the city of Groningen wants to not just invest in the homes anymore, but also in the education of the people living in these neighbourhoods since the education level of people could elevate their income class. Gastkemper (2018) showed that Groningen is indeed aware of the problem, but it is unclear how the city of Groningen wound up with the distorted distribution of social housing. Moreover, what is not mentioned in the articles is if the housing corporations have played a role in this particular problem for the city.

2. Research Problem

The aim of this research is to evaluate the social housing distribution problem in Groningen together with the socio-economic nature of the situation and explain how this skewed distribution has become an issue and (under which circumstances) what made it possible to occur. Furthermore, the roles of the municipality and the housing corporations will be illustrated and what Dutch policies were involved in the decision-making process?

The research question of this paper is as follows: *"How has the distribution of social housing influenced the city of Groningen in terms of spatial segregation?"*

This question will be answered by means of the following sub-questions:
- What is the current distribution of social housing and socio-economic characteristics in the city of Groningen?
- How does the municipality of Groningen manage the distribution of social housing?
- Which social housing policies has the city of Groningen implemented?
- Are housing corporations part of the current distribution of social housing?

3. Theoretical framework

To define spatial segregation, the definition of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) is being used. The organisation describes spatial segregation as an imposed or preferred separation of groups in certain areas by means of race, ethnicity, religion, income status, caste or language (Rajagopal, 2022). Originally spatial segregation was associated with primarily income and ethnicity, however nowadays it is necessary to broaden the spectrum and observe it as a dynamic process. Spatial segregation is built upon different factors with their own intensities working together (Cruz-Sandoval et al., 2020). The OHCHR recommends that social housing should be built at every corner of a city to ensure balanced non-segregated communities. This also includes the more privileged areas, so that the segregated, poorly maintained blocks do not solely form on the outskirts of a city. This can be accomplished, according to the OHCHR, by means of participatory and inclusive urban planning and zoning (Rajagopal, 2022).

The general consensus for social housing is that there has to be 30% in total social housing per municipality in the Netherlands (Koninkrijksrelaties, 2022). The revised Housing Law of 2015, that will be mentioned in this paper, states that housing corporations are to take care of social housing for people with lower income. The housing corporations need to abide by the following prescriptions: The corporations need to provide 80% of their affordable rent homes to households under a certain income (primarily lower income classes), they are required to separate their commercial and societal activities, and lastly the corporations only get subsidies under strict rules, reaching the (minimal) 80% of affordable housing for example (Koninkrijksrelaties, 2020).

Hochstenbach & van Gent (2016) made their disapprovals clear of the revised Housing Law (2015) in their 2016 article. The article talks about what this revised law implies for the social housing in the Netherlands. Housing corporations are to take a step back and have more surveyance of their projects, their priorities lie with the lower income households and the needy. Other activities such as the housing of middle-income households are to be left alone to the housing market, just as the renting of commercialised real-estate. Current liberal housing policies perceive social housing as a safety net for the lower income class, instead of it being full-fledged housing.
Between the years of 1990 and 2017, the percentage of social housing owned by housing corporations has decreased from 40% to 30%. The distribution of new social housing has decreased significantly, especially in the bigger cities. Explanations for this phenomenon is the liberalising of free homes, the greying of current tenants and a lack of affordable alternatives. If there is something available, it will be allotted to target groups or households with urgency status. The cheapest homes go to the lower income classes. This can lead to significant spatial concentrations of poverty. Housing corporations are building smaller homes, so that these can be rented of cheaper and easier, to follow the regulations. This causes a decrease in accessibility for families in need of social housing. Greater

concentrations of poverty are considered, for example, socially as undesirable. Most of the housing corporations used the building of expensive rentals to afford their low-cost homes. The original cause the housing corporations had a century ago, were to provide affordable, quality housing for not only the needy, but also the working class. But due to strict income demands, the working class is being cut off. The investment capacity for the housing corporations need to increase, instead of decrease. Limiting housing corporations will also limit quality and quantity of homes (Hochstenbach & van Gent, 2016).

Already existing literature related to this topic of social housing will help in getting more insight on the situation.

Boterman et al. (2020) wrote about the residential domain in Amsterdam, and the aim to expand the knowledge of residential segregation on factors such as education and income. In more recent years the Dutch educational inequalities are increasing, as opposed to postwar decades. Education has become one of the most important dimensions of social inequality, which eventually become evident in spatial distribution patterns. The article discussed that the lower educated are relatively stronger segregated, due to both experiencing problems in the housing market as well as the educational system. One of the main problems this group faces is the relatively large Dutch social housing sector and neoliberal policies aimed at implementing stricter distribution rules for social housing (see Housing Law 2015), more rigorously targeting the poorest households, which resulted in increasing inequality.

Crook et al. (2016) is a study with focus on England and how the country has been trying to reduce the concentrations of deprivation. Crook et al. has tried this by starting to construct for a wider range of families and individual tenures. This article has looked at where new social housing and low-cost home ownership have been built and to see if these changed the spatial segregation or deprivation in the area or achieved the desired social mix. Allocating scarce resources to the needy suggests that reducing area deprivation (the decline of a neighbourhood measured by socio-economic factors (Neighbourhood Atlas)) through tenure policies may be much harder to achieve through regeneration policies than through new buildings in less deprived areas. With the regeneration process of highly deprived areas with significant existing social housing may initially worsen deprivation and segmentation, on short-term basis there has been no improvements if there are new social housing investments within these deprived areas. Given the concentrations of deprivation in social housing across Europe, a mix of different types of affordable homes including partial ownership as well as traditional renting housing in both new developments and regeneration areas has a better chance of success, not just for social housing but in attracting younger, employed households that can help make the areas more dynamic.

The article of Crook et al. further acknowledges that after the second world war, Western Europe has been building large public-sector housing to lessen the stress of the housing shortages. After the national situation got better, the emphasis moved to accommodating the less fortunate. This change of focus resulted in concentrations of deprivation and social exclusion in social housing areas. In countries like the Netherlands, where policy has continued to provide for a full range of households these trends are noticeable. The article of Crook et al. (2016) shows that history has played a part in the segregation in Western Europe, with specific focus on England, and can be used to give context to areas such as Groningen.

According to Gastkemper (2018) some neighbourhoods of Groningen are so successful in terms of economic development, that the less well-off citizens are being pushed out of the neighbourhoods, resulting in that they will resort to less fortunate neighbourhoods. Investing in the homes of people is

not enough, the municipality wants to invest in the education of people. The municipality wants to give the people equal chances when it comes to the housing and job market. The Global Financial Crisis in 2008, an international banking crisis, resulted in that the investment capacity was no longer enough to support municipalities and housing corporations and together with the Housing Law (2015) housing corporations were even more surveyed on their actions and projects.

The municipality of Groningen is aware of the skewed distribution of social housing within its neighbourhoods, causing lower class households and the higher income households to cluster with the same income classes, creating spatial segregation. Less is known about how skewed the distribution of social housing is and how it should be tackled. This can be done by an adequate analysis of suitable and feasible solutions that the city of Groningen could implement and how they can learn from both past mistakes and other case studies (such as England), but also by looking at what the city has already done in order to solve the problem.

3.1. Conceptual Model

The model works from top to bottom and depicts a comprehensive and concise way of how the theories presented in this paper are constructed. It will be investigated from top-to-bottom. The
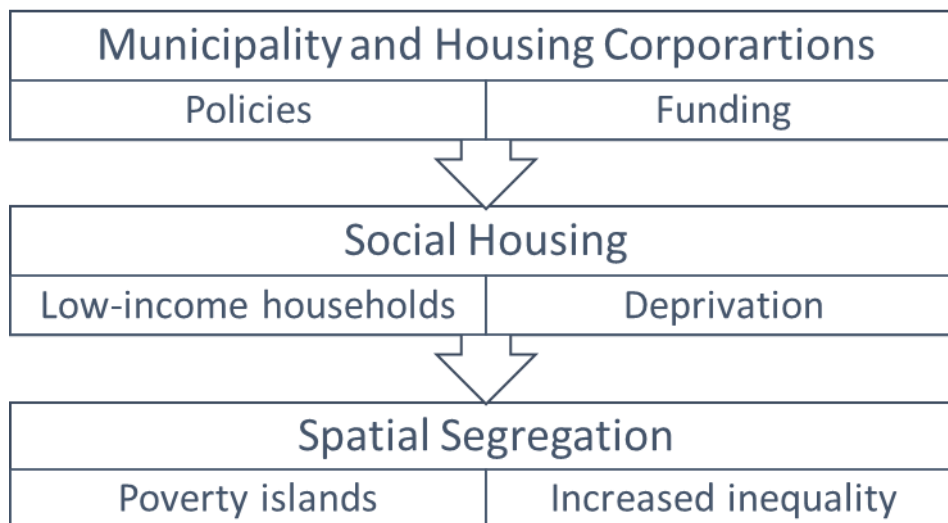

Figure 1. Conceptual Model

municipality and housing corporations are using policies and funding in order to get social housing established. Social housing is primarily available for lower income households in the Netherlands, often situated in deprived areas or causing deprivation since it is prone to cluster. This clustering of deprived areas (referred to as "poverty islands") due to the high level of social housing and low level of social mixing, causes increased inequality and thus creates spatial segregation.

3.2. Hypotheses/Expectations

It is expected that the results obtained from this study will indicate that the development of social housing projects contribute to the progression of spatial segregation. It is further suggested that a balanced distribution in social mix will result in less spatial segregation.

4. Methodology

The primary and secondary data that will be collected will provide information to help answer the research question of this paper: "How has the current distribution of social housing influenced the city of Groningen in terms of spatial segregation?".

4.1. Primary Data Collection

The main data collection instrument will be interviews. Interviews as the primary data source will help answer the research question, since it will provide information from the parties that are involved in social housing in Groningen (city). This information will be acquired via interview from the municipality and two housing corporations situated specifically in the city of Groningen:
- Nijestee
- Stichting De Huismeesters

The parties selected for the interviews received an email asking for consent to an interview and to agree on a date to conduct the interview. Previous experience with primary data usage during a project was during the course of Methods for Academic Research (MAR) where the main type of data collection was interviews, and the main goal of the course was how to manage these for future papers. Another part of the project that was assigned, was the ethics of collecting primary data. Transcribing the recorded data involved anonymizing and generalizing the information, in order to ensure the safety of the data and its participants. Instead of using the transcribing program ATLAS.TI as done in the MAR course, the interviews will be analysed by hand since there are not too many interviews to use coding on in order to find certain connections. After transcribing, the data will be analysed and used to answer the question in the paper.

The questions asked during the interview were designed to provide answers for the sub questions (SQ) of this paper and were asked as the following:

4.1.1. Municipality Interview

The municipality is one of the main actors when it comes down to assigning social housing in the city of Groningen. Conducting an interview with the municipality will provide insights in their current goals, problems and aspirations for social housing in Groningen. The interview took place at the municipality location at Zuiderdiep with Jan Martini, policy advisor of the municipality of Groningen, and was noted down on paper.

To answer how the municipality manages the distribution of social housing, the role of the municipality needs to be established and how they look at the placement of social housing. Managing also involves problems and how they are being tackled.

SQ1: "What is the current distribution of social housing and socio-economic characteristics in the city of Groningen?"

1.   Is there currently a problem in the city of Groningen with social housing? Or is it just the distribution of the social housing in the neighbourhoods that causes concern?

SQ2: "How does the municipality of Groningen manage the distribution of social housing?"

2.   What is the role of the municipality when we look at the placement of social housing in neighbourhoods?
3.   Have you noticed any problems stemming from the skewed distribution of social housing in the city?
       a.   If so, can the city react immediately?

SQ3: "Which social housing policies has the city of Groningen implemented?"

5.   The municipality wants to build more housing in the next ten years, how could that potentially tackle the distribution problem of social housing?
6.   What has currently already been accomplished in terms of policies for social housing?

4.1.2. Interviews with Housing Corporations

The two aforementioned housing corporations have been chosen, since they provide social housing specifically in the city of Groningen. The municipality has most of their policies as open-access and are thus easily accessible, in contrast to the housing corporations. That is one of the reasons why housing corporations were chosen for an interview. The questions were about the role of the corporation with social housing, how they choose certain locations for projects and if they had encountered any difficulties during the decision-making process. With this interview, further insights will be given in the decision-making process for social housing of housing corporations. The housing corporations, specifically Jasper Grotenhuis (property secretary) from Nijestee and Henk Jan de Vries (portefeuillestrateeg) from Stichting de Huismeesters, were asked open-ended questions about their role in the distribution of social housing in the city of Groningen and thus answering the final sub question of this paper.

SQ4: "Are housing corporations part of the current distribution of social housing?"

1.   How do you decide where social housing will be established in the neighbourhoods?
        a.   Do you explicitly look at new building sites? Or are they also established in existing neighbourhoods?
2.   Would you say that there is a skewed distribution of social housing in the city of Groningen?
        a.   If so, is it perceived as problematic for the corporation?
3.   In what ways are housing corporations free to decide what to undertake without the municipality involved?
4.   Is the building of social housing only about reaching numbers or certain goals, or is the social mix of different socio-economic features of households also of concern?

4.2. Secondary Data Collection

Besides primary data, this paper makes use of secondary data as well. Since this paper is about the city of Groningen it is to be expected to access some policy documents of the municipality. The variables that are useful and central for this research are social housing, spatial segregation and housing corporations in Groningen (city). These variables will be answering the sub questions, which will lead to answering the central question of the paper. Recent policy reports on social housing, together with a current map of the distribution of social housing in Groningen (city) will give a full picture of the situation at hand and provide further insights in the spatial segregation. Besides these reports on social housing and spatial segregation, current laws or policies for housing corporations will also provide insights in their role in the distribution of social housing in the city of Groningen. There is secondary data (e.g. policy reports, laws and municipality reports) available on the municipality website of Groningen. Most articles are open access and do not require any authorization. The articles or reports that will be analysed should either be peer-reviewed or be a government source, this is needed to ensure the validity of the data that will be used in the paper to answer the central question.

4.2.1. Woonvisie

To visualise their concepts and guide the parties involved, the municipality creates the Woonvisie. A report where the municipality will provide their plans for the future and how they will tackle certain problems the city is facing. The most recent report (2020) will be used and analysed, where the segregation due to social housing is mentioned to be one of these problems.

4.2.2. Basismonitor

The municipality of Groningen keeps track of its neighbourhoods via the Basismonitor, a site where factors such as (mental)health, socio-economic status, housing types, demographics and safety of the neighbourhoods. The data is shown by not only percentages, but also by colour. This colour gradient system (green = above average and red = below average) makes it more comprehensible to compare the neighbourhoods. The percentages presented of each neighbourhood are weighed against the average of the city. For the analysis of the characteristics of the neighbourhoods with an increased amount of social housing, the factors education, socio-economic status, housing type and neighbourhood satisfaction have been chosen.

4.2.3. Bachelor courses

The papers that had to be written as part of the Bachelor courses involved the use of secondary data collection. In the first year of Spatial Planning and Design, the course Introduction to Academic Research focused on solely using secondary data for composing a paper. The use of articles, policy reports etc. were an essential part of the data collection. The experience from this course will help immensely with the collecting of the data for this paper, since it also taught how to filter certain data in order to get the essential parts.

4.3. Problems And Ethics

The original plan was to have more housing corporations, since Groningen has six housing corporations in total, however only two corporations replied to the emails that were send. This did not affect the paper since sufficient information was obtained from the sources mentioned. Furthermore, there were some technical difficulties and only one interview (Nijestee) was recorded via mobile phone, the others were written interviews. The recording of the interview was transported from phone to laptop only, for more insurance, and it will be deleted after the paper has been completed. During the interviews, the participant was allowed to ask for it to end at any time and to withdraw their consent up until the publication of the paper. The interviewees were asked if they liked to remain anonymous and go further under the name of the corporations or if their names were allowed to be used in the paper.

5. Results

5.1. Social housing in the city of Groningen

Groningen, overall, scores around the desired 30% in total of social housing distributed across the city. Ideally, this 30% would be evenly distributed citywide. Yet a recent depicture of social housing and the corresponding neighbourhoods of the city of Groningen (Figure 2.) shows that in the
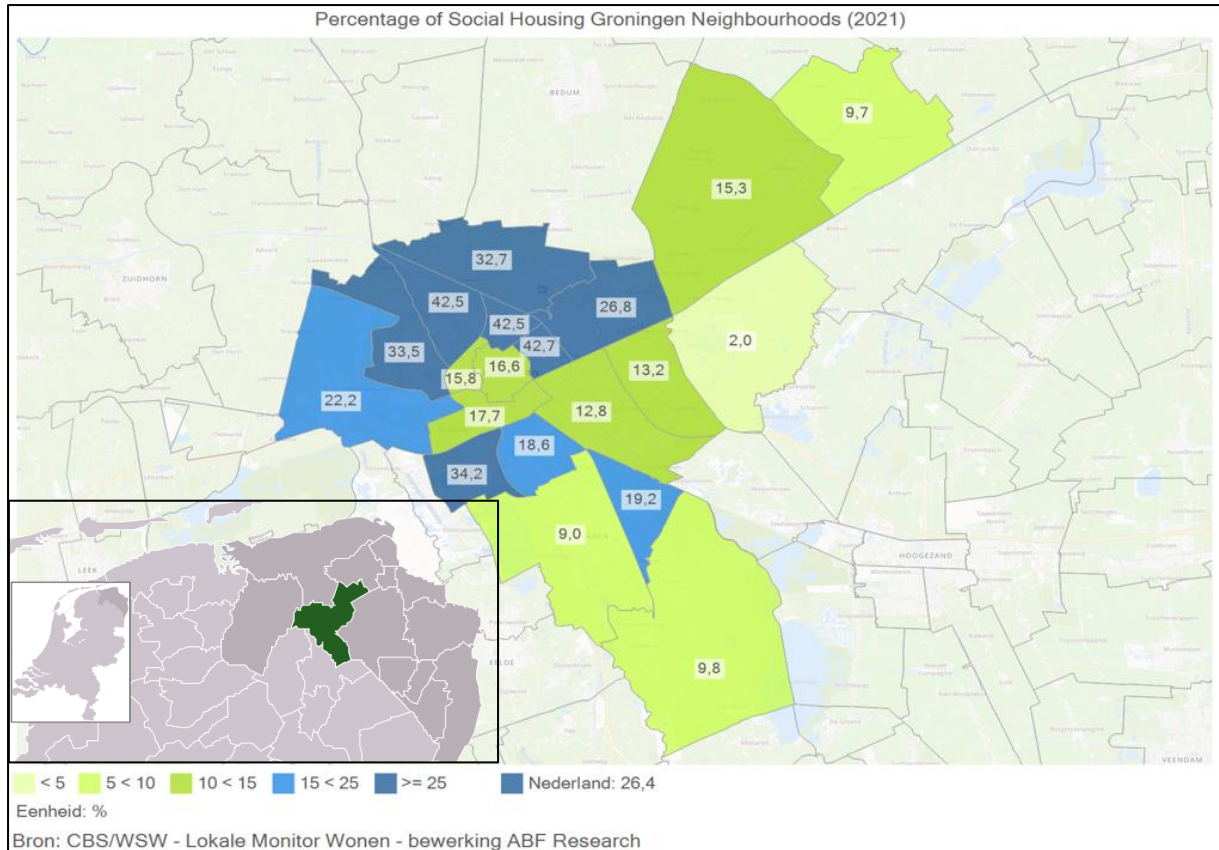

Figure 2. Social Housing Percentage Neighbourhoods Of The City Of Groningen (2021)

northern parts of the municipality there is an abundance of social housing. The opposite is also visible in figure 2, the more southern neighbourhoods experience a scarcity of social housing. Most of the dark blue areas in the north (LTR: Vinkhuizen, Selwerd, Korreweg, Beijum, part of Oosterpark) and the dark blue area in the south (Corpus Den Hoorn), consist of more than 30% social housing. The municipality uses this data to indicate to housing corporations whether social housing is to be added or removed. It is a tool to level the numbers and to achieve a healthy mix of multiple types of housing and households (Woonvisie, 2020).

5.1.1. Socio-Economic Characteristics

All characteristics of the neighbourhoods are provided by Basismonitor Groningen and are compared against the average of the municipality. According to the most recent Woonvisie of the municipality of Groningen (2020), neighbourhoods that experience a higher level of social housing than other neighbourhoods (above 30%, see figure 2) tend to do worse socially than the average in the municipality. The Basismonitor does indeed show that the neighbourhoods consisting of a higher percentage of social housing score less than the presented average of the municipality and consistently show red factors.

Vinkhuizen: this neighbourhood has primarily lower-level education among its residents. This neighbourhood experiences a higher level of not feeling at home and a higher percentage of minimum income earners.

33,5% SOCIAL HOUSING
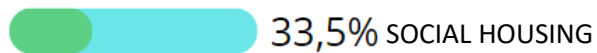
Selwerd: poverty is below the municipality's average, most of its residents do not experience the neighbourhood as pleasant, and there is a higher percentage of low-level education.

42,5% SOCIAL HOUSING
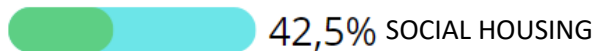
Korreweg: the quality of housing is poor when compared to the average of the municipality and most of its residents do not feel at home in the neighbourhood. The education level is relatively low in the neighbourhood.
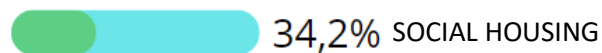
42,5% SOCIAL HOUSING
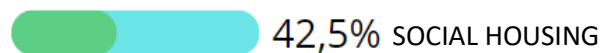
Beijum: the neighbourhood has a higher percentage of corporation owned housing and a high percentage of unemployment among the residents. Also, here the education level is relatively low in the neighbourhood.

32,7% SOCIAL HOUSING
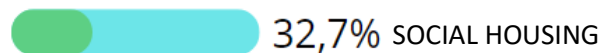
Oosterpark: this neighbourhood has a mix of both high percentage of higher education as well as lower-level education. A high percentage of the housing in the neighbourhood is corporation owned and there is also a high level of residents looking for work.

42,7% SOCIAL HOUSING
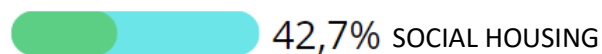
Corpus Den Hoorn: has a low percentage of fellowship among the residents and a high percentage of elderly living here. The education level is primarily low, and a high percentage of people have difficulties to get by. The housing in this neighbourhood is primarily owned by corporations.

34,2% SOCIAL HOUSING

5.2. Role of the municipality

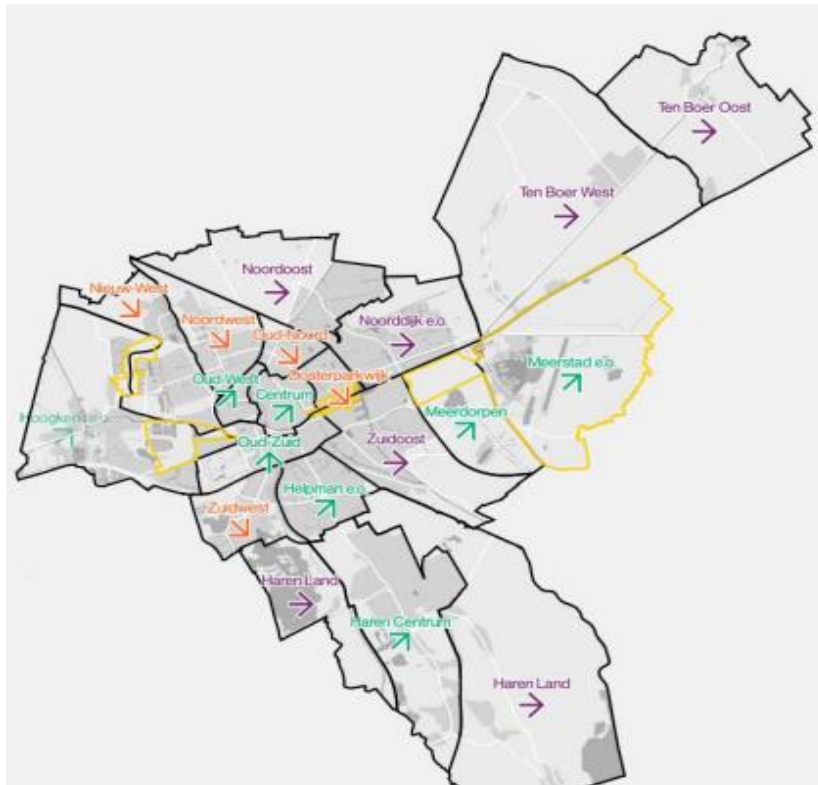The municipality of Groningen oversees whether there is an overabundance of some type of housing or a scarcity. They provide information with arrows of where they would like the change to happen, since the housing corporations mainly provide these types of homes. The housing corporations use the "Woonvisie" as a tool for their projects (see Figure 3.).

Figure 3. Woonvisie (2020) Arrows To Determine Social Housing Increase, Decrease Or Equal

This tool is not only based on the amount of social housing, but also on the demand of the citizens. The demand for social housing in the city centre is higher than in the suburbs. The suburbs and the adjacent village neighbourhoods are more in the market for owner occupied housing like rowhouses (Woonvisie, 2020).

According to the interview with the municipality of Groningen (Jan Martini, policy advisor), the municipality has a policy to strive for a total of 30% of social housing. The municipality currently has around 60.000 registrations for social housing. With so many target audiences now being eligible for social housing, there is a growing scarcity of this type of housing in the municipality. The central government of the Netherlands had as a solution to further the flow of people getting into social housing, to dispose of the elderly and get them into homes as much as possible. The municipality of Groningen does not believe that this "solution" of the government works, since elderly also deserve to live as long as possible in their own homes. With one "solution" not working or applicable and the demand for social housing is still growing, the municipality has to look at new projects or existing plots to work with. The northern neighbourhoods and some of the southern neighbourhoods (as De Wijert) stem from the 1960s. With all the already existing neighbourhoods, it is difficult to provide new types of homes which can maintain the problem.

The establishing costs for social housing are not profitable, hence there needs to be a balance between social housing and a more expensive segment, like owner-occupied housing. Owner-occupied housing is more high-priced than social housing, however mixing this with the other types of housing in neighbourhoods can create a healthy mix of households, and eventually improve the social environment. There is one problem with this and that is that in this day and age sustainability and quality are highly advised to be considered whilst building new projects. To make the housing in the municipality more sustainable and of higher quality, it is rather expensive, and this can then raise the question if social housing is still worthwhile (Martini, 2023). The group that is primarily affected is the middle-income group. They earn too much for social housing and yet too little for the free housing market, be it rent or owner occupied, and fall in between the housing "gap" (Woonvisie, 2020).

5.3. Social housing policies in the city of Groningen

The municipality of Groningen has implemented the 30% rule. This is to provide adequate housing for the lower income level households and to deter the housing corporations to only build the more profitable types of housing. Together with this 30%, the municipality wishes to spread this number of housings evenly in order to prevent the formation of "ghettos" which is detrimental to the social environment of the neighbourhood (Martini, 2023).

Besides the 30% rule, the municipality is trying to close the gap between owner occupied housing and social housing. By realising as much new development as possible and manipulating the housing market towards the middle groups of society, this gap can become manageable. Every party that desires to develop housing in Groningen has to conform to certain rules (Woonakkoord), this all to have clear guidelines for quality, affordability and renewal of housing.

5.4. Role of housing corporations

Housing corporations are working together with the municipality in order to achieve their projects. There is, of course, competition between corporations, since there is only so much land to be dividing. Most of the corporations focus on new projects like Meerstad to reach their goals, since it is simpler to provide social housing where there are no existing buildings. However, the older neighbourhoods all experience neighbourhood renewal, where most of the older homes are transformed into middle income rent or cheaper owned homes. With the recent building requirements and expensive land costs it is expensive to do this renewal for the corporations.

The interviews with Grotenhuis (Nijestee) (2023) and de Vries (De Huismeesters) (2023) provided insights in the decision-making process and also talked about their challenges and aspirations as a corporation. Nijestee, for example, prioritizes the social environment of a neighbourhood and they have seen that the high percentage of social housing in the northern neighbourhoods have negatively affected the willingness to stay and the liveability of these neighbourhoods. De Huismeesters is a smaller corporation and has to work with what they already have, in contrast to Nijestee who has bought up land in new projects such as Meerstad. de Vries (2023) has acknowledged that their way of acting has not always been right, they have put off the renovations for housing as long as possible resulting in poor quality homes and homes put up for demolishing, however these homes will now be renewed or rebuild with the current standards of sustainability and quality.
Even though the housing corporations have been more active than ever and trying to reach their quota's, the waiting list for social housing keeps increasing rapidly whilst the room to build has been diminishing (Martini, 2023; Woonvisie, 2020).

6. Conclusions

With the main question of this paper being: *"How has the current distribution of social housing influenced the city of Groningen in terms of spatial segregation?"*, it can be said that from both the interviews and the Woonvisies, neighbourhoods that have a high amount of social housing (e.g. Selwerd, Korreweg, Oosterpark) tend to do worse socially and could increase the inequality in the neighbourhood. We can conclude that the social housing distribution in the city of Groningen has influenced the northern neighbourhoods (e.g. Selwerd, Korreweg etc.) to be relatively subpar to the rest of the neighbourhoods that do not experience such levels of social housing. As the study of Crook et al. about England suggests, the mix of different types of homes (for example affordable housing, partial ownership or renting) in both new developments and renewal areas have a better chance of success and a better dynamic as a neighbourhood. The restrictions of the revised Housing Law (2015) and the increased land and building costs has made it more difficult for housing corporations to renew or demolish their current properties (Hochstenbach & van Gent, 2016; Martini,

2023; Grotenhuis, 2023). This results in slowing down the process to convert housing types in order to create this healthier mix for the neighbourhoods. The municipality works together with the housing corporations to achieve a more equal spread of social housing, accommodating the people who need it most with good quality housing.

This paper has only used one study for social housing; however, Vienna is portrait as having the pinnacle of social housing distribution within its city. Finding a study of this city would mean a fine comparison and maybe a learning opportunity for the city of Groningen for future research.
Only two housing corporations have been interviewed about their experiences in this field. For future research it could be more representative to have all (or most) of the corporations in the city of Groningen interviewed.

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