



SEGREGATION IN THE OOSTERPARKWIJK

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TABLE OF CONTENT

- ABSTRACT 2**
- 1. INTRODUCTION 3**
 - 1.1 BACKGROUND..... 3
 - 1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM 5
 - 1.3 THESIS STRUCTURE..... 5
- 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 6**
 - 2.1.1 UNDERSTANDING SOCIO-ECONOMIC SEGREGATION 6
 - 7
 - 2.1.2 CONTEXTUALIZING THE OOSTERPARKWIJK 8
 - 2.1.3 POLICIES AND STRATEGIES 10
 - 2.1.3.1 Housing strategies 10*
 - 2.1.3.2 Social coherence strategies 11*
 - 2.2 CONCEPTUAL MODEL 12
 - 12
 - 2.3 HYPOTHESES 12
- 3. METHODOLOGY..... 13**
- 4. RESULTS 16**
 - 4.1 SOCIO-ECONOMIC SEGREGATION IN THE OOSTERPARKWIJK 16
 - 4.2 DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OOSTERPARKWIJK..... 17
 - 4.3 STRATEGIES AND POLICIES..... 19
 - 4.4 BARRIERS AND CHALLENGES IN THE OOSTERPARKWIJK 21
- 5. CONCLUSION..... 22**
- APPENDIX..... 26**
 - CODED INTERVIEWS: 26

ABSTRACT

This study delves into the phenomenon of socio-economic segregation within the Oosterparkwijk. The primary inquiry to be addressed in this study is: "What is the potential effectiveness of existing policies and strategies to mitigate and reduce socio-economic segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?"

Socio-economic segregation is known as unequal spatial distribution of distinct occupational or income groups within the residential areas of a city. The neighborhood is known as a 'disadvantaged' neighborhood and this is confirmed by an examination of the neighborhoods' demographic characteristics. Different policies and strategies have helped to reduce the segregation in the neighborhood, and new plans are still in the making. To give an insight in what strategies the neighborhood used to reduce the segregation, which strategies work best and what can be done better, a mix of interviews with inhabitants of the neighborhood and a literature review has been conducted.

Based on information retrieved from these data sources, the effectiveness of existing policies to reduce socio-economic segregation in the Oosterparkwijk has been analyzed. Fourteen out of the fifteen interviewees have noticed socio-economic segregation in the neighborhood. All of them however also seen changes in the neighborhood in terms of strategic measures to curb segregation. As the conclusions of this thesis show, the most effective policies to reduce this segregation are the housing policies used in the neighborhood. For the inhabitants in the neighborhood, the new housing that was built in the neighborhood over the past years, had the biggest impact in the changes visible in the neighborhood.

However, housing strategies are often created on a city scale and not on a neighborhood scale. A recommendation for further research is to investigate the socio-economic segregation on the city scale in Groningen. Interview individuals from every neighborhood in Groningen and comparing these answers can give a comprehensive understanding in the segregation.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

In Groningen, one in five households live below the poverty line. Groningen is the city with the biggest increase in segregation of all Dutch cities in the past years (Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2019). Income based residential segregation predominantly arises from the residential preferences of higher-income households, given their economic capacity to actualize their housing and neighborhood predilections (Van Ham et al., 2021). Abundant literature demonstrates that the clustering of disadvantaged populations in particular neighborhoods can pose a challenge to social cohesion, impede citizen participation, hinder access to the labor market, affect educational achievement and potentially contribute to urban unrest and riots (Haandrikman et al., 2021). Figure 1a depicts the number of individuals receiving government payment due to unemployment. The figure illustrates the neighborhood the Oosterparkwijk as one of the areas characterized by a low average income (Gemeente Groningen, 2020). In this research there will be looked at this specific neighborhood in Groningen, the Oosterparkwijk (figure 1b).

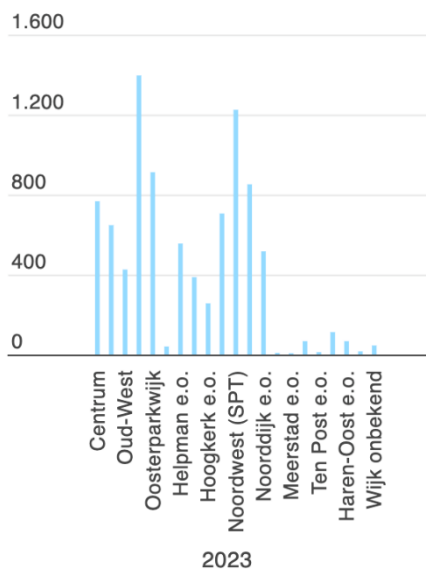


FIGURE 1A INCOME IN GRONINGEN (GEMEENTE GRONINGEN, 2023)

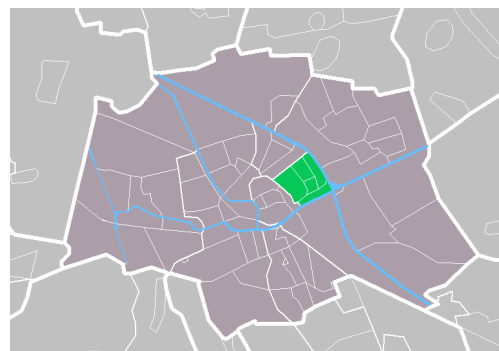


FIGURE 1B: OOSTERPARKWIJK, GRONINGEN (WIKIPEDIA, 2023)

Over the past years the neighborhood has witnessed an urban transformation and a shifting population dynamic. However, there are still some difficulties in the neighborhood. In the article “How a neighborhood determines your opportunities” Wouda (2022) mentions individuals from outside the neighborhood do not want to live in the ‘Oosterparkwijk’, which creates a form of segregation. Hence, there is a necessity to measure the magnitude of socio-economic segregation and comprehend the mechanisms influencing segregation patterns, encompassing both low-income and high-income demographics (Haandrikman et al., 2021).

The municipality of Groningen has formulated a developmental plan for the neighborhood in 2022. This visionary document delineates an aspiration towards achieving a future characterized by a harmonized distribution of vulnerable populations within the community (Gemeente Groningen, 2022).

A substantial proportion of rental housing within the neighborhood has undergone a conversion into privately owned residences, involving the merging of existing houses, and the development of new housing units (Van Dam & Fundamenteel, 2010). According to the Municipality of Groningen challenges do still exist. A relatively low proportion of residents are engaged in gainful employment, there is reduced engagement in neighborhood governance and the decision-making process, individuals experience heightened social isolation, and an array of various health-related issues are shown (University of Groningen, 2022).

The research gap for this study lies in the limited empirical exploration and comprehensive analysis of the specific policies and strategies implemented to address socio-economic segregation in the ‘Oosterparkwijk’. There is a scarcity of in-depth investigations that carefully examine the outcomes, impact, and effectiveness of these interventions, hindering a nuanced understanding of their practical implications. Consequently, a gap exists in the current research landscape regarding the nuanced examination of successes or shortcomings of the implemented measures in fostering a more integrated and equitable socio-economic landscape in the Oosterparkwijk.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

The aim of this research is to understand the segregation patterns in the area of the Oosterparkwijk in Groningen and to what extent these patterns have been influenced by spatial planning strategies.

This will be researched by answering the following research question:

What is the potential effectiveness of existing policies and strategies to mitigate and reduce socio-economic segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?

To arrive to a concluding answer for this primary research question, four sub questions will be answered. These sub questions are:

1. To what extent has socioeconomic spatial segregation persisted in the Oosterparkwijk?
2. How do the current demographic and socioeconomic characteristics manifest in terms of spatial segregation?
3. What successful strategies and policies, within the Oosterparkwijk, have been employed to mitigate socioeconomic spatial segregation?
4. What are the key challenges and barriers to implementing successful strategies and policies to reduce socio-economic segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?

1.3 THESIS STRUCTURE

Moving beyond the introductory phase, chapter 2 of this thesis will be on the theoretical framework. This establishes the academic underpinnings of this study. This section unfolds with an exploration of the conceptual model. Subsequently the methodology in chapter 3 will outline the research design and the data collection methods. The result section is subdivided into distinct inquiries, each addressing a specific sub question. With these gathered results, the conclusion will be synthesized, offering a coherent summary of the research outcomes. It revisits the research questions and hypotheses, drawing together the threads of the study to derive comprehensive insights into the effectiveness of existing strategies and policies in mitigating socio-economic spatial segregation in the Oosterparkwijk. This structured organization ensures a logical progression, guiding the reader through the sequential development of the thesis—from the introductory context to the theoretical foundation, methodological approach, empirical findings, and ultimately, to a cohesive and well-supported conclusion. Each section serves a distinct purpose, contributing to the overall coherence and academic rigor of the research.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this study, the focus will be directed towards an examination of socio-economic segregation within the Oosterparkwijk. In this case the segregation is mainly about income/economic wealth. In the theoretical framework all relevant concepts are discussed. Focusing on understanding the term socio-economic segregation, the segregation in the Oosterparkwijk and different policies and strategies.

2.1.1 UNDERSTANDING SOCIO-ECONOMIC SEGREGATION

The concept of socio-economic segregation can be defined as: 'the unequal spatial distribution of distinct occupational or income groups within the residential areas of a city or urban area' (Van Ham et al., 2021).

Musterd et al. (2016), states that there are four important aspects in influencing the socio-economic segregation. These factors are social inequalities, shifting economic structures and intensities of global connectedness, welfare regimes and housing systems. This study primarily concentrates on the housing systems within the Oosterparkwijk. These five factors intersect and influence each other over an extended period. There is a growing recognition that these factors and interactions manifest differently in various national and local contexts, although the mechanisms covering these distinctions remain largely unclear.

In urban settings, poverty tends to cluster in specific regions and disadvantaged neighborhoods, often a consequence of limited choices and the availability of easily accessible and affordable housing. Conversely, higher social strata also exhibit a tendency to concentrate, but this typically is a voluntary act, as they choose to segregate themselves from the broader society and opt for (upper) middle-class districts (Anacker, 2009).

Another study conducted by Tammaru et al. (2015) about socioeconomic segregation in European capital cities presents figure 2, stating that the unique characteristics of a place are an important factor in the development of a city, or neighborhood. Exerting influence on the economic activities, this phenomenon also shapes the dynamics of a welfare regime and housing market. The present-day diversity morphology, housing inventory and social class structures can be tracked back to the historical pathways undertaken by city regions. This urban layout and state of the housing condition can also make an important difference in the existence of socio-economic segregation. The contemporary institutional setup, coupled with the historical pathway, exerts influence over processes such as globalization and economic restructuring, the social inequities and housing segmentation and at last the residential segregation of social groups. (Tammaru et al. 2015).

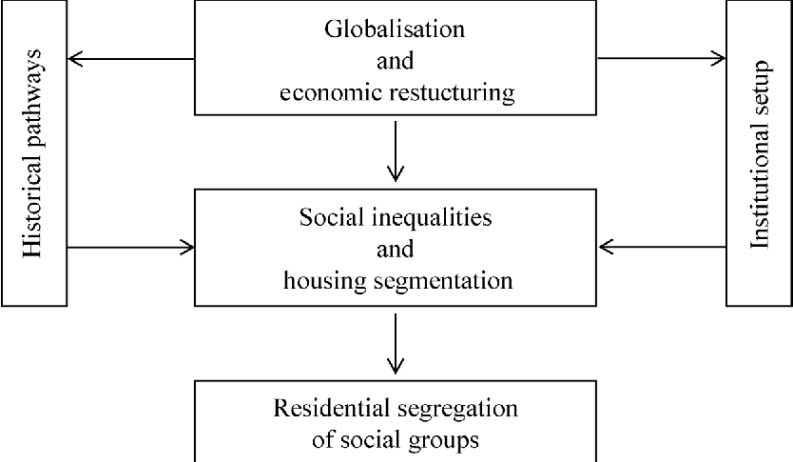


FIGURE 2: CONTEXTUAL APPROACH TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC SEGREGATION (TAMMARU ET AL., 2015)

2.1.2 CONTEXTUALIZING THE OOSTERPARKWIJK

The Oosterparkwijk, situated in Groningen, the Netherlands, commenced residential development in 1918, initially characterized by laborer housing until 1940. Historically, the neighborhood primarily served trade and industry purposes since 1900, marked by the construction of additional labor residences. A significant renewal initiative gained momentum in 1998, as noted by Hacquebord and Overbeek (n.d.). The extant development plan for Oosterparkwijk, as of 2022, has yielded substantial enhancements in the quality of housing, resulting in notable improvements across thousands of residential units (Bestemmingsplan Oosterparkwijk, 2022). As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, according to Tammaru et al. (2015), the historical pathway of a city region significantly influences the residential segregation of social groups.

Figure 3 shows personal information of the inhabitants of the Oosterparkwijk, with the socio-economic status circled in the figure. Here you can see the income level is lower than the average in the municipality of Groningen, a characteristic confirming the segregation in the neighborhood (Kompas van Groningen, Basismonitor Groningen, 2022). In addition to income, the educational attainment and labor force are also illustrated. The most noteworthy aspect in figure 3 is the income level, which is lower than average. However, when examining the educational level, it is observed that the middle-high level of education is underrepresented compared to both low and high educational levels.

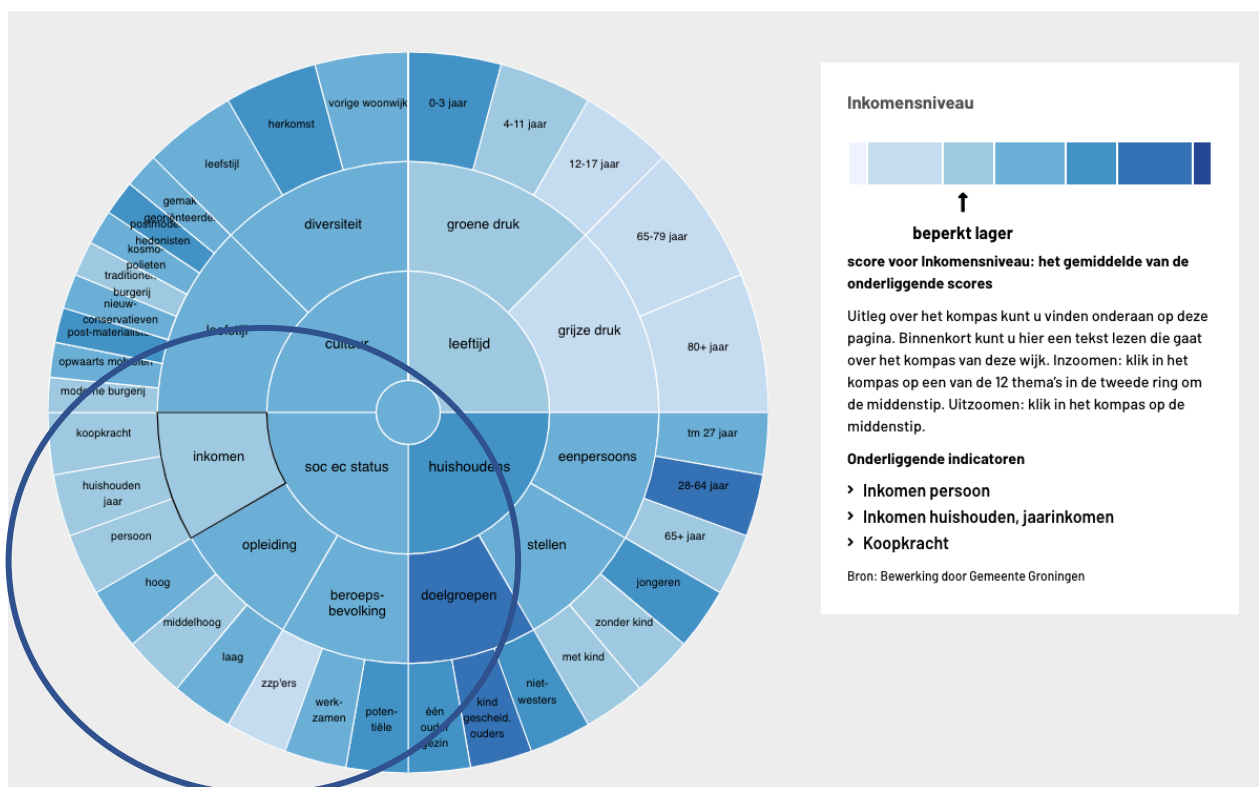


FIGURE 3: INCOME LEVEL IN THE OOSTERPARKWIJK (KOMPAS VAN GRONINGEN)

In 2018, Huuhka and Saarimaa (2018) conducted a study that specifically addressed the capacity of existing buildings within a city or neighborhood. This paper centers on the absence of diversity in dwelling sizes contributing to residential segregation. The findings in this article suggests that the lack of larger dwellings in mass housing contribute to the segregation in neighborhoods (Huuhka and Saarimaa, 2018). When examining the Oosterparkwijk, a substantial proportion of the housing in the neighborhood falls under the category of mass housing. The labor residences constructed in this area are characterized by their compact size, and there is restricted variability in their design.

Due to the proliferation of the mass housing in the neighborhood, apartments constitute a significant majority, making up 78,8% of the residential composition (CBS, 2023). In urban settings, poverty frequently clusters in specific regions and disadvantaged neighborhoods, primarily due to limited housing options and the availability of easily reachable and affordable residences (Musterd et al., 2016). A considerable amount of these mass houses is under the ownership of housing corporations. Figure 4 illustrates the ratios of property ownership in the Oosterparkwijk. Revealing that the percentage of social rent houses in the neighborhood is notably high at 48%.

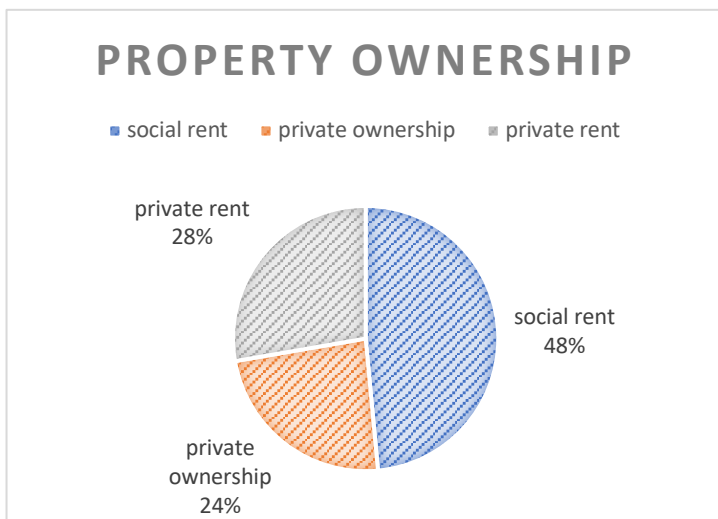


FIGURE 4: PROPERTY OWNERSHIP RATIOS IN THE OOSTERPARKWIJK (CBS, 2023)

2.1.3 POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

2.1.3.1 HOUSING STRATEGIES

This clustering of specific housing types is clearly visible in the Oosterparkwijk. The ownership of homes has increased in the years in the Oosterparkwijk, although there still is a higher number of social rent houses than the average in the municipality of Groningen. Within this housing category, individuals who contribute to disturbances or nuisances are frequently found. These problems are mostly caused by drugs- or alcohol problems, domestic violence, and psychiatry (*Bestemmingsplan Oosterparkwijk, 2022*).

Due to the national memorandum called 'Nota Stedelijke Vernieuwing' in 1997, cities were encouraged to start large-scale restructuring (Ministerie van VROM, 1997). Because of this, the renewal of the neighborhood accelerated in 1998 with the help of both the municipality and corporations. This was part of an integral neighborhood renewal plan called 'Wijkvernieuwing op zijn Oosterparks', translated as 'Neighborhood renewal like Oosterparks' (Gemeente Groningen, n.d.)

With the start of the 'Plan van Aanpak Bloemenbuurt' (Plan of Action Bloemenbuurt), established by the city council in 2005, approximately 1000 houses underwent a process of quality improvement. Simultaneously, the municipality embarked on the revitalization of public spaces (Gemeente Groningen, n.d.). While these initiatives signal positive strides, in an ambitious renewal plan from the municipality from 2005 to 2008 over 900 new homes were planned. Due to diverse causes this was not realized and only 140 homes were completed (Gemeente Groningen, n.d.). This delay results in degradation and increases insecurity in the neighborhood.

Despite these challenges, the neighborhood has witnessed improvements across various facets, with the primary focus on addressing housing challenges. The Oosterparkwijk stands out as a unique area in the city, as nowhere else are there plans for as many houses. These plans are explained in a vision for the neighborhood, created by the municipality of Groningen in 2020. In this structural vision, titled as: 'Living and the long-term plan for living', comprehensive plans for the forthcoming years, of which some are already in progress, are formulated and articulated. The big picture of this vision is:

1. Achieving a balanced distribution of vulnerable individuals across neighborhoods,
2. Synergy with the strategic asset management policies of housing corporations,
3. The promotion of more (substantial) ground-based dwellings withing the existing urban fabric, ensuring accessibility to amenities,
4. Considering housing expansion possibilities,
5. Facilitating an enhanced and diversified supply of housing options for young adults,
6. The provision of suitable and appealing rental apartments for seniors in proximity to amenities, particularly in post-war reconstruction neighborhoods, should be considered (Gemeente Groningen, 2022)

2.1.3.2 SOCIAL COHERENCE STRATEGIES

In addition to the vision concerning housing in the Oosterparkwijk, recent plans for the neighborhood also prioritize cohesion. The concept of Michi-Noeki was conceived in 2017, aiming to establish community center that enhances both the social and physical infrastructure within the neighborhood (Vollmer & partners, n.d.). Completed in 2023, Michi-Noeki has already demonstrated positive impacts on neighborhood coherence.

The municipality's Bestemmingsplan indicates a robust citizen participation within the neighborhood, highlighting substantial efforts in basic amenities and specific welfare facilities in recent years (Gemeente Groningen, n.d.). Despite these advancements, there were identified shortcomings in the accessibility of these amenities. To address this issue the initiative: 'Zorgen voor Morgen' (Worries for Tomorrow), was launched, deploying the Ministry of Neighborhood approach to reinforce these essential facilities.

2.2 CONCEPTUAL MODEL

Socio-economic segregation is a complex phenomenon. To unravel the intricacies of this multifaceted issue and concepts related to this issue, a conceptual model was constructed. This model serves as a support to the theoretical framework, that also provides for a systematic and comprehensive understanding of the dynamics that underlie the socio-economic segregation in the Oosterparkwijk.

The status of the neighborhood has influence on both the demographic status and the socio-economic status, where in this study the focus is on the socio-economic status of a neighborhood. The socio-economic status of a neighborhood is determined by income inequality in a neighborhood, which is mostly influenced by the housing types available. The income inequality, together with the housing types accessible have great impact on the extent of socio-economic residential segregation.

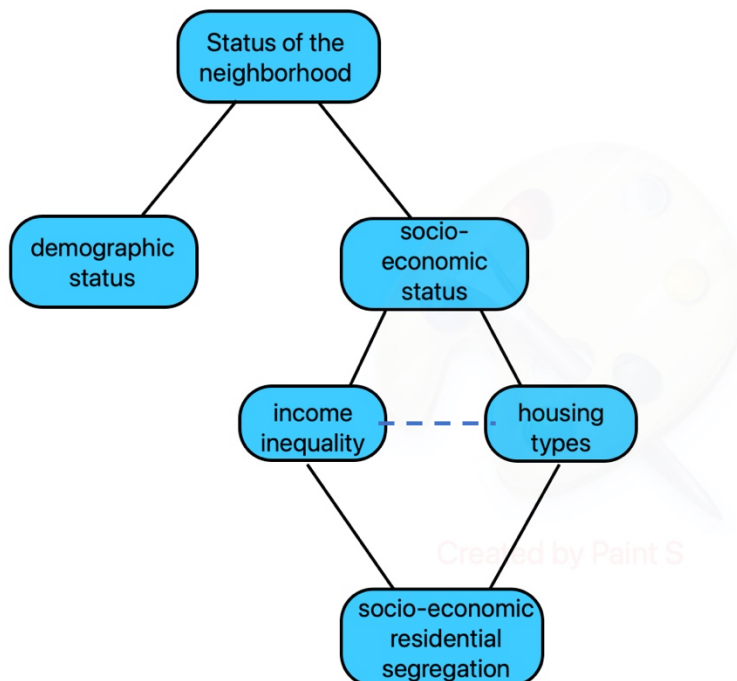


FIGURE 5: CONCEPTUAL MODEL

2.3 HYPOTHESES

Based on the prior literature studied concerning the Oosterparkwijk neighborhood it is hypothesized that, even though shortcomings and additional challenges exist, existing policies and strategies implemented to mitigate segregation in the Oosterparkwijk area has been mostly successful. Especially the strategies where rental houses were changed into ownership houses. This made the neighborhood change significantly. Other policies, more focused on making the neighborhood socially attractive, also helped change the image of the neighborhood. Changing the image of a neighborhood can help attracting people of all income levels.

3. METHODOLOGY

This study employs a mixed-method research design, combining qualitative interviews with residents of the Oosterparkwijk neighborhood and a comprehensive literature review. This approach allows an all-round analysis of the existing policies and strategies aimed at mitigating socio-economic segregation.

The collection of data will thus be done in two different methods. First there will be looked at the qualitative interviews:

A diverse group of residents from the Oosterparkwijk will be sampled. In this way a representation of various socio-economic backgrounds is shown. The interviews will be done in a semi-structured way. The answer and conversation following these questions will give insight in residents' perceptions, experiences, and opinions regarding existing policies and strategies related to socio-economic segregation. The audio of these interviews will be recorded and transcribed. This transcription is made with ATLAS.ti. The aim for the primary data collection, is to perform at least 15 interviews. Including 5 of each of the income scales, used in the questions. In this way multiple socioeconomic statuses are represented.

To answer sub question one: 'To what extent has socioeconomic spatial segregation persisted in the Oosterparkwijk?' the following questions will be asked in the interview:

1. Are you familiar with the term segregation? → If not explain this before asking the rest of the questions.
2. Do you notice anything of the spatial segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?
3. How long have you been living in the Oosterparkwijk?
4. Would you answer a question about your income?
If yes, → What income group are you in?
 1. <30.00
 2. 30.000 – 40.000
 3. >40.000

For sub question two: 'How do the current demographic and socioeconomic characteristics manifest in terms of spatial segregation?' statistical data found in literature will be used to find an answer to this question. The Dutch central bureau for statistics provides an extensive array of data online regarding demographic and socioeconomic characteristics.

In addressing the third sub question: 'What successful strategies and policies, both within and outside of the Oosterparkwijk, have been employed to mitigate socioeconomic spatial segregation in similar urban settings?', data will be retrieved from the following questions:

1. Have you noticed changes in the inhabitants of the neighborhood in the time that you lived here?
2. In the area different strategies and policies have been implemented to mitigate the segregation have you noticed any of these?
3. List strategies and policies that have been implemented → which strategies or policy/changes have you noticed?

To respond to the fourth sub question, which focusses on identifying the primary challenges and barriers in implementing strategies: 'What are the key challenges and barriers to implementing successful strategies and policies to reduce socio-economic segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?'. Valuable insights will be extracted from both literature and the answers provided in the concluding interview question:

1. What are challenges you still notice in the area nowadays?

The second part of the data collection will be done by literature review. Academic databases, government reports, policy documents and relevant articles will be searched. From this suitable information, about policies and strategies used inside and outside the neighborhood to mitigate the segregation, findings and policy recommendations will be analyzed. The review from literature will be used in combination with the information obtained from the interviews, to give a final answer to each sub question.

The data collected from the interviews and literature review will be compared to identify areas of agreement or disagreement. Qualitative analysis from the interviews will thus be integrated with the understanding derived from the literature review. In this way an understanding of the effectiveness of existing policies and strategies will be generated.

Ensuring ethical standards in the research process is of great importance, especially when conducting interviews and literature reviews that involve human subjects and sometimes sensitive or personal information. To maintain ethical integrity, some considerations will be made. Prior to conducting the interviews, informed consent will be obtained from all participants. Clear information about the study's purpose, their role and how the data will be used will be provided to them. The participants should have the option to withdraw from the research at any time. The participants privacy will be protected throughout the research, no unneeded information about the participants will be shared in the data review. The recordings will be kept confidentially in a password protected file. After the recordings are transcribed and analyzed with ATLAS.ti the recordings will be deleted, which will ensure the recordings cannot be leaked in the future.

In the literature review, ethical considerations will be applied to the selection of sources. All sources and citations should be referenced correct to avoid plagiarism.

The risk of doing these interviews with inhabitants of the neighborhood is in their knowledge about segregation. Without having knowledge about this concept, answering these questions could be difficult. Because of this, it is important to give enough background information about the topic, the neighborhood, and the combination.

When analyzing the data, the answer given to question three, 'what income scale are you in?' is important. When knowing the income scale, the other questions can be compared with inhabitants from the same scale. This will give three sets of data to be compared with each other.

4. RESULTS

4.1 SOCIO-ECONOMIC SEGREGATION IN THE OOSTERPARKWIJK

Socioeconomic segregation has played a role in the neighborhood in the past and is still existing nowadays. An analysis of the housing composition in the neighborhood reveals that 48% of the residential property are under the ownership of rent corporations (CBS, 2023). The municipality of Groningen is vested in reconfiguring the housing distribution within the city. The envisioned framework advocates for a balanced distribution in each neighborhood, stipulating 30% allocated to social rent, 40% to the middle segment, and 30% to the higher segment. The proportion of housing allocated to social rent within the Oosterparkwijk neighborhood exceeds the prescribed threshold, resulting in disproportionate proportions. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, the distribution of different housing types across a city or neighborhood contributes to the existence of socioeconomic segregation.

The University of Groningen is doing research in the Oosterparkwijk, speaking about the neighborhood as a 'deprived area'. According to the article 'How your neighborhood determines your opportunities' from Wouda (2022), the neighborhood still has relatively few employed residents and the participation in the administration of the neighborhood is also below average.

Upon examination of the conducted interviews, a pattern is consistently identified by numerous residents within the neighborhood. Out of the fifteen interviewees, only one respondent contends that socio-economic segregation does not exist in the neighborhood. The answer to the question if the interviewee notices anything of the spatial segregation was: 'No not really, I did not know what segregation is, so I never paid attention to it.' Conversely, the majority acknowledge the presence of socio-economic segregation to varying extents. While a subset of respondents perceives this phenomenon only in modest proportions, others assert that socio-economic segregation plays a substantial role in shaping the dynamics of the area. Although the extent of inhabitants not familiar with the term segregation was high, most residents immediately saw the link with the Oosterparkwijk after explaining the term. For example, the answer: 'Yes I can see, but never really thought about it', was given to the question if the person noticed anything of the segregation. For others the segregation was a lot more remarkable, for these inhabitants the answers given were more detailed. The answer: 'Quite a lot, I see very typical social rent houses in big areas of the neighborhood' was an outstanding one. Examining the income groups of the respondents, no variation is observed. Both individuals with higher and lower incomes acknowledge the existence of the segregation. This indicates that, based on both residents' perspectives and literature data, segregation has endured and continues to exist in the Oosterparkwijk.

4.2 DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OOSTERPARKWIJK

Demographic and socioeconomic characteristics can give a clear insight in the extent of segregation in a neighborhood. Looking at the Oosterparkwijk in this case, there are some characteristics that confirm this.

The Oosterparkwijk has, following the latest numbers, 12.515 inhabitants. These inhabitants are spread across 8.295 households. The one-person households are best represented, with 60%. The number of inhabitants in the Oosterparkwijk are slowly growing since 2016. In comparison with other neighborhoods in the Netherlands, the Oosterparkwijk has a high number of people with a migration background. The average in the Netherlands was almost 15% in 2021, where in the Oosterparkwijk this number was almost at 30% (CBS, 2023).

Among the 8.295 households officially registered in the neighborhood, a crucial aspect in this study as outlined in the theoretical framework, is the noteworthy prevalence of rental housing. Specifically, the proportion of rental houses in this neighborhood stands at 77%, significantly surpassing the national average in the Netherlands, which is 41% (van den Eerenbeemt, 2022).

As per the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), 69.5% of households in the Oosterparkwijk fall within the lowest 40% of financial welfare, contrasting with the entire city of Groningen, where 58.3% are in this group (CBS, 2023). Remarkably, a mere 5% of Oosterparkwijk residents belong to the highest percentile group (81-100%), underscoring the limited presence of individuals with elevated income levels in this neighborhood (CBS, 2023).

The Central Bureau of Statistics has analyzed the socioeconomic statuses of households. This analysis is calculated with a multiple correspondence analysis, using three different inputs that include the wealth decile of the households (10 categories), the educational score (5 categories) and the category for employment history (7 categories). With the use of the score per household, the average score per neighborhood is calculated (CBS, 2021). The score that is calculated is the: "SES-WOA" score. The average score in the Netherlands in 2021 is around zero (CBS, 2021). The SES-WOA score of the Oosterparkwijk is -0,396, for the whole of the municipality of Groningen this score is -0,220. A higher score indicates that the inhabitants are more prosperous, possess higher educational qualifications, and/or have been engaged in employment for an extended duration.

Examining the figures below reveals both the financial welfare and the SES-WOA score, providing insights into the characteristics of the neighborhood. A distinct division is evident in Groningen, with the northern areas exhibiting lower average income and, consequently, lower average SES-WOA scores. This signifies that the wealth decile scores of households, educational attainment, and employment history in these areas are comparatively lower than in other parts of Groningen. The Oostparkwijk, circled in both figures, scores in the lower range for both financial welfare and SES-WOA scores.

Financiële Welvaart
Gemiddelde percentielgroep

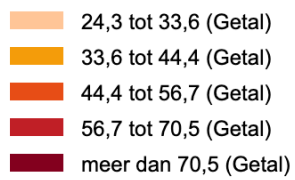
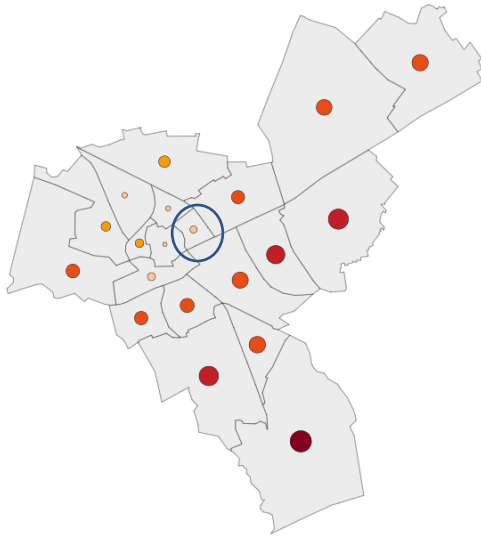


FIGURE 6A: FINANCIAL WELFARE (CBS, 2022)

SES-WOA
Totaalscore
Gemiddelde score

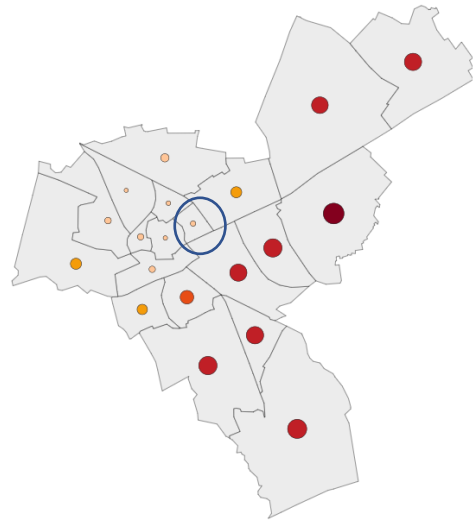


FIGURE 6B: SES-WOA SCORE (CBS, 2022)

4.3 STRATEGIES AND POLICIES

The municipality of Groningen and the Oosterparkwijk have been busy in the past years to mitigate the segregation existing in the area. The most successful strategy is the increase in property ownership, due to the ‘neighborhood renewal project’ (Gemeente Groningen, 2022). This renewal project started from 1998, involving the renovation of existing housing and the construction of new houses. While the ratio between owner-occupied housing and social rent housing is not ideal, it has significantly improved compared to the situation when the renewal project commenced in 1998. Examining specific numerical data, it is evident that this strategy has yielded positive results. In 2009, the percentage of housing owned by housing corporations stood at 65%, while in 2023, this figure decreased to 48% (CBS, 2023). The prevalence of owner-occupied residences contributes to an increased accessibility for first-time buyers within the housing market.

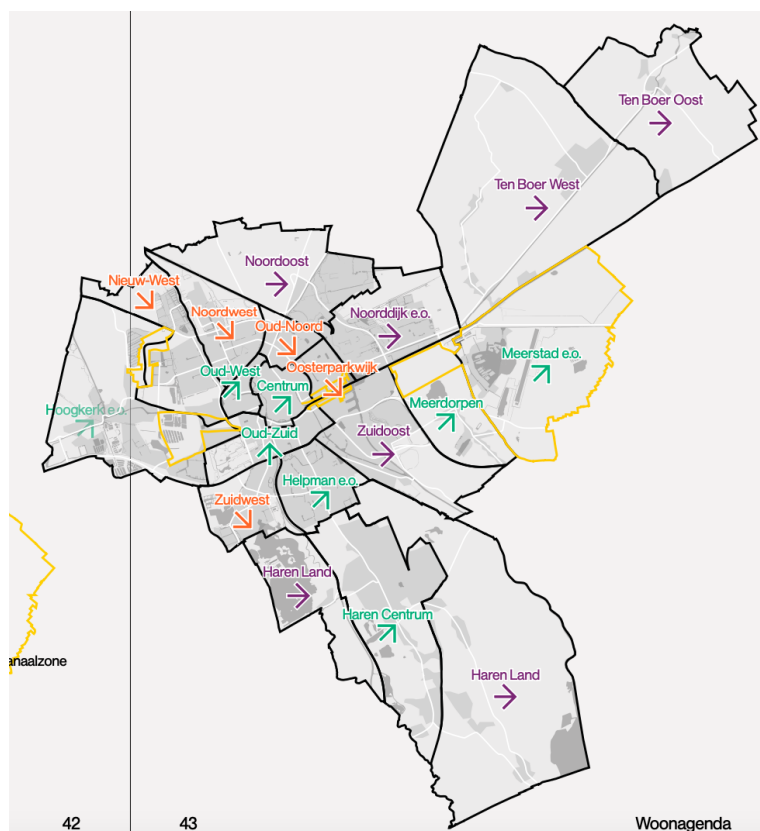


FIGURE 7: DIRECTION OF MOTION SOCIAL RENT (GEMEENTE GRONINGEN, 2020)

The ‘Woonvisie’, created by the municipality of Groningen uses the same strategy for the Oosterparkwijk. Figure 7 illustrates this strategy, the dedicated motion of social rent allocation per neighborhood in Groningen is presented. Neighborhoods showing the purple straight arrow are expected to keep the same proportion of social rent housing. Conversely, neighborhoods characterized by the orange descending arrow should witness a modest reduction in the proportion of social rent. Meanwhile, those exhibiting a purple ascending arrow are encouraged to augment the quantity of social houses. This figure affirms the notable proportion of social rent housing in the neighborhood. The descending orange arrow for the Oosterparkwijk suggests that the neighborhood would achieve better balance if the proportion of social rent housing were reduced (Gemeente Groningen, 2022).

When analyzing the data conducted from the interviews, several noteworthy aspects emerge. Using the quotation Manager in ATLAS.Ti, it becomes apparent that the category of ‘Urban development’ is recurrently cited in six responses. Indicating that among the fifteen interviewed inhabitants, six have provided responses related to urban development when assessing changes in the neighborhood over the past years. The visual representation in figure 8 further clarifies that urban development, change and the housing market prominently emerge as recurrent themes. With regard to the successful strategies and policies used in the neighborhood this can tell us what, according to the inhabitants, have made the biggest impact in mitigating the socio-economic segregation.

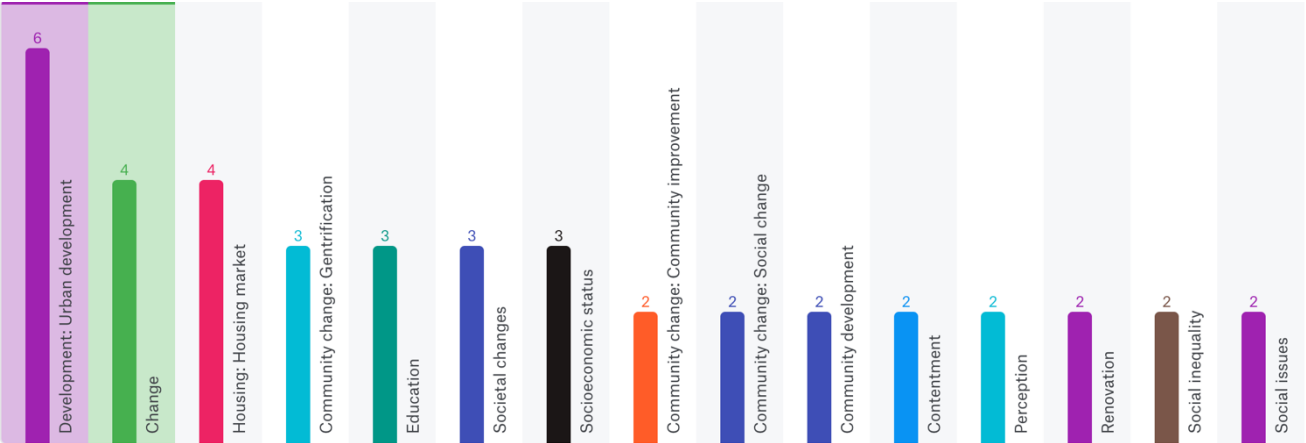


FIGURE 8: QUOTATION MANAGER (ATLAS.TI)

Urban development, change and housing are factors that arise both in the interviews and the literature. The renewal project and housing strategy from the municipality are the most remarkable influences on the socio-economic segregation looking into literature. Examining figure 8, the responses from the interviewed inhabitants align with the findings documented in the literature. Numerous interviewees highlighted new apartments blocks and the sale of existing social rent housing as the most remarkable changes in recent years. Those providing these responses observed an increase in the presence of individuals with a higher income and education levels in the neighborhood compared to the past. An illustrative response for this to the question regarding whether the interviewee noticed any strategies and policies implemented in the neighborhood: ‘I have seen that some social rent houses have been sold. I have also noticed some new houses and apartments have been built’.

Concluding this, the most important policies in the neighborhood existed in terms of housing. Seeing the impact in numbers on new housing and the sale of existing housing. Residents also notice this as the biggest change in the past couple of years.

4.4 BARRIERS AND CHALLENGES IN THE OOSTERPARKWIJK

Although the neighborhood has made some big improvements over the last couple of years, there are still some challenges in the neighborhood nowadays. Looking at the literature review that has been done in this research so far, the main challenge has to do with the existing housing in the neighborhood. As stated in the theoretical framework, most of the existing houses in the Oosterparkwijk are old labor houses. Most of these old labor houses are in ownership of social rent companies. With the share of social rent houses that are available in the neighborhood nowadays, the amount of inhabitants with low income in the neighborhood is greater than in other parts of Groningen. The number of owner-occupied houses in the neighborhood is a restrictive factor in attracting people with different socio-economic characteristics. As noted on page 10 of the theoretical framework, individuals residing social rent housing are more prone to being associated with disturbances or nuisances. These issues are primarily attributed to problems related to drugs or alcohol, domestic violence, and psychiatric conditions (Gemeente Groningen, 2022).

Another challenge that emerged from the literature review, is the perceived stigma that the neighborhood knows. Because of the status of 'disadvantaged' neighborhood, the Oosterparkwijk is not attractive for people with higher incomes.

In the interview the question, 'What are challenges you still notice in the area nowadays?' has been asked. Quotations that mostly arise from this question are social inequality and social issues. An example of an answer to the question about challenges in the area is: 'I think parts of the area still have a very high amount of jobless people. I believe this can cause problems.' The interviewees acknowledge the high amount of jobless people and amount of social rent in the neighborhood. However not everybody sees this as a challenge for the neighborhood, most do admit this statement.

Looking at the number of social rent housing, the statistics on income and the answers of the interviewees, it must be admitted there still are numerous challenges in this neighborhood. With the key challenge being in the type of housing the neighborhood has to offer. With a high amount of rental housing, attracting people with a higher income is difficult. This causes a barrier in reducing the socio-economic segregation. A very successful strategy for this is creating a completely new housing plan for the neighborhood, but this will cost an extensive amount of money.

5. CONCLUSION

In this thesis multiple aspects to answer the main research question: ‘What is the potential effectiveness of existing policies and strategies to mitigate and reduce socio-economic segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?’ have been covered. Fifteen interviews with inhabitants of the Oosterparkwijk facilitated in answering questions about the socio-economic segregation in the neighborhood. Through an extensive analysis of these interviews in combination with the literature reviewed, this thesis has sought to find which strategies and policies are most effective to reduce and mitigate this socio-economic segregation.

The findings of both, the interviews and the literature review are coherent. The neighborhood’s status as ‘disadvantaged’ is substantiated by demographic analysis, and the study has identified various policies and strategies that have contributed to mitigating the segregation. These policies encompass housing policies implemented by the municipality, along with strategies aimed at enhancing social cohesion within the neighborhood. The impact of housing policies emerges as a pivotal factor, with the constructing of new housing standing out as the most effective measure in bringing out tangible changes in the neighborhood. The insights gathered from the interviews confirm the impact of these housing policies. Inhabitants find that building of new housing, and the sale of existing social rent houses, have the greatest impact in the change of inhabitants in the neighborhood.

Concluding this and giving an answer to the research question. The effectiveness of existing policies and strategies to mitigate and reduce socio-economic segregation in the Oosterparkwijk emerges as a salient outcome of this research. The housing policies and strategies were the most effective in mitigating the socio-economic segregation, with the building of new housing having the utmost impact. Other strategies, like the Michi-Noeki project, did also have an influence on the segregation in the area. A community center, such as the Michi-Noeki, helps in creating an attractive neighborhood. With the disappearance of facilities in the neighborhood, a community center like this provides a place where people can meet, or rest when needed.

The study recognizes both its strengths and weaknesses, particularly in the domains of data collection and data analysis. While the research benefits from certain robust aspects, a notable limitation pertains to the scope of data collection through interviews. Fifteen interviews have been conducted from inhabitants. According to the book from Creswell and Creswell (2017) there are no strict guidelines regarding the number of participants in qualitative research. There is suggested that anywhere from 10 to 50 participants may be adequate, depending on the nature of the research and the research question. The author suggests that 15 interviews in this study is sufficient to provide substantive background, given the relatively small scale of the research. To make the study more reliable a greater number of interviews could be a benefit. Despite the relatively small sample size, the similarity in responses provide a degree of consistency, mitigating concerns typically associated with limited interview numbers. The collected data from the interviews was elaborated with the tool Atlas.Ti. This tool can easily display remarkable quotations given in the interviews, which provides for a detailed explanation of the data. Having knowledge of this tool beforehand would make the use, and with this the further elaboration of the data more enhanced than it was done currently. Because of the size of this thesis, the area of interest was limited to one neighborhood. Socio-economic spatial segregation, as shown in the considered literature, is commonly shown on a city scale.

Further research will hopefully be able to these kinds of studies on greater scale and give good insight in socio-economic segregation in the whole of Groningen. This is important for the further development of the city of Groningen and with using similar data, a great difference can with any luck be made in the the socio-economic segregation in Groningen.

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APPENDIX

CODED INTERVIEWS:

Interview 1: group 1

5. Are you familiar with the term segregation? → If not explain this before asking the rest of the questions.

No I'm not really familiar with this term. I know what it is, but I was never curious enough to find out what it is.

6. Do you notice anything of the spatial segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?

Yes I do.

7. How long have you been living in the Oosterparkwijk?

I've been living here for seven years.

8. Would you answer a question about your income?

If yes → What income group are you in?

1. <30.00

2. 30.000 – 40.000

3. >40.000

I belong in the first group, below 30.000.

9. Have you noticed changes in the inhabitants of the neighborhood in the time that you lived here?

Yes, in the beginning there were more people with problems, psychic and social problems. Now I notice that there are living more working people.

10. In the area different strategies and policies have been implemented have you noticed any of these?

Yes, a bit. I have seen that some housing blocks were sold, but these houses were social rent before. A few years ago they also made a neighborhood center, where people can come to socialize, read and more.

11. List strategies and policies that have been implemented → which strategies or policy have you noticed?

The most noticeable policy for me is that there are more ownership houses now than there were before.

12. What are challenges you still notice in the area nowadays?

I know they are there, and I see them but it doesn't really concern me.

Interview 2: group 2

1. Are you familiar with the term segregation? → If not explain this before asking the rest of the questions.

No I don't know what this is

2. Do you notice anything of the spatial segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?

Yes I can see the distinction. There is a separation in people with jobs and a benefit income. But I do think both groups are represented in the neighborhood.

3. How long have you been living in the Oosterparkwijk?

For 5,5 years now.

4. Would you answer a question about your income?

If yes → What income group are you in?

1. <30.00
2. 30.000 – 40.000
3. >40.000

In the middle group. From 30.000-40.0000

5. Have you noticed changes in the inhabitants of the neighborhood in the time that you lived here?

Yes, the biggest difference I see is that there are more people with higher education in the neighborhood than there were 5 years ago. A I think this comes because of new houses that were built in the neighborhood.

6. In the area different strategies and policies have been implemented have you noticed any of these?

Yes I've seen lots of new houses being built in the past years.

7. List strategies and policies that have been implemented → which strategies or policy have you noticed?

I've noticed that new houses are built and houses that were social rent before, are now sold.

8. What are challenges you still notice in the area nowadays?

I do not really notice any challenges in the area. I like living here.

Interview 3: group 3

1. Are you familiar with the term segregation? → If not explain this before asking the rest of the questions.

Yes I know the term, I've read about it.

2. Do you notice anything of the spatial segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?

Yes a lot

3. How long have you been living in the Oosterparkwijk?

Not for very long, only a year.

4. Would you answer a question about your income?

If yes → What income group are you in?

1. <30.00
2. 30.000 – 40.000
3. >40.000

Group 3, plus 40.000

5. Have you noticed changes in the inhabitants of the neighborhood in the time that you lived here?

In the year I've lived here I did not notice any changes, but not that much can happen in a year. I know that the building I live in made a big change in the neighborhood. It made a lot of ownership housing, and the houses are more expensive than most in the neighborhood. This changed the inhabitants.

6. In the area different strategies and policies have been implemented have you noticed any of these?

Because I live here for a very short time, I have not seen any changes with my own eyes.

7. List strategies and policies that have been implemented → which strategies or policy have you noticed?

In the year I live here I saw the 'Wielewaalplein' change. It has some kind of neighborhood house now.

8. What are challenges you still notice in the area nowadays?

I see there are some challenges in the neighborhood. Some houses are not maintained very well, it can look like a mess in some parts of the neighborhood.

Interview 4: group 3

1. Are you familiar with the term segregation? → If not explain this before asking the rest of the questions.

No not really. But I have heard it before now that you explained it.

2. Do you notice anything of the spatial segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?

Yes I see it very clearly in the neighborhood.

3. How long have you been living in the Oosterparkwijk?

For 8 years now.

4. Would you answer a question about your income?

If yes → What income group are you in?

1. <30.00
2. 30.000 – 40.000
3. >40.000

Yes number 3, above 40.000

5. Have you noticed changes in the inhabitants of the neighborhood in the time that you lived here?

Yes a lot. The inhabitants are very different in my eyes than 8 years ago.

6. In the area different strategies and policies have been implemented have you noticed any of these?

Yes I've seen a lot of new houses being built in the neighborhood.

7. List strategies and policies that have been implemented → which strategies or policy have you noticed?

Now that you say these things, I have noticed some indeed. Like the rental houses being sold and some new projects like the Michi nookie.

8. What are challenges you still notice in the area nowadays?

I still see that there live lots of people in the area without jobs.

Interview 5: group 1

1. Are you familiar with the term segregation? → If not explain this before asking the rest of the questions.

No I have not heard this term before.

2. Do you notice anything of the spatial segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?

No not really, I did not know what it was so never paid attention to it.

3. How long have you been living in the Oosterparkwijk?

For 5 years now.

4. Would you answer a question about your income?

If yes → What income group are you in?

1. <30.00
2. 30.000 – 40.000
3. >40.000

Yes group 1, below 30.000

5. Have you noticed changes in the inhabitants of the neighborhood in the time that you lived here?

Not really, in my street everything stayed the same. I did not really pay attention to other parts.

6. In the area different strategies and policies have been implemented have you noticed any of these?

I know that there have been build some new houses.

7. List strategies and policies that have been implemented → which strategies or policy have you noticed?

I've seen that there are some bigger new houses in the area. But I did not notice any big changes

8. What are challenges you still notice in the area nowadays?

I don't think there any challenges in the area.

Interview 6; group 2

1. Are you familiar with the term segregation? → If not explain this before asking the rest of the questions.

Yes I've heard this term before.

2. Do you notice anything of the spatial segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?

Yes I can see it very clearly. I'm very interested in these kind of topics so I notice it.

3. How long have you been living in the Oosterparkwijk?

For 3 years now.

4. Would you answer a question about your income?

If yes → What income group are you in?

1. <30.00
2. 30.000 – 40.000
3. >40.000

Yes group 2, between 30.000-40.000

5. Have you noticed changes in the inhabitants of the neighborhood in the time that you lived here?

I don't live here for a very long time, but I did notice some differences in inhabitants. In the past 3 years there came some more higher educated people I think.

6. In the area different strategies and policies have been implemented have you noticed any of these?

I can see that they try to make the neighborhood more attractive for people to live. I know this neighborhood doesn't have the best image.

7. List strategies and policies that have been implemented → which strategies or policy have you noticed?

I've seen the increase new housing in the neighborhood, most of them with a bit of a higher price. But also some for new buyers.

8. What are challenges you still notice in the area nowadays?

Yes I still see that the areas in the neighborhood where there is only social rent housing are not as well developed as some other parts in the neighborhood. It can be a mess there in my opinion.

Interview 7: group 2

1. Are you familiar with the term segregation? → If not explain this before asking the rest of the questions.

I did not really know it, but now that you have explained it I understand what it is.

2. Do you notice anything of the spatial segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?

Yes I do notice it, but I did not really dwell on it.

3. How long have you been living in the Oosterparkwijk?

For a very long time, 20 years already.

4. Would you answer a question about your income?

If yes → What income group are you in?

1. <30.000
2. 30.000 – 40.000
3. >40.000

Yes no problem. I'm in group 1, below 30.000

5. Have you noticed changes in the inhabitants of the neighborhood in the time that you lived here?

Yes quite a bit, before everyone in the neighborhood knew each other. It was like a small village. Nowadays more different kind of people live here, also more immigrants.

6. In the area different strategies and policies have been implemented have you noticed any of these?

Yes in the past 20 years I saw a lot of changes in the area.

7. List strategies and policies that have been implemented → which strategies or policy have you noticed?

I've seen lots of new houses being built, also existing houses being sold instead of rent. Overall they tried to give the neighborhood another image I think.

8. What are challenges you still notice in the area nowadays?

I really like living here, so I don't really think that there are lots of challenges.

Interview 8: group 2

1. Are you familiar with the term segregation? → If not explain this before asking the rest of the questions.

Yes I do now the term.

2. Do you notice anything of the spatial segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?

Yes a bit, I can see that there are more people with a lower income than in some other parts of Groningen.

3. How long have you been living in the Oosterparkwijk?

For 13 years now.

4. Would you answer a question about your income?

If yes → What income group are you in?

1. <30.00
2. 30.000 – 40.000
3. >40.000

Yes, I'm in group 2. So 30.000-40.000

5. Have you noticed changes in the inhabitants of the neighborhood in the time that you lived here?

I've seen some changes. I think I see more foreign people now, than when I came here 13 years ago.

6. In the area different strategies and policies have been implemented have you noticed any of these?

Yes, I've seen changes in the neighborhood. For example, the social rent houses in the street next to where I live, have been sold.

7. List strategies and policies that have been implemented → which strategies or policy have you noticed?

So I've noticed more houses being sold, but indeed I also saw new more expensive houses being build.

8. What are challenges you still notice in the area nowadays?

I think it is not completely safe in the neighborhood at night. I don't like walking alone when it's dark.

Interview 9; group 1

1. Are you familiar with the term segregation? → If not explain this before asking the rest of the questions.

No not really.

2. Do you notice anything of the spatial segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?

Yes I can see, but never really thought about it.

3. How long have you been living in the Oosterparkwijk?

For 6 years now.

4. Would you answer a question about your income?

If yes → What income group are you in?

1. <30.00
2. 30.000 – 40.000
3. >40.000

I'm in group 1, below 30.000

5. Have you noticed changes in the inhabitants of the neighborhood in the time that you lived here?

Yes I've seen changes. I think that are less people with big problems and more people with jobs.

6. In the area different strategies and policies have been implemented have you noticed any of these?

I don't really know, never paid attention to this actually.

7. List strategies and policies that have been implemented → which strategies or policy have you noticed?

Now that you say so I did notice some of these strategies. The new houses attracted other people in the neighborhood.

8. What are challenges you still notice in the area nowadays?

Although there are less people with problems, I still see there are quite a few people with trouble paying bills and some have psychological issues.

Interview 10: group 3

1. Are you familiar with the term segregation? → If not explain this before asking the rest of the questions.

Yes I know this term

2. Do you notice anything of the spatial segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?

Quite a lot, I see very typical social rent houses in big areas of the neighborhood.

3. How long have you been living in the Oosterparkwijk?

For 5 years now.

4. Would you answer a question about your income?

If yes → What income group are you in?

1. <30.00
2. 30.000 – 40.000
3. >40.000

Group 3, above 40.000

5. Have you noticed changes in the inhabitants of the neighborhood in the time that you lived here?

Yes, I think the amount of people with higher salary, and higher educated people is bigger than it was before.

6. In the area different strategies and policies have been implemented have you noticed any of these?

In 5 years not that many can change. I've seen they built a new community center close to the supermarket.

7. List strategies and policies that have been implemented → which strategies or policy have you noticed?

I've seen some new houses being built in the neighborhood, and indeed the community center. I did not know they also sold some of the social rent housing.

8. What are challenges you still notice in the area nowadays?

I think the image of the neighborhood is still bad, which prevents people from outside the neighborhood moving here.

Interview 11: group 2

1. Are you familiar with the term segregation? → If not explain this before asking the rest of the questions.

Yes I do now what it is

2. Do you notice anything of the spatial segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?

A little bit, but not that much.

3. How long have you been living in the Oosterparkwijk?

For 2 years now.

4. Would you answer a question about your income?

If yes → What income group are you in?

1. <30.00
2. 30.000 – 40.000
3. >40.000

Yes, I'm in group 2 30.000-40.000

5. Have you noticed changes in the inhabitants of the neighborhood in the time that you lived here?

Not really, I only live here for 2 years. But I live in a relative new apartment block and I think the building of that apartment block already made a change in inhabitants.

6. In the area different strategies and policies have been implemented have you noticed any of these?

I think the apartment I live in could be a part of trying to improve the neighborhood.

7. List strategies and policies that have been implemented → which strategies or policy have you noticed?

I've indeed seen the new community center being opened recently.

8. What are challenges you still notice in the area nowadays?

I think there still is some work in the neighborhood, but I do not think there are very big challenges. I really like living here.

Interview 12: group 3

1. Are you familiar with the term segregation? → If not explain this before asking the rest of the questions.

Yes I know what segregation is.

2. Do you notice anything of the spatial segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?

Quite a bit, I can see the amount of low educated people and with a very low income is pretty high.

3. How long have you been living in the Oosterparkwijk?

For 8 years now.

4. Would you answer a question about your income?

If yes → What income group are you in?

1. <30.00
2. 30.000 – 40.000
3. >40.000

Yes, I'm in the third group, above 40.000/

5. Have you noticed changes in the inhabitants of the neighborhood in the time that you lived here?

Yes for sure. I think new people that came to the neighborhood have less problems. They have a higher income and I also think a higher education.

6. In the area different strategies and policies have been implemented have you noticed any of these?

I have seen that some social rent houses have been sold. I have also noticed some new houses and apartments have been built.

7. List strategies and policies that have been implemented → which strategies or policy have you noticed?

So I have indeed noticed these new houses and the sale of the social rent houses.

8. What are challenges you still notice in the area nowadays?

I think there is still a high amount of people in the neighborhood with low income, but I do not now if this causes any challenges of trouble.

Interview 13: group 3

1. Are you familiar with the term segregation? → If not explain this before asking the rest of the questions.

Not really, I've heard of the term before but I do need some explanation.

2. Do you notice anything of the spatial segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?

Yes I see it now that I think of it, but did not really noticed it before.

3. How long have you been living in the Oosterparkwijk?

For 4 years.

4. Would you answer a question about your income?

If yes → What income group are you in?

1. <30.00
2. 30.000 – 40.000
3. >40.000

Yes, no problem. I am in group 3, above 40.000

5. Have you noticed changes in the inhabitants of the neighborhood in the time that you lived here?

I have seen some more higher educated people coming in the past 4 years. I think because of some new more expensive housing.

6. In the area different strategies and policies have been implemented have you noticed any of these?

Yes so what I have seen is some new housing. I did not really notice anything else.

7. List strategies and policies that have been implemented → which strategies or policy have you noticed?

I did not know that some social rent housing has been sold, but I do not come in that part of the neighborhood that often. I did indeed notice some new apartments being build.

8. What are challenges you still notice in the area nowadays?

I think some parts of the area still have a very high amount of jobless people. This can be a problem I think.

Interview 14: group 1

1. Are you familiar with the term segregation? → If not explain this before asking the rest of the questions.

No I do not know this term at all.

2. Do you notice anything of the spatial segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?

I live here for a very long time already, so I saw the neighborhood change. I do see this segregation, but not that much anymore.

3. How long have you been living in the Oosterparkwijk?

For a very long time, 30 years already.

4. Would you answer a question about your income?

If yes → What income group are you in?

1. <30.00
2. 30.000 – 40.000
3. >40.000

5. Have you noticed changes in the inhabitants of the neighborhood in the time that you lived here?

Yes quite a lot. Before the amount of people with mental issues was much higher, nowadays much more educated and healthier people live here.

6. In the area different strategies and policies have been implemented have you noticed any of these?

I have seen a lot of things change. In the past 30 years many new houses have been built. Some old houses have been demolished. I have also seen that they tried to refurbish some of the old houses.

7. List strategies and policies that have been implemented → which strategies or policy have you noticed?

Yes so I've seen most of these strategies actually, I really love the neighborhood so I am very up to date of what is happening here.

8. What are challenges you still notice in the area nowadays?

I really love the Oosterparkwijk, so in my eyes there are no challenges. But in the eyes of some other people there must have been some things they would like to change.

Interview 15: group 1

1. Are you familiar with the term segregation? → If not explain this before asking the rest of the questions.

Yes I do now what this means.

2. Do you notice anything of the spatial segregation in the Oosterparkwijk?

Yes, quite a bit actually. I think there are a lot of people like me that live of a benefit.

3. How long have you been living in the Oosterparkwijk?

For 15 years now.

4. Would you answer a question about your income?

If yes → What income group are you in?

1. <30.00
2. 30.000 – 40.000
3. >40.000

I'm in group 1, below 30.000

5. Have you noticed changes in the inhabitants of the neighborhood in the time that you lived here?

I think the people that come here now are a lot richer than they were when I came in the neighborhood.

6. In the area different strategies and policies have been implemented have you noticed any of these?

I have seen new very nice houses being built in the area.

7. List strategies and policies that have been implemented → which strategies or policy have you noticed?

Almost all of these strategies you mentioned. But the new houses are most remarkable, I think.

8. What are challenges you still notice in the area nowadays?

I think the amount of people with a benefit are still pretty high here, I don't really now if I see this as a challenges. But probably something the municipality wants to change.