

The ideal of mixed neighbourhoods



A research about the effects of creating diversity through urban renewal

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Abstract

Since the start of the 21st century, the interest for the neighbourhood has been of great interest for the Dutch politicians. Problems concerning integration, unemployment and antisocial behaviour were all attributed to the situation in the neighbourhoods. The composition of the population in these 'problem neighbourhoods' is generally is often unbalanced, consisting of a big share of unemployed, low-educated and immigrant people.

The Dutch government embraced the ideal of mixed neighbourhoods as the solution for these problems. The move of wealthy homeowners to the neighbourhoods should lead to a rolemodel effect: The homeowners were suspected to have a positive influence on their environment. To attract these wealthy homeowners, urban renewal plans were made in which many old dwellings were demolished, to make place for big new-built family houses.

The scientists in the field of urban geography are more reserved about the success of this diversification of neighbourhoods. Although some researches show that homeowners are generally living longer at one place, more willing to undertake maintenance and repairs and more often active in local organizations, there are also researches that tone down the positive effect of homeowners on their environment. Homeowners do generally have little free time to spend in their neighbourhood and therefore the effect on their environment is small. Some theories even suggest that the mixing of neighbourhoods will even lead to desintegration, because the different socio-economic and cultural groups share less common habits and interests.

This research tries to give an answer to the question, '*Does the attraction of wealthy homeowners lead to positive effects on the neighbourhood?*' via two case studies: the neighbourhood Vinkhuizen in Groningen and Pendrecht in Rotterdam. Both estates were in 2002 stated on a list of 56 worst neighbourhoods in The Netherlands. At the moment, the two estates are in the final stage of their urban renewal process and the new-built dwellings are occupied by homeowners for 1 till 5 years. In this research, these homeowners are interviewed to get an insight in their experiences with the neighbourhood, their reasons to move to the estate and the relationship with their environment.

Conclusion from the research is that the contact of homeowners with their environment in the two cases generally remains limited to their direct neighbours, who are homeowners too. Little integration takes place with inhabitants in other parts of the neighbourhood, as a result of the homeowner's busy jobs, which leave them little time to spend in the estate.

Preface

I present to you the thesis that I have written as the final result of my study Environmental and Infrastructural Planning at the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, which I started in the year 2002.

At the beginning of my second year, I moved to a room at the northern border of the city of Groningen: the notorious student flats in the Aquamarijnstraat in Vinkhuizen. Although some of my colleague students warned me for the bad reputation of this neighbourhood, I never experienced any troubles and I had a satisfying time living in Vinkhuizen. It was here that I started to interest me for the so called 'problem neighbourhoods'.

I want to thank some people who helped me to create this thesis. First of all my supervisor Justin Beaumont, who showed me the right way to go, especially when it was not too early in the morning. Then I need to thank my parents, who always showed me their well-meant concerns during my years of study, and my experienced wise brother, who gave me his advices when needed. And finally of course Annalies, who shared the load of the thesis-writing stress. The entrance of your room after a long day of working was enough to forget about all the boring hours in the university library!

Tim van de Laar

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1. Introduction

In this research, the current political trends in urban renewal will be combined with the literature about gentrification and social mix in a case study, in which a comparison will be made between a city estate in a smaller city outside the 'Randstad' and a neighbourhood inside the 'Randstad'. Both estates have finished their program of renewal, and the case studies should show the results of this renewal. The study focuses on the building of owner occupied dwellings inside the socially homogeneous estates. It will investigate what the effect is of this creation of diversity in the neighbourhood's population. Do the new inhabitants have a positive influence on the original population?

The problems in old city estates are a popular topic of debate in The Netherlands. At the start of the 21st century, many problems in integration and unemployment were attributed to the so called 'problem estates'. It resulted in a list of 56 'worst neighbourhoods', an approach that is part of the Action Program Restructuring, which was presented to the Parliament by the Minister for Housing, Regional Developments and the Environment in 2002. The approach has the aim to speed up the process of urban renewal by means of a combination of physical and social instruments in the 56 priority estates in The Netherlands. Beside that, the estates should form a model for the estates in the cities. The estates are nominated by the 30 largest municipalities. With the nomination of the estates, the municipalities oblige themselves to create concrete and measurable arrangements, focused on a quick result. (VROM, 2006) Critics on the approach are that the 56 estates are not comparable. The situation in the estates in the Randstad is for example much worse than in those estates outside the Randstad. Another point of critique is that the troubles are only moved to other areas. Through the renewal of the dwellings, they become unaffordable for the original inhabitants.

The urban renewal is in some of the 56 estates in its finishing stage. (KEI, 2006) As this research is related to the reasons for moving of these new inhabitants, the choice is made to compare two estates, in which the urban renewal is in a final stage and the inhabitants of the new dwellings live already for a longer time in their dwellings. Beside that, also the discussion in the 56-estates project between the estates in the Randstad and outside the Randstad plays a role. Little research has been done outside the Randstad yet. Therefore the choice was made to compare two estates with roughly an equal size and compilation, one inside the Randstad and one outside it: Vinkhuizen in Groningen and Pendrecht in Rotterdam.

To get an understanding of the processes taking place in Dutch neighbourhoods at the moment, it is necessary to get a better understanding in the Dutch policy context. This is done in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 gives an overview of the available literature in this topic, and tries to explain the relevance of the theories about diversification and gentrification for this research. Chapter 4 handles about the key questions and methodology of the research. Chapter 5 gives the results of the case studies. These results are analysed in Chapter 6. Finally, a conclusion is given in Chapter 7.

2. Policy Context

The problems in old city neighbourhoods in The Netherlands are a popular subject for debate by politicians. A lot of problems with immigrants are attributed to the bad living conditions in the neighbourhoods in the cities. When making a scientific report about homeowners in Dutch neighbourhoods, the political context can not be ignored. This chapter gives a small overview of the current trends in the political area of Dutch problem neighbourhoods.

1. Estates policy in The Netherlands

The new government of The Netherlands will probably reserve more money for the redevelopment of city estates again, after minister Winsemius (Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning & Environment) already announced in November 2006 that he wants to reserve 1 till 1.4 billion euro a year to preserve neighbourhoods from slipping down to problem areas. Money should particularly be spend on the building of new houses, to make sure that middle- and high-class incomes do not leave the cities to the suburbs, and a more heterogeneous mix of inhabitants is created. At the same time, dilapidated dwellings should be demolished on a large scale. Municipalities will fulfil a leading role in these projects, cooperating with housing corporations and private market parties. (Volkskrant, 2006)

So, conspicuously in The Netherlands is that the government takes a very active role in their aim to raise the quality in the country's worst neighbourhoods, by demolishing large housing blocks. This process of demolition of multi-layered dwellings is a process that has already been going on for many years. Hundreds of after-war blocks of flats have been demolished in the last decade in cities in all parts of The Netherlands. Most often, after a long and hard process and with substantial consequences for the inhabitants of the dwellings. It is not seldom that heavy fights arise between advocates and opponents of the demolition. (KEI, 2007)

The governmental estates policy was summarized in the 56-estates approach in 2002, pointing on the 56 worst neighbourhoods in The Netherlands. In 2007, 40 new neighbourhoods have been selected for specific attention.

The 56-estates approach is part of the Action Program Restructuring, which was presented to the Parliament by the Minister for Housing, Regional Developments and the Environment in 2002. The approach had the aim to speed up the process of urban renewal by means of a combination of physical and social instruments in the 56 priority estates in The Netherlands. Beside that, the estates should form a model for the estates in the cities. The estates were nominated by the 30 largest municipalities. With the nomination of the estates, the municipalities oblige themselves to create concrete and measurable arrangements, focused on a quick result. (VROM, 2006)

There are different facilities available that speed up the process of urban renewal. First there is an impulse budget. The 56 estates receive in common 100 million from the federal government. 70 Million is reserved for the estates in the four biggest cities, Rotterdam, Den Haag, Utrecht and Amsterdam. The resting 30 million is divided between the 27 following municipalities (20 million) and other municipalities (10 million). An important part of the approach is that the estates should learn from each other's experiences, as the processes and problems taking place in the estates have many similarities. Other facilities are impulse teams and restructuring zones, (VROM, 2006)

Critics on the approach are that the 56 estates are not comparable. The situation in the estates in the 'Randstad' is for example much worse then in those estates outside the

'Randstad'. Another point of critique is that the troubles are only moved to other areas. Through the renewal of the dwellings, they get unaffordable for the original inhabitants. (VROM, 2006)

According to the Dutch government, the current problems in the Dutch neighbourhoods are for a large part contributed to a too homogeneous population of the estates. The worst neighbourhoods are inhabited by unemployed or people with low incomes, often immigrants and being single or aged. Therefore, the minister embraced the ideal of creating mixed neighbourhoods. The urban renewal programmes focus on a process of diversification, an attempt to improve the heterogeneity in an ethnic, socio-cultural and socio-economic way. The consequence of this attempt is often that demolition is necessary.

Advocates of demolition, often consisting of the municipality and housing corporations, focus on the necessity to change the social mix in the neighbourhood. Through the building of more expensive dwellings, new inhabitants with higher incomes from outside the neighbourhoods are attracted, and these people, who are attracted by the typical advantages of urban life, give a more equal distribution of different cultures in the neighbourhood. As a result, the whole quality of life in the neighbourhoods will rise.

Opponents on the other side, focus on the shortage of low-cost dwellings in the cities. The demolition of the dilapidated dwellings only moves the problem to other parts of the city, as the old inhabitants don't have the money to afford the new built houses in their old streets, and are driven away out of their neighbourhood, by the new middle class inhabitants. There are also opponents who argue that the creation of more heterogeneity doesn't necessarily bring more social cohesion in a neighbourhood.

The discussion going on in the city estates political area has much in common with the discussion in the science of urban geography. The next chapter tries to make the link between the policy context and the scientific theory.

3. Theoretical Framework

The topics currently discussed in the Dutch politics are much connected to the discussions in social science about the relation between people and their neighbourhood. Huge amounts of books have been written about this topic. To get a better insight in which specific fields of literature are needed, we first analyse the main question of this research, to make a more concrete search for elementary literature possible.

3.1 Four key elements

The key question of this research is: *Does the attraction of wealthy homeowners lead to a positive effect on the neighbourhood?* When we look closer to this question, we notice that four words form the core of this sentence. These four words are the four key elements of this research:

- *attraction,*
- *homeowners,*
- *effect and*
- *neighbourhood.*

Every element contains a question in itself that forms one of the sub questions of this research. First, for the attraction, we are interested to see *the reasons* for the homeowners to move, so that is a *why*-question. Second, the homeowners are *the people* in this research that we want to study, so that gives a *who*-question. Third, the effect between inhabitants and neighbourhood is *the subject* of this research, so here a *what*-question is used. And finally, the neighbourhood is *the place* in which the processes occur; here we use a *how*-question.

The questions are then as follows:

Attraction: Why do wealthy homeowners feel attracted to problem estates?

Homeowners: Who are the homeowners, who move to problem estates?

Effect: What is the effect of homeowners on their environment?

Neighbourhood: How do these homeowners see their neighbourhood?

The four questions are all related to one of the most important study objects in the theory of urban geography: The relation between inhabitant and neighbourhood. This is all visualized in figure 1.

Besides these four key elements, there are also some elements that do not directly relate to the main question of this research, but still have a major influence on the key elements. First there are three groups of *actors*. That is the government, the housing corporations and the original inhabitants of the neighbourhoods. The government's position in the neighbourhood's issues

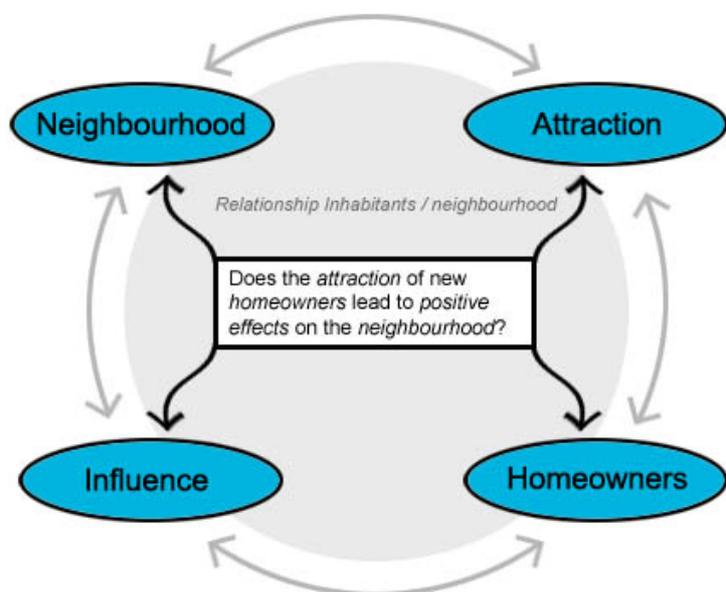


Figure 1: Relation between key elements

is quite clear. In The Netherlands, the local government is the institute dealing with everyday's issues in neighbourhoods, is making the strategic plans for the future development of neighbourhoods and is the decision-taking actor to take initiative for urban renewal (see also chapter 2, policy context).

The second group of actors is formed by the housing corporations. Housing corporations have the task to build, manage and hire dwellings, without having a profit motive. Since 1966, the housing corporations do not only build for their own members, but are obliged to develop affordable houses for the society as a whole. From the start of the new century, the housing corporations were forced to do more social-balanced enterprising by writing achievement contracts with the local governments. As the housing corporations have a considerable interest in habitable and successful neighbourhoods, they are also actively involved in the processes of urban renewal. (VROM, 2005)

The final group of actors consists of the original inhabitants of the neighbourhoods. In most of the problematic neighbourhoods, the composition of the population is unbalanced, with an abundance of people with low incomes, unemployed or immigrants. In most of the cases, the very majority of the inhabitants are renter. The image of the original inhabitants is very bad and most of the time based on prejudices (see also chapter 2).

Finally, there is also one *process* influencing the key elements. That is the urban renewal, already mentioned a couple of times before. The whole process that takes place in a neighbourhood during or after urban renewal can now be summarized in the figure below.

The structure of this chapter will follow the construction of these four key elements. First, theory about the way in which homeowners see their neighbourhood is given in paragraph 3.2. Paragraph 3.3 is engaged in the effect between homeowners and the neighbourhood. Reasons why people are attracted to problem estates are given in paragraph 3.4. The final paragraph (3.5) gives an outline of the characteristics of the people moving to problem estates.

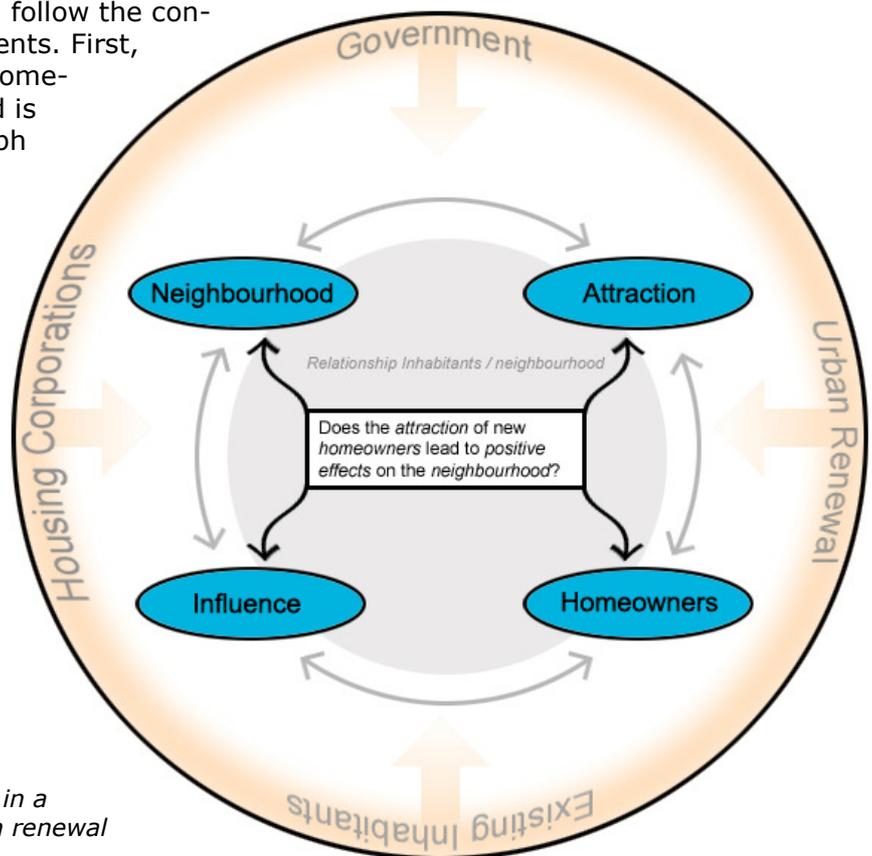


Figure 2: Model of actors and elements playing a role in a neighbourhood during urban renewal

3.2 Neighbourhood

The way in which homeowners see their neighbourhood is for a large part influenced by the 4 sub elements on the outer ring of the model (figure 2). The original inhabitants are the people that form the image of the neighbourhood. In most of the problematic neighbourhoods, this image is negative. For some part, this is based on false prejudices, but for another part this image is true. In general, it could be said that the image of a neighbourhood follows the quality with a certain time delay (see figure 3).

A way to measure the quality of the neighbourhood is by looking to the crime rates and amount of nuisance in a neighbourhood. In most of the problem estates, the number of crime rates and the amount of nuisance is high. (AD, 2007) But this crime rate is an objective number. Crime rate indexes use the number of crime reports, but subjective research is needed to understand how inhabitants experience these crime and nuisance.

To improve the image and quality and reduce crime and nuisance, government and housing corporations often work together. When the problems are not so big, neighbourhood management can often solve the problems. But in problematic neighbourhoods like in this research, a stronger intervention is needed, a drastic demolition of the existing dwellings followed by the building of many new dwellings: urban renewal.

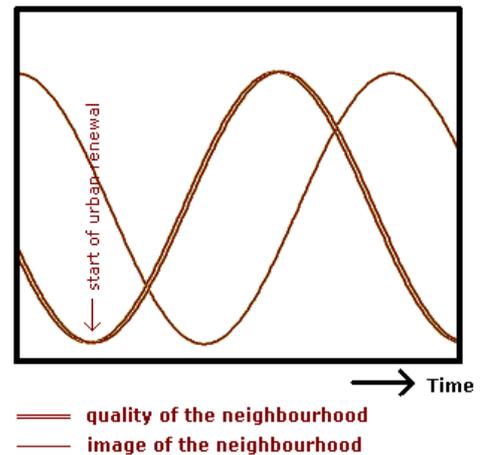


Figure 3: Image of a neighbourhood

The current problems in the Dutch neighbourhoods are for a large part contributed to a too homogeneous population of the estates (VROM, 2006). The original population of problem estates often consists of unemployed and people with low incomes, often immigrants and being single or aged. Therefore, many urban renewal programmes focus on a process of diversification, an attempt to improve the heterogeneity in an ethnic, socio-cultural and socio-economic way.

The aim is to create mixed neighbourhoods - "areas with an economically diverse population". (Jupp, 1999) This process has been described in many terms and definitions. Diversification, creating social mix, avoiding segregation and creating social differentiation are all referring to the same concept: Creating a socio-economical balanced neighbourhood of different tenures, in order to avoid social exclusion and promote social integration. In this research, the term *diversification* will be used.

The next paragraph gives an overview of the consequences of the creation of diversity for a neighbourhood. What is the effect of this diversification? Are there only positive effects, or also negative effects of this diversification? What are the consequences of homeownership? How is diversification used in the Dutch housing policy? An overview of the major ideas in the sociology and urban geography about diversification will be given.

3.3 Effect

This paragraph tries to give an answer to the question: What is the effect of homeowners on their environment? In general, the theories about the effects of homeowners on the neighbourhood can be divided into two main categories: First those theories that strongly emphasize the positive effects of a heterogeneous population (this is, a population with a equal division of owners and renters), especially developed by American scientists [2.1]. Second, theories that tone down the positive effects of heterogeneous environments [2.2]. This paragraph will end with my personal opinion and a summary. [2.3]

3.3.1 Emphasizing the neighbourhood effect

The role of diversification in neighbourhoods has been studied since the emergence of city planning in the late nineteenth century. Many estates based on Howard's Garden City or the ideas of CIAM had such a division of dwelling sizes that different classes and families were represented in the estate. (Kleinhans et al 2000) This happened especially in the United States, where the liberal structure of the society created large ethnic and socio-economic homogeneous gettos, seperated from other parts of the city. Much literature has been written here about the negative effects of this segregation. (Musterd, 1996)

Oscar Lewis researched neighbourhoods in the United States and Mexico in the 1960s and concluded that there was a *culture of poverty* inside these neighbourhoods. He defined the people in the culture of poverty as "having a strong feeling of marginality, of helplessness, of dependency, of not belonging. They are like aliens in their own country, convinced that the existing institutions do not serve their interests and needs (.....)". He argues that this culture of poverty influences every inhabitant of the neighbourhood, so the individual is influenced by its environment. (Lewis, 1966) Segregation is responsible for the creation of this social underclass. (Massey & Denton, 1993) An example of such a culture of poverty is the situation of the inhabitants of the slums in New Mexico. The inhabitants of this slum do not belong to a certain race or culture and do not suffer from racial discrimination. But they do not have the chance to get out the slums and start a career in 'normal society'.

The idea in much literature is therefore that a decrease of the segregation in a city will lead to an improvement of the environment, which will have a positive effect on the individual. This is in accordance to the theory of diversification, saying that the creation of a physically heterogeneous neighbourhood, with different housing types, will lead to a diversified socio-economic, socio-cultural and ethnic population, which will improve the social chances for the inhabitants. In other words, "housing mix will create social mix and that will create better social opportunities for individuals." (Musterd & Anderson, 2005)

An influential book was written by Herbert Gans in 1962, *the Urban Villagers*. According to Gans, "four major advantages could be related to social mix on the neighbourhood scale: First, that it added demographic balance to an area that enriched people's lives. Second, that it promotes tolerance of social difference. Third, that social mix produces a broadening of educational influences on children and finally that it provides exposure to alternative ways of life while homogeneity locks people into their present ways of life." (Gans, 1962) Gans emphasizes the importance of growing up in a heterogeneous environment here, so that the people can learn from people different from themselves. (Atkinson, 2005)

One example of how this learning from each other leads to better social opportunities is via the *role-model effect*. This theory was developed by William Julius Wilson in his book *The truly disadvantaged*. Here he argues that the only way to avoid social exclusion and segregation is by putting role models into the 'underclass ghettos'. He defines the role-model effect as "people's attitudes and behavior towards their home, the living

environment, collective action, and employment status, thereby acting as positive role models for tenants of social or council housing in the neighbourhood". (Wilson, 1961)

Later, more specific research has been done about the *positive effects of homeownership* in rent-dominated neighbourhoods. The assumption is that homeowners have a good influence on their environment; "they are better citizens, better neighbours and even better persons". (Rohe & Stewart, 1996) And this positive effect is also easy to achieve, homeownership is namely almost fully dependant on the supply of owner-occupied dwellings in a neighbourhood. In other words: The government has an influential position in the relation between the number of rental houses and owner-occupied houses in a neighbourhood. (Rohe & Stewart, 1996) This could lead to the conclusion that the creation of a bigger supply of owner-occupied houses in a neighbourhood, is an easy way to improve the quality of a neighbourhood for the government.

Rohe and Stewart made a comparative study after all the researches that had been done about this relation between homeownership and the neighbourhood quality. They finally concluded from the researched studies that the following four statements could be seen as true:

First, homeowners are more connected with their neighbourhoods and therefore participate more in local organisations. Homeowners are more likely to fight against threats that danger their homes or environment, such as crime or pollution. (Cox, 1982) They are more active in neighbourhood organisations and vote more often in local elections (Verba et al, 1995). Homeowners are more often people with children and elderly. Those households feel more connected to their neighbourhoods than singles, households without children and adolescents, who are more oriented on the whole city. The attraction of young families can therefore stimulate the social cohesion in a neighbourhood. (Kleinhans et al, 2000) (Austin & Baba, 1991)

This local participation in a neighbourhood has a multiplying effect. The resident's motivation to fight unsafety in their neighbourhood is the most important influence on a community's crime rate. (Sampson et al, 1997) The individual action of a homeowner, to protect its individual property, creates a public good that provides benefits to the whole neighbourhood and raises the market value of its home. (Hoff & Sen, 2004)

Second, homeowners are more satisfied with their houses and environment. An important problem in many problematic homogeneous neighbourhoods is that many people live in the estate against their will. The estates are filled with unsatisfied people, who cannot afford moving to a better place. These people don't have any connection with the neighbourhood and are not willing to improve the quality of life. (Kleinhans et al, 2000) A freedom of choice to select the place of living can make inhabitants more satisfied and oriented on their neighbourhood. By building a more diverse spectrum of dwellings, the freedom of choice increases and residents get more satisfied. (Hamnett, 1991)

Third, homeowners are less likely to be planning to move. Homeowners have longer tenures in an estate than renters. (Rohe & Stewart, 1996) And in a more differentiated neighbourhood, there is a wider range of different dwellings, so residents have bigger possibilities to make a 'housing career' and don't need to move to another neighbourhood when they make a step on the social ladder. (Meyer et al, 1994)

Finally, homeowners are more likely to undertake repairs and more likely to invest in maintenance and improvement. (Rohe & Stewart, 1996) Homeowners are the owners of the house and want to maintain the dwelling in a good quality, to be able to sell the house for a good price. At the same time, they are also living in the house and want to live in a qualitative living environment. So, they have an economic and use interest. Landlords only own the house, and have therefore only an economic interest. Renters

only live in the house, and have only a use interest. The result is that homeowners are most active in maintaining and improving their house and neighbourhood. (Rohe & Stewart, 1996)

Some communities use another argument for their policy of diversification. In areas that have high numbers of crime, vacancy, unemployment and other social problems, it can be valuable to dilute these problems. Through the building of more expensive dwellings, there is less space for 'problematic inhabitants' and they need to move to other parts of the city. This leads to a smaller concentration of unemployed people which avoids problems in the neighbourhood, and the before mentioned 'culture of poverty' (Kleinhans, 2004)

Although this paragraph seems to say that the positive effects of a diversified neighbourhood are substantial, there are also many scientists who tone down the size of these effects. Paragraph 2.2 will give arguments why the effect of the neighbourhood should be relativized.

3.3.2 Relativizing the neighbourhood effect

From the 1990s on, new scientific interest rose for the topic of diversification, especially in European countries. Where many European governments see diversification as a perfect instrument in the improvement of the quality of estates, scientists are much less optimistic. Many case studies in the 1990s concluded that diversification didn't have any impact, or even had a negative impact on the situation in the places of study. This paragraph will give an overview of the literature that is relativizing the effects of the neighbourhood on individuals.

First, it is important to make the distinction between the European and the American situation. The United States and Europe do completely have different political systems. Where the political system in the United States is very liberal, with much power to the market and a weak government, most European countries have socio-democratic political systems, with more power for the government. The extremely ethnical homogeneous gettos as they exist in the United States are not seen in Europe. (Musterd, 1996) The relation between segregation, work, income and education is therefore much weaker in Europe (Van Amersfoort, 1992) and American literature can not always be applied on the European situation. When we look for example to the neighbourhood Kanaleneiland in Utrecht, which is one of the 40 neighbourhoods that the minister stated as problem neighbourhood, we see that this neighbourhood has a big diversity of inhabitants, varying from students to elderly, from Moroccan to Surinam and from unemployed to high-educated people. Yes, the situation is here worse than in other neighbourhoods in The Netherlands and incomes are in general lower, but there is absolutely no culture of poverty or ghetto situation.

Also the importance of homeownership shouldn't be overestimated. Men should be careful to say that homeownership per se is the cause of an increased quality of the neighbourhood. Often, homeowners are wealthier and higher educated than renters. It is therefore not the rental housing itself that causes problems in a neighbourhood that consists predominantly of rental houses, but the poverty associated with this rental housing. (Hoff & Sen, 2004)

Another important argument against the importance of neighbourhood effects is that the importance of the neighbourhood as a network of social cohesion is declining nowadays. In our globalized world, people have many networks outside their close environment. Internet and television seem to have a much bigger influence on people's behavior than the demeanor of neighbors. Especially the young high-educated people – exactly those people who were supposed to be the role models in the estates! – seem to have little interest in their neighbours. (Kleinhans et al, 2000)

This is all related to the questions: In how far does the community influence the individual? And what is the community? The study of community feeling in urban neighbourhoods had already started in the beginning of the 20th century by representatives of the Chicago School, with the studies of '*Human Ecology*'. In the human ecology, the community is equal to the neighbourhood. The city is divided in neighbourhoods that are strongly autonomous and homogeneous; the prizing mechanism in the city causes the 'sifting and sorting' of population classes over these neighbourhoods. (Zorbaugh, 1926) There is a continuous lapse of people from poorer to richer neighbourhood and the immigrants occupy the poorest parts of the city. (Burgess, 1925) The neighbourhoods are marked and researched by ecological characteristics such as population density, mobility, size and homogeneity. According to the human ecology, the ecological characteristics strongly influence the behaviour of its inhabitants. This is also called the '*Ecological Fallacy*'. (Blokland, 1997)

Louis Wirth, a scholar of Burgess, didn't agree with this presentation of the neighbourhood as community. In his eyes, urbanisation in a modern city is equal to desintegration through differentiation. In other words: when a city grows the size and density of the city will increase, causing a decline of relative relations, organisations and anonymity, resulting in the disappearance of the community. (Wirth, 1938) The critique on the human ecology is that a neighbourhood is only designed at the drawing table, and did not emerge from a spontaneous process. Physical nearness only doesn't create relationships. (Wellman, 1979)

Instead of relations in their neighbourhood, "city inhabitants have a multitude of relations, which are geographically spread". (Wellman, 1979) This idea is similar to the theory about community of the '*Network Analysis*': "Communities are collections of social relations". (Bott, 1957) The community is formed by an ego-centric network, a circle of people with whom the individual is related (Mootz, 1990). The modern urban inhabitant has a strong segregation of its personal network, has many different networks and has few neighborhood relations (Blokland, 1998)

The social cohesion in traditional communities as the neighbourhood is under pressure in the pre-modern society. (Nisbet, 1980) Strong ties in the neighbourhood only exist especially with direct neighbours, but the ties get weaker when distance from the residence increases. (Atkinson & Kintrea, 1998) As a result of this, there is generally little interaction between owner-occupiers and renters, when different tenures are living in different streets. (Blokland-Potters, 1998) A preferable way of diversification would be street-level-mixing. A study of Knox indicated that this way of mixing tenures stimulates more social interaction than separated housing blocks. (Knox et al, 2002)

Finally, also when a neighbourhood significantly profits from a project of urban renewal, it is not said that the problems are solved. The building of expensive owner-occupied dwellings often disperses the poorer people, as their cheap rental dwellings are demolished. When they need to move to another area of the city, the problems are not solved, but only replaced. An example is the situation in Rotterdam. Hoogvliet was traditionally one of the worst neighbourhoods of Rotterdam. When the municipality decided to start urban renewal in Hoogvliet, the problems moved to Zuidelijke Tuinsteden. Currently, these neighbourhoods are being renewed, causing another move of the low-educated people, searching for cheap dwellings in another part of the city.

3.3.3 Diversification in the Netherlands

Also in The Netherlands, cities have been aware of the importance of social differentiation in neighbourhoods for a long time. The design of the post-war neighbourhoods, following the design traditions of the Garden Cities and CIAM had a great variety in dwelling size, to make a division of many different households through the neighbourhood possible.

But, as a consequence of the housing shortage, the neighbourhoods had a lack of socio-economic diversity, with dwellings mainly built in the low-cost segment.

Van Doorn was one of the first to do research in The Netherlands after the neighbourhood as a community. His conclusion was that there was "no reason to assume that a location such as a neighbourhood would form a community, could be planned as a community or should be acting as a community." (Van Doorn, 1955)

In the 1970s, social integration was included in the urban renewal programs. Major aspect of the policy was the freedom to choose a dwelling for the lowest tenures. As a consequence, the urban renewal focused mainly on providing new dwellings for the current inhabitants of the dwellings, not on attracting new residents. (Kleinhans et al, 2000)

At the end of the 20th century, the situation in some post-war neighbourhoods in the Randstad became so bad that the diversification of problematic neighbourhoods became one of the core issues in Dutch politics. Pim Fortuyn strived for an ethnic and socio-economic selection of new inhabitants in problem neighbourhoods. Although his party's popularity quickly decreased after his death, his ideas remained and they were used by other parties. This resulted in big plans to create more heterogeneity in post-war neighbourhoods at the beginning of the new century.

How big is the problem actually in The Netherlands? Sako Musterd did much research after the existence and the effects of segregation in The Netherlands. His conclusion was that the situation in The Netherlands is quite positive. When people get unemployed, people still have the opportunity to live in a nice dwelling, receive high-level education and have the right on substantial social security. (Musterd, 1996) Together with Wim Ostendorf he did research after segregation in Amsterdam. Their conclusion was that the level of segregation was relatively low, but that already with a slight segregation a clear relation exists between this segregation and the level of social participation. So, also in The Netherlands a culture of poverty could emerge. (Musterd & Ostendorf, 1997)

Bolt & Dekker researched the results of the diversification policy of the Dutch government. They tried to give an answer to the question in how far socio-economic groups of people differ in their scores on different aspects of social cohesion. They conclude that "it is very questionable if social cohesion can be stimulated through the creation of mixed neighbourhoods. A successful mixing strategy has the result that more immigrants and more high-educated people are attracted. These are nevertheless exactly the groups of people from whom little can be expected, concerning the social cohesion."

At the moment there are some developments going on in the Dutch society that have their consequences for the housing situation. First there is the withdrawal of the government, caused by the neo-liberal political landscape and the growing globalization. More power is being given to the housing corporations, and the national and local government takes less initiative in the urban renewal. The aim is to decrease the rental sector, and to increase the owner-occupied sector. (Musterd, 1996)

Second, the government tries to recover the equilibrium in neighbourhoods by powerful governmental intervention. The building of expensive dwellings in poor neighbourhoods is an example of this. So, on the one hand, there is the withdrawal of the government in the Dutch housing policy, while on the other hand, the government takes a strong initiative in the improvement of neighbourhoods. (Musterd, 1996)

Finally, the society is privatizing. There is a declining binding power of work and church. People stay dependent from each other, but there are fewer institutional integrating frames on the level of society. The social positions in society are less fixed; instead of

this people have more freedom to make their own choice to which community they want to belong to. (Blokland, 1998)

3.3.4 Summary

Many researches have shown that there is a significant relation between the quality of the neighbourhood and the level of heterogeneity of the population. Neighbourhoods, inhabited by socio-cultural, ethnic and socio-economic homogeneous renters are more likely to face problems of crime, unemployment and vacancy than heterogeneous neighbourhoods, predominantly filled with owner-occupied houses.

As the relation between rental houses and owner-occupied houses in a neighbourhood is almost fully dependant on the amount of supply, homeownership is a value which can easily be manipulated by the government. It is therefore no surprise that the building of owner-occupied houses in problematic neighbourhoods has become a popular strategy of governmental policy in the latest decade.

But, men should be conscious that the advantages of this increase of the social diversification in a neighbourhood are not overestimated. Much literature is written by American scientists. But the situation in the USA and Europe is hardly comparable, as a result of the differences in the political systems. Also, the importance of the neighbourhood as a network of social cohesion is reducing nowadays. Modern urban inhabitants have many networks, from which the neighbourhood is just a small part, only consisting of the direct neighbours. Finally, there is the risk that problems are not solved, but only moved to other parts of the city. Housing diversification only can never be a solution; it should always be combined with programs of social improvement.

This paragraph gave an overview of the processes that are taking place in a problematic neighbourhood and the consequences for the neighbourhood when new owner-occupied houses are built inside it. The next paragraph will have another point of view, that from the homeowner that moves or lives in the problem neighbourhood.

3.4. Attraction

The last paragraph showed that a stimulation of the heterogeneity in a neighbourhood can have a positive influence on the area. By building more expensive owner-occupied dwellings, the diversity in the neighbourhood increases and problems may be reduced. So, the advantages of diversifying an area for the neighbourhood are clear. But what are the advantages for the people who are going to live in these new owner-occupied dwellings? What attracts the homeowner to move to this area, which is well-known for its troubles? The answer can be found in the literature about gentrification.

3.4.1 Gentrification

The term 'Gentrification' (coming from the word gentry) was introduced in 1964 by the British sociologist Ruth Glass. She defined gentrification as follows:

"... one by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes – upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages, when their leases have expired and have become elegant, expensive residences. Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed...." (Glass, 1964)

Where Glass focused on London, other researchers found out that gentrification is a world wide process. In some areas most of the big cities, also in The Netherlands, a process can be seen where pauperized, workers neighbourhoods are transforming into areas occupied by middle-class incomes, combined with a multitude of housing renewals. (Smith, van Weesep, 1992) Most famous example of gentrification in the Netherlands is the 'Jordaan' in Amsterdam. During the 1960s, this area was a dilapidated working class district, where land and housing were cheap. But after investments by the government, through the renovation of monuments and historical buildings, and the construction of social rental dwellings, the living quality was upgraded, and the area became popular by a high number of middle-aged and high-educated inhabitants.

There are three ways in which gentrification is stimulated. The first way is when individual households stimulate the process by renovating their houses. A second way is when landlords invest in their houses. Also development corporations can renovate houses on a large scale. The final option is that the government takes the initiative to stimulate gentrification, a process that is also often called urban renewal. In The Netherlands, these public investments are quite common, although the trends are changing recently to a more private approach. (Smith, van Weesep, 1992)

The housing situation in The Netherlands has since World War II always been dominated by a strong influence of the national government. After the war, large numbers of new dwellings were needed, due to the baby-boom and the large amount of destroyed houses. Quantity was more important than quality, and like in other European cities, multi-leveled housing blocks dominated the housing architecture of that time.

During the 1970s, the shortage of dwellings in Dutch inner cities and the process of suburbanization made families to move out of the city towards the suburbs. At the same time, new business centers in the urban periphery stimulated a move from business companies out of the city. What were left in the inner city's neighbourhoods from that time were young singles and immigrants. The decreased economical power of these inhabitants harmed the viability of the cities. (Van Weesep, 1991)

To oppose this trend, urban renewal has been a very popular tool for the Dutch government since the 1960s. In the first decades most attention was drawn to the pre-war neighbourhoods, later this attention changed to the low-quality areas that were built after the war. The research will also focus on the question whether the social changes in

the estates can be directly connected with the efforts made by the government, or that some changes in the social mix also appear spontaneously.

In the gentrification, two major ideologies can be distinguished. In the first place, there is the production-side theory, associated primarily with the work of Neil Smith. In the second place there is the consumption-side theory, represented by David Ley. The following paragraphs will explain both theories.

3.4.2 Production-side theory

Neil Smith, as main advocate of the production-side theory, can be seen as a typical Marxist, who mainly matches gentrification with structural movements of capital and classes.

The production-side theory explains gentrification through an economical system of capital flows that influence the production of urban space. Smith argues that the continuous flow of capital from the inner cities to the suburban areas after World War II, led to an underrated price of land in the inner city, compared to the areas in the suburbs. Here, Smith describes the rent-gap theory, which describes the disparity between "the actual capitalized ground rent (land value) of a plot of land given its present use and the potential ground rent that might be gleaned under a 'higher and better' use". (Smith, 1987)

Smith saw the rent-gap theory is an essential part of the gentrification theory. The theory describes the difference between the price of a certain house before renovation and its potential price after renovation. When the house is renovated by a private owner, this is called the value-gap, when the house is renovated by a development corporation it is called rent-gap. When the gap is getting bigger, the area becomes more interesting for investors and middle-class people to invest in. Such investments lead to a higher quality of the area, but also to a higher rent. Eventually, the rents will increase so much, that the rent-gap will be closed. (Smith, 1987)

When you apply this theory to the policy in Dutch estates, it could be argued that there is a rent-gap in these estates. Many inhabitants live in a smaller dwelling than they could afford with their income, due to the shortage of dwellings for the middle-class in the cities. The estates have a much higher potential, and the process of urban renewal will close the rent-gap and improve the quality of life for the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, as they are living in a dwelling that fulfils their criteria. An example is the situation in Groningen during the 1990s. There was a shortage of affordable owner-occupied dwellings. This forced the municipality of Groningen to change the composition of the housing stock thoroughly through processes of urban renewal. (Heins, 2007) According to this theory, few people from outside the city will be attracted by the urban renewal process. (Smith, 1996)

3.4.3 Consumption-side theory

Where the production-side theory is mainly focusing on big movements of capital and classes, the consumption-side theory gives more importance to the individual, living in a post-industrial city. The theory sees gentrification as a product of the post-industrial city, a city which is dominated by middle-class workers in service jobs, and a high amount of space for offices, arts and leisure sites, and political institutions. (Ley, 1996)

Opposite to Smith, Ley doesn't see gentrification as an economical process, but as "a result of the as a natural outgrowth of the rise of professional employment in the CBD and the predilection of the creative class to an urbane urban lifestyle" (Ley, 1994)

Ley defines a new cultural class, consisting of artists, cultural professionals, teachers, and other professionals outside of the private sector, who are the pioneers in invading the dilapidated neighbourhoods, stimulating the movement of the bourgeoisie to the inner city. In the eyes of Hamnett, this doesn't even go far enough. He argues for

incorporating the "supply of dwellings and the role of developers/speculators in the process". (Hamnett, 1992) One of the most famous examples of such a neighbourhood, being conquered by an artistic class, is the district Prenzlauer Berg in Berlin. The location of this neighbourhood in former East-Berlin resulted in low prices for the dwellings. The artists, who entered Prenzlauer Berg during the 1990s were followed by young high-educated urbanists and finally also the real estate agent discovered the value of the area.

Thus, for Ley the middle class came first into the neighbourhoods, stimulating the gentrification. For Smith, the rent-gap was first present in the neighbourhoods, then the capital agencies moved in, and then the gentrification emerged.

Also this theory can be applied to the discussions in The Netherlands about the estates-policy. People that move voluntary from the countryside or other parts of the city towards one of the problem estates named can be seen as urban pioneers. They can assume many troubles when they are living in these problematic estates, but on the other hand, still want to move to these estates as they want to profit from the benefits of living in a city.

This paragraph gave the reasons why people are attracted to move to neighbourhoods that have a bad reputation. We are also interested to see what the characteristics of these people are. Who are the homeowners that invade the problem neighbourhoods? The next paragraph will answer that question.

3.5 Homeowners

So now we know what problems occur in the Dutch neighborhoods, how homeowners can have a positive effect on their neighbourhood and why these homeowners feel attracted by a neighbourhood. There is only one question left, who are these people that move to problem neighbourhoods? It's clear that they have a higher income than the average original inhabitant of the neighbourhood, otherwise the social mix of the neighbourhood wouldn't change and no gentrifying effect would occur. So, what kind of middle-class people buy a dwelling in these estates? And where do they come from? Again, theory from gentrification studies is used.

According to Smith, the middle-class inhabitants do not invade the neighbourhoods in one fell swoop. In the beginning of the process, some 'urban pioneers' are the first to arrive in the area. Often, these people, the so called 'hipsters', consisting of artists and students, are searching for low rent prices. This group is called 'pioneers', as they still need to struggle with the bad living circumstances in the neighbourhood and are surrounded by low-class neighbours.

As the number of trend-setters grows, the neighbourhood is getting more popular for a second group of invaders, a bourgeoisie who is willing to take some risk by living in a neighbourhood in transformation, but also has the advantages of a growing number of bars, restaurants and art galleries. The final stage in the process of gentrification is when also the more risk-averse investors and inhabitants find their ways to the neighbourhood. In this stage, the original inhabitants, as well as the 'pioneers' have all moved out of the neighbourhood, searching for low-cost dwellings in other areas of the city. (Smith, Van Weesep, 1992)

Also Ley defines a new cultural class of pioneers who are moving to the dilapidated neighbourhoods. They consist of artists, cultural professionals, teachers, and other professionals outside of the private sector. (Ley, 1994)

On the other hand, there are critics that the gentrification theory is not applicable to the Dutch neighbourhoods in which urban renewal takes place. The process is not occurring spontaneously, but is forced by housing corporations and government, which implies that the urban pioneers do not exist either. In the theory about attraction was already written that most of the young high-educated workers do not have much relationship with their environment. They can be seen as post-modern people, having many networks, which are not only limited to their own neighbourhood or city, but can reach the whole country or even earth via modern communication as internet.

So we have the urban pioneers, characterized by a willingness to take risks and attracted by the low prices, often having jobs in creative fields of study. Then there are the trend-followers and risk-averse inhabitants, who follow the urban pioneers to the gentrifying neighbourhoods. On the other hand we have the post-modern working middle-class, characterized by their many networks of friends, most of them located outside their own neighbourhoods. The interviews in this research will try to give an answer to which group of people the homeowners in Dutch problematic neighbourhoods can be assigned best. The following chapter will give an overview of the key questions and methodology that form the base for these interviews.

Now that the theory about all 4 key elements is presented, the theory will be researched in two case studies, one neighbourhood in Groningen and one neighbourhood in Rotterdam. The next chapter gives an overview of the methods and methodology used in the case studies.

4. Key Questions & Methodology

The following chapter gives an overview of the key and sub questions of this research and the used methods and methodology. Paragraph 4.1 starts with the key questions, in paragraph 5.2 the methods and methodology are presented.

4.1 Key questions

The key question of this research is:

"Does the attraction of wealthy homeowners in poor city estates lead to positive effects on the neighbourhood?"

The key question is divided into four key elements (see also theoretical framework). The four key elements are attraction, homeowners, neighbourhood and effect. Every key element is connected to a sub question:

Attraction → *Why do wealthy homeowners feel attracted to problem estates?*

Homeowners → *What kinds of people are moving to problem estates?*

Neighbourhood → *How do these homeowners see their neighbourhood?*

Effect → *What is the effect of homeowners on their environment?*

4.2 Methods and methodology

The following paragraph presents the methods and techniques that are used in this research. The Methods & Methodology chapter contains all the instruments used in the research, the procedures and the general rules and has the aim to increase the reliability of the research. (Yin, 1989) Following Yin's concept of a case study protocol, this paragraph is divided in three paragraphs. First, there is the background, containing the cases, the research questions and the methods. These are followed by the field procedures, explaining the interview techniques. Finally the questions asked in the interviews are presented.

4.2.1 Background

The research strategy for the obtainment of data for this research will be a multiple-case-study. A case study is "the preferred strategy when "how" or "why"-questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context". (Yin, 1989)

In this research, the case study is used as evaluation of a certain policy, the building of owner-occupied dwellings in post-war neighbourhoods as part of urban renewal processes. More specific, the case study tries to explore a situation without a clear outcome. The process of urban renewal is not finished yet and the result is therefore not known yet. The same counts for the idea of building owner-occupied houses in rental areas in general. Although many researches have been done about this topic in recent years, scientists did not come to terms yet. This research tries to give more knowledge about this topic. It is therefore that the case study is chosen as methodology of this research.

4.2.2 Cases

There will be two cases in this research: the neighbourhood of Vinkhuizen in Groningen and the neighbourhood of Pendrecht in Rotterdam. The advantage of such a multiple-case-study is that the evidence is more imperative. The replication logic will be used here to compare the two cases. When the researches in the two neighbourhoods lead to the

same result, literal replication has occurred. When the results are contrary, theoretical replication has taken place. The theoretical framework of this research predicts which developments are likely to occur and which developments are less likely to occur. (Yin, 1989) The scope of the cases is limited by the formal boundaries of the neighbourhoods that are given by the municipalities. As the main question of the research is, "Does the attraction of wealthy homeowners in poor city estates lead to positive effects on the neighbourhood?" the research mainly focuses on the streets with new built owner-occupied houses and their inhabitants.

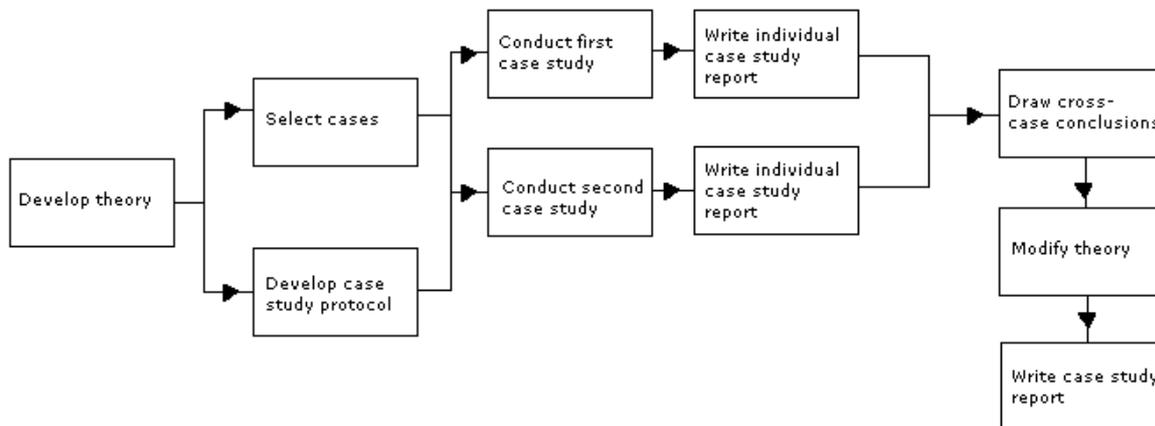


Figure 4: Steps in the case study method (Yin, 1989)

4.2.3 Validity

The study will be judged on four tests of quality: The construct validity, internal validity, external validity and the reliability. "Construct validity refers to the degree to which inferences can legitimately be made from the operationalizations in your study to the theoretical constructs on which those operationalizations were based." (William, 2006) This will be reached by trying to write down the respondent's answers as literally as possible. When answers are generalized, this is done with great care, bearing in mind the context of the given answers. "Internal Validity is the approximate truth about inferences regarding cause-effect or causal relationships." (William, 2006) This research searches for the effect of homeownership on a neighbourhood. When there is an effect visible, thorough investigation will be done to find out if this effect is really caused by the homeownership in itself. "External validity refers to the approximate truth of conclusions the involve generalizations." (William, 2006) This research has a weak external validity. The group of cases and respondents was small, and it is therefore not easy to draw conclusions from the research group, that counts for the Dutch situation as a whole. The reader of this research should bare this in mind. "Reliability is the "consistency" or "repeatability" of your measures." (William, 2006) A qualitative collection of references, names, addresses and telephone numbers and the following Case Study Protocol finally ensures the reliability.

4.2.4 Data collection

As it is hard to record experiences and personal opinions in numbers, it is logical to choose a qualitative data collection method for this thesis. There are different ways to execute qualitative researches. In this research the method of interactive interviewing is chosen. Interviewing gives the opportunity to get a deep understanding in people's feelings, experiences and opinions, something that is very useful when trying to get an insight in the daily life of homeowners in a neighbourhood. A written description of people's experiences in a neighbourhood would lack the interactivity, something that is an essential part in the process of getting an understanding in the inhabitant's life in the neighbourhood. The data collection technique of observation has some practical

problems: To make a complete observation of the neighbourhood, it is necessary to live in the area for a certain period. In this case study, this is not possible.

The interviews are semi-structured: The interviewer follows a certain fixed question list, but leaves the respondent much room to move away from the question. The question list serves just as a guideline.

4.2.5 Field procedures

For this research, two different types of interviews will take place. First, the neighbourhood directors of both estates will be contacted and interviewed. They are the people who have a lot of experience with the neighbourhood, know all the ins and outs of it and have much contact with its inhabitants. They can supply me with much information, and probably bring me in contact with some inhabitants. These interviews have especially the objective to receive a general overview of the neighbourhoods, the problems that are occurring here and to receive some information about the way to approach inhabitants.

Second, inhabitants of new owner-occupied dwellings will be interviewed. These interviews will form the core of the research. The questions reflect the theory in the theoretical framework and try to give an answer to the main questions and sub questions. References to the theory are written in green.

The interviewees are selected from the inhabitants of the owner-occupied dwellings which are newly built in the recent years, since the start of the urban renewal process. In Vinkhuizen 390 new dwellings are built, in Pendrecht 313. The interviewees are selected in such a way, that all areas in the neighbourhood are represented and that a representative division of gender, age, household and race is guaranteed.

The division of the respondents through Pendrecht is as follows:

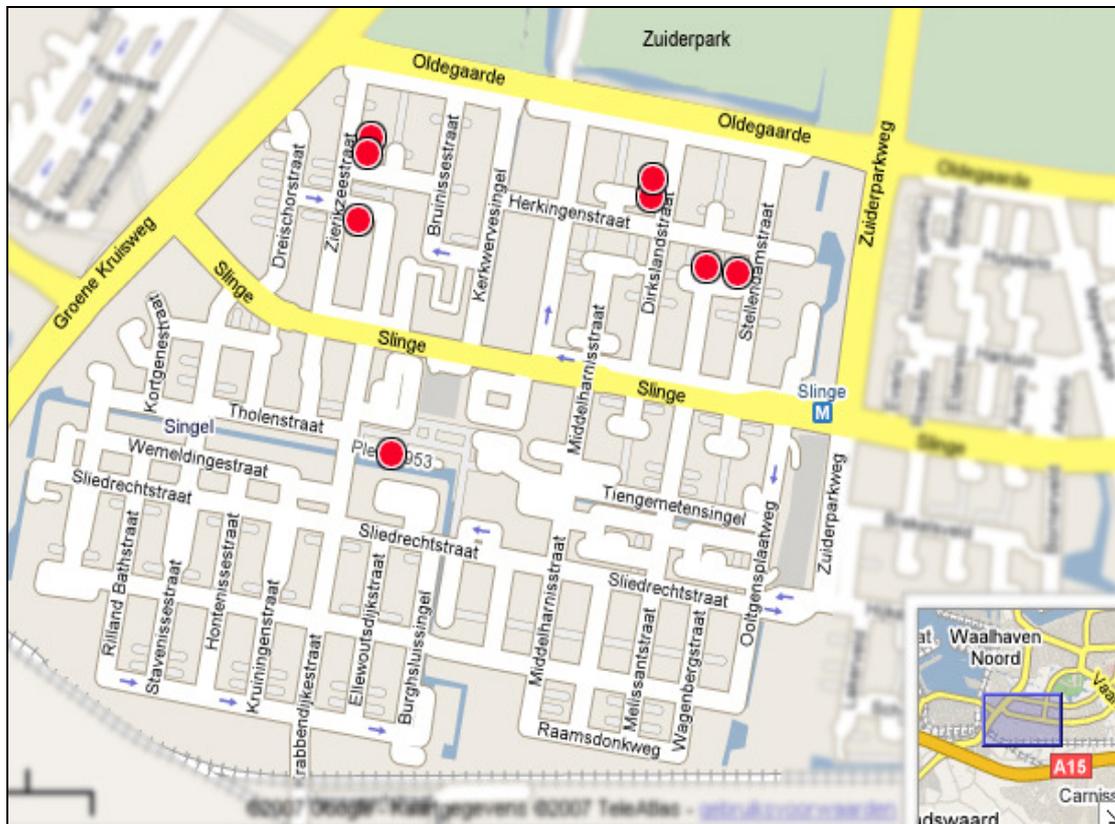


Figure 5: Interview locations in Pendrecht

The division of the respondents through Vinkhuizen:

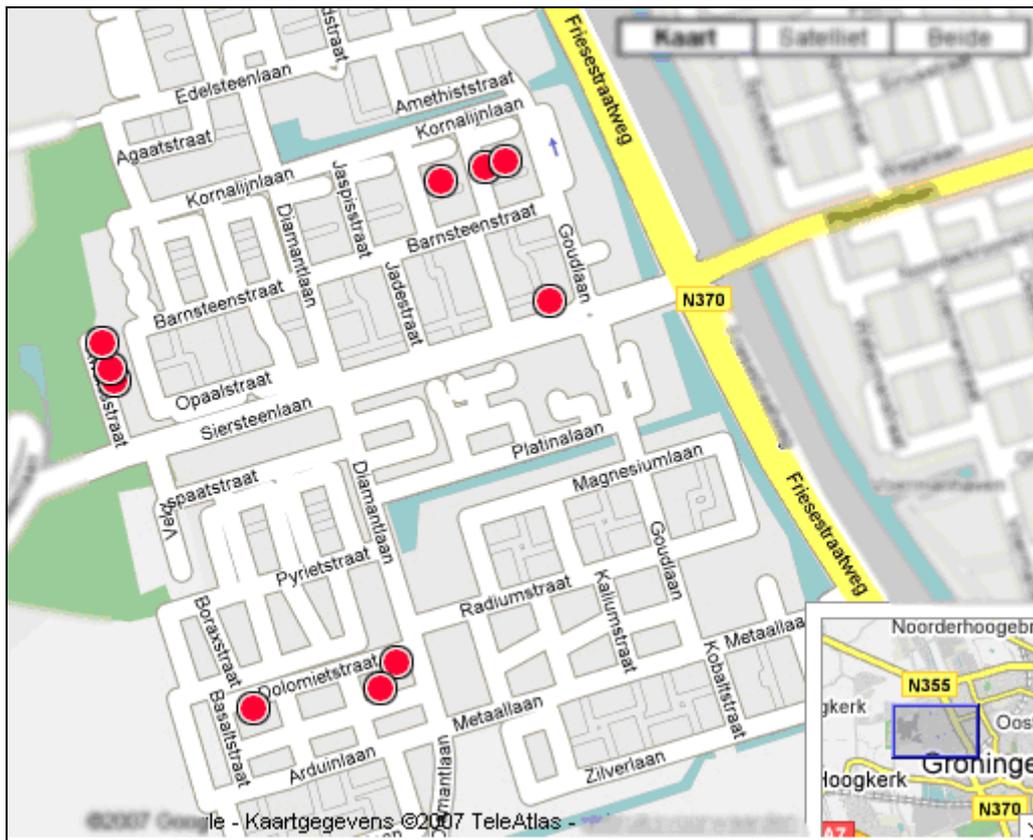


Figure 6: Interview locations in Vinkhuizen

4.2.6 Analysis

This analysis has an exploring character. Analysis means in the first place that the big amount of qualitative results is being coded. The result of this coding is a table in which all the answers of the interviews are summarized. The table contains, in contradiction to extensive researches, no numeric codes, but words, quotes, valuations and sentences. Of course this coding of data results in a loss of data and details. The accuracy of qualitative data is much slighter than those of quantitative data. On the other hand, with qualitative data analysis, the researcher stays much closer to the original information and invests more time in the interpretation of the obtained data. (Swanborn, 1996)

Depending on the sub question the analysis chapter follows different ways of analyzing. First, for the vision from homeowners of their neighbourhood is visualized in different tables. They summarize the general opinions about the situation in the neighbourhood before the urban renewal, the biggest changes, the positive and negative points and the homeowner's experience of crime and nuisance. In the text, these tables are explained with quotes and examples. The same technique is used for the analysis of the attraction of homeowners to neighbourhoods. In tables, the reasons for moving and demands of the dwelling are summarized.

The effect analysis takes a different approach. As the effect of homeowners on their neighbourhood depends on the strength of their relationship with the neighbourhood, a scorecard is made with shows the relative strength of the homeowners with their environment. For different aspects, the homeowners can score pluses and minuses. The scores are calculated as follows:

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----|---|----|
| <u>Free time:</u> | | <u>Read local newspaper:</u> | |
| Outside City | -- | Never | -- |
| Inside City | - | Seldom | - |
| Home & Garden | + | Brief | + |
| Neighbourhood | ++ | Attentive | ++ |
| <u>Children go to school:</u> | | <u>Number of names neighbours</u> | |
| Outside neighbourhood | -- | < 5 | -- |
| Inside neighbourhood | ++ | 5-7 | - |
| | | 8-10 | + |
| | | >10 | ++ |
| <u>Actively involved in school:</u> | | <u>Activities with neighbours</u> | |
| No | -- | Nothing | -- |
| Little | - | Have a chat / Help in holidays | - |
| Partner | + | Odd jobs, drinking coffee | + |
| Yes | ++ | Birtdays, taking care children | ++ |
| <u>Purchases in neighbourhood:</u> | | <u>Acquaintances outside own street</u> | |
| Never | -- | No | -- |
| Sometimes | - | 1 | - |
| Regularly | + | A couple | + |
| Always | ++ | Many | ++ |
| <u>Visited community center:</u> | | | |
| Never | -- | | |
| One time | - | | |
| Couple of times | + | | |
| Many times | ++ | | |

Table 1: Scorecard values

The final score of the homeowners is calculated as follows:

| | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| Score lower than -2: | No relationship |
| Score between -2 and +2 | Weak relationship |
| Score between +3 and +8 | Rather strong relationship |
| Score higher than +8 | Strong relationship |

Finally, the characteristics of the homeowners are analyzed with the help of profiles. The main characteristics are written down on page, which makes them easy to investigate and compare. The used names are chosen fictitiously, in order to assure the respondent's anonymity.

5. Results

The theory about the diversification in post-war city neighbourhoods was researched in two Dutch cases: Pendrecht in Rotterdam and Vinkhuizen in Groningen.

The research consists of two parts: First, a study of the available literature about the neighbourhoods and interviews with neighbourhood coordinators, in order to gain an inside view of the two neighbourhoods. Second, interviews are held with homeowners in the neighbourhoods who moved recently to a new-built owner-occupied dwelling, in order to try to give an answer to the key question of this research, "Does the attraction of wealthy homeowners in problem city estates lead to a positive influence on the neighbourhood?"

5.1 The cases Pendrecht & Vinkhuizen

In both estates, urban renewal had started in the 1990s, after a substantial decline of the neighbourhoods' quality of life in the 1980s. The urban renewal of these estates consisted for a big part of the demolition of old multi-layered dwellings and the rebuilding of more expensive owner-occupied houses. The process of urban renewal is in a finishing stage in both estates and many newly built dwellings are inhabited for a short period now and the residents have experienced how it is to move to a former problematic neighbourhood. (Groningen, 1998b; Charlois, 1999) This makes the estates perfectly suitable for this research about the consequences of creating diversification in post-war city estates by urban renewal.

Why are exactly these two estates chosen? First reason is that the minister for Housing, Regional Developments and the Environment, Winsemius, made a list of 56 estates in 2002, numbering the 56 most harrowing estates of The Netherlands. The list formed a part of the Action Program Restructuring and had the aim to speed up the process of urban renewal by means of a combination of physical and social instruments. The estates on the list should form a model for the other estates in the cities. The estates are nominated by the 30 largest municipalities. With the nomination of the estates, the municipalities oblige themselves to create concrete and measurable arrangements, focused on a quick result. Pendrecht and Vinkhuizen were both present on this list. (VROM, 2006)

Another reason is that the urban renewal projects of Pendrecht and Vinkhuizen were the first out of many projects in Rotterdam and Groningen to start; these two estates both form an example for other neighbourhoods in the cities. The conclusions of this research can therefore be valuable for the other programmes of urban renewal that are taking place now.

A third reason is that most of the researches about diversification are focused on the Randstad; less attention is paid to estates in the rest of The Netherlands. Therefore, in order to make a comparison possible between estates in the 'Randstad' and estates outside the 'Randstad', one estate in Rotterdam and one estate in Groningen is chosen.

Two big differences between the two estates are the relative numbers of immigrants living in the estates and the crime rates. In Pendrecht live two times as much non-western immigrants as in Vinkhuizen. The crime rate, based on the number of crime reports per 1000 inhabitants, as published in the *Algemeen Dagblad* is much higher in Pendrecht than in Vinkhuizen (see figure 7).

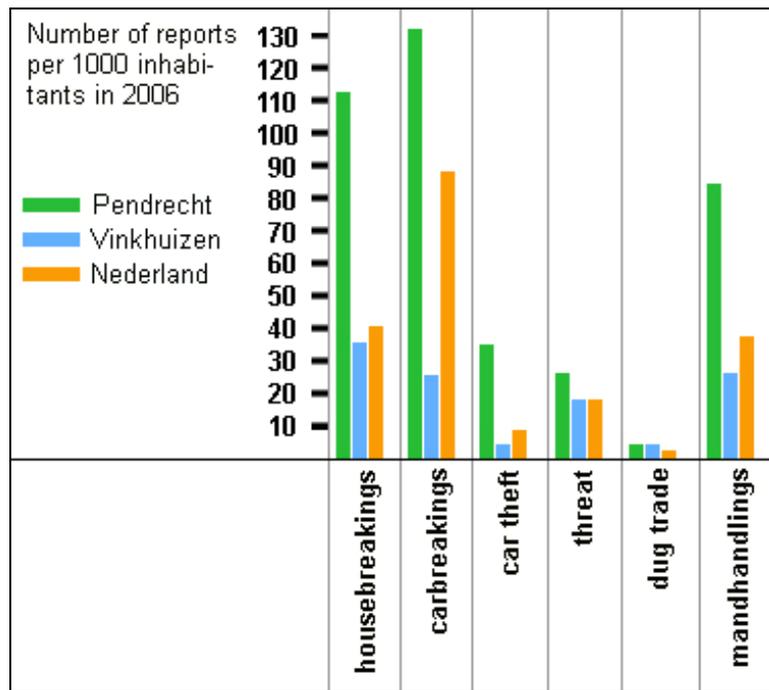


Figure 7: Crime rates in Pendrecht and Vinkhuizen (AD, 2007)

Finally, the two neighbourhoods have many characteristics in common. Both estates are build in the period of dwelling scarcity after the Second World War, their urban designs were renewing, both following the concept of the neighbourhood-unit structure. Their sizes are comparable, just like the percentages of rental dwellings in the estates. At last, their programmes of urban renewal both started in the middle of the 1990s and are reaching their finishing stage soon.

| | Vinkhuizen (Groningen) | Pendrecht (Rotterdam) |
|--------------------------------|--|--|
| Problem estate? | Yes (VROM, 2006) | Yes (VROM, 2006) |
| Built in... | 1960s (Groningen, 1998b) | 1950s (Jansen et al, 2004) |
| Urban design principle | Neighbourhood-unit | Neighbourhood-unit |
| Inhabitants | 10656 (Groningen, 1997) | 12415 (Rotterdamindex, 2007) |
| Non-western immigr. | 24% (Groningen, 2006) | 48% (Rotterdam, 2003) |
| Labour participation | 79% working (Groningen, 2004) | 12% receives social security (Rotterdam, 2003) |
| Rental percentage | 84%, (76% housing corp.) (Groningen, 2004) | 82% (Kei, 2006) |
| Randstad? | No | Yes |
| Start of urban renewal | 1996 (Groningen, 1998b) | 1995 (Rotterdam 2004) |
| Finish of urban renewal | 2008 (Groningen, 1998b) | 2010 (Rotterdam 2004) |
| New built houses | 390 (Groningen, 1998b) | 313 (Kei, 2006) |
| Crime rate | 237 (AD, 2007) | 406 (AD, 2007) |

Table 2: Comparison Vinkhuizen / Pendrecht

5.2 Vinkhuizen

5.2.1 History and development of Vinkhuizen

Vinkhuizen is a neighbourhood situated in the northwest of Groningen. The estate was built in the end of the 1960s in four year's time, following the neighbourhood-unit principle. But from the 1980s, Vinkhuizen suffered from the building of newer estates with higher quality in other parts of the city. Many people left the neighbourhood and the area pauperized. Vinkhuizen was defined as a guiding example for other estates in Groningen and from 1998 a big urban renewal program started, which is almost finished now. This paragraph will give an overview of the history and main urban design principles of Vinkhuizen followed by the processes of urban renewal that took place in the last 15 years.

The history of Vinkhuizen starts in the 1960s. During these years the city of Groningen had a quantitative shortage of dwellings in the city. This resulted in the development of large city estates at the boundaries of the city, further away from the city center than previous expansions. A final development plan for the area west of the ring road, called Vinkhuizen was designed in 1966. With an amazing speed, the neighbourhood emerged in five years. (Groningen, 1998b)

The design of the estate was influenced by the principles of the garden city and the neighbourhood-unit principle. The garden-city principle can be found in the first promotion leaflet for Vinkhuizen, where the neighbourhood is described as "an attractive garden estate, (...) with lots of green. Green zones in and along the area will give, together with pools and canals, the contrast with the houses". (Groningen, 1966)

Just like in Pendrecht, the most important principle for the structure of the estate is the neighbourhood-unit. In Vinkhuizen, many of the units consist of a combination of storey-building, elderly dwellings and low-rise one family houses. Through this principle, the planners tried to achieve a differentiated population of families, singles, couples and elderly. The units are built in a repeating pattern through the estate. (Groningen, 1998b)

After a period of high popularity in the 1960s and 1970s, the creation of new high-quality estates in other parts of Groningen caused a decline in the demand for the low-quality dwellings in Vinkhuizen. The quantity demand in Groningen changed into a quality demand, and Vinkhuizen was not able to fulfill the wishes of new inhabitants. A consequence was that during the 1980s, the estate's population transformed from a group of middle-class workers into a homogenous group of persons with low incomes and unemployed people, attracted by the low renting costs of the dwellings. As the lapse of inhabitants was rapid, the connection of inhabitants with the neighbourhood decreased and the social cohesion shrank. (Heins, 2007)

In the 1990s the situation became that worse, that intervention was necessary. As there was a trend of urban renewal in many post-war city estates, Vinkhuizen served as an example for other neighbourhoods in Groningen. The urban renewal is a form of cooperation between the municipality and the housing corporations. This teamwork is legally bound in the *Convenant Wijkvernieuwing 1998 - 2010* [Agreement on Urban Renewal 1998 - 2010]. (Groningen, 1998a) Province and municipality invest each 20 million euro in the estates Vinkhuizen, Paddepoel, Corpus den Hoorn and De Weijert. The main target is the counteraction of the segregation. This is done by the building of new owner-occupied houses. A study of A.G. Bus concludes that "the emphasis lays here on the restructuring of the current dwelling stock, with the objective to improve the quality of the dwellings and the living environment, in accordance with the changing needs of inhabitants." (Bus, 2001)

Base of the renewal is the *Vinkhuizen Wijkplan 2003* [Neighbourhood Plan 2003] from 1998 and is focused on a physical, economical and social renewal. The objective is to offer a more heterogeneous housing stock, in which people living in Vinkhuizen can make a housing career and which will attract middle-class incomes from other estates, so that it will lead to a more differentiated division of the population. (Groningen, 1998b)

To achieve these objectives, different physical interventions are made. The total plan has a running time of 5 years and the total number of dwellings that need to be demolished is 715. In their place, 390 new houses are built. Further, many dwellings are renovated and transformed from rental houses into owner occupied houses. The green and water structures are improved, in order to transform Vinkhuizen into a green suburb, forming the transition from rural to urban area. (Groningen, 1998b)

The building of new owner-occupied buildings is concentrated around three locations. First, there is the area north of the Siersteenlaan. The old rental dwellings on the north side of this street are transformed into owner-occupied patio-dwellings, garden dwellings and some office rooms. Directly beside these residences, twelve single-family dwellings are newly built. 250 Meter more to the north, 150 porches dwellings and elderly residences are demolished and replaced by 50 new-build one-family dwellings with garden. (Groningen, 1998b)

The second location where many owner-occupied dwellings are built is around the Boraxstraat. The dwellings are situated around a new constructed green zone in the southern half of the estate. (Groningen, 1998b) The final stage of the urban renewal process has started in December 2006 with the building of 20 owner-occupied dwellings on the boundary of the estate in the Kwartsstraat, next to a pool and green zone. The project is expected to be finished in 2007. The homeowners are attracted by advertisements that focus on the green character and the good accessibility of the area. (In Ontwikkeling, 2006)



Figure 8: Promotion leaflet for dwellings in Kwartsstraat (In Ontwikkeling, 2006)

5.2.2 Overview of the results of the interviews in Vinkhuizen

On the following pages, the results of the interviews are summarized into four tables. The tables follow the structure of the four sub questions. First, there is a table about the characteristics of the homeowners. This table is followed by a table about the attraction of homeowners to Vinkhuizen. The third table is the result of questions about the relationship between the inhabitants and their environment and the final table shows the way the homeowners experience Vinkhuizen.

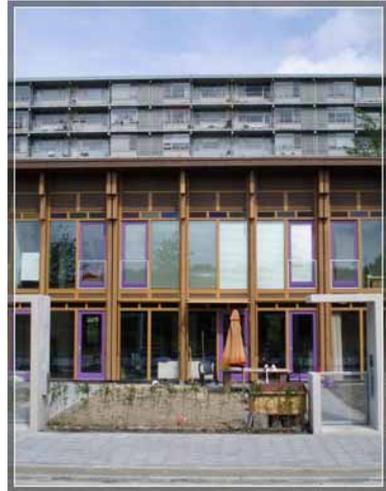


Figure 9: Elderly dwellings, Siersteenlaan

Figure 10: Patio dwellings, Siersteenlaan

Figure 11: One-family dwellings, Parelstraat



Figure 12: One-family dwellings, Jaspisstraat

Figure 13: One-family dwellings, Boraxstraat



Figure 14: Urban renewal measures in Vinkhuizen (Groningen, 1998b)

| Attraction | 1. Jansen | 2. Maassen | 3. Visser | 4. De Boer | 5. Meerstra |
|---|--|---|---|--|---|
| Is living here since... | 5 months | 5 months | 5 months | 5 year | 1.5 year |
| Location previous dwelling | Groningen, Laanhuizen | Groningen, Helpman | Groningen, Oosterpark | Winsum | Village close to Zwolle |
| Owner-occupied house? | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Smaller than this house? | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | No |
| Long time searched for this house? | No | No | No | 4 year | Yes |
| Reasons for moving | Not suitable for little kid | Old house, needed much maintaince | Piled dwelling | | Family problems, divorced |
| | Old house, needed much maintaince | No possibilities for expansion | Much traffic | | |
| Demands new dwelling | New-built dwelling Close to facilities Western side of city | In city of Groningen | In city of Groningen Bigger More quiet | In city of Groningen Garden One-family dwelling | At least 1000 squared meter surface In city of Groningen Close to Gravenburg Semi-datched dwelling New-built dwelling Garden |
| Why chosen this dwelling | Free view | Payable Garden Free view Close to family Expansion possibilty | Edge of the city Close to park Good facilities Free view | Special shape Size | |
| How long do you want to stay in this house? | > 5 year | - | > 5 year | 1 month | half a year |
| Attraction | 6. Aalbers | 7. Pattiyata | 8. Van Essen | 9. van Huis | 10. Aysatti |
| Is living here since... | 4 jaar | | 4 year | 1,5 year | 2 year |
| Location previous dwelling | Paddepoel | Lewenborg | Vinkhuizen | Almere | Vinkhuizen |
| Owner-occupied house? | No | Yes | No | No | No |
| Smaller than this house? | Yes | Yes | Yes | Comparable | Comparable |
| Long time searched for this house? | didn't really search | - | No | No | Less than 3 months |
| Reasons for moving | Home with a garden | After divorce back together | | Personal Reasons, didn't want kid to grow up in Almere Closer to family Closer to work | For the first time the possibility to buy a house |
| | Many sleeping rooms | | | New-built | |
| Demands new dwelling | In city of Groningen Close to city centre Garden New-built dwelling | New-built dwelling Existing neighbourhood | Corner House In the front of the street Mixed neighbourhood | | One-family dwelling Owner-occupied dwelling |
| Why chosen this dwelling | Close to park Public garden in front of the house | Advices of broker | Good facilities | Good price | For the time owner-occupied dwellings |
| | | | | Both are born in Vinkhuizen Reachable Good facilities | available in Vinkhuizen |
| How long do you want to stay in this house? | 1 year | > 5 year | > 5 year | > 5 year | Depending on the amount of annoyance |

Table 4: Reasons why homeowners feel attracted to Vinkhuizen

| Effect: Relationship Inhabitant - Neighbourhood | 1. Jansen | 2. Maassen | 3. Visser | 4. De Boer | 5. Meerstra |
|--|--|---|---|---|---|
| Free time | Home and garden Park bordering estate | Home and Garden | Home and Garden Go often out of town | Summercottage Home and Garden | Environment of Zwolle |
| Children go to school in estate? | Yes | Yes | n.a. | n.a. | Bordering neighbourhood |
| Actively involved in school? | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | Yes, parent's council |
| Purchases in estate? | Yes | Yes | Yes | Bordering neighbourhood | Occasionaly |
| Visited community center? | No | 1 time | 1 time | 1 time | No |
| Read the local newspaper? | Brief | Attentive | Brief | Attentive | Seldom |
| How many names of neighbours? | 10 | 15 | 8 | 5 | 8 |
| Activities with neighbours? | Doin odd jobs Gardening Having a chat Playground Association | Children playing together Doing odd jobs Party's | Doing odd jobs Having a drink together Holidays: Looking after pets | Having a chat Holidays: Looking after pets Holidays: Taking care of plants | Presents at children's birth 2 barbecue-parties Looking after children Doing odd jobs Looning tools |
| Aquantainces outside the own street? | No | 2 | 3 | No | - |
| Effect: Relationship Inhabitant - Neighbourhood | 6. Aalbers | 7. Pattiyata | 8. Van Essen | 9. van Huis | 10. Aysatti |
| Free time | Home and Garden Day out in the weekend | Cycling in the environment Go often out of town Home and Garden | Home and Garden Park with dog | Home and Garden | Home and Garden |
| Children go to school in estate? | Yes | n.a. | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Actively involved in school? | Average | Not anymore | Yes | From next year | No |
| Purchases in estate? | Yes | Occasionaly | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Visited community center? | No | Yes, especially in the past | Regularly | No | No |
| Read the local newspaper? | Brief | Attentive | Attentive | Brief | Occasionaly |
| How many names of neighbours? | 10 | 15 | 12 | 11 | 0 |
| Activities with neighbours? | Barbecue-party Celebrating children's birthdays Looking after children Doing odd jobs Regular visiting | Holidays: Taking care of plants Doing odd jobs | Op huis passen vakantie Having a chat A day to get to know each other Help with computer problem | Barbecue-parties Making picture postcards Doing odd jobs Looking after children Giving presents at children's birth | Having a chat Children playing together |
| Aquantainces outside the own street? | | a couple | Yes, via work | - | - |

Table 5: Effect of homeowners on their neighbourhood: The relationship between inhabitant and neighbourhood

| Neighbourhood | 1. Jansen | 2. Maassen | 3. Visser | 4. De Boer | 5. Meerstra |
|--|--|---|---|---|--|
| Neighbourhood before urban renewal | Shopping center old Antisocial people | Bad image Many housebreakings People causing problems | Far from city center Bad image Unsafe | Old-fashioned shopping center Didn't look nice | Hazardous neighbourhood Many young people hanging around Much graffiti and destruction Bad atmosphere |
| Major changes during renewal | One-family dwellings instead of flats Different composition of inhabitants Shopping center renewed | Streets renovated Houses renovated Shopping center renewed Better mix of dwellings Different composition of inhabitants | | Many new-built dwellings More traffic More colour More green | People with lower incomes Different composition of inhabitants More children's playgrounds |
| Experienced annoyance? | No | No | No | Traffic Construction works Fire department No | Garbage Young people hanging around Radios and scooters - |
| Experienced crime? Do you feel safe? | No | No Yes | No - | No | - |
| In which 5 words would you describe the neighb.? | Lively Active Quiet Children friendly Home | Cosy Quiet Children Friendly Messy Green | Close to city center Cosy Good facilities Beautiful view | Heavy traffic Few green space Quiet concerning annoyance | Average Not green Heavy traffic Dirty |
| Do you experience the neighb.as a problem neighb.? | No | No | No | No | Partly |
| Neighbourhood | 6. Aalbers | 7. Pattiyata | 8. Van Essen | 9. van Huis | 10. Aysatti |
| Neighbourhood before urban renewal | | Bad image Criminal neighbourhood Many people with low incomes Different composition of inhabitants | Bad imago | Bad image | Quiet |
| Major changes during renewal | Shopping Center More children More green | Higher incomes Less crim | Substantial improvement | Image has improved New-built dwellings Better neighb. management More uniformity, less messy Contribution of people Wantonness | New people Much renovated |
| Experienced annoyance? | Sound annoyance Young people on New Year's Eve | Neighbour annoyance | Destruction of bus stops | | Antisocial families Vandals Fireworks |
| Experienced crime? Do you feel safe? | No Rather | At the neighbours | Yes, many time Rather | Only in the first month Yes | No No |
| In which 5 words would you describe the neighb.? | Development Green Quiet Unbalanced | Social Cosy Home Reachable Green | Multicultural Quiet concerning annoyance Beautiful Green | Prejudices Improvement White Mix of dwellings | - |
| Do you experience the neighb.as a problem neighb.? | Yes | - | - | - | Yes |

Table 6: The way homeowners experience their neighbourhood

5.3 Pendrecht

5.3.1 History and development of Pendrecht

Pendrecht is located at the left side of the Meusebank (Linker Maasoever) and is the oldest of the four estates Zuidwijk, Lombardijen, Groot-IJsselmonde and Pendrecht in South-Rotterdam, forming together the Southern Garden Cities (Zuidelijke Tuinsteden). The estate is famous for being the first area in The Netherlands designed following the neighbourhood-unit principle. The following paragraph will first give an overview of Pendrecht's urban design principles and the characteristics and history of the neighbourhood followed by the programs of restructuring that took place in Pendrecht in the last 15 years.

As a consequence of the growing importance of the harbor of Rotterdam, the city expanded rapidly in the first half of the 20th century. New plans were drawn for an expansion of the city towards the area south of Katendrecht. The first plan for development in the area of current Pendrecht was made by W.G. Witteveen in the General Expansion Plan of 1927; the final plan for Pendrecht was created by C.R. van Traa in 1949. This plan was for a big part based on the General Expansion Plan of 1927 (see figure ...). (Jansen et al, 2004)



Figure 15: The 'General Expansion Plan' of Witteveen (1927) in color, combined with the 'Expansion plan Left side of the Meusebank' of Van Traa (1949) in grayscale.

The urban design of Pendrecht was executed by city planner Lotte Stam-Beese. Beese was part of the architectural groups '8' and 'Opbouw', which were taking part in the discussions of the 'Congres International de Architecture Moderne' (CIAM). Through these discussions with her colleagues, Beese was strongly influenced by the idea that communities can be created through architecture. The neighbourhood-unit concept is a good example of this feasibility of society. (Jansen et al, 2004)

The neighbourhood-unit is defined as "a spatial unity not constrained by political borders and with a certain independency" (Perry, 1929). Perry saw the neighbourhood-unit as a perfect level for social interaction, where social problems can be solved by urban design. This concept was seen as "a building stone to shape a community feeling of the city – the urban life" (Jansen et al, 2004). The neighbourhood level is a perfect scale to express this community feeling, the city as a whole is too big for this. Main idea of the neighbourhood-unit concept is that the identity of the own neighbourhood is per definition more important than the relations with other neighbourhoods and the surrounding landscape (Perry, 1929). The neighbourhood is a place where people can develop an identity, based on segregation in the bigger whole. (Wirth, 1928)

The dwellings in Pendrecht are ordered in the area in a mirrored repetition of units. The standard unit has a size of 80 to 140 meters. The fronts of the units are bordered by living streets, while the backs of the units are oriented on a shared inner area. Beese created a combination of high-rise and low-rise blocks inside the units which strengthens the spatial structure and creates an open and light view (Jansen et al, 2004).

Already in the first plans of Beese, differentiation of the inhabitants played an important role. In order to give families the opportunity to make a housing career, all sizes of dwellings were equally represented in the estate. For Beese it was very important that the neighbourhood was a representative reflection of the city's population, so that the city's differentiation of big and small families, older and younger people was assembled in the living communities, the neighbourhood-units. (Beese, 1960)

Till the 1980s, Pendrecht has been a very popular estate. From then, the young inhabitants left the neighbourhood and the dwellings, through their bad conditions having low rents, became popular by people from the lowest income class, consisting of many immigrants. During the 1980s the neighbourhood transformed into a problematic estate with many low-class immigrants and a lack of social cohesion. Involvement of the local government was therefore necessary.

In 1992, urban renewal started in Pendrecht as part of the project 'Southern Garden Cities', which aimed to maintain the green and quiet character of the estates and improve the state of the dwellings. Many dwellings are renovated and some dwellings are demolished. In their place, family houses are built, to attract middle class inhabitants.

The aims of the urban renewal are summarized in the 'Masterplan Pendrecht' (2004). The plan attempts to remain the green and open structure of the neighbourhood, combined with the realization of good owner-occupied dwellings with gardens. The whole plan leaves the original neighbourhood-unit concept intact. Further, the target is to decrease the percentage of social-rent houses in Pendrecht from 95% to 54%. This program fits in the ambition of the city of Rotterdam for differentiation of the dwelling stock and the substitution of low-cost houses into middle expensive and expensive dwellings. The long-term objective is to "transform Pendrecht into a neighbourhood with more social-economic diversity" (Rotterdam, 2004).

The renewal has started in the northern part of Pendrecht, in a called 'Herkingen', in which 400 of the 1200 dwellings were demolished; the other 800 dwellings were renovated between 1995 and 2004. Starting from 2003, 177 new single-family dwellings were built in order to replace 294 low-quality dwellings and some small shops. Main objective of these new-build dwellings was to attract young families. Therefore, most dwellings were delivered with gardens. The original neighbourhood-unit structure is remained. (KEI Kennisbank, 2006)

Housing corporation "De nieuwe unie" created a special purchasing regulation for the dwellings in this area, called "Koop Goedkoop" (Buy cheap). According to the housing

corporation, this purchasing regulation gives people with a modest income the opportunity to buy their own dwelling. The value of the dwelling and the house are split, and only the dwelling is sold. The ground can be rented for a rising renting price. (Nieuwe Unie, 2007) A second area in the northern part of Pendrecht is the 'Zierikzee'-area. Here, 144 dwellings are interchanged for 136 newly-built houses. The northern part of the area is reserved for single-family houses, while in the southern part of the area apartments for elderly were built. The dwellings were, just like the dwellings in the 'Herkingen'-area, finished and inhabited in September 2005. (KEI Kennisbank, 2006) The housing corporations try to attract the homeowners by emphasizing the green character, accessibility and good facilities of Pendrecht. (Nieuwe Unie, 2007)

In 2005, the second part of the urban renewal project in Pendrecht started with the renewal of the southern part of the estate, which will be finished in 2010. In this area, 795 dwellings will be newly build, 976 demolished and 224 merged into piled dwellings. Focus of the development in this area lays on the creation of affordable and accessible dwellings on behalf on the housing of the current inhabitants. (KEI Kennisbank, 2006)



Figure 16: Promotion leaflet "Nieuw-Herkingen": Small-scale living in the green

5.3.2 Overview of the results of the interviews in Pendrecht

On the following pages, the results of the interviews are summarized into four tables. The tables follow the structure of the four sub questions. First, there is a table about the characteristics of the homeowners. This table is followed by a table about the attraction of homeowners to Pendrecht. The third table is the result of questions about the relationship between the inhabitants and their environment and the final table shows the way the homeowners experience Pendrecht.



Figure 17: Working- living dwellings, Slinge

Figure 18: One-family dwellings, Serooskerkestraat (Zierikzee-area)



Figure 19: One-family dwellings, Herkingestraat

Figure 20: Apartments, Plein 1953



*Figure 21:
Apartments,
Tiengemetensingel*

| | 1. Saïd | 2. Peterse | 3. Krol | 4. Lindeman |
|--|------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Homeowners Characteristics | | | | |
| Sex | m | m | f | f |
| Age | 36 | 36 | 40 | 43 |
| Household | Man, wife, kid (5) | Man, wife, kid (6) | Woman | Man, wife, 3 kids |
| Job | Warehouse employee | Logistic Employee | Bank Employee | Housewife |
| Location job | North-Rotterdam | South-Rotterdam | Rotterdam-Centre | - |
| Nationality | Maroccan | Surinam | Dutch | Surinam |
| Free time | Doing odd jobs, going out | Away with family | Reading, Cinema, Friends | Studying and kids |
| Member of a club? | No | No | No | No |
| Most important persons? | - | - | - | - |
| | 1. Direct family | 1. Direct family | 1. Direct family | 1. Direct family |
| | 2. Indirect family | 2. Neighbours | 2. Friends | 2. Indirect family |
| | 3. Neighbours | 3. Indirect family | 3. Indirect family | 3. Friends |
| | 3. Friends | 4. Colleagues | 4. Colleagues | 4. Colleagues |
| | 5. Colleagues | 4. Friends | 5. Neighbours | 5. Neighbours |
| Best friends met at ...? | Maroc | Via other friends | School | Suriname |
| Still contact with old neighbours? | No | No | Brief contact | - |
| More or less neighbour contact as in previous neighbourhood? | More | Comparable | - | - |
| Do friends know each other? | Partly | Not all of them | Yes | No |
| | 5. Smeets | 6. Mulder | 7. Drenthe | 8. Reitsema |
| Homeowners Characteristics | | | | |
| Sex | m & f | m & f | m | m & f |
| Age | 33 & 29 | 29 & 25 | 32 | 28 & 25 |
| Household | Man, wife, kid (6 weeks) | friend, girlfriend | man, wife | man, wife |
| Job | Representative / Nurse | ICT-department / Youth Care | Owner of Collection Company | Own Advising Company |
| Location job | Pendrecht / Rotterdam-Centre | Rotterdam-Centre / Ridderkerk | Barendrecht | - |
| Nationality | Dutch | Dutch | Surinam | Dutch |
| Free time | Children, Sports | Dogs Sports | Hinduistic Community | Little free time, Sports, Friends |
| Member of a club? | Yes | Yes, Dog Club Bergschenhoek & IJsselmonde | no | No |
| Most important persons? | Football Club Charlois | - | - | - |
| | 1. Direct family | 1. Direct family | 1. Direct family | 1. Direct family |
| | 2. Friends | 2. Friends | 2. Colleagues | 2. Friends |
| | 3. Indirect family | 3. Colleagues | 3. Neighbours | 3. Neighbours |
| | 4. Colleagues | 4. Neighbours | 4. Indirect family | 4. Colleagues |
| | 5. Neighbours | 5. Indirect family | 5. Friends | 5. Indirect family |
| Best friends met at ...? | School / Football | Going out | No best friends | School |
| Still contact with old neighbours? | No | - | Regularly | - |
| More or less neighbour contact as in previous neighbourhood? | - | - | Comparable | - |
| Do friends know each other? | Yes | The major part | - | Yes |

Table 7: Characteristics of the homeowners

| Attraction | 1. Saïd | 2. Peterse | 3. Krol | 4. Lindeman |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Is living here since... | 2 year | 2 year | 7 year | 2 year |
| Location previous dwelling | Rotterdam, Tarwewijk | Ridderkerk | Pendrecht | Maashaven |
| Owner-occupied house? | No | Yes | No | No |
| Smaller than this house? | Yes | Comparable | Yes | Yes |
| Long time searched for this house? | Couple of times | 1 year | 1 year | No |
| Reasons for moving | | Wanted to move from old house to new-built dwelling | Want to buy a house South-Rotterdam | - |
| Demands new dwelling | Two stocks New-built | New-built dwelling | Apartment At least 3 rooms | Living on the first floor Garden |

| | | | | |
|---|-------------------------|----------|---|--|
| Why chosen this dwelling | Privacy | | Big balcony | Reachable with public transport Close to family |
| | Fair payment regulation | - | Only a few apartments for sale available, not much choice | - |
| How long do you want to stay in this house? | No idea | > 5 year | > 5 year | Around 5 year |

| Attraction | 5. Smeets | 6. Mulder | 7. Drenthe | 8. Reitsema |
|---|---------------------------------|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| Is living here since... | 2 year | 2,5 years | 4 months | 2 year |
| Location previous dwelling | Pendrecht | Rotterdam-Zuidwijk / Hellevoetsluis | - | Pendrecht |
| Owner-occupied house? | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| Smaller than this house? | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Long time searched for this house? | No | No | | No |
| Reasons for moving | Didn't want to move | Moving out of parent's house | Wanted to have a bigger house | Wanted to have a bigger house |
| Demands new dwelling | Space Garden In Pendrecht | Rotterdam Corner House | Bewoonbaar in Rotterdam Not in city center Not in problem neighbourhood | Garden 4 rooms South-Rotterdam |
| Why chosen this dwelling | - | Hard to find a new-built dwelling Drawings were promising | Accidentally drawn a place | Precedence on this project |
| How long do you want to stay in this house? | > 5 year | 2 months | > 5 year | > 5 year |

Table 8: Reasons why homeowners feel attracted to Pendrecht

| Effect: Relationship | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|--|---|
| Inhabitant - Neighbourhood | 1. Saïd | 2. Peterse | 3. Krol | 4. Lindeman |
| Free time | Visiting family in Maroc Home and garden | Walking in the neighbourhood | Go to city center Summer cottage | Go to city center Going a day out Home and garden |
| Children go to school in estate? | Yes | Yes | n.a. | Yes |
| Actively involved in school? | No, but his wife is | Yes | n.a. | Nee |
| Purchases in estate? | Almost always | No, in bordering neighbourhood | Yes | Always |
| Visited community center? | No | - | - | - |
| Read the local newspaper? | Occasionally | Attentive | Brief | Brief |
| How many names of neighbours? | Few | | | |
| Activities with neighbours? | Drinking coffee Cleaning and renovating Loaning stuff Helping with small things | Children playing together | Illness: Helping with shopping | Having a chat Holidays: Putting garbage outside |
| Aquantainces outside the own street? | - | No | Many | No |
| | | 4 | 11 | 4 |
| Effect: Relationship | | | | |
| Inhabitant - Neighbourhood | 5. Smeets | 6. Mulder | 7. Drenthe | 8. Reitsema |
| Free time | Shopping in bordering neighbourhood Walking through neighbourhood | Hardly in neighbourhood Parents Beach | Seldom at home Hinduistic community | Home and garden Park bordering Pendrecht Shopping in bordering neighbourhood |
| Children go to school in estate? | No | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| Actively involved in school? | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| Purchases in estate? | Bordering neighbourhood | Always | Most of the time | Yes |
| Visited community center? | - | - | - | - |
| Read the local newspaper? | No | Attentive | Occasionally | Attentive |
| How many names of neighbours? | | 5 | 10 | 6 |
| Activities with neighbours? | Used to help with doing odd jobs | Cleaning and renovating Playing football with children Having a drink together | Having a chat | Cleaning and renovating Meetings of house-building corporation To birtdays Having a chat |
| Aquantainces outside the own street? | A couple | Nee | - | - |

Table 9: Effect of homeowners on their neighbourhood: The relationship between inhabitant and neighbourhood

| Neighbourhood | 1. Saïd | 2. Peterse | 3. Krol | 4. Lindeman |
|--|---|--|--|--|
| Neighbourhood before urban renewal | Nice people Good impression | Nice neighbourhood Quiet | Quiet neighbourhood Nice shopping center | - |
| Major changes during renewal | More working people Attractive neighbourhood | Safety has improved | Less green Local shops disappeared Composition of inhabitants | Dwellings Composition of inhabitants |
| Experienced annoyance? | No | No | No | much noise, no annoyance |
| Experienced crime? Do you feel safe? | No - | No Yes | Yes, housebreaking No | Housebreak, shooting Yes |
| In which 5 words would you describe the neighbourhood? | Quiet Space Safe Green Facilities | Not much traffic Green Children friendly Facilities | Reachable Little green Much annoyance and crime Pleasant Home Yes, but especially due to others | Multicultural Quiet Green Not childrenfriendly |
| Do you experience the neighb. as a problem neighb.? | | Yes | | No |
| Neighbourhood | 5. Smeets | 6. Mulder | 7. Drenthe | 8. Reitsema |
| Neighbourhood before urban renewal | Used to live many antisocial people | Green neighbourhood | Atmosphere first kind, pleasant Later pauperization decrease of tolerance | Depressing Spatial and green A little bit pauperized |
| Major changes during renewal | New dwellings | New dwellings | Nice renovated Renewal of shopping center Atmosphere is pleasant again | Almost everything demolished Much renovated |
| Experienced annoyance? | Much noise annoyance from neighbours | Scraps Drug addicts Manhandles Troubling persons Messy | No | Many shoutings Shootings Youth hanging around |
| Experienced crime? Do you feel safe? | Not much, they are used to it - | Yes, car was stolen No | No Yes | Window broken, scratch in car For Rotterdam, yes |
| In which 5 words would you describe the neighbourhood? | Multicultural Much annoyance Reachable Green | Unpleasant Dirty Social cohesion Unsafe | Liveable Renewed Active | Space A bit green Reachable Facilities |
| Problem neighbourhood? | No, not in this part of Pendrecht | Yes | No | Partly |

Table 10: The way homeowners experience their neighbourhood

7. Analysis of the results

After the presentation of the results in chapter 6, it is time to get deeper into the answers of the interviewees, to try to understand their context and make it possible to compare them with the theory written down in chapter 3. The analysis of the results will first be done for Vinkhuizen, followed by an analysis of the results for Pendrecht. In paragraph 7.3, a comparison will be made between the results of Vinkhuizen and the results of Pendrecht.

7.1 Vinkhuizen

The analysis of the results in Vinkhuizen will follow the structure that was made in chapter 3, with the four key elements neighbourhood (§7.1.1), effect (§7.1.2), attraction (§7.1.3) and homeowner (§7.1.4). In the paragraphs, every separate question from the question list (appendix 1) will be analyzed and compared with the available knowledge from the theory in chapter 3. Eventually, we try to come to an answer on the sub questions for Vinkhuizen.

7.1.1 Neighbourhood

The following paragraph gives an answer to the question: *How do homeowners in Vinkhuizen see their neighbourhood?* What did they think about Vinkhuizen before the urban renewal, what were the biggest changes in the last 10 years and with which words do they associate Vinkhuizen? Do they experience crime and nuisance and what are the negative and positive points of the neighbourhood?

According to the theory, most of the problematic estates have an image that is worse than the real situation. When we look to the answers that the interviewees gave to the question how they saw Vinkhuizen before the urban renewal took place (which is for most interviewees the period before they moved to the neighbourhood), the bad image is mentioned by half of the people. This is the most mentioned answer, which implies that it is true that Vinkhuizen's image was negative. Striking is that only one of the answers that the interviewees gave is positive. We can therefore say that the image of Vinkhuizen before the urban renewal was very bad. Miss & mister Maassen say: *"Vinkhuizen had a very bad reputation. There was a negative atmosphere. A friend of us experienced regularly housebreakings."* The only person that gave a positive answer to the question already is also the only person that has lived in Vinkhuizen in all the last ten years. He said: *"Vinkhuizen was a quiet, relaxed neighbourhood, I never experienced any troubles"*. One couple of interviewees was very familiar with Vinkhuizen before the renewal as they grew up here, one other person knew the neighbourhood well because family lived there. The other seven interviewees didn't know Vinkhuizen well, so their opinions were based on stories from others and prejudices.

| Vinkhuizen before urban renewal | # |
|--|----------|
| 1. Bad image | 5 |
| 2. Antisocial and low income inhabitants | 3 |
| 3. High crime rate | 2 |
| 3. Bad shopping center | 2 |
| 5. Unsafe | 1 |
| 5. Unattractive | 1 |
| 5. Quiet | 1 |
| 5. Bad atmosphere | 1 |
| 5. Much destruction | 1 |
| 5. Youth hanging around | 1 |
| 5. Far away from city center | 1 |

Table 11: Vinkhuizen before renewal

Where the situation in Vinkhuizen before the urban renewal is not so familiar for a large part of the interviewees, the process of urban renewal itself gives a whole other perspective. The urban renewal projects are in general well-known and the interviewees have clear answers to the question what the most important changes during the urban renewal were.

Seven out of ten interviewees mentioned the change of the socio-economic composition of the population.

Miss and mister Patiyata say: "A different group of people came to the neighbourhood and the composition of the population changed. There are now less people with low incomes and more people with high incomes" It is not a surprise that this change is the most mentioned one, as this change is a result of the movement of the interviewees themselves. The second most mentioned change is the process that precedes the different composition of population, the change of the composition of the dwelling stock. Miss and mister van Huis say: "The demolition and new building of dwellings is the biggest improvement in Vinkhuizen. The neighbourhood gets a neater image."

Also the renewal of the shopping center and the renovation of existing dwellings are mentioned by multiple interviewees. There is only one respondent who mentioned distinct negative changes, Miss de Boer: "They said Vinkhuizen would become and stay a green neighbourhood, but the green space is disappearing. All empty areas are build over."

| Words ass. with Vinkhuizen | # |
|-----------------------------------|----------|
| 1. Quiet | 5 |
| 2. Green | 4 |
| 3. Cozy | 3 |
| 4. Reachable | 2 |
| 4. Heavy traffic | 2 |
| 4. Children friendly | 2 |
| 4. Beautiful | 2 |
| 4. Development | 2 |
| 4. Home | 2 |
| 4. Little green | 2 |
| 4. Lively | 2 |
| 12. White | 1 |
| 12. Average | 1 |
| 12. Good facilities | 1 |
| 12. Mix of dwellings | 1 |
| 12. Multicultural | 1 |
| 12. Unbalanced | 1 |
| 12. Messy | 1 |
| 12. Social | 1 |
| 12. Dirty | 1 |
| 12. Prejudices | 1 |

Table 13: Words assoc. with Vinkh.

| Biggest changes during renewal | # |
|---|----------|
| 1. Socio-economic composition of population | 7 |
| 2. Composition of the dwelling stock | 4 |
| 3. Renewal of shopping center | 3 |
| 3. Renovation | 3 |
| 5. Better maintenance | 1 |
| 5. More traffic | 1 |
| 5. Image improved | 1 |
| 5. Contribution of people's opinion | 1 |
| 5. Socio-cultural composition of population | 1 |
| 5. More green | 1 |
| 5. More children's playgrounds | 1 |
| 5. More uniformity, less messy | 1 |
| 5. Less crime | 1 |
| 5. Less green | 1 |
| 5. Streets improved | 1 |

Table 12: Biggest changes during renewal

An interesting way to find out how homeowners experience their neighbourhood is to ask them for their associations. Every interviewee was asked to mention 5 words that he or she associates with Vinkhuizen. Looking to the list of most associated words, it becomes clear that inhabitants experience their neighbourhood in very different ways. Although it seems on first sight that many inhabitants agree on the quietness of Vinkhuizen, as it is mentioned by five interviewees, this image is toned down by two other interviewees who associate Vinkhuizen with heavy traffic. Miss de Boer says: "As a result of the building of all the new dwellings, the traffic has substantially increased during the years of renewal. It causes much nuisance, and the quiet character of the neighbourhood has disappeared." The same is true for the green character of Vinkhuizen, which is named by four respondents, that is contradicted by two persons who relate the neighbourhood to little green, for example mister Meerstra: "Vinkhuizen is absolutely not a green neighbourhood and it is way too crowded." Other

examples of these contradictions are multicultural versus white and beautiful versus messy. How can these differences be explained?

Remarkable is that the people who live in the Kwartsstraat have much more positive associations than the people who live in the other streets. The explanation can be found here in the location of this street, situated on the border of Vinkhuizen, with a free view on the biggest park next to Vinkhuizen, the Eelderbaan. It is therefore no surprise that they associate their neighbourhood more with quietness and green than the people who live in the very middle of Vinkhuizen.

Now, what are the positive points of Vinkhuizen through which they feel attracted to the neighbourhood? Half of the people mentioned the good facilities as number one. Miss and mister Visser: *"Vinkhuizen is complete. Schools, the shops, the big shopping center Paddepoel. Everything is close."* Also the big areas of green space, the children friendliness and the quietness are mentioned many times. Remarkable is that many respondents see these positive points as characteristic for an old neighbourhood like Vinkhuizen. For many of them, this was even a reason to choose for an old district instead of a new housing estate, which often lacks good facilities and is often located far away from the city center. This doesn't count for Vinkhuizen, as miss Janssen explains: *"I want to live close to the supermarket, primary school and family doctor. That is the reason why I didn't want to live in new housing estate. In Vinkhuizen everything is close."*

| Positive points Vinkhuizen | # |
|-----------------------------------|----------|
| 1. Good facilities | 5 |
| 2. Children friendly | 4 |
| 2. Green | 4 |
| 2. Quiet | 4 |
| 5. Close to city center | 2 |
| 5. Cozy | 2 |
| 5. Lively | 2 |
| 5. Multicultural | 2 |
| 5. Social cohesion | 2 |
| 5. Beautiful | 2 |
| 5. Reachable | 2 |
| 12. Beautiful view | 1 |

Table 14: positive points Vinkh.

It was harder for the interviewees to mention negative points about Vinkhuizen, which is a result of the fact that most of them are quite satisfied living here. The small group of people that was distinctive unsatisfied with the neighbourhood is responsible for the majority of the negative points. Number one on the list is the amount of traffic in the

| Negative points Vinkhuizen | # |
|-------------------------------------|----------|
| 1. Much traffic | 3 |
| 1. Wrong composition of inhabitants | 3 |
| 3. Neighbourhood is not finished | 2 |
| 3. Few green space | 2 |
| 3. Vandalism | 2 |
| 6. Few neighbourhood activities | 1 |
| 6. Little diversity in architecture | 1 |
| 6. Average | 1 |
| 6. Messy | 1 |
| 6. Dirty | 1 |

Table 15: Negative points Vinkhuizen

neighbourhood, together with the wrong composition of the inhabitants. This is remarkable, as the change of the composition of the population was the most mentioned change. In the eyes of the unsatisfied people, this change hasn't gone far enough. Mister Aysatti says: *"The same people, the same persons, the same groups of people are still living here. They especially live in the Jadestraat and they cause a lot of nuisance."* The urban renewal has also negative inessentials, two respondents complain about the construction works that are still going on.

Miss Jansen: *"Some things are not finished yet, the road is for example still not paved. But this problem will disappear in time."* With the negative point on the 3rd place of the list, vandalism, we come to the next question, the experience of crime and nuisance.

The crime rate in Vinkhuizen is lower than the average crime rate in The Netherlands (AD, 2007). But as was said before, objective numbers are not the same as subjective experiences and that is why the interviewees were asked if they experienced any crime or nuisance. Seven out of ten interviewees never had any troubles during their time living in Vinkhuizen. One interviewed couple didn't experience crime themselves, but at

neighbour's houses there had been burglaries and cars were stolen. For another couple, crime caused them trouble only in the first month when they lived in Vinkhuizen, but the problems disappeared with the placement of a lockable door around their backyards. Only one interviewed couple experienced crime many times: *"Shortly after we moved to this house, all the garages in the street were forced open, and they tried to get into people's houses. A car from a neighbour was stolen and one week ago the bicycle of a friend who visited us was stolen in front of the house."* Looking to these numbers, it seems that the experienced crime of the respondents is in accordance to the official counted crime numbers.

When we look at the experienced nuisance, we see a whole different view. This time, only three interviewees never had any troubles. These are exactly the three couples living in the Kwartsstraat. Again, we could use the location of this street, positioned at the border of the neighbourhood, as explanation, as the street is quite isolated from the rest of the neighbourhood. Another argument could be that the dwellings in the Kwartsstraat are only 5 months old, and that the inhabitants simply do not live long enough there to experience nuisance.

The most experienced nuisance is the annoyance from the youth hanging around on the street. Mister Meerstra: *"With New Year's Eve, young people hung around on the streets, burning loads of illegal firework and making big fires on the streets. We called the police, but according to them, it was not serious enough. The same youngsters loves to race around on scooters and play their car radios loud at night."* Another nuisance that is experienced more than one time is vandalism. Other examples that cause nuisance are construction works, disorderliness, fire trucks, fireworks, garbage, traffic and disturbance.

So, when we want to summarize how the homeowners in Vinkhuizen see their neighbourhood, we can say that the image they had of Vinkhuizen before the urban renewal was very negative, often based on prejudices. The most important changes for them took place in the composition of the population and dwelling stock. For almost all the people, the urban renewal was a positive development. The interviewees have very different associations with Vinkhuizen, which could partly be explained by the location of their dwelling in the neighbourhood. As most of the respondents are satisfied with their neighbourhood, it was easier for them to name positive than negative points. The most mentioned advantage of living in Vinkhuizen is the quality of the facilities, the biggest disadvantage the traffic and composition of the population. Few people in Vinkhuizen experienced crime, in contradiction to nuisance, which only didn't cause troubles for the inhabitants of the Kwartsstraat. Most nuisances come from the youth hanging around on the streets.

7.1.3 Attraction

When we want to analyze *how a neighbourhood attracts new homeowners*, we are interested in their reasons of the homeowners move away from their old dwelling and choose for a new dwelling in a problematic neighbourhood. Also interesting here is the period they are living here, how long they want to stay and in what kind of house they lived here before. These questions are answered in the following paragraph.

Looking to the theory, there could be made some assumptions for these reasons to move. There are two major tendencies in the gentrification theory, that of Smith and Ley. According to Smith, the move of middle-class people to neighbourhoods that were dominated by people with low incomes can be explained by economic reasons, namely by the fact that the dwellings in this neighbourhood have a relatively low price, but a much higher potential as a result of the good facilities in that neighbourhood. Ley argues that the move of the middle-class is in the first place forced by a new group of people moving into the city, the so called urban pioneers, who are looking for "more amenities, for greater beauty and a better quality of life in the arrangement of the city". (Ley, 1994)

| 6.2 Reasons to move | # |
|---------------------------------|----------|
| 1. Family reasons | 4 |
| 2. House too small | 3 |
| 3. Old house | 2 |
| 4. Closer to work | 1 |
| 4. Heavy Traffic | 1 |
| 4. No garden | 1 |
| 4. Wanted a one-family dwelling | 1 |
| 4. Wanted to buy a own house | 1 |

Table 16: Reasons to move

We are interested to see now if these theories of gentrification can be applied to the Dutch problem neighbourhoods, and explain the attraction of these neighbourhoods on homeowners, or that totally different reasons play a role.

| Demands new dwelling | # |
|--------------------------------|----------|
| 1. In city of Groningen | 5 |
| 2. New-built | 4 |
| 2. Certain housing type | 4 |
| 4. Garden | 3 |
| 5. Westside of the city | 2 |
| 6. Existing neighbourhood | 1 |
| 6. Close to center | 1 |
| 6. Mixed neighbourhood | 1 |
| 6. Certain size of the house | 1 |
| 6. Close to facilities | 1 |
| 6. Owner-occupied dwelling | 1 |
| 6. Quiet | 1 |
| 6. In the front of the street | 1 |
| Demands concerning dwelling | 13 |
| Demands concerning environment | 13 |

Table 17: Demands new dwelling

Every interviewee was first asked for his reason to move away from his previous dwelling. The most mentioned reason to move is family-related, for example miss and mister Patiyatta, who were divorced, but came together again, and therefore decided to live together again. The next reason has everything to do with the housing career of three respondents. As a result of a higher income, they wanted to buy a bigger house. Mister Aalbers: *"At a certain moment you earn a better salary, which gives you the opportunity to search for a bigger dwelling and a bigger garden."*

A reason that was named two times was that the previous dwelling was too old. Miss Maassen: *"In an old house you are always busy with doing maintenance jobs, in a new-built dwelling you don't need to do this."*

The demands for the new dwelling show an equal division between demands that are related to the characteristics of the dwelling itself and demands concerning the environment of the dwelling. Half of the people had the distinctive request to find a dwelling in the city of Groningen. *"We wanted to stay in the city of Groningen, so everything would stay close, like our friends, job and the city center."* Also a new-built dwelling was a must for many people. A certain housing type, for example a semi-detached or detached dwelling, was a demand for four interviewees. Two interviewees had specific criteria for the type of neighbourhood they wanted to move to. First miss and mister Pattiyata: *"We preferred an existing neighbourhood. In new housing estates are no facilities, you always have to get the car to go to the shop. Here is everything*

already available." Second, miss and mister van Essen: "When we got married, we started to live in a mixed neighbourhood in Emmen, build in the 1960s, just like Vinkhuizen. We liked this neighbourhood very much. Later, we bought a house in a new housing estate and we did not like that all. Everyone pays attention to each other. That is the reason why we wanted to live in a mixed neighbourhood again."

The final reasons to choose this specific house are for the biggest part environment-related. The green environment and the free view from the house are most often mentioned.

When we look back to the theory of Neill Smith now, we would have expected that the price of the dwelling would have been an important criteria for the choice of the dwelling. But none of the respondents named this, and when they were asked if the prices of the dwellings in Vinkhuizen were lower than the prices of comparable dwellings in other (new housing) neighbourhoods in Groningen, most of them denied, telling that the prices were similar. One man told that the choice for his dwelling was partly based on investment consideration, but this was only based on the fact that new-built dwellings have a bigger profit than existing dwellings and had nothing to do with the location of the dwelling in a neighbourhood formerly dominated by low incomes.

According to David Ley, most people who move to the inner city neighbourhoods should come from outside the city, looking for the urban life. But from the 10 interviewees, only three came from a place outside Groningen, from Almere, Winsum and a place close to Zwolle. The urban life was no reason at all to move to Groningen, it were family reasons that made him decide to move.

So what is it that attracts homeowners to move to Pendrecht? It is not the low price of the dwellings or the urban life, what the gentrification theory suggests. It are just the ordinary reasons and criteria that play a role for every person that moves to another place, like family circumstances, the housing career of the person and the type of house that is available in the neighbourhood. The respondents wanted to move, found a nice dwelling in Vinkhuizen and took the bad image of Vinkhuizen into the bargain. So we can say here that the reasons to move to a problem neighbourhood are no different than the normal reasons to move and choose a certain house.

| Reasons to choose this house | # |
|-------------------------------------|----------|
| 1. Green environment | 3 |
| 1. Free view | 3 |
| 3. Good facilities | 2 |
| 3. Fair price | 2 |
| 3. Garden | 2 |
| 3. Scarcity of dwellings | 2 |
| 7. Accessibility | 1 |
| 7. Special shape | 1 |
| 7. Size | 1 |
| 7. Originate from Vinkhuizen | 1 |
| 7. Close to family | 1 |
| 7. New-built | 1 |
| 7. Edge of the city | 1 |
| 7. Expansion possibilities | 1 |
| 7. Good facilities | 1 |
| Reasons - house-related | 8 |
| Reasons - environment-related | 13 |

Table 18: Reasons to choose this house

7.1.3 Effect

In this paragraph an answer is given to the question *what the effect of homeowners on their environment is*. In other words, how do neighbourhood and homeowner influence each other?

In the theory chapter it became clear that there are two views. The first theory says that homeowners have a positive effect on their neighbourhood. The homeowners serve as a role model for the original inhabitants of the neighbourhood, because homeowners are better citizens: they act more often in local organizations, are more likely to fight crime and annoyance and are more often families with children or elderly, who have a stronger relationship with the neighbourhood. Homeowners are more satisfied with their neighbourhood, and therefore less likely to move. Finally, they invest more money in the maintenance of their dwelling and neighbourhood (see §3.3.1).

On the other hand, there is the theory that relativizes the effect of homeowners on their neighbourhood. The importance of the neighbourhood as a network of social cohesion is declining nowadays. The modern urban inhabitant has many networks outside their close environment, but is not interested in its direct neighbours (see §3.3.2).

The interviews had the aim to research whether the homeowners in Vinkhuizen could be seen as people who are actively involved in the neighbourhood life, having a positive effect on their environment, or that they are more like the modern urban inhabitants, who have many friends and networks, but do not have a strong relationship with their environment.

To investigate whether the homeowners have a positive effect on the neighbourhood, we assume that the effect of inhabitants on the neighbourhood is bigger when their relationship with the neighbourhood is stronger. The theory says that the strength of this relationship depends for example on the time the inhabitants spend in their neighbourhood, the kind of activities they undertake and the number of people they know. Therefore, a score card is made that ranks the strength of the relationship. Of course, this scorecard is far from complete, and much more variables could have been included to make the score more reliable. This research lacks the time and manpower to do this comprehensive study; this is why only the most important variables are selected. The score card doesn't give an absolute score of the neighbourhood relationship, as we do not have the scores of the Dutch population as a whole; it is only a way to compare the relative scores between the neighbourhood.

Looking to the table, first we see that there is a group of three interviewees who have a strong relationship with the neighbourhood. They all have children and have an age of 33 till 49. They agree that their children are a stimulating factor by getting in contact with neighbours: *"We keep an eye on each other's children. We call for the children from school. The children are a binding factor, without them I wouldn't even have contact with my neighbours."* These people know many people in their own street by name, like for example miss Maassen, who knows 15 person's names. These people talk to their neighbours almost every day, visit them regularly on (children's) birthdays and organize street parties. One of the respondents also knows many people from the other parts of Vinkhuizen, as a result of her job at the primary school in Vinkhuizen. The other two interviewees do hardly know any people, Miss Maassen for example only knows two old friends from her study. This can be explained by the fact that the respondents spend most of their free time in their home and garden or the park next to Vinkhuizen, where they get in contact with direct neighbours, but not with other people in the district. From the three respondents one, miss Maassen, visits the community center regularly: For example when there are markets, and the children go to the kids club. It is easy to go there for her, as she practically lives next to the community center. The people with a strong relationship with Vinkhuizen read the local newspaper attentive and are (or were in the past) actively involved in their children's schools. They always do their purchases in the shopping center of Vinkhuizen.

| | 1. Jansen | 2. Maassen | 3. Visser | 4. De Boer | 5. Meerstra |
|--|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Relation with the neighbourhood | | | | | |
| Free time | Home and garden | Home and Garden | Home and Garden | Summercottage | Environment of Zwolle |
| | Park bordering estate | | Go often out of town | Home and Garden | |
| | | | | | |
| Children go to school in Vinkhuizen? | Yes | Yes | n.a. | n.a. | Bordering neighbourhood |
| Actively involved in school? | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | Yes, parent's council |
| Purchases in neighbourhood? | Yes | Yes | Yes | Bordering neighbourhood | Occasionally |
| Visited community center? | No | 1 time | 1 time | 1 time | No |
| Read the local newspaper? | Brief | Attentive | Brief | Attentive | Seldom |
| How many names of neighbours? | 10 | 15 | 8 | 5 | 8 |
| Activities with neighbours? | Doing odd jobs | Children playing together | Doing odd jobs | Having a chat | Presents at children's birth |
| | Gardening | Doing odd jobs | Having a drink together | Holidays: Looking after pets | 2 barbecue-parties |
| | Having a chat | Party's | Holidays: Looking after pets | Holidays: Taking care of plants | Looking after children |
| | Playground Association | | | | Doing odd jobs |
| | | | | | Looning tools |
| Aquaintances outside the own street? | No | 2 | 3 | No | - |
| Score: Relation with the neighb.? | Rather | Strong | Rather | No | Little |

| | 6. Aalbers | 7. Pattiyata | 8. Van Essen | 9. van Huis | 10. Aysatti |
|--|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Relation with the neighbourhood | | | | | |
| Free time | Home and Garden | Cycling in the environment | Home and Garden | Home and Garden | Home and Garden |
| | Day out in the weekend | Go often out of town | Park with dog | | |
| | | Home and Garden | | | |
| Children go to school in Vinkhuizen? | Yes | n.a. | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Actively involved in school? | Average | Not anymore | Yes | From next year | No |
| Purchases in neighbourhood? | Yes | Occasionally | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Visited community center? | No | Yes, especially in the past | Regularly | No | No |
| Read the local newspaper? | Brief | Attentive | Attentive | Brief | Occasionally |
| How many names of neighbours? | 10 | 15 | 12 | 11 | 0 |
| Activities with neighbours? | Barbecue-party | Holidays: Taking care of plants | Holidays: Watching over house | Barbecue-parties | Having a chat |
| | Celebrating children's birthdays | Doing odd jobs | Having a chat | Making picture postcards | Children playing together |
| | Looking after children | | Meeting day | Doing odd jobs | |
| | Doing odd jobs | | Help with computer problems | Looking after children | |
| | Regular visiting | | | Giving presents at children's birth | |
| Aquaintances outside the own street? | | a couple | Yes, via work | - | - |
| Score: Relation with the neighb.? | Rather | Rather | Strong | Strong | Little |

Table 19: Relationship scorecard Vinkhuizen. For an explanation of the score's calculation see paragraph. 4.2.6.

Then, there is a second group of 4 respondents who have a rather strong relationship with Vinkhuizen. This group is less homogeneous; there is a young couple without children and a man and wife with a son of 17. Their age varies from 32 till 42. What they have in common is that they are not actively involved in school, as their children do not go to school yet, or already attend high school. On average, their activities with their neighbours are not as intensive as those activities of the people who had a strong relationship with the neighbourhood. The activities remain limited for example to drinking coffee together and doing odd jobs together. But just like the people with a strong relationship, they know relatively many people in their street by name. Two of the 4 respondents visited the community center only one time, for practical reasons. Miss Visser did this for example when she followed a reanimation course. One other respondent used to visit it regularly, but doesn't have time for it anymore, as a result of her new full-time job. The last interviewee who scored 'rather' never visited the community center. They read the local newspaper brief till attentive. Mister Aalbers: *"I scan the local newspaper to see if there are any interesting headlines, but do not read it thoroughly."* Outside their own street, they hardly know any people by name. The number varies from 0 to 3 people.

Two of the respondents have scored 'little relationship' with the neighbourhood. The first one has young children, and thinks it is important for them to have a good relationship with his neighbours. His children play together with other children in Vinkhuizen and he goes to the barbecue parties organised in the street, because his children like this so much. The respondent himself doesn't have much affection with his neighbourhood. Most of his friends live far away, close to Zwolle. He is spending most of his time in the weekends there.

The second respondent who has little relationship is a man that already lives in Vinkhuizen for 8 years. His children go to school in the neighbourhood, and his wife always does her purchases in the local shopping center. But the respondent doesn't know any of his neighbours by name and the activities he undertakes stay limited by saying hello and children playing together.

Finally, there is one respondent who has no relationship with the neighbourhood at all. The biggest part of her time, she is busy with her job. Every second weekend, she goes to her summercottage in Drenthe, and she spends the rest of her free time in her home and garden. She undertakes few activities with her neighbours and doesn't know any acquaintances outside her own street. For her purchases she goes to the shopping in the bordering neighbourhood Paddepoel, although she lives right next to the shopping center in Vinkhuizen. Miss de Boer: *I notice that I have very little relationship with the neighbourhood. "We are both working and when we have free time; we appreciate to read in silence. During my job I have so much contact with people, that I don't try to meet other people in Vinkhuizen outside my work."*

So, we can conclude from the scorecard that most of the homeowners in Vinkhuizen have a strong or rather strong relationship with Vinkhuizen. But this relationship is for the biggest part limited to their direct neighbours, the interest for the rest of the neighbourhood is low. It seems therefore that the positive effect of homeowners on their neighbourhood remains limited to the direct environment of a homeowner's house.

When we want to research if there is a need to tone down the effect of homeowners on the neighbourhood as a result of their modern urban lifestyle, we first need to look at the characteristics of the homeowners. This will be done in paragraph 7.1.4. **7.1.4**

Homeowners

In this final paragraph, we analyze the question, *who are moving to problem neighbourhoods?* What are the characteristics of these people and their households, what are their daily occupations and what kind of relationships do they have with other people?

In the theory chapter, we first assumed that people who move to problem neighbourhoods can be seen as pioneers. They need to struggle with the bad living circumstances in the neighbourhood and are surrounded by low-class neighbors. This pioneers often consist of artists, cultural professionals, teachers, and other professionals outside of the private sector, the so called creative class. Can the homeowners be characterized as pioneers? Are they working in the creative sector?

A second assumption was that homeowners in Dutch problematic neighbourhoods, can not be seen as urban pioneers, but rather as a post-modern middle class, characterized by having many friends networks, most of them placed outside their neighbourhoods. Can the homeowners in Vinkhuizen be defined as post-modern urbanists?

To give an answer to these questions, we sketch the profiles of the 10 interviewed persons and couples, containing all their useful characteristics for the analysis.

What we see from the profiles (figure 23) is that 7 of the interviewees have a household that consists of two parents, and one or more children. In 5 of these cases, the children are younger than 10 years. One interviewee is a single father, living together with his two young children. Two other couples do not have children. The big share of families is not surprising, the dwellings are big enough for people with children and new-built dwellings do always attract young families. One interviewee is an immigrant from Morocco, from an interviewed couple is the husband Indonesian and the wife Dutch, so 15% of the respondents is non-western. This percentage is a little lower than the average of 25% in Vinkhuizen.

Almost all of the interviewees have a full-time job, based on a 40- or 36-hour working week and in most of the cases both adults in the household are working. One man got recently unemployed, but was actively searching for another job. Most of the interviewees respond to have little free time, and the family, house and garden are popular items to spend their free time with. Only three of the respondents are members of a sports club, none of them located in Vinkhuizen. This gives an image of Vinkhuizen that perfectly fits into the characteristics of a post-modern population; Young families and couples who are both working and as a result of their busy jobs spend little time in their neighbourhood.

The respondents are in general high-educated and have good jobs in the service sector. The assumption that homeowners in problematic neighbourhoods often work in the creative sector cannot be verified in the case of Vinkhuizen; none of the jobs can be named creative. Also the free time activities of the inhabitants do not suspect that they are more creative than average Dutchmen.

When we now look to the friends-networks of the respondents, we see that on average, the direct family is by far most important. Second most important are the friends, followed by the neighbours and colleagues. For almost all of the respondents, the indirect family was not important. The reason for this is that the indirect family often lives far away and is rarely seen, in contradiction to neighbours and colleagues, with who the respondents get in contact almost every day. Friends are more important than neighbours and colleagues. Mister Maassen: *"I choose my own friends, and those are the people I know best and see most often. I cannot choose my family, neighbours or colleagues."* Friends do most of the time live in the city of Groningen, but not in Vinkhuizen. Most of the respondents got to know their friends at school and study. Many of the friends know each other too, or at least a big part of the friends.

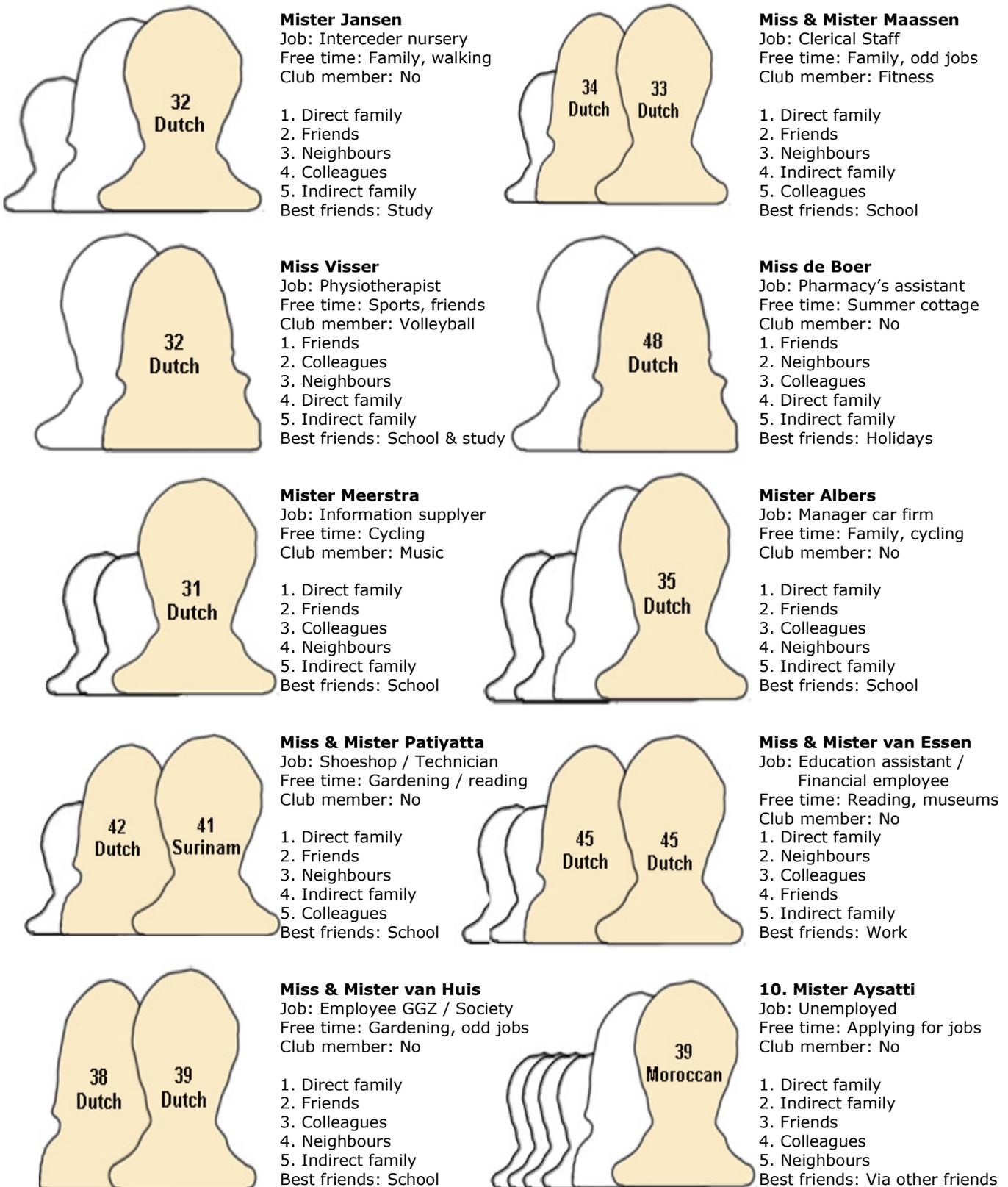


Figure 22: Composition and characteristics of the interviewed households in Vinkhuizen. In orange the interviewed person from the household.

The theory says about the post-modern urbanists that they have many friends, who are clustered in many different networks, which do not interfere. We can indeed say that friends are important for the homeowners in Vinkhuizen, more important than neighbours. But it is not true that the friends are clustered in many different networks. The respondents do not seem to have much more friends than average and the biggest part of their friends lives in Groningen, known from school.

So, what can we conclude from the characteristics of the homeowners? It is definitely not true that the homeowners are artistic urbanists, who are searching for cheap dwellings in cities to live the urban life. The dwellings in Vinkhuizen do not seem to be cheaper than anywhere else in the north of The Netherlands and the homeowners in Vinkhuizen are not more creative than average.

The typology of the homeowner as a post-modern middle-class worker makes more sense. Almost all the respondents are occupied with a busy full-time job, giving them few time to spend in their home's environment. They are often couples with young children, and much of their free time is spent together with the children. Friends are more important than neighbours, and the contact with these neighbours is limited to the families living in their own streets.

After this analysis of Vinkhuizen, a second analysis will be made for Pendrecht in paragraph 7.2.

7.2 Pendrecht

The analysis of the results in Pendrecht will follow the same structure as the analysis of Vinkhuizen, with the four key elements neighbourhood (§7.1.1), effect (§7.1.2), attraction (§7.1.3) and homeowner (§7.1.4). In the paragraphs, every separate question from the question list (appendix 1) will be analyzed and compared with the available knowledge from the theory in chapter 3. Eventually, we try to come to an answer on the sub questions for Pendrecht.

7.2.1 Neighbourhood

The following paragraph gives an answer to the question: *How do homeowners in Pendrecht see their neighbourhood?* What did they think about Pendrecht before the urban renewal, what were the biggest changes in the last 10 years and with which words do they associate Pendrecht? Do they experience crime and nuisance and what are the negative and positive points of the neighbourhood?

According to the theory, most of the problematic estates have an image that is worse than the real situation. When we look to the answers that the interviewees gave to the question how they saw Pendrecht before the urban renewal took place (which is for most interviewees the period before they moved to the neighbourhood), we see that the majority of the answers is positive. Mister Peterse: *"It was a nice neighbourhood, very quiet and green."* Only four times, a negative answer was given, for example the pauperization of Pendrecht. Mister Drenthe: *"In 1994, Pendrecht was a very nice neighbourhood, there was a very pleasant atmosphere. But later, the tolerance decreased and the atmosphere became less kind. The old inhabitants adjusted themselves to the behaviour of the new inhabitants."*

From the interviewees, 5 knew Pendrecht 10 years ago very well. Another 2 people were rather well-known in Pendrecht, 1 respondent was totally unknown about it. So, the positive opinion about the neighbourhood is for most of the people based on their own experiences.

We can conclude from this that the image of Pendrecht before the urban renewal was not as bad as you would have expected from a neighbourhood that is totally renewed. Many people remember it as a green garden estate, with nice people and a nice shopping center.

| Pendrecht before urban renewal | # |
|---------------------------------------|----------|
| 1. Green | 2 |
| 1. Quiet | 2 |
| 1. Pauperized | 2 |
| 4. Nice people | 1 |
| 4. Friendly | 1 |
| 4. Good impression | 1 |
| 4. Nice shopping center | 1 |
| 4. Unbalanced population | 1 |
| 4. Nice neighbourhood | 1 |
| 4. Bad atmosphere | 1 |
| 4. Little tolerance | 1 |

Table 20: Pendrecht before urban renewal

| Biggest changes during renewal | # |
|---|----------|
| 1. Socio-economic composition of population | 3 |
| 1. Composition of the dwelling stock | 3 |
| 3. Renovation | 2 |
| 4. Attractiveness | 1 |
| 4. Local shops disappear | 1 |
| 4. Less green | 1 |
| 4. Atmosphere improved | 1 |
| 4. Demolition | 1 |
| 4. Safety improved | 1 |
| 4. Renewal of shopping center | 1 |

Table 21: Biggest changes during renewal

The biggest changes that the homeowners in Pendrecht noticed during the renewal are almost all positive changes. Most visible were the changes in the composition of the population and housing stock. Other positive changes that were mentioned are the renovations, the improvement of the atmosphere and safety and the renewal of the shopping center.

One respondent was distinct negative about the changes. She has

lived her whole life in Pendrecht and saw the character of Pendrecht as a garden estate changing as a result of the renewal. Miss Krol: *"In the last 10 years, the composition of Pendrecht's population has become very unbalanced. The urban renewal hasn't solved this problem yet. A consequence of the urban renewal is that much green disappeared. Lawns and plowerbeds are replaced by flower boxes."*

| Words associated with Pendrecht | # |
|--|----------|
| 1. Green | 5 |
| 2. Reachable | 3 |
| 2. Good facilities | 3 |
| 4. Quiet | 2 |
| 4. Dynamic | 2 |
| 4. Much traffic | 2 |
| 4. Spacious | 2 |
| 8. Active | 1 |
| 8. Liveable | 1 |
| 8. Not children friendly | 1 |
| 8. Children friendly | 1 |
| 8. Unpleasant | 1 |
| 8. Unsafe | 1 |
| 8. Pleasant | 1 |
| 8. Social cohesion | 1 |
| 8. Home | 1 |
| 8. Safe | 1 |
| 8. Renewed | 1 |
| 8. Dirty | 1 |
| 8. Not green | 1 |

Table 22: Associated words

An interesting way to find out how homeowners experience their neighbourhood is to ask them for their associations. Every interviewee was asked to mention 5 words that he or she associates with Pendrecht. Looking to the list at the left, we see that 5 out of 8 respondents associated Pendrecht with green. The original structure of Pendrecht as a garden estate and the nearness of the Zuiderpark play an important role in this. Also the spacious association that two respondents have with Pendrecht is a result of this structure. Pendrecht is very well accessible: Mister Reitsema: *"When I want to go to my work I directly drive onto the highway when I leave Pendrecht. Also the subway connection with the inner city is perfect."* Many people also mention the good facilities. Mister Saïd: *"There are three supermarkets in Pendrecht, schools are close and the public transport is very good."* Some people name Pendrecht quiet, others experience it different as a result of the heavy traffic. Two respondents think Pendrecht is dynamic. They focus with that on the lively and active character of the neighbourhood.

The negative associations come from the herefore mentioned woman that lived in Pendrecht her whole life and a couple that is totally disappointed in Pendrecht and want to move as soon as possible. They associate Pendrecht with unpleasant, unsafe and dirty. Mister Mulder: *"The government didn't keep its promises. They tried to change the composition of the population, by building new dwellings, but now the new-built houses are rented to the lowest incomes as social renting. This has the result that the same inhabitants still live in Pendrecht, and cause many troubles."*

Now, what are the positive points of Pendrecht through which the homeowners feel attracted to the neighbourhood? This question gives a similar view as the previous question. Again, many people mentioned the big share of green space in Pendrecht. Also the accessibility, the spaciousness, the quietness and the good facilities are mentioned many times. These positive points can not all be found in other neighbourhoods in Rotterdam, and played a role for some of the homeowners to choose for a house in Pendrecht.

| Positive points Pendrecht | # |
|----------------------------------|----------|
| 1. Green | 5 |
| 2. Reachable | 4 |
| 3. Spacious | 3 |
| 3. Good facilities | 3 |
| 3. Quiet | 3 |
| 6. Pleasant | 2 |
| 7. Active | 1 |
| 7. Liveable | 1 |
| 7. Multicultural | 1 |
| 7. Social cohesion | 1 |
| 7. Home | 1 |

| Negative points Pendrecht | # |
|----------------------------------|----------|
| 1. Unsafe | 1 |
| 1. Renewed | 1 |
| 3. Dirty | 2 |
| 3. Bad image | 2 |
| 3. Not social to children | 1 |
| 3. Multicultural | 1 |

Table 23: Positive points

It was harder for the interviewees to mention negative points about Pendrecht, which is a result of the fact that most of them are quite happy to live here. The small group of people that is distinctive unsatisfied with the neighbourhood is responsible for the majority of the negative points. Only two points are mentioned more than one time, the unsafety and the disappearing share of green space. The unsafety is especially a result of young people hanging around on the streets. Miss Mulder: *"When I get out of the house, I always make sure that I have one of my dogs with me. It is not safe for a girl to walk around on the streets alone. Youngsters are hanging around on the streets and make sexual allusions."* The disappearing green is a result of the urban renewal. Although the neighbourhood still has a green character, through the nearness of the Zuiderpark, the green inside the neighbourhood disappears.

| | |
|----------|---|
| 3. Dirty | 1 |
|----------|---|

Table 24: Negative points

The crime rate in Pendrecht is much higher than the average crime rate in The Netherlands (see figure 7). Also here the interviewees were asked if they experienced any crime or nuisance. Three of them didn't experience any crime at all, but the five others had at least one time to with crime in Pendrecht. Two respondent's houses were broken, one other's car was stolen and a fourth respondent had scratches in his car and a stone was thrown through his window. Although these are quite serious examples of crime, it is remarkable that the inhabitants do not experience this crime as a distinct negative point of Pendrecht. It seems that the homeowners see the crime as something that belongs to Rotterdam, and is a consequence that cannot be changed: Mister Mulder: *"For Rotterdam standards, it is not so bad in Pendrecht."* The low enthusiasm to fight the crime could be a result of this. Half of the respondents feel safe in Pendrecht. So, the results of the interviews give an image that is in accordance with the bad crime rates that were found.

The same counts for the experienced nuisance. Although the nuisance seems to be quite high, the inhabitants get used to it and see it as a consequence of living in Rotterdam. Four out of the eight respondents experienced nuisance as a serious problem. Examples are nuisance from neighbours, scuffles, drug addicts hanging around, manhandles shoutings and the youth hanging around. The biggest part of the mentioned nuisance was given by two interviewed couples, who are not satisfied with the neighbourhood. One of them is Mister Smeets: *"There are many immigrants living in our street. Some of them don't even speak Dutch, so it is impossible to get in contact with these people. They are often shouting late at night and cause a lot of noise nuisance."*

So, when we want to summarize how the homeowners in Pendrecht see their neighbourhood, we can say that the image of Pendrecht before the urban renewal was quite positive. The most important changes for them took place in the composition of the population and dwelling stock. Except for one respondent, the named changes were all positive. Pendrecht is especially associated with the words that are characteristic for a garden estate: green, spacious and reachable. These are also the mentioned positive points for Pendrecht, negative is the unsafety and disappearing green. The homeowners of Pendrecht do experience a lot of crime and annoyance, but they see it as a consequence of living in Rotterdam and are used to it. Therefore, most of the people also feel safe.

7.2.3 Attraction

When we want to analyze *how a neighbourhood attracts new homeowners*, we are interested in their reasons of the homeowners move away from their old dwelling and choose for a new dwelling in a problematic neighbourhood. Also interesting here is the period they are living here, how long they want to stay and in what kind of house they lived here before. These questions are answered in the following paragraph.

Looking to the theory, there could be made some assumptions for these reasons to move. There are two major tendencies in the gentrification theory, that of Smith and Ley. According to Smith, the move of middle-class people to neighbourhoods that were dominated by people with low incomes can be explained by economic reasons, namely by the fact that the dwellings in this neighbourhood have a relatively low price, but a much higher potential as a result of the good facilities in that neighbourhood. Ley argues that the move of the middle-class is in the first place forced by a new group of people moving into the city, the so called urban pioneers, who are looking for "more amenities, for greater beauty and a better quality of life in the arrangement of the city". (Ley, 1994)

We are interested to see now if these theories of gentrification can be applied to the Dutch problem neighbourhoods, and explain the attraction of these neighbourhoods on homeowners, or that totally different reasons play a role.

Every interviewee was first asked for his reason to move away from his previous dwelling. Only one reason was mentioned twice, that is the size of the house. This means that the homeowners make a step in their housing career. An example is mister and miss Reitsema, who lived together in a small flat building in Pendrecht, since they finished their studies. Now that they earn a better salary, they had the opportunity to move to a bigger dwelling. Other reasons to move were the wish to move to a new-built dwelling, from a rental to an owned house or to live independent from parents. One respondent didn't want to move, but found the offers for new dwellings in Pendrecht too appealing to ignore.

| Reasons for moving | # |
|-------------------------------|----------|
| 1. House too small | 2 |
| 2. Old house | 1 |
| 2. Move out of parent's house | 1 |
| 2. From rental to owned house | 1 |
| 2. Didn't want to move | 1 |

Table 25: Reasons for moving

| Demands new dwelling | # |
|----------------------------------|----------|
| 1. Certain housetype | 5 |
| 2. Garden | 4 |
| 2. Certain size of the house | 4 |
| 4. In Rotterdam | 3 |
| 4. New-built | 2 |
| 6. Reachable by public transport | 1 |
| 6. Habitable | 1 |
| 6. Close to family | 1 |
| 6. In Pendrecht | 1 |
| 6. In South-Rotterdam | 1 |
| 6. Not in city centrum | 1 |
| 6. Not in problem neighbourhood | 1 |
| 6. Privacy | 1 |
| Demands concerning dwelling | 14 |
| Demands concerning environment | 8 |

Table 26: Demands new dwelling

Remarkable for the demands of the new dwelling is that the major part of the demands has to do with the characteristics of the house itself. The environment of the dwelling plays a minor role. First on the list of the demands is a certain housing type, for example miss and mister Mulder, who wanted to have a corner house. Having a garden is another demand that is an important distinguishing mark for the dwelling itself, just like the size of the house. Also the wish to have a new-built dwelling was named more than one time. The most important demand that is applied to the location of the dwelling is that it should be situated in Rotterdam. Further, demands concerning the environment that were mentioned are the accessibility, nearness to family and specific wishes to live in Pendrecht or South-Rotterdam.

The fact that Pendrecht is a neighbourhood with a mixed dwelling stock and a mixed population of different classes and cultures didn't play a role for any of the respondents. Mister Drenthe even said that he didn't want to move to a pauperized neighbourhood: *"I didn't want to live in slum, and I knew the negative reputation of Pendrecht. But when I made a walk through the estate I talked to some people and got a positive impression of Pendrecht."*

The most (but still only two times mentioned) reason to choose this specific dwelling in Pendrecht is the scarcity of owner-occupied dwellings in the area of Rotterdam. Through this scarcity, the homeowners didn't have much choice to buy a dwelling somewhere else, and therefore ended up in Pendrecht. Mister Mulder: *"I tried to buy a dwelling in Barendrecht, but it is nearly impossible to get something there."*

| Reasons to choose this dwelling | # |
|---|----------|
| 1. Scarcity of owner-occupied dwellings | 2 |
| 2. Reasonable payment regulation | 1 |
| 2. Drawings were promising | 1 |
| 2. Accidentally drawn a place | 1 |
| 2. Precedence on this project | 1 |

Table 27: Reason to choose dwelling

Other reasons to choose a dwelling in Pendrecht are the promising drawings, the precedence on a project, as a result of the demolition of the homeowner's previous rental dwelling and a reasonable payment regulation. This is referring to the Koop Goedkoop-regulation, mentioned in paragraph 5.3.1.

So, we see here that the reason to choose for Pendrecht were not based on specific preferences for the neighbourhood, but are more a result of external factors as the scarcity of dwellings or artificial interventions as special payment regulations and precedences on projects to make Pendrecht more attractive. It should be mentioned here that the housing corporation had big problems to sell all the new dwellings in Pendrecht, which took them more than two years.

As a result of this lacking interest in the dwellings in Pendrecht, and the special payment-regulations, the prices for the new-built houses are lower than in other parts of Rotterdam or in the suburbs of Rotterdam. According to the theory of Neill Smith, these low prices are the most important thing that attracts the middle-class to move to renter-dominated neighbourhoods. But different than in Smith's theory, it is here not the middle class working in the creative sector that moves to Pendrecht, but more the middle-class immigrant families, coming from Pendrecht or another neighbourhood in South-Rotterdam, who can make a next step in their housing career. So the urban renewal gives opportunities to people who would like to stay in the southern part of Rotterdam, but couldn't move to a bigger owner-occupied dwelling as a result of the scarcity. An example is Miss Krol, who lived in Pendrecht for many years. She wanted to buy an apartment, but these were never available in South-Rotterdam. The urban renewal gave her the opportunity to move back to Pendrecht.

So what is it that attracts homeowners to move to Pendrecht? The low price of the dwellings might play a role, but is not mentioned by any of the respondents. The size and quality of the dwellings is the most important factor, the environment is less important. It can be concluded here that the new dwellings in Pendrecht were a nice opportunity for people who wanted to buy a new-built dwelling in an existing neighbourhood in South-Rotterdam: Not expensive, living in a green environment with the centre of Rotterdam easily reachable.

7.2.3 Effect

In this paragraph an answer is given to the question *what the effect of homeowners on their environment is*. In other words, how do neighbourhood and homeowner influence each other?

In the theory chapter it became clear that there are two views. The first theory says that homeowners have a positive effect on their neighbourhood. The homeowners serve as a role model for the original inhabitants of the neighbourhood, because homeowners are better citizens: they act more often in local organizations, are more likely to fight crime and annoyance and are more often families with children or elderly, who have a stronger relationship with the neighbourhood. Homeowners are more satisfied with their neighbourhood, and therefore less likely to move. Finally, they invest more money in the maintenance of their dwelling and neighbourhood (see §3.3.1).

On the other hand, there is the theory that relativizes the effect of homeowners on their neighbourhood. The importance of the neighbourhood as a network of social cohesion is declining nowadays. The modern urban inhabitant has many networks outside their close environment, but is not interested in its direct neighbours (see §3.3.2).

The interviews had the aim to research whether the homeowners in Pendrecht could be seen as people who are actively involved in the neighbourhood life, having a positive effect on their environment, or that they are more like the modern urban inhabitants, who have many friends and networks, but do not have a strong relationship with their environment.

To investigate whether the homeowners have a positive effect on the neighbourhood, we assume that the effect of inhabitants on the neighbourhood is bigger when their relationship with the neighbourhood is stronger. The theory says that the strength of this relationship depends for example on the time the inhabitants spend in their neighbourhood, the kind of activities they undertake and the number of people they know. Therefore, a score card is made that ranks the strength of the relationship. Of course, this scorecard is far from complete, and much more variables could have been included to make the score more reliable. This research lacks the time and manpower to do this comprehensive study; this is why only the most important variables are selected. The score card doesn't give an absolute score of the neighbourhood relationship, as we do not have the scores of the Dutch population as a whole; it is only a way to compare the relative scores between the neighbourhood.

Looking to the table, first we see that none of the interviewees who have a strong relationship with the neighbourhood.

There are two respondents who have a rather strong relationship with Pendrecht. The first person, Miss Krol, always reads the local news paper, she knows many of her direct neighbours by name and also has many acquaintances outside her own street. The reason for this is that Miss Krol was born in Pendrecht, and has lived all her life here. The reason that her relationship is not totally strong is that she spends most of her free time outside Pendrecht, in the city centre of Rotterdam and her summer cottage at the Brielse Lake. Also the interviewed couple Miss and Mister Reitsema have a rather strong relationship with Pendrecht. They spend quite a lot of time in Pendrecht and the direct environment, read the local newspaper attentively and have a quite intensive relationship with their direct neighbours.

| | 1. Saïd | 2. Peterse | 3. Krol | 4. Lindeman |
|---|----------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Relation with the estate | | | | |
| Free time | Visiting family in Morocco | Walking in the neighbourhood | Go to city center | Go to city center |
| | Home and garden | | Summer cottage | Go in a day out |
| | | | | Home and garden |
| Children go to school in estate? | Yes | Yes | n.a. | Yes |
| Actively involved in school? | No, but his wife is | Yes | n.a. | Nee |
| Purchases in estate? | Almost always | No, in bordering neighbourhood | Yes | Always |
| Visited community center? | No | - | - | - |
| Read the local newspaper? | Occasionally | Attentive | Brief | Brief |
| How many names of neighbours? | Few | 4 | 11 | 4 |
| Activities with neighbours? | Drinking coffee | Children playing together | Illness: Helping with shopping | Having a chat |
| | Cleaning and renovating | | | Holidays: Putting garbage outside |
| | Loaning stuff | | | |
| | Helping with small things | | | |
| Aquaintances outside the own street? | - | No | Many | No |
| Score: Relation with the estate? | Little | Little | Rather much | Little |

| | 5. Smeets | 6. Mulder | 7. Drenthe | 8. Reitsema |
|---|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|--|
| Relationship with the estate | | | | |
| Free time | Shopping in bordering neighbourhood | Hardly in neighbourhood | Seldom at home | Home and garden |
| | Walking through neighbourhood | Parents | Hinduistic community | Park bordering Pendrecht |
| | | Beach | | Shopping in bordering neighbourhood |
| Children go to school in estate? | No | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| Actively involved in school? | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. | n.a. |
| Purchases in estate? | naastgelegen wijk | Always | Most of the time | Yes |
| Visited community center? | - | - | - | - |
| Read the local newspaper? | No | Attentive | Occasionally | Attentive |
| How many names of neighbours? | 5 | 10 | 6 | 6 |
| Activities with neighbours? | Used to help with doing odd jobs | Cleaning and renovating | Having a chat | Cleaning and renovating |
| | | Playing football with children | | Meetings of house-building corporation |
| | | Having a drink together | | To birthdays |
| | | | | Having a chat |
| Aquaintances outside the own street? | A couple | Nee | - | - |
| Score: Relation with the estate? | No | Little | Little | Rather much |

Table 27: Relationship scorecard Pendrecht. For an explanation of the score's calculation see paragraph. 4.2.6.

Five of the respondents have scored 'little relationship' with the neighbourhood. What they have in common is that they only know a few people by name in their own street, and they do not or hardly know any people in other parts of Pendrecht. Further it is not possible to give a very uniform description for these people. Some of them score relatively low, because they spend their free time outside Pendrecht, like for example Miss Lindeman for example likes to go shopping in the city of Rotterdam, or she goes one day out with the whole family. Other interviewees do their purchases in other neighbourhoods. The activities that the people in this group undertake vary from having a chat till drinking coffee together and playing football with children.

Finally, there is one interviewed couple that has no relationship with the neighbourhood at all. Although they already live in Pendrecht for a very long time, they spend a very small part of their free time there. They do sports in other parts of Rotterdam, their kid will go to a school outside Pendrecht and the purchases are also done somewhere else. They know only a few persons by name in their street and the activities they undertake with them are limited to doing some odd jobs over a year ago. The reason for this weak relationship lays, according to mister Smeets, in the difference in cultures: "*There are people living in this street who do not speak one word Dutch. They do not come outside, and when we have activities together with the street, you never see them. They only make a lot of noise late at night*"

So, we can conclude from the scorecard that most of the homeowners in Pendrecht have a quite weak relationship with Pendrecht. They do only know a handful of people in their street by name, and the activities they undertake are limited to saying hello. The more intensive activities, like cleaning up the streets, are often initiated by the housing corporations. We can therefore conclude that the positive effect of homeowners on Pendrecht is very small and remains limited to the direct environment of a homeowner's house.

When we want to research if there is a need to tone down the effect of homeowners on the neighbourhood as a result of their modern urban lifestyle, we first need to look at the characteristics of the homeowners. This will be done in paragraph 7.2.4.

7.2.4 Homeowners

In this final paragraph, we analyze the question, *who are moving to Pendrecht?* What are the characteristics of these people and their households, what are their daily occupations and what kind of relationships do they have with other people?

In the theory chapter, we first assumed that people who move to problem neighbourhoods can be seen as pioneers. They need to struggle with the bad living circumstances in the neighbourhood and are surrounded by low-class neighbors. These pioneers often consist of artists, cultural professionals, teachers, and other professionals outside of the private sector, the so called creative class. Can the homeowners be characterized as pioneers? Are they working in the creative sector?

A second assumption was that homeowners in Dutch problematic neighbourhoods, can not be seen as urban pioneers, but rather as a post-modern middle class, characterized by having many friends networks, most of them placed outside their neighbourhoods. Can the homeowners in Vinkhuizen be defined as post-modern urbanists?

To give an answer to these questions, we sketch the profiles of the 10 interviewed persons and couples, containing all their useful characteristics for the analysis.

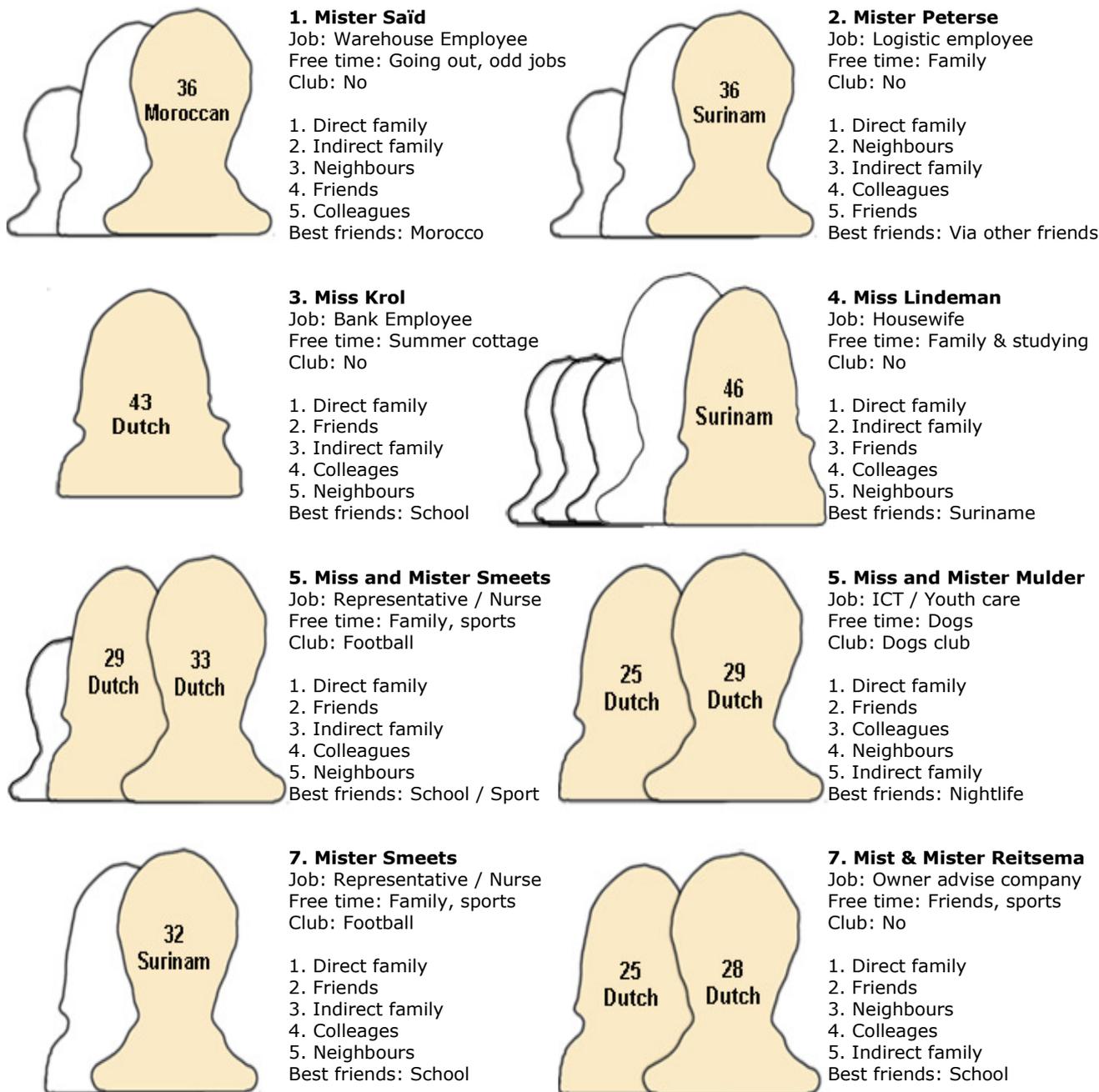


Figure 23: Composition and characteristics of the interviewed households in Pendrecht .
In orange the interviewed person from the household.

What we see from the profiles is that the age of the respondents varies from 25 to 45. Half of the interviewees have a household that consists of two parents and one or more young children. There are three other couples without children, and one single woman. The dwellings in the Herkingen-area and Zierikzee-area suit well for young families and people with children; the houses are spacious and the environment is children-friendly. The single woman lives in an apartment next to the shopping center Plein 1953. These apartments are in general inhabited by singles, elderly and couples without children.

Half of the respondents were born outside The Netherlands: Three in Surinam and one in Morocco. The other four have the Dutch nationality. The representation of immigrants is in accordance with the percentage of immigrants living in Pendrecht, which is 48%.

7 out of the 8 respondents work full-time. One respondent is housewife and studying at the same time. Some jobs are positioned in the service sector; two of the interviewees have their own company. The respondents are in general high-educated. The jobs have nothing to do with the creative sector, so the assumption from the theory that homeowners that move to problem estates can be characterized as urban pioneers, often working in creative jobs, can be rejected.

As a result of their full-time jobs, the respondents do not have much free time. For the people with children, a lot of their free time is spent together with their families. Miss Lindeman: *"Free time? What is that? I have a family with three kids. Besides housekeeping and studying I have no free time left!"* Other frequently named leisure activities are sports and going out. Two of the interviewees are member of a club, but none of these is situated in Pendrecht. In the theory chapter, the assumption was already made that homeowners are often people with busy full-time jobs, having little time to spend in their neighbourhood. This image turns out to be true in Pendrecht.

To find out if the inhabitants can be defined as post-modern urbanists, the friendship networks of the respondents were researched. They defined their direct family as most important; all the respondents placed them as number one. On the second place follow the friends. Mister Smeets: *"I met my best friends in my football team. We undertake many activities together."* Also the indirect family, consisting of aunts, uncles and cousins scores relatively high. Mister Saïd: *"The biggest part of my family also lives in Rotterdam and I often go to visit them. One time per year I go to Morocco to visit the family living there"*. Less important are neighbours and colleagues.

This relatively high valuation of family can be attributed to the multicultural character of Pendrecht. For immigrants, family ties are often much stronger and important than for Dutch people.

The best friends of the people are met at various occasions, varying from school to nightlife. From the biggest part of the respondents, their friends know each other. Most of their friends live in Rotterdam, especially Rotterdam-South. The interviewees have few ties remaining with old neighbours. It doesn't seem to be that the friends networks of the homeowners in Pendrecht differ substantially from the networks of other people in Rotterdam.

Now, what can we conclude about the characteristics of the homeowners in Pendrecht? They are in general busy occupied with their full-time jobs, have a family with young children and have little free time to spend in the neighbourhood. This is in accordance with the image sketched in the theory about the post-modern urbanists. A large part of the respondents is immigrant. We see that immigrants find family very important, and neighbours less important than the Dutch homeowners. The interviewees do not have very different friend networks than the average Dutchmen.

So, an analysis is now made from the results of both the neighbourhoods. What rests is to compare the results of the researches in both neighbourhoods. Can any differences be distinguished? What are the reasons for these differences? These questions will be answered in the next paragraph.

7.3 Comparison Pendrecht / Vinkhuizen

The final part of the analysis compares the results of the research in Vinkhuizen with the results of the research in Pendrecht. The starting point of this research was to research two neighbourhoods that were broadly speaking equal. Both estates were mentioned by the minister as being problem neighbourhoods, both the neighbourhoods were completely renewed in the recent years and both the neighbourhoods tried to create a more heterogeneous population by attracting wealthy homeowners. The most important difference was the location of the neighbourhoods: one situated in a big city in the Randstad, the other in a small town in the north of The Netherlands. Are the situations in both neighbourhoods comparable? What are the main differences? Which differences are a result of the difference between Randstad and non-Randstad? Again, the same structure as written down in the theory will be followed, starting with the neighbourhood in paragraph 7.3.1, followed by the attraction in paragraph 7.3.2. The next paragraph (7.3.3) compares the results of both neighbourhoods in the field of effect and paragraph 7.3.4 handles about the homeowners. Finally, a summary will be given in paragraph 7.3.5.

7.3.1 Neighbourhood

As was already mentioned before, the two neighbourhoods have much in common. They have a comparable size, were both officially stated as problem neighbourhoods, and are at the moment in their finishing stages of the urban renewal. But do the homeowners also experience their neighbourhoods in the same way?

Remarkable is that the homeowners in Vinkhuizen have a very bad image of the neighbourhood of Vinkhuizen before the urban renewal, where the homeowners in Pendrecht are quite positive about the situation in their neighbourhood ten years ago. Vinkhuizen before urban renewal is especially associated with antisocial inhabitants and unsafety, while Pendrecht's image is much more positive, being associated with green and quietness. First, it can be argued that the homeowners in Pendrecht had more knowledge about the neighbourhood in these years than the inhabitants of Vinkhuizen, who based their opinions for the largest part on stories of others, which could have caused prejudices. On the other hand, it is also possible that the situation in Pendrecht before the urban renewal was much better than the situation in Vinkhuizen. This is hard to investigate, and is out of the scope of this research.

In general, the homeowners in both the neighbourhoods saw the urban renewal as a positive development. The change of the composition of the dwelling stock and population were the most important changes that the homeowners noticed. The homeowners still experience their neighbourhoods as they were originally structured, both designed following the neighbourhood-unit principle, with much attention for public green and space. Green and quiet are in both cases words that are most often associated with the neighbourhoods. Also accessibility and good facilities are associated often with Vinkhuizen, as well as with Pendrecht. In general, the homeowners do especially associate their neighbourhood with positive aspects. The most mentioned negative point in both neighbourhoods is the heavy traffic.

The big list of positive points that are mentioned for both Pendrecht and Vinkhuizen states that the homeowners are in general very satisfied with their neighbourhood. Again the good facilities, accessibility and green areas make living in the neighbourhoods pleasant. It was much harder to name some negative points, and they differ from unsafety and disappearing green till a wrong composition of the neighbourhood's population.

In the result chapter we saw that the crime rates in Pendrecht are much higher than those in Vinkhuizen (§6.1). The conclusion from the interviews is that the homeowners in Pendrecht also experience much more crime. However, it is remarkable that the

inhabitants of Pendrecht do not see this as a really negative point. They just get used to the situation, and see the crime as something that is part of living in Rotterdam.

The same is partly true for the nuisance; people experience the nuisance, but do not really care about it as they see it as a consequence of living in Rotterdam. Frightful is that in both the estates two respondents experience so much nuisance, that they are thinking of moving out of the neighbourhoods.

7.3.2 Attraction

Looking to the results of the questions concerning the attraction of homeowners to problem neighbourhoods, we see that most of the time it are practical reasons that drive the middle-class to Pendrecht and Vinkhuizen: Buying a bigger house, a new-built house and family reasons. In this Pendrecht and Vinkhuizen are no different than any other neighbourhood in The Netherlands. Most of the time, the homeowners did not search for a particular area or location in the city, the demands for the dwelling itself were much more important. The final decision to choose for a dwelling in Vinkhuizen was for the homeowners often based on the quality of the environment and the dwelling. The homeowners in Pendrecht had more external reasons, like the scarcity of owner-occupied dwellings and reasonable payment regulations. For none of the respondents was the fact that Pendrecht and Vinkhuizen are mixed neighbourhoods one of the main reasons to choose this house. The prices of the dwellings in Vinkhuizen are no lower than the prices in other parts of Groningen, but the prices of the new-built dwellings in Pendrecht are well affordable for lower incomes, as a result of the reasonable payment regulations and low interest. This has attracted lower incomes, who normally don't have the opportunity to buy and immigrant families.

7.3.3 Effect

We already concluded before that the positive effect of the homeowner on its neighbourhood depends on the strength of his relationship with the neighbourhood. Therefore two scorecards were made, one to give an impression of the relationship of the homeowners with Vinkhuizen and one for the relationship of the homeowners with Pendrecht.

When both scorecards are compared it is directly visible that the homeowners in Vinkhuizen have a stronger relationship with their neighbourhood. They know more people by name in their streets, have more intensive contact with their direct neighbours, are more often actively involved in their children's schools and go more often to the community center. In Pendrecht, none of the homeowners had the score of 'strong relationship', and only two of them had a 'rather strong relationship'.

So we can conclude here that the effect of homeowners on their neighbourhood is stronger in Vinkhuizen than in Pendrecht. But we should be careful to say that the homeowners have a positive effect on the whole neighbourhood. From the interviews, it became clear that the contacts in the neighbourhood remain limited to the direct neighbours in the own street, who are most of the time also homeowners. Integration between different streets and classes is rare, and the homeowners lack time and willingness to be more involved in the neighbourhood life. This counts for Vinkhuizen, as well as for Pendrecht.

7.3.4 Homeowners

There is one important difference between the characteristics of the homeowners in Vinkhuizen and Pendrecht: In Rotterdam live much more immigrants than in Groningen, and so do in Pendrecht and the owner-occupied houses. This has its consequences. First, immigrants give much more value to family relations and less to neighbourhood relations. This could be a reason that the homeowners in Pendrecht have a weaker relationship with their neighbourhood. For some of the homeowners, it is also a reason to have less contact with their neighbours, as the different cultures do not match.

Further, the inhabitants of the new-built dwellings in both estates are quite similar. In general, they can be characterized as high-educated working people, in the age of 25 till 40, often having young children. Their jobs and family leaves them little time for other activities, and that is a reason that their relationship with the neighbourhood remains limited to the direct neighbours. In their jobs, interests and friendship networks they or both not very different from the average Dutch people in their class and age.

7.3.5 Summary

So now we now we try to answer the question, what is the biggest difference between Vinkhuizen and Pendrecht and what are the reasons for these differences?

First, this is the difference in the share of immigrants. For some of the homeowners in Pendrecht, the difference in cultures is a reason that the integration with neighbours fails. In Vinkhuizen, these cultural differences are much smaller and we can see from the results of the interviews that the effect of homeowners on their neighbourhood is bigger in Vinkhuizen. This is a difference that can be related to the difference between non-Randstad and Randstad, as the latter traditionally attracts more immigrants than those areas in the rest of The Netherlands.

A second important difference is that the image of Pendrecht before the urban renewal seems to be better than the image of Vinkhuizen ten years ago. But in Vinkhuizen, the urban renewal has had a great impact and lead to a big improvement of the neighbourhood's image. Also in Pendrecht, the urban renewal was a positive development, but the impact seems to be smaller. The new-built dwellings were only sold after a long period with the help of artificial interventions to stimulate the sale. The image of Pendrecht in Rotterdam seems to be quite well, but the neighbourhood suffers from the bad image of Rotterdam as a whole in the rest of The Netherlands.

A third difference is the distinction in crime rates, which are much higher in Pendrecht. Although many of the homeowners experienced crime themselves, it is no reason for them to move to a safer place. They see the crime as a consequence of living in Rotterdam. Also this difference can be attributed to the difference between Randstad en non-Randstad. The crime rates in all big cities in the western part of The Netherlands are high, and the problem neighbourhoods in these cities suffer much more from this crime than problem neighbourhoods in other parts of The Netherlands.

Finally, the homeowners in Pendrecht were more often attracted by external factors, such as the scarcity of dwellings and reasonable payment regulations than the homeowners in Vinkhuizen, who were attracted by the quality of the dwelling and environment. In the theory was already mentioned that people who have the freedom to choose the location of their dwelling, stay in general longer in this neighbourhood, are more willing to undertake action to improve their environment and have a bigger positive effect on the neighbourhood. It can therefore be said that the lack of this freedom for some homeowners of Pendrecht lead to a weaker relationship with the neighbourhood.

7. Conclusion

In this final chapter, an answer is given to the key question and sub questions, as written in chapter 4. The questions are answered based on the theory and results of the interviews.

During the 1990s the problems in post-war city estates increased and the estates became a popular topic in the political debate. Although there was skepticism in the science of urban geography about the size of the positive effect of homeowners on their environment, the Dutch government embraced the idea of creating mixed neighbourhoods during the 1990s with great enthusiasm as the solution for the problems of unemployment, vandalism and disintegration in the old city estates. They did this by undertaking thorough interventions in the structure of the most problematic neighbourhoods, through the demolition of the old social rental dwellings and the replacement of new owner-occupied houses, trying to create a change in the socio-economic composition of the population.

This research had the aim to investigate whether this attraction of high-educated homeowners into problem estates has led to a positive effect on the neighbourhood's quality. The research followed the structure of four key elements: Neighbourhood, Attraction, Influence and Homeowners. Every key element contains one sub question.

7.1 Answer to the sub questions

The first sub question of this research is:

- *How do homeowners see their neighbourhood?*

In the theory chapter we concluded that the image that homeowners have from their neighbourhood, depends on four factors: the government, the housing corporations, the existing inhabitants and the process of urban renewal.

The government and housing corporation have an important task in safeguarding the neighbourhood's quality. They do this through neighbourhood management and urban renewal. Especially this urban renewal plays an important role in the homeowner's daily experience of the neighbourhoods. In Vinkhuizen and Pendrecht this urban renewal process is in the finishing stage. In the homeowner's opinion, this urban renewal is a very positive development.

Most of them are not very well-known with the situation in the neighbourhood before the renewal and therefore their image of the situation in that time is negative. The demolition of the social rental dwellings and building of new owner-occupied dwellings meant for the homeowners a new supply of affordable dwellings close to the city center. They appreciate especially the green and spacious character of the neighbourhoods.

After the urban renewal, the crime rate in former problematic neighbourhoods like Pendrecht and Vinkhuizen is still high. According to a research of the 'Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, crime rates do not decrease when the composition of the neighbourhood's population changes. (SCP, 2007) This is in accordance with the crime rates of Vinkhuizen and Pendrecht, which are still higher than average. For the homeowners, these crime rates are no reason to move away. They rather get used to it, and see it as a consequence of living in the city. This disadvantage does not match up to the advantages

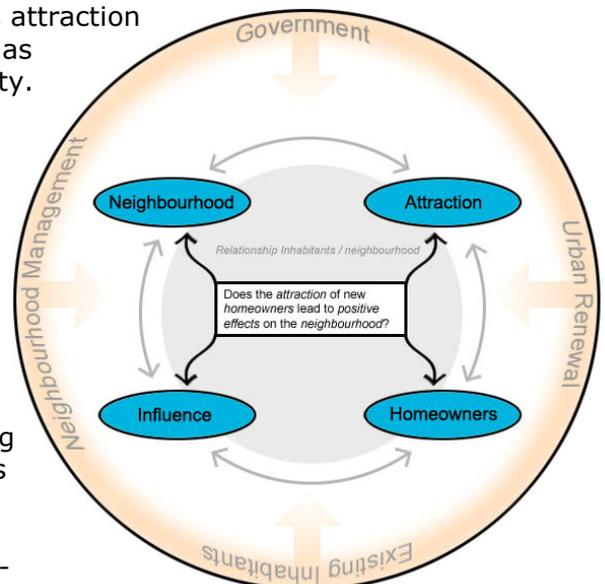


Figure 24: Model of actors and elements playing a role in a neighbourhood during urban renewal

of the good facilities and accessibility. This particularly counts for the homeowners in the Randstad, where the crime rates are extra high.

The nuisance is most experienced by people who are living in the middle of the neighbourhood, close to cheap rental dwellings. Especially youngsters hanging around on the street cause a lot of nuisance for homeowners.

So, we can conclude that homeowners are in general satisfied with their neighbourhood. The green and spacious environment, good facilities and accessibility are for them more important than the higher crime rates and nuisance.

The second sub question is:

- *Why do homeowners feel attracted to the problem neighbourhoods?*

The theory gave two different explanations. First, there was the theory that homeowners who move to these neighbourhoods are looking for cheap dwellings in the city, to live the 'urban life'. These urban pioneers are often characterized by their jobs in the creative sector. The second option was that people who occupy the new-built dwellings are original inhabitants of the estate, who lived below their needs for years. The new housing development gave them the chance to make the step in their housing career to an affordable, owner-occupied dwelling.

None of both theories seemed to be true for the homeowners in the Dutch cases. None of the respondents had a job in the creative sector. The lower prices of the dwellings in Pendrecht were for some people a stimulus to move to this neighbourhood, but this doesn't count for Vinkhuizen: the prices of the dwellings are not lower than those in neighbouring new-built housing estates. Also few of the homeowners originate from the neighbourhood itself. The biggest part of the homeowners comes from other parts of the city. The scarcity of dwellings was only for some homeowners in Rotterdam a reason to move to Pendrecht, in Groningen is at the moment no shortage of affordable houses. So, in general we can say that the homeowners move voluntary to the estates.

So, what is then what attracts the homeowners to move to the problem neighbourhoods? In general, those are just the ordinary reasons that people have when they move: Family reasons, change of job, searching for bigger house, etc. And as a result of the urban renewal, the homeowners do not value the former problem estates lower than other city estates. On the contrary, they prefer to live in these mixed neighbourhoods, who have especially the good facilities in favour on the new housing estates. So we can conclude here that the governmental intervention is successful. The neighbourhood is gentrifying, and homeowners are willing to invest in the area.

The third sub question is:

- *What is the effect of homeowners on their environment?*

In the theory chapter it became clear that on first sight, the homeowners in a neighbourhood have a very positive influence on their environment. They are more willing to undertake maintenance activities, are less willing to move and are more involved in local organizations. But on second sight, it appeared that these positive effects shouldn't be overestimated. Being a homeowner doesn't make someone a better inhabitant. Often, the homeowners have full-time jobs which give them little time to spend on maintaining relationships with people in the neighbourhood. Bolt & Dekker already concluded in a study that was published simultaneously with this research: "it is very questionable if social cohesion can be stimulated through the creation of mixed neighbourhoods". (Bolt & Dekker, 2007)

The results of the case studies in this research underline this statement. The homeowners have little free time outside their jobs, and the free time they have is rather spend inside the home or garden than in the neighbourhood. Hardly any homeowners know many people outside their own street and the community center is rarely visited. The difference between homeowners in the Randstad and homeowners outside the Randstad is that the latter seem to have a stronger relationship. This is a result of the

lower percentage of immigrants living in the neighbourhoods outside the Randstad, who have generally a weaker relationship with their neighbours.

The final sub question is:

- *Who are the homeowners that move to the problem neighbourhoods?*

In the theory, three kinds of persons were introduced: First, the urban pioneers, who move to city estates in search for cheap dwellings combined with the urban lifestyle, often having a job in the creative sector. These people are often followed by a group of trend-followers and risk-averse investors. Second, the post-modern urbanists: high-educated and full-time working people who are characterized by the many networks of friends they have, most of their friends living outside their own neighbourhoods.

The research showed that the urban pioneers do not exist in the Dutch neighbourhoods that are currently renewed, like for example in Berlin. The reason is that the gentrification of the neighbourhoods is not spontaneous, but set up by the government. The homeowners in the new-built dwellings have many similarities with the post-modern urbanists. They are all full-time working, have little free time, which is particularly spent together with the family. Friends are the most important people in their life, more than neighbours. The contact with other inhabitants in the neighbourhood remains limited to the direct neighbours.

There is a distinct difference between the population of city estates in the Randstad and outside it. The share of immigrants is much higher in the first case. This has its implications. The integration will become a harder process and the image of the neighbourhood is worse.

7.2 General conclusion

The general conclusion of this research gives an answer to the question:

Does the attraction of wealthy homeowners lead to a positive effect on the neighbourhood?

Concluding can be said that the positive effect of homeowners on their environment does not seem to be present in the neighbourhoods in The Netherlands. The diversification of the homogeneous city estates in itself does therefore not lead to a better quality of the neighbourhood. The homeowners are generally young families with full-time jobs, which leave them little free time to spend in the neighbourhood. The interest for the other neighbourhood inhabitants remains therefore limited to the direct neighbours, who are in almost all cases homeowners from the same socio-economic group. In the neighbourhoods in the Randstad, the creation of diversification will have less effect than in the neighbourhoods outside the Randstad, as the cities in the Randstad have a higher share of immigrants, who have generally a weaker relationship with their neighbourhood, and give more worth to family relations. The idea of street-level mixing (§3.3.2), where big new owner-occupied are placed together in one street with social-rent dwellings, could be a way to create more interaction between the different groups. On the other hand, there should be awareness that mixing of people leads to more nuisances.

Although the effect of the homeowners on their environment remains limited, the quality of the neighbourhood rises. The homeowners are very satisfied with the results of the urban renewal and got attracted to the neighbourhood as a result of the high quality of the dwellings and environment, with many green areas and good facilities. We can conclude here that the problems in the estates were diluted and transferred to other parts of the city. The urban renewal creates nice dwellings for the wealthier people, but the original inhabitants, with low incomes, often cannot afford the new buildings anymore, and need to move to other neighbourhoods in the city, where the quality of the environment will decrease. This displacement of problems through the city should be avoided.

So should the Dutch government continue with their policy of mixing neighbourhoods through urban renewal? First thing to conclude is that the renewal obviously improves the image of the neighbourhood. The crime rates stay the same and the social cohesion doesn't seem to improve, but the potential of the area is more optimally used. The intervention of the government leads without a doubt to a gentrifying neighbourhood. Higher incomes are attracted by the good facilities and green environment. So, the governmental intervention is followed by a second group of private investment.

In my opinion, the mixing of neighbourhoods doesn't bring the integration in neighbourhoods that was hoped for. Social cohesion in city estates seems to be a utopia. But the improvement of the neighbourhood's image is a factor that shouldn't be underestimated. The positive news about the neighbourhood will attract many new inhabitants, who are more likely to invest in the area and the neighbourhood will gentrify. So eventually, the invested governmental money is well spent.

7.3 Recommendations for further investigation

This research concluded from two case studies that the positive effects of creating mixed neighbourhoods are limited. To strengthen the hypothesis, more (intensive) researches are needed, also from cases of problem estates in other cities.

The conclusion also contained the statement that the situation in renewed neighbourhoods improves, but that the low incomes suffer from this renewal as they cannot afford the new dwellings. A city-wide research after the consequences of urban renewal could give an answer to the question whether the creation of diversified neighbourhoods leads to a drift away of these low incomes to other neighbourhoods.

Another interesting topic for research could be the situation in the city estates in 10 years. What are the long-term results of the renewal and are the homeowners still confident and did the character of the area change? Some people argued that the quality in the city estates follows a conjuncture-movement, and that the neighbourhoods pauperize shortly after the renewal again. A long-term research could give a clear insight in this.

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Appendices

Appendice 1: Interview questions

Interview with the homeowners

*Characteristics of the **homeowners** and home*

- What is the type of household?
 - o Do they have children?
 - o Are they married?
 - Homeowners are more often people with children and elderly. (Kleinhans, 2004)
- How many people in the household work?
- What kind of job do they have?
 - Often, homeowners are wealthier and higher educated than renters. (Hoff & Sen, 2004)
 - o Is the job situated in the neighbourhood, in the city or in another city?
- What are they doing in their free time?
- How long are the homeowners living here?
- What was the price of the house?

- Where did they meet their friends first?
 - Work
 - Neighbourhood
 - Study
 - Via other friends
 - Other

- Do most of their friends know each other?
- Do they think they have a bigger or smaller network of friends than average?
 - The modern urban inhabitant has a strong segregation of its personal network, has many different networks and has few neighborhood relations (Blokland, 1998)

- Do they think that they are spending more or less time than average on the improvement and maintaining of their dwelling?
 - Homeowners are more likely to undertake repairs and more likely to invest in maintenance and improvement. (Rohe & Stewart, 1996)
- Do they think they have a positive influence on the neighbourhood?
 - The assumption is that homeowners have a good influence on their environment (Rohe & Stewart, 1996)
-

Attraction to the neighbourhood

- Where did the homeowners live before they lived here?
 - o Was this house a rental or owner-occupied house?
 - o Was it smaller or bigger than this house?
 - o Did they come from the same neighbourhood or from outside?
 - o When yes, did the urban renewal give them the opportunity to make a step to a more expensive housing segment?
 - In a more differentiated neighbourhood, there is a wider range of different dwellings, so residents have bigger possibilities to make a 'housing career' and

- don't need to move to another neighbourhood when they make a step on the social ladder. (Kleinhans, 2004)
- When searching for a dwelling, did they experience a shortage of dwellings?
 - There is a rent-gap in these estates. Many inhabitants live in a smaller dwelling than they could afford with their income, due to the shortage of dwellings for the middle-class in the cities. (Smith)
- What were the reasons to move to this dwelling for the people?
 - o Was the movement stimulated by the government or did these people move voluntary to these estates?
 - o Do these people see themselves as 'urban pioneers'?
- How long are they planning to stay here?
 - homeowners are less likely to be planning to move (Rohe & Stewart, 1996)

*Homeowners' **influence** on the neighbourhood*

- How much time do they spend in the neighbourhood?
 - How active are they involved in the neighbourhood life?
 - o Do their children go to a school in the neighbourhood?
 - o Do you know many other parents from that school?
 - o Are they going shopping in the neighbourhood?
 - o Are they active in local organisations or (sports) clubs?
 - o Do they visit the community center?
 - homeowners are more connected with their neighbourhoods
 - How many people do you know...
 - From your direct neighbours
 - In your own street
 - In the whole neighbourhood
 - With whom do you have the strongest ties?
 - Strong ties in the neighbourhood only exist especially with direct neighbours, but the ties get weaker when distance from the residence increases. (Atkinson & Kintrea, 1998)
 - Please rank the following people by how important they are for you:
 - Friends
 - Family
 - Colleagues
 - Neighbours
 - Please rank the following people by the amount of time that you have contact with them (can be by telephone, internet or reality):
 - Friends
 - Family
 - Colleagues
 - Neighbours
 - Please rate the following people by the number of times that you see them:
 - Friends
 - Family
 - Colleagues
 - Neighbours
- The importance of the neighbourhood as a network of social cohesion is declining nowadays, people have many networks outside their close environment. (Kleinhans et al, 2000) Instead of relations in their neighbourhood, "city inhabitants have a multitude of relations, which are geographically spread". (Wellman, 1979)

*Satisfaction with the **neighbourhood***

- How long are they familiar with the neighbourhood?

- When longer than 10 years, do they think the neighbourhood has improved?
 - How would you describe the neighbourhood in 5 words?
 - Can you explain why you choose these 5 words?
 - Are the inhabitants of the owner occupied dwellings satisfied to live in the estate?
 - Homeowners are more satisfied with their houses and environment. (Hamnett, 1991)
 - Do they experience any troubles living here?
 - From which group of people do they experience most troubles?
 - Would they have lived here when the urban renewal did not take place?
 - Do they see themselves as some sort of pioneers, living in a problem estate?
 - For Ley the urban pioneers came first into the neighbourhoods, stimulating the gentrification. (Ley, 1994)
 - Do they take any initiative themselves to fight troubles in the neighbourhood, such as crime?
- This local participation in a neighbourhood has a multiplying effect. The resident's motivation to fight unsafety in their neighbourhood is the most important influence on a community's crime rate. (Sampson et al, 1997)