

# Residential Outcomes of Forced Relocation: Lifting a Corner of the Veil on Neighbourhood Selection

Wenda Doff and Reinout Kleinhans

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## Abstract

Fear of the detrimental effects of ethnic segregation has pervaded the debate on the population composition of cities and neighbourhoods. However, little is known about mechanisms underlying the spatial sorting of ethnic minorities. Hence, policies aimed at desegregation may result in exactly the opposite—that is, new ethnic concentrations and segregation. This paper studies the residential outcomes of 658 forced movers from urban restructuring areas in The Hague. Compared with ‘native’ Dutch (those with both parents born in the Netherlands), ethnic minorities report neighbourhood improvement less often and are more likely to stay within or move into other ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods. These differences are not fully explained by differences in individual characteristics, resources, institutional factors, pre-relocation preferences or other relocation outcomes. Ethnic specificities in neighbourhood choices thus remain a pressing issue for further research.

## Introduction

In north-western European cities and to a lesser extent in US cities, it has become established policy practice to intervene in relation to urban residential segregation. The general goal is to generate, at a neighbourhood level, a ‘better’ mix of residents in terms of income, ethnicity and immigrant status. Some interventions aim to increase the proportion of advantaged residents in disadvantaged neighbourhoods—for example, through housing

diversification strategies. Other strategies aim to increase the proportion of disadvantaged residents in advantaged neighbourhoods, such as the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) programme in the US. However, the extent to which these policy efforts are successful in combating residential segregation is still hotly debated. There are even strong academic and policy concerns regarding the potentially *segregating* effect of such housing policies.

Wenda Doff and Reinout Kleinhans are in the OTB Research Institute for the Built Environment, Delft University of Technology, P.O. Box 5030, Delft, 2600 GA, The Netherlands. E-mail: w.doff@tudelft.nl and r.j.kleinhans@tudelft.nl.

The case of urban restructuring, particularly where households are forced to move from public or social housing scheduled for demolition, fuels these concerns, not only in the US but also in the Netherlands (for example, Crump, 2002; Kleinhans and van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008; Kruythoff, 2003; Popkin *et al.*, 2004; and the *Urban Studies* 2008 Special Issue on 'Gentrification'). Some scholars argue that when urban restructuring or so-called state-led gentrification leads to displacement and segregation, social mixing ought to be considered as "part of an aggressive, revanchist ideology" (Lees, 2008, p. 2449). Others comment on this view by stressing the need for interventions that combat segregation and "promote neighbourhood transitions that might lead to improvements in the life-chances of socially excluded groups in deprived areas" (Atkinson, 2008, p. 2630), pointing to the possible beneficial outcomes of such interventions.

In order to be able to judge the desirability of social mixing, we need to have a better understanding of the process of residential relocation and segregation. This requires study of the underlying mechanisms influencing mobility patterns in different population categories and the testing of hypotheses concerning the factors that determine who moves and where (see Krysan, 2008, p. 582). However, analyses of relocation between neighbourhoods that aim to study segregation are rare, mainly because dynamic data are not available (an exception is Bolt *et al.*, 2008, although their study focuses on movers in general, not forced movers in particular). Even in cases of forced relocation due to urban restructuring, where the previous and new location of residents are relatively easy to monitor, systematic data collection and analysis of relocation patterns are not common practices.

This paper aims to reveal the factors that determine relocation patterns and residents' opinions in the context of forced relocation due to urban restructuring. Using survey data

gathered from involuntarily relocated households in the Dutch city of The Hague, we will explore how ethnic minorities<sup>1</sup> experience forced relocation and whether their experience raises concerns regarding displacement and resegregation. More specifically, the paper assesses the extent to which forced movers with different ethnic backgrounds 'benefit' from the operation in terms of perceived neighbourhood improvement and relocation to less concentrated neighbourhoods (i.e. with less than 40 per cent ethnic minorities). We will show that ethnic minority groups actually differ in their relocation outcomes, not only compared with native Dutch residents, but also compared with each other. Therefore, we explore factors that might explain this, drawing from the literature on underlying causes of segregation and spatial sorting mechanisms.

Denoting a move to a less concentrated neighbourhood as a 'benefit' of forced relocation suggests that we consider living in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods by definition as problematic. We do not take this position, but there are valid arguments to adopt the 'benefit approach' as mentioned earlier. First, many studies have shown that residents of ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods are less satisfied with their residential environment and more often experience feelings of insecurity (for example, Aalbers and Deurloo, 2003; Parkes *et al.*, 2002). Relocating to a less concentrated neighbourhood might therefore increase the level of residential satisfaction and well-being of forced movers. Secondly, based on the literature on neighbourhood effects we may expect that—in the long term—living in less concentrated neighbourhoods will lead to improvements in life-chances (for an analysis of the western European evidence base, see Galster, 2007). Finally, the explicit goal of desegregation underlying the restructuring policy in our case study, The Hague, gives rise to the question of the equitability of policy efforts and whether certain population categories benefit more than others.

We have formulated the following research questions

- (1) Do native Dutch residents and ethnic minorities differ in their perception of neighbourhood improvement due to relocation and the extent to which they relocate to less concentrated neighbourhoods?
- (2) To what extent are these differences explained by: differences in individual resources; pre-relocation preferences; and institutional factors?
- (3) To what extent does relocating to a less concentrated neighbourhood contribute to perceived neighbourhood improvement, if all other factors are held constant?

To answer these questions, we utilised survey data of 658 forced movers from four neighbourhoods involved in urban restructuring in The Hague.

Following this introduction, the second section will provide a brief review of the literature on housing choice and residential segregation to enhance our knowledge of spatial sorting mechanisms. We will also review the literature on the outcomes of mobility programmes in the US and Dutch urban restructuring policy in order to identify explanatory variables for relocation success. The third section will describe the data, measurements and methodology, while the fourth section will present and discuss the results of the analyses. The concluding section will present our proposals concerning how urban restructuring policy could deal more effectively with detrimental relocation outcomes faced by ethnic minorities.

## Housing Choice and Segregation

Generally, there are three explanatory approaches to residential segregation (Clapham and Kintrea, 1984; Charles, 2003; Dawkins, 2004; Freeman, 2000). According to the *structuralist* or *socioeconomic status* approach, housing choices are primarily

driven by class. Economic resources determine the extent to which households can exercise choice and realise their housing preferences (Clark and Ledwith, 2007). In addition to class, this approach may well include other structural characteristics of households such as age and the presence of children, which also constrain a household's freedom in housing choice (see South and Crowder, 1997; Clark *et al.*, 2006). In sum, this approach implies that moving to an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood is much more a matter of constraints than of preferences or opportunities. In general, however, both income and household demographics are unable entirely to explain observed segregation (for example, Dawkins, 2004; Freeman, 2000; Galster, 1988). In response to this shortcoming, the *individualistic* or *preferences* approach stresses the possibility that households choose an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood based on their own preferences and not merely on their socioeconomic status. Some authors pinpoint self-segregation of ethnic groups—the assumed preference to live in the proximity of others of the same ethnicity—as the explanation for the persistence of 'Black/White' residential segregation, while others stress processes such as 'White flight' and 'White avoidance'. In our study we assume that both 'native' Dutch households and those from other ethnic backgrounds may have a preference for living in ethnically *concentrated* neighbourhoods, especially those located near the city centre (of which two of our study neighbourhoods are examples). The question of whether the presence of supportive ties and networks may be a pull factor, or ethnic diversity "little more than a colourful backdrop against which to play out a new urban life style" (May, 1996, p. 197; see also Blokland and van Eijk, 2010; Butler, 2003; Karsten, 2007), is of less importance to our study. However, it implies that relocating to an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood may very well be a voluntary choice, in accordance

with the household's preference, and we will thus take this possibility into consideration. Finally, the *institutional* or *urban managerialism* approach emphasises the role of housing managers ('gate-keepers') in providing access to resources and, therefore, in the patterning of disadvantage (Clapham and Kintrea, 1984, p. 262; also Pahl, 1970). With respect to ethnic minorities, factors such as experienced or anticipated discrimination by real estate agents, social housing and other landlords and 'established' residents are stressed (Logan and Alba, 1993). Lipsky (1980), who carried out pioneering work on 'street-level bureaucracy', emphasises that detrimental outcomes of discretionary decision-making are generally unintended. Such institutional discrimination arises through day-to-day practices—for example, in the way certain allocation rules work for residents with different ethnic backgrounds and how information is presented, channelled and absorbed (Jeffers and Hoggett, 1995).

As mentioned earlier, Bolt *et al.* studied population flows between neighbourhoods in order to understand segregation processes. They concluded that

the non-Western categories are much less likely to move into a non-concentration neighbourhood than are ... the 'native' Dutch, even when differences in the control variables are taken into account. ... There is an ethnic specificity in the moving behaviour of households (Bolt *et al.*, 2008, p. 1376).

Although various interpretations of this phenomenon are still possible, the authors relate this ethnic specificity to ethnic differences in preferences (demonstrated with additional univariate analyses). However, considering the fact that these preferences are not directly linked to actual residential moves, their conclusions might be somewhat premature. Furthermore, even though Bolt and colleagues refer to the potential importance of several urban policies, institutional factors were not taken into account.

In our opinion, it is not possible to maintain the primacy of one approach, and it is rather a combination of choice and constraint factors that provide an insight into the housing choices households make (for example, Mulder and Hooimeijer, 1999). In the context of forced relocation, the word 'choice' is, however, somewhat misleading (Goetz, 2002). Obviously, the initial decision to move is not made by households themselves but by the owner of the building, usually a housing association, social housing landlord or public housing authority. An exception would be residents who intended to move before they actually received notice of the upcoming demolition. For the households concerned, forced relocation might well increase their housing choice, thanks to compensation rules. To conclude, to understand the experience of relocation of various ethnic minorities and 'native' Dutch residents, it is important to distinguish differences in household characteristics, institutional factors and also the preferences and motives of the households that are being relocated. We will return to this issue in the following section. However, before we describe our data and measurements, we will provide a brief review of the empirical findings on mobility data with regard to the differential housing outcomes of mainly forced relocation. In our presentation of findings from Dutch research, we will also explain the institutional specifics of forced relocation in the Netherlands.

### **Residential Outcomes of Mobility Programmes**

**MTO and HOPE VI (United States).** In the US, there is a long-standing tradition of studying residential and individual outcomes in relation to participants in mobility programmes such as court-order desegregation programmes (Chicago's Gautreaux and New York's Yonkers) and the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) programme (for an overview, see for example, Atkinson, 2005; Curley, 2007; Orr *et al.*, 2003). The MTO programme was especially useful in

examining the beneficial outcomes of policy efforts, since it was intentionally established as an experiment to assess the effects of relocating households from public housing projects to low-poverty neighbourhoods. For this reason, participants were randomly assigned to three groups: an experimental group which received vouchers to move to low-poverty neighbourhoods only and received assistance in the housing search; the Section 8 group which received vouchers that did not confine them to low-poverty neighbourhoods; and a control group that remained in public housing (Feins and Shroder, 2005, p. 1276). Overall, MTO evaluations show significant improvements with regard to housing quality, neighbourhood safety and mental and physical health (Curley, 2007; Orr *et al.*, 2003), while showing no or a small impact on ethnic residential segregation, self-sufficiency, child development, educational achievement and delinquency (for example, Feins and Shroder, 2005). Of even more interest to the issue of forced relocation, is the HOPE VI programme (Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere). With its focus on the creation of mixed-income neighbourhoods and the substantial relocation and possible displacement of households as a consequence, HOPE VI can be considered the closest American equivalent to Dutch urban restructuring. Apparently, most HOPE VI neighbourhood residents relocated to other public housing or moved into the private market with housing vouchers. Although many of them reported improvements in safety and housing quality, the vast majority of HOPE VI movers now reside in extremely segregated and poverty-concentrated neighbourhoods (for example, Buron *et al.*, 2002). Additionally, many scholars have criticised the programme for breaking up residents' social networks and for the loss of social support (for example, Clampet-Lundquist, 2004; Kleit and Manzo, 2006; Popkin *et al.*, 2004), although other studies show no loss of social ties after relocation (Feins and Shroder, 2005). With respect to institutional factors, experiences from both the

MTO and HOPE VI programmes show that providing extra housing counselling and search assistance substantially improve outcomes for forced movers (Curley, 2007, p. 86; Popkin *et al.*, 2004; see also Marr, 2005).

To conclude, the various American programmes reveal different outcomes depending on the specific goal, context and implementation of the programme. In general, however, the success of relocation seems to depend on: the features of the neighbourhood to which forced movers are relocating (low-income and immigrant/minority neighbourhoods, urban or suburban location), which affect experiences of neighbourhood satisfaction, safety and health; the extent to which a household receives housing counselling and assistance and can make informed choices; and, the extent to which relocation breaks up social networks and causes a loss of supportive social capital.

**Urban Restructuring, the Netherlands.** In the Netherlands, the overwhelming majority of the housing stock scheduled for demolition is social housing owned by housing associations. Although housing associations are legally allowed to relocate their tenants if necessary for urban restructuring, those tenants are entitled to three kinds of compensation: a replacement dwelling comparable in size, type and tenure; a reasonable allowance for their relocation expenses; and, finally, additional assistance from the housing association, such as counselling related to the search for a suitable dwelling.

Forced relocation is framed within existing housing allocation policies (for a full overview, see Kleinhans, 2003; Kleinhans and van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008). Most common is the choice-based letting system, also known as the 'Delft model' (Kullberg, 2002; van Daalen and van der Land, 2008), which requires homeseekers to respond actively to advertisements and to meet the eligibility criteria for social housing. Initially, forced relocatees must search for a suitable alternative themselves. However, they are given



urgency status which gives them priority over regular homeseekers in the social housing sector. Nevertheless, they still have to meet eligibility criteria such as income level, age and household size. Also, the priority advantage accompanying urgency status is limited to a comparable dwelling type in the social housing sector. If forced movers do not succeed in finding a new dwelling themselves, housing associations usually conduct intensive counselling and make direct offers of suitable dwellings to facilitate relocation.

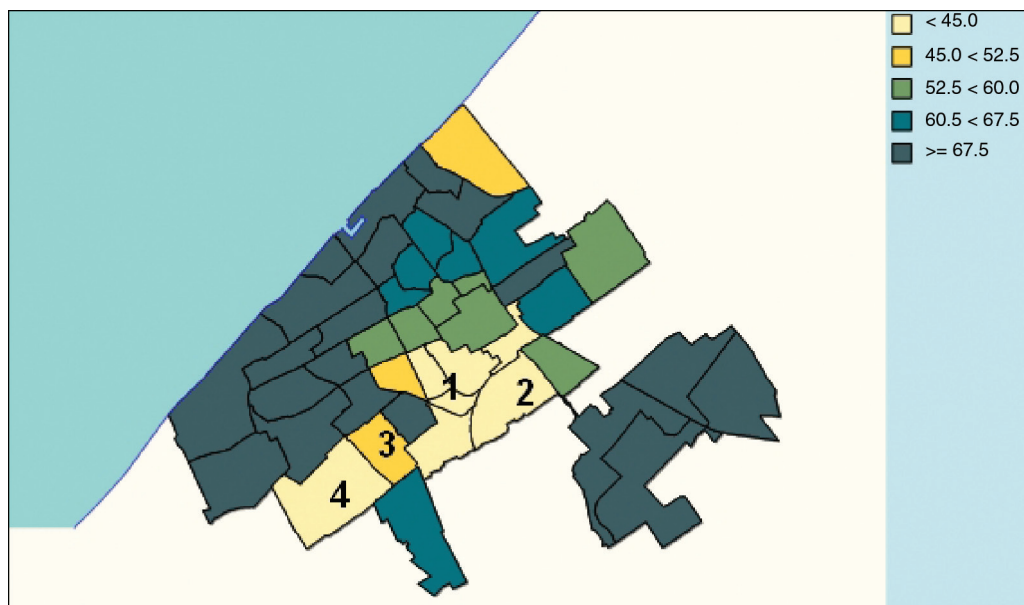
Although the Dutch urban restructuring process is, in essence, involuntary, the institutional context may decrease the risk of displacement. In an earlier paper, we demonstrated that nearly 80 per cent of relocatees in The Hague experienced dwelling improvement, reporting that their current dwelling was an improvement on the previous one. The reasons most often mentioned for the perceived improvement were dwelling size, better insulation and maintenance, dwelling type and number of rooms (Kleinhans and van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008). Further discussion of these findings is beyond the scope of this paper as the current question concerns perceived *neighbourhood* improvement. Van Kempen *et al.* (2008) recently analysed the relocation patterns of forced movers in three Dutch cities. They concluded that forced movers relocate relatively often to neighbourhoods close to their previous residence and, consequently, to neighbourhoods with a relatively high share of social housing and non-Western immigrants. In particular, the elderly and ethnic minorities relocate within the same neighbourhood. However, the study did not address the question of whether ethnic minorities reveal differences in perceived neighbourhood improvement.<sup>2</sup> It also did not examine the extent to which differences in outcomes are related to differences in individual resources, institutional factors and the preferences and motivations of the forced movers. We will address these issues in our analyses.

## Data, Measurements and Methodology

### Data Collection

In 2001, 2004 and 2007, The Hague conducted surveys among residents who faced forced relocation due to urban restructuring. In 2001, the survey targeted four restructuring neighbourhoods, of which three were studied again in 2004 and 2007 (see Figure 1 and Table 1). Transvaal and Spoorwijk are dense, inner-city neighbourhoods, constructed before the Second World War, while Morgenstond and Vrederust are more spacious, semi-peripheral neighbourhoods, built shortly after the Second World War. With regard to the population composition, Transvaal is the most ethnically concentrated neighbourhood (more than 80 per cent ethnic minority residents in 2004), followed by Spoorwijk (almost 60 per cent) and finally Morgenstond and Vrederust (about 40 per cent).

The research design for each year was identical. The local authorities compiled a database of movers for whom both the previous and current addresses were available. Due to problems finding and linking old and new addresses, the research populations are smaller than the actual numbers of relocated movers. This was mainly caused by the inadequate re-registration of movers with their new council, as a consequence of which many households who relocated two years or more before each of the survey years could not be retraced. We have no knowledge of whether these problems were random in nature or not. For the survey, random samples of retraced movers were drawn from the research population. The city of The Hague sent these households a letter advising them of the research project and interviewers subsequently approached potential respondents and conducted face-to-face interviews based on a written questionnaire.<sup>3</sup> If necessary, interviewers finalised questionnaires in a telephone follow-up. Several interviewers mastered Turkish or Arabic to overcome potential language problems with respondents



**Figure 1.** The survey neighbourhoods in the city of The Hague.

*Notes:* 1 = Transvaal; 2 = Spoorwijk; 3 = Morgenstond; 4 = Vrederust. Percentages refer to the share of native Dutch in a neighbourhood.

*Source:* <http://denhaag.buurtmonitor.nl>.

from ethnic backgrounds. The questionnaire included questions on the previous and current dwelling, dwelling and neighbourhood satisfaction, moving intentions, the search process and counselling, opinions on the options available and respondents' socioeconomic characteristics. Not all topics were addressed in each survey, resulting in a loss of variables in the final database, in which respondents from all three survey years were matched. It is most regrettable that questions on counselling were only asked in the last survey.

Table 1 shows that response levels, particularly those in 2001, were not very high. The main reason for higher responses in later years is that, in comparison with 2001 when only one approach to potential respondents was possible, increased resources allowed additional approaches in later years. The somewhat low level of response requires that we proceed with caution with respect to the representativeness of the data. Furthermore, as the original databases lack data on all forced

movers, we could not carry out a response analysis and indicate the extent to which our respondents' characteristics correspond with the total population of forced movers. In summary, this paper examines residential outcomes of sampled forced movers.

### Measurement and Methods

In our analyses, the dependent variables are residents' perception of neighbourhood improvement and the population composition of the new neighbourhood. Perceived neighbourhood improvement was measured using responses to the following question: 'If you compare your current neighbourhood with the previous one, have you experienced an improvement?'. Respondents could respond with 'yes' (coded 1), 'no' or 'no opinion' (both coded 0), resulting in a binary variable and the need for a logistic regression model. This question was placed within a block of questions that exclusively concerned the current neighbourhood and comparison

**Table 1.** Response levels for each restructured neighbourhood

Restructured neighbourhood	2001			2004			2007		
	Sample size	Response		Sample size	Response		Sample size	Response	
		Number	Percentage		Number	Percentage		Number	Percentage
Transvaal	149	34	22.8	200	66	33.0	219	64	29.2
Spoorwijk	213	46	21.6	283	87	30.7	105	39	37.1
Morgenstond	130	32	24.6	200	72	36.0	274	87	31.8
Vrederust	514	131	25.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	1006	243	24.2	683	225	32.9	598	190	31.8

with the previous one, with all dwelling-related questions posed in a different part of the survey. In this way, an attempt was made to focus respondents' attention, enabling them to distinguish clearly between dwelling and neighbourhood outcomes due to relocation.

Information on the population composition of the new neighbourhood was obtained from Statistics Netherlands.<sup>4</sup> Each respondent's new neighbourhood postcode was known, to which the proportion of ethnic minority residents was matched. Based on the non-normal distribution of the variable, we have recoded the percentage into a dummy variable which distinguishes less concentrated neighbourhoods, with less than 40 per cent of ethnic minority residents (score 1), from concentrated neighbourhoods (score 0). The threshold of 40 per cent is based on the lowest concentration level of the four neighbourhoods studied (and lower thresholds lead to the problem of too few cases for some categories).

For both dependent variables, the outcomes for various ethnic minority categories were considered. Because of otherwise too few cases, the following four categories are distinguished: 'native' Dutch, Surinamese and Antilleans, Turks and Moroccans, and others with an immigrant background. Those categories were combined that have comparable positions within Dutch society (SCP/WODC/CBS, 2005).

Several sets of explanatory variables were included in both analyses. The first set of variables taken into consideration are *household characteristics*, such as age, household income

and household composition. These factors affect unforced moving behaviour and are proxies for household resources and restrictions. Moreover, household composition and household income are eligibility criteria for social housing, which also apply to forced movers.

The second set of relevant explanatory factors concern the *institutional aspects* of the relocation process. First, length of residence is expected to increase residents' opportunities in the housing market, as it is a sequence criterion (see Kullberg, 2002, p. 555) (included as a dummy variable: 0 = less than 10 years; 1 = 10 years or more, based on sensitivity analyses). Furthermore, respondents were asked whether they experienced sufficient choice in their search for a new dwelling, restricted to a so-called search profile, a set of criteria concerning the size and type of the listed dwellings one can register interest in (included as a dummy variable: 0 = no/no opinion; 1 = yes). The survey also inquired about relocatees' knowledge of housing options in the various parts of the city<sup>5</sup> and in the various municipalities in the region around the city,<sup>6</sup> taking into account possible differences in housing market information (included as a dummy variable: 0 = moderately/badly informed; 1 = well/fairly well informed). The final institutional variable included concerns the previous neighbourhood of the respondent. The study by van Kempen and colleagues (2008) showed that forced movers often relocate close to their former neighbourhood, probably because, amongst other things, the geographical



location of the neighbourhood affects which neighbourhoods relocatees choose when searching for another dwelling. In general, residential mobility literature shows that the majority of households move within a short distance of their previous dwelling (for example, Mulder and Hooijmeijer, 1999).

In addition to household resources and institutional factors, the third set of factors concerns *pre-relocation preferences and motives*. Respondents were asked whether they had a preference for staying in the same or adjacent neighbourhood when they were faced with a forced move (included as a dummy variable: 0 = no/no opinion; 1 = yes). However, the response to this variable is treated differently in the analysis of perceived neighbourhood improvement and the analysis of moving into a less concentrated neighbourhood. In the analysis of perceived neighbourhood improvement, movers within the same neighbourhood (stayers) were excluded, as they could not compare a former with a new, current neighbourhood. However, the movers who indicated that they wanted to stay but were unable to were the 'real' forced movers—the *displaced*—and they were included. A preference to stay in the same neighbourhood while actually being forced to move out probably affects perceived neighbourhood improvement negatively, while adapting to a new neighbourhood will be easier for residents who do not have to cope with the stress of a fully involuntary move (see Allen, 2000; Fried, 1967; Goetz, 2002; Kleinmans, 2003).

In the analysis of relocation into less concentrated neighbourhoods, however, movers within the same neighbourhood (stayers) were included. The fact that the survey neighbourhoods and their adjacent neighbourhoods are mainly concentration neighbourhoods, led us to expect that a preference for the same neighbourhood would lower the probability of moving into a less concentrated neighbourhood. Thus, the variable calls for a different interpretation of the results in the two analyses.

In addition to their preference for the same neighbourhood, respondents were asked whether they supported the restructuring operation or not (included as a dummy variable: 0 = no/no opinion; 1 = yes), which earlier research has shown significantly affects relocation satisfaction. Here, it is only related to perceived neighbourhood improvement, because we have no theoretical hypothesis concerning the effect of forced movers' approval of restructuring on relocating to a less concentrated neighbourhood. Respondents were also asked whether they were already considering a move prior to the announcement of the demolition and forced relocation (included as a dummy variable: 0 = no; 1 = yes). Once again, this was only related to perceived neighbourhood improvement. We expected that pre-relocation moving intentions would increase the probability of a positive experience of relocation.

The fourth and last set of factors concerns the *outcomes of the relocation*, which for theoretical reasons are only related to perceived neighbourhood improvement. First, respondents were asked whether they experienced a loss of social ties and activities due to the move (included as a dummy variable: 0 = no/no opinion; 1 = yes), which was expected to have negative consequences for perceived neighbourhood improvement. Secondly, perceived *dwelling* improvement was taken into account (included as a dummy variable: 0 = no improvement; 1 = improvement) to rule out the gains in neighbourhood quality that are attributed to a gain in the quality of the house (see Clark *et al.*, 2006, p. 324). Thirdly, moving into a less concentrated neighbourhood was expected to affect respondents' perception of neighbourhood improvement (included as a dummy variable: 0 = no; 1 = yes).

## The New Neighbourhood: Results of the Relocation Surveys

### Perceived Neighbourhood Improvement

Of all households that moved to another neighbourhood, 62 per cent reported neighbourhood

improvement, 27 per cent did not and 12 per cent had no opinion (households that moved within their current neighbourhood—15 per cent—were obviously not asked to evaluate their current neighbourhood in contrast to their former). The share that experienced dwelling improvement is considerably higher—namely, 80 per cent (Kleinhans and van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008; see van Kempen and Idamir, 2003; Clark *et al.*, 2006). More importantly, our findings contrast significantly with the international literature that predominantly points to negative outcomes of forced relocation in terms of gentrification-induced displacement (for example, Atkinson, 2004; Crump, 2002; Davidson, 2008; Lees, 2008; Newman and Wily, 2006; Smith, 1996). There are, however, considerable differences for ethnic categories in the experience of neighbourhood improvement. ‘Native’ Dutch report neighbourhood improvement (73 per cent) significantly more often than Surinamese/Antilleans (52 per cent) and Turks/Moroccans (47 per cent), although not compared with the category of ‘other ethnic minorities’ (64 per cent) (see Appendix, Table A1). When asked directly in what way the new neighbourhood was ‘better’, the categories responded quite similarly, indicating ‘cleaner and streets better maintained’, ‘a better spatial design of the neighbourhood’, ‘accessibility by public transport’ and a ‘better population composition’ as improvements.

Table 2 presents the results of the multivariate analyses, which show whether observed differences between ethnic categories (model I) disappear when we take into account differences in household resources/constraints and institutional factors (model II), pre-relocation preferences (model III) and relocation outcomes (model IV). It should be noted once again that households who moved within the neighbourhood (stayers) were excluded from this analysis, as they were not in a position to compare previous and current neighbourhoods. The results show

that previously observed differences between ethnic categories do not disappear when we take into account differences in resources, constraints and institutional factors (model II), or when pre-relocation preferences are included (model III). Thus, whether or not ethnic minority residents more often experienced displacement does not seem to explain why ‘native’ Dutch residents, on average, show a higher level of neighbourhood improvement. Observed differences are particularly explained by different *outcomes* of the relocation process (model IV). By including dwelling improvement and relocating to less concentrated neighbourhoods, the differences in perceived neighbourhood improvement disappear. The loss of social capital, a highly debated outcome of the relocation process, does not seem to be very significant in explaining differences in perceived neighbourhood improvement. We also examined this outcome variable in a separate step (results not shown), which demonstrated that the differences decreased insignificantly.

Of all the factors included, dwelling improvement seems to be the most important in explaining neighbourhood improvement. The share of ethnic minority residents living in the new neighbourhood is also important: households which are relocated into less concentrated neighbourhoods more often report neighbourhood improvement than those who are reconcentrated. Furthermore, people who experienced a loss of social ties and activities due to relocation evaluate their neighbourhood change less positively. As expected, residents who reported receiving a certain amount of understanding or support are more likely to report neighbourhood improvement. The negative effects of relocation are reflected in the finding that respondents who wanted to stay in the neighbourhood, but now live somewhere else, are less likely to report improvement. Concerning the effects of individual characteristics, it seems that elderly people especially suffer

**Table 2.** Logistic regression analysis of reporting neighbourhood improvement, Exp(B)s (N = 417)

Model	Model I		Model II		Model III		Model IV	
	Exp (B)	Significance	Exp (B)	Significance	Exp (B)	Significance	Exp (B)	Significance
<i>Ethnic background(ref = Dutch)</i>								
Surinamese/Antillean	0.467	***	0.434	**	0.477	**	0.673	
Turkish/Moroccan	0.446	***	0.475	**	0.485	*	0.564	
Other	0.766		0.789		0.781		0.819	
<i>Survey year (ref = 2001)</i>								
2004			0.875		0.746		0.821	
2007			0.530	**	0.448	**	0.548	*
<i>Resources and constraints</i>								
<i>Age (years) (ref = &lt;35)</i>								
35–50			0.530	**	0.586	*	0.626	
50–65			0.959		1.042		1.269	
> 65			0.251	***	0.278	***	0.362	**
<i>Net household income (€) (ref = &lt;1100)</i>								
1100–1700			1.703	*	1.822	**	1.599	
> 1700			2.622	**	2.625	**	2.392	*
Missing			1.441		1.393		1.628	
<i>Household composition (ref = single person)</i>								
Single with children and/or lodgers			1.673		1.452		1.524	
Living with partner, without children/lodgers			1.194		0.889		0.858	
Living with partner, with children/lodgers			0.755		0.691		0.620	
<i>Education (ref = none/lower)</i>								
Middle/higher			0.585	*	0.455	***	0.350	***
Other			0.627		0.704		0.673	
<i>Institutional factors</i>								
Familiar with regional housing supply			1.529		1.195		1.228	
Familiar with city housing supply			0.545	**	0.545	**	0.509	**
Previous length of residency (> 10 years)			1.055		1.256		1.208	
Sufficient choice within search profile			1.666	**	1.474		1.199	
<i>Previous neighbourhood (ref = Transvaal)</i>								
Spoorwijk			0.942		0.800		0.768	
Morgenstond/Vrederust			1.108		1.184		1.013	
<i>Pre-relocation preferences</i>								
Preference for same/adjacent neighbourhood					0.391	***	0.490	**

(Continued)

**Table 2.** (Continued)

Model	Model I		Model II		Model III		Model IV	
	Exp (B)	Significance	Exp (B)	Significance	Exp (B)	Significance	Exp (B)	Significance
Understanding for demolition					2.570	***	2.059	**
Already had moving intentions					1.018		0.932	
<i>Relocation outcomes</i>								
Loss of social contacts after moving							0.432	***
Made dwelling progress							5.707	†
Relocated to non-concentration neighbourhood							2.798	***
Nagelkerke $R^2$ (percentage)	4		17		24		37	

Notes: \* significant at the 10 per cent level; \*\* significant at the 5 per cent level; \*\*\* significant at the 1 per cent level; † significant at the 0.1 per cent level.

Source: Relocation survey, City of The Hague.

after forced relocation. Taking into account other individual characteristics, preferences and relocation outcomes, this category less often reported neighbourhood improvement. It is likely that older people are less capable of adapting to a new environment (as the Dutch saying goes: 'Old trees are not to be moved'). In contrast, households with a higher income more often report neighbourhood improvement, a finding that corresponds with those in the study by Clark *et al.* (2006). More resourceful households are most likely to be able to choose the neighbourhood they prefer. However, this argument is not applicable to the level of education, which, in contrast to our expectation, is *negatively* associated with perceived neighbourhood improvement. This might be explained by relatively higher expectations, all else being equal, which results in a critical assessment of the new neighbourhood. Another surprising result is that a familiarity with housing options in the city *negatively* affects perceived neighbourhood improvement. Being well aware of many attractive

options in other neighbourhoods without being able to access these, might negatively affect one's own relocating experience.

### Moving into a Less Concentrated Neighbourhood

The probability of relocating to a less concentrated neighbourhood is our second indicator of relocation success (Table 3). Respondents who relocated within the same neighbourhood (stayers) are now included in the analysis. Of all forced movers, 36 per cent relocated to a less concentrated neighbourhood. There are substantial differences between ethnic categories: almost half of the 'native' Dutch relocated to less concentrated neighbourhoods, compared with 28 per cent of the Surinamese/Antillean category and 16 per cent of the Turkish/Moroccan category (see Appendix, Table A1).

Table 3 presents the results of the multivariate analyses, which reveal whether observed differences (model I) disappear when we take into account differences in household resources,

**Table 3.** Logistic regression analysis of moving into a less concentrated neighbourhood, Exp(B)s (N = 536)

	<i>Model I</i>		<i>Model II</i>		<i>Model III</i>	
	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>Significance</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>Significance</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>Significance</i>
<i>Ethnic background (ref = Dutch)</i>						
Surinamese/Antillean	0.389	†	0.436	***	0.527	**
Turkish/Moroccan	0.207	†	0.288	†	0.339	***
Other	0.703		0.682		0.800	
<i>Survey year (ref = 2001)</i>						
2004			1.609	*	1.562	
2007			1.021		0.884	
<i>Resources and constraints</i>						
<i>Age (years)</i> ( <i>ref = &lt;35</i> )						
3–50			1.235		1.495	
50–65			1.013		1.086	
> 65			0.475	*	0.597	
<i>Net household income (€) (ref = &lt;1100)</i>						
1100–1700			1.482		1.438	
> 1700			1.531		1.419	
Missing			1.322		1.190	
<i>Household composition (ref = single person)</i>						
Single with children and/or lodgers			1.487		1.376	
Living with partner, without children/lodgers			0.995		0.907	
Living with partner, with children/lodgers			1.201		1.266	
<i>Education (ref = none/lower)</i>						
Middle/higher			1.317		1.045	
Other			0.642		0.711	
<i>Institutional factors</i>						
Familiar with regional housing supply			1.735	**	1.617	*
Familiar with city housing supply			0.905		0.967	
Previous length of residency (> 10 years)			1.237		1.403	
Sufficient choice within search profile			1.005		0.967	
<i>Previous neighbourhood (ref = Transvaal)</i>						
Spoorwijk			0.673		0.665	
Morgenstond/Vrederust			2.682	†	2.645	†

(Continued)



**Table 3.** (Continued)

	<i>Model I</i>		<i>Model II</i>		<i>Model III</i>	
	<i>Exp</i> ( <i>B</i> )	<i>Significance</i>	<i>Exp</i> ( <i>B</i> )	<i>Significance</i>	<i>Exp</i> ( <i>B</i> )	<i>Significance</i>
<i>Pre-relocation preferences</i>						
Preference for same/adjacent neighbourhood					0.311	†
Nagelkerke $R^2$ (percentage)	11		25		30	

*Notes:* \* significant at the 10 per cent level; \*\* significant at the 5 per cent level; \*\*\* significant at the 1 per cent level; † significant at the 0.1 per cent level.

*Source:* Relocation survey, City of The Hague.

constraints and institutional factors (model II) and pre-relocation preferences (model III).

The differences between 'native' Dutch and Surinamese/Antillean and Turkish/Moroccan households do not disappear when differences in household resources/constraints and institutional factors are taken into account. These factors thus do not sufficiently explain why some ethnic minority groups relocate less often to less concentrated neighbourhoods than 'native' Dutch. An additional explanation might be that ethnic minority households prefer concentration neighbourhoods. As mentioned earlier, the presence of supportive ties and networks may be a pull factor, but expressing your own identity and choosing a certain urban lifestyle without necessarily engaging with residents may also play a role. We partly addressed this issue by including respondents' preferences for the same or adjacent neighbourhood. Obviously, such preferences increase the likelihood of relocating to a concentrated neighbourhood, but when we take this into account, the differences between 'native' Dutch residents and ethnic minorities, although reduced, remained significant. Therefore, there must be other reasons why ethnic minority residents have, on average, higher levels of reconcentration than 'native' Dutch. Nevertheless, some ethnic minority households seem to have made a trade-off, choosing to relocate to, or near to,

their former neighbourhood rather than take the opportunity to move to a less concentrated neighbourhood (suggested by the effects being reduced by including the preference for the same/adjacent neighbourhood). Moreover, the previous analysis of neighbourhood improvement showed that both relocating to an ethnically concentrated neighbourhood *and* not being able to relocate to the preferred neighbourhood, decrease the probability that forced movers positively evaluate their neighbourhood change.

Unexpectedly, income and education do not appear to be significant in explaining the probability of relocating to less concentrated neighbourhoods. This result suggests that household resources, although assumed to increase the ability to choose consciously among the alternatives, seem to matter to a lesser extent in the context of urban restructuring. However, this might not be such a specifically relevant factor in relation to relocation, as the literature review has already demonstrated that economic resources and social status are generally unable to explain residential segregation and concentration. Of significance is the familiarity with housing options in the Haaglanden region, as well as the former neighbourhood of forced movers. With regard to the first, households with knowledge of the regional housing market could probably

consider more options in less concentrated neighbourhoods. Forced movers whose former neighbourhood was Morgenstond or Vrederust more often relocated to a less concentrated neighbourhood than forced movers from Spoorwijk and Transvaal. This is probably due to Morgenstond and Vrederust being less concentrated and more suburban compared with the highly concentrated inner-city neighbourhoods of Spoorwijk and Transvaal. Based on the knowledge that households generally move within short distances, residents of Morgenstond and Vrederust are more likely to move to the surrounding, less concentrated neighbourhoods further from the city centre than residents of Spoorwijk and Transvaal.

## Conclusions and Policy Implications

Over the years, academic and policy debates on the population composition of neighbourhoods have been fuelled by the presumed negative effects of residential segregation. Over the same period, a broad range of policies have been implemented that aim to generate, at the neighbourhood level, a 'better' mix of residents in terms of their income, ethnicity and immigrant status. However, critics of such policies argue that they may well result in new or even increased segregation rather than desegregation, with 'displaced' households pushed towards less popular neighbourhoods, in particular those concentrated on the basis of ethnicity or poverty, because of the pressure on housing supply.

In this paper, we studied the residential outcomes of 658 forced movers from four urban restructuring neighbourhoods in The Hague, the Netherlands. We compared 'native' Dutch and ethnic minority residents' experience of relocation 'success'—that is, perceived neighbourhood improvement and the extent of relocation into less concentrated neighbourhoods. Overall, we found that ethnic

minority residents are less likely to benefit from forced relocation than 'native' Dutch.

With respect to *perceived neighbourhood improvement*, differences only disappear after taking into account household resources and constraints, institutional factors, pre-relocation preferences and residential outcomes other than perceived neighbourhood improvement (i.e. perceived *dwelling* improvement, relocating to a less concentrated neighbourhood and a loss of social ties and activities due to relocation). In spite of observed differences between 'native' Dutch residents and ethnic minorities, the first general observation is that large numbers of forced movers report neighbourhood improvement. This finding contrasts with the international literature that largely points to negative outcomes of forced relocation and gentrification-induced displacement. Within the context of the Dutch welfare state, urban restructuring policies seem to provide sufficient compensation for residents who are forced to move. Displacement is thus prevented or, at least, is less severe than in neo-liberal market economies with a small social housing stock. Another important finding is that relocating to a less concentrated neighbourhood is a strong predictor of perceived neighbourhood improvement, which confirms findings of studies on the relationship between neighbourhood population composition and residential satisfaction. Moreover, residents who have some understanding of the need for demolition and those who did not have a specific relocation preference for the same or adjacent neighbourhood more often reported neighbourhood improvement. These findings have several policy implications. First, investing time and effort in public support for urban restructuring projects seems worthwhile. Secondly, housing associations might explain to residents more explicitly how they can benefit from relocation, by providing a range of relocation choices and further assisting forced movers in the housing choice process.

Ethnic differences in the likelihood of *moving into less concentrated neighbourhoods* are even less explained by household resources and constraints, institutional factors and pre-relocation preferences. All else being equal, ethnic minorities less often relocate to less concentrated neighbourhoods than 'native' Dutch. In particular, the preference for the same or adjacent neighbourhood remains a crucial issue for understanding the relocation outcome, since residents with this preference are less likely to relocate to less concentrated neighbourhoods. Although relocating to concentrated neighbourhoods might well be a conscious choice, at the same time it significantly decreases the likelihood of reporting neighbourhood improvement. However, not being able to move to a preferred neighbourhood also negatively affects the evaluation of the neighbourhood change. Some households appear to have made a trade-off, choosing their preferred or adjacent concentration neighbourhood rather than the opportunity to move into a less concentrated neighbourhood.

According to the literature, supportive social ties and networks in the same or adjacent neighbourhood may be behind such a preference. Alternatively, consciously choosing an ethnically mixed neighbourhood may be completely unrelated to a wish to have social ties with residents of a particular ethnic or class backgrounds, but mainly the result of a desire to engage in a certain lifestyle. This may especially apply to inner-city neighbourhoods such as Transvaal and Spoorwijk. However, further research into the specific motives behind the neighbourhood choices of different ethnic groups is required (see Bolt *et al.*, 2008, p. 1381; Krysan, 2008; van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007). Similarly to 'regular' movers, many forced relocatees moved a relatively short distance. This might explain why residents from the more peripheral neighbourhoods of Morgenstond and Vrederust relocated to less concentrated neighbourhoods more often than residents from the inner-city neighbourhoods of Transvaal and Spoorwijk.

Finally, the institutional context of forced relocation is important for residential outcomes. First, eligibility and waiting-list criteria within the housing allocation model influence the extent to which forced movers report dwelling improvement (Kleinhaus and van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008). In turn, dwelling improvement is highly correlated with neighbourhood improvement. Secondly, knowing your housing options within the housing market region increases the probability of relocating to a less concentrated neighbourhood. Therefore, counsellors within housing associations should make efforts to ensure that their clients accurately understand the relocation process in general and the regional housing options in particular (see Marr, 2005). This may require a more proactive approach by counsellors in the early stages of the relocation process to ensure that all residents are aware of their choices and thus avoid unequal outcomes for different ethnic minority categories. Although our findings generally contrast with the literature on displacement, the results should be taken very seriously by those involved in the practice of urban restructuring.

## Notes

1. In the Netherlands, the term 'ethnic minorities' refers to immigrants from Surinam, the Antilles, the Cape Verde Islands, Turkey, Morocco and 'other poor non-Western countries', and to persons with (at least) one parent born in (one of) these countries.
2. Van Kempen and colleagues (2008) use average net income of a neighbourhood as a proxy for neighbourhood quality—i.e. in a 'good' neighbourhood, the average net income is more than €20 000 per annum (p. 12). However, this proxy is quite crude and it is questionable whether it correlates strongly with the broad range of factors that may determine perceived neighbourhood improvement.
3. Note that respondents were questioned some time after relocation.
4. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek; see <http://statline.cbs.nl>.

5. Loosduinen, Escamp, Segbroek, Scheveningen, Centrum, Laak, Haagse Hout, Ypenburg/Leidschenveen.
6. Rijswijk, Voorburg/Leidschendam, Nootdorp/Pijnacker, Zoetermeer, Delft, Wateringen, other Westland.

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## Appendix

**Table A1.** Summary statistics: percentage of respondents reporting neighbourhood improvement and moving into a less concentrated neighbourhood

	<i>Perceived neighbourhood improvement</i>		<i>Moving into a less concentrated neighbourhood</i>	
	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Significance</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Significance</i>
<i>Ethnic background</i>		**		**
Dutch	0.73		0.49	
Surinamese/Antillean	0.52		0.28	
Turkish/Moroccan	0.47		0.16	
Other	0.64		0.40	
<i>Survey year</i>		**		
2001	0.67		0.41	
2004	0.64		0.33	
2007	0.51		0.33	
<i>Age (years)</i>		**		**
< 35	0.64		0.36	
35–50	0.58		0.39	
50–65	0.70		0.37	
> 65	0.51		0.27	
<i>Net household income (€)</i>		**		**
< 1100	0.54		0.27	
1100–1700	0.66		0.42	
> 1700	0.75		0.52	
Missing	0.65		0.40	
<i>Household composition</i>				
Single, without children or lodgers	0.64		0.35	
Single, with children and/or lodgers	0.60		0.37	
Living with partner, without children or lodgers	0.68		0.42	
Living with partner, with children or lodgers	0.56		0.35	
<i>Education</i>				**
None/lower	0.63		0.34	
Middle/higher	0.60		0.45	
Other	0.58		0.28	
<i>Familiar with housing supply within region</i>		**		**
No/no opinion	0.59		0.30	
Yes	0.69		0.51	
<i>Familiar with housing supply within city</i>				**
no/no opinion	0.62		0.32	
yes	0.62		0.42	
<i>Previous neighbourhood</i>				**
Transvaal	0.57		0.26	
Spoorwijk	0.63		0.19	
Morgenstond/Vrederust	0.64		0.51	

(Continued)

**Table A1.** (Continued)

	<i>Perceived neighbourhood improvement</i>		<i>Moving into a less concentrated neighbourhood</i>	
	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Significance</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Significance</i>
<i>Neighbourhood preference</i>		**		**
Elsewhere	0.75		0.56	
Same or adjacent	0.53		0.25	
<i>Previous length of residency</i>				
≤ 10 years	0.61		0.36	
> 10 years	0.63		0.37	
<i>Sufficient choice</i>		**		
No/no opinion	0.54		0.35	
Yes	0.67		0.37	
<i>Understanding for demolition</i>		**		
no/no opinion	0.51			
yes	0.67			
<i>Thoughts about moving before forced relocation</i>				
No/no opinion	0.60			
Yes	0.66			
<i>Improvement in housing conditions</i>		**		
No/no opinion	0.27			
Yes	0.70			
<i>Loss of social contacts after moving</i>		**		
No/no opinion	0.71			
Yes	0.47			
<i>Ethnic concentration in new neighbourhood</i>		**		
≥ 40	0.52			
< 40	0.77			

Note: \*\* significant at the 5 per cent level.

Source: Relocation surveys, City of The Hague.