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Social mix policies in the Netherlands

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My purpose

- To give an overview of reasons for social mixing policies
- To give an overview of the different policy options to create mix
- To critically assess the effects of mixing policies

Basic idea in many urban policies in Europe

- A spatial mix of different population groups at neighbourhood level is good
- Socio-spatial diversity is good
- Monotonous neighbourhoods are bad
- Concentrations of ethnic and income groups are bad



“Support for mixed tenure has become so widespread and unquestioning that rationales are not always explicit and can be somewhat intangible.”

Rebecca Tunstall 2003, p. 156



Analysis of 31 “Development Plans” (Big Cities Policy)

Concentration is not seen as a problem	2
Concentration is seen as problematic, but it is not clear what kind of concentration is referred to	7
Concentration is defined in socioeconomic terms	13
Concentration is defined in ethnic terms	4
Concentration is defined in both ethnic and socioeconomic terms	5



Why is concentration a problem?

Decline of social cohesion	10
Problem cumulation	8
Decline of liveability	7
Limitation of housing career options	7
Hampering integration of ethnic minorities	4
Development of 'low-income neighbourhoods'	4
Increasing divisions	3
Limiting social mobility opportunities	1
Deterioration of neighbourhood reputation	1
Decline of neighbourhood facilities	1



Two main types of desegregation policies

I) Mixing people

- a) Housing allocation
- b) Mobility programs

II) Mixing houses

- c) Scattered-site programs
- d) Housing diversification



A) Housing allocation

- Allocation on income criteria:
 - Social housing: stricter criteria lead to more income segregation
 - Blocking strategies for deprived neighbourhoods (Rotterdam)
- Allocation on the basis of ethnic background.
 - Not legal anymore in most European countries. Germany is an exception
 - Many examples of illegal exclusionary policies (e.g. France, Belgium)



‘Rotterdam Act’: What is the problem?

- Concentration of disadvantaged or of minority ethnic groups?

"... Ethnicity or descent is not the main issue. It is the relative wealth and socio-economic position of newcomers and the opportunities in the city for social mobility. In short, the colour is not the problem, but the problem does have a colour "(Municipality of



‘Rotterdam Act’

- Law enables municipal governments to exclude people who depend on social security and cannot financially support themselves, and who have not lived in the municipal region in the preceding six years, from the rental housing market in so-called problem areas
- Until 2015 (Capelle aan den IJssel, Nijmegen; followed by Vlaardingen in 2016) not implemented in other cities.



‘Rotterdam Act’: Evaluation

Hochstenbach, Uitermark & Van Gent

- **Excluded residents:** defined as individuals who are part of households in which no one meets the eligibility requirements:
 - no sufficient years of residency
 - no income from work, pensions or student benefits
 - no business owner.
- **Reference group:** similar socio-economic status, but sufficient years of residency in the region to be eligible.



‘Rotterdam Act’: Evaluation

Hochstenbach, Uitermark & Van Gent

	Excluded households	Reference households		
	2004	2013	2004	2013
Native Dutch	17,1	19,1	47,6	40,9
Non-Western	65,2	54,1	42,6	49,6
Western	17,8	26,8	9,8	9,5
Total number	21060	18644	81632	70720



‘Rotterdam Act’: consequences for excluded

- The act is effective in excluding residents who have no income from work, pensions or student benefits and an insufficient length of residency in the region.
- Together with changes in housing market structure – notably the sale and demolition of affordable rental dwellings – the Act contributes to a worsening housing market position of excluded residents.

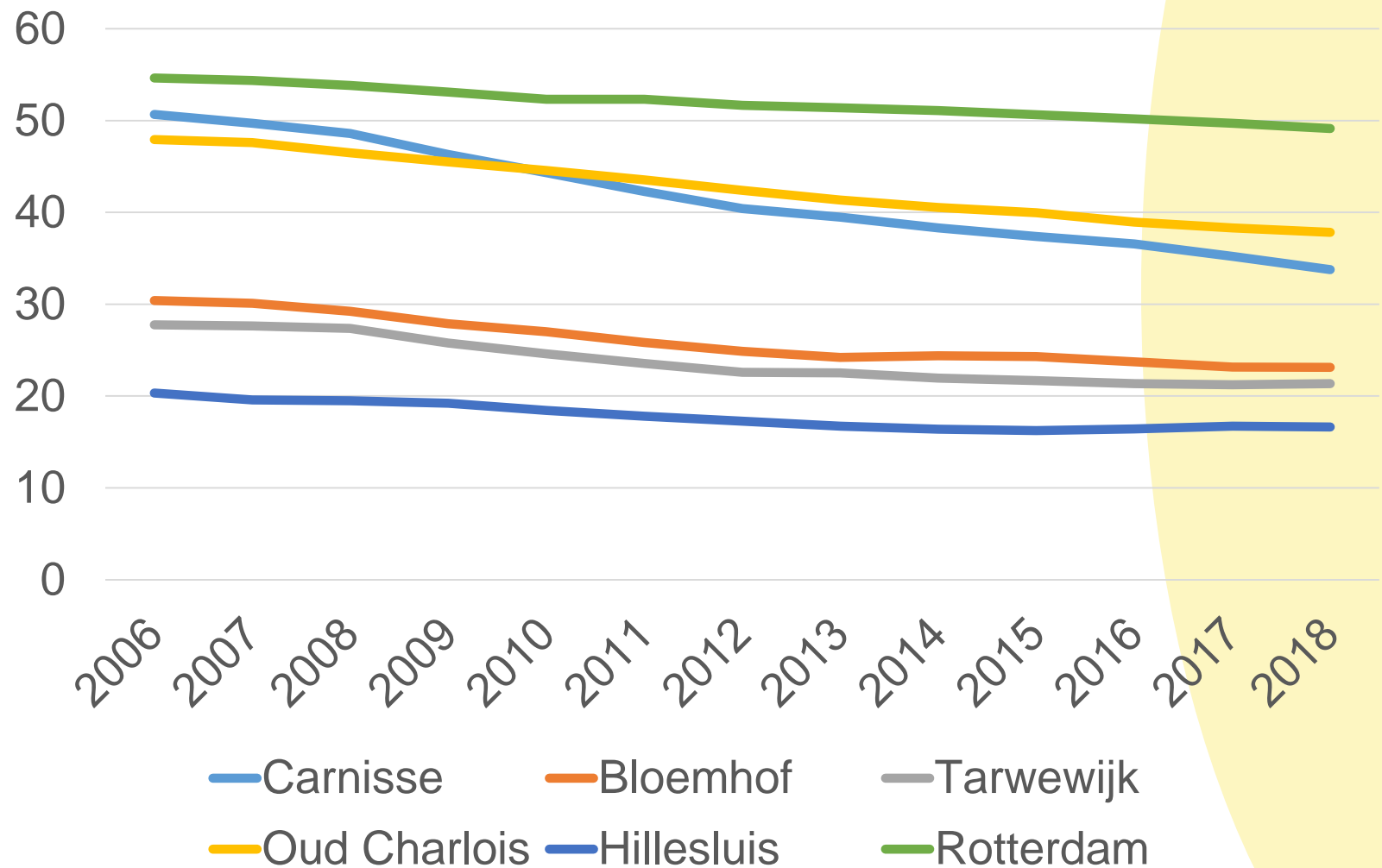


‘Rotterdam Act’: consequences for designated areas

- A slow upward shift in social composition as a result of residential mobility and in situ social mobility.
- the state of the living environment in the designated areas seems to be worsening
- The proportion of native Dutch is declining faster than in Rotterdam as a whole



% native Dutch, 2006–2013





D) Housing diversification

- Implemented in several European countries, including the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, France and the UK.
- In the Netherlands: often in combination with a large amount of demolition
- US: HOPE VI program

D) Urban restructuring policy in the Netherlands

Urban renewal in the 1970s and 1980s:

- Focus on physical problems
- “Building for the neighbourhood
- Stabilisation of concentration of low incomes
- Social problems not solved

D) Urban restructuring policy in the Netherlands

- 1997 Memorandum Urban Renewal: One-sidedness of the population is a problem in many urban neighbourhoods → restructuring policy to promote ‘undivided cities’:
 - demolition and new construction, particularly in the owner occupied sector
 - sale of social rented housing
 - upgrading of dwelling
 - joining dwellings together



Ik blijf

Alleen als je al bij een van de beste zit,
hoeft je niet over te stappen.

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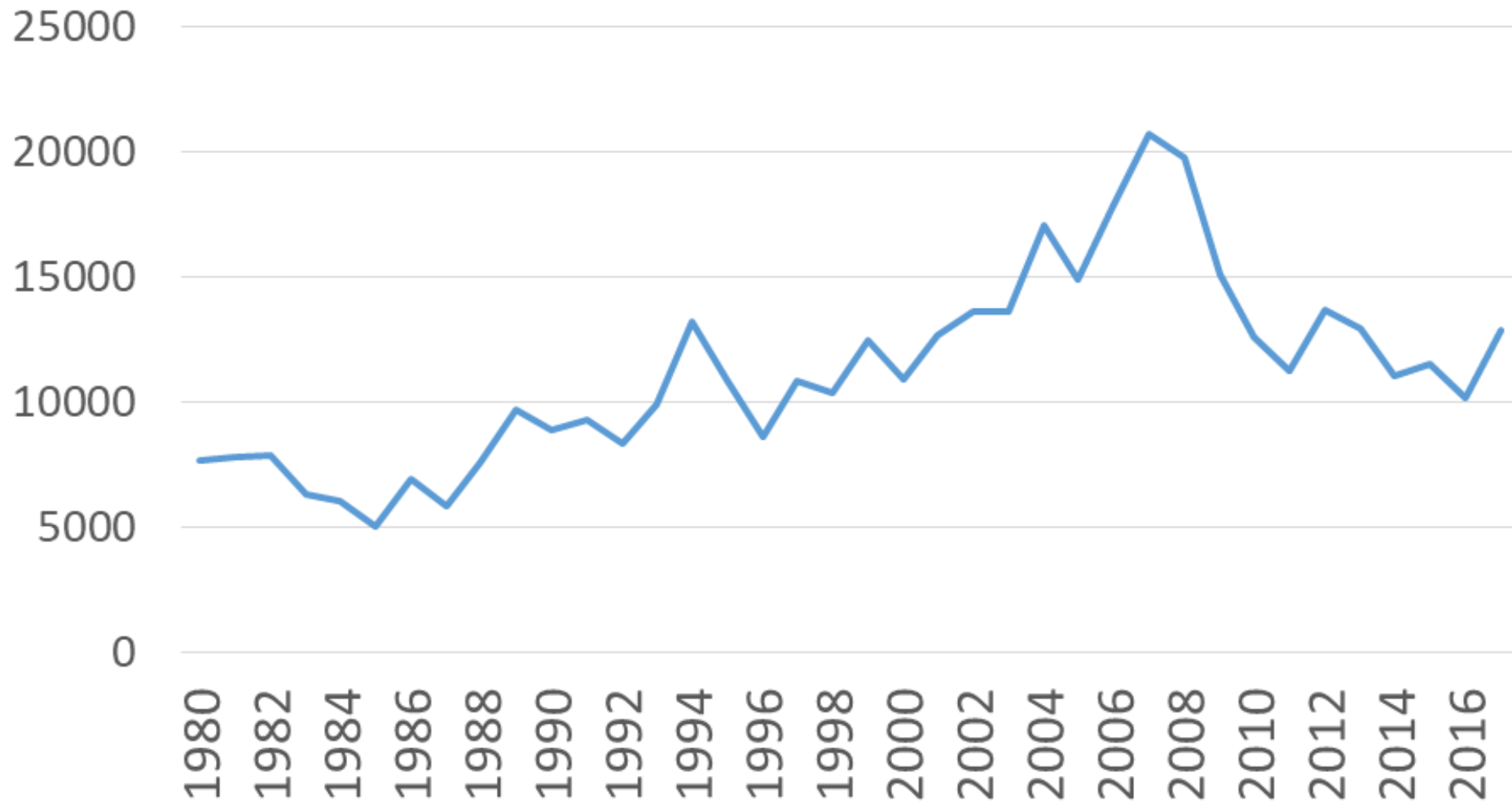
**Some examples of blocks
in Dutch urban
neighbourhoods
that are demolished**



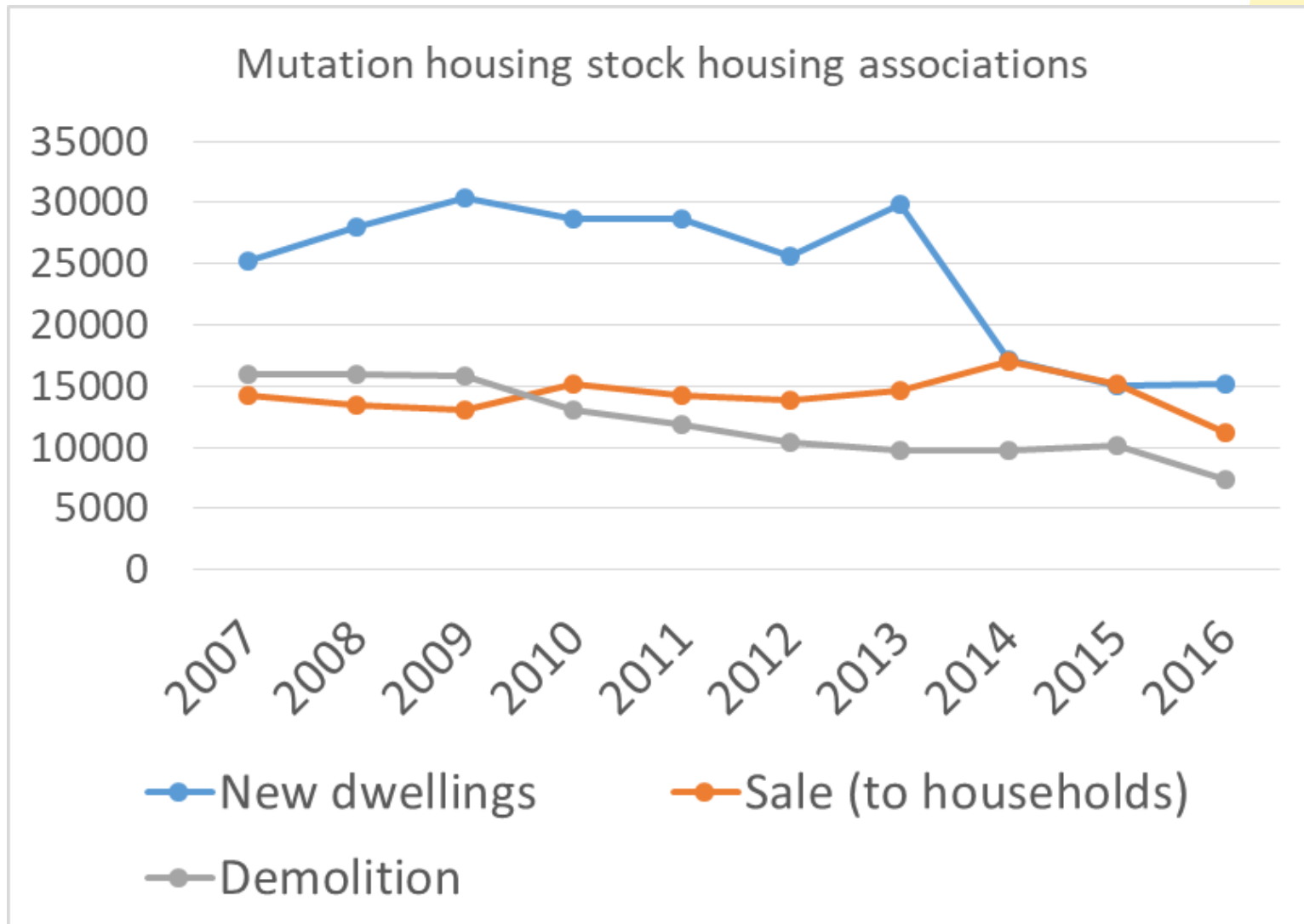




Demolitions in total housing stock



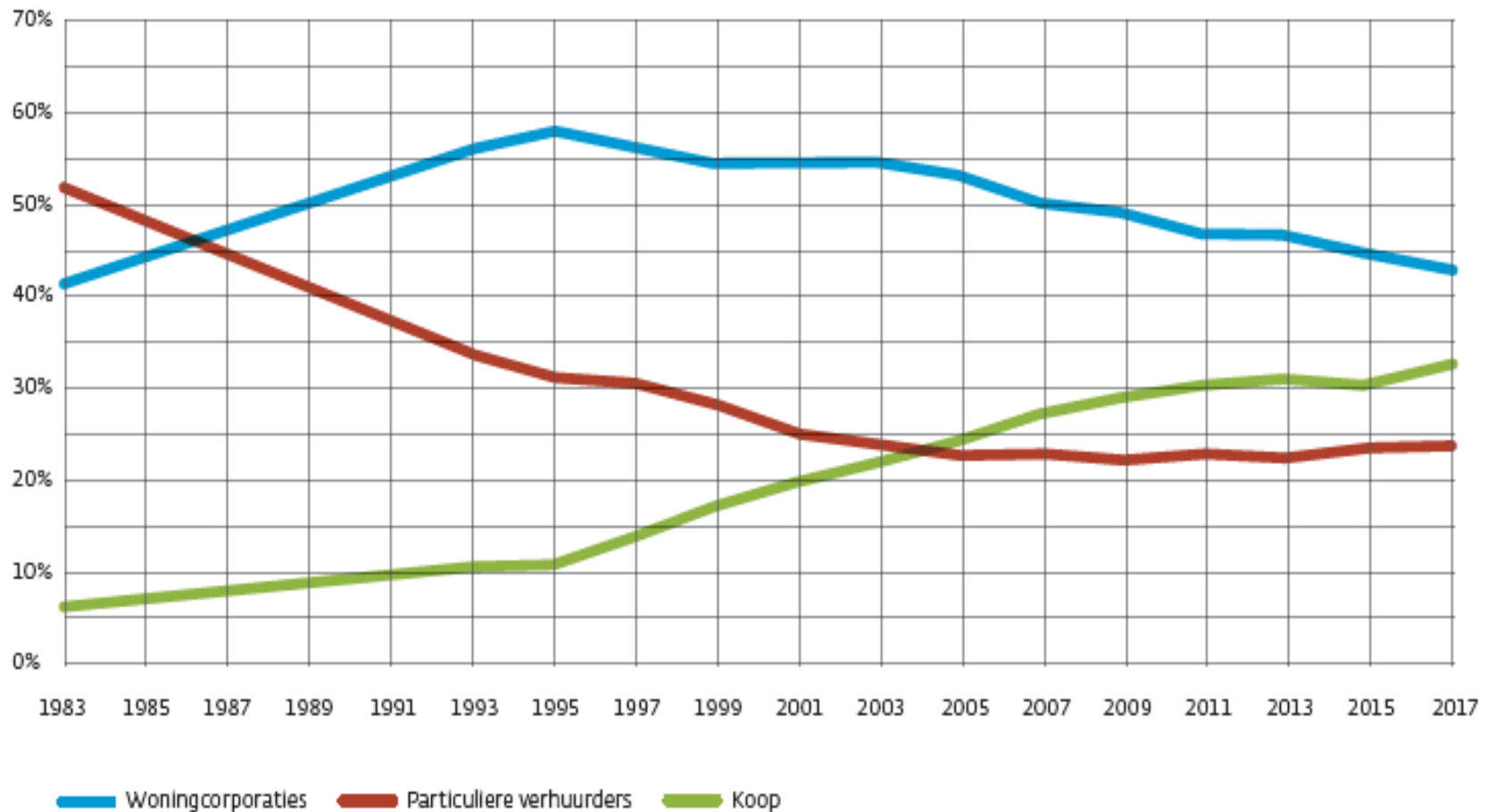
Mutation housing associations 2007-2016



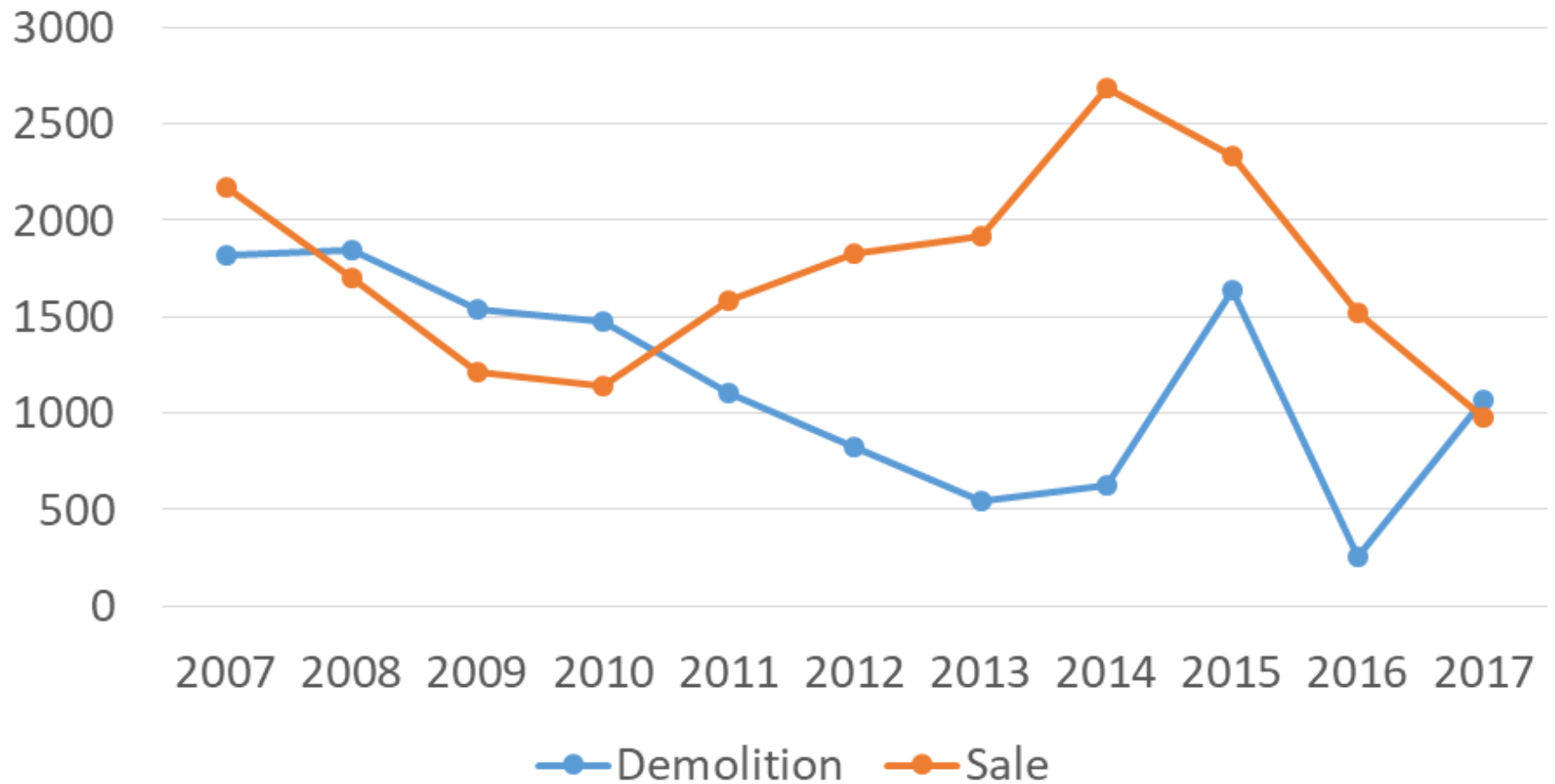
Demolition in Rotterdam and The Hague 2000-2009

	Rotterdam	The Hague
Demolition in urban renewal areas	14.154	6660
Demolition in other areas	5.766	1.564
Total	19.920	8224
% of stock housing associations 2000	12.4	9.9
Newly built social houses in urban renewal areas	2971	934
Newly built social houses in other areas	3.166	2911
Total	6.137	3.845

Tenure in Amsterdam 1983-2017



Demolition and sale in Amsterdam 2007-2017



Urban restructuring policy in the Netherlands

In the course of the previous decade, more and more emphasis on the integration of minorities.

Yearly Memorandum on Integration Policy (2005):
“Concentration is disadvantageous because it makes the ethnic dividing lines more visible in a more concentrated way. That harms the image of ethnic minorities ... Finally, concentration is particularly disadvantageous for the possibilities for meeting and contacts between persons from different origin groups...the diminishing contacts with native Dutch indirectly influence the social chances of ethnic minorities.”

Neighbourhood based policy in the Netherlands

2007: New government (Christian and Social Democrats

- Since 2007 stronger focus on area-based policy: 40 ‘priority neighbourhoods’
- Minister of Housing, Neighbourhoods and Integration. Integration letter (2009):

“By doing things together in district and neighbourhood, citizens will become closer to each other, differences will be less threatening and there will even be more room for diversity. Segregation hinders that. Next to that, it stops the exchange of knowledge about Dutch society and it appears if there is no necessity anymore to command the Dutch language well (...) The Netherlands should not be a country of parallel communities, but should be a country of equal opportunities for everyone”.

Neighbourhood based policy in the Netherlands

Since 2010: Right wing policies (Rutte I, II, III)

Bad news for priority neighbourhoods?

- No national government investments in priority neighbourhoods anymore
- Levy tax for housing associations (while only a limited increase in rent level is allowed)
- 90 % of social housing should be allocated to low incomes (< € 33.000)
- Higher incomes (> € 43.000) should pay more rent

Other reasons why housing associations invest less in urban restructuring:

- Housing and economic crisis (more difficult to sell new dwellings)
- New Housing Law 2015: housing associations are forced to focus on their primary task: build and manage social rented housing for the target groups.
- Many housing associations are questioning the positive effects of social mix.
 - *Outcomes of social mix were disappointing*
 - *Affordability has become a bigger issue*
 - *Idea that steering of the composition is difficult*
 - *Middle class residents are not necessarily more tolerant towards the increasing number of residents with intellectual or psychiatric disabilities*

Effects of mixing policies

Two questions:

- I) Do policies lead to more social mix?
- II) Does social mix lead to positive outcomes?

I) Do policies lead to more social mix?

Effects on social mix are often small, because:

- Targeted number of households and/or houses is too small
- Policy targeted at a too broad spatial scale (e.g. France)
- Segregation within social housing sector
- Policy sometimes 'too succesful': gentrification instead of socio-economic mix
- Displaced household move to other poor and/or immigrant dense areas.
- Policy does not compensatie for locational choices of the 'better off' (white flight, white avoidance)

The Netherlands Institute for Social Research | SCP 2013

Evaluation of urban restructuring

Methods used:

- Propensity score matching
- Difference in difference

On a basis of a statistical model the probability of being a target neighbourhood is calculated. (main predictors

- % dwellings 1945–1970
- % low incomes
- % non-western residents

Restructuring neighbourhoods are compared to neighbourhoods which are not restructured but with the same propensity score

I) Do policies lead to more social mix? Dutch evidence

	Experimental neighbourhoods (n=54)	Control neighbourhoods (n=54)
% low income households 2006	30.5	30.1
% low income households 2011	30.1	30.9
<i>Difference 2006-2011</i>	<i>-0.4</i>	<i>0.8</i>
% non-Western background 2006	30.9	29.1
% non-Western background 2011	31.6	30.8
<i>Difference 2006-2011</i>	<i>0.7</i>	<i>1.7</i>

Table 1: Population changes in urban restructuring neighbourhoods

Source: Permentier et al. (2013)

I) Do policies lead to more social mix? Dutch evidence

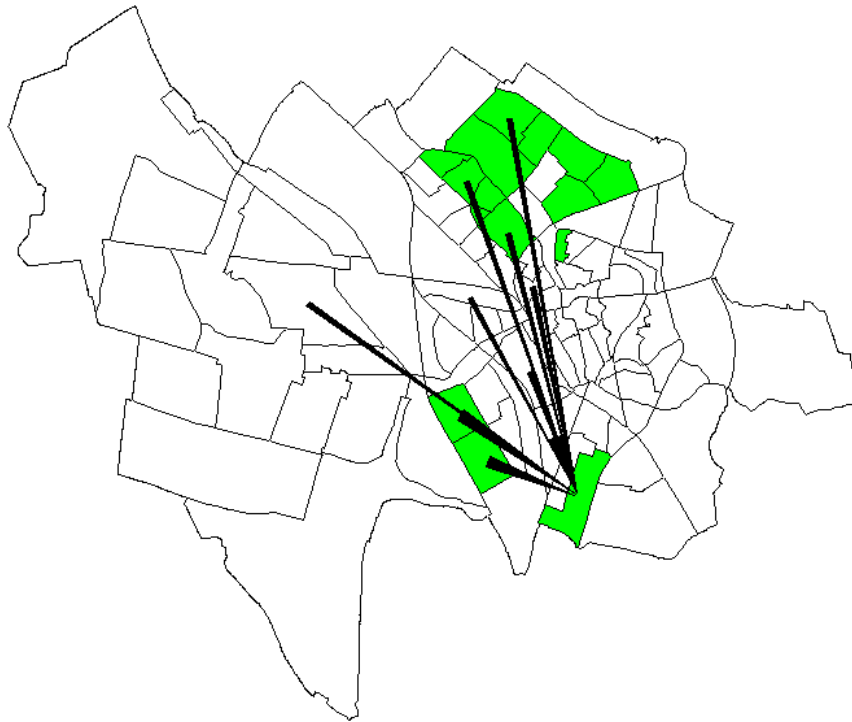
Table 2: Segregation indices in Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht

		Rotterdam	The Hague	Utrecht
SI lowest income quintile	1999	13,3	17,3	11,5
	2005	14,4	21,3	13,6
	<i>change</i>	<i>1,1</i>	<i>4,0</i>	<i>2,1</i>
SI highest income quintile	1999	28,4	31,0	23,2
	2005	28,4	36,7	26,5
	<i>change</i>	<i>0,0</i>	<i>5,7</i>	<i>3,3</i>
SI Turks and Moroccans	1999	48,2	51,6	40,8
	2005	43,6	52,1	43,1
	<i>change</i>	<i>- 4,6</i>	<i>0,5</i>	<i>2,3</i>

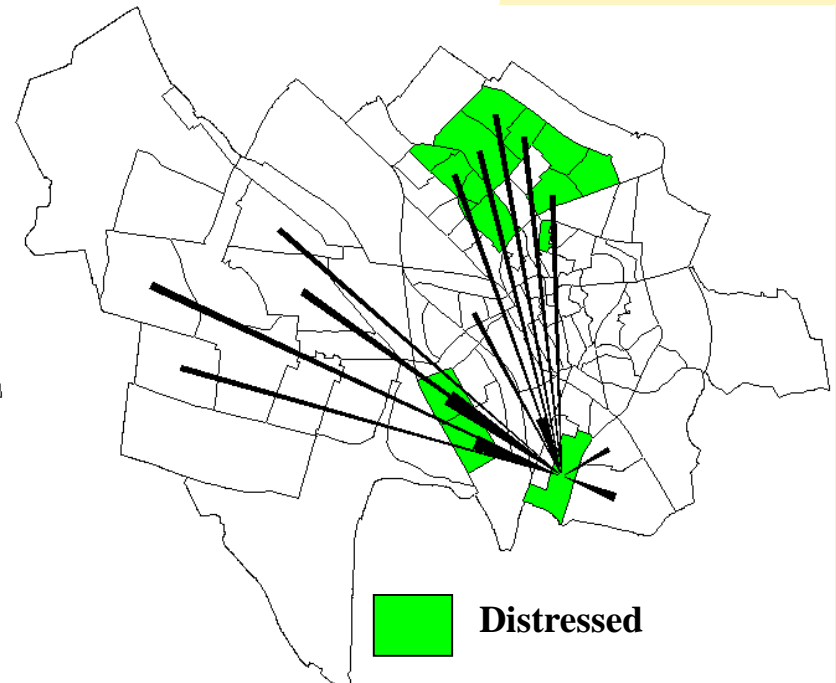
Table 3: Development SI by neighbourhood type

	New housing estates	<i>Priority neighbourhoods</i>		<i>Other neighbourhoods</i>	
		Restruct-uring	Other	Restruct-uring	Other
SI lowest income quintile					
Rotterdam	0.3	0.0	0.5	-0.1	0.4
The Hague	2.8	0.7	0.3	0.2	-0.1
Utrecht	2.6	-0.1	-0.3	0.0	0.0
SI highest income quintile					
Rotterdam	0.9	-0.2	0.4	-0.4	-0.7
The Hague	5.8	0.3	1.2	0.1	-1.7
Utrecht	3.8	-0.1	2.1	0.0	-2.4
SI Turks and Moroccans					
Rotterdam	0.3	-1.9	-2.4	-0.2	-0.5
The Hague	1.7	-1.5	1.5	-0.2	-1.0
Utrecht	1.2	-0.7	3.1	0.3	-1.6

Dispersal pattern, from Nieuw-Hoograven



Displacees

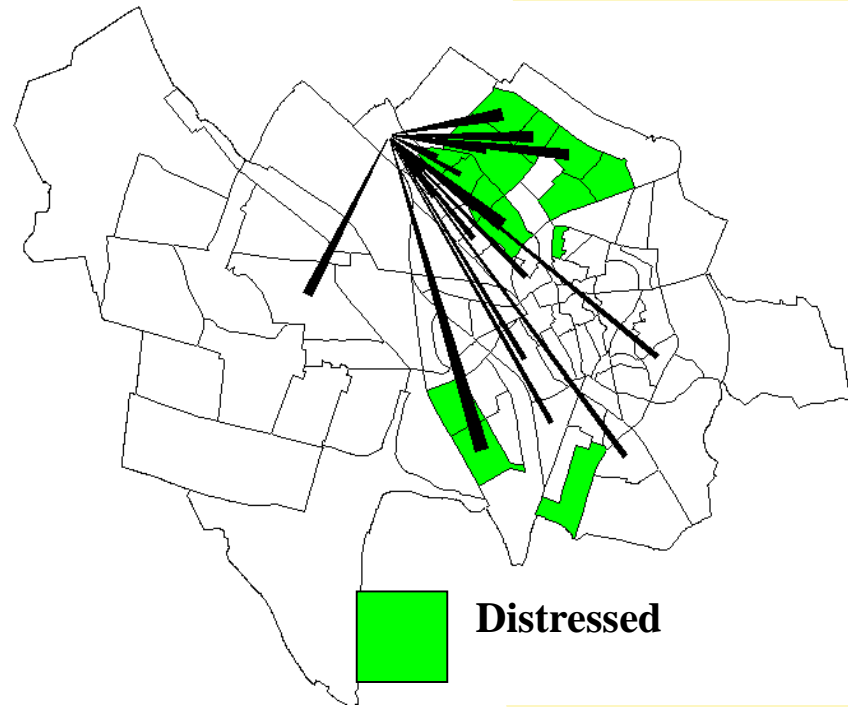


Other movers

Dispersal pattern, from Zuilen-Noord



Displacees



Other movers

II) Does social mix lead to positive outcomes?

“The limits to the evidence for the neighbourhood effects of mixed tenure means that policy to promote mixed tenure has been largely based on conviction.”

Rebecca Tunstall, 2003, p. 157

Evaluation studies of mixing policies

Mixing does not lead to integration. Dutch, Swedish, American + British researchers find that there is hardly interaction between 'old' and 'new residents', because of:

- role of small-distance interaction
- socio-economic or cultural differences lead to difference in activity patterns
- 'community liberated'
- planned length of residence
- heterogeneity.







Gans 1961: The balanced community

Architectural and site plans can encourage or discourage social contact between neighbours, but homogeneity of background or of interests or values is necessary for this contact to develop into anything more than a polite exchange of greetings

Gans pleads for 'moderate heterogeneity': *"The relatively greater homogeneity of age and income provides the cultural and social prerequisites which allow people to enjoy their neighbors' heterogeneity with respect to other, less basic characteristics"*

The Netherlands Institute for Social Research | SCP 2013

Evaluation of urban restructuring

	Restructuring	Sale of social housing
<i>reported victimhood</i>	+	0
violence	0	0
burglary	0	0
theft	0	0
vandalism	+	0
<i>perception of crime and nuisance</i>		
violence	0	+
theft	0	0
decay	0	0
nuisance by young people	0	0

The Netherlands Institute for Social Research | SCP 2013

Evaluation of urban restructuring

	Restructuring	Sale of social housing
<i>violence and lack of safety</i>		
general	0	0
in the neighbourhood	0	0
<i>liveability</i>		
social cohesion	0	0
satisfaction with the neighbourhood	0	0



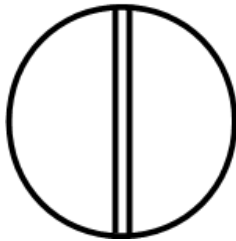
What if you still want to stimulate social interaction by means of mixing?

Ask yourself the following questions

- 1) At what scale level should I mix? (block, street, neighbourhood, city)
- 2) What kind of heterogeneity I am aiming for?
- 3) What kind of social ties (strong, causal) do I want to stimulate
- 4) How do I create stability?
- 5) How to enhance the image of the neighbourhood?
- 6) What kind of design principle may stimulate social interaction? (e.g. New Urbanism)

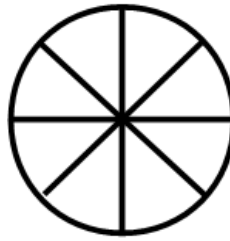
Spatial scale

Segregated



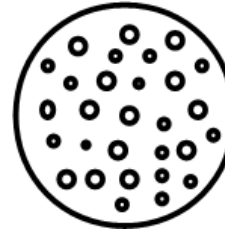
Groups are concentrated, or in close proximity but with a clear division, e.g. a main road.

Segmented



Alternating segments. Each group occupying a block or pocket, e.g. a cul-de-sac.

Integrated



Groups sharing the same street, or on a home-by-home basis: 'pepper-potted'.



Conclusions

- It remains to be seen which effects a social mix generates
- Relying on too many propositions will probably lead to policy failure
- The fear for spatial concentrations is not always backed up by empirical research
- The possible positive effects of spatial concentrations should not be forgotten
- Spatial mix can be created in many different ways and on different levels
- The motivation for a spatial mix can differ enormously



Conclusions

- Desegregation policies are not very effective in reducing income or ethnic segregation
- Deconcentration effect of urban restructuring is (partly) nullified by selective migration of displaced households.
- Housing policies tend to have an upward effect on segregation



Conclusions

“It has to be concluded that there is a puzzling paradox in the Dutch debate on anti-segregation policy. On the one hand, there is a lot of discussion about measures that should reduce segregation (restructuring policy, Rotterdam law), although their effect is limited. On the other hand there is lack of attention for the segregationist effects of other policy measures (planning of new housing estates, Right to Buy, limiting the access of median incomes to social housing) that were not enforced with the aim to affect segregation.”



Final remark

Clear clash between:

Researchers working on the basis of evidence-based research

and

Policy makers working on the basis of political choices