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**Displacement and urban restructuring in Amsterdam
Following relocatees after demolition of social housing**

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Abstract

Over the past decade, urban restructuring of segregated neighbourhoods has transformed many urban districts, in the Netherlands and elsewhere; middle class households have entered neighbourhoods which were previously inhabited by lower class. Some argue that this influx of middle-class has happened at the expense of the displaced original population. We investigated this process of (forced) relocation from restructured neighbourhoods. In contrast with earlier studies, individual level data has been provided directly by one of the Amsterdam housing associations involved in this process. This offered the opportunity to analyse population data, not a sample, of all relocatees from four particular urban restructuring projects in Amsterdam. We investigated location preferences before relocation as well as actual residential location behaviour per household and relocatee type, and compared characteristics of their old and new dwellings and neighbourhoods. One of the findings is that forced relocation often parallels preferences expressed by the displaced.

Key words: forced relocation, urban restructuring, gentrification, displacement, mixed neighbourhoods, social mix

1. Introduction, the restructuring debate

Across Europe, neighbourhood segregation tends to be treated as an undesirable process with unwanted segregated neighbourhoods as a result. Social and 'ethnic' mixing is generally seen as the suitable policy to fight against it (Musterd 2005). These mixed neighbourhoods would cater for better opportunities in terms of housing and social mobility opportunities for less affluent residents, and would supposedly create better conditions for the integration of immigrants, many of whom have different ethnic backgrounds. In many western cities, low-income households tend to be over represented in areas characterized by relatively low-quality housing, while frequently these areas also have higher crime rates and experience higher levels of unemployment.

A rather rigorous yet widely used instrument to de-concentrate relative poverty and obtain heterogeneous neighbourhoods is encapsulated in the policy of urban restructuring. The extreme forms of such urban restructuring are characterised by objectives such as tearing down poor-quality housing structures, moving tenants to other parts of the city, building new housing of higher quality, with higher rents or for ownership, and attracting more affluent residents in order to create the transcendent mixed neighbourhoods. This type of radical intervention is based on two assumptions: social mix – which overlaps with ethnic mix – would enhance the opportunities of the urban disadvantaged, and second, mix of housing would create social and ethnic mix (Musterd and Andersson 2005).

Social mix policies are not only today's business. The city planning ideal of social mix goes back to nineteenth century Britain (Sarkissian 1976). However, the objectives associated with social mix policies have changed over time. Socially harmonious, mixed communities were initially presented as an ideal for the development of the 'good' society. As Cole and Goodchild (2000, p. 351) explain, after the Second World War 'claims of social

mix were infused with the language of national reconstruction and the post-war settlement and the development of universal state provision'. In many other contexts such a social democratic approach to the balanced community was common as well, until around the mid-1970s. When 'social mixing' became popular among progressive as well as conservative politicians as an instrument to address a much wider range of urban social issues, it seems to have become a metaphor for 'solving urban problems'.

During the 1990s, in most Western countries these social mixing instruments were put into practice in more or less similar ways (Andersen and Van Kempen 2003). In Denmark, the Danish Urban Renewal Act catered for the revitalization of post-war functionalist neighbourhoods, in France urban renewal was carried out under the *Politique de la Ville* of the late 1990s (Gilbert 2009). Next to physical interventions, these policies tried to change the social and ethnic compositions of the targeted areas, by dispersing the poor population and through an influx of middle-class. Even across the Atlantic, in the United States, the federal government was concerned about the high levels of concentration of disadvantaged households in severely distressed housing projects and provided more or less comparable solutions through programmes such as HOPE VI (Clampet - Lundquist 2004; Comey 2007; Popkin *et al.* 2004) and Moving To Opportunity (MTO), in which residents of public housing projects got the opportunity to move to a 'better' place (Galster and Zobel 1998; Katz *et al.* 2001). These policies or programmes have a lot in common, but most striking is their reliance on social mixing and residential mobility in order to overcome concentrations of urban poverty.

Social mixing policies are said to stem from worries about lack of 'integration', which eventually might even result in the development of 'parallel societies' that are considered a threat to national unity and social order (Münch 2009; Phillips 2009; Uitermark 2003). However, even in the US, where concentrations of poverty and race are much more intense

than in Europe (Peach 2009), evidence in support for social mix and the assumed effects is limited and often weak (for an overview, see Goetz and Chapple 2010). In Europe, the negative effects of distressed neighbourhoods on the opportunities of its residents are even more contested (Musterd *et al.* 2012; Ostendorf *et al.* 2001; Van Ham and Manley 2010).

While social mix policies have been applied to an increasing extent, academic debate reflecting on it developed at the same pace. Imbroscio (2011) dispraises the ‘mobility paradigm’ for not dealing with the problem at its heart. Instead he calls for a *placemaking paradigm* which ‘puts the emphasis on securing the necessary supply of affordable housing in urban neighborhoods, in order to mitigate the degree of displacement from the pressures of gentrification’ (Imbroscio 2011, p. 13). Lees (2008) pointed out that social mix strategies may also serve completely other objectives. She and others argued that social mixing policies conceal gentrification strategies, which are often actively encouraged by the state, in partnership with private actors, but which, as a result, would displace lower-income households from attractive locations in the urban arena. Other authors also find this displacement effects (Neil Smith 1996; 2002a)

There are two important implications of social mix policies. On the one hand social mix urban restructuring could attract middle-class households into distressed neighbourhoods by providing more upscale housing; on the other hand part of the original population will be displaced as their dwellings are going to be demolished or seriously upgraded. Much research has focussed on the first implication (Kleinhans 2003; Kleinhans *et al.* 2007; Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen 2003). However the relocation experiences of the displaced households are interesting on both a macro and a micro level as well. Urban restructuring has influence on the targeted area, but potentially also on the rest of the city. By de-concentrating the urban poor other areas may disproportionately receive relocatees, so that on a macro level new concentrations may arise (Bolt *et al.* 2009). Especially in the Netherlands, several scholars

tried to track down displaced households, in order to find patterns in the relocation processes (Bolt and Van Kempen 2010; Bolt *et al.* 2009; Doff and Kleinhans 2011; Kleinhans 2003; Kleinhans and Van der Laan Bouma-Doff 2008). These studies not merely focused on the possible emergence of new concentrations of poverty, but also highlighted how involuntary moves had a micro level impact on the housing situation of the relocatees. Improvement for individual relocatees is often seen as logical since their houses were supposedly demolished for a good reason: in most cases they came from the most deprived neighbourhoods, meaning that a step down in their housing career was unlikely (Bolt and Van Kempen 2010).

In this paper we are tracking down the relocation process of four demolition projects in Amsterdam Nieuw West and we focus on the relocatees themselves. Qualities of new neighbourhoods and dwellings are related to socio-economic characteristics of relocating households in order to find patterns in the relocation. Moreover, we aimed at finding out which relocatees are able to benefit from their forced moves and which characteristics of relocatees determine their chances for a step forward in their housing career. One of the innovative dimensions of this study lies in the data that could be used. In contrast with earlier studies, individual level data have been provided directly by one of the Amsterdam housing associations. The data contain socio-demographic and geographic information on *all* relocatees from four particular projects in Amsterdam. So far, researchers who were interested in relocation patterns used data from questionnaires with roughly speaking a response-rate of 30 per cent. The non-response bias might have influenced the results, since the non-response might have been selective. Research with complete population data –as we use- does not have that bias. We formulated the following research questions:

What are the location preferences of households who are involved in large-scale restructuring of their neighbourhood?

How do these preferences relate to the actual residential relocation due to restructuring?

To what extent are relocatees (not) improving their housing situation after forced relocation and how does that differ between relocatee types?

2. Previous research

Research that specifically focused on the displacement of tenants of restructuring neighbourhoods has attracted ample attention, especially from American and Dutch scholars. One of the most discussed relocation programmes is HOPE VI. This programme started in the 1990s with the objective to revitalize the most severely distressed public housing projects in the US (Popkin *et al.* 2002). At the end of the 1980s, public housing in the US was viewed as a complete failure. Although some project were faring relatively well, the most dilapidated projects had to deal with extreme economic and racial segregation, massive unemployment and high crime rates which led to dangerous living conditions, in terms of safety and health (Popkin *et al.* 2004). HOPE VI was initiated not only to revitalize distressed projects in a physical manner, but had the explicit goal of ‘lessening concentration of the very poor and creating mixed neighbourhoods’ (Salama 1999, p. 97). Residents living in a public housing project to be addressed by HOPE VI were forced to leave their houses, but got the opportunity to return after revitalization, move to private rental housing by using vouchers or moved to a different public housing project. Most findings suggest that relocatees generally move to neighbourhoods with less unemployment and significantly less poverty (Buron 2004; Comey and Popkin 2004; Popkin *et al.* 2002; Robin E Smith 2002b). However, relocatees, mostly African American or Hispanic, turned out to stay resided in deeply segregated areas with frequently over 90 per cent of the population being minorities (Clampet - Lundquist 2004). Those who managed to use a voucher that enabled them to rent at reduced cost in the private market reported most frequently an improvement in living condition, and generally

moved to less segregated areas, while those who moved to other projects remained in neighbourhoods with slightly less poverty than their original situation (Buron 2004). However the process of relocation is often experienced as stressful, while choice for alternatives is limited.

In the Netherlands one of the difficulties research on forced relocation has to cope with, concerns the quality of data. Unlike the US, where affordable housing is supplied by federal government in the form of public housing, Dutch affordable housing is provided by semi private housing associations. Housing associations are private enterprises with a social task of providing housing that is affordable for less affluent residents (Van Kempen and Priemus 2002). Associations, which deal with forced relocation, proved to be reluctant to release their data. This complicated accurate research. Up to now most research relied on sample and questionnaires to gain access to residents who experience relocation. Kleinhans (2003) was one of the first to investigate forced relocation in the Netherlands after urban restructuring. He concluded that most relocatees experienced improvement in their living conditions after their move. However he adds that there is a potential danger in the system that relocatees often move to similar dwellings that are to be demolished soon after relocation. Therefore he warns for the emergence of urban restructuring ‘nomads’; moving from one demolition project to the other. Doff and Kleinhans (2011) confirmed that Dutch forced relocatees in most cases experienced serious improvement in their housing situation after their move. However they stated that there is a difference in improvement among native Dutch relocatees and those belonging to ethnic minorities. Immigrant relocatees had significantly less chance to experience considerable improvement than their native Dutch neighbours. Bolt *et al.* (2009) found similar results. Their findings amplify the conclusion that ethnic minorities are less able to benefit from the opportunity given to relocate to a ‘better’ neighbourhood. Moreover, Slob *et al.* (2008) found that ethnic minorities appear to

be less satisfied with their new dwellings after forced relocation than native Dutch. They add that forced relocation after urban restructuring can lead to reinforcement of concentrations of low-income and ethnic minorities in other parts of the city. However they emphasize that forced relocatees only form a small part of the relocation flows into these new concentrations (Slob *et al.* 2008).

Meerts *et al.* (2011) have tried, in a more qualitative approach, to find out to what extent choice was limited by institutional and structural constraints. They conducted 150 in-depth interviews with forced relocatees from Dutch urban restructuring and found that these relocatees can be categorized in two groups. The first group is fairly satisfied with their new dwelling after relocation, despite the fact that they are seriously constrained and not all their preferences are met. A second and much smaller group is less satisfied, and find themselves pressured by time and money constraints so they let go most of their own preferences and ended up in a less satisfying housing situation. However, a recently published Dutch study showed that involuntarily relocated households have more options to choose from in their relocation process than is often believed. They should be regarded as ‘active agents’ and are not necessarily victims of urban restructuring (Posthumus 2013). An interesting conclusion of the same study is that immigrant relocatees and those with children are less satisfied after relocation and often remain in close proximity with the old neighbourhood in neighbourhoods with relatively high unemployment rates, and a large portion of minorities (Posthumus 2013).

3. Data and Methods

3.1 Dataset

In this paper the focus will be on patterns of relocation after demolition of four housing complexes in Amsterdam Nieuw West (ANW), in which 572 households have been relocated. This urban district is one of the 40 areas which have specifically been targeted by Dutch

government policy that aimed at reducing the accumulation of problems related to criminality, unemployment, low levels of liveability and concentration of poverty. Since there was a belief that the accumulation of problems transcended the sum of individual problems, radical action – demolition and mixing – was proposed. Amsterdam Nieuw West is one of the most notable and largest urban districts in the selection, with a population of over 130,000 inhabitants. In 2006, the year in which the projects under study started, more than 60 per cent of the housing stock in this district was social rent.

The semi-private housing associations were obliged to offer adequate housing to those who were not able to rent or buy in the private sector. Only in the case of demolition or severe renovation such a landlord is allowed by law to evict its tenants. However, the landlord must provide a substantial allowance to compensate for moving costs (in this case €5,000 per household) and provide reasonable alternative housing or assist in finding it. For housing associations it was common practice to construct new housing in restructuring areas. By law they were obliged to include at least 30 per cent social rent in each newly constructed project. Due to increasing property values of the total assets and the sale of other units, housing associations gained the revenues to rent out a share below market value and fulfil their social commitments. However this model proved difficult to sustain during global financial crisis. Due to a lack of revenue restructuring activities have more or less halted in the past two years. The projects under study started between 2006 and 2008, when the housing crisis in the US was taking shape, but Dutch housing associations were still investing.

In three of the four projects the demolished buildings were replaced with new construction, the housing association offered its tenants the opportunity to return to the original site (or close to it). Since only 30 per cent was reserved for social rent, only a limited number of tenants could return to social rent. Moreover in some cases tenants had to wait for the construction of their new apartment while staying in temporary housing. Newly built

apartments were allocated based on the demand-supply match based on family size and length of residence in the original site. Those who were not assigned an apartment or simply did not want to return were given a priority position on social housing waiting lists to relocate elsewhere in the region of Amsterdam. Some households left the regional assisted housing sector and moved to other cities or entered the private market and in some cases bought their own home. In one project a popular option was to buy a house within the new construction on site. Displaced tenants got priority. Table 1 shows some general characteristics of the four projects under study.

<<TABLE 1 APPROX. HERE>>>

Our research is based on analysing the old housing situation of the relocated households, their preferences, and their new housing situation in terms of physical quality of the dwelling and the neighbourhood quality, while taking the socio-economic characteristics of the tenants into account as well. Data on tenant characteristics and housing quality were provided by the Amsterdam housing association Rochdale. The data provided by Rochdale made it possible to use the precise location of new addresses and complete information on vital tenant characteristics. Data on individual relocatee characteristics were generated through home visits by Rochdale employees in order to sign tenants up for social rent waiting list priority and to identify preferences. Data on dwellings was acquired using Rochdale's internal databases and archives. Neighbourhood quality is measured using data for the year 2010 from Statistics Netherlands.

Projects A and B were located in 'Geuzenveld' and C and D in the 'Kolenkitbuurt'.

According to Statistics Amsterdam (O+S Amsterdam 2006) in 2006, 68 per cent of the population of Geuzenveld was labelled as 'ethnic minority' and one third of the household had no children; the disposable income per households was €15,100. The disposable income

for Amsterdam as a whole was €18,400. The Kolenkitbuurt received national attention during the period of restructuring since it was considered one of the most problematic neighbourhoods of the Netherlands. In 2006, in the Kolenkitbuurt 85 per cent of the population was regarded a ‘minority’, while average disposable income per household was €14,300; unemployment was well above 10 per cent and crime rates were among the highest in Amsterdam.

3.2 Methods

The choice to investigate the four mentioned projects was based on the fact that the neighbourhoods they were located in were targeted as restructuring neighbourhoods and on the availability of data. Although the projects were not randomly assigned, we have no reason to believe there were significant external forces influencing the relocation process specific to these projects. The fact that the population of the projects strongly resembles the overall population of Amsterdam Nieuw West fuels the idea that the four projects can be regarded as exemplary cases for forced relocation from – to be demolished – post-war housing in Amsterdam. We believe that using a complete dataset rather than a sample that suffers from a high level of non-response may produce different findings than earlier work on this subject.

In our attempt to answer our research question we first will develop a typology of relocatees (seen as households) based on three distinguishing variables: household income, household size and ethnicity of the main occupant. These variables are dichotomized in ‘high’ and ‘low’ incomes (with a threshold of €28,000); households with at least two children and those with less children; and immigrant or with native Dutch ethnicity. This creates eight different categories of relocatees. However, these are not equally represented. Large native Dutch households, for which Amsterdam Nieuw West was initially built, are virtually absent, which means they left the area at an earlier moment in time. Using this typology we are able

to find out which relocatees move to what kind of place. Comparing this typology with characteristics of the new dwellings and characteristics of their new neighbourhood will reveal to what extent the different types of relocatees are improving their living situation.

Relocation processes, either forced or voluntary, can be interpreted in different ways. (Clapham and Kintrea 1984) mention three different approaches. The first of these refers to the role of institutions. This approach focuses on existing policy regarding relocation and the possible effects that housing institutions have on the outcome of a relocation process. Especially in the public or social rented sector the influence of institutions should not be underestimated since relocatees often lack the means to fulfil all their preferences and are much dependent on what the system has to offer, whereby the characteristics of the relocatee (except for ethnicity) are essential for the rights and opportunities one obtains in the Amsterdam social housing market. In the second approach, relocation patterns are explained by mainly looking at class structures. Very often the emergence of residential segregation is explained by pointing at perpetuating class-structures, and ethnic or socio-economic residential segregation. In a third and more actor-based individualistic approach the emphasis is placed on individual preferences of tenants that result in the eventual relocation.

In this paper we will try to understand the empirical outcomes by referring to each of these three approaches. While institutional and structural factors may be dominant, some impact of preferences may also be noticeable. The data of the housing association also provide some information about the relocatees' neighbourhood preferences. In the interviews that were conducted by the association, relocatees had the option to mention three neighbourhoods in which they wished to live.

4. Empirical findings

4.1 Locational Preferences

In the previous section we showed that a share of the tenants who had to leave their house in the four projects returned to newly constructed housing that was especially reserved for them. Despite the relatively high rents of these dwellings they were equally popular among different income groups as well as ethnic groups. The great interest in returning to the new construction hints at a common desire to stay near the old location. A survey of neighbourhood preferences of the relocatees shows an even more striking outcome (Figure 1). All tenants had the opportunity to mention a maximum of five districts of Amsterdam to which they wished to move. Figure 1 shows how many times each district was mentioned by the tenants.

<<Figure 1 Preferences approx. here>>

Clearly, this reveals the common wish among relocatees to remain in the western part of Amsterdam, within or close to the original location. The concentration of neighbourhoods mentioned strikingly resembles the wider district of Amsterdam Nieuw West (ANW), a district that was entirely built during the twenty years after the Second World War and has been subject to massive urban restructuring during the past ten years. Yet a considerable number of relocatees also mentioned other district in Amsterdam in which they preferred to live that are not within ANW and often located at larger distance from the original location.

When looking at the balance between preferred districts in ANW or districts elsewhere we found considerable differences between different types of relocatees. Both ethnicity and family size appeared to have a significant influence on this balance. Income had no particular influence (not shown in the table). Table 2 shows the percentage per category that mentioned a preference for the ANW district.

<<TABLE 2 APPROX. HERE>>

For both large and small households, the desire to remain resided in ANW appears to be more present among immigrants, yet almost all large immigrant families indicated they only wanted to move to a district that was located in ANW. Dutch relocatees not necessarily mentioned fewer neighbourhoods in ANW than immigrants, but showed a broader preference by including more districts elsewhere. Opposed to immigrants, small Dutch households prefer to stay in ANW more than larger Dutch households. Due to the limited number of large Dutch households this link appears to be weak. However the small Dutch household have one unique feature: the main occupant of these households is on average ten years older than the main occupant of the other households. Most of the small native Dutch households turn out to belong to the elderly and therefore may have other preferences. Most of these elderly have a long residential history in ANW and were often part of the first wave of residents who settled in ANW when the district was built. Due to their bonding they want to stay in this neighbourhood (de Bruijn 2011).

Preferences have been identified during home visits, conducted by the housing association in order to start the search for a new home. On average, slightly more than 20 months after this home visit, relocatees signed a contract for their new dwelling. The eventual choice for a new dwelling is a result of the trade-off between preferences and (institutional) constraints. Institutional constraints are derived from income and family size, and in general are not subject to change during those 20 months.

4.2 Actual Relocation

Preferences are, however, more fluid than actual behaviour, especially when the planned demolition is getting closer and the buildings are becoming more desolate every day.

Relocatees weigh factors like location, quality and housing costs all in their own way according to their own knowledge. In order to accelerate the relocation process and save costs,

the housing association tried to exploit this knowledge, for instance by providing bus trips to neighbourhoods that were located outside the mental maps of most relocatees, but with plenty of social rented dwellings available, such as the newly built neighbourhood IJburg.

Nevertheless, the general relocation pattern appears to be pretty much along the lines of the original neighbourhood preferences: the vast majority of relocatees stayed in Amsterdam Nieuw West. Many relocatees stayed in or close to the original neighbourhood. Figure 2 shows the new locations of all relocatees. Just like the preferences however, relocation patterns are different for different types of relocatees. In this part we will try to unravel these different patterns.

<<**Figure 2 Relocation Outcomes approx. here**>>

Again ethnicity and family size seem to be good predictors for location decisions, as table 3 shows. Native Dutch households not only more often prefer other neighbourhoods, they also show a more diverse actual relocation pattern. Where most immigrant households, especially the large ones, stay in Amsterdam Nieuw West, relatively more Dutch households tend to leave the area. The outcomes of the relocation resemble the preferences. Immigrant families – especially larger ones – stay in ANW while a larger share of the Dutch households moves away, with the exception of small Dutch households with lower incomes, who also stay attached to ANW. However, Dutch small households with higher incomes leave. The last mentioned difference was not present in the preferences.

<<**TABLE 3 APPROX. HERE**>>

Those who found a new dwelling outside of ANW turned out to be also those who indicated a preference for living outside ANW; only 48 per cent of those who moved outside ANW (also) preferred ANW, while 88 per cent of the households that relocated in ANW (also) expressed

an ANW preference. No household left ANW while they indicated they did not want to and no one stayed in ANW while indicating they did not want to.

Not only did we find locational differences between the relocation patterns of different types of relocatees, the receiving neighbourhoods also differed between the different types, as shown in table 4. The data on neighbourhoods are from Statistics Netherlands, for the year 2010 (CBS 2010). Since all relocatees came from two neighbourhoods in Amsterdam with extraordinary high concentration of relative poverty and more than 60 per cent ethnic minorities, on average they have moved to neighbourhoods with lower concentrations of both minorities and households living on social minimal standards. Within the paradigm of mixed neighbourhood and poverty de-concentration, on average all groups of relocatees have improved their living situation, supporting earlier findings from the literature (Kleinhans 2003; Doff and Kleinhans 2011). Not surprisingly the geographical differences between relocatee-type are reflected in the corresponding neighbourhood characteristics.

<<TABLE 4a APPROX. HERE>>

<<TABLE 4b APPROX. HERE>>

Again ethnic differences between relocatees are the best predictor for new neighbourhood characteristics. Native Dutch relocatees move to neighbourhoods with less non-western immigrants and less households living from minimum standards. Only the native Dutch small families with higher incomes show different outcomes than their immigrant counterparts. Large native Dutch families show a striking opposite effect; however, the number of observations is too small to draw meaningful conclusions.

4.3 Quality of housing

In addition to our analysis of where the displaced end up we also examined the physical qualities of the new dwellings themselves. We tried to answer the same question: to what extent do the qualities of the new housing differ between the different types of relocatees? Housing quality is difficult to measure since data on the physical condition of individual dwellings is scarce. We were able to approximate the physical quality of dwellings by looking at two quantitative variables: the size of a dwelling the year it has been built. Generally speaking larger dwellings are considered of higher quality than smaller dwellings. Building year however is not as linear. Often older houses are regarded as of lower quality than newer ones; in Amsterdam this assumption is false. In the period after WWII, many houses of relative low quality were built speedy in order to comply with the housing shortage. The Amsterdam socially rented housing stock that was built between 1945 and 1975 is believed to be of considerably lower quality than housing of other building years (Rowlands *et al.*, 2009). Since the original site was built in this post-war period, moving to a dwelling of another building year can be interpreted as an improvement of housing quality while staying in housing built in the same period is not. However we were only able to measure housing qualities of those who did not leave the public housing sector in Amsterdam.

Floor space of the dwellings is generally regarded to be a good indicator of the quality of a dwelling. Most households show an increase in floor space or remain in a similar size dwelling. Only 15 per cent moved to a considerably smaller apartment. However we did not find any significant between-group variations in floor space change because of the relocation. On average tenants relocated to an apartment that was 14 square meters larger than their previous apartment. Even those who returned to the original location in newly built housing did not find significantly different changes in floor space from other relocatees. In general all types of relocatees have experienced an improvement on floor space.

As was mentioned earlier, a large share of the relocatees returned to the original site in new construction housing. Hence it is not surprising to see that on average the relocatees made considerable improvement in terms of building year. Only 35 per cent of the relocatees from which we know the building year of their new dwelling (496 households), moved to a dwelling that was built during the post-war era of reconstruction. Except for a small and barely significant correlation between income level and building year, the different types of relocatees did not show significantly different outcomes in terms of building year of their new dwelling. When we focus the attention to those who did not return to the original location some significant differences between relocatee types could be found. Due to their low numbers, native Dutch large families are excluded from table 5.

<<TABLE 5 APPROX HERE>>

First of all it is striking that even without those who moved to new construction, the majority of the relocatees managed to find a new dwelling that was built in a ‘better’ period. Just as was the case in neighbourhood characteristics, the native Dutch small households with relative higher incomes stood out by relocating more often to houses from other building years. Even more striking is that the majority of large immigrant families, especially those with lower incomes, did not manage to find an apartment that was not built during the post-war era. Less than 10 per cent of the Amsterdam housing stock has five or more rooms, and the share is even smaller in the social rented sector. Large households have a difficult time finding adequate alternative housing anyway due to the limited availability. Not only have large families remained in Amsterdam Nieuw West, but a majority of them also ended up in post-war housing, meaning they only found improvement in the size of their dwelling.

4.4 Rent

In the original situation large and small households, rich or poor, were paying approximately similar rents each month. The difference between average rent of lower income households and higher income households was only €10 per month. But how about rent differences in the newly obtained dwellings? Housing associations are allowed to harmonize rent prizes when a residential move occurs; as a result changing house may mean a considerable rent increase. Next to possible different preferences among more affluent and not so affluent relocatees, the supply of adequate housing that was built in another period than the post-war era may have influenced these outcomes.

Since all relocatees have moved to a different dwelling, they encountered a different rent. As expected, most relocatees had to cope with significantly higher rents. The highest increase in rent is usually found for those who move to newly constructed dwellings (Kleinhans 2003, p. 488). We were able to compare the rents of those who moved to new construction from projects B and C, with the rents they were paying before relocation. Among these tenants on average the rent increased from a monthly €321 to €526 per month. In exchange of this enormous rent increase the relocatees got a newly constructed dwelling with estimated values ranging between €200,000 and €300,000. In order to overcome severe housing costs, those who earned less than roughly €2,500 gross a month were entitled to rent subsidies, which vary between €200 and €350 per month and are dependent on age, family size, income and rent level. When we apply the often used idea that rent levels to be paid should not exceed 30 per cent of gross income (McClure 2005), no relocatee that moved from projects B or C to a newly constructed dwelling passed that limit after rent subsidies.

5. Discussion

Despite the fact that a forced relocation can have quite a disruptive effect on a family, and can be perceived as unwelcome (Allen 2000; Ekström 1994; Kleinhans 2003), relocation

means an improvement of the housing situation for most relocatees. This supports most findings of earlier studies into forced relocation in the Netherlands (Bolt and Van Kempen 2010; Doff and Kleinhans 2011; Kleinhans 2003; Posthumus *et al.* 2013a) as well as in the US (Buron 2004; Clampet - Lundquist 2004; Popkin *et al.* 2009). Relocatees in the US found improvement mostly related to the level of economic mix of the neighbourhood; Dutch relocatees also moved to neighbourhoods with slightly less ethnic minorities. Dutch relocatees have a wider choice of available social housing and are therefore less constrained than American relocatees (Posthumus *et al.* 2013b). These findings are however not very surprising since the quality of their original housing was limited, and their neighbourhood contained the highest shares of non-Western immigrants, among the lowest income levels and a very large proportion of the housing stock being social rent. The answer to the question whether relocatees are improving their housing situation can nevertheless be answered affirmative. Strikingly relocation patterns appeared to be very different among different types of relocatees. Income, ethnicity and family size all had their own influence on relocation. Large immigrant families tend to stay close to the original site and move to neighbourhoods with relatively larger shares of minorities and households dependent on a social minimum income. On the other hand native Dutch relocatees from restructured neighbourhoods move relatively often to places further away from the original site and outside the boundaries of the Amsterdam Nieuw West.

In addition to the complete dataset we used, another advantage of our data was that we had information on preferences before the actual process of relocation. We believe that these preferences are less affected by institutional constraints, since they were identified before the relocatees started looking for new housing. The fact that different types of households showed different preferences but correspondingly different relocation patterns suggests that the difference between ethnicities, income groups and different household types,

are largely influenced by different preferences. Large families presumably want to remain close to the original location because of amenities such as schools, sport clubs and religious facilities while small households are generally less dependent on these amenities nearby. Regardless of family size immigrants want to stay in ANW more than native Dutch relocatees. Strikingly income did not affect preferences, but it did have effect on actual outcomes. On the one hand we may assume that those with higher income have a broader range of opportunities, since they can afford to live in more expensive housing. On the other hand, social housing and rent allowances are allocated based on income. Those with higher incomes are excluded from a certain share of the supply.

The actual outcomes are, however, not a perfect representation of mere preferences, since relocatees are limited by several institutional constraints. Vacant socially rented dwellings in Amsterdam are scarce and due to massive restructuring priorities have been subject to inflation; however, within the limits of these constraints, all relocatees were able to find alternative housing and did have at least some choice. Our outcomes support earlier findings by Posthumus (2013), that forced relocatees should be treated as active agents.

Tenants relocated to a neighbourhood of their preference and to a dwelling of higher quality than their old dwelling. Immigrants and large families end up in neighbourhoods with relatively more ethnic minorities and poverty, but apparently also within the neighbourhood of their own preference. This finding puts some question marks to research outcomes generated by Bolt et al. (2009), who argue that ethnic minorities would be less able to benefit from the opportunity given to relocate to a 'better' neighbourhood. We find that actual behaviour of ethnic minority households reflect their preferences. This may not result in a move to physically better neighbourhoods, but it does seem to reflect a consolidation of existing social networks and proximity to essential services. Moreover, research shows that living in such neighbourhood not necessarily decreases income or educational outcomes (Van

Ham and Manley 2010), while the assumed relation between segregation and integration is highly contested (Peach 2009; Phillips 2009). This combined with research that shows that overall relocatees appear to be more satisfied with their living situation after forced relocation (Doff and Kleinhans 2011; Kleinhans and Van der Laan Bouma-Doff 2008; Meerts *et al.* 2011; Posthumus 2013) sheds a different light on the discussion regarding social mix.

The growing literature of critique on social mixing policies such as the urban restructuring policy in the Netherlands, is based on the idea that restructuring would in fact be a form of state-led gentrification with no positive effects for the less affluent residents of mixed neighbourhoods (Bridge *et al.* 2012). Lees (2008) argues that ‘[t]he movement of middle-income groups into low income areas creates overwhelmingly negative effects, the most significant of which is the displacement of low-income groups’ (2008, p. 2457). Although the arguments against the widespread social mixing paradigm seem convincing, our study shows – at least for Amsterdam – that ‘displacement’ after forced relocation might be perceived less negatively by residents than is often assumed.

Our study’s strong point is the unique data that we were able to use. By including nearly all relocatees in our study we were able to avoid sample selection bias, which other studies had to cope with. A limit to our study was that we only included demolition projects in Amsterdam, conducted by one housing association. In the Netherlands, rules for forced relocation differ per municipality but the bottom line is that any household forced to relocate should be offered ‘reasonable’ alternative housing. This is enforced by national law. We assume that our outcomes are generalizable to other forced relocation experiences in the Amsterdam, and even the Netherlands but more research is required to support this assumption. We found significant differences in both preferences and relocation among different groups of relocatees. However, a more qualitative research approach could help with interpreting the differences we found.

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Table 1 Some basic information of the selected projects

	Relocatees				Project	
	Returned	Relocated	Left Regional Assisted Housing	Total	Starting year	Demolition year
Project A	11	79	8	98	2006	2010
Project B	61	107	9	177	2006	2009
Project C	52	110	31	193	2006	2009
Project D	45	46	13	104	2008	Not yet
Total	169	342	61	572	-	-

Source: own survey/Rochdale

Table 2 Preferences for Amsterdam New West (ANW) by household type, 2006

Household Type	Preferred Districts in ANW	N
Small Native Dutch Household	63%	108
Small Immigrant Household	74%	215
Large Native Dutch Household	55%	13
Large Immigrant Household	89%	152
Total	76%	488

Source: own survey/Rochdale

Table 3 Share of relocatees newly housed in Amsterdam Nieuw West (ANW) after relocation, by relocatee type

Relocatee Type	Relocated to ANW	Other	Total	N
Low Income - Native Dutch - Small Family	68%	32%	100%	82
Low Income - Native Dutch - Large Family	33%	67%	100%	9
Low Income - Immigrant - Small Family	66%	34%	100%	163
Low Income - Immigrant - Large Family	81%	19%	100%	101
High Income - Native Dutch - Small Family	39%	61%	100%	36
High Income - Native Dutch - Large Family	80%	20%	100%	5
High Income - Immigrant - Small Family	66%	34%	100%	67
High Income - Immigrant - Large Family	93%	7%	100%	71
Total	71%	29%	100%	534

Cramer's V= 0.302, p<0.001

Source: own survey/Rochdale

Table 4a Ethnic and social characteristics of the ‘new’ neighbourhood, by relocatee type

Relocatee Type	Non-Western Immigrants ^a	Social Minima ^b	N
Low Income - Native Dutch - Small Family	45%	17%	82
Low Income - Native Dutch - Large Family	29%	11%	9
Low Income - Immigrant - Small Family	53%	19%	163
Low Income - Immigrant - Large Family	59%	19%	101
High Income - Native Dutch - Small Family	37%	15%	36
High Income - Native Dutch - Large Family	45%	16%	5
High Income - Immigrant - Small Family	50%	18%	67
High Income - Immigrant - Large Family	63%	20%	71
Total	52%	18%	534

a. R² = 0.135, p < 0.001

b. R² = 0.101, p < 0.001

Source: own survey/Rochdale

Table 4b Ethnic and social characteristics of the Amsterdam neighbourhoods from which households relocated, 2010

Type	Non-Western Immigrants ^a	Social Minima ^b
Geuzenveld	60%	19%
Kolenkitbuurt	75%	24%
Amsterdam	35%	16%

Source: CBS 2010

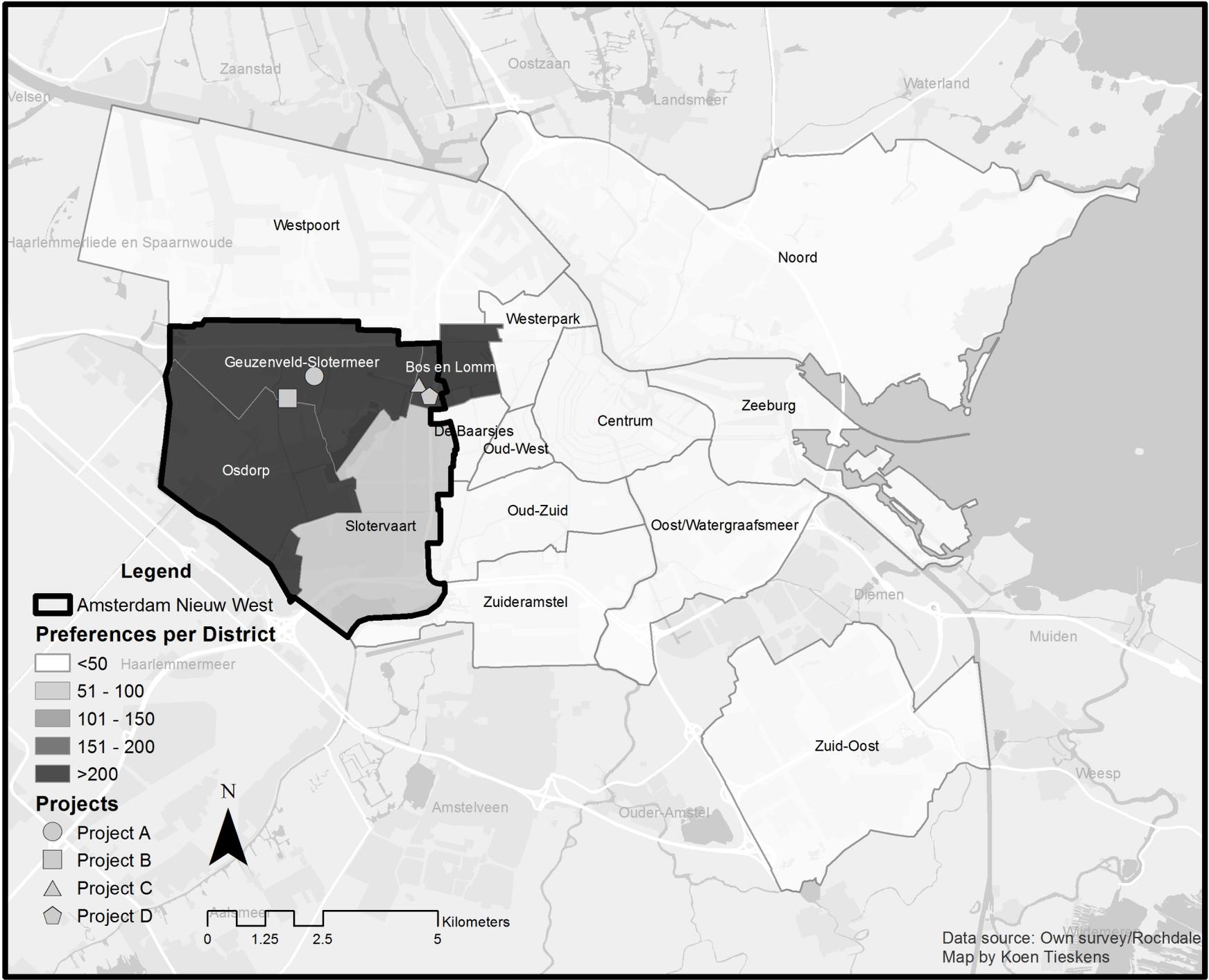
Table 5 Building period of the new dwelling, by relocatee type

Relocatee Type	Post-War	Other Period	Total	N
Low Income - Native Dutch - Small Family	42%	58%	100%	57
Low Income - Immigrant - Small Family	43%	57%	100%	118
Low Income - Immigrant - Large Family	67%	33%	100%	51
High Income - Native Dutch - Small Family	29%	71%	100%	21
High Income - Immigrant - Small Family	40%	60%	100%	40
High Income - Immigrant - Large Family	57%	43%	100%	30
Total	47%	53%	100%	317

Cramer's V = 0.218, $p < 0.05$

Source: own survey/Rochdale

- Figure 1 Frequencies of neighbourhood preferences per Amsterdam district and project locations
- Figure 2 Actual new locations of relocatees per neighbourhood of origin



Zaanstad

Oostzaan

Landsmeer

Waterland

Westpoort

Noord

Westerpark

Geuzenveld-Slotermeer

Bos en Lommer

Zeeburg

Centrum

De Baarsjes

Oud-West

Osdorp

Oud-Zuid

Oost/Watergraafsmeer

Slotervaart

Zuideramstel

Diemen

Muiden

Zuid-Oost

Weesp

N

Amstelveen

Ouder-Amstel

0 1.25 2.5 5 Kilometers

Data source: Own survey/Rochdale
 Map by Koen Tieskens

