



# **Reconsidering Restructuring and Relocation: Searching and Evaluating Waterbed Effects**

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# The basis

- *Some areas have all kinds of problems*
  - *Physical*
  - *Economical*
  - *Social → concentrations!!*
- *Demolition is seen as one of the main solutions*



Schoonegge











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# Policy goal

Demolition would lead to more mixed neighbourhoods, especially in terms of income



# Lot of research, typical results

- Movers are generally satisfied
- Traditional inhabitants do not have many contacts with the new inhabitants
- Owner-occupiers and renters do not have many contacts
- Natives and ethnic minorities do not have many contacts
- Does mixing lead to good results?



Less attention for forced  
movers, displaced  
households

(although research is  
emerging quickly now)



# This presentation

- Focus on displaced households
- Focus on the effects of displacement
- In terms of housing
- In terms of neighbourhoods
- In terms of activities
- Finally: some thoughts about further research



# Sources

- Literature (national and international)
- Own research on displaced households (Posthumus, Bolt, Van Kempen) in five Dutch cities
- Own research on displaced adolescents (Zwanenberg, Bolt, Kokx, Hooimeijer, Van Kempen) in Utrecht



# Waterbed effects?

- The idea is that a push somewhere will lead to effects elsewhere
- Example: CCTV in high-crime areas
- Example: Area-based urban restructuring policy (demolition)
- Basic idea: waterbed effects are not taken into account when measuring the effects of a policy



# 9 statements



## **Statement 1**

**Displacement leads to an upward move  
in terms of housing conditions**



# Upward move?

- Yes, sometimes 80%
- Objective and subjective
- Logical result: people move from worst housing (?)
- Some groups are less positive
- Sometimes positive about small issue



## **Statement 2**

**Displaced households move to areas  
close to the demolished area**



# Close by?

- Why
  - Social contacts
  - Information
  - Opportunities (supply)
- Results: yes and no
  - Different interpretations possible...
  - See maps



# Close by?





## Statement 3

**Displaced households move to areas  
with a large inexpensive housing stock**



# To cheap areas?

- Yes, according to: Bolt & Van Kempen, 2010; Pendall, 2000; Varady & Walker, 2000; Hartung & Henig, 1997; Venkatesh et al., 2004; Kleinhans & Van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2008; Van Kempen et al., 2010
- Logical result, because demolished dwellings belong to cheapest parts, thus house many low-income households



## Statement 4

**Displaced households move to areas  
with a low socio-economic status**



# To low-status areas?

- Yes (Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Hartung & Henig, 1997; Pendall, 2000; see also Van Kempen et al., 2010)
- But why exactly is not always clear
  - Forced to move to such areas
  - Preferences (contacts)



## **Statement 5**

**Displaced households move to areas  
with large shares of minority ethnic  
groups**



# To minority areas?

- Yes (Oakley & Burchfield, 2009; Hartung & Henig, 1997; Pendall, 2000; Goetz, 2002, Bolt et al., 2009)
- But why is again not always clear
  - Forced to move to such areas
    - Income
    - Discrimination
    - Information
  - Preferences (contacts)



## **Statement 6**

**Displacement leads to re-concentration  
in distressed areas**



# Distressed areas?

- Former results result in expectation that re-concentration is logical
- Own results show there is indeed re-concentration in distressed areas
- More for forced movers (60%) than for voluntary movers (39%)
- BUT: education and ethnicity matter!!



## **Statement 7**

**Displacement leads to less satisfaction  
with the neighbourhood**



# Less satisfied with nb?

- Better dwelling but worse neighbourhood?
- Yes (80% vs. 45%)
- BUT: nothing to do with voluntary or forced move
- Important: duration of stay and move to distressed neighbourhood



## Statement 8

**Displaced households stop with all kinds  
of activities as a consequence of their  
forced move**



# Changing activities?

- Many adolescents stop with doing activities like sports (30%) (so 70% not...)
- Distance as a main variable
- But also ethnicity and duration of stay in previous area
- But after some time...
- And: move or age?



## **Statement 9**

**Displaced households lose friends as a  
consequence of their forced move**



# Losing friends?

- After a move: fewer friends in the nb
- After a move: fewer friends in previous nb
- BUT: new friends are being made
- Structural change or question of time?



# Conclusions and discussion



# Conclusions and discussion

- Do we see positive effects?
- Do we see negative effects?



# Positive effect, for sure!

## Better housing



# Mixed results...

- Re-concentration in specific areas...
  - ... but not always and everywhere
- Re-concentration is specific areas...
  - ... but not clear if forced or not
- Change in activities...
  - ... but probably not structural
- So structural effects of forced moves are unsure



# Points of attention

- Mixed results allow different interpretations and thus different implications for policy
- We do not know too much about motivations for choosing a place after a forced move
- Avoid simple interpretations (maps)
- Time is important!



# Discussion points

- Large satisfaction with home, but also relatively satisfied with neighbourhood. What to do with this?
- We do need good research designs: qualitative, quantitative, multivariate, longitudinal
- What do we exactly want with area-based policies? People? Places?



# The end

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