Journal of Housing and the Built Environment **19:** 367–390, 2004.

Social implications of housing diversification in urban renewal: A review of recent literature

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Received March 2004; Accepted July 2004

Abstract. British and Dutch urban policies have advocated housing diversification and social mix in neighbourhoods subject to urban renewal. Question marks have been placed against the evidence base for the assumed social effects of diversification. This paper provides a review of research into the actual consequences of diversification in Great Britain and the Netherlands. After a brief policy discussion, the paper identifies five issues for which evidence is reviewed: housing quality and area reputation, neighbourhood-based social interactions, residential attitudes towards social mix, the role-model effect, and problem dilution. The review shows ambivalent results that necessitate modest expectations, especially with regard to area reputation, cross-tenure social interaction and residential attitudes. This ambivalence is partly due to unclear policy goals and policy terms as well as vagueness about the relevant spatial level. Moreover, the influence of tenure mix is often superseded by other, more important factors in residential satisfaction, such as lifestyle. The paper also argues that positive role-model effects in neighbourhoods have not yet been adequately studied and therefore remain based on conviction.

Key words: diversification, Great Britain, social mix, The Netherlands, urban renewal

1. Introduction

Urban renewal policies have taken firm root in many Western European countries. In the last three decades urban renewal policies have grown in complexity due to the multi-dimensional character of urban problems such as deteriorating housing quality, poverty, unemployment, social exclusion, segregation, low quality of public space, etc. The content and implementation of urban renewal policies differs greatly between countries, depending on, for example, the welfare system and political forces as well as physical, social and economic structures of urban areas. There are, however, also similarities between national renewal policies.

Most policies are strongly oriented to the housing stock of urban residential areas, and great importance is attached to housing diversification and social mix in neighbourhoods (e.g. Musterd et al., 2003; Parkinson, 1998; Skifter Andersen, 2002).

Housing diversification is broadly composed of the demolition, upgrading or sale of council or social rented housing and the construction of new, more costly owner-occupied or private rented housing. These efforts result in more variation in housing sizes, forms, quality, prices, and above all tenures within a certain area. While diversification may imply more than just tenure, the notion of tenure mix is frequently debated. Western European countries such as Belgium (Kesteloot, 1998; Loopmans, 2000), Germany (Spiegel, 2001) and Sweden (e.g. Hjärne, 1994) employ diversification instruments. Outside Europe, diversification policies have been adopted in the USA (e.g. Rosenbaum et al., 1998) and in Australia (Wood, 2003).

In the Netherlands and Great Britain, housing diversification is the core of urban renewal policy. Here, the discussion on the *social* consequences of diversification has taken a prominent place in scholarly discourse as well as in policy debate. In these countries, far more research on this issue has been published than in the other Western European countries mentioned above.

Assumed consequences range from an improved housing market position of the diversified stock, a better reputation and reduced maintenance costs to less social exclusion, more social cohesion, increased community participation, role models, and greater support for neighbourhood facilities (cf. Tunstall, 2003). Many claims can be ascribed to the perceived beneficial effects of the influx of middle-class and higher-income households in neighbourhoods that were formerly dominated by low-cost social rented or council housing. Thus, we encounter the issue of social mix, a recurrent theme in urban studies since the pioneering works of Gans (1961) and Sarkissian (1976). Especially Herbert Gans can be credited with starting the debate on homogeneity versus heterogeneity of neighbourhood populations, stating that ''policy-oriented research along this line is badly needed'' (ibid., 1961, p. 182).

Recently, Tunstall (2003) argued that mixed tenure could be seen as a euphemism for social mix, as countries other than the United Kingdom ''have tended to state clearly tenure's status as one correlate of social mix and one potential tool for the ultimate goal of improved social outcomes'' (ibid. p. 158, see also Ostendorf et al., 2001; Wood, 2003).

This paper reviews the recent literature for several assumed social consequences of housing diversification and the resulting social mix, especially in urban renewal areas dominated by social rented or council housing. Thus, the review leaves the private rented sector out of consideration. Many authors have concluded that the evidence base for the assumptions mentioned earlier is insubstantial and exclusively locally oriented. Apart from a few exceptions (Beekman et al., 2001; Tunstall, 2003; Wood, 2003), these authors refer to only one or a few studies for their conclusion. They do not often clarify the findings that reject certain policy assumptions. Consequently, the arguments remain fragmented, incomplete and heavily dependent on particular locations. There is a need for a comprehensive review. The main question is which social implications have demonstrably arisen from diversification and the resulting social mix on the neighbourhood level.

This contribution aims to meet this demand by covering a broad diversity of Dutch and British empirical studies conducted since 1995. During this particular period, numerous empirical studies of housing diversification were published. These research efforts are connected to the development of urban renewal strategies in both countries. To highlight the range of assumed social effects, a brief policy review for Great Britain and the Netherlands is provided in the next section. The following sections discuss the empirical results of several studies, focussing on improvements in housing quality and area reputation, social interactions, residential attitudes, role-model effects, and problem dilution. The eighth section deals with several methodological issues of the reviewed literature. The final section presents the conclusions of this article.

2. Housing diversification in British and Dutch policy discourse

2.1. *Great Britain*

The United Kingdom consists of four countries: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The first three countries are known as Great Britain. Legislative powers are held by the central government, while Scotland and Wales are independent administrative areas. After the Second World War, the central government directed many policy efforts towards the social rented sector. However, since the 1970s, the owner-occupied sector has grown steadily, partly due to an ideological preference for owner occupation and a stable economic growth

(Boelhouwer and Van der Heijden, 1992). Three successive Thatcher governments shifted the provision of housing out of the public sector into the private sector, due to Thatcher's administrative agenda of "rolling back the welfare state in the late 1980s" (Wood, 2003, p. 45). Today, 70% of the housing stock is owner occupied. The social rented sector is 21% of the total stock and is owned by housing associations and councils (Housing Statistics, 2002).

For over 20 years successive British governments have used a range of policies to actively promote tenure diversification in areas dominated by council housing. These include the Right to Buy for council tenants, but also low-cost home-ownership initiatives (Bramley and Morgan, 1998). The Right to Buy is a substantial example of 'early' tenure diversification, but has produced negative side effects, especially residualisation of the remaining public housing stock (e.g. Malpass and Murie, 1999).

Since the beginning of the 1990s, mixed tenure has been an explicit strategy in British urban renewal policy (for an extensive overview, see Tunstall, 2003). In 1991, a policy document stated that tenure diversification in council estates was "central to the regeneration of run-down estates" (DoE, 1991, p. 2). The 1995 White Paper suggested that mixed tenure areas could provide "sustainable communities where home-owners and renters live alongside each other" (DoE, 1995, p. 35). The Urban Task Force (DETR, 1999) and the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU 1998, 2001) have also referred to tenure mix. The *National Strategy Action Plan* (SEU, 2001) highlighted the interrelationships between the physical and social dimensions of communities.

The Urban Task Force, established by the Labour government in 1997, argued that areas of mixed tenure and mixed incomes could improve social integration and sustain neighbourhood facilities (ibid. pp. 45–46). Planning policy has also targeted tenure mix by including social housing in new home ownership developments (Knox et al., 2002; Tunstall, 2003). But the main focus on diversification is in urban renewal policy.

The White Paper *Regeneration That Lasts* (DETR, 2000a) includes several assumptions. Firstly, tenure diversification is supposed to increase the scope for housing career moves by better-off social renting tenants within the area, maintaining the stability of the population and allowing the estate or neighbourhood to adapt to changing residential preferences. Secondly, upwardly mobile residents moving or buying within the same area are considered as potential role models (cf. Tunstall, 2003). Thirdly, diversification may diminish problems of high

turnover and vacancy rates in a situation of decreasing demand for social housing (cf. Martin and Watkinson, 2003). Fourthly, the DETR claims that the sustainability of estates is undermined if they house concentrations of benefit-dependent people. Mixed tenure is supposed to diminish these concentrations. Fifthly, raising levels of owner occupation in social housing estates is a possible way of increasing the numbers of residents with a financial commitment to the estate. And finally, tenure mix can lead to a "new atmosphere and attitude" (DETR, 2000a).

The Green Paper *Quality and Choice for All*, also published in 2000, sets out a housing strategy for England. The Green Paper proposed housing diversification in both existing and new estates and recommended that local housing authorities promote social diversity by changing allocation policies (DETR, 2000b). More recently, the British Home Office argued that the "high levels of residential segregation found in many English towns would make it difficult to achieve community cohesion" (Home Office 2001, p.70, cited in Kearns, 2004). This report urges the adoption of creative strategies to produce more mixed housing areas.

2.2. *The Netherlands*

The Netherlands has traditionally engaged in high levels of state intervention in housing policy and has emphasised the importance of equal opportunities. Nowadays many responsibilities have been decentralised or delegated to private actors. Yet the national government maintains a coordinating role. The share of owner-occupied housing amounts to 53% of the total stock. Nevertheless, the rental sector – generally managed by housing associations – is still by far the most important element of the local housing market in the major cities (MVROM, 2003).

Many Dutch post-war urban neighbourhoods have been the setting for a radical restructuring of the housing stock. The national Urban Renewal Policy, since 1997, has aimed to increase the variation of residential environments, improve the attractiveness of the housing stock, and strengthen the area's reputation and position in the housing market (MVROM, 1997; van Kempen and Priemus, 1999). Urban Renewal Policy is part of a broader Major Cities Policy. The Major Cities Policy aims to strengthen the economic position of the city and reinforce the position of urban residential areas in the regional housing market (Kruythoff, 2003).

Although the national government provides the policy principles, implementation is the main responsibility of local authorities and housing associations. Especially housing associations are a crucial actor. They own the majority of all rented housing in the renewal neighbourhoods. Consequently, they are supposed to finance substantial parts of the renewal investments. In January 1995, housing associations became financially independent after the so-called grossing and balancing operation. Housing associations are now private organisations, functioning within the public framework of the Housing Act. Apart from their public tasks, they also engage in market activities such as developing owner-occupied housing for middle-income households (Priemus, 2003, p. 328). This emphasises housing associations' important role in urban renewal.

Several government memoranda (MVROM, 1997, 2000) have set high ambitions with regard to housing market effects and the social implications of restructuring. Two important goals are offering housing career opportunities within the neighbourhood and combating the selective migration of middle-class and higher-income households out of the city. The construction of expensive dwellings, mainly owner-occupied, should promote a social mix in the neighbourhood. This is supposedly a successful strategy for improving social cohesion. The introduction of higher-income households is thought to reinforce the social networks of current residents and provide role models with regard to behaviour and aspirations (MVROM, 1997; Noordanus, 1999; Uitermark, 2003). The Council for Societal Development discussed the role-model function of successfully integrated ethnic minorities, who, through their visible social success in a residential area, may provide a positive example to their own ethnic group (Council for Societal Development, 1997, p. 25, 60; see also MVROM, 1997, p.80).

The White Paper entitled What People Want, Where People Live (*Mensen Wensen Wonen*), published in 2000, shifted the attention from social effects towards housing market and housing career opportunities. A crucial argument in the paper is the claim that a homogeneous socio-cultural structure of a neighbourhood is only problematic if it is involuntary or due to a lack of choice. For the same reason, diversification should also target wealthier households who are considering a move out of an area dominated by social rented housing, by providing attractive housing career opportunities within the same neighbourhood (MVROM, 2000, pp. 176–177). Nevertheless, the Urban Renewal Act of 2000 still denotes "enhancement of the social cohesion" as one of the goals of urban renewal (Staatsblad, 2000). From the Urban Renewal

Act, it appears that this goal is not to be reached by diversification alone, but also requires social and economic regeneration efforts. This is also emphasised by the government (MVROM, 2000, p. 34).

Recently, the Coalition Agreement of the current Balkenende Administration has re-emphasised the need for diversification of disadvantaged neighbourhoods with "unbalanced population compositions" (ibid. 2003). Additionally, debates on the dispersion of disadvantaged ethnic migrants have been rekindled due to the election campaign of the late politician Pim Fortuyn, who was murdered in May 2002. Most strikingly, the city of Rotterdam issued the action programme Rotterdam Perseveres (*Rotterdam zet door*) in 2003. Rotterdam attempts to regulate the influx of deprived people in disadvantaged neighbourhoods through stricter housing allocation rules, i.e. raising the required income level of potential renters. This measure will affect ethnic minorities disproportionately more than the established population. Simultaneously, housing diversification and strict measures to abate nuisance are supposed to improve the liveability and the attractiveness of these neighbourhoods for middle-income residents.

Despite strong criticism of the Rotterdam plans, the national government has announced the 'Exception Law' that will enable the major cities – namely Rotterdam, Amsterdam, The Hague and Utrecht – to take the measures mentioned above. The 'Exception Law' is expected to come into force in 2005, and Rotterdam will serve as a trial city.

2.3. *Some remarks on the British and Dutch policy discourses*

Four topics must be addressed prior to an analysis of the empirical studies. Not only are these topics explicitly mentioned in the policy conclusions but they also clarify notions implicit in the discourses. Moreover, they further specify the scope of the literature reviewed in this paper.

First, both national policies demonstrate a shift from socially orientated goals towards housing market and housing career targets. Both try to distance themselves from any suspicion of social engineering (cf. MVROM, 2000; Tunstall, 2003) although socially orientated goals are not completely abandoned. However, the Netherlands has recently witnessed renewed attention for dispersing disadvantaged (ethnic) residents and other social engineering efforts (see section 2.2).

Secondly, policymakers do not often set clear goals and indicators for achieving the desired policy outcomes (Kruythoff, 2003). The

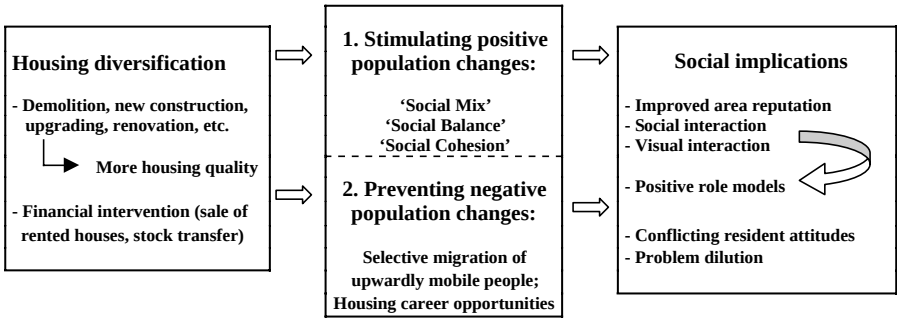

Figure 1. Assumed cause-and-effect relations of housing diversification.

assumed chain of cause-and-effect relations follows a basic conceptual model (see Figure 1). Of course, actual cause-and-effect chains are far more complex and contain many context and intervening variables. The model below only summarises the policy discourse in the previous subsections and provides a framework for the next five sections. Housing market consequences are beyond the scope of this paper, and they are thus left out of the model. Diversification-based changes in the population structure – i.e. household types, income, age, class and ethnicity – are considered in two contrasting ways. On the one hand, policymakers ascribe benefits to the influx of target groups that are sparse or not yet present in the area. On the other hand, diversification is supposed to prevent negative population changes, i.e. certain households moving out of the target area due to a lack of housing choice or other push factors. The target groups of both lines of thought usually overlap. The policy description highlights the focus on middle-class and higher-income households in both countries.

With regard to the supposed effects, concepts such as social balance, social mix and social cohesion are often used but remain undefined. These concepts cover overlapping indicators of the population characteristics, including age, class, income, employment, and ethnicity. Social mix applies to almost every neighbourhood (Goodchild and Cole, 2001). Moreover, these terms refer to different spatial scales, such as the street, neighbourhood, or groups of neighbourhoods.

The third issue follows from the second remark. The relevant spatial scale is often not clear, especially when the spatial range of the supposed effects of diversification is concerned. Different social consequences may occur at different spatial scales, such as the building block, the street or the neighbourhood. Additionally, a particular effect may appear simultaneously on different scales, such as the dilution of social problems.

Fourthly, in urban renewal strategies, diversification measures are often so fundamental that significant residential migration out of, within and into the renewal area is inevitable. The issue of forced relocation due to demolition (see Ekström, 1994; Kleinhans, 2003) however, lies beyond the scope of this paper. The starting point for the paper is that renewal-related migration patterns may change population characteristics more fundamentally than regular residential mobility patterns. The more the new dwellings differ from the previous housing with regard to type, price and tenure, the more differences in population characteristics will arise. From that perspective, housing diversification will indeed increase social mix. This raises the question of the social consequences, whether they are intended by policy or not. Thus, the following sections review studies of diversification and social mix at the neighbourhood level.

3. Improvements in housing quality and area reputation

There is a strong consensus with regard to the positive impacts of housing diversification on the physical characteristics (Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998, 2000; Beekman et al., 2001; Jupp, 1999; Pawson et al., 2000). In the Netherlands, urban renewal not only implies demolition, construction and renovation, but also improvements in the physical infrastructure of the area, raising the probability that residents report improvements due to diversification. Many studies report a higher quality of housing and living environment (City of The Hague, 1998; Companen, 2002; Helleman and Wassenberg, 2004; Kleinhans et al., 2000; van Beckhoven and van Kempen, 2003).

But there is an indirect positive effect of housing diversification, especially if owner-occupied dwellings are constructed in an area formerly dominated by social rented or council housing. Owners are often ascribed different motivations, attitudes and behaviour than renters, independent of socio-economic or demographic characteristics (B&A Group, 2001a, b; Bramley and Morgan, 2003, p. 468; Flint and Rowlands, 2003; Tunstall, 2002, p. 4).

Atkinson and Kintrea (1998) refer to residents reporting an improved appearance of the area, due to the influx of owner-occupiers (ibid., p. 33, 40). Other research points to owners' higher standards of maintenance (B&A Group, 2001a, b; Beekman et al., 2001, p. 59). There are three indications supporting this claim. First, owners are more likely to feel a sense of permanency and put down roots (Hiscock et al., 2001),

partly because of the long-term financial commitment made to their dwelling and its maintenance. Social renters, however, depend on housing associations, councils or other landlords for maintenance.

Secondly, the level of maintenance is a strong determinant of the economic value of the dwelling. This entails incentives to make residents' associations active in keeping up maintenance standards (Jupp, 1999; Rohe and Basolo, 1997). Simultaneously, Page and Boughton (1997) note that the "limited opportunity for peer pressure" reduces the possible pressure that owners can exert on renters (ibid., p. 62).

Thirdly, several authors demonstrate that owners can and do complain more successfully about estate or neighbourhood problems or initiate successful neighbourhood prevention groups. By "keeping the council on its toes" (Jupp, 1999, p. 70), owners' efforts can be beneficial to everyone on an estate (Beekman et al., 2001; Blokland, 2001; Page and Boughton, 1997).

This issue is also related to a general belief that social mix produces a greater potential for effective collective action. According to Jupp (1999), collective action can arise independently of regular social contact, and from dormant structures of formerly active resident groups. A small neighbourhood group or individual can act as a focal point for others if serious problems develop. There are many examples in which neighbourhood regeneration has activated the involvement of residents associations (Forrest and Kearns, 1999; Knox et al., 2002), but active involvement is very likely to fizzle out when the regeneration project is over (Cole and Shayer, 1998, cited in Beekman et al., 2001, p. 31).

There is some evidence in the literature for tenure diversification as a strategy to improve the area's reputation and decrease stigmatisation (Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998; Forrest and Kearns, 1999; Martin and Watkinson, 2003). But diversification alone on disadvantaged estates is an insufficient condition (Cole et al., 1997; Pawson et al., 2000). Residents within the study areas consider higher-income households beneficial for an area's reputation, although outsiders' opinions are more influential than the residents' in determining the external reputation of a neighbourhood. Atkinson and Kintrea (1998) reported that owners thought that outsiders still viewed the estate negatively (ibid., p. 33). Moreover, the reputation of a diversified area may be tied up with the image of a wider urban area, so that local strategies do not suffice (Forrest and Kearns, 1999). Many researchers also conclude that it is difficult to dispel a poor reputation even after the area's regeneration (Beekman et al., 2001, p. 33; Helleman and Wassenberg, 2004).

4. Diversification and neighbourhood-based social interactions

The issue of neighbourhood-based social interactions opens up a wide field of scientific debate (for a review, see Bridge, 2002). A common notion is that the neighbourhood has a diminished, but nonetheless specific, social importance. It depends on the nature and frequency of social interaction, socio-economic and life-cycle characteristics of the people involved, and timing. Many other factors than neighbourhood proximity determine interpersonal relationships, including family, work, friendships, and shared interests (e.g. Forrest and Kearns, 2001).

It is worth noting that almost every study reviewed here examines social interactions in diversified neighbourhoods or estates. Almost all the assumed benefits of housing diversification and social mix are expected to arise from social interactions (e.g. Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998; Kleinhans et al., 2000). In the studies reviewed, social interactions include a wide range of acts, such as saying hello in the street or borrowing things to more intensive patterns such as visiting neighbours.

There is much evidence of the patterns of social life varying by tenure and generally little interaction between owner-occupiers and tenants (Goodchild and Cole, 2001, p. 114). According to Atkinson and Kintrea, owners have largely different social worlds compared to social renters, spending more time away from the estate and using local facilities far less than renters (ibid. 1998, 2000, 2001; Jupp, 1999). Thus, the potential for social interactions between owners and renters is limited. Dutch studies show a very similar pattern (Blokland-Potters, 1998; Kleinhans et al., 2000; van Beckhoven and van Kempen, 2003). An important conclusion of both the British and Dutch studies is that lifestyle is a far more important determinant of social interaction than tenure.

If we look at the spatial range of social interaction, it turns out that distance is significant. First, evidence suggests that neighbourhood contacts are usually geographically close neighbours. According to Jupp (1999), a vast majority of people know their neighbours. It is neighbours whom people say hello to on the street and whom many people can rely upon for occasional help and advice (ibid. pp. 53–54). A huge body of research backs up this conclusion on the role of neighbours (see also Bridge, 2002). Kleinhans et al. (2000) detected a strong internal orientation in owner-occupied housing in recently restructured neighbourhoods. Insofar as residents of these estates voluntarily engaged in social

contacts with other residents, these were almost exclusively people from their own apartment block or street (ibid., see also Cole et al., 1997, p. 64).

Second, the importance of building block and street level suggests that cross-tenure social interaction is subject to distance decay (cf. Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998; Page and Boughton, 1997). As proximity between tenures increases, so does the occurrence of social networks among residents of different tenures. Jupp found that "on estates with higher amounts of street level integration, nearly half of the residents knew someone with a different tenure" (1999, p. 11). Beekman et al. (2001) claim that "far greater levels of cross-tenure networks are to be found where owner-occupation has arisen in a more organic way as a result of tenants exercising their Right to Buy" (ibid. p. 59). Jupp claims that "the biggest single barrier to contact is that properties of different tenure tend to be different streets" (ibid. p. 45). He suggests that street-level mixing is preferable to separating tenures in different zones. A recent study of governance indicated positive relationships between tenants and homeowners assisted by a fully integrated tenure mix rather than separated properties (Knox et al., 2002).

Much of the tenure diversification in the United Kingdom has resulted in the segmentation and division of neighbourhoods, rather than in tenure integration at the street level (Wood, 2003, p. 50). Therefore, several authors from Great Britain plead for pepper potting, a design that mixes rental and owner-occupied properties within a street and within building blocks (Beekman et al., 2001; Jupp, 1999; Page and Boughton, 1997). The Netherlands has not witnessed such a strong plea. A few housing associations experiment with small pepper-potting schemes at the building block level, for example in the major cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Usually, diversification is realised at the estate level or in parts of neighbourhoods.

In sum, patterns of social life vary by tenure and, in general, yield little social interaction between owner-occupiers and tenants. It must be emphasised that tenure is not the single cause of limited cross-tenure interaction. Differences in lifestyles and socio-economic characteristics, such as income, age, household composition and education are important underlying factors. Thus, both lifestyle and socio-economic characteristics are associated with tenure differences. Apart from these factors, cross-tenure interaction can also be hampered by separation of different tenures as a result of the neighbourhood layout.

5. Residential attitudes; peaceful coexistence or conflict?

Several authors suggest that pepper potting might be beneficial for social interaction between owners and renters. However, social interaction is not necessarily positive and could be negative, in the form of disputes or hostile attitudes between residents of different tenures (Beekman et al., 2001; Blokland-Potters, 1998). This raises the question of how residents of different tenures view tenure mix. Is it supported or do the opinions resemble Not In My BackYard sentiments?

The literature shows that both renters and owners have ambivalent attitudes towards mixing, depending on the spatial level of tenure integration. For example, Page and Boughton (1997) found that owners and tenants were generally happy with the estates, although many of the owners would prefer to live in a non-mixed estate. But residents became more defensive about increasing the spatial integration of tenures. Owners more often expressed stronger objections to mixing and living next door to a neighbour of a different tenure (ibid. pp. 32–33; Beekman et al. 2001, p. 53). There is, however, also a connection with overall maintenance and estate management. If these are properly managed, people think that mixing is a good idea, their general tolerance for living with other groups remains high and tensions do not develop (Jupp, 1999; Groves et al., 2003; Martin and Watkinson, 2003). The opposite, bad management and maintenance, can create neighbourhood problems and tensions between different tenures.

Thus, owners and tenants may live peacefully together, but mixed neighbourhoods may also engender tensions and conflicts (Goodchild and Cole, 2001). Socio-economic differences express themselves in different lifestyles, values and attitudes (Bridge, 2002; van Beckhoven and van Kempen, 2003). Increased 'exposure' between residents not sharing values and lifestyles has been identified as the cause of tensions, suggesting the need for more intense management by landlords (Beekman et al., 2001; Cole et al., 1997; Companen, 2002; Council for Societal Development, 1997). The undesirable result is that tenure becomes the 'culprit' that is held responsible for resentment between tenants and owners (Jupp, 1999). Forrest and Kearns warn that ''regeneration programmes that are [...] partial in their spatial coverage and involve tenure diversification on predominantly council estates have the potential to exacerbate physical and social differences'' (ibid., 1999, p. 42). There are many examples of mixed neighbourhoods in which social conflicts and racism prevail, due to people with different lifestyles living together in the same area (Bolt et al., 1998; van Kempen and Priemus,

2002). Regardless of tenure, sitting residents with a long residence may experience feelings of loss of their familiar neighbourhood due to the influx of newcomers.

Contrary to this line of thought, there is also evidence that social mix is a relatively insignificant factor in neighbourhood satisfaction. According to Jupp, no significant correlation existed between residents' overall feelings about the estate and their perceptions of whether mix causes problems or not. Other factors such as the quality of the environment, perceived safety, privacy and the friendliness of the estate were more important determinants of overall satisfaction (ibid. 1999, p. 65–66, Beekman et al., 2001; see also Kennet and Forrest, 2003). "Although some residents felt that owners would rather live apart from tenants, residents of mixed streets did not perceive more problems with mixing than those of zoned estates. They were also significantly more positive about the estates overall" (Jupp, 1999, p. 10). Page and Boughton (1997) reported that both renters and owners were generally positive about the estates. Problems mentioned by the respondents "do not appear to be more serious than those experienced by other housing associations at [...] recent mixed tenure or rented only schemes" (ibid. p. 38). Problems such as vandalism, noise, and disruptive children were just typical for housing estates and could happen anywhere. According to Cole et al. (1997), residents did not think that tenure mix mattered, although perceptions of a separation between owners and tenants persisted (ibid. p. 39; see also Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998, p. 36).

6. The role-model effect

Proponents of diversification and mixed tenure have suggested that higher-income households and owners may act as positive role models for tenants of social or council housing in the neighbourhood. The role-model function is defined in terms of people's attitudes and behaviour towards their home, the living environment, collective action, and employment status. The effects of observing others' behaviour have been suggested in studies of neighbourhood effects on job search and crime (cf. Hiscock, 2002). The role-model assumption can be traced back to the Wilson hypothesis. In his classic study *The Truly Disadvantaged*, Wilson provided evidence for damaging social exclusion in segregated urban neighbourhoods as a result of a lack of role models provided by successful middle-class and working families (Wilson, 1987; cf. Friedrichs and Blasius, 2003). The Wilson hypothesis has inspired

British and Dutch policymakers to retain or attract middle-class households to deprived neighbourhoods. But policymakers do not usually acknowledge that important role models may be available outside the neighbourhood (Friedrichs and Blasius, 2003). Moreover, role-model effects are notoriously difficult to study empirically. Asking social or council housing renters if they see owners or any other people in the area as positive role models is certainly considered patronising and insulting (Rosenbaum et al., 1998).

If positive role models exist in diversified estates, they are likely to operate through actual social interactions or through visual interaction, i.e. observing the behaviour of other people (Brophy and Smith, 1997; Hiscock, 2002; Rosenbaum et al., 1998). The independent research findings of limited cross-tenure interaction (see previous sections) undermine the role-model potential. "The common style of mixing tenures in the same estate but keeping them on different roads is unlikely to lead to the benefits of sharing resources, role models […] which some people hope for" (Jupp, 1999, p. 55). Kleinhans et al. (2000) unsuccessfully tried to find evidence of role models. The explanation is, again, limited social interaction and an unwillingness to engage in it for both low-income renters and higher-income owners (ibid. p. 133; see also Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998). Noordanus, a former alderman from the Dutch city of The Hague, has never provided empirical evidence for his strong claims about positive role models (ibid. 1999).

Not one of the studies reviewed has succeeded in developing a framework that would enable a real test of the Wilson hypothesis in the context of neighbourhood role modelling. Recent German research (Friedrichs and Blasius, 2003) may be the only exception to this general rule. This study found partial evidence with regard to the acceptance of deviant behaviour. Thus, any claim of positive role-model potential of higher-income households and owners in diversified areas remains based on conviction.

7. Dilution effects

Mixed tenure is very widely used as a partial synonym for, or as a mechanism to achieve social mix and heterogeneity at local level, given the correlation between housing tenure and a range of socio-economic characteristics (Tunstall, 2002, p. 3; see also Ostendorf et al., 2001). If

demolition and new construction are the most important diversification strategies, achieving social mix implies relocating part of the neighbourhood residents. Here, diluting effects come into play.

Dutch policymakers used to pin their hopes on diluting effects. After reviewing 36 local housing restructuring plans, Kleinhans et al. (2000) noticed that problem dilution was a common motive for planners in justifying restructuring projects, but that it is hardly ever explicitly stated as such (ibid. p. 136). During the 1990s, Dutch policymakers learned the hard way that dilution as a motive for diversification raised fierce resident protests.

Several authors from Great Britain also refer to dilution effects (e.g. Bramley and Morgan, 2003, p. 464; Hiscock, 2002). ''At a simple level, the successful introduction of owner occupation is likely to achieve significant changes to socio-economic indicators, as deprivation is thinned out'' (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000, p. 95). In many estates, tenure diversification has contributed to a smaller concentration of unemployed people and helped to halt residualisation by attracting economically active households to previously deprived neighbourhoods (Beekman et al., 2001, p. 75; see also Pawson et al., 2000).

The literature also shows that diversification is inadequate in solving social deprivation, or the underlying processes of disadvantage and exclusion. Diversification brings improvements simply through the presence of less deprived households, often as a direct result of forced relocation preceding demolition (Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998, 2000; Hiscock, 2002; Kleinhans, 2003). The 'clearing up' of problem estates improves the liveability of the diversified area and results in a higher statistical liveability score (Blokland-Potters, 1998; Hiscock, 2002). Ostendorf et al. (2001) have demonstrated that diversification is not even a sensible strategy if the goal is to decrease the number of underprivileged people in an area (ibid., p. 377).

Finally, dilution may have an institutional advantage. If the problems associated with a high share of poor or ethnic households are dispersed over a larger area, the burden on institutions operating in disadvantaged neighbourhoods can be reduced (Uitermark, 2003, p. 544). Ultimately, however, dilution is an unsatisfactory strategy. While it may be beneficial for a single deprived neighbourhood, relocating people and problems will inevitably aggravate problems in other areas, as the problems of individual households are unresolved. At best, these households will live in a better dwelling but continue to experience problems of deprivation.

8. Some methodological comments

Before formulating the conclusions, several methodological observations must be made. The observations deal with research methods, the spatial reference unit, and the time span. All these aspects strongly influence the nature of the research results. First of all, most empirical literature is based upon case studies, mainly using resident surveys and interviews. Exceptions are, for example, a city-wide analysis of social mix in Amsterdam (Ostendorf et al., 2001) and a survey of social landlords in Britain (Martin and Watkinson, 2003). Although case studies have their merits, their results cannot be properly generalised. That is one of the reasons for the claim that the evidence base for social mix issues is insubstantial and locally orientated (see first section).

Secondly, the most common spatial reference unit is the diversified neighbourhood or estate. While this seems a logical and sensible choice, it must be noted that many of the social issues discussed are likely to operate on the micro scale, such as the street or building block level. A few studies do not distinguish properly between these spatial levels. To make those distinctions would minimally require interview or survey questions that include explicit spatial references. This would allow respondents to answer for the appropriate level.

Thirdly, a more serious problem is the time span. Almost all of the reviewed literature is based on a cross-sectional measurement. The most notable exception is a one-year participatory observation study of Blokland-Potters (1998). While this is not a problem when measuring social perceptions, quantitative cross-sectional data strongly limit the possibility to reveal social processes. Especially measuring the effect of housing diversification and tenure mix would require a research design with at least two measurements, i.e. before and after the diversification efforts. The application of retrospective questions in survey questionnaires partly alleviates this problem. Furthermore, using national survey data with repeated measurements, such as the Dutch Housing Demand Survey, can provide a partial solution. A drawback is that the number of respondents on the neighbourhood level is often too low to make proper statistical inferences. Many authors are aware of these problems but struggle with the fact that commissioning clients in contract research are usually not willing to finance repeated measurement. Thus, most research results are valid for a certain point in time, without clear evidence for the direction of social processes.

Finally, several quantitative studies do not apply multivariate statistical techniques, which limits their ability to establish causal relations

or the effect of background variables. Likewise, Hiscock (2002) observes that many studies find it unclear whether improvements are due to tenure mix or to other improvements such as secure design and concurrent policies (see also Cole et al., 1997). Naturally, variable measurement levels and data quality do not always allow for refined multivariate statistical methods. Reporting significant differences between categories or tenures is common but cannot provide full explanations for differences between these categories.

To sum up, the methodological designs of the reviewed studies mainly yield results that are locally orientated and are valid for a certain point or a limited period in time; the results are not always capable of fully explaining the effects of housing diversification and social mix.

9. Conclusions

This paper has reviewed recent Dutch and British empirical research into the social consequences of housing diversification and social mix in the context of urban renewal. Vague social indicators as well as confusion about the goals, the intended effects and the spatial scales at which these effects will occur hamper debates on this subject. Nevertheless, policy documents from both countries demonstrate a constant focus on the social consequences of housing diversification. And even though the reviewed literature has certain methodological limitations, a general picture emerges from the review.

The main conclusion is that the evidence base is not as insubstantial as has often been suggested. It is not the lack of empirical findings but their ambivalent nature that is probably the reason for many authors to claim a small evidence base. Whether ambivalent or not, most research literature partly or completely refutes several policy assumptions. The only exceptions are improvements in the quality of housing and the physical living environment, and the problem dilution capacities of diversification. Apart from direct improvements in housing quality, changing population characteristics cause indirect effects. Homeowners maintain their dwellings to higher standards than otherwise identical households who are renting. Residents themselves identify the influx of homeowners as a social improvement, but it remains difficult to dispel an area's poor reputation, especially if it is embedded in a wider area with a bad reputation.

Secondly, there is usually limited interaction between owners and tenants because of diverging lifestyles and socio-economic characteristics.

Tenure correlates with these differences. Additionally, cross-tenure social interaction is hampered by spatial separation between tenures as a result of neighbourhood layout. It is doubtful, therefore, whether mixed-tenure pepper-potting designs can really overcome social distances between tenants and owners.

Thirdly, cross-tenure social distances are reflected in resident opinions of diversification. In general, residents support tenure mix. Growing aversion emerges when other tenures come 'into the backyard', especially among homeowners. While increasing spatial integration of tenures enlarges opportunities for any form of cross-tenure contacts, it simultaneously increases the risk of negative interactions. The spatial scale of tenure integration is important, but it is not the only determinant of attitudes, as other evidence indicates a relative insignificance of tenure and social mix in neighbourhood satisfaction.

Fourthly, policymakers hope for positive behavioural influences of the successful middle-class people in restructured, low-income neighbourhoods. However, role models outside the neighbourhood, current diversification designs and limited cross-tenure social interaction strongly decrease the potential for positive role models within neighbourhoods. Moreover, adequate research methods to prove this assumption have not yet been developed.

Fifthly, dilution is often considered as a desired side effect, but almost never mentioned explicitly as a diversification goal. Forced relocation preceding demolition lowers the number of deprived households and reduces the workload of institutions in disadvantaged areas. Ultimately, however, dilution fails to offer actual solutions for the problems of individual households.

A final observation on the legitimacy of housing diversification must be made here. From the perspective of the reviewed social effects, it may look as though pursuing diversification is a wasted effort. However, British and Dutch diversification policies increasingly focus on housing market issues such as reducing the stock of unpopular social rented houses and providing housing career opportunities for middle-class residents. The legitimacy of these issues remains unchallenged in both countries. Furthermore, diversification may have social implications that are still unknown to us, partly due to the focus on social interaction in the reviewed research. This focus has hampered clear insights in other important social aspects, such as social control, shared or unshared norms, trust in people as well as collective action and organisational participation of residents. These issues are related to the concept of social capital (e.g. Forrest and Kearns, 2001). Thus, a recommendation

for further research is to explore the potential links between housing diversification and social capital in neighbourhoods. Social capital may also be a fruitful concept to indicate the potential diversification benefits that go beyond improved housing quality and housing career opportunities.

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to Professor Hugo Priemus and Professor Godfried Engbersen (my Ph.D supervisors) and the anonymous reviewers for their comments on the draft version of this paper. I am also indebted to my colleagues in the OTB theme group Socio-spatial Integration, who provided useful suggestions for revising earlier versions of this paper.

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