

Large Housing Estates in European Cities

Opinions of residents on recent developments

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Large Housing Estates in European Cities

Opinions of residents on recent developments

RESTATE report 4k

Sako Musterd
Ronald van Kempen

RESTATE
Restructuring Large-scale Housing Estates in European Cities: Good Practices
and New Visions for Sustainable Neighbourhoods and Cities

Utrecht 2005
Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University

RESTATE

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Preface

In this report we will give the main results of a survey that has been carried out amongst residents in 29 large post-WWII housing estates in ten European countries. In all these estates the same questionnaire has been used, which has resulted in comparable results for more than 4,700 respondents living in these estates. Basic information will be given on the inhabitants of the estates, but the main part of the report is devoted to the quality of life in these estates, as experienced by the inhabitants themselves.

The report is aimed at researchers, politicians and policymakers who want to have a quick overview on several aspects that deal with the perceptions of the estates, the quality of life in the estates and aspirations and visions about the future developments. For a more in-depth analysis, we will have to refer to the country reports that have been produced by the different country teams in this research project.

We would like to thank all RESTATE partners for their contribution, as well as all the surveyors in the ten countries. We also would like to thank Anne Slob for merging the country databases and for cleaning the resulting database. Many colleagues commented on the pre-final version of this report. We specifically thank the following RESTATE participants: Manuel Aalbers, Ellen van Beckhoven, Ružica Boškić, Brechtje van Boxmeer, Barbara Černič Mali, Karien Dekker, Nina Goršič, Thomas Knorr-Siedow, Alan Murie, Eva Öresjö, Montse Pareja Eastaway, Richard Sendi and Christina Siwertsson.

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1 Introduction

1.1 RESTATE: a general overview

Cities and their regions are the dynamos of the European economy, enabling the European Union (and potential member states) to maintain a strong position in the global economy. When these cities contain large areas that are not faring well, it is important to find out how best to change these areas in order to remove the dysfunctional characteristics. Large-scale housing estates, built in the three or four decades after the Second World War are often seen as problematic areas in many cities all over Europe. Here, economic decline goes hand in hand with physical and social decline.

All over Europe massive numbers of inhabitants live in these post-WWII large-scale housing estates. The estates were carefully planned but now often experience a multitude of problems. They house large numbers of low-income households, the unemployment rates are above average and, in some countries, they can be seen as concentration areas for ethnic minorities. Many estates are increasingly associated with crime and social exclusion. The circumstances in the estates and policy initiatives associated with these estates are the focus of the RESTATE project. An important part of the RESTATE project is the exchange of experiences and solutions between policymakers and scientists.

RESTATE is the acronym for: Restructuring Large-scale Housing Estates in European Cities: Good Practices and New Visions for Sustainable Neighbourhoods and Cities. If the problems of these areas will not be solved they will increasingly hinder cities to function well in an economic sense.

The project has the following objectives:

- to identify and to clarify the social and economic changes which have occurred in large post-WWII estates and particularly to identify general and specific factors triggering and influencing the emergence of problems and patterns of decline in these areas;
- to develop a checklist of items that have proved to be important in successful and less successful policy responses with respect to these estates;
- to draw conclusions about the potential for cross-national transfer of knowledge and experience and for cooperation in strategic planning for these areas and in area and estate management;

- to produce a comprehensive and practical handbook in which forward looking scenarios and new visions for large post-WWII estates in Europe will be coupled with examples of evidence based best practice to achieve sustainable future development of these areas;
- to build an easy to use database for practitioners and researchers containing details of the nature, successes and failures of present policies aimed at improving the position of large post-WWII estates and their inhabitants;
- to consider whether and how European level policy could contribute to more effective responses to problems associated with these estates.

Methods used in the research are literature research, statistical overviews, interviews, a survey and discussion with urban representatives.

The primary objective of RESTATE is to deliver evidence-based knowledge drawing on the experience in cities in all parts of Europe. The proposed handbook that will be written at the end of the research period will set out best practices for future sustainable developments of these areas and for effective policy implementation. The results can (hopefully) be used by policy-makers to find out in which context which measures have been and can be expected to be successful with respect to improving large-scale housing estates in cities.

Case studies are the heart of the project. Each study:

- establishes general information about the estate: its characteristics, history, demographic, social, economic, and physical development and problems;
- identifies the philosophy and aims of the policies that are being promoted in the estates, how policies have matured over time, what the effects of the policies are and how all this can be evaluated.

It is important to know what we mean by a large-scale housing estate. Following Power (1997), we could define large-scale housing estates as a group of buildings that is recognised as distinct and discrete geographical areas. We add one element to this definition: we see large-scale housing estates as developments planned by the state or with state support. With respect to size, we confine our attention to housing estates with at least 2,000 housing units. The focus on the project is on estates built in the second half of the 20th century. Taking these elements together, this project focuses on large-scale housing estates built in the second half of the 20th century that can be defined as groups of at least 2,000 housing units that are recognized as distinct and geographical areas, planned by the state or with state support.¹

1.2 The contents of this report

The aim of this report is to give a broad quantitative overview of the characteristics of the inhabitants and their opinions and ideas about living and the quality of life in selected post-WWII large housing estates. Because it is a selection of estates, the data presented are not necessarily representative for the country in which they are located.

¹ In the rest of the report we will refer to these estates as *large housing estates*.

In this report we will focus on the results of a survey that has been carried out in all 29 estates that are part of the RESTATE project. In all estates the same survey has been used, which makes comparisons between estates, between cities and between countries possible. These comparisons are central in this report. While in other reports based on this survey the estates in one country (or sometimes even in one city) were put central (see Aalbers et al., 2005; Andersson et al., 2005; Belmessous et al., 2005; Černič Mali et al., 2005; Hall et al., 2005; Knorr-Siedow and Droste, 2005; Pareja Eastaway et al., 2005; Tosics et al., 2005; van Beckhoven and van Kempen, 2005; Węclawowicz et al., 2005; Zajczyk et al., 2005), in this report we will present tables and figures for all estates. This also means that the results mentioned in this report have the character of a broad overview. For a more in-depth analysis we will have to refer to the country reports just mentioned.

The basic question we will try to answer has been formulated as follows:

How can the quality of life in the post-WWII large housing estates in European cities be characterized and which factors and developments explain different outcomes between countries, cities and estates?

In order to answer this central question, we will pay attention to the following, more detailed, research questions:

- How can the population and dwellings of the estates be characterized?
- How satisfied are the inhabitants with their home and with the estate and how can differences between (groups of) estates be explained?
- How can neighbourhood attachment and social networks in the estates be characterized?
- How satisfied are inhabitants with the policies in their estates and how can we explain differences?
- How do the inhabitants living in the estates assess recent and future developments of the estate and are these inhabitants planning to stay in these estates or not? How can differences between (groups of) estates be explained?

In Chapter 2 we will offer a brief and very general overview of the estates in the RESTATE project. We will show that in many respects the estates are not necessarily bad places to live in. However, problems also show up in many places. This chapter will be based on existing statistical material. In the Appendix to this report we have compiled some basic information for each estate.

In Chapter 3 we will first pay attention to the ins and outs of the survey. As stated before, the questionnaire on which this report is based has been equal in all estates. In some estates, however, there are differences with respect to, for example, the way the survey has been carried out and the non-response. The second part of the chapter focuses on the first research question: we will make an overview of the population and dwellings in the estates that are central in this research project. This overview can be seen as a framework for interpretation for the rest of the chapters.

Chapter 4 focuses on the question if the inhabitants of the estates evaluate their housing situation (the estate, their home) as satisfactorily or not (research question 2). It will be shown that definitely not everybody is dissatisfied and it is also definitely not the case that all aspects of the home or the estate are evaluated negatively. In other words: while the large post-WWII

housing estates are often seen as not so very nice places to live in, the opinions of the inhabitants themselves show a large differentiation.

Chapter 5 will try to answer the third research question. The focus in this chapter is on social aspects, such as the attachment of the inhabitants to the neighbourhood and the character of their social networks. In some cases the estates can be seen as places where people spend a large part of their (daily) lives, while in other cases they seem to be not much more than places to spend the night. Answering this question partly relates to the discussion of neighbourhood effects and the way people are affected by living in a neighbourhood; when people spend a large part of their time in the area, there is a bigger chance to be affected by the local context than in a case where people live large parts of their lives somewhere else.

Chapter 6 first focuses on the effects of policies (research question 4). We know already that in these estates a large number of policies and actions take place in order to improve (aspects of) the estates. These policies and actions have been documented extensively in other RESTATE reports (see Aalbers et al., 2004; Belmessous et al., 2004; Droste and Knorr-Siedow, 2004; Hall et al., 2004; Öresjö et al., 2004; Pareja Eastaway et al., 2004; Ploštajner et al., 2004; Szemző et al., 2004; Węclawowicz et al., 2004; Zajczyk et al., 2004). It is not the aim of the present report to give an overview of all these policies again. Our goal here is to find out what the inhabitants of the estates think of these policies. Do they know they exist? Do they experience any result of these policies? We want to know who profits and who experiences disadvantages of the policies.

The second part of Chapter 6 focuses on the future. How do the inhabitants think about the future of their estate? Which parts of the population have a certain trust in the neighbourhood and who is completely negative? We will also try to find if people have the idea of staying in the neighbourhood or want to move out, maybe as quickly as possible. We will also pay attention to the question why they want to move. It is maybe not so much a story of fleeing from negative developments in some cases, but more about housing careers: people want to move to bigger homes, from rent to owner-occupation, from older houses to new ones.

In the final chapter we will turn to our central research question and draw our conclusions. Here we will also try to focus briefly on the possible future of the estates, taking our survey results in consideration.

2 Large post-WWII housing estates in European cities: a brief overview²

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter we will give some general information on post-WWII large housing estates in European cities. The purpose of this chapter is to sketch a background of these estates that can help the reader with the interpretation of the survey results. While the information in this chapter is general and often rather qualitative, a more quantitative overview can be found in the Appendix. Here we have compiled some basic data on the estates that have been surveyed in our project.

2.2 Some general information on large post-WWII housing estates in European cities

Why were the post-WWII large housing estates built?

The motives for building the post-WWII large housing estates are well documented. They can be listed as follows (see also Wassenberg et al., 2004, pp. 7-8)³:

- the need to solve the post-WWII housing shortage (as a consequence of War devastations, low wartime production and a baby boom shortly after the War);
- large numbers of people migrated from the countryside to the city, because of the availability of work in and around the cities;
- the development of innovative technologies (e.g., prefabricated components);
- a confidence in and will to use 'modern architecture' to reach a more just and fair society;
- a desire to protect the countryside from stony developments;
- a demand for higher standards of living (with respect to the home as well as to the direct environment);
- large numbers of older dwellings had to be demolished, because of their low housing quality ("slum clearance"); people living in these dwellings had to be rehoused;
- competition between municipalities with respect to the provision of modern housing (everybody wanted to be 'modern');

2 This chapter draws heavily from Dekker and van Kempen (2004) and Dekker and van Kempen (2005).

3 Of course, in some countries some aspects may be more important than in others.

- government support for solutions to meeting housing shortages and other housing problems (especially in Northern and Western European countries the enlargement of the welfare state caused more attention for building affordable housing, often in the form of social or public rental dwellings).

How is their situation now?

Although some estates were already suffering from problems at the time they were built, many post-WWII large housing estates were built with the idea that they would be nice places to live. At present, many of these areas have changed from areas for which bright futures were foreseen to areas that are very problematic in many respects. A long list of problems is now rather common for many of these estates (see, e.g., Power, 1997; Power and Tunstall, 1995; Hall, 1997; Evans, 1998; Taylor, 1998; Musterd et al., 1999; Andersen, 2001; Murie et al., 2003). At the same time, however, some positive developments seem to take place: policymakers have discovered these areas as important target areas and definitely not all characteristics and developments are negative in these areas. Some people have lived in these areas for decades and seem to be rather satisfied. In many cases the quality of the dwellings is praised and sometimes the spatial location is very favourable (some are close to the city centre, while natural areas surround others).

Are all large housing estates the same?

On first sight, many large housing estates in European countries look very much alike (see also Murie et al., 2003; Wassenberg et al., 2004): apartment blocks in middle- and high-rise predominate. The urban design and layout of the estates was, at least at the time the estates were built, more or less revolutionary. However, some differences can be found when comparing the estates. The large housing estates in North, West and Southern Europe were mostly built in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, while those in the former socialist countries in Central Europe were built in the 1980s and in some cases in the 1990s. In the UK some parts of the estates were even built before the Second World War (Dekker and van Kempen, 2004).

In Western and Northern Europe the estates have a very important function within the housing market; they provide affordable housing opportunities, allowing also low-income households to have a relatively spacious and well-equipped home. Maintenance is problematic in many estates, certainly in estates that were built several decades ago and where the building materials that were used are not of too high quality. Physical problems often occur, such as: infiltration of water in the dwellings, unsafe balconies, poor functioning of lighting systems, defects in heating systems, crumbling plasterwork and bad insulation. In general, the estates are described, especially from the outside, as grey and concrete despite the large green areas in between the housing blocks (Dekker and van Kempen, 2004).

The ownership structure of the housing units differs in the various countries. In Southern Europe, owner-occupation is the most prevalent form of ownership. In the Central European countries, owner-occupation is of a more recent date. After the fall of the communist governments, large processes of privatisation set in and this included selling a large part of the rental stock to the inhabitants, often at persuasively low prices (see Murie et al., 2005). In the case of Northern Europe (Sweden and Germany) the local government often owns the majority of the dwellings, renting them out to families with low, medium- and high-incomes. But especially in the post-WWII housing estates in Sweden, many low-income households live. In

Western Europe most dwellings in the estates can be found in the social rented sector owned by housing corporations (Dekker and van Kempen, 2004).

Focusing on demographic developments, the most prevalent issue in Northern and Western Europe (specifically in France, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK), is the influx of ethnic minorities. In Western Europe examples exist of estates in which already over 80 per cent of the total population belongs to minority ethnic groups. Their low incomes and large families often lead to a situation in which they only have a small number of opportunities on the urban housing markets; the affordable and relatively large houses in the post-WWII housing estates are a logical option, while those who can afford it move out. Simultaneously the share of original residents diminishes because they die of high age (Dekker and van Kempen, 2004).

In general, the estates have higher unemployment levels than many other areas in the city, although it is often not as high as in the older parts of the cities. This does not always hold true for the Central European estates where unemployment is sometimes much lower than in the rest of the city. In Poland for example, in Warsaw's Ursynów unemployment is only 2 per cent, while it is 6 per cent in the city and 18 per cent in the country.

However, in most estates in European cities gross participation on the labour market (the share of the total population that has a job) is declining. There are three explanations for this. The first one is that the estates were originally built for low-skilled manufacturing workers. The change from an industrial to a service economy led to increased unemployment among the low-skilled workers. In the older estates, an additional reason for the decrease of participation is the increased share of pensioners among the residents; people that started their professional career in the 1960s have now retired, but, as said before, many of them stayed put.

In the Netherlands, France, the UK and Sweden, another reason for the low labour participation rate is the influx of ethnic minorities in the estates. Employment possibilities for ethnic minorities are often lower than for the indigenous population. Also, they often have large families and teenagers are overrepresented. These young people often have more difficulties in finding a job.

Third, originally employment opportunities within the estates were limited as the initial design of the estates put the emphasis on a separation of functions, rather than mixing housing and economic development. More recently, however, the spread of employment opportunities from the inner cities towards locations near motorways or public transport has offered opportunities for some estates. An example is the South-East of Amsterdam where a concentration of all kinds of companies offers many job opportunities, partly also for the low skilled. In Central Europe there are also many new business developments near the estates.

2.3 The estates in this project

The RESTATE project covers 29 estates in 16 cities in 10 European countries. In Figure 2.1, the cities in which the estates are localized are mapped.

Table 2.1 gives some basic physical characteristics of the dwellings of the estates in which the survey has been carried out.⁴ It can be seen that the size of the estates can be very small (such as Bow HAT in London, Comasina and Sant'Ambrogio in Milan, Žusterna-Semedela in Ljubljana, Havanna in Budapest and Jóságáros in Nyíregyháza), while others have a very large



Figure 2.1 – The countries and cities in the RESTATE project

surface (such as Märkisches Viertel in Berlin, Bijlmer-East in Amsterdam, Öxnehaga in Jönköping and Wrzeciono in Warsaw). The number of dwellings in the large estates can be over 10,000, while in the smaller estates less than 2,500 are located.⁵ In most cases the housing stock is overwhelmingly rental, although especially in the Central European and Spanish estates a relatively large number of owner-occupied dwellings can be found. In these cases, the dwellings were almost always built as rental dwellings and later sold to the inhabitants.

All estates in this research were mainly built in the post-WWII period (in some cases a few dwellings belong to an older period). The estates in the Central European cities are generally somewhat younger than those built in other parts of Europe.

Table 2.2 gives some basic characteristics of the inhabitants of the estates. Of course the number of inhabitants is strongly related to the size of the estates and the number of dwellings. What is more interesting is that the estates do not only house single-person households and

4 More basic information of the estates can be found in the Appendix.

5 We have selected only estates with 2,000 dwellings or more.

Table 2.1 – Basic physical characteristics of the estates (to be completed)

Country	City	Estate	Size (ha)	Main building period	No. of dwellings	% of rented dwellings
United Kingdom	London	Bow HAT	23	'68-'77	2,285	77
	London	Poplar HARCA	62	'30s-'70s	6,304	93
	Birmingham	Central Estates	93.5	'60s-'70s	3,298	75
	Birmingham	Hodge Hill	126.7	'30s-'50s	3,937	43
Sweden	Stockholm	Tensta	196	'66-'71	5,937	71
	Stockholm	Husby	183	'73-'75	4,727	71
	Jönköping	Öxnehaga	320	'69-'78	2,041	68
Netherlands	Jönköping	Råslätt	120	'66-'72	2,657	99
	Amsterdam	Bijlmer-East	408	'68-'77	12,296	85
	Amsterdam	Kolenkit	69	'46-'55	2,634	83
	Utrecht	Kanaleneiland-Noord	66	'56-'61	2,674	78
France*	Utrecht	Nieuw-Hoograven		'54-'65	2,595	85
	Greater Lyon	Les Minguettes	220	'67-'74	8,190	92
	Greater Lyon	La Ville Nouvelle	160	'60-'76	7,422	81
Italy	Milan	Comasina	32	'54-'63	2,218	25
	Milan	Sant'Ambrogio	33	'65-'72	2,338	93
	Milan	San Siro	60	'31-'73	12,750	90
Spain	Madrid	Orcasitas	127	'74-'76	7,382	0.4
	Madrid	Simancas	229	'57-'59	9,923	10
	Barcelona	Trinitat Nova	55	'53-'63	3,215	20
	Barcelona	Sant Roc	46	'62-'65	3,395	NA
Germany	Berlin	Marzahn/Hellersdorf	130	'85-'92	13,800	86
	Berlin	Märkisches Viertel	370	'60-'75	16,000	NA
Slovenia	Ljubljana	Nove Fužine	68	'77-'88	4,332	8
	Koper	Žusterna-Semedela	32	'73-'89	2,040	6
Hungary	Budapest	Havanna	54	'77-'83	6,200	20
	Nyíregyháza	Jósaváros	36	'70-'79	3,600	23
Poland	Warsaw	Wrzeciono	944	'60-'70	13,122	26
	Warsaw	Ursynów Pn.	234	'76-'81	13,143	0.4

Source: information given by country researchers (see also the Appendix)

* The estates in France are in separate *communes* in the Greater Lyon area. In the rest of the report we will only talk about "Lyon", although the estate of Les Minguettes is actually part of Venissieux, while La Ville Nouvelle is a part of Rillieux-La-Pape.

couples, but also families with children. Especially in the Central European estates, but also in Spain and, for example, Les Minguettes in France, the percentage of family households is relatively high. With respect to age, it can be seen that Spanish and Italian estates show a relatively old population, while most Central and Western European estates have on average a much younger population. In the latter cases younger households have gradually replaced the older population. Central European estates also show a predominantly native population, while especially in the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom the number of non-natives is rather in the large housing estates.

Table 2.2 – Basic characteristics of the inhabitants of the estates (most recent figures)

Country	City	Estate	No. of inhabitants	% families*	% over 65	% non-native
United Kingdom	London	Bow HAT	4,869	15	13	32
	London	Poplar HARCA	17,741	26	9	59
	Birmingham	Central Estates	6,582	7	12	39
	Birmingham	Hodge Hill	9,015	23	14	13
Sweden	Stockholm	Tensta	17,463	34	8	61
	Stockholm	Husby	11,657	24	8	56
	Jönköping	Önehaga	5,285	NA	12	29
	Jönköping	Råslätt	4,571	NA	14	48
Netherlands	Amsterdam	Bijlmer-East	27,605	16	8	76
	Amsterdam	Kolenkit	6,992	26	18	88
	Utrecht	Kanaleneiland	7,819	16	9	81
	Utrecht	Nieuw-Hoograven	5,903	NA	15	56
France	Lyon	Les Minguettes	21,352	41	NA	30
	Lyon	La Ville Nouvelle	28,367	35	NA	21
Italy	Milan	Comasina	5,432	NA	25	NA
	Milan	Sant'Ambrogio	2,338	NA	12	NA
	Milan	San Siro	25,182	NA	24	NA
Spain	Madrid	Orcasitas	19,518	73	24	3
	Madrid	Simancas	21,681	32	29	13
	Barcelona	Trinitat Nova	7,686	NA	30	2
	Barcelona	Sant Roc	12,476	NA	17	4
Germany	Berlin	Marzahn/Hellersdorf	25,000	40	12	15
	Berlin	Märkisches Viertel	38,000	34	19	13
Slovenia	Ljubljana	Nove Fužine	12,086	48	6	23
	Koper	Žusterna-Semedela	5,397	45	16	17
Hungary	Budapest	Havanna	16,990	50	7	1
	Nyíregyháza	Jósaváros	8,313	48	10	0
Poland	Warsaw	Wrzeciono	34,000	28	16	0
	Warsaw	Ursynów Pn.	33,600	40	10	1

Source: information given by country researchers (see also the Appendix)

* Only couples with children.

2.4 Conclusions

Some generalisations can be made about the post-WWII large housing estates in European cities. The physical layout is mostly the same: large medium- or high-rise multi family dwellings with large green public spaces predominate. In most areas a number of positive points can be detected. The design of the estates with its large green public spaces is sometimes still seen as a very positive aspect by inhabitants and actors on all levels (housing industry, public administration, housing corporations) alike. Also, the estates provide relatively large, bright and sunny dwellings, often for a relatively moderate price. The peripheral location of many estates is sometimes valued, because it provides a quiet place to live. Unfortunately, common negative points can also be mentioned (see Murie et al., 2003; Dekker and van Kempen, 2004):

- Many dwellings show clear signs of physical decay.
- The peripheral location of the estates means that in some cases essential services are difficult to reach.
- Architecture and urban design support individualisation and anonymity.
- Nearly all estates have relatively high unemployment rates.
- The separation of functions that is so typical for most of these estates leads to a multiplicity of problematic effects, such as lacking urbanity, low rates of employment opportunities on the estates, unsafe spots in the areas and conflicts about the maintenance of public space.
- The increasing numbers of cars in the last two decades cause traffic-jams and parking problems.
- Safety problems in many estates can be related to vacancies, drug abuse, and the lack of meeting places for young people and anti-social behaviour of some groups.
- Stigmatisation of an estate can be the cause of downgrading processes in the area, especially when these processes are broadly covered in the media.

3 The estates: inhabitants and dwellings

3.1 Introduction

This chapter starts with giving some basic information about the survey in the 29 post-WWII large housing estates and about the way this survey was carried out. It will focus on questions of response, non-response and representativeness. This information will be given in Section 3.2. Section 3.3 gives some basic information about the inhabitants of the estates. Also we will pay some attention to the characteristics of the dwellings of the inhabitants. The first research question (How can the population and dwellings of the estates be characterized?) will be answered. It will be shown that large differences between estates exist.

3.2 The questionnaire and the survey

The questionnaire was produced in consultation with all the RESTATE partners. The English questionnaire was translated in all languages of the countries involved. The main part of the questionnaire comprised questions that were aimed at generating information about the quality of life (or: liveability) in the large housing estates under review. Here we focused on aspects like:

- the general satisfaction with the home;
- the general satisfaction with the neighbourhood;
- satisfaction and dissatisfaction with specific aspects of the neighbourhood;
- social contacts in the neighbourhood;
- activities in the neighbourhood;
- hours spent in the neighbourhood;
- attachment to the neighbourhood;
- the reputation of the estate in the rest of the city;
- experienced problems in the area.

Also we have asked about some ideas about the past and possible future development of the area. Questions were asked like:

- Do you know about any policies or actions aiming at improvement of the neighbourhood?
- Which problematic aspects have been improved by any policy or action?
- Do you think the future of your neighbourhood will be better or worse than today?

- Do inhabitants of the estate have plans to move house?
- What is the main reason for considering moving?

Of course, also some basic information about the respondents (age, household situation, education, ethnicity, income, etc.) and their dwellings (size, tenure, housing expenses, etc.) had to be obtained, because it can be expected that the opinions about living in the estates and about the future of the neighbourhood will vary with at least some of these variables. Finally, some questions on the previous housing situation were asked.

The survey took place in all 29 estates of the RESTATE project (see also Section 2.3). It is important to know that the existence of policies and actions to improve the estates was an important criterion for the selection of the estates. This does not mean that necessarily the worst areas of the city were selected. In most cases, however, the estates can be seen as areas where a number of problems concentrate.

The survey was carried out between February and June 2004 in the 29 large housing estates of this research project. In general, a random sample was drawn, in most cases from the whole estate. In some estates address lists were used⁶ as the basis for the sample, in other cases the researchers first had to make a complete inventory of addresses themselves. The most important deviations from this general trend are as follows:

- In *Italy*, quotas have been used according to two relevant variables: ethnicity and tenure.⁷ The share of immigrant households in the sample was set at 10 per cent, while concerning the tenure of the dwellings, questionnaires have been evenly distributed between tenants and owners (40 per cent owners in San Siro, 60 per cent in Comasina, 50 per cent in Sant' Ambrogio) (Zajczyk et al., 2005).
- In the *Hungarian* estates, zoning and the use of quotas were applied in both estates to ensure a relative representativeness of the sample. Both estates were divided into ten zones with approximately the same number of dwellings. In this way, the better and worse parts of the areas were all included in the sample. The quotas were used as follows: in both estates it was prescribed that in each zone a maximum number of households belonging to a certain category (singles, couples with or without children, single-parent families, other household types) should be interviewed (Tosics et al., 2005).
- In *Poland*, initially, potential respondents were visited at home. However, because a very low response rate resulted, interviewers started to establish contacts with potential respondents in the surroundings of the selected dwellings. After asking their address and checking if this address was on the address list, the respondent was interviewed (Węclawowicz et al., 2005).
- In three of the four *Spanish* estates (Simancas in Madrid, Trinitat Nova and Sant Roc in Barcelona), interviews were proportionately distributed among the population directly affected by a regeneration intervention or not. In one of the estates in Madrid (Orcasitas), only a part of the area has been surveyed (Meseta de Orcasitas)(Pareja Eastaway et al., 2005).

6 In France and Slovenia, an address list of the national phone company was used. According to France Télécom there are only few people in France who do not have a subscription line (Belmessous et al., 2005).

7 In accordance with the Register office or the Census 1991 data.

In most cases surveyors were hired to carry out the survey. They worked under supervision of the RESTATE partners.⁸ Briefings were organised to instruct the surveyors. In some cases (for example in Amsterdam and Utrecht) surveyors from specific ethnic groups were used, in order to get a higher response among, for example, the Turkish and Moroccan inhabitants of the estates. In other cases family members translated questions during a face-to-face interview. The questionnaire could be completed by the respondents themselves, but also by the surveyors in a face-to-face interview.

Response and non-response

The response rate differs between the estates (Table 3.1). For an important part this is due to different calculations. It is unclear, for example, how many people were not at home in the Hungarian estates. In some cases relatively low response rates have resulted. This is mainly due to the usual problems with questionnaires: people are not at home, they do not want to cooperate because they have no time, because they are just not interested, or because they think that being a respondent does not help them very much improving their situation.

Table 3.1 – Number of questionnaires and response rate in the 29 housing estates

	Number of households approached	Number of completed questionnaires	Response rate (%)
Bow HAT	500	201	40
Poplar HARCA	500	208	42
Central Estates	500	201	41
Hodge Hill	600	205	34
Tensta	150	100	67
Husby	150	101	67
Öxnehaga	150	109	73
Råslätt	150	100	67
Bijlmer-East	425	100	23
Kolenkit	361	100	28
Kanaleneiland	800	253	32
Nieuw-Hoograven	700	270	39
Les Minguettes	363	141	39
La Ville Nouvelle	400	100	25
Comasina	270	102	38*
Sant'Ambrogio	280	105	38*
San Siro	300	113	38*
Orcasitas	NA	126	NA
Simancas	NA	126	NA
Trinitat Nova	410	124	30
Sant Roc	402	126	31
Marzahn/Hellersdorf	NA	321	60*
Märkische Viertel	NA	264	60*
Nove Fužine	390	236	60

Source: information by research partners and country reports

8 In Italy and in Amsterdam, companies were hired to employ surveyors.

Table 3.1 – Number of questionnaires and response rate in the 29 housing estates (continued)

	Number of households approached	Number of completed questionnaires	Response rate (%)
Zusterna-Semedela	282	172	60
Havanna		200	85-90**
Jósaváros		200	85-90**
Wrzeciono		201	58*
Ursynów Pn.		151	58*

Source: information by research partners and country reports

* This is an estimation.

** This figure does only include real refusals. People not at home are not included.

Representativeness

How representative is the survey? Are some categories over or under-represented? In general, older people and natives are over-represented, while younger people and non-natives are under-represented. For the young people this is probably connected to the fact that they have a lot of outdoor activities and are therefore more difficult to reach. The under-representation of the non-native population obviously has to do with the language and maybe also with cultural differences. All authors of the country reports (see Section 1.2) reported that, despite these over- and under-representations, results of the survey are valuable for the analyses of their own individual situation. However, we pointed at some obvious problems with regard to the data collection, which become especially serious when the survey data are used for international comparison. Similarities and dissimilarities between estates across Europe may indeed be widely supported; yet before far-reaching conclusions are drawn, more in-depth comparison of specific similar or dissimilar estates is recommended. In short, interpretations that refer to international comparisons will be presented but should be handled with care.

3.3 Characteristics of the inhabitants

In this section we will give an impression of the estates in our study. From Figure 3.1 it becomes clear that a large part of the population of all housing estates belongs to the age category of 31-64 years old. Partly this has to do with the fact that many of the original inhabitants still live in the area and never moved, either because of satisfaction with the area, or because of the non-availability of other dwellings in the area or somewhere in the vicinity. Some Polish (Ursynów Pn. and Wrzeciono in Warsaw), English (Hodge Hill, Poplar HARCA estates) estates and one Swedish estate have a relatively young population, while especially some estates in Southern European countries (Sant Roc and Trinitat Nova in Barcelona and Sant’Ambrogio and San Siro in Milan) have a relatively old population. The presence of a relatively aged population may indicate that inhabitants of these estates might be rather satisfied, otherwise they would have moved to another place. Another possibility, however, is that they do not have the possibility to move, because no (affordable) alternatives exist. It will become clear later (Chapter 4) that the first explanation does probably fit more than the second one: a large number of people do like to live in the estates. Tenure probably forms an important background variable here: in Spain,

for example, a lot of dwellings in the estates are owner-occupied, In general, owner-occupiers move less frequently than renters.

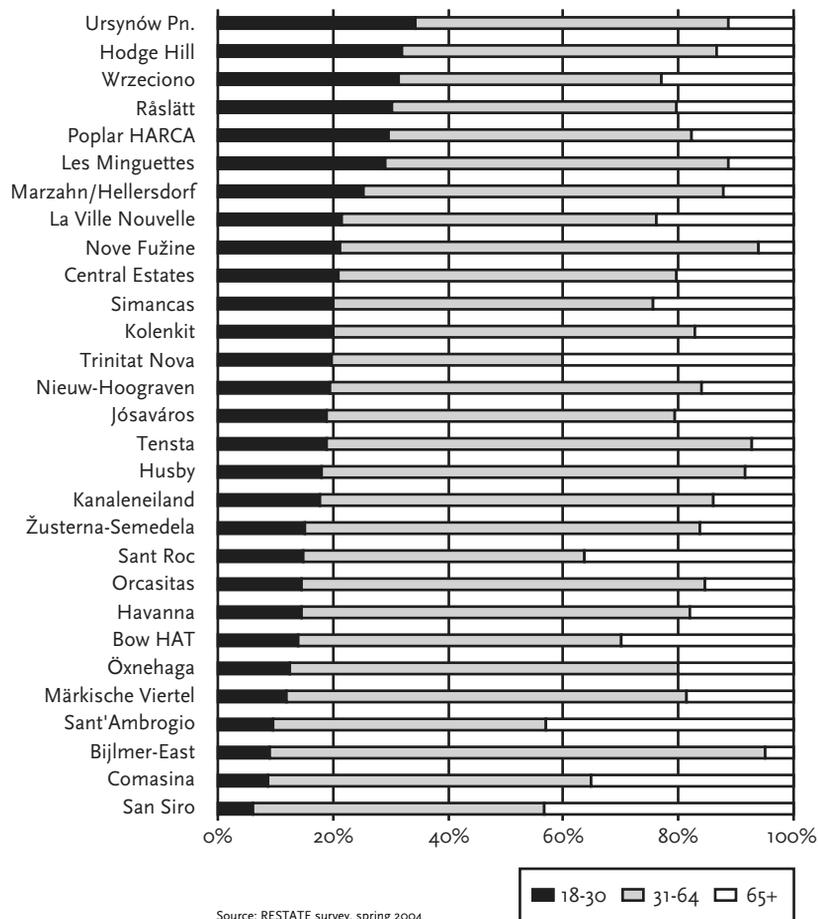


Figure 3.1 – Age structure in 29 post-WWII housing estates in European cities, sorted by percentage 18-30 years old

What can be said about the types of households in the estates? Especially in some English estates (Central Estates, Hodge Hill, Bow HAT estates) single person households form a main part of the population. In many estates in Southern and Central Europe single persons are not that numerous. Here, couples with children form the main category (for example in Comasina in Milan, Havanna in Budapest, Nove Fužine in Ljubljana and Orcasitas in Madrid). The couples with children are also relatively numerous in a lot of other estates (for example in Kanaleneiland in Utrecht, the Kolenkit in Amsterdam and in Les Minguettes in Lyon) (Figure 3.2).

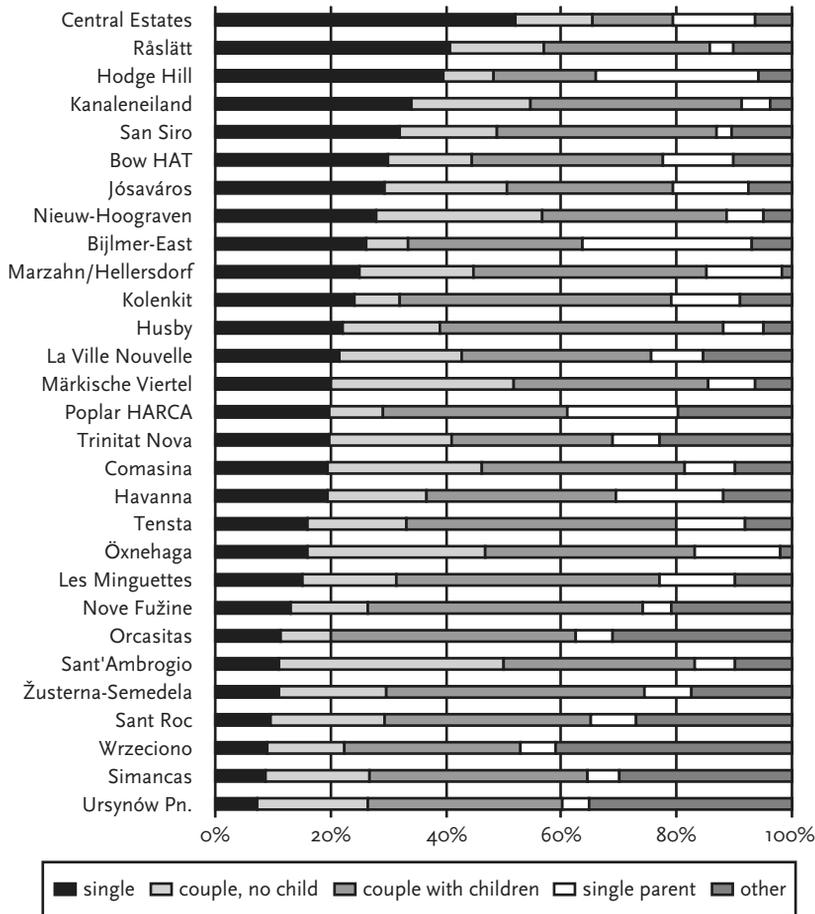


Figure 3.2 – Household composition in 29 post-WWII housing estates in European cities, sorted by percentage single person households

Figure 3.3 shows that most large housing estates are the habitat of native households.⁹ In some cases, such as in Havanna in Budapest and Jósaváros in Nyíregyháza (Hungary), Marzahn/Hellersdorf in Berlin, Orcasitas in Madrid, and in the Polish estates (Ursynów Pn. and Wrzeciono in Warsaw), the percentage of nationals reaches almost 100 per cent. The French,

9 In the questionnaire people have classified themselves with respect to ethnicity. When we use the term “Mediterranean” we refer to a large category of people from countries around the Mediterranean Sea. In the Mediterranean countries in this project themselves (Spain, Italy, Slovenia), the people who belong to the native population are counted as natives. This means that, for example, an Italian living in an estate in Italy is counted as a native person, while an Italian living in, for example, Sweden falls under the category “Mediterranean”.

Swedish and Dutch estates have a relatively large non-native population. Like in every graph in this chapter, these percentages are based on our survey. In reality the percentage of non-natives is even larger, because of a relatively high non-response among non-natives.

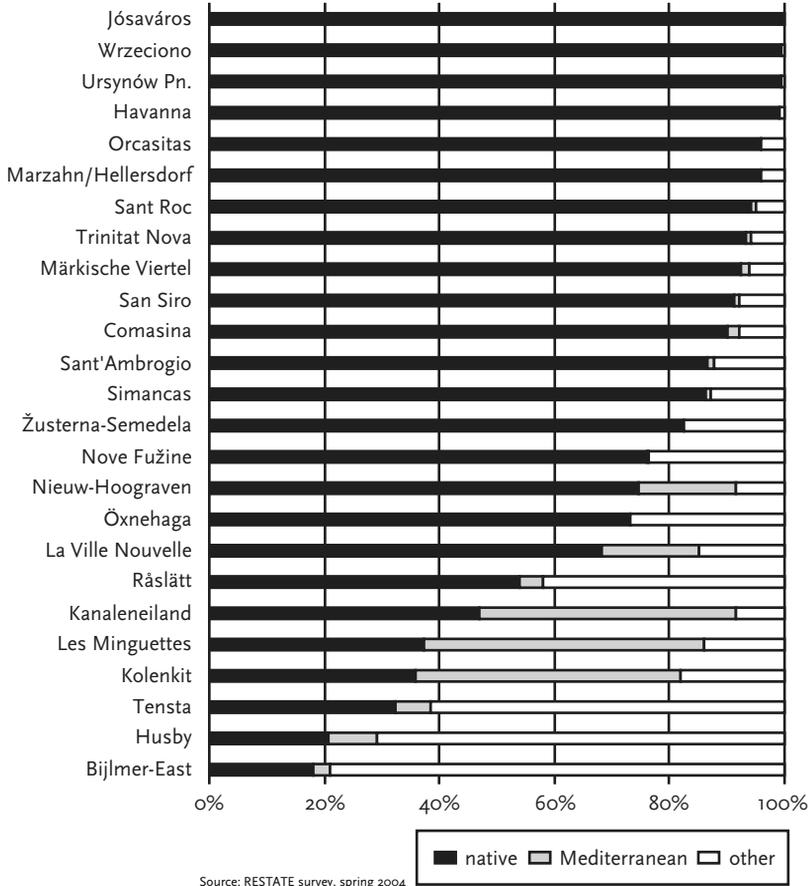


Figure 3.3 – Ethnic composition*, sorted by percentage natives

* See footnote 9

We have asked the question how many years of education the respondents have had. Figure 3.4 shows that especially in Spanish and Italian estates the number of people with a low number of years in education is relatively high.¹⁰ On the English estates the number of years spent in education falls, for most people, in the middle category of 6-12 years. In most estates in Hungary, Slovenia and Poland the number of years in education is relatively high. For Hungary and Poland, this is clearly a remnant of the pre-1990s, when these estates were characterised by

10 This probably has to with national differences. In countries such as Italy and Spain, the number of years spent in education is on average lower than in, for example, Western European countries.

a large mix of people, also with respect to education (and income). Estates in these countries were definitely not seen as places for only the lowest socio-economic categories.

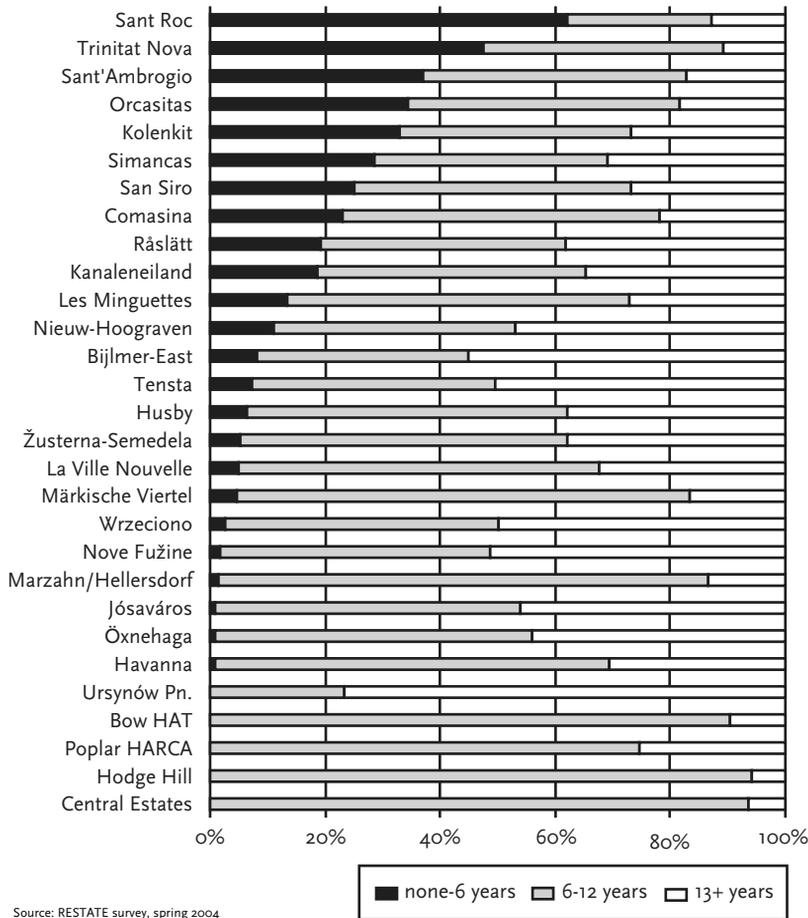


Figure 3.4 – Education, sorted by share with less than 6 years of education

Also in some Swedish and Dutch estates the number of people who spent relatively long at school is rather high. Especially for the Dutch situation this can be explained by the fact that households with a relatively high education use (the social rented dwellings in) the estates as a springboard for their housing career. They live here only for a few years and afterwards generally take the step to an owner-occupied, often single-family, dwelling.¹¹

How many people participate on the labour market (Figure 3.5)? In some estates labour market participation is extremely low. This is especially the case in some Spanish, Italian and English estates.¹² A relatively high participation rate can be found in Amsterdam’s Bijlmer-

11 This is definitely the case for the Dutch estates in Amsterdam and Utrecht.

East,¹³ two Swedish estates (Husby and Öxnehaga), and Nove Fužine in Ljubljana. These estates have relatively low numbers of pensioners and are characterized by a relatively young population (see Figure 3.1).

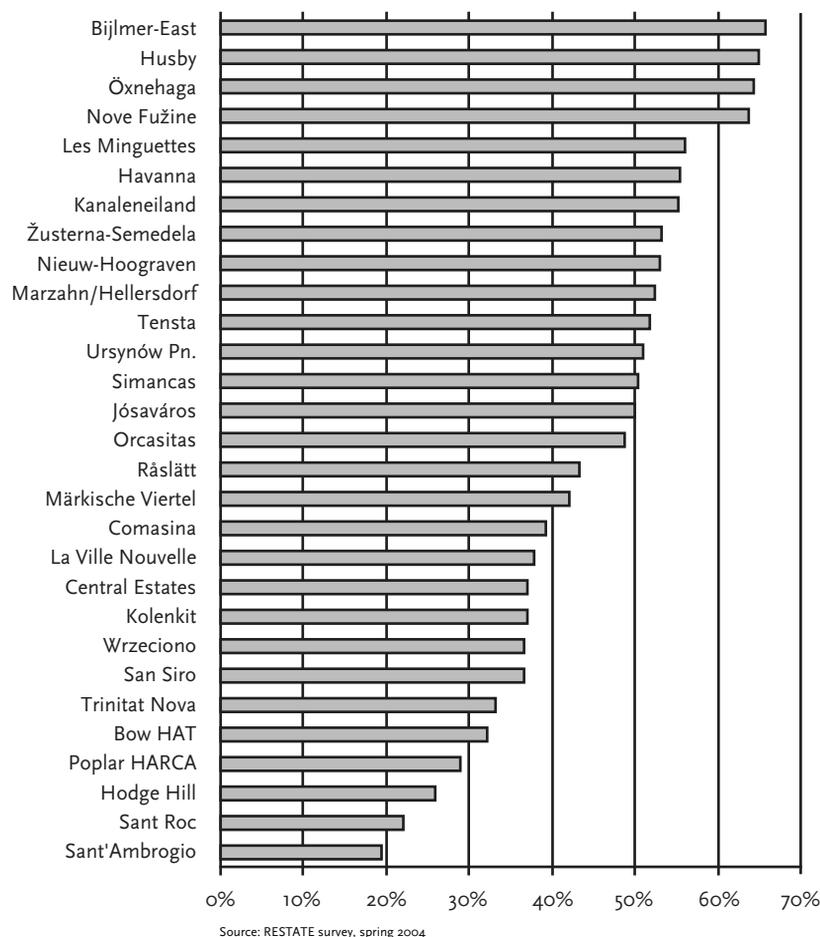


Figure 3.5 – Labour market participation (percentage employed)

Inhabitants of the large post-WWII housing estates definitely do not all fall in the lowest income brackets (Figure 3.6). In fact, many households see themselves as belonging to medium high or even the high-income groups.¹⁴ Three English estates appear at the top of the list when

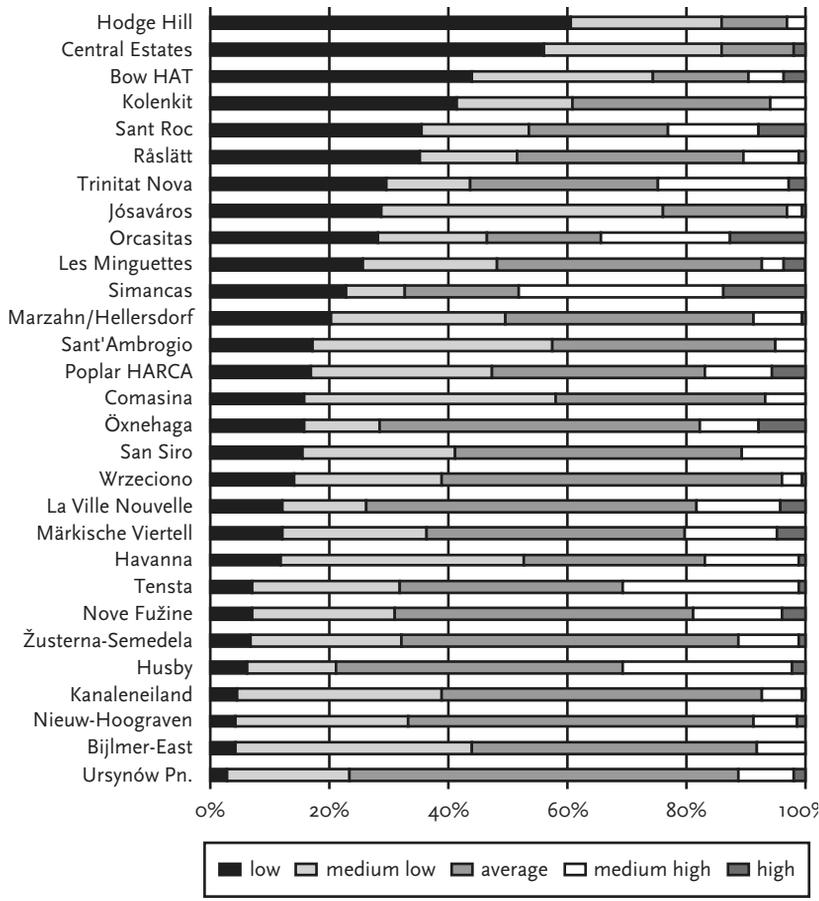
12 The figures do not include jobs in the “black” economy.

13 In many writings in the past this area was stigmatized as one of the worst post-WWII housing estates in Europe.

Policies of urban restructuring have radically altered the physical and population structure of the area.

14 We have asked the respondents to categorize themselves. The question was: “Would you classify the monthly household income as high, medium high, average, medium low, or low, compared to national levels?”

sorted by low incomes. Again, Amsterdam's Bijlmer-East, but also the two Utrecht neighbourhoods and a number of estates in Hungary, Poland and Slovenia have a relatively low number of low-income households.¹⁵



Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 3.6 – Household income, sorted by percentage low incomes

How long have people lived in the present dwelling? The answer to this question is sometimes difficult to interpret. A long duration may indicate satisfaction with the present situation or may point at an incapability to move (because of the lack of alternatives). A short situation may indicate that a lot of people have moved out (for all kinds of reasons), but may also indicate that a large number of new dwellings have been built recently (e.g., in Bijlmer-East in Amsterdam).

15 It could also be that, especially in some countries, members from low-income households are less willing to cooperate in a survey.

Despite these problems, Table 3.2 gives information about the length of residence in the present dwelling.¹⁶

The first two estates in the table (Comasina in Milan and Trinitat Nova in Barcelona) are clearly characterized by a relatively large number of inhabitants who have already lived in their present dwelling for more than 40 years. No other estates show such large percentages. Three other estates (Sant Roc in Madrid, Sant'Ambrogio in Milan and Wrzeciono in Warsaw) have a relatively large number of inhabitants who have started to live in their present dwelling in the 1960s.

Table 3.2 – Duration of stay in the present dwelling (horizontal percentages)

	before 1960	1961 - 1970	1971 - 1980	1981 - 1990	1991 - 1995	1996 - 2000	2001 – 2004
Comasina	26.0	17.0	11.0	8.0	8.0	9.0	21.0
Trinitat Nova	32.2	21.5	6.6	8.3	6.6	9.1	15.7
Sant Roc	0.8	51.2	13.2	8.3	3.3	8.3	14.9
Sant'Ambrogio	1.9	32.4	27.6	7.6	6.7	12.4	11.4
Wrzeciono	0.5	32.8	12.9	15.1	9.1	15.6	14.0
Orcasitas in Usera	0.4	0.4	30.1	48.0	3.3	8.9	9.8
San Siro	15.0	14.2	30.1	8.0	7.1	15.9	9.7
Žusterna-Semedela	0.0	0.0	33.3	34.5	12.9	12.9	6.4
Simancas	12.7	16.9	5.1	20.3	6.8	15.3	22.9
Ursynów Pn.	0.4	0.4	39.3	22.0	13.3	11.3	14.0
La Ville Nouvelle	1.0	8.0	17.0	23.0	8.0	25.0	18.0
Tensta	0.4	4.0	11.0	15.0	33.0	27.0	10.0
Nove Fužine	0.0	0.0	0.0	67.1	8.9	12.8	11.2
Havanna	0.4	0.4	19.5	36.5	8.5	13.0	22.5
Kolenkit	3.0	1.0	9.1	21.2	15.2	28.3	22.2
Märkische Viertel	0.4	11.1	11.1	11.5	13.0	18.3	34.7
Öxnehaga	0.4	0.4	28.4	10.1	11.9	23.9	25.7
Husby	0.0	0.0	7.0	11.0	29.0	33.0	20.0
Jósaváros	0.0	0.0	24.5	19.0	9.5	20.5	26.5
Poplar HARCA	2.1	3.1	9.2	17.9	9.2	20.5	37.9
Marzahn/Hellersdorf	0.4	0.3	0.3	32.1	10.9	23.1	33.3
Central Estates	5.2	5.2	6.7	11.9	12.4	34.0	24.7
Les Minguettes	0.0	0.0	9.9	18.4	12.1	24.1	35.5
Nieuw-Hoograven	2.3	3.4	5.3	9.1	16.2	30.2	33.6
Hodge Hill	2.0	5.0	7.0	8.5	8.5	25.1	43.7
Råslätt	1.0	1.0	8.1	9.1	20.2	25.3	35.4
Bijlmer-East	0.0	0.0	2.0	5.0	6.0	60.0	27.0
Kanaleneiland	1.6	2.8	3.6	18.0	17.6	32.0	24.4
Bow HAT	0.4	2.5	2.0	6.0	4.0	31.5	54.0

Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

On the other side of the spectrum a large number of estates show large percentages in last two columns of the table, indicating that the inhabitants have lived in the present dwelling rather

16 Of course it is important to note that some estates were built later than other estates: most estates were not built before the 1960s, some were even built after 1970.

shortly. In a number of these cases, we have to do with estates that also show a relatively large number of non-native inhabitants (see Chapter 2). Bijlmer-East in Amsterdam, Kanaleneiland and Nieuw-Hoograven in Utrecht and Les Minguettes in Lyon are examples. It indicates that new inhabitants of these areas might belong relatively often to minority ethnic groups.

3.4 Characteristics of the dwelling

With respect to housing type, almost all estates are characterised by their vast majority of apartments or flats (see Chapter 2). However, there are huge differences between the estates in other terms, such as tenure, size of dwelling and housing expenses. From Figure 3.7 it can be concluded that 12 estates predominantly consist of social/public rented dwellings.

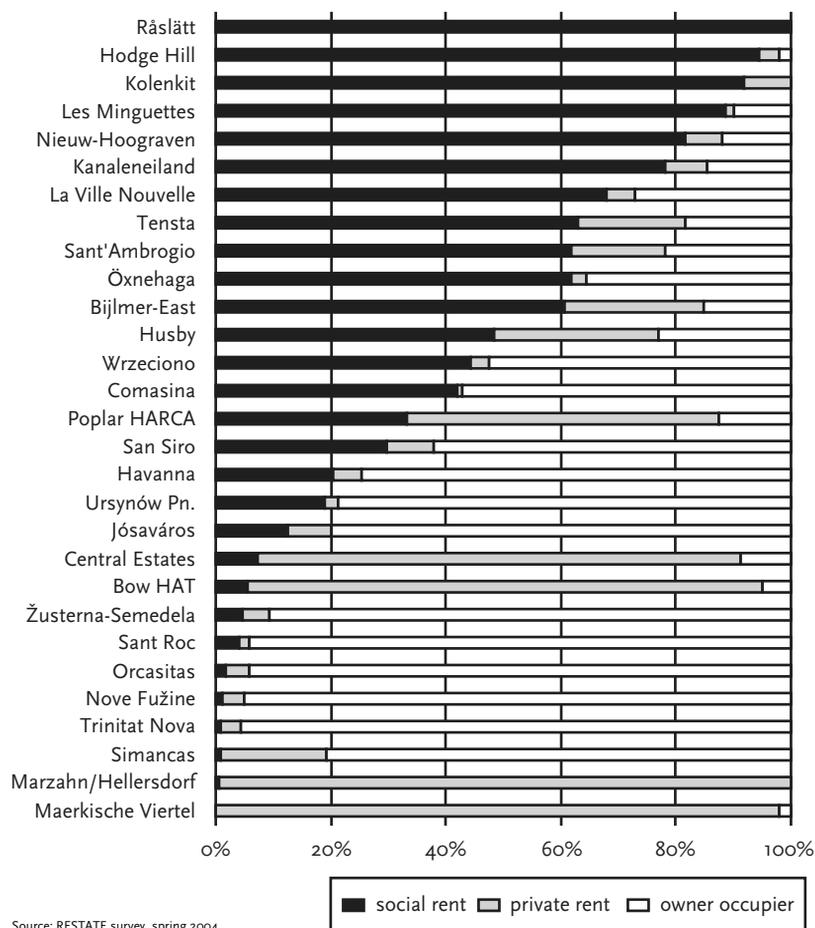
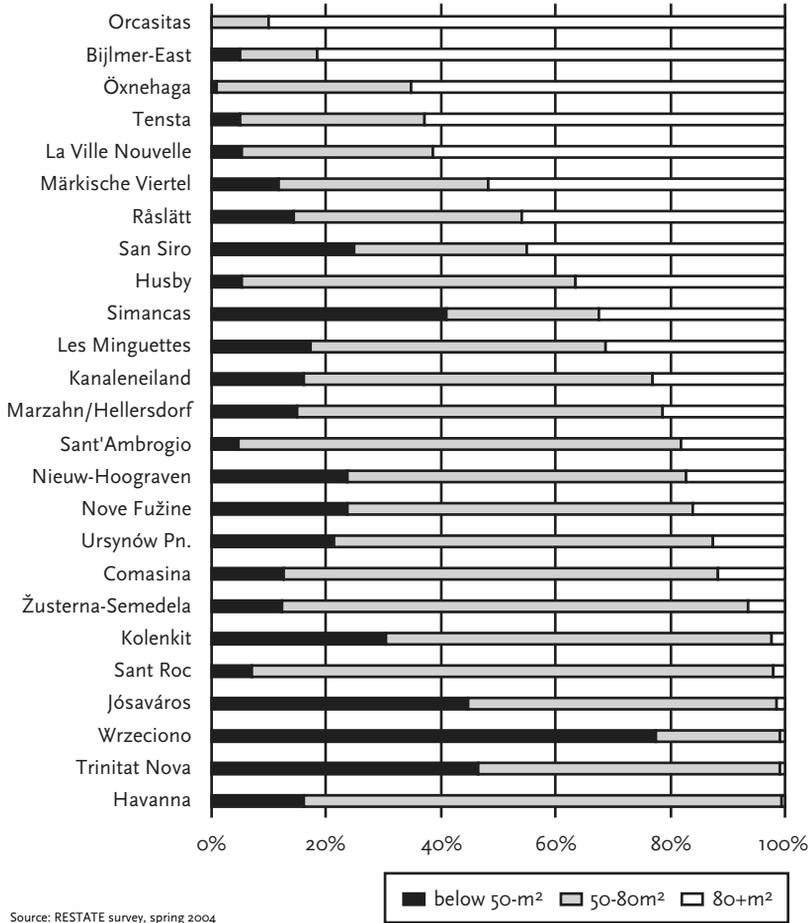


Figure 3.7 – Tenure of the dwellings sorted by social/public rent

These estates can mainly be found in Sweden, the Netherlands and France. However, also a Birmingham estate (Hodge Hill) and an estate in Milan (Sant'Ambrogio) are among the high rankings. Four of the 29 estates (two in the UK, and the two Berlin estates) are predominantly private rent, while ten estates have most dwellings in the owner-occupied sector. These owner-occupied estates can be found in Spain, Hungary, Slovenia and Poland. In Spain, the estates have been built as social rental dwellings, but after some ten years the inhabitants have become owners. In the three Central European countries this large share is a consequence of a privatisation process after the break with the socialist past.



Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 3.8 – Size of the dwellings, sorted by percentage 80+ m² category

What about the size of the dwellings (Figure 3.8)? At the one extreme one of the Warsaw housing estates shows almost 80 per cent of dwellings with a floor space less than 50 m², while on the other hand Orcasitas in Spain and (again) Amsterdam’s Bijlmer-East have 80 per cent of

dwellings with 80 m² or more.¹⁷ Dwellings with a living surface (useful floor area) between 50 and 80 m² are predominant in many estates.

What do people pay for their dwelling?¹⁸ Overall, only 5.5 per cent pay 10 per cent or less of their income on housing expenses, 37.4 per cent pays between 11 and 30 per cent, while 28 per cent pay between 30 and 50 per cent of their income. Nineteen per cent of the households pay even more than 50 per cent of their income for housing expenses. Figure 3.9 shows large differences between estates.

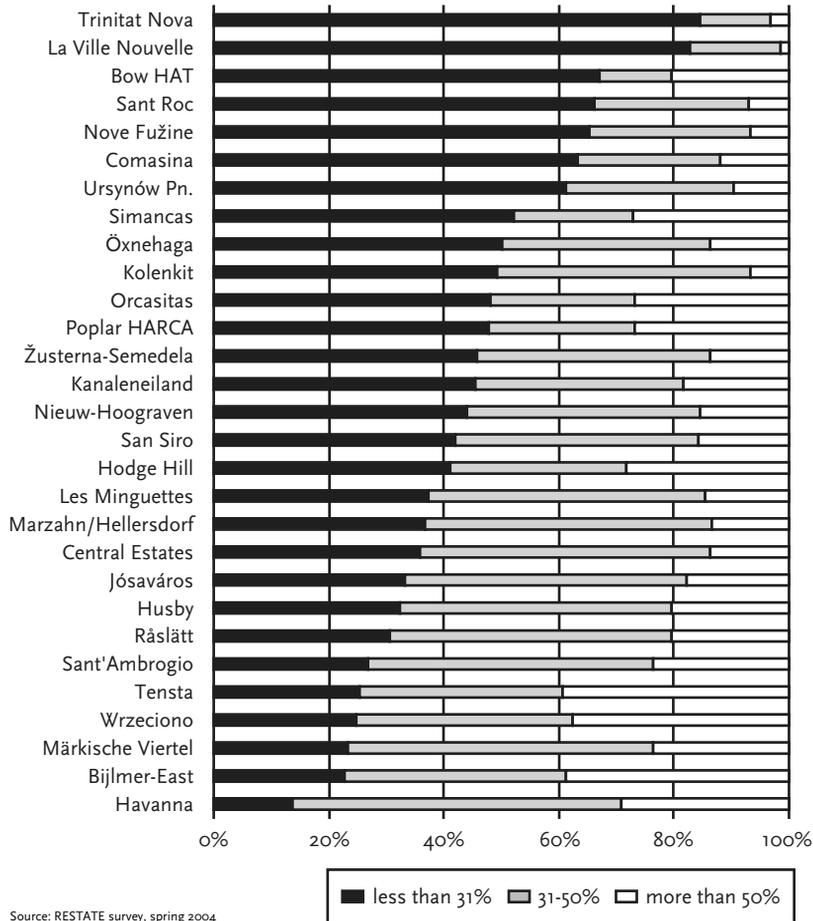


Figure 3.9 – Share of household income paid on housing costs, sorted on less than 31 per cent payment

17 This definitely does not mean that all estates in these countries have dwellings with these large sizes.

18 We asked the following question: “What share of your income is needed to cover your total housing costs (rent or mortgage, electricity, water, etc.)?” Respondents could choose between four answers (less than 10 per cent, 11-30 per cent, 31-50 per cent, more than 50 per cent).

Eighty six per cent of all households in Havana (Budapest) pay at least 30 per cent of their income for housing; in Bijlmer-East (Amsterdam) this is 77 per cent, but there almost 40 per cent of all households pays at least 50 per cent of their income on housing costs. In the majority of the estates more than 50 per cent of the inhabitants pays more than 30 per cent of their incomes. Trinitat Nova (Barcelona) and La Ville Nouvelle (Lyon) seem to be the cheapest places to live. These two areas are radically different, however. La Ville Nouvelle is dominated by social housing, while Trinitat Nova is dominated by owner-occupation.

Why did people move to the estates where they are currently residing? For almost 40 per cent of the residents, the sheer availability of a dwelling was the dominant reason. This indicates that the dwellings in the post-WWII large housing estates may not be the most attractive places in the city. Another 21 per cent gives the low rents and housing expenses as the predominant reasons to settle in the present estate. Also this can be seen as a rather negative motivation to move to the present area and dwelling. A minority of respondents gives more positive reasons, such as the presence of services, good connections or the wish to live closer to family and friends.

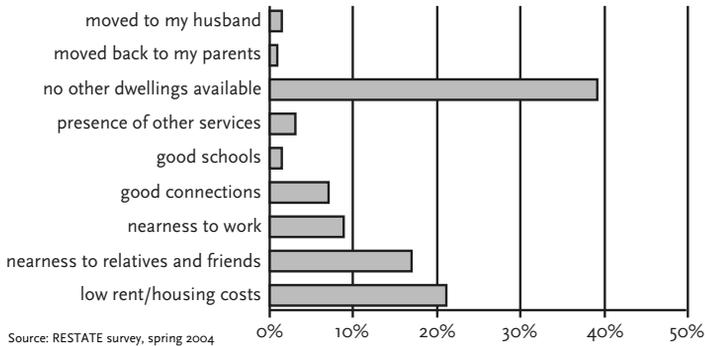
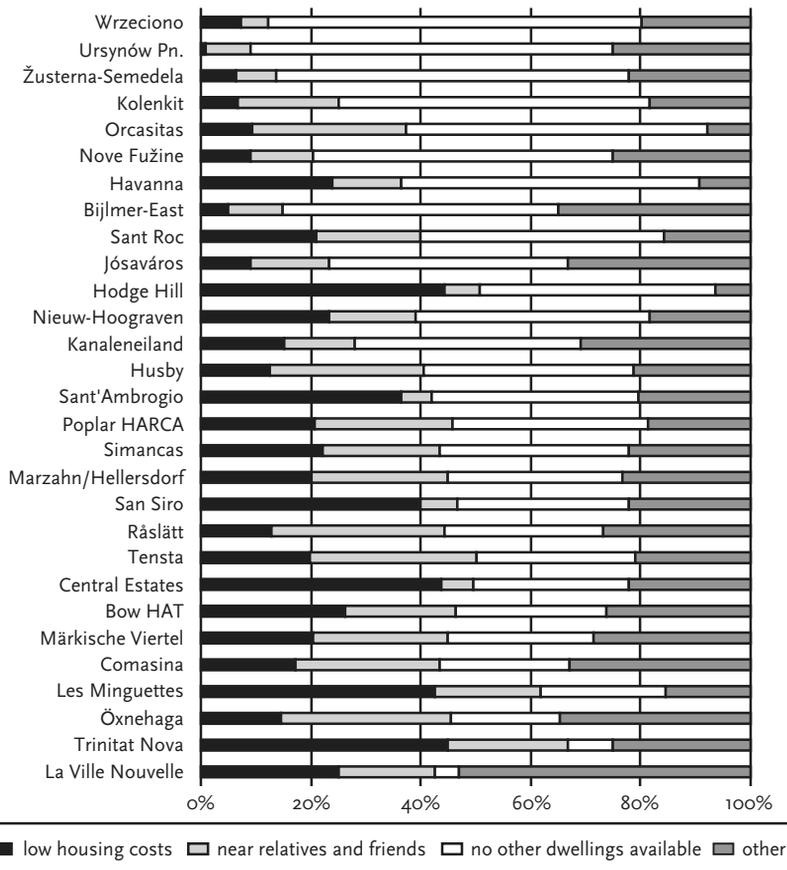


Figure 3.10 – Principal reason for moving to the present neighbourhood for 19 post-WWII housing estates in European cities

In Figure 3.11 we have looked at the main motivations to move to the current estate per estate. Many estates in the Central European countries (Hungary, Poland, Slovenia) end at the top of the graph, which indicates that especially in these areas people did not have another choice. Also a number of the Dutch, Swedish and Spanish estates can be found in the top half of the graph. Low housing costs as a reason to move to the present area are mentioned by relatively many inhabitants on Hodge Hill and the Central Estates (Birmingham), in Les Minguettes in Lyon and Trinitat Nova in Barcelona.



Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 3.11 – Reasons to move to the current estate, sorted by ‘no other dwelling available’

3.5 Conclusions

Most information in this report is derived from a survey that was carried out in the first half of 2004 on 29 post-WWII large housing estates in ten European countries. The questionnaire used was the same in every estate. Despite some differences with respect to sampling, non-response and representativeness, we believe that most of the results of the survey are comparable across the countries, cities and estates. In some cases we will have to be careful with comparing results, for example because in most estates with a relatively large ethnic minority population, non-natives are under-represented in the survey, because of a higher non-response rate within this category. Another problem is that the response rates show large variations.

The population of the estates shows large variations with respect to all basic variables, such as age, household composition and ethnic composition. Some estates clearly have an aged population, which means that large population changes may be expected in the near future.

Some other estates have a relatively young population, indicating a high turnover rate connected with an inflow of new inhabitants in recent years. The large housing estates are definitely not only a place to live in for singles and two-person households. In many estates family households are relatively numerous. Especially in Sweden, the Netherlands and France the post-WWII large housing estates can be characterized as multicultural estates with relatively large numbers of inhabitants belonging to minority ethnic groups.

The large housing estates have large numbers of inhabitants with a low education level and low incomes, but in many cases higher-income households and higher-educated individuals are also present. From the survey results an impression of large areas with solely low incomes definitely does not emerge.

In many cases the large housing estates comprise large numbers of rented dwellings, but there are also clear examples of areas with a majority of owner-occupied units. Dwellings are definitely not always small: in some cases rather large dwellings (above 80m²) even predominate. Housing expenses are not always low: many households have to pay more than 30, sometimes even more than 50 per cent of their income on housing. Finally, many households have moved to their present dwelling for a rather negative reason: there was no other dwelling available.

The overall picture that comes out of this chapter is mixed. It is clearly not the case that the post-WWII housing estates are marginalized and residualized areas with only inexpensive rented dwellings inhabited by the lowest income groups.

4

Positive and negative aspects of the estates

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter we will try to answer the second research question, which was formulated in Chapter 1 as follows: How satisfied are the inhabitants with their home and with the estate and how can differences between (groups of) estates be explained? In Section 4.2 we will give a picture about satisfaction and dissatisfaction in general. Section 4.3 focuses on the relation between (dis)satisfaction and personal and household characteristics.

4.2 Satisfaction and dissatisfaction

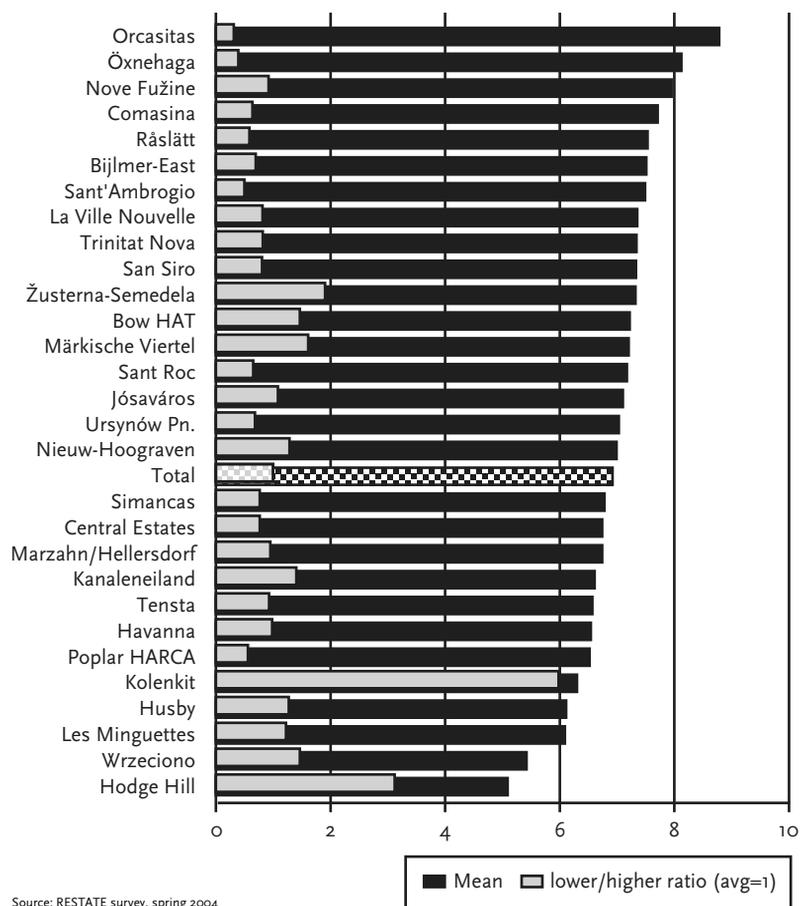
Large post-WWII housing estates have been the subject of many critical reviews, especially when these estates comprise many high-rise buildings. In Sweden, Dahlström (1957) and Landström (1958), quoted in Borgegård and Kemeny (2004), stated that already in the 1940s there was a great concern that high-rise buildings would create barriers between people. In 1952 Bauer (Bauer, 1952) claimed (for the USA) that families with growing children do not belong in apartments, but want to live on the ground level. In England, Dunleavy (1981) came to about the same conclusion. Also in Denmark criticism was already ventilated in the 1960s. Morville (1969) found a negative correlation between the time young children play outside and height of their homes (quoted in Vestergaard, 2004). The early critics clearly focused on the dwelling itself and not on the direct environment.

How is the situation now? What do the inhabitants of the high-rise housing estates think about living in these estates? Before asking them about the estates, we asked a question about the satisfaction about the dwelling itself.

Satisfaction with the dwelling

Figure 4.1 shows the average satisfaction with the home on a ten-point scale (ten=highest); we added the information on whether the satisfaction with the home increased or decreased in the past five years. For this purpose a ratio was calculated: the ratio of the percentage with lower satisfaction/higher satisfaction per estate, indexed by the average over all estates. This index shows devaluation if the index is higher than 1, and shows progress in terms of satisfaction if the score is lower than 1.

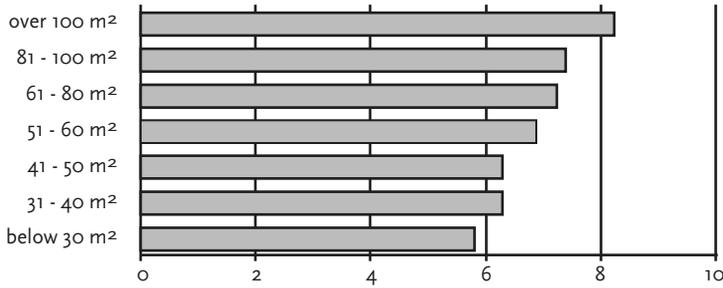
Average satisfaction is rather high in estates such as Orcasitas, Öxnehaga, Nove Fužine, Comasina and Råslätt and also relatively high in various other estates such as Bijlmer-East, Sant'Ambrogio, La Ville Nouvelle, Trinitat Nova, San Siro, and others; all of these estates also tend to gain in terms of satisfaction. Other estates with rather high satisfaction scores tend to decline in terms of satisfaction with the home (Žusterna-Semedela, Bow HAT estates, Märkische Viertel, Nieuw-Hoograven). Kolenkit in Amsterdam reaches remarkable scores. Here, the respondents were dissatisfied with the home and expect a further decline. Hodge Hill also seems to be highly problematic. Inhabitants of this estate are, compared to the other estates, very dissatisfied with their home and a large number of people in this estate have seen their dwelling declining in the past five years.



Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 4.1 – Average satisfaction with the home (scale 1–10) and indexed change

Figure 4.2 shows that satisfaction with the home clearly is higher when the dwelling is larger. Or, in other words, when people have, on average, more space in their dwelling, the tendency to evaluate their dwelling more positively is bigger.



Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 4.2 – Average satisfaction with the home by dwelling size

Satisfaction with the estate

Already in the introduction to this report, we noticed that not all estates should automatically be regarded as bad places to live in. Also, for many inhabitants the estates will have at least some, but in some cases maybe even many, advantages. What is considered positive in the estates? What are the most negative aspects? We started our investigation with asking the following (open) question: “Which aspect of the neighbourhood do you like most?”¹⁹ In 12 of the 29 estates the availability of green spaces is seen as the most positive aspect of the estate by more than 40 per cent of the respondents (Figure 4.3).

Especially all three Italian estates can be found in the top here. In those estates where this aspect was not mentioned so frequently, the accessibility to public services (such as shops, the library, medical services) was mentioned as an important positive aspect. In only a few estates the composition of the population is seen as the most positive factor of the estate. Clearly, physical aspects are evaluated more positively than social aspects.

The answers to the question which aspect of the neighbourhood the respondents like least²⁰ show a large variety of very specific aspects, such as the distance to the city centre, several aspects related to crime, parking problems (especially in the estates in Central Europe), noise (from traffic, neighbours or a discotheque), a lack of commercial services, no availability of good schools, bad maintenance of the buildings, the presence of pigeons, etc. Strikingly, quite often the population composition of the estate was mentioned as the most negative aspect (Figure 4.4).

This negative opinion is expressed specifically in some estates with a large proportion of immigrants (such as Nieuw-Hoograven and Kanaleneiland in Utrecht (NL), and Tensta in Stockholm). However, respondents who complain about the people who live there are not specifically natives. In Nieuw-Hoograven (Utrecht) 86 per cent of those who complained were native, but in Kanaleneiland (also Utrecht) just 55 per cent was native. In Tensta only 43 per cent of those who had complaints about people in the neighbourhood were native. It is also striking that in some areas with a large share of non-natives, people hardly seem to complain about the population structure of their estate (with Bijlmer-East in Amsterdam as a clear

19 This means that only aspects of the estate were mentioned here, not aspects of the dwelling.

20 Here we asked the (open) question: “Which aspect of the neighbourhood do you like least?” Also here the question was not focused on the dwelling.

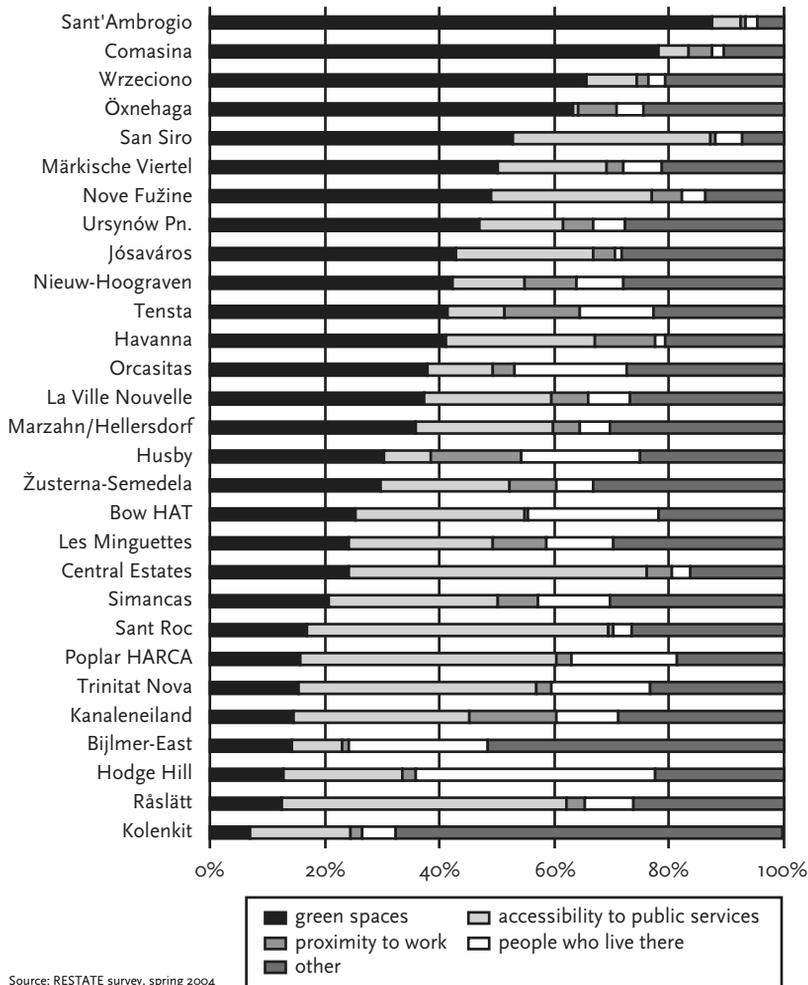
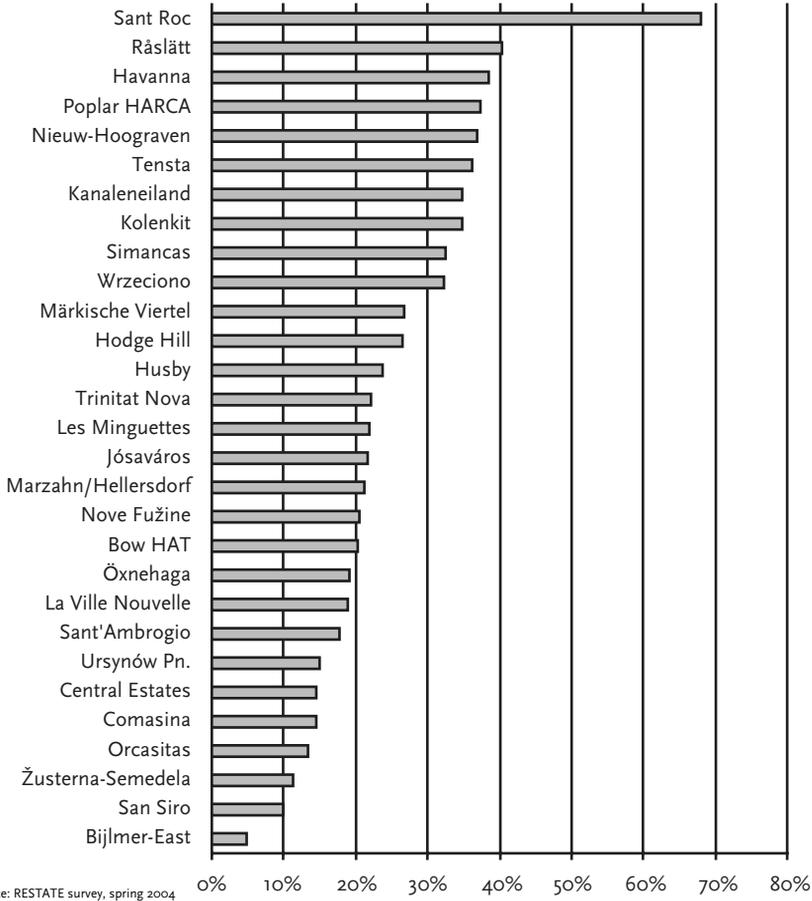


Figure 4.3 – Neighbourhood aspects most liked in 29 post-WWII estates in European cities (sorted by percentage “green spaces”)

example). On the other hand, a negative evaluation about the population is also expressed by people living in estates where non-natives are hardly present, such as Havanna in Budapest. There is clearly no fixed relation between the presence of non-natives in the area and the experienced problems with respect to the population structure.

In Figure 4.5 we have presented an index based on responses to several questions about the quality of the direct environment. We included (negative) values with regard to dirt on the street, drug abuse, burglary in dwellings, burglary in cars, graffiti, feelings of insecurity, upkeep of public spaces, condition of the roads, quality of playground for children, maintenance of the buildings, employment opportunities, quality of schools, quality of commercial services, quality of public services, the attitude towards differences in terms of the value system, and racism. The

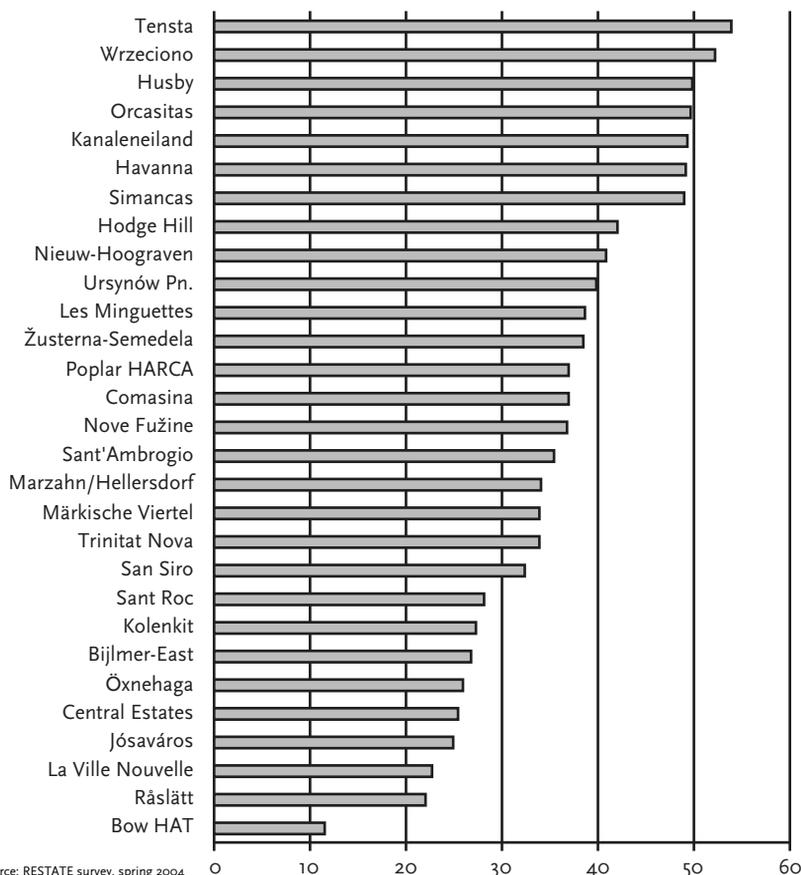


Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 4.4 – Neighbourhood aspect least liked: percentage of respondents who answer: people who live there

index has been made relative to the number of valid scores in the index. The overall value reflects the overall judgement with regard to the entire living environment. A high score implies that there are quite some problems in the neighbourhood.

The interpretation of this figure is quite difficult: there seem to be no systematic differences between countries. What is important, however, is the fact that in some estates the index has a very high value, indicating a multitude of problematic aspects in those areas, while in a number of estates the index has a rather low value. Apparently, not all estates should be seen as problematic places. What is clear, again, is that there is not necessarily a positive correlation between the presence of non-western immigrants and the index. Some areas with a relatively large number of immigrants have a high score on the index (Tensta in Stockholm, Kanaleneiland in Utrecht), but other areas with a lot of non-natives living there have a relatively low score (Bijlmer-East in Amsterdam, La Ville Nouvelle in Lyon). Some areas with a low



Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 4.5 – Index expressing neighbourhood quality (high score is low quality; an index of 100 would imply that all quality indicators would be valued negatively)

number of immigrants have a high score on the index, such as estates in Hungary, Spain and Poland.

In Table 4.1 we have listed 16 possible problems in large housing estates. We have asked, per problem, if inhabitants of the estates experience this problem personally or not. In the table we have mentioned the estates in which a particular problem is mentioned most frequently. If an estate is mentioned frequently in the table, problems are probably manifold in this area, at least relative to the other estates.²¹

A number of estates are mentioned rather frequently in the table: Tensta (Stockholm) is mentioned seven times, Husby (Stockholm) appears five times, Havanna (Budapest), Simancas (Madrid), Kanaleneiland (Utrecht) and Wrzeciono (Warsaw) were mentioned four times.

21 We should be careful, however, with the interpretation of this table. When there is only one real problem in an estate, this will be mentioned rather frequently and as a consequence the estate may appear in the table. When problems are manifold, people may choose between problems and the estate may appear nowhere in the table.

Problems in these areas are clearly experienced more frequently than in other areas. The Stockholm estates particularly have bad scores on aspects that have to do with services in the estates.

Some problems have higher scores than others. Dirt on the streets, drug abuse, burglary in cars, graffiti/vandalism, and lack of employment seem to be the biggest problems for the inhabitants of the estates. In relative terms, racism and related aspects are mentioned less frequently. In many countries and estates this is a kind of non-issue, because non-natives are hardly present.

It is also clear that a large number of estates (14) do not appear in the table at all. This does not indicate that these areas are without problems, but it does mean that problems are less frequently mentioned.

Neighbourhood quality can also be indicated through the average satisfaction score. We asked respondents to give a satisfaction score ranging from 1-10 (10 being highest satisfaction). We calculated the average scores per estate. The overall average was 6.3. We also asked whether the satisfaction with the neighbourhood had increased or decreased over the past five years. The percentage scores lower and higher were taken as a ratio and made relative to the overall lower/higher ratio, which was set to 1.

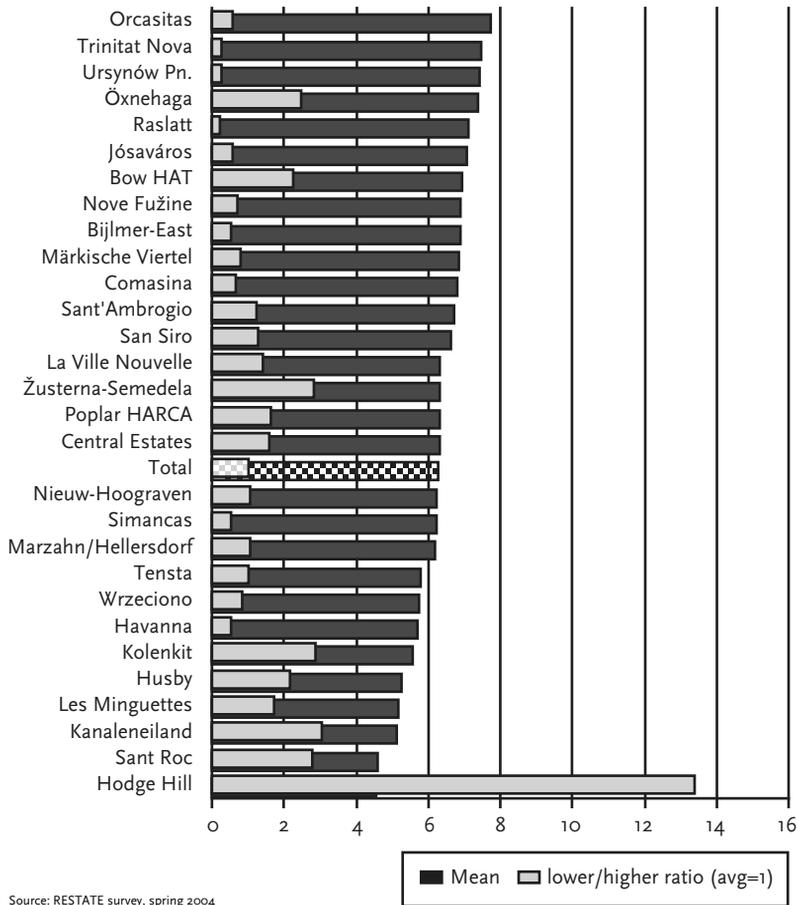
Figure 4.6 shows the results. Again, there is not a very clear division between the countries or parts of Europe. Orcasitas and Trinitat Nova (Spain) show the highest satisfaction scores and positive development (since the calculated ratio is clearly way below 1). Ursynów Pn. (Warsaw) and Öxnehaga (Jönköping) follow these estates. The latter estate, however, appears to be downgrading since relatively many respondents say their satisfaction has decreased over time. Six estates with the lowest average scores seem to face serious trouble: Kolenkit (Amsterdam), Husby (Stockholm), Les Minguettes (Lyon), Kanaleneiland (Utrecht), Sant Roc (Spain) and Hodge Hill (Birmingham). In addition to their low satisfaction scores they also experience a downward trend in terms of satisfaction dynamics. Hodge Hill appears to be on top in terms of dissatisfaction; 46 per cent of the respondents who live there expected a negative development, while only 2 per cent expected a positive trend.

Reputation

Finally, the reputation of the estate can be seen as an indicator of (dis)satisfaction. Figure 4.7 shows how many respondents think that their estate has a negative reputation in the rest of the city. It also shows if the inhabitants agree with this reputation. The graph shows a negative relation: in general the respondents agree with the statement about the reputation of their estate if the reputation is positive. They tend to disagree when the reputation is bad.

In 13 of the 29 estates the majority of the inhabitants think that their housing estate has a negative reputation in the rest of the city.

Among these areas are three of the four Dutch and three of the four Spanish estates, but also Havanna in Budapest, Nove Fužine in Ljubljana and Husby in Stockholm. Especially the Italian estates have a relatively good reputation in the rest of the city (according to the inhabitants of the estates). It is also very clear from the graph that there can be big differences between estates in one country or even city. Poland is one example: The Ursynów Pn. estate in Warsaw seems to be one of the best estates in terms of reputation, while the other estate in Warsaw (Wrzeciono) has a far more negative reputation. Also the Swedish estates end up with different reputations among the rest of the city, according to the inhabitants of the estate.



Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 4.6 – Average satisfaction with the neighbourhood (scale 1–10) and indexed change of satisfaction

4.3 Satisfaction, dissatisfaction and individual, household and housing characteristics

Different population categories can have different opinions with respect to their living environment. In this section we will pay attention to the perceived neighbourhood quality and personal, household and housing characteristics.

In Figure 4.8 the association between the neighbourhood quality index presented in the previous section (see Figure 4.5) with relevant personal and household variables is given.²²

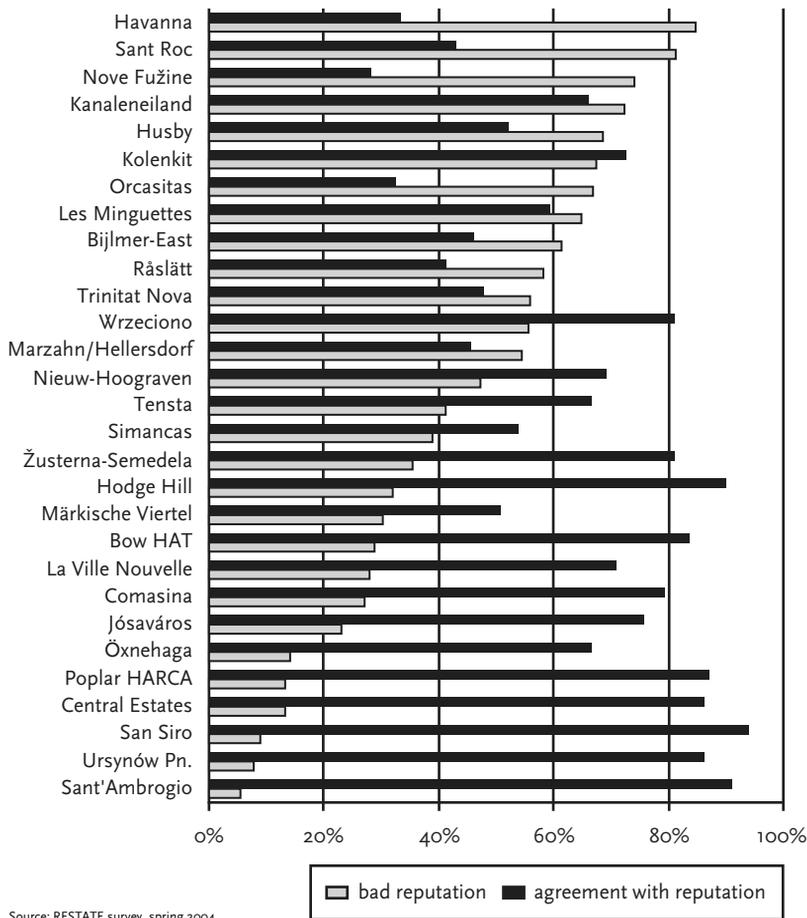
²² We did not make breakdowns for the 29 estates here. That would result in too many figures and graphs. Here we only want to identify some general trends.

Table 4.1 – Problems per estate most and least frequently mentioned (percentage of respondents that mentioned this aspect as a problem between brackets)

	Most frequently mentioned in...	Second most frequently mentioned in...	Third most frequently mentioned in...
Dirt on the streets	Havanna (89%)	Tensta (81%)	Kanaleneiland (77%)
Drug abuse	Nove Fužine (81%)	Orcasitas (77%)	Simancas (76%)
Burglary in dwellings	Comasina (69%)	Havanna (66%)	Tensta (59%)
Burglary in cars	Wrzeciono (81%)	Nove Fužine (79%)	Comasina (73%)
Graffiti/vandalism	Sant'Ambrogio (84%)	Marzahn (75%)	Comasina (75%)
Feelings of insecurity	Hodge Hill (61%)	Kanaleneiland (59%)	Tensta (54%)
Upkeep of public places	Wrzeciono (64%)	Žusterna-Semedela (61%)	Simancas (60%)
Condition of roads	Ursynów Pn. (68%)	Wrzeciono (57%)	Havanna (55%)
Playgrounds for children	Žusterna-Semedela (70%)	Simancas (57%)	Nove Fužine (55%)
Maintenance of buildings	Havanna (75%)	Hodge Hill (54%)	Kanaleneiland (50%)
Lack of employment	Wrzeciono (92%)	Husby (79%)	Marzahn (78%)
Quality of schools	Tensta (63%)	Orcasitas (48%)	Husby (44%)
Quality of commercial services	Tensta (56%)	Husby (52%)	Sant'Ambrogio (36%)
Quality of public services	Husby (58%)	Tensta (52%)	Orcasitas (38%)
Different values/norms/lifestyles	Tensta (52%)	Husby (47%)	Marzahn (38%)
Racism/racist harassment	Les Minguettes (40%)	Simancas (36%)	Kanaleneiland (36%)

Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

The average neighbourhood quality index score is 36.7. The figure reveals that low and high income households have below average negative quality judgements for the neighbourhood. It may be expected that especially these high-income households see the present dwelling in the present estate as a stepping-stone towards a better dwelling in another neighbourhood. At least from Western European literature, it has become clear that large post-WWII housing estates do have an important role as a springboard for a housing career: households start in a dwelling in these areas, live there for a few years and then move on to a better dwelling, often in another neighbourhood. Of course, alternatives are not always available. In that case households are forced to stay where they are. It is clear that especially lower-income households will generally have fewer alternatives on the housing market.



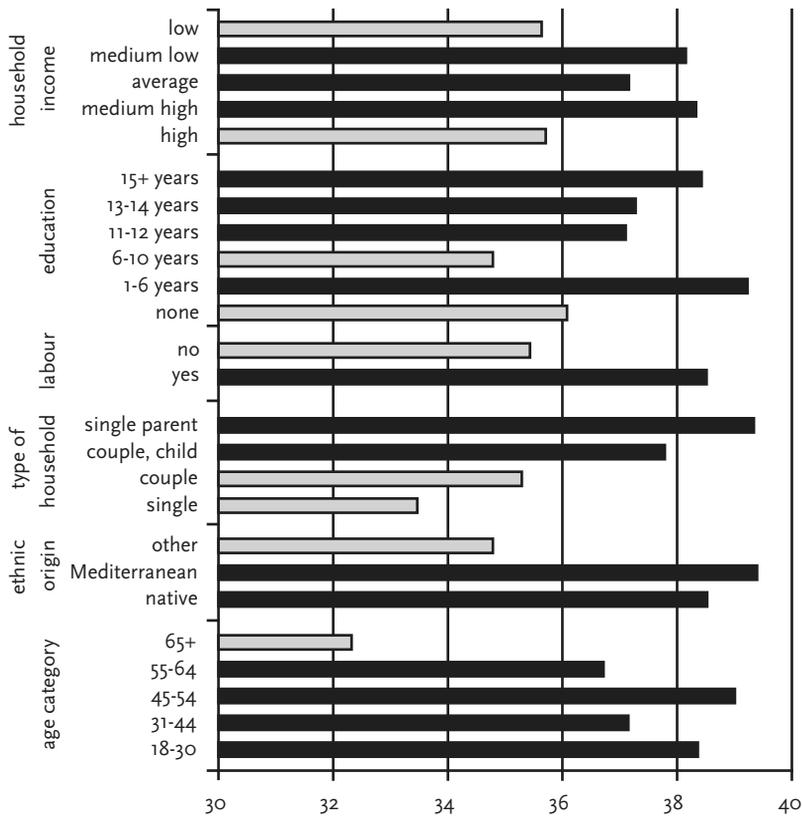
Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 4.7 – Reputation of the estate in the rest of the city and agreement with the reputation, sorted by percentage bad reputation in the rest of the city in 29 estates in European cities

Mainly low educated persons, people who do not participate in the labour market, singles and couples without children, as well as the elderly tend to be more positive about the neighbourhood, i.e. they report fewer problems, resulting in lower index scores. There is no big difference between native and non-native groups.

The neighbourhood quality index has also been analysed for several housing characteristics (Figure 4.9).

Low negative quality scores can be found for those who spend a small share of their income on housing costs, for those who live in a large dwelling, for private renters and for those who live in a single family house (less than 9 per cent of all respondents lives in a single-family house). Especially the finding that the neighbourhood quality index score is rather negative for owner-occupiers is striking. This judgement turns out to be the only one that is inconsistent with the judgement with regard to the home. In short, those who live in a single-family house usually are

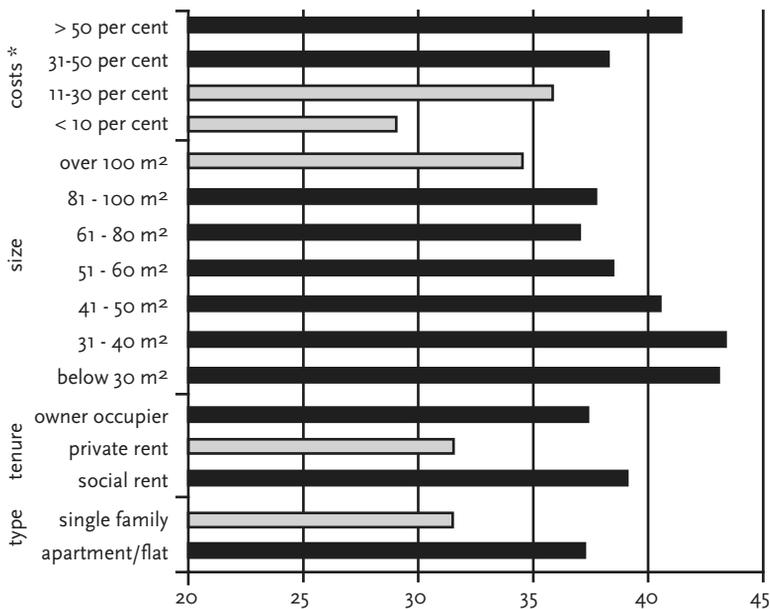


Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 4.8 – Neighbourhood quality index (high score is low quality) by personal and household characteristics in 29 estates in European cities (black = above average negative quality score; grey = below average)

positive about their home and about the neighbourhood.²³ A similar conclusion holds for those who spend a small share of income on housing costs and for those who live in a large dwelling. However, those who own their house tend to be positive about their dwelling but not about their neighbourhood. There is a clear discrepancy.

23 Only a very small number of people live in single-family houses.



Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 4.9 – Neighbourhood quality index (high score is low quality) by housing characteristics in 29 estates in European cities (black = above average negative quality score; grey = below average)

* Costs are expressed as the share of income spend to cover housing costs.

4.4 Conclusions

In this chapter we focused on the question whether the inhabitants of the estates evaluate their housing situation (the estate, their home) as satisfactorily or not (research question 2). It has been shown that definitely not everybody is dissatisfied or that all aspects of the home or the estate are evaluated negatively. In other words: while the large post-WWII housing estates are often seen as not so very nice places to live in, the opinions of the inhabitants themselves show a large differentiation, which in fact implies that judgements and stigmas should be encountered critically.

Also aspects mentioned as most liked, or least liked, differ substantially between the estates, which implies that management strategies in different estates should focus on different aspects. In Sant’Ambrogio, for example, respondents appear to be very satisfied with the green spaces, whereas in Råslätt people most liked the access to public services. Least liked aspects tend to be particularly aimed at the people who live there. This is not necessarily related to the share of non-natives in these estates. A closer inspection of the answers revealed that although respondents frequently say that they do not like the people who live in the estate, this is not systematically related to the share of non-natives in the estates indeed. Moreover, in estates with a high share of non-natives, negative judgements about those who live in the estate come from both natives and non-natives.

As regards the average satisfaction with the neighbourhood, significant variation can be shown once again. Some estates seem to come out as really problematic. Six estates show lower than average satisfaction scores and also clear negative scores with regard to the expected change of the neighbourhood quality. These estates are: Kolenkit (Amsterdam), Husby (Stockholm), Les Minguettes (Lyon), Kanaleneiland (Utrecht), Sant Roc (Barcelona) and Hodge Hill (Birmingham). Others have low satisfaction scores, but are expecting progress. Havanna (Budapest) and Wrzeciono (Warsaw) are examples of that type.

A very interesting relation was also found with respect to the reputation of the estate. Many respondents think their estate has a negative reputation in the rest of the city. However, most of them firmly disagree with that perception. The (negative) reputation of the estates correlates negatively with the respondents' own opinions about that reputation.

The negative reputation of the estate is, however, positively correlated with the satisfaction with the estates. The most problematic estates (as mentioned above), tend to be estates with a bad reputation. Remarkably, the – not so bad – reputation of Hodge Hill does not parallel the – rather negative – satisfaction scores regarding that estate.

In this chapter it was also revealed that low-skilled respondents, unemployed, singles and couples without children, and the elderly tend to be more positive about their neighbourhood. More positive attitudes could also be found for those who have relatively moderate housing costs, are living in larger dwellings, in the private rented sector and in single-family housing. Especially the finding that the neighbourhood quality index score is rather negative for owner-occupiers is striking. They tend to be satisfied with their dwelling, but not with the neighbourhood.

5

The importance of the neighbourhood, neighbourhood attachment and social networks

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is focused on the social aspects of living in a post-WWII large housing estate. We will try to answer the third research question, as formulated in Chapter 1: How can neighbourhood attachment and social networks in the estates be characterized? We think an answer to this question is important, because neighbourhood attachment and related aspects can be an important aspect of the quality of life that inhabitants of an area experience. After some theoretical notions in Section 5.2, we will focus in Section 5.3 on the activities of people within the estates and on their social networks. We consider inhabitants attached to the neighbourhood if they carry out a lot of activities within the neighbourhood, including seeing friends and relatives. By addressing these topics, we want to find out if the estate is an important place to live for the inhabitants, or if the estate is merely a place to sleep, while activities are carried out somewhere else. Section 5.4 contains the conclusions of this chapter.

5.2 Some theoretical notions about the role of the neighbourhood

How important is the neighbourhood for the people who live there? The neighbourhood can for example be a source of social contacts, a place to carry out various activities, or an area from which to derive one's identity. Many studies have been undertaken in this research area. In effect there are three streams, each of which will be briefly discussed below:

- research that asserts that the neighbourhood is not important or is becoming less important;
- research in which it is shown that the neighbourhood is of some importance;
- research in which the neighbourhood is indeed considered to be of importance.

Research that asserts that the neighbourhood is not important or is becoming less important

It already appeared in the 1960s that the neighbourhood was gradually becoming less important: people lived more and more in a much larger area (Webber, 1963; Stein, 1972). In the last few years there has been an additional idea that, thanks to information technology, people do not need to make so much use of the street, the neighbourhood, or the urban centres. A great deal of products can be obtained from the Internet. Even social contacts can be built up and maintained via Internet and email. In short, the neighbourhood is becoming steadily less important.

Research in which the neighbourhood is of some importance

In this second stream the neighbourhood is considered to be of some importance. In such research, neighbourhood effects are being sought: to what extent does a neighbourhood exert an extra influence, over and above for example the personal and household characteristics of the residents, or their labour market position, or income? From many different studies come many different results. The following conclusion seems however to be dominant: there *are* neighbourhood effects, but these are small in comparison with individual characteristics such as education and age, and household characteristics such as income (see, e.g., Musterd et al., 2003).

With respect to social contacts, several studies have shown that contacts of many people, in particular those in the more highly educated and higher income categories, take place outside the neighbourhood. Others stress that people in general have a variety of networks and these can be important at different times (only in the weekend, for example) or localized at different places; some networks are found more frequently at neighbourhood level than others (see, e.g., Kearns et al., 2000). Other authors assert that (in USA) the number of social contacts in the neighbourhood has decreased in the last few decades, but they also state that this does not indicate directly that the number of contacts outside the neighbourhood has risen on a large scale (Guest and Wierzbicki, 1999, p. 108). In short: the neighbourhood is certainly of some importance, but only to a limited extent.

Research in which the neighbourhood is considered to be of importance

Finally there are studies that put question marks against the assumed limited or decreasing importance of the neighbourhood. It appears from many studies that the neighbourhood is certainly of importance, in particular for poorer households (see, for example, Henning and Lieberg, 1996; Ellen and Turner, 1997). Less well educated people and lower income groups often have more contacts within the neighbourhood than do those with a higher educational level and a higher income. Households with a lower income in general need some survival strategies and the neighbourhood can be of essential importance in that respect. From the European URBEX-project²⁴ it appears that people on a low income often turn to and rely on the neighbourhood, because they do not have the financial opportunities to travel elsewhere (see, for example, Botman and van Kempen, 2001).

Immigrant groups are centrally featured in much of the literature on the importance of the neighbourhood. Immigrants who cannot speak the language of the host country properly and those with a low level of education have a particular tendency to make in the first instance for a neighbourhood where many compatriots already live, in the expectation that they will be more likely to receive social, economic and emotional support there (Dahya, 1974; Fong and Gulia, 1999, pp. 577-578).

In association with this, attention for the liveability of a neighbourhood is appropriate. In spite of the fact that many people carry out a large share of their activities outside the neighbourhood, most of them consider it important to live in a neighbourhood that at the very least does not lead to too much stress. People may be expected to want to live in principle in a

24 The URBEX project has been carried out within the 4th Framework Programme of the European Union. URBEX stands for The Spatial Dimensions of Urban Social Exclusion and Integration: A European Comparison (Murie and Musterd, 2004).

“good” neighbourhood, even if they make little use of it. When daily life is characterized by a constant struggle against dirt, annoying (or even dangerous) neighbours and all sorts of nuisance, a tendency to turn one’s back on the neighbourhood (literally or figuratively) is to be expected. An outflow of people who essentially intended to live in a neighbourhood combined with an inflow of individuals who only come and live in the neighbourhood concerned because there is no other possibility, usually has a negative effect on a neighbourhood.

5.3 The importance of the estates for the inhabitants

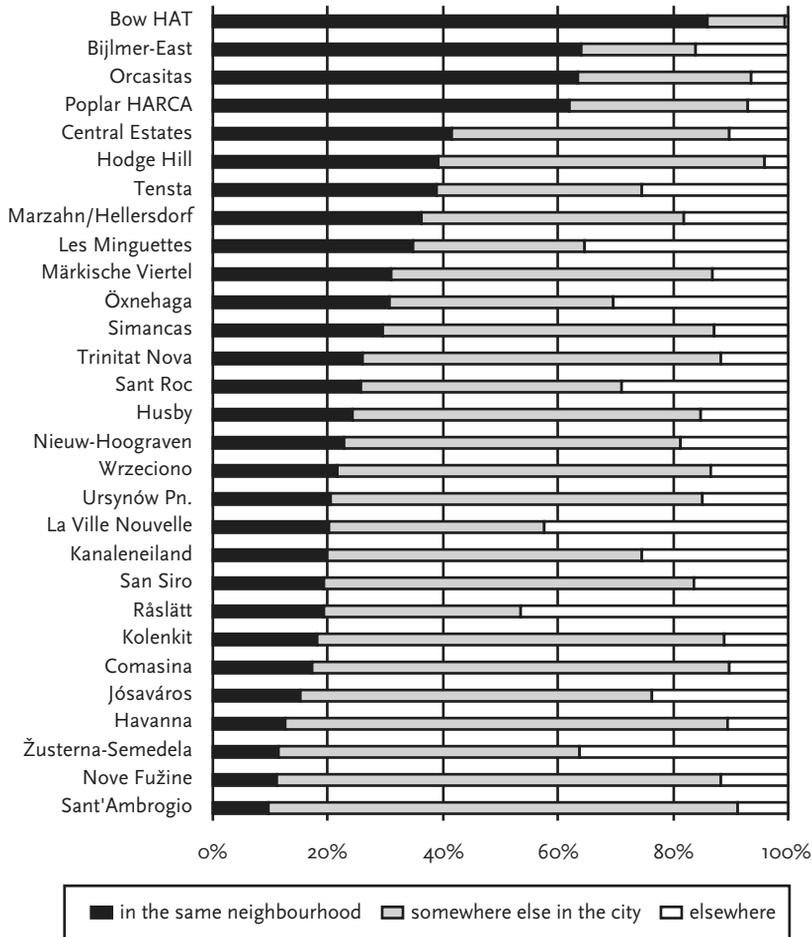
How important is the estate in the lives of the inhabitants? Does the neighbourhood function as a place to be, or just as a place to sleep? Do people spend much time in the neighbourhood? Are they active? In other words are they ‘attached to’ or relatively ‘dependent’ on the neighbourhood? In an effort to find out what the meaning of the neighbourhood is for those who are living there, we investigated five issues:

- To what extent do people tend to move within the neighbourhood?
- To what extent are people actively participating in associations in the neighbourhood?
- How many services are located close to home?
- Which percentage of inhabitants works in the neighbourhood?
- How many hours per day do people spend outside of the neighbourhood?

In quite a few estates people are living whose former place of residence was another address in the same estate. This is especially the case in Bow HAT estates (London), Bijlmer-East (Amsterdam), Orcasitas (Madrid), Poplar HARCA estates (London), Central Estates (Birmingham), Hodge Hill (Birmingham), Tensta (Stockholm), Marzahn/Hellersdorf (Berlin) and Les Minguettes (Lyon) (Figure 5.1). This may indicate a positive relationship with the neighbourhood: people move house, but want to stay in the same area and/or near their peers. A high level of intra-estate mobility may however also be due to a reduced choice to settle elsewhere. This means that a move within the estate should not necessarily be seen as a positive aspect. Only in some cases (Räslätt in Jönköping, La Ville Nouvelle and Les Minguettes in Lyon), a rather large percentage has arrived from outside the city. In general the post-WWII large housing estates do not seem to be the first settlement areas for those who enter the city.

The stated active participation in an association²⁵ may serve as a proper indicator for neighbourhood involvement. Figure 5.2 shows that active participation is fairly high in Orcasitas (Madrid), Tensta (Stockholm) and Sant Roc (Barcelona), but also in Central Estates (Birmingham) and Trinitat Nova (Barcelona). These activities are predominantly related to meetings of residence organisations.

25 The following question was asked: “Do you or one of the members of your household actively participate in an association that aims to improve the neighbourhood?”

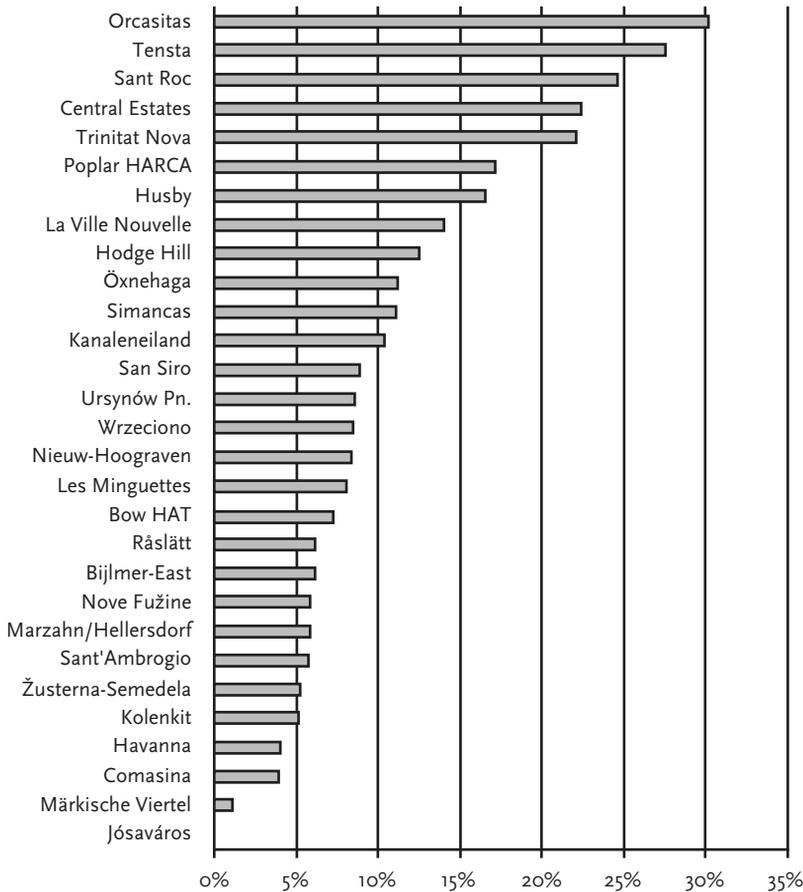


Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 5.1 – Previous place of residence (sorted by percentage “same neighbourhood”)

We have not asked the inhabitants of the estates if they make use of services within the estates. We did however look if services are available in the vicinity of the dwelling.²⁶ We constructed an index based on the availability of the following services: grocery, banks, post office, general practitioner, park and dentist. The index constructed is a simple additive one, adding a value of one to the index if the services are available close to home. The relative score is based on the maximum number of valid answers that was given. Figure 5.3 shows that in many estates a large number of services are available. The analysis does not show that the neighbourhoods still play a vital role in the lives of people, but it is shown at least that the possibilities for attending a number of services is definitely possible in these areas.

26 We used the following question: “Can you reach the following facilities within 10 minutes from your home?”

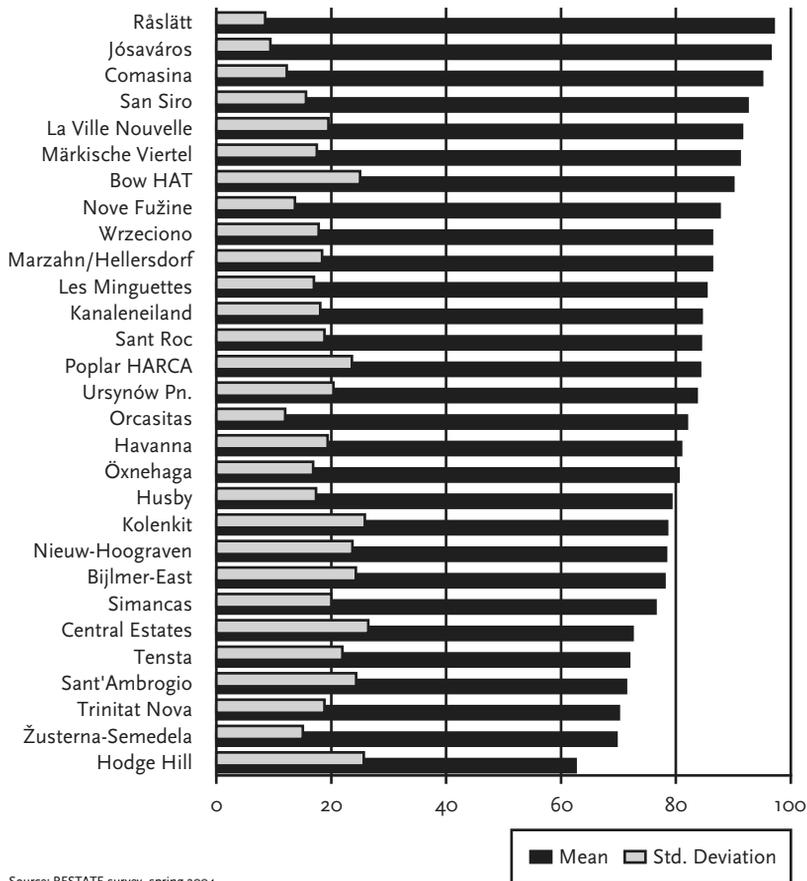


Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 5.2 – Active participation in an association in the neighbourhood

Some of the neighbourhoods also appear to be important as a place of work.²⁷ In the London and Birmingham estates, but also in San Siro and Comasina (Milan), La Ville Nouvelle (Lyon), Jósaváros (Nyíregyháza), Sant'Ambrogio (Milan) and Kanaleneiland (Utrecht), quite a large share of the respondents works in the neighbourhood (Figure 5.4). No systematic differences between countries or regions in Europe can be detected from these figures.

27 Most estates were never built with the idea of being important places to work. Work places were to be found almost always in the near vicinity of the estates or farther away. Jobs on the estates thus often include only services and small businesses. In some cases, such as Kanaleneiland in Utrecht, a large area with all kinds of large shops and other enterprises belongs to the area.

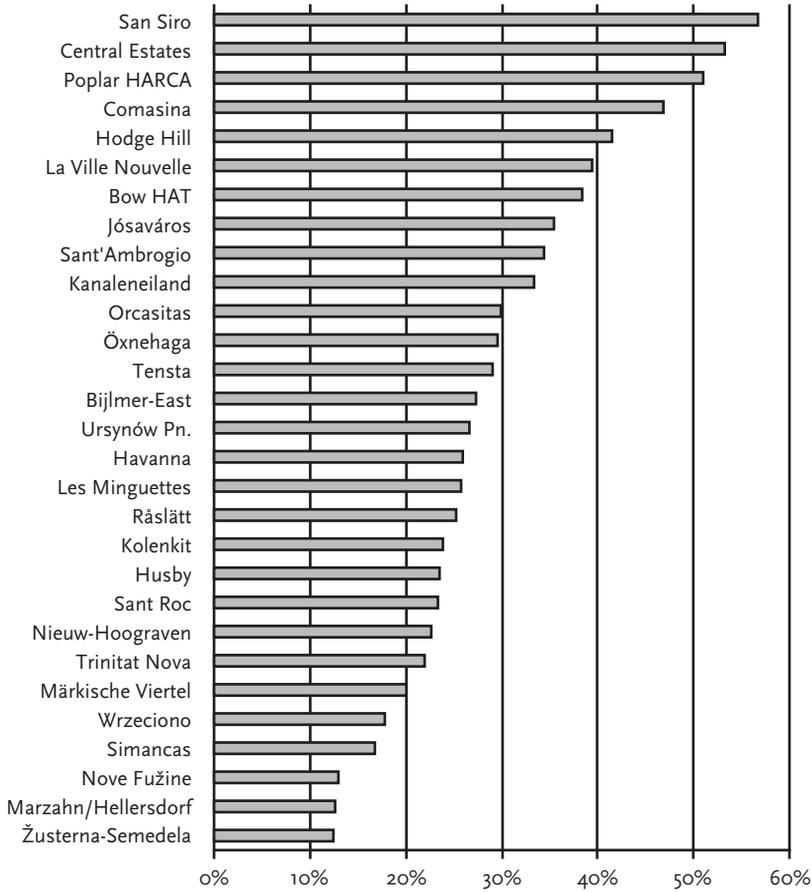


Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 5.3 – Availability of essential services in the neighbourhood (index)

Finally we analysed the hours spent outside the neighbourhood (Figure 5.5). Again we find rather opposite situations. There are neighbourhoods in which people seem to be just for their night rest (like Husby in Stockholm); and there are neighbourhoods, which people hardly seem to leave (such as Sant Roc in Barcelona, San Siro and Sant'Ambrogio in Milan, and Hodge Hill in Birmingham). Yet, it is difficult to say whether a large number of hours spent in the neighbourhood has to be regarded as a positive sign (the importance of the neighbourhood), or as a negative sign: people may not be able to escape the neighbourhood because they do not have a job, and, for example, do not have the money to pay for (public) transport. Elderly people may be unable to cover large distances, because of physical handicaps.²⁸ What seems clear again is that at least in a number of estates the local environment is still of importance for the people living there.

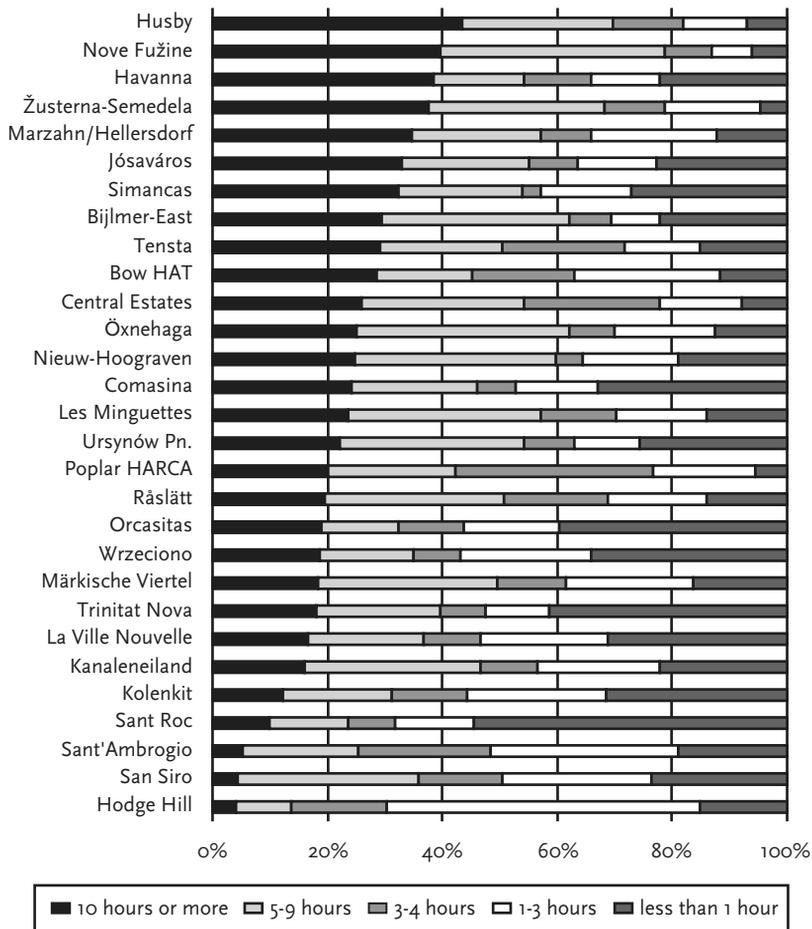
28 Sant Roc in Barcelona, San Siro and Sant'Ambrogio in Milan have a relatively old population (see Section 3.2).



Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 5.4 – Share of people working in the neighbourhood

In an effort to get some grip on the variation of neighbourhood attachment, we again constructed an index, based on the five indicators we just dealt with. That index says something about the meaning of the neighbourhood in people’s lives. A high score reflects strong dependency on the neighbourhood: moving within the neighbourhood, being active in neighbourhood associations, the availability of services (index 60 per cent or over), working in the neighbourhood and spending most time in the neighbourhood (less than three hours outside). Figure 5.6 shows the estates’ positions, using the mean index scores based on these five indicators. Neighbourhoods appear to be quite relevant for inhabitants in Bow HAT estates (London), Orcasitas (Madrid), Poplar HARCA estates (London), Hodge Hill (Birmingham) and Sant Roc (Madrid), whereas neighbourhoods play a less prominent role in Husby (Stockholm), Sant’Ambrogio (Milan), Havanna (Budapest), Nove Fužine (Ljubljana) and Žusterna-Semedela (Koper).

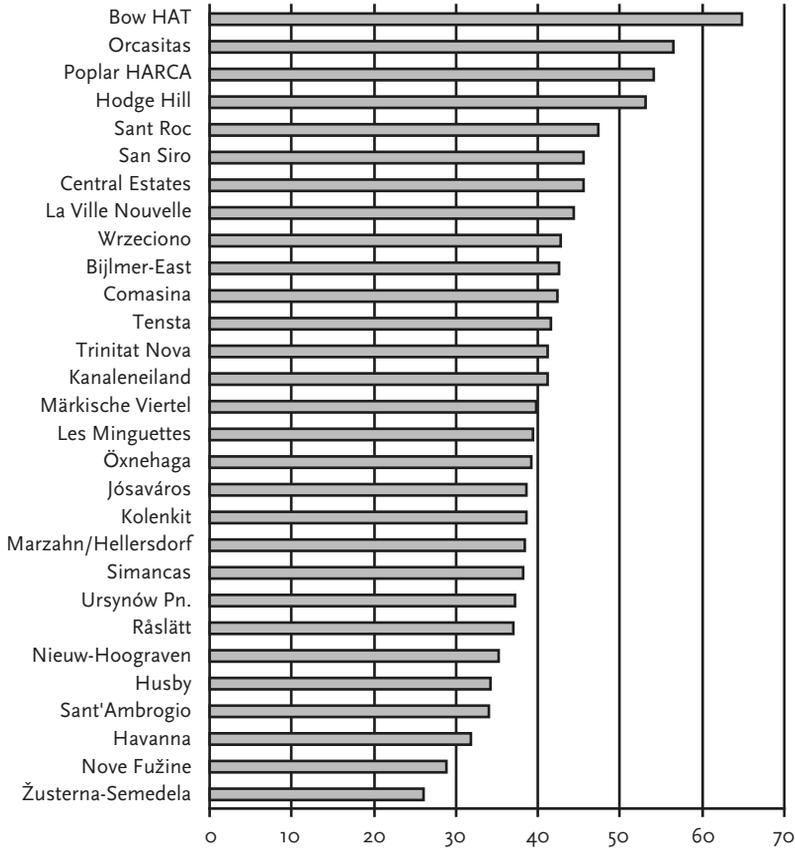


Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 5.5 – Hours spent outside the neighbourhood, sorted by 10 hours or more (per day)

From the information in Figure 5.7, we can easily see that low-income households, low-educated households, unemployed, single-person households, Mediterranean and the elderly tend to be ‘more’ dependent on their neighbourhood. The neighbourhood seems to be more important to them than to others. This again is in line with the literature that stresses that the neighbourhood is still important, especially for some categories of the population.

So far we have not yet paid attention to social contacts and social networks. However, social networks play an important role in the literature that focuses on neighbourhood issues. In this literature there are different views on the meaning of the strength of social networks. One refers to the idea that contacts with other residents, or the presence of relatives and friends in the neighbourhood, would provide opportunities to get ahead in society. People that are part of the social networks are assumed to help each other improving their lives. The strength of the ties is assumed to be important.

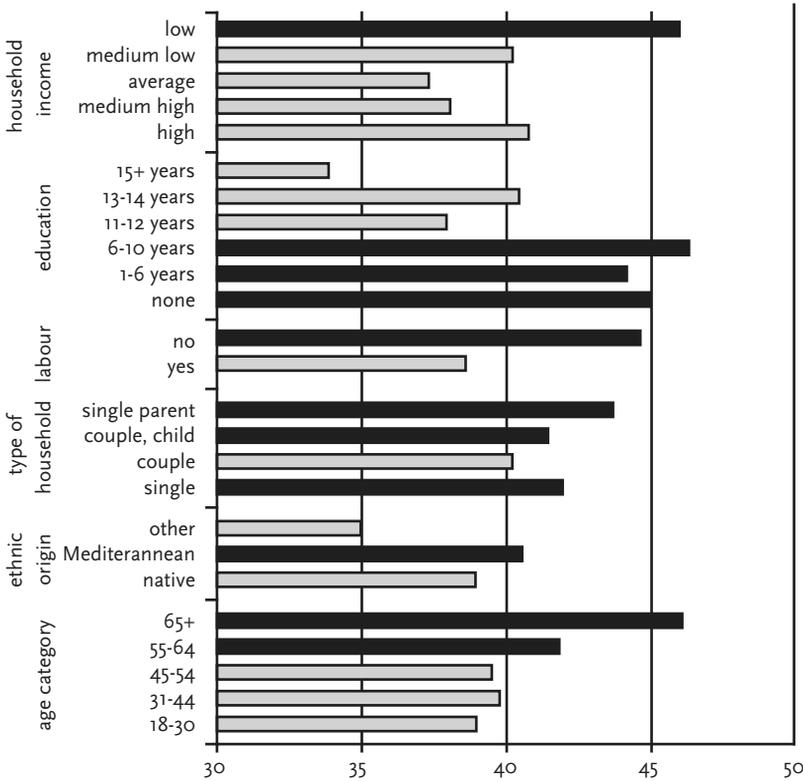


Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 5.6 – Index expressing mean neighbourhood attachment (5 indicators)

Following Granovetter’s ideas it is hypothesised that weak ties help people ahead, while strong internal ties may result in estrangement from the rest of society and thus will reduce the opportunities to go forward socially (Granovetter, 1973). However, strong ties may indeed imply that people will be more inward looking, yet they may experience the strong ties as very helpful to improve their daily life. Liveability may become stronger when there are stronger social networks.

In order to get a picture of the estates’ position with respect to the strength of the social networks, we constructed an index applying four indicators of local social networks. A value of 1 is added to the index if there are: good contacts with other residents, if friends and relatives are living in the neighbourhood, if people feel strongly attached to the neighbourhood, and if people give mutual help. The index has been made relative. A higher score implies a stronger local social network.



Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 5.7 – Neighbourhood attachment (mean index score) by personal and household characteristics (black = above average; grey = below average) in 29 estates in European cities

In Figure 5.8 we have presented the results per estate.²⁹ Three of the four Spanish estates appear at the top, indicating large social networks within the estates. Also two of the three Italian estates show high values on the index. Most Dutch³⁰, British, Slovenian and Hungarian estates have low index values, indicating a smaller social network in the neighbourhood.

Figure 5.9 reveals that the social network index tends to be somewhat stronger for low and for high-income households and for low-educated people. From the literature on neighbourhood effects and the location of activities, it could have been expected that low-educated people and low-income households have larger social networks around the home (see also Section 5.2), but the large local social networks of high-income households are somewhat surprising.

In the previous chapter, we have paid attention to the quality of life in the estates. The following question could now be asked: Is there an association between the social network index and the perceived neighbourhood quality?

29 Notice that the standard deviations are fairly high, indicating large variations within each estate.

30 The Bijlmer-East estate is a clear exception for the Netherlands.

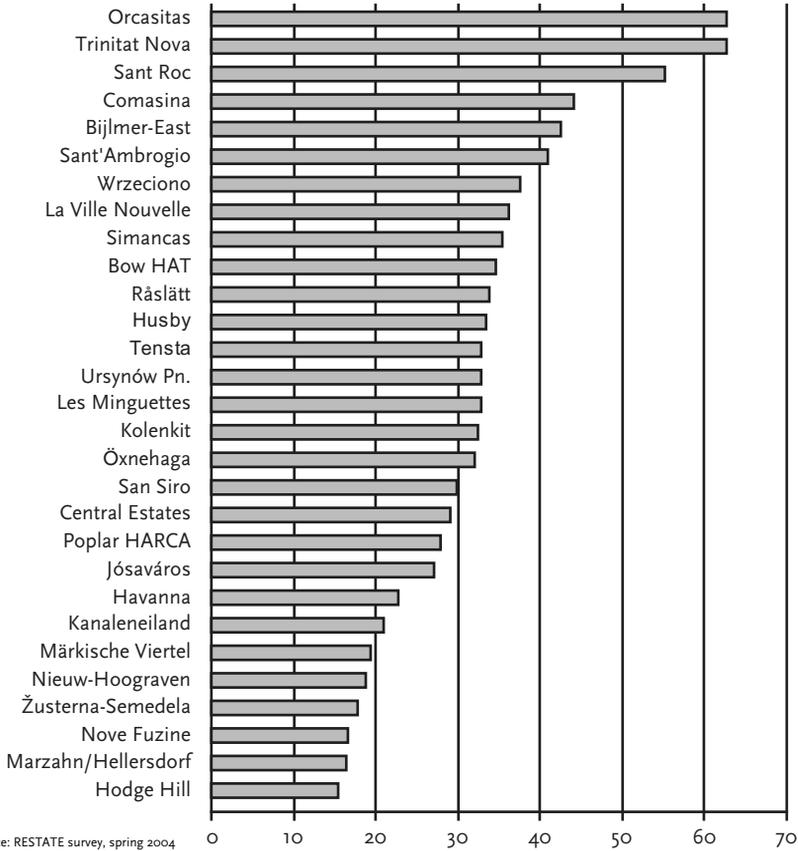
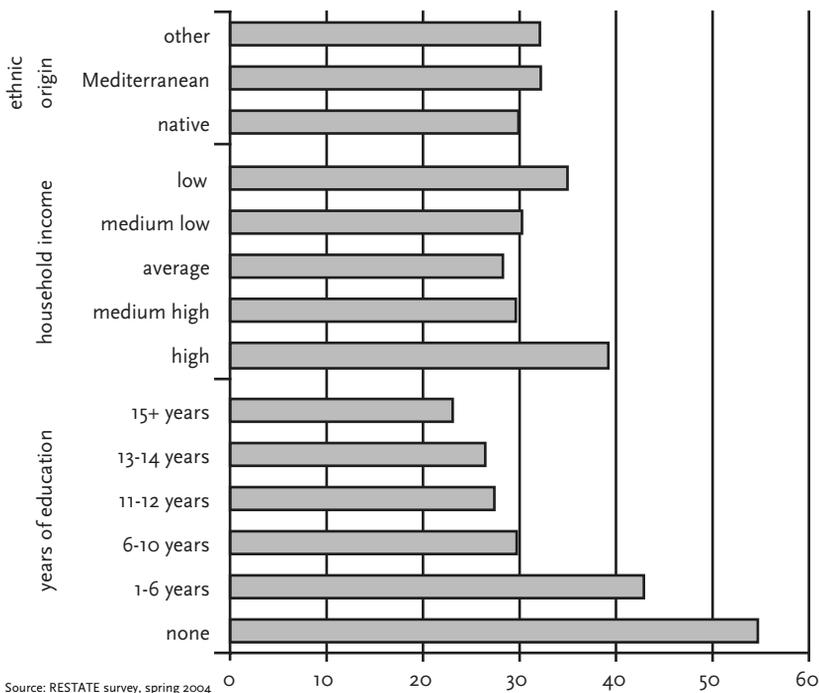


Figure 5.8 – Social network index mean values (high values refer to larger networks)

In Figure 5.10 we show the two indicators we used before: the neighbourhood quality index and the neighbourhood satisfaction score. It is striking that there is a fairly strong and positive relation between the judgement about the neighbourhood and the strength of the social network in the neighbourhood. Large social networks tend to correlate with high neighbourhood quality. Of course, this positive conclusion is only based on the variables mentioned. It does not say anything about other possibly important aspects of life, such as social mobility. We might even hypothesize, also on the basis of the literature (see, e.g., Grannovetter, 1973; Friedrichs, 1998) that the large localized social networks may even hinder social opportunities, because these networks only provide bonding social capital. On the basis of our survey, we cannot investigate this hypothesis, however.



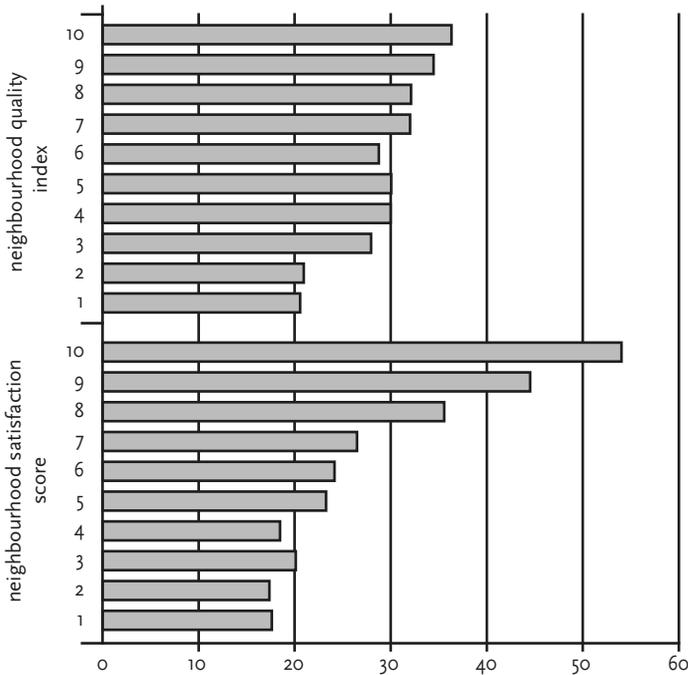
Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 5.9 – Index of the strength of the social network by personal and household characteristics for 29 estates in European cities

5.4 Conclusions

In this chapter the third research question was dealt with. The focus in this chapter was on the importance of the neighbourhood. Social aspects, the attachment of the inhabitants to the neighbourhood and the character of their social networks were dealt with. It has become clear that post-WWII large housing estates sometimes are just places to sleep, but very often they are also places where people spend a large part of their (daily) lives.

The meaning of the neighbourhood was measured through the investigation of five indicators: residential mobility within the neighbourhood (especially frequent in Bow HAT, Bijlmer-East, Orcasitas and Poplar HARCA), active participation in associations in the neighbourhood (high scores in Orcasitas, Tensta, Sant Roc, Central Estates and Trinitat Nova), availability of services within the neighbourhood (Räslätt, Jósaváros and Comasina are best served; Hodge Hill has few essential services available in the neighbourhood), employment in the neighbourhood (important in San Siro, Central Estates, Poplar HARCA, Comasina, Hodge Hill, La Ville Nouvelle and Bow HAT), and the number of hours spent in the neighbourhood (high in Sant Roc, San Siro, Sant’Ambrogio and Hodge Hill). These experiences were brought together in an index expressing neighbourhood ‘attachment’.



Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 5.10 – Index of the strength of the social network by score on the constructed neighbourhood quality index and neighbourhood satisfaction score (0 is lowest quality/satisfaction; 10 is highest quality/satisfaction)

That index expresses the importance of neighbourhood in the daily lives of respondents. Neighbourhoods play a big role for respondents in Bow Hat estates (London), Orcasitas (Madrid), Poplar HARCA estates (London), Hodge Hill (Birmingham) and Sant Roc (Madrid), whereas neighbourhoods play a less prominent role in Husby (Stockholm), Sant’Ambrogio (Milan), Havana (Budapest), Nove Fužine (Ljubljana) and Žusterna-Semedela (Koper).

It is interesting to see that the neighbourhood is especially important for low-income households, low-educated households, unemployed, single-person households, Mediterranean and the elderly.

Social network strength was indicated with an index measuring good contacts with other residents, the presence of friends and relatives living in the neighbourhood, feelings of strong attachment to the neighbourhood, and whether people were giving mutual help to each other. Strong social networks in the neighbourhood can be found in Orcasitas, Trinitat Nova and Sant Roc (all Spanish); rather weak social networks were found in most Dutch, British, Slovenian and Hungarian estates. The social networks appear to be relatively strong for low-income households and low-skilled respondents, but also – somewhat surprisingly – for high-income households.

A key question now is whether the strength of the social networks is associated with the perceived neighbourhood quality we measured in Chapter 4. Indeed, strong social networks correlate with high neighbourhood quality and with high neighbourhood satisfaction scores.

6 Effects of policies and future ideas

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is, first, to give an overview of the effects of the policies and actions in these estates, according to the respondents. We want to know what people think about the policies in their estates (Section 6.2). We will answer the fourth research question: How satisfied are inhabitants with the policies in their estates and how can we explain differences? The second aim of the chapter is to find out what the inhabitants think about the future of the estates. In this part of the chapter (Sections 6.3 and 6.4), we will focus on the fifth research question: How do the inhabitants living in the estates assess the recent and future developments of the estate and are these inhabitants planning to stay in these estates or not? How can differences between (groups of) estates be explained? The relation between both parts is, hopefully, clear: together they provide information about the image people have of their estates.

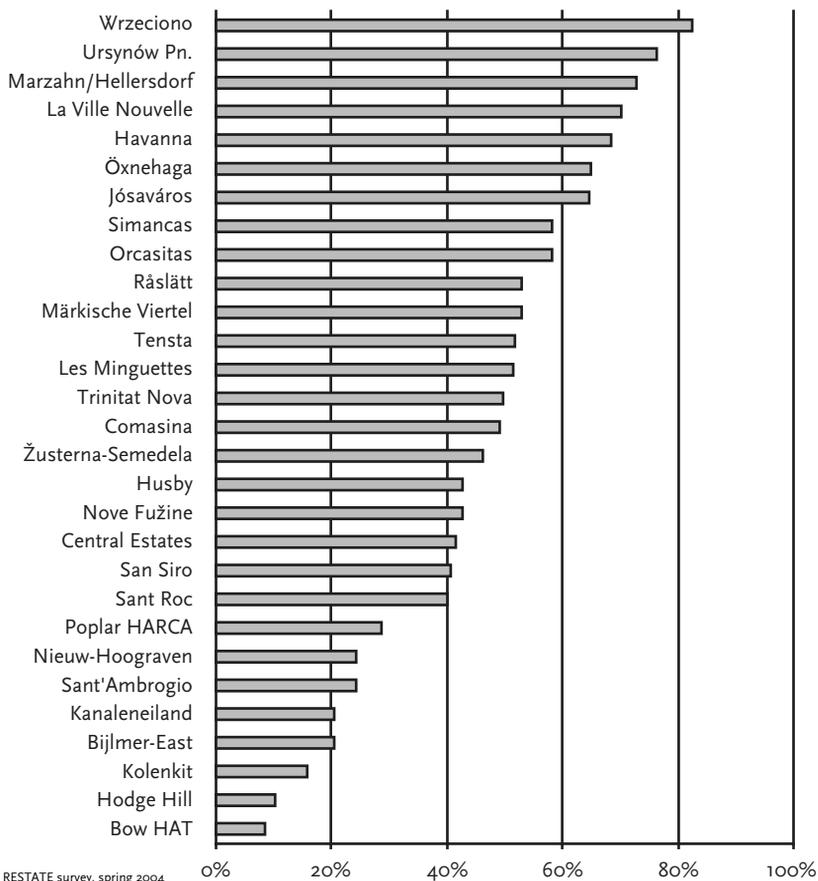
6.2 What has been improved? The view of the inhabitants

Renovation of the dwellings

In all estates that are central in this research project, dwellings have already been refurbished or renovated to some extent. Basically this means that the owners of the dwellings have seen the need for improving these areas. Living in an improved dwelling can enhance the general satisfaction and quality of life of inhabitants.

The number of dwellings that has been improved differs per estate. It also shows in the number of respondents that live in refurbished and non-refurbished dwellings. As can be seen from Figure 6.1, the percentage of respondents in refurbished/renovated dwellings varies from a low nine per cent in Bow HAT estates (London) to a high 83 per cent in Wrzeciono (Warsaw). Other areas with a lot of respondents in renovated dwellings are for example Öxnehaga (Jönköping), Märkische Viertel (Berlin), Les Minguettes (Lyon) and Ursynów Pn. in Warsaw. Estates with relatively low percentages of refurbished dwellings are for example Hodge Hill (Birmingham), Kolenkit (Amsterdam), and Kanaleneiland (Utrecht).

Renovation or refurbishment of the home can mean a lot of things. It can vary from a complete renewal of the dwelling to renovation of some parts of the dwelling, such as the balcony, the bathroom or the kitchen. Also improvement can be focused on the outside of the building, such as the outside walls or the roof. Between, and even within, estates, large



Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 6.1 – Percentage of respondents who live in a refurbished or renovated home, per estate

differences exist with respect to the kinds and extent of renovation. At least for some areas it is well-known that this is a question of time. In an area such as Kanaleneiland (Utrecht) a large number of dwellings will be demolished in the next couple of years, resulting in complete new dwellings and totally new areas within the existing estate. In some other estates, such as Bijlmer-East in Amsterdam, demolition processes have already taken place.

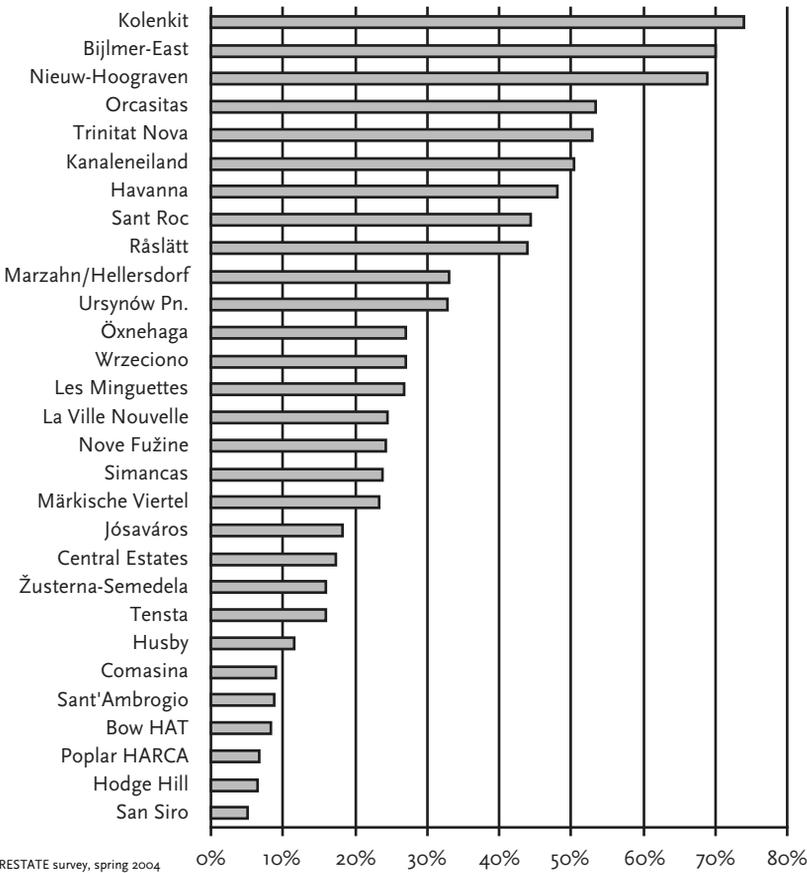
Do people know about the policies?

It is of course well known by inhabitants if policies and actions were aimed at improving one's *dwelling or building*. The inhabitants are directly affected by such an action. Policies that were put in place to improve the *environment* of the estate or aspects of that environment are not always very well known. We have asked all respondents the following question: Do you know about any policies or actions aiming at improvement of living in your neighbourhood? While we, as researchers, do know that these kinds of policies do take place in every neighbourhood, it

is striking to see that in total about 70 per cent of the respondents says not to be aware of the existence of these policies. This very high percentage can mean at least three things:

- 1 People do know about the existence of the policies, but the results of the policies are, in the eyes of the inhabitants, so insignificant that they answer the question negatively.
- 2 The responsible persons do not “sell” the policies very well, or, put it differently, inhabitants are not informed very well about the existence of the policies.
- 3 Repondents may not understand what policies are.

We do not know which reason applies and if different reasons might apply to different estates and different population categories. We do see, however, that there are major differences between estates with respect to knowledge about the existence of policies in these estates (Figure 6.2).



Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 6.2 – Percentage of people who know about the existence of policies aimed at the improvement of the neighbourhood

Very low percentages of people who state they do know about the existence of these policies can be found in Hodge Hill (Birmingham), Poplar HARCA estates (London), Bow HAT estates (London), Comasina and Sant’Ambrogio (Milan), and San Siro (Milan). English and Italian estates seem to dominate here. The results are quite striking. In some cases, the estates have been subject to extensive policies for more than ten or even more than twenty years, such as the estates in Lyon (Belmessous et al., 2004). In all Dutch estates (Bijlmer-East and Kolenkit in Amsterdam, Kanaleneiland and Hoograven in Utrecht) inhabitants seems to be best informed and aware of the existence of the policies.

Is there a correlation between the awareness of the existence of the policies and some key variables, such as income, ethnicity, age and education?³¹ In general, people who live in households with higher incomes are slightly more aware of the existence of policies than those from households with lower incomes. Of all households with higher incomes, 37 per cent state they know about the existence of policies, for the low-income group this percentage is only 29 per cent.

With respect to ethnicity there are also some differences between groups. About 35 per cent of the natives and almost 38 per cent of the Mediterraneans know about the existence of the policies. Informed Mediterraneans can mainly be found in Kolenkit (Amsterdam), Kanaleneiland and Nieuw-Hoograven in Utrecht and Les Minguettes in Lyon.³² The least informed are the other ethnic groups (25 per cent). High no-scores for this mixed group can be found in Žusterna-Semedela (Koper), Nove Fužine (Ljubljana), Les Minguettes (Lyon), Simancas (Madrid), Husby (Stockholm) and Tensta (Stockholm). In Bijlmer-East (Amsterdam), however, this group is very well informed (65 per cent).

The effects of the policies

In Chapter 4, it has been indicated that the inhabitants of the estates have a clear view on the problems in the areas they live in. It has become clear that especially with respect to such aspects as dirt on the streets, drug abuse, burglary in cars, graffiti/vandalism, and lack of employment estates are seen as a problematic place to live.

On the basis of the same list of possible problems (see Chapter 4), we have asked the respondents if they can see any improvement in the estate with respect to the problems as a consequence of policies or actions. In Table 6.1 it is shown, per problem, in which estates the effects of policies have been mentioned most frequently. If an estate is mentioned in the table, the effects of policies are clear for the respondents. If an estate is mentioned frequently, it can be an indication of successful policies.

When Table 6.1 is compared with Table 4.1 (which listed the estates where the problems were mentioned most frequently) an almost total different set of estates appears. This is rather logical, because Table 6.1 gives an indication of solved (or at least diminished) problems. Policies seem to be very successful in many respects in Råslätt (Jönköping). This area figures almost everywhere in the table. Also Italian estates are mentioned frequently (especially Sant’Ambrogio), as well as estates in Barcelona (Trinitat Nova) and Madrid (Orcasitas).

31 We present only general figures here, because breakdowns per estate result in very low absolute numbers.

32 This result does not mean that they are well informed, because they are Mediterranean. The high percentages can be found in which also the figure for the population as a whole is rather high.

Table 6.1 – Effects of policies on several aspects: most frequently mentioned in...

	Most frequently mentioned in...	Second most frequently mentioned in...	Third most frequently mentioned in...
Dirt on the streets	Trinitat Nova	Råslätt	Orcasitas
Drug abuse	Trinitat Nova	Simancas	Orcasitas
Burglary in dwellings	Sant'Ambrogio	Nieuw-Hoograven	Råslätt
Burglary in cars	Råslätt	Sant'Ambrogio	Nieuw-Hoograven
Graffiti/vandalism	Råslätt	Central estates	La Ville Nouvelle
Feelings of unsafety	Råslätt	Bijlmer-East	Nieuw-Hoograven
Upkeep of public places	Råslätt	Trinitat Nova	Bijlmer-East
Condition of roads	Råslätt	Sant'Ambrogio	Orcasitas
Playgrounds for children	Råslätt	Sant'Ambrogio	Orcasitas
Maintenance of buildings	Råslätt	Comasina	Ursynów Pn.
Lack of employment	Sant'Ambrogio	Råslätt	San Siro
Quality of schools	Råslätt	Sant'Ambrogio	Trinitat Nova
Quality of commercial services	Råslätt	Nove Fužine	San Siro
Quality of public services	Trinitat Nova	Råslätt	Nove Fužine
Different values/norms/lifestyle	Sant'Ambrogio	Råslätt	Comasina
Racism/racist harassment	Sant'Ambrogio	Råslätt	Comasina

Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

6.3 Trust in the estate: will the estate be a better place to live?

What do inhabitants think about the future of their estates? A trust in a positive future development is an indication of a situation in which the estate is, or probably will be, a nice place to live.

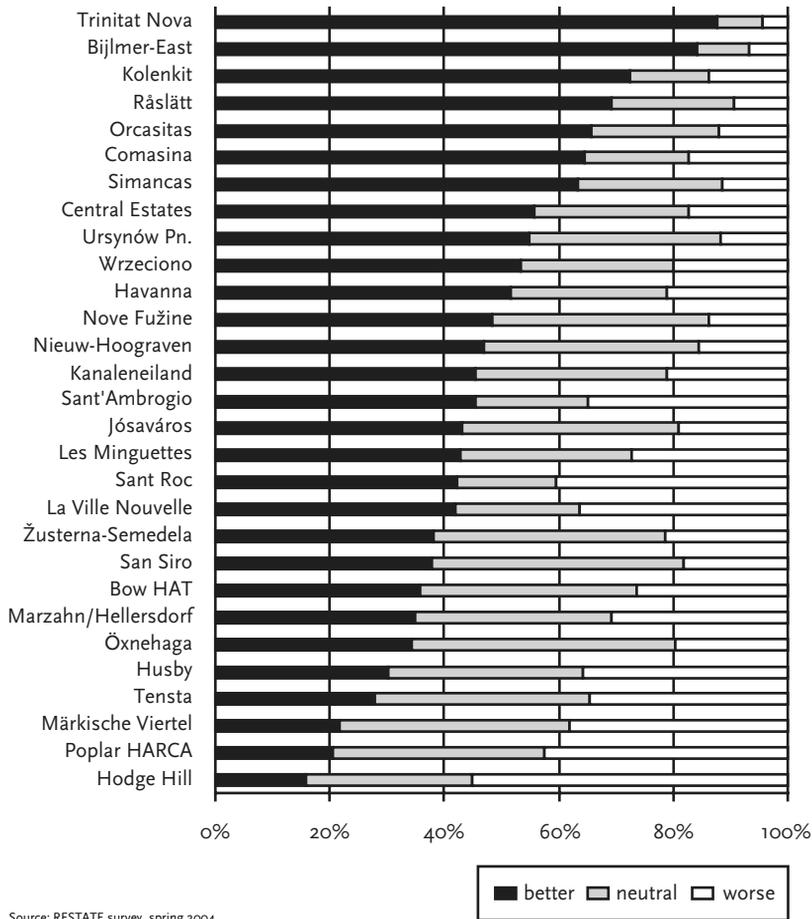
Figure 6.3 shows that in about 11 estates more than half of the inhabitants see a positive future for their estate. In some situations this will have to do with the fact that people already have a rather positive opinion about the estate (such as in Trinitat Nova in Barcelona and Orcasitas in Madrid). In other estates we think that it has to do with present policies: in Bijlmer-East and Kolenkit in Amsterdam large plans exist (and have already partially been carried out) to improve the areas. Probably the respondents see this as something positive.

There are however also some neighbourhoods in which a majority of the respondents do not seem to have much trust in positive future developments. Hodge Hill in Birmingham and Poplar HARCA estates in London are cases in point. Especially Hodge Hill has been mentioned before as a place in which many people seem to be dissatisfied.

Who thinks positive about the future? The answer to this question is not easy, because there are a lot of differentiations between the estates. In Table 6.2 we have made a rough summary. In this table we have mentioned the category who is the most positive in that estate.

Looking at the column which indicates the most positive age groups, it is interesting to see that in three of the four Spanish estates and in two of the three Italian estates the older age categories appear to be the most positive.³³ In Poland, Marzahn (Berlin), Kanaleneiland

33 It may be that elderly people in Southern European countries are on average more positive than those in other countries.



Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 6.3 – Will the estate be a better place to live? Sorted by category “better”

(Utrecht) and Les Minguettes (Lyon), the youngest age category is the most positive. When young people are enthusiastic about the estate, this might be a very positive development, because this might prevent them from moving on very quickly.

With respect to household type, it is probably an important result that in many cases families with children appear to be the most positive category. This is at least an indication that post-WWII large housing estates are not a place for only small households and childless singles and couples. Obviously, families do seem to see a future for these estates.

High-income households generally do not belong to the most positive income groups. They probably have other ambitions (see also the next section).

Table 6.2 – Which categories are the most positive about the future in the 29 estates?³⁴

	Age group	Household type	Income	Ethnicity ^{**}
Bow HAT	-	-	-	-
Poplar HARCA	-	-	-	-
Central Estates	-	Singles	-	-
Hodge Hill	-	-	-	-
Tensta	-	-	-	-
Husby	-	-	-	-
Öxnehaga	-	-	-	-
Råslätt	31-44	Families	Average	Non-natives
Bijlmer-East	45-54	Single-families	Low/Average	Non-natives
Kolenkit	31-44	Families	Low	Non-natives
Kanaleneiland	18-30	Couples	Low	Non-natives
Nieuw-Hoograven	45-54	Couples	Low	Non-natives
Les Minguettes	18-30	Families	Average	Non-natives
La Ville Nouvelle	-	-	Average	-
Comasina	31-44	Families	Average	Natives
Sant'Ambrogio	over 65	-	Average	Natives
San Siro	over 65	-	Average	Natives
Orcasitas	55-64	Families	Low	Natives
Simancas	over 65	Families	High	Natives
Trinitat Nova	31-44	Families	Low	Natives
Sant Roc	over 65	-	Low	Natives
Marzahn/Hellersdorf	18-30	Families	Average	Natives
Märkische Viertel	-	Families	Low	Natives
Nove Fužine	31-44	Couples	High	Non-natives
Žusterna-Semedela	31-44	Families	Average	Natives
Havanna	31-44	Singles	High	Natives
Jósaváros	55-64	Couples	Low	Natives
Wrzeciono	18-30	Families	Average	Natives
Ursynów Pn.	18-30	Families	Average	Natives

Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

* Note: This table is based on the answers to the question: "Do you think the future of your present neighbourhood will be better or worse than today?" In the table we mention per estate which category has the highest percentage on the score "better". We have only listed a category if at least 15 respondents fall into this category. A – (dash) indicates that numbers are too low to select a category.

** In many of these estates non-natives are hardly present. Therefore it is not a big surprise that natives are mentioned more frequently. In many estates where a substantial number of non-natives live, they are the more positive than the natives.

With respect to ethnicity, there are in many cases no inter-group variations.³⁴ However, some interesting observations can be made:

- In Bijlmer-East (Amsterdam), the non-European inhabitants can be seen as the most positive group. This area has traditionally attracted a large number of people from the former Dutch colonies. Especially these people are satisfied.
- In Kolenkit (Amsterdam), especially households from the Mediterranean countries (notably Morocco and Turkey) are the most positive groups. Within Amsterdam, this area is one of

34 In other cases there is not a sufficient number of observations to detect differences.

the most important settlement areas for these groups. It seems that they do not only settle here, because there are no other alternatives, but also because they in one way or another like to live here.

- Also in Råslätt (Jönköping), Les Minguettes (Lyon), Kanaleneiland (Utrecht) non-natives are more satisfied than natives. In all these areas the non-native population has been increasing significantly in the last few years.
- There are no estates with a mix of natives and non-natives in which natives have more trust in the future than non-natives. This indicates that a change towards a more multicultural estate does not generate positive feelings among the natives, while such a change might lead to positive feelings among the new, non-native inhabitants.

6.4 Staying or leaving: will inhabitants move or stay in the estate?

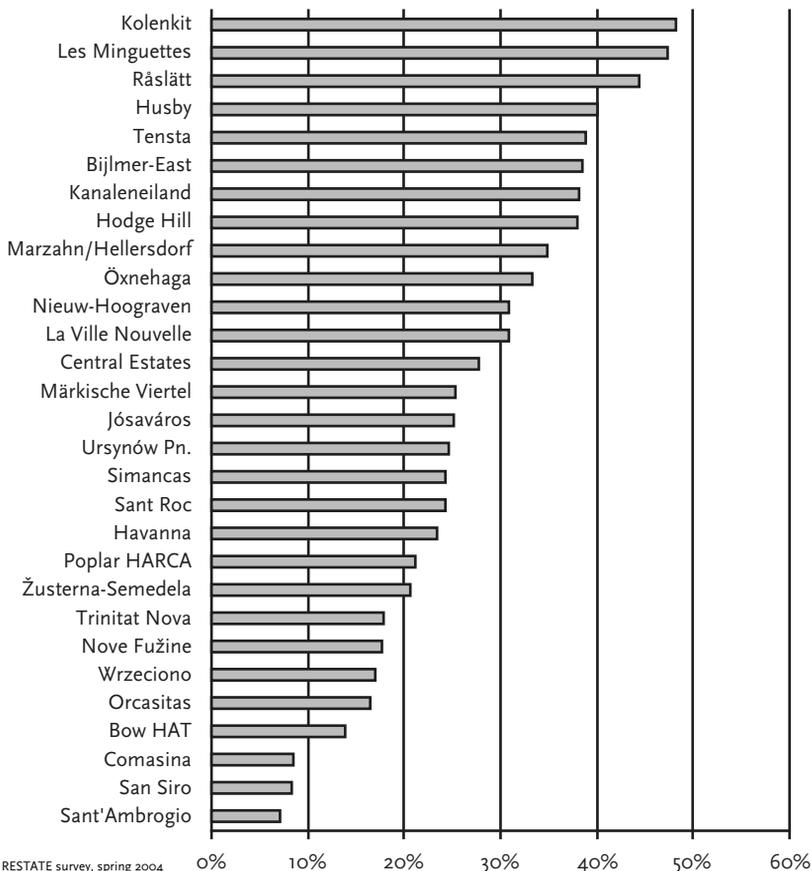
For different reasons people may want to move house. In general, people want to move, because they are dissatisfied with an aspect of their housing situation. The dwelling may have become too small, because of family extension, or too big, because the children have moved out. In other cases people may want to move from a rental unit to an owner-occupied house. When people are dissatisfied about aspects related to the (direct or indirect) surroundings of the dwelling, they might want to move to another area as soon as possible. Not having the intention to move within a short time span is generally indicates a situation in which people are just satisfied (although it might also be the case that they say they do not want to move, because they know there are no opportunities to do so).

Figure 6.4 depicts the percentage of people in the 29 estates who have plans to move within a period of two years. At the very bottom of the graph are the three Italian estates. A large majority of the households in these estates seem to be rather satisfied with the estate: they do not want to move to another dwelling. In five other estates, the share of people that have plans to move is below 20 per cent. At the top of the graph are seven estates that have relatively large numbers of potential movers. All these estates can be characterized as multicultural areas: here the population has changed rather dramatically in the past few years.

Income and propensity to move

Looking at all the estates together, higher-income households have a larger propensity to move than those with average or lower incomes. Probably this has to do with the fact that in many cases the higher-income households see their present dwelling in the large housing estate as only a temporary situation. Of course, in general, the higher-income households do have more choice on a housing market. A few deviations from this general trend can be mentioned:

- In Bijlmer-East and Kolenkit in Amsterdam, and the Central Estates and Hodge Hill in Birmingham, the share of high-income households in the total population is so low that no differences can be detected between the different income groups. In these areas the main category of people who want to move has an average or low income, just because there are hardly any higher-income households.
- In Marzahn (Berlin) and Havanna (Budapest) there is no difference between higher- and lower-income households with respect to the propensity to move.



Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

Figure 6.4 – Percentage of people who want to move house within two years.

Age and propensity to move

With respect to age, the general tendency is that younger people want to move more frequently than older people.³⁵ From the literature on residential mobility, this relation is well-known. Younger people often experience many changes in terms of jobs, personal relations and family formation. Moreover, they often have not yet reached a housing situation that they can consider as the (temporary) top of their housing career. Middle-aged households often are in a more stable situation, while older people generally do not want to move anymore, because they are just satisfied with their situation. There are no significant differences between estates: everywhere either the youngest age group (18-30 years) or the age group 31-44 has the highest propensity to move.

35 In absolute terms, the number of people aged 31-44 has a higher propensity to move than the younger category aged 18-30. This has to do with the fact that the total number of people in their thirties and early forties is higher in many estates.

Ethnicity and propensity to move

In absolute terms, native households want to move more frequently than non-native households. This has to do with the sheer fact that the majority of the population of the estates (in total) is native. In relative terms, Mediterranean and other non-native households have a higher propensity to move than native households. This has probably to do with the fact that the non-native households are in a phase of their household and labour market career in which still many changes take place.

Reasons for moving

Why do people want to move? For about two-thirds of the potential movers, the reason to move can be found in the dwelling itself. About 31 per cent of those who have indicated that they want to move within two years want to move to a bigger home, because the present dwelling has become too small, for example because of family formation or family extension. Another 14 per cent wants to move, because the present dwelling is considered too expensive, while almost 14 per cent wants to move, because they want to live in an owner-occupied dwelling. Other home-related reasons are, for example, the wish to have a better bathroom, the wish to live in a single-family dwelling, the dwelling is considered too large, and demolition.

About one-third of the reasons to move is related to the neighbourhood. People for example want to live in a more quiet neighbourhood, or a more safe environment. Some people indicate that they want to move to an area where less non-natives live (but this motive is not mentioned very frequently).

6.5 Conclusions

This chapter dealt with the effects of policies (research question 4) and with the future perspectives of the estate. In the estates, a large number of policies and actions took place in order to improve (aspects of) the estates. What do the inhabitants of the estates think of these policies? Do they know they exist? Do they experience any result of these policies?

Of course, the inhabitants knew about policy interventions with regard to their dwelling or estate. However, improvement of the environment was not always noticed. Few respondents in English and Italian estates knew about policies while they were there. Inhabitants of Dutch estates seem to be best informed and aware of policies in their environment.

Most successful policies were mentioned in Råslätt (Jönköping), Sant'Ambrogio (Milan), Trinitat Nova (Barcelona) and Orcasitas (Madrid).

Regarding the future prospects of the estates we found that approximately eleven estates could be found in which at least half of the respondents saw a positive future for their estate. This seems to reflect two things. First, some estates were judged rather positively already (Trinitat Nova in Barcelona, and Orcasitas in Madrid); and secondly, some estates are experiencing serious policy interventions; big plans are there to show the transformation and a lot of people experience that as a positive sign for the future. This is obvious in Bijlmer-East and Kolenkit in Amsterdam.

Future perspectives do not seem to be that bright in other estates, such as Hodge Hill in Birmingham and Poplar HARCA in London.

The answer to the question “who thinks positive about the policy” is difficult to give, since there is a large variation due to differences between estates and policies. The elderly appeared to be very positive in the Italian estates; in Poland, Marzahn (Berlin), Kanaleneiland (Utrecht) and Les Minguettes (Lyon), the young were most positive. Also many households with children were positive, as were non-native inhabitants of estates in Amsterdam and Jönköping.

With regard to plans to move within two years, there appears to be a strong association with the share of non-natives in the estates. The higher that share, the higher the percentage of people who say they want to move. In general higher income households and younger people more frequently express residential mobility plans.

Two-thirds of the potential movers want to do so because of the dwelling itself, one-third of the reasons is related to the neighbourhood.

In this report we dealt with large-scale housing estates in European cities. We have tried to measure opinions of inhabitants and to investigate the future prospects of the estates, through the eyes of the inhabitants. Our investigation was structured by the following questions:

- 1 How can the population and dwellings of the estates be characterized?
- 2 How satisfied are the inhabitants with their home and with the estate and how can differences between (groups of) estates be explained?
- 3 How can neighbourhood attachment and social networks in the estates be characterized?
- 4 How satisfied are inhabitants with the policies in their estates and how can we explain differences?
- 5 How do the inhabitants living in the estates assess recent and future developments of the estate and are these inhabitants planning to stay in these estates or not? How can differences between (groups of) estates be explained?

Most of the answers to these questions were obtained on the basis of a survey that was carried out in the first half of 2004 in 29 estates in ten European countries. One questionnaire was used for every estate. Due to some differences with respect to sampling, non-response and representativeness, comparisons should be made with caution. In estates with a relatively large ethnic minority population, non-natives tended to be under-represented in the survey.

With regard to question 1 we can say that the population composition of the estates differed substantially. Young households are dominant in some estates, whereas other estates are characterised by the elderly, for example. In Sweden, the Netherlands and France a multicultural population characterizes the estates. Most of the estates we included in our research have large numbers of inhabitants with a low level of education and low incomes, but higher-income households and higher-educated individuals are not completely absent. There is also variation in terms of tenure and size of the dwellings involved and in terms of housing costs. In short, post-war housing estates are *not* just characterised by inexpensive rented dwellings inhabited by the lowest income groups.

Question 2 regards the satisfaction of the inhabitants with their home and the estate. The opinions of the inhabitants are very differentiated. There are no standard answers to the same questions. In different estates different aspects of the estates are mentioned as most liked; and estates also differ with regard to the aspects that were regarded to be least liked, although in many estates one answer was mentioned relatively frequently: “the people who live there”. This is an interesting finding, since many national and local governments make efforts to ‘engineer’

the population composition of housing estates. Clearly, this is a sensitive issue. In this context it was interesting to find that opinions about the people who are living there were not necessarily related to the share of non-natives in the estates. Negative opinions about people in the neighbourhood were also expressed with regard to estates with no or just a few non-natives. In addition we found that in estates with a high share of non-natives, negative judgements about those who live in the estate come from both natives and non-natives.

The average satisfaction with the neighbourhood showed significant variation as well (Table 7.1). Some estates seem to be really problematic; those with a low satisfaction score and a predominant negative view about future developments. But all other variants are present as well. Most of the estates, however, show relatively high satisfaction scores as well as positive developments.

Table 7.1 – Average satisfaction and expected development of the estate

Low satisfaction and negative development	High satisfaction and negative development	Low satisfaction and positive development	High satisfaction and positive development
Kolenkit	Central Estates	Nieuw-Hoograven	Comasina
Kanaleneiland	Poplar HARCA	Tensta	Sant'Ambrogio
Husby	Bow HAT	Havanna	San Siro
Hodge Hill	Žusterna-Semedela	Wrzeciono	Märkische Viertel
Les Minguettes	La Ville Nouvelle	Simancas	Bijlmer-East
Sant Roc	Öxnehaga	Marzahn/Hellersdorf	Nove Fužine
			Jósváros
			Råslätt
			Ursynów Pn.
			Orcasitas
			Trinitat Nova

Source: RESTATE survey, spring 2004

With regard to the reputation of the estate there appears to be a positive association with the satisfaction score regarding the estate. Low satisfaction associates with a bad reputation, or vice versa. Five out of six estates with a low satisfaction rate and negative prospects also show a bad reputation. A bad reputation does not imply that respondents agree with that reputation. On the contrary, they almost systematically seem to disagree.

Answering the question who particularly is positive or negative about their neighbourhood, we were able to show that generally low-skilled respondents, unemployed, singles and couples without children, as well as the elderly tend to be more positive about their neighbourhood compared to others. More positive attitudes were also related to moderate housing costs, living in larger dwellings, in the private rented sector and in single-family housing. Especially the finding that the neighbourhood quality index score is rather negative for owner-occupiers was striking. They tend to be satisfied with their dwelling, but not with the neighbourhood. This may, again, have implications for housing mix policies.

In question 3 the focus was on the importance of the neighbourhood in terms of its social aspects, the attachment of the inhabitants to the neighbourhood and the character of their social networks. Neighbourhood attachment was indicated through five variables. The index expressed the importance of neighbourhood in the daily lives of respondents. Neighbourhoods turned out to play a big role for respondents in Bow Hat estates (London), Poplar HARCA estates

(London), Hodge Hill (Birmingham), Orcasitas (Madrid) and Sant Roc (Madrid), whereas neighbourhoods play a less prominent role in Husby (Stockholm), Sant'Ambrogio (Milan), Havanna (Budapest), Nove Fužine (Ljubljana) and Žusterna-Semedela (Koper).

We illustrated once again that the neighbourhood is, also in terms of being 'attached' to it, especially important for low-income households, low educated households, unemployed people, single person households, Mediterranean and the elderly.

The strength of the social network was indicated through an index measuring good contacts with other residents, the presence of friends and relatives living in the neighbourhood, feelings of strong attachment to the neighbourhood, and whether people were giving mutual help to each other. Strong social networks in the neighbourhood were found in the Spanish neighbourhoods of Orcasitas, Trinitat Nova and Sant Roc; weak social networks were found in most Dutch, British, Slovenian and Hungarian estates. The social networks appear to be relatively strong for low-income households and low-skilled respondents, but also – somewhat surprisingly – for high-income households.

If we combine the information on neighbourhood attachment with the information on social networks, we can show that respondents in the English estates are very much attached to their neighbourhood, in the sense that the neighbourhood plays a big role in their lives, but that attachment there does not imply strong social networks in the neighbourhood. In the Spanish neighbourhoods attachment is associated with strong social networks, though. In most Dutch, Slovenian and Hungarian estates neither clear attachment to the neighbourhood, nor strong social networks can be found.

Where strong social networks exist, also the judgement about neighbourhood quality and neighbourhood satisfaction tends to be rather positive. We speculated that these strong social networks may make life more attractive, but that this also may have negative impacts in terms of social mobility opportunities.

Effects of policies were central in question 4. The most interesting finding regarding specific policies that were targeted to the estates was that many of these policies passed while people did not notice. Inhabitants were aware of policy interventions with regard to their dwelling or estate. Yet, improvements of the environment were not always experienced. Few respondents in English and Italian estates knew about policies while they were there. Inhabitants of Dutch estates were best informed and aware of policies in their environment.

Most successful policies were reported in Råslätt (Jönköping), Sant'Ambrogio (Milan), Trinitat Nova (Barcelona) and Orcasitas (Madrid). With regard to the question "who thinks positive about the policy" we had to conclude that there is a large variation due to differences between estates and policies. The elderly appeared to be very positive in the Italian estates; in Poland, Marzahn (Berlin), Kanaleneiland (Utrecht) and Les Minguettes (Lyon), the young were most positive. Also many households with children were positive, as were non-native inhabitants of estates in Amsterdam and Jönköping.

Question 5, finally, dealt with the assessment by the inhabitants of recent and future developments of the estate. Are they planning to move or to stay in the estate? In eleven estates at least half of the respondents foresaw a positive future for their estate. Some estates already had a bright status as these were judged positively already. Examples are Trinitat Nova in Barcelona, and Orcasitas in Madrid; other estates lacked such a status, but were experiencing serious policy interventions. Where these plans were extensive and clearly visible, quite some respondents perceived that as a positive sign for the future. Among the most obvious examples were Bijlmer-

East and Kolenkit in Amsterdam and Råslätt in Jönköping. Less bright perspectives, perhaps due to a lack of policy intervention in the past, were found in other estates, such as Hodge Hill in Birmingham and Poplar HARCA in London.

A fairly strong association was revealed between the plans to move within two years and the share of non-natives in the estates. The higher that share, the higher the percentage of people who say they want to move. This is not necessarily a causal relation, though. The association may be indirect, and perhaps be related to the quality of the estates, and the relative position of the estate in the housing market. Moreover, estates with a high share of immigrants may also be characterised by younger residents, who generally tend to move more frequently.

Two-thirds of the potential movers want to do so because of the dwelling itself, one-third of the reasons is related to the neighbourhood.

Overall this study, how complicated in itself, is revealing a large variation of structures and processes with regard to post-war housing estates. Problems and perspectives can be found, as well as successful and perhaps also more complicated policy interventions. The comparisons we presented right here, should not be interpreted as a means for absolute classification of European housing estates, but instead may be regarded as a box of experiences, practices and failures with regard to these segments of local housing markets and as such may help to understand the variation in post-war housing estates.

Appendix

The following pages contain basic characteristics of the estates in the RESTATE project.

Table 1A – Bow HAT Estates (Tower Hamlets, London, England)

Time of construction of estate	1968 - 1977		
Distance to the city centre (km)	5		
Most positive aspect of the area	Proximity to Central London, Docklands and Stratford development areas. High level of housing demand locally. Stable long-term population base.		
Most negative aspect of the area	Area disenfranchised economically and socially from rest of London by physical infrastructure, low social mobility.		
Predominant building type	At time of construction: high and medium rise pre-fabricated blocks. At present: terraced houses (with gardens).		
Number of dwellings (Census 2001)	2,285		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	NA		
Size of the estate	22.6 ha		
Inhabitants (Census 2001)	4,869		
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census 2001)	NA		
Average household size (Census 2001)		Bow 2.1 persons	London NA
Household composition (Census 2001)	Single	44.1%	34.7%
	Couple, no child	15.0%	13.8%
	Couple with children	15.1%	20.3%
	Single parent	14.2%	11.1%
	Other	11.6%	20.1%
Age structure of the estate (Census 2001)	0-17 years	21.5%	22.6%
	18-30 years	23.2%	19.3%
	31-64 years	42.2%	45.7%
	> 64 years	13.1%	12.4%
Ethnic composition (Census 2001)	White	69.4%	71.2%
	Black, minority ethnic	31.6%	28.8%
Tenure structure (Census 2001)	Owner-occupied	22.9%	56.5%
	State and local council housing	64.6%	26.2%
	Other	12.6%	17.3%

A Housing Action Trust (HAT), one of six in England was designated in Bow in 1993, following a tenant-sanctioned transfer of housing from the London Borough of Tower Hamlets. The primary objective of the HAT is the demolition and reconstruction of nearly all the existing housing stock, plus supporting economic and social measures.

Table 2A – Poplar HARCA Estates (Tower Hamlets, London, England)

Time of construction of estate	1930s - 1970s		
Distance to the city centre (km)	5		
Most positive aspect of the area	Proximity to Central London, Docklands and Stratford development areas.		
Most negative aspect of the area	Area disenfranchised economically and socially from rest of London by physical infrastructure, low social mobility.		
Predominant building type	Medium rise blocks		
Number of dwellings (Census 2001)	6,304		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	NA		
Size of the estate	61.8 ha		
Inhabitants (Census 2001)	17,741		
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census 2001)	NA		
Average household (Census 2001)		Poplar 2.8 persons	London NA
Household composition (Census 2001)	Single	34.0%	34.7%
	Couple, no child	10.0%	13.8%
	Couple with children	25.7%	20.3%
	Single parent	16.1%	11.1%
	Other	14.2%	20.1%
Age structure of the estate (Census 2001)	0-17 years	33.9%	22.6%
	18-30 years	20.9%	19.3%
	31-64 years	36.0%	45.7%
	> 64 years	9.2%	12.4%
Ethnic composition (Census 2001)	White	41.5%	71.2%
	Black, minority ethnic	58.5%	28.8%
Tenure structure (Census 2001)	Owner-occupied	16.8%	56.5%
	State and local council housing	74.1%	26.2%
	Other	9.1%	17.3%

The housing stock of seven estates was transferred from the London Borough of Tower Hamlets to Poplar HARCA, a housing association funded by the government's Estate Renewal Challenge scheme, from 1998. Poplar HARCA has refurbished all the existing housing stock and undertakes economic and social regeneration and neighbourhood management responsibilities.

Table 3A – Hodge Hill Estates (Birmingham, England)

Time of construction of estate	1930s - 1950s		
Distance to the city centre (km)	11.25		
Most positive aspect of the area	Some green open space.		
Most negative aspect of the area	Peripheral housing estates, high unemployment, area populated from within, monolithic housing provision, weakening demand.		
Predominant building type	Systems built high-rise blocks, plus low-rise semi-detached and terraced housing		
Number of dwellings (Census 2001)		Hodge Hill 3,937	B'ham 390,792
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	NA		
Size of the estate	126.7 ha		
Inhabitants (Census 2001)		Hodge Hill 9,015	B'ham 977,087
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census 2001)			
Average household size (Census 2001)		Hodge Hill 2.3 persons	B'ham 2.5 persons
Household composition (Census 2001)	Single	35.8%	33.2%
	Couple, no child	12.2%	12.5%
	Couple with children	23.1%	24.7%
	Single parent	16.7%	13.5%
	Other	12.2%	16.1%
Age structure of the estate (Census 2001)	0-17 years	28.0%	26.3%
	18-30 years	14.5%	17.7%
	31-64 years	43.2%	41.5%
	> 64 years	14.3%	14.5%
Ethnic composition (Census 2001)	White	87.0%	70.4%
	Black, minority ethnic	13.0%	29.6%
Tenure structure (Census 2001)	Owner-occupied	52.3%	60.4%
	State and local council housing	37%	19.4%
	RSL/HA	4%	8.4%
	Private rent	2%	7.8%
	Other	6%	4.0%
Lack of policies or regeneration programmes in the past. Recent establishment of Community Based Housing Organisation as a result of failed stock transfer bid across city. Emphasis on localised housing management and community participation within decision-making.			

Table 4A – Central Estates (Birmingham, England)

Time of construction of estate	1960s - 1970s		
Distance to the city centre (km)	1		
Most positive aspect of the area	Proximity to city centre		
Most negative aspect of the area	Fragmented nature of estate due to intersecting road networks.		
Predominant building type	System built flats		
Number of dwellings (Census 2001)		Central Estates 3,298	B'ham 390,792
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	NA		
Size of the estate	93.5 ha		
Inhabitants (Census 2001)		Central Estates 6,582	B'ham 977,087
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census 2001)			
Average household size (Census 2001)		Central Estates 1.8 persons	B'ham 2.5 persons
Household composition (Census 2001)	Single	59.8%	33.2%
	Couple, no child	8.8%	12.5%
	Couple with children	6.5%	24.7%
	Single parent	13.8%	13.5%
	Other	11.1%	16.1%
Age structure of the estate (Census 2001)	0-17 years	16.1%	26.3%
	18-30 years	32.6%	17.7%
	31-64 years	39.6%	41.5%
	> 64 years	11.7%	14.5%
Ethnic composition (Census 2001)	White	61.0%	70.4%
	Black, minority ethnic	39.0%	29.6%
Tenure structure (Census 2001)	Owner-occupied	18.5%	60.4%
	State and local council housing	20%	19.4%
	RSL/HA	46%	8.4%
	Private rent	9%	7.8%
	Other	8%	4.0%
Restructuring the area – changing the mix of property types, sizes and to introduce a greater mix of tenures. Demolition and housing rebuilding. Socio economic regeneration and development.			

Table 5A – Tensta Estates (Stockholm, Sweden)

Time of construction of estate	1966 - 1971			
Distance to the city centre (km)	10			
Most positive aspect of the area (max 50 words)	Green spaces give good opportunity for outdoor leisure activities. Good quality of dwellings. No physical decay. Professional management. High level of public services. Good subway connection with Stockholm city.			
Most negative aspect of the area (max 50 words)	The area has bad image and is stigmatized primarily because of densities of low income households and of immigrants. Low levels of employment. Enclave character = somewhat isolated. Traffic separation. High population density.			
Predominant building type	Multi-family 2- to 6 storey houses built in blocks			
Number of dwellings (Real estate property register, 2003)	5,931			
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	65 (guess; predominance of 1 and 2 bedroom dwellings)			
Size of the estate	196 ha			
Inhabitants (2003)		Tensta		Stockholm Municipality
		17,463		761,721
Population density (persons/km ² (Pop registers))		8,910		4,058
		Tensta (RESTATE fieldwork 2004)	Tensta (Census 1990 and USK 2002)	Stockholm Municipality (USK Omr. data 2002/03)
Size of household (1990)	1 person	NA	36%	NA
	2 persons	NA	25%	NA
	3 persons	NA	16%	NA
	4 persons or >	NA	23%	NA
	Other	NA	-	NA
Household composition (2003)	Live alone	16%	} 44%	} 74%
	Couple, no child	17%		
	Couple with children	47%		
	Single parent	12%		
	Other	8%	0%	0%
Age structure of the estate (2003)	19-24 years	NA	9%	7%
	25-64 years	NA	50%	58%
	> 64 years	11%	8%	15%
Age structure of the estate (2003)	0-15 years		30%	17%
	16-64 years	89%	63%	68%
	> 64 years	11%	8%	15%
Ethnic composition (2003)	Native	39%	39%	79%
	Non-native	61%*	61%	21%
Tenure structure (USK 2003)	Cooperative housing	20%	28%	36%
	State and local council housing	61%	53%	23%
	Private rent	18%	18%	29%
	Home own.ship	1%	1%	11%

Table 6A – Husby Estates (Stockholm, Sweden)

Time of construction of estate	1973 - 1975			
Distance to the city centre (km)	10			
Most positive aspect of the area	The estate neighbours Kista where an IT&Telecom cluster employs many and where commercial services are good. Green surroundings, good for leisure activities. Good quality of dwellings. No physical decay. Professional management. High level of public services. Good subway connection with Stockholm city.			
Most negative aspect of the area	Bad reputation, stigmatized as poor and immigrant dense. Low levels of employment. Poor commercial service in the estate as such.			
Predominant building type	5-storey houses arranged in blocks			
Number of dwellings (USK 2003)	4,727			
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	70 (an estimate)			
Size of the estate	183 ha			
Inhabitants (Pop register 2003)		Husby		Stockholm Municipality
		11,657		761,721
Population density (persons/km ²) (Pop registers)		6,370		4,058
		Husby (RESTATE fieldwork 2004)	Husby (Pop. reg.)	Stockholm Municipality (Pop reg. 2002 - Rapid Reports no.93/2003)
Size of household (Husby 1990, Census)	1 person	NA	45%	NA
	2 persons	NA	27%	NA
	3 persons	NA	13%	NA
	4 persons or >	NA	15%	NA
Household composition	Live alone	22%	} 58%	} 74%
	Couple, no child	17%		
	Couple with children	49%	24%	16%
	Single parent	8%	18%	10%
	Other	5%		
Age structure of the estate (2003)	19-24 years	NA	8%	7%
	25-64 years	NA	55%	59%
	> 64 years	8%	8%	15%
Age structure of the estate	0-15 years		25%	16%
	16-64 years	92%	67%	69%
	> 64 years	8%	8%	15%
Ethnic composition	Native	39%	44%	79%
	Non-native	61%	56%	21%
	Unknown	0%	0%	0%
Tenure structure (USK 2003)	Cooperative housing	21%	24%	36%
	State and local council housing	44%	42%	23%
	Private rent	27%	34%	29%
	Home own.ship	0%	0%	11%

Table 7A – Öxnehaga (Jönköping, Sweden)

Time of construction of estate	1969 - 1978		
Distance to the city centre (km)	10		
Most positive aspect of the area	Öxnehaga is located on a hill-side with a view over the lake Vättern. There are green spaces and recreation areas in the surroundings. There is also the 'Puls Arena', a spontaneous recreational arena. In Öxnehaga there is a school, a primary health care centre and social services.		
Most negative aspect of the area	From the time of construction there have been many problems related to the physical buildings and the organisation between different municipal housing companies. Öxnehaga had a very expensive renovation period between 1985-1994. Öxnehaga does not have much of a commercial centre. The employment rate and the income level are among the lowest in Jönköping.		
Predominant building type	3-, 8- and 12- storey blocks		
Number of dwellings (Census 2002)	2,041		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	78		
Size of the estate	320 ha		
Inhabitants (Census 2002)		Öxnehaga	Jönköping
		5,285	118,581
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census 2002)		1,636	80
Size of household	NA		
Household composition	NA		
Age structure of the estate (Områdesfakta 2002, Jönköpings kommun)		Öxnehaga	Jönköping
	0-18 years	28.9%	23.2%
	19-34 years	19.1%	21.5%
	35-64 years	40.2%	37.6%
	> 64 years	11.8%	17.7%
Ethnic composition (Välfärdsindikatorer för delområden i Jönköpings kommun, Stadskontorets utredningsenhet, Jönköpings kommun, 2002)			
	Native	71%	88%
	Non-native	29%	12%
Tenure structure (Områdesfakta 2002, Jönköpings kommun)			
	Owner-occupied (including tenant-owned flats)	32.2%	61.4%
	State and local council housing	67.8%	21.7%
	Private rent	0.0%	15.3%
	Other	0.0%	1.6%
There is a ten year comprehensive programme (1996-) directly controlled by the city council. More than 100 projects have been implemented focusing on labour market and employment, education and language skills, culture, public participation, sports and other leisure activities.			

Table 8A – Råslätt (Jönköping, Sweden)

Time of construction of estate	1966 - 1972		
Distance to the city centre (km)	5		
Most positive aspect of the area	Råslätt is a comparatively well-managed and well-organized suburban housing estate. It is owned by the municipality of Jönköping's housing company. The estate consists of 6-8 storey block of flats. In the middle of the estate there is a complex containing a commercial building, primary health- and social care centre. There is also a recreation building with a pool area, integrated with one of Råslätt's three primary schools. Råslätt has good public transportation facilities to the centre of Jönköping.		
Most negative aspect of the area	Råslätt is a stigmatized place to live in with a bad reputation in the local housing market. One negative turn has been a very complicated immigrant situation caused by a substantial increase of refugees (a refugee camp 1990s). The employment rate and the income level are the lowest in the Jönköping region.		
Predominant building type	6- and 8- storey blocks		
Number of dwellings (Census 2002)	2,657		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	66		
Size of the estate	120 ha		
Inhabitants (Census 2002)		Råslätt	Jönköping
		4,571	118,581
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census 2002 for Jönköping, our own calculation for Råslätt)		3,300	80
Size of household	NA		
Household composition	NA		
Age structure of the estate (Områdesfakta 2002, Jönköpings kommun)		Råslätt	Jönköping
	0-18 years	25.3%	23.2%
	19-34 years	30.4%	21.5%
	35-64 years	30.2%	37.6%
	> 64 years	14.2%	17.7%
Ethnic composition (Välfärdsindikatorer för delområden i Jönköpings kommun, Stadskontorets utredningsenhet, Jönköpings kommun, 2004)	Native	52%	88%
	Non-native	48%	12%
Tenure structure (Områdesfakta 2002, Jönköpings kommun)	Owner-occupied	0.0%	61.4%
	State and local council housing	99.4%	21.7%
	Private rent	0.0%	15.3%
	Other	0.6%	1.6%
There is a ten year comprehensive programme (1996-) directly controlled by the city council. More than 100 projects have been implemented focusing on labour market and employment, education and language skills, culture, public participation and sports and other leisure activities.			

Table 9A – Bijlmer-East (Amsterdam, the Netherlands)

Time of construction of estate	1968 - 1977		
Distance to the city centre (km)	8		
Most positive aspect of the area	The popularity of the estate is increasing. It offers relatively cheap middle and high quality (mostly single-family type) housing in the owner-occupied sector. Many residents enjoy the multi-ethnic character of the estate.		
Most negative aspect of the area	The estate has a stigma. Part of this bad image is justified by high (youth) crime, drugs, burglary, lack of cleanliness and feelings of unsafety. The area is also characterised by high levels of welfare dependency, unemployment and many undocumented immigrants.		
Predominant building type	originally 12- storey blocks; now more and more single family dwellings		
Number of dwellings	12,926		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	70		
Size of the estate	407,5 ha		
Inhabitants		Bijlmer-East 27,605	Amsterdam 734,540
Population density (persons/km ²)		Southeast (incorporating Bijlmer-East) 4,164	Amsterdam 4,428
Size of household		Bijlmer-East	Amsterdam
	1 person	40%	42%
	2 persons	18%	29%
	> 2 persons	42%	29%
Household composition	Single	40%	47%
	Couple, no child	18%	24%
	Couple with children	16%	15%
	Single parent	17%	9%
	Others	1%	5%
Age structure of the estate	0-19 years	30%	20%
	20-34 years	26%	29%
	35-64 years	36%	38%
	> 65 years	8%	12%
Ethnic composition	Native	24%	53%
	Non-native	76%	47%
Tenure structure	Owner-occupied	13%	17%
	Social rent	85%	55%
	Private rent	2%	28%

The aims of the current renewal initiatives are the following:

- a financially sound housing association;
- a varied and attractive housing stock;
- a socially varied/socially strong population;
- a safe and respected neighbourhood with a favourable living climate (Leferink, former director of the renewal agency).

Table 10A – Kolenkit (Amsterdam, the Netherlands)

Time of construction of estate	1946 - 1955		
Distance to the city centre (km)	3		
Most positive aspect of the area	The estate is well located, not too far from the city centre, and with good car and public transport facilities. A popular shopping centre and market square is located just out of its borders.		
Most negative aspect of the area	Neighbourhood satisfaction is very low. Residents give low scores for the other people who live in the neighbourhood, the design of the housing environment, the cleanliness of streets, crime, feelings of unsafety, young people hanging around and disturbance and noise made by traffic as well as neighbours. Welfare dependency is high.		
Predominant building type	4- and 5- storey blocks		
Number of dwellings	2,634		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	50		
Size of the estate	69,3 ha		
Inhabitants		Kolenkit 6,992	Amsterdam 734,540
Population density (persons/km ²)		Bos & Lommer (incorporating Kolenkit) 11,930	Amsterdam 4,428
Size of household		Kolenkit	Amsterdam
	1 person	35%	42%
	2 persons	25%	29%
	> 2 persons	40%	29%
Household composition			
	Single	35%	42%
	Couple, no child	9%	12%
	Couple with children	26%	12%
	Single parent	12%	9%
	Others	18%	25%
Age structure of the estate			
	0-17 years	23%	18%
	18-34 years	25%	32%
	35-64 years	34%	37%
	> 65 years	18%	13%
Ethnic composition			
	Native	12%	53%
	Non-native	88%	47%
Tenure structure			
	Owner-occupied	2%	17%
	Social rent	95%	55%
	Private rent	3%	28%

Current policy activities are set up to ensure that residents have a satisfied neighbourhood experience and that children grow up in a responsible way. To have a neighbourhood where both adults and children are fully part of Dutch society and are able to make a contribution to that society (Stadsdeel Bos and Lommer et al., 2003).

Table 11A – Kanaleneiland-Noord (Utrecht, the Netherlands)

Time of construction of estate	1956 - 1961		
Distance to the city centre (km)	2		
Most positive aspect of the area	Kanaleneiland-Noord becomes more centrally located within the city because of the construction of a new building area		
Most negative aspect of the area	Problems with respect to safety, criminality, vandalism, socio-economic disadvantaged population, low quality of the housing stock		
Predominant building type	3-, and 4 storey blocks		
Number of dwellings (2002)	2,674		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	Between 55 and 74m ²		
Size of the estate	66 ha		
Inhabitants (Census 2002)		Kanaleneiland-Noord	Utrecht
		7,819	260,639
Population density (persons/ha)		120.5	26.2
Size of household (Census 2002)	1 person	26.4%	42.9%
	2 persons	NA	NA
	3 persons	NA	NA
	4 persons	NA	NA
	> 5 persons	NA	NA
Household composition (Gemeente Utrecht, 2002)	Single	26.4%	42.9%
	Couple, no child	4.9%	6.9%
	Couple with children	15.7%	12.7%
	Single parent	3.8%	4.7%
Age structure of the estate (Gemeente Utrecht, 2002)	0-17 years	32.9%	18.3%
	18-30 years	24.2%	24.3%
	31-64 years	33.8%	45.8%
	> 64 years	9.1%	11.6%
Ethnic composition (Gemeente Utrecht, 2002)	Native	18.7%	69.5%
	Non-native	81.3%	30.5%
Tenure structure (Gemeente Utrecht, 2002)	Owner-occupied	13%	NA
	State and local council housing	78%	NA
	Private rent	NA	NA
	Other	NA	NA

Policies that focus on Kanaleneiland-Noord aim to differentiate the housing stock (and related to this to create a more differentiated population composition) through demolishing / new building projects. At the same time, there are numerous projects that focus on improving the social situation in the area, especially by paying attention to safety and young people. Also, the integration of ethnic minorities is thought to be important.

Table 12A – Nieuw-Hoograven (Utrecht, the Netherlands)

Time of construction of estate	1954 - 1965		
Distance to the city centre (km)	1		
Most positive aspect of the area	Its location with respect to the city centre		
Most negative aspect of the area	High figures of crime, vandalism, feelings of unsafety, problems with young people, low quality of the housing stock		
Predominant building type	3-, 4- storey blocks		
Number of dwellings (Census 2002)	2,595		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	60m ²		
Size of the estate	NA		
Inhabitants (Census 2002)		Nieuw-Hoograven	Utrecht
		5,903	260,639
Population density (persons/ha) (Gemeente Utrecht, 2002)		56.8	26.2
Size of household (Gemeente Utrecht, 2002)	1 person	32.6%	42.9%
	2 persons	NA	NA
	3 persons	NA	NA
	4 persons	NA	NA
	> 5 persons	NA	NA
Household composition (Gemeente Utrecht, 2002)	Single	32.6%	42.9%
	Couple, no child	6.8%	6.9%
	Couple with children	14.5%	12.7%
	Single parent	5.5%	4.7%
Age structure of the estate (Gemeente Utrecht, 2002)	0-17 years	25.3%	18.3%
	18-30 years	22.9%	24.3%
	31-64 years	36.8%	45.8%
	> 64 years	15.0%	11.6%
Ethnic composition (Gemeente Utrecht, 2002)	Native	44.1%	69.5%
	Non-native	55.9%	30.5%
Tenure structure (Gemeente Utrecht, 2002)	Owner-occupied	6%	NA
	State and local council housing	85%	NA
	Private rent	NA	NA
	Other	NA	NA

Policies that focus on Nieuw-Hoograven aim to differentiate the housing stock (and related to this to create a more differentiated population composition) through demolishing / new building projects, with emphasis on one far-reaching project. At the same time, there are numerous projects that focus on improving the social situation in the area, especially by paying attention to safety and young people. Also, the integration of ethnic minorities is thought to be important.

Table 13A – Les Minguettes (Venissieux, Lyon, France)

Time of construction of estate	1967 - 1974		
Distance to the city centre (km)	8 to the Lyon centre		
Most positive aspect of the area	The access by public transport (metro, bus...) to the city centre of Lyon is easy. The transport network of Venissieux provides rapid transit to the city centre. The housing environment, the accessibility to public services, the green spaces are the most positive aspects of the area.		
Most negative aspect of the area	The situation of Les Minguettes is one of the worst in Graeter Lyon, especially with respect to social problems.		
Predominant building type	4, 15 storey blocks		
Number of dwellings (Census 1999)	8,190		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	65		
Size of the estate	220 ha		
Inhabitants (Census 1999)		Les Minguettes	Venissieux
		21,312	56,061
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census 1999)		11,700	3,657
Size of household (Census 1999)			
	1 person	NA	29%
	2 persons	NA	29%
	3 persons	NA	16%
	4 persons	NA	14%
	> 5 persons	NA	12%
Household composition (Statistical data of R. la .Pape : Census 1999; Statistical data of La Ville Nouvelle : The territorial observatory of the contract of city of Lyon, 2003)			
	Single	25%	36%
	Couple, no child	16%	29%
	Couple with children	41%	29%
	Single parent	17%	7%
Age structure of the estate (Census 1999)			
	0-14 years	NA	21%
	15-29 years	NA	22%
	30-59 years	NA	39%
	> 60 years	NA	18%
Ethnic composition (Statistical data of R. la .Pape : Census 1999; Statistical data of La Ville Nouvelle : The territorial observatory of the contract of city of Lyon, 2003)			
	Native	66%	75%
	Non-native	30%	25%
	Unknown	4%	0%
Tenure structure (Statistical data of R. la .Pape : Census 1999; Statistical data of La Ville Nouvelle : The territorial observatory of the contract of city of Lyon, 2003)			
	Owner-occupied	19%	34%
	Social landlords	73%	50%
	Private rent	5%	13%
	Other	3%	3%
The most important general objectives of the policies are to regenerate the estate by transforming planning, housing and environment, by improving transport, by encouraging economic growth inside the neighbourhood. By restructuring the housing and physical environment, the stakeholders wish to improve the quality of life and to give a better image of the estate, if possible a residential one to attract new households.			

Table 14A – La Ville Nouvelle (Rillieux-La-Pape, Lyon, France)

Time of construction of estate	1960 - 1976		
Distance to the city centre (km)	10 to the Lyon center		
Most positive aspect of the area	The estate presents a peaceful, attractive image to the visitor with its repainted buildings, tidy public spaces and people moving about without evident anxieties or evident difficulties. A beautiful panorama was offered, on the edge of a plateau dominating the Eastern part of the city, facing the Alps in the background.		
Most negative aspect of the area	The very high unemployment rate has a strong impact on the estate. The residents' underprivileged social and economic situation obliges them to stay in their neighbourhood during their 'leisure' time. With no employment activities, the inhabitants, especially the young, tend to become critical elements for the estate (petty crime, disorderliness, drug abuse).		
Predominant building type	5-15 storey blocks		
Number of dwellings (Census 1999)	7,422		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	65		
Size of the estate	160 ha		
Inhabitants (Census 1999)		La Ville Nouvelle	Rillieux-la-Pape
		19,205	28,367
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census 1999)		1,764	1,959
Size of household (Census 1999)	1 person	NA	27%
	2 persons	NA	28%
	3 persons	NA	17%
	4 persons	NA	15%
	> 5 persons	NA	13%
Household composition (Statistical data of R. la Pape : Census 1999; Statistical data of La Ville Nouvelle : The territorial observatory of the contract of city of Lyon, 2003)	Single	29%	28%
	Couple, no child	18%	20%
	Couple with children	35%	40%
	Single parent	16%	8%
Age structure of the estate (Census 1999)	0-14 years	NA	22%
	15-29 years	NA	21%
	30-59 years	NA	40%
	> 60 years	NA	17%
Ethnic composition (Statistical data of R. la Pape : Census 1999; Statistical data of La Ville Nouvelle : The territorial observatory of the contract of city of Lyon, 2003)	Native	79%	82%
	Non-native	21%	18%
Tenure structure (Statistical data of R. la Pape : Census 1999; Statistical data of La Ville Nouvelle : The territorial observatory of the contract of city of Lyon, 2003)	Owner-occupied	19%	36%
	Social landlords	73%	53%
	Private rent	8%	8%
	Other	0%	3%
<p>Many public interventions in the form of State housing policies, the actions of local authorities, or social landlords have maintained the estate in a good condition. A great deal of money has been invested in the buildings and surrounding spaces in order to minimise the social problems of the estate. Social instruments were developed to reduce unemployment and social deviance.</p>			

Table 15A – Comasina (Milan, Italy)

Time of construction of estate	1954 - 1963		
Distance to the city centre (km)	7		
Most positive aspect of the area	<p>Comasina seems to have undergone a positive transformation and the inhabitants have experienced a gradual upward social and economic mobility.</p> <p>There is the protection of positive impulses and promotion of a sense of belonging to the estate.</p> <p>Green and built-up areas are balanced and pedestrian routes are totally separated from the roads carrying car traffic.</p>		
Most negative aspect of the area	<p>The neighbourhood is still suffering from being a socially excluded zone, stigmatised as a petty crime area, with a marked unemployment problem.</p> <p>Absence of meeting places for the youngest section of the population.</p> <p>The most of the social services, as well as the post office, are not close to the estate. The area lacks a market and shops.</p>		
Predominant building type	3-, 4-, 5-, 9- and 13- storey blocks		
Number of dwellings (Census, 2002)	2,218		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	60-80		
Size of the estate	32.4 ha		
Inhabitants (Census, 1991)		Comasina	Milan
		5,432	1,369,231
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census, 1991)		16,765	6,494.7
Size of household (Census, 1991)	1 person	25.4%	32%
	2 persons	34.5%	28%
	3 persons	21.7%	21.2%
	4 persons	13.5%	14.7%
	> 5 persons	4.9%	4.1%
Age structure of the estate (Census, 1991)	0-14 years	9.8%	10.4%
	15-34 years	26%	29.5%
	35-64 years	39.3%	42.7%
	> 64 years	24.9%	18.4%
Tenure structure (Social Housing Company, 2002)	Social Housing Company:	25%	NA
	Owner-Occupied:	75%	NA
<p>Paolo Pini was a mental hospital until the 31st December 1998 transformed into a multi-activity centre (the bar – restaurant Jodok, La Falegnameria (Carpentry), Olinda Multimedia and a youth hostel). The Cooperative and the Association decided to work as a collector of ideas, playing an apparent passive role, since the aim was to attract people with their initiatives and proposals within these spaces, and to make them able to implement it.</p>			

Table 16A – Sant’Ambrogio (Milan, Italy)

Time of construction of estate	Sant’Ambrogio I: 1965 Sant’Ambrogio II: 1970 - 1972		
Distance to the city centre (km)	Sant’Ambrogio I: 4 Sant’Ambrogio II: 4		
Most positive aspect of the area	The area is well connected to the city by public transport, particularly the subway (15 minutes’ walking). The estate is entirely closed to traffic, with a peaceful courtyard inside. There is no sense of urgency or excessive tension. The inhabitants like their neighbourhood and would not want to live. The estate follows an upward trajectory.		
Most negative aspect of the area	There are very few shops and they are very expensive in comparison with the supermarket. Inhabitants feel a strong sense of isolation and that there is a lack of amenities and no attractions (especially for young people). The residents are becoming older and there is a lack of services targeted to this population group.		
Predominant building type	Sant’Ambrogio I: 6-storey blocks Sant’Ambrogio II: 7-storey blocks		
Number of dwellings	Sant’Ambrogio I: 1,122 Sant’Ambrogio II: 1,216		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	Around 80		
Size of the estate	Sant’Ambrogio I: 15.2 ha, Sant’Ambrogio II: 17.7 ha		
Inhabitants (Census 1991)		Sant’Ambrogio I – II	Milan
		6,259	1,369,231
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census 1991)		19,521.9	6,494.7
Size of household (Census 1991)	1 person	15.3%	32%
	2 persons	28.5%	28%
	3 persons	25.9%	21.2%
	4 persons	22.1%	14.7%
	> 5 persons	8.2%	4.1%
Age structure of the estate (Census, 1991)	0-14 years	8.2%	10.4%
	15-34 years	31.9%	29.5%
	35-64 years	47.5%	42.7%
	> 64 years	12.4%	18.4%
Tenure structure (Social Housing Company, 2002)	Municipality	70%	0%
	Social Housing Company	0%	90%
	Owner-occupied	30%	10%
Barrios Project is a centre promoting social and cultural activities. It is a integrated project combining urban matter with social and educational and welfare policies.			

Table 17A – San Siro (Milan, Italy)

Time of construction of estate		San Siro - P.za Selinunte 1931 - 1952	Harar-Dessiè 1951 - 1955	Quarto Cagnino: 1967 - 1973
Distance to the city centre (km)		4	5	6
Most positive aspect of the area	SS: The area hosts several points of attraction QC+H: presence of green areas and sense of neighbourhood identity. They follow a positive trajectory.			
Most negative aspect of the area	SS: One of the parts of the town with the greatest number of unresolved problems of housing and living conditions (a dangerous, insecure, spatially isolated place, forgotten by institutions, activities, and the citizenry; black economy and illegal market; very high number of illegally occupied dwellings; concentration of ethnic and problematical groups). It represents a case of declining trajectory. QC+H: the neighbourhood are built in a area of heavy urban traffic, but they are particularly poorly served by public transport and commercial activities. Problems are connected with public space (drug) and abandoned green areas.			
Predominant building type		San Siro - P.za Selinunte 4- or 5- storey blocks	Harar-Dessiè 5-storey blocks or one-family houses	Quarto Cagnino 8-storey blocks
Number of dwellings		6,032	942	1163
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)		40.23	80-90	80-100
Size of the estate		22.8 ha	13.7 ha	23.0 ha
Inhabitants (Census 2001)		25182		
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census 2001)		17.152,3		
Size of household (Census 2002)	1 person	37.2%		
	2 persons	28.5%		
	3 persons	18.4%		
	4 persons	12.4%		
	> 5 persons	3.5%		
Age structure of the estate	0-14 years	9.4%		
	15-34 years	27.4%		
	35-64 years	39.2%		
	> 64 years	24.0%		
Tenure structure (Social Housing Company, 2002)		San Siro - P.za Selinunte	Harar-Dessiè	Quarto Cagnino
	Social housing company	75%	8%	24%
	Owner-occupied	25%	92%	76%

Mar Jonio and Abita project are actions aiming to renew the public space. While the first is a sectoral and top-down project aiming to regenerate a public garden, the second project is more integrated and has followed a participatory process.

Table 18A – Orcasitas (Madrid, Spain)

Time of construction of estate	1974 - 1976 (Meseta de Orcasitas)		
Distance to the city centre (km)	4		
Most positive aspect of the area	Large dwellings in good technical state and a satisfying level of amenities.		
Most negative aspect of the area	The transport facilities to the centre of the city and other parts of Madrid form a problem. Social problems concern a low educational level which contributes to a relatively high unemployment rate and a low average family income.		
Predominant building type	3-, 4- and 8- storey blocks		
Number of dwellings (Statistical Department Madrid 1-11-2001)	7,382		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	90		
Size of the estate	126,66 ha		
Inhabitants (1-1 2002 Statistical Department Madrid)		Orcasitas	Madrid
		19,518	3,043,535
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census 2002)		15,490	5,000
Size of household (Population Statistics 1996)	1 person	12.4%	19.8%
	2 persons	25.6%	25.9%
	3 persons	21.5%	20.7%
	4 persons	21.6%	20.5%
	> 5 persons	19.2%	12.9%
Household composition (Population Statistics 1996)	No family households	12.5%	20.9%
	Family households	87.4%	78.8%
Household composition (Population Statistics 1996)	Marriage, no child	25.0%	25.0%
	Marriage with children	60.6%	59.1%
	Single parent	14.4%	15.8%
Age structure of the estate (Census 2001)	0-14 years	11.3%	12.3%
	15-64 years	65.1%	68.3%
	> 64 years	23.6%	19.4%
Ethnic composition (Municipality Madrid, 2003)	Native	97%	88.4%
	Non-native	3%	11.6%
Tenure structure (Census 1991)	Owner-occupied	91.4%	72.9%
	Rent	0.4%	19.3%
	Other	3.3%	3.3%

Meseta de Orcasitas located many auto constructed dwellings and slums which were substituted by decent dwellings during the regeneration project in Madrid ('Renovación de Barrios') which took place at the end of the 1970s and during the 1980s. At the moment the Investment Plan Villaverde-Usera is being carried out which affects the neighbourhood of Orcasitas.

Table 19A – Simancas (Madrid, Spain)

Time of construction of estate	1957 - 1959		
Distance to the city centre (km)	5.5		
Most positive aspect of the area	The central location of Simancas forms a positive aspect, the neighbourhood has good connections with the centre (metro, bus)		
Most negative aspect of the area	The lack of a neighbourhood feeling forms a negative aspect of Simancas.		
Predominant building type	Single family dwellings, 3-, 4-, 5-, 6, and 10- storey blocks		
Number of dwellings (Statistical Department Madrid 1-11-2001)	9,923		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	60		
Size of the estate	228.65 ha		
Inhabitants (1-1 2002 Statistical Department Madrid)		Simancas	Madrid
		21,681	3,043,535
Population density (persons/km ²)		9,482	5,000
Size of household (Population Statistics 1996)	1 person	20.9%	19.8%
	2 persons	31.7%	25.9%
	3 persons	20.6%	20.7%
	4 persons	16.7%	20.5%
	> 5 persons	10.2%	12.9%
Household composition (Population Statistics 1996)	No family households	21.4%	20.9%
	Family households	78.6%	78.8%
	Marriage, no child	31.6%	25.0%
	Marriage with children	50.2%	59.1%
	Single parent	18.2%	15.8%
Age structure of the estate (Census 2001)	0-14 years	10.6%	12.3%
	15-64 years	60.9%	68.3%
	> 64 years	28.5%	19.4%
Ethnic composition (Municipality Madrid 2003)	Native	86.6%	88.4%
	Non-native	13.4%	11.6%
Tenure structure (Census 1991)	Owner-occupied	69.8%	72.9%
	Rent	9.9%	19.3%
	Other	5.1%	3.3%
A part of the neighbourhood, 'Poblado de Absorción', was replaced with new dwellings (around 920 VPO dwellings) during the regeneration process in the end of the 1970s and 1980s (this area is now called San Blas I). Some dwellings have been rehabilitated; however this only affected the façade. Simancas is a neighbourhood where not many policy-initiatives have taken place.			

Table 20A – Trinitat Nova (Barcelona, Spain)

Time of construction of estate	1953 - 1963		
Distance to the city centre (km)	6		
Most positive aspect of the area	Trinitat Nova is located on a slope, close to a nature park and the neighbourhoods offer nice views over the city and the sea.		
Most negative aspect of the area	Many dwellings are in a bad technical state as they suffer from 'concrete disease'. This is caused by the poor materials used for their construction.		
Predominant building type	3-,4-,5-,6- storey blocks		
Number of dwellings (Census 2002)	3,215		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	Between 31 and 60 m ²		
Size of the estate	55 ha		
Inhabitants (Census 2001)		Trinitat Nova	Barcelona
		7,686	1,505,325
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census 2002)		13,975	15,677
Size of household (Padron 1996)	1 person	26.3%	22.1%
	2 persons	33.6%	29.0%
	3/4/5 persons	37.2%	46.7%
	> 6 persons	2.3%	2.2%
Age structure of the estate (Census 2001)	0-14 years	11%	12%
	15-24 years	12%	12%
	25-64 years	47%	55%
	> 64 years	30%	22%
Ethnic composition (Census 2001)	Native	98.0%	95.1%
	Non-native	2.0%	4.9%
Tenure structure (Census 1991)	Owner-occupied	70.8%	55.0%
	Private rent	20.0%	32.4%
	Other	1.9%	2.8%
A regeneration program is being carried out and technical poor dwellings are being demolished (around 870) and new dwellings (around 1030) are being built. In 1996 the residents association started with the setup of a Community Plan to improve the quality of life in the neighbourhood, amongst others, through the promotion of citizen participation.			

Table 21A – Sant Roc (Barcelona, Spain)

Time of construction of estate	1962 - 1965		
Distance to the city centre (km)	Around 6 km from the centre of Barcelona. Sant Roc is located in Badalona, a municipality part of the metropolitan area of Barcelona.		
Most positive aspect of the area	The area offers good access, both by public transport (metro and bus) as by car.		
Most negative aspect of the area	Many dwellings are in a bad technical state as they suffer from 'concrete disease'. Social cohesion suffers from problems concerning the living together of three population groups, non-gypsies, gypsies and recently arrived immigrants.		
Predominant building type	5-, 8-, 10- and 14 storey blocks		
Number of dwellings	3,395		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	50		
Size of the estate	46.2 ha		
Inhabitants (Census 2001)		Sant Roc	Barcelona
		12,476	1,505,325
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census 2001)		27,004	15,677
Size of household (Census 2001)	1 person	5.1%	26.9%
	2 persons	16.8%	28.1%
	3 persons	22.6%	20.9%
	4 persons	24.2%	16.8%
	> 5 persons	31.3%	7.3%
Age structure of the estate (Census 2001)	0-14 years	17%	12%
	15-24 years	47%	12%
	25-64 years	20%	55%
	> 64 years	17%	22%
Ethnic composition (Census 2001)	Native	95.7%	95.1%
	Non-native	4.3%	4.9%
<p>A regeneration project takes place and more than 900 dwellings are being demolished and substituted by new ones. Besides improving technical quality an important aim is to take advantage of reallocations to mix gypsy and no-gypsy families. A Community Plan is being carried out to improve the quality of life, amongst others, through the promotion of citizen participation.</p>			

Table 22A – Marzahn NW (Berlin, Germany)

Time of construction of estate	1977 - 1989	
Distance to the city centre (km)	13 km (eastern centre); 19 km (western centre)	
Most positive aspect of the area	The large green spaces. The designation as neighbourhood management target area promoted the socio-spatial integration.	
Most negative aspect of the area	Mono-structural building structure, high share of vacant flats, lack of leisure facilities and qualification / work opportunities, especially for the youth	
Predominant building type	Six- and ten- to eleven-storey panel buildings, industrially pre-cast concrete panels (Wohnungsbauserie WBS 70)	
Number of dwellings (Census 2002)	13,800 flats housing	
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	62	
Size of the estate	280 ha	
Inhabitants (Census 2002)	25,000	
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census 2002)	44.4	
		Marzahn NW
Household composition (Representative survey)	Living alone	23.4%
	Couple without children	21.1%
	Couple with child(ren)	40.2%
	Single-parent	13.4%
	Other	1.9%
	Age structure of the estate (Representative survey)	18-30 years
31-44 years		31.7%
45-54 years		22.9%
55-64 years		6.8%
65 and older		11.7%
Ethnic composition (Representative survey)	German	85.4%
	German with foreign origin	4.4%
	Turkish, Western European	
	Eastern European	1.9%
	Russian	4.4%
	Asian	1.0%
	None	1.5%
	Unknown	1.5%
Tenure structure (Representative survey)	Rental	85.9%
	Cooperative	14.1%

Marzahn NorthWest has been target area of the 1990s panel building rehabilitation programme and benefits from a partial redesign of the housing environment. A bad reputation, increasing vacancies, unemployment and socio-spatial segregation led to the area's designation as Socially Integrative City target area. The then implemented neighbourhood-management combats socio-spatial segregation, promotes new forms of urban governance, resident participation and a better integration of the migrant communities. In 2004, the Urban Regeneration East programme initiated through an ambitious demolition and rebuilding project a gentrification process giving a new stimulus for the estate's image and development.

Table 23A – Hellersdorf Red and Yellow Quarter (Berlin, Germany)

Time of construction of estate	1985 - 1992	
Distance to the city centre (km)	15 km (western centre); 23 km (eastern centre)	
Most positive aspect of the area	Socially mixed population, neighbourhood oriented building structure with image-building facade design, socially aware allocation policy	
Most negative aspect of the area	Technical deficits despite rehabilitation in the 1990s	
Predominant building type	Five and six storey buildings, mostly situated around courtyards, dominated by some eleven storey buildings in the centre of the Red Quarter	
Number of dwellings (Census 2002)	12,750	
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	62	
Size of the estate (ha)	130 ha	
Inhabitants (Census 2002)	17,500	
Population density (persons/km ²) (Berlin statistical data 2002)	42,9	
		Hellersdorf Red and Yellow Quarter
Household composition (Representative survey)	Living alone	28.3%
	Couple without children	17.0%
	Couple with child(ren)	40.6%
	Single-parent	13.2%
	Other	0.9%
Age structure of the estate (Representative survey)	18-30 years	21.8%
	31-44 years	27.7%
	45-54 years	21.8%
	55-64 years	15.8%
	65 and older	12.9%
Ethnic composition (Representative survey)	German	92.3%
	German with foreign origin	1.9%
	Turkish, Western European	
	Eastern European	1.0%
	Russian	1.0%
	Asian	
	African, Latin American	1.0%
	Unknown	2.9%
Tenure structure (Representative survey)	Rental	90%
	Cooperative	10%

The Red and Yellow Quarter form part of a neighbourhood-oriented building- and image concept, underlined through a differentiated concept for facades and art in public space. This attempt to build local communities has been supported through a planning for real project and a distinctly socially mixed allocation policy by the housing company, aiming at a stable tenant community and social cohesion. Since 2003, the estate is target-area of the Urban Regeneration Programme, which is here mainly funding the upgrading of neglected public space, but also supporting first steps to reduce the housing stock.

Table 24A – Märkisches Viertel (Berlin, Germany)

Time of construction of estate	1960 - 1975	
Distance to the city centre (km)	13.5 western centre /11.5 km eastern centre	
Most positive aspect of the area	Has successfully managed ups and downs and keeps above the average of Berlin's large estates. Strong actor network.	
Most negative aspect of the area	Anonymous internal structure of buildings, ageing technical infrastructures, lowering social standard, age polarisation.	
Predominant building type	High-rise in large buildings	
Number of dwellings (Census 2002)	16,000 flats housing	
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	74	
Size of the estate	370 ha	
Inhabitants (Census 2002)	38,000	
Population density (persons/km ²) (representative survey)	1,200	
		Märkisches Viertel
Household composition (representative survey)	Living alone	20.1%
	Couple without children	31.1%
	Couple with child(ren)	33.6%
	Single-parent	8.1%
	Other	6.6%
Age structure of the estate (representative survey)	18-30 years	11.9%
	31-44 years	32.4%
	45-54 years	16.2%
	55-64 years	20.9%
	65 and older	18.6%
Ethnic composition (representative survey)	German	88.3%
	German with foreign origin	4.9%
	Non-German	6.5%
	Unknown	0.4%
<p>From a bad reputation in the late 1970s, the MV has undergone all strategic changes that were applied to the western estates from physical to social and presently integrated. A model for publicly driven integrated policies during the 1980s, the housing company has become an integrating factor providing means and management power in the struggle to prevent social deprivation of the estate and to keep the comparatively high standard.</p>		

Table 25A – Fužine (Ljubljana, Slovenia)

Time of construction of estate	1977 - 1988			
Distance to the city centre	3 km			
Most positive aspect of the area	The Ljubljanica River that borders the south and west edge of the estate creates great spatial ambiance and offers a quality landscape and many opportunities for recreation and leisure activities. Good public transport connections to the city centre.			
Most negative aspect of the area	Unfavourable image due mainly to stigmatisation based on ethnic connotations. This is reflected in the relatively lower property values in the area.			
Predominant building type	3-, 8- and 12- storey blocks			
Number of dwellings	4,322 (Census 2002)			
Average floor space	65 m ²			
Size of the estate	68 ha			
Inhabitants (Census 2002)		Fužine 12,086		Ljubljana 265,881
Population density per km ²		17,773		967
Size of household		Fužine (RESTATE)	Fužine (Census)	Ljubljana (Census 2002)
	1 person		17.4%	27.8%
	2 persons		18.8%	23.3%
	3 persons		23.3%	19.9%
	4 persons		32.6%	20.1%
	> 5 persons		7.9%	6.9%
	Other		-	2.4%
Household composition	Single	13.2%	NA	NA
	Couple, no child	13.2%	NA	17.3%
	Couple with children	47.7%	NA	38.5%
	Single parent	5.1%	NA	17.2%
	Other	20.8%	NA	NA
Age structure of the estate	18-30 years	21.1%	NA	NA
	31-64 years	72.9%	NA	NA
	> 64 years	6.0%	NA	NA
Age structure of the estate	0-14 years		14.1%	13.7%
	15-64 years		82.3%	70.8%
	> 64 years		3.5%	15.5%
Ethnic composition	Native	72.9%	NA	73.8%
	Non-native	22.9%	NA	12.9%
	Unknown	4.2%	NA	13.3%
Tenure structure		Fužine (RESTATE)	Fužine (Census)	Slovenia
	Owner-occupied		92%	92%
	State and local council housing		6%	8%
	Other		2%	0%

There are no national or local level policies addressing large housing estate issues. There are, however, area-based programmes and projects targeting specific problems and needs within the estate. The most important objectives of these activities include the provision of opportunities for the youth in order to avoid delinquency and the maintenance of order and peace in the area.

Table 26A – Žusterna-Semedela (Koper, Slovenia)

Time of construction of estate	1973 - 1989			
Distance to the city centre (km)	1.5			
Most positive aspect of the area	The estate has an attractive site near the Adriatic Sea.			
Most negative aspect of the area	Traffic management problems and an inappropriate use of open and green spaces. The residents are not strongly connected to the neighbourhood, no strong community spirit or common identity has developed.			
Predominant building type	3-, 7- and 10- storey blocks			
Number of dwellings	2,040 (Census 2002)			
Average floor space	No data available			
Size of the estate	32 ha			
Inhabitants (Census 2002)		Žusterna-Semedela		Koper
		5,397		47,539
Population density (persons/km ²)		16,866		153
Size of household		Ž-S (RESTATE fieldwork 2004)	Ž-S (Census 2002)	Koper (Census 2002)
	1 person		17.7%	22.5%
	2 persons		23.6%	22.9%
	3 persons		24.3%	22.4%
	4 persons		28.2%	23.1%
	> 5 persons		6.3%	7.3%
	Other		-	1.7%
Household composition	Single	11.0%	NA	NA
	Couple, no child	18.6%	NA	19.8%
	Couple with children	44.8%	NA	45.5%
	Single parent	8.1%	NA	14.5%
	Other	17.5%	NA	NA
Age structure of the estate	18-30 years	15.2%	NA	
	31-64 years	68.4%	NA	
	> 64 years	16.4%	NA	
Age structure of the estate	0-14 years		11.9%	13.3%
	15-64 years		77.5%	71.2%
	> 64 years		10.7%	15.5%
Ethnic composition	Native	79.1%	NA	71.2%
	Non-native	16.9%	NA	14.4%
	Unknown	4.1%	NA	14.5%
Tenure structure (Census 2002)		Fužine (RESTATE)	Fužine (Census)	Slovenia
	Owner-occupied		94%	92%
	State and local council housing		5%	8%
	Other		1%	0%
There are no national or local level policies addressing large housing estate issues. There are, however, area-based programmes and projects targeting specific problems and needs within the estate. The most important objectives of these activities include the provision of welfare services - the prevention of drug addiction- and care for the elderly and less privileged.				

Table 27A – *Havanna (Budapest, Hungary)*

Time of construction of estate	1977 - 1983		
Distance to the city centre (km)	appr. 15		
Most positive aspect of the area	The social composition of the estate has been improving for the last 10 years, as more and more young, lower-middle-class households have been moving here. This is partly due to the proximity of all services, good schools and health care institutions, big surface of green areas and good transportation connection with the inner city.		
Most negative aspect of the area	The relative neglect of the public spaces, together with the often bad physical condition of the buildings. The housing estate also suffers from its bad reputation, and a high occurrence of petty crimes.		
Predominant building type	10 and 11- storey high pre-fabricated buildings		
Number of dwellings (Census 2001)	6,200		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	50-59m ²		
Size of the estate (ha)	NA		
Inhabitants (Census 2001)		Havanna 16,990	Budapest 1,777,921
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census 2001)			3,350
Size of household (Census 2001)	1 person	22.7%	34.6%
	2 persons	25.9%	30.0%
	3 persons	25.7%	18.2%
	4 persons	18.4%	12.4%
	> 5 persons	7.3%	4.8%
Household composition (Census 2001)	Single	22.7%	34.6%
	Couple, with or without children	50.1%	47.6%
	Single parent	20.9%	8.2%
	Other	6.3%	9.6%
Age structure of the estate (Census 2001)	0-19 years	20.4%	18.5%
	20-29 years	25.2%	17.7%
	30-64 years	47.1%	46.1%
	> 64 years	7.3%	17.7%
Ethnic composition (Survey 2004, Census 2001)	Native	99%	89.7%
	Non-native	1%	2.7%*
Tenure structure (Survey 2004, Census 2001)	Owner-occupied	79.7%	86%
	State and local council housing	14.8%	8.5%
	Private rental	5%	4%
	Other	0.5%	1.5%

The most successful policies on the estate have targeted the improvement of public areas. First of all the instalment of the CCTV system aimed at improving security on public spaces, especially around the buildings. Parallel to this, the refurbishment of the playgrounds has begun, trying to create attractive places to spend time for parents with young children.

* 7.6% refused to answer

Table 28A – Jóságáros (Nyíregyháza, Hungary)

Time of construction of estate	1970 - 1979		
Distance to the city centre (km)	appr. 2		
Most positive aspect of the area	The estate has a solid middle-class or lower middle-class character, with all necessary services and a selection of good schools available on the spot. Another positive aspect is its relative vicinity to the city centre – half an hour on foot, 10-15 minutes by public transportation.		
Most negative aspect of the area	The estate has been struggling with a general neglect of the public spaces, especially with regard to the playgrounds and basketball courts. Besides, the buildings themselves have started to show signs of ageing. However, the most problematic spot in the estate is the so-called “bachelor's building”, which, in its 190 small, municipally owned flats, houses almost exclusively people in a bad social position.		
Predominant building type	11- and 5-storey blocks		
Number of dwellings (Census 2001)	3,600		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	50-59m ²		
Size of the estate	36 ha		
Inhabitants (Census 2001)		Jóságáros 8,313	Nyíregyháza 118,795
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census 2001)			432.8
Size of household (Census 2001)	1 person	29.7%	23.5%
	2 persons	29.3%	27.7%
	3 persons	22.7%	21.7%
	4 persons	13.6%	19.5%
	> 5 persons	4.7%	7.6%
Household composition (Census 2001)	Single	29.7%	23.5%
	Couple, with or without children	48.4%	60.2%
	Single parent	16.1%	11%
	Other	5.8%	5.3%
Age structure of the estate (Census 2001)	0-19 years	22.5%	25.8%
	20-29 years	23.1%	18.2%
	31-64 years	55.3%	44.6%
	> 64 years	9.7%	11.4%
Ethnic composition (Survey 2004, Census 2001)	Native	100%	96.2%
	Non-native	0%	3.8%
Tenure structure (Survey 2004, Census 2001)	Owner-occupied	76.5%	91.4%
	State and local council housing	15%	3.7%
	Private rent	7.5%	3.9%
	Other	1%	1%

The Municipality of Nyíregyháza has been trying to support all initiatives from the side of the owners to take part in the national programme for the energy efficient renewal of their buildings. It also supported - via the local heating company - the renewal of the heating system inside the buildings. The municipality also aims at the total renovation of the municipally owned residential building on the estate with the total reconstruction of its surrounding.

Table 29A – Wrzeciono (Warsaw, Poland)

Time of construction of estate	1960 - 1970		
Distance to the city centre (km)	9		
Most positive aspect of the area	Surrounded by large, natural, green areas		
Most negative aspect of the area	Technical standard of old houses is rather low, especially in social rented dwellings. There are big contrasts between old buildings and new ones and many conflicts between former and new inhabitants, especially in the context of space appropriation by gated communities		
Predominant building type	4- and 12- storey blocks		
Number of dwellings (Census 2002)	13,122		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	39.1		
Size of the estate	944 ha		
Inhabitants		Bielany	Wrzeciono
		138,356	34,000
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census 2002)		4,283	36,170
Size of household (Census 2002)		Bielany	Warsaw
	1 person	37.0%	38%
	2 persons	28.1%	27%
	3 persons	19.4%	19%
	4 persons	11.8%	12%
	> 5 persons	3.7%	0.4%
Household composition (Census 2002)	Single	37%	38%
	Couple, no child	18%	18%
	Couple with children	28%	28%
	Single parent	17%	16%
Age structure of the estate (Census 2002)	0-17 years	15.4%	17%
	18-30 years	21.4%	23.5%
	31-64 years	46.8%	49%
	> 64 years	16.4%	10.5%
Ethnic composition (Census 2002)	Declared Polish nationality	93.5%	92%
	Other	0.4%	0.5%
	Unknown	6.1%	7.5%
Tenure structure (Census 2002 for Warsaw and own sources)		Wrzeciono	Warsaw
	Owner-occupied	60.9%	31%
	State and local council housing	26.2%	19%
	Cooperatives and other	12.9%	50%

The local council prepared the strategy "Improvement of the quality of life of Wrzeciono estate's inhabitants" which consists of many social actions as funding the senior club, libraries, organising after – school – activities and building of sport and cultural centre which will replace OPP (small cultural centre).

Table 30A – Ursynów Pn. (Warsaw, Poland)

Time of construction of estate	1976 - 1981		
Distance to the city centre (km)	8		
Most positive aspect of the area	Green spaces inside the estate and non-peripheral character: good transport, proximity to services		
Most negative aspect of the area	Sufficient car park and infill constructions		
Predominant building type	3- and 12- storey blocks		
Number of dwellings	13,143		
Average floor space per dwelling (m ²)	60.87		
Size of the estate	234 ha		
Inhabitants (Census 2002)		Ursynów Pn. 33,600	Ursynów 135,000
Population density (persons/km ²) (Census 2002)		14,359	3,082
Size of household (Census 2002)		Ursynów	Warsaw
	1 person	29.8%	38%
	2 persons	23.9%	27%
	3 persons	23.8%	19%
	4 persons	17.8%	12%
	> 5 persons	4.7%	0.4%
Household composition (Census 2002)	Single	29.6%	38%
	Couple, no child	15.9%	18%
	Couple with children	40.1%	28%
	Single parent	14.4%	16%
Age structure of the estate (Census 2002)	0-17 years	17.3%	17%
	18-30 years	27.7%	23.5%
	31-64 years	45.5%	49%
	> 64 years	9.5%	10.5%
Ethnic composition (Census 2002)	Declared Polish nationality	92%	92%
	Other	0.5%	0.5%
	Unknown	7.5%	7.5%
Tenure structure (Census 2002 for Warsaw and own sources)		Ursynów Pn.	Warsaw
	Owner-occupied	62.4%	31%
	State and local council housing	0.4%	19%
	Cooperatives and other	37.2%	50%

Most buildings are administrated by cooperatives who are the main actors of running policies. Their main goal is renewal and modernisation of buildings and it is quite successful. There are also marginal social policies (i.e. Ursynów's Social Policy in the Scope of Counteracting Social Exclusion) undertaken by local council.

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