11. Summary and Discussion

11.1 Introduction

This research focused on the social-emotional ties of residents and explored how these ties were affected by different urban renewal programmes in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. Using national survey data from the Netherlands (Housing Needs Survey) and the United Kingdom (British Household Panel Data), and comparing urban renewal programmes in four cities (Emmen, Rotterdam, Manchester and Newcastle-Gateshead), I explored the emotional ties of residents in deprived neighbourhoods in both countries based on the concept of place attachment, which defined the relationship between the social and the physical as an affective bond between people and places.

Place attachment defines places not just as a stage for social action and battle scenes for power and status, but as places linked to people by an affective bond, in which space is transformed into place by the meaning people attach to that space. Places are involved in the construction of personal and social identities, which are displayed as place identity and can be seen in their behaviour through their sense of home. In short, places are socially constructed. However, this does not imply that places are purely mental constructs that only exist in people's minds. Places have a physical component, which cannot be ignored. Based on a literature review, different dimensions of place attachment were distinguished to be able to describe how, why and where Dutch and English residents feel at home in the neighbourhood:

Table 11.1 Dimensions of Place Attachment

Dimensions of Place Attachment	
Place Identity	Do you feel at home here?
Sense of Place	Rootedness or Physical Attachment
(How do you feel at home?)	Bonding or Social Attachment
Place Affiliations	Self-related
(Why do you feel at home?)	Family-related
	Friend-related
	Community-related
	Organisation-related
	Dwelling-related
Locus of Place Identity	Dwelling-based
(Where do you feel at	Community-based
home?)	Region-based

The distinguished dimensions were used to analyse different patterns of place attachment among Dutch and English residents.

11.2 Place Attachments in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands

11.2.1 Sense of Place: How do we feel at home?

The Dutch experienced their neighbourhood in a similar way to the English: the most common combination in both countries is high social and physical attachment: more than a third of the residents felt at home in the place where they lived and who they lived with. However, 1 in 5 residents in both countries did not show any attachment to their neighbourhood and neighbours. A further 17% were only socially attached, while 22-23% experienced only physical attachment to their neighbourhood.

Table 11.2 Sense of Place in the Netherlands and England

Sense of Place	The Netherlands, 2002			England, 1998		
	Deprived	Non-deprived	Total	Deprived	Non-deprived	Total
Low Rootedness, Low Bonding	39.6%	20.5%	21.8%	23.7%	20.4%	21.5%
Low Rootedness, High Bonding	15.8%	22.0%	21.6%	22.6%	23.7%	23.4%
High Rootedness, Low Bonding	24.6%	16.7%	17.2%	18.5%	16.5%	17.1%
High Rootedness, High Bonding	20.0%	40.8%	39.3%	35.2%	39.3%	38.1%

While in the Netherlands, residents in deprived areas felt less attached (socially and physically) to their neighbourhood, residents in the UK showed similar levels of attachment to the people and places in their neighbourhood, regardless of where they live. For the English, how they felt about their neighbourhood depended less on where they live, while for the Dutch, location mattered for their social-emotional ties. This does not imply that the English are more indifferent to where they live; on the contrary, they just valued the house in which they lived more than the neighbourhood where they lived.

11.2.2 Place Affiliations: Why do we feel at home?

This became clear when the satisfaction with the house was considered: compared to Dutch residents, differences in attachment were more exclusively related to satisfaction with housing: residents who were more satisfied with their home felt more socially and physically attached to their neighbourhood. However, the neighbourhood was an important consideration for English residents when the suitability of the area for raising children was taken into account, particularly the standard of local schools. In more child friendly neighbourhoods the English felt more at home, physically and socially. Perhaps the English school system, where access to a school is based on living in its catchment's area, explains the importance of having good schools nearby. For the Dutch, satisfaction with their house mattered for their attachment to the neighbourhood, but they also took into consideration who lived in their neighbourhood. Dutch residents showed more attachment when there were happy with the people who lived in their neighbourhood.

Interestingly, social bonding in the Netherlands was related to public transport stops: residents who were more satisfied with the stops in their neighbourhood displayed high levels of bonding, while those with less social attachment were more dissatisfied with the possibilities of moving in and out of the neighbourhood. Did they feel trapped and felt there was no other alternative than to look for social support inside the neighbourhood?

I then looked at social-demographic characteristics (age, education, income and having children). Age proved to be the biggest contributor to the different senses of place for residents in the Netherlands and England: older residents felt

more socially and physically at home in their neighbourhood. However, this was not the same as how long they have lived in the neighbourhood. Although age correlated positively to duration, for instance, 18-24 year olds stay, on average, longer in a neighbourhood than 25-44 year olds, from 45 years and up, age becomes counteractive; social involvement dropped while physical attachment remained high. Next to age having children increased the rootedness of Dutch residents to their neighbourhood. Interestingly, for the English having children did not make the neighbourhood any more emotionally significant. Although the suitability of the neighbourhood for children mattered, it did not matter if they actually had children themselves to become more attached to the place where they lived.

A more striking difference between Dutch and English residents was the role of social participation in their attachment to their neighbourhood. While community involvement was the major contributor to the social-emotional ties of Dutch residents to their neighbourhood, this hardly mattered at all for English residents; the vast majority of English residents were not active or a member of any group. What did matter for the English instead was spending time in and around the house (working in the garden, doing DIY and car maintenance); this greatly increased their physical attachment to the neighbourhood. By spending time around the house, English residents claimed their space in the neighbourhood, made it their own place and developed an affection for it. This finding contradicted their strong place affiliation for the people in their neighbourhood reported earlier: while English resident said it mattered most who they live next door to, their time spent on their own in and around the house mattered more for their attachment to the neighbourhood.

11.2.3 Locus of Place Identity

The stronger focus among English residents on their house was also visible at the level at which residents identify with their neighbourhood. Although the majority of the English residents identified both with their dwelling and their community, if they had to choose, more residents found their identity at the dwelling level. This was especially so for residents in deprived areas who more often identified only with their dwelling or did not find their place identity at all within the neighbourhood. When English residents were faced with deprivation, they were

more likely to retreat behind their front doors. The Dutch, on the other hand, valued their dwelling and the neighbourhood equally and showed no particular preference, regardless of where they lived. The most important differences between residents in the Netherlands and England on the different dimensions of place attachments, particularly for deprived neighbourhoods, are summed up in the table below.

Table 11.3 Differences in Place Attachments between the Netherlands and England

	The Netherlands		England	
Dimensions of Place Attachment	Non-deprived Areas	Deprived Areas	Non-deprived Areas	Deprived Areas
Place Identity *(Do you feel at home?)*	Majority of residents feel at home	Majority of residents do not feel at home	Majority of residents feel at home	Majority of residents feel at home
Sense of Place *(How do you feel at home?)*	More physical than social attachment to the neighbour-hood	More social than physical attach-ment to the neighbourhood	More social than physical attach-ment to the neighbourhood	More social than physical attach-ment to the neighbourhood
Place Affiliations *(Why do you feel at home?)*	- Socially active in the community - Satisfied with dwelling - Satisfied with public transport - More aged - Children present in households		- Identification with dwelling and neighbourhood - Satisfied with dwelling - Suitability of neighbourhood for children - Spent time in and around the house - More aged	
Locus of Place Identity *(Where do you feel at home?)*	Identification with house and neighbourhood	Identification with house and neighbourhood	Identification with house and neighbourhood	Identification with house only/ no identification to place
Neighbourho-od Satisfaction	Very satisfied	Dissatisfied	Less satisfied	Dissatisfied
Community Involvement	Strong	Moderate	Weak	Weak

11.2.4 Patterns of Attachment

Neighbourhood satisfaction and social activity were added to the dimensions of place attachment to distinguish four different patterns of attachment: community rootedness, alienation, relativity and placelessness.

Table 11.4 Patterns of Place Attachment in the Netherlands (N=75,043) and England (N=10,548)

Patterns of Attachment	The Netherlands, 2002			England, 1998		
	Deprived	Non-deprived	Total	Deprived	Non-deprived	Total
Alienation	46.7%	24.5%	26.1%	8.6%	3.8%	5.3%
Placelessness	15.8%	15.0%	22.1%	21.6%	34.0%	33.7%
Relativity	20.9%	20.9%	20.9%	17.0%	15.2%	15.7%
Community Rootedness	17.5%	32.4%	31.4%	41.3%	47.1%	45.3%

English residents were, compared to the Dutch, more community rooted; almost half of the population (compared to a third in the Netherlands) identified with and was physically and socially attached to the neighbourhood they lived in. A much smaller proportion (5%) of the English residents (compared to a quarter of the Dutch residents!) felt exactly the opposite: displaced, alienated and unhappy with their neighbourhood. A third of the English residents (compared to 22% in the Netherlands) had no special affection (labelled as placelessness); the neighbourhood was for them an indifferent place: they liked the people who lived there, but did not feel attached to or identified with the neighbourhood. Finally, 16% of the English and 21% of the Dutch residents showed affection for their neighbourhood, in that they identified with it and appreciated the neighbourhood and its neighbours but they were not especially attached to it by social-emotional ties.

Compared to the Dutch, English residents felt far less alienated from their neighbourhood, although the residents who were more indifferent (placelessness) to their neighbourhood displayed more negative affections for their area than their Dutch counterparts. Overall, the clusters in the English data showed lower levels of community satisfaction and social participation is generally lower.

Location mattered for the patterns of attachment that residents displayed in both countries: residents in deprived areas (for England especially in the New Deal for Communities-area) experienced alienation more often, while residents who lived in neighbourhoods with little or no deprivation were more often rooted in their community.

11.3 Place Attachment over Time

To research cause and effect (What causes changes in the emotional ties of residents?) Dutch and English neighbourhoods were compared through time (respectively 1998-2006 and 1998-2003). Did different patterns emerge in time and did urban renewal areas show different patterns compared to non-deprived areas?

The results indicated that both the attachment of Dutch residents to their neighbourhood and their neighbour had increased between 1998 and 2006, although the physical attachment of the Dutch started to declined again in most areas after 2002. In spite of the general trend towards more physical and social attachment, not all neighbourhoods profited to the same extent: although residents living outside the 30 largest cities profited the most in physical attachment, the steepest increase was visible in the priority areas of the G4 and G26. The progress made in the deprived areas became even clearer when the social bondings of residents were considered: between 1999 and 2006 they improved their attachment to their neighbours more than anywhere else in the Netherlands while, in the more rural areas, neighbours effectively lost social affection for one another in the same period. Residents in the strategic urban renewal areas of the Netherlands have felt more at home in their neighbourhood, and particularly to the people, since 1999 than any other place in the Netherlands.

Contrary to the Netherlands, English residents showed a declining trend in place attachments to their neighbourhood. Only in the New Deal areas do residents, on average, increased their affection for their neighbourhood or their neighbours, especially when they did not feel any affection before for the place where they lived or the people that lived there. Residents living in one of the 86 most deprived areas of the UK more often lost their affection for their neighbourhood, particularly when they were strongly bonded and rooted in their community. In the non-deprived areas most change occurred for English residents who only felt attached to their neighbours: more often they lost their affection for their neighbours rather than increasing it.

The declining trend in England is even more visible when changes in patterns of place attachment were reviewed: 85% of the UK resident altered the way they

felt about their neighbourhood between 1998 and 2003. Residents who felt rooted in their community changed most often, while residents who experienced alienation towards their community were the least inclined to change. The direction of change was mostly towards less attachment: a large number of the residents who felt indifferent towards their neighbourhood (placelessness) in 1998 admitted, five years later, to feeling displaced and alienated from their area. And a similar group of residents, who identified with their neighbourhood in 1998 without having a strong attachment to it (relativity), were indifferent to their community in 2003. A similar trend was visible for residents who felt strongly rooted in their community in 1998: five years later a considerable number of these residents took a more relative stand towards their community. The declining trend in patterns of identification and attachment was less severe in the most deprived areas in England. In particular, more residents in the New Deal for Community-areas lost their feelings of alienation to the neighbourhood and changed to placelessness than in the other deprived and non-deprived areas.

In the Netherlands, changes were more positive. Feelings of alienation were strongly reduced for residents between 1999 and 2006, particularly in the 30 largest cities, and feelings of placelessness, relativity and community rootedness increased almost everywhere in the Netherlands. Residents in the priority areas felt more neutral towards their neighbourhood (placelessness), while in the non-priority areas residents were more relatively connected to their neighbourhood. In sum, Dutch neighbourhoods, particularly in the 30 largest cities, were on the emotional up, while English residents displayed a loss of affection for their neighbourhood, with the exception of the New Deal for Community areas. The increased attachment did not mean that all was well in the Dutch neighbourhoods with more satisfied tenants and actively involved residents. The direction of change was towards less negative feelings for the neighbourhood and a more neutral stance towards the place where they lived, in which the neighbourhood was no longer a (negative) framework for the emotional well being and identity of its residents. For residents in the non-priority areas of the big cities the direction of change was towards more positive feelings for the neighbourhood: they felt more at home, although they did not feel particularly attached to the place where they lived (relativity).

11.4 Urban Renewal and Place Attachment

To explain what causes these changes, auto-regression analyses were performed on the changes in physical and social attachment of Dutch and English residents. The results for the English data showed that moving house was the best predictor for loosing physical attachments to the neighbourhood. This confirmed earlier research indicating (Kleinhans, 2005) that a (forced) move due to urban renewal strongly affected residents' social-emotional ties. Interestingly, this only affected residents' physical ties to the neighbourhood. When the same models were tested for changes in social attachments between 1998 and 2003, moving had no effect on the social bonds of residents to their area. What mattered most for social bonds of English residents was identification with the area, especially at the level of the community: when residents started to identify more strongly with their neighbourhood, they felt more socially attached to it. Changes in social participation and community involvement were, surprisingly, not important for the bonding of residents to their neighbourhood, although social time spent around the house contributed significantly to the rootedness of residents. Furthermore, a long-standing connection to the area and improved feelings of safety in the neighbourhood (self-related place affiliations) strengthening the social bonds of residents to the area where they lived. Finally, the number of children and the amount of income proved significant for both physical and social attachments of residents: when family and income grew larger, they felt more socially and physically at home in the neighbourhood.

Similar results emerged from the Dutch data between 2002 and 2006, although less precise analyses were possible due to the aggregated nature of the data. Moving house explained best the changes in physical attachment of residents, while moving had much less effect on the social bonds of residents to their area. Far more important for the social bonding of Dutch residents (controlling for changes over time) was the importance residents attached to their social network: the more they valued their neighbours, the stronger they felt socially attached to their neighbourhood. While for English residents, changes in their social attachment were related to their identification with the area, the social bonding of

Dutch residents depended more on how they perceived their neighbours. For English residents the neighbourhood was much more part of their personal identity, while Dutch residents valued the neighbourhood for their social contacts. When demographic and geographic details were entered into the third model, again the number of children and the amount of education and income were significant for the place attachment of residents.

The most contributing factors to the place attachments of English residents to their neighbourhood are summed up in the table below.

Figure 11.1 Most Contributing Factors to Place Attachments of Dutch and English Residents
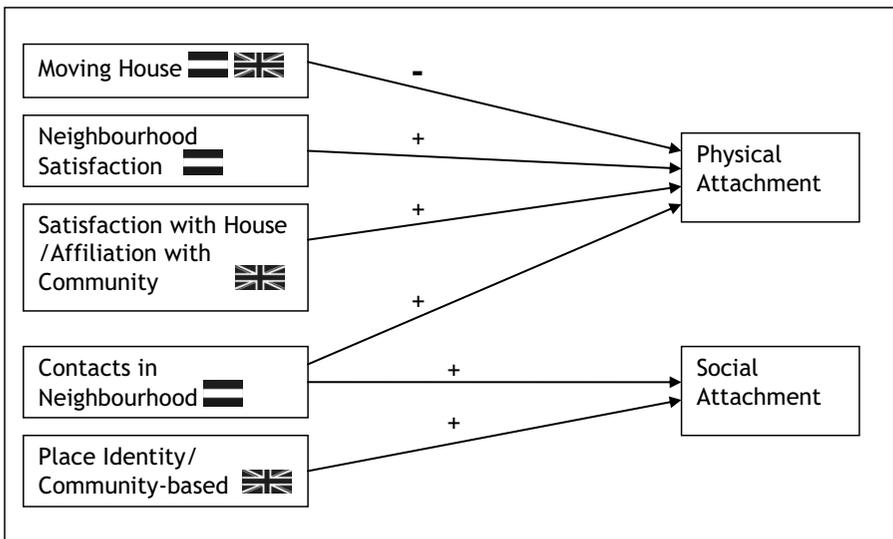
The figure shows that urban renewal has an initial negative effect on the emotional ties of residents, particularly on their Physical Attachments. However, urban renewal contributes to the attachments of residents when urban professionals are able to help residents cope emotionally with moving house (even when they cause them to move in the first place). Furthermore, by setting up projects aimed at increasing the value residents put on their neighbours and the extent to which residents identify with their neighbourhood, urban renewal can improve the social bondings of residents.

To investigate possible and successful interventions, four urban renewal programmes, two in each country, were investigated in great detail. For the Netherlands the neighbourhood Angelslo, Bargeres en Emmerhout in Emmen and the council of Hoogvliet in Rotterdam were studied. For the UK, qualitative data was gathered in Sale in Manchester and the Quaysides in Newcastle and Gateshead. In each case study the urban renewal programme was reconstructed with special attention to interventions that were developed to influence the emotional ties of residents to their neighbourhood. In order to compare the four case studies, social housing and urban renewal policy in both countries were discussed.

11.5 Urban Policy and Practice in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands

The 90's saw a big change in urban policy in England and in the Netherlands, both by a change of government. In both countries, this signalled a change from predominantly physical regeneration to combined efforts in social, economic and physical renewal of deprived neighbourhoods, accompanied by a sharp increase in funding and new powers for local governments to tackle deprivation issues. While in the Netherlands local and national governments are struggling to combine social-spatial interventions, and more often resort to one or the other, in England the Labour government strongly advocated a leading role for social and economic regeneration.

In both countries large scale urban renewal programmes were created to tackle deprivation. Within these programmes the attention to social and emotional ties varies greatly. Urban social policy in the Netherlands has been primarily concerned with the social cohesion, and more recently with the social mobility, of poor residents. The two Dutch case studies are a case in point: in the urban renewal partnership of Emmen resident participation and social cohesion took centre stage, while the partners in Hoogvliet emphasised social mobility for residents in deprived neighbourhoods. In both programmes implicit references are made to the emotional ties of residents. Urban renewal programmes should protect and re-attract the original residents, who feel alienated from their neighbourhood by the arrival of large numbers of immigrants, whose integration, according to

policy makers, in turn depends to a large extent on making them feel at home and welcome in their new country. In practice however, the emphasis in Dutch urban renewal is on spatial redesigning, while social interventions are reduced to side-acts of the programme. The British welfare sector, on the other hand, is historically more closely linked to housing; the sale of social housing by Thatcher resulted in a strongly stigmatised housing sector for the very poor. The concentration and accumulation of social problems have led to a dominating presence of social services in social housing: while Dutch housing associations are cautiously starting to work alongside social services, English housing associations simply employ social workers.

Moreover, English policy makers seem to be more aware of the emotional ties of residents. This already becomes clear in the consistent references made in policy documents to housing as 'homes': dwellings are not merely places of bricks and mortar, but are places of home to the people who live in them. The greater attention to emotional ties is also visible in the efforts focussing on the identity and reputation of deprived areas. Making people proud of their home ground in order to discourage them from self-destructive behaviour is one of the elements of this community approach. The case study of Newcastle and Gateshead is a fine example: both councils have employed public art to link the regeneration of the area to the local culture and identity of its residents, strengthening their attachment to the area and redressing the reputation of the deprived area, not only by physical but also by symbolic improvements.

Contrary to the Netherlands, policy makers and urban planners take the poorest residents as the starting point for their policies and designs. Under the assumption that middle class groups will only feel at home in deprived neighbourhoods when the behaviour of the anti-social residents has changed, much energy and resources are devoted to changing their behaviour before any time is spent on building homes for the middle class. Changing the attitude of the original residents is believed to be crucial to change the reputation of an area, which is necessary for higher income groups to even consider living there (see the case study in Manchester).

11.6 Lessons from the Case Studies

Emmen Revisited: in Search of the Social Programme

The development of Emmen Revisited demonstrates an ongoing search for combining physical urban renewal with economic and social interventions, which has widened the scope of the social programme considerably and has included initiatives which recognise the importance of neighbourhood attachment. However, the content of the social programme has never been properly defined and the link to the physical and economic programmes has never been specified, reducing the social programme to incidental experiments in the daily urban practice and fragmenting the integral approach. The development of an integral programme requires a more structured approach, allowing projects aimed at increasing the place attachments of residents to develop and to become an integral part of the social programme.

However, valuable instigators are available like the Day of Memories organised in Emmerhout, where explicit attention was given to the emotional ties that residents have developed with a place which is about to be demolished; recognising the symbolic value of the built environment and providing an outlet for these emotions. This effort demonstrated important ways in which place identity and sense of place can be utilised helping residents to make a less uprooting transition to a new place of residence. The housing association and other local parties can utilize this value, not only to easy the pain of moving and social uprooting for residents, but also to aid resident in their attachment to a new environment by organising something similar for residents who return to their renewed neighbourhood.

Emmen Revisited also demonstrated how links can be made between physical and social projects. In the project 'Hulp en Activering' (Social Support and Activation), which operated in the same neighbourhood, an explicit linkage was made between socio-economic and physical interventions. The relocation of residents in urban renewal areas was used to increase the social mobility of unemployed residents by offering them education and job training, based on the assumption that residents, whose lives are already uprooted by a changing

environment and the relocation to a new or temporary home, will be more willing to consider changing other areas of their lives and are, therefore, more motivated to join and complete social mobility programmes. This assumption proved right and similar initiatives might prove especially helpful in reducing the emotional stress of residents caused by relocation, by not only recognising the emotional uprooting involved, but also by turning it into a positive experience and emotion.

Finally, Emmen Revisited illustrated the importance of an integral approach and organisation. Few cities have a detailed urban renewal programme available on a city-wide scale that includes different public and private parties throughout the city and consults them on a regular basis. Emmen Revisited is the exception to the case, where thorough preparation resulted in a diverse and widely supported programme, in which the social dimension is prominent. The Housing Needs Survey demonstrated that Emmen Revisited is successful in increasing the strength of the emotional ties of residents to their neighbourhood. Feelings of detachment and alienation are transformed into more affectionate feelings for the area, although not specifically tied to the neighbourhood. The residents in Emmen are happier with where they live and feel more at home.

Hoogvliet, Rotterdam: Place Identity or Social Mobility?

In the urban renewal of Hoogvliet two strategies to increase the place attachments of residents have been explored: a direct path by designing a new neighbourhood identity for the borough, and an indirect path by improving the social mobility of residents. By providing residents not only with improved housing, but also with better opportunities on the labour and educational market, the whole borough was expected to profit with an improved area reputation and increased emotional ties to the area.

Place identity has been actively stimulated in Hoogvliet. Hoogvliet participated in a national innovation programme, called 'Identiteit en Branding' (Neighbourhood Identity and Branding), which sought to re-profile deprived areas for different user groups by using the identity of an area as the guiding principle for the developmental plans. The assumption behind this programme was that when residents are able to recognise themselves in the place where they live, they will be attracted to come and live there, helping the area to shed its negative

reputation. In Hoogvliet the project consisted of historical research, branding sessions with local professionals and residents, and so-called life style sessions. However, in spite of all the efforts and colourful design books, strikingly few of the project results have found their way into project plans and urban renewal activities in Hoogvliet. The experiences in Hoogvliet demonstrate that is impossible to dictate a new reputation for a deprived area and unite different residents groups instantly under a new banner or brand. As a social construct place identity needs to be reproduced in everyday life to have an effect on the behaviour of residents. Too often new values, lifestyles and identity are invented overnight, which are detached or too abstract from existing and daily (re)used constructs of place identity. In spite of the urban potential and good intentions, what often remains of all the efforts to incorporate place identity into urban renewal is a pile of glossy project plans and brochures. Direct evidence of a changed area reputation in Hoogvliet is unfortunately lacking.

More indirect results, however, indicated a remarkable change in the general culture of the area. Next to projects for redesigning the place identities of Hoogvliet' residents, an important goal of the borough council and the two housing associations was to increase the social mobility of individual residents. For these purposes different projects were set up to increase the job and educational qualifications of Hoogvlieters, in particular for single parent homes of former immigrants from the Dutch Antilles and to increase, along with the quality of their housing, their independency and sense of achievement. The impact of the urban renewal programme was evaluated by the University of Amsterdam, the OTB research institute in Delft and the Verwey-Jonker Institute (Veldboer et. al., 2007).

The results of the research indicate that, although not many objective improvements were visible in the quality of most residents' lives after eight years of urban renewal, the programme proved successful at changing the minds of many residents. One of the most profound changes quoted by residents was a new sense of achievement in the area. The general consensus among residents was that achievement was possible and that society was willing to listen and help. There was no longer a culture of underachievement, in which residents lose faith because there are no opportunities.

The case study shows that changes in the neighbourhood and the personal lives of residents are connected: physical mobility generates social mobility. It is no coincidence that the two groups of residents who demonstrate the most progress were also the most mobile residents; 'upscalers' (who go upmarket) and former immigrants from the Dutch Antilles. The specifically designed projects for the latter group were not only effective in this respect, but were also recognised as such by these residents. Another interesting result from this case study is the link between social mobility and neighbourhood attachment: increased self esteem led to stronger emotional ties. A substantial part of the Hoogvlieters felt not only that they could achieve more, but were also more proud of the place were they lived. Both feelings appear to be connected: because residents are more positive about their personal lives, they become more positive and attached to the place where they live. The was supported by the Housing Needs Survey, indicating that between 1998 and 2006 residents in Hoogvliet greatly improved their attachment, both physically and socially, to their neighbourhood.

Sale, Manchester: Well behaved residents create good neighbourhoods?
Manchester is, like Hoogvliet, concerned for the existing residents and aims to improve the reputation of a deprived area. Whereas Hoogvliet is looking to increase the social mobility of residents, the housing association in Manchester sets its sights lower and takes a more paternalistic stand: first the behaviour of the anti-social residents needs to be changed, before any change to the area's reputation can take place and before other prospective residents will even consider living in the area. By rewarding tenant for good behaviour instead of evicting bad tenants, Irwell Valley Housing Association (IVHA) aimed to improve the neighbourhood reputation for old and new residents. Furthermore, by providing these extra services, the associations tried to increase the involvement and independency of residents (mostly on welfare benefits) and, in doing so, their attachment to the housing association and the neighbourhood. The assumption behind the tenant reward scheme developed by the housing association is that neighbours watch each other closely and do not want to miss out: "if my neighbour receives a new front door because he sticks to the rules, I will be more motivated to follow the same rules in order to get a new front door as well".

Emotional ties of residents were actively triggered in this process by rewarding activities that increase the attachment of residents to their neighbourhood, for instance, by organising local garden competitions and providing cheap toolboxes for DIY. Also, by offering advice on maximising room space within the house, the association tried to persuade expanding families to stay longer in their homes. In general, residents should become proud again of their neighbourhood and the world outside the neighbourhood needed to come and see this.

Although the financial rewards were impressive, the effects of the scheme on the social-emotional ties of residents were less clear. The greatly increased satisfaction of residents and the dramatically reduced turnover rate provide some indication of improved attachments, while interviews with local professionals and residents showed that some residents became more socially active in their neighbourhood and that the area reputation has improved. However, resident participation was selective and there was no evidence of increased emotional ties to the neighbourhood.

Nevertheless, tenant reward schemes appear to make a difference from a normative perspective: they provide an opportunity for housing associations to become normative mediators in a space where a normative consensus about how to live together in a neighbourhood has long broken down. Limited evidence seems to support the claim that there is improved trust between tenants and landlords. A shared trust in the housing association can facilitate the negotiation process between residents about common norms and values that will make life in the neighbourhood more satisfactory. Gold Service can therefore be seen as an institutional condition for the development of trust between residents. By developing trust between the association and individual residents, residents might feel safe enough to address their neighbours about their behaviour. The key innovation of Gold Service is the normative standpoint a housing association takes by making a distinction between good and bad behaviour and by rewarding that behaviour appropriately.

This increases not only residents' satisfaction but is also likely to increase the social-emotional ties of residents. When positive interactions take place in the neighbourhood based on shared trust and values, the neighbourhood becomes charged with new meanings that enhance the place attachments of residents,

particularly their bonding to the neighbourhood. Additional research is necessary to establish this effect and to research the mechanisms by which place attachments are affected.

Newcastle-Gateshead: Neighbourhood Attachment as Public Art?

Newcastle-Gateshead is often portrayed as an exemplar of the revitalising benefits of culture-led regeneration: urban renewal in which cultural facilities take centre stage in the redressing of an area's deprived reputation. By designing eye-catching museums and theatres filled with important works of art and artists, the area should acquire a new purpose and identity. Contrary to other English cities, which experimented with culture-led regeneration and where urban renewal is dominated by culture with a capital 'C', Newcastle and Gateshead emphasised culture with a small 'c' in their approach to urban renewal. Both councils have set up a joint public art programme and used this programme as a participatory tool in urban renewal. However, participation was not sufficient: by bringing residents in close contact with art and by enabling them to take part in the production of art, their living environment was supposed to acquire an additional emotional value which would results in a stronger attachment to and ownership of their environment. According to the councils, public art has helped significantly to improve the image of Gateshead and Newcastle and has paved the way for large corporate and national investments necessary for the facelift of the Quaysides. According to the Gateshead Council, public art has helped reclaim derelict areas, creating new social spaces and providing links between Gateshead Town Centre and the cultural facilities located on the Gateshead Quays.

Evidence for these claims are weak, however the panel data used in chapter five confirmed the increase of attachment to the neighbourhoods in the area.
In comparison with other English neighbourhoods, place identity and place attachments, both physical and social, have increased more in Newcastle-Gateshead: the people in Newcastle-Gateshead feel more at home and more connected to their neighbours. However, not every resident shared in the strengthened bonds and local identity. Feelings of relativity changed for a considerable number of residents into feelings of placelessness: the neighbourhood became for them a more neutral to place to live.

Apparently, the redevelopment of the Quayside and the popular Public Art Programme has not increased the attachments to the city for every resident. Still, both cities have been successful to the extent that they have been able to increase the affection of residents who felt least at home in their neighbourhood. This confirmed the claims of other researchers (Bailey et.al., 2002) who argued Newcastle-Gateshead has been able to link culture-led regeneration to the local identity of residents and in doing so have strengthened their place identity and affection for their neighbourhood. By using public art as a participatory tool in urban renewal, the deprived living environment acquired new meaning for residents, resulting in more attachment and stronger feelings of ownership towards the environment. By emphasising the cultural heritage of places and by using this heritage in the redevelopment of the area, the councils were able to appeal to the identification of residents with the area and (re)install a sense of pride in the places where they lived.

11.7 Implication for Urban Renewal Policy[28]

My research demonstrates that the social-emotional ties of residents are a vital part of urban renewal programmes and policy. Not only do residents in deprived areas show less affection for the place where they live and the people they live with, their physical place attachments to the neighbourhood are further reduced by forced relocations in urban renewal. Instead of their neighbourhood being a well-known and welcome home, the new (and old) place feels alienated to residents, greatly reducing their willingness to contribute to the renewal effort or to tackle their own problems of deprivation and exclusion. Having said that, deprived areas in both the Netherlands and the United Kingdom demonstrate clear progress in increasing the physical and social ties of residents to their neighbourhood; although they lag behind, they are catching up.

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[28] For additional information on policy implications from this research, I refer to:

Duyvendak, J.W. & P. van der Graaf (2008) *Thuisvoelen in de buurt: een opgave voor stedelijke vernieuwing*. Den Haag: NICIS/ Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. This publication is an adapted version of this dissertation, especially written for policy makers and urban professionals.

Clearly something is taking place in these neighbourhoods that affects the emotional ties of their residents. Residents might not feel at home (yet), but they are happier to live in their neighbourhood and become more involved.

The case studies provide several examples of urban renewal projects that aim to alter the ways residents feel about their neighbourhood and provide some evidence towards the success and failures of these projects. In doing so they provide policy makers and urban professionals with vital clues on tools that will make residents feel more at home in their neighbourhood. Considering the impact of moving on the rootedness of residents to the neighbourhood, urban renewal should first of all help residents who are relocated cope with the emotional stress of moving. Special events, like the Day of Memories, organized in Emmen, can help residents in their transition to a new place, by recognising existing social-emotional ties and supporting the development of new place attachments to the new neighbourhood.

Furthermore by increasing the identification of residents to the neighbourhood and the value they put on their neighbours their social bonding will be improved. Tenant reward schemes such as those developed in Manchester can play a part in facilitating bonding between residents but other options are possible, as long as some key elements are taking into consideration: building trust between residents, the enduring presence of local professionals, and last but not least increasing community involvement by stimulating social interactions between residents.

The place attachments of residents are further enhanced if urban renewal programmes are able to change the personal circumstances of residents by improving their income and education. At the same time, Hoogvliet demonstrates how difficult it is to change the social mobility of residents. However, Hoogvliet proves it is possible to change the culture of an area, by making residents feel they can achieve more in their lives and feel more pride in the neighbourhood they live in. An important lesson from Hoogvliet is the interconnection of physical and social regeneration: a more viable and safer living environment (to be proud of) is important for residents to feel able to change their lives and face long-term standing problems of deprivation.

The question of how to combine social and spatial measures in urban renewal is central to the current political debate in the Netherlands and was one of the main causes for my research. Although the social-spatial question is a political issue, I argue that in order to research this question scientifically a redefinition is required. This concerns the framing of the social dimension of urban policy not exclusively in terms of social capital or social mobility, but as well in terms of emotional ties of residents to places. So far, attention for the emotional ties of residents to places has been almost non-existent in urban renewal or at the very least has not been framed as such. This might be one of the reasons why the debate on physical and social interventions is gridlocked.

In the emotional ties of residents to the places where they live, the physical and social dimensions or urban renewal come together. Although feelings related to a place are fluctual and even volatile, they always refer to a set geographical location, which is more fixed and resistant to change. The same place can evoke many different feelings for many different groups and individuals, accommodating for social differences, but also for social change. Social change does not necessarily have to result in a neighbourhood out of place with its new population, if the neighbourhood space allows different emotional ties to settle in and attach themselves to the environment. When the physical environment is successful in making different groups feel at home over time in the neighbourhood, this environment does not always need to change shape to accommodate social change. Therefore, spatial interventions need to take account of the emotional ties of existing and new residents, by creating both new environments and by sustaining existing ones, which allow a changing and diverse population to feel at home in their neighbourhood. By taking into account the social feelings of residents and there connection to physical places the gridlock debate on spatial and social interventions in urban renewal is opened up to new pathways for urban policy and practice.

Furthermore, this research shed a new light on the troublesome relationship between the social goals of urban renewal. In recent advice to the government the VROMraad (2006) argues that until now, the social mobility of residents has been neglected in favour of programmes on social cohesion and neighbouring. As a housing advice board to the government, it urges policymakers to create more

rungs for poorer and less educated residents on the societal ladder. I would argue, in a similar vein, that up till now the emotional ties of residents have been neglected in favour of programmes on social cohesion and, more recently, social mobility. However, instead of playing tug of war between the different goals of social urban renewal, this research demonstrates that social cohesion, social mobility and social-emotional ties are not independent goals in themselves, but closely connected to each other; the social attachments of residents to their neighbourhood are strongly influenced by their social participation, especially community involvement, which in turn is affected by the perceived social mobility of residents.

Therefore, for urban renewal programmes to make real progress, all three social goals need to be considered. To help residents climb the societal ladder, they need to feel able to achieve new goals in their lives. Feeling more at home in their neighbourhood, will give them the impetus to seize the opportunities presented to them in the urban renewal programmes. It is important for them to become more involved in the neighbourhood and with their neighbours and to increase their identification with the area in which they live to make them feel more at home in their neighbourhood. Before urban renewal can contribute towards this, it first needs to counteract the disturbing effect of relocation on the physical attachment of residents. For policymakers and urban professionals, the art is in making effective combinations between the three goals each and every time when they embark on urban renewal in a neighbourhood: can they make a neighbourhood in physical and social transitions a place to call home for old and new residents?

11.8 Implication for Urban Renewal Research

The research findings do not only take issue with one sided thinking of policy makers, but also with sociologists who argue against the value of social ties, especially in neighbourhoods, in modern day society. It has become common ground in Sociology to argue that in these individualistic and global times people prefer weaker ties between many more individuals and do not want to be held back

by an all inclusive community. Several scholars (Anderiessen & Reijndorp, 1989; Wellman, 1996; Friedrichs, 1997) have warned against putting too much emphasis and fate on the neighbourhood as a basis for identification and integration. They distance themselves from policy makers and landscape architects who paint a romantic picture of the harmonious community of the past, where life was well-organised and everybody knew and helped each other. They dismiss this line of thinking not only as a relic from the past but also as a 'mythical netherworld' that never existed.

As an alternative, some sociologists have argued for a community based on weak ties. Dyvendak and Hurenkamp (2005) argue for instance that 'communities light', with only weak ties among its members, are the preferred mode of organisation in modern society, due to the diverse and multilevel networks that people maintain. Others, like Talja Blokland, argue that social capital is not needed at all. According to Blokland, all that is needed for neighbours to get along is 'public familiarity'. She uses the concept of public familiarity to emphasise the need for knowledge *about* neighbours instead of knowledge acquired in personal contact *with* neighbourhoods to develop social trust in neighbourhoods. According to Blokland the neighbourhood is not a basis for a shared identification, but merely a framework that can be used for identification. Repeated observations of people in the public space of the neighbourhood are sufficient to anticipate whether we can trust a neighbour or not. This knowledge does not need to be acquired in close personal contacts with neighbours.

However, this study shows that the neighbourhood is still an important frame of reference for many residents. Furthermore, to study the bonds between people and places we need to go beyond the knowledge that neighbours have of each other and beyond the concept of 'public familiarity'. For (emotional) ties to develop between people and places, social interactions need to take place, in the literal sense of the word. Although I agree that the community is not or never has been the all-encompassing framework for the organisation of daily life and the identity of people, this research shows clearly that the neighbourhood is still an important framework for identification (albeit not the only one and not as important for everyone). For identification to take place within the framework of the neighbourhood, social interactions between people are required, in which

meanings are exchanged and the environment becomes 'charged' with meaning. Research on the bonds between people and places should, therefore, also carefully study the social bonds between people, although always in reference to the places where these interactions take place. Without these references the meanings that are exchanges in the social interactions can not be properly understood.

Researching emotional ties in urban renewal sheds a new light on this debate. In the international regeneration debate is it widely believed that urban renewal is a bad thing. Urban renewal does more harm than good, because residents are forced out of the neighbourhood by the new bourgeoisie pushing up house prices, uprooting their already distressed social networks and leaving the neighbourhood more segregated due to different time-space patterns between old and new residents (Wilson, 1987; Slater, 2006).

Zukin (1995) takes this argument a step further by claiming that urban renewal not only damages the social ties of residents, but also the cultural ties of residents to their place. She has argued that urban renewal destroys local urban culture: in the effort to unite different groups of residents under one new cultural banner, local distinctiveness is eroded (Zukin, 1995:274). In a similar vein, Miles (2005) argues that the ready-made identities offered by city councils and urban professionals in urban renewal often reduce several different visions of local culture into a single vision that reflects the aspirations of a powerful elite and the values, lifestyles, and expectations of potential investors and tourists. And even Richard Florida, who stresses the importance of culture for cities to attract the creative classes, is unsure whether local culture will benefit in the end. Culture is, for Florida, an individual commodity which creative citizens pick and mix according to their desires and is, therefore, eroding to existing cultures based on strong ties. In short, there is general agreement among urban sociologists that urban renewal is not only bad for social ties, but also bad news for local culture.

Contrary to the general consensus, Steve Miles (2005) argues that urban renewal can achieve the exact opposite: he believes that regeneration can revitalise cultural identities, if it is able to successfully tap into and reconfigure the place identity of residents living in the area. Instead of destroying local distinctiveness, he claims that urban renewal can strengthen local distinctiveness. Although the evidence base is limited for this claim, my research does show that

residents in Gateshead and Newcastle experience a more than average increase in place identity and social attachment: they feel more at home and more connected to their neighbours, compared with other New Deal for Community areas. By addressing the emotional ties through public art the councils in both cities were able to appeal to the identification of residents with the area and (re)instil a sense of pride in the places where they lived, instead of demolishing local confidence and culture in the physical transformation of the Quaysides.

For identification to take place within the framework of the neighbourhood, not only are social interactions required, but meaningful interactions, which charge (places in) the neighbourhood with new meanings and provide residents with new place identities. This will ultimately contribute to a new identity and reputation for the neighbourhood. Urban renewal can actively engage in meaningful exchanges between residents by providing symbolic references in the physical renewal of areas and by facilitating social interactions in which cultural meanings are exchanged (for example Memory Days). Research on the bonds between people and places should, therefore, not only focus on the social integration of people within the area they live in, but also on the meanings they attach to their environment and the ways by which these meanings are exchanged.

11.9 Implication for Urban Theory

In chapter two, I arrived at the concept of place attachment by a review of different areas in Sociology, starting with the concepts of social capital and social cohesion, arguing that in both concepts a reference to the spatial context of social interactions was missing. I even proposed a new concept for the study of social relations in urban environments, place capital, to describe the symbolic value of places. To define this concept more clearly I consulted the sociological literature on emotions and places. The literature on emotions left me disappointed with a very much individual explanation for emotional differences. Emotions in Sociology appear primarily as individual responses to external norms (dramaturgical theories) or an internal drive to confirm identities (symbolic interactionalists), whereas power and status decide on the scope and availability of emotional responses

(power and status theories). In all these theories emotions were narrowly defined and limited to the micro or at best the meso level. This is especially striking since most psychological theories on emotions agree that emotions are a thoroughly collective affair, leaving psychologists unable to define them at a simple individual level. Moreover, I was left none the wiser regarding the relationship between people and places: what role do places play in the emotional exchanges between individuals and how are power and status affected by different places?

More hopefully, I turned to the study of places in Sociology only to be put right back in place (or rather out of place) by Gieryn (2000), who explained to me that there appears to be no space for place in sociology. Luckily, some authors have since proved him wrong, but this does not change the marginal study of places in sociology. One step forward was the work of Keith and Pile, who argued that places act as neutralisers for conflicts and contradictions. Places hide power struggles and these need to be identified (politics of place) to understand the different meanings of place that are at stake. What a place represents at a given moment in time is, in the view of Keith and Pile, a particular political mobilization round a particular concept of space.

The meanings different groups attach to places are related to the identities they present in these places: "*Spatialities represent both the spaces between multiple identities and the contradictions within identities*" (225). This viewpoint is closely related to the symbolic interactionalist theories on emotions that I discussed, where individuals constantly try to confirm their self (identities) in interaction with others. The Politics of Identity provide a spatial dimension for the interactionalist theories by focussing on the places that represent these identities and allow groups and individuals to present *different* identities. Furthermore, by identifying 'the politics of place' described by Keith and Pile, the power struggles stressed by Power and Status theories on emotions in Sociology are uncovered and redefined as a struggle over the appropriate identity in a particular place. This connects sociological theories on emotions and place: whereas emotions are the outcome of power struggles, places tend to hide these struggles. (According to Keith and Pile spatialities of urban renewal are to be understood as an identity politics of space).

To elaborate on the spatial dimension for Interactionalist theories I finally arrived at the concept of place attachment: how do places represent identities and allow groups and individuals to present *different* identities at the same place? As a transactionalist perspective it highlights important aspects of the study of emotions and place in sociology: people attach meanings to places and form affective bonds with these places when they present their identities in these spaces. By distinguishing different dimensions of place attachment, I have tried to show how places represent identities (place identity) and how people can develop different bonds to a place (physical and social attachment). By distinguishing different place affiliations and level of place identity, I have tried to show how residents can have multiple identities (for instance, friends-related and work-related) attached to different sorts of places (home or neighbourhood-based) in the neighbourhood.

Having used these dimensions in chapter four and five, and coming to the end of this dissertation, it is time to ask the question whether the concept of place attachment has done the job. Do the different dimensions I extracted give a clear picture of the emotional ties of residents, or are there any gaps left to be taken up in future research? I have demonstrated that is it possible and necessary to research the emotional ties of residents in urban renewal and that the concept of place attachment is a particular useful concept for the study of these ties.

By distinguishing different dimensions of place attachment I have contributed to a more encompassing concept of place attachment, which allows for theorising on emotional ties at different levels and to different places at the same time. There is not one way of feeling at home in the neighbourhood and these feeling changes over time and differ between groups and places. Moreover, people are likely to develop different attachments to more than one place. This makes place attachment a dynamic concept: meanings attached to places are constantly redefined in ongoing social interactions, allowing residents to adopt new meanings and places with which they can identify themselves. By combining these dimensions into four patterns of place attachment I was able to study the emotional ties of residents at different levels and places. The patterns will be useful for future research on emotional ties in urban renewal, allowing researchers to relate different programmes and interventions to different emotional needs and ties of residents.

However, the concept of place attachment is not without its failures. For example, place attachment had been criticised as a theory that is only interested in the process by which people and places develop relationships and not so much by the structural differences and (cultural) contexts that allow people to form different relationship at different times and different places. The status and power differences stressed by sociological theories on emotions take a back seat. Although redefined as a struggle over the appropriate identity in a particular place, not much of this struggle is actually studied by place attachment-theory. This struggle is at the centre of the urban renewal debate: residents feel detached from their neighbourhood, because new groups arriving in the neighbourhood have challenged their identity in the place where they live or policy makers and urban professionals have designed a new place identity for them to make the neighbourhood more attractive for different groups which leave little place for their own identities. Furthermore, by defining the relationships between people and places as affective bonds, the theory has neglected the non-affective types of relationships concerning cognitive and instrumental processes (Moore, 2000:213).

Questions for Future Research

To make more space for place in sociology and in particular the study of emotional ties of people to places, more research is needed into these issues, building on the concept of place attachment. To guide future research, the following questions are relevant:

- How can emotions be defined at the macro level, based on interaction between different groups of people in society and interactions between groups of people and different places?
- In what ways are meanings exchanged between groups of people and in what ways do meanings become attached to the environment?
- What roles do places play in the emotional exchanges between people and how are group' power and status affected by different places?
- What is the role of struggles and conflict in these exchanges?
- What role do cognitive and instrumental processes play in the affective bond between people and places?

- How do different structures (government, welfare states, private and third sector) and cultural contexts (national and trans-national identities, local culture, multi-cultural) affect the emotional ties of people to places?