Active Resident Participation at the Neighbourhood level:

An analysis of Investment neighbourhoods vs. Other neighbourhoods in the city of Utrecht

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Problem Statement

The topic of urban restructuring within cities has become a hot issue in many countries over the past years. Governments have become especially concerned with neighbourhoods of deprivation. The commonly used term 'social cohesion' has been thoroughly discussed, analysed and often used as an indicator in neighbourhood assessment. Low levels of social cohesion at the neighbourhood level have been linked to negative effects that constrict the prosperity and growth of a neighbourhood. For example neighbourhoods found with lower levels of social cohesion, often have higher crime rates and drug problems, little social interaction among residents, more litter and physical decay, anti-social behaviour, and less civic participation, to name a few. Consequently, residents and social issues in a neighbourhood have also become a key focus in the process of urban renewal, acknowledging them as crucial components in achieving a successful outcome. The "Dutch national government aims to achieve safety, liveability, integration and social cohesion by *"facilitating them* (the resident, KD) *(…) to take resposibilty for 'their'neighborhood""* (Tweede Kamer der staten Generaal, 2001, p.1.) (Dekker, 2006, p.84).

Urban restructuring is therefore not only about, concrete, bricks and buildings, but also about the people that live in these areas. Whereas in the past this process was primarily concerned with the physical structure of a neighbourhood, it has evolved to include other elements, most importantly social issues. In particular the inclusion and stimulation of resident participation within the neighbourhood is very much valued. It is important to include residents in these renewal processes, as they are the ones that will continue to live there and be the most effected. Discovering what the residents living preferences, essential facilities and other wants and desires are, can be crucial in helping the neighbourhood to grow and prosper. Restructuring therefore is about stimulating the residents to participate and give their input about changes that are needed in a neighbourhood, which simultaneously helps to build new social infrastructures and networks.

The transformation of policies concerning participation can also be attributed to the evolution of government towards urban governance. Partnerships have become the new progression. Local institutions increasingly work together with other local organizations creating partnerships to help enable and empower local people of the area. Participation is a way to increase the amount of power and therefore voice an individual, group or neighborhood can have. As previously mentioned, often neighborhoods about to experience urban restructuring are areas of distress. Within such areas, residents often tend to have a lower socio-economic status (income, education and labour participation). This single variable happens to be one of the most important determinants for participation in the neighbourhood (Bolt and Maat, 2005).

Besides socio-economic status, other factors tend to influence participation such as institutional frameworks, social capital, place attachment, crime and safety in the neighborhood, cultural factors and ethnicity. While most of the affects these factors have had on civic participation have been discussed and analyzed, the element of ethnicity is yet to be fully discovered. In the case of the Netherlands, the perception is that ethnic

minorities participate less then native Dutch residents in their community and neighborhood. Actual research into this topic is limited and therefore has no hard facts or statistics to back this perception up. In other countries (namely the U.S.) quantitative research, has provided evidence that in actual fact ethnic minorities participate more in their neighborhood when compared to the native population (Bolt and Maat, 2005; Dekker, 2006). As there is somewhat confusion and controversy regarding the participation levels of ethnic minorities at the neighborhood level, insinuates that further research is needed to be conducted to clarify this insight. Large populations of ethic minority groups can often be found living in neighbourhoods about to experience restructuring, due to having generally lower income levels and smaller housing careers then to that of the native Dutch. Consequently, ethnic minorities have fewer choices and options on where they can live. It is the case then that ethnic minorities more frequently reside in neighborhoods, where rents and housing costs are much more affordable. Unfortunately, it is also often the case that such neighborhoods are disadvantaged in some way and experience problems. For specific types of participation to fully thrive and be vibrant, the community and neighborhood need to be as stable and socially cohesive as possible. This is not to say that having a stable, socially cohesive neighborhood will automatically render residential participation, but will definitely help to support and promote it.

As mentioned previously, urban restructuring and the focus on specific neighborhoods that are considered to be in the greatest need of renewal and uplift have become a key concern in the Netherlands. New policies and instruments have been created and implemented to try and increase civic participation activities in neighborhoods, including the stimulation of ethnic minority groups. As a result it is interesting to examine participation levels experienced in 'Investment neighbourhoods' compared to that of 'other neighbourhoods' in the same city, to see if there are any differences. Doing such a comparison between Investment neighbourhoods and other neighbourhoods in the same city, will enable us to witness if this extra attention has indeed been effective in helping to stimulate local residents to participate in more civic activities in their neighbourhood.

To guide the theoretical and empirical investigation of this research, the following thesis statement has been formulated:

Are there any differences in participation levels in 'Investment neighbourhoods', compared to that of 'other neighbourhoods' in the city of Utrecht, the Netherlands and has this changed over the course of time? How can the differences between both types of neighbourhoods be explained? Furthermore, are there differences between ethnic groups and how can these differences be explained?

1.2 Scientific and Social Relevance

Past research and studies have identified numerous conditions and variables that help to explain why individuals at the neighbourhood level decide to take part in civic participation activities. These include; key demographic characteristics, personality attributes, life contentment, financial situation, and traditional and/or new media use (Kang and Kwak, 2003). Such research focuses only on the individual characteristics that effect participation in civic activities, while ignoring other influences such as neighborhood characteristics. Therefore it is important to research both micro-level (individual) and macro-level (neighbourhood/community) variables to have a full overview of what is actually taking place. '*Diagram 1*' below illustrates the diverse relations and networks a participant may be a part of, at different spatial scales.

Diagram 1.
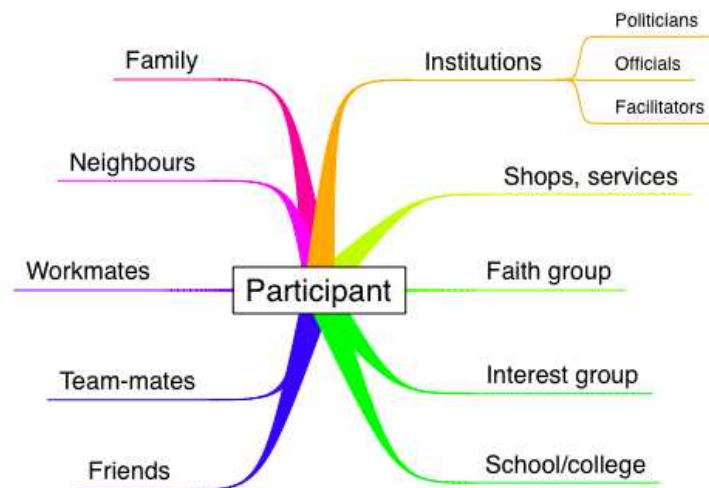
(Wilcox, 2004)

The participant as depicted in this diagram, is located in the centre and linked to all different types of groups and organisations, acting as the hub for all. Therefore, the participant or act of participation is the central or key factor that supports and upholds these diverse groups, which make up an entire community, neighbourhood, or city. Without participants, the listed organisations would seize to exist.

In the 1990's under the topic of active citizenship, the social and political participation of residents was appointed a higher priority on the policy agenda. This was a result of urban renewal projects taking place in many neighbourhoods, in many cities, throughout the Netherlands. More specifically speaking, the notion that the creation of liveable, safe, attractive, social cohesive neighbourhoods in cities, is as much the responsibility of the government, as much as the residents who live there themselves. The process of neighbourhood renewal therefore started to become a conjoint effort. Consequently, "Wijkaanpak", including the participation of the local residents, has become a key focus of discussion in the Netherlands the past years. The government has created new polices and goals in order to tackle many of the problems faced by "achterstandwijken" (neighbourhoods of degradation), in assisting them in uplift. The

Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM), has selected 40 neighbourhoods, in 18 cities, as part of their action program towards speeding up the process of urban restructuring (VROM). These specific neighbourhoods have been chosen based on their priority of urgency to undergo renewal and to help solve some of the problems the residents and community are facing, in terms of Housing, Employment, Education, Integration and Security. Furthermore, the empowerment of residents to help create a better living environment is also on the government's agenda.

Identifying the separate mechanisms that affect local participation within neighbourhoods can be essential for policy-making. For example when concerning social capital, if its different elements don't happen to have any impact on participation rates, resulting in the mobilization of residents, then it is necessary to research and discover which elements do. Furthermore, it is also important to acknowledge all the multiple affecting variables and the different types of combinations that can be present depending on the individual situation of a neighbourhood. This is essential for governments to recognize as Lelieveldt (2004, p.536) points out, "should they simply bring people together to increase neighbourhood social networks, or would it be better to try to change people's attitudes by encouraging them to feel responsible for their neighbourhood?" Therefore it is necessary that policy-makers and governments have a real understanding and feel for civic participation, in order to stimulate and support it.

As mentioned previously, everyone has the right to voice their opinion and have their ideas, wants and preferences heard, in a democratic society. Upholding a democratic system in the process of decision making, especially at the local neighbourhood level, means that residents with a lower socio-economic status (SES), ethnic minorities groups without Dutch citizenship, or even migrants who do not have electoral power, must be included. Especially for the latter group, where they don't yet have the opportunity to partake in important decisions at the national or regional level, therefore it is even more important for them to be included and heard at the local level. As a result this will allow the residents to actually feel a part or somewhat more belonging to the society in which they live in. This relates to and concerns all the weaker voices in society. Everyone, at some level, must feel they are able voice and express their right to be heard. Implementing this basic principle (democracy) at the neighbourhood level can stimulate and lead to other positive actions and influences throughout the neighbourhood and community. Such a trigger of events/actions that lead to multiple benefits is also known as the snowball effect.

Past research has also failed to present any clear evaluation of the influence of ethnicity on active participation. Moreover, few comparisons have been made amongst different ethnic groups. Most researchers have restricted their investigations to one or two specific ethnic minorities, such as the Turkish and Moroccans in the Netherlands, or the Pakistanis or Indians in England. This has prohibited cross-cultural comparisons and evaluations that could shed light on the relative importance of ethnicity and culture. Comparing the Dutch indigenous population along side with the different ethnic minority groups, will allow for a more complete comparison. This could help to clarify what significant factors contribute or restrict participation amongst the different ethnic minority groups and native Dutch alike.

The first and foremost reason why ethnic minorities should be included in decision making processes within their neighbourhoods, has to do with the basic fact that they are living there and in the surrounding areas. They also have the right, like that of anyone else living within the neighbourhood to voice their opinion and take part in discussions and decisions over future developments about to take place in the neighbourhood. Their contribution should be encouraged and valued as to include the

diverse outlook and opinions of the multicultural society, present in the Netherlands. In such societies it is important that not only everyone has the equal right to express themselves and be heard, but to actually feel welcomed to participate. Having the right to actively participate and knowing about it, is still not the same as feeling welcomed and accepted to take part in such actions. Furthermore, ethnic minorities often represent the more deprived groups within the neighbourhood and society as a whole. As a result they not only represent different racial and cultural groups, but also often different social-economic groups from that of the mainstream Dutch population. Including the diverse groups of a multicultural society in important aspects and processes such as decision-making in developments in a neighbourhood, renders a sense of equality towards all inhabitants.

There are other benefits for stimulating and enhancing ethnic minority group's decision-making power. As mentioned previously it is good for society as a whole, but it is equally important if not more, for the ethnic minorities themselves. Possibly more important for themselves, in that before it can be beneficial for the greater society, benefits first need to be felt and experienced by the individuals themselves. Once this is accomplished then the benefits of ethnic minority group participation can be applied to larger scales, the neighbourhood, the district, the city etc.

1.3 Structure of Thesis

Chapter 2 will look into and discuss the theoretical background concerning this research topic, (ethnic minority) participation. It is first important to have a clear understanding of the different variables affecting (ethnic minority) residential participation in a neighbourhood. Terms such as urban governance, social economic status, ethnicity, place attachment, social capital, cultural backgrounds and neighbourhood characteristics/ effects will be examined and discussed. By the end of chapter 2 a conceptual base will have been set, allowing for the research to take place within a specific framework. In chapter 3 the methodology of the research will be provided. It will explain which variables were selected and examined, such as the different neighbourhoods and different cultural groups etc. Moreover, this chapter will explain why these specific variables have been selected to support this research. A conceptual model will also be presented to help illustrate and clarify the goal of the planned research, providing an overview. Thereafter chapter 4 will present the results obtained from the selected dependent and independent variables, which were analysed in the multivariate analysis and corresponding logistic regression models produced. In the final concluding chapter (5), I will return to the theoretical background and put the end results attained from this research into context. This will allow conclusions to be made, in addition to recommendations for policy and suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2

Speculative underpinnings/causation

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter existing theories and research will be discussed and elaborated on, to try and give a basic understanding and explanation of different causes and settings that contribute to civic participation. Researchers have identified various conditions to why residents are drawn towards civic activities. This theoretical base will help to better understand the empirical study of this research and the resulting outcomes. In section 2.2, the transformation into urban governance or decentralisation of responsibilities, decision-making, budgets and policies to local levels, will be discussed. The proceeding section, 2.3, will touch upon participation in the neighbourhood context, often referred to civic participation or resident participation. Here the types of participation, as well as the importance of resident participation will be explored. In addition, the diverse levels of participation citizens can achieve will be elaborated on and Arnstein's Ladder of Participation will be presented to help illustrate this. In the concluding section, 2.4, will examine the range of mechanisms driving participation. In doing so, this will provide useful insights allowing for a clearer, better understanding of why participation is taking place.

2.2 The changing role of the State: From Government to New Urban Governance

Beginning in the 1990's, a transformation began to take place in many Western European cities, concerning how they were governed. The combination of more responsibilities being passed down from the national government to more local levels and local governments budgets being cut, triggered this new form of urban government that would become know as 'urban governance'. As a result, more sectors such as housing corporations and the public sector have become involved in decision-making processes.

 An important part of this new shift has been the acknowledgement that, increased levels of local participation, are a vital element in successful urban processes, resulting in new policies being made. Anderson and Kempen (2006) state that one of the contributing reasons to such transitions in policies, are attributed to the increasing concentration on the empowerment of the inhabitants of cities and specific neighbourhoods.

"Local and national government have sought opportunities to increase the participation of inhabitants… The idea is that the residents of a particular locality should transform themselves from passive to active participants. Citizens are seen as actors, not objects. Government must not only listen to the people, but also involve them actively in all stages of the policy process. The philosophy is that, by providing such competence, the residents are supposed to be capable of managing their own lives and undertake the necessary actions for improvement. The catchword here is empowerment" (Dekker and Kempen, 2004, p.110).

Civil society has become more important in policy making, in particular urban and regeneration policies. Innes and Booher (2004) have listed the following main points why urban governance has become an important form of governing activities and decision-making:

- To maximise local knowledge and expertise on issues
- Advancing fairness and justice
- Legitimacy for decisions
- Because there are legal requirements
- Build civil society
- Build adaptive and self-organising polity to solve problems

These explanations among others, have worked together in removing responsibilities and functions of the State to other stakeholders, whether their power be higher or lower then the State. This present form is in strong contrast with more traditional forms of government known from the past. One of the main differences is, not only the public sector, but also the private sectors and the voluntary are included in policy-making processes and decisions. In other words, this means that the development of policies is at different spatial scales, as well as by different parties involved. As previously acknowledged, residents are therefore also considered to be an important part of this new urban governance form.

Moreover, residents who participate in the decision making process relating to developments and events planned in their neighbourhood, automatically helps to legitimize the final decisions more so than if they were excluded and the decisions were only made by outsiders or officials. Legitimacy has become one of the main reasons why higher levels of participation are now encouraged. The likelihood that decisions and outcomes will be supported by fellow residents of the neighbourhood, is much higher, which will allow new policies to have a greater rate of success. Concurrently, participation of residents in policy processes should also increase their involvement in the neighbourhood (Van Marissing, 2005).

Besides citizen participation initiatives, another result from the transformation from traditional government to urban governance has been the emergence of partnerships. Democratic practices have evolved to include communities and more local-level actors within processes of urban spatial change (Elwood, 2004). This new development of cooperation to achieve specific tasks and attain goals, has also helped to foster new forms of participation between different groups of people, previously not involved or in contact with one another. Having input from multiple actors, offers new information, different viewpoints, and overall more inspiring/innovative outcomes. The following section will define the actions of this newly included group of people in urban restructuring processes, otherwise known as participation.

2.3 Participation

Participation in the context of neighbourhoods, are activities in which residents take place in aiming to positively influence the social, physical and economic situation of the community and neighbourhood (Dekker, 2006). It must be made clear that there are two official kinds of participation to distinguish from. There is 'formal' and 'informal' participation. Also referred to as 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' forms of participation. The

former consists of resident associations and the district Council, among others. The latter consists of such activities as organising street parties or festivals, the maintenance of the neighbourhood, voicing one's opinion about topics concerning the community and neighbourhood, such as undesirable behaviour. In other words creating a degree of social control, where inappropriate actions and behaviour are observed and immediately addressed, with the hope of controlling such anti-social behaviour. Resident participation is best stimulated and utilized when there is a combination of both forms. In other words, "when top-down meets bottom-up; in this case formal instruments are made available by the government and residents are active to make their voice heard" (Kempen, Murie, Knorr-Siedow, and Tosics, 2006, p. 61). Wether it be formal or informal participation, it is important to stimulate and support resident participation, specifically in neighbourhoods. It increases social inclusion on the one hand, thus at the same time it helps to battle the isolation of ethnic minority groups on the other hand. Belonging to a minority group whether it be an ethnic one or not, it could also be other groups such as the elderly, migrants, lower socio-economic classes, single mothers and disabled people etc., are often more isolated then members of the mainstream society.

Although modern day policy making begins to value the inclusion of resident (ethnic) participation and is becoming more encouraged, it is sometimes the case that power struggles between local residents and organisations/governments still persist. On the one hand resident participation is gaining importance in the policymaking process across Europe, yet it most commonly only involves informing or consulting residents. Policy-makers should think if this is a preferred situation or if they want to move towards more involvement of the resident (i.e. higher on Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation) (Kempen, 2006). After all, "*increased awareness of the contribution of residents is exemplified by an increase in the attention paid to resident participation; not only does government have to listen to the people, but it must also involve them actively at all stages of the policy process*" (Beckhoven, 2006, p. 64). The 'Ladder of Participation' is a useful model to explain the different levels/ranges of participation citizens can achieve.

Arnstein's Ladder

Arnstein originally developed the 'Ladder of Participation' in the 1960s, which can be viewed below in '*Diagram 2*'. It describes a spectrum of power relationships between citizens and organisations (Arnstein, 1969). The assumption, which underpins the ladder is that there should be a movement from tokenistic and more superficial relationships which reinforce existing power relationships, towards greater community power and control over decision making. In other words it describes how people participate in society and policy making, from no involvement to full empowerment. This is a useful and relevant model to help depict the changes in participation levels that are taking place.

Diagram 2.

<u>Arnstein's Ladder of Participation</u>
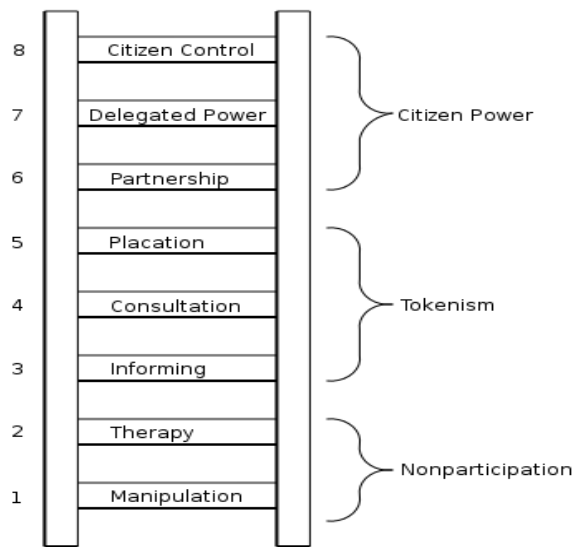
<div align="right">(Arnstein, 1969)</div>

Arnstein developed this model as a useful framework to outline the stages to citizen control. As witnessed, the different forms of participation are ranked on a ladder, where three expansive categories have been defined. '*Non-participation*' suggests that, instead of enabling local residents to participate fully in the decision making process, the goal here is to permit policymakers to manage and educate the participants. In this context, participation is little more than a public relations performance, aimed to secure public support for decisions and plans that have already been made. The second category up on the ladder is '*Tokenism*'. The objective here is to let the residents speak, but also to make sure what is being said is also heard. However, people with power (policymakers), are not obligated to comply with their requests. As a result, participation does not seriously protest any existing unequal power relationships. '*Degree* of c*itizen power*', the highest category of participation, is primarily focused on the empowerment of local residents. The goal here is that they are able to be fully involved and act as an equal, in the decision making process. For instance, citizens have the power to authorize their own demands. This may include all stages; planning, policy making and managing a project/program. In other words there is no middleman between the project and the source of funds. It has been acknowledged in past studies of local involvement that even when communities are well organized and keen on participating in programs, they still have remained in the lower levels of the ladder, thus at the margin of power (Beckhoven, 2006). Consequently, it is rare that local participation forms are found in the category, '*Citizen power*'.

2.4 Mechanisms that drive participation

In the following sections to come, factors that can influence participation will be touched upon. Bringing these diverse determinants into perspective and having a comprehensive understanding of them, is important in guiding the framework of this research.

2.4.1 Social Cohesion, Trust and Social Capital

Social cohesion is a widely conceptualised topic in the framework of neighbourhood quality and civic participation with diverse definitions. Furthermore, it is the most talked about concept and generally considered one of the most important, when concerning neighbourhood and residential issues. The following are some of the aspects that are related to social cohesion; sense of morality and common purpose; social control and social order; social solidarity of income and wealth inequalities between people, groups and places; the level of social interaction within communities or families; and a sense of belonging to place (Kearns and Forrest, 2000). For this research investigation and to have a better understanding what triggers resident participation on the neighbourhood level the following definition is provided:

"*At the neighbourhood level social cohesion refers the extent in which residents shared values and norms, there is a certain degree of social control, the presence and interdependence of social networks (in the form of informal friendship ties or in the formal sense of participation in organizations, associations and community events), trust in other residents and the willingness to find solutions with them to collective problems*" (SCP, 2002, p12).

Differences between neighbourhoods are not just physical, but also social. Looking closely on a micro-level would reveal differences between the form and content of social networks, social capital, social control, place attachment and trust amongst residents. In particular the social networks formed and created between residents, have a great effect on the liveability and health of a neigbourhood. Social networks are often seen as the basic building blocks of social cohesion (Forrest and Kearns, 2000). If these are in tact and stable in a neighbourhood, other elements of social cohesion can foster, including the stimulation of active resident participation.

Social capital, often referred to as social networks, is one of the several elements that make up social cohesion at the neighbourhood level. It has been explained in many articles why people participate generally relates to the social networks dimension, of social capital to participation. In fact this is only one element of the several, composing social capital. According to Putnam's definition of social capital however, norms and trust give people the tools they need for participation and not only social networks (Dekker, 2006). Lelieveldt (2004) take it even a step further, by saying it is a multidimensional concept that encompasses both a structural and cultural/attitudinal dimension. The structural dimension refers to the magnitude in which one is involved in formal and informal networks that possibly links or connects them with their neighbourhood. Other connections are also included such as via the workplace or being a member of an organization that connects one to the wider world.

The attitudinal dimension refers to people's mindsets. This includes social trust and people's norms and values (Lelieveldt, 2004), which is particularly important in

informal participation (Dekker, 2006). The trust dimension refers to personal and social trust, regarding how one looks upon other fellow residents. This opinion and judgment of others can influence one's own behaviour, for example their willingness to invest into the collective well being of the community and neighbourhood. Dekker (2006) acknowledges a second type of trust, trust in authorities. Participation is positively linked to trust in authorities. Although in many neighbourhoods (often low-income), feelings of mistrust and negative attitudes towards authorities work against participation. Norms and values, the other aspect of the attitudinal dimension, refers to obligations, democratic orientations and levels of tolerance. Trust is primarily based on one's experiences, impressions and judgement concerning the likely cooperative behaviour from other fellow residents (reciprocity) (Kwak and Holbert, 2004; Forrest and Kearns, 2001; Council of Europe, 2005). Whereas norms and values influence individual's actions regardless to what other residents do or don't do. In other words it is a feeling or overall sense of duty that they must undertake in civic participatory activities. So it is important no note that social capital has diverse dimensions, which can affect residents' participation levels in neighbourhoods. These individual mechanisms affecting participation in a neighbourhood may or may not be present, or even a combination of them is possible, depending on the particular situation, past history and of course the residents themselves.

2.4.2 Neighbourhood Attachment and safety

Social capital and neighbourhood attachment are both related to participation. The more residents feel a strong connection with their neighbourhood, the more willing they are to actively participate within the community as they have a sense of belonging and home. If residents cannot identify with their neighbourhood and therefore have no attachment to their surrounding environment, there is little incentive to take part of any activities occurring within the neighbourhood. In Dekkers article, '*Social capital, neighbourhood attachment and participation in distressed urban areas*', it concludes that participation is greater for residents with social networks in the neighbourhood, have stronger neighbourhood attachments and who reject deviant behaviour.

Residents who are attached to their neighbourhood are also more likely to socialize and be in contact with their fellow neighbours. Being a part of the local community and feeling a sense of belonging and acceptance is also a result of neighbourhood attachment. Therefore, residents talk with one another more easily and more thoroughly and can expand their networks. Moreover, as they have contact with many residents they can persuade one another to participate in local activities, increasing overall participation rates. Consequently, as the build these social relationships and networks, their trust also increases (Kang, and Kwak, 2003; Sampson,1991)

Feeling connected and part of your neighbourhood does have positive spin-offs and effects, which can help to foster and support social cohesion in one's surrounding community. Although place attachment does not per say always foster participation, residents may have a feeling of place attachment in their neighbourhood, but still not choose to actively participate in neighbourhood-oriented activities. Obviously then, there is a difference between the feeling of 'home'/attachment and actually actively participating in this setting. Residents may choose not to participate for a variety of different reasons. It can be that inhabitants don't feel it is important to participate or simply just don't have the time.

Lastly, although the individual life situations of ethnic minorities in neighbourhoods of concentration are more unfavourable then to that of the native Dutch and they also have a more negative opinion of their living space, the opinions concerning their neighbourhood, are approximately the same. Ethnic minorities have a higher bond or greater place attachment with the neighbourhood, then native Dutch residents. This can be attributed to them having more social contacts/networks in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, ethnic minorities are more involved with events taking place in the neighbourhood, often to make improvements. One-third of native residents living in concentrated neighbourhood's state they would like to be an active participant contributing to its upgrade. Concerning the same topic, between 37% and 46% of ethnic residents say they would like to be involved. The willingness of ethnic minority residents is higher in mixed and white neighbourhoods, than that of the native Dutch (FORUM, 2005). Ethnic minorities strong will to make their neighbourhood a better place to live, cannot be ignored and should be put to good use.

2.4.3 Social Demography and Social Characteristics

Individual characteristics and population composition (demographic, social economic and residential) can also determine resident participation in the neighbourhood. "Demographic characteristics, such as age, gender and household composition have an effect on the chance to participate" (Permentier, 2009, p. 116). In addition, individual characteristics effect certain groups of people more then others. This could be ethnic minority groups, married vs. single, young vs. old, retired, men vs. women, and gay vs. straight, just to mention a few. For instance, older residents, women and households with children generally tend to participate more then younger residents, men and households without children. An individual or family's socio-economic status (SES) is based on income, parental education level, parental occupation, and social status in the community. Attaining a high level of SES, has had positive effects on individual (and family) resident participation. This is due to the higher status, which helps generate larger (social) networks, develop more competences, have access to more resources and possibly resulting in increased self-confidence and a more optimistic outlook, when compared to residents with a low SES (Conway and Hachen, 2005; Putnam 2000). Lastly, residential status (length of residence and tenure) effect resident participation (Kang and Kwak, 2003). Depending on how much one has invested socially, emotionally and financially in the neighbourhood can determine the level of participation. As residential status is also closely linked to neighbourhood characteristics, it will be discussed in more depth in a separate section still to come.

As socio-economic status is such a crucial factor in effecting peoples lives, it deserves more attention here. It must also be taken into account that SES can also hinder participation in a neighbourhood. If parents do not have any education or did not complete their studies, this can trigger a number of linked consequences for them. When they go to look for work, it will be more difficult for them to find a well paying job, due to not having any or the right qualifications. This means they must settle for whatever work they can find, usually with a low-income salary. Furthermore it is possible they might need to travel outside their neighbourhood or city in order to find work, demanding extra time and costs. If the travel costs are too high they may not be able to afford them, and must decline the job. Working weekends or night shifts may also be a requirement. When returning from a long day of work plus travelling time, one is not inclined to feel like participating in civic activities in their neighbourhood. In the case of

single parents, the chances that they will have the time, energy or enthusiasm to participate in extra activities, is quite likely smaller. What little time and energy they have will be spent with their children. Whether one has a good education is correlated with having a good job, which is related to receiving a high income, which also allows one to choose where they want to live and work and can determine if one is socially successful. Consequently, whether one obtains a high level of socio-economic status or not, can affect all aspects of one's life.

As a result, people with a low socio-economic status do not have the same chances and opportunities as someone with a high socio-economic status. For instance choosing where one would like to live is not always a possibility (Dekker and Bolt, 2005). They must reside in a neighbourhood that offers affordable housing. Often this is low-income, or social rented residential areas. Most of these neighbourhoods experience a multitude of diverse problems, as mentioned earlier. The negative aspects present in many of these areas of deprivation, work against the prerequisites necessary (social capital, neighbourhood attachment, length of residence etc.) to help foster civic participation.

Ethnic minority groups are also often located in such neighbourhoods, due to having a low SES (Dekker, 2006). The reasons ethnic minorities have a low SES can be different to that of the native Dutch. For example, the parents may have immigrated to the Netherlands, but their previous education may not be valid or up to Dutch standards. Political refugees may have had to flee their country, not having a chance to finish an education. Language barriers can be also a factor. Consequently socio-economic status is often correlated with ethnicity, which can influence participation (Dekker, 2006; Nelson, 1979).

2.4.4 Ethnicity

Generally speaking the stereotypical notion regarding ethnic minority participation, is that it is much lower then that of the native population. In terms of The Netherlands, this is also the case when concerning ethnic minorities and formal participation. Only a small amount of "New Nederlanders" have in the last two years actively been involved for the importance of their municipality, neighbourhood or group. Looking at the last two years, the statistics indicate that only 17% are preoccupied with some sort of participation activity in their municipality, neighbourhood or group (FORUM, 2005). This is the same situation when looking at the national level. Lower ethnic participation levels can often be contributed to inferior socio-economic positions and specific cultural backgrounds of ethnic minorities, which interfere with their participation in Dutch politics and society. Furthermore, "Dutch political parties are not very aware of their responsibilities to this 'new' electorate" (Rath, 1983, p.445). It came to the attention of the Dutch government already in the seventies that ethnic minorities were disadvantaged not only in terms of their socio-economic status, but also they could not effectively participate in the regular political decision making processes. This meant that they had little power and influence on governmental policies that affected them. It was then that the government made a new policy, aiming for equal participation concerning ethnic minority group members, in Dutch society. The goal of ethnic emancipation would be achieved by, for instance "more facilities will be offered to pressure groups of ethnic interest; participatory bodies by means of which ethnic minorities can assert their influence on forthcoming policies will be founded; and finally non-Dutch immigrants will be enfranchised" (Rath, 1983, p.446).

It is very important to distinguish between the two forms of participation as they imply and entail very different actions from the participants. If one is talking about formal participation, the previous statement that ethnic minority participation is lower than that of the native population is correct. When considering informal participation however, this often is a different story. In general, people (especially migrants) who are not pleased about things in their neighbourhood, often tend to participate more (Bolt and Maat, 2005; Dekker, 2006; Expert meeting, 2006). Even when compared to that of the native residents, participation levels are often higher. They are more willing to express their complaints and concerns about their neighbourhood, as compared to their native Dutch neighbours.

As mentioned previously, ethnic minorities seldom are a participant of a resident organization or do volunteer work in the neighbourhood. Cultural differences and language deficiency tend to be the most important factors, for non-participation in such cases (Onderzoek en Statistiek, gemeente Nijmegen, 2007). Another associated factor is the strong concentration of ethnic minorities in certain neighbourhoods. Recent research has revealed that the social participation of Turkish and Moroccan woman advances in very small steps. Their involvement in activities is strongly dependent and related to family and their network of lady friends, within their own culture (Onderzoek en Statistiek, gemeente Nijmegen, 2007). Therefore, when concerning specific ethnic minority groups, such as the Moroccan's, concentration can actually be a positive factor regarding participation levels. As a result, the effect of ethnic background might differ between neighbourhoods.

Ethnic minority members and migrants may tend to be more reserved and shy away more from public life, due to multiply reasons. These could be anything from unfamiliarity of organisations in which to participate, the fear of being rejected by the native population, discrimination, and harassment due to racism etc (Kempen, Murie, Knorr-Siedow and Tosics, 2006). Furthermore, in many cultures, it is not socially accepted for woman to lead lives outside the home. As a result, these women are often not represented or even absent from public life. Such social isolation cannot only be undermining for the individual or group, but as mentioned previously can be crippling for the entire community or neighbourhood. Activities, workshops and projects stimulating (ethnic) participation of isolated people in neighbourhoods, whether it be informal and on a low-scale, can provide the first stepping stones one needs to becoming that much more involved and included in society.

Participation levels can also be related to one's socio-cultural background. Some migrant groups may find it more culturally important to meet together after work or after diner for social gatherings, such as drinking tea and enjoying each other's company, rather then taken part in formal participatory activities. Therefore the type of participation (formal vs. informal), the specific situation, in conjunction with other significant variables, all contribute to the different levels of participation.

2.4.5 Neighbourhood Characteristics

Contextual or neighbourhood effects occur when geographical location matters over and above personal characteristics. When a resident lives in a particular neighbourhood, would their opportunities and outcome be the same if they lived in a different neighbourhood. If one lives in a well off neighbourhood (financially and socially), they are bound to experience more positive effects. Whereas if one lives in a underprivileged, problematic neighbourhood, one will be more susceptible to negative effects that can

constrain them in various ways. In other words, ones life chances are worse when a large proportion of neighbours are poor, or disadvantaged in some way.

It is also important to note that residents living in the same neighbourhood experience differences in neighbourhood effects, based on ones level of social capital in the neighbourhood (Johnston, Propper, Sarker, Jones, Bolster, and Burgess, 2005). People who interact with their neighbours and who like the areas they live in should be more open to influences from their environment than those who are either or both disconnected and unhappy with their neighbourhood, resulting in higher levels of neighbourhood participation. Moreover, those who like their neighbourhood and are more involved in it, tend to be more open to influence from their neighbours and more active in influencing others locally. Contradictory, those who wish to leave and those who have recently moved in may not yet have developed strong links with neighbours, not allowing neighbourhood effects to take place. Concerning this latter group, participation in local activities may be low.

Other neighbourhood characteristics effecting local residential participation can be affiliated with length of residence and neighbourhood-level residential stability. Kang and Kwak (2003) found in their study, both variables to have significant influence on individual civic participation. Length of residence has been linked to various aspects of neighbourhood attachment and community attachment, as well as trust. This is logical, as the longer a resident lives in a particular neighbourhood, his or her ties will grow and become stronger. Moreover, residents have more time to form relationships and build trust. This is of course assuming they are pleased with their living environment. Length of residence has been viewed as one of the vital ingredients for successful civic participation in a neighbourhood. Viswanath and colleagues (2000) found it so important they even termed it "investment in the community". Furthermore, the longer residents reside in a neighbourhood, the more stable it will become. If there is a high mobility of residents within a neighbourhood, the neighbourhood never has time to settle down and build up key requirements for it to fully thrive. Colemen (1988, 1990) believed residential stability produced social capital, because it not only maintained existing community ties but also expanded people's social networks. Additionally, "residents of stable areas have more opportunities to form friendships and participate in local affairs than residents of areas characterized by frequent residential turnover, regardless of the individual's length of residence" (Sampson 1991). All these issues just mentioned can be related to neighbourhood satisfaction. Neighbourhood characteristics can effect how residents feel about their living environment and in turn persuade them either to participate or not. With this being said, residents who are satisfied with their neighbourhood may tend to participate less then residents who are not satisfied. At first this may sound illogical, as some may think people who are pleased with their living environment, would be more willing to actively participate. Often this is not the case, due to the fact that they are already content with the neighbourhood. On the contrary, residents who are not satisfied with the neighbourhood, may choose to participate in attempt to better the situation. Of course this is not always the case, but may be depending on the specific situation and or type of participation presented. Neighbourhood problems can also effect resident participation, in a similar light as neighbourhood satisfaction just discussed. The proceeding chapter will focus on the framework in which this research takes place.

Chapter 3

Research Design, Data and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter a theoretical foundation was laid to help assist the research question. The diverse variables thought to effect participation levels at the neighbourhood level, have been identified and discussed. These are the primary variables that should be taken into consideration and analysed whilst conducting research on local levels of participation. Based on this previous information and knowledge, this chapter will examine the methodological elements of the proposed research. The Who, Where, What and Why questions will be answered in this chapter. More precisely; who is the target group of people to be investigated, where exactly will the investigation be focused on, what explicitly is planned to be investigated and what are the relevant variables to be selected. To refresh our memory of the proposed investigation stated in Chapter 1, the research question will be once again revisited.

Are there any differences in participation levels in 'Investment neighbourhoods', compared to that of 'Other neighbourhoods' in the city of Utrecht, the Netherlands and has this changed over the course of time? How can the differences between both types of neighbourhoods be explained? Furthermore, are there differences between ethnic groups and how can these differences be explained?

3.2 Conceptual model

The conceptual model below (Diagram 3) has been constructed on the basis of the previous literature study within the previous theoretical chapter. The model summarizes the theory of which variables have an effect on resident participation (on a neighbourhood level). Furthermore, it will help guide the empirical part of this research, by illustrating which variables need to be considered for this investigation, how these variables interact and influence one another and ultimately what their correlation with resident participation is.

Diagram 3.

<u>Explanatory Variables for Participation</u>

Traditional Variables:	**Social Cohesion:**	**Neighbourhood Characteristics:**
Socio-economic status Ethnicity Culture Social-demographic characteristics Neighbourhood attachment Individual characteristics	Social Capital Social networks Norms & values Trust Social attachment Spatial-emotional	Differentiating Social - Cohesion levels Facilities & Services Good or bad neighbourhood? Location & Image Mobility barriers Economic status & Demographic characteristics Safety Neighbourhood satisfaction

Formal, Informal and Non-formal Participation

In this model, 3 key determinant categories based on the literature in chapter 2, have been made to demonstrate what effects (resident) participation; traditional variables, social cohesion and neighbourhood characteristics. Looking at traditional variables, and in particular individual characteristics, diverse variables fall under this definition. For example, age, gender, level of education, tenure and income level etc., can all be classified as individual characteristics. One's socio-economic status also falls under the category traditional variables and is also closely linked with one's individual characteristics. For instance, one's level of education, employment status, tenure and income level are not only linked to one's individual characteristics, but also to one's socio-economic status . As seen in the model, traditional variables, social cohesion and neighbourhood characteristics all directly influence the different types of participation. In turn, participation itself can also influence social cohesion and neighbourhood characteristics. For example, residents who participate in their neighbourhood, could help contribute to the overall feeling of trust in the neighbourhood or result in

developing new social networks. Both hypothetical outcomes, subsequently can lead to increased social cohesion experienced in the neighbourhood. Similarly, this also applies to neighbourhood characteristics. Resident participation can influence, for instance, safety in the neighbourhood. Think upon increased social control or actual programs that welcome resident participation, such as 'community/neighbourhood watch'. These civic participation initiatives can have an immense effect on neighbourhood quality. Here it is important to note that to obtain such outcomes, resident participation must not be a 'one time deal', but rather an ongoing event. For real effects to take place, resident participation must be somewhat stable and sustainable.

It is possible that specific individual characteristics may have an effect on resident participation, while others don't. Moreover, certain variables may influence participation in a positive way, while other variables may influence participation in a negative way. This applies to all the independent variables found in the conceptual model. Later, the logistic regression models produced from the multivariate analysis, will illustrate indeed which variables have been significant for determining resident participation and if they were a positive or negative influence.

Lastly, it is important to point out that part of the research question, can not be identified within the conceptual model. I refer here to the investigation into participation levels (in 'Investment neighbourhoods' and 'Other neighbourhoods') and has this changed over the course of time? More specifically, analysis regarding this question will be conducted for different years. More light will be shed on this topic in the coming section.

3.3 Dataset

The type of inquiry to be conducted is deductive in character. Specific expectations of hypothesis will be developed on the basis of general principles. In other words, the research is based on existing theories that have been discussed previously in Chapter 2, proceeded by the search for evidence. Existing data will be analyzed, assisting in gathering observations to prove or disprove the research statement. An analysis of the determinates effecting participation at the neighbourhood level will be carried out to distinguish which variables are significant. Furthermore, the analysis will be focused on a longer time frame to also see if any changes have occurred over the years. Using already existing data is not a problem and will not deduct any quality of the scientific research or its validity. In order to investigate any changes over time, it is necessary to employ existing data, collected over multiple years.

The data for this reserach will be used from the ' *Utrecht Monitor 2005'*, and more specifically the *'Resident Questionaire 2004'*, previously know as the *'Nieuw Utrecths Peil (NUP)'*, which is produced by the municipality of Utrecht. The survey has been conducted by the city since 1996 and is held ever second year. For 2004, nearly nine-thousand resident respondents have taken part in the questionnaire, providing a good sample for the data set and therefore contributing to the reliability of this research. This survey not only helps paint a picture of the state and status the city is currently in, but also provides valuable insights and information regarding local Utrecht residents and their opinions on a diverse range of issues. These issues include; facilities in the neighbourhood, neighbourhood satisfaction, neighbourhood problems, liveability, criminality, safety, housing satisfaction, municipality performance and (social) participation, to name a few. The thorough nature of this survey, therefore covers a broad range of social, physical and economic aspects that play a role in the

neighbourhood. Furthermore, the Resident Survey 2004, covers a broader scope than the 'NUP liveability and safety surveys' of 2002, 2000, 1998 and 1996. There are more topics that have come on board. Consequently, this makes it an ideal database source and specific questions in the survey are very relative for this research. In 2004, it happened to be the first year that the questionnaire was posted to residents, rather then being conducted by phone. This is due to the fact that households are having less and less LAN line connections in their homes, due to the popular increase of the cell phone. To maintain a high response rate, this change was necessary. By periodically asking Utrecht residents a large number of varied questions, it provides the city and policymakers with valuable representative information on various issues. This is crucial as it is an objective view of the city through the lens of the inhabitants. The results help assist local authorities in answering important questions such as: is the municipality doing the right things in the city and are these efforts having the desired effect? Through the survey, Utrecht residents are able to talk about and express their opinions concerning their neighbourhood and city.

3.3.1 Survey and Response Rate

The survey was held in the autumn of 2004. Late September 18,500 Utrecht residents received the survey in the mail, after they had already received an explanatory letter from the mayor of the city. After seven weeks, a total of 8,770 usable questionnaires were returned, including 100 face-to-face surveys in specific neighbourhoods with Utrecht residents of Moroccan and Turkish origin. The response rate was 47.3%. For a written survey in a large city like Utrecht, this is a good result. By using the same calculation method, the level of response, is comparable to that of the previous one done by telephone in the NUP population survey of 2002.

3.3.2 Samples

For the survey a random sample per sub-neighbourhood was drawn from the municipal population records. As there are 29 sub-neighbourhoods, 29 samples were produced. It was hoped for the samples that a minimum of 250 usable surveys per sub-neighbourhood would be returned. In all cases, the expectations were succeeded. The response rate per sub-neighbourhood ranged from 40% to 56%, with the exception of age (31%). The survey was conducted amongst all Utrecht residents aged 16 and older. In the previous survey years, the minimum age was 18 years. By taking a random sample of the population aged 16 and older (per sub-neighbourhood), a representative sample of the population is obtained. As not everyone completes the survey and returns it and in actuality the survey is completed more by women than by men, later adjustments are made to insure as much as possible a representative reflection of the Utrecht population is obtained. This is done through a process of 'weighting' the answers.

3.4 Operationalizations

Participation in this research has been measured in 2 different ways. The questions in the *Resident Survey 2004* presented in the *Utrecht Monitor 2005,* "Are you in one way or another active as a volunteer?" and "Have you actively participated to improve the

liveability and safety in your neighbourhood within the last year?", have been selected for the purpose of this research investigation. These 2 separate dependent variables, will illustrate and give insights on resident participation levels at the neighbourhood level.

Investigating what variables determine participation in the neighbourhood, will be done by means of multivariate analysis's and logistic regression. Regarding crucial independent variables in question of influencing participation (discussed in chapter 2), not all were present in the dataset. Consequently, it was necessary to create several individual variables, by combining specific questions and statements relating and ultimately representing these issues. In doing so, it is important that these different questions and statements are indeed measuring the same issue and therefore a true or reasonable representation of the variable. To be certain this is the case, Cronbach's Alpha has been tested.

Social cohesion is measured by taking the average score on the 5 following statements:

➢ In this neighbourhood native Dutch and ethnic minorities live together in harmony.
➢ If you live in this neighbourhood, you must be fortunate.
➢ I live in a nice neighbourhood with much solidarity.
➢ I feel at home with the people who live in this neighbourhood.
➢ Youth and adults in this neighbourhood get on well together.

The internal consistency of the social cohesion is at a satisfactory level = (Cronbach's alpha = 0.78). The social cohesion score ranges from 1 (very low score) to 5 (very high score).

To formulate the independent variable 'trust', the following statement from the 'Resident Survey 2004' was used: "*In times of emergency, I can always find someone in my area to call or ask for help*". Respondents were able to choose from 5 ordinal categories; strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree and no opinion. In order to obtain clear results on whether 'trust' is a significant factor in determining resident participation, the former variable was 'recoded' to provide a distinct 'yes' or 'no' answer.

Regarding questions about the independent variable *income*, the dataset provided ratio income categories in which residents were asked to select the corresponding one. To allow for more distinct results and have a better understanding what influence income has on resident participation, the income categories were combined to form 3 new income (ordinal) categories. These were *'Low-income', 'Medium-income' and 'High-incomes'*. In doing so, this also made it easier to indicate the socio-economic status of residents.

The independent variable "*What grade do you give your living Environment*?" have also been included in the analysis with the following range of scores:
(1 = very bad) (10 = Excellent)

The independent variable "*Perception of neighbourhood problems*", had 4 ordinal categories ranging from; often, sometimes, almost never and don't know/no opinion.

To distinguish between *'Investment neighbourhoods*' and *'Other neighbourhoods'*, it was first necessary to compile a list of all the neighbourhoods in the city of Utrecht that were officially classified by the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment (VROM), as neighbourhoods in need of uplift, or commonly know as vogelaarwijken in the Netherlands. Nationally, 40 neighbourhoods, in 18 cities had been selected in total as crucial areas to undergo physical and social restructuring. These neighbourhoods had been selected on the basis of 18 criteria (Indicatoren voor selectie van de wijken, Rijkoverheid, 2010). The 18 criteria ranged from social-economic and physical disadvantages to social, physical an liveability problems/issues. These neighbourhoods received extra financial and social investments, to stimulate their renewal ad uplift their status. In the city of Utrecht, there happened to be 4 neighbourhoods, (Zuilen/Ondiep, Overvecht, Kanaleneiland/Transwijk, Hooggraven/Tolsteeg) chosen by the Ministry of VROM.

In the dataset provided by the *Utrecht Monitor 2005,* it is possible to choose what scale or level of the city (eg. district, neighbourhood & sub-neighbourhood), you would like to analyse your data on. The analysis in this research will be conducted on the sub-neighbourhood level, allowing more detailed information to be examined and therefore providing a more thorough investigation. The *Utrecht Monitor* breaks the 4 previously mentioned neighbourhood areas into 9 further sub-neighbourhoods (1.Zuilen- North & East; 2.Ondiep, Tweede Daalsebuurt; 3.Taagdreef, Zambesidreef; 4.Wolgadreef, Neckardreef; 5.Amazonedreef; 6.Zambesidreef, Tignisdreef; 7. Oud-Hoograven, Tolsteeg; 8.Kanaleneiland; 9.Transwijk) that have been selected for this extra attention. In the *Appendix (1 & 2)*, a map of the city of Utrecht, including all the districts, neighbourhoods and sub-neighbourhoods can be found. Combining these 9 separate sub-neighbourhoods into one, provides the new independent variable category, 'Investment neighbourhoods'. All other (sub) neighbourhoods in the city of Utrecht are regarded as 'Other neighbourhoods' in this research, allowing an analytical comparison to be conducted.

3.5 Independent Variables

Lastly, here below is an overview of all the independent variables included in the logistic regression models, organised into categories based on themes and definitions discussed in the theoretical section of this research.

Individual characteristics and population composition
Employment
Age
Income
Education level
Gender
Tenure

Ethnicity
Dutch
Moroccans
Turkish
Surinamese
Dutch Antilleans

Other counties (within Europe)
Other counties (outside Europe)

Social Cohesion, Trust and Social Capital
Social Cohesion
Trust
Feel responsible for the neighbourhood

Neighbourhood Characterisitics (the role of Neighbourhood satisfaction and neighborhood problems)
Living Environment score
Perception of Neigbourhood problems
Victims of violence
Victims of burglary

Chapter 4

Results

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter the methodology has been outlined and explained providing a necessary framework wherein the research can be conducted. It is the aim of this chapter to present the scientific findings and results found in the multivariate analyses, logistic regression models and other diverse analyses carried out in this research. The following sections will focus on both dependent variables, 'one participating as an active volunteer' and 'one actively participating to try and improve the liveability and safety in their neighbourhood'. Section 4.2 will begin by examining if there are any changes in participation rates that can be witnessed over a 10 year period of time. The proceeding section, 4.3, will continue by answering the first question in the thesis statement, are there any differences with respect to participation levels in 'Investment neighbourhoods' vs. 'Other neighbourhoods', in the city of Utrecht? The succeeding sections will answer the second part of the first question in the thesis statement, how can the differences between both types of neighbourhoods be explained? In section 4.4 what effects individual characteristics and population composition have on participation, will be discussed. In section 4.5 the role of ethnic background will be examined and the next question in the thesis statement, are there differences between ethnic minority groups and how can these differences be explained, will be answered. Section 4.6 will analyse the role of social cohesion, trust and social capital on one actively participating in their neighbourhood or not. The following section, 4.7, will be dedicated to the role of neighbourhood characteristics. In the final section, 4.8, conclusions will be drawn and the best predictors for participation will be mentioned.

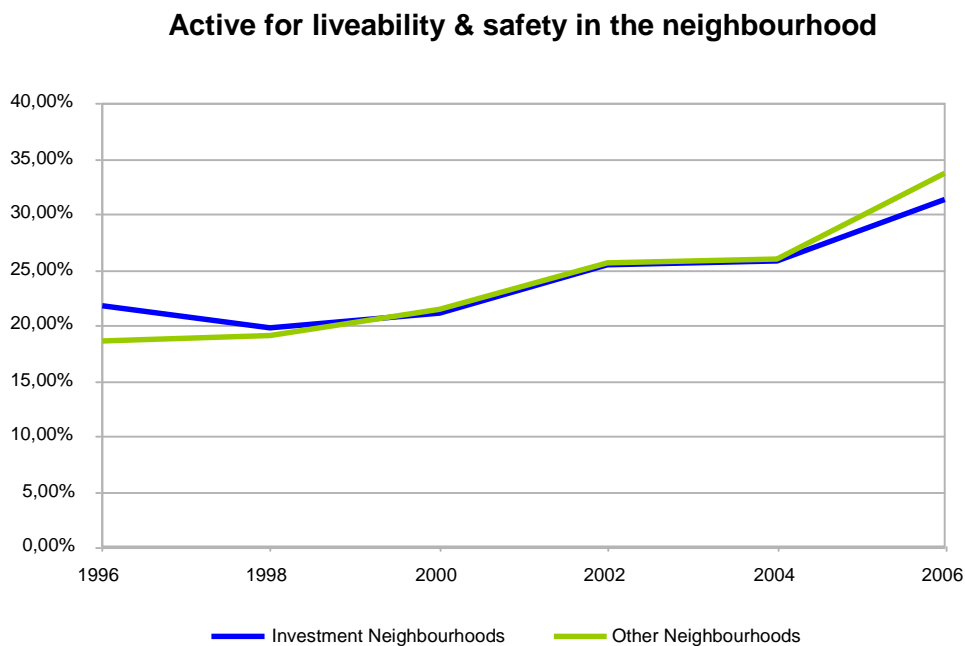### 4.2 Participation levels over time

Referring back to the first question in the thesis statement:

Are there any differences in participation levels in 'Investment neighbourhoods', compared to that of 'Other neighbourhoods' in the city of Utrecht, the Netherlands and has this changed over the course of time?

The 10 year time span analysis, of participation levels in the 2 different kinds of neighbourhoods, 'Investment neighbourhoods' vs. 'Other neighbourhoods' provides an interesting insight into the associated trends. Since 1996 until 2006, participation levels have risen in 'Investment neighbourhoods', when focusing on 'who is active to try and improve the liveability and safety in their neighbourhood'. At the same time this has also occurred in 'Other neighbourhoods' with a more dramatic increase than 'Investment neighbourhoods'. In 1996, the first year of the analysis, participation levels were slightly higher in 'Investment neighbourhoods'. In 2006 the last year of the analysis, participation levels were slightly higher in 'Other neighbourhoods'. In fact participation levels have nearly doubled in 'Other neighbourhoods' in the period of 1996-2006, whereas in 'Investment neighbourhoods' it has risen less dramatically. Furthermore, it

can be concluded that there are very minimal differences in participation levels amongst the 2 different types of classified neighbourhood categories (Investment neighbourhoods vs. Other neighbourhoods), over a 10 year time span, from 1996-2006. The largest variance in participation rates happened to take place in 1996 and 2006. In 1996 in Investment neighbourhoods, participation rates were 21.7% and in other neighbourhoods 18.5%. In 2006 in Investment neighbourhoods, participation rates were 31.4% and in other neighbourhoods 33.8%. These slight retrospective variances of 3.2% (1996) and 2.4% (2006), can be witnessed in *chart 4.1* below. For the remaining years in between, there happens to be even less differences in participation rates in 'Investment neighbourhoods' vs. 'Other neighbourhoods'.

Chart 4.1

Active for liveability & safety in the neighbourhood

It is important to note here, that it was not possible to conduct a 10 year time span analysis for the other dependent variable, 'one is in some form or way active as a volunteer', to analyse if they are any differences in participation levels in 'Investment neighbourhoods', compared to that of 'Other neighbourhoods' in the city of Utrecht and has this changed over the course of time. This is due to several reasons, primarily that there is missing data and various changes in the questionnaire over the years, as mentioned in the previous data set section (3.3). The first 2 years, 1996 and 1998, in which the questionnaire was conducted, the question, 'is one in some form or way active as a volunteer', was not presented. Consequently, for these 2 years there is no data available. Secondly, in 2000 and 2002 the question is formulated in one way, but in 2004 formulated in another way and in 2006, formulated yet again in a different way, making it unfeasible to produce a (10 year) time span analysis. This can also be witnessed in the percentile results of who has been a volunteer over the years. As previously mentioned, the question if one is active as a volunteer was not included the first 2 times the survey was conducted. When examining the results in 2000, 25% of respondents answered yes to being active as a volunteer. In 2002, this was 21.9%. In 2004, 21.6 % respondents answered yes and in 2006, 47.5%. This extreme percentile

increase from 2004 until 2006 in the number of respondents, who are active as a volunteer, reflects the inconsistency in which the question has been formulated over the years, therefore producing an unrealistic result.

4.3 Investment neighbourhoods vs. Other neighbourhoods

Crosstabulation analysis

When analysing the influence of 'Investment Neighbourhoods' and 'Other Neighbourhoods' on the dependent variable 'one is an active volunteer', a significant effect is present, as witnessed in *Table 4.1* below. Residents participate as an active volunteer (32.8 %) in 'Other neighbourhoods', slightly more than in 'Investment neighbourhoods' (29.0%). This is not what we would expect. From a policy perspective this is also not a desired result. We would assume and hope that Investment neighbourhoods would foster more residents becoming active volunteers, due to the extra social and financial capital being invested in these areas. When examining the influence of 'Investment Neighbourhoods' and 'Other Neighbourhoods' on the other dependent variable, 'one being active to try and improve the liveability and safety in their neighbourhood', there is no significant effect as can be observed below in *Table 4.2*.

Table 4.1 - A Crosstabulation analysis showing if one is active as a volunteer based on Investment Neighbourhoods vs. Other Neighbourhoods

		Neighbourhoods		
		Investment neighbourhoods	**Other neighbourhoods**	Total
Active Volunteer	no	71.0%	67.2%	68.4%
	yes	29.0%	32.8%	31.6%
Total Count (100%)		2509	5985	8494

Cramer's V = .037 and is significant (.001)

Table 4.2 - A Crosstabulation analysis showing who is being active to try and improve the liveability and safety in their neighbourhood, based on Investment Neighbourhoods vs. Other Neighbourhoods

		Neighbourhoods		
		Investment Neighbourhoods	Other neighbourhoods	Total
Being active or not	no	74.3%	74.1%	74.2%
	yes	25.7%	25.9%	25.8%
Total Count (100%)		2570	6023	8593

Cramer's V = .002 and is not significant (.886)

Multivariate Analysis

Moving on to the more in-depth multivariate analysis, individual variables, but more importantly relevant background characteristics will be controlled to see what influence they have on resident participation in neighbourhoods. In other words, individual characteristics and differences in population composition will be investigated, revealing what factors truly have an effect on resident participation. When examining the dependent variable, 'who has participated in trying to improve the liveability and safety in their neigbourhood within the last year', then they are no significant differences between people living in 'Investment neighbourhoods' and those who live in 'other neigbourhood's. This was the same result found in the previous crosstabulation analysis. However, when investigating the other dependent variable, people living in 'Investment neighbourhoods' are more 'active as a volunteer' when compared to residents, with similar characteristics, living in 'other neigbourhood's. This is a different outcome compared to that of the crosstabulation analysis previously mentioned. This is also the more desired optimistic outcome that was hoped for. After controlling for individual characteristics and differences in population composition, which was not possible in the crosstablation analysis, it allows us to see the true effect investment neighbourhoods are having on residents becoming active volunteers. Consequently, investment neighbourhoods foster more residents who volunteer.

It was expected that 'Investment neighbourhoods' would have higher participation levels when examining both dependent variables. As mentioned previously in the theoretical section, urban restructuring and the focus on specific neighborhoods that are considered to be in the greatest need of restructuring, have become hot topics in the Netherlands. Much debate and discussion has taken place, with regards to what are the best approaches, processes, stakeholders and solutions to tackle the challenge. New policies and instruments have also been created and implemented to try and increase civic participation activities in neighbourhoods, including the stimulation of ethnic minority groups. This extra attention in terms of financial and social investments, have

been applied with the aim of creating higher levels of social cohesion and effectively stimulating local residents to participate in more civic activities in their neighbourhood. Although there are no differences between people living in 'Investment neighbourhoods' and 'other neighbourhoods', when focusing on residents who actively participate to improve the liveability and safety in their neigbourhood, there are significant effects between the 2 kinds of neighbourhood when focusing on residents participating as a volunteer. Therefore, the extra focus and investments provided to the selected neighbourhoods, has been a positive thing providing a successful outcome.

Table 4.3 - Logistic regression model: Variables in the logistic regression model, has one been in one way or another, active as a volunteer

	B	Wald	Sig.
Social Cohesion	0.2	13.611	.000
Ethnic Background (Ref = Dutch)		14.280	.014
Moroccan's	-.538	7.373	.007
Turkish	-.030	.017	.896
Surinamese/Antillean	-.354	2.601	.107
Other countries (EU)	-.292	4.839	.028
Other counties (Non-EU)	.031	.066	.797
Trust	.371	14.009	.000
Unemployment	.657	20.834	.000
Age	.019	72.953	.000
Investment neighbourhoods	.159	5.219	.022
Income (Ref = Low income)		6.764	.080
Middle income	-.199	4.832	.028
High income	-.196	5.070	.024
No answer (income)	-.263	2.436	.119
Level of Education (Ref = Primary school)		57.779	.000
High-school obtained	.494	30.018	.000
Higher education obtained	.657	57.705	.000
Men (vs. women)	-.003	.003	.960
Living Environment score	-.018	.382	.537
Perception neighbourhood problems	-.008	.399	.528
Renters (vs. Owners)	-.191	7.312	.007
Living with others	.195	3.372	.066
Feel responsible for liveability & safety	.519	18.486	.000
Victims of violence	.337	5.986	.014
Victims of burglary	.136	5.154	.023
Constant	-3.259	126.573	.000

Model Summary: Nagelkerke R Square = 0.057

Table 4.4 - Logistic regression model: Variables in the logistic regression model, if one has been active to try and improve the liveability and safety in their neighbourhood within the last year

	B	Wald	Sig.
Social Cohesion	.351	39.467	.000
Ethnic Background (Ref = Dutch)		13.021	.023
Moroccan's	.392	4.852	.028
Turkish	.425	3.775	.052
Surinamese/Antillean	.478	5.412	.020
Other countries (EU)	.068	.260	.610
Other counties (Non-EU)	.121	.884	.347
Trust	.015	.024	.877
Unemployment	.303	3.967	.046
Age	.017	58.445	.000
Investment neighbourhoods	.109	2.249	.134
Income (Ref = Low income)		1.236	.744
Middle income	-.079	.669	.414
High income	-.023	.061	.804
No answer (income)	.078	.206	.650
Level of Education (Ref = Primary school)		9.370	.009
High-school obtained	.210	5.202	.023
Higher education obtained	.269	9.250	.002
Men (vs. women)	.155	6.815	.009
Living Environment score	-.089	8.508	.004
Perception neighbourhood problems	.117	83.254	.000
Renters (vs. Owners)	-.326	19.771	.000
Living with others	-.616	25.852	.000
Feel responsible for liveability & safety	2.135	94.391	.000
Victims of violence	.812	34.356	.000
Victims of burglary	.267	18.248	.000
Constant	-5.030	203.156	.000

Model Summary: Nagelkerke R Square = 0.12

4.4 Individual characteristics and population composition

Not only do Neighbourhoods influence resident participation, but also individual characteristics and population composition can play a role. These variances in individual characteristics within neighbourhoods, contributes to its overall population composition. Variables such as the types of households, age, gender, ethnic composition, marital

status and one's socio-economic status etc., all make up the population composition of a particular neighbourhood.

Specific chosen individual characteristics presented in the multivariate analysis, have had a role on influencing participation levels on how active one is in their neighbourhood. For instance think about the individual characteristic, owners vs. renters. Owners are more inclined to actively participate in the neighbourhood either as a volunteer or to improve the liveability and safety, as they have invested more (financially and possibly socially), by purchasing a house. Home owners are also more likely to be attached to their neighbourhood, as they have resided there for longer periods of time. Whereas, renters tend to live in homes for shorter periods of time, therefore having less of an attachment with their living environment and consequently participating less.

People, who are unemployed, are more likely to be active as a volunteer and to be active in their neigbourhood to improve the liveability and safety. This makes logical sense, in that people who are not working have more spare time on their hands to conduct other activities, including volunteering and improving their living environment. Referring back to the theoretical chapter presented in chapter 2, this is not in line with what could be expected. Participation on the labour market (in combination with level of income, education level and home ownership etc.) are linked to ones socio-economic status . Being unemployed, would lead one to think and assume the person unemployed, therefore has a low socio-economic status. According to the literature expressed in chapter 2, entailing a low socio-economic status works against the prerequisites necessary (social capital, neighbourhood attachment, length of residence etc.) to help foster civic participation.

Furthermore, within the unemployed category there are many different sub-categories. Most people immediately think of the group of people aged 18-65, who have been fired or laid off. This is not always the case, as unemployed can also include people who are not able to work fulltime or part-time due to physical or mental restraints, but still want to be productive and contribute to society. People, who are unemployed, may choose to volunteer to gain valuable work experience, develop a professional network, orientate themselves with regards to different employers and employment possibilities and increase their overall chances of obtaining a paid job. Last but not least, people who are retired or who have chosen early retirement may also be more likely to become a volunteer, due to having more spare time.

Age is also a significant factor in determining participation. This is what we could expect based on the literature, presented in chapter 2. The older you are the more likely you are to become a volunteer. This can be attributed to multiple reasons. It could be that one is a pensioner and therefore has more spare time. For pensioners, it is not only the element that they happen to have more   spare time, but often they want to continue to be active and useful. Just because one has entered retirement, does not mean that they do not want to apply their knowledge, expertise and experiences, to help other neighbours and contribute to the overall well-being of the neighbourhood and society. Often the elderly are forgotten about or pushed to the side, whereas they should be encouraged to continue using their competences, which is not only beneficial for themselves, but for everyone. People, who are not quite ready to retire yet, therefore only work part-time rather then full-time, may also choose to use their extra time in other activities such as actively participating in their neigbourhood and becoming a volunteer. As one gets older, priorities also tend to shift and change. Different issues are of importance then when one was younger. For instance the well-being of your kids and are they living in a safe environment, where they are able to play outside freely without

any concerns. If this is not the case, one may choose to become a volunteer to improve the situation. Another reason why people may tend to participate more as they get older, could be attributed to that they want to not only better themselves, but also feel like they have made a contribution to society. It could also be an effort to improve their neighbourhood, city or the world. Furthermore, one's personal experiences and/or problems may also determine how active one is.

Income has a significant effect on if one will decide to become a volunteer or not. Residents with a high income (€1,750 and more), participate as a volunteer less then people with a low income (€1,200 or less). Residents with a medium income (€1,200-€1,750) tend to volunteer slightly less than people with a high income and therefore, also less then people with a low income. Based on chapter 2, these are not the outcomes we would expect. Possessing a high income and therefore a high socio-economic status, should foster or enable residents to participate more in the neighbourhood, when compared to residents with a low income and corresponding low SES. When examining the effects of income on residents who actively participate to improve the safety and liveability in one's neighbourhood, income happens to have no significant effects.

The outcomes of obtained education level, are in line with what was presented in the theoretical chapter. People with a medium level of education participate as a volunteer more then those with a lower education level. People, who have obtained a higher education, tend to volunteer even more then people with a medium education. These exact same results can be found when examining effects of education on if one will try to improve the safety and liveability in their living environment. As in the case of income, education level is also linked to ones socio-economic status. Consequently, the higher the level of education one attains, the higher ones SES is. In turn, residents are better equipped in terms of skills, networks and resources etc., stimulating them to actively participate more.

Gender has no significant effect on if one will become a volunteer or not. This is remarkable, as in the theory section (chapter 2), gender was claimed influence participation. In particular, it was expected that women participate more then men. This is not the case when examining the other dependent variable. Effects of gender on residents wanting to actively participate with hopes to upgrade the safety and liveability of their neigbourhood, are present. In this case, men are more likely to take part and try and improve the neighbourhood. Once again this is a striking finding, which is inconsistent with the theory. An explanation for this could be that specific neighbourhood programs focused on improving safety and liveability, such as "Neighbourhood watch", "Neighbourhood prevention teams", "Crime watch" or even "Neighbourhood fathers", often tend to be neighbourhood groups composed of men. This is likely due to woman feel less safe in specific situations or confrontations, therefore do not want to put their personal safety in jeopardy.

Home owners actively volunteer more then renters. Hence, tenure has a significant effect on people wanting to become an active volunteer. According to the literature in chapter 2, these findings were to be expected. Home ownership means that residents have certainly invested more financially (buy purchasing a house), but most likely also socially and even emotionally, in the neighbourhood. Due to having more invested in their living environment, the willing, need or openness to actively participate is greater. Interestingly, people who don't live alone, volunteer more then renters, but also more then owners. Tenure is also significant when determining if residents will be active to improve the liveability and safety in the neighbourhood. Renters are less active then buyers. Residents not living alone are even less active then renters. One again,

owners are more inclined to actively participate in their neighbourhood, when trying to improve the liveability and safety, as they most likely have a longer length of residence, invested more (financially and socially), more trust and greater levels of place attachment.

4.5 Ethnicity

Referring back to the second part of the thesis statement:

The role of ethnic background on resident participation and 'are there differences between ethnic groups and how and how can these differences be explained?

When examining the effects of ethnicity on if one is 'active as a volunteer' in the logistic regression model above in *Table 4.3*, Moroccans are much less likely to participate as a volunteer, then native Dutch. This is similar to the findings found in the previous crosstabulation analysis. Interestingly, this is not the case for Turkish residents. There are no significant differences between Turkish and Dutch residents. This also applies to people with a Surinamese or Dutch Antilleans ethnic background. Strikingly, this is not the results we could expect based on the theoretical section in chapter 2. The literature expressed that ethnic minorities rarely participate as a volunteer. When looking at the first group of 'other' counties (within Europe), they are also less likely to participate as a volunteer then Dutch people, but slightly more then Moroccans. For the second group of 'other' counties (outside Europe), there are no significant differences between themselves and Dutch residents. When examining the correlation between ethnicity and one being active in their neighbourhood, to try and improve the liveability and safety, the multivariate analysis provides other insights then given in the previous crosstabulation analysis. Wherein the crosstabulation analysis model was not significant (*Table 4.8*, below), the multivariate analysis above in *Table 4.4* interestingly shows, Moroccans participate even more then Dutch residents. The Turkish participate more then the Dutch, but also more then Moroccan's. People from Suriname and the Dutch Antilleans, participate even more then the previously mentioned ethnic groups, when focusing on who is active in their neighbourhood, to try and improve the liveability and safety. The 2 other ethnic groups categories, 'other' counties (within Europe) and 'other' counties (outside Europe), both had no significant difference to that of the Dutch.

As previously discussed in the theoretical chapter (Ch.2), when solely looking at informal participation levels, migrants often participate more then the native population. This is due to that people (especially migrants) who are not pleased about things in their neighbourhood, often tend to participate more (Bolt and Maat 2005; Dekker, Expert meeting, 2006). Even when compared to that of the native residents, participation levels tend to be higher. Migrants, who are dissatisfied about certain aspects in their neighbourhood, are more willing to express their complaints and concerns about their neighbourhood, as compared to their native Dutch neighbours. Here it is also important to acknowledge that ethnic minorities also often have a lower economic status and smaller housing careers, when compared to the native population. Consequently, ethnic minorities tend to live in more disadvantaged neigbourhoods, where housing is more readily available and rental costs lower. In turn this means that more problems and/or neighbourhood dissatisfaction can be experienced by ethnic minorities in such deprived neighbourhoods. As a result, there tend to be more things in disadvantaged neighbourhoods for ethnic minorities to express their concerns about. Furthermore,

culture and informal social activities can also help to explain these differences amongst migrant groups and native Dutch. Many ethnicities may participate more in specific (informal) social cultural related activities within their group or living environment. For example, meeting one another in the park to play a game or have a chat. This can lead to higher levels of ethnic participation within the neighbourhood, but furthermore, this can also lead to higher levels of social cohesion in the neighbourhood.

   Also mentioned previously in the theoretical chapter, ethnic minorities seldom are a participant of a resident organization or do volunteer work in the neighbourhood. Cultural differences and language deficiency tend to be the most important factors, for non-participation in such cases (Onderzoek en Statistiek, gemeente Nijmegen, 2007). Another associated factor is the strong concentration of ethnic minorities in certain neighbourhoods. Recent research has revealed that the social participation of Turkish and Moroccan woman advances in very small steps. Their involvement in activities is strongly dependent and related to family and their network of lady friends, within their own culture (Onderzoek en Statistiek, gemeente Nijmegen, 2007). Therefore, when concerning specific ethnic minority groups, such as the Moroccan's, concentration can actually be a positive factor regarding participation levels. Taking into consideration that most investment neighbourhoods tend to have larger populations of ethnic minorities, we could expect Turkish and Moroccan woman to be more active and participate more in these areas. When viewing *Table 4.5* below, to see if Turkish or Moroccan woman do participate more in investment neighbourhoods compared to other neigbourhoods, there is no significance. However, Dutch women and women from other (Non-EU) countries do participate more in investment neighbourhoods then compared to other neighbourhoods.

Table 4.5 - A Crosstabulation analysis showing if women are active as a volunteer based on Ethnicity and Investment Neighbourhoods vs. Other Neighbourhoods

Gender	Ethnicity Neighbourhoods	Active Volunteer		Investment Neighbourhoods	Other
Women	*Dutch	Actvol	no	28.3%	71.7%
			yes	24.4%	75.6%
	Moroccan	Actvol	no	58.20%	41.8%
			yes	71.9%	28.1%
	Turkish	Actvol	no	47.5%	52.5%
			yes	66.70%	33.3%
	Sur/Ant	Actvol	no	43.4%	56.6%
			yes	50.0%	50.0%
	Other countries (EU)	Actvol	no	30.20%	69.8%
			yes	34.50%	65.5%
	*Other countries (Non-EU)	Actvol	no	39.9%	60.1%
			yes	27.9%	72.10%

*Only for Dutch women and women from Other (Non- EU) countries there is a significant association

As discussed previously in chapter 2, urban restructuring and the focus on specific neighbourhoods that are considered to be in the greatest need of renewal and uplift have become a key concern in the Netherlands. New policies and instruments have been created and implemented to try and increase civic participation activities in neighbourhoods, including the stimulation of ethnic minority groups. Seen from a policy viewpoint, it is of great importance for local governments, housing associations and civil society organizations etc., to ensure the participation of local residents with diverse (ethnic) backgrounds, in urban restructuring plans. If this goal is achieved then there is a better or farer representation of the different needs, wants and wishes from local residents living in that neighbourhood. In other words, the neighbourhood and the new urban developments have to reflect and represent the neighbourhood community as a whole, in order for it to develop into a thriving successful neighbourhood.

Further Discovering Ethnicity

When examining the sole effects ethnicity has on the dependent variable 'one is an active volunteer', there is a significant effect. As can be seen in the *Table 4.6* below, the Dutch participate as an active volunteer the most, followed by Other non-EU countries, Other EU countries, Turkish, Surinamese or Dutch Antillean and lastly, Moroccans. When examining the influence of ethnicity on the dependent variable, 'one being active to try and improve the liveability and safety in their neighbourhood', there is no significant effect as can be seen below in *Table 4.8*. It is interesting to discover that when adding the independent variable 'new neighbourhoods' (Investment neighbourhoods vs. other neighbourhoods witnessed in *Table 4.7*) to the crosstabulation model with the variables 'ethnicity' and 'active volunteer', then Dutch are not the ethnic group who participate the most as active volunteers in 'Investment neighbourhoods', but rather other EU nationalities. When looking at 'other neighbourhoods', then once again the Dutch are the most active as volunteers. One explanation why the Dutch are not the largest ethnic group of active volunteers in 'Investment neighbourhoods', could be related to what has been already mentioned, particularly the type of participation, formal vs. informal vs. non-formal, stimulates or attracts particular ethnic groups more than others. Another argument could be the fact that there tend to be larger groups of ethnic minorities living in 'Investment neighbourhoods'. As Investment neighbourhoods have fewer native Dutch residents residing there, relatively compared to other neighbourhoods, means less probability of participation when compared to other larger ethnic groups living in the neighbourhood. Another explanation could be that native Dutch residents, living in Investment neighbourhoods with large populations of ethnic groups, do not feel as inclined to participate as a volunteer, due to having less feelings of neighbourhood attachment, trust or feeling safe, due to (sudden) increases of ethnic populations living in the neighbourhood. It is a common trend that as residents increase in socio-economic status and simultaneously move up the housing ladder, residents with a lower socio-economic status and a smaller housing career tend to move into these new vacancies. Consequently, the neighbourhood demography changes, sometimes leaving long-term tenants feeling like they don't know their neighbourhood anymore. Another reason why Dutch may not be the largest ethnic group of active volunteers in 'Investment neighbourhoods' is because they don't necessarily agree with the 'outsiders' opinion that indeed their neighbourhood is in desire need of new investments and change. Residents who are actually living in neighbourhoods classified as needing renewal, are often more optimistic then people living outside the neighbourhood. Having a bad image also tends to influence 'outsiders' opinions of neighbourhoods. In any instance, this is still a

surprising outcome considering there are most likely relatively less EU nationals living in Investment neighbourhoods, as compared to other ethnic groups.

Table 4.6 - A Crosstabulation analysis showing if one is active as a volunteer based on Ethnicity

		Ethnicity						
		Dutch	Moroccan	Turkish	Sur/Ant	Other countries (EU)	Other counties (Non-EU)	Total
Active Volunteer	no	66.9%	81.0%	73.4%	79.4%	71.1%	70.5%	68.3%
	yes	33.1%	19.0%	26.6%	20.6%	28.9%	29.5%	31.7%
Total Count (100%)		6778	347	184	209	429	535	8482

Cramer's V = .076 and is significant (.000)

Table 4.7 - A 3 layered Crosstabulation analysis showing if one is active as a volunteer based on Ethnicity and Investment Neighbourhoods vs. Other neighbourhoods

Neighbourhoods	Active Volunteering		**Ethnicity**					
			Dutch	Moroccan	Turkish	Sur/Ant	Other Countries (EU)	Other Countries (Non-EU)	Total
Investment neighbourhoods	Actvol	no	69.4%	78.8%	72.8%	77.4%	67.7%	75.8%	71.0%
		yes	30.6%	1.2%	27.2%	22.6%	32.3%	24.2%	29.0%
	Total Count (100%)		1806	198	103	84	124	190	2505
Other neighbourhoods	Actvol	no	65.9%	83.9%	74.1%	80.8%	72.5%	67.5%	67.2%
		yes	34.1%	16.1%	25.9%	19.2%	27.5%	32.5%	32.8%
	Total Count (100%)		4972	149	81	125	305	345	5977

Investment Neighbourhoods: Cramer's V=.071 and is significant (.028)
Other Neighbourhoods: Cramer's V=.080 and is significant (.000)

Table 4.8 - A Crosstabulation analysis showing who is being active to try and improve the liveability and safety in their neighbourhood, based on Ethnicity

		Dutch	Moroccan	Turkish	Sur/Ant (EU)	Other countries (Non-EU)	Other counties	Total
						Ethnicity		
Being active or not	no	74.5%	73.1%	68.3%	70.9%	74.0%	73.6%	74.2%
	yes	25.5%	26.9%	31.7%	29.1%	26.0%	26.4%	25.8%
Total Count (100%)		6863	350	183	213	430	541	8580

Cramer's V = .025 and is not significant (.382)

4.6 Social Cohesion, Trust and Social Capital

Social cohesion is a significant variable in the influence if one is in one way or another active as a volunteer or not. Therefore, the higher the social cohesion in ones neighbourhood, 'the more likely one is to be a volunteer and participate in their living environment'. This happens to be also true when examining the second dependent variable, 'if people in the last year have been active in their neighbourhood, to try and improve the liveability and safety'. These results were to be expected. As explained in the theoretical chapter, there are many different elements that compose social cohesion. Social capital (one's formal & informal networks), (social) trust and norms and values, all contribute to the overall level of social cohesion at the neighbourhood level. Furthermore, neighbourhood or place attachment, the sense of community and a feeling of (shared) responsibility for ones neighbourhood can also be aspects of social cohesion, which contribute to the quality of a neighbourhood. These findings can also be confirmed by the influential work of Kearns and Forrest (2000), where they state that social cohesion comprises shared norms and values, social solidarity, social control, social networks and a feeling of belonging to each to other through a common identity and a strong attachment to the neighbourhood. When these crucial elements are alive and present in neighbourhoods, only then can social cohesive societies be born. When neighbourhoods and communities have reached such status, civic activities, such as resident participation can flourish. Past research (Kearns and Forrest (2000) & (2001); Dekker (2006); Marissing, Bolt, and Kempen (2006) has proven that neighbourhoods with higher levels of social cohesion generally are desired neighbourhoods, which thrive. If a neighbourhood entails high levels of social cohesion this is not a guarantee it will be prosperous as this is only one characteristic or element concerning neighbourhood quality, but it is a good indicator of a neihgbourhoods' status.

Residents who feel responsible for the neighbourhood are more likely to become a volunteer. This is also valid for residents who feel responsible for the neighbourhood and want to improve the safety and liveability of their neighbourhood. However, the former has stronger correlation than the latter. In both scenarios, the outcome was to be

expected. One who feels responsible for they living environment and surroundings, is logically more entitled to make an effort to improve the quality of their neighbourhood, in comparison to one who does not feel responsible. The variation in if ones feels responsible for the neighbourhood or not, can be contributed to various reasons ranging from, length of residency, house ownership vs. renting and different viewpoints on who (which actor) is officially responsible for the quality of the neighbourhood. One may argue that the local government or housing association has the final responsibility when concerning the neighbourhood and therefore not feel the need or urge to become active and participate in some way. Others may feel that indeed it is also an individual and/or communal responsibility and therefore be more inclined and stimulated to take the matters into their own hands, thus actively participating in the neighbourhood.

As expected, trust is a significant factor in determining if one will be a volunteer. Therefore, the higher the trust one has, the more likely one is to participate as a volunteer. Notably, trust has no significant effect on people when determining if they would actively participate in their neigbourhood to improve the liveability and safety. As mentioned previously in the theoretical section, social trust and people's norms and values (Lelieveldt, 2004), are particularly important in informal participation (Dekker, 2006). The trust dimension refers to personal and social trust, regarding how one looks upon other fellow residents. This opinion and judgment of others can influence one's own behaviour, for example their willingness to invest into the collective well being of the community and neighbourhood. Dekker (2006) acknowledges a second type of trust, trust in authorities. Participation is positively linked to trust in authorities. Although in many neighbourhoods (often low-income), feelings of mistrust and negative attitudes towards authorities work against participation.

4.7 Neighbourhood Characteristics: The role of Neighbourhood satisfaction and neighborhood problems

Neighbourhood satisfaction and neighborhoods problems tend to have a great impact on influencing and stimulating individuals whether to become an active resident or not, within their neighbourhood. When examining the regression model back in *Table 4.3*, there is no significance of neigbourhood problems on the influence if one will volunteer or not. The opposite is for residents when determining if they will be active in their neigbourhood to try and improve the liveability and safety of it, which can be viewed *Table 4.4*. In this case neigbourhood problems do have a positive influence on resident participation. As a result, something negative (neigbourhood problems) provokes something positive (resident participation). Interestingly, this is also what was mentioned in the theoretical section, back in chapter 2. This is logical, as often people are not triggered into action, until a problem arises. Then there is a concrete reason to take action and especially if one is unpleased with something and experiencing problems with their neighbourhood.

The higher one rates their living environment, happens to have no significant effect on one potentially becoming an active volunteer or not. The same can not be said for how one rates their living environment and being active to try and improve the safety and liveability of your neighbourhood. People, who give their living environment high marks, make less of an effort to improve the safety and liveability in their neigbourhood than people who give their living environment low marks. This is also logical, as the more pleased you are with the quality of your neigbourhood, the less likely you feel the

urge to improve it. Residents, who want to better their neighbourhood and the overall quality of their living environment, are more inclined to actively participate.

Victims of violence are more likely to be active and participate as a volunteer, as well as work on the safety and liveability in the neigbourhood. This is also true for residents who have been burglarised and have had assets stolen. Again this is where something negative happens, but has a positive outcome. Victims of violence or burglary may choose to become more active in the neighbourhood, to improve the conditions there and try and prevent such an event from happing again not only for themselves, but also for other fellow residents.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter the results from the several analyses made, have been presented. The first dependent variable focused on 'if one is in one way or another active as a volunteer'. The second dependent variable focused on 'if people have been active to try and improve the liveability and safety in their neighbourhood, within the last year'. When analysing if one is likely to be an active participant and volunteer, age is the best predictor having a Wald score of 72,953 followed by education (57,705) and both having a positive influence. Unemployment (20.834) and if one feels responsible for the liveability and the safety of the neighbourhood (18.486), proceeded. For the second dependent variable, if people in the last year have been active to try and improve the liveability and safety in their neighbourhood, the variables with the highest Wald scores and therefore the best predictors were, if one feels responsible for the liveability and the safety of the neighbourhood (94.391) and neighbourhood problems (83.254), both having a positive influence.

In this research the first independent variable in question is 'neighbourhoods' and to see if there are any differences in participation levels in 'Investment neighbourhoods', compared to that of 'Other neighbourhoods'. People living in 'Investment neighbourhoods' are more active as a volunteer when compared to residents living in other neigbourhood's. With this being said, there happens to be no significant differences between 'Investment neighbourhoods', and that of 'Other neighbourhoods', when focusing on residents participating to try and improve the liveability and safety in their neighbourhood, as was hoped for. Indeed there have been changes over time, but this accounts for both 'Investment neighbourhoods' and 'Other neighbourhoods'. In fact in 'Other neighbourhoods', participation levels regarding residents being active to try and improve the liveability and safety in their neighbourhood, are higher. This is not what was to be expected. When individual characteristics are take into, the results are more participation . It is difficult within the restraints of this research to pinpoint exactly why this happens to be the case. Other independent variables and external factors may also play a role.

Regarding the second important independent variable looked at in this study, the influence of ethnicity on resident participation, interestingly there were no significant differences between Turkish, Dutch Antilleans, Surinamese and native Dutch residents when looking at who is most likely to participate as a volunteer. This is also a surprising result and not to be expected, as it is generally thought that ethnic minorities tend to shy away from actively participating as a volunteer, due to diverse reasons such a lack of language and cultural differences etc. The effect of ethnicity on the other dependent variable, who is active in their neighbourhood to try and improve the liveability and safety, the Surinamese and Dutch Antilleans participate the most, followed by Turkish

and then by Moroccans. All 4 previous mentioned ethnic groups participate more then the native Dutch, which was not expected, therefore providing unique and refreshing insights on the influence ethnicity has on specific neighbourhood resident participation.

Chapter 5

Summary & Conclusions

5.1 Introduction

In the first chapter, the topic of urban restructuring within cities and neighbourhood renewal was discussed. Whether it is called neighbourhood renewal, restructuring, uplift, development, upgrading, improvement, gentrification, 'krachtwijken' or 'vogelaarwijken', this process of urban shifts is taking place and transforming cities all over the world, including The Netherlands. Social cohesion is a major issue in these transformation processes, as it is often used as an indicator (amongst others) to evaluate the status of a neighbourhood and to determine indeed if it needs to undergo renewal. As a result, urban restructuring processes not only include the physical and economic aspects of a neighbourhood, but also the social issues and therefore the residents residing there. Taking into account all the formerly mentioned aspects that compose a neigbourhood and making sure they receive the required attention needed during the renewal process, increases the chances of developing a successful, thriving neighbourhood. Consequently, resident participation is one of the crucial elements in the neighbourhood, which has become greatly valued and a desired outcome.

The underlying focus of this research was to focus on resident participation at the neighbourhood level and to determine what factors influence it. In particular, what role does 'investment neighbourhoods' and 'ethnicity' have on active participation of residents, was of interest. The 2 dependent variables in this research, which represented participation were who is 'active as a volunteer' and who 'has participated in trying to improve the liveability and safety in their neigbourhood within the last year', in the city of Utrecht. Regarding the former, 31.6 % of residents responded 'yes' to being active as a volunteer. When focusing on the latter 25.8 % of residents responded 'yes' to trying to improve the liveability and safety in their neigbourhood.

In this last concluding chapter, the thesis statement guiding this research will be revisited and answered, policy recommendations will be made and limitations of this study and suggestions for further research will be proposed.

Research thesis statement:

Are there any differences in participation levels in 'Investment neighbourhoods', compared to that of other neighbourhoods in the city of Utrecht, the Netherlands and has this changed over the course of time? How can the differences between both types of neighbourhoods be explained? Furthermore, are there differences between ethnic groups and how can these differences be explained?

5.2 Results

An empirical investigation has been carried out with the use of existing data provided by the 'Utrecht Monitor 2005', focused on Utrecht residents and their opinions on diverse range of issues and themes with respect to the city of Utrecht. By selecting specific variables from the dataset and conducting a multivariate analysis to provide a logistic regression model, new insightful findings have been discovered during this research.

Extra attention in terms of financial and social investments, have indeed been effective in helping to stimulate local residents to participate in more civic activities in their neighbourhood. People living in 'Investment neighbourhoods' are more 'active as a volunteer' when compared to residents with similar characteristics, living in other neigbourhoods. This is in line and what could be expected from the theoretical literature study presented in chapter 2. Moreover, this is the desired result, which was hoped for. Investing more in specifically chosen neighbourhoods that were in greater need of uplift in the city of Utrecht, has paid off in terms of this specific type of increased resident participation. However, when analysing 'who has participated in trying to improve the liveability and safety in their neigbourhood within the last year', then they were no significant differences between people living in 'Investment neighbourhoods' and those living in 'other neigbourhoods. It would be expected that participation rates would be higher in investment neighbourhoods, due to increased safety and higher levels of liveability. The fact that there is not more participation in investment neighbourhoods, could be due to residents often feel that such topics as liveability and safety, aren't their responsibility, but rather the responsibility of the local government and/or authorities. The perception and uncertainty of who really is or should be responsible for such issues, often leads to misunderstandings and/or undesirable situations. If this case presents itself, communication and cooperation are key factors in solving these issues.

Regarding ethnic minorities, it was previously mentioned that they were disadvantaged in multiple ways, including their socio-economic status. As socio-economic status is a key factor in determining participation, one would assume ethnic minorities participate less. On the contrary, in the United States they discovered that ethnic minorities participate more in order to compensate for their lower socio-economic status. In particular, they aimed to attain through (political) participation what they could not otherwise acquire because of a lack of personal resources in terms of income or education (Dekker and Kempen, 2008). These literature findings correspond with the results found in the multivariate analysis presented in this research study. Ethnicity had a significant influence on participation. When looking at ethnic minority groups and who has participated in trying to improve the liveability and safety in their neigbourhood, the multivariate analysis revealed that people from Suriname and the Dutch Antilleans participate the most. Followed by the Turkish, then the Moroccans and lastly the Dutch. The 2 other ethnic groups categories, 'other' counties (within Europe) and 'other' counties (outside Europe), both had no significant difference to that of the Dutch. Referring back to the theoretical chapter on this topic, these results are in line with the literature. The literature stated that ethnic minorities are more involved with events taking place in the neighbourhood, often to make improvements. One-third of native residents living in concentrated neighbourhood's state they would like to be an active participant contributing to its upgrade. Concerning the same topic, between 37% and 46% of ethnic residents say they would like to be involved. The willingness of ethnic minority residents is higher in mixed and white neighbourhoods, than that of the native Dutch (FORUM, 2005). When analysing the effects of ethnicity on residents 'active as a

volunteer', the literature expressed that ethnic minorities seldom are a participant of a resident organization or do volunteer work in the neighbourhood. When compared to the native Dutch, indeed Moroccans were less likely to participate as a volunteer. Interestingly, this does not apply for the Turkish, Surinamese, Dutch Antilleans and 'other' counties (outside Europe), who appeared to have no differences, when compared to the Dutch. Once again this is a positive, but unexpected outcome. The general public belief, as well as what is expressed in the literature, is that ethnic minority groups rarely take part in this particular type of participation. This research has shown otherwise.

As mentioned in 4.2, it was not possible to conduct a 10 year time span analysis for the dependent variable, 'one is in some form or way active as a volunteer'. Nonetheless, it was possible for the other dependent variable, 'who is active to try and improve the liveability and safety in their neighbourhood'. Participation levels had constantly risen between 1996 until 2006 for 'Other neighbourhoods', with the exception from 2002 -2004, where it was more stable. For 'Investment neighbourhoods', from 1996 - 1998, participation levels actually dropped, as witnessed in chart 4.2. From 1998 - 2006, participation levels for 'Investment neighbourhoods' constantly rose, but similar to 'Other neighbourhoods' in the period from 2002 -2004, it was more stable. In 1996, the first year of the analysis, participation levels were slightly higher in 'Investment neighbourhoods'. In the last year of the analysis, 2006, participation levels were slightly higher in 'Other neighbourhoods'. Here it is important to note, that for the use of this research, the 2004 dataset has been used, as the 2006 was not suitable. Consequently, in 2004 in align with the findings of this research, there happened to be no significant differences between people living in 'Investment neighbourhoods' and those who live in 'other neighbourhoods'.

The differences between 'Investment neighbourhoods and 'Other neighbourhoods' can be explained by several different factors. Individual characteristics and population composition of the neighbourhoods presented in this study, have had a influence on the final outcomes. In the introductory chapter of this study it was stated that within neighbourhoods and urban areas of disadvantage, residents often tend to have a lower socio-economic status (income, education and labour participation). Moreover, it was indicated that resident's who have a lower socio-economic status , generally tend to participate less. As a result, it was compelling to discover what the results in this investigation were for the independent variable, socio-economic status . This single variable (SES) happens to be one of the most important determinants for participation in the neighbourhood (Bolt and Maat, 2005).With this being said, in this investigation there was no single 'socio-economic status' variable available, but rather individual variables that make up socio-economic status. This allows for a more precise indication of what elements of socio-economic status are actually having an effect on resident participation. In particular the variables, education, employment, income and tenure, have been included in the multivariate analysis.

Tenure has a significant effect on resident participation in the neighborhood, both for people wanting to become an 'active volunteer' and if residents will be 'active to improve the liveability and safety in the neighbourhood'. Home owners participate more then renters, in both types of neighbourhood resident participation mentioned above. This is in coherence with the theory and literature discussed in chapter 2. Additionally, home owners are more inclined to actively participate in the neighbourhood, as they have invested more by purchasing a house. This financial investment means more stability and can also lead to more place attachment, social investments and increased feelings of responsibility for the neighbourhood and consequently, increased participation.

Income had a significant effect on if one will decide to become a 'volunteer' or not. Residents with a low income, happened to participate the most in the neighbouhood, followed by residents with a high income and lastly residents with a medium income. This was an interesting find to discover that residents with low incomes, participate more then residents with higher incomes. In theory, we would assume that residents with a low income and therefore also a low socio-economic status , would tend to participate less. This insightful outcome, deserves more attention and research. When examining 'who participates actively to improve the safety and liveability in one's neighbourhood, income had no significant effect. This could be relating to the fact that, residents in general all find safety and liveability issues important, regardless of their income level. Such topics as safety and liveability are core issues that every resident, no matter what there socio-economic status is, would like to have present in their living environment.

Labour participation was also significant when analysing resident participation determinants. In fact, people who are unemployed are more likely to be ' active as a volunteer' and to be 'active to improve the liveability and safety' in their neigbourhood. Although they may have a lower socio-economic status , this makes logical sense. Residents who are not working have more spare time to participate in other activities, including volunteering and improving their living environment.

Lastly, the level of education also played a significant role on determining resident participation. Residents who had obtained a higher education participated the most, succeeded by residents with a medium education level and lastly residents with a lower education level. This applied to the residents who had done volunteering as well as to residents who had tried to improve the safety and liveability in their neighbourhood. As a result, we can see that higher the education, hence higher the socio-economic status one has, facilities greater levels of participation. The next section will discuss policy considerations and recommendations, in relevance to resident participation.

Having high levels of social cohesion in a neighbourhood, is also a significant factor in stimulating resident participation. This was true for both dependent variables examined in this research and is in sink with the predictions discussed in theoretical section in chapter 2. The more residents feel a strong connection and bond with their community and neighbourhood, the more willing they are to actively participate within their living environment. If residents cannot identify with their neighbourhood and therefore have no attachment to their surrounding environment, there is little incentive to take part of any activities occurring within the neighbourhood. Participation is greater for residents with social networks in the neighbourhood, have stronger neighbourhood attachments and who reject deviant behaviour (Dekker, 2007).
It is therefore important at the neighbourhood level to create higher levels of social cohesion, which in turn can help stimulate resident participation and furthermore, contribute to a neighbourhood becoming more prosperous. Creating socially cohesive neighbourhoods and increased civic participation can also have larger societal effects. As Putnam believed, engaged communities produced cohesive societies of active citizens. The neighbourhood matters because what happens in the neighbourhood influences our public and societal disposition (Forrest and Kearns, 2001). Neighbourhoods with higher levels of social cohesion generally are healthy stable neighbourhoods.

5.3 Policy Recommendations

Much of modern day urban policies in Europe, have started to become more and more focused on the inclusion and participation of its residents. The transformation form 'Government' to 'Urban Governance', where some political power has been transferred from the 'top-down'. This transferring of power to lower levels, creates more opportunities for local residents to take part in decision making process's, voice their opinion on specific issues, and influence local policies that effect their own community, neighbourhood, or possibly even city. This happens to be true also for the case of the Netherlands. For instance, 'The Big Cities Policy', which is the primary national urban policy for urban renewal in distressed areas, also envisions resident participation within their neighbourhoods. "The approach entails intensive contact and cooperation between residents, government bodies (local authority, police, social welfare organizations), housing associations, and local employers" (Dekker and Kempen, 2004, p.111). An important aspect of the Big Cities Policy is the interaction and cooperation of all relevant stakeholders, including the active involvement of local residents. As Dekker and Kempen state,

"Local and national government have sought opportunities to increase the participation of inhabitants... The idea is that the residents of a particular locality should transform themselves from passive to active participants. Citizens are seen as actors, not objects. Government must not only listen to the people, but also involve them actively in all stages of the policy process. The philosophy is that, by providing such competence, the residents are supposed to be capable of managing their own lives and undertake the necessary actions for improvement. The catchword here is empowerment" (Dekker and Kempen, 2004, p.110).

As mentioned before the topic of active citizenship, the social and political participation of residents, has been appointed a higher priority on the policy agenda. Over the past years, local governments and Housing Associations have become more enthusiastic and supportive, to involve the participations of the local residents. They are keen on these new ways not only to fulfil their own plans, but also to maximise the involvement of the implementation. Consequently, residents are increasingly seen as important sources of information. Their knowledge of the local context is much more elaborate and complete. For local governments and Housing Associations, this input can be extremely valuable and indispensable, regarding the development plans of the neighbourhood about to undergo restructuring. The situation is becoming more and more that local governments and Housing Associations are including the wishes/preferences and needs of the current residents first, in the initial design for urban renewal plans. Consequently, the 'Resident Housing Workshops' is a useful instrument to help make these first steps and assist the process.

The Resident Housing Workshops (Woonateliers) were created by FORUM Institute for Multicultural Issues, as a participation instrument to initially reach migrants and ethnic minority groups, in neighbourhoods (often post WWII) about to encounter restructuring and renewal. Usually such neighbourhoods are characterized with a diverse demography and multicultural in character. In the case of the Netherlands, such ethnic groups as the Turkish, Moroccan's, Surinam's, Dutch Antilles and of course native Dutch residents, can all be found living in these post WWII neighbourhoods where social housing is provided. Taking into consideration that diverse ethnic groups live in these same areas, the Resident Housing workshops include all residents in the

neighbourhood. Getting the residents involved in their community and neighbourhoods was one of the reasons why FORUM created these Workshops, in addition that they would also help focus on Multicultural Neighbourhood Development, through local resident participation. Giving the opportunity to participate in a 'Resident Housing Workshop' is an ideal platform for residents to become active in their neighbourhood and make a change. Furthermore, this slightly more formal setting may allow them to have more of an impact on decision-making and policies concerning them.

On the basis of working assignments, they discuss their experiences, preferences, viewpoints and dreams with respect to neighbourhood planning, community life, public facilities and housing. The assignment where they must walk through their house/neighbourhood and take pictures of the positive and negative aspects, allows them to work together and contribute to the future renewal plans. Moreover, it is a process to help them start thinking of what they really want, and how they want to live. Supported by professionals employed for the workshops, they try to put their ideas into practice. In this sense the residents become designers themselves.

The aim of developing multicultural neighbourhoods is one of the key elements of these projects, along with stimulating active citizenship and civil society. By conducting a 'Resident Housing Workshop' in a neighbourhood, can help connect native and non-native residents together, through active participation. Often the topic of housing is the main focus, as new housing will be built in the neighbourhood. Developing multicultural buildings and housing, therefore will reflect the diversity of the people already living in the neighbourhood. Whether the focus is on the housing itself, a public square, or lifestyle etc., the central theme was always linked to the multicultural aspect of the community and neighbourhood and stimulating active resident participation. This is ever so important, due to the changing demographic situation in The Netherlands.

Lastly, instruments and methods have been developed to stimulate resident participation and social cohesion at the local level. Governments and institutions have applied these methods in hoping to create liveable and sustainable neighbourhoods, particularly in areas of decline. Although this is moving in the right direction, we must not place all the emphasis on such instruments to create success. They may help to stimulate participation on a small scale, but to fully enable citizen participation; organisations, society and the State must not only be willing and open to it, but also more sensitive to it. "The Dutch governing board (consensus democracy) is technocratic, instrument oriented, and less concerned about the relations between the citizen/society. We should not develop more instruments for participation, but more feeling for participation" (FORUM, 2006).

As mentioned previously, the transformation of policies concerning participation can also be attributed to the evolution of government towards urban governance. Local institutions increasingly work together with other local organizations creating partnerships to help enable and empower local people of the area. Participation is a way to increase the amount of power and therefore voice an individual, group or neighborhood can have. As discussed in chapter 1, for specific types of participation to fully thrive and be vibrant, the community and neighborhood need to be as stable and socially cohesive as possible. Furthermore, social investments in the form of promoting social cohesion and shared citizenship, require a certain materialization.

For resident participation to fully flourish, basic preliminary conditions need to be first present in a neighbourhood. It is important that policies not only focus on the goal itself, resident participation, but the underlying factors stimulating participation. The goal in itself is of course important, but the process of getting to the goal or in this

case the core factors influencing resident participation are equally as important. As social cohesion happens to be one of the greatest indicators for active resident participation, special attention needs to be paid to it. Social cohesion is a commonly discussed topic in terms of policies focused on neighbourhood renewal and civil society, but because it is a term which entails and describes a broad range of elements, it is important to focus on the local context and see what applies to the specific area of discussion. One neighbourhood may lack in a specific element of social cohesion, such as low trust amongst residents, while other neighbourhoods may lack in another element of social cohesion, such as social capital. Differentiating the specific problems within the social cohesion umbrella, which need to be addressed enables a more tailored approach to solving problems and/or trying to increase the liveability in a neighbourhood. Moreover, it is necessary that governments identify all separate mechanisms that affect local participation within neighbourhoods as it is essential for policy-making (Lelieveldt , 2004). It is the trend that the higher the social cohesion is, generally the higher participation rates are. With this being said, how do you promote social cohesion in the neighborhood, contact between groups and therefore increased participation?

Dutch urban restructuring policy, is for a great deal focused on increasing social cohesion in neighbourhoods. Restructuring is often seen as an opportunity for promoting social cohesion and strengthening quality of life in neighborhoods. Many activities, social programs and projects have been developed to promote social cohesion at this level. Take for instance the 'Resident Housing Workshops' formerly mentioned, not only happens to stimulate resident participation, voice and influence on decision making, but also enhances social cohesion in the neighbourhood. Whether it be a formal, semi-formal like the resident housing workshops or informal activity, all forms and types can foster social cohesion. Often informal activities are most influential. For example, an organized neighbourhood BBQ, together renovating or upgrading public facilities such as a playground or painting a mural on a wall or organizing activities where all members from society, young or old, can take part in. This also applies to relationships within the neighbourhood. Whether, residents have formal or informal, voluntary or involuntary contact with other residents, or even non-residents, this also has an effect on the individual, community and neighbourhood as a whole. Furthermore, how people correspond with one another, also influences social cohesion and the well being of a neighbourhood. In other words, are people patient and polite with each other? Do they respect one another? Do they feel like they belong to the community, etc?

Besides cooperating with residents to increase social cohesion at the neighbourhood level, forming local partnerships with institutions, municipalities, civil society organisations, housing associations, schools, police, companies and social workers, is also tactful. Developing such a cooperation amongst diverse partners, allows for a multidimensional approach to take place. When certain actors are needed for specific issues presenting themselves in the neighbourhood, then there already is an established network, which can mediate when or if necessary. Being able to respond quickly or even working preventively, can dim problems or issues that may arise in a neighbourhood. In doing so, the social, physical and economic well being of a neigbourhood can be maintained, while simultaneously permitting social cohesion to grow.

5.4 Limitations of this study and suggestions for further research

A limitation of this study, in terms of how participation levels have changed over a course of time, is that it only covers a period of 10 years (1996-2006). A longitudinal study, a research study that involves repeated observations of the same variables over longer periods of time allowing long-term effects in human behaviour (more specifically resident participation) to be discovered, could be more insightful or discover other participation trends. For this to be done the research set-up and therefore the questions in the questionnaire need to be consistent throughout the years, for one to be able to compare data from multiple years and conduct an analysis on the topic of research. As witnessed with the dependent variable, 'one is in some form or way active as a volunteer', it was not possible to analyse if they are any differences in participation levels in 'Investment neighbourhoods', compared to that of 'Other neighbourhoods' in the city of Utrecht over a course of time, due to missing data and inconsistency in the formulation of questions.

      Another limitation of this research is related to how participation was measured in 2 ways, 'who is active to try and improve the liveability and safety in their neighbourhood' and 'is one in some form or way active as a volunteer'. Focusing on these 2 questions only allows us the to see a part of participation taking place in the neighbourhood, but not the whole picture. It would be interesting to focus on specific types of participation, formal, informal and non-formal participation, as presented in the conceptual model (section 2.5). This could also lead to new discoveries in resident participation trends. Moreover, we would have a better understanding how people actively take part and participate in their neighbourhood and living environment.

      Further research could also allow for a more in depth and critical analysis of the determinants for participation and non-participation. Other variables, such as external factors outside the neighbourhood boundaries or macro level influences (crime rates, deprivation, long term social change etc.) could also be controlled for, which could provide a clearer picture of resident participation.

      Although differences in participation rates between ethnic groups were discovered, further research could better identify what influences these differences. More specifically, what independent variables have an effect on certain ethnic groups? Does culture play a role, different norms and values, the types of facilities available in the neighbourhood, the social-economic and demographic composition of the neighbourhood etc., could also be taken into consideration and analysed to see their effects on participation amongst ethnic groups, including the native Dutch.

      Another suggestion for further research would be to compare 'Investment neighbourhoods' vs. 'Other neighbourhoods' in the city of Utrecht, with one or more other cities, which have also been officially selected as one of the 40 neighbourhoods in the Netherlands deserving extra investments. This would allow for a greater comparison amongst neighbourhoods in urban areas receiving special attention. In doing so, the reliability of the found results could be increased. Furthermore, the effects due to specific policies regarding these areas, may become more visible.

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Diagram's

Cover Page: Participate!
Moller, S. (2012)
http://raws.adc.rmit.edu.au/~s3313603/blog2/?p=1241

Diagram 1
http://partnerships.typepad.com/civic/2004/12/participation_j_1.html
Wilcox, D. (2004)

Diagram 2
Arnstein, S. R. (1969) A Ladder of Citizen Participation. In: *JAIP*, 35(4), 216-224.
http://lithgow-schmidt.dk/sherry-arnstein/ladder-of-citizen-participation.html

Wijkgrens

Subwijkgrens

01 **Wijk Utrecht-West**
01.1 Oog in Al, Welgelegen
01.2 Lombok, Leidseweg
01.3 Nieuw Engeland, Schepenbuurt

02 **Wijk Utrecht-Noordwest**
02.1 Pijlsweerd
02.2 Ondiep, 2e Daalsebuurt
02.3 Zuilen-west
02.4 Zuilen-noord en -oost

03 **Wijk Overvecht**
03.1 Taagdreef, Wolgadreef
03.2 Zamenhofdreef, Neckardreef
03.3 Vechtzoom, Klopvaart
03.4 Zambesidreef, Tigrisdreef

04 **Wijk Utrecht-Noordoost**
04.1 Votulast
04.2 Tuindorp, Voordorp
04.3 Wittevrouwen, Zeeheldenbuurt

05 **Wijk Utrecht-Oost**
05.1 Oudwijk, Buiten Wittevrouwen
05.2 Abstede, Gansstraat
05.3 Wilhelminapark, Rijnsweerd

06 **Wijk Binnenstad**
06.1 Binnenstad city- en winkelgebied
06.2 Binnenstad woongebied

07 **Wijk Utrecht-Zuid**
07.1 Lunetten
07.2 Oud Hoograven, Tolsteeg
07.3 Nieuw Hoograven, Bokkenbuurt

08 **Wijk Utrecht-Zuidwest**
08.1 Dichterswijk, Rivierenwijk
08.2 Transwijk
08.3 Kanaleneiland

09 **Wijk Leidsche Rijn**
09.1 Terwijde, De Wetering
09.2 Het Zand
09.3 Leidsche Rijn Centrum e.o.
09.4 Parkwijk, Langerak
09.5 Leidsche Rijn-zuid

10 **Wijk Vleuten-De Meern**
10.1 Vleuten, Haarzuilens
10.2 Veldhuizen, Vleuterweide
10.3 De Meern
10.4 Rijnenburg
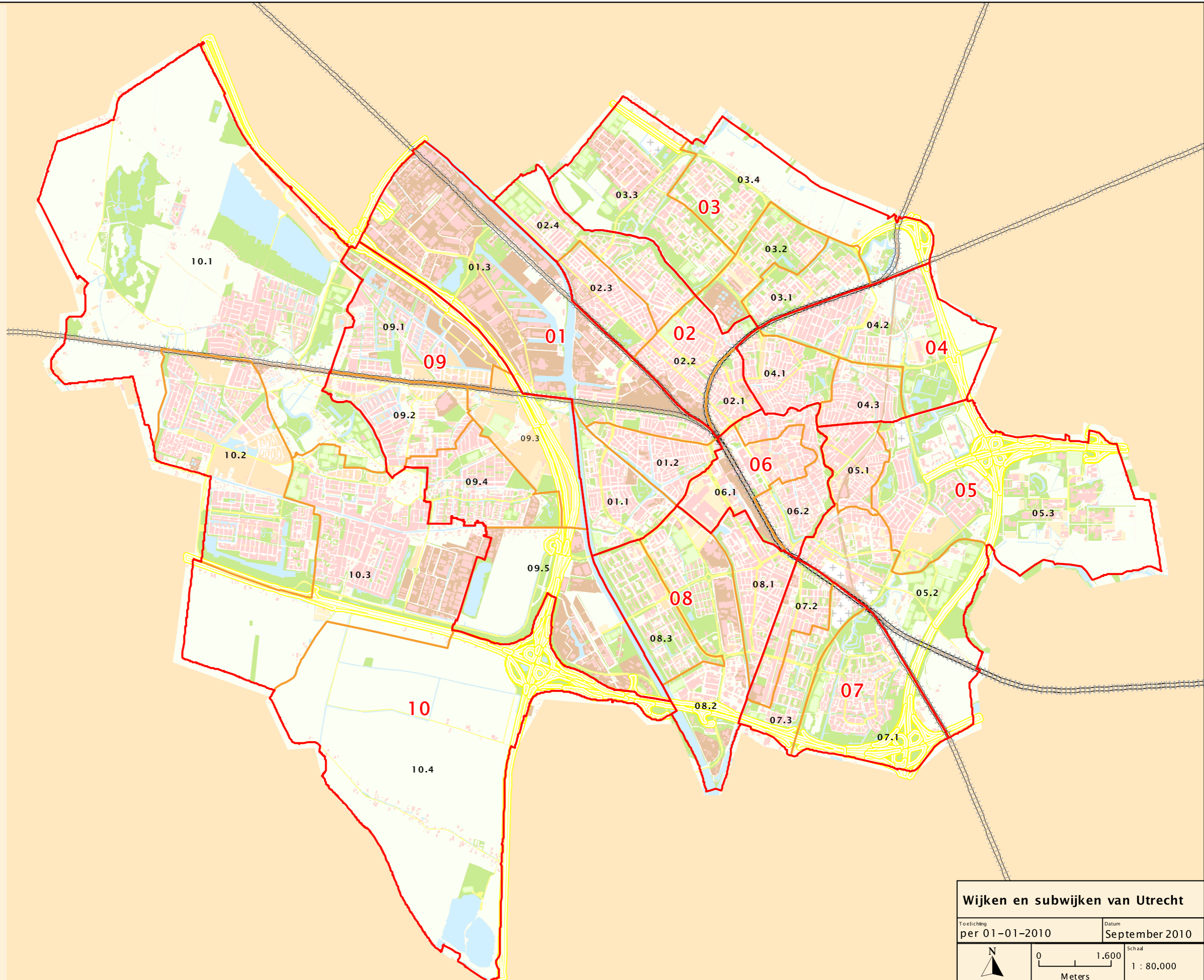
Wijken en subwijken van Utrecht

Toelichting	Datum
per 01-01-2010	September 2010

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Gemeente Utrecht

——	Wijkgrens	
——	Buurtgrens	

01 Wijk Utrecht-West

01.11 Welgelegen, Den Hommel
01.12 Oog in Al
01.13 Halve Maan-zuid
01.14 Halve Maan-noord

01.21 Lombok-oost
01.22 Leidseweg
01.23 Lombok-west
01.24 Ln van Nw-Guinea, Spinozaplantsoen

01.31 Nw Engeland, Th. à Kempisplantsoen
01.32 Schepenbuurt, Bedr-geb.Cartesiusweg
01.33 Bedrijvengebied Lage Weide

02 Wijk Utrecht-Noordwest

02.11 Pijlsweerd-zuid
02.12 Pijlsweerd-noord

02.21 Nijenoord, Hoogstraat e.o.
02.22 Ondiep
02.23 2e Daalsebuurt e.o.
02.24 Egelantierstr, Mariëndaalstr e.o.

02.31 Julianapark e.o.
02.32 Elinkwijk e.o.
02.33 Pr.Bernhardplein e.o., Demkagebied

02.41 Geuzenwijk, De Driehoek
02.42 Schaakbuurt e.o.
02.43 Queeckhovenplein e.o.
02.44 Zuilen-noord

03 Wijk Overvecht

03.11 Taagdreef, Rubicondreef e.o.
03.12 Donaudreef, Wolgadreef e.o.

03.21 Zamenhofdreef e.o.
03.22 Neckardreef e.o.

03.31 Vechtzoom-zuid
03.32 Vechtzoom-noord, Klopvaart
03.33 Bedrijvengebied Overvecht

03.41 Zambesidreef e.o.
03.42 Tigrisdreef e.o.
03.43 Poldergebied Overvecht

04 Wijk Utrecht-Noordoost

04.11 Vogelenbuurt
04.12 Lauwerecht
04.13 Staatsliedenbuurt
04.14 Tuinwijk-west
04.15 Tuinwijk-oost

04.21 Tuindorp, Van Lieflandlaan-west
04.22 Tuindorp-oost
04.23 Voordorp, Voorveldsepolder

04.31 Huizingalaan, K.Doormanlaan
04.32 Zeeheldenbuurt, Hengeveldstr. e.o.
04.33 Wittevrouwen

05 Wijk Utrecht-Oost

05.11 Buiten Wittevrouwen
05.12 Oudwijk

05.21 Abstede, Tolsteegsingel e.o.
05.22 Sterrenwijk
05.23 Rubenslaan e.o.
05.24 Watervogelbuurt
05.25 Lodewijk Napoleonplantsoen e.o.
05.26 Maarschalkerweerd, Mereveld

05.31 Schildersbuurt
05.32 Wilhelminapark e.o.
05.33 De Uithof
05.34 Rijnsweerd
05.35 Galgenwaard e.o.

06 Wijk Binnenstad

06.11 Domplein, Neude, Janskerkhof
06.12 L.Elisabethstraat, Mariaplaats e.o.
06.13 Hg Catharijne, NS, Jaarbeurs

06.21 Wijk C
06.22 Breedstraat, Plompetorengracht e.o.
06.23 Nobelstraat e.o.
06.24 Springweg e.o., Geertebuurt
06.25 Lange Nieuwstraat e.o.
06.26 Nieuwegracht-Oost
06.27 Bleekstraat e.o.
06.28 Hooch Boulandt

07 Wijk Utrecht-Zuid

07.11 Lunetten-noord
07.12 Lunetten-zuid

07.21 Tolsteeg, Rotsoord
07.22 Oud Hoograven-noord
07.23 Oud Hoograven-zuid

07.31 Bokkenbuurt
07.32 Nieuw Hoograven-noord
07.33 Nieuw Hoograven-zuid

08 Wijk Utrecht-Zuidwest

08.11 Dichterswijk
08.12 Rivierenwijk

08.21 Bedrijvengebied Kanaleneiland-zuid
08.22 Transwijk-zuid
08.23 Transwijk-noord

08.31 Kanaleneiland-zuid
08.32 Kanaleneiland-noord

09 Wijk Leidsche Rijn

09.11 Bedrijvengebied De Wetering
09.12 Terwijde-west
09.13 Terwijde-oost

09.21 Het Zand-west
09.22 Het Zand-oost

09.31 Leidsche Rijn Centrum
09.32 Grauwaart
09.33 Hoge Weide
09.34 Leeuwesteyn

09.41 Parkwijk-noord
09.42 Parkwijk-zuid
09.43 Langerak

09.51 Rijnvliet
09.52 Bedrijvengebied Strijkviertel
09.53 Bedrijvengebied Papendorp

10 Wijk Vleuten-De Meern

10.11 Haarrijn
10.12 Haarzuilens e.o./Parkweg-zuid
10.13 Vleuten
10.14 Leidsche Rijn Park

10.21 Vleuterweide-west
10.22 Vleuterweide-noord, -oost, -centrum
10.23 Vleuterweide-zuid
10.24 Veldhuizen

10.31 De Meern-noord
10.32 De Meern-zuid
10.33 Oudenrijn
10.41 Rijnenburg

Wijken en buurten van Utrecht

Toelichting
per 01-01-2010

Datum
September 2010

N

0   1.600
Meters

Schaal
1 : 80.000

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Gemeente Utrecht