LIVING WITH DIVERSITY IN ROTTERDAM:

A Study of Resident Experiences in Highly Diverse Feijenoord

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CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

There is a growing conventional wisdom in writings on European cities that presents them as centres of 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007). This refers specifically to their increasing ethnic diversity and to the demographic diversity between and within such ethnic groups. However, cities are becoming increasingly diverse, not only in socio-economic, social and ethnic terms, but also with respect to lifestyles, attitudes and activities. To indicate this enormous diversity, we proposed to use the term hyper-diversity (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

Urban neighbourhoods may be fairly homogenous residential areas in terms of housing and population, but they may also be heavily mixed with respect to types of housing (tenure, type, price) and population categories (income, ethnicity, household composition, age). In addition, individuals who belong to the same 'official' demographic category may possess quite different lifestyles and attitudes and involve themselves in a wide range of activities. Some may for example have a very neighbourhood-oriented life, with all their friends and activities in a very small area, while others may have their social activities stretched over the whole city and even beyond. Residents of mixed urban neighbourhoods

may happily live together, live parallel lives, or be in open conflict with each other (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

This report is written as part of the EU-FP7 DIVERCITIES project. In this project we aim to find out how urban hyper-diversity affects social cohesion and social mobility of residents of deprived and dynamic urban areas and the economic performance of entrepreneurs with their enterprise in such areas. In this report we focus on the findings from our interviews with residents in which we explored their experiences of living with hyper-diversity and how it affects their lives.

This general aim can be broken down into more detailed and concrete research questions. They are central in the chapters of this report and can be found on the following page:

1. Why did people move to the diverse area they live in now? To what extent has the diversity of the area been a pull-factor? Or were other aspects (such as the availability of inexpensive dwellings) a much stronger motive to settle in the present area? To what extent do people experience the move as an improvement of their housing situation? (Chapter 3)

2. How do residents think about the area they live in? Do residents see their neighbourhood's diversity as an asset or a liability? (Chapter 4)

3. How do residents make use of the diversified areas they live in? Do they actively engage in diversified relations and activities in their neighbourhood? To what extent is the area they live in more important than other areas in terms of activities? (Chapter 5)

4. To what extent is the diversity of the residential area important for social cohesion? Which elements foster social cohesion, which elements hinder the development of social cohesion in the area? (Chapter 6)

5. To what extent is the diversity of the neighbourhood important for social mobility? Which elements foster social mobility and which elements hinder social mobility? (Chapter 7)

6. How are diversity-related policies perceived by the inhabitants of the area? (Chapter 8)

The research in this report focuses on Rotterdam, the second-largest city of the Netherlands with about 618,500 inhabitants. It is a highly diverse city in terms of its population. A former industrial city and still a port city, Rotterdam has a relatively high proportion of low-skilled workers. It has achieved major successes in diversifying its economy and attracting (inter)national businesses, and hence diversifying its labour population. Yet, it still has relatively high levels of unemployment, income segregation and poor households compared to other large Dutch cities. Due to its history as a port city, Rotterdam has attracted migrants from all over the world. Migrants have come to work on the docks, rejoined their families or formed new families. In 2014, almost half of the city's inhabitants (49%) were born abroad or had at least one parent born abroad. As migrants on average have children at a younger age than native citizens, the population of Rotterdam is relatively young compared to other cities in the Netherlands.

Within Rotterdam the research has taken place in the district of Feijenoord in Rotterdam-South. This area has about 72,200 inhabitants and can be considered as one of the most diversified areas in the city, in terms of its population, entrepreneurship and uses. It comprises nine neighbour-hoods and is located close to the city centre, with which it is well connected in terms of public transport connections. Most of the dwellings in Feijenoord are relatively cheap. The majority of the housing stock is in the social rented sector: housing corporations own 70% of the housing stock in Feijenoord. A large part of Feijenoord's population is low-skilled, unemployed, has lower than average household incomes or receive welfare benefits. The relatively low rents attract (disadvantaged) newcomers to the area. Over the last decade, there has been a concerted effort by the municipality of Rotterdam to attract high-income households to the area and retain them through various urban regeneration and social mix programmes, and this has partly been success-ful. Also in Feijenoord the number of higher-income households has increased. With respect to ethnicity the area is very mixed. The largest ethnic groups in Feijenoord include: native Dutch[1] (32%), Turkish (19%), Surinamese (9%), and Moroccan (11%) people in 2014. While the native population is ageing, the population of Feijenoord as a whole is getting younger (in 2014 32% the population was younger than 25 and 31% 25-45 years of age).

We conducted interviews with 56 residents of the neighbourhoods of Afrikaanderwijk, Bloem-hof, Feijenoord[2], Hillesluis, Katendrecht, Kop van Zuid, Noordereiland and Vreewijk in the district of Feijenoord. These interviews were held between September and December 2014. In the next chapter we will first give some more information on the methodology we adopted. This is then followed by six chapters in which we will answer the research questions above. In the conclusions we summarise the main results and address our main questions. We will also give some broader guidance for policy-making.

2. THE INTERVIEWEES

2.1 Selection Procedure: How did we select our interviewees?

The research population

The studies' research population includes all adult residents in the district of Feijenoord, Rotterdam. The population of this area is very mixed with respect to ethnicity, income, education, lifestyle and age. Because this is a qualitative study, we have aimed to include people of as many social groups as possible, rather than to create a sample that is representative of the population. We have sought to interview residents who belong to the following groups:

- Long-term, native Dutch residents. These are middle-aged and elderly people, belong to lower social classes (former blue-collar workers), have relatively small households (1-2 people), or families.

- Long-term migrant groups: (1) people (originally) from Turkey and Morocco who migrated to Feijenoord in the 1960s and 1970s as labour workers; (2) people (originally) from Surinam and the Dutch Antilles who migrated to Feijenoord in the 1960s and 1970s after the independence of Surinam; many came for education or for work, (3) people (originally) from the Cape Verdian islands who migrated to Feijenoord in the 1950s and 1960s as political refugees and economic migrants, and (4) people (originally) from China who migrated to Katendrecht in the period 1930-1970. Also relatives of these four groups were approached. The four groups include lower and middle classes and diverse household types (e.g. singles, families, couples). The first two groups presently encompass about a third of the residents in Feijenoord.

- Young adults and middle-aged residents from the Middle-East, Northern Africa, and South-Western, Central and South Asia, who have migrated to Feijenoord as asylum seekers, refugees or labour migrants since the 1980s. These groups mostly consist of lower social classes with diverse household types.

- Young adults and middle-aged residents from Eastern Europe, who have migrated to Feijenoord as labour migrants since the 1990s, after the opening up of European borders in Eastern Europe. These groups consist of lower social classes and also have diverse household types.

- Middle- and upper-class young adults and middle-aged residents who work in service sector jobs or in the creative sector and have diverse household types (e.g. singles, families, couples). These groups include: native Dutch residents who have moved to Feijenoord since the 1990s; non-western second and third generation migrants who grew up in Feijenoord; non-Dutch Western-European regional migrants; and knowledge workers, who have moved to Feijenoord since the 1990s.

Of the above mentioned groups, we have aimed to interview people with different occupational statuses, gender and sexual orientation, religions, and lifestyles (e.g. youth sub-cultures such as break-dancers and rappers).

Methods

We have approached a wide range of potential interviewees by means of 'purposeful sampling', to ensure that we speak with people of the above mentioned groups. Within this framework, three different methods were used. First, we asked local organisations, of which most we knew from previous research in the area (see Tersteeg et al., 2014b), to introduce us to individuals in the neighbourhood. Second, we approached individuals on the streets and in their homes in order to include local residents who were not related to local initiatives. Finally, through the use of the so-called 'snowballing method', we asked interviewees to suggest another possible interviewee who they feel is different from themselves (e.g. in terms of age, ethnicity, gender, and/or lifestyle). We also asked interviewees to introduce us to a local resident whom they have mentioned in their interview, for example as a friend or acquaintance. All interviewees have signed a consent form prior to the interview and we have only talked to adults (aged over 18 years). About half of the interviews were held at people's homes. When people did not feel comfortable to give an interview at home, we conducted the interview in an alternative (quiet) place at the suggestion of the interviewee, such as a community centre, library or café. All interviews were taped and transcribed and then analysed using the qualitative data analysis software NVivo.

2.2   Which groups did we miss?

In many ways our sample is very diverse. We have managed to speak with residents of most of the above mentioned social groups in Feijenoord. Nevertheless, we did not manage to interview Chinese residents who migrated to Katendrecht in the 1930s-1960s or their children, nor young adults and middle-aged residents from the middle-east (see section 2.1.1). (Multiple) attempts to approach these groups of residents - at a local Chinese church, Chinese super-market, mosque that is told to be visited by Middle-Eastern people, and in the streets - were unsuccessful. In addition, we have not been able to gather information about people's sexual orientation either. None of our interviewees have talked about this characteristic by themselves. We have not asked them about the matter in fear of offending people, with the risk of negatively affecting the bond between interviewer and interviewee. Furthermore, the number of people we have interviewed who are over 60 years old, upper-middle and upper class, labour migrants from Eastern Europe, asylum seekers and other refugees is relatively small. Finally, we have interviewed people who were able to express themselves in Dutch or English. We have not been able to speak with people who are not able to do so. This could be a substantial group of people because of the traditionally large and diverse and international migration flows to Feijenoord (see section 2.1.1).
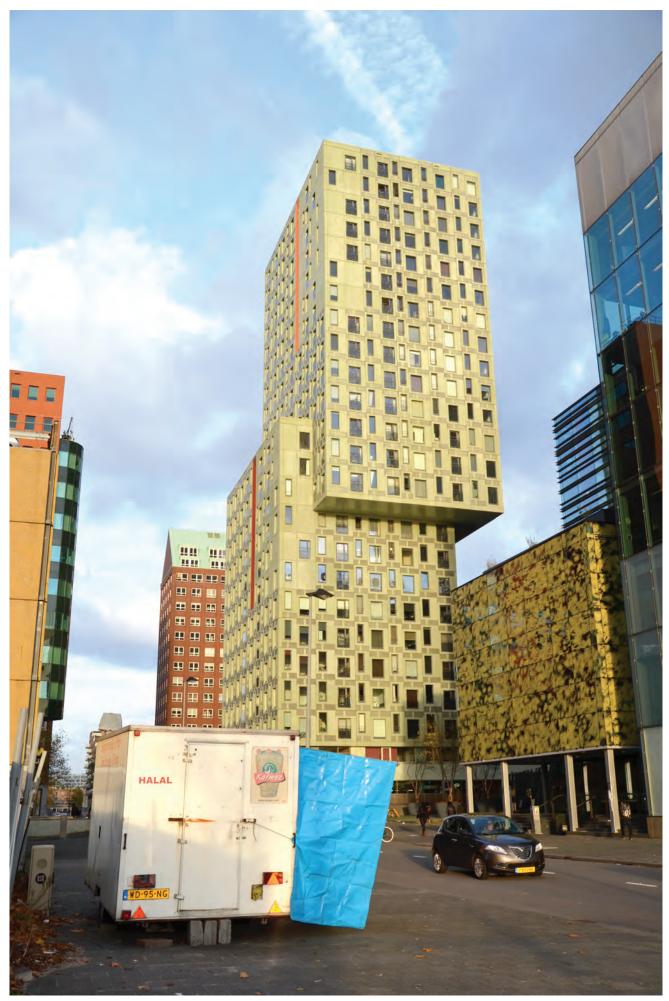
2.3   Some general characteristics of the interviewees

We have interviewed 56 people who live in eight different neighbourhoods in Feijenoord. Most interviewees live in the neighbourhoods of Feijenoord, Hillesluis, Katendrecht and Vreewijk. Our research sample includes people of 15 countries, who identify their ethnicity as: native Dutch, (Alevitist) Turkish (Dutch), (Turkish) Kurdish, (Riffian) Moroccan (Dutch), (Hindustani) Surinamese (Dutch), Antillean (Dutch), Asian Antillean Curacaos Dutch, Cape Verdean, Portuguese, Eritrean, Dominican, Croatian, Hungarian, Chinese (Dutch), Rohingan Burmese, Indo-nesian, Pakistani, and German. The largest ethnic groups among the interviewees are native Dutch, Surinamese, Turks and Moroccans. In terms of religion, the sample includes people with different forms of Islam, Hinduism and Christianity.

Interviewees' duration of stay in the dwelling and neighbourhood varies from a few weeks, a couple of years, to several decades. The longest consecutive durations of stay in the neighbourhood are 37, 34, 33 and 31 years. Furthermore, many interviewees grew up in their current neighbourhood and moved back to the same neighbourhood or even moved within the same neighbourhood.

We have spoken with 32 women and 24 men. Most interviewees are between 31-45 years of age. The second largest age group is 46-60 years old. We have also interviewed people aged 18-30 and over 60. The youngest four interviewees are 18, 21 and 23 years old, while the eldest three are 68 and 69. We have interviewed people who live by themselves, couples, single-parents, couples with children, a multigenerational family, and people who live in a form of shared housing (e.g. shared house with brother). The largest groups of interviewees live alone, have a partner and children, or are single parents with children.

In terms of the socio-economic status (SES) of the interviewees, referring to income and education levels and type of occupation, most interviewees in our sample have, as expected, a relatively low or lower-middle SES. Most interviewees have intermediate vocational degrees, but several have only completed primary school. People with low and medium education level include residents of diverse ethnicities. Interviewees with (applied) university degrees comprise a Turkish, Moroccan, native Dutch and German ethnicity. Many interviewees have no job or low-skilled jobs (e.g. clerks, low-skilled health care workers). People with high-skilled jobs are mostly native Dutch. Most interviewees have relatively low or medium-low net monthly household income, between €833-1667 and €1668-2500 respectively. But, we have interviewed various interviewees with very low (less than €833), lower-medium (€1668-2499), higher-medium (€2500-3333), high (€3334-4166), and very high (more than €4167) net monthly household incomes as well. Interviewees with very high incomes are all native Dutch. Those with high incomes include Cape Verdeans, Moroccan and native Dutch people. Appendix 1 provides an overview of basic demographic features of the interviewed persons.

Development and diversity in Rotterdam South

3. HOUSING CHOICE AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

3.1 Introduction

Why do people move? In general, life-course events are a very important background: because of a growing household (going to live together with a partner or as a consequence of having a child) or a shrinking household (as a consequence of children leaving home, a divorce or the death of a partner) people want to move, because they want to adapt their housing situation (Mulder & Hooimeijer, 1999). A shrinking income may also be an important reason to move, because the present housing situation may then become too expensive. Rising incomes may work the other way around: households in such a situation can afford to live in more luxurious homes, in terms of for example housing quality or size (Kley, 2011; Van Ham & Clark, 2009). The decision to move can also find a cause in dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood (e.g. South & Crowder, 1997). The neighbourhood might have become more unsafe, nice neighbours might have moved, traffic might have increased or the social composition of the area might have changed.

Pickles and Davies (1991, p. 466) have defined *a housing career as 'the sequence of dwellings that a household occupies during its history'* (Pickles & Davies, 1991, p. 466). In general, moves take place, because people want to make a positive step in their housing career (an upward move): they move for example to a bigger home, from the rented to the owner-occupied sector or simply to a dwelling with a better physical quality. People can also move more sideways: they move, but the new situation is not much better than the previous one or even 'downwards' (Kendig, 1990; Bolt & Van Kempen, 2002). Such moves occur when the move is not voluntary, but induced by, for example, personal circumstances (a declining income, divorce) or processes of demolition as a consequence of urban restructuring. In such cases the chance of ending up in a situation that is evaluated more negatively than the previous one may be bigger.

Why do people move to specific neighbourhoods?

3.2   Why did the residents come to live here?

The availability of housing can be a major trigger. Potential movers look for homes that fit their preferences, for example in terms of tenure, size and price and will find these dwellings in a specific set of neighbourhoods. Neighbourhood characteristics may also play a role: people for example want to live close to the city centre, in areas with good schools, in areas that are considered safe and not deteriorated.

Would the diversity of an area play a role in the decision to choose a specific neighbourhood? No specific literature on this issue is available, but we can formulate some expectations. A diverse neighbourhood can offer residents many advantages, such as a diversity of amenities, work, (housing) cultures, social formations and activities, and support networks. However, it can also lead to a situation in which resident groups live parallel lives or even come into conflict with one another. For some residents, the population diversity might be an important pull factor for moving to the area, while others might not have considered it at all. Some people might consider living in a diverse area as an improvement of their residential situation, others might experience it negatively. In Dutch public and policy debates areas such as Feijenoord are often portrayed as places that are residentially unattractive and offer little opportunities for residential mobility. But is this really the case?

This chapter aims to answer the following research questions:

- Why did people move to the diverse area they live in now (Section 3.2)?

- To what extent has the diversity of the area been a pull-factor? Or were other aspects (such as the availability of inexpensive dwellings) a much stronger motive to settle in the present area (Section 3.2)?

- To what extent do people experience the move as an improvement of their residential situation (Section 3.3)?

For most interviewees, a 'life course event', e.g. moving in with a partner or having a(nother) baby, were primary incentives for moving. For example, Hannah (62, Surinamese, nurse, social rent) has been living in her neighbourhood for 37 years and explains that:

"... my son was born there [previous house] [...] the dwelling became too small. There was the living room, a bedroom and a large kitchen. We were given the opportunity to move into this house [present dwelling]".

Two interviewees were new entrants to the housing market. Yet, the Rotterdam housing market offers a wide range of (affordable) housing. Why did people settle in their present (diverse) neighbourhood? Most people did not mention diversity in itself as a primary reason for moving to the current neighbourhood. However, some specific elements of diversity - local people and institutions - were an important pull-factor for many. Furthermore, most people considered the diversity a positive attribute of the neighbourhood (see Chapter 4).

Most interviewees express having made a conscious decision to move to the present dwelling and neighbourhood. Yet, for some residents in social housing the decision was not entirely voluntary. Almost a fifth of the interviewees were forced to leave their previous dwelling due to demolition or restructuring programmes. Others had limited housing options because they were in urgent need of a dwelling. For example, Nancy (41, Cape Verdean, traffic control officer, social rent) moved into her apartment 23 years ago because it was allocated to her by social housing services when she became pregnant unexpectedly and needed a house on short notice. Some interviewees, such as Cynthia (48, female, Hindustani Surinamese, incapacitated) five years ago, needed a house because they were homeless or staying in a shelter:

"I had problems. Basically, I fled [my former last house], so I applied for a certificate of urgency [for social housing] and was granted one. [...] It went very fast. I was obliged to find a house within three months [by the shelter]. One was required to accept the third [house] [...] So, I accepted it".

Although relocation options were thus sometimes limited, most interviewees experience having

chosen to move to the present dwelling and neighbourhood. Furthermore, as the next section will show, most interviewees experience this move positively. Many interviewees have moved within the same neighbourhood or from an adjacent neighbourhood because they prefer to stay in the area. This is in line with the finding of Dujardin & Van der Zanden (2014) that, since the 1990s, at least 35% of the settlements in Rotterdam-South are local residents who moved within their neighbourhood or to other neighbourhoods in Rotterdam-South. In our study this group of movers is even larger. A possible explanation is that we have interviewed many migrants and migrants are overrepresented in the relocations within Rotterdam-South compared to native Dutch residents: 70 against 30% (Dujardin & Van der Zanden, 2014).

Of the interviewees who moved in from outside the area, we find that most have lived in the neighbourhood before and have deliberately moved back. Yavuz (21, Turkish, student and salesman, social rent), for example, grew up in the neighbourhood of Feijenoord and moved back one year ago to live with his brother after having lived in another district of Rotterdam, Prins Alexander, for two years. He moved back because most of his family, friends and acquaintances live in Feijenoord, and this is where most of his daily activities take place. He visits a local mosque twice a day, volunteers at a local food bank and with disadvantaged local youths, and works as a part time salesman in the neighbourhood. Yavuz's attachment to Feijenoord and hence his decision to move back to the area were determined by the people and institutions in the neighbourhood. Yavuz explains:

"I did not like it there [Prins Alexander], so I came back [to Feijenoord]. I find the atmosphere in the neighbourhood important, as well as what I can do for the neighbourhood. There, nobody was active, nobody organised any activities for youths, [...] it was just everyone for themselves. Here this is not the case. Here, we want to support the youths, who can contribute to society. [...] I tried to [organise activities for youths in Prins Alexander], but I had no connections, that would enable me to do so. [...] I do have those connections here, because I grew up here".

For the majority of interviewees, including Yavuz, *bonds with local people and institutions* were an important reason to settle or stay in the neighbourhood. This goes particularly for

interviewees with a lower education level. Together, interviewees point to four types of social bonds in this respect.[3] First, interviewees have moved or stayed in the neighbourhood because they *prefer to live close to family members*. Having family members living nearby seems to be particularly important for lower-educated residents. Second, *the presence of friends or friendly neighbours* was an important reason to move to the current dwelling. Third, interviewees mention the *presence of local acquaintances* as a motive to settle in the current neighbourhood. These acquaintances are described as local people whom interviewees became familiar with and sometimes interact with in (semi-) public spaces in the neighbourhood, and whom are not considered family or friends. Maanasa (26, Hindustani Surinamese, unemployed physician assistant, social rent) for instance moved back to the neighbourhood she grew up in three years ago and explains:

"I meet a lot of people from the old days, whom I grew up with. Most of them still live here, or they moved to Noordereiland [adjacent neighbourhood]. [...] [I meet] their parents, or friends of their mothers. I love that. [...] When I walk outside in the summer, when you go out to buy some bread, it takes at least half an hour to get home because you bump into people and chat with them everywhere".

Finally, some interviewees mention *bonds with local institutions* such as a mosque, school or community centre as a motive to move to or keep living in the neighbourhood. For these interviewees, it is important to live close to the institutions because visiting them is part of their daily or weekly routines and allows them to sustain their (local) social networks. An important reason for For example, Mouad and his wife Lina (45 and 31, Moroccan, civil servant and cleaner, owner-occupied house) have been living in their current neighbourhood for 24 years. An important reason to move within the neighbourhood was their children being able to stay at the same school. As another example, Eric (69, native Dutch, social rent) is retired and lives on his own in Katendrecht. Living close to the community centre is important for him because the institution provides him with meaningful daytime activities and a place to meet social contacts.
Besides people and institutions, some other aspects of the neighbourhood and aspects of the dwelling have influenced interviewees' decision to move to the current dwelling as well. For owner-occupiers

and highly-educated interviewees these are more important for the decision to move than for interviewees in social housing and with lower-education levels. These aspects have less to do with the population or the diversity of the area. Such aspects include: the liveliness of the neighbourhood, proximity to and a good quality of amenities (e.g. market, parks, public transport, schools, and shops), the presence of green areas (e.g. parks), and the location of the neighbourhood relative to the city centre. For example, for Nancy and her partner Jim what attracted them most to the area is:

Jim: "The busyness. There is always something [happening here]. Police, firemen, ambulance that are racing through the neighbourhood. You won't feel alone very fast here. There is always something happening around you".

Nancy: "But also, whenever you need something, you can find it all in the neighbourhood. Whenever you want to do something fun, with the kids. There is a swimming pool further up [the road], you don't have to leave the neighbourhood if you want to do something fun or do some shopping".

Aspects of the *dwelling* that have acted as pull factors among some interviewees are: the recent year of construction, an unobstructed view, a larger size, a larger number of rooms, and an affordable property price. For example, when asked how he has come to live in his current dwelling Edward (43, native Dutch, civil servant, owner-occupied house) explains:

"We were looking for a [bigger] house. We considered [buying a house in] Rotterdam Zuid because of the affordability of the owner-occupied houses. I mean, it saves us €100,000 buying a house four km away [from the city centre]. This [house] was affordable and large. At first, my wife told me that this is not a good neighbourhood to live [...] But when we came to have a look, it [the neighbourhood] was nicely renovated in recent years, already before we moved here. So, we chose this house mostly because of the location, we have an unobstructed view, with a park over there [at front side of the house], the size [of the dwelling], and because I will never get the opportunity to buy such a house for such a low price again".

All in all, for the present residents of Feijenoord some aspects of diversity do play a role in choosing

to live in the area, but especially for residents with a higher socio-economic status[4] (SES) other neighbourhood and housing aspects seem to be more important.

3.3 Moving to the present neighbourhood: improvement or not?

Even though the majority of interviewees moved from one relatively low-rent social rented dwelling to another social rented home (horizontal move), they consider the move to their current neighbourhood and dwelling an improvement of their residential position. Some examples of upwards residential mobility exist as well: two interviewees have moved from a social rented dwelling to an owner-occupied house; two have moved from a shelter to social housing; and one has moved from an assisted living project to social housing.

Progress in terms of the neighbourhood
Why do people like living in their present neighbourhood more than in their previous neighbourhood? First, some interviewees mention aspects that have to do with the *population composition*. Dunya (40, Surinamese, social worker, social rent), for example, lives in Hillesluis and enjoys the liveliness in her neighbourhood, which she attributes to the diversity of cultures among fellow residents. She argues that her previous neighbourhood, Lombardijen, lacked such a liveliness and cultural diversity. Another example of an experience of improvement in terms of the composition of people comes from Yavuz. In his experience people in his current neighbourhood, Feijenoord, are more sociable and socially engaged with fellow residents than the people in his previous neighbourhood, Prins Alexander. This makes him feels more at home in Feijenoord.

Second, interviewees discuss how moving to or within the current neighbourhood has better allowed them to build and maintain *strong social networks*. For example, Lauren (50, native Dutch, flight attendant, owner-occupied house) discusses how people in her neighbourhood are more open to developing neighbourly bonds than in her previous neighbourhood. She experiences the friendly relations that she and her husband have developed with several neighbours in the area as an improvement of her residential condition.

For Cynthia and Maanasa, moving (back) to their current neighbourhood has allowed them to maintain a good relationship with their mothers.

Third, interviewees mention *the proximity to and quality of local amenities* (e.g. the market, parks, public transport, schools, and shops). For example, Ebru (52, Turkish, incapacitated, social rent) was forced to leave her previous house due to a restructuring programme 12 years ago. By moving within her neighbourhood, the Afrikaanderwijk, she could continue to visit the local market. This is important because she cannot afford to buy all her groceries at regular supermarkets and thus depends on the market for her subsistence.

Progress in terms of the dwelling
As might be expected (see section 3.1), most interviewees see their new dwelling as an improvement compared to their previous dwelling. The physical condition of the house, its view, size and number of rooms are mentioned as important aspects by different interviewees. Also, accessibility and location of the dwelling are mentioned. The way in which interviewees value these features relates to their individual housing preferences and needs. Thus, Edward and Lauren both had two children from previous marriages and decided to move in together. Their previous dwelling did not accommodate a household of six, but their present dwelling in Hillesluis does. They see the larger size and higher number of bedrooms of their new home as an important improvement. Likewise, Emre (21, Turkish, entrepreneur, social rent) moved to his present dwelling with his family after his mother gave birth to his brother and the household was in need of another bedroom. The current dwelling provides this extra space.

For a limited number of interviewees the move to the current dwelling and neighbourhood was not seen as a positive step in their housing career. We give two examples. Because of urban restructuring, Ebru and her three children were forced to leave their house in the Afrikaanderwijk. They moved to a dwelling that was offered to them nearby. However, the present dwelling is smaller in size, and the rent is considerably higher than that of the previous dwelling. Furthermore, the dwelling is located close to cafes and coffee shops of which the customers regularly cause nuisance. Also

Eric was forced to move because of demolition of his home. He was offered a dwelling within the neighbourhood in a better condition and slightly more spacious. Nevertheless, he was not in need of it and his monthly rent has increased considerably. Therefore he does not define his new situation as an improvement.

3.4   Conclusions

For most residents the diversity of the neighbourhood was not spontaneously mentioned as the most important reason to move to their current dwelling. So diversity in general has not been a pull-factor for settling in Feijenoord. However, some elements of diversity - the characteristics of the local people and institutions - were mentioned as an important pull-factor, particularly for residents with low education levels. Many residents have moved to their current dwelling and within or to their present neighbourhood to live close to family, friends, or local acquaintances, or because of their bond with local institutions such as a mosque, school or community centre. Residents have moved within or from an adjacent neighbourhood, or have returned to the neigh-bourhood after having lived elsewhere because they were pleased with its people and institutions. For high-educated residents, though, the quality and location of the dwelling were the most important pull-factors.

Most interviewees experience their move as a step forward in their housing career. The chapter thus illustrates that for residents of diverse (and disadvantaged) urban areas such as Feijenoord moving to or within the area can be a positive experience. It can benefit people and allow them to improve their housing situation. Nevertheless, even though most interviewees experience having had agency on the move, it is important to bear in mind that for many the relocation options were in fact quite limited: they mostly moved within the social rented sector.

4. PERCEPTIONS OF THE DIVERSITY IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines what residents think of their neighbourhood, and whether and how diversity plays a role in this evaluation. We will make clear how residents perceive the boundaries of their neighbourhood; their immediate neighbours; and other residents in their neighbourhood. We are particularly interested in the aspects people value positively and negatively about fellow residents, and on which aspects people base their perceptions of others.

From the literature on perceptions of diversity, we know that the way in which people perceive others depends on the aspects and behaviours that they find important in other people (Wessen-dorf, 2014), and not necessarily on traditional demographic categories such as ethnicity, tenure, or income alone. Furthermore, peoples' perceptions of diverse others depend on the extent to and spaces in which people interact with these others (Wessendorf, 2014a). The literature also shows that people's perceptions of individual people are often not scaled up to the group (Valentine, 2008): people can have positive experiences with a person from a particular social group, but think very negatively about the social group in general.

This chapter aims to answer the following research questions:

- How do residents define the boundaries of their neighbourhood (Section 4.2)?

- How do residents describe and perceive their nearby neighbours (Section 4.3)?

- How do residents think of other residents in their neighbourhood and are there any differences between these perceptions and those of nearby neighbours (Section 4.4)?

- Do residents see their neighbourhood's diversity as an asset or liability (Section 4.5)?

4.2 Perceived boundaries of the neighbourhood

The area that interviewees define as their neighbourhood varies significantly, especially in size. A first group of interviewees describes their neighbourhood as a vast area of about six square kilometres, the borders roughly defined by the Meuse River in the north, the Rotterdam-Dordrecht railway line in the east, the Zuiderpark in the south and the old harbour in the west. This area comprises about 100,000 inhabitants and ten administrative neighbourhoods. For a second group, the neighbourhood encompasses at least two of these neighbourhoods within the district of Feijenoord, the borders not necessarily defined by administrative boundaries. A third group of interviewees refers to the administrative neighbourhood boundaries to describe what they perceive as their neighbourhood. A fourth group defines their neighbourhood as a relatively small area existing of a few streets close to their home. Finally, two interviewees with high cultural capital explain that they do not think of their neighbourhood in terms of a fixed geographical space as they argue: *"The boundaries of the neighbourhood are fluid"* (Michael; 39, male, German, artist and lecturer, private rent) and *"I agree with Erasmus, 'the whole world is my homeland'"* (Rick; 45, male, native Dutch, architect-designer, anti-squat shared housing). These five categories were not found to be different per ethnic or socio-economic category, but families with young children generally perceive their neighbourhood as a smaller geographical space than interviewees in other household types.

Notably, most interviewees describe their neighbourhood as a fixed entity. Yet, during the interviews these boundaries appear to vary per subject. When discussing social aspects of the neighbourhood, most interviewees talk about a smaller geographical space than when discussing activities and facilities in the neighbourhood. For example, when asked to define the geographical boundaries of her neighbourhood, Hagar (55, native Dutch, retired health care worker, social rent) responds: a *"... very large [area], until the City centre, the Meuse [in the North, and] [...] Rhoon and Poortugaal, and surrounding neighbourhoods [in the South], quite a distance"*. Yet, when describing fellow residents in her neighbourhood further on in the interview, she only talks about people in "Vreewijk", the two km2 administrative neighbourhood she lives in.

Interviewees base the perceived geographical boundaries of their neighbourhood on multiple neighbourhood aspects. First, most interviewees define their neighbourhood by the spaces and places

they visit regularly or they know well. For example, according to René (40, male, native Dutch, project manager, owner-occupied house):

"The neighbourhood is probably [defined by the routes] that you take weekly, so that could be: [I go] to the supermarket, as well as the places that I visit regularly [...] so for me it runs until the Vuurplaat [shopping street], and the school of the children in that direction, and that direction probably until the Jumbo [supermarket]. [...] [At the north side] the neighbourhood runs until the water [old harbour]. I rarely go to the other side [of the harbour]".

Second, implicitly or explicitly, many interviewees define their neighbourhood and other neighbourhoods through the administrative neighbourhood boundaries. Third, physical barriers such as water, railway lines, and roads shape the perceptions of boundaries of the neighbourhood as well. This is most apparent in narratives of residents in the neighbourhood of Katendrecht, a peninsula surrounded by water on the south, west and north, and a subway line on the east. A fourth way in which some interviewees define the borders of their neighbourhood is through their local social networks. For example, Eric (69, native Dutch, retired engineer, social rent) defines his neighbourhood as the part of Katendrecht in which he grew up and many of his family and friends still live. While, the neighbourhood of Louisa (59, female, native Dutch, incapacitated, social rent) encompasses parts of the administrative neighbourhoods of Hillesluis and Feijenoord:

"... the Beijerlandselaan [shopping street in Hillesluis], they have all sorts of new shops there, and a Turkish butcher and a supermarket, it is very nice. [...] Also, two sisters of mine live in Feijenoord, so it [what she sees as the her neighbourhood] is quite wide-ranging [...] I go there quite often as well".

Finally, a few interviewees define their neighbourhood as the areas within a walking distance from their house. For example, for Szilvia (39, Hungarian, freelance translator, private rent):

"The neighbourhood runs to the Beijerlandselaan [shopping street in Hillesluis], to Zuidplein [shopping centre in the south], and the Millinxpark. This area I am familiar with. [...] [That is] basically, everything within a walking distance".

Again, there are no clear differences between the perceptions of neighbourhood boundaries between ethnic and socio-economic categories, or household types.

4.3   Perceptions of neighbours

How do the residents of Feijenoord see their neighbours? Interviewees were asked the open question: 'Could you describe your neighbours?'. First and foremost, most interviewees perceive their neighbours positively. In their answers interviewees discuss and combine a wide range of (1) individual features and (2) observed practices of neighbours.

Individual features
In their responses, interviewees most often describe their neighbours in terms of their ethnicity combined with their religion, gender and household type and size. Sonia (41, Moroccan Dutch, unemployed physician assistant, social rent) for instance describes her neighbours as follows:

"There is a Dutch man who lives next-door, I hardly see him. I sometimes wonder whether he still lives there. Upstairs an Algerian man. Downstairs a Surinamese woman and at the bottom floor, she comes from Eritrea. A very kind woman. Then there is also a Hindustani woman who lives at the bottom floor. [...] Upstairs there is also a Moroccan couple. Have not seen them for ages. They have been living there for a long time. The Algerian man upstairs lives by himself. The woman downstairs has two children. The Hindustani woman lives by herself. At the other side [of the corridor] are two-bedroom flats. At this side are 3-bedroom flats".

Interviewees with a medium and high SES also describe their neighbours in terms of socio-economic features, including class, occupation, education and tenure type. So for example, Cheng (30, Asian Antillean Dutch, student and accountant, private rent) describes his next-door neighbours as *"... mostly middle class"*, Lauren (50, native Dutch, flight attendant, owner-occupied house) mentions that her next door neighbour is *"... a sociology teacher at a high school, so [he] is educated well"* and Vera (41, native Dutch, high school teacher) talks about how her next-door neighbours are all owner-occupiers like her.

Other individual features that a small number of

interviewees mention to describe their neighbours include age, duration of stay, and political orientation. For example, René describes his neighbours as follows:

"It starts at around 30, in this block, we had a party for [residents in] this building on Sunday and we were by far the youngest, so starting 38, with my neighbours 35. And the others are all 50+ until 70, more elderly people [...] we noticed that the older people live in the apartments and the families in the plinth [of the building]".

Only in some cases descriptions include lifestyles. Michael (39, German, artist and lecturer, private rent), for example, describes his next-door neighbours as *"... a group of fairly alternative, left-wing people, with high education levels, and an idealistic outlook on life".*

Positive and negative daily practices
Many interviewees describe their nearby neighbours in terms of observed daily practices. Practices that match people's own norms, values and lifestyles are mostly valued positively, while differences in this respect are valued positively, negatively and neutrally (Wessendorf, 2014b).

Practices that most interviewees, with different socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds and households, value positively and (wish to) have in common with their neighbours are *greeting, showing interest in and supporting your neighbours.* For example, when describing her nearby neighbours, Cynthia (48, Hindustani Surinamese, incapacitated, social rent) argues:

"My Antillean neighbour never greets me. She has lived there for 1,5 year, but the language, when I approach her, she never greets. It annoys me, you know. They do not communicate [...] I have a Turkish neighbour downstairs but she never greets me either".

Interviewer: *"So is greeting important to you?"*

Cynthia: *"Yes, absolutely. [...] My neighbour opposite to me, Dutch, she greets every day. We watch out for one other [...] We communicate. [...] I have a neighbour, Dutch man. When I just moved in, he came to greet me [...] Now he greets me every day".*

Likewise, Hannah (62, Surinamese, nurse, social

rent) describes her neighbours as people whom, like her, show interest in their neighbours:

"Opposite to my [dwelling] is a Moroccan family. Fantastic people! Because, I sometimes take care of my daughter's son and then I am away for three days. When I come back all my neighbours ask me 'neighbour, how are you? I have missed you. Where have you been? You have not moved?'. The Surinamese neighbour upstairs asked me 'where is buuf [abbreviation for neighbour]?'. Isn't that great!".

In addition, to enable positive social bonds with neighbours, many interviewees, with diverse socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds and households, argue that it is important that their neighbours have some *proficiency in the Dutch language.* Hilda (64, native Dutch, mail carrier, social rent) for instance wishes that her next-door neighbour for 20 years would speak Dutch so that they could become closer:

"I have a next-door neighbour with a lot of children, Turkish, older children, who are married, and she talks, she says 'hi', but nothing else. She does not speak Dutch. The children do though. But they flock together. Children who have found a wife in Turkey, and among one another [Turkish community]".

Another theme that many interviewees, with diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds and households, bring up when describing neighbours is a *proper balance between living within close spatial proximity and safeguarding privacy* (Van Eijk, 2012). For example, Vera (41, native Dutch, high school teacher, owner-occupied house) lives with her husband and three children. She describes her neighbours as:

"... very nice people, just... whom you can approach, visit anytime, for a chat, but also for advice, or to borrow something, but who also know well how to respect each other's privacy. For instance, we [neighbours] teach our children not to walk in the garden of neighbours when the gate is closed, for instance when we have dinner in the garden in the summer. That way we can give the children the freedom to, 'you can just walk in', but they also know when it is not the right moment".

Although Vera's neighbours seem to agree on a proper balance between proximity and privacy, in line with previous studies on neighbouring,

interviewees often seem to disagree on where to draw the line (Stokoe, 2006). For example, Rajesh (21, Antillean, unemployed, social rent) describes his neighbours as Cape Verdians who enjoy playing loud music, which he thinks is great because he enjoys doing the same. Yet, several interviewees who are aged above 30 and have another ethnicity than Cape Verdian or Antillean experience neighbours – often identified as Antillean - who play loud music as nuisance. Another form of noise nuisance that interviewees touch upon when describing how norms of neighbours differ from theirs is talking loud or yelling frequently. Interviewees with diverse ethnic backgrounds ascribe this behaviour to specific non-western ethnic minority groups (e.g. Surinamese, Antilleans, Turks or Moroccans).

Other differences between norms and values of neighbours that a smaller number of interviewees with diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds value negatively include unauthorised rubbish disposal in (semi-)public spaces around the house, foul language and not showing respect towards elderly people by youths. Notably, interviewees do not always experience differences between them and their neighbours negatively. For example, Peter (69, native Dutch, retired civil servant, social rent) describes one of his neighbours who he explains he has a close bond with as:

"... very clean and tidy, something we [him and his wife] are not so much".

Interviewer: "How do you notice?"

Peter: "Molly [neighbour] likes to clean [...] I see them cleaning very often".

Interviewees communicate their perceptions of nearby neighbours using normative words such as 'nice, friendly, helpful, sweet, strong, and honest' but also 'weird, strange, crazy, and a-social'. As long as neighbours match with interviewees' norms, values and lifestyles, differences between neighbours can be valued neutrally or even positively. Yet, when neighbours daily practices do not fit in this respect, differences between neighbours, such as (not) greeting and (not) playing loud music appear to become problematic. For example, Maanasa (26, Hindustani Surinamese, unemployed physician assistant, social rent) describes her upstairs Dutch elderly neighbour who she argues celebrates

national football games exuberantly on her own, as a role model because she *"... has been alone for a long time and really manages to make something of it [her life]"*. Dealing with social and emotional difficulties in life positively is a recurrent theme in the interview with Maanasa, and appears to be an important quality through which she perceives her neighbours. In contrast, Arjan (56, native Dutch, incapacitated, social rent) experiences his next-door neighbours, one *"Surinamese"* and *"the others Antillean"* negatively, because he finds it important that his neighbours clean the staircase occasionally, approach elderly people with respect, are not too loud (in terms of music, yelling and screaming) and speak the Dutch language *"... so that they can also listen to me for once, I do not always have to listen to them, so that I am able to discuss my opinion with my neighbours"*. These are norms and values his neighbours do not comply.

4.4 Perceptions of the neighbourhood: positive and negative aspects

What do people think of their residential neighbourhood? Most interviewees identify their neigh-bourhood as highly diverse, e.g. in terms of resident's ethnicity, religion, language, duration of stay, household types and age, yet point out that a relatively large group of residents has a low socio-economic status, referring to their unemployment and low income and education levels. We have asked the open questions: 'What do you find positive about your neighbourhood?' and 'What do you find negative about your neighbourhood?'. In response, individual interviewees discussed multiple positive and multiple negative experiences in this respect. Below we focus on the experiences with diversity: first the positive, then the negative experiences.

Positive experiences of local diversity
Positive answers relate mostly to ethnic, cultural and religious diversities and to a lesser extent also to age, household types and socio-economic diversities of local residents. First, interviewees, with diverse ethnicities, socio-economic positions and household compositions, argue that ethnic, cultural and religious diversity allows them to learn about and offers them *new experiences* with e.g. different foods and cooking styles, religious practices, and marriage and family cultures. Cheng (30, Asian Antillean Dutch, student and accountant, private rent) for instance explains how local diversity allows for

intercultural cooking experiences:

"I mix with families, women. I am very interested and enthusiastic [about social mix]. I always want to learn from them: how they cook. I really love cooking. I hang out with Turkish and Moroccan [people]. I am always curious. 'Hi, how do you cook this, how do you prefer [that]? Oh that is a difference, but I think it is delicious'. This way I learn new things from them. I always try, I always ask [them]: 'if you would like to learn to cook Chinese, I can teach you'. We can help one another".

When asked how she thinks about local diversities, Pari (38, Pakistani, stay-at-home mother, social rent) responds:

"I like it because I enjoy getting to know different people. Different cultures and practices. For instance, Moroccans are Muslim, we are Muslim, Surinamese people are Muslim, Turks are Muslim, but our way of celebrating [religious events] differs. But we like to learn about one other: how do you do things. How do you celebrate Sugar Feast? How do you celebrate Ashura? How do you celebrate Sacrificial Feast? It is fun. Always the same things, that is boring. So the differences [...] we share our food with each other: Turks give me, I give to Moroccans. When we make something special, we give it to other people: 'Here, taste! This is how we make this. So you do it like this'".

Second, many interviewees with a non-western ethnicity value the *business and the liveliness* that comes with the ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. These interviewees argue that they enjoy their neighbourhood because *"... there is always something happening"* (Nancy; 41, female, Cape Verdean, traffic control officer, social rent). Turkish, Pakistani and Moroccan marriage cultures, often including loud music, dancing in the streets and car honking, are mentioned as examples of events that positively contribute to the liveliness of the neighbourhood. Dunya (40, female, Surinamese, social worker, social rent):

"The diverse and mixed cultures in the neighbourhood make it fun". Interviewer: "What do you think is fun?" Dunya: "The liveliness, differences, like yesterday I was walking that way and suddenly I heard a sound 'oooow', it was a wedding. [...] The happiness, the atmosphere that comes with it. You can see the people sing and dance [in the streets], and then

I surely go have a look, to see what is happening".

Third, a few interviewees, with diverse ethnicities, socio-economic positions and household compositions, discuss how a *diverse local facility and amenity structure* can cater well to the diverse interests and needs of the ethnically, culturally and/ or religiously diverse population.

Fourth, a number of interviewees, with diverse ethnicities, socio-economic positions and household compositions, discuss that when belonging to a minority group, living in a context without certain majority groups makes them feel *more comfortable* (Wessendorf, 2014b). According to Emre (21, male, Turkish, entrepreneur, social rent), the commonality of being part of an minority ethnic group among residents of Feijenoord neighbourhood has motivated residents to treat each other as equals, despite of the differences. A few interviewees who belong to a non-native Dutch minority ethnic group argue that for this reason they prefer not to live in a neighbourhood with a majority of native Dutch residents. Similarly, Rick (45, native Dutch, architect-designer) explains that he prefers to live in his current neighbourhood which exists of diverse types of households rather than in his previous neighbourhood which is mostly inhabited by couples with children because he just got divorced and lives by himself in anti-squat shared housing. Living in a diverse neighbourhood in this respect makes him feel less 'out of place' (Cresswell, 1996).

Finally, a number of interviewees with diverse ethnicities and a medium or high SES, mostly parents, discuss *the value of children growing up in diverse neighbourhoods*. Vera (41, native Dutch, high school teacher, owner-occupied house) explains that the advantage of living in a diverse neighbourhood is that she can bring her children to ethnically, religiously as well as socio-economically mixed schools, where children with diverse backgrounds play together:

"I find that a very good thing. [...] because it [diversity] is just an everyday reality. [...] One day, they [the children] will together have to deal with it in Rotterdam, or somewhere else. The more you know about and understand each other's life world, the more you will be able to make joint decisions on how to handle things. If you don't know one another, it will become very difficult to understand why some people

want certain things. Yet, if you grow up with it, 'yes for a Muslim it is important that there is a mosque, so therefore this is not a point that we should take into consideration, we just need to see how to go at it'. Of course, this is a much better way than if you don't know it, and therefore think it is not important. [...] Just being realistic: this [diversity] is what you grow up with, and later on you will also be part of these people. People with little money, much money, people with high education levels, low education levels, then you will know how to deal with it".

Negative experiences of local diversity

We have asked interviewees to talk about negative experiences of residents in their neighbourhood as well. Though interviewees, with diverse ethnicities, socio-economic positions and household compositions, generally experience local residents positively, most also bring up some negative experiences. These centre on four topics. The first complaint is about the *behaviour of youth groups*. A large number of interviewees, with diverse ethnic backgrounds, socio-economic positions and household compositions, recurrently relate local male youth groups[5] to crime, drugs (ab)use, feelings of fear, unsafety and (noise) nuisance. Most interviewees, again, with diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds, attribute the (perceived) negative behaviours to the relatively disadvantaged socio-economic position of local youth groups. For example, Yavuz argues:

"... poor people, it brings a lot of problems: robberies, people are being robbed, houses robbed, that sort of things because there are no jobs for young people. They want to work but are not hired anywhere because they are too old or do not have the right background"

Interviewer: "Are you talking about ethnic background?"

Yavuz: "Yes, exactly. So that is why many youths get into trouble. They do not know how to pay off their debts. Therefore they become criminal. They regret it when they [have to] go to jail though".

Long-term residents who are native Dutch and have a relatively low socio-economic status attribute the perceived negative behaviours of youth groups to the ethnicity of youths. An example of such a (quite generalised, to say the least) perception comes from

Eric who says:

"Moroccans, the young generation, often behave badly outdoors [...]. They steal, break into houses, all those crazy things. [...] Especially the young ones are bad guys. [...] Then there is also the Antilleans, dope and booze, acting crazy. You don't see them during the day. They come out at night, they are like cockroaches when they come out. Of course we [native Dutch, long-term residents] are not like that. [...] Those young Antilleans are out of control. But luckily, Antilleans and Moroccans do not like each other. Those groups, no, it is not ok man".

According to Eric, the size and behaviours of these Antillean and Moroccan youth groups cause fear and feelings of unsafety among local residents of his kind:

"The problem with those guys [is]: when an Antillean comes inside [community centre in which he volunteers], I cannot refuse him. But when he behaves badly, that goes for everyone though, I will send him out. If it happens with other people, you send them out, finished. If you do it with an Antillean, then within five minutes there will be 40 men on your doorstep".

A second negative experience with living in a diverse neighbourhood concerns *language*. A number of interviewees, with various ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds and households have problems with residents who do not speak the Dutch language in public and semi-public areas. They feel that language diversity has a negative impact on social cohesion between local groups. For example, Rick (45, male, native Dutch, architect-designer, anti-squat shared housing) and Sonia (41, female, Moroccan Dutch, unemployed physician assistant, social rent) explain how hearing ethnic groups of e.g. youths or women, speaking in a foreign language makes them feel excluded (see also Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000).

Some interviewees with a medium or high SES, with different ethnicities, discuss language diversity in relation to the disadvantaged position of children and local schools in the area. Lauren (50, native Dutch, flight attendant, owner-occupied house) volunteers at a local school with children with diverse ethnic backgrounds. She argues that many children have deficiencies in the Dutch language because their parents do not speak Dutch with them.

"As a result, the children have deficiencies in maths as well, because all the maths assignments involve reading assignments". She explains that therefore most local native Dutch parents bring their children to schools that are less ethnically mixed.

Third, some long-term residents experience a *decrease of social cohesion* between local residents, particularly between ethnic groups, over time, for instance due to changes in the composition of the local population. These interviewees are less positive about the social cohesion in the neighbourhood now than they were before. The interviewees include women of all ages and ethnicities, with a low SES, who either grew up in the neighbourhood or have children who grew up here. For example, Nancy's (41, Cape Verdean, traffic control officer) three children grew up in her current neighbourhood. She argues:

"In the old days, when your kids went outside, one was certain that someone would watch over them, that the neighbours would keep an eye on them. Nowadays, everyone is busy and keeps more to themselves".

Likewise, Hannah (62, Surinamese, nurse, social rent) has been living in her neighbourhood for 37 years and explains that neighbours used to be more sociable and supportive of one another during the first several years that she lived in the neighbourhood, but that *"at present, people do not look at each other anymore".* Notably, these interviewees do not necessarily have few (ethnically mixed) social contacts in the neighbourhood. Some of these women have very rich local social networks of friends, family, neighbours and/or other local acquaintances. Yet, they were used to seeing many interactions between local residents, and expect to see this at present as well. The group thus seems to have a different frame of reference than other interviewees (more about social cohesion in Chapter 6).

Finally, a number of long-term native Dutch interviewees with a low SES complain about *the changes in neighbourhood facilities.* They mainly argue that traditional (Dutch) shops gradually disappear. Louisa (59, native Dutch, incapacitated, social rent) has been living in the neighbourhood of Hillesluis for 59 years in which in 2010, 81% of the residents do not have a native Dutch ethnic background. She argues:

"I wish there would be more Dutch shops. We do not have a butcher. A Turkish butcher, but not a Dutch one. Do not have a bakery".

Interviewer: "What is the difference?".

Louisa: "The pastries. They have really nice things, but they are often quite buttery, so that is something that you have to like then".

Interviewer: "Do you miss particular foods?"

Louisa: "The local foods are very spicy".

Interviewer: "What about the butcher?"

Louisa: "The sausages would be the problem there. I have to go to the super market for them. [...] A Dutch butcher would be nice, even though I do not mind visiting Turkish or Moroccan bakeries".

The upscaling of experiences with individual people to social groups

From literature on neighbouring we know that the way in which people perceive their neighbours can differ from their perceptions about social groups in general (e.g. Valentine, 2013). While perceptions of neighbours are often based on personal relations, perceptions of groups are often not. In our study we indeed find a few examples in which interviewees do not 'scale up' their individual perceptions of neighbours to social groups in general. For example, Hagar (55, native Dutch, retired health care worker, social rent) distinguishes between local native Dutch residents including herself and local *"foreigners"* whom she discusses negatively as she relates the whole group to crime, unauthorised rubbish disposal, noise nuisance, and intolerance of Christian people. Yet, several of her nearby neighbours with a foreign background she speaks very positively of. For example:

"... across the road, what are they David [husband], Afghanistan's aren't they, those people across the road?". David: "Pakistani". Hagar: "Pakistan. They are also very nice people, neat. Surinamese [people] have moved in next to them. Also very nice. I like Surinam. [...] It is just a coincidence that they [foreigners] live next to one another. Neat people, you can tell. The curtains are nice and tidy. They always greet nicely in the streets".

Nevertheless, for most interviewees there are no differences in the way they describe their neigh-bours and the local residents in general. Furthermore, a number of residents explicitly and implicitly try not to pigeonhole people. Fuat (18, Turkish, student, social rent), who grew up in his current neighbourhood, for example talks about an encounter that he and his friends had with a group of Jewish men in the neighbourhood. Despite his mistrust of (Jews in) Israel, he explains that he refuses to judge individual Jews accordingly:

"I once talked with a Jewish man at Noordereiland [neighbourhood]. They were with three people. We were there with a group of three young people as well. [...] He said 'I am Jewish'. I think he thought that we would respond with aggression. [...] At that time there were a lot of conflicts between Israel and Gaza. So I turned around and I said: 'Ok, I am Muslim', finished! He was shocked. They started to laugh, felt the warmth of the discussion. They wanted to engage with us. [...] We started to laugh as well, even though the man comes from Israel. I told the man: 'you and that man [another Jew] are not the same'. You understand? He might be a Jew who is more faithful to his religion than I am. Maybe I am a Muslim who does not keep to his belief well, who am I to judge".

4.5   Conclusions

Our study indicates that residents in Feijenoord are aware of and often value the diversity of people in their neighbourhoods positively. Different from findings of Valentine (2008), the perceptions of most interviewees of nearby neighbours do not differ much from perceptions of social groups in the neighbourhood in general. Residents describe their neighbours and other local groups in a wide variety of ways, referring to observed socio-demographic features and daily practices of neighbours. Resident's experiences of other residents are diverse because their perceptions of others appear to depend on their own individual norms, values and lifestyles. Thus, like Wessendorf (2014b), we find that people do certainly not perceive their neighbours in terms of traditional demographic features such as ethnicity and class alone. Instead, people describe their neighbours and local social groups along multiple and different dimensions of diversity. Hereby, their narratives reflect a complex understanding of local social formations.

Residents experience (different) local diversities positively, because they can offer them and their households the opportunity to learn about and exchange new experiences; a lively and busy residential atmosphere; and a diverse local facility and amenity structure. Furthermore, a diverse social context without particular majority groups offers residents who belong to minority groups (e.g. culturally or in terms of lifestyle or household type), an environment in which they feel less 'out of place'.

Negative experiences with local diversity relate to crime of disadvantaged local youth groups, sometimes associated with a particular ethnicity; residents who do not speak the Dutch language in public and semi-public local spaces; and a lack of particular amenities for specific local groups. No clear differences were found between the perceptions of diversity of particular ethnic groups, social classes, age, gender or household type.

5. ACTIVITIES IN AND OUTSIDE OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

5.1   Introduction

Neighbourhoods have always attracted the attention of urban researchers. In earlier times most activities of people took place in the immediate vicinity of the home: people had a lot of contacts with their neighbours, family was living in the same street, shopping took place around the corner and often the workplace was also not far away. The neighbourhood was a focal point for many of its residents.

But already decades ago researchers and urban theorists made clear that the importance of the neighbourhood was not the same for everybody. Merton (1957) made clear that the highly mobile middle-class professionals (the cosmopolitans) were far less interested in social contacts and relations within the neighbourhood than the 'locals', for whom the neighbourhood is far more important. Other scholars made clear that developments in infrastructure and the growing incomes, which made it possible for more and more people to own a car, changed the role of the neighbourhood immensely. People became more able to visit friends and families over long distances and perform activities outside their neighbourhoods, for example doing their shopping in more suburban shopping malls (Webber, 1964; Stein, 1972). Expanding cities also caused new housing opportunities, also for those with medium high incomes. In the Netherlands, new areas in suburban environments caused many households in different income categories to move from inner-city neighbourhoods to more suburban places in and around the cities.

This did not mean that the old neighbourhoods became unimportant for their residents. Although social contacts are now more spread out than decades ago, neighbourly relations are still important for quite a number of people (see also chapter 4 and chapter 6). Moreover, there are still all kinds of important facilities in the neighbourhood, such as local shops, primary schools, health centres, sports facilities, etc. The question then becomes who make use of these facilities. From the literature it becomes clear that especially for some specific groups the neighbourhood may still be important (Van Kempen & Wissink, 2014).

The first group for whom the neighbourhood might still be important are the low-income house-

holds. They might not have the financial means to go far from their homes and pay for activities elsewhere (like football matches, concerts, and expensive products). They might also not be interested in having activities far from home (Van Kempen & Wissink, 2014). Public spaces, such as parks and squares, in the neighbourhood may be very important places for meeting friends and performing activities. Immigrants and ethnic minorities form a second group for whom the neighbourhood might be important: they find friends and family in specific neighbourhoods, but also shops selling specific products (such as Turkish bread or *halal* meat), services specifically interesting to them (such as assistance with housing and language), and maybe even (temporary) jobs, for example in shops of family or friends (Wilson & Portes, 1980; Zhou & Logan, 1991). A third group are the elderly. Because of worsening health conditions and mobility problems, they are generally more dependent on facilities (shops, doctors) in the vicinity of their home (Allan & Phillipson, 2008; Wissink & Hazelzet, 2012). Finally, children generally have many activities around their home (schools, sports), but they are not part of this research.

The availability of facilities is important. Especially within diverse neighbourhoods, the character of a neighbourhood might change quite quickly. Wise (2005), for example, describes the Sydney suburb of Ashfield as starting off as a completely Anglo-Celtic city which became a quite diverse area when Greeks, Italians and Poles moved in in the 1950s and 1960s, Lebanese and Turks entered the area in the 1970s and 1980s, while later the Indians and Chinese became the major immigrant groups. At the moment Chinese small businesses dominate the main shopping street. Especially the elderly residents do not like this change: they feel as isolated individuals in a sea of strangers.

Within neighbourhoods some polarisation might emerge between groups that are more neighbourhoods oriented (see previous paragraph) and others that are much less interested in having activities in the neighbourhood. These might be Merton's cosmopolitans, but they especially emerge in the literature on urban restructuring, in which inexpensive housing is demolished and makes place for more expensive alternatives. This more upmarket housing then attracts new inhabitants with a higher SES and they are general much less interested in the local neighbourhood, also with respect to activities like shopping, going out and meeting friends (Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen, 2003).

In this chapter we are interested in the question which activities the residents of Feijenoord undertake and where these activities take place. We are especially interested in the question for whom the neighbourhood is an important activity place and for whom the neighbourhood is much less important. The questions we will answer in this chapter have been formulated as follows:

- What kind of activities do people undertake, where and with whom? How important is the neighbourhood for people's daily activity patterns?

- To what extent do public spaces facilitate interactions between diverse groups of people?

- To what extent do local associations facilitate interactions between diverse groups of people?

5.2   Activities: where and with whom?

Inside or outside of the neighbourhood?

On the basis of the existing literature mentioned in the introduction to this section, we might expect that many residents of deprived and dynamic urban areas have a lot of their activities within their own neighbourhood. However, from our interviews it becomes clear that for the overwhelming majority of interviewees daily activities take place in as well as outside the neighbourhood. For example, Yaryna's (41, Croatian, unemployed, owner-occupied house) children go to a local school. She is a member of the parent committee at school, a co-director of a local playground association and a participant in 'Opzoomeren[6]', a community based initiative aimed at increasing social cohesion. She visits local acquaintances and neighbours at their home. Nevertheless, Yaryna also frequently visits friends, markets and shops in other areas of the Rotterdam metropolitan region including Barendrecht, Berkel en Rodenrijs, Rotterdam Noord and the city centre. Furthermore, she exercises in a park at the other side of the city (Kralingse Bos) three times a week (with other women).

However, there are also indications that some groups of people are indeed more tied to the

neighbourhood with respect to their activities than others. Notably, and according to the literature, all of these are people with a low SES and belong to the group of elderly or have children.

While in the literature ethnic minority groups are quite often mentioned having a lot of local activities, this is not the case in our research. There are no clear differences between Non-Western ethnic groups and the native Dutch. Also with respect to gender and household type no differences could be detected. This means that also households with children do have activity patterns that extend beyond the neighbourhood, despite the fact that their children often attend local schools.

There is a group of residents that clearly has more activities outside the neighbourhood. These people are aged between 18 and 45 years old, work at least three days per week outside the neigh-bourhood and belong to the medium or high SES-category (relatively high education and incomes). In some cases they came to live in the neighbourhood, because new housing opportunities became available. For example, Simone (29, native Dutch, medical doctor, private rent) moved to a renovated apartment in Feijenoord 3,5 years ago because it was inexpensive and is located not too far from the city centre and her work. She does her groceries shopping at a local supermarket and exercises at a gym in a nearby neighbourhood in Rotterdam South. All her other activities are outside of the neighbourhood: she cycles to her work at a hospital in the city centre five days a week and conducts activities with colleagues, friends and family in other parts of Rotterdam or in other cities of the Netherlands.

Why do people have their activities in or outside the neighbourhood? A number of activities are carried outside the neighbourhood, because they are not available in the neighbourhood. Examples of such activities are going out in the inner city of Rotterdam (or in other cities), daytrips to other cities, amusement parks, sports activities or a swimming pool, visiting a market or a mosque, shopping for convenience goods and visiting specific family members. Holiday trips obviously also take place somewhere else. Quite a number of people also have jobs in another part of the city (see section 7.2).

Activities that are often carried out in the

neighbourhood are: grocery shopping, having a walk, visiting a park or playground (mainly for families with children). Particularly people with a low SES conduct local activities such as visiting local community centres and participating in activities of that centre, volunteering in the neighbourhood, conducting sports, visiting a mosque, church or temple or a market. Some people with a low SES do have their job in the neighbourhood or follow a course.

Activities with whom?
With whom do interviewees undertake which activities? We distinguish between activities with family, with friends, with neighbours and other acquaintances.[7]

Activities with *families* often take place at home. People have their own direct family (parents, siblings) in the home, but also they sometimes have intensive contacts with their parents, children and other family members who live close by. Only sporadically family members go out and have a drink together, more often they have a walk, they have joint activities with children, or they do grocery shopping together. Most of these contacts are for fun but sometimes out of necessity, because for example an older parent is handicapped or ill and therefore less mobile. Activities with family members in the neighbourhood are typical for families with lower SES: they also generally have more family members in the neighbourhood than those with a higher SES. Family members also often belong to the same, often relatively low, SES-groups.

Activities with *friends* are more often outdoors than within the home. Within the neighbourhood people visit community centres together, they go to parks for a walk, for a picnic or to play ball games, or they visit a mosque or a church. Outside the neighbourhood they eat and drink out and they shop together (for example for clothing in the centre of the city) or they go on an occasional daytrip or sometimes even on holidays. Networks of friends are more diverse than family net-works in terms of SES and ethnicity (see section 6.2).

Many interviewees (with diverse SES, ethnicities, ages, household types and genders) occasionally undertake activities with *neighbours and other local acquaintances*. These often take place within the neighbourhood. Such activities sometimes take

place in homes (e.g. visiting each other and sharing meals), but more often in shared or public spaces in the neighbourhood. Joint outdoors activities that interviewees commonly discuss take place under subsidised programmes such as *Burendag* and *Opzoomeren*, in which residents can apply for funding for community-based initiatives such as cleaning streets, planting flowers and plants, organising a neighbourhood barbeque, or developing a community garden. For example, Louisa (59, native Dutch, incapacitated, social rent) explains how she participates in local activities for neighbours but is not involved in the organisation of them:

"We have 'Neighbours day' [Burendag; funded by a relatively large national foundation] and now and then there is a barbecue in the park [organised] by local people. A Dutch lady, who used to live at the corner and has a handicraft shop, usually organises the activities. I usually participate, but I do not help with the organisation [...] The neighbours day, barbecues, and there is also [the activity of] planting flowers".

Interviewer: "How do you know of the activities?"

Louisa: "Often a neighbour across the street does this. She comes by and calls to ask if I'd like to participate."
Interviewer: "Do most of your neighbours participate?"

Louisa: "Most of them, yes".

Interviewer: "How often does this happen?".

Louisa: "Most often twice a year".

Other activities that a smaller number of interviewees undertake with neighbours include picnicking and playing football in a local park, organising workshops for e.g. local youths, visiting a local festival, doing shopping's, having a walk, participating in ballet classes and maintaining a community garden.

Motives of interviewees to not undertake activities with (certain) neighbours are diverse. Most Moroccan, Turkish and Pakistani women explain that they do not participate in joint activities with men, for religious reasons and/or because they are not allowed by their husbands. Differently, some

interviewees do not undertake activities with neighbours because they spend most of their time outside of the neighbourhood (see section 5.2). Other interviewees, often with a high SES and without children, prefer not to interfere with neighbours much, and spend most of their time with family and friends.

The conclusion of this section is that the neighbourhood is important for the daily activities of many residents. Particularly residents with a low SES undertake a wide variety of activities in the neighbourhood with family, friends, local acquaintances and neighbours. Our findings support the 'new mobilities paradigm': some people are still very much focussed on the local, some on both, and some are not locally oriented at all.

5.3   The use of public space

Public spaces in the close vicinity of the home can be very important for several groups. They can be used for activities and for meeting people. In most cases such spaces are free to use and for that reason they can be attractive for those with lower incomes. In this section we briefly pay attention to several public places that were mentioned by our interviewees. We focus on the function of these places, on the categories that make use of them and on the question if people interact with each other in such places[8].

Parks
Parks, large and small, can be found in and close to the neighbourhoods where our interviewees live. They are used by a diversity of people with a diversity of activities. Some people clearly use their park on their own, for jogging or doing a walk. Dog owners (described as a multi-ethnic and diverse group of people) walk their dog and sometimes talk to each other. Groups of women often go together to a park to chat or to play with their children. Also groups of men visit the parks, to play a ball game or just to sit and relax. Young people, sometimes only men or women, sometimes mixed, do the same. When people go together to the parks they usually do not interact with other groups, they keep to themselves. This is especially the case for some Muslim groups of men and women. Lina and her husband Mouad (31 and 45, Moroccan, Muslim, owner-occupied house) for instance only interact with women and men respectively in the streets and

the parks. When the interviewer asks why this is the case, they explain:

Lina: *"... look, I only pay attention to women. He [Mouad] knows more about the men and children in the area".*

Mouad: *"It goes automatically. I also visit the park with the my youngest child. [Like women] men also take the children with them for cleaning up the park for instance. We are used to do it this way".*

Lina: *"Look, I am not going to discuss about make-up or hairdressers or topics like that with them [men]".*

Mouad: *"We men talk more about football. Women about TV-shows, make-up and all that. For us [men] that is not important".*

Lina: *"We have fun about different matters then hem"*

Mouad: *"But now and then we do sit together with men and women, with our two former neighbours. That we do, they visit us. But in the park, women have more fun when they are together"*

Most residents feel safe and at ease in the neighbourhood parks. The parks can be seen as important places for many neighbourhood residents. A small number of women, with diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds and households, do complain not feeling at ease with the presence of drunk people in a specific park in Hillesluis neighbourhood, like Falgun (54, female, Dominican, incapacitated, social rent):

"At the owner-occupied blok, near my house, there is a park. It is great to have it so nearby. But I do not visit it so often. I rather go to another park, because there are a lot of alcoholics"

Pavements

People sometimes, often coincidentally, meet on pavements, on the way from their home to a shop, for example. Walking alone, they meet a friend or acquaintance and they start interacting and talking. Having a conversation with someone who is not acquainted hardly ever happens. Sometimes contact is limited to saying hello, in other cases a small conversation is held or arrangements are made for a next meeting in another place. For example, Hannah explains that she often meets an

acquaintance from the local community centre the Experimental Garden in local public spaces:

"We often go sit on the bench on that square or near the water".

Interviewer: *"Whom do you see and meet when you sit on the bench with Molly?"*

Hannah: *"We chat about all kinds of things, and then someone passes, and then another person passes"*

Interviewer: *"Do you know the people who pass?"*

Hannah: *"Yes, people whom I haven't seen for a while. [...] All kinds of people. For example, further along the road is an African lady. She used to work at the Experimental Garden. I haven't seen her for a while and then when she walks by, we have a little chat".*

Shopping streets

Obviously shopping areas are used for shopping. Shopping is an activity that is often carried out alone or with a family member or a friend. When meeting an acquainted person, some contact may happen, but in general shoppers are much on their own. The shopping audience in the neighbourhood shopping streets is mixed: men and women, diverse ethnicities, elderly and young people and everything in between.

Shopping areas are also used as meeting places, especially for groups of young people. They meet on such places, because it is free, convenient (close to home) and often a little bit more covered than in a park (important in times of low temperature and rain). The groups of young people often are quite mixed in terms of ethnicity. They know each other from school, a youth or neighbourhood centre, living in the same street, or a meeting in a street or a park. The groups of young people just sit (or stand) and relax, talk to each other about all kinds of things an occasionally give comments on passers-by. Sometimes others feel uncomfortable with a gathering of such groups. For example, Louisa (59, female, native Dutch, incapacitated, social rent) argues:

"I used to go to the Zuidplein shopping mall often. But there are these groups of youths, you have to pay attention, all of those youth groups in the streets. It makes me feel less at ease. Because they group

together, I do not like that".

Interviewer: "Is this only at the shopping mall"?

Louisa: "It is mostly at Zuidplein. We have the youth groups in the park here as well, but they are very friendly and I have got to know all of them, so I trust them much more. I go to the Zuidplein less often. I prefer to go to the city centre now, feels more safe".

The local market
While the local shopping streets are during opening hours characterised by a large diversity of people, the local market (Afrikaandermarkt) is hardly used by the Dutch inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The market seems to be the place for a diversity of ethnic groups. Dutch people prefer the supermarkets in the shopping streets or go to markets elsewhere. Contacts on the local market are very limited: visitors do their shopping, talk to the salespersons, but seldom interact with co-visitors. The local market thus does not seem to be an important place for generating and maintaining social contacts.

Playgrounds
Local playgrounds are used by children and their parents of a diversity of ethnicities and social classes. Sometimes parents go together or in small groups or they meet in the playground other parents they already know from earlier meetings or from school. Friendships between new people rarely emerge on these playgrounds. Visitors mostly keep to themselves or to their own (small) group. However, visitors do report having 'light' encounters, such as greeting and small talk about children. There are also no indications that the playgrounds are used by other groups than parents and their children. Groups of young people meet elsewhere (see above).

The library
Because of budget cuts and privatization, the number and opening hours of libraries have drastically reduced in Rotterdam in the past few years. Library 't Slag currently remains as one of the few libraries in Rotterdam South. This library was equipped with a diversity of functions to make it attractive to a diversity of groups: of course it is still possible to borrow books, but the library also has a media and computer section, a children's area, a newspaper table and a café (Peterson & Bolt, 2015). The library is visited by a diversity of people in terms of ethnicity, households and lifestyles.

Although encounters between visitors are generally superficial and short, the library appears to broaden the social networks of visitors and make them feel more at home in their neighbourhood (Peterson & Bolt, 2015).

Restaurants, cafés and terraces
Parks, pavements, streets, markets and playgrounds share their free accessibility. In restaurants, in cafés and on terraces visitors have to pay for their visit in the form of a coffee, a drink or a complete meal. For that reason we might expect that not everybody uses such a facility. Facilities that are used in the neighbourhood can have an exclusive or a more inclusive character. More or less *exclusive facilities* are for example some restaurants and cafés that are aimed (through their prices and products) at audiences with higher incomes. We have come across a few instances in which interviewees with a lower SES feel excluded from such premises. For example, Eric (69, native Dutch, retired engineer, social rent) explains that due to the influx of middle class residents in Katendrecht more expensive restaurants and cafés have emerged, which are not accessible to lower-income groups in the neighbourhood, including Eric and his friends.

Cafés and coffeehouses for Turkish men can also be seen as exclusive facilities. While other men might be allowed to drink a coffee or tea there, they usually do not enter. Women will in some of these facilities not be allowed to enter. Such exclusiveness is generally not defined as a problem by our interviewees and such places (and their surroundings) are not considered as unsafe places. Some Muslims, particularly women, do feel unhappy and unsafe near café's were people drink alcohol.
In shopping malls (Zuidplein) and shopping streets (e.g. Beijerlandselaan en de Vuurplaat), cafés and restaurants are said to be have a more *inclusive* character: they are used by people with diverse ethnic backgrounds and by men and women.

Visitors of restaurants, cafés and terraces seldom interact with strangers: they go there with people they know or meet people they know.

Community centres
Some community centres are described as relatively homogenous in terms of ethnicity and/or age of the vistors ('t Steigertje, Kameleon, Ravennest), while

others are used by a wide variety of groups. Most users of community centres have a low SES, but belong to different ethnic groups. Depending on the activity organised, different age groups also visit the different community centres. The Experimental Garden [De Proeftuin[9]] is talked about by many interviewees: here many different activities are organised and many different social groups meet (see Peterson & Bolt, 2015; Tersteeg et al., 2014b). Bouchra (59, Moroccan, unemployed, social rent) participates and volunteers at the Experimental garden. She discusses the centre as follows:

"The Proeftuin has a very convenient location because women can drop their children off at school and follow language courses here. [...] We do not only follow courses, we also talk with one another about the past, children [...] We have Arabic and Dutch language classes with books, computer, cooking, and knitting classes and we arrange swimming classes. [...] In the living room I talk with participants other Moroccan women, but also with Dominican women. They are lovely. And also five Dutch women, they are also very nice"

Do visitors of community centres interact? Visitors performing the same activity, do talk to each other, but generally interact with people of their own groups. In some cases there are also some potential conflicts, because some groups express their discontent with some groups of users being too dominant, exerting too much influence over others (Peterson & Bolt, 2015). Particularly Moroccan and Turkish groups are argued to be dominant in certain community centres, excluding other groups.

Churches, mosques and temples
Religious institutions in Feijenoord are general homogenous in terms of religion and ethnicity. Mosques are solely visited by (Muslim) men. No information is available on the SES of visitors of mosques, churches and temples. One mosque in the area is visited by a diversity of ethnic groups, including non-Muslims. Yavuz (21, Turkish, student and salesman, social rent) explains that *"his"* Mosque offers a room for local youths - with different religious and ethnic backgrounds - to do their homework, or even to organise a computer gaming-event, to keep them off the streets.

The conclusion of this section is that most public spaces in Feijenoord seem to be used by a diversity

of social groups. Yet, not all the public spaces encourage these diverse groups to interact. Most interactions between diverse groups occur in parks and on pavements. Sometimes interactions between strangers can be detected, but often contacts are between people who already know each another. These outcomes are very much in line with earlier studies of, for example, Wessendorf (2014b) and Van Eijk (2010) on social networks and interactions of residents in diverse places.

5.4   The importance of associations

Activities of people can take place in public spaces (see previous section), but also in associations, for example sports clubs. However, not many adults appear member or report of such associations. Two interviewees, men with different ethnicities and a medium high SES, volunteer as sports coaches for youths at football clubs in adjacent neighbourhoods. There are several football clubs in or close to our research neighbourhoods. In fact, the name of the neighbourhood (Feijenoord) is also the name of one of the top clubs in the Dutch football competition. Their big stadium and adjacent fields are located in the neighbourhood. The (active) members of football clubs in the Netherlands are usually quite mixed in terms of SES and ethnicity and (increasingly) gender. However, some interviewees – mostly women - have also indicated that football clubs in Feijenoord can be highly segregated. Nancy (41, Cape Verdean, traffic control officer, social rent,) for instance told us that one of her children recently switched from a local football club *"... with a lot of Muslims"* to a club with fewer Muslims further away. She had problems with the aggressiveness of some children at the former club and their use of foul language, but also with the quality of the trainers. The low attendance in sports associations might relate to the low number of sports associations for low-income groups, particular youths, in Rotterdam South (Tersteeg et al., 2014b). Yet, this does not mean that interviewees do not exercise. Quite some people practice running (on their own or in a group) or go to a gym. Women with a low SES and their children often exercise in sports activities organised by local community centres such as dance and kickboxing classes at the Experimental Garden and aerobics classes at women's centre the Flywheel (see also: Tersteeg et al., 2014b). Next to sports activities, the community centres offer many other activities and clubs in which many local interviewees do

participate: e.g. cooking clubs, language classes, Islamic and Christian study groups, art and crafts activities (see section 5.3).

5.5   Conclusions

Several researchers have indicated that the neighbourhood is losing importance for many of its residents, especially because people have become increasingly mobile. At the same time the literature also makes very clear that for some groups – notably low-income groups, minority ethnic groups, the elderly and children – the local environment can, for several reasons, still be important. From this chapter it has become clear that both statements are true: people have a lot of activities inside the neighbourhoods, but they also have activities outside the neighbourhood. In general, activities like grocery shopping, walking (alone, with friends or with a dog) are often performed in the neighbourhood, also because the neighbourhood offers many possibilities (many small shops, supermarkets, a market and also parks). Some activities are usually performed outside the neighbourhood, because they are not possible within the neighbourhood, such as shopping for convenience goods or going out at specific places. Most people combine activities outside their residential neighbourhoods with activities closer to home. There are no indications that people feel hindered to conduct activities outside of their neighbourhood by a low income.
The activity patterns of people with a low SES are more local than those of people with a higher SES. Many people with a lower SES have family members living close by, often in the same neighbourhood. They are important to them. With family members they undertake a lot of activities, either at home or outside. With friends home activities are less frequent, with them they visit places in the neighbourhood or outside.

Public spaces in the neighbourhood are important. Here people meet and interact. At the same time, places like parks, pavements, playgrounds shopping streets and the local market are not the places where new friendships emerge. When people visit a park or playground they sometimes do go in (small or bigger) groups, they talk to each other and have fun, but mostly inter‑act with people of their own groups and individuals whom they already know.

Most public spaces are interesting for many people, irrespective of SES, ethnicity, gender or age. Some places, like specific restaurants or cafés do seem to have a focus on a clientele with a somewhat higher income. All in all, most public spaces are important for specific activities, but not for new contacts, because individuals and groups often stay among themselves. In contrast, semi-public spaces such as libraries, community centres and religious institutions do appear important for developing weak and strong social bonds. The next chapter will discuss this in more detail.

6. SOCIAL COHESION

6.1   Introduction

As more people have become more mobile, some have become less dependent of their neigh-bourhood for their social contacts. Some scholars have warned that the declining role of the neighbourhood can result into a lack of social cohesion between local residents (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). This can manifest itself in reduced trust and less solidarity and support (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2013; Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

Studies of neighbouring show that the extent to which the neighbourhood is important for social relations differs between social groups. Most studies indicate a (gradual) decline of local contacts, but this does not mean that neighbourhoods have lost their meaning for social networks for all social groups (Guest & Wierzbicki, 1999; Pinkster, 2007; Van Kempen & Wissink, 2014). Particularly for people with low incomes, elderly people and people with children the neighbour-hood has shown to remain important for the development of relationships (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Wissink & Hazelzet, 2012; see also chapter 5). Because the neigh-bourhood is not equally

important for the formation of social ties for all, living within a diverse neighbourhood does not have to result in diverse social networks. Indeed, also in the Dutch context, several studies indicate that the social networks of residents in socially mixed neigh-bourhoods are often fairly homogenous in terms of ethnicity and social class (e.g. Van Eijk, 2010; Pinkster & Völker, 2009).

The aim of this chapter is to gain insight into the degree to which living in a highly diverse residential area affects the generation of social cohesion between residents. We are particularly interested in which elements foster and which hinder the development of social cohesion in the area.

We have formulated the following research questions:

• How important is the neighbourhood for the formation of egocentric social networks?

• To what extent are people's social networks diverse in terms of education, occupation and ethnicity?

- How important are people's social networks in terms of activities and forms of support?

- How do people experience their bonds with neighbours?

The first three questions will be answered in Section 6.2. Section 6.3 answers the fourth question.

6.2   Composition of interviewees' egocentric networks

To map the egocentric[10] social networks of people, interviewees were asked to mention at least three persons whom they feel most close to. In their responses to this question, interviewees mention three types of networks, respectively of family members, friends and local acquaintances. The networks are not mutually exclusive. Per network type we examine: the geographical distribution according to the place of residence; the composition in terms of ethnicity, education and occupation; and the function in terms of activities and forms of support.

Social networks of family
GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION AND COMPOSITION
How important is the neighbourhood for the social network of family members[11] with whom interviewees feel close? Particularly for interviewees with a low SES and elderly people[12], the neighbourhood appears to be very important for the maintenance of family relations. For both groups close family members live within the same neighbourhood or in surrounding neighbourhoods more often than for those with a medium or high SES and for young adults and middle-aged people. Furthermore, those interviewees with low SES and the elderly find it more important having close family live nearby, and meet their family more often than interviewees with a medium or high SES, young adults and middle-aged people. For example, all of Rajesh's (21, Antillean, unemployed, social rent) relatives live in the neighbourhood of Katendrecht. He explains that this is important for him because *otherwise it would be boring, you couldn't do anything, you don't have anyone to talk to*. Likewise, Peter (69, male, native Dutch, retired civil servant, social rent) argues:

"Both our children live close, one at a 10-minute cycling distance, and the other at a 15 minute distance by car. And we find that very convenient. We have a very good bond with them, we see our grandchildren often. At one point we were thinking of moving to the province of Drenthe [about 250 km north], where we have some friends and acquaintances. But then our daughters protested: whenever we need support, they are better able to help us. And we think this is a nice idea".

Yet, residents with all SES, ages and ethnicities have close family members living elsewhere in or even outside the Netherlands as well. This is not surprising because the district of Feijenoord is traditionally home to many groups, both to native Dutch and other ethnic groups, and in recent decades both with low and high SES. For example, Vera (41, native Dutch, owner-occupied house) and her husband both have academic degrees and high-skilled jobs. Most of Vera's family lives in the province of Brabant, where she grew up. Most of her husband's family live in Rotterdam, where he grew up, yet in other parts of the city, not nearby. Differently, Pari (38, Pakistani, social rent) finished high school in Pakistan and then moved to Hillesluis neighbourhood in Rotterdam to marry her husband, a taxi-driver. Since then she is a stay-at-home mother. Her entire family lives in Pakistan, but most of her husband's family lives in the area of Hillesluis.

The family networks of interviewees are generally homogenous in terms of ethnicity and SES. Thus, residents with a relatively high SES most often have family members with high education levels and high-skilled jobs, and residents with a low SES mostly have family with low education levels and low-skilled jobs. Family networks mostly consist of people with the same ethnicity, although quite a number of residents have a family member with another ethnic background as well. Some interviewees argue that interethnic marriages happen among younger people more often than among older ones. Hilda (64, female, native Dutch, mail carrier, social rent):

"The youths, they mix. A son of mine had a Turkish girlfriend once, years ago. It ended. They were dating when they were young. Then he dated a Moroccan woman, my son. Not from this neighbourhood though. But they split up. He is presently dating another Moroccan woman".

Interviewer: "So do young people mix more?"

Hilda: "Young people, it happens. Not so often, but it happens. [...] My youngest daughter has a son with a Moroccan as well. Also a friend of mine, a lady, she was together with an African man. Their children are in their twenties now. [...] They live a little further up the street".

Ethnically mixed families were not found to be less socially cohesive than more homogenous family networks.

ACTIVITIES AND FORMS OF SUPPORT

Interviewees with mostly local family (and a low SES) address different meaning to their family network than interviewees of which most family do not live nearby. The former meet family and undertake (in and outdoor) activities with them more often than the latter group. For example, Marcelio (24, Cape Verdian, unemployed, social rent) teaches kickboxing at a community centre in Feijenoord on a voluntary basis and sees his family relatively often:

"I see my mother every day, because she and my brother practice at the gym. My brothers, I see once or twice a week. We visit a movie, catch up. I see my uncle almost every Saturday, so once a week. With other family members it [frequency of contact] depends. I try to see my grandfather once or twice a week as well. [...] I have a good bond with all eight of my brothers and sisters".

Many residents with local family networks (and a low SES) cook for, share meals and have coffee with family on a daily or weekly base. They also describe taking care of (in case of illness or disabilities), babysitting, and keeping an eye out for family members and friends much more often than the latter. The findings indicate that for interviewees with a low SES and elderly people, having family live nearby is very important. Local family networks provide interviewees with care and support. As an example, Willemijn (41, native Dutch, pedagogical assistant, social rent) grew up in her current neighbourhood and recently moved back with her son, amongst others to live close to her parents. They live across the street. When asked how important it is for her to have family live nearby, she says:

"Yes, it is very nice to have your parents live nearby, because they are getting older. They are both 70. I can support them. Of course it is also nice for my son, and convenient for me: when I need to do some shopping, I tell him 'go visit your grandmother'".

Interviewer: "How often do you see your parents?".

Willemijn: "Very often, I see them daily, here [at home] or at their place".

Social networks of friends
GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION AND COMPOSITION

How important is the neighbourhood for the social networks of friends? The geographical distribution of social networks of friends shows almost the same pattern as those of family networks. Close friends of interviewees with a low SES live nearby more often than those with a middle or high SES. Furthermore, the former group meet their close friends more often than the latter. For example, Mouad and his wife Lina (45 and 31, Moroccan, owner-occupied house) respectively work as neighbourhood supervisor (civil servant) and cleaner, and have low and medium education levels[13]. Most of Mouad and Lina's friends (and family) live nearby. Both know most of their friends from the neighbourhood, and they meet most of their friends within the neighbourhood.

In contrast, Rick (45, native Dutch) has an academic degree and works as an architect-designer. His two best friends:

"... are friends from my student days in Delft, they were roommates. [...] One works in the energy sector and is a council member in Delft (a city 13 km from Rotterdam). The other runs his own business in Genève [Switzerland] [...] I hardly ever see the one in Genève. My friend in Delft [I see] about once a month".

Different from the family networks, no clear differences were found between age groups.

The networks of friends of interviewees are more diverse in terms of ethnicity and SES than those of family. Still, most interviewees have a quite homogenous network of friends in terms of SES: interviewees with a high SES have friends with a high education level and high skilled jobs, while interviewees with a lower SES often have friends who are similar in this respect. Whether or not people have a socio-economically heterogeneous

network of friends was not found to relate to interviewees SES, but it was found to relate to their ethnicity. Interviewees with a native Dutch ethnic background more often have a more homogenous network of friends in terms of SES than other ethnic groups.

Many interviewees have at least one close friend with a different ethnic background. No clear link was found between the ethnicity of interviewees and the extent to which their network of close friends is ethnically diverse. Yet, people with mostly a local network of friends and a relatively low SES appear to have more ethnically diverse friends than people with a non-local network of friends and a higher SES. Furthermore, many local inter-ethnic friendships appear to have started off in the neighbourhood, indicating a neighbourhood effect. Thus, for people with a low SES, the neighbourhood appears to be important for the development of heterogeneous friendships.

Most neighbourhood-based friendships have emerged through encounters in local institutions including schools, churches and community centres. For example, Pari (38, Pakistani, social rent) met her close friends – Pakistani, Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese women who are mostly stay-at-home mothers like herself – when volunteering at the (local) school of her children. Today, she often talks on the phone and undertakes activities in the neighbourhood with them. Likewise, Hans (49, Surinamese, unemployed ICT worker, social rent) knows two of his closest friends from local community centres and meets them here. One is a 70 year old, retired native Dutch lady who lives by herself in an adjacent neighbourhood and volunteers as a knitting teacher at a local community centre. Before she retired she worked as a store clerk. Hans meets her about two times a week at the community centre, where he volunteers as well. His other friend is a middle-aged Antillean man who lives across the street, who he meets at another community centre on Thursdays to share a meal as they both have a low income. He speaks with him on the phone and visits him at his home on birthdays as well.

Next to local institutions, friendships between children were found to be an important base for developing neighbourhood-based inter-ethnic friendships as well. For example, Falgun (54, Dominican, incapacitated, social rent) knows most of

her ethnically and socio-economically diverse group of close friends, of whom in the meanwhile most have moved to other areas of Rotterdam though, from the time their children grew up together in her neighbourhood Hillesluis 30 years ago.

ACTIVITIES AND FORMS OF SUPPORT

Interviewees with a neighbourhood-based network of friends (and a low SES) see their friends more often than interviewees with a non-local network of friends. The former meet their friends at least once a week. For example, Winta (middle-aged, Eritrean, unemployed, social rent) meets her Eritrean female friends, whom she argues are *"… just like family"*, two to three times a week. They meet at each other's homes or at community centre the Experimental Garden. Most have known one another for a long time. She explains that: *"… four or five ladies live here in Feijenoord and we have become very close".* When Anne (53, native Dutch, incapacitated, social rent) developed agoraphobia 22 years ago, her female neighbours and local colleagues – with diverse ethnicities - became very important for her. They invited her in their homes and encouraged her to go outside and visit the Experimental Garden. She developed several strong (interethnic) local friendships over time. One friend who lives across the road takes her out for a walk two to three times a week. Anne gives several examples of how friends invite her for diner during the week, such as:

"Last week I visited a mother, her daughter went to the local nursery [where she used to work]. She said: 'I'll come and pick you up', she knows about my fears. So she came and picked me up and we shared a nice meal together, a Turkish family it is".

The kind of activities that interviewees undertake with close friends does not seem to differ according to interviewees' ethnicity, SES, or the geographical distribution and composition of friends networks. Activities with friends most commonly are: visiting each other, eating and/or drinking out (e.g. having dinner, having coffee), going out (e.g. dancing, cinema), shopping and daytrips (amusement parks, city trip).

Interviewees with a local network of close friends (and a low SES) provide healthcare and take care of children of friends more often than interviewees with close friends who live further away. For caring tasks, having close friends live nearby thus seems to

be more important for inter-viewees with a low SES than for those with a high SES. Forms of support between friends that interviewees of all socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds discuss include emotional support (e.g. talking about individual experiences and family matters), companionship (e.g. regularly visiting each other at home) and informational/advisory support (e.g. giving advice on personal and family matters).

Social networks of local acquaintances

When discussing people they feel close to, many interviewees also bring up the category of *"local acquaintances"*. These they describe as local residents, not next-door neighbours, whom they some-times interact with in (semi-)public spaces in the neighbourhood and whom they do not consider family or friends.

COMPOSITION

We have asked interviewees to describe these local acquaintances in terms of demographic features as well as how they have got to know one another. Interviewees appear to have got to know the local acquaintances outside of the neighbourhood, or in the neighbourhood. The former category mostly includes colleagues, whom interviewees know from work, happen to live nearby, and meet in the neighbourhood. For example, when asked about her bond with colleagues at work in the city centre of Rotterdam, Nancy (41, Cape Verdean, traffic control officer, social rent,) explains that several of her neighbours live in a neighbourhood adjacent to hers. When asked how often she sees those colleagues outside of the workplace she responds: *"… sometimes, if we eat out […] I think we do meet at least once a month, we for example eat a pizza together"*.

Interviewees' networks of local acquaintances appear to be much more diverse in terms of ethnicity than networks of family and friends. The networks of local colleagues are often homogenous in terms of education levels and occupations, but ethnically very diverse. Mirjam (45, Hindustani Surinamese, incapacitated, social rent) for instance teaches Dutch language classes at women's centre the Fly Wheel on a voluntary basis. She has developed an ethnically diverse network of local acquaintances at the centre, whom she calls:

"… colleagues. Friends I do not have here [at the centre]. […] Desiree lives very close to the local market,

she is one of my closest colleagues. She is Antillean".

Interviewer: "How about your other colleagues?".

Mirjam: "African, Turkish, Moroccan, there is also a Surinamese… I'm not sure where she comes from, the one from Africa. Usually, they all live in the neighbourhood, close to my place".

Interviewer: "How would you describe your bond?".

Mirjam: "We support one another. Desiree assists me with the Dutch classes. We work together. The others, not really we do not really help one another but we talk, we have fun. […] Our bond is good; we never fight".

Interviewer: "Do you mostly have contact with colleagues at the centre?".

Mirjam: "Yes, but also at home, by telephone. We call each other".

Networks of local acquaintances whom interviewees know through the neighbourhood are not only highly diverse in terms of ethnicity, but also in terms of education level, occupation, professional and social networks and knowledge (see Tersteeg et al., 2014b). For example, Lauren (50, native Dutch, flight attendant, owner-occupied house) explains that through her part-time work as a local councillor and a volunteer at a local school, she has developed an extensive and ethnically and socio-economically diverse network of local acquaintances who come to her for advice and inform her about local matters.

ACTIVITIES AND FORMS OF SUPPORT

Local acquaintances appear particularly important for interviewees with a low SES and children, and elderly people because they provide them with forms of support that friends, family and neighbours sometimes cannot provide (enough). Interviewees discuss receiving companionship, informational/advisory support and practical support. For example, Hannah (62, Surinamese, nurse, social rent) divorced three years ago and presently lives by herself. She has the need for daily company, something her niece whom she regards her best friend, and two daughters cannot offer. Therefore she visits a local community centre every morning, where she meets Molly, a Hindustani middle aged lady who lives with her husband in the

neighbourhood of Feijenoord as well:

"That lady, Molly! We sometimes go there [community centre] Monday to Friday. Every day, just stay a short while. Mostly in the mornings. We sit in the large room, I'll be busy with my clothes [sewing] and Molly will be drawing".

Interviewer: "So are these mostly local people whom you meet there?".

Hannah: "Yes!".

Interviewer: "Do you ever meet those people outside the community centre?".

Hannah: "Sometimes. But when I go there it is really just that we do our own thing. There is also a boy whom I talk with often. They all live in the neighbourhood".

Interviewer: "Do you know where they live, do you visit them?"

Hannah: "No, mostly there [community centre]".

Interviewer: "Would you consider them friends?".

Hannah: "No, acquaintances".

Differently, Vera (41, native Dutch, high school teacher, owner-occupied house) and her husband have three children and busy daily schedules. At times, she is in need of support when she runs late to pick up her children from e.g. gymnastics. She explains that she regularly receives support from other local parents:

"... acquaintances from school, playing friends [of her children]. I do not know the parents that well, but whenever you need... I was once for instance running late from a meeting when they [children] were at gymnastics. I then just called a[nother] mother, even though I was only acquainted to her for a short while, but I do know them. The children have played together a few times. So 'hi there, do you mind if she [her daughter] comes home with you after gymnastics class. I will come and pick her up and such and such time'. These things are perfectly fine".

Interviewer: "So, do you help other people in your neighbourhood as well?".

Vera: "Of course! It works both ways".

Also Aida (36, Moroccan, social rent) regularly gives support to local acquaintances. As head of a local association that seeks to empower Moroccan women in her neighbourhood, she has become a point of contact for many other disadvantaged local women as well:

"... because people know me in the neighbourhood of Feijenoord, I am sometimes phoned when there are problems. Mostly support for women, or they will ask my advice because of my background. For example, 'you are Moroccan and we have a Turkish lady and so this is what we think', and then I can refer them to [people in] the Turkish community [for support]. I rarely help them myself, mostly referrals".

This way, *"... mothers, fathers and young people"* regularly approach her by phone, in the community centre and in the streets.

6.3 Living together with neighbours

How do residents in hyper-diverse neighbourhoods experience living together with neighbours? How important are neighbours for the social (support) networks of these residents? We have examined this by asking interviewees to describe: their bond with neighbours; forms of support between neighbours; and their trust of neighbours.

Bonds with neighbours
The way in which interviewees value their neighbours depends on their own needs, norms and values. Whether people experience having few interactions with neighbours positively or negatively depends on their experiences and expectations of their neighbours. Through encounters with neighbours bonds can become stronger or weaker over time.

How do neighbours come to know each other? Most interviewees in this study have got to know their neighbours through encounters in shared and public spaces around the house. First interactions with neighbours have often occurred in the event of a (small or major) crisis such as problems of children, a fire, or sudden illness. When describing the bond with her next-door neighbours for 20 years, Hilda (64, native Dutch, mail carrier, social rent) for instance argues:

"A long time ago, Maximo [Hilda's son] had a hole here [points towards face]. They [next-door neighbours] immediately drove him the eye clinic. Even though we had only lived here for a short while at that time. I was cleaning at a school [as a cleaner]. I cycled back and that is when I heard that the wheel of a bicycle had hit Maximo's head just above his eye. They had taken him [to the hospital] immediately. I had not been home. My eldest children were home and they told me: 'look the neighbour took him immediately'. Still, at that time we did not know them [the neighbours] that well yet, but they came to help us straight away".

Most interviewees express having good relationship with nearby neighbours. In addition, most have a relatively strong bond with at least one nearby neighbour. Interviewees explain that such relationships with neighbours are established through shared activities and mutual forms of support (see sections 6.3.2 and 6.3.3). A few interviewees have no bonds or even a bad relationship with their neighbours. Bad neighbour relations often occur in case of recurrent conflicts over daily practices, including conflicts over noise, greeting behaviour, foul language, and unauthorised rubbish disposal (see also section 4.1.2). Many interviewees argue that not speaking the same (Dutch) language often forms a barrier for building strong ties with neighbours as well (see also section 4.1.2), though there are some exceptions to the rule. Ebru (52, Turkish, incapacitated, social rent) and her children are very close with a next-door Moroccan single-parent family: they share foods, help each other when organising weddings, and the children stay at each other's place. Yet, the two mothers in the families do not speak Dutch, or each other's languages. Ebru's children explain that the mothers communicate non-verbally and that this goes very well.

Do neighbours interact mostly with people 'like them', or do they interact with people from other social groups as well? The extent to which neighbour relations are diverse, appear to depend largely on the tenure type in relation with the scale of mix in the buildings. In Feijenoord, owner-occupied housing blocks are often much more homogenous in terms of ethnicity, household type and SES of residents, than social rent blocks. This partly could partly explain why in our study interviewees who are owner-occupiers more often

have homogenous networks of close neighbours in these respects, than interviewees in social housing. Interviewees who live in social housing generally have very diverse networks of close neighbours in terms of ethnicity and household types, which they value positively. For example Aida (36, female, Moroccan, director of a local welfare organisation and student, social rent) says:

"I live with very neat, honest neighbours. Luckily, I have a mix of Moroccan, Turkish and Dutch families. I am very happy with that mix. [...] The foreign families are young and the native Dutch [neighbours] are older, really old people. We have a very good bond with them. [...] Whenever I have cooked, I bring some food to the elderly neighbour downstairs. He just lost his wife".

Forms of support between neighbours
We have asked interviewees whether they believe that neighbours in their neighbourhood generally support one another. Most interviewees agree. Like Nancy (41, female, Cape Verdean, traffic control officer, social rent), interviewees argue: *"If you go to your neighbours for support, I think they will help you"*, particularly *"... when it is really necessary"* (Fuat; 18, male, Kurdish Turkish, student, social rent) or *"... in case of an emergency"* (Ebru; 52, female, Turkish, incapacitated, social rent). Yet, not everyone believes neighbours support one another. A family friend of Genji (23, Chinese Dutch, student and waitress, social rent) was once robbed when she was walking in a busy shopping street close to Genji's home. As no one made an attempt to help her friend, Genji has become sceptical and sometimes a bit anxious of fellow residents in her neighbourhood including her neighbours.

Nevertheless, most interviewees express having given support to and received support from nearby neighbours regularly. The forms of support between neighbours that interviewees mention are very diverse. Common forms of mutual support between neighbours include: running errands or carrying errands up the stairs; gardening and doing odd jobs for neighbours (e.g. repairing electric devices, painting the house); cooking and sharing food with neighbours (e.g. in time of illness or loneliness); lending things to neighbours (e.g. a bicycle or phone); informational or advisory support (e.g. helping with paper work, referring neighbours to social services); babysitting children of neighbours; hosting

children of neighbours in case of personal or family problems; keeping neighbours company; keeping an eye out for (the house of) neighbours (in case of absence, illness or loneliness); giving support in case of emergencies (e.g. fire, burglary, illness).

For example, a neighbour of Hans's (49, Surinamese, unemployed ICT worker, social rent) sometimes asks Hans if he can borrow his bicycle to go to work when his one does not work. Hans is happy to lend him his bike because his neighbour always takes care of it well. In return his neighbour informed Hans about a possible job opportunity for Hans (see also section 7.3). Likewise, Szilvia (39, Hungarian, freelance translator, private rent) mentions how she regularly gives household items to her downstairs neighbour, who will repair her bicycle for her in retain. Tahar's (22, Burmese, waiter, sheltered housing) neighbours across the street are hairdressers. As he has no income they offer him free haircuts. As an example of a way in which Frank (60, Surinamese, truck driver, social rent) gives support to neighbours, he explains that he occasionally lets local *"... young guys with problems, they were evicted from their homes by their mothers or something like that"* whom he knows from the neighbourhood stay at his place *"... a few days, until everything was sorted out for them, then they went back [home]"*. Mouad and his wife Lina (45 and 31, Moroccan, civil servant and cleaner, owner-occupied house) have an extensive local network of neighbours and other local acquaintances from which they regularly receive support, for instance when they moved into their current dwelling *"... children, men, everyone helped us"*, or when their house was broken into *"... all the neighbours came around as well, that did help us"*. Finally, René's (40, native Dutch, project manager, owner-occupied house) next-door neighbour sometimes has epileptic seizures with which his wife, a general practitioner, can offer medical support.

A smaller number of interviewees report providing emotional support to their neighbours, giving gifts and showing interest, and offering services (e.g. walking the dog, help find a job, assisting children with homework, a free hair cut or bicycle repair). No clear differences were found between the forms of support with neighbours and the ethnicity, gender, household type or age of interviewees. Yet, interviewees with lower SES and interviewees with children seem to experience more mutual forms of support with neighbours than interviewees with

higher SES and those without children.

Trust in neighbours

Despite the relatively strong bonds with neighbours, opinions on the extent to which inter-viewees trust their nearby neighbours are divided. This may relate to the fact that *'the spatial and scripted nature of neighbour relations are bound up with (unchosen) spatial proximity of neighbours and the need for privacy in one's home that follows from this proximity'* (Van Eijk, 2011, p.6). Some interviewees trust their nearby neighbours fully, some only trust a few neighbours, and others do not trust any neighbour really. Having a spare key to the house and allowing neighbours to babysit their children appear to be important indicators of mutual trust between neighbours. When asked if she thinks that she can trust her neighbours, Aida (36, Moroccan, director of a local welfare organisation and student, social rent) for instance says:

> *"... my neighbours? Absolutely. My neighbour opposite of me and my Dutch neighbours downstairs for sure. Actually [I trust] all of them, bit in different ways" Interviewer: "What are the differences?". Aida: "My downstairs neighbour I have given the key to my mailbox in the summer holidays. My neighbour opposite of her, we visit each other at home. My daughter, she is 9. I have allowed her to go home [from school] on her own. I come home half an hour after her. This neighbour opens the door for her, comes inside with her and gives her something to eat and drink, and then she leaves. That trust is there. Or my daughters stays with her. Surely a close bond".*

When interviewees trust neighbours, they often argue this is because they know them well or they see them often. Particular commonalities between individual features and daily practices of neighbours such as having children, similar parental strategies, greeting and showing interest in neighbours, and taking care of the dwelling well were found to foster trust in neighbours as well (see also section 4.3). No clear difference was found between the extent to which interviewees trust their neighbours and their SES, gender, age, household type or ethnicity.

6.4 Conclusions

This study shows that particularly for people with low socio-economic statuses, people with children and elderly people: (1) the neighbourhood is important for the development of social relations; (2) living a diverse neighbourhood can contribute to diverse local social networks, in terms of education, occupation and ethnicity; and (3) local social networks of neighbours and other acquaintances often provide various and important forms of care and support, which complement those of (local) family members and friends. While the first finding is in line with findings of earlier studies on the topic (in the Dutch context), the second and third findings are not (see section 6.1). In contrast with previous studies on social networks, our findings indicate that in hyper-diverse contexts, particularly networks of *'weak ties'* (see Granovetter, 1973), neigh-bours and other local acquaintances, can be ethnically and to a lesser extent also socio-economically diverse.

Three elements were found to foster the development of social cohesion in particular. First, like Van Eijk (2010) and Peterson & Bolt (2015) stressed as well, local institutions such as schools, churches and community centres appear very important for facilitating weak and strong ties between diverse groups of residents. We have come across several instances in which local acquaintances with diverse ethnic backgrounds have become friends. Second, in line with studies of e.g. Jupp (1999), ethnically mixed tenure blocks (mostly rent) were found to foster more ethnically diverse local networks than more homogenous tenure blocks in this respect (mostly owner-occupied). In contrast with other studies of e.g. Tersteeg & Pinkster (forthcoming), we have not come across many negative experiences of living in ethnically mixed housing blocks. Yet, it remains unclear to what extent this finding is shaped by the scale of mix, and by individual features such as SES, tenure type or lifestyle. Third, as also discussed in chapter 4, commonalities in individual features and observed practices between residents were found to foster social cohesion. The particular commonalities that do so depend on (a combination of) people's subjective norms, values and lifestyles. Thus, commonalities and differences that respectively foster and hinder cohesion differ per individual. Two important dissimilarities that were found to particularly hinder the development of ties between neighbours and other local residents are: not speaking the same (Dutch) language, and local youth groups engaging in criminal behaviours.

7. SOCIAL MOBILITY

7.1 Introduction

In this study we refer to social mobility as *'the change over time in an individual's socio-economic characteristics'* (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013, p. 52), including income, education and occupational attainment. We speak of upwards social mobility, when these individual socio-economic characteristics improve over time and downwards social mobility when they worsen over time.

Urban policy that seeks to foster social mobility often assumes that living in a socio-economically and ethnically mixed neighbourhood enhances the socio-economic opportunities of residents, particularly those of the lower social classes. Middle and upper social classes are thought to act as role models for the lower ones (e.g. Kleinhans, 2004). Also, mixed neighbourhoods are thought to foster mixed social networks through which lower social classes can improve their socio-economic position (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2013). These assumptions stem from the notion of e.g. Putnam (2001) that people with low socio-economic positions need *bridging social capital,* socio-economically and ethnically diverse social networks, which can help them to achieve upwards social mobility, e.g. by providing practical knowledge, information and social contacts. The antagonist of bridging social capital Putnam calls *bonding social capital*: homogenous social networks in terms of socio-economic features and ethnicity. In this study we see social capital as a means or resource to achieve social mobility (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013).

Despite that social mix has become a widely practiced policy strategy to foster social mobility in Western cities, academic studies do not agree on whether role modelling is actually taking place and *bridging* social capital is being formed between social classes in socially mixed areas (e.g. Joseph et al., 2007). Many studies find that next to neighbourhood features, personal characteristics are important for social mobility. Having a high education and income level and high occupational attainment offers better opportunities for socio-economic progress than having a low education and income level and low occupational attainment (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010). In the Netherlands, people with non-Western ethnicity are less socially mobile than people with a Western ethnicity (Vrooman et al., 2014). This is related to a poorer

socio-economic position and processes of labour market discrimination and not necessarily to living in a specific neighbourhood (Andriesse et al., 2010).

Many studies on the relation between neighbourhood features and social mobility focus on the implications of segregation rather than *diversity* and use a quantitative approach (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014). This chapter wants to provide more insight in the ways in which living in a diverse neighbourhood influences social mobility. Furthermore, we want to find out which elements foster and which elements hinder social mobility.

Therefore, in this chapter we seek to answer the following research questions:

- To what extent have residents experienced upwards mobility in their occupational careers (Section 7.2)?

- To what extent do residents find paid or unpaid work through local social networks (Section 7.3)?

- How does the reputation of the neighbourhood influence the social mobility or residents (Section 7.4)?

7.2   Current and previous (un)paid work

Forms of work
The majority of interviewees in Feijenoord have a paid job. Of this group most work part-time: 12-32 hours per week. Interviewees with full-time paid jobs (36 hours or more) are mostly men. Many interviewees conduct voluntary work as well. Volunteers include men and women and diverse ethnicities and more often people with a low SES. Half of the interviewees who volunteer have a paid job as well. Only a small number of people do not conduct paid or unpaid work – thus do not work at all. A few interviewees – all women – have never conducted paid work. These women have a low SES and divergent ages and ethnicities. They have never worked either because they have been stay at home mothers and/or they have a chronic disability. Of the interviewees aged between 18-65 years who do not have paid work, only a small number are actively looking for a job. Also, most of them argue they are unfit for paid work. Our study does not find a relationship between the form of work (paid or unpaid) and ethnicity. We do find that people with

high and medium-high education levels more often have paid jobs than people with low education levels.

Sectors and occupational attainment
Interviewees work in diverse occupational sectors including healthcare, government (police, municipality), cleaning, education and the hospitality industry. Most have low-skilled jobs, such as cleaner, pizza deliverer, newspaper deliverer, truck driver and (home) carer. Quite a number of people have medium-skilled jobs such as civil servant, airhostess, medical assistant and artist. The overrepresentation of low- and medium-skilled jobs is not surprising because a large part of our sample have low and medium-low education levels (see Appendix 1). People with low- and medium-skilled jobs have diverse ethnicities. A small number of people have high-skilled work, including a medical doctor, teacher of Greek and Latin and a high school, speech therapist, project manager at a housing corporation and architect-designer. Most, but not all, interviewees with high-skilled jobs are native Dutch. The higher the education level of people, the higher their occupational attainment. No relation was found between occupational attainment and gender. Our findings do show that women work in healthcare more often than men. Many, but not all, interviewees with low-skilled and medium-skilled jobs work close to home. Most interviewees with high-skilled jobs work in other areas of Rotterdam, not in the neighbourhood. Thus, for people with low-skilled jobs the residential area appears important for their employment.

Social mobility?
A few interviewees have experienced upwards mobility within their labour market career. Most often these people have made a career within a company, including the municipality and companies that operate in the harbour. For example, after finishing a lower vocational programme to become an administrative officer, Nancy (41, Cape Verdean, social rent) started her career within the municipality of Rotterdam as a neighbourhood supervisor. After 6,5 years she applied for a job as an administration officer within another department of the municipality. She followed several courses and programmes provided by the municipality, including a programme to become a special investigation officer (Buitengewoon Opsporingsambtenaar). After several years, she applied for her current job as an officer at the

municipal traffic control centre.

For some interviewees with different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds and of different gender, a job as a volunteer or an internship has led to paid work. For example, Szilvia (39, Hungarian, private rent) explains that voluntary work as a Hungarian-Dutch translator for people in her own social network, has enabled her to do freelance professional translations for public institutions including the local municipality, the police and real estate agents. Both Linda (68, female, Hindustani, private rent) and Vera (41, native Dutch, owner-occupied house) were offered a long-term job at a school respectively as concierge (24 years) and Greek and Latin teacher (17 years) after an internship at the schools. Linda was offered the internship by the municipalities' social services and Vera applied for the job herself.

Nevertheless, the labour market careers of most interviewees seem to be largely determined by their social class. The careers of people of lower social classes are mostly characterised by a sequence of low-skilled jobs, while people with a high SES continue to have high-skilled jobs. These findings are in line with previous research on the correlation between social class and social mobility (e.g. Liddle & Lerais, 2007).

A few interviewees have experienced downward social mobility. These people have intermediate and high education levels. They lost their job due to a redundancy during the economic crisis and have moved to Feijenoord because of its low housing prices (see also chapter 3). For instance, Hans (49, Surinamese, social rent) explains that he worked as a specialist in information and technology at a large telecom company a few years ago when he lost his job and, consequently, also his house. He presently lives in an apartment for homeless people in Feijenoord and he is looking for a new job. Rick (45, native Dutch) started his own company as an architect-designer but currently does not make any profits due to the economic crisis. He moved from his owner-occupied house to an anti-squatting development in Feijenoord a few weeks ago because of income loss.
Diversity in the neighbourhood does not seem to influence social mobility in a direct way.

7.3   Using neighbours and others to find a job

In contrast with findings of academic and municipal studies on social capital in Feijenoord (Blok-land, 2003; Van Eijk, 2010; City of Rotterdam, 2015), we have come across many examples in which interviewees found paid or unpaid work through their *local social network* or through *local institutions* (community centre, schools, church).

Using local social contacts to find a job
For people with a low SES, the neighbourhood appears to be particularly important for finding work. They find work through neighbours and other local acquaintances, friends and family. Although the work they find through local contacts is mostly low-skilled, it is very important to them because it allows them to sustain a livelihood (even though they often have no or low educational degrees), it strengthens their professional network and it allows them to acquire new knowledge and skills. The following examples illustrate how people find jobs through local contacts:

Hans (49, Surinamese, social rent) has been an unemployed ICT-worker for two years. A couple of local contacts inform him about paid and unpaid work. His next-door neighbour, a middle-aged Turkish man who lives by himself as well, regularly gives him information on temporary (undeclared) jobs in construction work. His neighbour across the street, an Antillean man who lives with his wife and children and who has become a friend, is a professional cook and he has invited Hans to cook together for a local community centre once a week. Hans is looking to find a paid job in education. A long-term friend who now is a social worker in Feijenoord has helped him to acquire teaching experiences in volunteer positions. He currently gives basic fitness, football, computer and homework classes at e.g. a local women's centre, football club, and two community centres.

Fuat (18, Kurdish Turkish, student, social rent) lives with his parents and two siblings. He is in his first year of an intermediate vocational programme to become a security guard. In the summer, he applied for a job as a pizza deliverer. When his job ended, a local friend arranged a similar job for him at another pizza company. Earning money is very important for Fuat because his family is very poor:

"To be honest, and this hits me very hard. I am 18 now, a man and my dad is currently in Turkey [with family], and I cannot give my mother any pocket money. [...] Look, today I get my money [welfare benefits], in three days it is gone. Why? I have to do shopping, I have to pay off debts, I have to pay the rent, you have to pay! Otherwise, the creditors will double and double [the debts]. After three days the money is gone, and I have to wait 27 days. Sometimes I lend money from family. [...] It turns me crazy".

Sonia (41, Moroccan Dutch, social rent) obtained a degree as a medical assistant two years ago and has been looking for a suitable position ever since. To improve her résumé, she explains she volunteers at a local hospital and a local community centre for 20 hours a week. She was introduced to the position at the community centre by a close local friend who was already involved in the organisation.

People with a high SES almost never find paid or unpaid work through local contacts. Their activity spaces and social networks are more often located outside of the neighbourhood (see sections 5.2 and 6.2 respectively). This group of people more often finds a job through their professional network, which is almost always not local.

The importance of local institutions for social mobility

Local institutions such as schools, community centres and places of worship appear very important for encouraging social mobility, particularly for those with a relatively low SES (see also Tersteeg et al., 2014b). The institutions bring together people with diverse ages, ethnic and cultural backgrounds, social networks, skills and knowledge's. Hereby, they facilitate social contacts through which people can find paid and unpaid work. Many local institutions offer (free) courses (e.g. in the Dutch language) and spaces for social groups to meet. Furthermore, the institutions appear to serve as entry point for organisations to find employees and volunteers.

For example, Lina (31, Moroccan, cleaner, owner-occupied house) married her Dutch-Moroccan husband Mouad, after she finished high-school in Morocco. She was a stay at home mother for several years, when she started to follow Dutch language courses she was offered by the primary school of her children free of charge. After a while, she told

other mothers at the school that she was looking for paid work. One of them informed her about a job as a cleaner during the summer holidays at a local cleaning company. After her contract ended, another mother who has become a friend of her introduced her to a more permanent job as a cleaner in another local company. Also Hagar (55, native Dutch, retired, social rent) found paid work through a local institution, namely her church:

"I finished primary school. Then I started to work, I married and I had children. When the youngest was two years old, we moved to a bigger house. There, I started as a midwifery assistant, without diplomas, because of course I did not have any. [...] Later, I started working as a caretaker of elderly people. For both jobs, I was asked by people of the church. When you are member of a church, there is always work. [...] When people get sick, the pastor visits them. It was all paid work, I worked at people's homes".

Yavuz (21, Turkish, student and salesmen, social rent) is in his third year of an intermediate vocational programme on facility management. Via his local mosque, Yavuz has become an active local volunteer. In collaboration with the leaders of his mosque he and two of his best friends have arranged that the mosque offers space for local youths, all men, with diverse ethnicities and religions, to do homework. This is important because Yavuz explains that many young men do not have such a space at home and hang in the streets. A few months ago, the municipality of Rotterdam asked the mosque to participate in a programme to clean up local public spaces. Yavuz and his youth group decided to participate. After a local food bank approached the mosque to ask for volunteers, Yavuz decided to become a volunteer at this organisation as well.

7.4   Other neighbourhood effects on social mobility

Interviewees were asked if living in their neighbourhood helps them to take advantage of important opportunities in life. About half of the interviewees believe that their neighbourhood does not influence the social mobility of their households. All neighbourhoods in Rotterdam offer plenty of opportunities for social mobility, they argue. Rather, like Falgun (54, female, Dominican, incapacitated, social rent) they argue the socio-economic

opportunities of households *"depend on the way children are being raised"*.

The other half of the interviewees do believe in neighbourhood effects regarding social mobility. Most believe there are negative neighbourhood effects. Almost all the interviewees with a middle and high SES believe this. The negative effects are thought to relate to a negative reputation of the area, school segregation and negative role models.

A *negative reputation of the area*

Several interviewees with a low SES and a non-Western European ethnic minority background experience exclusion or discrimination in the labour market and housing. They report feeling discriminated against when applying for paid work due to their area of residence, *"Rotterdam South"* or sometimes even Rotterdam as a whole, and/or their ethnicity. For example, Maanasa (26, female, Hindustani Surinamese, unemployed physician assistant, social rent) says:

"Do you know what it is madam, I have been experiencing this since I was young: the moment you say 'I live in South', they say: 'do you live in South?! Do you live in Feijenoord?! That is a criminal area, this and that'. It is really not so bad".

Interviewer: *"Has it ever worked against you?"*

Maanasa: *"I think so, but you can never be sure. They never tell me 'madam, because you live in South we do not take your application letter in consideration'".*

The interviewees call for the municipality and media to *"stop saying those bad things about us"* (Sonia; 41, female, Moroccan Dutch, unemployed physician assistant, social rent).

Also in housing, we have found that some residents feel discriminated upon due to their ethnicity. Several residents – with diverse ethnicities and a low or middle-high SES – take notice of a process of 'white flight', which they describe as the process in which native Dutch residents gradually move away and residents with other ethnicities move in. Hannah for examples says:

"What I think is really negative, is that when people ask me 'where do you live', and you say 'Rotterdam South', then they respond something like 'hm hm'

[disapproving noises]. I don't know what it is, but the Dutch people all move away – en masse. All these people here are Moroccan, Turkish... every vacant house is occupied by them. [...] I ask myself 'why do they move?'. My neighbour lived up there, and another neighbour who lived opposite to her said 'if you leave, I leave as well'. On a Tuesday one left and that Friday the other one had left too!".

Interviewer: *"Why do you think they left?".*

Hannah: *"I think it is a sort of discrimination".*

School segregation

People with different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds argue that schools in Rotterdam South are segregated along ethnic and socio-economic lines. This is seen as a major problem because it is thought to disadvantage already disadvantaged children in 'black' schools. Parents with a middle and high SES with different ethnicities argue that the quality of education in their neighbourhood is relatively low and that they together with other middle and upper classes therefore bring their children to 'better' schools. Interviewees explain that these are schools with a higher percentage of native Dutch pupils because it is thought that in these schools children have fewer language deficiencies and are ill mannered and parents have fewer capacities to support their children at home and at school. Interviewees argue that particularly for children of lower social classes and non-western minorities, growing up and going to school among equals restricts their social mobility. For example, Rick (45, male, native Dutch) argues:

"I prefer that my children stay where they are now, and where they feel comfortable [a predominantly white, upper-class sub-urban neighbourhood of Rotterdam where the children live with his ex-wife]".

Interviewer: *"What if your children would go to school here, would it make a difference?"*

Rick: *"Yes, then they would be different children, yes. Here, they speak street slang, this neighbourhood is much more tough. Look at the flowers people have laid over there [at a memorial site] for a boy who was stabbed [at school]. [...] Where my children go to school, they do not walk around with knives".*

Negative local role models

Another negative neighbourhood effect that interviewees discuss concerns negative local role models. The high concentrations of households that receive state benefits are thought to influence the socio-economic opportunities of youths negatively. According to Lauren (50, female, native Dutch, flight attendant, owner-occupied house):

"Because their parents are professionally unemployed – if I may say so – some local children do not see that there is much more that you can do [for a living] than what they see around here. Their world is small and that is a shame".

Also Peter (69, male, native Dutch, retired civil servant, social rent) believes that a low *"labour ethos"* among local adults causes low "aspiration levels of children". Mouad and his wife Lina (45 and 31, Moroccan, civil servant and cleaner, owner-occupied house) argue:

Lina: "when I watch all those youngsters I think of my own daughters: how will their futures look like? We have high unemployment levels, low [education] levels. They [children] do not finish their educations. Children in schools, few follow higher educational programmes".

Mouad: "I am not an expert, but I think that the neighbourhood determines the future of youths for 80 to 85%. If you grow up in Wassenaar [high concentration of people with a high SES] and you go to school there, you have better perspectives. Of course children here do their best, but they have to make every effort".

Lina: "It also relates to the education levels of parents. [...] Parents who have low education levels can often not check on their children. 'I am making homework', when they are sitting behind their computer. They have no control over their children".

Several young interviewees – all male - with a low SES confirm these narratives and argue that criminal local youth groups result from youths growing up in poverty, *"hanging"* in the streets together and learning criminal behaviours from one another.

7.5   Conclusions

Our study indicates that particularly for people with a low SES, the neighbourhood is much more important for finding paid or unpaid work, than existing studies and policies often presume. People find work through local social contacts, including neighbours, other local acquaintances, friends and family. Particularly the networks of neighbours and acquaintances are often quite diverse in terms of ethnicity, work experiences, networks, skills and knowledge (see sections 6.2 and 6.3). Local institutions such as schools, community centres, churches and mosques appear crucial for facilitating fruitful exchanges about paid and unpaid work between these – often disadvantaged – diverse people.

Nevertheless, in recent years the municipality of Rotterdam has decreased the budgets for local institutions, including community centres and libraries significantly. Many institutions have already closed. One of the arguments of the municipality to cut down on these centres is that they do not make a significant contribution to *upward* social mobility (or cohesion). This idea is rooted in the eminent work of e.g. Putnam (2001), which claims that *bonding social capital* of people with a low SES cannot facilitate social mobility. The findings of this study challenge this academic and policy approach.

The local social networks do not enable *upward* social mobility in the sense that they lead to an improvement in the SES of work throughout the labour career of people with a low SES. However, the social networks appear to act as an important safety net to prevent *downward* social mobility. They enable residents to sustain an income (even though sometimes small), diversify and strengthen their professional networks and gain new work experiences, knowledge and skills. The steps that these residents make in the labour market and volunteering may seem small from a governmental perspective. Yet, given their poor starting positions, we think they are not so bad. The social costs of the alternative – losing or having no paid or unpaid work – are probably much higher.

8. PERCEPTIONS OF PUBLIC POLICIES AND INITIATIVES

8.1   Introduction

This chapter seeks to provide insight in the ways in which diversity-related policies and local initiatives are perceived by inhabitants of Feijenoord.

In order to improve the socio-economic position of the neighbourhoods and people in Feijenoord and other areas of Rotterdam South, the municipality of Rotterdam and the national government have implemented a large-scale policy programme for the area called the National Programme Rotterdam South (NPRS). The programme focusses on improving educational performance of young residents, raising employment levels, and diversifying the housing stock to counteract selective migration (see Tersteeg et al., 2014a). Between 2015 and 2018, the programme will invest €1,3 billion in the area. The NPRS involves multiple forms of citizen participation, but what do residents of Feijenoord know and how do they think of this programme? The municipality of Rotterdam is involved in several other urban policies that are at work in Feijenoord including policies on education, housing, health care, welfare benefits and employment, economic activities and social cohesion.

Besides governmental policy programmes, Feijenoord is home to many bottom-up governance arrangements. Many of these initiatives build on local diversity to encourage social cohesion, social mobility and entrepreneurship in Feijenoord (see Tersteeg et al., 2014b).

The chapter examines the following research questions:

- What do residents know about existing policies and local governance arrangements and how do they evaluate them? How do existing governance arrangements help local residents (Section 8.2)?

- According to residents, what should be the priorities in policy for their neighbourhood (Section 8.3)?

8.2   Perception and evaluation of existing policies and initiatives: what do residents know?

Almost all the interviewees do not know the National Programme Rotterdam South (NPRS). This is remarkable, because the programme involves a relatively high budget. Also, it involves many local actors including schools, corporations, and businesses and also says to consult local residents. Those who have heard about the programme all have a high SES and a native Dutch ethnicity. They have not been involved in the programme. When asked what they find of the programme, similar to Vera (41, female, native Dutch, high school teacher, owner-occupied house), interviewees argue that:

"It is necessary that there is such a programme because in some areas in South there are many disadvantaged people. Those people need to get a chance because otherwise they may engage in criminal activities and that does not help anybody. So, I think it is a good thing that people are aware of it: that there are neighbourhoods that need support and that there are programmes for this".

Nevertheless, the interviewees find that the NPRS is not visible enough to local residents and does not seem to achieve its goals. Peter (69, male, native Dutch, retired civil servant, social rent) argues:

"it [NPRS] seems very ambitious. Therefore I think it is very difficult to achieve results. I think they set the bar so high that they will never achieve it [their goals]. This gives the impression that the programme has failed, even though that might not be true".

Interviewees are not aware of any other urban policy programmes for their neighbourhood, but about half of the residents – with diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds - are familiar with local governance arrangements, such as festivals, community centres and activities, women centres and libraries. Residents who are involved in the organisation and management of a local initiative are much more familiar with other local initiatives, than residents who participate passively in initiatives or do not visit local initiatives at all. Local initiatives that people are most familiar with are: community centre the Experimental Garden in Feijenoord, women's centre The Fly Wheel

and the community 'Swap shop' in Hillesluis, the Spectacle at the Cape festival in Katendrecht and the Neighbourhood Kitchen in the Afrikaanderwijk (see Tersteeg at al., 2014b).

Residents, particularly those who are involved in these local governance arrangements, appreciate the local initiatives highly. They discuss four ways in which the initiatives are beneficial for themselves and for other local residents. First, the arrangements are said to provide opportunities for social mobility of low-income resident groups as they offer homework classes and spaces for youths, Dutch language courses, and other courses through which residents can improve their skills and knowledge (see section 7.3). Second, local governance arrangements are said to offer social-juridical support at low cost for disadvantaged people. For example, although Willemijn (41, native Dutch, pedagogical assistant, social rent) does not visit community centres herself, she argues: *"I think that many people benefit from the fact that they can visit those centres to ask their questions, 'how does this work', 'how do I apply for allowances', because the centres also help you with those things".* Indeed, Ebru (52, Turkish, incapacitated, social rent) does not speak the Dutch language well and she explains that for:

"Paperwork we do not understand, we visit the ROA [Residential Organisation Afrikaan-derwijk], we ask them for support. They help people to fill in forms, translate, you can also talk to a counsellor".

Ebru has also introduced local acquaintances and friends who face similar challenges to this service. Third, the arrangements are said to offer spaces where people (with diverse backgrounds) can meet, to strengthen and diversify their social (and professional) networks (see also section 5.4 and 6.2). People argue they are particularly important for singles, elderly people, youths, and poor people. For example, Hannah (62, female, Surinamese, nurse, single, social rent) says:

"People can meet other people here. For example, there was a Moroccan woman. I was sitting here [at a table in the community centre] and I did not know her, well I knew her face. But she came to me, sat there and told her story. Just a listening ear, advice I could not give her because I did not know her. But just to hear her story, and give some small advice now and then.

Because I work [as a nurse] in the sector of addiction treatment, I could give her some advices. You could see that she needed it because she could not talk to other people about it".

Fourth, community centres are said to decrease local criminality rates and increase experiences of safety because they keep local youths off the streets and give them a face. Amongst others, Aida (36, female, Moroccan, director of a local welfare organisation and student, social rent) says:

"Street youths. We do not have them here anymore. Also my own son, they all come here [at the Experimental Garden]. Consequently, there are fewer nuisances in the streets, less crime. The centre educates them. They now talk to other local youths who do things that cannot be tolerated. They approach them".

A small number of interviewees also discuss negative experiences with local governance arrange-ments. Lauren and her husband Edward (50 and 43, native Dutch, owner-occupied house) and Falgun (54, female, Dominican, incapacitated, social rent) explain that religious community centres can be exclusive. The three would like to participate in a local Islamic community centre in Hillesluis but they are not allowed because they are not Muslims. In addition, a few interviewees talk about conflicts between different participant groups about sharing resources and spaces (see Tersteeg et al., 2014b).

8.3 Policy priorities proposed by interviewees: what do residents want?

When asked how they evaluate the governance of their neighbourhood by the local municipality, many interviewees appear quite positive. Interviewees argue that the municipality has become more open to the voices of local residents. Also, interviewees note that the municipality has invested much in improving the quality of housing, public spaces and facilities of children in recent years. Nevertheless, interviewees mention that there is also much room for improvement. We asked interviewees which matters need priority in the governance of their neighbourhood. Interviewees did not demand for policies that directly address urban diversity. Instead, the following themes came up.
Reduce poverty and create jobs
Interviewees with diverse ethnic and socio-

economic backgrounds argue that the municipality needs to place high priority on poverty reduction as *"many local people have not much money, for instance because they receive benefits, or they have debts"* (Hilda; 64, female, native Dutch, mail carrier, social rent). According to Hans (49, male, Surinamese, unemployed ICT worker, social rent) this is because:

"Many residents face unemployment and this needs attention. [...] Poverty prevention will allow people to participate more in daily life, participate in social activities, meet other people. [...] I think poverty causes social isolation".

Interviewees with a relatively low SES find that the city currently spends too much money on resident groups who are already well off. For example, Eric (69, male, native Dutch, retired engineer, social rent) argues that in Katendrecht the municipality has stimulated the emergence of unaffordable café's, cultural events and parking fees and they are considering to abolish local public transport:

"Of course there are owner-occupiers who do have a good income, man and women both work, they bought a house, also in this street. But there are also have elderly people who struggle to make ends meet".

Instead, many interviewees argue, it is important that the municipality creates more jobs. For example, Rajesh (21, male, Antillean, unemployed, social rent) says:

"The municipality only spends money on 'bull shit'. For example, Central [station], have you seen it? Just to spill money. They implement two globes [artwork], total costs: several thousands, for what? [...] Don't make those stupid things when people are poor [...] They create nice things to attract visitors. [...] How does that help us? [...] You guys only invest in people who make money, to gain taxes. But people who do not make money, they do not look after. Yet, if you facilitate that more people can work, you can collect even more taxes, right? This way you do not only look after certain [well off] groups".

Support disadvantaged youths
Interviewees with diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds argue that disadvantaged local youths require particular policy attention. It is argued that youths are often unemployed, lack parental support and space at home to study, and

hang in the streets. Interviewees report feelings of unsafety and worry about criminality, which they relate to disadvantaged local youths.

According to Mouad (45, Moroccan, civil servant, owner-occupied house), who is a father of three, the neighbourhood needs:

"A place where youths can study and do their homework. Because parents, most of them, cannot speak the [Dutch] language, they need their children to support them. I have spoken with children of 13 and 14 years old who say: 'my father cannot speak Dutch, cannot do maths'. So, I think we need facilities for this".

Yavuz (21, male, Turkish, student and salesman, social rent) argues that youths need work:

"Youths are unemployed even though they have educational degrees. Some have even finished university, but do not progress [read: cannot find a job]. Something needs to be done".

Interviewer: "Who should do this?".

Yavuz: "Residents cannot do anything about it. The municipality has contacts with large businesses here. If they tell them: 'I have 50 young people for you', they can help youths find a job".

Fuat (18, male, Kurdish Turkish, student, social rent) and Yavuz grew up in their current neighbourhood and explain that next to work and educational support youths need other forms of socio-juridical guidance as well, such as information on: the juridical consequences of debts, communication styles and norms, and how to apply for state benefits.

Support local initiatives
Many interviewees with diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds are worried about the closure of local social services and initiatives such as community centres and libraries, as they are said to encourage the social mobility of people with a low SES (see section 7.3 and 8.2), provide socio-juridical support (see section 8.2), and encourage social cohesion between diverse people (see section 6.2). By supporting local institutions, interviewees argue that the municipality can contribute to the suggested policy goals of poverty reduction and support for disadvantaged youths as well. For example, Yavuz

argues:

"We used to have a library but it was closed. I think this is unacceptable really. People who needed a computer, who have no computer at home, make use of the library. People are quite poor over here. Now they cannot make use of it [the library] anymore, and get into trouble, also with school. Young people cannot make their homework... school troubles. Then they do not know what to do anymore, drop out of school, costs him lots of time. It is a shame".

8.4 Conclusions

This chapter indicates that residents have little knowledge of existing urban policy programmes for their neighbourhood. Residents appear more familiar with bottom-up local governance arrangements such as community centres, schools and libraries, which interviewees, also those who do not participate in the initiatives, appreciate highly. Supporting local initiatives e.g. financially and recognising their importance for the neighbourhoods should be key priorities for the municipality of Rotterdam, interviewees argue, as the initiatives are thought to contribute to social mobility, social cohesion, liveability and safety. These findings are in line with our previous study on the role of local initiatives in diverse neighbourhoods (see Tersteeg et al., 2014b).

Another way in which the municipality can support Feijenoord is by tackling poverty and helping more people into paid (or unpaid) work. Both research observations and interviewees with residents indicate that there are many poor households in Feijenoord, which face difficulties participating in (local) everyday life, socially and socio-economically. At the same time, our study indicates that people enjoy and are willing to work (see chapter 7). According to residents, disadvantaged youths require particular attention as they are related with feelings of unsafety and criminality.

9. CONCLUSION

Summary of the key findings

In the first chapter of this report we have formulated six research questions. In this final chapter we will try to answer these questions in a summarised way.

Why did people move to the diverse area they live in now? To what extent has the diversity of the area been a pull-factor? Or were other aspects (such as the availability of inexpensive dwellings) a much stronger motive to settle in the present area? To what extent do people experience the move as an improvement of their housing situation?

Chapter 3 focused on the housing situation of the residents and specifically also on the question why people moved to the area of Feijenoord. Almost all interviewees defined their last move (to the area or within the area of Feijenoord) as a step forward in their housing career, in terms of housing as well as in terms of neighbourhood. Although most people, especially those with lower education levels and lower incomes, moved within the social rented sector, many do characterise the move as something positive. They for example moved to a slightly larger home, to a house with a physical better condition or

to a dwelling with a view. Some owner-occupiers moved to the area e.g. because they anticipate the upgrading of the area.

This is an important conclusion, because it indicates that living in a deprived, dynamic and diverse area like Feijenoord is not seen as an unwished situation by the residents themselves. In other words: an area like Feijenoord seems to fulfil an important and positive function. Of course people also come to live here because relatively cheap housing is available, but we cannot characterise the moves as a relegation to the most deprived area of the city. Although many residents are constrained in their housing options due to limited (financial) resource, most of them choose the area for positive reasons.

Does diversity play a role as a pull-factor of the area? Not directly: people do not spontaneously mention the diversity of Feijenoord as a major reason to find a home in this area. However, some aspects of diversity, such as the characteristics of the (very mixed) local people and the presence of a large diversity of facilities (such as shops) were mentioned as positive aspects of the area. Also the presence of institutions that relate to urban diversity, such

as mosques, were mentioned as pull-factors. The presence of family and friends was also mentioned as factors that made residents decide to stay in or move to Feijenoord. This was especially the case for residents with low education levels. The area also attracted higher-educated and higher-income residents, but they value more explicitly the quality of the (often new) dwelling and the location close to the city centre.

How do residents think about the area they live in? Do residents see their neighbourhood's diversity as an asset or a liability?

Most residents have (very) positive opinions about their direct neighbours. Maybe this sounds as a rather trivial conclusion, but it is an important one, because deprived urban areas like Feijenoord are often portrayed as areas with a low social cohesion and a lack of trust between neighbours. This is obviously not the case here. People especially like their neighbours when they are "like themselves", and this does not refer to characteristics like ethnicity or income, but much more to behavioural and attitudinal aspects. People like their neighbours when they greet them, when they show interest in them, and also when they can keep a proper balance between proximity and privacy. Throwing rubbish on the street or making loud noises are in general not very accepted forms of behaviour.

What holds for the direct neighbours, also holds for the opinion about the neighbourhood in general. People like others when their behaviour and attitudes match with the behaviour and attitudes of the interviewee. But residents of Feijenoord also say very positive things about the diversity of the area: people like the diversity of the population, because it gives them the oppor-tunity to learn from them (e.g. cooking), because of the liveliness and business on the streets, and because of the diversity of local facilities (such as shops). Some people, notably people belonging to minority (ethnic) groups, value the diversity of the area, because they would not like to live in a neighbourhood with an (ethnic) majority. Finally, some parents make clear that they like to see their children grow up in diverse areas, which is seen as an advantage and as a preparation for life in a diversified society, although middle class parents do not bring these ideals in practice when it comes to school choice. Residents with different ethnic and economic backgrounds mention local school

segregation along class and ethnic lines.

Residents also see negative aspects of diversity in the neighbourhood. The presence of groups of youth in the streets is sometimes experienced negatively. People feel unsafe and relate these groups to drugs and noise. Also some people feel uncomfortable with people not talking the Dutch language in public and semi-public areas. And because of the dynamic character of the neighbourhood, the population changes are, at least in the eyes of a number of long-term inhabitants, quite swift, leading to experiences of decreasing social cohesion. Related to the changing population composition is the changing composition of local facilities, such as shops. The diversity of shops is valued, but native Dutch long-term residents do miss the more traditional Dutch shops that have gradually disappeared from the neighbourhood.

How do residents make use of the diversified areas they live in? Do they actively engage in diversified relations and activities in their neighbourhood? To what extent is the area they live in more important than other areas in terms of activities?

Residents of the Feijenoord area have a lot of their activities in their neighbourhood, but at the same time they also undertake a lot of activities elsewhere. But it is definitely not the case that the neighbourhood is only a place where people have their home, while they have their activities elsewhere. At the same time it is also not true that residents are in way stuck to their neighbour-hood and do not have any activities in other parts of the city or even beyond. This also holds for low-SES households and for Non-Western ethnic groups. But, having said this, there are some differences between groups: households with a lower SES do have their activities in and outside the neighbourhood, but in general they have some more activities inside the neighbourhood. For those belonging to higher SES-categories it is the other way around: although they do have some of their activities in their residential neighbourhood, they in general have more activities some-where else. This partly has to do with the fact that many of them have workplaces in another part of the city.

Typical activities in the neighbourhood are grocery shopping, having a walk and (for families, especially mothers. with children) going to a playground.

When people want to go out (especially young people) they usually pass the neighbourhood border and also when visiting specific locations (like shopping centres to buy convenience goods) they tend to go to other places, like the city centre (which is in fact quite close to Feijenoord).

Local public spaces are important for many residents of Feijenoord. However, new contacts seldom emerge in these places. People go alone or in groups, but when in a group, for example sitting or doing activities in a park or at a playground, they usually stay within that group and do not interact with others. Local institutions such as community centres and schools however appear important for the formation of new social bonds.

All in all the neighbourhood can be seen as an important activity centre for all its inhabitants, although for those with lower SES this importance is a bit higher than for others.

To what extent is the diversity of the residential area important for social cohesion? Which elements foster social cohesion, which elements hinder the development of social cohesion in the area?

For people with a low SES, for families with children and for the elderly the neighbourhood is important for their social contacts. Especially these groups have a lot of their social contacts in the neighbourhood. Many people belonging to these groups have family members living close by and they generally have a lot of contacts with them. Also these family members are important in terms of social support.

More or less the same story can be told of friends: especially residents with a low SES have a lot of their friends living in the neighbourhood (and they generally meet quite often), while those with higher SES have more friends somewhere else (meeting them less often). Networks of friends of residents with a lower SES are not only often local, but also generally with people with the same SES. In terms if ethnicity there is some more mix, but also here people tend to keep their contacts within the same group. This holds for residents with different ethnic backgrounds.
Next to family members and (close) friends people meet a lot of acquaintances in the neighbour-hood. People meet each other on streets, at markets or in

community centres and talk to each other. Quite some local contacts emerge at school, because children want to play with each other or parents meet at the school while picking up their children. Networks of acquaintances are generally a little more mixed in term of ethnicity than networks of family and friends. Sometimes this evolves into friendships and quite often these relations have the function of delivering some kind of support (picking up children, keeping company, etc.). Again, especially those with lower SES, families with lower SES and the elderly mention the importance of local acquaintances.

Direct neighbours of the respondents can be very important network members when they share the same values and norms. Some neighbours can become friends and are trusted fully, while with other neighbours there are no contacts at all and there may even be feelings of distrust. Neighbours often help each other and for example take care of each other's home when one of the neighbours is on holiday.

Social networks in Feijenoord generally consist of people belonging to the same socio-economic category, while networks of local acquaintances and neighbours are in general more mixed with respect to ethnicity. Living in a diverse area gives the possibility to contact many different kinds of people, but this diversity is not always prominent in social networks and in support relations.

To what extent is the diversity of the neighbourhood important for social mobility? Which elements foster social mobility and which elements hinder social mobility?

Studies on neighbourhood effects often focus on negative effects: living in concentrations of low-income households may hinder social mobility. Empirical results often indicate that the neighbourhood indeed may have some (negative) effect. However, in our study we came to a very interesting conclusion: the neighbourhood matters for social mobility, but in a more positive way. Particularly for people with a low SES, the neighbourhood is important for finding paid or unpaid work. People find work through local social contacts, including neighbours, other local acquaintances, friends and family. Particularly the networks of neighbours and acquaintances

are often quite diverse in terms of ethnicity, work experiences, networks, skills and knowledge (see sections 6.2 and 6.3). So the diversity of the area does seem to play a role here. Also (the diversity of) local institutions seems to be important: they facilitate meetings between people and here information about paid and unpaid work is exchanged.

However, the effect of local social networks on social mobility is not immense. When people move between jobs it is in general between the same kind of low-paid jobs or from one voluntary to another voluntary job. But in times of economic crisis it is valuable that the local social contacts clearly prevent people from downward social mobility.

Residents do have problems with the negative reputation of the area. Some people do feel discriminated when they have to say they live in the South of Rotterdam, for example when applying for a job.

How are diversity-related policies perceived by the inhabitants of the area?

Many inhabitants, especially those with a low socio-economic status do not know of the existence of, often quite major, policies aimed at improving their residential areas. Higher-income residents often are better informed. Most residents do know about the existence of smaller local initiatives in the neighbourhood. Such initiatives are sometimes related to national or municipal policies, or receive

support from the municipality, but often they have no or only limited (financial) support and function on the basis of enthusiastic volunteers. The initiatives are not only known, but they are often considered as important, for example for assisting people with paperwork and with their professional career, for example by offering different types of courses. Also, such initiatives offer meeting places and keep people (local youth) from the street.

Because these local initiatives are quite popular among the residents of the Feijenoord area, it is no surprise that many interviewees worry about the closure of such facilities. This worry also extends to community centres and libraries. Such places are important for social life in the neighbourhood, as places to meet and find friends, but also for specific activities. Supporting disadvantaged youths and creating jobs are mentioned as two other major points of policy attention.

From the above it becomes clear that it is not so much-diversity-related issues that call for attention, but much more the aspects that have to do with the deprivation of the area, including poverty, unemployment and the bad perspectives of certain groups of youth.

How do residents profit from a hyper-diverse area?

Living in a diverse area such as Feijenoord in Rotterdam also means living in a deprived and dynamic urban area. It is deprived, because of, for example, a relatively high unemployment rate a relatively large number of households on welfare benefits, an on average low income of households, and a relatively cheap housing stock. The area can however not be characterised as a deteriorated area, in the sense that the housing stock is of a very low quality or that there are a lot of vacancies. The area can be characterised as dynamic: because of the relatively cheap housing stock, the area gives possibilities for housing low-income households: they might stay for a long time, but they might also leave again (because they get a better home somewhere else or because their income rises), giving the possibility for a new household to enter. Many parts of Feijenoord can be seen as entry areas for international immigrants who either seek a relatively cheap dwelling or want to live close to family members and friends.

The combination of diversity, dynamism and deprivation does not make it easy to find out which factors are exactly important. However, there are some indications that people indeed profit from some aspects of diversity in Feijenoord. Below, are, to our opinion, the most relevant ones:

- Although most people do not see the diversity of the area as the most prominent reason to move to the area, some indicate the liveliness of the area as an important positive characteristic of the area, referring not so much to the population diversity but to the diversity of facilities in the area. Indeed, Feijenoord, at least parts of it, can be seen as lively urban area with, for example, a large diversity of shops.

- When living there, quite a number of residents do like the diversity of the population. They value new experiences (e.g. new food and cooking styles), they like to get to know a diversity of people and they find (again) that the diversity of facilities is attractive. Moreover, living in an area without a majority of one or another group, makes some people belonging to a minority ethnic group feeling more comfortable.

- People with a relatively large local network of friends often have an ethnically quite mixed network. It is not clear if this diverse network composition is the result of living in the diverse area, but it is at least clear that mixed contacts in diverse areas exist. Mixed contacts in terms of socio-economic status are however much less frequent.

- Networks of acquaintances, being not family or friends, but people residents regularly meet in the streets and other public places, are also quite mixed with respect to ethnicity.

- Especially relations with direct neighbours can be very mixed. Here it does not seem to matter at all how people are characterised on standard variables such as ethnicity, SES and age. People like each other, when they are like each other, when they have more or less the same values, norms and attitudes. Sometimes contacts are quite superficial (saying hello), but sometimes also activities are undertaken together, also within the framework of locally subsidised programmes to improve the neighbourhood. When neighbours have contact, they also help each other with all kinds of things, sometimes even with finding a job.

What can policy makers do?

On the basis of the results of the report a number of policy recommendations can be formulated:

- Deprived, diverse and dynamic urban areas such as Feijenoord have an important function on the local housing market: the availability of affordable housing is a main motivation for low-income households and for recent immigrants to settle in such a neighbourhood. Diminishing the number of affordable housing alternatives, for example by urban restructuring, will diminish the housing possibilities for low-income households. This can especially become problematic when in times of economic crisis and continuing international migration the numbers of low-income households are increasing. When low-income households are more and more forced to live in a decreasing number of neighbourhoods with affordable dwellings, income segregation will increase and the diversity of the population will decrease.

- Demolition of social rented dwellings and building more expensive alternatives and selling-off part of the social rented housing stock, will seduce middle-class households to settle in (or move within) an area like Feijenoord. This is also because the area can be considered attractive for such groups, because of its liveliness (diversity!) and its favourable location close to the city centre. However, we should not expect that the middle-class households in the area will have a lot of interaction with the lower-SES households living in the area. From different chapters in this report it appears that these groups have rather parallel lives, with the middle-classes having most of their activities and social contacts outside the residential neighbourhood and the lower classes relying a lot on local social contacts, including family relations.

- Constantly repeating that middle-class neighbourhoods of creative people or with families and young children are the ideal or the norm strongly denies that people with other lifestyles and opportunities are also important in a city. It is a discourse that strongly negates the diversity of city life.

- Policy programmes should have realistic expectations and policy goals regarding the social mobility of residents with a low SES. Our study indicates that residents want to improve their socio-economic position, but those with a low SES can only do this by taking small steps. Local institutions appear crucial for enabling residents to take such small steps. It is not realistic to expect them to enable upward social mobility of low-income residents, particularly those who lack resources to obtain a higher educational degree. Policy should focus on the existing qualities of residents in deprived, diverse and dynamic neighbourhoods and support local institutions that do so, and setting more realistic goals in social mobility policies in these areas will benefit the municipality greatly. It will allow the municipality to better: cater to the specific needs of low SES groups to foster social mobility; achieve its own policy goals; empower disadvantaged resident groups; and foster a more positive image of the area in public and policy debates.
- The municipality should contribute to a more positive image of the people of

Feijenoord and Rotterdam South because residents complain about negative public framing of the people and the area, which is argued to restrict their (children's) educational and occupational attainment. The media also play an important role here. They are unfortunately often more interested in confirming negative stories than in telling some more positive news.

- When it is considered important that people living in Dutch cities should be able to speak the Dutch language, Dutch courses should be for free. Otherwise especially the low-income immigrants will have fewer opportunities to follow such a course.

- Many residents do not know the municipal policies aimed at improving their residential neighbourhood. Maybe this is not a big problem, but it also might be a sign of political apathy. Some more attention of policy leaders for people living in deprived and diverse areas might help in creating support for present and future policies.

1. Throughout the report we define 'native Dutch' as Dutch citizens of whom both parents were born in the Netherlands (CBS, 2015).

2. One of the neighbourhoods within the research area, the city district of Feijenoord, is called Feijenoord as well.

3. Some interviewees mention more than one as a driver to move to the current dwelling.

4. We define socio-economic status by interviewees' education level and household income. A low, medium and high SES we respectively define as having: a primary or lower vocational educational degree and a net monthly household income below €1670; a pre-university or intermediate educational degree and a net monthly household income between €1670 and €3300; a university (of applied sciences) educational degree and a net monthly household income above €3300.

5. These groups are sometimes very visible in the streets.

6. The term Opzoomeren originates from the Opzoomerstreet in Rotterdam, where in 1989 residents started an initiative to tidy up their street. It has become an official verb in the Dutch language and the name of a policy programme in Rotterdam.

7. Activities are not always with others. Activities like shopping, walking, swimming and going to work or studies are quite often undertaken alone.

8. Not all the interviewees use local public spaces much, some interviewees do not use public spaces at all. Some people (mostly with a low SES) are very family oriented and do not undertake much activities outside their own home. Some people (mostly those who have a job outside the neighbourhood and do not belong to the lowest SES-groups) spend most of their time outside the neighbourhood.

10. Egocentric social networks are the social networks organised around individual people.

11. In the study family members include biological relatives, family by marriage and partners.

12. We define younger, middle aged and elderly residents respectively as aged 18-30 years, 31-60 years and 60 years or older.

13. We define low, medium and high education levels respectively as having: a primary or lower vocational educational degree; a pre-university or intermediate educational degree; a university (of applied sciences) educational degree.

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No	Interviewee	Age	Gender	Household	Income	Ethnicity	Education
1	Hannah	61-75	F	Single	1667-2500	Surinamese Creole	Lower vocational
2	Maanasa	18-30	F	Couple, no children	833-1667	Surinamese Hindustani	Intermediate vocational
3	Nancy	31-45	F	Couple, 3 children	3333-4167	Cape Verdean	Intermediate vocational
4	Jim	31-45	M	Couple, 3 children	3333-4167	Cape Verdean	Intermediate vocational
5	Edward	31-45	M	Couple, 4 children	>4167	Native Dutch	Intermediate vocational
6	Lauren	46-60	F	Couple, 4 children	>4167	Native Dutch	Intermediate vocational
7	Eric	61-75	M	Single	1667-2500	Native Dutch	Intermediate vocational
8	Lina	31-45	F	Couple, 3 children	3333-4167	Moroccan	Pre-university education
9	Mouad	31-45	M	Couple, 3 children	3333-4167	Moroccan	Intermediate vocational
10	Emre	18-30	M	Lives with parents & 1 sibling	No data	Turkish	Intermediate vocational
11	Cynthia	46-60	F	Single	833-1667	Surinamese Hindustani	Lower vocational
12	Ebru	46-60	F	Single parent, 3 children	833-1667	Turkish	Primary school
13	Yavuz	18-30	M	Shared housing	833-1667	Turkish	Lower vocational
14	Fuat	18-30	M	Lives with parents & 1 sibling	No data	Turkish	Lower vocational
15	Ronald	46-60	M	Single	833-1667	Native Dutch	Pre-university education
16	Louisa	46-60	F	Single	833-1667	Native Dutch	Primary school
17	René	31-45	M	Couple, 2 children	>4167	Native Dutch	MSc
18	Mirjam	31-45	F	Single parent, 1 child	833-1667	Surinamese	Lower vocational
19	Hans	46-60	M	Single	833-1667	Surinamese	Pre-university education
20	Linda	61-75	F	Single	833-1667	Surinamese Hindustani	Primary school
21	Hagar	46-60	F	Couple, no children	No data	Native Dutch	Primary school
22	Rick	31-45	M	Shared housing	<833	Native Dutch	MSc
23	Hilda	61-75	F	Lives with 1 son & 1 grandchild	833-1667	Native Dutch	Higher secondary
24	Dunya	31-45	F	Single parent, 3 children	1667-2500	Surinamese	Intermediate vocational
25	Szilvia	31-45	F	Couple, 1 child	No data	Hungarian	Intermediate vocational
26	Pari	31-45	F	Couple, 4 children	833-1667	Pakistani	Higher secondary
27	Falgun	46-60	F	Single	833-1667	Dominican Republic	Intermediate vocational
28	Sonia	31-45	F	Couple, 1 child	833-1667	Moroccan	Intermediate vocational
29	Michael	31-45	M	Single parent, 1 child	2500-3333	German	MSc
30	Cheng	18-30	M	Single	1667-2500	Antillean	Intermediate vocational
31	Vera	31-45	F	Couple, 3 children	>4167	Native Dutch	MSc
32	Rajesh	18-30	M	Lives with mother & 3 siblings	833-1667	Antillean	Lower vocational
33	Genji	18-30	F	Lives with parents & 2 siblings	833-1667	Chinese Dutch	Intermediate vocational
34	Peter	46-60	M	Couple, no children	2500-3333	Native Dutch	BSc
35	Simone	18-30	F	Single	No data	Native Dutch	MSc
36	Hanley	18-30	M	Single	1667-2500	Indonesian	Intermediate vocational
37	Yaryna	31-45	F	Couple, 2 children	1667-2500	Croatian	Intermediate vocational
38	Willemijn	31-45	F	Single parent, 1 child	1667-2500	Native Dutch	Intermediate vocational
39	Arjan	46-60	M	Single	833-1667	Native Dutch	Intermediate vocational
40	Frank	61-75	M	Single	833-1667	Surinamese Creole	Lower vocational
41	Tahar	18-30	M	Shared Housing	<833	Burmese	Primary school
42	Aida	31-45	F	Couple, 3 children	1667-2500	Moroccan	Intermediate vocational
43	Dilara	31-45	F	Couple, 2 children	No data	Turkish	University of applied sciences
44	Ahmed	31-45	M	Couple, 3 children	2500-3333	Moroccan	University of applied sciences
45	Thea	61-75	F	Single	No data	Surinamese	Intermediate vocational
46	Ciwan	46-60	M	Couple, 3 children	833-1667	Moroccan	Lower vocational
47	Fatima	31-45	F	Couple, 3 children	No data	Moroccan	Intermediate vocational
48	Winta	n.d.	F	Single parent, 1 child	833-1667	Eritrean	Lower vocational
49	Zula	46-60	F	Single	<833	Eritrean	Primary school
50	Richard	18-30	M	Single	833-1667	Surinamese	Lower vocational
51	Anne	46-60	F	Single parent, 1 child	833-1667	Native Dutch	Lower vocational
52	Bouchra	46-60	F	Couple, unknown nr. of children	833-1667	Moroccan	Lower vocational
53	Mohammed	46-60	M	Couple, unknown nr. of children	833-1667	Moroccan	Intermediate vocational
54	Tamara	31-45	F	Couple, 3 children	2500-333	Native Dutch	Intermediate vocational
55	Joyce	31-45	F	Couple, 2 children	2500-3333	Surinamese	Intermediate vocational
56	Marcelio	18-30	M	Single	<833	Cape Verdean	Intermediate vocational